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Vernacular Book Production, Vernacular Polyphony, and the Motets of the “La
Clayette” Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles
acquisitions françaises 13521)

by

Sean Paul Curran

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Spring 2013

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Abstract

Vernacular Book Production, Vernacular Polyphony, and the Motets of the “La Clayette” Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521)

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Professor Richard F. Taruskin, Chair

The “La Clayette” manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521) is large codex of 419 folios, unique among surviving books of thirteenth-century polyphony for combining a substantial fascicle of motets (some 55 in total, over 22 folios) with an otherwise entirely non-musical collection of literary works. Those texts are all in Old French, almost all devotional or didactic in tone. They are vernacular literary materials of precisely the kind read by or to the lay devout, circulated and consumed ever more enthusiastically in the decades after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and used in the cultivation of lay piety. The book has been granted a position in the canon of thirteenth-century polyphonic anthologies only to the extent that its music is considered to have originated separately from its remaining leaves. This dissertation begins with a codicological study of the manuscript, which demonstrates that the music was collected into it for the earliest of three identifiable bindings, probably before the death of Louis IX in 1270. The motets may be considered a cornerstone of the book’s didactic project. I argue that the techniques of fascicular construction used to build the codex betray a hopeful uncertainty about where and when written polyphony might be encountered and copied in the vernacular book trade. That uncertainty contrasts with restrictive scholarly conceptions of the motet’s social purview; and it is the manuscript’s implications for a social history of thirteenth-century polyphony that I set out to explore.

A new paleographical assessment of La Clayette’s notation uncovers a broadly consistent set of procedures for notating rhythm, and reveals nuances of rhythmic style not previously identified in published editions of the repertory.

Telling paleographical details suggest the book sustained a performance practice in which a single musical reader coached other singers live from the manuscript. This is akin to the practice advocated by La Clayette's literary works, in which a reader would perform the texts aloud for his audience; though the musical version of the practice incorporated the literature's auditors as singing participants. The only skill required to sing these pieces was the willingness to be taught how. I suggest that the value of singing the motets lay in their ability to produce devotional mental images in ways continuous with the literary texts, and to script a performer's response to them in ways the literary texts could not. Several of the motets engage the memory of ribald vernacular songs, then rewrite that memory devotionally through Latin contrafacture. Thus the pieces offered a devotional training in interpretation itself, one that was contingent upon their musical difficulty, and which cast devotion as a practice adopted by choice and through labor. In later stages of the manuscript's life, its compilers unfolded some of the music's other interpretative possibilities through literary choices that did not fit the volume's first devotional frame. The unruliness of La Clayette's final form betrays changing interpretations of its musical contents over time, and puts pressure on scholarly assumptions about how material texts must anchor the interpretation of music and literature.

Finally, through an analysis of a single motet from the La Clayette manuscript (*Par une matinee* [807] / *Mellis stilla* [808] / ALLELUIA [unidentified]), conducted in dialogue with a paleographical study of each of its fifteen manuscript witnesses, we see how composers could articulate from within motets new ideas about the social domain of music writing in ways that left a lasting legacy to the fourteenth century. I argue that a musicopoetic gambit in the French triplum satirically represents the overheard (but newly composed) song of a shepherdess and her lover as unwritable, and therefore irrational. But its satire is doubly undone, first in that the notational "house style" of La Clayette renders it illegible except through precisely the kinds of oral practices to which it would claim superiority as an written composition; and second, in that the Latin motetus against which the French voice was composed was known far more widely, as a popular sung prayer that did not need writing to endure. While the triplum's style would assert the distinction of the notation in which it was written (in a manner resembling the tendentious, roughly contemporaneous social commentary of Johannes de Grocheio), *Mellis stilla* suggests that the reach of music writing had limits that did not match the more widespread ability to sing in polyphony. Beyond the written testimony, vernacular polyphony in a style so similar to the motet as sometimes to be indistinguishable from it thrived in ways the triplum's composer probably would not have encouraged, but which our historiographies should now acknowledge.

FOR ALL MY FAMILY

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MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

ArsA	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 135
ArsB	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 3517–3518
ArsC	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 8521
Ba	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (<i>olim</i> Ed. IV. 6)
Berlin 225	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 8° 225
Bes	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, I, 716 (index of a lost manuscript)
Boul	Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale, 148 (<i>olim</i> 119)
Ca	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, A 410 (<i>olim</i> 386)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8
Ch	Châlons-sur-Marne, Archives départementales, 3. J. 250
Civ	Cividale, Museo archeologico nazionale, LVI
Cl; La Clayette	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelle acquisitions françaises 13521
CTr	Cambridge, Trinity College, 0. 2. 1
Da	Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 3317, 3471, and 3472
Don	Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, 882
ErfC	Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Folio 169
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
Fauv	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146 (the “ <i>Roman de Fauvel</i> ”)

Harley 978	London, British Library, Harley 978
Huelgas	Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, codex without shelfmark
LoC	London, British Library, Additional 30091
Lyell	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, 20486 (<i>olim</i> Hh 167)
Maz	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 307 (<i>olim</i> 536)
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196 (the “Montpellier Codex”)
MüB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16444 (<i>olim</i> E III 230–231)
MüC	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539
MüEm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14274 (<i>olim</i> mus. 3232a)
N	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615
OxRawlG	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G 18
PadD	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1106
PsAr	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11266
Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15 (<i>olim</i> Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q. 15; <i>olim</i> Liceo Musicale, 37)
R	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844
Reg	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolico-Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1543
StS1	Stary Sacz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, D. 2

Todi	Todi, Biblioteca Comunale “L. Leonj,” MS 73
Tu	Turin, Biblioteca nazionale (<i>olim</i> reale), Vari 42(1)
W ₁	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (<i>Olim</i> 677)
W ₂	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (<i>Olim</i> 1206)

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Items in the motet fascicle of the La Clayette manuscript are referred to by their numerical position in the collection: thus “Cl 18” refers to the eighteenth motet. Appendix 2.1 provides a handlist of La Clayette’s pieces in numerical order, listing the position of each within the fascicle.

Positions in the music fascicle are given by folio number, side, column and line, and are abbreviated in the following format: “fol. 371r,a,12” refers to folio 371 *recto*, column a, line 12.

Numbers placed in parentheses after the title of a motet voice or tenor give the piece’s index number in Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: published by the author, 1989). Refrains are identified by their number in the index compiled by Nico H. J van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVE*, Bibliothèque française et romane, ser. D, Initiation, textes et documents 3 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969); “vdB 1778” refers to refrain number 1778 in van den Boogaard’s index.

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INTRODUCTION

VERNACULAR BOOKS AND VERNACULAR POLYPHONY

Although the motet is widely regarded as the most important musical genre of the thirteenth century, almost nothing is known about the circumstances of its performance.¹ In part because polytextual polyphony seems intractably complex to its modern listeners, scholars have positioned it as a kind of chamber music for elite churchmen around Notre Dame and the University of Paris – that is, for intellectuals who would understand its difficult sounds.² This hypothesis is corroborated almost exclusively by the cursory (and tendentious) testimony of Johannes de Grocheio, who declared:

This kind of song ought not to be celebrated in the presence of common people, because they do not notice its subtlety, nor are they delighted in hearing it, but in the presence of the educated and those who are seeking out subtleties in the arts. And it is customarily sung at their feasts for their

¹ Recent historical overviews of the genre and its development are provided by Richard L. Crocker, “French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard L. Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 636–78; and Richard Taruskin, “Music for an Intellectual and Political Elite: The Thirteenth-Century Motet,” in *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1:207–46. Mark Everist’s book is the standard specialist account of the genre: see *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

² Modern difficulties with the effect of the polytextual motet are addressed as a central theme of the contributions to Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

enhancement, just as the *cantilena* that is called a *rotundellus* [is sung] at the feasts of the common laity.³

Music scholarship has limited its conception of the motet almost exclusively to the picture of the genre presented by the fully musical manuscripts of Notre Dame polyphony, or the later motet anthologies most continuous with that tradition, whose sumptuous and expensive execution seems to confirm Grocheio's elitist proscription.

This historiographical bias has not been without its detractors. In a series of publications, Christopher Page has voiced dissatisfaction with the assumed elitism of the genre, arguing that "the base for the materials of the *ars antiqua* motet was a broad one," which "may have been matched by a breadth in the constituency of the audience for these pieces."⁴ For instance, he suggests that the lighter-hearted pieces of the (two-part) motet repertoire might occasionally have been performed by the skilled singers of Notre Dame as entertainment for the laity on a commercial basis.⁵ He also points out that the *litterati* to whom Johannes de Grocheio refers could have encompassed a broad sweep of men, from the highest prelates to boys beginning their training for orders.⁶

Nevertheless, Page always assumes that the motet was *performed* by clerical men;⁷ and those few lay people who might have been present to *hear* a polytextual piece were, according to Page's understanding of Grocheio's

³ Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*, ed. and trans. Constant J. Mews, John N. Crossly, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon, and Carol J. Williams (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), 85. The Latin (p. 84 of this edition) reads "Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari. eo quod eius subtilitatem non advertunt nec in eius auditu delectantur. Sed coram litteratis et illis qui subtilitates artium sunt querentes. Et solet in eorum festis decantari ad eorum decorationem, quemadmodum cantilena que dicitur rotundellus in festis vulgarium laycorum." The secondary literature on this passage and on Johannes's treatise is too vast to be summarized here. But note that Mews *et al.* argue that the treatise was written in the mid 1270s, not around 1300 as has now become received scholarly wisdom. See Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*, 10–12.

⁴ *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 65.

⁵ See Page, "The Masters of Organum: The Study and Performance of Parisian Polyphony During the Early Thirteenth Century," in *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 134-54; at 152-54.

⁶ *Discarding Images*, 83.

⁷ See Page, "Around the Performance of a Thirteenth-Century Motet," *Early Music* 28 (2000): 343-57.

comments, “laymen of unusual aptitude.”⁸ Ultimately Page acknowledges that there “is certainly an elitism in Grocheio’s view of the audience for motets”;⁹ and he is surely right that this elitism hinges on “the cleric’s sense of distinctive juridical status; his consciousness of advancing mankind’s supreme purpose in God while maintaining a powerful influence over temporal powers; *pride in the ability to read and write: clergie*.”¹⁰ But this is not very different from the notion of intellectual elitism that Page set out to challenge.

At the root of it all, for Grocheio and then for Page, lies a set of beliefs — both medieval and modern — about the new kinds of music writing that had been developed in the thirteenth century: what they should make possible in composition, in what books and institutions they should be found, who should be able to use them, and how. It is those assumptions that this dissertation sets out both to illuminate and to challenge.¹¹

Other manuscripts beyond the prized compendia witness the motet tradition, and they have not enjoyed the same close study. One such source is the “La Clayette” manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521). It is a large codex of 419 folios, unprecedented among surviving books of thirteenth-century polyphony for combining a substantial fascicle of polytextual motets (some 55 in total, over 22 folios) with an

⁸ *Discarding Images*, 82.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 84; the emphasis is mine.

¹¹ Important recent studies have offered powerful arguments that *ars antiqua* polyphony could have been produced without necessary reliance on written composition, especially in institutional settings such as Notre Dame, where singers would have worked in regular, close collaboration in the professional execution of the liturgy. See Anna Maria Busse Berger, “The Memorization of Organum, Discant and Counterpoint Treatises,” and “Compositional Process and the Transmission of Notre Dame Polyphony,” in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 111-58 and 161-97. On the liturgical and institutional contexts for Notre Dame polyphony, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); esp. “Gothic Polyphony,” 235-72. My purpose is to consider how polyphony in similar styles was circulated *beyond* ecclesiastical and scholastic institutions.

otherwise entirely non-musical collection of literary works.¹² Those texts are all in Old French, almost all devotional or didactic in tone, and include the *Conception de Nostre Dame* of Wace, an incomplete copy of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coinci, and three cycles of tales from the *Vie des pères*. They are vernacular literary materials of precisely the kind read by or to the lay devout, circulated and consumed ever more enthusiastically in the decades after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and used in the cultivation of lay piety.

To date, the productional and thematic connections between these materials remain unexplored. Largely on the assumption that the motet has no business in a volume of vernacular religious literature, music scholars have considered the codex an accident of later binding, effectively rendering further discussion of its non-musical contents irrelevant. Yet those texts have much to tell us about who sang the thirteenth-century motet, and why. In the light of comprehensive recent research into the production of vernacular manuscripts in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, notably by Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse for Paris,¹³ and Ralph Hanna for England,¹⁴ much more is now known about the new material conditions that impinged upon the production and circulation of vernacular literature in the decades around 1300 than is known

¹² Musicological descriptions of the manuscript are given by Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th–Early 14th Century*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. B, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Munich: Henle, 1966), 436–45; Karl Kügle, “La Clayette,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), vol. 5, cols. 850–52; and *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Sources, MS,” §V, 2, “Early Motet: Principal Individual Sources,” by Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, accessed June 20, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. Further scholarly studies on the source are addressed below.

¹³ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000). This complements and partially updates their earlier essay, “The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–ca. 1350,” in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age: Exemplar et pecia*, ed. Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot and Richard H. Rouse (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1988), 41–114.

¹⁴ Ralph Hanna, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); and “English Vernacular Culture in London Before 1380: The Evidence,” in *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–43. Where *London Literature* deals with literary production in the fourteenth century (though embracing texts authored in the thirteenth-century), a more recent essay focuses on thirteenth-century volumes of pastoral texts written for the instruction of women. See Hanna, “Lambeth Palace Library MS 487: Some Problems of Early Thirteenth-Century Textual Transmission,” in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer / York Medieval Press, 2009), 78–88.

about the social circumstances of the thirteenth-century motet. How far along La Clayette's networks of literary production and reception might the motet have wandered?

Like most contemporaneous sources containing both literary and musical materials, La Clayette has been described by specialists of literature and music, but the findings of each have seldom been brought into dialogue.¹⁵ More unusual is that the manuscript itself was missing and considered lost when the foundational studies of its form and content were written – studies whose separate literary and musicological agendas have conditioned its study to the present day. Until the 1950s, the La Clayette manuscript was known to scholarship only through a copy made in 1773 by Georges-Jean Mouchet for the celebrated erudite and antiquarian, Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. The latter secured loan of the original from its then owner, the Marquis de Noblet of La Clayette, in Saône-et-Loire, so that he could study its contents fully, and have copies made of those texts he had not yet acquired from other manuscripts.¹⁶ The original then vanished, eluding the efforts of several distinguished nineteenth-century literary historians to locate it. It was apparently “rediscovered” by Albi Rosenthal, in 1952, once more in the château at La

¹⁵ The following review of the scholarship on La Clayette will appear in Sean Curran, “Composing a Codex: The Motets in the ‘La Clayette’ Manuscript,” in *Critical Practices of Medieval Music: Theory, Composition, Performance; A Festschrift for Richard L. Crocker*, ed. Judith Peraino (Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming 2013), 219-54.

¹⁶ The copy comprises six volumes in total: five containing the literary texts (now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Moreau 1715-1719) and one containing the motet texts (now Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 6361). The eighteenth-century history of the original is recounted in S. Solente, “Le grand recueil La Clayette à la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Scriptorium* 7 (1953): 226-34; at 226-8. For an account of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye’s role as an antiquarian collector of thirteenth-century music and poetry, see John Haines, “Enlightened Readers,” in *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 89-154.

Clayette, where it presumably had remained all along.¹⁷ After negotiations, the manuscript entered the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale in 1953.¹⁸

The eighteenth-century copy contained only the materials in the original that Sainte-Palaye had not already garnered from other sources, and his interest in the musical pieces extended only to their French texts, which were copied in their own volume (now Arsenal MS 6361) with the designation “Chansons françoises.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, with this copy as a guide, two monumental works of philology described the contents of the vanished manuscript with remarkable accuracy. The first, by the eminent Paul Meyer, listed all the literary contents in a notice that required little updating when the volume eventually reappeared.²⁰ Moreover, from the evidence of a few lines of text copied into Moreau 1715 in apparent imitation of the hand in the original, Meyer dated the codex to the end of the thirteenth century, or the start of the fourteenth.²¹ The revisions were published in a further notice by S. Solente in 1953,²² and are supplemented by fuller textual notices held on file at the Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des

¹⁷ See Albi Rosenthal, introduction to *Obiter Scripta: Essays, Lectures, Articles, Interviews and Reviews on Music, and Other Subjects*, ed. Jacqueline Gray (Oxford: Offox Press, 2000), 2-4. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre has recently explored the possibility raised earlier by S. Solente (“Le grand recueil La Clayette,” 232) that the book was owned in the early fifteenth century by a member of the Chantemerle family, resident at La Clayette from the mid-fourteenth century. See his “Un bibliophile bourgignon au début du XVe siècle: Louis de Chantemerle, seigneur de La Clayette et ses manuscrits,” *Journal des Savants* 2 (2005): 317-97; at 375-78.

¹⁸ Rosenthal was simultaneously encouraging Leo Schrade to buy the manuscript for Yale University (see *Obiter Scripta*, 2-4). Only once it seemed possible that the manuscript would leave France did the Bibliothèque nationale purchase it, with funds disbursed directly from the government. Letters pertaining to its purchase are now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, under the shelfmark nouv. acq. fr. 13522.

¹⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 6361, fol. 1r.

²⁰ Meyer, “Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits français ayant appartenu au Marquis de La Clayette (Bibliothèque nationale, Moreau 1715-1719),” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 33 (1890): 1-90.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²² Solente, “Le grand recueil La Clayette.”

Textes in Paris.²³ Of Solente's description, most important for the argument to be presented in this dissertation is her statement that the codex dates to "la fin du XIII^e s[iècle]." ²⁴ The musical contents constitute sections 30 and 31 of Solente's inventory, as they had in Meyer's, and those divisions are designated "chansons" in Latin and in French, respectively.²⁵

The second major philological effort was that of Friedrich Ludwig.²⁶ Ludwig inferred that the "chansons latines" opening the fascicle were motets.²⁷ As Sainte-Palaye's copyist had indicated the page and column upon which each of his chosen texts had appeared in the bicolunar original, Ludwig could compare the spacing of the French texts with concordances from the Montpellier codex.²⁸ Thus he deduced that the lost original must have presented some of them as bilingual motets, complete with their Latin voices.²⁹ He also inferred that the folios must have been at least prepared for notation, but left open the

²³ I am grateful to Dr. Marie-Laure Savoye and to the librarians of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, for making this resource (among others) available to me. The notices are being incorporated into the IRHT's online database, *Jonas*, where they will be updated in light of ongoing work at the Institute. See the entry for La Clayette at <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/manuscrit.php?projet=48152> (accessed Aug. 20, 2010).

²⁴ Solente, "Le grand recueil La Clayette," 231.

²⁵ Ibid.; Meyer, "Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits," 79. Meyer's list of contents was based on that found in the front of Moreau 1715, where there is an inventory of the items copied, with incomplete notes about the remaining material. The entry for the music reads as follows: "Les pages 729 et 731. col. 1. ne contiennent que des chansons latines qui nont point été copiées. | Les chansons françoises qui suivent depuis la page 731. col. 2 jusqu'à la page 772. Sont copiées in fol. et portées parmi mes anciennes chansons françoises Manuscrites." (Moreau 1715, fol. 7r; orthography of the original preserved.)

²⁶ His account of La Clayette, unpublished in his lifetime, is "Der Motettenfaszikel der verschollenen Handschrift La Clayette," in *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen*, pt. 2, *Handschriften in Mensuralnotation*, ed. Friedrich Gennrich, *Summa musicae medii aevi* 7 (Langen bei Frankfurt: privately published, 1961), 408-21.

²⁷ Ibid., 408-11.

²⁸ Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine H 196 (Mo).

²⁹ See, for example, his detailed assessment of the bilingual motet *Qui voudroit / Quant naist la flor / Tanquam suscipit / TANQUAM* (O2), Ludwig's no. 6, and in fact no. 9 of the original. Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/2: 412.

question of whether or not the texts had received their music.³⁰ Upon La Clayette's rediscovery (after Ludwig's death), he was ratified in his hypotheses that the source contained pieces almost entirely present in Fascicles 2–5 of *Mo*, and none from Fascicle 6.³¹ In his succession of major *ars antiqua* sources, Ludwig placed the manuscript's production immediately after the Old Corpus of *Mo*, and before Fascicle 7.³²

Thus even in its physical absence, the La Clayette manuscript was accorded a position in Ludwig's monumental account of thirteenth-century music and its books. Ludwig's observations were especially ingenious, given that the collection of motets is unusual from almost every perspective available. In particular, the pieces are not arranged according to any apparent system known from other manuscripts, such as by number of voices, by language, or in alphabetic series. For these reasons, and for others, dating of the source's production has proved more contentious since the manuscript reappeared — partly because there is no clear consensus about what aspects of this book (and of thirteenth-century music sources considered more broadly) each scholar accepts as datable evidence. For example, Rosenthal argues for an early date for the manuscript against a projected linear development of layout strategies, claiming the manuscript's "parentage" to be with manuscripts F and W₂, and with the *chansonniers du Roi* and de Noailles, because those manuscripts also have voice parts copied successively.³³ By comparison, Luther Dittmer, placing La Clayette's notation on a trajectory from modal to mensural systems, describes it simply as a

³⁰ Gaston Raynaud had included La Clayette's French texts (as per the copy in Arsenal 6361) in his edition of motet poetry, where he claimed that the original had been unnotated. See Raynaud, *Recueil de motets français des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881), 2:x. While Ludwig's deduction that staves were present was ingenious, it was unnecessary: a letter from one Gobet to Mouchet, preserved in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bréquigny 65, clearly specifies that the pieces were "chansons notées" (fol. 166r). Rosenthal notes this oversight with regard to Raynaud's scholarship, but not Ludwig's. See Rosenthal, "La Clayette retrouvé," 103.

³¹ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/2:420.

³² See the arguments presented in Schrade, "Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *Scriptorium* 30 (1955): 393–412; Gordon A. Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth-Century Manuscript La Clayette: The Repertory and its Historical Significance," *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973): 11–40; and Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth-Century Manuscript La Clayette: A Stylistic Study of the Repertory," *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1974): 5–37. For a complete edition of the pieces, see Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521*, with French texts ed. and trans. by Elizabeth A. Close, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 68 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

³³ Rosenthal, "Le Manuscrit de La Clayette retrouvé," 105.

“partially mensural [one], which resembles that of the older fascicles of the Montpellier manuscript.”³⁴ However, as he also describes the La Clayette manuscript as “a collection of motets from the late thirteenth century,” it seems he would embrace a dichotomy between early notation and late production.³⁵ Friedrich Gennrich’s opinion on the notation is less equivocal: he considers it early, “unaware” of Franconian precepts with regard to its ligatures, which he believes have modal (rather than mensural) signification.³⁶ Mark Everist would seem to agree, characterizing the source’s music-writing as a “crude *cum littera* which simply differentiates between longs and breves and seems to predate the notation of fascicles 2–6 of [Mo].”³⁷

The assumptions implicit in this possible spectrum of datable features deserve further scrutiny that cannot be given here. Most important is the dearth of codicological research on the manuscript. Little such material has been published, nor have commentators generally considered the evidence codicology might provide for matters of dating, production milieu, or the reception of the pieces and their circumstances of performance.

When he announced the entry of the “Chansonnier de La Clayette” into the Bibliothèque nationale’s collection to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on January 16, 1953, Claude Brunel stated cursorily that the manuscript in its current binding was a composite of “douze petits manuscrits,” but gave no collation or criteria upon which the judgment was based.³⁸ Still less precise, but more frequent, is the claim that the extreme damage that has accrued to the motet fascicle is evidence of its separate circulation. The point is made by James Heustis Cook, in his 1978 Ph.D. dissertation on La Clayette’s stemmatic position within the network of thirteenth-century manuscripts. Stating first that the “motet collection . . . is a self-sufficient fascicle of three gatherings, showing no characteristics found in the other portions of the manuscript,” he goes on within a few paragraphs to claim that “the many signs of wear, which do not appear on

³⁴ Dittmer, *Paris 13521 & 11411*, Publications of Medieval Music Manuscripts 4 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 3.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ “Die Notation empfindet man als sorglich ausgeführte ältere Mensuralnotation, die die frankonische Ligaturenlehre nicht kennt: die Ligaturen haben modalen Wert.” Gennrich, *Ein altfranzösischer Motettenkodex: Facsimile-Ausgabe der Hs La Clayette*, Paris, *Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. fr. 13521*, *Summa musica medii aevi* 6 (Darmstadt: n. p., 1958), 10.

³⁷ Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 153.

³⁸ The announcement was printed in the published proceedings as Brunel, “Deux manuscrits français ayant appartenu au marquis de La Clayette,” *Comptes-rendues des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 97 (1953): 25–27.

the other portions of the codex, indicate that the collection of motets was used heavily before it was bound with the non-musical parts."³⁹ However, Cook rules out the possibility that the damage was sustained through use in performance, because the manuscript's successive layout does not always permit all required singers to read their parts from a single opening – a judgment with which Patricia Norwood concurs.⁴⁰

Broaching issues of chronology, Everist's account of the manuscript seems to rely upon the music's discrete codicological status. He sees a significant discrepancy between the early appearance of the notation and the "astonishingly late" date he considers necessary for the style of the filigree initials that decorate the start of each upper-voice text, and argues that "a realistic date for [them] would be c. 1300."⁴¹ To explain this, he hypothesizes either that the motets were indeed an early copy that remained undecorated (and presumably unbound), to receive its decoration much later; or that they were a "genuinely late" copy that preserved the notation (and presumably the layout) of their original exactly.⁴² His observations in his later book, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, indicate that he prefers the late-copy interpretation.⁴³ In sum, the line has either been, following Meyer, that the book is "an entire library of thirteenth-century writings,"⁴⁴ yet the numerous codicological disruptions to the literary texts are overlooked, and the music ignored; or the music gatherings are considered a codicological accident, precluding further discussion of the music's productional and thematic place in the wider shape of the book. The idea of the music's separate codicological status is assumed and exacerbated by its two facsimile editions, both in small format and bound in paper, which present the motet fascicle as precisely the separable unit it has been assumed to be.⁴⁵

Recently, significant studies by scholars of both literature and music have

³⁹ Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 1:4, 5.

⁴⁰ Norwood, "Performance Manuscripts from the Thirteenth-Century?" *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986): 92-96; at 95.

⁴¹ Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 153.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth-Century*, 11, where he writes: "the paleographical and art-historical evidence indicates that it was probably copied at the very end of the century, whereas those parts of [Mo] that contain French-texted motets were probably copied in the 1270s."

⁴⁴ "[Le manuscrit] est à lui seul toute une bibliothèque d'oeuvres littéraires, en grande partie inconnues, du XIII^e siècle." Meyer, "Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits," 2-3.

⁴⁵ Gennrich, *Ein Altfranzösischer Motettenkodex*; Dittmer, *Paris 13521 & 11411*.

explored the potential of a “whole-book” approach to the interpretation of items brought together in medieval collections.⁴⁶ In studies of manuscripts more comprehensively provided with musical notation, scholars have examined how music takes on a visually expressive role on parchment: scholars speak of music “performing” most fully in its new material setting.⁴⁷ The first impulse to this dissertation is to consider what sense the polyphonic motet made in the composition of the codex. Such criticism needs to be preceded, in the case of the La Clayette manuscript, with more thorough codicological assessment. Given the physical evidence of its layered production, and in light of the evidence offered by Everist, criticism of how the book’s thirteenth-century contents may have made conceptual sense to its producers or users must first establish whether – or to what extent – the book may be considered a thirteenth-century object.

The luxuriously executed *Mo* has its contents conveniently arranged into fascicles determined by number of voices and by language. The sheer number of pieces it contains seem to render those fascicular arrangements unassailable. *Mo* is a source that lends itself to genre typologies; but the usefulness of these typologies as interpretive lenses through which to view the creativity of thirteenth-century composition has been rightly questioned by Everist.⁴⁸ *Mo* seems to reflect an anthologizing impulse, perhaps a comprehensive one; the apparently messier “textual situation” in La Clayette offers a different

⁴⁶ Preeminent among studies of thematicism in French codices of the period is Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987). Among numerous other works, see in particular the essays in Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, ed., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); and Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). From a musicological perspective, the entire corpus of songs notated in English miscellanies has been the subject of a meticulous study by Deeming, “Music in English Miscellanies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2004). See also Deeming, “Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes,” *Scriptorium* 60 (2006): 38-59; and “The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song,” *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 15 (2006): 1-27.

⁴⁷ See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the “Roman de Fauvel”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁸ He writes, “Although . . . traditional subgenres [such as ‘French triple motet’ or ‘bilingual motet’, and so on] have a degree of value in terms of classification, especially for bibliographical purposes, they are limited as critical tools.” Everist, *French Motets*, 154.

perspective on its materials, perhaps responding to a different kind of impulse.⁴⁹ Examining how the layers of this complex vernacular manuscript were produced and determining what we can know about the conditions under which its makers worked have the potential to broaden our sense of the social locations of polyphonic singing in the thirteenth century.

Chapter one offers a codicological study of the manuscript. Far from evidencing the previous separation of the music fascicle, the accrued damage demonstrates its connection to other portions of the book: it was caused not by trauma in unbound circulation, but by an oil-based fluid that seeped through the book, leaving the bottom-outer corner of the folios heavily stained, cracked, and translucent. This pattern of damage is replicated in other portions of the book, both contiguous with the music gatherings and separated from them – the first of several signs that the manuscript underwent an active lifespan of reordering as new texts were collected and added to its growing repertoire of didactic literature. The chronology of its layers can be determined in some detail. I show the book to have been bound three times, each after a period of active collection whose processes I describe through case studies. The motets were collected before the first of the bindings, and the layout designed for them was tailored to match the literary texts with which they were to be bound. The earliest textual layer includes a genealogy concluding with the reign of Louis IX (r. 1226-1270) a cautious *terminus ante quem* of 1270 can be extended to the production of the music fascicle; while evidence from the current boards and binding, and the paleographical styles of the texts added at subsequent stages, suggest that the manuscript reached its final form at some point around 1300 or a little after.

The techniques of production by which the manuscript grew bespeak a milieu in which access to the kinds of materials the book collected was both uncertain and yet could be relied upon – this, a point of intersection with recent work on the sociology of vernacular literature in the later middle ages, and especially the work of Ralph Hanna III, that runs throughout this study.⁵⁰ The observation is important, because it affords both a revised interpretative framework for the social history of the motet (the manuscript suggests that motets could be tools with which to sculpt the devotional life of those people interested in vernacular religious literature, perhaps lay, perhaps in orders) and also because it ultimately defeats the certainty with which some recent trends in musicology have looked to the material form of music sources to answer questions of circulation, consumption, and ultimately of historical meaning.

No physical aspect of the book demands use by lay readers, just as no aspect demands use by clerics. Musicology has searched for definitive answers to questions of social history by assuming material form to delimit the readership to

⁴⁹ I borrow the term “textual situation” from Andrew Taylor: see in particular his comments in “Medieval Materials,” in *Textual Situations*, 1-25.

⁵⁰ See the studies cited in n. 14, above.

which a book might have been useful – this, a tenet which is not without problems when dealing with the printed music-books, let alone the vastly less standardized array of music manuscripts from the thirteenth century. Crucially, the techniques of production by which the La Clayette manuscript grew themselves developed precisely because questions of who should read what kind of music book, where, and how had no certain answers *in the manuscript's own time*. More, the ways in which the answers were uncertain were themselves new in a time of burgeoning vernacular literary production.

Next, I raise questions about how the act of “reading” should be construed for thirteenth-century music manuscripts. We have already seen that the notation of the La Clayette manuscript has been considered “crude” or “unperformable,” partly because sonically simultaneous parts of a motet often fall on separate openings. The tacit benchmark of literacy and legibility against which the manuscript falls short is itself an historically questionable one: that only a fully prescriptive notation, unambiguously determining all features of a piece’s rhythm, in a layout simultaneously visible to all singers, could have served as a platform for performance.⁵¹ A contrasting view would tend to posit any thirteenth-century book as inherently removed from concerns of performance, either because a written copy would have been unnecessary in a culture heavily reliant upon memory, or on the assumption that the books were too luxurious to make performance use likely.⁵² Of these complementary lines of thought, the first evades the question of why music should have been written down at all if notation was inherently unnecessary, while the second essentially posits that luxury books were made beautiful only to remain closed.

Rather than dismissing the La Clayette manuscript as “unperformable” because it does not look like the Montpellier Codex, I start in chapter two from the opposite assumption – that the book was written to be read – then to show how our ideas of musical literacy and the social practice of polyphony would have to alter to account for its legibility. The broader implication is that reading practices were as varied – and as widespread – as the manuscripts involved in

⁵¹ Margaret Bent has challenged similar assumptions in the study of later manuscripts across a variety of publications. See, in particular, “The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis,” in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 15–59; at 25, where she writes, “Renaissance notation is under-prescriptive by our standards; when translated into modern form it acquires a prescriptive weight that overspecifies and distorts its original openness.”

⁵² On the role played by memory in thirteenth-century polyphony, see Leo Treitler, “The Vatican Organum Treatise and the Organum of Notre Dame of Paris: Perspectives on the Development of a Literate Music Culture in Europe,” in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39–67; and Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 111–197. For objections to the use of luxury books for performance use, see Everist, *French Motets*, 10 n. 25.

them, and each thirteenth-century music book will need to be re-read for the different assumptions about legibility and literacy to which its scribes responded. The later motet books of the “central” tradition do not annex musical reading as comprehensively as their sumptuous visual rhetoric and sense of their own historiographical import would have us believe.

In the case of La Clayette, an empirical approach to the notation and paleography of the music fascicle reconciles many of its features previously considered aberrant to the didactic purpose of the rest of the volume.⁵³ The texts of the music fascicle were written by a scribe who specialized in vernacular texts: it is the Latin texts, rather than the French ones, that show corruption. It was this scribe who planned the collection: unlike almost all other contemporaneous manuscripts, the texts of each piece (and possibly whole groups of pieces) were copied before staves were even ruled, let alone parts notated.⁵⁴ The compressed layout chosen by this text scribe was handled with aplomb by the notator (not necessarily a different person; but if he *was* also the text scribe, he was a much better notator indeed): even where textual errors are extreme, the notator manages to transmit an excellent musical reading, using a variety of means to

⁵³ Nicolas Bell outlines an “empirical approach” to the notation of the Las Huelgas Codex, which, like that of La Clayette, has often been considered aberrant. See Bell, “The Context of the Musical Notation,” in *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), 75-90. This builds on the insights offered in Wulf Arlt, “Aspekte der musikalischen Paläographie,” in Solange Corbin et al., *Der einstimmige Musik des Mittelalters, Paläographie der Musik 1*, ed. Wulf Arlt (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, 1979), 1.1-1.48; and Arlt, “À propos des notations pragmatiques: le cas du codex Las Huelgas: remarques générales et observations particulières,” *Revista de Musicología* 13 (1990): 401-19.

⁵⁴ Deeming (“Observations”) offers a detailed discussion of the varied ruling strategies adopted in contemporaneous staffed manuscripts of English provenance, and their implications for musical comprehension. For a consideration of related issues in polyphonic manuscripts of the period, see Rebecca Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W₁: Further Evidence for an Early Date,” in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller, and John Louis Nádas (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 103-20; esp. 111.

signal the discrepancies and to ensure that correct rhythmic construal is possible.⁵⁵

I complete a qualitative survey of the scribe's working practices. Analyzing the distribution of note shapes by paleographical kind and melodic/rhythmic situation (i.e., ligatures, plicas, and *coniuncturae*), I show the notator to have used an unambiguous "house style" which, while it does not fit the system of any one contemporary theorist exactly, is nevertheless broadly consistent on its own terms. On a note-by-note level, the care with which he strove for legibility is striking: it would seem directly to contradict the apparent disregard for a reader's needs suggested by the non-alignment of page turns between the parts. As long as we presume only a single reader, this apparent contradiction vanishes. Indeed, the notational vocabulary of the upper-voice *notae simplices* and ligatures becomes clear once one posits the rhythmic and discantal framework of the tenor as providing the basis on which they were deciphered. I suggest the scribes to have anticipated a performance practice in which a single reader coached other singers live: by building up the parts of a piece one at a time, starting with the largely unambiguous tenor, the rhythms of the more complex upper voices became transparent against their audible discantal foundation, even where their notation would seem most opaque outside of performance. That is to say, the book was a prop used in a supervised social practice in which polyphony was taught to the same kinds of readers who might wish to purchase the devotional vernacular literature with which the motets were bound.

The didactic performance practice I reconstruct for the La Clayette manuscript resembles the model of "textual community" delineated by Brian Stock in which single readers proposed interpretations of written texts to which other, non-reading members of a community would acquiesce.⁵⁶ Still more directly relevant to La Clayette are the later-medieval practices of "praelection" given a detailed account by Joyce Coleman, who argues compellingly that literature was regularly and most popularly consumed aurally as a group entertainment, with a single reader performing a text aloud from the book for his

⁵⁵ To my knowledge, there are no published studies that take as their primary focus the issue of texting and musical overlay in thirteenth-century manuscripts. The methods used here are adapted, *mutatis mutandis*, from studies of later medieval sources. See Margaret Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications," in *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica ficta*; and Jonathan King, *Texting in Early Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony* (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1996). Malcolm Parkes discusses the professional scribe's attention to the overall balance of a book's visual design in "Through the Eyes of Scribes and Readers: Handwriting as Image," in *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: Handwriting as Image* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 127-45.

⁵⁶ Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 88-240.

or her audience.⁵⁷ La Clayette's literary texts everywhere anticipate such a practice; and I suggest the impagination of music for the book responded to the same impulse. The didactic performance practice anticipated by the producers of the music fascicle is fully complementary, not only with the didactic tone of the rest of the volume's contents, but with the didactic medium in which that literature came alive.

Having aligned the liveness of musical performance with the liveness of literature read aloud, I ask in chapter three what the motet as a genre, and La Clayette's arrangement of pieces in particular, added to the didactic project of the manuscript at the earliest stage of the book's production beyond the inherently didactic procedure by which singers would have learned the music. Engaging analytical models afforded by recent work on the motet by Suzannah Clark, Emma Dillon, and Edward Roesner, I begin by examining pieces whose upper voices are settings of prayers, to suggest that they augment the labor of prayer with musical *difficulty*.⁵⁸ Next, I examine pieces that describe acts of mental picturing with affective consequence, in manners directly comparable to the narrative procedures at work in the martyrological *vitae* of La Clayette's earliest codicological layer.⁵⁹ These pieces script the affective responses of performers

⁵⁷ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁵⁸ Although analysis of thirteenth-century polyphony has been practiced for several decades, musicopoetic readings such as the one I offer in my third chapter have been published only very recently. See Suzannah Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet," *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 16 (2007): 31-59; and Edward Roesner, "Subtilitas and Delectatio: Ne m'a pas oublié," in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), 25-43. Emma Dillon's new book, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), is an extended meditation on the meanings that sung sound could carry through and beyond the words that were its vehicle. My work in chapter three combines methodological components from all of these important studies to reveal the range of the aesthetic devices composers could deploy to project devotional relations of music and word.

⁵⁹ In this I engage several strands of recent literary scholarship that have addressed the cognitive life of stories in the middle ages and beyond. Pre-eminent among them are Bill Burgwinkle and Carie Howie, *Sanctity and Pornography in Medieval Culture: On the Verge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); Steven Justice, "Did the Middle Ages Believe in their Miracles?" *Representation* 103 (2008): 1-29; Justice, "Eucharistic Miracle and Eucharistic Doubt," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42 (2012): 307-32; Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); and Elaine Scarry, *Dreaming by the Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

directly by scripting the labor of their bodies in vocal production.⁶⁰ I examine pieces that produce “monaural” sonic effects in the interactions of the parts — moments of epiphany when the music strikes a critical pose robust enough to point out connections between the parts that the texts alone do not acknowledge. These I construe as ratifications of the corporate labor of motet-making: working together, singers make aesthetically present a musical effect or object — usually rendered explicitly devotional by the texts — in a manner readily amenable to devotional or meditative explication. Their effect is an *aesthetically* ritualizing one that is *analytically* identifiable, discrete from the theological content proposed by any one piece, but serving as the ground upon which that content was built and the affective mechanism by which it could compel.⁶¹ From this perspective, mensural polyphony emerges as a technology by which ritual bodies could be

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Eva Leach has recently examined how notation is thematized as a means of controlling the labor of performers in a late fourteenth-century song by Senleches. See Leach, “Nature’s Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading, and Performing Song,” in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 72-95. Like Leach, I am interested here in exploring thirteenth-century motets for the kinds of distributed cognition they require. But the means by which that distribution is achieved is different in La Clayette than in the song by Senleches that Leach studies, because the latter relies upon all singers to be reading their parts from the manuscript in ways that La Clayette does not.

⁶¹ This notion of the ritualized body is taken from Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 94-117. I mean to imply that while there is clearly a cultural otherness to the beliefs that impinged upon the experience of this music to its medieval users, there is also common ground: I locate these properties of musical effect in the sounds and patterns that motets work in time, identified by close attention to categories of musical style I think likely to be reproduced in more or less the same ways across performances. The effects of revelation, reward, and so on, that I find in the genre can be identified critically without any scholarly commitment to the truth of the propositions of faith the pieces could have been used to reinforce for their first users. The purpose is both to take medieval belief seriously as a system of practices with which music was involved, and to keep music a primarily worldly phenomenon, helping to produce effects for singers which they could believe in as they saw fit.

corporately formed and inhabited, mensural notation a means by which they could be transmitted from one occasion or place to another.⁶²

Finally, I turn to those pieces whose work of presencing hinges on the citation of refrains: those snippets of music and poetry that wandered between songs, often containing ribald and overtly sexual content.⁶³ I show that the practice of contrafaction could deliberately rely upon the mental presence of the

⁶² In terms offered by Michel de Certeau, the motet might be thought a tool that inscribes writing on flesh, transforming it into the body authorised by a discourse of power. See de Certeau, "The Scriptural Economy," in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 131-53. However, de Certeau's formulation is too metaphorical to capture how peculiar to the thirteenth century is the compositional fascination with the literal ability of music writing to manipulate the empirical body in time. Also, in his bleak construal of ideology and attendant emphasis on the reader's resistance, de Certeau is blind to the *value* of imitation, of adapting oneself to a model, that was articulated openly by twelfth- and thirteenth-century clerics tasked with pastoral care and embraced enthusiastically by the devout of the high and later middle ages. On models, see the classic essay by Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 82-109.

⁶³ It has long been acknowledged (though is still generally ignored) that the earliest uses of the term "motet" are French and describe the aphoristic fragments of song we now call "refrains." See Klaus Hoffmann, "Zur Entstehungs- und Frühgeschichte des Terminus Motette," *Acta Musicologica* 42 (1970): 138-50. An English overview and bibliography of the term to 2001 is given in *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Refrain," by Suzannah Clark, accessed June 11, 2009, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. The refrain has been the subject of much recent musicological attention, together with its many relationships to the motet. See, among other studies, Judith Peraino, "'Et pui conmencha a canter': Refrains, Motets, and Melody in the Thirteenth-Century Narrative *Renart le nouvel*," *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 6 (1997), 1-16; Ardis Butterfield, *Music and Poetry in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 75-102; Jennifer Saltzstein, "Wandering Voices: Refrain Citation in Thirteenth-Century French Music and Poetry" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007).

song its new text replaced, with devotional effect.⁶⁴ We can understand such distortions as an aspect of the experience of those participating in motet performance, one that taught its lesson more powerfully for being discovered live in song. Singing their French along with simple Latin, and feeling a familiar music recrafted, performers learned to discipline their interpretation of it, and to search for divine truth even in the midst of ribald old songs made newly devout.

Thus in the La Clayette motets, means are found to put writing into the body, where it may rewrite the experience of vernacular musical practices known from beyond the genre. But those means disaggregate writing from *reading* (or rather, from the live reading of all singers), in ways that put pressure on developing thirteenth-century notions that writing should indicate the social purview of polyphonic musical practices. In the final chapter, I explore that discrepancy and its historical significance through a detailed analytical reading of bilingual motet from the La Clayette manuscript, *Par une matinee* (807) / *Mellis stilla* (808) / ALLELUIA (unidentified), conducted in dialogue with a paleographical study of each of its fifteen manuscript witnesses. I argue that a musicopoetic gambit in the French triplum satirically represents the overheard (but newly composed) song of a shepherdess and her lover as unwritable, and therefore irrational.⁶⁵ It projects a lofty sense of its sophistication as a writerly composition, and its social condescension is unmistakable. But the triplum's satire is doubly undone, first in that the notational "house style" of La Clayette renders it illegible except through a kind of oral practice to which it would claim superiority as a written composition; and second, in that the Latin motetus against which the French voice was composed was known far more widely, as a popular sung prayer that did not need writing to endure. Thus while the triplum's style would assert the distinction of its notation—in a way that returns us to Grocheio's similarly unstable assertions about music writing and where the

⁶⁴ Several important studies offer models for the stemmatological analysis of motet transmission, whose methods I adapt here. See Margaret Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," in *Music in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 295-317; Rebecca A. Baltzer, "The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*: Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet," in Pesce, *Hearing the Motet*, 17-27; Alejandro Planchart, "The Flower's Children," *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003): 303-48; and Edward Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Purum," in Fenlon, *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 365-99.

⁶⁵ On changing attitudes to the relation between music's rationality and its ability to be written, see Emma Dillon, "Representing Obscene Sound," in *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer; York Medieval Press, 2006), 55-84; Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); and Leach "'The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly as the Fowler Deceives the Bird': Sirens in the Middle Ages," *Music & Letters* 87 (2006): 187-211.

polyphony it *should* uniquely enable *ought* to be encountered — *Mellis stilla* suggests that the reach of music writing had limits that did not match the more widespread ability to sing in polyphony. Beyond the written testimony, polyphony in a style so similar to the motet as sometimes to be indistinguishable from it thrived in ways the triplum's composer probably would not have encouraged, but which our historiographies should now acknowledge.

Considered from another perspective, the chapter adumbrates the patterns of belief that would allow notation to become a tool with which to shape stories about thirteenth-century music in its own time. These beliefs will need greater attention than this dissertation can offer them. The more elaborately produced and famous polyphony books of the century (such as W2, F, and Mo) constitute only a small portion of the manuscripts already acknowledged to contain polyphony. This alone suggests it is *they* that should be considered unusual, even though they have become the historiographical standard against which all other examples of contemporaneous music-writing are now judged. *Mellis stilla*, and the many songs like it, suggest that polyphonic song thrived in unwritten and differently written contexts, and in ways not well served by the continued scholarly reference to "simple" polyphony.⁶⁶

La Clayette remains a strange book, even when we make it explicable by reconfiguring our picture of the music that sounded around it: it was a local project (notwithstanding the historical uncertainty that remains about its actual locale), of which we can give an account both rich and incomplete. It invites us to look back on the anthology manuscripts through the lens of its testimony, and to see that they enshrine a history of Paris and its music that served equally local interests, even though the city's elite clerical institutions have come universally to dominate modern accounts of medieval music.⁶⁷ It seems to me that it is no fault of modern music bibliographers that the Notre Dame repertory forms the yardstick against which all other examples of thirteenth-century music writing

⁶⁶ See, for example, the essays collected in Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., *Un millennio di polifonia tra oralità e scrittura* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2002).

⁶⁷ I am in accord here with Susan Rankin, who has written of the Notre Dame manuscripts as monuments to Notre Dame's polyphonic tradition. See Rankin, "The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present, and Future," in *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future*, ed. David Greer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 154-68. Emma Dillon has recently explored how the urban character of the motet is self-consciously manifested in a group of pieces figuring the cries of street vendors, relating them to thirteenth and fourteenth-century texts in praise of Paris. See "Sound and the City," in *The Sense of Sound*, 51-91.

are now measured, as some scholars have recently suggested.⁶⁸ Rather, it is an index of the success with which Parisian clerics made bookishness seem an inevitable attribute of their polyphonic style, at a moment when musical notation was becoming newly prescriptive, and its books a new vehicle for knowledge of the past.⁶⁹

Institutions have long enjoyed a central place in the historiography of medieval music, but the neutrality or transparency of their testimony has seldom been questioned.⁷⁰ My project suggests that they need not be the inevitable arbiters of a cultural history of medieval religious music, for the notational technologies to which they had pre-eminent access neither constitute the sum of musically relevant evidence still available, nor held in the thirteenth century a unique purchase on the skills of music making they were tailored to represent. In those manuscripts sculpted as monuments to Parisian institutional history, and the theoretical testimonies that explain them, we witness music writing newly framed as the guarantor of musical elitism in ways that left a familiar legacy. For the Middle Ages no less than for modern scholarship, the self-evidence of that legacy can be subjected to scrutiny through more detailed primary-source research. There are other voices in the archive, waiting to be heard.

⁶⁸ See Busse Berger, "Prologue: The First Great Dead White Male Composer," in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 9-44. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has also discussed the modernist biases that informed the late-nineteenth and twentieth-century study of old music. See Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶⁹ In this, my argument enters into dialogue with Edward H. Roesner's, who discusses Notre Dame polyphony as a "classic" repertory; though the role that writing plays in his definition of the classic is as much tied to issues of written *composition* as written *record* – concepts which I would suggest we more systematically disaggregate for this music. See Roesner, "Who 'Made' the *Magnus liber*?" *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 227-66. I invoke here terminology provided by M. T. Clanchy's seminal study *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

⁷⁰ This is not to undermine the importance of such studies, and the rich insights afforded by their archival research. The pre-eminent archival study of Notre Dame is Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame, 500-1550*.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CODICOLOGY OF THE LA CLAYETTE MANUSCRIPT: A HISTORY IN PARTS

The La Clayette manuscript bears the traces of many kinds of physical intervention at many moments in time.¹ In some of those marks, meaning can be found; others are inscrutable, their causes now beyond recovery. My first chapter considers the layers of history sedimented in the La Clayette manuscript that were laid down in the years of its active making and remaking, and does so from the perspective of the book's music fascicle. Here I will chart the arrival of music into the codex when its materials were first being gathered, then to show how the book's complexion changed over time, partly in response to meanings the music brought in with it. We begin by discussing the layout designed for the leaves of the music fascicle, and then work outwards, first to the fascicle's gathering structure, and then to the position of the music fascicle in the whole manuscript.

I. The Page Design and Gathering Structure of the Music Fascicle

Figure 1.1 is a photograph of the opening of fols. 383v–384r. Here as throughout the fascicle, the pages are ruled for fourteen lines of text, each supporting a five-line staff in red. The first complete piece on the opening, the three-voice motet *He Dieu* (708) / *Maubatu* (707) / *QUMQUE* (O31), begins at fol. 383v, line 10. The parts are written in “descending” order: triplum, duplum, then tenor. Each texted voice begins with a filigree initial at the left edge of the writing block, occupying a width of one stave and its text-line, which is followed by a *littera notabilior* in the hand of the text scribe. Tenors, by comparison, may begin mid-line, such as *AVE MARIS STELLA* at fol. 384r, column b, line 3. When less than half a column-width of text remains to be copied in one voice, the scribe places the rest of the part at the *right* margin of the text line, so that the new initial can be placed at the left, without leaving an empty stave to interrupt the fullness of the page's appearance. This can be seen at fol. 384r, column a, line 12. Bicolumnar layout is frequently found in later thirteenth-century motet collections, but in most of

¹ A shorter version of this chapter will appear in print as Sean Curran, “Composing a Codex: The Motets in the ‘La Clayette’ Manuscript,” in *Critical Practices of Medieval Music: Theory, Composition, Performance; A Festschrift for Richard L. Crocker*, ed. by Judith Peraino (Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming 2013), 219–54.



Figure 1.1. Photograph of La Clayette, fols. 303v-384r, to show bicolour layout.

these collections the voices of a piece are aligned on the opening so that the same stretch of musical time is given in all parts.² La Clayette is one of only two major sources (the other is R) in bicolunar format in which the voices are not so arranged. Here, the layout and technique of successive copying is continuous with the bicolunar layout of text in the rest of the manuscript.

The layout would have had implications for the planning and copying of the music section. A single text scribe was responsible for the whole fascicle.³ Note that, in order to preserve a justified right margin to each column, the scribe is happy to divide text anywhere, without regard to any aspect of the musical or textual structure of the part he is copying; and while strokes (i.e. rests) separate the *melodic* phrases from one another, no aspect of *text* versification is visually pointed. The design of the page would have made it nearly impossible to coordinate simultaneous copying of different sections of the fascicle such as is often found in more luxurious manuscripts, because it would have been very difficult to judge in advance where one piece would end and another would begin. The slight changes of aspect visible at various points in the fascicle are usually the result of a change of pen, or some other local reason explicable on a case-by-case basis in relation to the other features of the page.

As observed, the motet collection displays no obvious ordering principle on a piece-by-piece basis: at the broadest level of design, it may be noted only that the fascicle begins with three Latin motets (of which the first two are in praise of Mary) and finishes with a long run of French pieces, nos. 40–55, interrupted only by the Latin duplum of the three-part bilingual motet no. 49, *Quant voi remirant* (126) / *Virgo virginum* (127) / *HEC DIES* (M13), at fol. 389r, column a, lines 2–6. Because moteti, tripla, and quadrupla are not functionally distinguished within the layout, any motet could have been copied immediately after any other, however many voices it had, with the result that it would not have been necessary to be in possession of all the motets required for the whole

² For an overview of *mise en page* strategies for the thirteenth-century motet, see Catherine Parsonneault, “Page Layout and the Motet as a Genre,” in “The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2001), 30–72.

³ The musical notation was also the work of a single scribe throughout the fascicle. For now, I leave open the question of whether the text and music scribes were in fact the same person. Suffice it to say here that at all points in the fascicle where staff lines overlap the ascenders of the text, the red ink sits clearly on top of the black; and the gauge, position, and alignment of staves is seldom consistent from one line to the next, or across the columns of a page. Staves were therefore ruled after text was copied; but it is difficult to demonstrate *how much* text was copied before any staves were ruled. In any case, whether or not the text and music were copied by the same person, textual rather than musical features were the primary concern when the layout was designed. I discuss these issues more fully in the next chapter.

collection at the point copying was begun – or even to know in advance which they would be. Rather, it would have been possible simply to copy whatever music was available into the prepared gathering according to the established layout style, and continue adding pieces until it was full, or until another gathering was required.

In the event, the three gatherings of the music fascicle (nos. 50–52 of the manuscript, which consists of fifty-six gatherings in total) have a structure of 8 + 8 + 6 leaves, and Rosenthal rightly observed that the spacing of the final motet was paleographically “stretched” to fill the remainder of column b on the last page (fol. 390v).⁴ It seems likely that the reduced size of the final gathering was an act of tailoring to fit the amount of parchment to the size of the musical collection. But that does not mean the dimensions of the collection were necessarily known at the outset – or even at the point music was being copied into the start of the third, smaller gathering. The decision to make the last gathering a ternion could have been made at any point until its third leaf was full, until which point one or more bifolia of the same preparation could have been added inside (or, indeed, dropped, if the “default” size of the gathering was a quaternion, to match the first two gatherings of the fascicle).⁵ There is reason to suggest that the page layout, which in retrospect produced such a seamless visual result, was tailored to enable multiple acts of collection over time. In that case, the apparently random order of the pieces within the broad linguistic frame already described may have resulted both from idiosyncrasies of choice and from uncertain availability of exemplars.

II. Evidence of Damage

While it has been regularly noted that the music gatherings have sustained damage, that damage has never been described or analyzed. It is most usefully discussed here through an assessment of the fascicle’s original quality of execution at its point of production. John Haines has recently drawn attention to La Clayette’s “elegant musical calligraphy,” and notes that its (infrequent) erasures were carefully and expertly executed so as to make them almost

⁴ Rosenthal, “Le Manuscrit de La Clayette retrouvé (Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. fr. 13521).” *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953): 105–30; at 105.

⁵ On these strategies for altering the size of a gathering after copying had begun, see Ralph Hanna, “Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations,” in *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 21–34; at 26.

undetectable now.⁶ To this should be added that the quality of the parchment was also generally high in the first two of the three musical gatherings (nos. 50 and 51). Here, openings of facing flesh-sides are (but for the damaged areas) a very light, creamy white, and the surface was worked to a smooth finish. However, the parchment used for gathering 52 was of a lower grade, with rougher surfaces, and noticeable “speckling” on the hair sides, which may suggest that, at the start of the project, not all the material required to complete it had yet been assembled.

The most pronounced damage has accrued to the bottom outer corner of the folios. It affects all folios of the music fascicle, and extends in some cases beyond the mid-points of the outer and bottom edges. The staining is severe, and dark brown in color, contrasting sharply with the parchment’s naturally light shade.⁷ As throughout the manuscript, even the otherwise unstained parts of the parchment have substantially brittle: certainly, the book has not always enjoyed the careful preservation now afforded to it. The stained corners are, however, more brittle still, even to the point of cracking, and the whole area has begun to furl, forming a curved “wave” in which each folio, replicating the shape of its neighbor, fits with it exactly. In those stained areas, there is significantly more bleedthrough of the notation on the folio’s other side: indeed, the parchment has become almost transparent in those areas.

The consistent replication of this same pattern of physical damage, and in particular the equal, fitted curving of contiguous folios, is certainly not consistent with wear from performance use, but is evidently the result of fluid damage.⁸ Moreover, the same damage has accrued in the same way to the outer bottom corners of all non-musical gatherings from the motets on to the back of the book. That the damage worsens toward the back shows that the substance seeped into the book *from* the back, while the volume (as constituted at that time) was closed and stored. Certainly it must have entered the book once the motets were already together with this material, and possibly with other sections. In sum, whatever other damage might have accrued to the corners from turning, it is now undetectable under this more pronounced staining and distortion. Consequently, the damage to the three gatherings of the music fascicle cannot be used to

⁶ Haines, “Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Palaeography and Performance*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 60–88; at 64.

⁷ The staining can be seen in figure 1.1, on the bottom outer corners of each leaf.

⁸ I am grateful to Michael Gullick for confirming my observation that this damage was the result of fluid (private correspondence, August 2010). He also observes that the translucent appearance of the damaged folios suggests that the fluid was oil-based. Had the damage been caused by water, moreover, evidence of bacterial action would be expected, which is not present in La Clayette.

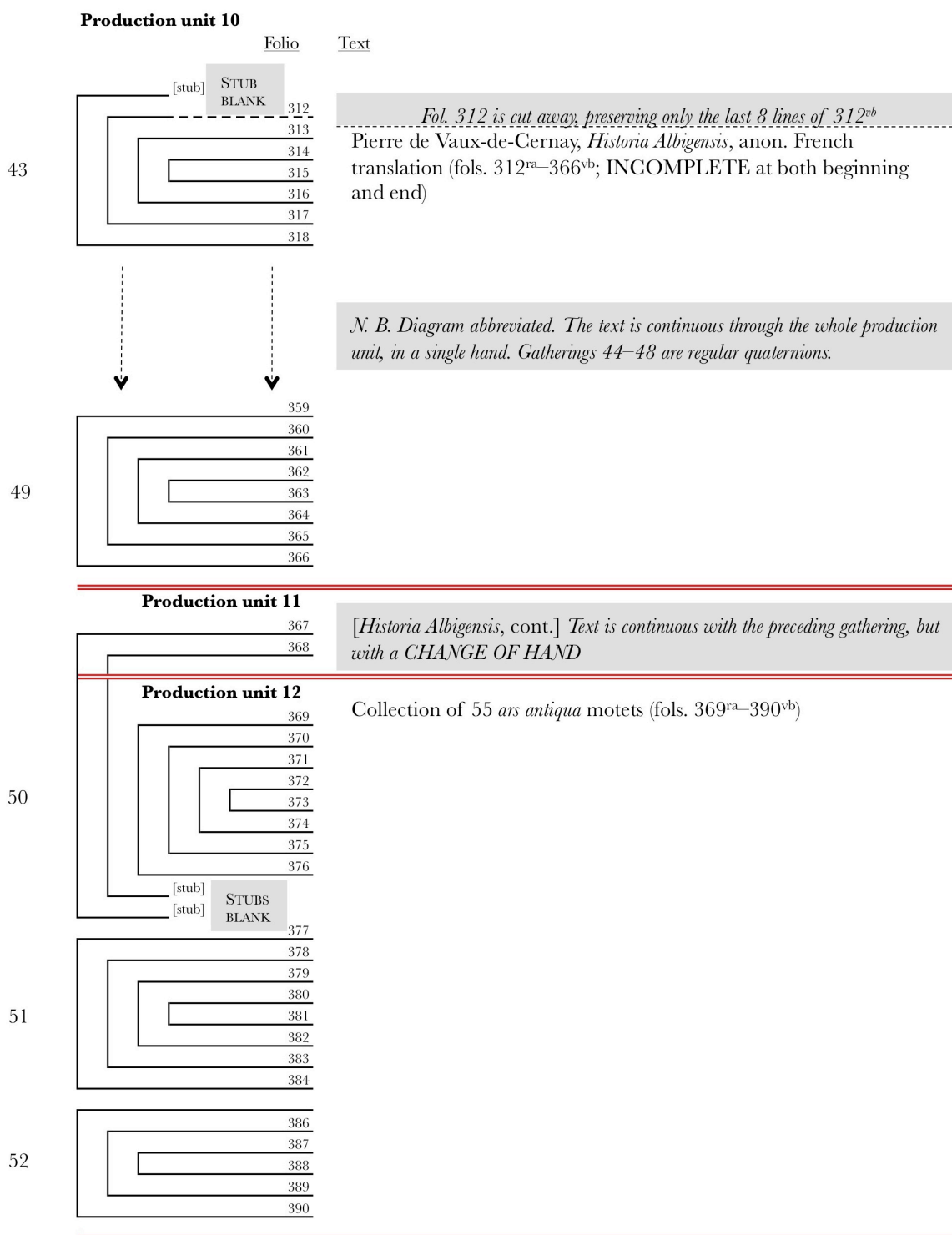
support the hypothesis of their fully separate circulation from the other materials of the current binding, whether for performance or other use.

III. The Collation of the Music Fascicle

Collation of the music gatherings reveals their structure to be more complicated than has been noticed previously. Concurring with Rosenthal's judgment, all previous accounts of the manuscript describe the three gatherings of the music fascicle as two quaternions and a final ternion, beginning with fol. 369 and concluding with fol. 390.⁹ The three gatherings of the music fascicle comprise numbers 50–52 of the whole, and their collation (along with that of the text immediately preceding them) is shown in figure 1.2. As the diagram shows, gathering 50 now begins with two single sheets preceding the motet section, both terminating in stubs visible before the start of gathering 51. In a restoration of the codex undertaken in the late 1980s, the stubs were mounted on high-grade

⁹ Rosenthal, "Le manuscrit de La Clayette retrouvé," 105; Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th–Early 14th Century*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. B, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Munich: Henle, 1966), 436; Karl Kügle, "La Clayette," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), vol. 5, cols. 850–52; at col. 851; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Sources, MS," §V, 2, "Early Motet: Principal Individual Sources," by Ernest H. Sanders and Peter Lefferts, accessed Aug. 10, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. In the final stages of work on this project, the Bibliothèque nationale de France placed a new, unsigned description of the manuscript online as part of a new digital catalogue of manuscript holdings. The collations presented here are my own, based on work with the original conducted on four days in June 2009 and two more days in July 2010. For granting me access to the manuscript, I am grateful to Mme. Marie-Pierre Laffitte and M. Maxence Hermant of the département des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. For the new catalogue description, see <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000006266>. The manuscript has now been digitized, and is accessible freely at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530121530>.

Figure 1.2. Abbreviated structural diagram of gatherings 43–52.



modern parchment of the same kind used for the new flyleaves added to the book. These stub mounts serve to reinforce the otherwise very delicate medieval parchment to sustain its new, restoration sewing.¹⁰ While the stubs were less obvious prior to restoration, they were present: they are visible on the black-and-white microfilm, photographed before the restoration and dated August 24, 1982.

The unusual gathering structure was the result of a medieval rather than a modern act of collecting. The text immediately preceding the music is a French translation of the *Historia Albigensis* by Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay. It is incomplete at its beginning, where its first folio (312) was cut in order to dispense with unwanted text, and any that remained was cancelled with penstrokes through each line of writing.¹¹ From this point, the text runs uninterrupted through the following seven gatherings, which are all the work of a single hand. However, the first two folios of gathering 50 (fols. 367–68, the apparently aberrant leaves of the first motet gathering) are *textually* continuous with the last folios of gathering 49, but are written by a new and stylistically later hand. This is the only change of hand in the entire text. These two leaves do not display the fluid damage sustained by the music gatherings immediately following; earlier portions of the *Historia Albigensis*, however, *do* display the damage. Therefore, the damage occurred *before* the book had reached its current bound order, but while the music was together with the *Historia Albigensis* in some other bound form. Indeed, this damage may have partially accounted for the decision to reorder, expand, and rebind the materials.

¹⁰ The only notes about the restoration held on file by the conservators at the Bibliothèque nationale de France date from 1988–89, are anonymous, and consist of only three sentences. The first addresses the binding: “plats détachés | ne pas restaurer la reliure.” (I am grateful to Pierre-Jean Riamond of the Département des Manuscrits for supplying me with the report, in private email correspondence dated August 30, 2010.) Contrary to this apparent instruction not to restore the binding, it *was* restored at some point: the black-and-white microfilm clearly shows the old sewing and the holes in the boards, and shows the manuscript to have had no flyleaves at that point, all of which features were changed in the restoration.

¹¹ For an edition of this text, see Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Petri Vallium Sernaii Monachi, Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. by Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, 3 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926–39). Beyond La Clayette and the relevant volume of its 18th-century copy (Moreau 1719, fols. 1–194), there is one other manuscript witness to this text: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15703. The Moreau volume has the same lacunae as the text of La Clayette (providing useful evidence that the original manuscript was in its final form by the time Sainte-Palaye had it copied); and although the editors took the Moreau text as their base, they supply the beginning and end of the *Historia Albigensis* translation from the Brussels manuscript. Not much is missing from La Clayette: the chronicle occupies pp. 1–190 of vol. 3 of Guébin and Lyon’s edition, of which the Moreau copy supplied text for pp. 7–188.

IV. La Clayette's "Production Units" and "Usage Units"

Damage alone cannot account for the layers of collecting apparent in the manuscript, for even its undamaged codicological units display marks of revision, expansion, and layered production. These layers of collecting are best approached through analysis of "booklets," "production units," and "usage units," as defined in recent studies of medieval literary manuscripts. Pamela Robinson and Ralph Hanna have offered criteria for the identification of sub-codex "booklets" that can evidence piecemeal, fascicular construction of what is eventually bound as a codex.¹² These criteria have been revised by Erik Kwakkel, for application to volumes like La Clayette that have undergone more radical revision, reduction, or expansion than the (predominantly earlier) manuscripts which were Robinson's primary concern, or the fifteenth-century manuscripts of Middle English alliterative poetry, which were Hanna's.¹³ Kwakkel distinguishes between a "production unit" (that is, "a group of quires that formed a material unit at the time of production")¹⁴ and a "usage unit," which he defines as "an abstract notion that refers to the manner in which a production unit was used: separately or bound together with other production units."¹⁵

Identification of production units in La Clayette is unproblematic, because, within each, the scribe consistently began a new text (or a new section of

¹² See Robinson, "Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period," *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978): 231-38; Robinson, "The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," in "Essais typologiques," ed. Albert Gruys and J. P. Gumbert, *Codicologica* 3 (1980): 46-69; and Ralph Hanna, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts."

¹³ Kwakkel, "Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts," *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002): 12-19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14. Fundamental to all research on thirteenth-century French music manuscripts is Mark Everist's detailed study, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), in which he situates the production of music manuscripts in the context of the professional book market of thirteenth-century Paris. In particular, he shows how even the anthology manuscripts in the tradition of the *Magnus liber organi* were produced in several discrete fascicular units, likely in the same workshop over a single project; and he draws this into dialogue with Anonymous IV's distinction of the terms *liber* and *volumen*. (See esp. pp. 154-70.) My purpose here, broadly compatible with Everist's, is to draw these matters of production into dialogue with matters of collection, in a way I find the relation of the musical and non-musical portions of the La Clayette manuscript to invite.

a text) immediately following the explicit of the last. Production units are not obscured by a consistent attempt to match the start of a new text to a new page or leaf. None the less, production units frequently *end* with a blank leaf, a stub, or a gathering of irregular size. According to these paleographical and codicological criteria, the contents of the La Clayette manuscript can be divided into fifteen production units, of which the motets constitute the twelfth. Appendix 1.1 lists the units, supplying pertinent codicological and paleographical information for each.

V. Evidence of a First Binding, and the Implications for Dating the Manuscript

By reconsidering the evidence of the damage, already partly outlined, and evidence from the spine, these layers may be further grouped into usage units. In what follows, I will suggest that evidence visible on the spine attests to an early bound state of the book in which production units 2 and 3 (gatherings 4–10) were followed directly (or at least closely) with production unit 12, the motet fascicle; and that production units 2, 3, and 12 can therefore be considered a usage unit, in Kwakkel's terms. The evidence, which is detailed, can be seen in the photograph in figure 1.3, with the help of the schematic diagram included there.

As currently bound, the book's spine is uncovered. Solente noted that La Clayette is "deprived of a spine cover" in such a way as to imply that one was previously present.¹⁶ Regrettably, the boards were cleaned when they were repaired, so any evidence they may have offered for the presence of a cover has been lost. However, there is no staining on the outer folds of the gatherings consistent with the previous presence of a cover, now lost in the manner Solente

¹⁶ She writes, "Sa reliure nous est arrivée en mauvais état. Il est dépourvu de dos." Solente, "Le grand recueil La Clayette à la Bibliothèque nationale," *Scriptorium* 7 (1953): 226–34; at 232.

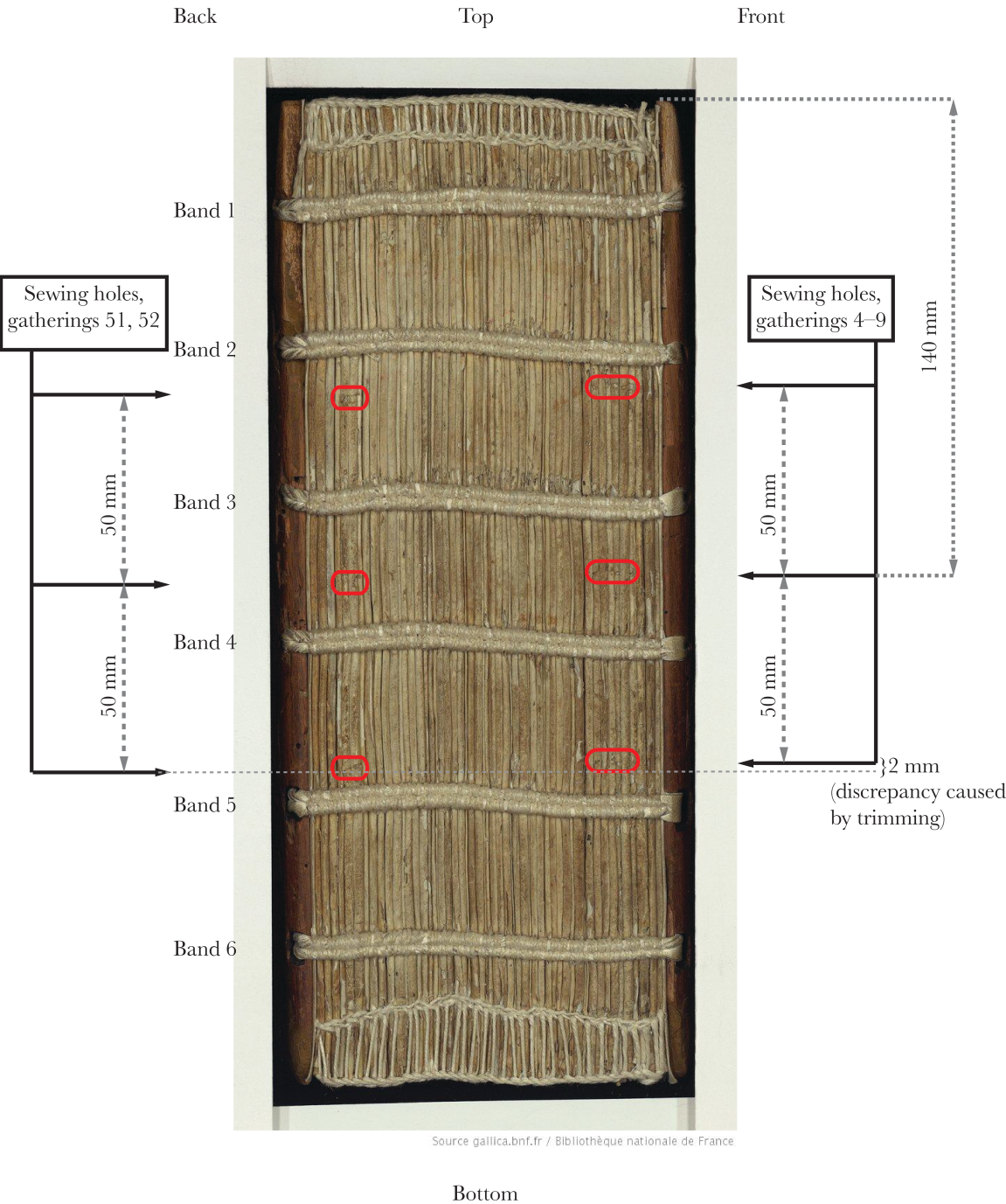
implied.¹⁷

Much can still be inferred about the manuscript's pre-restoration binding history from consultation of the book itself in conjunction with the older photography; but the evidence must be weighed in light of the restoration methods adopted. The medieval boards with which La Clayette was found in the 1950s have been cleaned and repaired, but not replaced. Likewise, while the old sewing has been replaced entirely with new, the supports for the new sewing (tightly turned thongs of strong white leather) are in the same position on the boards. The obvious consequence of reusing the old boards and their paths for the sewing supports was that the restoration sewing had to enter the gatherings at the same positions along the spine. As both the pre-restoration microfilm and certain details of the medieval parchment still visibly attest, the outer bifolia were heavily rotted in those positions. This can be seen faintly in figure 1.3 (an annotated photograph of the spine), particularly on either side of cord 3.

In order to withstand the tension of the restored sewing, the gutters of many bifolia, and especially outer bifolia, had to be repaired. Without exception, all outer-bifolium gutters were restored from inside to out, by affixing a narrow strip of fine modern parchment (apparently the same kind used for the new flyleaves and for completing torn leaves), folded lengthwise, along the centerfold. The consistency with which this technique was applied means that the outermost layer at the spine is the medieval parchment, even where the modern support can be seen through the damage.

¹⁷ The new online catalogue description mentions a fragment of crimson silk that comes from the binding. It reads: "Rel. sur ais de bois anciens. Dos à nerfs. De la reliure provient un fragment de tissu de 740 x 285 mm, damas de soie rouge cramoisie (XVIIIe siècle ?)." (See <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000006266>, accessed March 11, 2013.) The material is no longer attached to the boards. It is not visible on the black-and-white microfilm, and neither is there any data in the restoration report or in the secondary literature about it, or about how (if at all) the material was previously affixed to the codex. I have not been able to examine the textile. However, when the manuscript was presented to me for consultation, the librarian unwrapped it from a piece of material—I presume the silk mentioned in the description—in the manner of a chemise. Whether or not the material was attached to the codex before restoration, the description agrees that the boards themselves are older; and it seems most likely that the material was a much later addition to the codex than the binding history I uncover here.

Figure 1.3. Photograph of La Clayette, spine, annotated to show sewing holes.



Of the three gatherings of the music fascicle, the medieval parchment is visible at the spine on the last two (gatherings 51 and 52). (The original outer bifolium of gathering 50 is obscured by the two stubs and their restoration parchment.) Three sets of contiguous holes are visible under close, lighted examination. (See figure 1.3.) The center set falls almost precisely at the midpoint of the spine's length (140 mm from the top when measured against the inside edge of the back board), and most importantly, the remaining two sets both fall at exactly 50 mm on either side of them. They evidence previous sewing supports. Another 50 mm in each direction would place another two sets of holes – which as a result of the restoration cannot now be demonstrated to have been present – underneath the present thongs, consistent with a previous binding of five bands, allowing space at both top and bottom edges for the end sewing, likewise underneath that now present.¹⁸ This evidence suggests that the music fascicle went through at least one previous binding before becoming part of the volume as currently constituted.

Further evidence of this previous volume can be seen elsewhere in the manuscript. Three sets of six contiguous sewing holes are also visible across the outer folds of gatherings 4–9 (inclusive); while gathering 10 has puncture marks on its final verso, in-set from the fold at the same vertical position as the pattern of holes on the spine. The punctured gatherings comprise all quires of production units 2 and 3; and the three series of holes are spaced from one another in precisely the same 50 mm divisions as those of the music fascicle. Therefore, the evidence strongly indicates that production units 2 and 3 were previously bound with the motets (production unit 12), and that these three sections together formed the earliest “usage unit” of the La Clayette manuscript.¹⁹

The presumed connection between production units 2–3 and 12 is supported by a similarity of format. Throughout units 2–3, the inner column is wider than the outer; their dimensions, 60 mm and 67 mm, respectively, match precisely those of the similarly uneven columns in the music fascicle, production unit 12. At a time when neither musical nor literary codices had standard physical formats, the similar discrepancies in the widths of their columns, along

¹⁸ Because the gutter of each gathering's central bifolium has been restored from within, the previous holes cannot now be seen inside the book.

¹⁹ The sewing holes of production units 2 and 3 are now slightly out of alignment with those of the music fascicle; but the mere 2 mm discrepancy can be readily explained by trimming at an intermediary stage of binding. Likewise, the holes on the musical gatherings are now slightly more frayed than those of units 2 and 3, and have sustained further damage from rotting; but this would seem consistent with the heavier damage sustained throughout the gatherings at the back of the manuscript. The dimensions of the holes relative to one another within each section are precisely the same, and too exact to be the result of chance.

with the clear evidence that previously they had been bound together, argues strongly that they were created to be units of the same book.²⁰

Production units 2 and 3 comprise all of the manuscript's prose texts authored by Pierre de Beauvais, beginning with the Bestiary, and concluding with a genealogy of the kings of France. The literary works in production unit 1 include verse texts also attributed to Pierre. The outer bifolia of its gatherings are more heavily rotted than those of units 2 and 3, often causing cracks the length of the parchment requiring more heavy-handed restoration. Sewing holes cannot now be seen, and thus unit 1 cannot be positively placed in the first binding; but for reasons of repertory and scribal hand, and given their heavier restoration, it is possible, even likely, that these gatherings were also part of the original binding of the manuscript. Contrarily, if they were not part of the first binding, this would imply that La Clayette's celebratedly complete collection of Pierre de Beauvais's literary works was not inevitably so comprehensive at the point the project was begun. Single-author codices are the exception rather than the rule in thirteenth-century vernacular manuscripts, and it would be valuable to assess the grouping of Pierre's works across all their manuscript witnesses to infer whether they more regularly circulated in smaller exemplars, a few texts at a time. Far from being an inevitable *summa* of Pierre's works, the collection in La Clayette would represent the unusual effort of a reader who sought these

²⁰ For samples and discussions of the variety of approaches to page preparation in medieval French (vernacular) manuscripts, see the overview in Geneviève Hasenohr, "Traductions et littérature en langue vulgaire," in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie-Promodis, 1990), 229–352; and for the thirteenth century in particular, see Careri et al., *Album de manuscrits français du XIII^e siècle: Mise en page et mise en texte* (Rome: Viella, 2001).



Figure 1.4. Photograph of La Clayette, fol. 384r. Detail of initial A at column a line 12, to show the style of the filigree decoration.

separate texts out.

Production unit 3 concludes with a genealogy of the kings of France. Its final listed monarch is Louis IX, Saint Louis, who ruled from 1226 to 1270, and who is described as still reigning. While the La Clayette manuscript clearly grew in stages over time, the royal genealogy here would suggest that the manuscript's earliest layer, comprising devotional and didactic texts in Old French, was already being compiled before the end of the saintly king's reign.

The final barrier to an early date is Everist's argument that the filigree initials decorating the music fascicle could not have been drawn before 1300. Working with a broad sample of dated and datable Parisian manuscripts, Patricia Stirnemann has provided detailed analyses of the filigree components favored by artists, and observations about how their preferences shifted, sometimes by the decade, from 1140 to 1314.²¹ Consider the initial "A" at folio 384r, column a, line 12, of which a close-up illustration is given as figure 1.4. Its filigree is dense and multilayered, with long and gently curved descenders. "Frogspawn" figures cluster on the upper serif, along the descending stroke forming the initial's left leg, and in contrastingly curved swirls within the letter's closed sections. Outer strokes consistently terminate in "tendrils" that echo and parallel one another (especially in the case of the three at the base of the left descender of the letter) and the two upper antennae, parting from one another, are

²¹ Stirnemann, "Fils de la Vierge: L'initiale à filigranes parisiennes: 1140-1314," *Revue de l'Art* 90 (1990): 58-73. I am grateful to Dr. Stirnemann for discussing the initials in La Clayette with me.

given an inverted “question-mark” figure where they fork. This configuration of elements matches precisely Stirnemann’s typology for filigree initials drawn in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.²² With all of this evidence in mind, there are strong reasons to endorse Kügle’s cautious dating of 1250–70 for the motet collection.²³

VI. Evidence of Subsequent Bindings

Questions remain about the forms taken by the manuscript between its earliest and final binding. For fluid to seep through the leaves in the manner described here would require them to have been under physical pressure, probably bound and stored. However, no further lines of redundant holes are now in evidence at the spine such as those linking production units 2, 3, and 12. Graham Pollard finds no consistent evidence that later bindings were resewn through older holes until the eighteenth century.²⁴ Almost by definition, however, such evidence would be very difficult to identify, and then only in cases where the procedure had not been executed with the greatest competence.

It seems most likely that there was a second, intermediary binding, at which stage the codex suffered fluid damage. The final (pre-restoration) structure was then sewn through the same holes in the current position of the supports, constituting a third and final stage of binding.²⁵ Those gatherings showing redundant sewing holes at the spine constitute the first usage unit (binding stage one). Those sections showing fluid damage must have been present at stage two. Remaining sections that show neither sewing holes nor fluid damage may have been added at stage two and survived the fluid damage unscathed, or were

²² See her album of examples for the chronological period 1250–70, in “Fils de la Vierge,” 69–70 (entries 34 to 42 in her catalogue); and the accompanying list of shelfmarks at p. 73.

²³ Kügle, “La Clayette,” col. 851.

²⁴ Pollard, “Describing Medieval Bookbindings,” in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. I. Gibson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976), 54, n. 1.

²⁵ This may also make sense of the pronounced rubbing in evidence throughout the manuscript on the outer faces of gatherings, found as often within texts as at the structural divisions between production units: without reinforcement such as that provided in the restoration, old holes may not have sustained enough force to permit tight sewing, and in a loose binding, gatherings would naturally rub against one another. I am grateful to Nicolas Bell for this observation about loose bindings (private correspondence, November 2010).

added at the third and final stage. In the appendix, I have allocated each production unit to stage I, stage II, or stage II/III, according to these criteria.

The date of the final binding may be suggested on the grounds of the style and workmanship of its boards (though, as boards might be reused between projects for manuscripts of similar dimensions, caution may be required). Both have a “cushioned” or “bevelled” outer surface; and as can be seen from the photograph of La Clayette’s spine, the volume fits J. A. Szirmai’s summary description of a “gothic” binding precisely. He writes: “The main typological feature of gothic bindings is that the slips of the sewing supports enter the board over the bevelled edge of the outer face. The earliest gothic board attachment dates probably from the early fourteenth century.”²⁶ While studies of binding practices are still relatively few, Szirmai’s conclusions would seem ratified by the descriptions produced in the IRHT’s ongoing census of medieval bindings surviving in the major public libraries of France, of which four volumes are now published.²⁷

None of the paleographical or artistic styles found in even the latest texts to be added to the manuscript would seem to require a date much beyond 1300. Nevertheless, future research on French binding techniques may yet place the final stages of La Clayette’s *compilation* of those materials further into the fourteenth century. That even the most paleographically “late” styles in the manuscript should be found in texts whose authorial vintage was no later than the middle of the thirteenth century (and significantly earlier for many of the texts) would suggest that the volume passed into antiquarian interest – music, literature, and all – before the thirteenth century concluded. Whenever the manuscript reached its final form, it did not contain new materials, only old. The earliest indication of the manuscript’s provenance comes from a heavily erased *ex libris* marking at fol. 203v in a fifteenth-century hand, whose legible portion reads “iste liber [...] est con[...] sancti [...]”.²⁸ I suspect the word beginning “con” may have been “conventus,” which would suggest the book was in a religious house at some point. Conversely, the word “chantemelle” was added to fol. 247v

²⁶ Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 173–74. The term “Gothic” has a significantly later historical connotation for Szirmai than it might for students of thirteenth-century polyphony.

²⁷ The census is being conducted and published city by city, under the series title “Reliures médiévales des bibliothèques de France.” Volumes are currently available for Autun, Vendôme, the Médiathèque d’Orléans, and the Bibliothèque municipale de Reims. See Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, *Reliures médiévales des bibliothèques de France*, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998–).

²⁸ This corrects the erroneous transcription currently given in the online catalogue description, which reads “Iste liber [...] est [...] saneg[?...]” See <http://archivesetmanuscrs.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000006266> (consulted March 28, 2013).

by another early fifteenth-century hand. This is clearly a variant form of Chantemerle, the name of the family who had been resident at the château of La Clayette in Saône-et-Loire since the mid-fourteenth century.²⁹ All of this in turn offers a nuanced perspective on old music in the age of the *ars nova*, reminding us that the antiquated songs that have made safe passage to us in manuscripts sat on library shelves during the intervening centuries, a growing library of old music present alongside the new.

VII. From Codicology to Habits of Collection: A Case Study from Stage One

Considering fifteenth-century books of Middle English alliterative poetry, Ralph Hanna has argued that booklet production “occurs with such frequency because of [the booklet’s] cheapness and its flexibility: this unit involved a minimal commitment of resources while still allowing ongoing book production.”³⁰ Moreover, fascicular production affords to the producer “the possibility of delaying any step that would absolutely determine the shape of the resulting codex.”³¹ This, Hanna argues, would have been an especially desirable situation “in the era preceding a national canon, [when] scribes and stationers were never aware of the totality of literary production and could always reasonably expect that the most important text they could transmit in any chosen context might be the one that would only come to hand next week.”³²

These observations describe La Clayette closely, for the manuscript’s characteristic feature may be considered its inherent adaptability. This is most spectacularly indicated by the addition of texts after the first portions of the book had already been bound. But a similar caution seems to have marked the collection of materials even *within* the first bound layer. Any one identifiable stage of production or act of collection seems always to have been open-ended, perhaps with the expectation that other materials would soon accrue to the book. It is to the historical implications of this quality of hopeful uncertainty, manifested in ongoing acts of collection and revision, that I wish to turn in the

²⁹ On the signature, see Solente, “Le grand recueil La Clayette,” 232. For a recent discussion of a likely 15th-century owner of the manuscript, see Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, “Un bibliophile bourguignon au début du XV^e siècle: Louis de Chantemerle, seigneur de La Clayette et ses manuscrits,” *Journal des Savants* 2 (2005): 317–97; esp. 375–78.

³⁰ “Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts,” 24.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

³² *Ibid.*, 31.

final section of this chapter.

Figure 1.5 is a diagram of the gathering structure of an early usage unit of production units 2–3, comprising (as we have seen) gatherings 4–10 of the whole volume, with annotations showing the disposition of the literary texts relative to them. Note that the Bestiary required nine leaves to be copied completely (fols. 22–30). Rather than interpolating an extra leaf within this single quaternion, which would have rendered the text a discrete codicological unit, the scribe began the first leaf of a new, blank bifolium (fol. 30). As usual for this hand's practice, a boxed catchword is placed in the lower right corner. Folio 30v is only partially used: the text proper (discounting its one-line explicit) concludes on line 28 of column a, although the page is ruled for fifty-one lines. Certainly, the scribe began a new structural unit with the expectation that at least some of its parchment would be used, whether he had the next exemplar to hand at that point, or not. We might have expected him to begin the new text immediately, in the remaining three-quarters of fol. 30v, which is how he handles the transitions between texts for the rest of the unit. Here, rather, he seems to have started the recto of a new bifolium before having decided what text would follow.

Production unit 2		
	Folio	Text
4	22	5. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Bestiaire</i> (fols. 22 ^{ra} –30 ^{va})
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	
5	[stub]	6. Guillaume de Conches, <i>Livre de Moralitez</i> (fols. 31 ^{ra} –37 ^{rb})
	[stub]	
	31	
	32	
	33	
	34	
	35	
	36	
	37	
	38	
6	39	7. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Translation et miracles de Saint Jacques</i> (fols. 37 ^{rb} –42 ^{rb})
	40	
	41	
	42	
	43	
	44	
	45	
	46	
	47	
	48	
7	49	8. Pseudo-Turpin, <i>Chronique</i> (fols. 43 ^{ra} –56 ^{ra})
	50	
	51	
	52	
	53	
	54	
	55	
	56	
	57	
8		9. Anon., “Rapport du Patriarch” (fols. 56 ^{rb} –57 ^{vb} ; INCOMPLETE at end)

Figure 1.5. Textual divisions in production units 2 and 3.

Production unit 3

	Folio	Text
9	58	10. Guiot de Provins (?), <i>Suite de la bible</i> (fols. 58 ^{ra} –59 ^{va} ; INCOMPLETE at beginning)
	59	
	60	11. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Mappemonde</i> (fols. 59 ^{va} –64 ^{vb} ; INCOMPLETE at end)
	61	
	62	
	63	
10	64	
	65	12. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Diète du corps et de l'âme</i> (fols. 65 ^{ra} –65 ^{va} ; INCOMPLETE at beginning)
	66	13. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Oeuvre quotidienne</i> (fols. 65 ^{va} –66 ^{ra})
	67	14. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Les Trois séjours de l'homme</i> (fols. 66 ^{rb} –67 ^{rb})
	68	15. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Les Trois Maries</i> (fols. 67 ^{rb} –68 ^{ra})
	69	16. Anon., “Doctrinal sauvage” (fols. 68 ^{ra} –69 ^{vb})
	70	17. Anon., French paraphrase of “Veni Creator” (69 ^{vb} –70 ^{ra})
		18. Pierre de Beauvais, <i>L'Olympiade</i> (fols. 70 ^{ra} –70 ^{vb})
		19. Genealogy of the kings of France (fols. 70 ^{rb} –70 ^{vb})
	[stub]	E M P T Y S T U B

Figure 1.5. Continued.

Perhaps independently from this project, and certainly after it, the same hand began to copy the *Livre de Moralitez* at the head of a new bifolium, now fols. 31–32. He then positioned this bifolium as the central fold of a gathering (now gathering 5), expanding it with two single loose leaves (fols. 33 and 34) and then surrounding the whole with the bifolium (fols. 30/35) that concluded the Bestiary. This “expanded production unit,” in Kwakkel’s terminology, displays a twofold economy of materials: first, one project is concluded on a new bifolium in the anticipation that it would at some stage form a codex with some other material, perhaps as yet undetermined; and second, in the use of two loose leaves (fols. 33 and 34), the shape and quality of which differ from the new materials to which they were added. Indeed, they may themselves have been culled from another, similarly adaptable project: the stubs in which they terminate bear two sets of contiguous punctures, some millimeters in from the fold, in regular positions unrelated to either the current or the hypothesized anterior sewing supports, suggesting that the leaves were once part of a gathering tacketed in some other, possibly limp binding.³³ The mobility of the materials in the processes of copying is emphasized still further at the end of this unit: the *Chronique* by Pseudo-Turpin reaches its conclusion at fol. 56r, leaving three and a half blank sides before the end of gathering 8. These were filled (apparently some time later, to judge by the change of hand and the later style of the filigree initials) with a copy of the “Rapport du Patriarche.” As this text finishes incomplete at the end of the gathering, we must presume that further gatherings, from an early expansion to the previous bound volume, are now lost.

The important point is that whatever the exact order or time-frame in which the constituent texts were copied by their single scribe, the disposition of texts relative to the gathering divisions of production units 2 and 3, while idiosyncratic, is explicable. It paints a picture of a collector who, happier to use physical materials of a lower standard rather than to discard them, copied several texts at a time, possibly as he came across them, over material units left over from previous work—indeed, seemingly left over with the anticipation that they would soon be filled with other, perhaps as yet unknown material.

This picture of working procedure is suggestively resonant with the range of possible methods used in the production of the music fascicle, with the selection and ordering of the motets. The literary portions of this anterior volume were physically adaptable, possibly responding to uncertain conditions of textual access. And even though the music fascicle appears to be seamless with respect to the words and music, nonetheless the unusual strategy of successive copying used for the voice parts makes it possible that the motet fascicle grew in the same way as La Clayette as a whole—a few pieces at a time, as exemplars were found

³³ Much work apparently remains to be done on “limp” bindings, particularly with regard to booklets in their pre-codex stage. For an overview of tacketing practices, see Szirmai, “Limp Bindings,” in *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, 285–319.

whose motets suited the collector's taste. The collection could have been rounded off at various points: once it contained all the pieces its maker or commissioner wanted it to contain; enough of the *kinds* of pieces he or she wanted it to contain (whatever kinds they might have been); or perhaps when it just had *enough* pieces to make the already substantial undertaking worthwhile.

VIII. Material Contiguity and Musical Interpretation: Some Problems

As for the inclusion of the motet fascicle in this collection of vernacular Old French literature, at whatever stage, it would be natural to look for the reasons therefore among the literary texts themselves. For instance, Elizabeth Aubrey has rightly pointed out the connection between the unusual presence of an Occitan text by Folquet de Marselha in the motet collection, and the Old French translation of the *Historia Albigensis* (a chronicle of the Albigensian Crusade) that precedes the motet fascicle in the current binding.³⁴ As Aubrey points out, Folquet features prominently in the *Historia Albigensis*, because, having taken holy orders in the last decade of the twelfth century, he served as bishop of Toulouse during the Albigensian campaign of 1209–29.³⁵ Among other convincing interpretations, Aubrey likens the two Marian motets at the front of the fascicle to Simon de Montfort's dying cry to the Virgin as he is wounded while leading the assault on Toulouse, which is one of the last occurrences narrated in the text.³⁶ Thus the position of music in the manuscript is explained, as if it had been called into existence by the chronicle.

But the codicological argument presented here demonstrates an opposite chronological priority, for the *Historia Albigensis* was in production *later* than the music fascicle; it was added to the manuscript *after* the motets were already part of its contents. This does not weaken Aubrey's reading at all, but rather reveals how *medieval* that reading was: whoever combined the *Historia Albigensis* with the motets did so as a result of reading or singing the pieces, and recognizing that they could be fit to a new purpose if combined with another text. Margaret

³⁴ Aubrey, "The Dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century," *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 1–54; esp. 24–34. The motet in question is La Clayette no. 6, *Onques n'ama loialment* (675) / *Molt m'abelist l'amorous pensament* (674) / FLOS FILIUS EIUS (O16), of which the motetus quotes the text and music of a *canço* by Folquet de Marseille, "Tan m'abelis l'amoros pensamens." This *canço* is numbered 155,22 in the standard index of Occitan song, Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1933).

³⁵ Aubrey, "Dialectic between Occitania and France," 31.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

Bent has long argued that later medieval music may speak back to its texts.³⁷ Here, music “speaks back” to the developing physical form of the book in which it is collected, for whatever conditions of damage forced the volume to be disbound and reordered, they enabled a musicopoetic reading to be expressed by the book’s ordering in ways possibly unimagined at the time the music was written down. These are issues I will return to at the end of chapter three.

IX. Material Form and Social History: To Whom Could This Book Have Belonged?

As for matters of performance, and the social locations of polyphony in the thirteenth century, the implications are still richer. The stylistic complexity of the polytextual motet has long made it seem an elite genre. Notwithstanding the nuances of argumentation in some recent accounts, it still seems resolutely Parisian and clerical, made primarily for intellectuals who would understand its difficult sounds.³⁸ This is surely correct, at least in part. But the literary texts of the La Clayette manuscript are predominantly vernacular translations of Latin materials associated with the rise of lay literacy and, especially in the case of the hagiographical texts, with the rise of affective piety in the decades after the

³⁷ In the context of an analysis of an early fourteenth-century motet, Bent demonstrates that, “because of the mutual corroboration of its simultaneous structures, music can provide concrete authority for certain ways of reading not only musical but verbal ingredients.” Bent, “The Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* and its ‘Quotations,’” in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 82–103; at 98.

³⁸ Christopher Page has argued for a “broader base for the materials and ethos” of early thirteenth-century motets than has usually been recognized. See “The Rise of the Vernacular Motet,” in *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 43–64; this quotation at 44. But his expanded social conception of the genre is largely focused on two-part pieces. When dealing with larger, polytextual motets, Page clearly understands them to be preeminently clerical in character, available only to lay people of unusual learning. On this, see chapter 3, “Johannes de Grocheio, the *Litterati*, and Verbal *Subtilitas* in the *Ars antiqua* Motet,” in *Discarding Images*, 65–111; and Page, “Around the Performance of a 13th-Century Motet,” *Early Music* 28 (2000): 343–57. I address these assumptions more fully in the next chapter. Mark Everist also hints that stress may have been placed on Grocheio’s clerical vision of the genre by those later pieces, preeminently associated with Fascicles 7 and 8 of *Mo*, in which motets are built over French tenors. See Everist, “The Rondeau-Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century,” *Music & Letters* 69 (1988): 1–22; at 22.

Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.³⁹ It would be tempting here to suggest that a member of such an interested lay readership, or a cleric tasked with pastoral care, was one of the collectors involved in the production and use of this book. That would be perfectly possible. On the basis of the manuscript alone, it cannot be ascertained where the book was in the thirteenth century, or who its users were. This may be historiographically useful in itself; for it was one major purpose of vernacular translations to open the field of possibilities for whomever might have access to written knowledge, however faithful these translations remain to Latin models, or however much authorities sought to control the circulation of that literary knowledge from region to region, or from text to text.⁴⁰ These are texts in search of a wide audience.

Richard L. Crocker has observed of the social terrain of thirteenth-century polyphony that “we can imagine a schema in which music from the monastery converges on the cathedral, hence on the town, from one side; and music from the court converges on the town, hence on the cathedral, from the other. They meet at the residences of the cathedral nobility.”⁴¹ While it is surely not to be doubted that the “high-ranking cathedral cleric” would have been a suitable

³⁹ An overview of lay piety in the later Middle Ages is given by R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1200 to c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), while more focused attention is given to the changes of the thirteenth century in Vauchez, “The Church and the Laity,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5: C. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182–203. For overviews of lay reading practices, see Malcolm B. Parkes, “The Literacy of the Laity” in *The Mediaeval World*, ed. David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 555–77; and Paul Saenger, “Reading in the Later Middle Ages” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 120–48. For observations about the assumed audiences for vernacular literature, a recent historical survey is provided by Sarah Kay, Terence Cave, and Malcolm Bowie, “The Middle Ages: The Earliest Texts to 1470,” in *A Short History of French Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 13–95. The social history of medieval French devotional texts is currently enjoying close attention from scholars of the French of England. See the nine essays collected in section 3, “After Lateran IV: Francophone Devotions and Histories,” in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell / York Medieval Press, 2009), 235–358.

⁴⁰ On the intellectual culture of vernacular translation, and the participation of the vernacular in discourses of Latin *auctoritas* in the thirteenth century, see Alastair J. Minnis, *Magister amoris: The “Roman de la rose” and Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), and Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁴¹ Crocker, “French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard L. Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 636–78; at 639.

maker, singer, and informed listener of such songs,⁴² the codicological evidence offered here suggests that we might extend the imagined schema in a vernacular direction. In light of comprehensive recent research into the production of vernacular manuscripts in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, notably by Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse for Paris,⁴³ and Ralph Hanna for England,⁴⁴ much more is now known (and has been demonstrated) about the new material conditions that impinged upon the production and circulation of vernacular literature in the decades around 1300 – much more, that is, than is known about the social circumstances of the thirteenth-century motet. I suggest that we plot La Clayette (and perhaps other music sources) on a spectrum of possibility extending from professionalized book-making markets such as that nascent in Paris at the time of La Clayette's first conception (and given musicological exploration by Mark Everist)⁴⁵ all the way to ad hoc private literary compilations. Both ends of the spectrum were subject to the uncertain but increasing availability of written vernacular literature, and conditioned by shifts in popularity, patronage, and taste. Along this spectrum, texts and exemplars could circulate piecemeal, direct from one reader to another, to be copied, combined, and recombined with minimal commitment of labor and resources for a producer, while entailing few limitations on the eventual shape of a codex, as Hanna in particular has shown.⁴⁶

Conversely, this state of inherent codicological miniaturization made it possible for a rapidly burgeoning market of literate consumers, lay as well as clerical, less as well as more "lettered" in Latin, to build codices to their taste. Helen Deeming has explored similar material conditions with regard to the collecting of (usually isolated) songs into miscellanies of English provenance,

⁴² Ibid. I take the term "informed listener" from Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music," 100, n. 1.

⁴³ Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000).

⁴⁴ In addition to the studies already cited, see Hanna, "English Vernacular Culture in London before 1380: The Evidence," in *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–43. Where that study deals with literary production in the fourteenth century (though embraces texts authored in the thirteenth), a more recent essay focuses on thirteenth-century volumes of pastoral texts written for the instruction of women. See Hanna, "Lambeth Palace Library MS 487: Some Problems of Early Thirteenth-Century Textual Transmission," in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (Woodbridge: Boydell/York Medieval Press, 2009), 78–88.

⁴⁵ Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*.

⁴⁶ I paraphrase here from Hanna, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts," 22–23.

with fascinating results.⁴⁷ The codicology of La Clayette suggests that so apparently centralized a genre as the polytextual motet could also be circulated and collected in this decentralized manner, perhaps away from an environment where access to exemplars was regular. The texts and techniques of production of La Clayette bespeak the breadth of the readership, as well as the breadth of the audience, to whom the book's motets could have been of interest.

X. Directions for Future Research

My codicological account of the La Clayette manuscript has been a history in parts. First and most literally, this is because the chronology of the book's growth falls into three identifiable stages, each marked by the collection of a range of smaller fascicles brought together in new orders alongside the materials that had previously been present. It is impossible to know the exact dimensions of the manuscript at any of these stages, as we have seen evidence that texts were discarded as well as added as time went on. The physical units of the manuscript, in their present incompleteness, afford both the possibility of detailed reconstruction – the work I have attempted here – and indicate the impossibility of recovering the manuscript's forms fully. From a modern vantage point, the book's changing formal complexion and the details of its trajectory of growth are visible with only a variable focus, moving into and out of historical clarity.

Limitations of access to the manuscript have meant that I have not been able to offer analyses of the manuscript's scribal hands, its pen trials and other ancillary marks, or of its artwork. Further work may sharpen the blurry historiographical focus of certain moments of the manuscript's life, or revise some of what I have argued here. I regretfully refrain from analyzing the hands of the literary portions of the manuscript in detail, and have not presented an argument about whether the text scribe of the music fascicle is the same as the scribe of any of the other layers. In appendix 1.1, I have assigned a letter to each "hand" present in the manuscript, dividing hands according only to the most obvious changes of aspect. I identify nine such hands in total, lettered A–I. Production units 2 and 3 are the work of hand A, while I have assigned the motet texts to hand H. It is not yet clear how the identified "hands" should be apportioned to scribes. I suspect, but have not yet found the best means to demonstrate, that several portions of the manuscript are the work of the same scribe at different stages of his own hand, or working with a different model script. Something like this situation seems to be what Malcolm G. Parkes implies

⁴⁷ Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies"; Deeming, "Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes," and Deeming, "The Song and the Page."

when he writes, “it is easier to recognize the personal rhythms of a scribe than to analyse them.”⁴⁸ It should be acknowledged that thirteenth-century music sources are often thought to proliferate in scribal “hands” in ways that seem to defy satisfying explanation of how and why the work of so many separate agents might have been required to produce the object. Conversely, the demands of setting up a musical page might also have exerted unfamiliar conditions upon text scribes that modified their hands in such a way as to compromise kinds of details we might now need in order to identify their work.

My primary concern in the chapters that follow will be to assess music’s place in the devotional shape of the manuscript’s first layer, and this earliest stage of the book’s life can (as we have seen) be analyzed with some certainty. Nevertheless a material line will always be present in the fact of texts that were discarded or remain incomplete in La Clayette’s final binding, and it demarcates the parts of the manuscript’s history that cannot be known. It is important to acknowledge that line not (or not primarily) as an ethical limit on what may be said, but as an epistemological limit that has particular historical causes. In particular, the uncertainties that remain about La Clayette’s growth stem consequentially from what its collectors seem not to have known.

In the introduction, I suggested that Grocheio’s proclamation about how the motet ought not to be used reduced to a belief that kinds of musical production (in the senses of musical composition, performance, and “correct” consumption) ought to be possible only with training in musical literacy, and by extension, ought to be possible only where there is music writing. I will take up the question of literacy in the next chapter. The codicology of the La Clayette manuscript cannot revise Grocheio’s belief that polyphony can happen only where there are music books, but it can cast wide our ideas about where a music book could be. This is because the techniques of production by which the La Clayette manuscript was built developed precisely because questions of who should read what kind of book, where, and how had no certain answers *in the manuscript’s own time*. It is that uncertainty (given a hopeful character by the sense of vernacular devotional utility articulated by the literary works, as we will see in chapter three) which perdures in the disjunctions of the manuscript’s final material form, and which is transmitted across time. No physical feature of the book demands that it was used by lay people, under whatever kind of supervision. But neither can it specify that it was used by clerics. Its lacunae are eloquent as witnesses to an uncertainty new to the thirteenth century about how writing ought to be able to stratify the field of musical production. Perhaps Grocheio had seen such a book.

⁴⁸ Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 62.

CHAPTER TWO

READING LA CLAYETTE'S RHYTHM: PALEOGRAPHY, PEDAGOGY, AND PERFORMANCE

I. Writing the Unwritable

Consider the triplum of the thirteenth-century motet *Mout loiaument* (407) / *Se longuement* (406) / BENEDICTA (M32), of which example 2.1 provides a complete transcription.¹ The lyric protagonist voices a common complaint: although madly in love with an unnamed “amie,” he has refused her (whether for reasons courtly or clerical), and thus his unconsummable desire finds alternative expression in the song he sings “in folly.” It does not seem to provide the desired relief. How could it? As he explains, even all the clerks in Paris could not enumerate the woes he suffers on account of his lover. In accordance with an enduringly successful topos, the narrator here demonstrates that those who can, do, while those who can’t, sing songs.²

¹ The triplum of this motet is unique to the La Clayette manuscript, where it appears at fol. 370v, column b, lines 1 to 12. The tenor and motetus share their musical material with a clausula in MS F at fol. 169r, and are presented as a two-part motet in MS W₂ at fol. 221v. The final two verses of the motetus are considered a refrain by Nico van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIIe siècle au début du XIVe*, Bibliothèque française et romane, ser. D, Initiation, textes et documents 3 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), where they are listed as refrain no. 237.

² For an exploration of this conceit in songs by Machaut, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, “Death of a Lover and the Birth of the Polyphonic Ballade: Machaut’s Notated Ballades 1–5,” *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 461–502; and Leach, “Singing More about Singing Less: Machaut’s *Pour ce que tous* (B12),” in *Machaut’s Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 111–24.

Example 2.1. Cl no. 5, *Mout loiaument* (407) / *Se longuement* (406) / BENEDICTA (M32), fol. 370v.

[Triplum]
8¹ Mout loi - au - ment ² lai re - fu - se - e que iaim tant ³ de -

[Motetus]
8¹ Se lon - gue - ment ai de ma - mi - e ² en - po - our es -

[Tenor]
8 BENEDICTA

8⁸ sir me fait chan - ter en _____ fo - li _____ e ⁴ mes sa - mor ie _____ ne

8⁸ te _____ ³ a - mors par sa _____ sei - gno - ri - e ⁴ ma del tout _____ a -

15⁸ puis _____ souf - fir ⁵ quant _____ tou - te cler - gi - e de _____ pa - ris

8⁸ seu - re ⁵ car tant _____ lonc _____ tens lai ser - vi - e

22
8⁶ ne puet no - ter³ ne es - crivre 7 toz les maus et

8⁶ cum ce - le qui³ mest a gre 7 se - ne mer - ci

28
8 les dou - lours 8 que mi fait a - voir ma - mi - e

8 ma man - de 8 que le se - ra ma - mi - e

Texts and Translations

Triplum:

5. Mout loiaument
lai refusee que iaim tant
desir me fair chanter en folie
mes samor ie ne puis souffrir
quant toute clergie de paris
ne puet noter ne escrivre
toz les maus et les doulours
que mi fait avoir mamie

Right loyally
have I refused the one whom I so love.
Desire makes me sing in folly;
I cannot suffer her love any longer,
when all the clerks of Paris
cannot note or write down
all the pains and woes
that my lover makes me have.

Duplum:

Se longuement ai de mamie
en poour este
amors par sa seigneurie
ma del tout aseure
5. car tant lonc tans lai servie
cum cele qui mest agre
sene merci ma mande
quele sera mamie

If I have been in fear of my lover
for a long time,
Love, by his *seigneurie*
has reassured me about everything.
For I have served her so long
as the one who is to my liking.
Wise mercy has sent word
that she will be my lover.

Tenor: BENEDICTA

[YOU (f.) ARE BLESSED]

At the end of the piece, the “maus” and “doulours” which the narrator feels function grammatically as the direct objects of “noter” and “escrire”: in part, the clerks of Paris are unable to operate those verbs on his experience, because *as* experience, his pain is inimical to language.⁴ The song his pain induces fares better, however. It could be argued that the melodic style of the triplum communicates the narrator’s declared irrationality, because the piece’s predilection for sub-breve flourishes reaches its height when, in an obvious melodic pun, the word “noter” is set to the densest patch of *fractio modi* heard in the piece.⁵ (See example 2.1, measure 23, which is boxed in the score.) Numerous Old French lyrics from the thirteenth century use the word “noter” interchangeably with “jouer” or “chanter” as a verb of performance. But they do so, not coincidentally, just as vernacular music-writing comes newly into its own.

⁴ Elaine Scarry contends that “physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it...” See Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 4. Building on Scarry’s work, Bruce Holsinger explores the musicality of pain in sources contemporaneous with our motet in “The Musical Body in Pain: Passion, Percussion, and Melody in Thirteenth-Century Religious Practice,” in *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 191–258.

⁵ Leach argues that in several theoretical texts broadly contemporaneous with this motet, notes of duration shorter than the breve – and their singers – were metaphorized as avian because, like birdsong, such notes were unwritable and therefore irrational. Of particular relevance here, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), esp. “Birdsong and Human Singing,” 55–107, and “Birds Sung,” 108–74.

The primary sense of “noter” is a graphological one, designating that which is to be “noted,” perhaps through close attention, but also through writing: it stems from Latin *notare*, meaning “to observe; to record; to brand, or write.”⁶ This is a song that commands *visual* attention as much as aural.

By the time we actually learn exactly what it is that clerks “cannot note or write,” we have already seen its lyric metonym rendered in an admirably determined written form, at least in the sole manuscript in which it is now left to us. Example 2.1 presents the medieval notation above my interpretation of each part, while figure 2.1 shows the opening of the La Clayette manuscript from which I have transcribed the piece (fols. 370v–371r). At measures 22 to 23 of the transcription, found at fol. 370v,b,4 of the facsimile, the two musical perfections of the words “ne puet noter” begin with a single, unambiguous second-mode foot in the context of an otherwise exclusively first-mode piece. The second perfection (on the word “noter”) is written with a *ternaria* and a *coniunctura*, whose combined duration is indicated by a variety of techniques: the ascending stem makes the first grapheme a *ternaria cum opposita proprietate*, signaling the presence of semibreves, and the *coniunctura*’s first pitch is a square *punctum* (rather than the *virga* required in the unmensural *climacus* from which the *coniunctura* derived), here signaling that all three of its pitches must fit into the space of a breve. Any remaining ambiguity about the value of the final ligated pitch (which would be a long if read according to Garlandia’s rules) is effectively dispelled by the visual contrast of the ligature and the *coniunctura*, which clarifies the underlying L-B foot.⁷

The irony of his situation would seem to be lost on the narrator, then, who goes on singing his complaint unaware that a scribe has met his song with a nifty bit of penmanship. If there is a sense of authorial commentary here other than the subject position the narrator provides, it is created by a detail of orthography: the sonic indicator of the singer’s *folie* has indeed been “noted.” Emerging more competent than all the other clerics of Paris, this particular composer (or the scribe who transmitted his work) has managed to do what the narrator claims no-one else could – to find a written form for the inexpressible.

Given that *reading* is so central a concern of this triplum, it may seem ironic that the only extant source to transmit it is La Clayette – one of the earliest extant sources to attempt a mensuralized notational orthography for *cum littera* polyphony. Since the time of its rediscovery in the early 1950s, scholars have repeatedly lodged complaints about the manuscript’s workmanship and

⁶ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “Noto.” Accessed through <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>, October 25, 2011.

⁷ From this point, I use the following textual abbreviations for the values of musical figures: dL = duplex long; L = Long; B = Breve; B(alt) = *brevis altera*; S = Semibreve. Strokes in the notation are represented with |.



Figure 2.1. Photograph of La Clayette, opening of fols. 370v-371r, annotated to show measurements of the ruling frame.

execution. Leo Schrade set the tone of most subsequent scholarship in 1955, speaking of its errors as “disturbing deficiencies” that obscure correct musical readings. He confessed that he was “frequently... at a loss to explain the errors,” suggesting that they may be related to the unperformable layout of the manuscript: “Whatever the purpose of compiling La Clayette may have been, it certainly was not guided by considerations of performance.”⁸ James Heustis Cook endorsed these views on layout and error when writing his dissertation on the stemmatology of La Clayette’s Latin and bilingual motets, adding only a further conundrum: that the damaged leaves of this unperformable source apparently displayed evidence of heavy use.⁹ Patricia Norwood, the scholar who has addressed issues of performance and musical reading most directly, drew much the same conclusions: for all sources except Ba and Tu, the answer to her title question, “Performance Manuscripts From the Thirteenth Century?” was a definitive “No.”¹⁰

Albi Rosenthal noted that successive layout is also a feature of the manuscripts F, W₂, R and N, and considered this evidence that La Clayette was also an early source (as he understood those manuscripts to be).¹¹ Interestingly, his wording suggests he saw a discrepancy between the manuscript’s successive layout and its “proportional” notation.¹² Subsequent scholarship has made little of this implication, and comments about La Clayette’s notation are mostly cursory, and conflicting. Luther Dittmer describes the script as “partially

⁸ Leo Schrade, “Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript,” *Speculum* 30 (1955): 393–412; at 396.

⁹ James Heustis Cook, “Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets” 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 1:4–5.

¹⁰ Patricia P. Norwood, “Performance Manuscripts from the Thirteenth Century?” *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986): 92–96.

¹¹ Albi Rosenthal, “Le manuscrit de La Clayette retrouvé (Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. fr. 13521),” *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953): 105–30; repr. in Rosenthal, *Obiter Scripta*, 101–128; at 105. Scholarly opinions about the dating of the mentioned manuscripts have developed since Rosenthal’s presentation.

¹² He wrote, “cette manière d’écrire est rare dans les manuscrits en notation proportionnelle et confirme la parenté de notre manuscrit avec ceux que nous venons de citer [i.e. F, W₂, R and N].” Rosenthal, “Le manuscrit de La Clayette retrouvé,” 105. Though exactly how Rosenthal understood the notation is not clear. In a public talk that was posthumously published, he once again suggested a relation between La Clayette and F, W₂, R and N on the grounds of layout, but claimed that “no fundamentally new aspects of notational practice are revealed by the original.” Rosenthal, “The Rediscovery of the Manuscript of La Clayette and Mediaeval Music Studies: Lecture to the Oxford University Mediaeval Society, Balliol College, Oxford on 20 February 1954,” in *Obiter Scripta*, 129–41; at 139.

mensural,"¹³ while Gennrich declares the notator to be "unaware" of Franconian precepts with regard to its ligatures, which he claims display modal (rather than mensural) signification.¹⁴ David Hiley and Thomas B. Payne consider La Clayette one of the two "earliest surviving manuscripts clearly and consistently making the distinction" between *simplex* breves and semibreves, and to apportion to the semibreve the lozenge that would become its standard form.¹⁵ Elsewhere in the *New Grove*, Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts claim that La Clayette's notation "uses 'Franconian' symbols for single longs, breves and semibreves, but still nearly always uses ligatures of the 'Notre Dame' type, i.e. *cum proprietate et perfectione*, no matter what rhythmic patterns they are intended to convey."¹⁶ Mark Everist comments only that the manuscript "uses a crude *cum littera* notation which simply differentiates between longs and breves and seems to predate the notation of fascicles 2–6 of [Mo]."¹⁷

In contrast, Gordon Athol Anderson published several studies of La Clayette, in which he attributed greater skill to the notator's work than previous commentators had, or than subsequent writers would.¹⁸ Anderson was keen to identify passages of rhythmic-mode change in the motets, and considered La Clayette to be the first source written in a mensural notation that specified modal

¹³ Luther Dittmer, *Paris 13521 & 11411*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 4 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 3.

¹⁴ "Die Notation empfindet man als sorglich ausgeführte ältere Mensural-notation, die die frankonische Ligaturenlehre nicht kennt: die Ligaturen haben modalen Wert." Friedrich Gennrich, *Ein altfranzösischer Motettenkodex: Facsimile-Ausgabe der Hs La Clayette, Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. fr. 13521, Summa Musicae Medii Medii Aevi* 6 (Darmstadt: 1958), 10.

¹⁵ The other manuscript mentioned is London, British Library, Add. 30091. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Notation," §III, 2, viii: "Mensural Notation Before Franco," by David Hiley and Thomas B. Payne, accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

¹⁶ *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Sources, MS," §V, 2, "Early Motet: Principal Individual Sources," by Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, accessed November 2, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

¹⁷ Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), 153.

¹⁸ Gordon A. Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth Century Manuscript La Clayette: The Repertory and Its Historical Significance," *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973): 11–40; Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth-Century Manuscript La Clayette: A Stylistic Study of the Repertory," *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1974): 5–37; and Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521, Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 68 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

change unambiguously. This he found especially important, as he assumed the manuscript's readings therefore provided unmediated access to the intended rhythms of the earlier sources he thought unmensural (a proposition to which very few scholars would now subscribe).¹⁹ In fact, in the rest of his article, Anderson makes only a single observation about the notation (and one that is really a judgment about *rhythm*, assuming full transparency between figure and rhythmic denotation): namely, when a "*ternaria* is used to fill out a whole perfection, with only one text syllable underlaid," that "the notator of La Clayette has made a clear distinction between 3 *currentes* and joined ligatures" to denote the SSL and BBB patterns, respectively.²⁰

Nevertheless, I find many variations suggested by the notation to be suppressed in his edition in order to preserve a single rhythmic mode (at least at the level of the phrase).²¹ For example, in his edition of *Mout loiaument / Se longuement* / BENEDICTA, the single second-mode foot opening the triplum passage "ne puet noter" is given in the same first-mode rhythm with which the piece began, even though the forms of these *notae simplices* are unambiguous (see mm. 23 in example 2.1).²² More detailed information about the notation is impossible to glean from Anderson's edition, because (among other issues), he does not distinguish *coniuncturae* from ligatures, always transcribing them with the shortest elements first, even though (as I shall argue below), the scribe often makes clear and consistent attempts to specify the relative duration of constituent pitches by adapting them to their *simplex* forms.

All told, the concerns about La Clayette fall into three broad categories: first, that the manuscript's layout does not allow performance; second, that the notational orthography deployed by the scribe is somehow deficient against a modern desire for greater mensural precision; and third, that the manuscript is so riddled with copying errors that it would have been useless as a tool for musical reading, or for polyphonic performance.

I take each of these points up in turn in the subsequent parts of this essay. I suggest that codicological choices made before the notation was copied go a long way toward explaining the music's apparent deficiencies, and that they

¹⁹ See especially the comments in Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth-Century Manuscript La Clayette: A Stylistic Study of the Repertory," 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

²¹ Nicolas Bell observes similar problems in Anderson's edition of the pieces in the Las Huelgas manuscript. See Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), 76–77. The edition to which Bell refers is Anderson, *The Las Huelgas Manuscript: Burgos, Monasterio De Las Huelgas*, 2 vols., *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 79 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology/Hänssler-Verlag, 1982).

²² See No. 5, triplum, m. 11, in Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 7.

have light to shed on kinds of work and collaboration expected of music scribes in the second half of the thirteenth century. I will thus give an account of the music fascicle's methods of production, and then reassess its notational orthography and musical readings in light of them. But the remarks in this essay should not be construed as an apologia for the La Clayette manuscript. Rather than defending the source against allegations made about its quality, I will use a close study of the book to put pressure on the scholarly presuppositions that have made it seem aberrant. For the complaints harbor related assumptions about the production, use and function of music books in the thirteenth century that need to be examined, because they relate in turn to assumptions about who could have sung the thirteenth-century motet, and how.

In a colloquy on approaches to medieval music manuscripts, Margaret Bent, Stanley Boorman, Alejandro Planchart and Edward Roesner called for more detailed understanding of the individual habits, procedures, preferences, and musical ability of the scribes who notated manuscripts of various medieval repertories, the better to adjudicate the quality of the readings each scribe transmits for stemmatological purposes.²³ Planchart has recently demonstrated the enduring value of source-critical work for thirteenth-century manuscripts, in an article on motet transmission that includes La Clayette in several of its proposed stemmata.²⁴ The present chapter contributes to that work by considering how different levels of scribal skill or inexperience have left traces on the La Clayette manuscript, with stemmatological consequence. More important, it surveys the field of possible procedures within which the signals sent by the scribe of the La Clayette manuscript could be turned into signals received, through kinds of reading, and perhaps kinds of reader, we have overlooked when considering later thirteenth-century manuscripts that were produced with greater luxury and consistency of skill.

²³ The colloquy was published as Iain Fenlon, ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), with essays as follows: Margaret Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," 295–317; Stanley Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," 319–47; Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," 365–99; and Alejandro Planchart, "The Transmission of Medieval Chant," 319–46.

²⁴ See Planchart, "The Flower's Children," *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003): 303–48.

II. Preparing the Page, Spacing the Parts

In the previous chapter, we saw that the music fascicle of the La Clayette manuscript consists of three gatherings (nos. 50–52 of the whole manuscript).²⁵ Their original structure comprised two quaternions and a final ternion (gathering 50: fols. 369–376; 51: fols. 377–384; 52: fols. 385–390), to which two single leaves (fols. 367 and 368) were added that now constitute the first of gathering 50, and which both terminate in stubs visible at the gathering division between fols. 376 and 377.²⁶ The dimensions offered for the leaves by Gilbert Reaney in *RISM*, 262 x 184mm, are essentially correct.²⁷ However, dog-earing and shifting between leaves at the time of binding have caused some irregularities. The leaves have evidently been trimmed, so the dimensions of the writing frame are more revealing than those of the book itself. Compare the two sides of the opening fols. 370v–371r on figure 2.1. Note that the inner column of both sides is 60mm wide, while the outer column is 67mm. The intercolumnar gap measures 7mm, for a total horizontal measurement of 134mm, while the vertical edge of the frame measures 212mm.²⁸ Throughout the fascicle, the discrepancy of width between the columns is maintained, with the inner column always narrower than the outer. As this pattern obtains even after the centerfold of a gathering, the leaves

²⁵ The following codicological account is based on examinations of the original conducted in June 2009 and July 2010. I am grateful to Mme. Marie-Pierre Laffitte and M. Maxence Herment for allowing me to consult the manuscript. In the final stages of writing in January 2012, color images of the book became available online through the digital collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Gallica*. The stable URL is <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530121530>. The catalogue entry includes a collation established by Maxence Herment that matches my own.

²⁶ Rosenthal failed to notice the stubs, describing the three gatherings of the musical fascicle as two quaternions and a ternion. ("Le manuscrit de La Clayette retrouvé," 105.) The two added leaves at the start of gathering 50 are textually continuous with the last page of gathering 49, but display the first change of scribal hand throughout this work, which finishes incomplete at fol. 368v – that is, on the side facing the first page of music.

²⁷ Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th-Early 14th Century*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. B, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Munich: Henle, 1966), 436–45; at 436.

²⁸ Everist reports a horizontal measurement of 136mm for the manuscript's writing frame (*Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, 152). The discrepancy of 2mm between his measurement and mine is not significant: I find the upper and lower measurement of several folios to be slightly different, when lines have not been drawn exactly parallel to one another; and in any case, parchment readily responds to changes in environmental conditions in ways that can affect details of measurement.

must have been pricked when already folded and collated. Whatever jig or tool was used to determine these widths, moreover, it was used in the same manner for each of the music fascicle's three gatherings. Furthermore, the irregular dimensions of the two columns match the irregular dimensions of the literary texts in gatherings 4 to 10. Along with other codicological evidence, this strongly suggests that the layout of motets was tailored to fit the design of the literary works with which they were to be bound. We saw in chapter one that this was likely to have been the earliest layer of the manuscript.

There is more to be learned from the music fascicle's layout. Ruling lines were ruled faintly in plummet. They have often fared badly over time, rubbing from the surface, especially on the outer leaves of each gathering. Horizontal lines were ruled only for the motet texts, and were spaced at a consistent distance of 15mm. Frequently, remaining lines extend over the inner boundary of the writing block to the fold, where they meet those of the facing page: the implication is that, whatever prick marks were used on the long outer edge to fix their position, the lines were ruled across the whole opening from edge to edge. At the very least, text lines were matched at the centerfold so as to emphasize the visual balance of the text-line positions on each side of the opening.

The ruling of these text lines anchors the layout of the parts, whose hierarchy was indicated by the placement and decoration of painted initials. Refer to figure 2.1 again: upper voices always begin at the left margin, with a filigree initial whose guide letter can often be seen beneath the decoration. Here, *Mout loiaument* begins at fol. 370v,b,1, *Se longuement* at fol. 370v,b,7. To preserve the layout scheme without wasting space, the end of one part may be copied at the end of the next part's first line. This is the case at fol. 370v,a,3, where the final triplum word, "marot," is placed at the end of the line beginning the duplum *Demenant grant ioie*. Tenors also receive a painted initial, but of a lower grade, without filigree. While BENEDICTA falls at the start of a new line (fol. 370v,b,12), tenors may also begin mid-line, immediately following the end of a motet's duplum. This had consequences when the fascicle was sent to the artist to be decorated: while upper voices always had an obvious space preserved for their initial at the left margin, the position of the tenor parts bore no such consistent relation to the architecture of the page, and their decoration was often missed by the artist altogether, such as the missing initial "F" for the tenor [F]LOS FILIUS EIUS at fol. 371r,a,13. On this opening as throughout the fascicle, text is copied with compact spacing along the width of the column. While spaces between the words are clearly visible, they are small, and individual words are always copied as a single unit, without regard for the different number of notes each constituent syllable might have to sustain once music was overlaid.

By contrast to the uniformly neat, controlled ruling of the text lines, lines of a single staff are at an irregular distance from one another, and are seldom aligned exactly with the corresponding staff line on the other column. On only one of the forty-four musical pages (fol. 373r) are staff lines consistently aligned

between the left and right columns in such a way as to suggest that they were ruled at the same time. Occasionally, the scribe has ruled the top staff line over the plummet line already drawn for text; but even in such cases, the corresponding staff on the other side may not be so placed. In some situations, it seems that lines may not have been ruled at all, but traced freehand: on fol. 369r, for example, the lines of the first two staves appear to “wobble” separately to one another (though further consultation of the original might permit attribution of this feature to later re-reddening of the staff lines on rubbed folios). Certainly, it seems that staff lines were not judged in relation to pricking marks. However, the only paleographical feature to be identifiably consistent across the fascicle is also the most revealing about working method: in every one of the many cases where the bottom staff line overlaps the text beneath it, the red pigment of the staff line is above the black of the text. Throughout, staves were ruled after the inscription of text, not before.

Due to the habitual irregularity of the staves’ appearance, it is difficult to determine how much text was copied at a time before the scribe stopped to rule them. This is significant, for it leads to questions of how the labor of copying the fascicle was divided, and whether text and music were copied by the same scribe. If the page had already been filled with writing before staves were ruled, we might expect the notator to have used a single instrument across the width of the page, aligning staff lines on the right and left side, but lifting the pen at the intercolumnar gap. I have already noted that only one page seems to reflect such a procedure (fol. 373r). Here, all lines of the page are filled by parts of a single motet. This, when combined with the observations about the overlap of staff lines over text, might imply that the whole polyphonic piece was the unit of text copying, after which staves would be drawn. However, in other positions where such a procedure would have been possible, it cannot be shown to have been adopted: on fol. 375r for instance, the first six lines of both columns contain parts of no. 17 (*Par une matinee / Mellis stilla / ALLELUYA*), but their staves do not align. This does not prove that all the text of either the page or the motet was *not* copied before the staves were ruled; but it certainly implies that, however frequently this part of the notator’s task was executed, it was done by deliberate and careful, but labor-intensive methods that approaches to page design in later decades would streamline.²⁹ Everist has observed that “setting up... a prepared ruling and altering it as required is a characteristic of Parisian production of music books

²⁹ Helen Deeming has found no direct evidence for the use of *rastra* before the end of the fifteenth century, but notes the frequency with which rigidly parallel staves are encountered in manuscripts, and the rarity with which they were demonstrably ruled to pricking marks, concluding that “we can merely assume that scribes who were required to rule stave-lines on a regular basis would have invented ways to save their labour” and that “it seems likely that some kind of tool existed to facilitate” their work; Helen Deeming, “Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes,” *Scriptorium* 60 (2006): 38–59; at 48.

and does not appear to be found in other music manuscripts of this period"; but noted that "the exact mechanics of actually aligning the four or five lines is still something of a mystery."³⁰ La Clayette would therefore seem somewhat unusual for a later thirteenth-century Parisian production, in that it imposes a single ruling design on all of its musical contents, regardless of their configuration of parts.³¹

Because tenors have no text other than their incipit, their role in the design of the page is significant. No standard amount of space was left for each tenor. Rather, the space allotted for each seems to have been planned in relation to its individual musical features. It is remarkable that the closeness of fit between tenor and page has been achieved through the singular use of repeat marks. Nineteen of the 54 tenors use repeats, marked with either multiple strokes at the end of the notated *cursus*, or "*iter*" signs.³² Especially skillful are the three pieces that "embed" the repeat within the tenor, before notating a final altered *cursus*.³³ It is possible that repeat marks were used in the exemplars the scribe copied. But given that they are used so frequently in this source, and so scarcely in others of the thirteenth century, it seems more likely that they represent a unique and relatively expert skill of this particular scribe: recognizing that it is likely that motet tenors will contain repeats within them, he read his exemplars with an eye to finding these moments, then planning the space he would leave accordingly. This method of working demonstrates an activity we would recognize as analysis functioning as part of the process of textual transmission. It was doubtless aided by the fact that *sine littera* tenors can be perceived by the eye in their entirety much more easily than can the *cum littera* upper parts.³⁴

Copying the tenors in this way works excellently as a space-saving device. More important, though, is that it relies on the ready apperception of the inherently repetitive nature of motet tenors. Their style rests fundamentally upon the repetition of rhythmic patterns within a pitch *cursus*. Compactly inscribed upon the page, the tenors of the La Clayette manuscript draw attention to their

³⁰ *French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century*, 70–71.

³¹ Everist nevertheless considers La Clayette a Parisian manuscript. *Ibid.*, 153.

³² The pieces with repeats are nos. 4, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 38, 39, 40, 43, 47, 48, and 52. For ease of reference, La Clayette's motets are listed in appendix 2.1.

³³ Nos. 25, 26, and 38.

³⁴ Anna Maria Busse Berger has argued that the compositional manipulations wrought on motet tenors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could be done without writing, in part because they readily permit immediate visual apperception corresponding to procedures of mnemotechnic visualization. See "Visualization and the Composition of Polyphonic Music," in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 198–251.

status as “rhythmic drones.”³⁵ It would be possible for a singing reader to repeat the pattern numerous times, hearing the changing accompaniments provided by the upper voices whose discant the tenor anchors; while upper parts might be decrypted against this readily navigable, often repeating foundation.

III. The Notation of Rhythm

In the years since most previous accounts of La Clayette’s notation were published, other *ars antiqua* sources have enjoyed detailed paleographical reassessment. In terms of both repertoire and notation, the La Clayette motets bear close resemblance to the Old Corpus of the Montpellier Codex, whose notational orthography was ably described by Mary Wolinski in 1988.³⁶ More recently (2003), Nicolas Bell elaborated an “empirical approach” to musical paleography,³⁷ which neither assumes nor searches for an underlying theoretical system in a scribe’s work, but “merely assumes that the notation has the pragmatic purpose of denoting the manner of performance of the music.”³⁸ Bell developed his method to account for the notoriously problematic notation of the Las Huelgas manuscript, which comprises a far broader range of figures and musical styles than La Clayette, whose repertoire comprises only motets. In the light of these excellent studies, La Clayette’s rhythmic notation may be dealt with at considerably shorter length.

First a word on pitch. La Clayette’s notation does not present problems for the construal of pitch—that is, for the notation of the default *littera* represented by each grapheme. However, there are many instances where it seems certain that pitches would have been adjusted by semitone to produce good consonance, or perhaps good contrapuntal progressions, between the tenor and the other voices. Regarding accidentals, La Clayette’s music scribe uses only the *fa* sign, and never signs *mi* even on the *littera* B; but in this manuscript as in the fourteenth-century

³⁵ I take this term from Richard L. Crocker, “French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard L. Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 636–78; at 647.

³⁶ Mary Wolinski, “The Notation of the Montpellier Codex: Influence and Initiative,” in “The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation, and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1988), 85–138.

³⁷ Bell elaborates his empirical approach in “The Context of the Musical Notation,” *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 75–91.

³⁸ Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 76.

sources that have enjoyed much more sustained scholarly reflection on similar matters, the scribe's use of his (admittedly limited) paleographical vocabulary for inflections does not by any means exhaust the number of situations in which adjustments seem to be required. There can be no question that a thorough paleographical study of accidentals in *ars antiqua* sources would provide a major contribution to our understanding of musical reading practices in the thirteenth century, and would greatly improve the consistency of modern editions. However, the choice whether or not to inflect a given pitch to accommodate its discantal context would first require singers to have aligned it securely against the others in the polyphonic edifice, which renders matters of rhythmic construal a prior concern. It is that concern I address here.

The combined materials of the opening fols. 370v–371r (in figure 2.1) display a representative cross-section of rhythmic situations faced by the scribe, and demonstrate most of his proclivities in dealing with them. Strictly syllabic passages in upper voices and the *sine littera* phrases of tenors are notated unambiguously. As all commentators agree, the scribe makes a consistent distinction between *virga* (◡) and *punctum* (◼) for long and breve, respectively, while a single semibreve set to a single syllable is notated with the rhomb (◈).³⁹ The very few ambiguous cases that remain usually stem from an idiosyncrasy of ductus: the scribe tends to finish squares with a stop of the pen and a downwards movement, producing a slight stroke that can appear as a short tail; but this seems to have no morphological significance, and the correct value is always made clear by context. In syllabic passages, the succession of figures makes the intended rhythmic mode unambiguous. Thus the five syllables of “longuement ai de” at fol. 370v,b,7 are clearly in the LBLBL pattern of mode one, and the six syllables of “mes s’amië souvent” at fol. 370v,a,10 yield BLBLBL in mode two.⁴⁰ Two *puncta* between two *virgae* (i.e. ◡ ◼ ◼ ◡) are read BB(alt), as throughout the motet *Onques n’ama / Molt m’abelist / FLOS FILIUS EIUS* (beginning at fol. 370v,b,14 and concluding at fol. 371r,a,14). Passages of successive *puncta*

³⁹ Although there are no texted semibreves on this opening, the rhomb form is amply attested as a constituent element of *coniuncturae*; see, for instance, the sixth and seventh graphemes of fol. 370v,a,4.

⁴⁰ In fact, the theorist Lambertus cites this motetus (*Demenant grant joie*) as an example of his fifth rhythmic mode: the opening phrase of the part (at fol. 370v,a,3) yields BLBLL, in which the second of the central pair of breves is a B(alt). Clearly Lambertus's mode was no more immutable than the inherited ones which he claimed could no longer accommodate modern practice: the succession of figures at fol. 370v,a,10 clearly results in mode two. On Lambertus, see Gordon A. Anderson, “Magister Lambertus and Nine Rhythmic Modes,” *Acta Musicologica* 45 (1973): 57–73. Anderson discusses this particular example (also noting its underlying equivalence to the second mode) at 65.

clearly describe phrases in mode six: for example, the words “car iai mis tout mon a[-ge]” at fol. 371r,b,13.

Alongside *notae simplices* should be considered the scribe’s denotation of rests. The scribe used a single style of stroke for almost all rests: roughly the equivalent of two spaces on the staff in length, but seldom aligned with the staff lines. Its most frequent use is as a *divisio punctorum* marking the end of a phrase. (This kind of stroke can be seen in many places on figure 2.1.) When a rest occurs within a phrase, the same figure supplements for the missing note in the succession of longs and breves under the prevailing mode. When the style of a piece depends on contrasting rests of different values, or the use of imperfect modes that force the construal of notational groupings in variance with the underlying succession of perfections, strokes of different length can (but need not) be used to signal the contrast. Their morphology also hinges on relative length or shortness, not on exact measurement against the lines of the staff. These kinds of stroke are pre-eminently found in the four pieces that make use of hockets (nos. 10, 44, 46, and 54). Figure 2.2 presents an enlarged picture of fol. 372v,b,7–8, while example 2.2 offers a transcription of the passage beginning with the word “nen” at the end of line 7. Note the contrast between the length of the final stroke on line 7 (after the word “mentir”) and the two shorter strokes which follow immediately on line 8, flanking the *virga* above the word “diex.” Of these three graphemes, the first represents the end of a phrase, and is of the scribe’s usual elongated variety.⁴¹ The last two, shorter strokes each serve as a breve rest falling at the start of a perfection.

⁴¹ The *virga* above “mentir” here denotes the perfection of the phrase’s ending: as a second-mode phrase, I have transcribed the note as a breve, with the consequence that this elongated stroke also constitutes a rest for the duration of an imperfect long. On the idea of perfection in mode two, and the means of signifying it, see below.

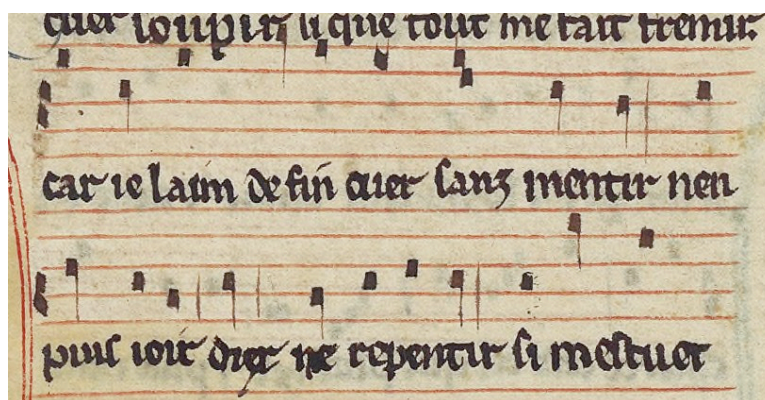


Figure 2.2. Enlarged photograph of fol. 372v,b,7-8, to show the contrasting length of the notator's strokes when notating rests.



Example 2.2. Transcription of La Clayette, fol. 372v,b,7-8, offering rhythmic interpretations of the notator's strokes.

At the other end of the spectrum are the *sine littera* tenors. When a tenor's *ordines* are long enough, their rhythmic mode is indicated by ligature succession: thus 3li + 2li for mode one; 2li + 3li for mode two; and 1 + 3li for mode 3. The conventional LLL *ordines* of mode five are notated 3li throughout; while tenors consisting of chains of ternary longs are notated in successions of *virgae*. In all modes, *ternariae* are consistently written with both propriety and perfection, and are not modified for mensural significance.⁴² (Three-note *ordines* in La Clayette's tenors are always ligated where possible, and are never written with a *climacus* [♯] as they often are in F and W₂.) When repetitions of pitch force the breaking of a ligature into two components, the resulting *binaria* is usually also given with propriety and perfection (e.g. ♯ ♯ for ♯). However, the created *simplex* note is usually given its "correct" mensural form under the prevailing mode; and so by scanning the tenor for repetitions, the mode can be readily inferred at sight. The frequent exception to this rule concerns broken *ternariae* in mode two, where a final *simplex* note is often notated with a *virga*, even though its modal value is a breve (e.g. ♯ ♯ for BLB). This would appear to correspond to the scribe's procedure with upper voices in mode two, where the final note of a perfect *ordo*, a breve, is often also written with a *virga*, apparently as a convention for handling the end of a phrase.⁴³

A handful of unusual forms are found over the course of the fascicle. As has previously been noted, 17 pieces in La Clayette have an extended

⁴² I use the terms "propriety" and "perfection" in the manner that has become a scholarly standard: to denote the form of the beginning and end of a ligature, respectively. However, *proprietas* and *perfectio* were used with some variation of meaning by thirteenth-century theorists. On this, fundamental studies are provided by Fritz Reckow, "Proprietas und Perfectio: Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert," *Acta Musicologica* 39 (1967): 115–43; Wolf Frobenius, "Perfectio," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1973); Frobenius, "Proprietas (Notationslehre)," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Eggebrecht (1974); and Max Haas, "Die Musiklehre im 13. Jahrhundert von Johannes de Garlandia bis Franco," in *Die mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* 5 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 91–158.

⁴³ Mary Wolinski observes the same habit in parts of the Old Corpus of Mo, offering a Garlandian interpretation. She speaks of a "Garlandian ideal" of perfection and imperfection "indicating closure and interruption, respectively"; then suggests that a final long at the end of a mode-two phrase "is not an actual long, but indicates that the phrase ending is perfect and complete, just as a second-mode ternaria has a perfect final and ends with a breve." Wolinski, "The Montpellier Codex," 112.

penultimate note, written with a variety of extended figures.⁴⁴ (E.g.  in no. 9.) In 9 pieces, tenor ligatures are found that have a descending tail on the right of one or more notes, and in contexts that do not imply a plication.⁴⁵ (E.g.  in no. 7.) In all such cases, the value of the marked note is a long, and the tail apparently signals this through an analogy with the long's *simplex* form. Given that tenor ligatures are most often to be evaluated by context rather than form, these adapted figures may in some cases replicate features of an exemplar. This seems to be the case with several other unusual forms that enter the scribe's vocabulary in the tenors. Five pieces have isolated *ternariae* with propriety but without perfection. (The forms are  in nos. 9 and 37 and  in nos. 27, 29, 36, 37.)⁴⁶ Surely significant is that all four pieces are in second mode, and require the *ternariae* to be read BLB (although I do not know of theoretical evidence for such a reading). I suspect in these cases that the scribe was faced with an exemplar that used unfamiliar mensural forms for second-mode tenors, and replicated some (but not all) of their features. This is surely what happened in no. 36, whose tenor contains a *ternaria cum opposita proprietate* () that must be interpreted BLB, which seems a scribal "best guess" in the face of something whose form or sense was unclear. Another ligature *cum opposita proprietate* () is found at the start of the tenor of no. 45, where it denotes LBL. Its use is inexplicable, and apparently erroneous.

Of course, the style of mid-century motets requires figures for a variety of nuanced rhythmic situations, especially to accommodate patterns of semibreves in *fractio modi*. Forms of plica, ligature and *coniunctura* are all regularly deployed in La Clayette, as one would expect. Plicas are found in a variety of forms, of which the most frequent are  for melodic descents, which has two tails of roughly equal length, the left falling from the notehead at a slight angle; and in ascending positions, with a rounded notehead and a tail on the right. Two-tail forms sometimes have tails of unequal length, usually to clarify the value of the figure (long tail on the right for a long, on the left for a breve). Context makes the value of plicas clear in almost all cases.

⁴⁴ Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 23, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 45, 50, and 54. This feature is also observed by Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth-Century Manuscript La Clayette: A Stylistic Study of the Repertory," 22.

⁴⁵ Nos. 1, 2, 7, 20, 26, 43, 48, 51, and 54. However, some of these "adapted" figures may result from slips in the scribe's ductus, as an exaggeration of his tendency (mentioned above) to finish square notes with a straight edge and a slight downward motion of the pen.

⁴⁶ Nos. 9, 27, 29, 36, and 37.

Binariae substituting for one or the other part of the modal foot in modes one and two are often written with both propriety and perfection in the manner Garlandia described as “improper.”⁴⁷ (On our example, see “loi-au-” of “loiaument” at fol. 370v,b,1, which gives  for BB SS.). However, such *binariae* are more regularly given imperfect forms, descending imperfect being used far more often than ascending. (See fol. 371r,b,9, “-pai-re la dou-,” where the ascending perfect and descending imperfect forms are clearly equivalent: .)

.) Ligatures without propriety are extremely rare in the manuscript. Plicas are often chosen over ligatures to match liquescent phonemes in the text (frequently so in the case of French texts). For example, at fol. 370v,b,9, liquescences account for the use of two consecutive plicas () for the mode-one *fractio* pattern BB SS over the words “lonc tens.” (The breve value of the second plica is disambiguated by a mensural adaptation, its left tail longer than its right; but the first plica, like most others in the manuscript, is not adapted, having two equal tails.)

The evaluation of ligatures and *coniuncturae* requiring semibreves is more complicated. Figure 2.3 compares the ligatures and *coniuncturae* used to produce semibreves, grouped by the number of notes in the figure and their melodic contour, with indications of how frequently each form is encountered across La Clayette’s motet fascicle. Evaluations are given for ligatures, but not for *coniuncturae*, which present greater interpretive problems which I touch upon below. This pure-paleographical presentation of the forms risks obscuring as much as it reveals of the scribe’s flexibility, for it cannot indicate anything of the contexts which distinguish the use of one form from another, nor does it reveal the multiple rhythmic situations which a single form is used to indicate. Schematic presentation is a necessary evil however, for in this case, it has the benefit of revealing the scribe to prefer one or two forms within each class of melodic motion. With all caution due when dealing with the unique musical features of any individual piece, these frequently occurring figures may nevertheless be considered the cornerstones of La Clayette’s “house style.”⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Wolinski observes the same feature in Mo, considering it an example of the “improper manner” of notating *fractiones* acknowledged by Garlandia. See Wolinski, “The Montpellier Codex,” 111.

⁴⁸ Roesner outlines a conception of “house style” for dealing with notation of thirteenth-century manuscripts in “The Problem of Chronology,” 393–99.

Figure 2.3. Figures for semibreves in the La Clayette motets, comparing ligatures and *coniuncturae*.

		Ligatures			<i>Coniuncturae</i>	
		Form	Values	Occurrences	Form	Occurrences
2 notes	Ascending		SS	27		
			SS	7		
			SS	4		
	Descending		SS	35		
			SS	32		
			SS	2		
			SS	6		
			SS	2		
			SS	1		
3 notes	Ascending		[Total]	[33]		
			SSB	31		
			SSL	3		
			SSS	1		
			SSB	9		
			[Total]	[4]		
			SSB	3		
			SSS	1		
			[Total]	3		
			SSB	1		
			SSS	2		
			SSB	1		
			SSS	1		
			SSS	2		
	Descending		SSL	2		184
			SSB	1		277
						46
						1
						13
	Turning up		SSB	32		
			SSB	21		

			SSB	3			
		 (with plica)	SSS	1			
	Turning down		[Total]	41			
			SSB	39			
			SSS	2			
			SSB	8			
			SSB	9			
	SSB	1					
4 notes	Descending					23	
						14	
						2	
	Turning up		[Total]	8		6	
			SSSS	3		1	
			SSBB	5			
			[Total]	6			
			SSBB	3			
			SSSS	3			
	Turning down		SSBB	5		2	
			[Total]	8		2	
			SSBB	7	 (plica)	2	
			SSSS	1	 (plica)	1	
			SSBB	2			
			SSBL	1			
			[Total]	3			
			SSBB	3			
			SSSS	1			
		Double turn		SSBB	3		
				SSBB	1		
5 notes	Descending					1	
						1	
	Turning down					2	
						1	

The first factor determining the choice of figure was number of notes and melodic contour: not every class of figure could be deployed for every melodic situation.⁴⁹ Ligatures *cum opposita proprietate* clearly predominate over forms with propriety that produce semibreves by reduction. They may or may not also be given imperfect forms, whether in medial, “incomplete” positions, or at the end of a modal foot; though in general the scribe is far more likely to use an imperfect ligature when its final note ascends than when it descends. (Compare  for SSSS at fol. 370v,a,1, with  for SSBB at fol. 371r,b,8.)

The two most frequent forms of *coniunctura* are  and , and they usually substitute for breve and long, respectively. Thus at fol. 370v,b,2 above the word “puis,”  substitutes for an imperfect long; but at “me-” of “menot” at fol. 370v,a,10,  substitutes for an altered breve. In *coniuncturae*, semibreves can also be placed the start of the figure: e.g.  above the tironian “et” sign on fol. 371r,a,10, where the figure substitutes for a perfection divided into two unequal breves, BB(alt); and  for SSL at fol. 370v,a,13, where the final element’s *virga* form clearly specifies a return to a mode-two *fractio* pattern after a phrase (in fact, a refrain citation) unambiguously notated in mode one. In such cases, the constituent elements of the figure are clearly understood to have mensural significance. This raises questions about where the semibreves are positioned in the most frequently encountered figures,  and . Anderson consistently transcribes La Clayette’s *coniuncturae* by placing the semibreves at the start of the perfection; but here, as Wolinski suggests for Mo,⁵⁰ the scribe’s ample collection of apparently mensural *coniuncturae* may well justify a literal reading of their component parts, at least on a case-by-case basis (e.g.  for BSS rather than SSB).⁵¹ In example 2.1, I have transcribed *coniuncturae* in accordance with the mensural forms of their constituent elements. Speaking of the Montpellier Codex (which is roughly contemporary with La Clayette), Wolinski observes that “there was no rule at that time requiring all semibreves to fall at the beginning of a

⁴⁹ The comparison of figures in La Clayette also bears out Roesner’s observation, *mutatis mutandis*, that figures deployed for notating *organum* also retained their melodic significance from other contexts. See Roesner, “The Problem of Chronology,” 381.

⁵⁰ See Wolinski’s discussion of *coniuncturae* in “The Montpellier Codex,” 120–31.

⁵¹ However, it might also be argued that a mensurally adapted form merely clarifies a rhythm that was already one of a range of possible interpretations for an unmodified figure. On this, see Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 105–106.

perfection.”⁵² Given ample theoretical support for the mensural reading of *coniuncturae*, there seems no reason to prefer a “semibreves-first” interpretation here, except where the figure specifies one unambiguously.

Dealing with Las Huelgas’s notation, Nicolas Bell argued that “the concept underlying the scribe’s process was centered not so much on abstract modal system as on an idea of what we call the perfection, which is notionally a regular pulse lasting a perfect long and divisible into three breves.”⁵³ Just so for La Clayette’s scribe. To tailor Bell’s formulation to our notator’s work, I would add only that he proceeded with a modal idea of the perfection, one involving an unequal subdivision into LB or BL. The succession of ternary perfections is *visually* articulated by pairs of figures, each component of which corresponds to one or other of the two unequal parts. One seldom has to read far before reaching an unambiguous *simplex* note that delimits the modal context in which remaining figures must be interpreted. The particular forms chosen for the figures may (and often do) indicate the values of their constituent notes with greater mensural precision; but they *need* not do so for the script to be legible and construable, and for polyphony to proceed, because it is at the level of the *perfection* that the discantal grammar of a motet is articulated.⁵⁴ As long as the perfections align between the parts (a matter we shall consider presently), the exact delineation of smaller contents is less important, given that they seldom form grammatically essential perfect consonances (or even form consonances at all). As Roesner suggested for the tails on semibreves of the *Roman de Fauvel*, so for the mensurally adapted ligature forms in La Clayette, which may be considered something like “accidentals”: in many cases, an adaptation signals something

⁵² “The Notation of the Montpellier Codex,” 128.

⁵³ Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 93.

⁵⁴ I borrow the term “grammar” from Margaret Bent’s demonstration of the dyadic grammar of counterpoint operative in polyphony of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See, among others, Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for analysis,” in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 15–59. The two-part framework of thirteenth-century discant has some important differences from counterpoint of the fourteenth century, however; see Richard L. Crocker, “Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony,” in *Studies in Medieval Music Theory and the Sequence* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 1–21; and Sarah Fuller, “Organum – Discantus – Contrapunctus in the Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 477–502.

already inferable from context, especially as the context is usually delimited in part by unambiguous mensural *simplices* and their positions within the phrase.⁵⁵

IV. Errors of Texting and Errors of Notation

Once the form and meaning of each figure has been identified according to its function in the succession of LB or BL patterns visually anchored by fully unambiguous *notae simplices*, few passage remain that are not readily construable. Erasures and palimpsests in the notation indicate that the notator was concerned about the accuracy of his work, and proofed it accordingly, as John Haines has rightly observed.⁵⁶ Exceptions may only be judged on a case-by-case basis.

It seems that it is in his capacity as a *text* scribe, rather than as a notator, that the workman who produced La Clayette's music fascicle was less than fully successful. (This may add weight to the suggestion that text and music were copied by different scribes.) For the most frequent categories of error encountered in the motets are additions or omissions of syllables, words, or even omissions of whole phrases of text. Motet texts are rich in assonance and rhyme, and often display unpredictable versification schemes; they present the scribe with abundant opportunities for slips by haplography or dittography. Of 122 texted parts in the collection, 55 – that is, some 45% – show errors in which the text scribe has transmitted an incorrect number of syllables. (I include in this count the many occasions in French texts where the scribe wrote out in full those particles which normally contract by one or another phonological principal in speech and in musical setting, and which are usually written without a separating space in motet manuscripts.)

But the superfluous syllables which result in such cases present nothing like the problems of having too few syllabus to match the notes. It is the omission of words and phrases that caused the most severe problems. The words were written in a compact script, and with no separation of syllables to accommodate musical overlay. We have seen that text was always copied before musical

⁵⁵ See Edward H. Roesner, "The Music in Fr. 146," in *Le Roman de Fauvel: in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146, ed. Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), 32.

⁵⁶ John Haines, "Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music," in *Music in Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 60–88; at 64. However, Haines treats erasure and error synonymously, overlooking other more revealing aspects of the scribe's practice as a result.

notation was entered – indeed, apparently before the staves were ruled. Hence musical passages involving heavy *fractio* were already difficult to accommodate; and when words were missing, the problems of spacing were almost insurmountable. Remarkably, when faced with this situation, the music scribe persistently included *all* the music in his exemplar. To do so, he had to abandon his usual careful alignment of note and syllable, crowding the notes in as best he could until he could align them again over the appropriate syllables.

There are two such cases in figure 2.1. At fol. 371r,a,1, the word “entierement” has been omitted. (The reading in Montpellier at fol. 151v, lines 4 to 5, gives “ne n’en ioi cuer qui *entierement* / a son vouloir”). Here the notator has set the correct pitches of the missing text to the next three words (“a son vouloir”), which are also four syllables in total length. Realizing the error, the notator then cramped four *notae simplices* over the final syllable of the line, and three notes over the first syllable of the next, the correct alignment resuming at “car” on line two. An enlarged photograph of the patch can be seen in figure 2.4.

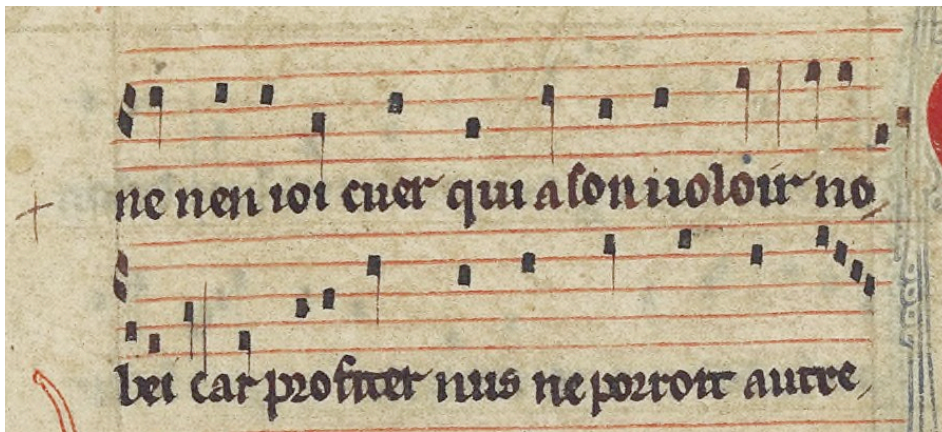


Figure 2.4. Photograph of La Clayette, fol. 371r,a,1-2, detail, where the notator recognizes a textual error.

That the pitches are given in *simplices* (when ligatures would surely have saved space) acknowledges the presence-in-absence of the missing text: a reader might not be able to tell from this copy what the missing text was, if he did not already know the piece; but he would readily recognize from the music scribe’s work (if not from linguistic sense) that further text was indeed missing. Perhaps a suitable replacement could have been agreed upon in rehearsal and supplied in performance. Although the concentration of textual errors is indeed high in the manuscript as a whole, I find that in all but the most unsalvageable cases of textual error, the music scribe has met the challenge with remarkable skill. In almost every case, as here, *the total number of perfections indicated in the notation is*

correct, subject to the principles of rhythmic inscription and interpretation I have already outlined.⁵⁷

The omission of text is at its worst in the Latin texts, which the scribe seems to have copied throughout with a minimum of understanding – indeed, with a consistent *lack* of understanding. The most erroneous piece in the fascicle is no. 11, the four-part Latin motet *Mors a primi patris / Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu / MORS*, occupying fols. 372v,b,11 to 373v,a,2. I find 8 errors of omission in the piece, and many further errors resulting from the scribe's misconstrual of consecutive minim strokes in the text, guided by little more than guesswork. This recurring problem with Latin, in a book whose other contents are entirely in French, is of particular significance. Whether or not the scribe of the motet texts was also their notator, he was certainly a vernacular specialist.

The foregoing account shows the practical consequences, for the music scribe, of the layout choices made primarily to accommodate the literary works present in other portions of the manuscript. This literary layout was adapted here to fit a kind of polyphony that presented rich problems to even the most skilled of thirteenth-century book designers.⁵⁸ In general, the La Clayette motets display a clear divergence of textual and musical competence, with stemmatological consequences: French texts are likely to be more reliable than Latin, and musical readings are likely to be more reliable than textual.

In his dissertation on the use of stemmatology for assessing relationships between thirteenth-century polyphony manuscripts, James Heustis Cook took La Clayette's repertory of Latin and bilingual motets as a set of case studies, stating that "Latin provides more opportunities for analysis through the method adopted here than does medieval French."⁵⁹ The first reason for selecting these pieces was to reduce the size of his project to manageable proportions. But it

⁵⁷ Bell observes the frequency of text-omission errors in Huelgas also, pointing out that they show "a surprising degree of incompetence, or at the least a particularly inappropriate unwillingness to alter the words written on the page, when the evidence of the music clearly demonstrates that he must be aware of the errors." Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 113. But the layout of Las Huelgas is more generously spaced than that of La Clayette; La Clayette's more compact layout, and its unusual order of production, meant that erasing text would have been futile in almost all cases.

⁵⁸ Catherine Parsonneault has recently re-examined approaches to *mise en page* for the thirteenth-century motet as part of a new codicological study of the Montpellier Codex. See Parsonneault, chap. 2, "Page Layout and the Motet as a Genre," in "The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2001), 30–72.

⁵⁹ "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets," 5. He outlines his procedures for constructing stemmata in "Method of Analysis," in "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets," 8–45; and addresses the problems of Old French for a stemmatological approach at 41–45.

involved the assumption that Latin texts would, by the fact of their Latinity, offer a more stable platform upon which to build a theory of musical copying and transmission than French texts, Latin usually showing greater orthographical consistency across thirteenth-century manuscripts. Cook's theory cannot be sustained in the light of the evidence presented here, and his stemmata must be reassessed accordingly.

V. Reading, Readers, and the Question of Performance

Could the La Clayette manuscript have supported performance? The question – or assumptions about musical literacy pertinent to the question – lurks behind most judgments about the manuscript, though it has seldom been posed directly about any source of the thirteenth century. Patricia Norwood's article, "Performance Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century?" in which she provides a largely negative answer to her own question, has gone unremarked.⁶⁰ She writes that "of all thirteenth-century manuscripts containing a significant number of motets... only Ba and Tu were copied in such a way that performance from them was possible, whether at sight or with rehearsal."⁶¹ She reasons that "only these codices manifest the size, layout, and care in copying that would have enabled multiple performers to read compositions contained in them."⁶²

Comments relating layout to issues of performance are usually more oblique. Roesner, for instance, suggests that the *Roman de Fauvel* in Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146 was "probably performed from" on various grounds; but he does so only in a footnote to his detailed discussion of the semibreve *caudae* used in the manuscript.⁶³ Another rare exception is again provided by Nicolas Bell, who suggests (while discussing the errors in the Las Huelgas manuscript) that the "proliferation of errors certainly serves to hinder correct and accurate performance, but it does not follow from this that [Huelgas] was not intended primarily for performance, nor that it was not actually performed from. Most of the errors are not immediately discernible on the page, *but require a performance before they come to light*."⁶⁴ An initial read-through is the obvious

⁶⁰ *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986): 92–96.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 96

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ See "The Music of Fr. 146," 32, n. 89.

⁶⁴ Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 113–14. The emphasis is mine. Many more of La Clayette's errors are readily discerned, because of the cramped notational spacing in which they result.

context for such a performance, likely during a rehearsal of the institution's choir.⁶⁵

If our definition of a "performable" polyphony manuscript requires synoptic visual presentation of all segments and voices of a motet that are to sound synchronized, then La Clayette's motet fascicle clearly comes up short. But not so short. Twenty-two of its motets have their constituent voices on separate openings, which leaves 33 whose layout presents no barrier to synchronized performance, especially given the generous dimensions of the manuscript's leaves (a feature rightly pointed out by Norwood).⁶⁶ For these pieces, if not the others, I see no problem imagining musically (if not poetically) acceptable performances being broached from the book. It cannot really be thought appropriate to judge musical documents in terms of *prima vista* performance, at least in the thirteenth century. I am in full agreement with Margaret Bent, who, dealing primarily with manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, comments, "Some modern writers express incredulity that a manuscript with errors could have been used for performance and remain uncorrected. This reflects our higher dependence on visible signs and our lower memory capacity. I find no difficulty in accepting that many errors were solved in performance after the initial learning had been done from the faulty parts."⁶⁷ Once it is acknowledged that pieces must also have been rehearsed, a host of other possibilities for performed, literate interaction with *ars antiqua* manuscripts is brought back into play – possibilities to which each strategy of manuscript design and notation might have responded in different ways.

Important recent studies have offered powerful arguments that *ars antiqua* polyphony could have been produced without necessary reliance on written composition, especially in institutional settings such as Notre Dame, where singers would have worked in regular, close collaboration in the professional execution of the liturgy.⁶⁸ However, music historians have not yet found a definitive institutional home for the polytextual motet of the mid-thirteenth century, beyond assuming that because it seems difficult, it could only have made sense to elite, clerical intellectuals associated with the Cathedral and the

⁶⁵ Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 114.

⁶⁶ Norwood, "Performance Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century?" 95.

⁶⁷ Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," 304.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Busse Berger, "The Memorization of Organum, Discant and Counterpoint Treatises," in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 11–58; and chap. 4, "Compositional Process and the Transmission of Notre Dame Polyphony," 161–97. On the liturgical and institutional contexts for Notre Dame polyphony, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); esp. "Gothic Polyphony," 235–72.

burgeoning University of Paris, and could only have been sung by professionals. The famous comments about the genre made by Johannes de Grocheio have often been cited as evidence supporting that view. He wrote that the motet

ought not to be celebrated in the presence of common people, because they do not notice its subtlety, nor are they delighted in hearing it, but in the presence of the educated and those who are seeking out subtleties in the arts. And it is customarily sung at their feasts for their enhancement, just as the *cantilena* that is called a *rotundellus* [is sung] at the feasts of the common laity.⁶⁹

As I discussed in the introduction, Christopher Page has voiced dissatisfaction with the assumed elitism of the motet, arguing that “the base for the materials of the *ars antiqua* motet was a broad one,” and that it “may have been matched by a breadth in the constituency of the audience for these pieces.”⁷⁰ For instance, he suggests that the lighter-hearted pieces of the (two-part) motet repertoire might occasionally have been performed by the skilled singers of Notre Dame as entertainment for the laity on a commercial basis.⁷¹ He also points out that the *litterati* to whom Johannes de Grocheio refers could have encompassed a broad sweep of men, from the highest prelates to boys beginning their training for orders.⁷² Nevertheless, Page always assumes that the motet was performed by clerics;⁷³ and those few lay people who might have been present to

⁶⁹ Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musicae*, ed. and trans. Constant J. Mews, John N. Crossly, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon, and Carol J. Williams (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), 85. The Latin (p. 84 of this edition) reads “Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari. eo quod eius subtilitatem non advertunt nec in eius auditu delectantur. Sed coram litteratis et illis qui subtilitates artium sunt querentes. Et solet in eorum festis decantari ad eorum decorationem, quemadmodum cantilena que dicitur rotundellus in festis vulgarium laycorum.” The secondary literature on this passage and on Johannes’s treatise is too vast to be summarized here. But note that Mews et al. argue that the treatise was written in the mid 1270s, not c.1300 as has usually been assumed. See Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musicae*, 10–12.

⁷⁰ *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 65.

⁷¹ See Page, “The Masters of Organum: The Study and Performance of Parisian Polyphony During the Early Thirteenth Century,” in *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 134–54; at 152–54.

⁷² *Discarding Images*, 83.

⁷³ See Page, “Around the Performance of a Thirteenth-Century Motet,” *Early Music* 28 (2000): 343–57.

hear a polytextual piece were, according to Page's understanding of Grocheio's comments, "laymen of unusual aptitude."⁷⁴ Ultimately Page acknowledges that there "is certainly an elitism in Grocheio's view of the audience for motets";⁷⁵ and he is surely right that this elitism hinges on "the cleric's sense of distinctive juridical status; his consciousness of advancing mankind's supreme purpose in God while maintaining a powerful influence over temporal powers; pride in the ability to read and write: *clergie*."⁷⁶ At the root of it all, for Grocheio and then for Page, is a belief about who is literate and who is not, and how literacy should inform the kind of music people ought to make and enjoy.

Elaborately produced manuscripts such as the Montpellier codex fit Grocheio's vision of writing very neatly. Yet there are plenty of other thirteenth-century polyphony sources, and most do not look like the famous anthologies. La Clayette is one of them. I contend that the notation of the La Clayette manuscript displays sufficient attention to rhythmic detail to have served not only as a helpful prompt for those who already knew how the music went, but also *as an aid for those who wanted to learn it*. If a singer had sufficient knowledge of the music's style and the manuscript's conventions of notation, he or she could have learnt on their own. Or a singer could be taught with the book as an aid. Most important, however, is that the music is readily construable to one reader at a time. Perhaps only one *reader*, as a leader, would have been required to construct a whole polyphonic edifice, by whatever didactic method proved effective.

Of all notational features which invite such an interpretation, most telling are passages comprising four or more consecutive, texted semibreves, which are found in five pieces.⁷⁷ The motet *Par une matinee / Mellis stilla / ALLELUIA*, Cl no. 17, has a triplum with no fewer than five passages in which four consecutive semibreves must be construed; and for the discant to work correctly, they must be interpreted in one of three very different rhythms, each relating in a different way to the underlying perfections. (See example 2.3 for a transcription of the triplum, preserving the original note shapes but grouping them into measures of one perfection each. The five semibreve passages are highlighted, and their rhythmic patterns matched to one another with Greek letters.) No paleographical clues guide the interpretation. The only way to work out the correct performance of each passage is to test it against the tenor, trying different solutions until one works. If a reader knew the piece, obviously this would not have been a problem. One who did not, but who could read fluently enough to perform musical calculations in the mind, could have counted perfections from the start of the

⁷⁴ *Discarding Images*, 82.

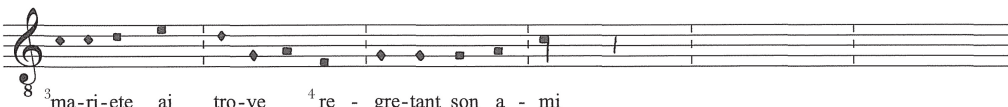
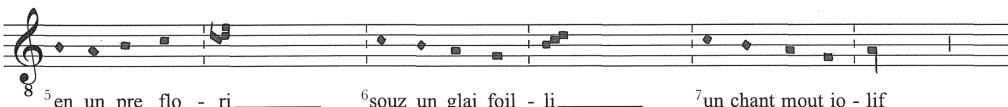
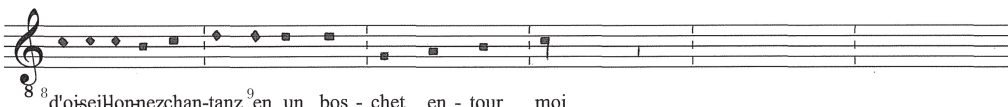
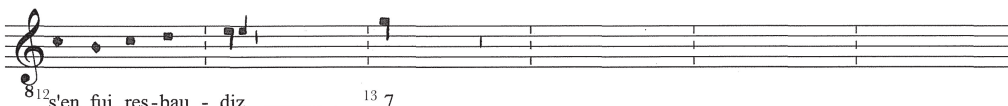
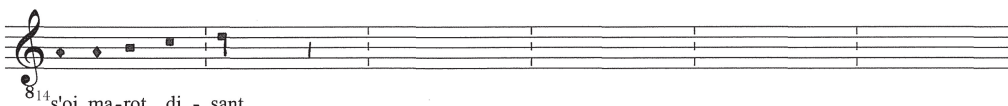
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁷⁷ Nos. 4, 17, 20, 40, and 54.

piece and correlated this against another calculation of the tenor. Another option would be to teach the repetitive tenor to someone, and have him or her sing it while the reader broaches various solutions. And so on. Any number of strategies might have worked, and could have been tried, when only one reader is assumed. The only model which could not have worked for all pieces in the manuscript is one where all singers read their parts all of the time.

Example 2.3. Triplum, *Par une matinee* (807), transcribed from La Clayette, fols. 374v,b,11-375r,a,11.

Phrase	Long 1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6
1	 ¹Par u - ne ma - ti-nee ²el mois io - lif d'a - vril					
2	 ³ma-ri-ete ai tro-ve ⁴re - gre-tant son a - mi					
3	 ⁵en un pre flo - ri ⁶souz un glai foil - li ⁷un chant mout io - lif					
4	 ⁸d'oiseilHonnezchan-tanz ⁹en un bos - chet en - tour moi					
5	 ¹⁰si cum a - loie es-ba-tant ¹¹7 pen-sant ai o - i					
6	 ¹²s'en fui res-bau - diz ¹³ 7					
7	 ⁸ s'en fui res-bau - diz					
8	 ¹⁴s'oi ma-rot di - sant					

Phrase	Long 1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6
--------	--------	----	----	----	----	----

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The expanded senses of literate practice I imagine here would resemble Brian Stock's conception of a "textual community" with unevenly distributed literacy, in which single readers proposed interpretations of authoritative texts to which other, perhaps non-literate members of a community would acquiesce.⁷⁸ Joyce Coleman, moreover, has demonstrated that vernacular literature of the later middle ages was most often and most popularly consumed through "praelection": a social event in which a designated reader would perform the written text to his audience live from the book – this, even when there are good reasons to assume that the auditors were able to read themselves.⁷⁹ That La Clayette's motets take their place in a collection of didactic literary works either composed in or translated into Old French, and did so early in the volume's active life of growth and use, *and* that their texts were written by a scribe far more adept with the vernacular than with Latin, makes a similar reading procedure eminently possible for the motets as well. In this vernacular book, the motet is a kind of vernacular polyphony.

Although the literary texts are of an earlier vintage than the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century works that Coleman studied, they seem everywhere to presume their own praelection. Let us consider an example. In the prologue to his *Bestiaire* (beginning at fol. 22r in La Clayette), Pierre de Beauvais recounts how and why he undertook to translate the work for those not schooled in Latin, and his words are not without a note of pride. He writes:

En cest livre translater de Latin en romanz et mist lonc travail. Pierres qui volentiers le fist et pour ce que rime se vieut afaitier de moz concuelliz hors de verite; mist il sanz rime cest livre selonc le latin dou livre. Que phisiologes. Uns boens clers dathenes traita. Et Jehans crisothonus en choisi en [les] natures des bestes. Et des oisiaus. Si parole ci premierement alentendement des espiriteus escritures. Et comence du lyon pour ce que il est rois de toutes les bestes. Si font bien a oir. Et a entendre et aretenir. Les natures de li dont li sens conmanche ci apres.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See Brian Stock, "Textual Communities," in *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 88–240.

⁷⁹ Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁸⁰ Transcribed from La Clayette, fol. 22r. The *Bestiaire* of Pierre de Beauvais is known in both a long and short version; La Clayette's witness is to the latter. The edition of reference is Pierre de Beauvais, *Le bestiaire, version courte*, ed. Guy R. Mermier (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1977); in which the passage cited here is found at 59. The translation here is my own.

Trans.: Pierre put long hours into translating this book from Latin into romance, and did so willingly. And because rhyme arranges words prettily, gathering them together without regard for truth, he has rendered this book without rhyme, according to the Latin of the book that Physiologus (a good clerk of Athens) set forth; and [as] John Chrysostom perceived the natures of beasts and of birds. So it speaks here first of the understanding of the holy scriptures; and begins with the lion, for he is the king of all beasts. His natures are *good to hear*, and to understand, and to remember; and their sense is given afterwards.

Pierre's gesture of transparency – that he has remained faithful to the letter of a Latin book he has seen – may not be without ideological purpose;⁸¹ but I see no reason to question him when he understands that his vernacular book will be *heard*. And the means by which he floats the idea are brilliant. All the deictic intensifiers ("So it speaks *here* first...") make present to his audience's imagination an absent Latin volume that stood open before him, much as a vernacular book like La Clayette would now have stood open before a praelector who stood in front of them. Pierre is eager to point out that the Latin text to which he has been so unusually transparent has textual credentials going all the way back to early Christian Athens; thus he anchors this vernacular literature's new performed liveness in a bookish tradition that extends back as far as the mind's eye can see. Played forward, all this projects a hope for unmediated textual fidelity: *en romanz*, this literature will be more widespread; but even in the vernacular, it will live again in the same way.

Liveness produced with a new textual fixity seems a productive way to think about the motet. That is not to deny that motets are found in multiple versions, with new texts or music, from one manuscript witness to the next. But to inscribe music in mensural notation was an act of preservation that hoped for the future relevance of the version put down, and enabled its future performance. And once motets were learned (by whatever means), they structured singers' labor by co-ordinating the voices in the grammar of discant and by disposing their efforts in precisely measured musical time, in ways that stayed the same from one performance to the next. A practice of musical praelection would be unlike its literary counterpart only in that it offered determined participatory roles for the audience to whom the pieces were taught from the book. This is hardly a difference at all, but an intensification of praelection's social work. These are implications that I will explore in the next chapter. For now, the paleographical testimony of the La Clayette manuscript

⁸¹ On the agendas articulated by Old French historiographical prose and its claims to greater truth than poetry, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

should remind us that the only particular quality needed to sing one of these apparently difficult, elite, literate, polytextual motets would have been the willingness to be taught how.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LA CLAYETTE MOTETS AND THE WORK OF DEVOTION

Sometime before 1270, at the earliest stage of the La Clayette manuscript's life, its collectors decided to incorporate a fascicle of musical pieces into their growing anthology of vernacular literary works on religious and didactic themes. The music fascicle was physically tailored to match the literature's dimensions and design so that a visually seamless (and bindable) book would result. The way in which this music was put into material form, the ways in which it occupied physical space, had consequences for the human activity that could occur around it. I have suggested that the book's team of designers anticipated a performance practice in which a single reader would coach other, non-reading singers live from the book. They built a tool around which to structure a didactic practice – a practice akin to praelection (as anticipated by La Clayette's literary texts) but with a crucial difference: the motets could incorporate their auditors, scripting their participation in the musical event in ways that literary texts could not.

This chapter considers what the makers of the La Clayette manuscript found in the motet that made it the only genre of piece they collected. More, it examines how experiences afforded by the performance of motets were turned to explicitly, often complicatedly devotional ends in many of the pieces selected for inclusion. The first indication that the motets participated in the manuscript's devotional purpose comes in the gesture of prayer and praise with which the music fascicle opens, which is answered by the reciprocally prayerful gesture by which it is brought to a close. I construe this frame as an exhortation, enjoining the reader to understand the fascicle's contents devotionally.¹ Manifesto-like, the opening pieces also introduce a set of musicopoetic devices used to achieve devotional effects, which recur in a rich variety of combinations in other motets we will consider later. We will begin by listening closely to these first pieces to hear the devotional procedures they put into sonic play, before pausing to consider their devices as a set in relation to recent work on both thirteenth-

¹ Emma Dillon finds a devotional impetus to the grouping of pieces within the first four fascicles of the Montpellier Codex. See *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 287–319. La Clayette's compilers seem not to have had the same ready access to an archive of written polyphony as did Montpellier's. The latter manuscript's clear ordering by number of voices and language clearly indicates such an access and the advance planning it afforded the scribes. Nevertheless, within the limitations of textual access placed on Clayette's makers, they found ways to shape its beginning and end devotionally.

century music and the cognitive life of devotional literature in the later middle ages and beyond.

I. A Prayerful Opening

The first two pieces in the music fascicle of the La Clayette manuscript are Latin motets, each with three voices that address Mary in all texted parts: Cl no. 1, *Ave virgo regia* (805) / *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris* (804) / DOMINO (O. Be. I),² and Cl no. 2, *O Maria virgo davitica* (449) / *O Maria maris stella* (448) / IN

² Cl fol. 369r,a,1 – 369v,a,10. The components of this piece are among the most widely traveled of the thirteenth century. This three-part version of the motet is also found in Mo, fol. 89v; Ba, fol. 1r; Hu, fol. 100v; and is also listed as no. 14 in the Besançon index. The motetus *Ave gloriosa* (804) is found in a three-part conductus setting in Harley 978, fol. 9v, and the Latin text is joined by a contrafactum in Anglo-Norman, *Duce creature* (806) written immediately below it on each system. *Ave gloriosa* is also found with its tenor alone in seven manuscripts: Maz, fol. 206v; ArsB, fol. 117; Civ, fol. 252v; MüC, fol. 74r; Lyell, fol. 161v; Da, fol. VIIIav; Don, fol. 117v. It is also found as a text alone in at least one further manuscript, B 225, fol. 112v. Here and throughout this chapter, concordance lists from each piece are compiled from the front matter of Gordon A. Anderson's edition *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521, with texts ed. and trans. by Elizabeth A. Close. *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 68 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), here p. XXXII; and collated against Hendrik van der Werf's *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: published by the author), here p. 134. As more comprehensive and digitally searchable catalogues become available, I suspect more text-only sources of *Ave gloriosa* will come to light.

VERITATE (M37).³ (Appendix 3.1 presents new transcriptions of every piece discussed in the chapter, in the order in which it appears in the argument.) Cl 1 serves as the first piece in Ba (fol. 1r); while Cl 1 and Cl 2 are also the first two pieces in the fourth fascicle of Mo where they appear in reversed order (Mo, fols. 88v and 89v). Such telling concordances between the manuscripts suggest that these particular motets participated in a developing notion of genre for the polyphony book by the middle of the thirteenth century.⁴ Each piece is built on a tenor whose fifth-mode rhythmic pattern is one of the oldest of the Notre Dame repertory,⁵ and above the old chants turn motetus parts whose even phrases

³ Cl 369v,a,11 – 370r,a,2. Like Cl 1, this piece also has a wide distribution, with components of the motet appearing in 19 witnesses over 16 manuscripts. Unlike Cl 1, its network also includes the major Notre Dame anthologies. In the earliest manuscript witnesses to the piece, the motetus text *O Maria maris stella* (448) is set as a three-part conductus motet: F, fol. 386v; W₂, fol. 125r; a three-part conductus motet with the contrafact text *Glorieuse deu amie* (450) is also found in W₂, fol. 135r. The Latin motetus *O Maria maris stella* is found as a two-part piece with its tenor in ArsA, fol. 290v; ArsB, fol. 2v; Ca, fol. 129v; Erf, fol. 5v; and Lyell, fol. 164v. Witnesses to the version in Cl are also found in Mo, fol. 88v; Ba, fol. 48v; Da, fol. Iav; and the entry in Bes, no. 19 is likely indicate this version too.

Hu gives an unusual three-voice version with the same two Latin texts as in these sources, but with an extra voice written in score above the motetus *O Maria*. Hu also contains a Latin three-voice version of the piece with a new triplum entirely, *O Maria dei cella* (449a; Hu fol. 102v). Later still, a collection of early fifteenth-century Italian sources contain settings of the text *O Maria maris stella* (although with music unrelated to the *ars antiqua* network): PadD, fol. 1r; Q15, item 227; and Munich 3232a, fol. 56v. It would be fascinating to learn how this *ars antiqua* text came to be known to composers so very much later, and to ascertain the sources from which they acquired it. For concordance lists, see Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, XXXII–XXXIII, and van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 68.

⁴ Many contemporaneous chansonniers begin with a Marian lyric before continuing to their *grands chants*. The Marian pieces opening this group of motet collections can be understood to participate in that developing notion of genre also. On strategies of ordering in chansonniers, see Sylvia Huot, “Scribal Practice in Lyric Anthologies: Structure, Format, and Iconography of Trouvère Chansonniers,” in *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 46–80.

⁵ For an theory of stylistic chronology in the Notre Dame repertory, see Janet Knapp, “Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris,” in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 557–635. Knapp discusses the emergence of fifth-mode tenors in organum settings of MS F at pages 579–97.

consistently elaborate complete syntactic units, constituting in each piece a litany of popular attributes of the Virgin.⁶

Cl 1 motetus:

	A Ue gloriosa ⁷	6A ⁸	Hail glorious
	mater saluatoris	6B	Mother of the Savior!
	[a]ue speciosa	6A	Hail splendid
	uirgo flos pudoris	6B	Virgin, flower of modesty!
5.	aue lux iocosa	6A	Hail joyful light,
	thalamus splendoris	6B	Nuptial bed of brilliance!
	aue preciosa	6A	Hail precious
	salus peccatoris	6B	Salvation of the sinner!
	aue uite uia	6A	Hail way of life!
10.	casta munda pura	6A	chaste, refined, pure,
	dulcis mitis pia	6A	Sweet, meek, holy;
	felix creatura	6A	Happy creature,
	parens modo miro	6C	Bearing, in a wondrous way,
	noua paritura	6A	An extraordinary birth,
15.	uirum sine uiro	6C	A man, yet without the touch of man,
	<i>contra</i> legis iura	6A	Against the judgments of law.
	uirgo uirginum	5D	Virgin of virgins,
	expers criminum	5D	Without sin,
	decus luminum	5D	Splendor of lights,
20.	celi domina	5A	Mistress of heaven,
	salus gentium	5D	Salvation of the people,
	spes fidelium	5D	Hope of the faithful,
	lumen cordium	5D	light of hearts,

⁶ Appendix 3.1 comprises transcriptions of all motets discussed in this chapter. To avoid constant page turns, I hope presenting the motets as a single run will make it easier for a reader to print them to consult separately while reading the prose.

⁷ Throughout, I have transcribed the motet texts afresh from Cl, preserving their orthography. However, where there are clear errors in the Cl version, I have supplied the text reconstructed by Anderson and Close in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*. His text of this piece is given at p. LV of that edition. I have retranslated all texts myself, in consultation with the renderings offered by Anderson and Close.

⁸ I give a syllable count and rhyme analysis for each motet text, beginning the series of letters afresh for each constituent voice of a motet. For French texts, the count includes final unstressed phonemes, because they are always set as a separate syllable when notated; but I counts as only a single syllable those elements of adjacent words that elide by one or another phonological process to be set as a single syllable when given music.

	nos illumina	5A	Shine upon us;
25.	nos <i>que</i> filio	5C	and to your son
	tuo tam pio	5C	so holy,
	tam propicio	5C	So benevolent,
	reconcilia	5A	Reconcile us,
	7 ad gaudia	5A	And lead us into eternal joy
30.	nos [perennia]	5A	
	duc prece pia	5A	through prayer,
	uirgo maria	5A	O holy Virgin Mary.

In a time when devotional fervor to Mary was ever deepening, the heavy reliance of each of these two texts on epithets used in widely loved liturgical songs to the Virgin (such as the votive antiphons, the hymn *Ave maris stella*, and so on), the litanying style these songs all share, and their resemblance to the prayers in the increasingly popular Little Hours of the Virgin would all have ensured the texts' intelligibility.⁹ Hearing them in their devotional environment, one would have needed little Latin to understand what was going on in the texts of these motetus parts, even if one could not follow every word. Their style of elegant simplicity in both music and text strikes a humbly prayerful note, addressing the Virgin lovingly.

It is worth studying at some length how the effect of intimacy is achieved. In both *Ave gloriosa* and *O Maria maris stella*, the tumble of vocative appellations is only cast as a sentence late in the piece. This preliminary unmooring from complicated syntax creates a directness or even simplicity of effect, but it is one produced through a remarkable discipline of poetic craft and musical phraseology. *Ave gloriosa* consists of 32 verses, projected by syllable count and rhyme scheme as two groups of 16: verses 1–16 have 6 syllables each, and verses

⁹ Michael Alan Anderson observes that the Marian antiphons provided a ready fund of appellations that entered into motet texts. See "Enhancing the *Ave Maria* in the *Ars antiqua*," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 19 (2010): 35–65; at 57. For a music-focused overview of Marian devotion from the *ars antiqua* through 1500, including the circulation of liturgical songs in the Virgin's honor, see David J. Rothenberg, "Introduction: Devotion to the Virgin and Earthly Love," in *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3–23. For a transcription and analysis of the Little Hours of the Virgin according to the Parisian Use of the thirteenth century, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, "The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 463–84. Emma Dillon discusses the Little Hours of the Virgin and a variety of personal prayerbooks from the period that contain them as important components of the devotional world in which motets were heard. See *The Sense of Sound*, 217. I discuss Dillon's conception of a devotional environment below.

17–32 have 5. There are only four rhyme sounds throughout (A: [-a]; B: [-ris]; C: [-o]; D: [-um]), and their pattern projects each group of 16 verses as four groups of 4:

ABAB ABAB AAAA CACA | | DDDA DDDA ACCC AAAA

The final verse extraneous to the piece's foursquare design is in fact its interpretive hinge. It is the seventeenth line to finish with an A rhyme [-a], and its final word is "Maria." In retrospect, the Virgin is heard to have lent the sound of her name to the text of the prayer that invokes her. As the prayer unfolds in time, Mary is literally called into presence.

The poetic structure of the piece is palpably articulated by its musical design, especially its phraseology. In the first half, each pair of 6-syllable verses is set to a single phrase of 8 perfect longs (henceforth 8L), while in the second half (from m. 65 of the transcription) the shorter, 5-syllable lines are set separately from one another, each as its own phrase of 3L followed by rest of 1L. Especially as the melody is seldom decorated with *fractio modi*, and then only lightly and to produce note values no shorter than a breve, *Ave gloriosa's* phrase structure might well be called isorhythmic, and lays plain its text's design.¹⁰ More, the transition from 6 to 5-syllable lines between verses 16 and 17 marks the juncture between the tenor's two *cursus*. Although the first tenor *cursus* is in mode 5, the second is in mode 1, and its *ordines* are matched precisely to the length of each single-verse phrase in the text to produce homorhythm between the two parts, as if they formed a conductus in which one part was missing the text. The rhythmic activity of the tenor increases in the second half, then, and emphasizes the now shorter phrases in the motets, to produce a *trompe l'oreille* effect of acceleration even while the tempo (presumably) stays the same. The voices rush towards their end, and when they reach it, the two syllables of the word "Maria" are drawn out over four perfections, the Virgin a point of melodic and affective repose.

All of this motion articulates a tonal space that is equally clearly etched, and anchored in the octave extending upwards from the tenor's referential pitch of D—an octave sounded at the outset in the first sonority of the piece. With singular attention to discantal detail, every fourth verse (with the exception of v. 28), finishes with a unison between tenor and motetus, while the final sonority is a unison also:

¹⁰ Though "isorhythm" is not a medieval but a twentieth-century term, whose application to motets of the *ars nova* (whose rhythmic design it was coined to explain) has often obscured more of their compositional richness than it has revealed. On which, see Bent, "What is Isorhythm?" in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller, and John Louis Nádas (Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 121–43.

v. 4/m. 16: D
v. 8/m. 32: D
v. 12/m.48: A
v. 16/m. 64: D
v. 20/m. 79: D
v. 24/m. 95: D
v. 28/m. 111: EXCEPTION
v. 32/m. 129: D.

At verse 28, the melody reaches beyond its first bounds to a top f with the word “reconcilia,” an imperative form that channels the invocatory appellations and their seemingly accelerating musical passage into a cry for help that is rendered heartfelt in its extension beyond the voice’s usual range, and especially given that it is placed when the progression of form would expect one to hear a unison. Indeed, the motetus here extends far above the triplum, the inversion of texture serving to focalize the ear’s attention as the voice of prayer reaches for the heavens. Thus framed, the prayerful singer who has learned the piece is made to project an impassioned sonic signal in the hope that the Virgin will hear.

Although it is shorter than *Ave gloriosa, O Maria maris stella* (the motetus of Cl 2) is just as disciplined in its craft:

Cl 2 motetus:¹¹

	O M aria maris stella	8A	O Mary, star of the sea,
	plena <i>gracie</i>	5B	full of grace,
	mater simul et puella	8A	at once mother and maid,
	uas mundicie	5B	vessel of cleanliness,
5.	templum nostri redemptoris	8C	temple of our redeemer,
	sol iusticie	5B	sun of justice
	porta celi spes reorum	8D	gate of heaven, hope of all things,
	tronus glorie	5B	seat of glory,
	sublevatrix miserorum	8D	uplifter of the wretched,
10.	uena uenie	5B	life-blood of pardon;
	audi seruos te rogantes	8E	hear thy servants calling on you,
	[mater] <i>gracie</i>	5B	mother of grace,
	ut peccata sint ablata	8A	that their sins be forgiven
	per te hodie	5B	through you on this day,
15.	qui te puro laudant corde	8B'	those who praise you with a pure heart
	in ueritate	5B'	in truth.

¹¹ Compare the text and translation in Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LVI.

Its 16 verses divide as eight pairs of two, each pair answering a verse of 8 syllables with a verse of 5. Every five-syllable line has the same B-rhyme [-ie] except the last, which modifies it to [-e] to produce a final rhyme couplet matching “corde” with “veritate” in lines 15/16. Where Mary’s name rang through the text of the previous piece, an echo of the chant incipit peals through this one, revealed again in the text’s last word, “veritate” (“truth”).

Within this structure, the eight-syllable lines trace their own rhyme pattern AAC DDE. But it is the B-rhymes that sound out most clearly in the texture as the motetus is sung, because each pair of verses is also set as a single musical phrase of 7L throughout the piece, each followed by a rest of 1L (once again with the exception of the final pair, where the notation clearly specifies an elongation of the phrase leading to the final cadence). These generous rests let the final musical sonority of the phrase linger in the ear, articulated by rhyme. Again, an etched harmonic pattern emerges from these sonorities, clearly and directly contrasting the referential pitch F (also the final of the fifth-mode chant) with its upper neighbor G, anchoring the piece firmly in the octave pitch set from F to f.

Verse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Measure		7		15		23		31		39		47		55		64
Rhyme	A	B	A	B	C	B	D	B	D	B	E	B	A	B	B'	B'
Harmony		F		G		F		G		F		F		G		F

The motetus melody’s point of reference is a fifth above the tenor’s F at c. Around this point it weaves threads of melody at once kaleidoscopically varied and always familiar, like the textual appellations it sets into motion. The effect of familiarity – of each phrase being like the others, although it is actually different – is produced out of the phrase’s shared textual and musical rhythm, and the predictable undulation of the tenor’s discantal referent from F to G, defining the regularity of a pitch set through which the melody may turn. Only at the end does direct repetition of a phrase occur, verse 11 (mm. 41–44) matching the music of verse 15 (mm. 57–60). It makes clear to the ear the kink in the chain of paired F’s and G’s at the level of the phrase, altered in succession here to that the piece’s wax and wane may come to a gentle close.

But against each unassuming motetus a faster triplum in mode six takes audible flight:

Cl 1 triplum:¹²

	A Ue uirgo regia	7A	Hail royal Virgin,
	mater clemencie	6B	Mother of clemency,
	uirgo plena gracia	7A	Virgin full of grace,
	regina glorie	6B	queen of glory,
5.	genitrix egregia	7A	singular bearer
	prolis eximie	6B	of an extraordinary offspring;
	que sedes in gloria	7A	you who sit in the glory
	celestis patrie	6B	of the heavenly homeland,
	regis celi regie	7A	of heaven's king the queenly
10.	mater 7 filia	6A	mother and daughter,
	castrum pudicie	7B	fortress of chastity
	stellaque preuia	7A	and guiding star;
	in trono iusticie	7B	on the throne of justice
	resides obvia	6A	you firmly take your place.
15.	agmina milicie	7B	All the troops
	celestis omnia	6A	of the heavenly army
	occurrunt leticie	7B	are rushing joyfully forward,
	tibique preuia	6A	singing unto you
	cantica simphonie	7B	harmonious songs
20.	tam multipharia	6A	So manifold;
	tu tante potencie	7B	You of so much power,
	tante uictorie	6B	such victory,
	forme tam egregie	7B	such exceptional beauty,
	mater ecclesie	6B	Mother of the Church,
25.	lux mundicie	5B	light of cleanliness,
	genitrix[que] pia	6A	virtuous begetter,
	obediunt tibi celestia	10A	the heavenly bodies are obedient unto you;
	celi luminaria	7A	the sky's lights
	stupefiunt de tua specie	10B	are astounded by your countenance:
30.	sol 7 luna cunctaque	7B'	the Sun and Moon together with all
	polorum sydera	6A	the constellations of the celestial vault.
	uirgo regens supera	7A	Virgin reigning supernal,
	te laudant angeli super ethera	11A	the angels praise you above the heavens.
	aue dei tutum presidium	10C	Hail, God's secure garrison,
35.	pauperisque uerum subsidium	10C	And the poor man's true help.
	tu es pura lima malicie	10B	You are the unblemished tool filing sin
			away,
	tu genitrix gracia	7B	You, the begetter of grace,
	peccatorum mitte refugium	10C	The soothing refuge of sinners,
	egrotantium	5C	of the afflicted
40.	solabile solatium	8C	A comforting solace.
	nobis [assis] post obitum	8C'	Be with us after death,
	post istius seculi	7D	After the passing of this age,
	uite uilis transitum	7C'	of this vile life;

¹² Compare the text and translation in Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LV.

45.	per gratiam non per meritum ducas nos ad patrem et filium.	8C' 10C	through grace, not through our merit, may you lead us to the Father and Son.
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Cl 2 triplum:¹³

	O Maria uirgo dauitica	10A	O Mary, Virgin of David's line,
	uirginum flos uite spes unica	10A	Flower of virgins, only hope of life,
	uia uenie	5B	way of pardon,
	lux gracie	4B	light of grace,
5.	mater clemencie	6B	mother of clemency.
	sola [iu]bes in arce celica	10A	You alone give commands in the heavenly citadel;
	obediunt tibi milicie	10B	the troops are obedient unto you.
	sola sedes in trono glorie	10B	You alone sit on the throne of glory,
10.	gracia plena fulgens deica	10A	full of grace, shining and godly,
	stelle stupent de tua facie	10B	the stars are astounded by your countenance,
	sol luna de tua potencia	10A	the Sun and Moon by your power,
	que luminaria	6A	these luminary bodies which,
	in meridie	5B	even at their height,
	tua facie	5B	your countenance
15.	uincis omnia	5A	conquers, all.
	prece pia mitiga filium	10C	With devout prayer, appease your son,
	miro modo cuius es filia	10A	of whom you are the daughter in a wondrous way,
	ne iudicemur in contrarium	10C	that we not be judged to be against him,
	[sed] det eterna uite premia	10A	but that he give us the reward of eternal life.

Both tripla spin less familiar topoi than heard in the motetus parts, woven into a more complicated syntax whose difficulty is heightened by the quickness with which the syllables pass. Their texts invoke an altogether more strident Virgin than the "precious savior of the sinner" ("preciosa salus peccatoris") hailed in *Ave gloriosa*. The Mary of the *Ave virgo regia* "sit[s] in the glory of the heavenly homeland" (vv. 7-8) where the things of the sky are obedient unto her ("obediunt tibi celestia," vv. 27-28), and where all the luminary bodies are astounded by the brilliance of her beauty – Sun, Moon and stars all ("celi luminaria / stupefiunt de tua specie / sol et luna cunctaque polorum sydera," vv. 28-29.) The sentiments are echoed in *O Maria virgo Davitica* with a continuity of both vocabulary and musical style such as to make it clear that one of the two tripla was composed to emulate the style of the other: "stelle stupent de tua facie / sol luna de tua potencia / que luminaria / in meridie / tua facie / vincis

¹³ Compare the text and translation in Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LVI.

omnia" (vv. 10–15). Mary commands heavenly armies too: *O Maria virgo Davitica* tells us that she "alone give[s] commands in the heavenly citadel," adding, "the troops are obediunt unto you" ("sola iubes in arce celica / obediunt tibi milicie," vv. 6–7) while in *Ave virgo regia*, the poet reminds us that these bands of angels are singing on high to a Virgin who reigns supernal ("Virgo regens supera / te laudant angeli super ethera," vv. 32–33).

The melodic style of each triplum is aptly modulated to figure the energy of the heavenly throng. Each occupies a higher range than its motetus by default – most spectacularly so in Cl 2's *O Maria virgo Davitica* – sounding out praise in the highest. Both are in the sixth rhythmic mode, and their syllables pass in rapid fire against the more stately and unhurried style of the motetus parts – an effect intensified when breves are fractured into texted semibreves, which occurs in *Ave virgo regia* only from m. 84, but which characterizes the style of *O Maria virgo davitica* even from the start of its third phrase. The sculpted contours and regularized phrases of *Ave gloriosa* / DOMINO are paid little heed by *Ave virgo regia*: although the first 12 phrases of the latter are each 5L, that default length seems calculated to eschew alignment with the phraseology of (and hence the articulation of tonal structure in) the tenor-motetus pair as much as possible, at least in the first *cursus*. In the second, the triplum's phrases are shorter and less regular, and permit a variety of relations to the similarly more spliced motetus phrases, which together with the increasing use of semibreves (and especially of texted semibreves) exacerbates the sense of surge toward the piece's point of Marian repose. Proclaiming their rapid syllables with rhythmic exuberance at the height of the motet's compass, the tripla's melodies thus report the joy with which the "bands of the heavenly army rush delighted to greet" the Mother of God (Cl 1, *Ave virgo regia*, "Agmina milicie / celestis omnia / occurrunt leticie," vv. 15–17, which falls at mm. 36–43).

This textual moment is important. As its presses forward, the military hoard of angels sings to the Virgin "harmonious songs so manifold" ("tibique previa / cantica simphonie / tam mulipharia," vv. 18–20). Multifarious songs sung in miraculous harmony: in this declaration the motet draws attention to its music's most palpable feature – its polytextuality – enlisting it as an *embodiment* of the heavenly chorus and its surge of welcome. As it does so, the poetry takes what would otherwise be merely the default texture of the thirteenth-century motet, and pushes it into a momentary iconicity that invites the motet to be pondered as a revelation to the senses of the realm of heavenly activity it depicts. Thus while the registral stratification of the voices connotes a space extending from earth to heaven, their differentiated rhythmic styles – characteristically produced at different stages in the historical development of the genre – fuse the tenor's audibly old sounds (its mode-5 tenor) with triplum's audibly new (the pyrotechnics of fractured, texted mode 6) into something approaching Providence. This is not only a representation. In the virtual environment that emerges from the motet, the singers not only echo, but embody the angelic voices

of which they sing. For a moment they inhabit the ritual bodies they have labored corporately to produce, and fuse with the holy.

II. Devotional Devices and Scholarly Models

This is an aesthetically abundant music indeed, to afford experiences of intimacy and celestial grandeur simultaneously. As the singers become the angels of which they sing, it is not only they that are transformed: for a moment, the carefully balanced strata of rhythmic styles conspire to reveal a single devotional impulse to the whole motet, and the piece becomes a model of Providence revealed, co-ordinating old and new, worldly singers and angelic, earth and heavens. New attention is drawn to polytextuality, making it no longer the neutral background of the genre's style, but itself a figuration of plenitude. The transition from ground to figure is triggered by a moment of textual self-referentiality, and the devotional demeanor struck by the whole texture invites a unity of listening stance, a "monaural" attitude to polytextuality. (The term is my own.) The monaural effect reciprocally acknowledges that the stylistic fundament of the polytextual motet is a perceptually opaque, difficult one, and it rewards the close attention that difficulty demands. Considered in these terms, it is unsurprising that moments of monaurality should regularly harbor devotional purpose, their transparency cast in explicitly holy terms. Yet they are always relational, emerging from the resources laid out in the progression of a particular piece. As the first among many devotional devices I will delineate in the pages that follow, monaurality demands a plural, even promiscuous analytical method: to analyze the use of the device in one piece may require attention to different rudiments of style than in another. In the next section of the chapter, I will turn a closer ear on how perceptual difficulty is produced and sustained in the style of the thirteenth-century motet, so as to sketch the range of stylistic resources out of which monaurality can be created.

The last twenty years have seen a plethora of studies that address the difficulty of polytextuality, and have proposed a variety of solutions about how the genre should be heard, most responding directly to an admission made by Christopher Page (surely the best known performer of the repertory) that he could make little sense of motet texts in performance.¹⁴ I engage many of the strands of scholarship his comments have provoked, and signal the relations (or points of contention) along the way. Admirable summaries of the scholarship

¹⁴ See "Around the Performance of a 13th-Century Motet," *Early Music* 28 (2000): 343–57; at 343; which develops arguments put forward in Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), esp. 65–84.

being readily available, I forego another overview here.¹⁵ It suffices here to state that I believe the breadth of solutions offered by modern studies indicates the richness of thirteenth-century compositional practices and aesthetic tastes; and that the lack of modern consensus to the basic question, “How should the motet be heard?” indicates there were no simple answers in the thirteenth century either.¹⁶

The motetus parts in Cl 1 and 2 everywhere court the intimacy of prayer, their litanying style reembodying components of the devotional environment to which they would originally have been heard to respond. This sense of environment has been given extensive and compelling consideration in Emma Dillon’s recent book, *The Sense of Sound*, which explores how the “sonorities or sounding realities of the medieval environment... encroach on its more durable records” in the form of the motet.¹⁷ For Dillon, the polytextual motet is “the most exaggerated example of a kind of music in which sound asserts itself through and beyond words,” a quality she describes as “supermusical;”¹⁸ and in her account, the supermusical effect of the motet responds in manifold ways to the changing soundscapes of later medieval France. First among them is the “sonic environment of prayer,” which chapters five, six and seven of her study flesh out in detail by examining the artistic and paleographical representation of sound in many prayerbooks of the period.¹⁹ In the eighth and final chapter of her study, Dillon argues that the first four fascicles of Mo are shaped to be devotionally, physically and artistically cognate with those prayerbooks. Her account builds to a reading of a motet whose text is a prayer, to reveal how the piece responds to the sonic culture of devotion the previous chapters excavate. Thus Dillon situates the genre in a variety of reconstructed environments: codicological, artistic,

¹⁵ See Suzannah Clark, “‘S’en dirai chançonete’: Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet,” *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 16 (2007): 31–59; at 31–35; and (primarily concentrating on the fourteenth-century repertoire, but also reviewing scholarship on earlier motets) Anna Zayaruznaya, “Hearing Voices,” in “Form and Idea in the *Ars Nova* Motet” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010), 73–105.

¹⁶ See, for example, the variety of evidence engaged by the contributors to *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), whose title lends its terms to the question as I formulate it here. See esp. the essays by Rebecca A. Baltzer, “The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*” 17–27; Pesce, “Beyond Glossing: The Old Made New in *Mout me fu grief / Robin m’aime / Portare*,” 28–51; and Bent, “Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet,” 82–103.

¹⁷ Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 327.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 174–286; this quotation from 293.

practical and sonic. The sense in which I use the term “environment” in this chapter is indebted to Dillon’s. I also use the term in a different sense, drawing on recent work in the psychology of music that draws on ecological theories of perception, to suggest that motets could be shaped to produce *virtual* environments of their own out of the materials their composers borrowed from the musical world around them.

Let us think through an example. At another moment in *Ave gloriosa*, the imperative “reconcilia” becomes an impassioned cry to the Virgin as the motetus’s melodic height forces the singer’s voice out of the range to which it has become accustomed (mm. 109–11). The twenty-seven verses that prepare the gesture have enumerated the Virgin’s attributes at great length in terms both figural and literal, rendering her as a complex mental fixture, pictorial, sensory and affective. Her Son to whom the singer will be reconciled is introduced as “*tam pio, / tam propicio,*” so holy and so benevolent, that the “reconcilia” seems an almost ineluctable consequence of the wondering tone the intensifiers are calculated to produce. Nested within the prayer is a script for the production of affect, described by the text, and enhanced by the melody whose literally heightened phrase both describes the motion of an imploring voice and intensifies the singer’s physical labor to emotive ends. Scripting the voice as an affective *response* to an image depicted by the motet’s text is a device used pervasively in the genre, one which connects to kinds of procedure equally pervasive to devotional literary texts, and which I study in closest detail in the third section of the chapter.

Just as the monaural moment in Cl 1 drew passing attention to polytextuality as itself a figure, in a similar manner does the prayerful “reconcilia” thematize the relation of the motet’s empirical and virtual environments. I build here on Eric Clarke’s ecological theory of musical perception, which attends to “the perceptual meaning of sounds, understood as the way in which sounds specify their sources and in so doing afford actions for the perceiver.”²⁰ A piece of music will always specify information about its empirical sources (i.e. information about the singers such as their sex, and so on), but may also furnish information about a virtual environment. Describing virtual musical environments, Clarke writes, “Just as spatial patterns of pigment in a painting can create a perceptual effect analogous to that produced by reflection, texture, and shadow in the real world, so music may create perceptual effects with temporal patterns of discrete pitches that reproduce, or approximate, those that we experience with the continuous acoustical transformations that are characteristic of real-world events.”²¹ The elegance of the Providential revelation set up by Cl 1 is that it furnishes a virtual environment whose celestial sound is

²⁰ Eric Clarke, *Ways of Listening: An Ecological Approach to the Perception of Musical Meaning* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 126.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

actually unknowable, but the piece's fiction proposes that the empirical performance of the motet partakes of the heavenly throng that lies beyond hearing.

Among the invariants afforded by a musical signal must always be information that specifies the labor of the body that is the source of the sound. This is a premise I find several motets to explore self-consciously. Parts of a motet, always scripts for action, sometimes heighten a performer's physical labor (such as with the increase of range here) to affective ends and to make interpretive points. My analyses suggest that one devotional utility of the genre rests in its ability to blur the empirical and virtual environments linked by the performing body in ways the piece's texts describe theologically. It is in this way that the performance of a motet may ritualize the body, in the sense articulated by Catherine Bell.²² Clearly the co-ordination of action required to perform a motet produces a structure of distinction separating musicking bodies from their everyday manifestation in the world. It is in this marking off that I understand a motet to be a ritualizing event in Bell's terms; and as the empirical bodies are invited to fuse imaginatively with the holy ones of which they sing, another, subtler ritualization is also at work. Both kinds are properties available in the piece, regardless where it is performed, because produced out of a motet's most basic properties of rhythmic fixity; and the ability to intervene in the musical body in these determined and reproducible ways is new to the precisely measured polyphony of the late twelfth- and thirteenth centuries. These ritualizations may, but *need* not, have been complemented by performing the motet as part of a particular liturgy. This is of crucial importance: the ritualization of the event produced in and through music creates its potentially devotional character – a character over which ecclesiastical liturgy would have no unique purchase, and which could serve with equal efficacy in vernacular devotional practice. The motet has the potential to bring ritualization with it wherever it goes.

Hovering within the unfolding rhymes of the motetus parts in both Cl 1 and Cl 2, a single word is intimated in sound before being heard itself at the end. This is a simple example of another device I find pervasive in the repertory: that of structuring a piece so as to reveal in time the prior materials out of which it has been crafted, or to reveal almost after the fact the idea which serves as a motet's interpretative kernel. In Cl 1, the [-a] rhyme which calls the Virgin into presence by the end of "Ave gloriosa" intimates the approach of her name "Maria" across the duration of the piece. As a procedure, the intimation of a musical thing yet to come is closely aligned to monaurality, especially in pieces that turn on the complicated citation of pre-existent refrains. My blurring of physical and temporal terms here is deliberate, and echoes the work of Hans

²² See Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 94–117.

Ulrich Gumbrecht, who suggests that all aesthetic experience has both a temporal and a physical vector, the quality of a thing literally *taking place* in time. He suggests that we should “conceive of aesthetic experience as an oscillation between ‘presence effects’ and ‘meaning effects,’” in a way that neatly captures the particular quality of refrain citation intimated and then granted.²³

Unlike Gumbrecht, however, I make no claim about aesthetic perception in general. Again: the ability to manipulate in minute detail the experience of known musical materials in time was new to the measured polyphony of the thirteenth-century and the notations that transmitted it. One way to understand mensural notation in terms beyond those of compositional process is to see it as a technology permitting felt experience to be transmitted to new bodies, so that polyphony’s scripts could be inhabited by other singers, as models to mold themselves to in performance. Whence the distance of my argument from Gumbrecht’s: to reduce all these effects to a general quality of the aesthetic obscures their particular historicity in thirteenth-century music.

Ardis Butterfield and Judith Peraino have examined how refrains lend properties of their structure to the new voices in which they are articulated; Suzannah Clark has shown how a composer could rely upon the familiarity of a refrain melody to signal important moments in a piece’s musicopoetic structure; while Jennifer Saltzstein has suggested that refrain citation participates in the establishment of a prestigiously literary French vernacular.²⁴ Indebted to analytical paradigms these important studies afford, my purpose is to hear how *memory* is manipulated in the time of performance, and to both representational and affective ends. The nexus of association and feeling that a given refrain instantiates may be richly complex, born out of its lifetime of circulation through different literary and musical environments. In this, my interest in memory is qualitatively distinct from recent work by Anna Maria Busse Berger on techniques of memorization in the middle ages and their role in music pedagogy and composition.²⁵ In the penultimate section of the chapter, I discuss a network

²³ Gumbrecht, *The Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 2.

²⁴ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 75–102; Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 186–234; Clark, “‘S’en dirai chançonete’: Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet” *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 16 (2007): 31–59; and Saltzstein, “Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority, and Origins,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010): 245–79.

²⁵ Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005). Busse Berger’s work offers a musical correlate to research by Mary Carruthers, esp. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

of pieces connected by their use of shared refrains, arguing that they are structured to manipulate musical experiences a performer would have known from other, vernacular musical practices. Through a variety of techniques, notably contrafacture, the pieces propose that vernacular experience may itself be rewritten to newly pious ends.

Not all pieces in La Clayette's collection are considered here, nor are pieces discussed in the order they appear in the book. To clarify from the outset: I make no claim that all pieces in the collection were equally amenable to devotional use. Many of the French pieces could have been so used only with Herculean feats of interpretive will, and it seems likely that they entered the book due to exigencies of availability. As I suggested in chapter one, the price of having any pieces in the book at all seems to have been to build a collection big enough to make the project a materially worthwhile undertaking. In consequence, some of the pieces did not fit the devotional emphasis of the book with the same neatness of fit as others, while those that did were separated from pieces of similar purpose because their exemplars were not available at the same time. Nevertheless, the argument of this chapter is ordered to show that a motet could be a particularly useful device for training habits of devotional interpretation. Perhaps a medieval singer whose interpretive will had been honed to suitably Herculean strength could have proposed devotional interpretations of the less obviously religious pieces. The fascicle's devotional frame sets an agenda by inviting choice, and by acknowledging choice, it must also acknowledge other interpretive possibilities. I return to this point at the end of the chapter.

La Clayette's motets augmented a repertoire of devotional experiences made available in the literary texts already collected before its first binding. To explain the relation of music to that literature, I borrow promiscuously throughout this chapter from recent strands in literary scholarship that have addressed the mental life of stories, in the middle ages and beyond. Several recent studies on the cognitive and phenomenological approaches to medieval literature provide points of comparison. My claim that motets can be scripts for the production of devotional affect is in dialogue with Sarah McNamer. Examining Passion poetry from a cognitivist-historical perspective, she construes texts used in affective meditation as "intimate scripts" which conjured vivid mental pictures of the suffering Christ to induce the reader's compassion.²⁶ Studying the cognitive practice of medieval belief and its relation to doubt, Steven Justice argues that miracle stories goaded the intellect to confront its inability to grasp the miraculous, so as to train the will to exert command over intellect itself. His attention to the *difficulty* of mental picturing as much as to its

²⁶ McNamer, "Introduction: Intimate Scripts in the History of Emotion," in *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 1-57.

utility informs numerous points of argumentation here.²⁷ Bill Burgwinkle and Cary Howie have explored hagiographical texts through the lens of phenomenological theories of pornography, to argue that *vitae* offered experiences of fusion to their readers: vividly picturing the suffering body of the saint in both text and manuscript image, they argue, was a technology of bodily expansion in which impossible, miraculous experience could be fleetingly taken on as the reader's own.²⁸

All of these scholars trace the imaginative structures elaborated by stories to understand how they worked on the mind to produce cognitive or affective sensation, and to habituating devotional effect. I contribute to their work by taking the motet to emphasize the *liveness* of literary instruction. We have seen that La Clayette's didactic texts anticipated their tales of suffering saints and biblical models would enter the mind in live, time-bound reading, in social events of praelection such as those given ample evidence by Joyce Coleman.²⁹ Any imagined bodies offered to singers and then audiences for their identification were of necessity shared in community – and, I would suggest, were no less intimate for being shared by many.

This is the point at which the devotional utility of the motet comes into clearest focus. Like many of the texts alongside which the motets were bound, the musical pieces conjured images and stories enjoining affective response. Yet their poetry was not only to be heard, but brought forth by the labor of singing bodies whose collaborative actions could now be scripted, disposed in fixed temporal relations to one another. At the heart of method in this chapter lies an attempt to understand the unique ways in which not only listening to, but performing a thirteenth-century motet structured and heightened the labor of body and mind in time.

Scholars of fourteenth and fifteenth-century music have long worked to understand the cognitive operations medieval singers exercised on notated documents when they performed, especially when inflecting written pitches by semitone to meet the grammatical demands of counterpoint (that is, realms of performance that used to be grouped together under the actually rather more

²⁷ Justice, "Did the Middle Ages Believe in their Miracles?" *Representations* 103 (2008): 1–29; and Justice, "Eucharistic Miracle and Eucharistic Doubt," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42 (2012): 307–32.

²⁸ Burgwinkle and Howie, *Sanctity and Pornography in Medieval Culture: On the Verge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

²⁹ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

specific term *musica ficta*). Margaret Bent blazed a trail for this kind of work.³⁰ Elizabeth Eva Leach, building on her own extensive work on similar issues, has recently examined how fourteenth-century composers could thematize their manipulation of singers through the medium of notation.³¹ Like Leach, I am interested here in exploring thirteenth-century motets for the kinds of distributed cognition they require. But the means by which that distribution is achieved in La Clayette differs from that in the song by Senleches Leach describes: Senleches's song relies upon all singers to be reading their parts from the manuscript, and La Clayette does not.

The cognitive operations enjoined by the composers of devotional motets were also worked on mental images that entered the mind through the mediation of the ear. Coleman hypothesizes that the event of literature would have been extended or reduced – a rubato effect, one might say – to incorporate interjections from the audience, though she understands that the text *per se* would not much have been altered through further extemporization (as verse texts, for example, might make difficult). If her argument is correct (and a text can do little to protest being so used, nor can it offer evidence that it was not), it invites a further speculation with regard to polyphony. It might be thought that La Clayette's music fascicle was the book's most blatant locus of the "oral," in terms of brute sonic force. But the grammar of discant foundational to thirteenth-century polyphony *does* protest interruptions.³² The voices that together produce it are co-ordinated in time by modal rhythm whose quick passage of *tempora* cannot be much quickened or slowed without a fatal loss of musical sense, probably ending in a failed performance, as the singers come out of alignment and cannot get back in. Notwithstanding all of those aspects of musical writing

³⁰ Among many studies, see preeminently the essays collected in Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica ficta* (New York: Routledge, 2002). My description of the problems of reading here is heavily indebted to Bent's work.

³¹ See Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading, and Performing Song," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 72–95.

³² I extend to discant of the thirteenth century the "grammatical" status Margaret Bent accords to fourteenth-century counterpoint. See Bent, "The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 15–59. On the two-part framework of discant, see Richard L. Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 1–21; and Sarah Fuller, "Organum – Discantus – Contrapunctus in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 477–502.

that must be understood as “underprescriptive by our standards”³³ and that could have been realized in multiple ways by contemporaneous singers, the technology’s use as a platform for learning through praelection renders La Clayette’s motets more hardily *written* in their performed result, more reactionarily impervious to external intrusion than their literary counterparts. This constitutes an aesthetic of musical writtenness given an articulate and self-conscious voice in the motet which will form the basis of the next chapter. For now, we turn to the devices of difficult music from which figures of devotional clarity may emerge.

III. Musical Difficulty and the Work of Prayer

The motet *Res nova mirabilis* (582) / *Virgo decus castitatis* (583) / ALLELUIA (M78) is the twelfth piece in La Clayette’s music fascicle.³⁴ The motet’s tenor is drawn from the Alleluia for the nineteenth Sunday, whose verse text is an exhortation to “confess unto the Lord, and call upon his name,” and to “announce his works among the peoples”:

Text: Alleluia. Confitemini Domino, et invocate nomen eius: annunciate inter gentes opera eius.³⁵

Trans.: Alleluia. Confess unto the Lord, and call upon his name: announce his works among the peoples.

The chant’s text is taken from the first verse of Psalm 104, which goes on to augment its exhortations to worship in explicitly musical terms. Verse 2 gives, “canite ei et psallite illi loquimini in universis mirabilibus eius,” whose musicality

³³ Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music,” 25.

³⁴ Cl fol. 373v,a,3–373v,b,4. The same three-voice Latin version of the piece is found in 5 further manuscripts: MüB, fol. IIbv; Mo, fol. 96v; ArsB, fols 2r/118r; Ba, fol. 59v; Hu, fol. 105v. The motetus *Virgo decus castitatis* is found with the tenor alone as a two-part piece in four further manuscripts: LoC, fol. 5v; Boul, fol. 92r; Lyell, fol. 172v; ArsB, fol. 118r. A three-part, conductus-motet version of the piece is found in CTr, fol. 230v, that shares the tenor and motetus *Virgo decus castitatis*, and whose triplum shows some relation to the melos found with the texted version *Res nova mirabilis* in Cl and other sources. I defer further discussion of the compositional chronology or relation of the versions. For concordance lists, see Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, XXXVI–XXXVII, and van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 93.

³⁵ See Hans Tischler, *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets (to circa 1270)* (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1985), 2:56.

is affirmed by the intensifier “yea” in the Douay-Rheims translation: “Sing to him, yea sing praises to him: relate all his wondrous works.”³⁶ In the motet setting, however, the upper voices answer the tenor’s call with invocations not of God, but of Mary. Each sets the text of a prayer that follows the standard model in which invocation segues into petition, asking the Virgin to intercede with Christ to wash away the singers’ sin:

Triplum:³⁷

	R E s noua mirabilis	7A	Wonderful, rare thing;
	uirgo [semper amabilis]	8A	Virgin ever to be loved,
	uirgo uenerabilis	7A	Venerable Virgin,
5.	omnibus comes [utilis]	8A	Helpful companion to all;
	uirgo decus uirginum	7B	Virgin, splendor of Virgins,
	celestes lumen luminum	8B	Celestial light of lights;
	ave salus gentium	7B	Hail salvation of the peoples
	una <i>que</i> spes fidelium	8B	and one hope of the faithful!
10.	uirgo celi regie	7C	Virgin queen of heaven’s palace,
	referta plena gracia	8C	Replete with and full of grace,
	deitatis pluuiam	7C	Rain-shower of divinity,
	uirgo super omnia	7C	Virgin above all things;
	iam dele nostra uicia	8C	Now erase our vices;
	7 percepta uenia	7C	And our pardon being secured,
15.	perducas nos ad gaudia.	8C	Lead us to everlasting bliss.

Motetus:

	V I rgo decus castitatis	8A	Virgin, splendor of chastity,
	uirgo regia	5B	Queenly Virgin,
	uirgo mater pietatis	8A	Virgin mother of piety,
	viri nescia	5B	Without knowledge of a man;
5.	virgo templum trinitatis	8A	Virgin temple of the Trinity
	celi regia	5B	Queen of Heaven,
	uirgo pura prauitatis	8A	Virgin unsoiled by depravity,
	dele uicia	5B	Delete our vices,
	nos emundans a peccatis	8A	Cleansing us from sins
10.	per suffragia	5B	through your suffrages.
	per te nobis pene datis	8A	Through you, our penalties being paid,

³⁶ Sourced from <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Psalms%2097&version=DRA>. Last accessed March 9, 2013.

³⁷ Compare the texts and translations given by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LXIII-LXIV.

	detur uenia	5B	May pardon be granted,
	ne dampnemur pro [peccatis]	8A	That we not be found guilty on account
	in miseria	5B	of our sins in wretchedness,
15.	se[d] fruamur cum beatis	8A	But that we may flourish with the saints
	celi gloria	5B	In the glory of heaven.

Despite the change of devotional object, the motet setting picks up the chant's invitation to *call out*, an effect achieved through the artfully staggered phrase articulations between the parts produced by metrical calculations of poetic form in each. The motetus has sixteen verses divided into eight pairs: throughout, an eight-syllable verse with A rhyme [-is] is answered by a five-syllable verse with B rhyme [-ia], the whole A-B pair set as a single, mostly syllabic musical phrase in the first rhythmic mode, lasting seven perfections in total. The triplum, by comparison, has fifteen verses forming three groups articulated by rhyme: verses 1–4 have A rhyme [-is], with a regular syllable count 7878; verses 5–8 have C rhyme [-um], also with syllable count 7878; and verses 9–15 have B rhyme [-ia], with syllable counts 787 7878. Again, each musical phrase sets two verses of text by default, to produce a standard musical length of eight perfections. While each voice unfolds according to its own readily perceived formal logic, the discrepancy of length between their default musicopoetic units – seven perfections in the motetus against eight in the triplum – causes an ever-shifting set of relations between phrase beginnings and endings in the two parts.

While the phrases of each part are carefully calculated so as to eschew alignment, the shared register of the two upper voices and their similarity of melodic idiom assert their likeness to one another. Both upper voices confine their melodic motion to the same register, anchored almost entirely upon the pitch set cdefg, with occasional use of b as a lower auxiliary to the referential pitch c, and rare use of a (which is used only twice, in the triplum, at m. 34, and then part of the antepenultimate cadential flourish at the end of the piece). The upper parts cross continually, moving in contrary motion to one another by default. The tenor, by comparison, is clearly distinguished from the upper voices: although its compass is wide – encompassing DEF^Gabc[d]e – its melos is predominantly limited to the set EFGD, with a strong referential focus on F. The overall textural effect is of two songs set to a single accompaniment.

The texts of the upper-voice songs not only resemble one another, but actively foreground their likeness through shared words. Five of the first seven verses in the motetus open with the word “virgo” as a vocative address, and they mark the start of each of the first four musical phrases in the part. Meanwhile the triplum echoes with “*virgos*” of its own, the beginnings of its second and third phrases also declaring this, Mary’s most wondrous attribute. As virginity rings through the texture of the piece in these repetitious calls, the parts clamor for the Virgin’s attention.

For all their contention, the two parts have a continuity of prayerful purpose that manifests in their textual forms. The turn from praise to petition is not aligned in the two parts, though the request that marks it is the same: the motetus begs, “dele vicia” at mm. 26–28, and is answered by the triplum (whose petitions are more elaborately extended) at mm. 49–52 with “dele nostra vicia.” (Perhaps to draw attention to the parallel, the motetus sings a short melisma at this moment on the final [-a] of “miseria” at mm. 49–51: this allows the triplum’s moment of petition to be heard without obstruction, while setting a momentary vocalic icon of sin-caused woe against the request that will wipe it out.) The parts having been carefully disaligned, the effect is much as if the two songs were now wrestling to be one. The moment of recognition acknowledging these verbal echoes may draw the mind away from attention to the linear unfolding of each text, and to make it lose itself in an intractable musical texture.

How can we characterize the simultaneity of required attention and invited distraction in this piece? Seeking answers to the same question, Emma Dillon has looked to contemporaneous prayerbooks, arguing that their marginal images have a sonic component: that they cue the mental presence of real or fantastic sounds that distract the reader’s attention away from the prayers at the center, staging opportunities to commit the sin of *curiositas* so as to train the prayerful reader to recognize and avoid the sin.³⁸ This is taken as an interpretive context for what Dillon terms the “supermusical” effect of the polytextual motet.³⁹ For Dillon, the motet is “the most exaggerated example of a kind of music in which sound asserts itself through and beyond words.”⁴⁰ Complementary with Dillon’s work, I seek here to pay still closer analytical attention to the varied means by which particular motets invite their listeners or singers to sustain the balance of attention and distraction,⁴¹ and to ethical purpose. Here in Cl 12, to distinguish the parts is a challenge heightened by the repeated pointing of verbal and registral similarity in the midst of calculated disalignment. Each new phrase invites the ear to slip from the part it is following onto the other that competes with it for the same musical space, and for the same attention. The effort required to follow a single part in both musical and verbal sense is artfully imperiled. But this is not to say that noise or meaninglessness will win out. Rather, it is so that the ear that has captured the sense of a single

³⁸ Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 174–286.

³⁹ Ibid., 287–328. Dillon defines the “supermusical” as a “play on musical sound wrought through verbal excess” at p. 7. I address her argument more fully below.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 327.

⁴¹ Dillon offers her study as an “alternative to the analysis-led approaches that have tended to dominate motet scholarship.” *The Sense of Sound*, 327.

part will have done so as an effort of labor, and against the distraction of those phonemic, semantic, and registral similarities that would work to draw it away.⁴²

In Cl 12, the ear that is diverted from a single line through the piece will only encounter a path that is equally Marian. The stakes of inattention are concomitantly low. Other pieces expand the possible frame of tropological reference, and they invite both perceptual work and interpretive choice on the part of their singers and auditors. A straightforward example is provided by the bilingual motet Cl 49, *Quant voi remirant* (126) / *Virgo virginum* (127) / HEC DIES (M13).⁴³ Above its Eastertide chant (drawn from the Gradual for Easter Sunday, “Haec dies”) are spun a Latin prayer to Mary, and a French triplum that opens with an invocation of the high style trouvère chanson.⁴⁴

Triplum.⁴⁵

	Q U ant uois remirant	5D	When I see
	deste la saison	5E	The season of summer returning,
	quant le bois font retentir	7F	When all these jolly birds come back
	touz cil iolif oisillons	7E'	To occupy the woods,
5.	adonc plour et soupir	6F	Then I weep and sigh
	pour le grant desir	5F	For the great desire
	cai de la bele marion	8E	That I have for beautiful Marion,
	qui mon cuer a en sa prison	8E	Who has my heart in her prison.

⁴² This aim to quicken mental activity that would otherwise dull in distraction harbors a formal similarity to the confrontational devices of contemporaneous miracle stories. Steven Justice counters the claim that miracle stories comforted doubt and eased a believer’s uncomprehending concerns. He writes, “Far from trying to suppress skepticism and speculation into obedient quiescence, these stories are willing to risk them in an effort to prod quiescent and unreflective belief back to life. The doubt they worry about is what transpires, not when the mind starts up, but when it shuts down.” “Eucharistic Miracle and Eucharistic Doubt,” 325.

⁴³ Cl, fols. 388v,b,11–389r,a,7. By contrast to the pieces already discussed, this one has a much more limited circulation. One other witness to this bilingual version is extant: Mo, fol. 80v. A three-part Latin version sharing Cl’s music but supplying a Latin contrafact for the triplum (*O mitissima Virgo Maria* [128]) is found in Ba, fol. 60r. Cf. Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LI, and van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 31.

⁴⁴ Christopher Page coins the term “High Style” to characterize the elevated rhetoric of the Old French trouvère chanson in *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 10–17.

⁴⁵ Compare the texts and translations offered by Anderson in his edition, *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, XCI.

Motetus:

	V I rgo uirginum	5A	Virgin of Virgins,
	lumen luminum	5A	Light of lights,
	restauratrix hominum	7A	Restorer of men,
	que portasti domin[um]	7A	[You] who have carried the Lord,
5.	per te maria	5B	Through you, Mary,
	detur uenia	5B	May pardon be granted;
	angelo nunciante	7C	While the angel pronounces,
	uirgo es post et ante	7C	You are a virgin after and before.

The phrase design of the texted parts sits at the opposite end of the spectrum of textural possibility from Cl 12. Again the two parts turn through the same pitch set, now extending from C-c in both voices, with a primary emphasis on the subset EFGa which projects a palpably referential emphasis on the tenor's own final of A. Here, however, the phrases of the two parts are not staggered, but are exactly the same musical length, each setting a single poetic verse, and are directly aligned throughout. Thus the Latin motetus has 8 verses, and is divided by syllable count into two equal metrical halves: 55775577, with rhyme structure AAAA BBCC.

The French text mirrors the form closely: 5577 6588, with rhyme structure DEFE' FFEE. The discrepancies of syllable count in verses 5–8 of the French text are accommodated to the length of the musical phrase with texted *fractiones* of the underlying modal feet, which suggests that the triplum was composed once the more tightly structured motetus and tenor were already in place (though not necessarily that it was created by a different composer). Whatever their compositional cause, the discrepancies produce a stylistic effect continuous with the triplum's more elaborate use of *fractio modi* throughout – this, the characteristic hallmark of French vernacular melodic style in polyphonic settings. A detail of form also points out the triplum's cultivated vernacular style: where the Latin text has a single rhyme for its first four verses, the triplum creates an internal repetition scheme where the E rhyme links the end of the two couplets at verses 2 and 4, gesturing in miniature to the more elaborate structures of Old French monophonic lyrics in the high style from whose lexicon its imagery and diction are also drawn.⁴⁶ Two affective worlds are juxtaposed in a single space, but expressed simultaneously. The perceptual challenge afforded by the piece is less to avoid distraction than to be able to grasp a single one of the parts at all.

The closely matched formal structures of these two simultaneous songs articulate more subtly parallel generic transformations in each. Both have a

⁴⁶ For an overview of formal procedures in Old French lyric, see John Stevens, "The Courtly Chanson," in *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13–47.

versificatory division between lines 1–4 and 5–8 that also marks a formal turn in their sense: the motetus's prayer makes its anticipated move from invocation to supplication with the direct address "per te Maria," while the triplum's "adonc" ("then") answers the deictic "quant" from the opening, to turn away from the flourishing springtime world and its "jolif oisellons" ("jolly birds") and contrast it with his own suffering in love. This magnifies the distance between the two texts' sentiments: where the joy of the birds in springtime might readily have been worked into a figure of Eastertide joy in the resurrection, the narrator of the French text voices despair. Marion is its *cause*, not its relief, holding the narrator's heart "in her prison" rather than in the devotion inspired by answered prayers. Her entry into the text is conspicuous, announced as if at high semantic volume, for she is the shepherdess of the *pastourelle* genre and is out of place here in the High-Style chanson. Clearly the vernacular virgin is meant to be heard in relation to her holy counterpart: the word "Marion" at the end of verse 7 in the triplum (heard at measures 23–24) echoes "Maria" in the motetus at the end of verse 5 (heard at 16–17), and it creates something of a higher-level symmetry with the rhyme-articulated couplets in the triplum's first gestural "stanza." In this calculated echo, the two parts acknowledge one another directly for the first time.

But as this moment invites the mind to forge a semantic parallel, it also works to point the incommensurability of the women whose names are sung, the surprise of their emergent phonemic likeness working simultaneously as a declaration that they are irreconcilable. Still another generic swerve, now in the Latin text, indicates that our motet directs denigration toward the shepherdess. Just as Marion adjusts the deictic framework of the High-Style chanson in verse 7/measures 23–24, the moment changing what that text is *about*, the motetus steps out of generic line also, to follow the petitions with which a prayer almost always closes with a new sentence in direct address, emphasized by its curious present tense and indicative mood that announces annunciation itself at the height of the motet's compass. When the motetus sings "angelo nunciante Virgo es post et ante" ("when the angel brings word, you are a Virgin before and after," and heard at mm. 25–29), scripting the labor of the praying voice so that it rings out high, the inference is that Marion, who walks onstage at the same moment, is no virgin at all by comparison.

David Rothenberg has recently argued that the maiden of the Old French *pastourelle* is innately connected to the Blessed Virgin in motets such as this, Marion being an unproblematic vernacular figure for Mary.⁴⁷ Yet in this piece, the connection between Marion and Maria emerges in time, and unfolds in a middle ground where the possibility of aligning the two women is precisely what the piece invites one to explore and ultimately to eschew. I suspect this reading of the piece was shared by the composer of a Latin contrafact text that serves as the

⁴⁷ Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*; see pp. 46–57, 62–72, and 74–75.

triplum in the Bamberg manuscript's witness to the motet, *O mitissima virgo Maria* (128).⁴⁸

Ba, fol. 60r:

	O mitissima	5A	O mildest
	virgo Maria	5A	Virgin Mary,
	posce tuum filium	7B	beseech your son
	ut nobis auxilium	7B	that he send help
5.	det et remedium	6B	and remedy
	contra demonum	5B	against the
	fallabiles astucias	8C	deceiving tricks of demons
	et horum nequicias	7C	and their wickednesses.

Its melody is identical almost to the note with La Clayette's, occasioning the same "extra" syllables in Latin where they had appeared to *fractiones* in the French, and conjuring the same cultivated vernacularity of style that now works to forge a bivocality within the single part. Bamberg's triplum is also a prayer to Mary, but one that, rather than asking for the usual kinds of pardon, requests more specifically that she "beseech [her] son that he send help and remedy against the deceiving tricks of demons and their wickednesses." This most unusual of requests (it is the only motet text I have encountered to solicit protection against a supernatural being) places the "fallabiles astucias / et horum nequicias" against precisely the *fractiones*-laden strains of melody that had previously introduced our dubiously unchaste shepherdess. Made present again in the French style of the tune, Marion is the deceiving and wicked demon the triplum's new text wishes to exorcise.

Cl 12 and Cl 49 sit at opposite ends of a spectrum of textural possibilities in terms of their phrase design: from maximal alignment of the voices in the latter to maximal and unpredictable disalignment in the former. Both ends of the spectrum produce equally difficult perceptual results, which the motets mobilize as interpretive work harboring an ethical imperative to hear with correct understanding (or to produce the song without being diverted into error by the distraction of the other part). This is significant, for in motet scholarship, difficulty with the genre is usually attributed to the fact of polytextuality – the simultaneous presence of different texts. My analysis of the two foregoing pieces invites us to adjust that claim, for in each case here the texts more regularly point out the common purpose of the texted parts, while their musical parameters place sense in peril. It is also significant that while there may be a continuity of effect between the two pieces, that intractable sonic effect is produced out of

⁴⁸ *O mitissima* is no. 128 in van der Werf's catalogue; its network of sources is given in van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 31. The transcription and translation here are my own.

opposite musical procedures available within the style. Tracing the particular means by which the effect of difficulty is achieved in each piece also begins to reveal moments equally calculated to let difficulty yield to *musical* clarity – a monaural listening stance which can harbor a message heightened by the ground of difficulty from which it emerges. Suzannah Clark writes that “it is surely curious that a genre should enjoy such sustained development – over centuries, indeed – when its most characteristic feature – polytextuality – is unintelligible in performance.”⁴⁹ She goes on to analyze a particular motet to suggest that “medieval composers did seem to tackle the problem of comprehension, by using the music to bring out the meaning of the words in performance.”⁵⁰ I share Clark’s sense that “the music [of her piece, and also of others] serves as an ingenious means of signaling what there is to be listened for.”⁵¹ But I would adjust her claim that this shows composers “tackl[ing] the problem of comprehension.”⁵² I would say rather that it shows a concern to produce moments of interpretive clarity, and one that relies upon and makes use of the default *difficulty* of the polytextual style when listened to from outside of a performance. Rather than being a problem, difficulty is *useful*, necessary to create a fluctuation of opacity and transparency over time.

A fine example of this fluctuation is provided by the eighteenth piece in the La Clayette collection, the bilingual motet *Au douz mois de mai* (275)/ *Crux forma penitencie* (274) / SUSTINERE (M22).⁵³ The piece has received considerable attention from Sylvia Huot, Dolores Pesce, and Emma Dillon.⁵⁴ As all commentators observe, Cl 18 is built on a tenor from an Alleluia chant that was used in the thirteenth century on various feasts: the Finding of the Holy Cross

⁴⁹ Clark, “‘S’en dirai chançonete,’” 34.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 35.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Cl, fols. 375r,b,7–375v,a,8. There is a direct concordance to the piece in Mo, fol. 74v. Several other sources contain three-part motets using the same music and motetus text, but providing various Latin contrafact texts for the triplum: MüB, fol. II, 1r has a triplum *Arbor nobilis* (276); while Ba, fol. 11r provides the triplum *Cruci domini* (277). Some version of the piece with the same motetus was item 13a in Bes. *Cruci domini* appears with the tenor alone in LoC, fol. 7r. The list of concordances is taken from Anderson, *Motets of the La Clayette Manuscript*, XXXIX, and van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 45.

⁵⁴ See Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 129–37; Pesce, “The Significance of Text in Thirteenth-Century Latin Motets,” *Acta Musicologica* 58 (1986): 91–117, esp. 96–97; Pesce, “Beyond Glossing,” esp. 42; and Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 320–27.

(3rd May) and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15th August), with small but significant changes to its text, as follows:⁵⁵

Finding of the Holy Cross:

Alleluia. Vs. Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera: quae sola fuisti digna sustinere regem caelorum et Dominum.⁵⁶

Trans. Alleluia. Vs. Sweet tree of the Cross, bearing sweet nails and sweet weights, which you alone were worthy to carry, the King of the heavens and the Lord.

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin:

Alleluia. Vs. Dulcis Virgo, dulcis mater, dulcia ferens pondera, quae sola fuisti digna portare regem caelorum et Dominum.⁵⁷

Trans. Alleluia. Vs. Sweet Virgin, sweet mother, bearing sweet weights, which you alone were worthy to carry, the King of the heavens and the Lord.

The liturgical contexts of the shared melody forge an exegetical link between Mary and the Cross as bearers of Christ at opposite ends of his earthly life; and musical memory invites meditation upon Mary as a witness to the Passion.

⁵⁵ Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 136–37; Pesce, “Beyond Glossing,” 139–42; and Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 320. The chant is not in the Gregorian archetype. The early history and provenance of the chant are not known, though it was certainly a piece for the Holy Cross before it was redeployed as a Marian one. Margot Fassler shows that the Holy Cross text adapts a verse from the Passion hymn “Pange lingua” by Venantius Fortunatus. (See *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 35.) She also suggests that the melodic and textual instability of the piece in its eleventh century sources “indicates a late date (probably in the tenth century).” (Ibid., 32, n. 56). Dolores Pesce has examined contemporary chant sources from across northern France to clarify the tenor’s transmission history, suggesting that “the Marian contrafact version is *Alleluia Dulcis virgo* with *portare* is probably not Parisian, but that it was used in some northern French locale(s), possibly in connection with the Assumption or a Marian votive Mass.” See Pesce, “Beyond Glossing,” 40.

⁵⁶ Tischler, *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 2:46.

⁵⁷ Tischler accords the Marian version of the chant the number M34a; *ibid.*, 49.

The two upper voices respond one each to the chant's two liturgical resonances so as to magnify the exegetical connection: the Latin motetus focuses on the Cross, while the French triplum offers a *pastourelle* whose shepherdess is heard by all commentators as a vernacular figuration of Mary, weeping for Christ at the foot of the Cross.

Motetus:⁵⁸

	Crux forma penitencie gracie	12A	Cross, model of penitence, of grace
	clavis clava peccati uenie	10A	the key, staff for the sinner, of pardon
	vena radix ligni iusticie	10A	the vein, root of the tree of justice,
	uia uite uexillum glorie	10A	Way of life, banner of glory,
5.	sponsi le[c]tus in meridie	9A	Nuptial bed of bridegroom at midday,
	lux plenarie nubem luens tristicie	13A	light of plenitude, washing away the cloud of sadness,
	serenum consciencie	8A	Fair weather of conscience.
	hanc homo portet	5B	May Man carry this [Cross],
	hanc se [confortet	5B	May he reinforce it,
10.	crucem oportet]	5B	May he bear the Cross,
	si uis lucis uere	6C	If you wish to sustain [i.e. live forever in]
	gaudia sustinere	7C	The everlasting bliss of the true light.

The Latin text of the motetus has 12 verses, of which the first seven address the Cross with a litany of vocative attributes: it is the “forma penitencie” (“figure of penitence,” v. 1), “gracie clavis” (“key of grace,” v. 2), and many more things besides, its abundant significance indicated by the plethora of appositives predicated to it. In this, the motetus resembles in rhetoric and diction the Marian prayers we have seen in other pieces – and indeed, at least one of the epithets, “via uite,” (“way of life,” v. 4) is often found as an attribute of the Virgin. Where the formal logic of Marian prayers demands a turn from praise to petition, at verse eight the motetus turns instead to exhort *mankind* to carry the Cross the song has been hailing, and which the text has brought into presence as a mental image. The demonstrative pronoun “hanc” (“this one”) is a term of proximity, and works to make the Cross mentally more vivid by drawing it closer toward the mind’s eye.⁵⁹ The length at which its attributes have been elaborated confers a tropological weight on this mental Cross that is turned to imagined *physical* weight as man is enjoined to bear it. It invites the singer or listener (who both enjoins others, and is the mankind enjoined) to perform an imaginative mimesis of physical labor, perhaps inducing a fleeting bodily apperception of the

⁵⁸ Compare the texts and translations offered for this motet in Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LXVII.

⁵⁹ On the techniques by which literature creates vivid mental images, see Elaine Scarry, *Dreaming by the Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 10–30.

strain it would require. In this complicated and multiple, ritualizing fusion, the singer's body is that of a meditant, of a devout onlooker, and of Christ himself; and fusion itself is marked up for contemplation as the final word of the text, "sustinere," acknowledges and becomes one with the chant for whose augmentation it has been created.

Against this fundament, the French triplum tells a *pastourelle* tale, its preterites constructing a securely past-tense narrative that contrasts with the present moment of affective meditation extended through the musical time of the motetus:

Triplum:⁶⁰

	A U douz mois de mai	5A	In the sweet month of May,
	en un uergier pensis men entrai	9A	I entered into a pasture, lost in thought,
	si trouuai pastoure deiouste un glai	10A	Then I found a shepherdess next to a glade.
	ses agniaus gardoit	5B	She was guarding her lambs,
5.	et si se dementoit	6B	And was thus lamenting,
	si cum ie uos dirai	6A	Just as I will tell you:
	robin douz amis perdu uos ai	9A	"Robin, sweet friend, I have lost you;
	a grant douleur de uos me departirai	11A	With great sadness will I depart from you."
	lez li masis si lacointai	8A	I sat down next to hear and got to know her;
10.	esbahie la trouai	7A	I found her distraught
	pour lamour robin	5C	For the love of Robin
	qui de li est parti	6D	who has parted from her;
	senz [estoit] en grant esmay	7A	And for that reason she was greatly dismayed.

All standard features of the *pastourelle* genre are present: the narrator wanders into a leafy glade in the sweet month of May, to find a shepherdess guarding her sheep, and crying for the loss of her lover Robin. After hearing her sobs, the narrator introduces himself to her. This happens at verse nine of a thirteen-verse poem. The narrator gives the rest of his poem over to a redoubled description and explanation of the young girl's woe. In this, the poem diverts from the path of generic logic, as the narrative is suspended abruptly by repetition so as to cast the mind back over what has already been heard. The narrator recalls, "Esbahie la trouvai / pour l'amour Robin qui de li est parti / S'enz estoit en grant esmay" ("I found her bewildered for the love of Robin who left her / And therein she was greatly dismayed," vv. 10–13). This is a recapitulation twice over: the narrator has already quoted the shepherdess's tearful words in verses 7 and 8 ("Robin douz amis, perdu vos ai; / A grant douleur de vos me departirai," "Robin, sweet friend, I have lost you; / With great sorrow will I depart from you"), and her cry makes its cause clear (an act of separation, occasioned by Robin's loss). And *this* has all been summarized in

⁶⁰ Again, compare the text and translation in Anderson, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LXVII.

advance by the narrator's introduction that renders the shepherdess's words a ventriloquy: he tells us that she "was lamenting her state *in the way I will now tell you/sing to you*" ("se dementoit si com je vos dirai").

Thus where the two upper-voice texts began with alternative temporal structures, they conclude in much the same way, and to much the same purpose: the motetus's heaped attributes make present an image robust enough to be borne bodily in a mental mimesis of labor with affective consequence, while the triplum's narrative grinds to a halt, repetition working the shepherdess's woe into greater and greater clarity. And because the narrator repeats her words in ventriloquy, and as the second stage of description, the narrator has performed his own mimesis (he recalls the encounter with her, then incorporates her speech or song through citation) which he offers up to the singer or listener as the model for another. Unlike the shepherdess in the previous piece, this one from which to learn, her affect a model to be imitated; and the music indicates that the narrator's mental exercise has produced the desired bodily state. His voice reaches a high pitch whose effect seems one of anguish as he sings "esbahie" (at m. 61–64) this moment of affective pain being granted at the same moment the Latin motetus enjoins its singer to take on the physical weight of the imagined Cross onto his own body – a feature pointed out by the first shared phrase articulation between the parts in the piece, at measure 61. It is the injunction to engage in mental action on the shepherdess's mental image here, modeled by the narrator's example, that signals her holiness. The motet's texts therefore not only present devotional material for contemplation, but, in the case of the French triplum, describe an *act* of contemplation and its affective ends. In musical terms, the piece frames the transition from a texture of maximal disalignment of the parts to maximal alignment as a moment revealing the rapprochement of their narrative structures – a rapprochement produced out of the method of devotional image-making common to each.

I will focus on the production of mental images in the next section of the chapter. Important here is a detail of discantal procedure that makes still more clearly audible the motet's devotional purpose. In general, the motet's tonal shape is one of the most defined of the repertory, thanks in large part to qualities it inherits from the excerpted segment of chant upon which it is built. The tenor moves through the pitch set FGabcd, but with a strong emphasis on c as the point of tonal reference, and G as the main secondary sonority, to which notes the highest and lowest pitches of the set function clearly as auxiliaries. The anchoring effect of C is constructed unmistakably at the outset: all three parts begin on the pitch in unison, the upper voices then meandering away only to return to unisons twice more in short space, at mm. 3 and 4. The first two *cursus* of the tenor are identical, formed from 19 pitch articulations each, divided into 6 *ordines* of three perfect longs, followed by a final perfect long isolated by a one-perfection rest on either side. (The final *cursus* has a different phrase structure, which I shall consider in a moment.) Starting with the referential c, this

disposition presents G as a clear melodic goal reached at m. 13 and extended as referential through m. 19. The final two *ordines* of the *cursus* return to c (at m. 21), then recapitulate the tenor's progression in miniature with a fall cbaG. Thus the *cursus* finishes, but does not musically *conclude*: only when the *cursus* is repeated (and there are three *cursus* statements in total) is its final G answered with the c the ear has been habituated to expect. At the end of the piece, the G is left poignantly unanswered.

There is a single moment of emphasized dissonance in the piece, produced out of an extended inversion of the parts, and it is thrown into clear relief against the piece's otherwise unruffled consonance.⁶¹ At m. 47, towards the end of its long descending phrase, the motetus passes below the tenor to sound an F against its a, before the two parts come to a unison on G at m. 51. This deliberate and extended inversion of the parts is singular, and highly significant. Against the two tenor notes a and G at mm. 49 and 51, the triplum sounds e and d to form fifths which, although parallel, are perfectly acceptable in the style, just as is the third-to-unison cadence formed by the motetus and tenor. However, with the motetus at the bottom of the texture, a major seventh is formed between the outer parts on the first beat of m. 49 that is sustained for the whole perfection. The voices together sound the most dissonant category of interval acknowledged in thirteenth-century theory beyond the tritone. By way of acknowledgment, the triplum passes on to an f which, although serving melodically as a decorative upper-auxiliary note to the longer e's, discantly confirms the dissonance it replaces by the very act of resolution.

The poetic verse through which the motetus becomes the lowest part is "nubem luens tristicie" ("washing away the cloud of sadness"), "tristicie" the word that anchors the dissonant chord. Meanwhile in the triplum, the narrator repeats the shepherdess's mournful cry, "A grant douleur de vos me departirai." Other commentators have also found this passage significant. For Sylvia Huot, it constitutes the simultaneous articulation of "the dual aspect of the Passion":

The dual aspect of the Passion is stated at the center of the motet, where two key phrases are sung simultaneously: "'Robin, doz amis, perdu voz ai'" ("Robin, sweet lover, I have lost you" [Tr, vv. 7-8) and "Sponsi le[c]tus in meridie" (bridegroom's nuptial couch at noon [M, v. 6]). Following this initial statement of the paradox of the Crucifixion, the opposing emotions unroll in perfect juxtaposition: the shepherdess's statement of "grant dolor" (great sorrow [Tr. v. 9]) is sung against the characterization of the Cross as "Nubem luens tristicie" (washing away the cloud of sorrow [M,

⁶¹ Anna Zayaruznaya examines voice-crossings in fourteenth-century motets, showing how they may be used as symbols for the inversion of order effected by Fortune's wheel. See Zayaruznaya, "'She has a Wheel that Turns': Crossed and Contradictory Voices in Machaut's Motets," *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 185-240.

v. 8]), and the narrator's unsuccessful efforts to comfort the grief-stricken girl parallel the consolation and joy attributed to the Cross.⁶²

Of the overall relation of the parts, she writes,

The French triplum deepens the pathos of the Crucifixion as a human event of pain, loss, and incomprehension; the Latin motetus provides the all-important perspective that allows us to transcend the limited understanding of the shepherdess, moving from grief to joy.⁶³

Dolores Pesce has examined the relationship of this bilingual version of the piece to a witness in the Bamberg manuscript which provides a Latin text for the same triplum melody.⁶⁴ She draws attention to the contour of the melodic phrase that corresponds to the shepherdess's reported speech in the French version, observing that "no other phrase within this motet exhibits such angular melodic writing, nor is it characteristic of the repertory as a whole."⁶⁵ Finally, she claims that the phrase may be tailored to the Latin text, "carne sua mortificata" ("by his mortified flesh") rather than the French, writing that the passage "suggests, if not word-painting, at least an attempt to give musical expression to the words."⁶⁶ Emma Dillon builds on this work, suggesting that a singer who knew the Latin version would have had his memory of it stimulated by this moment to deepened emotional effect. She writes,

It is also at this moment in the Passion narrative where Mary swooned, the moment where she lost the power of language, uttering just a wordless sob that was paradoxically akin to the cry of birth. It is here, finally, that the motet's sounds – actual and remembered – converge and contribute to its meaning. For it, too, is rendered speechless – in the supermusical excess of language, and counterpointing of the singer's inner and outer voices. *In toto*, it is a sonorous equivalent of the wordless sob, and at the same time a provocation for interpretations that are only partially decipherable in the

⁶² Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 133–36. (The paragraph is divided by Huot's musical example.)

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁶⁴ Pesce, "The Significance of Text," 96–97.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

hubbub of the musical reality, indeed which exist to be teased out in the meditative contemplation of things heard and remembered.⁶⁷

Huot's reading is incorrect. She suggests that the motet invites the resolution of the shepherdess's despair in the saving goodness of the Cross, and that the shepherdess's "understanding" is "limited." No such resolution occurs: rather, the triplum's final word is "esmay," ("dismay"), and it comes to a point of repose on this word only above the poignantly unanswered G sonority mandated by the tenor. The shepherdess's woe reaches no conclusion here. Indeed, the narrator's repeated storytelling makes it the stuff out of which more meditations must be made.

Dillon makes the beautiful observation that this moment conceals a musical memory of Christ's suffering body, brought in through through the mental residue of a contrafact text of the melody found in the Bamberg manuscript. In this intensified moment of sensation Dillon finds the "supermusical" quality of polytextuality itself to be heightened. I understand the motet in a different but complementary way. It is striking that the discant passes through a dissonant space in this passage with crystal tonal clarity. The polytextual voices do not acknowledge one another narratively here: it is true that their texts continue without direct regard for one another. But if one listens for harmony rather than for the confusion of words, the music takes on a critical voice that speaks of the parts' relation. Albeit that sadness is, for the motetus, what the Cross dispells, the discant is calculated to reproduce it, casting the sonority through which it passes as the "douleur" that moves the shepherdess to tears, and which the triplum's narrator re-embodies in ventriloquy. A sonic cloud of sadness envelopes the motet, as the despair the Cross takes away is balanced against the Virgin's woe around the fulcrum of the chant that is their shared liturgical heritage, the corporately experienced musical result as felt but as ineffable as pain.

Thus a parameter of the musical setting – here harmony – moves to the fore of perception to clarify the motet's devotional message, in a moment of common purpose between the parts manifesting a single listening stance – a moment of monaurality. Finally, it is useful to think through the implications of such a reading from within the piece as well as from outside – that is, to consider the perspective of one of the singers. Each part has moments that intervene in the performer's body so that he will produce a sound that is framed as an indicator and hence a guarantor of an affective state attained. Like other meditations on the Cross composed in the thirteenth century, each part here serves as an "emotive script" with which to train a disposition of the feeling body and the

⁶⁷ Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 326–27.

imagination,⁶⁸ all under the sway of the poetry's passage in musical time.⁶⁹ Yet this moment of monaudition is also the most palpable moment in which each of the individual scripts is emotively inflected by the simultaneous presence of the others. Niklaus Largier has recently suggested that prayer practices of the thirteenth century mediate the relation of interiority and exteriority for the prayerful subject. He writes that

practices of prayer formulate a dynamic relationship where 'interior' and 'exterior' turn into aspects of a process of communication, conversion, and transformation. In this process 'inner' feelings and sensations are not only induced through 'outer' means. Instead, the 'inner' turns into a form of mediation of the 'outer' and the 'outer' into a form of mediation of the 'inner,' making both part of the production of experiential events in spiritual practice. Such experiential events are produced with the help of rhetorical stimuli and artifacts, transforming sets and arrangements of stimuli in turn into spaces and places of aesthetic pleasure with a dense text of emotional and sensual intensity.⁷⁰

The moment of monaurality produced by dissonance as the parts cross in Cl 18 would be, in terms offered by Largier, a musical place of dense sensual intensity, mediating the inner experience of each singer as he inhabits his apportioned place in the sonority, with the outer pitches against which the dissonant quality of his own can alone be perceived. Here, the piece's moment of greatest emotive intimacy is also its most irreducibly corporate. It cannot be experienced except in the act, and in community.

⁶⁸ On emotive scripts, see McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 1–57.

⁶⁹ Scarry argues that effectively vivid literary writing places the reader "under the sway" of its instructions. See *Dreaming by the Book*, 7. This directive quality of writing is surely heightened by setting poetry in polyphonic song, for the succession of images (or, instructions for producing mental images) are given in the moment, and the hearer cannot return to revisit one or another without beginning again.

⁷⁰ Largier, "Conversions of Interiority and Exteriority in Medieval Contemplative Practice," forthcoming. I am most grateful to Professor Largier for sharing this research with me in advance of publication.

IV. Mental Pictures and the Feeling Musical Body

Pastors and preachers of the thirteenth century encouraged the use of meditative techniques that brought the subject into prayerful alignment with God through the use of mental images.⁷¹ Conjuring specific images of emotive scenes before the eye of the mind, the meditant sought to induce the body into an emotive response.⁷² Such practices cultivated a devotional habitus by asking the prayerful to identify with the joyful and suffering bodies of holy or divine people. Saint's lives offered a plethora of suffering bodies set into narrative motion, and the texts in the earliest layer of the La Clayette manuscript include several works of this kind.⁷³ Of these, the *Vie de saint Eustache* by Pierre de Beauvais serves as a particularly useful point of comparison for the motets,

⁷¹ The literature is too vast to be summarized effectively here. For a recent study with comprehensive reference to previous scholarship, see Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*. More briefly, Sara Lipton provides a useful overview of the relation of artistic and literary forms of devotional image-making in "Images and their Uses," in *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simon, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 254–82.

⁷² Obviously devotional texts had no unique literary purchase on the production of sensation (though devotional literature often harbors explicit metapragmatic theory about the intended ends of its sensory work). Mary Carruthers connects monastic reading practices with the sensorium of later medieval vernacular literature that is not devotional in "On Affliction and Reading, Weeping and Argument: Chaucer's Lachrymose Troilus in Context," *Representations* 93 (2006): 1–21. Maura Nolan considers how Lydgate uses the figure of *chantepleure* in the *Fall of Princes* – a figure whose complex emotive meld of singing and weeping Lydgate takes to produce "a deeply mixed aesthetic, one that renders history in deeply ambivalent fashion, as both sexual and moral, providential and contingent, tragic and elegiac all at once." See Nolan, "'Now wo, Now Gladnesse': Ovidianism in the *Fall of Princes*," *English Literary History* 71 (2004): 531–58; at 532.) Its ability so to render that aesthetic relies on the figure's stimulation of mixed and powerful sensation.

⁷³ On readerly fusion with the imagined suffering saint, see Bill Burgwinkle and Cary Howie, "Looking at Saints," in *Sanctity and Pornography in Medieval Culture*, 74–109.

because it uses an imagined sonority to manipulate affect in the final moments of the saint's earthly trial.⁷⁴

Eustache and his family are martyred at the end of the tale, and experience a typically elongated passion that testifies to their sanctity.⁷⁵ After the family have steadfastly refused to honor the gods of the wicked pagan Emperor Adrian, he attempts unsuccessfully to finish them off by throwing them into a pit with a lion. Miraculously, the unchained beast sent to devour them turns meek and mild, curling up next to them asleep; when it awakes, it bows before them "as if to ask forgiveness," then runs away (lines 1462–86). The Emperor doesn't take the miracle's hint, and, enraged, calls for a huge pyre to be erected that will burn for days with the family inside. For their part, they figure that this will be their final ordeal, and break into prayer together for 68 lines of rhyming octosyllable (from line 1507–1574), whose spontaneous coordination is hardly less miraculous than the family's saintly hardiness in the face of tortures:

	"Vours Dex," font il, "plain[s] de bonté Que si avez tot sormonté Qu'a ço ne porroit nus entendre 1510. Qui peüst tant savoir n'apprendre Que tote eüst lor conoissance De vos et de vostre puissance. Quer n'estes pas chose qu'en voie; Mes por nos mettre a droit[e] voie 1515. Fu tex la vostre volentez Que en cest monde fu presentez Vostre cors einsi proprement, Que bien savomes certainement Que vos estes nostre Salvere(s) 1520. Et nostre Sire(s) et nostre (Pere(s). Dex, par vostre sainte pitié, Queques vos aiez respletié,	"True God," they said, "Full of goodness, That has surpassed all things In ways that no-one could understand, However learned or studied he was, For all his knowledge derived From you and from your power; For you are not a thing one can see; But in order to put us on the right path, Such was your wish, That your very own body was presented in this world, So that we knew for sure That you are our Savior And our Lord and our Father. God, by your blessed pity, Albeit that you forfeited so much,
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⁷⁴ The *Vie de saint Eustache* is the first text in the manuscript as it is now bound, occupying folios 1r–10r. For an edition of this version, see John R. Fisher, "La *Vie de saint Eustache* par Pierre de Beauvais," *The Romanic Review* 8 (1917): 1–67. I use that version in all subsequent quotations, and give line numbers in the main text. As I showed in chapter one, it is possible that this text was added to the manuscript at stage II rather than stage I. However, production unit one (of which this text is a part) was the work of the same scribe as all other literary texts in the first binding, which are also predominantly by Pierre de Beauvais. I suspect that the sewing holes at the spine have been obscured on the outer bifolia in production unit 1 by the heavier restoration these badly damaged leaves required than remaining portions of the book. Whether this text was added to La Clayette before or after the motets makes no difference to the general issues of praelection and affective meditation both sections engage, and thus does not impact the argument of this chapter.

⁷⁵ The family's passion begins at line 1459, and they do not die until line 1602.

- Fetes nos maus einzi fenir
Que a vos sainz puisson venir.
1525. Dex, Rois de tote criature,
Qui delivrates de l'ardure
Les trois enfanz en la forneis(s)e,
Qu'il n'i orent nule meses,

Mes tot enmi le feu chantoient
1530. Por ço que nul mal ne sentoient,
N'a ço nes pot nus desnoier
Qu'il vos volsissent renoier.
Glorios Dex, en tel maniere,
Recevez vos nostre priere
1535. Que nus ne nos puist tant destreindre,
Que nos courages puist esteindre,
Et si saion aterminé
Que par cest feu seõns finé.
Et cil qui as noz os vendront
1540. Qui de nos quatre remaindront
Puisent par nos merci trover,
De ço qu'il vos voudront rover,
Et aient por nostre memoire
Part avec vos en vostre gloire;
1545. E[I]t cil plenté de bien en terre
Qui par nos la voldra requerre;
Et qui peril avra en mer,
Se nostre non velt reclamer,
Otroiez qu'a sauveté viegne,
1550. Se c'est que de nos li souviegne,
Ne pechié n'i eit ne meffet.

Que s'en de nos memoire fet
Que la votre misericorde
L'en face pardon et acorde.
1555. Gloriox Dex en Trinité,
Qui quonques par humilité
En nostre non vos priera
Et memoire de nos fera,
De quel chose qu'il vos requere,
1560. Recevez, Sire, sa priere
Dex, que tote rien jostisiez,
Quant nostre feus iert atisiez
Et la buche miuz abrasee,
Si soit l'ardor comme rousee,
1565. Qu'en ne puist feu entor nos mettre
Qui nos puist ardoir ne maumetre,
Ne por destresce de dolor
N'ait nostre chars mortel coulor,
Ainz soit ausi et bele et saine
- Make our sufferings come to an end now,
So that we may come to you as saints.
God, King of all creation,
Who delivered from the blaze
The three children in the furnace,
So that they didn't have any discomfort
there at all,
But even right in the middle of the fire were
singing
Because they felt no pain at all,
Nor could anyone refute it
who wanted to deny you;
Glorious God, in the same manner,
Receive our prayer:
May no one be able to oppress us
so much that he can extinguish our courage;
And let it be our time now,
That we may be finished off by this fire.
And as for those who will come to our
bones,
which will remain of us four,
May they find mercy through us,
And be granted that which they ask you for,
And may they have a place with you in your
Glory in memory of us.
May he have plenty of goods on earth
Who will ask for them through us;
And for him who runs into peril on the sea,
If he calls upon our name,
Permit him to come to safety,
Because he has remembered us,
Whatever sin or misdeed there might be
in him.
For him who remembers us,
May your mercy grant him pardon and
forgiveness on account of it.
Glorious Triune God,
Whoever prays to you humbly
in our name,
And offers remembrances for us,
Of whatsoever he should ask you for,
Receive, O Lord, his prayer.
God, who judges all things,
When our fire is stoked
and the mouth of the flame has embraced us.
May the blaze be like a dew,
So that no one fire can be put around us,
That could either burn or harm us;
And may our flesh not have a deathly color
On account of our pain and distress,
But may it be as beautiful and clean

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 1570. | Con s'ele n'eüst eü peinne.
Beaux Sire, Dex misericors,
Quant sanz ame seront li cors
Et nos seron vostre martyr,
Ne[s] lessiez, Sire, departir." | As if it had had no pain at all.
Kind Sir, Merciful God,
When our bodies are without souls,
and we are your martyrs,
Do not depart from us, O Lord." |
|-------|---|--|

A voice from the heavens immediately confirms that all they have asked for is granted, and more:

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 1575. | Tantost con il orent oré
Ne tant ne quant n'a demoré
Qu'une voiz ont del ciel oïe
Qu'il ont molt amee et joïe
Par cele voiz a Dex mandé | As soon as they had prayed,
Not a moment has passed
But that they have heard a voice from heaven
That they loved and took joy in a great deal.
By this voice has God given word |
| 1580. | Que tot ço qu'il ont demandé
Et encor plus qu'il n'ont prié
Lor a doné et otroié. | That all they have asked for,
And even more that they didn't pray for,
he has granted and permitted to them. |

By doing so, it also confirms that their death is a forgone conclusion. Their final torment follows immediately, their moment of passing vividly recounted in present time, and marked with music:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 1585. | Tuit quatre s'en sont esjoï
Del grant loier qu'il ont oï.
Trestot joant et tot haitié
Se sont au torment afeitié
Du tor qui si par est boillanz.
Et li feus si entor saillanz
Qu'il n'est rien vive qu[e]il n'arde, | All three are delighted by it,
By the great praise they have heard.
Overjoyed and happy
They give themselves up to the torment
Of the tower which is so extremely boiling hot,
And the flames dancing all around such that
there is no-one alive that won't burn |
| 1590. | Se Dex meïsmes ne le garde.
Mes il lor ha tel merci fete
Que la force ha au feu retrete
Si qu'onques en nule mesure
Ne sentent ne cholor n'ardure. | If God himself isn't watching out for him!
But he has granted such mercy unto them
That the force has withdrawn from the fire,
So that not in any measure at all
Do they feel either heat or burning, |
| 1595. | Ainz aorent Deu en chantant
De ço que mal ne sont sentant.
Damledex n'a pas consenti
Que nes un[s] chevels nel senti,
Le feu qui en ha fet fuïr | But rather worship God in singing,
Because they feel no pain.
The Lord God has not consented
That even with one hair they felt
The fire that has taken them to refuge, |
| 1600. | Qu'es cors ne puisse riens bruïr.

Et li saint qui a Deu s'atendent
Tot en chantant les ames rendent. | So in their bodies nothing could burn them
at all.
And the saints who are expecting God,
All in song render up their souls. |

After the fire has blazed for three days, all those in attendance recognize the family's holiness, for their flesh is left entirely uncorrupted by the flames just

as they had requested, and is “as white as freshly fallen snow” (“Einz est leur char et bele et blanche / Comme nois de novel sor branche,” 1627–28).

A closer reading shows that the story works on a principle of repetition, calling to mind the tale’s resolution through fire twice before the family’s actual immolation is narrated, which constitutes the third narrative appearance of burning flesh. The motif is introduced into the text first through the family’s prayer, which insinuates another story – that of the three children in the furnace – into their own.⁷⁶ Next, the idea of burning is elaborated upon as Eustache and his kin request the specific manner in which they will be spared the pain of burning flesh (namely, that the fire will feel like dew around their skin, and will not be able to approach their bodies). The story within the story initiates repeated cycles of telling *about* burning to make the narrative conclusion of Eustache’s own tale a foregone one, drawing out the story’s ineluctable arc at greater imaginative length – an effect that reaches its height of vivacity as the narrative shifts perspective to present time for the saints’ final departure, to make the events directly present before the eye of the listener’s mind.

The repeated cycles are deliberately articulated by a musical repetition. Eustache recalls that the children in the furnace proved their miraculous anaesthesia by singing as the flames danced around them.⁷⁷ The effect is so disturbing because it is clearly abhorrent to imagine a burning child, let alone to countenance that a child would be singing in such a situation. Yet it is precisely this unthinkable thought that the noisily animated mental picture enjoins the reader to grasp. Eustache is fully aware of the cognitive dissonance produced by the children’s unpained song. Note that although he himself prays that the flames will not touch his skin, he nevertheless thinks the horrible thought of fire touching the flesh of a child: the intensifier “tot” in “tot enmi le feu” results in something like, “even right in the middle of the fire”; and it indicates that theirs is a pain he is fully aware ought to be felt – indeed, which he himself will feel presently if his faith doesn’t hold up. It is not a pleasant thing to imagine; but imagining it is precisely what Eustache does to remind himself of the stakes of

⁷⁶ The story is biblical, stemming from Daniel 3:8–97. For a survey of medieval uses of the story and its iconography, see Ann Walton, “The Three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace: a Study in Christian Iconography,” in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson (St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press, 1988), 57–66.

⁷⁷ The words sung by the three children are Daniel 3:56–88. These verses (in the order 57–88, then 56) constitute the “Canticle of the Three Children,” *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino*, recited as the Old Testament canticle at Lauds on Sundays and Feasts. For a text, see Catholic Church, Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, *Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis cum cantu Gregoriano quem ex editione typica in recentioris musicae notulas translatus Solesmenses monachi rhythmicis signis diligenter ornaverunt* (Tournai: Desclée & Socii, 1956), 222.

his own faith. And when the family's time finally comes some fifty lines later, like the miraculously delivered children before them, they feel no pain, but rather worship God in singing ("ainz orent Dieu en chantant"). The repetition of the imagined song confirms that their prayer has been answered in just the manner they had hoped for. As the saint and his family depart as martyrs, they sing; and the soundtrack to the imagined mental scene is a sonority at once gruesome and salvific.⁷⁸

The thirty-first motet in the music fascicle also brings to mind the songs of martyred children. *Amours mi font rejoir* (99a) / *In Bethleem Herodes iratus* (98) / IN BETHLEEM (M8)⁷⁹ is built over an excerpt from the versicle of the Gradual for the Feast of the Holy Innocents, whose text straightforwardly summarizes the central narrative event of the biblical story:

Tenor source: Alleluia. Laus tua, Deus. V. Herodes iratus occidit multos pueros in Bethleem Judae civitate David.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ This reading both engages and challenges Bruce Holsinger's account of the "musical body in pain" in "The Musical Body in Pain: Passion, Percussion, and Melody in Thirteenth-Century Religious Practice," in *Music, Body and Desire in Medieval Culture from Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 191–258. Holsinger posits the "musicality of pain and its expression," (p. 195), redefining the term "musicality" to serve as "a convenient analytical term embracing the embodied, experiential aspects of any given musically induced or inducing discourse, whether it involves identifiable notated music or not" (p. 199). The example I discuss here in fact relies on pain being *unmusical*: the logic of the text requires the imagined music to have a pleasant affective property that contrasts jarringly with the agonized mental image that is said to be producing it.

⁷⁹ This bilingual version of the piece is unique to the La Clayette manuscript, though other versions related to the piece are extant. The music of the tenor and motetus appears in the Notre Dame manuscripts as a passage of discant in F, fol. 105r; and W₂, fol. 68r; and also found as a clausula in W₁, fol. 50v. The texted motetus *In Bethleem Herodes iratus* (98) is found with the tenor as a two-part motet in W₂, fol. 163r, and also in Ma, fol. 125r. There is a three-part conductus-motet setting with that text in F, fol. 382r; though its triplum does not seem related to the motet triplum in Cl and other manuscripts. Finally, a three-part Latin motet, with the text *Chorus innocentium* (99) set to the same melody as *Amours mi font* in La Clayette, is found in Ba, fol. 24v; PsAr, fol. 39v; and Ca, fol. 130r. This is likely to be the version recorded in the Besançon index, where it is the sixth item listed. This list of concordances is taken from Anderson, *The Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, XLV, and van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 23. Catherine Bradley discusses the source situation of this network in "The Earliest Motets: Musical Borrowing and Re-Use" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2010), 130; and discusses the compositional history of the piece on pp. 129–36. I am most grateful to Dr. Bradley for sharing a copy of her unpublished dissertation with me.

⁸⁰ Tischler, *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 2:42.

Trans. Alleluia. Your praise, O God. The enraged Herod killed many boys in Bethlehem of Juda, the City of David.

The French triplum of this bilingual motet does not pay much attention to the thematic of the tenor. Instead, it constitutes the song of a lover who twice draws attention to his "refined heart" ("fin cuer," vv. 2 and 19), and thus seems keen to establish his courtly credentials:⁸¹

Triplum:

A M	ours mi font reioir	7A	Loves make me rejoice
7	mon fin cuer esbaudir	7A	and embolden my refined heart;
	si chanterai que plus ne men puis tenir	11A	so I will sing, for I can't keep from doing so any longer,
	quant cele que tant desir	7A	when she whom I desire so much
5.	ma samour dounee	5'B	has given me her love.
	car je lain sanz repentir	7A	For I love her without repenting,
	ne si ne men puis tenir	7A	And I can't keep myself from doing so,
	car trop lonc tans lai amee	7'B	For I have loved her so long.
	quant remir sa fresche coulour	8C	When I recall her bright color,
10.	7 sa bele bouche de sauour	9C	And her pretty mouth pleasant to taste,
	sen sui plus iolis	5D	Then I am more jolly,
	7 en mon cuer men resiois	8D	And I rejoice in my heart from it.
	quant touz iourz eire ses amis	8D	Once I am her love forever more,
	7 ele est moie a touz diz	7D	And she is mine for the rest of her days,
15.	saurai ma ioie a mon deuis	8D	I will have my joy at my liking.
	car je nai aillours pensee	7'B	For I have not thought of another,
	ne ia naurai ce mest uis	7D	And never will have one, so I think.
	ses euz rienz 7 son tres douz cler uis	10D	Her smiling eyes and her very sweet, clear complexion
	ai en mon fin cuer assis	7D	Have arrested my refined heart.
20.	bien doi estre iolis	6D	Well should I be jolly
	quant tel amour ai trouuee	7'B	When I have found such a love.

There is no indication that the content of the text participates in the theological impetus of the tenor in the way that the motetus does. Yet it shares with the

⁸¹ That which scholarship of the twentieth century often called "courtly love" is referred to more regularly in Occitan high-style song as *fin'amor*, or refined love; and the distinction of refinement is carried over into the Old French high-style lyric also. For an overview, see Linda Patterson, "*Fin'amor* and the Development of the Courtly *Canso*," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28–46; and Moshé Lazar, "*Fin'amor*," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 61–100.

motetus a belief in the power of mental images to induce an emotional response. In verses 9 to 12 (which are sung at measures 32 to 46) the narrator tells us, “When I recall her bright color, and her pretty mouth pleasant to taste, then I am more jolly, and I rejoice in my heart from it.” Note that what he brings to mind is not just an image, but one that he makes urgent to the senses: he brings to mind her “bright color,” and her beautiful mouth that is “pleasant to taste” (“de savor”); and the heightened sensory stimulation makes him “more jolly” – more jolly, that is, than if he had not engaged in the cognitive exercise. By thinking of his lover and enlivening that image with color and taste, his own emotional state is heightened. (Confirming that to do this mental work is gratifying, he tells us it is an exercise he does not perform with any other image: as he points out at v. 16, “I have not thought of another,” literally, “I have not thought elsewhere” – so he is faithful to his lady in thought as well as deed.) That loving is a thing he *does*, and does with his mind, is further emphasized with a verbatim textual repetition between verses 3 and 7: he cannot hold himself from singing (v. 3) just as he cannot hold himself from loving; and his meditative exercise, whose description follows on the heels of this claim, seems to be what he means when he says he has been loving her for a long time (v. 8). He lays the logical steps out in reverse, but run them forward and we are left with something of a musical theory of mind: loving entails acts of thinking which deepen it, and when its intensity reaches a critical point, it manifests inevitably as song.

The formal work in the motetus operates on the assumption that the reverse is also true: that singing can conjoin mental pictures to affective results. Much in the manner of a trope, the motetus expands upon the scriptural and liturgical contexts of its tenor, retelling the tale at greater length:

Motetus:

	<i>I N bethleem herodes iratus</i>	10A	<i>In Bethlehem, Herod enraged</i>
	quia puer natus	6A	because a boy [was] born,
	timens principatus	6A	and fearing that he would be
	[s]ceptro se priuari	6B	deprived of the scepter of rule,
5.	iubet decollari	6B	orders that two-year-old boys
	pueros bimatus	6A	be beheaded.
	o mira nouitas	6C	Oh wondrous strangeness
	Facinoris	4D	of the crime!
	o o o [o] liuoris	7D	O, o, o, o, the brutality
10.	ymanitas	4C	of envy!
	o puritas	4C	O purity
	Innocentium	5E	Of the innocents,
	pede gemino sequentium	9E	following in the steps of the lamb
	agni uestigium	6E	with twin-like footfall.
15.	o rosa rubens o candoris	9D	O blushing rose,
	Lilium	3E	O lily of purity,
	flos odoris	4D	Fragrant flower,
	uox infancium	5E	The voice of the children

	laudes deo dicentium	8E	Giving praises to God
20.	Cantancium	4E	And singing
	o o o osanna.	7F	"O- o- o- Osanna!"

The delineation of the story's structure in time is tailored to articulate the bipartite structure of the tenor, which consists of two *cursus*, mm. 1–40 and 41–82, whose juncture falls in the toward the end of the text's ninth verse. Over the first *cursus*, the motetus text calls the gospel story to mental presence, and does so in the present tense. This first half of the poem gives much contextual detail, but it is hardly narrative: its only conjugated verb form is "iubet" in verse 5, all other verb forms being given as participles that establish the circumstances and the fearful mental state under which the wicked king makes his single move, the giving of one horrible order.

Once the object of Herod's unconscionable action is stated (the "pueros bimatus" at mm. 27–30), the poetry moves from circumstantial description into affective response, the motetus exclaiming "O mira novitas facinoris! O! O! O! O livoris immanitas!" ("Oh wondrous strangeness of the crime! Oh, oh, oh, oh the brutality of envy!" vv. 7–9, mm. 31–42). Until this point in the piece, all musical phrases in the motetus have also projected complete syntactic units of text, but here they become divided between the phrases. Thus the nominative "novitas" is divided from the genitive it (in fact) describes, "facinoris," to be followed by that long chain of divided "O"s that ends on a genitive "livoris" then divided from its nominative noun "immanitas." Having brought the knowledge of Herod's action to mind (but having declared as yet only his order to kill the children, and not yet having described its implementation), the wondrous barbarity induces the voice to fracture into vocables of emotional expression, their repetition heaping them up in hyperbole.⁸²

But though voice is severed from language here, representing within the piece the narrator's passage into a state of emotional extremity beyond language's power to capture, that representation has a double edge. The singing

⁸² Bradley examines earlier sources of this motet to consider their relations with the organal discant and clausulae whose material they share, all in order to tease out the complicated chronology of their composition ("The Earliest Motets," 129–36). My purpose here is different: I wish to understand the musicopoetic devices of this text which enjoins a singer or listener to witness the martyrdom of the Holy Innocents. Of the meanings of the poem, Bradley observes that the "vocalisations [of the syllable 'O'] seem... to be central to the poetic intention of the text. While the extended 'O's do not assonate with the tenor words in IN BETHELEEM, they are suited to the overall declamatory tone of the poem, and are prepared and integrated into the text by the frequent use of the vocative to introduce poetic lines throughout ('O rosa rubens! O candoris lilium,' for example). The concluding repeated 'O's merge into the final word, 'Osanna', and one could argue that they are also a representation of the poem's 'singing' or 'chanting.'" ("The Earliest Motets," 131.) I will argue that case at length here.

voice always remains under the sway of reason because of the precisely determined pitch, and, most importantly, the hyper-determined rhythms through which it then passes.⁸³ The O's are set to a hocket between the tenor and motetus, the two parts singing alternative perfections, one note in each part divided by a perfection's rest from its next.⁸⁴ All this determination lends the moment the power to be precisely repeated, which in turn allows it to sustain complicated memory work over the course of the piece. But here, as a representation of the speechlessness that results from emotional intensity, the hocket pushes the empirical body emitting the sound into heightened presence, both audibly and perhaps visibly for anyone looking on as the singing bodies labor. As the singer brings to mind the narrative context for ugly, murderous action he knows must follow, the music scripts his voice to break and falter, as if to induce in the body the breathtaking shock that can alone be appropriate to such horror. What the voice must emit is both a precise but fragmented melody, and the musical trace of heightened emotive somatization. Note too that all of this happens just as the triplum's narrator tells us how picturing his lover heightens his love.

Wonder is a complicated emotion, and it receives a complicated elaboration in this piece, both in text and music.⁸⁵ As the piece progresses from its first round of hockets, the mind's eye is invited to look closely at the Innocents. They are introduced with another "O" of wonder ("O puritas / innocentium," vv. 11–12, mm. 44–49), now one occasioned by their purity. Once

⁸³ Elaine Scarry describes pain as "shattering language," arguing that its "resistance to language is not simply one of its incidental or accidental attributes but is essential to what it is." See *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 5.

⁸⁴ Thirteenth-century hockets both in theory and in compositional and scribal practice remain conspicuously understudied. Distilling the thirteenth-century theoretical opinions, Ernest H. Sanders defines hocket as "the medieval term for a contrapuntal technique of manipulating silence as a precise mensural value in the 13th and 14th centuries. It occurs in a single voice or, most commonly, in two or more voices, which display the dovetailing of sounds and silences by means of the staggered arrangement of rests" (s.v. "Hocket," in *New Grove Online*, accessed January 11, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>). The most searching scholarly study of *ars antiqua* hockets, examining their notation and use in the Montpellier codex's repertory, is Mary Wolinski, "The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation, and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1989), 144–84. For an overview of the relations between thirteenth-century accounts, see Sandra Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships Among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1991), 552–57.

⁸⁵ On medieval wonder, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," in *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 37–75.

the image of the Innocents is painted, it is set into motion: they are described as following in the footsteps of the lamb ("pede gemino sequentium," v. 13, mm. 50–53) – that is, in a complicated temporal blend, Christ the paschal lamb of the crucifixion, the Innocents' procession being a passage into a martyrdom that Christ is here spared in order to undergo another as an adult. Thus the mind is invited to traverse the structures of tales known and engaged but not here told, even as it remains anchored around the gospel event commemorated in the chant's invoked liturgy. More, the imagination is given instructions to reconstruct a sequence of events that can be rendered in mental pictures with only partial coherence: the martyred children's footsteps set them in vivid motion, only to progress them into a glory that the mind cannot grasp, effecting in sum a blend of the vivid and unpicturable.⁸⁶

Then at measure 57, description of the mental scene seems to stop altogether. The wondering, vocative "O"s return: "O rosa rubens! O candoris lilium! Flos odoris." Invoked with flowers of color and odor, the Virgin casts her reflection over the motet here, as yet another sense (smell) is stimulated. It might be expected that the text would next address Mary directly in the form of a prayer, or enlist her as a witness to the boys' passion.⁸⁷ But this is not what happens. In one final swerve, the text reveals that it is not addressing Mary at all. Rather, all of this sensorial, imagistic, and devotional freight is distilled into a sound: the flowers have been figures for the *voice* of the Innocents, the "vox infancium." Recall that the boys' passage into glory had been indicated in participial predicates: "innocentium pede gemino sequentium agni vestigium." These have present time in relative terms, but they are also temporally unmoored, for the only verb form used in the motetus is "iubet" all the way back in verse 5, and which must be grammatically prior to the more awe-inducing moment of martyrdom that occasions the plethora of "O"s. The Innocents' martyrdom is timelessly *happening*, timelessly present. As the children follow in twin-like footsteps across a mortal threshold, further present participles in a genitive plural tell us that the children are singing as they go.

⁸⁶ Steven Justice finds the same formal property in Eucharistic miracle stories, observing that "while the images they use are lurid and sensational, they are not vivid. Indeed they are strangely unformed, and almost always confront the reader with almost insuperable obstacle to composing them into imaginative coherence." See "Eucharistic Miracle and Eucharistic Doubt," 324. More, he finds that the imaginative difficulty required to cohere the images embodies precisely the toughest points of doctrine that stimulated both elaborate scholastic explanation and popular unbelief. (Ibid.)

⁸⁷ By the late fifteenth century, the Holy Innocents would be the second of the Seven Woes of the Virgin, though I have been unable to trace evidence for the devotion before that time. On its later history, see Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21 (1992): 5–28.

Finally any kind of circumstantial framing vanishes, as the wondrous sound itself is heard in heightened liveness. In a formal echo of melody almost entirely unique in the thirteenth-century motet, the second *cursus* in the motetus finishes with the same hocket as had the first, sung again to the same “Os” which fracture language (mm. 77–82).⁸⁸ Where before the vocables had figured the voice of the picturing onlooker, now they are the hailed and sensorially saturated voices of the Innocents in their eternally extended moment of passing, singing “Osanna” in fragmentary echoes as their souls depart imagined broken bodies. This is where the double-edge of that representation, its precise *musical* specification, reveals its purpose. The Innocents’ song is a sound impossible to imagine, but it here fuses with the singer’s unspeakable wonder, as he *reperforms* a musical gesture whose meaning has been prepared, but has narratively altered. Paradoxically, the voice of the Innocents is both unhearable, and what the singer must embody. He inhabits for a moment the place of wonder that the mind cannot grasp, but the body can be induced to feel.

Elsewhere in La Clayette, another motet plays similar tricks with hockets, and does so in both its Latin and its French parts: Cl 10, *Ave deitatis templum* (512a) / *Cele m’a tolu la vie* (511) / *Lonc tens a* (512) / ET SPERABIT (M49).⁸⁹ The Latin quadruplum is the most obviously devotional part of the piece, constituting a Marian prayer once again:

Quadruplum:

⁸⁸ Rebecca A. Baltzer finds this repetition in the discantal versions “an unusual example of musical rhyme,” and finds the hocket (which is not in the F and W₂ versions, but only in W₁) “even rarer.” See Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula” 2 vols. (PhD diss., Boston University, 1972), 1:182. The version in Cl shares the musical rhyme, and delineates a hocket between its motetus and the tenor; but like all later motet sources of the piece, the hocket in Cl is in the fifth rhythmic mode, where in F and W₂ the piece was in the second mode (but unhocketed), and in W₁, in the first mode (with hocket). On all this, see Baltzer, *ibid.*, 1:181–87; and (on the earlier sources only) Bradley, “The Earliest Motets,” 129–36.

⁸⁹ The quadruplum is found in La Clayette only, both in terms of its text and its music. The three lower parts are found as a three-part French motet in Mo, fol. 116v; Ba, fol. 35v; and Reg, fol. 1a. A three-part Latin version is found in Tu, fol. 35, with the Latin contrafactum *Pulchra decens speciosa* (513) in place of the French text *Cele m’a tolu la vie* (511). The motetus is listed as the 46th item in the Besançon index; and though van der Werf lists Bes as a source for the French three-part version of the piece, the high preponderance of Latin-only pieces implied by the index makes it seem likely to me that Bes in fact was a witness to the version found in Turin. This list of concordances is derived from Anderson, *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, XXXV–XXXVI, and van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 81.

	A V e deitatis	5A	Hail wondrous
	templum mirabile	6B	temple of the deity!
	o lilium	4C	O steadfast lily,
	stabile	3B	
5.	cuius folium	5C	Of whom the leaf
	non est [fragile]	5B	does not wither,
	fedus honorabile	7B	covenant full of honor,
	aroma sanabile	7B	Health-giving fragrance,
	iter iust[i]s habile	7B	Fit way for the just;
10.	tu spes fidelium	6C	You, the hope of the faithful,
	tu lux ueritatis	6A	You, the light of truth,
	tu presidium	5C	You, garrison
	Solabile	4B	of solace,
	tu miseris	4A	You, longed-for refuge
15.	refugium	4C	to the wretched,
	Optabile	4B	You, desired repast,
	Triclinium	4C	
	tu uas trinitatis	6A	You, vessel of the Trinity,
	iuris amabile	6B	Love-worthy law,
20.	cunctis utile	5B	Help to all,
	Peccancium	4C	
	parce peccatis.	5A	Forgive the sins of sinners! ⁹⁰

Triplum:⁹¹

	C E le ma tolu la uie	8A	She has taken my life from me
	qui lonc tens me fait tourmenz souffrir	9B	Who has made me suffer torments for so long,
	quant por samor plor de cuer soupir	9B	When, on account of her love, I cry,
	cest la rien del mont que plus desir	9B	and sigh from my heart.
			She is the one thing in the world which I desire more than anything,
5.	nainc nen puis ioir	5B	But which I may not enjoy again.
	si me couuendra languir	7B	Thus it will befit me to languish,
	7 doulor souffrir	5B	And suffer sadness,
	7 nuit 7 jor	4C	Both night and day.
	por tout son plaisir	5B	For I will do her bidding
10.	ferai tout iorz	4C'	forever,
	que que men doie auenir	7B	whatever may come to me from it,
	si la seruirai	5D	and I will serve her.
	nautre amie naurai	7D	I will never have another lover.
	ades lamerai	5D	<i>I will love her henceforth</i>
15.	ne ja ne men partirai.	7D	<i>And I will never part from her.</i>

⁹⁰ I give Anderson's reconstruction of the Latin text here, and reproduce his translation with only minor alterations. See Anderson, *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LXI.

⁹¹ Compare the texts and translations offered by Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LXI–LXII.

Motetus:

Lonc tens a que ne ui mamie	9A	It is a long time since I have seen my lover,
trop me greua quant men couuint partir	5B	It greatly pained me when I had to leave her,
car ie laim 7 desir	6B	For I love her and desire her;
trop mair	3B	It really angers me
5. quant por lui seruir	5B	When, in order to serve her,
mestuet languir	4B	I must languish,
7 si ne men puis tenir	7B	And yet I may not get anything from it.
quant la remir	4B	When I gaze upon[/recall] her,
du cuer soupier	4B	I sigh from my heart
10. si que tout me fait fremir	7B	So much that it makes me tremble,
car ie laim de fin cuer sanz mentir	9B	For I love her with a refined heart, without a word of a lie.
nen puis ioir	4B	I cannot take joy from it –
diex ne repentir	4B	God! – nor repent it;
si mestuet souffrir	5B	Thus I must suffer
15. les maus dont ne puis garir.	7B	The pains of which I can get no reward.

The quadruplum is unique to La Clayette, and several structural features indicate it was composed after and against the other parts: it is regularly tailored to fill the blanks of their rests with hocket effects (even though, as we shall see, the pattern of their rests was intricately designed); and, where the tenor is the clear structural anchor of the discant for the other two voices, the quadruplum regularly usurps its position at the bottom of the texture in ways which, though usually forming acceptable two-part progressions with the tenor itself, produce weird and wonderful harmonic effects against the other parts. The addition of a Latin voice of obviously Marian content could be argued to transform the inherited vernacular motet into a clearly devotional form, and this might well have been a historical explanation for its addition.

Other devotional meditations were already available in the piece, however, which the new quadruplum obscures both with its more obviously religious intent and its musical style. These other meditations remain in the piece to be heard, if one works to grasp them. Like Cl 31, this motet is also composed to a chant that commemorates martyrs – here, the Alleluia for Mass in the common liturgy for martyrs:

Alleluia. V. Laetabitur iustus in Domino, et sperabit in eo: et laudabuntur omnes recti corde.⁹²

Trans. Alleluia. The righteous one will rejoice in the Lord, and will trust in him: and all the righteous shall rejoice in their heart.

⁹² Tischler, *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 2:51–52.

The tenor has two *cursus* statements, both in the second rhythmic mode and consisting of the rare and very short ordo structure of 3li+1.⁹³ With so many and such frequent rests to interrupt the flow of pitches, the tenor's most striking feature is fragmentation—a property which the upper voices take up in the form of hockets that play on and in the spaces between the tenor's notes. Both French voices make use of imperfect phrases (that is, phrases ending on the second value of the modal foot [so in mode 2, the long] rather than the first) and phrases that start in the middle of a perfection, dovetailed with one another to produce a “hiccoughed” effect extended to great length.⁹⁴ The tenor is in a high range, with a referential focus on d; while the two upper voices conduct the majority of their business in the set of pitches extending a fifth above that point to a'. Their registral identity in a relatively restricted compass (notwithstanding momentary explorations below their allotted space) exacerbates and draws attention to their disalignment. Indeed, the boundary of d–a' is repeatedly articulated by details of melodic design that enhance at a local level the effects of disjunction produced by the disalignment of phrases. The motetus opens with a d–a' leap of a fifth that is a striking statement of the space through which it will largely unfold. Although the melodic style of upper voices in thirteenth-century motets often permits moments of disjunct motion to accommodate the demands of good discant against the tenor, melodic leaps of a fifth are rare.⁹⁵ Here, just such a leap becomes the characteristic sound of the motet, recurring both regularly and unpredictably, often emphasised by and emphasising hockets between the parts. Thus its statement in measure 1 the motetus is answered mid-phrase by the triplum in measure 2; it is heard again, mid-phrase at mm. 8–9; and heard in reverse (a'–d) in the triplum at m. 11, only then to be recreated bumpily in the

⁹³ The pattern is indexed as 6b in Hans Tischler's comprehensive list of tenor ordo rhythms. (Tischler, *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 1:120.) He finds only six motets (or motet families) with the pattern: nos. 62, 88, 91, 165, 214(=Cl 10), and 236 of his edition, *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

⁹⁴ On the imperfect modes and their notation, see Wolinski, “The Montpellier Codex,” 139–44.

⁹⁵ On melodic style in *ars antiqua* motets, see (in chronological order) the comments in Hans Tischler, *Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 1:58–114; John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 460–64; and Richard L. Crocker, “French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard L. Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The Oxford History of Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 636–78. Judith Peraino considers the relation of chanson and motet styles in her recent study of monophonic motets. See Peraino, “The Hybrid Voice of Monophonic Motets,” in *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*, 186–234.

hocketing between the triplum and the tenor in m. 12. Being produced by the parts together, and with unpredictable relations to the phraseology or melodic position within each individual voice, the figure combines the French parts into a single musical body; but, in its unpredictability, it makes that body seem unruly.

The French texts tell us why. Although they do not sing precisely the same words, the two French narrators voice the same complaints about the pains of love. Their parts are productively heard as two statements of the same musical subject – that is, the feeling subject whose musical body writhes. According to the triplum, his bodily twists are something like death-throes, caused by his rejection as a lover: he claims that “*cele m’a tolu la vie / qui lonc tens me fait tourmenz souffrir*” (“she has taken my life from me, the one who has made me suffer for so long”). The motetus makes clear that it is *removal* from the beloved that is causing his anguish and its bodily symptoms. It has been a long time since he saw his sweetheart (“*Lonc tens a que ne vie m’amie*,” m. 1), as he has been forced to leave her (“*trop me greva quant m’en couvint partir*”). The narrator is removed from her presence, and it is the act of remembering her that stimulates his disturbance. Using a verb we have encountered before in Cl 31, he states, “*Quant la remir / du cuer soupir*” (“when I remember her/bring her image to mind, I sigh,” vv. 10–11). Vocal indices of anguish are everywhere present in the music, and they are confirmed by the texts: the triplum “weeps and sighs from his heart” (“*plor, de cuer soupir*”) on the hocketed *a’* at m. 12–15; while, equally choked up with rage, the hocketing motetus at mm. 15–17 is “really angered” (“*trop m’aïr*”). All of these symptoms have been created, once again, by an effort of mental picturing. They produce a musical body in pain, partitioned into two voices, yet bound together by the shared production of melodic effects in the hocketing action between the two parts which simultaneously prevents them from settling into wholeness. Yet this is a musical body produced by calculations of musical time that underpin the effect of unruliness with precise compositional determination, and which demand mental labor of the singers to reproduce the calculations accurately in performance. It is a musical body the singers inhabit together, and perhaps one that could have been seen in them by any onlookers watching as the fragments of melody flitted from one voice to another. The musical body is as unified and as divided as are the singers.

As the piece progresses, its divided parts begin to unite. Although silences and breaks are the characteristic feature of all parts, they are seldom disposed so that the parts cadence together simultaneously. Only six times in the whole piece do the three lower parts fall silent at the same time: in mm. 23, 27, 32, 41, 47, and 50. The longest expanse of musical time in which no such simultaneous rest is heard is at the very opening of the piece, which thus immediately puts the symptomatic musical body on display. Then the first simultaneous silence (m. 23) falls only four perfections from the second (m. 27), which is significantly aligned with the end of the first *cursus* in the tenor. These doubled rests in quick succession segment and draw attention to the short, memorable phrases aligned

in each part between the breaks. This is significant not only because it articulates a moment of tenor structure with a detail of upper-voice planning, but also because the moment of silence that separates this section from the dense texture that has come before is an invitation to close and monaural listening.

What is there to be heard in this moment? In the motetus, the moment of silence is followed by a reaudition of the d-a' figure, opening a registral space which returns to the d by cadence from the c below. The triplum is given its least obfuscated melodic phrase to this point, tracing an easy rising sequence on the same trajectory from d-a' as the motetus, but outlining it at a more leisurely pace. The voices move in broadly contrary motion, one still going up while the other comes back down.

Move forward momentarily to the end of the piece. Following Gennrich, Anderson has identified the ending of each French part as a refrain.⁹⁶ Van den Boogaard also considers the triplum's distich a refrain, no. 1778 in his catalogue, for which he finds four sources which are all motet voices surviving with notation.⁹⁷ Appendix 3.2 presents a collation of the four versions. The texts are relatively stable across the sources, with the exception of La Clayette's (whose reading is shared by the other witnesses to the motet in Mo and Ba), which gives "ades l'amerai" for van den Boogaard's preferred "tous jors vous servirai." Yet only motet 511 (which is the triplum of our piece) and motet 336 show melodic resemblances to one another. Their first two perfections trace the third from d-f and back, while in the second half of the refrain, the distinctive turn in melody about the apex of a notated b-fa is continuous between the two versions (though given in the upper octave in La Clayette's witness). Given this, there are grounds to suppose that the strain would have been heard in part as a melodic citation as well as a textual one.

⁹⁶ Anderson, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 13. The final passage of the motetus is refrain 1326 in Gennrich's catalogue, while the end of the triplum is Gennrich 1545; see Gennrich, *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Summa musica medii aevi 14 (Langen bei Frankfurt: 1964). On the differences between Gennrich's catalogue and van den Boogaard's, see Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete,'" 46-47; and for a critique of the assumptions about refrains informing both catalogues, see Jennifer Saltzstein, "Wandering Voices: Refrain Citation in Thirteenth-Century French Music and Poetry" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 6-14.

⁹⁷ Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), no. 1778, on p. 250. The four sources are (a) Motet 336; (b) Motet 511; (c) Motet 568; and (d) Motet 628. All four survive in Mo, and some in other manuscripts also; in the interests of simplicity, I have transcribed the Mo versions in appendix 3.2, and refrain from listing the complete network of concordances. In the next section of the chapter, where I will argue more closely for the existence of melodic citations between various pieces, I will list the sources for each refrain in appendices.

The motetus's phrase is not acknowledged as a refrain by van den Boogaard, and I find no other listed refrains in his catalogue that fit precisely. Nevertheless, the formal work in which its material is involved over the course of this particular motet suggests it has been crafted to sound citation-like: if it is not actually a quotation from beyond the piece, then it is brought forth as one here, as if we were present at a new refrain's birth.⁹⁸ The moments of silence in measures 47 and 50 heighten audition just as had the silence at m. 23, announcing in advance the significance of the music that will follow them. What is then heard in the motetus is the same melody that had followed the silence in m. 23, at the end of the first *cursus*, and which itself had pushed into heightened consciousness the d-a' figure that opened it, and opened the piece. At m. 47, the triplum's melody does not yet resemble the music with which it had concluded the first *cursus*. But as the motetus's tune unfolds, the triplum's relation to what has come before emerges clearly. For the entirety of that fragment first heard in the triplum between the framing silences in mm. 23 and 27 is now revealed in the interaction of the two parts, begun by the motetus in m. 51, to be taken up by the triplum at the start of m. 52 and brought to its conclusion. Where the hockets had pointed up the separation and fragmentation of the French narrator's musical body and the labor of the performers who inhabit it, now the shared and smooth melodicity produced between the parts reassembles them as closely as music can manage.

If indeed the triplum's melody was a citation, we could posit a compositional chronology for the parts. The triplum refrain would have come first (having been worked to fit this tenor), with the motetus refrain composed against it so as to create the sequenced efg-fga' melody between the two parts, and being given a "head motif" d-a' that could then be used as a clear sonic tag throughout the piece. But if another compositional hypothesis could also fit the agglomeration of musical details here, it would rest upon the same complicated chiasmic relation between compositional chronology, and the effect of revelation worked by the piece as it unfolds in time. In this, the piece draws cunning attention to a general property of refrain citations we will have cause to consider more fully in the next section. Generic logic largely determines that, if used, refrains will be cited at the end of the piece; but it demands also that the refrain lend some aspect of its implied context, or even its form or structure, to the new

⁹⁸ Suzannah Clark considers a case in which a refrain seems to have come into existence in the course of composing a motet that displays a high degree of internal melodic referencing. See "'S'en dirai chançonete,'" esp. 44–54.

voice part in which it is being cited.⁹⁹ The voice that makes this old quotation new again has been brought into existence out of it.¹⁰⁰

It is this sense in which the piece as a whole, played forward in time, stages the birth of a refrain. For the d-a' melodic tag has been so prominent from the very beginning, that it rings through the texture in what becomes, retroactively, a kind of premonition. It is as if the refrain were reverberating behind the whole motet, moving closer as the piece proceeds from total sonic disaggregation into monaudition, an emerging unity forged by the increasing frequency of shared cadences between the parts, finally cemented as the refrain is revealed in full at the end of the piece in a moment of aesthetic epiphany which also lays bear the motet's compositional mechanics. This is why the hockets had not always been onomatopoeic in effect (as they were, for example, in Cl 31), and why the composer was careful earlier to disperse the fragmented particles of melody and phrase in such a way as to describe the affective *motions* of a body anguished and departing from a lover, rather than to set the meaning of particular words. Free of the duty to paint the meaning of individual words (which music *does* sometimes do in the repertory, as we have seen) the musical edifice can stage a process akin to redemption from one end of its performance to the other, one that floats free of the sentiment of the refrain's words (which are, in the last analysis, still anguished). For also at the last, the musical process of the piece reveals itself to be reading the refrain not (or no longer) for the meaning of its words, but for its iconic status *as a whole thing* that had been partitioned, now to be recuperated as a whole. Heard in a final moment of musical recognition, the paired refrains which had sprouted out of one another are heard in their entirety, redeeming the fragments into which they had been spliced, and restoring to wholeness (and settled melodicality) the formerly unruly and partitioned musical body. As a musical process, the three-part version foundation of the piece turns out to be a fitting celebration of martyrs after all.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ On which, see the discussion in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 75–102.

¹⁰⁰ I intend this formulation to echo Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 190, where she considers the aesthetics of memoriality at work in musical *tombeaux* of both the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, the two moments in the genre's history connected by a shared fascination in the reproduction of lost sounds. The resemblance I perceive between Abbate's account of the *tombeau* and the work of refrains in thirteenth-century motets disaggregates the formal logic of repetition from the *tombeau's* dark hermeneutics. In the motet, I perceive a more basic optimism that mensural notation might make music *live* again in new bodies — vision which is focused into very clear visibility in the dense citational play of refrains.

¹⁰¹ On thirteenth-century debates on parts, wholes, and resurrection, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Decades Around 1300," in *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 227–343.

V. Refrains, Contrafacta, and Rewritten Musical Memories

Much of my discussion to this point has talked of bodies: empirical bodies that sing, virtual musical bodies simulated by a piece, and ritual bodies that emerge at the intersection of the empirical and virtual. We have already seen that the collection opens with two motets that indicate it has a prayerful disposition. The third motet of the fascicle, *Caro spiritui quid subderis* (unnumbered) / *Lis hec racio* (1055) / *Anima iugi lacrima difflue* (unnumbered), also contributes to the devotional manifesto, and in such a way as to concentrate the book's Marian opening into a theory of polyphony's devotional effect.

Cl 3 has no separate tenor: all parts carry their own text. When the manuscript was rediscovered in the 1950s, Leo Schrade considered this piece to be "historically the most important composition in La Clayette" for that reason.¹⁰² Its three texted voices are also present in MS F, where they are written as if they were successive stanzas of a monophonic conductus.¹⁰³ Their presence in La Clayette—a collection containing nothing but motets—alerted Schrade that the witness in F was indeed polyphonic also, even though the pieces surrounding it there are monophonic. The music of the lowest part, *Anima iugi* was borrowed from the tenor of a melismatic *cauda* in the conductus *Relegentur ab area*.¹⁰⁴ Schrade wrote, "Its implications hold a provocative challenge to further research," clearly hoping that more such pieces would be found.¹⁰⁵ Further examples of Latin triple motets for three voices have not been forthcoming, however. The piece remains singular.

As the third item in the La Clayette collection, placed immediately after the two Marian motets that establish the fascicle's devotional frame, *Caro spiritui quid subderis* / *Lis hec racio* / *Anima iugi lacrima difflue* can be understood to indicate the singular work La Clayette's compilers hoped would be done with

¹⁰² Schrade, "Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *Speculum* 30 (1955): 393–412; at 410.

¹⁰³ F, fols. 433v–434r. A fragmentary witness is also present in StS1, at fol. 3v; while the Besançon index lists the incipit *Lis hec racio* at position 11a. On the source situation of the piece, see the discussion in Schrade, "Unknown Motets," 404–10; and Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas* (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2011), 37. Payne attributes the piece to Philip the Chancellor "because [it] tropes the cauda of a conductus and is one of only two such pieces that are not ascribed to him (the other is *Crucifigat omnes*)," *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ This is found in two sources: W₁, fol. 98r; and F, fol. 288v.

¹⁰⁵ Schrade, "Unknown Motets," 410.

their book, through music. The motet stages the debate of the Flesh and Soul, mediated by Reason.¹⁰⁶

III: [Anima]

	Anima iuge	5A	Soul, weep unceasingly;
	lacrimas diffloe	6A	pour out all your tears.
	dilue saucie	5A	Wash away the basenesses
	sordes conscientie	7A	of your sick conscience.
5.	fac tibi tutum	5B	Make yourself secure;
	luteum uas exue lutum	9B	Strip off this good-for-nothing clay vessel
	subitus exitus	6C	Lest a sudden exit
	pium ne propositum	7B	Lay waste to your pious intention.
	perimat meritum	6B	Let worth
10.	redimat uite	5A	redeem
	dampna perditte.	5A	the damages of a bankrupt life.

II: [Racio]

	L Is ¹⁰⁷ hec racio	5A	Reason, let this quarrel
	tuo iudicio	6A	come under your jurisdiction,
	finem subeat	5B	and come to an end.
	cohibeat	4B	May the fear of a just judge
5.	carnis impetus	5C	curb the Flesh's assault;
	iusti iudicis metus	7C	
	expietur anima	7D	Let the Soul be expiated,
	carnis uictima	5D	the Flesh's victim,
	libere seruitutis	7E	Free from the work of slavery.
10.	opere spe salutis	7E	Let penitence flourish

¹⁰⁶ I reproduce the parts in the order they appear in La Clayette, replicating Thomas Payne's line divisions as given in his recent edition of the piece (*Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, 35–37; texts at 36), and emending La Clayette's errors to the excellent reconstructions he provides there. The translation given here is adapted from Payne's. I do not agree with his judgment that the part "Anima iuge" is sung by the Flesh to the Soul (ibid., 37): the Flesh has no business warning the Soul about anything in these poems. Neither do I agree with Payne's claim that "Caro, spiritui" offers the words spoken by the Soul in response: if that were the case, the Soul here would either be speaking sincerely, and would be necessarily more sinful than the Flesh as a result; or would be wholly and unremittingly sarcastic—hardly more becoming for the human's Godly part. Like Payne, I understand the opening words of each part to be vocative addresses rather than labels denoting which character is speaking. But I agree with Anderson in determining which character is which: in each voice, the relevant aspect of the human creature must surely be addressing itself (see Anderson, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LVI–LVII).

¹⁰⁷ Cl gives "His," complete with filigree initial h.

	uige[a] ¹⁰⁸ penitencie	8F	In the hope of salvation.
	gracia pateat	6B	May the way home
	patrie uia	5D	Lie open in grace.
I: [Caro]			
	Caro spiritui	6A	What, Flesh?
	quid subderis	4B	Are you subject to a spirit?
	quid tenui	4A	Are you stymied
	flatu suspenderis	6B	By some feeble fart?
5.	ad solita reuertere	8C	Go back about your customary business;
	uia ¹⁰⁹ trita curritur libere	10C	The well-trodden path is run freely.
	stes legis diuitum	6D	Stand firm in the law of the rich;
	uetitum licitum	6D	Reckon the forbidden licit
	putes ad libitum	6D	as you see fit,
10.	deuia [curans] ¹¹⁰	5E	Caring about deviant things,
	non de patria nature	8C	not for the homeland
	[debita] ¹¹¹ culture.	6C	becoming to a properly cultivated character.
	Letos age dies,	6F	Make your days joyful,
	Leve[s] ¹¹² requies.	5F	Your amusements trifling.
15.	cure tedium	5D	Let there be a concern for boredom,
	sit quod iuuat pium.	6D	For caring concerns the pious.

Soul ("Anima") solipsistically entreats itself, "Weep unceasingly," and "Wash away the basenesses of your sick conscience" (vv. 1; 3-4). Unsurprisingly, the originator of sin is the Flesh, which Soul characterizes as a "good-for-nothing clay vessel" (v. 6) it admonishes itself to cast off. The Flesh, meanwhile, is scathing about the Soul. Again addressing itself, it rages (in Payne's wonderful translation), "What, Flesh, are you subject to a spirit? Are you stymied by some feeble fart?"¹¹³ (vv. 3-4). The Flesh is more given to invective than the Soul, a disposition communicated by its quicker rhythmic declamation of syllables which in turn permits its text to be longer than either of the other two parts. Given the length at which it rattles on, it must live a busy life of debauchery indeed.

¹⁰⁸ Cl gives "uigent."

¹⁰⁹ Cl gives "uita."

¹¹⁰ The word is missing in Cl, and supplied from the other sources via Payne, *op. cit.*, 36.

¹¹¹ Again missing in Cl, again supplied via Payne, *ibid.*

¹¹² Cl gives "leve."

¹¹³ Payne, *op. cit.*, 36.

Reason's self-address is different in tone to the others', and not only because it envoices the position of a different faculty. Where Soul and Flesh spoke to themselves largely in imperative mood, Reason speaks in hortative subjunctives: "let this quarrel come under your jurisdiction, and come to an end," it exhorts (vv. 1-3); "let the Soul be expiated, the Flesh's victim" (vv. 7-8). It concludes, "Let penitence flourish freely through the work of servitude, the hope of salvation. Let the road lie open to heavenly grace." In its subjunctive mood, and its as-yet counterfactual hope that penitence will flourish, it enjoins action of itself – a mental faculty – in a tone that overlaps with prayers we have studied from other motets in the book. But unlike those prayers, this is a subjunctive exhortation that can be answered by human action – action, that is, which co-ordinates the body and soul through the operation of reason. It is a kind of action modeled by the motet itself, which incorporates the singers into a single imagined whole, rewards their work in a feedback-loop of good discant, and co-ordinates their work through calculations of musical time and discantal space performed by reason.¹¹⁴ As such, Cl 3 thematizes the devotional utility of properties of motet performance that we have seen at work in other pieces.

Over the course of this chapter, I have charted the ways in which modal rhythm could induce the body to perform musical actions that were intended to have emotive effects, to devotional ends. In several instances, the effect works in part because it engages the memory of theological or scriptural paratexts that provide a mental framework for the experience of the piece – whether it was a framework that could immediately be perceived by singers and audiences, or one that could be explained to or discussed with them alongside performance of the piece. More potent still, and entirely unique to the genre, are the ways a motet's layers of quotation could be used to engage *and then rewrite* known musical experiences from the vernacular realm to new devotional ends. To adapt terms offered by Cl 3, motets that engage in this work exert the operation of reason on musical experiences the body already knows in different forms.

Perhaps the most flamboyant example of such a procedure is provided by the bilingual motet *Pour renvoisier et pour moi deporter* (28) / *Mulier omnis peccati* (30) / OMNES (M1), the twenty-sixth motet of the music fascicle.¹¹⁵ Although another version of the piece is found in the Montpellier Codex (to be discussed

¹¹⁴ Steven Justice argues that medieval belief is a thing practiced, "a complex of intellectual and voluntary practices, irreducible to the propositions they are meant to maintain: this is what it means that faith is called a virtue, that is, a set of practices cultivated systematically with the goal of habituation." See "Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?" 14. *Mutatis mutandis*, such is the logic underwriting the musicopoetic gambit of this piece: the proposition that a motet models a sensorium to be shared by singers who co-ordinate their song through acts of reason, with affective and habituating consequence.

¹¹⁵ I discuss the network of pieces in full below, so forego annotation here.

presently), this bilingual witness is known only in La Clayette. The motet takes as its tenor from the Gradual for Mass on Christmas Day, “Viderunt omnes”:

Viderunt omnis fines terrae salutare Dei nostri: iubilare Deo omnis terra.
V. Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum: ante conspectum gentium
revelavit iustitiam suam.¹¹⁶

Trans. All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God: rejoice in God all the earth! Vs. The Lord has made known his salvation: before the gaze of the peoples he has revealed his righteousness.

This text pieces together stichs from Psalm 97 (drawn from verses 3, 4, and 2, in that order) to produce a complex historical effect. The psalmist rejoices in God’s salvation already made manifest in the perfect tense; the Gradual text redeploys that manifestation as a proclamation of Christ’s birth, and to affirm that his birth was foretold; while the Christmas liturgy, performed year after year with its music heard only a limited number of times in that season, makes present Christ’s *having been made manifest* once again. Its logic works on the welcome return of that which is already known. Spliced to a singularly small melodic unit, the tenor itself is rich with internal rearticulations of the reference pitch F, the repetitions of the *cursus* a palpably audible effect that suggests the tune could iterate endlessly. The tenor, the chant text and their liturgical position harbor the musical promise of indefinite return, to produce a perceptual eschatology in which history sounds in the future-perfect tense.

The upper voices seem to ignore the tenor’s Christmastide connotations: while the triplum tells another pastourelle tale, the motetus’s Latin text sketches a variety of antifeminist positions on the origins of sin, working them into a prayer to the Virgin whose virtue is still greater a model for the contrast:

Triplum:¹¹⁷

P O ur renuoisier 7 pour moi deporter	10A	To delight and amuse myself,
malai lautrier en en uergier ioer	10A	I went the other day to play in an orchard,
car desirrer mestoit pris de chanter	10A	For the desire to sing had taken me.
si coumencai un sounet renuoisie	10B	So I began a delightful little song
5. por moi reconforter	6A	To invigorate myself.
mes quant me souuint de la bele au uis cler	11A	But when I was reminded of the beauty with the bright face,
tout maintenant la pris a regreter	10A	Straight away I took to lamenting her.
7 en mon cuer grant ioie a demener	10A	And to cultivating joy in my heart.

¹¹⁶ Tischler, *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 2:40

¹¹⁷ Compare the texts and translations offered in Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, LXXV.

nule rien tant ne desir	7C	"I desire nothing so much
10. com la doucete entre mes braz tenir	10C	as to hold the sweet little thing in my arms."
si com aloie ileques demantant	10D	Just as I was going along there lamenting,
soi la bele qui disoit en plorant	11D	I heard the beauty who was singing as
		she wept,
<i>biauz douz amis, por quoi demorez tant</i>	10D	"Handsome, sweet friend, why do you tarry so
		long?"

Motetus:

M U lier omnis peccati	8A	Woman was made the origin of all sin.
facta est inicum	7B	
per hanc depr[i]vati	6A	Through this one were we removed from,
per te sumus deo grati	7A	Through you, restored to, the grace of God,
5. o lilium	4B	O lily,
flos conuallium	5B	Flower of the valley.
per hanc deprauati	6A	Through this woman we have been despoiled
penis ignium	5B	By fiery punishments;
per te detur nobis refrigerium	11B	Through you, may cooling relief be given,
10. dum humanitati factor omnium	11B	While on behalf of mankind, the maker of all
		things,
uitis uite supplicium	8B	The vine of life,
dignatur mortis pati	7A	Deigns to suffer the torture of death,
cui[[confers tu] remedium	8B	For which you bestow the remedy.

Thus *Pour renvoisier et pour moi deporter* (28) / *Mulier omnis peccati* (30) / OMNES (M1) is another piece that combines a Marian prayer in Latin against a quicker-moving French triplum in the sixth rhythmic mode. The triplum displays not only a clear indebtedness to the poetic lexicon established by other such pieces, but harbors a direct relation to one in particular through a shared refrain. At the very end of the piece, mm. 48–52, the narrator reports the song of a shepherdess calling for her sweetheart, "*Biauz douz amis, por quoi demourez tant?*" ("Handsome, sweet friend, why do you tarry so?"). This matches closely the reported song embedded within the triplum of Cl no. 17, *Par une matinee* (807) / *Mellis stilla* (808) / ALLELUIA (unidentified) where, in the same narrative situation, a male onlooker quotes another shepherdess's words: "*Biauz douz amis robins, que j'aim mout et desir, amorous et jolis, por quoi demorez vous tant?*" ("Handsome, sweet friend Robin, who I love and desire so much, who are loving and jolly, why do you tarry so?").¹¹⁸ Van den Boogaard recognizes the relation, according the number 220 to the stich in his catalogue of Old French refrains.¹¹⁹ The two listed witnesses are related by their texts only, however, and do not share the same melody. The version in Cl 17 is also much longer, and itself

¹¹⁸ See Anderson, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 22–23; mm. 13–17 of Anderson's edition of the piece.

¹¹⁹ Van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIIe siècle au début du XIVe*, 112.

harbors a moment of heightened musical representation of singular significance. I will explore that thoroughly in chapter four. Here, it needs only to be observed that the moment of reported utterance in CI 17 falls in the middle of the piece, whereas in CI 26, it falls at the end. As such, the triplum *Pour renvoisier* is crafted to reveal the stich that has inspired it only at the piece's close, in the manner found most regularly across the repertory. We have already seen that refrains lend their structure and/or content to the parts in which they are interpolated, and thus that the voice which would report one has come into new presence in part *because* of it in an elaborate aesthetic ventriloquy. Against the refrain's position in CI 17, its placement at the end of CI 26 turns the final moments of the piece into a locus of heightened audition, revelation once again occurring at the last moment.

On a first reading, there is no obvious such play in the motetus. As we have seen, its Latin text turns on the comparison of Eve and Mary as the conduits through which sin and salvation entered the world, respectively. (Neither woman is named: Eve is present only as the "mulier" by whom sin was initiated, Mary as the anaphorically addressed "te" who reverses Eve's error. They are substantivized by the inversed relationship between them that the text describes.) In this, the text instantiates a ubiquitous thirteenth-century trope that saw Mary as the undoer of Eve's wrong, summarily represented in the observation that "Ave" (the first word of the Hail Mary, and so many other similar prayers) spells "Eva" (Eve) backwards.¹²⁰ The poem works on repeated contrasts of what Eve has taken away, and what the prayed-to Virgin will restore: thus the collective *we* who sings the prayer is defined as "deprivati" (v. 3) removed from God's grace by Eve, but restored to it by the Virgin; and where Eve causes the singers to be "depravati penis ignium" ("despoiled by fiery punishments," vv. 7–8), Mary will provide "refrigerium," ("cooling relief," v. 9), this serving grammatically as the thing for which the singers petition. The remainder of that lengthy sentence, whose syntax is complex and more than a little clunky, invokes Christ's own suffering as a comparand for the singers'. It points once again to Mary standing at the foot of the Cross, and likens the comfort she will offer the singer to that which she offered her son as he died.

It could be argued that this bilingual piece solicits devotional work by offering the desired shepherdess as a figure poised between Eve and Mary, the singer or listener being enjoined to decide between them by forcing Marian interpretation over the sinful alternative. But the transmission history of the piece and its various elements suggests that they were tailored to engage other memories and ideas that were perceptually immanent in the piece—indeed, that the perceptual immanence of other meanings was precisely what this version of

¹²⁰ On the *Ave/Eva* topos in the later middle ages, see Sarah Khan, "Ave Eva—Views of Women: Social and Gendered Instruction in Medieval and Early Modern European Preaching," *The Medieval History Journal* 7 (2004): 109–35.

the motet was shaped to thematize. In *Ways of Listening*, Eric Clarke argues that the perceptual meanings of sounds are both immediate, and irreducibly social. He writes, "Culture and ideology are just as material (in the concreteness of the practices that embody them) as are the instrument and human body that generate this performance, and, as perceptual sources, they are just as much a part of the total environment. These are not 'interpretations' drawn out of thin air and arbitrarily imposed on the music; they are specifications of the material relative to listeners enculturated in a particular context."¹²¹ In the paragraphs that follow, I will use a collation of all sources of this fragment of music to suggest that its use and circulation indicates precisely such an interpretative ecology in which its material would have been recognized by acculturated listeners, and in which its melodic identity would have been robust enough to sustain an equally meaningful play with its rewritten text in the La Clayette version of the piece.

Only one other source (the Montpellier codex) contains this motet.¹²² However, the Montpellier witness presents it as a four-part motet in which all upper-voice texts are French: *A Diu commant cele* (27) / *Por moi deduire et pour moi deporter* (28) / *En non Dieu, que que nus die* (29) / OMNES M1. (The piece is the 24th item in the manuscript, and in the second fascicle: I will refer to it from this point as Mo2,24.) The motetus *En non Dieu* shares the same melody as Cl 26's *Mulier omnis peccati*. Their texts follow here in parallel transcription, phrase by phrase, followed by a translation of the French version, while appendix 3.3 offers a comparative transcription of the two voices:

Mulier omnis peccati	8A	<i>En non Diu que que nus die</i>	8A
facta est inicium;	7B	ie ne la puis oublier	7B
Per hanc deprivati	6A	ma tres douce amie	6A
Per te sumus Deo grati	8A	tant est bele et bien taillie	8A
5. O lilium,	4B	pour esgarder	4B
Flos convallium;	5B	trop mi fet penser	5B
Per hanc depravati	6A	sa grant courtoisie_	6A
penis ignium,	5B	et son gent deporter	6[elision]B
Per te detur nobis refrigerium	11B	souvent mi fet dedans mon cuer sospirer	11B
10. Dum humanitati	6A	nonques en ma vie	6A
factor omnium	5B	ne mi pot grever	5B
victus vite supplicium	8B	mes or li vois merci crier	8B
Dignatur mortis pati	7A	alegies moi douce amie	7A
cui confers tu remedium	8B	au cuer mi tient li maus d'amer	8B

¹²¹ Clarke, *Ways of Listening*, 61.

¹²² Mo, at fol. 36r.

Translation of the French text: In the name of God, whatever anyone says, I cannot forget her, my very sweet lover. She is so beautiful and well proportioned for looking at. Her great courtliness makes me very pensive, and her noble deportment makes me sigh within my heart. Never in my life could she ever grieve me, but now I'm going to cry to her for merci: "Lighten my load, my sweet friend; the pains of love have me by the heart."

The versification structure of the two texts is identical, with the position and category of rhyme-sound matching precisely in each, even where more than one verse is set to a single musical phrase. Clearly, one text was modeled directly on the other. Moreover, the French text makes use of a refrain split in two, its two verses grafted one each at the start and end of the piece.¹²³ Its text, "En non Dieu que que nus die / au cuer mi tient les maus d'amer" ("In the name of God, whatever anyone says, the pain of love has me by the heart") lends its rhyme sounds as the contrasted pair structuring the whole poem; and that the refrain is found in both a textual *and* melodic citation across a broad array of other sources makes it almost certain that the Latin poem was composed after the French, not before.

Beyond its structure, the French text resembles the Latin not at all. Like other pieces I have examined in this chapter, it is sung by a narrator who looks upon his beloved from afar, and whose pains of love are magnified for the detailed work of mental picturing with which he brings her into presence. At the start, the narrator does not address the Lady, but rather is speaking *of* her, *to* someone else: he creates an audition point from which the audience are to hear. The lady herself enters the piece as nothing more than a pronoun, "la," as the direct object that the narrator cannot forget ("ie ne la puis oublier," v. 2). But she rapidly takes on more substantive mental shape. He describes her as "bien taillie pour esgarder" ("well appointed for *looking at*," vv. 4–5), and in so doing, he brings her closer, making her plastic as the object upon which he looks. The lady hovers in these words, brought into being through the narrator's sonic unfolding of his scopic desire.

Finally, he states "now I'm going to cry to her for mercy" ("or li vais merci crier," v. 12), and then does so, with the words "Alegies moi douce amie / au cuer mi tient li maus d'amer" ("Lighten my load, my sweet love; / The pains of love have me by the heart," vv. 13–14). As the refrain's remaining part is grafted

¹²³ This kind of piece was until recently called a "motet enté." On the debates surrounding the interpretation of the term "enté" (which literally means "grafted" in a primarily horticultural sense), see, in chronological order, Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 75–89; Butterfield, "Enté: A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry," *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 67–101; and Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 205–13.

onto the motet's end, the lady is made present as its declared addressee. Thus the lady's emergence as a figure over the course of this piece works in synergy with the structuring force of the refrain, for she moves closer to the mind's eye, eventually becoming present as the anticipated second half of the refrain is finally granted.

The narrator's song needs closer attention. The refrain it retransmits is listed as no. 673 in van den Boogaard's catalogue; I give a summary of its network of witnesses in appendix 3.4. Two other refrains are listed in van den Boogaard's catalogue that make use of the same first stich, but conclude with a different verse or two of poetry: nos. 667 and 674. Their networks of witnesses is given as appendix 3.5.

The various texts into which vdB 673 was incorporated constitute a veritable florilegium of vernacular attitudes towards the pain induced by love. The text of the refrain travels with hardly any variation at all, to be reimagined afresh as a stimulus for poetic love-making in a variety of registers. More importantly, this is not only a textual citation, but a musical one as well. Comparative transcription of the various sources of vdB no. 673 shows them to be not only reminiscent of one another, but almost identical in contour and even intervallic content. (As the melody turns through a pitch set of a fourth, *musica ficta* must be operated in some versions depending on the pitch at which the citation begins, determined by the counterpoint of the tenor; there seems good contrapuntal reason to give F-mi in both motet 284 and motet 80.) Occasional mutations occur in the interest of good discant with the tenor (such as B-D for "que que" in motet 50, which expands the melodic leap from a second to a minor third to match the tenor D under the second word), but the profile of the refrain remains the same through all versions. The sole source of refrain 674, motet 286, has the same melody for the first stich—that is, presumably its most immediately audible and memorable tag.

Clearly this refrain was recognized musically as well as poetically. Its extant witnesses show the stich to have wandered broadly, and its peregrinations indicate the reach of the interpretive ecology within which it was known. Pinning down its origin to one or other of these sources would be largely pointless: the recognition upon which the refrain relies would have been fostered with every performance of every version of the piece, regardless which order the pieces were encountered by a medieval singer or listener. And in the lack of specific denotative content that travels with the stich other than its expression of woe—perhaps the overheard sigh of a lover—the clarity with which it *sounds* seems to have been its principle point: it invites the listener both to hear the new narrative context its borrower has woven it into, and, as a melody, to listen for the formal contrivances by which he has done so. This unambiguous melodic citation invites the listener to hear through its words to the new forms its material articulates.

At the opening of the piece, only half of the refrain is heard. Thus it engages musical memory to foster anticipation by asking the ear to hear the motetus's new melody unfold in dialogue with the refrain's as-yet-absent other half, with which both generic logic and musical recollection require the motetus to conclude. Considered in isolation and as a whole, the refrain marks out a pitch set FGabced; but it starts in the middle of things, at a, rising to its most consistently projected and decorated pitch of c. This pitch twice serves as the springboard for a cde figure that seems to strive for the goal of f that it never quite reaches, the melody falling instead down to F (as if to acknowledge that that top f *was* meant to be a goal) before returning to the a with which it began. In line with the tenor's clearly referential use of F, the rest of the motetus melody anchors its pitch set in the F-f octave, most phrases clearly structured around F-c, c-f, or F-f modules that lend the whole a crisply articulated tonal shape. We have already seen that the text both calls forth the refrain's concluding half, and makes present the lady who will hear it. The music makes that revelation ineluctable. Measure 34 begins a drive to the end: where previous phrases had set a maximum of two verses of poetry, this one sets four, and lasts an exhausting 19 perfections: in the version in Mo, there is not even a *suspiratio* before the refrain is borne forth. The limb of the phrase right before it is granted flaunts that characteristic cde figure so prominent in the refrain that the ear is waiting to hear, now delivered as the narrator states that he is *about* to cry for mercy – as if he is warming up his voice for what will follow.

But after all this preparation, what the narrator sings is *not* what we have been led to expect. Instead, a new head ("Alegiés moi douce amie") is grafted on to the refrain's expected tail ("au cuer mi tient li maus d'amer") at measure 44: "*Lighten my load, my sweet love,*" he asks of her, before confessing, "*the pain of love has me by the heart.*" This addition turns what would otherwise be a mere statement into a syntactically imperative command; and the hybrid refrain is much better suited to the narrative context contrived for it. But something more complicated is also at work. None of the piece's editors or previous commentators have noticed that "*Alegiés moi douce amie*" is *also* a refrain: "*Alegiés mois, douce amie, / ceste maladie, / qu'amours ne m'ocie*" ("Alleviate this malady, my sweetheart, so that love not kill me"). It is listed as no. 87 in van den Boogaard's catalogue, though he did not recognize the partial concordance with motet Mo 2,24, counting motet 756 as its only witness. The text of the refrain and its musical witnesses are transcribed in appendix 3.6. In our piece, the melody is adapted slightly for the new discantal context, but the opening figure and overall melodic shape are the same, deploying the same pitches condensed into shorter time. The reminiscence emerges clearly, especially given the heightened listening all that preparation invites.

The text of motet 756 turns openly on the old association of sexual gratification with death. It is intercourse the narrator is demanding of the lady: the root meaning of the verb "*alegier*" is one of lightening, and its sense here is

obvious. This all constitutes a deeply ironic reading of the tenor's liturgical context, for the "Benedicamus domino" is the final versicle of each hour of the office, and requires only the respond "Deo gracias" to bring everything to a swift end. The motet built above it, whose sense is miniaturized and condensed in its refrain, "alegiés moi douce amie...", points out that even the chant is teetering on the brink of conclusion. So when the narrator of the motetus "En non dieu" breaks into song (and a woman steps silently onto the narrative stage to hear it), this other voice which he quotes makes his sexual intent clear, the force of disrupted expectation magnifying the metaphorical volume of his utterance. Because the refrain's newly grafted head is also musically known, it, too, has the effect of return. But it is a return made more astonishing for being unprepared by this piece. That is to say, *return* is momentarily disaggregated from *repetition* in this moment of citation, bringing both aesthetic properties into distinct but mutually clarifying focus. The piece's structure is about return made manifest. Thus the motet's formal work constitutes an expension of Christmas chant upon which it is built – though one whose textual content is far from holy.

Finally we return to Cl no. 26, where the French text of Mo 2,24 has been replaced with one in Latin. The deictic imprecision of "mulier" becomes eloquent in the light of the melody to which it is sung: it can specify Eve unto its own text, while incorporating the pain-inducing Lady about and unto whom the French narrator had sung, fusing them through the shared sign of their womanhood. Once again the memory of the refrain is stimulated, but now by music alone. Just as the melody of the new French motet had unfolded in dialogue with the expectation of the refrain's return, now the Latin text unfolds in dialogue with the mental presence of the refrain's baudier contexts, *and* its prior elaboration in the replaced French text. The effect is not only to be heard, but to be experienced: this moralizing new piece asks the singer to reembody the music he knows, and the vernacular sentiments he knows through it, in order to make present and thus heighten the very meanings the new Latin prayer seeks to expunge. The model is both supplanted yet ever present in the musical references it had exploited so cunningly.

Unsurprisingly, the most complicated work is done in the final moments of the piece. Recall that the phrase beginning m. 34 had served to initiate the final countdown to the refrain statement in the French version, as both the lengthiest phrase heard so far, and one deliberately laying bare its relation to the refrain that will come, its motivic reminiscences crafted to sound as intimations of the melodic strain that the ear is waiting to hear. The subordinate "dum" clause that is set to the phrase in the Latin version exaggerates the effect, for it attempts to underplay the moment of melodic citation at measure 44 by refusing to mark it with a sense break in the Latin syntax. That which Christ deigns to suffer, the "supplicium... mortis" (the "punishment of death") is a single syntactic unit split across the musical divide. Especially as it is embedded in a far longer sentence, and one of greater syntactic complexity than any before it, it challenges the mind

to assert its grammatical sense continuously over the marked-off moment of musical citation. Fixing Christ's suffering in the mind, one is challenged to *feel* the vernacular tug of the refrain's explosively framed and bawdy resonances, and to master them through mental subordination to the Latin syntax newly imposed on the memory of songs past.

It is difficult to do. With a lapse of attention, Christ's death pain could be the pain of (sexually) unrequited love that previous French narrators exclaimed to this very tune; the lady who emerges could readily slip from Mary back to the vernacular lady and thence to Eve; and the prayer addressed to the Virgin could slip from pious prostration to an impassioned call for sex. All of this is present, and all in a flash, the simultaneity of apperception it demands forcing something like cognitive saturation. To master the experience, one must learn to discipline interpretation itself. By cultivating the skill in a motet such as this, a singer would have been able to search for divine truth almost anywhere – even in the midst of a ribald old song made newly devout.

Epilogue: The Devotional Frame Surpassed

At the end of the motet collection, the music fascicle closes with a prayerful gesture quietly reciprocal to the flamboyant Marian praise with which it had opened. On the last page, fol. 390v, the fifty-fifth and final piece of the collection is a two-part motet with a French motetus: *L'autrier jouer m'en alai* (780) / SECULORUM AMEN (O52):¹²⁴

	L A utrier iouer men alai	7A	The other day I went wandering along.
	en un uerger men entrai	7A	I entered into an orchard.
	dame plaisant i trouuai	7A	I found a pleasant Lady there.
	bele estoit si len amai	7A	She was beautiful, so I loved her,
5.	et samour li demandai	7A	And I asked for her love in return.
	elle me respont sanz delai	7A	She responds to me without delay,
	que toz iors samour aurai	7A	That I will always have her love
	samour l'aueuil	4B	If I avow love to her.

¹²⁴ La Clayette is the only source for this two-part version of the piece, though the tenor and motetus are also found in Mo fascicle 5 as the bottom voices of a three-part French motet with the triplum *Pour escouter le chant du roussignol* (779), at fol. 154v. The text of that triplum is also found in Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12786, fol. 76r, where space was left for notation that was never added. Note that Anderson has added Mo's triplum in his edition of La Clayette's motets, apparently finding the piece incomplete without it. See Anderson, ed. *Motets of the manuscript La Clayette*, 68, and compare also his translation on pp. XCIV–XCV. He notes the discrepancy on p. LIV of the critical commentary.

The text is a *pastourelle* whose narrative has been so condensed that its events are more stated than recounted by its narrator, the result a highly miniaturized bucolic encounter. The text's grammar is heavily paratactic – a feature projected by the versification scheme and redoubled by its musical setting. The A rhyme with which all verses but the last terminate, [-ai], is also the ending for -er verbs in the first person preterite, drawing attention to the parallel position of the verb in each clause. Other than in the last two verses, each is set as its own musical phrase of 7L in the third rhythmic mode in which every syllable lasts a whole perfection, each phrase followed by a rest of 1L that once again allows the rhyme sounds and their musical sonorities to linger in the ear. Motet texts in French rarely display such tightly regularized phrase designs; and the succession of paratactic clauses here recalls the litanying tumble of Marian appellations in Cl 1's *Ave gloriosa* and Cl 2's *O Maria maris stella*. In *L'autrier jouer*, the stylistic effect produced by the versification and phraseology renders its *pastourelle* topic in a manner befitting the voice in prayer.

Once sensitized to the piece's devotional tone produced out of the progression of its form, devotional inflections of its topical world emerge to the ear also. Though the countryside setting and the narrator's latter perambulations through it set up all the required conditions for the *pastourelle*, it is in fact not a shepherdess that he finds in the orchard, but a "pleasant lady," a "dame" who is an altogether more elevated character than the logic of genre would elsewhere demand. As the narrator tells us, she was beautiful, so he loved her, and asked for her love in return. Her response is likewise out of *pastourelle* character. Unlike a Marion under threat, she does not protest or call for Robin to come to her aid, but instead tells the narrator "without delay" that he will always have her love, if he avows his to her. Note too that the time and aspect of the grammar shifts to the present as she responds to him, so that the narrator is no longer recounting what she said, but reports what she *is now saying*. The Lady is an object of veneration who will grant her favor upon request; and the song which creates her transforms the vernacular lover once more into a supplicant before the Virgin.

One last gesture, written on the book's final lines, finishes the devotional effect. The tenor incipit "Seculorum amen" comprises the final words of the lesser doxology *Gloria Patri*, the prayer with which psalms are brought to a close in the Divine Office.¹²⁵ On the last lines of La Clayette's motet fascicle, then, the tenor is used as means of aping a liturgical kind of musical closure. These

¹²⁵ "Seculorum amen" also lends its vowels as a manuscript shorthand when notating the *differentia* to be used at the conclusion of the psalm tone or canticle, before the antiphon is repeated. It is true that, because of the antiphon, these words are not the very last to be heard in an episode of liturgical psalmody; but they are common to the final stages of *every* psalm recitation, while antiphons are proper to the occasion upon which they are sung.

liturgical words reply affirmatively to the exuberant songs of Marian praise with which the fascicle had opened, and retroactively bring their echo to mind. In so doing, they place a devotional frame around the collection as a whole, as if to assert the prayerful continuity of all the pieces in between.

That assertion has an agenda, and one complementary with the work of motets such as Cl 26 and others we have examined which were crafted to exert interpretative pressure from within on the vernacular materials out of which they were made. It is true that not all motets in the La Clayette collection fit its devotional frame so snugly. The collection concludes with a long run of French pieces with no further Latin beyond their tenors, and many of their upper voices can only be thought devotional at a stretch. Nevertheless, taking the liturgical contexts of the tenor as a guide, devotional readings could have been developed for them in the discussion that we may imagine went on around the learning and performance of a piece. Different pieces within the collection doubtless also lent themselves to use under different circumstances, even for the book's primary reader (whoever that was). But it is true also that the La Clayette collection has a higher proportion of bilingual motets than any other *ars antiqua* source – all such pieces, I think, displaying devotional properties such as I have traced here – and the liturgical gesture by which the whole collection is framed has an historical existence of its own, regardless the poorness of fit it shows with some of the contents.

The invitation to make a particular interpretative choice acknowledges that other interpretations are possible, albeit backhandedly. That is the value of choice in general. But La Clayette's invitation to choose, expressed by patterns of ordering and an informing principle of repertoire selection based around the collection and production of bilingual, devotional pieces, could never have been binding on the book's users. Although someone might choose to delimit a reader's freedom by using whatever parameter of design, a manuscript cannot do a person's reading for him. My historical account of La Clayette is limited for the purposes of this dissertation to the manuscript's earliest codicological layers. The didactic, devotional complexion of the book at that stage is unambiguous (to the extent that the book's earliest literary dimensions are now determinable), and is continuous with the music fascicle's religious frame. But in subsequent stages of the book's life, which I will address more fully elsewhere, texts accrued to the manuscript's literary collection that transcended the originally didactic intent that spurred its first creation (though not its commitment to literary vernacularity). These require a little consideration before I bring my own chapter to a close.

A French translation of the *Historia Albigensis* accrued to the book in its second stage, only to be damaged and partially recopied before being recollected into the third, positioned in the final binding immediately before the music fascicle as its most immediate referent. Elizabeth Aubrey once proposed a thematic relation between this chronicle of the Albigensian Crusade and the

motet collection, reminding us that one of the motets contains a text in “Frenchified” Occitan,¹²⁶ and suggesting that the two Marian motets which open the music fascicle were so placed to echo Simon de Montford’s dying cry to the Virgin.¹²⁷ As I observed in chapter one, Aubrey’s reading is superficially wrong, only to be correct in terms deeper and more provocative than could have been the case before the chronology of the manuscript’s codicological development was understood. That is not simply because the motets supplement for Simon’s cry which is now missing from the end of the text, and which the motet fascicle interrupts, but because the motets were in the book *before* the *Historia Albigensis* was.¹²⁸ When they were first put down on parchment, they engaged a developing notion of genre for a music book, and promoted a devotional agenda for the Clayette collection affirmed and augmented in retrospect by the liturgical strains of Cl 55 at the very end. Only later did they come to do new duty as supplementary echoes of Simon’s final prayer, when they were taken not only

¹²⁶ Aubrey, “The Dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century,” *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 1–53; at 31.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 34

¹²⁸ To recap: Simon’s death is not found in La Clayette’s version of the text, which finishes incomplete at fol. 368v (that is, immediately before the music fascicle) some 300 words before Simon’s demise is related, which occurs less than 300 words from the end of the text as it is found in the other extant witness, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15703. (For an edition of the Old French text, see Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, vol. 3; this passage at pp. 188–90.) Recall that the last two leaves of the *Historia*, fols. 367 and 368 are in a different hand to the seven gatherings of the text before them, and are singles that now terminate in stubs between fols. 376 and 377 (that is, between gatherings 50 and 51 of the whole manuscript, and the first two gatherings of the music fascicle). So little of the text is missing that the two singles surely represent the first half of a binion originally containing the end of the *Historia*.

Aubrey’s interpretation can be maintained if the Marian motets opening the music fascicle are understood to *supplement* for Simon’s death-cry whose physical place in the manuscript they now occupy. This is an assertive interpretation, but not unwarranted given the equally assertive scribal intervention in the start of the *Historia* as it is now bound: the abrupt codicological intrusion of the music fascicle in the position of Simon’s cry resembles the cutting away of the *Historia*’s first leaf (fol. 312), and the strange deleting pen strokes that backhandedly draw attention to the presence of the text they cancel. It cannot be fluid damage (or damage alone) that occasioned the cutting away of the leaf, because precisely the portion which would have been most heavily damaged – the bottom outer corner – is the only part preserved. Active suppression and active supplanting are in evidence at both ends of the unit in ways that require hermeneutic explanation as well as codicological.

imaginatively but *physically* from their former place of rest, and redeployed in the service of a new meaning.¹³⁰ The historical character of this new turn is still more beautiful and complicated because it is forged as an echo between newly adjacent texts, resting on the alignment of two sets of sounds that had already been historical: the remembered passing of a war hero some eighty years earlier memorialized in a chronicle, and the two motets' Providential simultaneity of old and new musical styles that calls forth bands of angels to join the throng. Simon's passed voice is made to sing with them in eternity.

A Crusade chronicle is not a saint's life, but neither is it worlds away from one: for one thing, both genres demonstrate the retributions to be visited upon heretics, and that alone could be thought to have been morally edifying, if nothing else. But other texts added in the manuscript's later stages cannot be reconciled to the earlier thematic (which I have characterized here and throughout as "didactic" or "devotional"). Among them are a *Salut d'amour* attributed in the manuscript to a Simon in dedication to a lady Jehanne, of which the stanzas are *laisses* culled from *lais* widely found interpolated into *Roman de Tristan en prose*, and here recompiled into a version not known elsewhere at all.¹³¹

The *Tristan lais* require a great deal more work. Eighty-three manuscripts of the *Roman* survive, of which 24 contain at least one of the 17 *lais* found across

¹³⁰ I intend this description to echo with Maura Nolan's analysis of Gower's use of lines from Ovid, themselves rich in meanings brought to bear from within on the text that cites them, and to pressurizing formal effect that compromises the author's purported control over them. See Nolan, "Historicism After Historicism," in *The Post-Historical Middle Ages*, ed. Elizabeth Scala and Sylvia Federico (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 63–86; esp. 77.

¹³¹ For a comparative transcription of the *Salut d'amour* and the *laisses* from the *Prose Tristan* upon which they are based, see Richard O'Gorman, "The *Salut s'amour* from the La Clayette manuscript attributed to Simon," *Romance Philology* 20 (1966): 39–44.

the sources.¹³² Of the manuscripts transmitting *lais*, two contain some notation,¹³³ while a further manuscript double-spaces the lyrical texts, perhaps indicating that the scribe hoped notation would be added later.¹³⁴ Albeit that this is a meager crop of notated sources, the *lais*'s texts are nevertheless widespread, and like so many lyric-interpolated romances, they are usually explicitly musicalized by their narrative contexts.

In La Clayette, the newly confected Arthurian poem echoes with a motet uniquely extant in the collection: Cl 22, *De la Virge Katherine* (536) / *Quant froidure trait afin* (535) / *Agmina milicie* (532) / AGMINA (M65).¹³⁵ This piece combines prayers to St. Catherine (themselves rare deviations from the genre's Marian

¹³² This overview of the sources is taken from Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 338, n. 40.

¹³³ Butterfield lists these three manuscripts in *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 312. They are Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 776, which has notation for three *lais*; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 2542, in which all 17 of the *lais* are notated. Fr. 776 is a thirteenth-century manuscript; and for a brief description and links to a complete color digital facsimile, see <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000013595> (last accessed January 9, 2013). The most recent summary of research on the Vienna manuscript, conducted by the staff of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes for their database *Jonas*, considers it a thirteenth-century source also. See <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/manuscrit.php?projet=69946>. However, in her complete edition of the seventeen *lais*, which took the Vienna manuscript as a base, Tatiana Fotitch made a compelling case that the manuscript was a fifteenth-century production. See Fotitch, ed., *Les lais du Roman de Tristan en prose* (Munich: W. Fink, [1974]), 14–16. I have not been able to acquire images of the Vienna manuscript, and so forgo detailed comment here. Whether or not the Vienna manuscript was contemporaneous with fr. 776, Ruth Steiner reports that the two sources offer “entirely different” melodies for the three *lais* whose texts they share. See “La musique des lais dans le Tristan en prose de Vienne, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2542,” 137. On the problems surrounding the definition of the *lai*, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 140–43.

¹³⁴ Again listed in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 312. The manuscript is Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12599. Even in the absence of notation, the altered *mise en page* for the *lais* indicates music's absent presence. For a discussion of the ways scribes of contemporaneous manuscripts cued the imagined sound of music without notation, see Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the “Roman de Fauvel”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 49–64.

¹³⁵ Fols. 377r,a,11–377v,b,13. The complicated concordance network of this piece is listed in Van der Werf, *Intergrated Directory*, 89–90; and Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, XL–XLI. The text *De la virge Katherine chantera* (536) is uniquely extant in Cl, while its music is found with a Latin contrafact text in a Latin-double motet sharing the motetus (532) and tenor in Ba, fol. 4v.

predisposition) with a French triplum that carries on in blithe disregard for Catherine's passion to focus instead on Tristan's death-entailing love. It echoes also with a vernacular *Vie de sainte Catherine* uniquely preserved in La Clayette, also collected into the manuscript after the first binding.¹³⁶

The thematic connection of all these texts is slight, but the musical resonance of the "Salut d'amour" is interpretatively much louder, and harbors implications. Those pieces that did not fit La Clayette's originally devotional impetus (and indeed, if the connection to Cl 22 holds, some that *did*) brought in with them vernacularities, literary and musical, that the devotional frame acknowledges – as a gesture inviting choice – but that it did not contain. Those vernacularities sprouted shoots as the manuscript grew: they were taken up as themes augmented with repertorial selection, to result in a volume whose physical form bears the trace of interpretative work and interpretative change in and over time, and the resistance of its musical and literary forms to a monoptic interpretative schema that someone hoped the volume's first physical shape would enforce.¹³⁷

In hindsight, an analogy may be drawn between the entire music fascicle and a French refrain. Just as a refrain harbors an indeterminate but urgent deixis that is answered in part by the new forms that it stimulates so that it can be cited once again, so did La Clayette's music fascicle harbor interpretative possibilities that unfolded into its physical form as the volume grew through time. The distorted shape of that final form – all those stubs and crossings and texts that

¹³⁶ The "Salut d'amour" is contained in production unit 13 of the manuscript, at fols. 396rb–397ra, copied in hand C, also responsible for the start of production unit 4 (fols. 71r–120v; hand C was responsible for fols. 71r–86v). The *Vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie*, at fols. 93va–108ra, also forms part of production unit 4, but is copied by hand D. These two hands collaborated on the copying of that fascicular unit, hand D copying from 87r–120v.

Production unit 13 must have been present at binding stage 2, because it shows the same fluid damage as the music fascicle and early portions of the *Historia Albigensis*. Production unit 4 does not show the redundant sewing holes that would place it in the earliest binding stage of the manuscript; though neither does not show fluid damage. It must have been added to the manuscript in at least stage two, if not stage three. (The lack of fluid damage cannot prove that production unit 4 was *not* present at the second stage of binding, for it could have been in a position within the book sufficiently far forward that the fluid seeping in from the back did not reach it.) On the codicological situation of the manuscript, see chapter one, above.

For an edition of the unique vernacular life of St. Catherine, see Henry Alfred Todd, "La vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie as contained in the Paris manuscript 'La Clayette,'" *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 15 (1900): 17–73.

¹³⁷ On the literary as a medium (and not merely index) of history, see Steven Justice, "Literary History," in *Chaucer: Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Susanna Fein and David Raybin (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 195–210.

were never finished — was surely occasioned first by accidents of damage. But it was also occasioned by accidents of meaning. Herein may be discerned the La Clayette manuscript's subtlest historical eloquence. One reason why the volume came to an incomplete close (unlike so many of the beautifully etched tonal forms in the motets it contained) was because at some point after the turn of the century, its already old contents had lost their urgency, and no longer had the power to provoke.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ This is to engage Lorraine Daston's work on the loquaciousness of things. See Daston, introduction to *Things that Talk: Object Lessons From Art and Science*, ed. Daston (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 9–24. For Daston, the thingness of an object is not reducible to its materiality; rather, things are “nodes at which matter and meaning intersect” (ibid., 16). Daston deals primarily with iterable things (soap bubbles and photographs, among others), and this harbors an important difference from the singularity I seek to delineate in La Clayette. The manuscript's material form was mutable, and morphed in time with the changing eloquence of its literary contents. The eloquence of the *manuscript* is properly speaking an historiographical one, emergent to and in this account of its life; *historical* eloquence belongs to the musical and literary contents whose changing urgencies through time are now registered in the manuscript's distorted form.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PLACE OF WRITING IN THE PRODUCTION OF POLYPHONY

I: Polyphony, out of Earshot

We begin with one song, concealed within another:

	[P]Ar une matinee ¹	Upon a morning
	el mois iolif davril	in the jolly month of April,
	mariete ai trove	I found little Mariete
	regretant son ami	lamenting her lover,
5	en un pre flori	in a flowery pasture
	souz un glai foilli	on a lush patch of grass.
	un chant mout iolif	I heard a very agreeable song
	doiseillonnez chantanz	from the singing birds
	en un boschet entour moi	going on in the thicket around me
10	si cum aloie esbatant	as I was ambling along both frolicking
	et pensant ai oi	and in thought;
	sen fui esioi	I took great joy in it
	et sen fui resbaudiz	and was gladdened.
	soi marot disant	Then I heard sweet Marot saying,
15	biaus douz amis robin	"Handsome, sweet friend Robin,
	que iaim mout et desir	whom I love and desire so much,
	amoureux et iolis	who are loving and good-natured,
	por quoi demorez vos tant	why do you tarry so long?"
	issi se vait dementant	In this way she went on mourning,
20	la bele la blonde en soupirant	the beautiful, sighing blonde.
	dilec a pou venoit robin chantent	After a while, Robin came along,
		singing;
	encontre li sen vet marot	Marot runs up to meet him,

¹ This text is the triplum *Par une matinee*, transcribed from La Clayette, fols. 374v–375r. I will introduce the full polytextual piece momentarily. Verses are divided in accordance with standard editorial treatment of the repertory, at positions determined by terminal-vowel rhyme. Thus my transcription largely agrees with that given by Elizabeth A. Close in her contribution to Gordon Anderson's edition of the Clayette pieces. See Anderson, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521*, with texts ed. and trans. Close, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 68 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), 20–21 (for the score) and xxxviii–xxxix (commentary). The translation is my own.

	mout grant ioie fesant	making great merry.
	trestout maintenant	Straight away
25	icil dui amant	these two lovers
	lor ieus demenant vont	go off, making their games,
	et ie men part atant	and at this point I take my leave.

Like most vernacular motet texts, this one bears many generic hallmarks of the Old-French lyric world by which it was originally surrounded.² An unnamed male narrator recounts a journey he made into a forest pleasantly bustling with birdsong. There, he overhears the song of a young girl, in which he takes an equal (though perhaps more sinister) delight. As he declares the girl's name, "Mariete," he himself takes on a more defined identity: because she would almost never appear in a genre other than the *pastourelle*, he becomes the *chevalier* who conventionally narrates those tales.³ Hers is not a happy song: the Old French verb "dementer," here in present active participle (verse 19), colors her performance as one of potentially uncontrollable mourning, with something of the connotation of modern English "demented." It is the more poignant for the narrator's juxtaposition of her voice with the simple beauty of the face that produces the sound. Her unhappiness does not last long, however. Perhaps having heard her cries, her lover Robin arrives, singing, and she runs to greet him. Across the text, "dementant" is answered by another participle "demenant" (v. 26), deriving from "demener," a verb of repeated action (suitably translated as "to put oneself to something"), and converts some of the previous word's negative force. Where before she was in uncontrolled sorrow, now she and Robin are happily occupied in what the narrator describes as "games." Once

² A significant corpus of recent studies has broadened our understanding how motet poetry relates to Old French monophonic lyric. Among others, see Beverly Jean Evans, "The Unity of Text and Music in the Late Thirteenth-Century French Motet: A Study of Selected Works from the Montpellier Manuscript, Fascicle VII" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983); Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music & Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), esp. "The Rise of the Vernacular Motet," 43–64; and "Johannes de Grocheio, the *Litterati*, and Verbal *Subtilitas* in the *Ars antiqua* Motet," 65–111; Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); and Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France, from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³ On the *pastourelle* references in motet texts, see Evans, "The Register of the 'Je narratif': Manifestations of the *Bonne vie* and the *Pastourelle*," in "The Unity of Text and Music," 91–179. For a large selection of *pastourelle* texts, see William Paden, ed., *The Medieval Pastourelle*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1987). For readings of the gender and class relations implied between the *chevalier* and the young girl in these poems, see Katherine Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

they have gone off on their merry way, the narrator, too, takes his leave. Shifting to the present tense in the final verses, he seems to foreground his own performance, and to explain the brevity of the piece he sings. Unnamed, it is as if he were only a voice whose task was to sing the tale of the lovers' song. Because their voices are no longer audible, his own reason for singing is exhausted, and he falls silent.

This is a noisy text indeed. Even before we consider the music to which it is sung, it conjures a landscape shimmering with sound. At first glance, it seems to recount three performances: the birdsong; Marot's sobs and sighs, which morph into a more formal utterance; and Robin's singing. The choice of performance-related vocabulary is significant and patterned. Birdsong is a standard generic attribute of the nature opening, found with varying kinds of inflection at the opening of high-style *chansons* as frequently as in the more earthy *pastourelle*.⁴ By comparison to the pleonasm with which it is described ("un chant mout jolif / doiseillonnez chantanz," "the song of singing birds") Marot's performance seems only ambiguously musical, given that it is introduced by the present participle "disant." While scholars agree that the verbs "chanter" and "dire" had overlapping semantic fields in the thirteenth century, and that the latter could embrace the envoiced register we typically reserve for "song," this "disant" nevertheless seems at odds with the emphasis given to the avian singing.⁵ When Robin is introduced with the present participle "chantent," arriving in the act of singing, the sonic clarity returns – which is the more curious, for the "muffled" middle section contained the narration of an actual performance.

This connection (a kind of ABA' form of imagined vocal timbres) prompts a closer scrutiny of the reason for Robin's song in the light of what follows it. Once he arrives, Marot "goes up to him, making great joy." All of Marot's actions to this point have been implicitly sonic – she sighs, she mourns, then she makes an actual performance loud enough for its words to be discerned, and all have been introduced by participles. Throughout, the relation of sonic expression to emotion has been, for Marot, an unpremeditated one: when she acts an emotion

⁴ For an overview of the topical conventions in troubadour lyric, inherited by the trouvères, see Elisabeth Schulze-Busacke, "Topoi," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 421–40.

⁵ An excellent example is contained in the quotation Suzannah Clark uses to head her recent article on refrain citation: Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet," *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 16 (2007): 31–59. The broader semantic range of the Old French verb *dire* is partly an inheritance from its Latin origins in the verb *dico*, *dicere*, which could also be used to emphasize the performed, vocal aspect of a public utterance. See C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "dico, dicere."

in a present participle, it is identifiable to the chevalier only insofar as it makes a trace he can *hear*. The French gives “encontre li sen vet marot / mout grant ioie fesant.” Translation misses part of the point: “encontre,” whether used as a preposition or an adjective, connotes opposition, of one thing being against another. In the simplest terms, it suggests that the two characters stand face to face. Yet the verb of action, “s’en vet,” yields a more suggestively musical interpretation, especially when we consider that once again, Marot is *making* “joie.” “Fesant,” like her other participles, can be understood as a verb of performance: one can “faire une chanson” after all. Within the metonymic vessel of a declared emotion lies a faintly audible music-making: the sonic trace of Marot’s joy is what she is making “encontre” Robin and his song. And it is that word, *encontre*, sharing the root with Latin *contrapunctus*, that is the crux. Robin’s declared song becomes something of a red herring, diverting attention from the more interesting sound Marot makes against it, motivated this time by joy. The obliqueness of the suggestion is telling, for it traces a decrescendo across the text (Robin’s tenor notwithstanding), with the lovers singing together at its vanishing point. This is our concealed song. As they go on their way, *polyphony* wanders off beyond audible horizons.⁶

⁶ Sarah Fuller gives an overview of the term in “Organum – Discantus – Contrapunctus in the Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 477–502. Although, as she reminds us, theorists usually discussed the two-part framework of thirteenth-century polyphony with the Latin term *discantus*, I would argue this does not obviate a polyphonic reading of Robin and Marot’s implied song at the end of this triplum. First and most importantly, the Latin “contra” is used consistently in treatises that give instructions on how to sing sanctioned dyadic progressions in two voices. For example, the anonymous thirteenth-century author of *Tractatus de musica plana et organica* gives the following as a standard formula: “Si cantus ascendat duas voces, et organum incipiat in dyapente, descendet quatuor voces et erit cum cantu, verbi gratia: contra ut re, sol re; contra re mi, la mi; contra mi fa, mi fa; contra fa sol, fa ut, sol fa, sol re.” Here, “contra” is unambiguously a preposition describing an operation of polyphony-making. See *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, ed. Edmond de Coussemaker (Paris: Durand, 1864–76; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2:494.

Moreover, the teaching of music “punctus contra punctum” becomes widespread soon after 1300, precisely as polyphonic vernacular songs in a note-against-note style first find their way into written records. There is every reason to understand them as the first written traces of oral practices that had been happening for some decades. Mark Everist has recently addressed some of these complicated issues, including the relationship of motet style to song composition at the end of the thirteenth century. See Everist, “Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300,” *The Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 365–406; and Everist, “‘Souspirant en terre estrange’: The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut,” *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 1–42.

The modern historiography of thirteenth-century polyphony bears a close resemblance to this silencing move at the end of our text: although many scholars acknowledge the presence of other polyphony around the motet, it remains largely beyond scholarly discussion under the assumption that it was unwritten and is therefore lost to us. When polyphonic sources are discovered whose contents are not polytextual, or whose writing is not easily placed upon a developmental line from modal to Franconian notations, they are often designated “peripheral,” “simple” or even “primitive.”⁷ Although the “center” versus “periphery” model has come under sustained critique, along with evolutionary ones that prioritize the development of notation at the expense of the social practices sustaining their creation,⁸ nevertheless the motet’s learnedness still seems to place it squarely in Paris, around Notre Dame and the University. In general, the motet has seemed too complicated to have been conceived other than in writing.⁹

This is not just a modern belief, but one that has medieval origins. We have already seen that it was articulated openly by Johannes de Grocheio. I will argue here that the belief was also articulated compositionally in pieces that direct conscious attention to effects of musical style that their poetic texts construe as especially writerly. In the previous chapter, I suggested that an aesthetic of writtenness pervades the motet as a genre. We have listened closely to many pieces whose effects rely on the minute specification of co-ordinated human behavior, transmitted by (if not planned in) a kind of writing which could come to be inhabited by new bodies through a variety of kinds of reading and learning. Here, I will offer an extended analysis of *Par une matinee* (807) / *Mellis stilla* (808) / ALLELUIA (unidentified), of which I give a complete musical

⁷ This is particularly the case with scholarship in continental European languages, for the standard vocabulary with which this music is discussed in them overlaps with English “simple” and “primitive,” but is in some ways distinct. Witness the variety of interpretations evident in the contributions to Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, eds., *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa* (Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1980); and Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., *Un millennio di polifonia tra oralità e scrittura* (Bologna: Società editrice Il Mulino, 2002).

⁸ An early critique, directly related to the motet, was implicit in Ernest H. Sanders, “Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964): 261–87. See also Reinhard Strohm, “Center and Periphery; Mainstream and Provincial Music,” in *A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. David Fallows and Tess Knighton (London: Dent, 1992), 55–59.

⁹ Edward Roesner articulates this perspective in the introduction to a recent collection of influential essays on *ars antiqua* polyphony. See Roesner, introduction to *Ars antiqua: Organum, Conductus, Motet* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), xi–xix.

transcription as example 4.1.¹⁰ In its musical style as much as in its text (which we have already examined), the motet's triplum is as confident an advocate as Grocheio for the unique power of music writing to manipulate style, and to divide categories of people by kinds of literate musical skill they ought to have. But ironically, this bilingual version of the piece seems only to have had very limited circulation, and is now found in only two sources: La Clayette and the Montpellier codex. Meanwhile, elements of the same music – and especially the motetus *Mellis stilla* – are found in various and telling configurations across 15 known manuscripts.¹¹ I give a detailed reading of La Clayette's version of the piece in tandem with a paleographical examination of all other manuscript witnesses, to suggest that this motet's different voices tell competing stories about the motet as a written genre. *Par une matinee* was composed with an agenda, and it is one which *Mellis stilla* can be used to question.

I begin with a musicopoetic analysis of the French triplum to suggest that its gestures toward orality, toward the "wandering voices" of faintly overheard song, were calculated by the poet-composer to magnify the sense of the motet's difference as a *written* creation.¹² Its aspirations to vernacular literariness are implicitly validated by the rhetorical gesture of preservation in which evanescent

¹⁰ In contrast to the transcription policy of earlier chapters, I transcribe the breve as a quarter note here rather than as an eighth note, simply because the result is easier to read when the breve fractures into groups of four semibreves. I intend to make no statement about the piece's tempo relative to the motets discussed in previous chapters. What may be lost in consistency is gained in the greater ease with which the rhythmic detail may be perceived. The original notation is considered separately, so I have not retranscribed it here above the modern staves.

¹¹ Appendix 4.1 lists all of these sources, and offers a comparative transcription of *Mellis stilla* from each of them.

¹² I borrow Suzannah Clark's apt term "poet-composer" throughout this chapter, sometimes switching to "composer" when the aspect I discuss is more directly related to the music. See Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete,'" 33. For reasons that will become clear, I believe both the text and music of the triplum to have been composed by the same person, and after the tenor-motetus pair. The phrase "wandering voices" is Jennifer Saltzstein's elegant means of describing thirteenth-century refrains and the practices of citation in which they were deployed. See Saltzstein, "Wandering Voices: Refrain Citation in Thirteenth-Century French Music and Poetry" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007).

Example 4.1. Cl no. 17, *Par une matinee* (807) / *Mellis stilla* (808) / ALLELUIA (unidentified), transcribed from La Clayette, fols. 374v,b,11–375r,b,6.

[Triplum] fol. 374v,b,11

[Motetus] fol. 375r,a,12

[Tenor] fol. 375r,b,5

Alleluya

8

mi en un pre flo - ri — souz un glai foil - li — un chant mout io - lif d'oi-seil-lon-nez chan -

tu ma - mi - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la ex - pers

16

8 tanz en un bos - chet en-tour moi si cum a-loie es-ba-tant 7 pen-sant ai o - i s'en fui es - io -

pa - ris³ uir - go pa - ris — pa - trem fi - li - a or - do stu - pet

24

8 i — 7 s'en fui res-bau - diz s'oi ma-rot di - sant biaux douz a-mis ro - bin

cu - ius sup - plet ui - cem gra - ti - a me - di - a - trix ui - te

Example 4.1. Continued.

32

que iam mout 7 de - sir a-mo-rous 7 io - lis por quoi de-mo-rez vous tant is-si se vait de-man - tant

da trix mun - di³ do - mi - na ui - a ui - te mor - tis

39

la be-le la blonde en sous - pi - rant d'i-lec a pou ve-noit ro-bin chan - tent en-con-tre li s'en

tri - te tu ui - cto - ri³ - a per - te - de - tur ut - pur -

46

vet ma-rot mout grant io-ie fe - sant tres-tout main-te - nant i-cil dui a - mant lor ieus de - me -

ge - tur³ fe - cis sco - ri - a qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti

54

nant - vont 7 ie m'en part a - tant

sint me - mo - ri - a

sound is rendered materially permanent.¹³ Several details of rhythm, notation and form seem to project the text's narrator as a literate *reader* of vernacular music and poetry, even as the results of his reading are signalled by performed shifts in vocal style. I will argue that these shifts project not only a context of listening, but also that the whole encounter revolves around assumptions held by the poet-composer about how overheard vernacular songs could (and could not) be related to *this*, the preeminently written music of his time, through which medium they seem to be reported.¹⁴

However, by arbitrating between the concerns of whoever created this motet, and the specific paleographical testimony of the version in La Clayette, I show how the most flamboyant display of compositional writerliness in the piece – the point at which its notation becomes most complicated and pervaded by semibreves – also harbors the moment of that fiction's undoing. La Clayette's compilers had differing concerns from the triplum's poet-composer. The didactic complexion of their vernacular book was manifested both in their choice of texts at the early stage of the book's compilation, and also in the kind of musical praelection they seem to have anticipated when impaginating the motets. Their alternative vision of literate musical practice – one which could permit writerly music to be performed by those who could not read – is made most clearly manifest in those passages of semibreves that require live trial-and-error tactics to be decrypted. Heard one way, those passages participate in a declaration about the superiority of written composition over music composed by other means. Read in another, they unveil polyphony as a collaborative skill which could be exercised by singers in only oblique relation to writing itself.

The tenor and the motetus, *Mellis stilla*, are much more widely spread than the triplum, appearing in all of the motet's 15 sources. While these versions largely share the same pitch content, they vary widely in terms of their rhythmic and textural style. *Mellis stilla* is found in four sources as one voice of a three-voice polytextual "motet." In two of these, the triplum is French-texted (our *Par une matinee*) and in each of the other two, it shares the same melody, but has a different Latin contrafact text. *Mellis stilla* appears in ten further sources,

¹³ Numerous recent studies address the construction of the vernacular as a literary language. A useful overview is provided by Sarah Kay, "The Middle Ages: From the Earliest Texts to 1470," in *A Short History of French Literature*, by Sarah Kay, Terence Cave, and Malcolm Bowie (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1–95; and the essays in Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁴ Suzannah Clark has recently addressed moments in pastourelle texts, both with and without music, when the narrator reports the song of a shepherdess. Clark, "Overhearing Shepherdesses Sing: Song and Seduction in the Medieval *pastourelle*," (paper delivered at the symposium "Etymologies of Medieval Song," University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, February 9, 2008).

variously as a “conductus” of three voices, or of two, or alone as a monophonic piece. These generic designations are inferred from the qualities of each presentation, not given in accompanying rubrics by scribes. If we leave generic taxonomy aside, the versions of this Latin piece can, likewise, be comfortably reconciled as evidence of multiple performance practices, showing that the same pious song was performed in a number of ways. In the bilingual version of the motet, the motetus *Mellis stilla* serves as the grain of vernacular practice against which the triplum carves out a conception of genre dependent upon writing.¹⁵ But *Mellis stilla*’s patterns of transmission suggest the triplum’s heady sense of its own writtenness should be treated with caution. Beyond its (nevertheless impressively proliferate) written witnesses, *Mellis stilla* indicates that vernacular polyphony thrived, and that it was much more like the genre of the motet than the composer of *Par une matinee* might have been willing to admit.

It is by now uncontroversial when dealing with works of the fourteenth century, whose *ars nova* notations were more powerful still than those of the thirteenth, to find in songs explicit compositional play with the idea of their notation’s power.¹⁶ Guillaume de Machaut – secretary, composer, and consummate historical obfuscator – was well aware of the power of music books to shape his legacy, and that they could be tools with which to tell stories about the historical import of his prowess as a composer.¹⁷ The piece I examine here shows Machaut was late to the game in recognizing that music writing could manipulate the historical record. Pieces like *Mellis stilla* offer the opportunity to

¹⁵ Among many studies of genre in thirteenth-century music, see especially Mark Everist, “The Motet and Genre,” in *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 148–80; Judith Peraino, “Notions of Genre, Present and Past,” in “New Music, Notions of Genre, and the ‘Manuscrit du Roi’ circa 1300” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995); Peraino, “Monophonic Motets: Sampling and Grafting in the Middle Ages,” *Musical Quarterly* 85 (2001): 644–80; and Ardis Butterfield, “The Boundaries of Genre,” in *Poetry and Music*, 75–121. My account here differs in the emphasis it places on the idea of writing articulated in the piece itself.

¹⁶ Among several publications, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, “Nature’s Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading and Performing Song,” in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 72–95; and Anne Stone, “Self-Reflexive Songs and Their Readers in the Late Fourteenth Century,” *Early Music* 31 (2003): 180–94.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Eva Leach examines the manuscript order of Machaut’s first five notated ballades, arguing that they were arranged by their composer to tell a fictional origin-story about the genre that is at variance with the actual chronology of their composition. See Leach, “Death of a Lover and the Birth of the Polyphonic Ballade: Machaut’s Notated Ballades 1–5,” *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 461–502. My characterization of Machaut adapts the title of Leach’s recent book, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

listen for the perceived musical conditions that made declarations of music-technological prowess possible. In adumbrating those conditions, we find that compositions such as *Par une matinee* were manipulations bound up with the creation of a written historical record for polyphony, and that they promoted the idea of written music's difference from "oral" cultures. Over time, their manipulations have come to seem transparently factual as witnesses to the social practice of polyphony *tout court*. They are not.

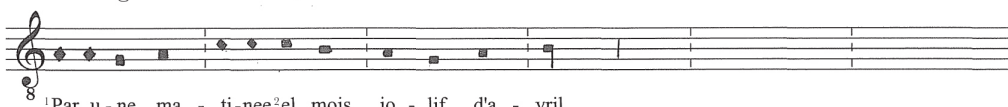
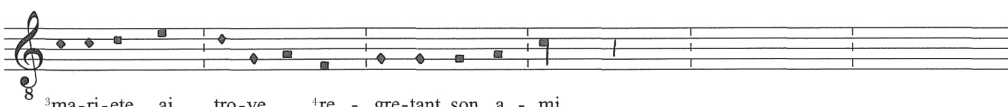
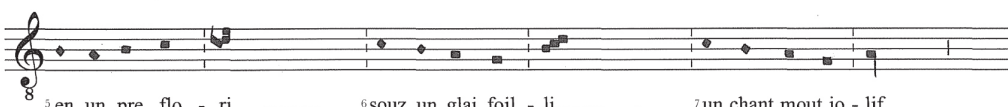
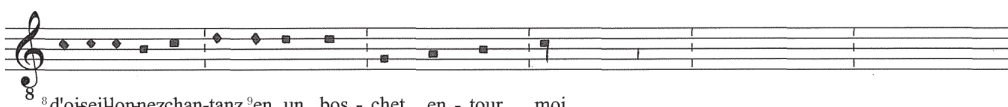
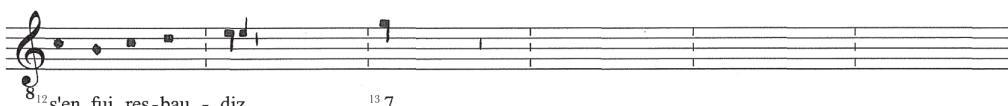
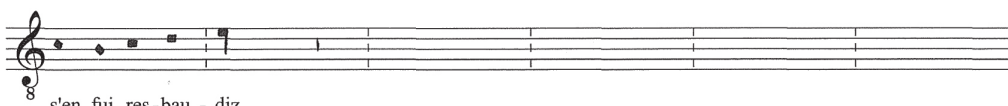
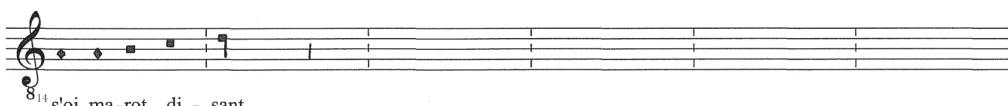
II: Reading Marot's Song

How does music respond to the shifts of voice in our text, and their implied registers of performance? To answer this question, we must first consider the difficulties that would have presented themselves to someone composing a triplum to a pre-existing piece. While matters of pitch and contour must have been constrained by the discant framework of the lower voices, the greatest freedom a composer would have had in creating this triplum was the length of its phrases, and their starting and ending positions relative to the tenor *ordines*.¹⁸ Example 4.2 gives a transcription of the melody, preserving its original notation. The lines of the transcription divide at every point where a notated rest is given in the manuscript, so that the delineation of the poetry in musical phrases is immediately clear to the eye. Within the text line, I number the poetic verses as

¹⁸ Ernest H. Sanders's account of the historical development of the motet is centrally concerned with the numerical disposition of its phrase structure. See "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), 497–573. Several other studies devote substantial sections to the phrase structure of upper voices, considered in both isolation from and combination with their tenor. Klaus Hofmann, "Die melodische Autonomie der Oberstimme und ihre kompositionstechnischen Grundlagen," in *Untersuchungen zur Kompositionstechnik der Motette im 13. Jahrhundert dargeführt an den Motetten mit dem Tenor In Seculum* (Neuhausen: Hänssler-Verlag, 1972), 135–55; Hans Tischler, "The Upper Parts of Motets," in *The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets (to circa 1270)*, 2 vols. (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1985), 1:58–114; and Finn Mathiassen, "The Upper Voice," in *The Style of the Early motet (c. 1200–1250): An Investigation of the Old Corpus of the Montpellier Manuscript* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1966), 43–93; esp. 70–93. Here and throughout this section, my analysis is indebted to Suzannah Clark's demonstration that the pattern of a voice-part's phrase lengths over the course of a piece may gesture in interpretatively significant ways towards the forms of vernacular monophonic song. See Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete,'" esp. 39–44. Anna Zayaruznaya has recently completed a meticulous study of upper-voice structures and their musicopoetic design in fourteenth-century motets. See Zayaruznaya, "Form and Idea in the *Ars nova* Motet" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010).

Phrase	Long 1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6
9	 ⁸ ₁₅ biaux douz a-mis ro - bin					
10	 ⁸ ₁₆ que iam mout 7 de - sir					
11	 ⁸ ₁₇ a - mo - rous 7 io - lis ¹⁸ por ¹⁹ quoi de-mo-rezvous tant is-si se vait de-man - tant					
12	 ⁸ ₂₀ la be-le la blonde en sous-pi - rant					
13	 ⁸ ₂₁ d'i-lec a pou ve-noit ro-bin chan - tent					
14	 ⁸ ₂₂ en-con-tre li s'en vet ma-rot mout grant io - ie fe - sant					
15	 ⁸ ₂₄ tres-tout main-te - nant					
16	 ⁸ ₂₅ i - cil dui a - mant					
17	 ⁸ ₂₆ lor ieus de - me - nant___ ²⁷ vont 7 ie m'en part a - tant					

Example 4.2. Triplum, *Par une matinee* (807), transcribed from La Clayette, fols. 374v,b,11-375r,a,11.

Phrase	Long 1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						

Example 4.2. (Continued.)

lineated in the transcription heading the chapter. The staves are “barred” with a dotted line at the end of each perfect long, to facilitate counting. Of course, my transcription already represents something of an analysis, for it prioritizes one aspect of the piece’s style, possibly at the expense of others.¹⁹ It would be possible to construe the patterning of this triplum in a number of other ways, for instance by its melodic goals and contours; by the number of syllables per phrase; by the rhyme patterns in the text (which do not always align with these musical phrases, but fall within them also); or by the number of syllables within rhyming limbs of the poetry, considered aside from the music. I prioritize phrase lengths in my transcription because I find them the most audible aspect of the triplum’s structure, as it is sung.

In mid-century motet style, and especially in bilingual motets, we conventionally expect the upper voices to fall into a kaleidoscopic succession of varying phrase lengths against the tenor *ordines*. Over the course of the whole melody, there is indeed a spectrum of lengths, ranging from 2 perfect longs (henceforth “2L”) to 6L. Yet the piece begins with two phrases of 4L, each of which sets two complete verses of poetry (so four in total). The text has an ABAB rhyme scheme (assuming dialectological equivalence between the “-il” of verse 2 and “-i” in verse 4).²⁰ Because the ends of verses 1 and 3 fall in the middle of the phrase, and because the final vowel of verse 1 elides with the first vowel of 2 to be set to a single note, their rhyme when set to music is obscured. The ends of verses 2 and 4, by comparison, chime out very clearly indeed, emphasized by (and emphasizing) what we might consider an “ouvert/clos” pitch structure, by

¹⁹ On the inherently analytical (and potentially distorting) nature of transcriptions and editions, see Bent, “Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation,” in *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica ficta* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 219–40.

²⁰ In some schools of editorial practice, the dialect and phonology of an Old French text may be inferred from the orthography of precisely such paired rhymes. See Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), 93. My discussion of pronunciation throughout is informed by the descriptive phonology offered at the end of each chapter in William W. Kibler, *An Introduction to Old French* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1985).

analogy with fourteenth-century song procedures.²¹ This is centered on C, and is created by the repeated gesture of approach through the pitches A–G–A (at phrase 1, longs 1–2; then with “resolution” withheld at longs 3–4; then without the opening A, but temporally extended in longs 7 to 8). I find the alignment of musical and textual structures here to be significant. No generic norms restrict phrase lengths in a motet; and when the artistry of the genre more readily seems to lie in the *lack* of consistent correspondence between phrase lengths, or between aspects of musical structure and poetic versification, their palpable coincidence at the opening of this piece creates a mutually enforcing sense of strophism in miniature. Even as the narrator’s words conjure the topical world of the *pastourelle*, the poet-composer aligns these double formal gestures to open the triplum with an acknowledgement of the strophic structure one would expect in a monophonic *pastourelle*. It frames what would otherwise be merely the beginning of a motet triplum as the beginning of a *song*.²²

Strophism creates an anticipation of repetition, and we can productively hear the unfolding of this piece through the expectations the opening two phrases arouse.²³ At first glance, phrases 4 and 5 seem to repeat the strophic gesture: both are 4L in length, and are therefore set off from the surrounding phrases that are more varied. Both contain two verses of poetry (8+9, 10+11) which form another four-verse structure of alternating rhymes, CDC’E. This rhyme scheme is inexact, and significantly so. The terminal vowels of verses 8

²¹ The terms are applied to paired melodic phrases in Perotinian discant by Fritz Reckow, “Das Organum,” in Arlt et al., *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen*, 434–96; at 477; and Reckow’s use of the terminology is endorsed and expanded to motets by Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “The Flower’s Children,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003): 303–48; at 309. Importantly for the following argument, contemporaneous *monophonic* songs are generally considered to have been composed with planned pitch structures traced by the initial and final notes of each verse within the strophe. For Occitan lyric sung the twelfth century, and written down in the thirteenth and fourteenth, see Elizabeth Aubrey, “Form,” in *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 132–97. For French lyric, see Fiona McAlpine, “Authenticity and Auteur: The Songs of Hugues de Berzé,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995): 13–32; and Mary O’Neill, “The Melodic Art of the Trouvères: Orality and the Question of Melodic Variants,” in *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 53–92.

²² My argument here is in dialogue with Carolyn Abbate’s work on staged songs in opera. See Abbate, “Music’s Voices,” and “Cherubino Uncovered: Reflexivity in Operatic Narration,” in *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 3–29 and 61–118.

²³ For an account of the versification patterns that might be crafted between stanzas in Occitan lyric, see Frank M. Chambers, “Versification,” in Akehurst and Davis, eds., *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 101–20.

and 10 are likely to have been phonologically equivalent, but their consonant codas are slightly different. Because it elides mid-phrase with a following vowel, verse 8's "-z" ending is pronounced /ts/, but is answered in verse 10 only by plosive /t/, without the fricative. More significantly, the monosyllabic diphthong "moi" of verse 9 becomes disyllabic "oi" in verse 11, as the regularly formed past participle of *oïr*, "to hear." This case seems to be the first of a series of moves in which the sounds sung in the text demand to be heard through the imagined lens of the way in which they may be written: the two cases are orthographically identical, but must be pronounced differently. There begins a sense of rotation or permutation in the phonological material of the text. Over its course, consonants begin to accrue to terminal rhyme vowels, as if the poetic structure were morphing under the pattern laid out for it. Sonic reminiscences create lines of connection across the text that imply versificatory parallelism even as they dismiss it.

The musical structure makes the point clear. Whereas in the opening "strophe," the first phrase had been melodically open, and was answered consequently by the closed return to C in the second, the relationship is precisely reversed in this one. Now, phrase 4 both departs from and arrives at C, whereas phrase 5 ends on D, requiring a closure that cannot fall within the strophe's limits. It is made the more obvious by beginning with the A-G-A-C figure that had opened the entire piece. That figure had been a gesture of opening, both because it was the first thing we heard, and because it was framed as a formal "beginning" to a different kind of song altogether. Now, however, this opening occurs in the middle of a strophe whose contours are nevertheless clearly marked, because they rearticulate the relationship of phrase lengths to poetic verses that was set up in the first. It is as if the chevalier has returned to strophism after the brief interlude of the three poetic verses declaimed in phrase 3. Because these each have five syllables and the same rhyme sound, they seem something of a versificatory "white noise," a ground against which the figure of formal song can emerge.

As it does so, it is simultaneously disrupted. The expectation of strophic return is partly answered by the paired phrase lengths; but it is deflected because a melodic reminiscence which had originally been a point of departure now falls in the middle of the strophe. The misalignment between the beginning of the new strophe and the *melodic* gesture of beginning forces a division in the narrative between the singer and the song. While the narrator contemplates the event he is about to recount to his audience, his increasing excitement begins to tell *through* his aspiration to appropriately formal narration by disrupting his tone of voice. In fact, the pitch structure of the song *does* reach a resolution, beyond the bounds of the strophe itself: phrase 6 begins with a very brief articulation of that reference pitch, which becomes a launch-pad for a flight up to the highest note we have yet heard, as the chevalier proclaims his excitement. The moment is almost comical: that high G falls at a most irregular position in

the poetic structure, setting the first syllable of a new verse as the most exposed of musical phrase endings. The word “et” (given with the Tironian “7” sign by the Clayette scribe) sounds out high, and, if its final consonant is left unpronounced, it teeters on the verge of becoming merely a vocable of emotional extremity, a fragmentary first syllable, like a “hé” that waits for an ungranted “-las!”²⁴ If the narrator had reported Marot’s sobbing as a sound beyond rational expression with the undoing connotation of “dementant,” then the irony here is that his own voice now betrays his increasing arousal, beyond his comprehension. That is to say, as he prepares himself to report *her* emotive arousal, the chevalier’s disrupted voice betrays his own. Because there is a discrepancy, coded into the musical setting, between the song the chevalier sings and the tone of voice in which he sings it, this retroactively confirms that we have not merely been listening neutrally to the unfolding of a triplum within the motet. Rather, the triplum is itself the reported *song* of the narrator, and our chevalier has in fact been *singing* all along. And because the purpose of the song is to tell the encounter he claims to have had with Marot, then the chevalier is figured, moreover, as the author of the song he sings.²⁵

Having attained such lofty heights, the chevalier sings back down through the registral space he has opened up, introducing Marot’s performance with a melodically open termination on D at 8,L2, so that when her voice is finally

²⁴ Emma Dillon has recently addressed the significance of emotive vocables in thirteenth-century motets in “Madness and the Eloquence of Nonsense,” in *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 129–73. See also Dillon, “Representing Obscene Sound,” in *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer; York Medieval Press, 2006), 55–84.

²⁵ Kevin Brownlee has explored Machaut’s narrative use of lyric poetics, and the shifts of implied voice and authority that result from it. See Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984). See also Carolyn Abbate’s discussion of Wotan’s authorial singing voice, in “Wotan’s Monologue and the Morality of Musical Narration,” in *Unsung Voices*, 156–205.

heard, it starts out from the referential “home” pitch of C.²⁶ However, for all this framing, her performance cannot be heard except through the formal markers he has annexed as evidence of his own versificatory prowess.²⁷ Against these benchmarks, her performance comes up short. Like his strophes, her one consists of four poetic verses. Their phrase lengths are lowly and short by comparison with his, and irregular among themselves: where the first two are both set to musical phrases of 2L each, the third and fourth are neither separated from one another to balance this opening, nor indeed separated from the continuing phrase with which the chevalier sums up her performance. Although she began at the referential pitch of C, and rearticulates it at several points (as if attempting a simple musical form), she is ultimately so taken over by emotion that she cries imploringly “por quoi demorez vos tant?” at what I imagine, through the elevated range, to be the top of her voice. (That the melody just then attains the same height as had the chevalier’s in his momentary loss of self-control

²⁶ Nico H. J. van den Boogaard considers Marot’s reported song to be a refrain, and lists our triplum as a concordance to no. 220 of his catalogue, to which he gives the textual form “Biaus doz amis, / por quoi demorés tant?” See Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), 220. The only other listed concordance of the refrain is motet no. 28, which appears in the Montpellier Codex as the triplum of a four-part French motet, *A dieu conmant* (27) / *Pour moi deduire et pour moi deporter* (28) / *En nom dieu que que nus die* (29) / OMNES (M1), *Mo* fascicle 2, no. 24, fol. 36 verso; and also as the triplum to a three-part bilingual motet found only in La Clayette, *Pour renvoisier et por moi deporter* (28) / *Mulier omnis peccati facta est initium* (30) / OMNES (M1), La Clayette no. 26, fol. 379 verso. (Of these two pieces, the Latin and French motetus parts share the same melody.) Van den Boogaard takes the “refrain” of the four-part motet in *Mo* as his indexed form. As can be seen immediately, it contains far fewer verses than the version reported as Marot’s song in our motet, and neither does it have the same melody. Boogaard’s assertion of a direct refrain citation must be rejected. I discuss *Mo* 2,24 and *Cl* 26 in chapter three, above.

²⁷ It is the argument of Christopher Page’s book *Voices and Instruments in the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) that the “High Style” chanson sat at the top of a stylistic hierarchy holding connotations of social stratification for its original audiences. One of the principal markers of this was the High-Style song’s attributability: almost all named trouvères seem to have composed in the genre; and, complementarily, almost all such songs are accompanied by scribal attributions (though the attribution of a song can vary from source to source). For the codicological projection of these ideas of authorship, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical-Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), esp. “Scribal Practice in Lyric Anthologies: Structure, Format, and Iconography of *Trouvère Chansonnières*,” 46–80. Even though the *pastourelle* genre, which our triplum invokes, was certainly not elevated in tone by default, it is the emerging sense of the chevalier’s *authorship* of the piece that is most important for my argument.

retroactively makes that moment still more ironic.) This breaks off any sense of emergent form, to be concluded only by the narrator's voice. Marot, as ventriloquized by our narrator, does not share his sophisticated ability to manipulate and align separate musical and poetic structures.

Perhaps, we might argue, she had never tried. After all, I have inferred the narrator to be singing because his aspiration toward strophic song-form is at odds with those moments where he fails to achieve it, which failure seems beyond his comprehension. Yet here, finally, the music signals that the chevalier understands Marot to be singing. For the most consistently repeated gesture of her melody is the group of three semibreves that must be sung in the space of a single tempus, each time at the beginning of a perfection. Because they each sustain a separate syllable, they draw attention to themselves in their rapid-fire declamation, even as they become the new ground against which the increased rhythmic density of phrase 11 must be heard. We have heard these triplet semibreves before, at phrase 4,L1; and in hearing the connection, the reason for the textual pleonasm with which that moment had been flanked becomes clear. In phrase 4, that strange *fractio modi* represented the "song of the singing birds." Because the triplet semibreves are now placed in Marot's voice, sung again on the "home" pitch of C, it becomes clear that hers was always a sung performance. Perhaps it was what the narrator had heard all along.

The formal inarticulacy of Marot's song, then, is well-suited to the sense of undoing irrationality connoted by the verb "dementer." Against his own better-modulated expression, hers is almost satirically basic: she is a silly little girl who goes along mourning *issi* – "like this" – surely a word which invites close attention to the performance's diction. Because they become still more dense, the heightened qualities of Marot's voice deserve even closer scrutiny. This requires us to review how her heightened song is prepared by the rhythmic texture of the triplum to that point. From the outset, the triplum is characterized by the use of *fractio modi*.²⁸ In the opening perfection of the piece, the breve and long of the mode-two foot are divided into two semibreves and two breves respectively. This pattern is reiterated four times over the opening two phrases, and it is heard sixteen times before Marot's song begins. In every instance each note of the pattern sustains a syllable, except at 3,L3, where all four notes are sung to the same syllable (and, indeed, notated in a single ligature). The figure thus seems to become the default representation of the chevalier's sung diction: as if to make this clear, it returns at 12,L1 after he has finished recounting Marot's song, and immediately after he has drawn attention to her different diction by repeating its rhythm to the word "issi", "like this." I find that syllabically dense moment the most expressively interpretable of the piece. Elizabeth Eva Leach has shown that

²⁸ On which, see Norman E. Smith, "The Notation of *Fractio Modi*," in "Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders," ed. Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup, special issue, *Current Musicology* 45–47 (1990): 283–304.

the sub-breve note values used by polyphonic singers were often metaphorized as avian in contemporaneous Latin commentary on music, because, like birdsong, they were an unwriteable and therefore irrational utterance.²⁹

These paramusical, Latinate contexts certainly seem to be invoked by the composer of our motet. For as Marot's song takes flight, and she is unable to direct it to a formally coherent conclusion, her syllables get so fast as almost to become nonsense. The word "dementant," we should remember, is the chevalier's description of her uncontrolled and noisy sorrow. He reports the moment as a musical disintegration, which acts, finally, as the confirmation of what had been hinted all along: that Marot's singing voice, like those of the birds by which she is surrounded, is ultimately meaningless chatter. Her performance can be no more articulate than theirs.

But something remains to be said here, for there are unspoken yet enabling conditions that allow her voice to attain its fullest meaning even in the midst of avian meaninglessness. It must be stressed that the narrator is ventriloquizing her song, the encounter with which serves as the fictional motivation for crafting and performing his own. As he *mimics* that ventriloquy at 11,L4, there is once again something of a tautology, this time created by the music, which casts further doubt on his own moral judgment: perhaps he has less control over his voice than he thinks, given the blunt way in which he guffaws this echo. More important, though, is the quotation is a recalled memory. For if now the narrator is able to figure Marot's voice as irrational because it breaks into note values smaller than writing's arbiter of rationality, he ultimately betrays the most telling connection to the muffled "B section" of imagined sonic clarity I began this chapter by tracing in the triplum's text. For his is a moment of deafness created by a notational scopophilia.³⁰ As he recounts her speech, he remembers an unwriteable sound, and hence one unable to be recorded.³¹ Of

²⁹ Elizabeth Eva Leach, "'The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly as the Fowler Deceives the Bird': Sirens in the Middle Ages," *Music & Letters* 87 (2006): 187–211; Leach, "Gendering the Semitone, Sexing the Leading Tone: Fourteenth-Century Music Theory and the Directed Progression," *Music Theory Spectrum* 28 (2006): 1–21; and Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

³⁰ I borrow this psychoanalytic term from Michael Camille, "Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Book," in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. D. C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 245–68.

³¹ My argument here is influenced by Carolyn Abbate's study of "music that is literally not present in the work: a musical object to which... the listener is directed, without that object ever being revealed." *In Search of Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), vii. However, where Abbate sees such moments to be created primarily by sonic means, my reading here posits a visual dimension to the effect: the triplum's representational gambit relies upon the interpretive synesthesia it constructs between sight and sound.

course, the moment is not *practically* unwritable: it could be and was written, and its note values determined more-or-less unambiguously by the poet-composer (though the particular process by which their rhythm could have been diagnosed in performance from La Clayette's impagination tells a story of its own, which I shall address presently). But in the fiction the chevalier narrates, countless smaller notes, countless lost sounds, might hide behind the representational barrier he puts up. The fictions of orality in which this piece trafficks emerge most clearly at this moment when the poet-composer frames oral performance as a function of writing, against whose reasoned certainty it must remain a lost sound, beyond true repetition. The very rhythms that code Marot as irrational and avian reveal the limits of the narrator's perception, for he had always been listening to her song through an aural eye. When first he met her, the narrator had *read* Marot's song; yet in doing so, he invented her illegibility.

One final redoubling of musical and textual structures occurs in the last phrase of the piece. The final two poetic verses are set to a single musical phrase, separated from the foregoing material by a notated rest. Reading the verses together, they become "lor ieus demenant vont | | et ie men part atant." This is an alexandrine of two hexasyllabic hemistichs separated by a caesura whose effect of pause is heightened by the unprecedented double statement of the full rhyme sound – vowel, consonant coda, and all (assuming phonological equivalence) – as both the terminal *and* the penultimate syllable of the first hemistich. The first hemistich is quantitative, the second accentual. Although the poet-composer ultimately began the second hemistich on a new perfection, the underlying shift in versification is nevertheless clear when the poetry is read.

So pronounced a shift in poetic design (in the context of a piece whose verses have seldom been in clear accentual patterns) palpably courts the conceit of the *envoi*: usually a separate couplet extraneous to the form of the stanzas it follows, which synecdochically imagines the safe passage of the whole song to its recipient.³² The narrator's declaration of departure is redoubled by its formal setting. In one sense, it is the final flamboyant gesture of a composing voice whose energy is now dissipating. We could argue that it cements the alignment I described between the elevatedness of the chevalier's tone (at least as he himself conceived of it) and his aspiration to formal versification, for it is the one time he uses the first-person pronoun in the nominative case to refer to himself. Yet this would require us to maintain the separation between the narrator and the tone of voice in which he manipulates his performance to frame Marot's song – a distinction which seems to collapse as this "je" is finally declared in the most virtuosically versified, grammatically self-contained gesture of the piece. The

³² See Samuel N. Rosenberg, "The *envoi* in Trouvère Lyric, with Particular Attention to the Songs of Gace Brulé," *Romance Philology* 58 (2004): 51–67; and Chantal Phan, "La tornada et l'*envoi*: Fonctions structurelles et poétiques," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* (Xe–XIIIe Siècles) 34 (1991): 57–61.

knight evaporates, becoming fully a function of his fleeting encounter with Marot. This serves a utilitarian purpose of restoring to formalized song its identity with sincere emotion that, in his manipulations and distortions, the narrator had cast doubt upon. It restores the basic enabling fiction of the *trouvère* lyric world before it concludes: that loving, singing, and sincerity are coterminous, and indeed the markers of high style.³³ Yet as an *envoie*, it harbors the possibility that its synecdoche may be unpacked. Our chevalier becomes an ambulant voice waiting to be sung into existence once again.

III. From Book to Song

A heavy freight is thus placed on the idea of writing and reading by the composer of this triplum: for the joke about Marot's "demented" performance to work, her voice must fundamentally be "seen" with the ear's eye as a division of the *breve*'s written rationalism. For those tasked with the business of copying the piece into the La Clayette manuscript, however, the lofty elitism of writing as metaphor bore little consequence for the ways in which they actually inscribed the piece on parchment. Their testimony offers a parallel moment of hearing, and one which is historically useful because it is so distant from the listening stance reported by a fictional character from within the piece. We thus revisit some of my paleographical arguments from chapter two, but from a different perspective. Where my purpose there was to make an argument about the performance practice invited by the La Clayette manuscript, here I wish to illuminate the distance of that practice from the idea of legibility constructed by the composer of the piece.

Figure 4.1 shows the opening at fols. 374v–375r. *Par une matinee* begins on fol. 374v, column b, stave 11, and finishes at fol. 375r, a, 11. From the way it is written on this page, it is hard to get a sense of how the text and its music play out in time, because, as we saw in chapter two, the copy is primarily utilitarian, and certainly not musicopoetically expressive in itself. The opening of the manuscript is not prepared in the "motet format" known from the Montpellier

³³ Overviews of recent critical approaches to love in medieval lyric are offered by Moshé Lazar, "Fin'amor," in Akehurst and Davis, eds., *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 61–100; Linda Patterson, "Fin'amor and the Development of the Courtly Canso," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28–46. For a psychoanalytic reading of courtliness and sincerity, with a consideration of lyric poetics, see Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

manuscript and later anthologies;³⁴ nor do the scribes plan the page in such a way as to project in layout a conception of the piece's underlying form, as is often the case in the contemporaneous manuscripts discussed by Helen Deeming, which are also labeled miscellanies.³⁵ To review some paleographical basics: the text is copied along the width of each line, from one to the next down each column. The primary aim is to fit as many syllables beneath each stave as possible, while ensuring that the spaces between the words are clear, if small. The arrangement of parts on the page follows from this decision. They are copied successively, each voice beginning immediately after the previous one, on the next new stave.³⁶ The scribe preserves as flushed a margin at the right edge of each column as possible, so as to respect the uncluttered aspect of the intercolumnar space, and to leave room for the filigree of the decorated initials. To achieve both of these goals, he divides words across stave-ends where necessary. Breaks are paleographically marked by a diagonal stroke at the height of the writing line. Other than these, however, no other aspect of the text, whether in its grammar or versification, is distinguished by paleographical means. Only the first undecorated letter of our text receives a majuscule (the "A" at 374v,a,11). There are no puncta to divide verses (as are often found in *trouvère* manuscripts when verses of a lyric are copied successively on a single line),³⁷ nor are there any marks of punctuation to project the text's grammar.

³⁴ Catherine Parsonneault discusses the historical development of the motet's *mise en page* in "Page Layout and the Motet as a Genre," in "The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2001), 30–72.

³⁵ Helen Deeming, "The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song," *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 15 (2006): 1–27.

³⁶ There is a discrepancy, however, because the tenor of the previous piece shares part of the opening stave of *Par une matinee*. For a discussion of this paleographical feature in the collection as a whole, see chapter two, above.

³⁷ See Simon Gaunt, "Orality and Writing: The Text of the Troubadour Poem," and William Burgwinkle, "The *Chansonniers* as Books," in Gaunt and Kay, eds., *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, 228–45 and 246–62.

From the page, what can we infer about how a reader or singer would have approached this motet? The music scribe takes care to align notes with the center of their syllable. This results in frequently irregular lateral spacing of the notation, when considered on its own terms: certainly the visual grouping of the notes on the page would be of little help in deciphering where each one falls in the overarching perfections as performed.³⁸ The order of the page's construction and the operative concerns of its makers are revealed most clearly in those moments when something goes *wrong* in the default alignment of note and syllable. Consider the text "ai oi sen | fui esioi *et*" at folio 375r, lines 2 to 3. The text scribe does not divide syllables of a single word except where it will create a line break neatly flushed with the right margin. Here, the word "oi" is disyllabic, and must support two notes; and because it falls at the end of the musical phrase, a rest must be notated also. As the word contains only two letters, there is not enough space for both the breve and the long to be written directly above their host vowels. (In fact, the music scribe spaces the breve C quite some distance from the previous note by comparison with his subsequent lateral compression of the pitches, which suggests he read "oi" monosyllabically – inadvertently acknowledging precisely the visual aspect of the orthographic "rhyme" this syllable creates with the "moi" at the end of the previous musical phrase.) Thus, compression at the end of the line becomes inevitable, the final long and its rest written as close as possible together while still being legible, but at some distance to the right of their syllable.

The point is more obvious at the opening of the next line, where the words "esioi *et*" comprise four syllables, written with only seven textual graphemes and one space. The third syllable of "esioi" must accommodate a plicated perfect long, while the long and rest at the end of the phrase were composed to fall on the Tironian "et" sign. The music scribe found, once again, that he did not have enough room to reconcile all of these requirements, and addressed them by breaking one of his rules of thumb in a telling way: whereas neither the text nor music scribe regularly uses any paratextual marks to separate sense-units in their work, here the music scribe places an extra stroke immediately after the plicated long. Because the plica required a second penstroke on the same pitch, and because it was already just above the "et" sign, it might have seemed to the reader like that grapheme's intended pitch. The stroke, then, was not a rest (like all other such marks throughout this particular piece), but a mark of alignment: anticipating the reader's confusion, the scribe added a paleographical clue that

³⁸ To my knowledge, no work has addressed the texting and music-overlay of thirteenth-century polyphony books. The techniques described here are conceptualized in dialogue with studies on fourteenth and fifteenth-century sources. See Margaret Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications," in *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica ficta*, 273–300; and Jonathan King, "Texting in Early Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony" (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1996).

clarified the syllable-by-syllable alignment at a moment when his default means of signaling it had been compromised by the text scribe's desire for an evenly spaced line of text.³⁹

Clearly, the scribes considered it important that someone looking at the page would be able to read its textual alignment without problem. This might seem to complement the idea of writing and legibility that conditions Marot's reported song. Yet this aim for legibility seems partly at odds with the notation itself, which frequently renders the intended rhythms difficult to construe. The central issue is how the semibreves should be interpreted, for the music scribe of La Clayette uses only an unmodified rhomb to notate all sub-breve values. Historians of thirteenth-century notation agree that various means were developed by scribes and Latin commentators on music to design scripts that made sub-breve note values unambiguous, either by graphically altering the rhombs with which they were usually written; by making their temporal delineation clear through analogous spacing on the page; by using diacritical marks to separate groups of notes from one another; or by proposing arbitrary but internally consistent rules by which semibreves were to be interpreted.⁴⁰ Their rhythmic significance thus had to be considered on a case-by-case basis. Just as, in our piece, they were the hinge upon which the chevalier's "reading" of Marot's song turned, so the semibreves would have presented interpretive problems to the reader of the La Clayette version.

He would have faced such a problem as early as the first bar. The default *fractio* pattern of the triplum divides the breve of the mode-two foot into two semibreves. It would not necessarily be clear how these were to be sung. Most theorists drew a distinction between minor and major semibreves, creating a 1:2 proportion within the space of a breve. Franco of Cologne dictated that a pair of semibreves should always be interpreted minor-major.⁴¹ However, as he also declared that no more than three semibreves should be sung in the place of a

³⁹ Edward H. Roesner gives an overview of the possible interpretations of strokes in the *Magnus liber* manuscripts, but does not address their implications for strategies of reading. See Roesner, *Les quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 1* (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993), lxxxvii.

⁴⁰ For a summary of theoretical and scholarly positions, see Nicolas Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), 81–85.

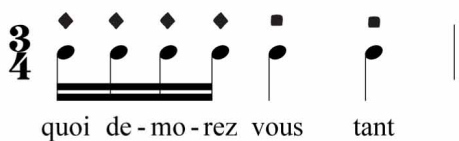
⁴¹ Franco's text is as follows: "De semibrevibus autem et brevibus idem est iudicium in regulis prius dictis. Sed nota semibrevium plures quam tres pro recta brevi non posse accipi, quarum quaelibet minor semibrevis dicitur, eo quod minima pars est ipsius rectae brevis... nec minus quam duas, quarum prima minor, secunda maior semibrevis appellatur. Secunda maior pro tanto dicitur, quia duas minores in se includit..." *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 18 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 38–39.

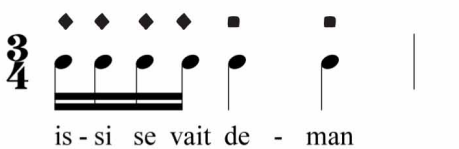
breve (in which occurrence, they should be equal), it seems unlikely that his rules were particularly useful for scribes handling this piece. Yet the equal bipartite division of the breve was also acknowledged by theorists, and there is a strong suspicion that even the opposite arrangement from Franco's – major-minor – was recognized to have been operative in some pieces.⁴² In the absence of paleographical adaptation to the rhomb, only the triplum's discantal relation with the tenor might have offered a firm solution; but as we shall see, the tenor is almost entirely in perfect longs against the triplum's mode 2, which largely precludes simultaneous articulation of the two parts at a sub-breve level. My point here is that even if we could show that the composer intended one particular realization over the other possibilities, it would have been impossible for singers to infer it from the Clayette copy. There cannot have been one "correct" interpretation that would alone have been sanctioned by the written score. Any such sense of correctness, when freed of other non-rhythmic necessities such as correct discant, would have been an agreement on the part of the singers that one way of singing rather than another was preferable. I find this a profitable way of imagining a reader's encounter with La Clayette's version of the piece, if he did not already know it, for it is complementary with the reiterated rhythmic pattern of the opening. Just as the *fractio* pattern sets the default musicopoetic tone of the narrator's voice, so a singer might use it as a default rule of thumb against which to interpret the trickier parts of the piece, having recognized that they consistently divide the first breve of the mode-two foot, and having decided in what default rhythm he would realize them when there were only two.

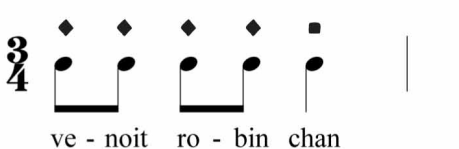
The greatest difficulties would have been presented by the groups of four semibreves. At five points over the course of the piece, the scribe used four consecutive rhombs. In my transcription, they fall at 11,L3; 11,L4; 13,L2; 14,L(1-2); and 17,L3. In order for the phrase ends and longer notes to fall in strong discantal positions, each of the five groups must be performed in one of three ways, as shown in example 4.3, which compares the original notation with a transliteration into modern note values, barred in 3/8, where the original breve becomes an eighth-note. I have labeled the three rhythms alpha, beta and gamma for ease of recognition, and the relevant passages are highlighted with shading on example 4.2.

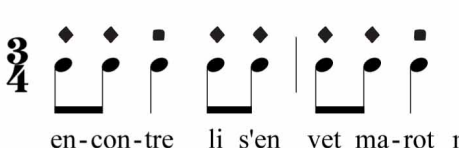
The alpha rhythm treats the rhombs as four (presumably equal) divisions of the first breve. The beta rhythm, which also occurs twice, requires them to be realized as two pairs of two semibreves, the pairs dividing the first and second breve-length *tempora* of the foot, respectively. This is the more unusual, because it

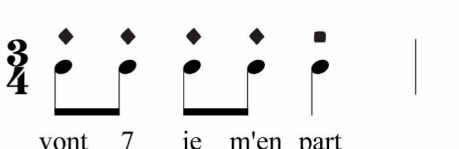
⁴² In addition to Bell, "The Context of the Musical Notation," in *The Las Huelgas Music Codex*, 75–91, see *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Notation," §2: "Polyphony and Secular Monophony to c. 1260," by David Hiley and Thomas B. Payne, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

(a) 11, L3:  = α
 quoi de - mo - rez vous tant

(b) 11, L4:  = α
 is - si se vait de - man

(c) 13, L2:  = β
 ve - noit ro - bin chan

(d) 14, L1-L2:  = γ
 en - con - tre li s'en vet ma - rot mout

(e) 17, L3:  = β
 vont 7 ie m'en part

Example 4.3. Groups of four semibreves in *Par une matinee*, with proposed rhythmic interpretations.

forces a disruption in the basic mode-two *fractio* pattern. That is to say, the placement of the semibreves here might seem more easily reconciled with the long-breve pattern of a mode-one foot than with the breve-long of mode 2. These progressive reinterpretations of the four rhombs would have caused the most difficulty, though, for the gamma rhythm, where they do not fall together within a perfection at all. Rather, they must be broken again into two pairs of two, the first of which falls at the end of one perfection, and the second at the start of the next. Again the *mise en page* does not help the singer to decide upon an interpretation when reading his or her part alone. Indeed, in some ways, it actively makes things more difficult. Over the course of the piece there are five places where a line break falls in the middle of a semibreve group. They can be

seen in figure 4.1, at folio 375r, column a, stave 2; then stave 4; then stave 5; then stave 8; and finally stave 10. Two of these fall in the aforementioned groups of four semibreves: the break at stave 5 corresponds with ex. 3(a); and the break at stave 8 corresponds with ex. 3(d). In both of these cases, the first semibreve of the group is the last note on the stave, leaving a group of three at the start of the next. The unwary reader, expecting them to fall into perfection groups, would have found these parts impossible to construe, except through collaboration with other singers.

And this, ultimately, is the point. There is a discrepancy between the care with which the music scribe aligned his notes with their already written syllables, and the difficulty it would have taken to realize the rhythms of the notes so aligned. Ultimately, only one method makes the interpretation of the semibreves certain: the reader of the triplum must already be polyphonizing with the tenor and motetus. In each of these cases, the triplum makes the best possible discant with the other parts when interpreted in the ways I have given in my transcription, usually forming perfect intervals with one or other of the two remaining parts. Faced with inscrutable semibreves, the reader would ultimately have had to venture an interpretation in song, experience his error, and correct it the next time around. At the most basic level, the version of this piece as it appears in the La Clayette manuscript relies upon the adaptive learning of the singer in song to be successfully performed. This is complementary with the care of music-text alignment. For, if he is performing the role of a teacher, building a piece up part by part as he rehearses other singers, only one person has to be able to behold a single part at any one moment.

Returning again to the opening of the manuscript upon which all three voices of our piece fall, consider the melodies which begin and end it. Folio 374v,a,1 concludes the triplum “Se iai servi” whose first six lines are written on the preceding recto, and whose tenor and motetus fall on folio 374v. Likewise, folio 375r,b,lines 7–10 contain the complete text “Au douz mois de mai”; but the other two voices with which it is to be sung follow successively on the next opening. Simultaneous performance is required for the successful word-by-word reading of a single part, yet is frequently *precluded* by the manuscript’s codicology. There is an attendant irony, then, that emerges in the spaces between the piece as composed, its inscription in this book, and its performance in the voices of collaborating singers. For these most unconstruable moments fall either within the cited song of little Mariete, or as the chevalier reasserts his voice after ventriloquizing hers. It is in the midst of those moments which bolster the triplum’s claim to written superiority over the unrepresentable oral utterance that gives its text narrative purpose, that the particular *mise en page* of La Clayette betrays a reading practice greatly at odds with the chevalier’s envoiced ideal. The inscription requires singing voices that are *not* likely to be reading. It casts the book as a pedagogical prop from which the music could come to be known, perhaps then to be set aside once piece had taken new life in diligently learning

voices. Note that that most unfathomable of semibreve groups – my gamma rhythm – falls on the words “li sen vet marot.” It seems fitting that, as Robin and Marot walk off in silent polyphonic song, this entire discantal edifice should shed its careful parchment inscription, and take to the musical air as its own wandering voice.

IV. The Many Faces of *Mellis stilla*

The motetus of our motet tells other stories.⁴³ I have already sketched out its wide transmission, which contrasts with the limited circulation of the French triplum and its Latin contrafacta. Because various manuscript witnesses leave it to us as a text alone; as a monophonic melody; the same melody with accompaniment (that is, an untexted tenor); a two-part song (where both parts carry the same text); and a two-part song with accompaniment (i.e., a so-called “conductus motet”), I discuss the piece here first through the common denominator of the melody that they all share, and then in combination with the tenor which is similarly distributed. The purpose is to ask what qualities its singers and scribes found in it. As one of the most widespread pieces of the thirteenth century, it is surely beyond question that it was popular. Beyond La Clayette, it found a home in books as varied as the Montpellier manuscript; a Parisian collection of the writings of Gautier de Coinci (Paris, Arsenal 3517–3518); a processional from an Italian convent (Oxford, Bodleian, Lyell 72); a portable psalter from England, whose prayers are grammatically inflected for use by women (Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson G18); a miscellany from a south German monastery, where it is one of a collection of “tropi” (MunichC); and a Pisan *laudario* (Ars8521), from which it would have been sung by the pious merchants of a laudese confraternity. By coming to know this song critically through a variety of different analytical and paleographic means, I ask why it should have been so hardy.⁴⁴

⁴³ Agostino Ziino addresses the piece in “Some Observations on the Motet *Mellis stilla*–Domino,” *Revista de Musicología* 13 (1990): 487–500. As his purpose was to claim that the piece’s regularized talea structure presaged isorhythmic techniques of the fourteenth-century, his conclusions, although interesting, are far removed from my own. Richard L. Crocker has also mentioned the piece, noting that the “tenor-motetus pair ‘Mellis stilla,’ T. ‘Domino’ [is] very solid in its rhythmic-tonal shape.” “French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard L. Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 636–78; at 670.

⁴⁴ I echo here the terminology and advocated method of Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), i–vi.

The text of *Mellis stilla* is as follows:

1	mellis stilla maris stella rosa primula ⁴⁵	Drop of honey, star of the sea, springtime rose
	tu mamilla stillans mella iesse uirgula	you, little breast dripping with honey, rod of Jesse,
	expers paris uirgo paris patrem filia	without peer, virgin daughter giving birth to the father.
	ordo stupet cuius supplet uicem gracia	Order is astounded [by the virgin birth], of which your grace makes good the disarray;
5	mediatrix uite datrix mundi domina	Mediatrice, giver of life, mistress of the world,
	uia uite mortis trite tu victoria	Way of life, you the victory of death downtrodden,
	per te detur ut purgetur fecis scoria	Through you, may it be granted that this sluggish sediment be cleansed,
	qua purgati tua grati sint memoria	By which those thus purged might be grateful in thy memory.

At first recitation, the poem seems remarkably simple—an effect achieved most palpably by the conjunction of a sing-song versificatory rhythm with a patchwork of Marian attributes.⁴⁶ Some of these are commonplace, such as “star

⁴⁵ The text given here is shared by both critical editions of the polytextual piece. I give a complete comparative text transcription and ligation of all notated sources of the piece later in the chapter. For now, it is important to acknowledge that the most substantive difference between the La Clayette version and all others is the reading that it alone gives for the first verse: “Mellis stilla maris stella uos a primula.” I address the significance of this difference below when I analyze La Clayette’s version in detail.

⁴⁶ Dolores Pesce has compellingly addressed this kind of phonemic play in motet texts, in “The Significance of Text in Thirteenth-Century Latin Motets,” esp. 93–94. For useful comparands, see the collection of Latin poetry in praise of Mary given in Clemens Blume, ed., *Pia dictamina; Reimgebete und Leselieder des Mittelalters*, *Analectica hymnica medii aevi* 31 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1898), 123–214. For a study of the corpus of explicitly devotional motet texts in French, see Mark Everist, “Devotional Forms,” in *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 126–47. See also the argument in David J. Rothenberg, “The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200–ca. 1500: Two Case Studies,” *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006): 319–98; esp. 329–54. This material is developed further in Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), esp. “The Assumption Story in Two Thirteenth-Century Motet Families,” 24–57, and “Springtime and Renewal over the *In seculum* Tenor,” 58–91.

of the sea," or "rod of Jesse." Others are less familiar: Mary is a nipple or budding breast dripping with honey, yet also that drop of honey itself – both the provider, and the sweetness of provision. Classical Latin would mark blatant anatomical reference such as this erotic, or perhaps even lewd. Whatever its sexual valence here, the focus upon succulence and its implication of bodiliness contributes to the piece's sense of intimacy through its imagistic conjuring of corporeal proximity.⁴⁷ This is complementary to the grammatical voice, or rather voicelessness, of the text. While there can be no doubt that the "mediatrix" here is Mary, the proper noun of her name is never given. Rather, she is addressed vocatively with the second-person pronoun "tu," as if she were present with the person uttering the words. Apostrophe deepens the personal and affective tone, and emphasizes the lack of subject or verb that would indicate the poem's speaker. As such, the text might be sung as well by many people as by one alone. Its tone offers a private devotional experience in meditation on the Virgin, perhaps no less intimate if shared simultaneously by several speakers.

When invocation and praise turn into petition in the final two lines, the uttered request is for an occurrence expressed in an impersonal verb ("purgetur," v. 7). That is, the text asks for a purging to occur, but does not specify to whom. In fact, the moment of personalization is glossed over entirely: by the final line, the "purgati" are now a collective, a plural form of an adjectival past participle, functioning substantively as "those who have been purged." They become the subject of what is essentially a result clause: the text literally asks that the people who will have been purged will be grateful for it. This neatly assumes that the first part of the prayer will be answered: whoever those faceless "purgati" are (and it is very much to the point that they are not further described), they must at least have been cleansed. Just as neatly, though, the text sidesteps the issue of how its singer will know himself to be part of that fold. No "I" or "we" asks directly to be purged. The result sought is thus productively open-ended. Because his hope remains deferentially implicit, the prayer-singer may not be one of the chosen. Just as it permits performance by one or by many, the text

⁴⁷ Across numerous publications, Caroline Walker Bynum has cautioned that we should not be quick to jump to sexualized conclusions about the role of the body in medieval devotional practice; rather, she sees the body as the site not only of sexual experience, but of *all* experience. See esp. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 1–20; at 19, where she meditates upon "a duality in the Western tradition more profound even than gender: a tension between body as locus of pain and limitation, and body as locus not merely of pleasure but of personhood itself."

moreover invites endless repetition in the hope that the singer might attain what the answer to their prayer does not directly guarantee.⁴⁸

Consistent meter, rhythm and versification seem to make repetition a basic component of the text's style, even through the shifting words that slot into its pattern. Each of the prayer's eight verses consists of thirteen syllables, metrically disposed into 6½ trochaic feet. Each terminates with the same rhyme sound, /a/. Moreover, each has an internal rhyme between syllables 4 and 8, always formed by the final syllable of a word. The consistency of this pattern combines with the proliferating litany of Marian attributes to create an effect almost of limitlessness – that this patchwork might be extended indefinitely. It is heightened, too, by the remarkable economy of phonemic means, particularly in the opening two verses. Note the play of liquescents and sibilants: for example, how the double “ll” of “mellis” and “stilla” in verse 1 retain their position in verse 2, while the first vowel of each word in the first pair swaps position in the second. Although there is no fixed pattern to this play, so pervasive is its assonance, sibilance and alliteration that the text seems to intimate that it is merely a set of phonemes that might felicitously permute so as to generate ever more attributes of Mary's glory.

Yet balanced against this effect of boundlessness is a remarkably careful manipulation of grammar and word order that projects more cohesive patterns than the effect of felicity might encourage one to suspect. The first verse aligns the terminal points of the [-x -x -/a/] rhyme scheme with the ends of three grammatically separable attributes in parataxis. (I present a diagram of the following grammatical analysis as example 4.4.) If we think of these as three “limbs” within a verse, we can see that over the first four verses every possibility for grammatical alignment between them is explored in logical order. Verse 2 links the first limb to the second with a present participle, with the third in parataxis. Verse 3 creates the reverse pattern, linking the second and third limbs in a verb/direct-object relation bookended by nominative nouns predicated one to the other. Verse 4 is a complete sentence of two coordinated clauses. Verses 5 and 6 repeat the limbed structure of 1 and 2, almost as if to begin a stanzaic repetition. This is also the point where the tenor begins its second *cursus*, and it is marked in the motetus with a repeat of the opening 10 notes of the melody.

The balance between the sense of freedom or limitlessness on one hand, and organizing structure on the other, is shared by the melody. Return momentarily to example 4.1, and consider the motetus. Throughout, the trochaic feet of *Mellis stilla*'s verses are set in the long-breve pattern of mode 1, thus

⁴⁸ In this, my argument is influenced by Steven Justice's recent meditation on the role played by doubt in medieval belief, as revealed in miracle stories. Justice construes faith as “a set of practices cultivated systematically with the goal of habituation,” its iterative mechanisms implicitly reliant upon the doubt they would confront. See Justice, “Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?” *Representations* 103 (2008): 1–29; at 14.

aligning the long of the modal foot with the stressed syllable of the meter. Just as there was in the triplum, here there is a default *fractio* pattern, now dividing the long into two pitches, of which one is often a plica. Almost entirely in conjunct motion, the melody seldom passes through more than a fourth (more often only a third) in one direction before turning in the other. Just as the meter of the text and the modal-rhythmic feet of the music are aligned at the level of syllable and note, reinforcing one another's clarity, so are their higher structures aligned. Most unlike the triplum, the melodic phrases of *Mellis stilla* are divided by rests in exact alignment with the end of each verse of poetry. The pitches upon which the melody comes to rest trace out a pattern of their own: CDEDCDED. Yet while the piece comes to rest on D (and, in polyphonic performance, a D octave between tenor and motetus), the benefit of having the last word does not really seem to confer on D the sense of a "final" in any of our more system-regulating definitions of the term.⁴⁹

Rather, it is C which seems the referential pitch. This is made clear by the opening verse. The three limbs in each verse match here and throughout with the disposition of the tenor *ordines* within each *talea*. Each *talea* is therefore also aligned with a verse of poetry. In the first verse, the three *ordines* create a miniature motion towards, away from, and then back to C, strongly raising the expectation that D will function throughout as a penultimate sonority approaching the piece's musical "home." Indeed, this sense of "iambic" "harmonic" rhythm at the very opening of the piece serves to complement a sense of structural incompleteness in the pattern of the phrase endings. As the

⁴⁹ Still the most important overview of the many meanings – medieval and modern – of the concept of mode, is Harold Powers, s.v. "Mode," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 12:376–450. (An updated version appears in *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Mode," by Powers et al., accessed December 3, 2009, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. A few older studies address the "modal" or "tonal" construction of upper voices in the thirteenth-century motet. Finn Mathiasen invokes the work of Curt Sachs ("The Road to Major," *Musical Quarterly* 29 [1943]: 381–404) to argue that upper voices are structured according to interlocking chains of thirds. See Mathiasen, *The Style of the Early Motet*, 56–70. Hans Tischler explicitly rejects this theory, finding it "rather unwarranted to apply an analysis of folksongs to the sophisticated art music of 13th-century motets." (*The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets*, 1:182.) Rather, Tischler considers the Gregorian modes to be operative for upper-voice melodies, but only on a phrase-by-phrase level (*ibid.*, 183.) By contrast, Richard L. Crocker describes the genre's melodic style as the result of a compositional balancing-act between the principals of consonance and contrary motion between the tenor and upper voices. As it is "the fate of motets... to inherit a non-final chant tone for their [tenor] final," upper voices composed against such a foundation are no more likely to be faithful to a mode. (Crocker, "French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century," 665.) Moreover, I would extend to upper voices Crocker's observation that "In any given motet... the final may be different from the central note or lie outside the locus" (that is, the locus of tenor motion over the course of the piece, before its final note). *Ibid.*, 667.

momentary hint of strophic return occurs with the melodic repetition at the opening of verse 5, aligned with the beginning of the new tenor *cursus*, the dovetail effect extends that sense of incompleteness into the verse, and then resolves it. All the more, then, does the end of the piece seem to emerge as deliberately and artfully incomplete: having demonstrated between verses 4 and 5 a mechanism by which it might be extended, it seems only to have halted for a moment, as if it could begin its mellifluous journey again at any moment.

As should by now be clear, I find a reciprocity (as distinct from a direct causality) between the piece's sense of artful freedom, and its wide dissemination. It is a reciprocity which requires qualification. The forgoing account of the piece bears many hallmarks musical medievalists have used to account for the composition and transmission of music in "oral" cultures. Both text and music contain highly repetitive figures in an audibly patchworked configuration, whose kaleidoscopic succession is fitted within a simple overarching (and hence perhaps pre-extemporizational) plan. Scholars of chant in particular, but also of early polyphony, find such characteristics necessary for the unwritten creation of pieces of music, with the further qualification, in several instances, that the piece thus created was not so much "transmitted" as "re-created" or "re-extemporized" at each new iteration.⁵⁰ Anna Maria Busse Berger's thoughtful examination of the role played by mnemotechnics in the creation of Notre-Dame polyphony also might have much to reveal about a piece like this. She suggests that modal rhythm, by analogy with regularly accentual versification (which our motet also displays) was a tool of mnemotechnic manipulation, allowing for the extemporized alignment and creation of discant clausulae, and perhaps even the elaborate four-part organa attributed to Perotin.⁵¹ Much of this work has very successfully revealed the conditions that impinged upon music making in the centuries before written composition was demonstrably ubiquitous. However, in the case of this piece, there is good reason to question whether the esthetic judgment that the piece sounds free necessitates the poietic conclusion that it sounds that way as a consequence of how it was made; and it is one purpose of my discussion of *Mellis stilla* here to test the

⁵⁰ The work of Leo Treitler has been particularly influential in such branches of scholarship. Especially pertinent to the current discussion is Treitler, "The Vatican Organum Treatise and the Organum of Notre Dame of Paris: Perspectives on the Development of a Literate Music Culture in Europe," in *With Voice and Pen*, 68–83.

⁵¹ Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), esp. "The Memorization of Organum, Discant, and Counterpoint Treatises," 111–58; and "Compositional Process and the Transmission of Notre Dame Polyphony," 161–97.

logical assumptions that attend hypotheses of oral or written composition, especially for the genre of the motet.⁵²

First, it should be noted that, while the thirteen notated sources of the piece vary widely in their notational vocabulary (as I show in appendix 4.1), the substance of the melody remains remarkably consistent from one testimony to the next. Comparison of its sources reveals few of the characteristic variants that scholars of chant and early polyphony conventionally use to diagnose the workings of memorization or orality (though it seems no small irony that it is usually variation or even error between sources that most often stimulates oral-mnemotechnic explanations). Whatever the cohesiveness of its style, and the possibility that this cohesion could lead to *ex tempore* continuation, or invention of further melody, this must be played off against the *actual absence*, across these witnesses, of further or substantively alternative variation. The melody's sense of freedom does not mean it was made up anew each time. The qualities which contribute to that sense may well be reasons for the melody's evident popularity rather than necessary consequences of oral composition and/or transmission. I prefer to think that its catchiness allowed the piece to wander.

There would be as much evidence to support a hypothesis of literate composition for this piece as there would be for an oral hypothesis. Both would need to address the relationship, or lack of relationship, between the tenor and any pre-existent chant—that is, a piece drawn from a repertory of liturgical music which would have been readily available in written copies, if not necessarily composed or transmitted in writing.⁵³ Given that I have argued the triplum of the bilingual version to voice an attitude towards music writing and musical literacy, it is worth exploring this evidence. Of thirteen notated sources, only Boul has no tenor. Of the remaining twelve, seven have no tenor incipit or other form of designation (Huelgas, Ars3517, Camb, MüC, Lyell72, OxRawlG, Todi); three have

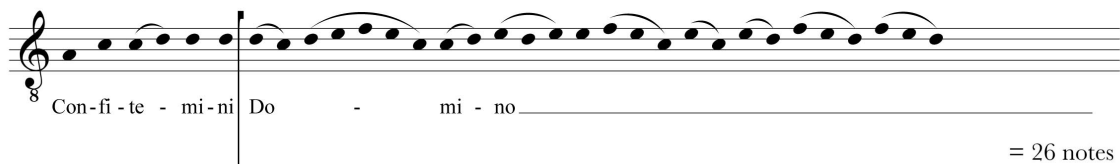
⁵² I follow Richard Taruskin's distinction between poiesis and esthesis. See "The Poietic Fallacy," in *The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian Essays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 301–29. For a critique of the role "oral vs. written" dichotomies have played in the historiography of Gregorian chant, see Richard L. Crocker, "Gregorian Studies in the Twenty-First Century," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995): 33–86; esp. 49–63.

⁵³ In her study of the *Veritatem* motets, Danielle Joanne Pacha examines all available French plainchant sources for the source melody, and compares them systematically with motet tenors to isolate those cases in which changes to the chant show concern on the part of the composer to produce a well-crafted tonal shape in his piece. Because she shows the *cantus prius factus* to have been far more malleable than conventionally acknowledged in studies of thirteenth-century polyphony, arguments about written or oral transmission that are based on the relation of chant to polyphony must surely be made only tentatively, even for networks of pieces built on identified chants. See Pacha, "The *Veritatem* Family: Manipulation, Modeling and Meaning in the Thirteenth-Century Motet" (PhD diss., Washington University, 2002).

“Domino” (PsAr, Ba and Ars135); one has “Domine” (Mo); one has “Alleluia” (La Clayette). In his integrated dictionary of 1989, Van der Werf was still unable to locate a source chant for this piece.⁵⁴ Göllner has suggested, in her study of MüC, that *Mellis stilla*’s tenor was a “paraphrase” of the “domino” section of the gradual in Mode 2 for Easter Day, “Haec dies.”⁵⁵

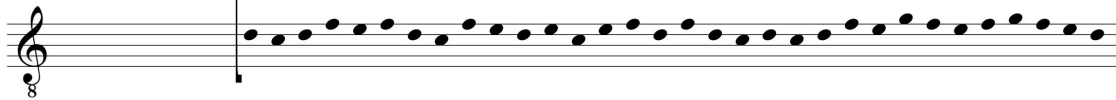
Example 4.5. Comparison of the tenor ALLELUIA and its putative chant source.

Gradual in mode II, “Haec dies,” verse “Confitemini Domino”:



= 26 notes

Motet tenor,
ALLELUIA / DOMINO:



= 32 notes

Example 4.5 compares this section of the chant as found in the *Graduale triplex* with *Mellis stilla*’s tenor, stripped of its rhythms and presented only for its pitch content.⁵⁶ There is reminiscence between the two melodies thus presented: the first three notes are the same in both; notes 4 and 5 of the tenor are 5 and 6 of the chant; note 8 of the tenor is note 7 of the chant; notes 10, 11 and 12 are the same in both; notes 14 and 15 of the tenor are the same as 13 and 14 of the chant. However, beyond this point, direct paraphrase is significantly harder to detect—not least because the motet’s tenor is significantly longer than the relevant section of chant, with 32 notes to the 26 of “Domino.” Some further

⁵⁴ Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets* (Rochester: published by the author, 1989), 134.

⁵⁵ Marie-Louise Göllner, *The Manuscript Cod. lat. 5539 of the Bavarian State Library; with an Edition of the Original Treatises and of the Two-Voice Organel Settings* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag / American Institute of Musicology 1993), 145.

⁵⁶ From Catholic Church, *Graduale Triplex, seu Graduale Romanum Pauli PP. VI cura recognitum & rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis ornatum* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1979), 196–97.

reminiscences may be observed, but they seem to result from the tenor's bounded motion through a compass of pitches within the same set.

The tenor also *differs* from the chant in ways as significant (if not more so) as those ways in which it is similar. Note that the tenor has a prominent rise to G, which, in polyphonic setting, serves as the point of departure for the final talea of the *cursus*, and the point of arrival for the second ordo of that talea – the point of greatest distance from the referential “home” sonority which augments the sense that the end of the *cursus* prepares a return to the C of the opening (or, at the end, that the piece might start up again). In fact, while both tenor and chant have five iterations of C, the pitch is approached through the upper auxiliary only once in the chant (notes 1 to 2), but 4 times in the tenor. Moreover, the other iteration of the note in the tenor is separated from D by only one note (a decorative E) which in the polyphonic setting is placed on the only breve of the talea, in the second ordo, such that the D and C each fall on the downbeat of the perfection.

Fuller's compelling analyses of fourteenth-century motets show how composers examined their chants in order to exploit those note-to-note progressions which could be rhythmically expanded to create large-scale tonal shape, and in particular those which could form the tenor motion of strong 6th-8th “directed progressions.”⁵⁷ By analogy, we might argue here that these alterations to the chant evidence deliberate anticipation of the demands of good discant in polyphonic setting, given that they increase the number of stepwise descents made to the piece's central point of dicantal reference. However, there would be weaknesses to such an argument. While every D-C progression in the tenor is accompanied by a B-C progression in the motetus, this progression is far from isolated. *Every* descending interval of a 2nd between two consecutive notes in the tenor forms the root of a 6th-8^{ve} dyadic progression with the motetus. It is consequently the placement of the C sonorities in the palpably aligned structures of the taleae and verses that confers referential status on them, rather than the discantal means by which the sonority is approached. By extension, the directed progressions are not convincing evidence with which to explain a composer's motivation for adapting a chant.

To the extent that *Mellis stilla*'s tenor can be shown to be related to the chant “Domino,” this might imply a literate form of compositional manipulation at the polyphony's point of origin. But in the face of the conflicting scribal testimonies about the origins of the piece given by its varied incipits, learning

⁵⁷ Sarah Fuller, “Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut,” in Lefferts and Seirup, “Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest Sanders,” 199–245; and Fuller, “Tendencies and Resolutions: The ‘Directed Progression’ in *Ars nova* Music,” *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992): 229–58. Issues of tonal shape are also usefully addressed by Ludwig Seel, *Studien zu Klangraum und Klangordnung in der Motette der späten Ars antiqua* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987); and Dolores Pesce, “A Case for Coherent Pitch Organization in the Thirteenth-Century Double Motet,” *Music Analysis* 9 (1990): 287–318.

how it came to be the way it was may tell us nothing about why the piece was widespread, if those that sang it did not know either. In this case, knowledge of its liturgical origins was not required for the piece to be worth copying, or, presumably, for it to be used in whatever ways its sources might have lent themselves to.⁵⁸

If it can be demonstrated neither that a literate music lay behind the piece as a *cantus prius factus*, nor that writing was necessary for its composition, nevertheless its written testimonies have much still to tell us. This is partly because, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the melody had much to teach those who wished to understand music writing. The incipit of both text and melody was used in four treatises. Both Anonymous II,⁵⁹ and the anonymous author of the treatise *Practica musicae artis mensurabilis artis antiquae* in MüC,⁶⁰ itself a source of the two-voice version of *Mellis stilla*, invoke the melody as an example of the second type of the first of five modes, endorsing Franco of Cologne as their authority. They are reproduced as examples 4.6 and 4.7, respectively.

⁵⁸ Indeed, Anne Walters Robertson has drawn attention to evidence of widespread unwritten practices of *Benedicamus domino* singing in the high-medieval liturgy for the Office. See her “*Benedicamus domino*: The Unwritten Tradition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 1–62. Much work remains to be done on the whole body of “Domino” motets in the light of the evidence she presents.

⁵⁹ Anonymous II, *Tractatus de discantu*, ed. and trans. by Albert Seay as *Concerning Discant*, Colorado College Music Press Texts/Translations 1 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1978); the *Mellis stilla* example is at p. 14. I have been unable to check the incipits reported by this modern edition—or the editions used as the bases for examples 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9—against the manuscript sources; though there is no reason to question the accuracy of the editorial transcriptions I rely on here. Nevertheless, I am aware that examples are often the most variably transmitted components of medieval theory treatises. On this important and (as yet) little studied problem, see two recent articles by Christian Thomas Leitmeir: “Klang, Zeichen, Schrift: Zwei Fallstudien zur schriftlichen Vermittlung und Überlieferung im Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit,” in “*Übertragungen*: Formen und Konzepte von Reproduktion in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit,” ed. Albrecht Hausmann et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 43–76; and Leitmeir, “Types and Transmission of Musical Examples in Franco’s *Ars cantus mensurabilis musicae*,” in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 29–44.

⁶⁰ The treatise is found on fols. 24r–27r of the manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 5539 (MüC). For an edition, see Marie Louise Göllner, *The Manuscript Cod. Lat. 5539 of the Bavarian State Library*, Musicological Studies and Documents 43 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag / American Institute of Musicology, 1993), 101–109. The *Mellis stilla* example is at p. 107.

There is clearly close connection between the two treatises. Both introduce the example in the same manner, and with only slightly different wording. In each, *Mellis stilla* is the second in a series of six such incipit-examples. However, it is notated differently in the two treatises, and this is interesting given that both writers have just finished discussing of the correct forms of the various notation signs in Franconian theory. The scribe of MüC does not distinguish between the tail lengths on his opening plicated long. Anonymous II, by comparison, eschews the turning figure of the melody's opening to begin his example with an unambiguous *longa* with descending tail on the right. The anonymous author of a post-Franconian treatise now referred to as *Ars musicae mensurabilis* explicitly uses *Mellis stilla* to address the notational problem of plication in a section headed "De plicis in figuris simplicibus."⁶¹ His example is reproduced as my example 4.8. Of this, the theorist writes, "Plica est nota divisionis eiusdem soni in gravem vel in acutam, et debet formari in guttere cum epygloto. Plica longa est cuius dexter tractus longior est sinistro."⁶² Petrus Picardus, in the *Ars motetorum*, uses *Mellis stilla* as an example of the imperfection of the long by a following breve. He writes: "secundo fit longa imperfecta si longam sola brevis sequatur, ut hic." His example is given as example 4.9.⁶³

These four versions have further interesting differences from one another. Only two (the *Ars musicae mensurabilis* and the treatise from MüC) give the opening long a mark of plication. The striking reference in the *Ars musicae mensurabilis* to the physical means of vocal production seems to reply upon the corroboration of the reader's familiar experience; and in a full nine of the thirteen notated sources of the melody beyond the theoretical tradition, the first note *is* so plicated. In this regard, the testimonies of Anonymous II and Petrus (or of their scribes) might seem erroneous, given that they do not have the plication. Yet MüC's scribe, who does transmit it, seems not to have been aware that the different tail lengths on either side of a plica's notehead determined its temporal value. The exemplarity of his incipit suffers as a result: it does not unambiguously show the long and breve of mode 1 as the theorist intended. By contrast, we might read the two unplicated incipits to deliberately avoid this

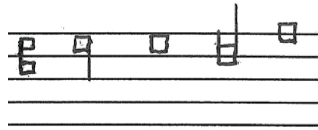
⁶¹ The treatise is found in two manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15129, fols. 1r–3r; and Uppsala, Universiteitsbiblioteket C. 55, fols. 22r–22v, of which only the Paris version gives notated examples. For a comparative edition of the two manuscripts, see *Ars musicae mensurabilis secundum Franconem*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 15 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 31–57.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶³ Petrus Picardus, *Ars motetorum compilata breviter*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 15 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 16–24; the *Mellis stilla* example is at p. 17.

problem by removing the plication and its potential rhythmic ambiguity altogether.

Example 4.6. Incipit of *Mellis stilla* in Anonymous II, *Tractatus de discantu*.



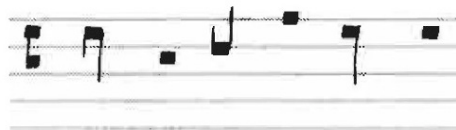
Mellis stilla

Example 4.7. Incipit of *Mellis stilla* in the *Practica artis musicae* of MüC.



Mellis stilla maris

Example 4.8. Incipit of *Mellis stilla* in the anonymous *Ars musicae mensurabilis*.



Mellis stilla maris

Example 4.9. Incipit of *Mellis stilla* in Petrus Picardus, *Ars motetorum*.



Mellis stilla

For all their differences, however, I would submit that these examples function in the same way, and it is that function which is most important for my purposes here. In each case, the theorist brings the melody into the reader's mind with the incipit. Then, he endows his advocated notation with the power to signify rhythm or plication by asking the reader to judge how successfully that notation encapsulates the melody ringing in his ear. In those cases where the plication is removed, the theorist in fact forces a *disjunction* between the imagined sound and the written trace the reader sees before him – a kind of alienation effect designed to focus attention on the inscription over the known sound. That is to say, the condition of *Mellis stilla*'s written exemplarity is that it is known from beyond literate contexts.

A revealingly similar situation obtains when we compare the notations in which the piece was recorded outside of the theoretical tradition. Consider appendix 4.1. It presents a comparative ligation of all known notated sources of *Mellis stilla*, so that not only the syllabification and pitch content of each version may be compared, but also the notational vocabulary with which each was inscribed. The text maintains a remarkable degree of stability across all manuscript witnesses. Indeed, it seems ironic, in the light of my reading of the French triplum, that the only two sources containing textual variants in the first line are La Clayette and *Mo*, especially when the opening of a piece is the section most likely to remain stable across sources in contemporaneous monophonic repertoires. I will address this oddity in the final section of the chapter. For now, consider syllables 7 and 8 of verse six, which seem to have caused the most confusion, and for which scribes offered the following textual alternatives:

"trite":	Cl, PsAr, Ba, Ars3517, Ars135, Lyell72, OxRawlG, Boul
"stricte":	Camb, MüC
"triste":	Mo

Mo's scribe is definitely in error, attempting to form a first-second-declension ending to what should be a *third*-declension, third-person singular, feminine adjective, "*tristis*" (to agree with "*mortis*"). The "*stricte*" given by Camb and MüC is grammatically acceptable, meaning "tight" or "close" in the sense of "constricting." It might indicate shared error, except that this verse is already slightly clunky and opaque in meaning. "*Trite*" is either an adjective meaning "well-trodden" in the sense of "familiar," or a perfect passive participle of the verb *tero*, *terere*, meaning "to wear out" or "rub away." Of the assembled variants, it would certainly be the *lectio difficilior*. However, the two sources of that reading (Cam and MüC) diverge musically, and specifically in their notation. Although both give the pitch "C" on "*stri-*," Camb gives a virga form (which, in fact, serves as the scribe's most frequent *nota simplex*, and which must be interpreted to last for one, two, or three tempora, depending on its context in the prevailing modal rhythm). MüC offers a plication, whose notated form has two

ascending tails of equal length and is therefore modally ambiguous. MüC thus introduces another pitch not transmitted by any other source, and which neither matches a liquescent phoneme in the text nor fills an interval of a third with the next syllable's pitch.

Yet this is only a minor melodic variant. Across all sources, the melody remains strikingly stable in pitch content. The first pitch of almost every downbeat syllable is the same in every source; and the first note on a modally weak syllable is almost as stably transmitted. Such variants in pitch as there are usually concern the division of notes between two consecutive syllables, particularly in *fractiones* of the modal breve – consider syllables 2 and 3 of verse five. Elsewhere, the fleeting patterns of *currentes* so characteristic of verse three, for example, have multiplied. The scribe of PsAr seems particularly to have enjoyed these figures to judge from the number of times, subtly but persistently, he expanded their number in his version of the tune.

Indeed, it is the *notation*, and not the substance of the melody so notated, that displays the greatest variation from source to source. Consider verse seven. Across all manuscripts, it shares a high preponderance of *currentes* and *fractiones*, many of which are plicated. Witness the variety of note forms in syllables 5 to 8. While the scribes sometimes use the same signs, the sources show no consistent relationships such as might suggest common exemplars. Yet in all these written versions, the melody's same qualities of freedom, of gentle wheeling to and fro – in short, of musical life – flicker behind the notation. In these books, as in the theoretical treatises whose purported aim was to establish prescriptive notations, notational orthographies must be read through the lens of their music, and not the other way around. The surprising conclusion is that *Mellis stilla*, a wandering polyphonic song, was more durable than the written traces through which we now know it, for it was sung in a time of rapid notational and literate change, but of devotional continuity and enrichment.

It could even be argued that the piece endured so hardily precisely *because* it was a polyphonic song. So pervasive and regular is the octave relationship between tenor and motetus on the downbeat of a perfection (occasionally replaced with fifths, particularly to avoid exact melodic repetition between the first and second *cursus*) that the piece might effectively be described as a heterophony whose rough edges have been smoothed by a turning melody that converts parallel perfect intervals into simple 6th–8th counterpoint. The *currentes*, the most free and apparently fleeting of musical gestures in the piece, usually fill in the space between motetus notes that form octaves or fifths with the tenor. These anchor points remain almost entirely fixed across all versions – they render the intermittent pitches simple join-the-dots notes, free-wheeling decorations ornamenting a structure that, one imagines, might be even more easily remembered by two people singing their respective parts together at the same time than by a melodist alone.

Where the narrator's notational scopophilia had, in our triplum, posited lost oral sounds, the many testimonies of *Mellis stilla* reveal the melody to have passed through many circumstances of performance, and through textualities other than that which would render Marion noisily illegible. For even the most abstract of notation theorists – Latin writers whose commentary usually imagines notational possibilities far more strictly systematized than we witness in even the most neatly competent of polyphonic music books in the second half of the thirteenth century – investment in written fixity was carved out against more natural musical flux, for their literate musical orthographies were validated against their ability to encapsulate this ambulant sung prayer, and other wandering voices like it. That is to say, the power of systematized notation to be used prescriptively was enabled by recourse to songs which seem not to have been far out of earshot at all, whether around the corner in the voices of polyphonic prayer singers, or in the silent ear of the reading mind. As a resistant material upon which music-writing could be etched, *Mellis stilla* exerted conditions upon those who improvised writing to encapsulate it, who modified the notational surface through which we now gaze upon it in a manner almost precisely *opposed* to the notational lens through which the chevalier had gazed upon the song of the shepherdess. Taking *Mellis stilla*'s testimony over the narrator's, we need not assume our horizons of audibility to be identical with his. For his is a move that mandates deafness, and its partiality is clear. Ours is the choice to listen again.

V. Rehearing

So our chevalier does a good job of defining musical literacy and the purview of music writing more narrowly than do the many faces of *Mellis stilla*. From its wide dissemination, from the evidence that it was conceived as a two-part piece from its inception (whether formed in writing or otherwise), and in particular from the fact that it most consistently forms the octave against the tenor (the most perfect class of interval in thirteenth-century discant, and the indispensable one in any polyphonic matrix), I think there can be little doubt that *Mellis stilla* existed as a two-part piece before a French triplum was added. Copied onto folio 375r of La Clayette, *Mellis stilla*'s other histories would be hard to infer from this historical distance, were it not for the industry nineteenth and twentieth-century bibliographers who sought out polyphonic music sources. In La Clayette, the song shares none of the visual aspect of written improvisation of manuscripts Camb or Boul. Rather, it is copied with the same priorities and diligence as *Par une matinee*: written successively down the column, neatly flushing the right margin to create an imagined line running down the edge of the intercolumnar space, breaking words where necessary to accommodate the demands of the page's architecture, and so on. The music scribe again shows his

characteristic diligence for correct readings and alignment: column b, line 4 has a clear erasure, and, whatever the error that warranted so pronounced a scratching of the page, the correct notation is entered with the scribe's characteristic clarity of spacing, delineating the alignment of this relatively dense patch of *fractio modi* without ambiguity.⁶⁴

The *mise en page* of this bilingual motet, then, would seem complicit with the new story the triplum tells about it. If its neatness here, its sense of production ease that the smooth "rhythm" of the page intimates,⁶⁵ seems to suggest that the piece was always inevitably a three-part, polytextual motet, then the situation is only the more pronounced in the Montpellier codex. Beginning on folio 73r of that book, it is copied in what comes to be the standard motet format at the end of the thirteenth century and for much of the fourteenth: with the motetus on the recto, facing the triplum on the verso, with the tenor occupying staves along the bottom of the opening. That they are the only two sources to contain this French triplum is one of a great many features that suggest the two manuscripts turned in circles of production not far removed from one another. Their witnesses to the triplum melody transmit almost exactly the same reading. Example 4.10 presents them in another comparative ligation. I find only five discrepancies between the versions, at verse 2, long 2, note three; verse twelve, long 2, note four; verse thirteen, long 2, breve one (where *Mo* has three semibreves to Clayette's two for the first breve of the perfection); verse 16, long 1, note three; and verse 16, long 2. Only the last of these is a notational difference, communicating a different ligation for the same pitch content. The rest are details of pitch that, in giving readings only a tone apart from one another, and always on discantly inessential notes not sung simultaneously with tenor articulations,

⁶⁴ John Haines has discussed the musical erasures in La Clayette, and also finds the notator's work to have been of a high calligraphic caliber. See Haines, "Erasures in Thirteenth-Century Music," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 60–90.

⁶⁵ I adapt here Malcolm Parkes's evocative use of musical vocabulary to describe the rhythms of writing and production in page design. See *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 149–55.

cannot be considered errors in any strong sense, and indeed offer no strong criteria for preference of one reading over the other.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ I extend to discard the grammatical status, and “strong” grounds for the identification of error, that Margaret Bent affords to the dyadic framework of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century counterpoint. See Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis,” in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 15–59. This is not to dismiss Edward Roesner’s important caution that, for those pieces and layers of the *Magnus liber* whose *sine littera* notations are rhythmically quite unambiguous, we should resist altering their scribes’ careful testimony on the grounds that we find any resulting strong-beat dissonances unpalatable. (Roesner, *Les quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, lxxxv–xciii.) Clearly transcription policies for thirteenth-century manuscripts should be made and defended on a case-by-case basis. Here, however, the palpably heterophonic structure of the tenor-motetus pair makes the emphasis on discantal structure uncontroversial.

Example 4.10. Comparative ligation of the triplum *Par une matinee* in La Clayette and Mo (fols. 72v, 73v and 74v).

1
 Par u - ne ma - ti - nee el mois io - lif d'a - vril
 Par u - ne ma - ti - nee el mois io - li d'a - vril

2
 ma - ri - ete ai tro - ve re - gre - tant son a - mi
 ma - ri - ete ai tro - ve e re - gre - tant son a - mi

3
 en un pre flo - ri souz un glai foil - li un chant mout io - lif
 en .i. pre flo - ri souz .i. glai foil - li .i. chant mout io - li

4
 d'oi - seil - lon - nez chan - tanz en un bos - chet en - tour moi
 d'oi - seil - lon - nes chan - tans eni i. bos - chet en - dor - mi

5
 si cum a - loie es - ba - tant 7 pen - sant ai o - i
 si com a - loie es - ba - tant 7 pen - sant si o - i

6
 s'en fui es - io - i 7
 s'en fui res - bau - di 7

7
 s'en fui res - bau - diz
 s'en fui res - io - i

8
 s'oi ma - rot di - sant
 s'oi ma - rot di - sant

9
 biaux douz a - mis ro - bin
 biaux doz a - mis ro - bin

Example 4.10. Continued.

10 que iam mout 7 de - sir
que iam mout 7 de - finz

11 a - mo - rous 7 io - lis por quoi de - mo - rez vous tant is - si se vait de - man - tant
a - mo - rous 7 io - lis por quoi de - mo - res vous tant. ain - si - se va de - man - tant

12 la be - le la blonde en sous - pi - rant
la be - le la blonde en sos - pi - rant

13 d'i - lec a pou ve - noit ro - bin chan - tent
d'i - luec a poi ve - noit ro - bin chan - tent

14 en - con - tre li s'en vet ma - rot mout grant io - ie fe - sant
en - con - tre lui. si di - va ma - rot mout grant io - ie fe - sant.

15 tres - tout main - te - nant
tres - tout main - te - nant

16 i - cil dui a - mant
i - cil dui a - mant

17 lor ieus de - me - nant — vont 7 ie m'en part a - tant
lor ieu de - me - nant — vont 7 ie m'en part a - tant

In so tricky a piece, it seems remarkable that the two copies should be so close to one another in all substantive respects. Their versions of *Mellis stilla*, like those considered above, differ from one another much more frequently in notation, in line with the observations about the piece's written testimonies more generally, which I outlined in the previous section of this chapter. In some ways, I am stacking the cards in emphasizing the triplum's continuity of notation at the expense of *Mellis stilla*'s different ligations. It is only in its ligated forms that Clayette differs from Montpellier, the available orthographies for *notae simplices* having standardized into their familiar mensural forms by this point in the century; and there are only three ligatures at all in the triplum, of which only one (verse 6, long 2) differs between the two witnesses. Because neumatic texture is a default aspect of the motetus's style, and not of the triplum's, so its continuity of written presentation might be mere felicity.

It is a convenient felicity, though. A different, balder error appears in each of these two witnesses to *Mellis stilla*, within the first verse, that makes comparison between the fixity of one voice and the notated flux of the other almost irresistible. The piece's text scribe in Mo gives "Melli stilla" as the opening two words, effectively projecting a basic grammatical error that confuses the second-declension genitive ending with the third declension. Clayette gives "uos a premula" at the end of the line, which I cannot construe as anything other than nonsense, giving a plural accusative pronoun of the wrong (plural) number, with no verb unto which it could function as the direct object, together with an ablative form of a word that does not exist. They would seem insignificant errors, were it not for their position within the very first verse of the piece – precisely the point of the melody, in one case, which served as the exemplary incipit in all the theoretical treatises considered in the previous section, and in general the part of contemporaneous monophonic songs that usually displays the most stability between witnesses. Indeed, it is faithfully transmitted across all of the other known sources of the piece: as appendix 4.1 shows, it is the same not only in substance, but even in orthography across all the versions given there.

That such bald errors should be found in two of the most important sources of the piece – indeed, of the whole repertory – is ironic, even humorous. These mistakes in the first line are like "noise" along the lines of oral transmission, and perhaps a reader with better Latin and with predilections like those of our chevalier might have smirked at the error as confirmation that written transmission goes awry.⁶⁷ But the blip was not intended to be humorous: it is just one more piece of evidence that La Clayette's text scribe was not very good at Latin, but wanted to copy the piece anyway. Any laughter occasioned by the error could have been nervous at best. For correcting the error would rely

⁶⁷ I adopt this understanding of noise from communication theory, as filtered through the work of Brigitte Cazelles, *Soundscape in Early French Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), esp. "Noise as Gloss," 1–22.

upon the reader's ability to disregard the mistake, recognize it as corruption, and read through it for the message already known. Thus the gambit proves its own counterexample to the straw man of orality upon which its condescension would rely, for it depends in no small part on the onlooker knowing the piece in advance and having retained it in the ear of his mind. So if someone could have found a joke in all this, its deflating punchline would have been that people *just sang* this polyphonic song, that they didn't need to understand Latin to do so or to find it valuable, and that writing existed in – at best – an oblique pedagogical relation to the learning that came with lived practice. This two-part song wandered into the Parisian book trade, and the polytextual motet, and might wander on, carried off in voices like Robin's and Marot's.

Listening again to the triplum in the context of the polyphonic prayer to which it was composed, finally, suggests an alternative reading of the whole motet. I have already noted that the triplum most frequently forms the unoccupied fifth between the heterophonic octaves of the tenor-motetus pair. Indeed, against this polyphony's constraints, few sanctioned intervals would have remained to be selected by the composer of this piece if they wished to avoid frequent unisons with the motetus. Recall also that the freest aspect of compositional design for a composer adding a new part to a pre-existent piece in this style would have been the placement of phrase openings and endings relative to the other voices. It is the interaction of the triplum's pitch structure with the tonal shape of the tenor-motetus pair, in relation to the differing phrase structures of the two layers, that can project an alternative reading to the one with which I began this chapter. While it may seem inconsistent to read the polyphonic version last, having first hypostatized the triplum as a melody in a way that might falsely represent it, I believe it rather to be the most historically sound way of moving through the texture of the motet: if encountering a part at sight, a praelector's primary access to the piece would have been restricted to matters of melodic organization alone, awaiting collaborative performance to understand how the pitch structure of the part would be inflected by the

discantal context.⁶⁸ It is the interplay between the melodic structure of the triplum, with its articulation of form based on repeating pitches, and the discantal shape of the whole three-part piece, that I explore in this final section, examining how the melodic *foci* may be “reinterpreted” by their discantal context.

Thus far, I have argued both that the triplum and the tenor-motetus pair take C as their most determining referential pitch. However, their structures of return to it are different. Of 21 occurrences of C on a downbeat in the triplum, 12 are heard against an F in the tenor, 8 against C, and 1 against E (at measure 40 of my transcription in example 4.1, where it is followed immediately by another semibreve in *fractio* on B, which makes the sanctioned discantal interval of a fifth with the tenor). Thus while the triplum’s phrase structure is determined by returns of the pitch C, the experience of return can be productively deflected by a discantal setting on F, giving it a flavor analogous to an interrupted cadence in common-practice harmony where an anticipated tonic is given melodically over a non-tonic chord. For example, at the opening, where the chevalier shows his ability to construct a good song with the melodically closed motion away from and back to C over the first two phrases, aligned with a strophic gesture of versification, he in fact fails to complete his tune in time with the tenor-motetus C octave at 7 which would have allowed it to be a closed “harmonically” as well as melodically.

Instead, the conclusion of his strophe falls on the F-octave opening of the new talea/verse in the other parts at bar 8. Particularly because of the unusually consistent alignment and mutually reinforcing clarity of the tenor taleae and the

⁶⁸ Margaret Bent has argued in several publications that medieval singers must have practiced some kinds of reading we would consider analytical in order to reconcile their single-part access to a piece, enforced by the separate copying of parts into manuscripts, with the demands of the polyphonic edifice. See, among other essays, Bent, “The Grammar of Early Music,” 25–28. Anna Zayaruznaya has given searching attention to matters of hearing, listening and music cognition with regard to fourteenth-century motets, and in the context of a reconsideration of their upper voices as more equal partners with their tenor in the articulation of structure. See Zayaruznaya, “Hearing Voices,” in “Form and Idea in *Ars Nova* Motet,” 73–105. Christopher Page has suggested that performers might well have sung each voice separately before singing together, in order to ensure that their audience understood the texts. See Page, “Around the Performance of a 13th-Century Motet,” 351. There is no direct historical corroboration for such a performance option, however. The argumentative move I make here is based upon the more solid basis of the grammatical structure of discant, on one hand, and the forms of lexical access that manuscript layout most regularly invites. I have suggested that La Clayette was used as a performance manuscript within a kind of reading practice different from that invited by Mo, which is the other source of this version of the piece. Nevertheless, as it is the contrast or interplay between melodic and discantal construal that underwrites my argument about performance from La Clayette and this last section, the logic of the argument here is not undermined.

versified phraseology of the motetus, the triplum's disposition relative to this fundament has the potential to be all the more palpable in performance, both to the singers, and to any audience. There is only one such moment in the whole piece (other, of course, than the very end), which falls at bar 15 of my transcription. Significantly, it is the moment when the narrator first quotes a direct performance, or reports an overheard music, which, we recall, is also the melodic link forged with Marot's burst into song at bar 30 that renders her avian. This new departure from C is also the awaited return to which he himself has not been able to direct his song.

While the chevalier communicates his own prowess as a composer of songs with his ability to create gestures of song-form determined by pitch, he can do so only by remaining deaf to the polyphony that sounds around him, which traces out other competencies he refuses to hear. Where Marot's song, ventriloquized in his voice, fails to live up to the forms he can design, when she is heard against the polyphony, she is by far more competent than him. Those octave Cs between triplum and tenor emerge ever more clearly as frames for moments of reported sonic utterance. Because one is placed on the downbeat of bar 30, answered by another at 35, she has succeeded in doing what the chevalier has not – converting the C-F triplum-tenor pair that falls on the downbeat of 33 into a medial point of repose before a successfully completed musical journey home in miniature. It effectively brackets off the three little phrases that fall within its C-octave bookends from the more dense *fractio* which follows them. The registral extremity of that *fractio*, moving above the motetus for only the second time in the piece, has been heard before only when the chevalier loses control of his voice as an index of his titillated anticipation. Her rationality, it seems, is recuperated as he rushes on to mock her; for when we listen to pitch, his purported mimicry falls *outside* her song's successful close.

One final pair of discantal C octaves between the two parts remains, spaced more closely to one another than ever before. They fall on the downbeats of bars 45 and 46, flanking the word "encontre", with its suggestion of inaudible song. The triplum at this moment itself becomes little more than another heterophonic embellishment of *Mellis stilla's* dyadic frame, forming consecutive unisons with the motetus for the first two perfections, then consecutive octaves with the tenor for the upbeat and its resolution. As the polyphonic prayer reaches its final couplet of petition, the parts merge almost into a dyadic pair alone, pointing out something we might have known about the piece all along, had we been more skeptical of the chevalier's tale: that, its two parts separated by little more than an octave, fitting for a man's voice combined with a woman's, *Mellis stilla* is precisely the kind of pious polyphonic song a Robin and a Marion would be able to sing. The games which they go off to play are innocent after all. Here,

in corroboration of its other written traces, *Mellis stilla* intimates that vernacular music could be sung in the Latin tongue.⁶⁹

Perhaps the composer had a more skeptical attitude towards musical writtenness than does his chevalier; and if the latter has been lying all along, it sounds a note of doubt which should give us pause. For in this motet, and perhaps in others too, a song from beyond an elite tradition is hidden in plain sight. That it wandered over those boundaries demonstrates them to have been more porous than either the chevalier, or many motet scholars, would have had us believe. By contrast, the composer of the triplum seems to take stock of the unthinkable: that polyphony in the genre of the motet might not have been so different from unwritten traditions after all.

Many more Latin voices in the motet repertory resemble *Mellis stilla*'s style and distribution to a greater or lesser extent. Complementarily, many French voices in the motet repertory not only invoke the poetic registers of bawdier vernacular songs, but actively quote their words and music in ways that suggest they are listening in on polyphonic practices over which they have only a partial power to recreate in writing.⁷⁰ Much work is still required to hear the different testimonies of the voices that meet in the motet repertory. To do so may mean inverting the assumption that the small handful of anthology manuscripts offer

⁶⁹ Significant recent work has sought to reposition vernacularity as a relational concept, both in medieval literature, and in music after the age of recording. See the introductory essays to Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans, eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999); and the essays collected in Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson, eds., *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), esp. Somerset and Watson, "On 'Vernacular,'" ix–xiv. For a musicological perspective, see Michael Long, "The Expressive Vernacular," in *Beautiful Monsters: Imagining the Classic in Musical Media* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 11–43.

⁷⁰ These "refrains" are currently enjoying close scholarly attention. For an overview of recent approaches, see Jennifer Saltzstein, "Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority and Origins," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010): 245–79; esp. 245–60. I do not mean here to repeat an old claim that all refrains are fragments of lost songs (though some may well be), nor that all apparent quotations within a motet are indeed refrains. Ardis Butterfield has demonstrated in a series of publications that play with the *pretense* of citation was part of the artistry of the motet and the other genres across which *unica* are found. See Butterfield, "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991): 1–23; Butterfield, "The Language of Medieval Music"; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, esp. "The Refrain," 75–86, and "Refrains in Context: A Case Study," 87–102.

the best lens through which to gaze on the 130 or so sources known to contain thirteenth-century polyphony, including the motet, in rather messier or more fragmentary, and perhaps more interesting ways.⁷¹ But the imaginative effort may pay dividends, for, listening to that center from the reconstructed margins, perhaps it will be Paris and its big books that will seem strange. Or perhaps not musically so strange after all, but just unusually bookish nodes on a network of polyphonic song.

⁷¹ A concise overview of the known motet sources is offered in Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester: published by the author, 1989), 147–60.

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APPENDIX 1.1

PRODUCTION UNITS IN THE LA CLAYETTE MANUSCRIPT

While the collations in this table are my own, the titles of the various literary works have been decided in consultation with the notices held on file at the IRHT and being incorporated into their online database *Jonas*, and the description given in the online catalogue description by the Bibliothèque nationale de France.¹ I have not numbered the texts, in order to avoid discrepancies of numeration between previously published descriptions and my own. Each production unit is listed here, together with codicological details pertaining to the stage at which it was added to the manuscript. A gathering diagram showing the disposition of texts to gatherings within each unit is given. In those cases where the codicological division between units is structurally complex, a single diagram is given to cover several units. The appendix as a whole provides a complete collation of the manuscript.

Production unit 1

Gatherings: 1–3 (3 total)

Folios: 1r–21v + stub

Texts:

fol. 1ra–10rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Vie de saint Eustache*

fol. 10rb–15ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Vie de saint Germer*

fol. 15ra–19ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Vie de saint Josse*

fol. 19rb–21va: Fouque(?), *Vie de sainte Marguerite*

Hand: A

Fluid damage: None

Sewing holes at the spine: None now in evidence; though the outer gutters have been more heavily restored here than any in other portion of the manuscript.

Stage: I or II/III

Comments:

This production unit consists of two quaternions and a ternion, of which the final leaf has been removed. The four texts, all in verse, were copied successively in the same hand, with a standard explicit/incipit format between texts. The last text in the unit, the *Vie de Sainte Marguerite* by Fouque, concludes at the end of column a on the last remaining leaf. This blank space suggests that the leaf that

¹ I am grateful once again to Dr. Marie-Laure Savoye and to the librarians of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, for making their resources available to me. The URL for La Clayette's entry in *Jonas* is <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/manuscrit.php?projet=48152> (accessed Aug. 20, 2010). The BnF's catalogue entry can be found at <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000006266>.

was cut away was blank, and that the unit of copying is complete. The opening leaf is heavily damaged: it is dirtily stained, and the historiated initial at the head of the recto has both rubbed and flaked. Much of this may have been caused by friction with the board of the current binding: flyleaves were not added until the restoration in the 1980s. However, as at the back of the volume, the boards were cleaned as part of that work, and any pigment from them has been lost. The final gathering was originally a ternion whose final unused leaf has been cut away.

This unit is the work of the same hand as production units 2 and 3, which contain the prose works of Pierre de Beauvais. Production unit 1 contains his poetic works. The outer bifolia of its gatherings are more heavily rotted than those of units 2 and 3, often causing cracks the length of the parchment requiring more heavy-handed restoration. Sewing holes cannot now be seen; but for reasons of repertory and scribal hand, it seems very likely that these gatherings were also part of the original binding of the manuscript. Thus I allocate production unit 1 to stage I or II/III.

Production unit 1

	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Text</u>
1	1	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Vie de Saint Eustache</i> (Fols. 1ra-10rb)
	2	
	3	
	4	
	5	
	6	
	7	
	8	
2	9	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Vie de Saint Germer</i> (fols. 10rb-15ra)
	10	
	11	
	12	
	13	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Vie de Saint Josse</i> (fols. 15ra-19ra)
	14	
	15	
	16	
3	17	Fouque(?), <i>Vie de Sainte Marguerite</i> (fols. 19rb-21va)
	18	
	19	
	20	
	21	
	[stub]	

Production unit 2

Gatherings: 4–8 (5 total)

Folios: 22r–57v

Texts:

fol. 22ra–30va: Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*, short prose version

fol. 31ra–37rb: Guillaume de Conches, *Livre de moralitez*, anonymous prose translation

fol. 37rb–42rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Translation et miracles de Saint Jacques*

fol. 43ra–56ra: Pseudo-Turpin, *Chronique*, anonymous prose translation

fol. 56rb–57vb: Anon., “Rapport du Patriarche de Jérusalem au Pape Innocent III sur l’état des Sarrazins,” translation of selected prose from Haymarus Monachus, *Relatio tripartita ad Innocentium III de viribus Agarenorum*. (Incomplete at the end.)

Hand: A; “Rapport du Patriarche” in hand B

Fluid damage: No

Sewing holes at the spine: Yes

Stage: I

Comments:

The *Bestiaire* of Pierre de Beauvais heads the production unit. Having filled the first quaternion (gathering 4), the scribe began a new bifolium (fol. 30/35) to accommodate the remaining text. (The *Bestiaire* concludes on fol. 30v, column a). The structure of the quire into which this sheet was bound as the outer bifolium (gathering 5) comprises a further bifolium (fol. 31/32) and two loose leaves (fol. 33/34), which terminate in stubs visible between fol. 30 and 31. The unusual structure is surely related to the choice to begin a new bifolium to accommodate the *Bestiaire*’s three remaining columns of text, when they could easily have copied onto a single loose leaf within gathering 4 itself. Beginning a new bifolium seems to have been a speculative move: confident that he would soon come across another exemplar of similar material, the scribe began a bifolium larger than he needed on the assumption that it would soon be filled with other material.

It may be that the *Livre de Moralitez* was plundered from another project, of which the two stubs now present in the gathering would represent the remainder of discarded leaves. Alternatively (and I think more likely), the scribe may have exercised at the codicological level the same thrift that seems to have motivated his choice to accommodate so many lines of text on each side, with a cluttered visual result: the loose leaves may have been leftovers from another project, neatly recycled here after the bifolium fol. 31/32. Then the whole cluster of leaves would have been tucked within the bifolium the scribe had speculatively left unfilled.

That hand A was happy to leave space free is suggested by fol. 56r. The two columns of this page are in different hands, A and B. (Could these be

different stages of the same scribe's hand?). The first "signs off" with a colophon: ".R. de chapella. me fecit." (I have been unable to find a matching colophon using the index maintained by the IRHT.) The contrast in both hand and style of filigree decoration to the initial at the top of column b suggests the remainder of the gathering was originally left blank, to accrue further material later – material which, indeed, was then partly lost at a later stage of binding: the "Rapport du Patriarche," begun in the new hand, finishes incomplete with the end of the gathering.

Production unit 2

	Folio	Text
4	22	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Bestiaire</i> (fols. 22ra-30va)
	23	
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
	28	
	29	
	30	
	[stub]	
5	[stub]	Guillaume de Conches, <i>Livre de Moralitez</i> (fols. 31ra-37rb)
	31	
	32	
	33	
	34	
	35	
6	36	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Translation et miracles de Saint Jacques</i> (fols. 37rb-42rb)
	37	
	38	
	39	
	40	
	41	
	42	
7	43	Pseudo-Turpin, <i>Chronique</i> (fols. 43ra-56ra)
	44	
	45	
	46	
	47	
	48	
	49	
	50	
	51	
8	52	Anon., "Rapport du Patriarch" (fols. 56rb-57vb; INCOMPLETE at end
	53	
	54	
	55	
	56	
	57	

Production unit 3

Gatherings: 9–10 (2 total)

Folios: 58r–70v

Texts:

- fols. 58ra–59va: Guiot de Provins? *Suite de la Bible* (incomplete at the beginning)
- fols. 59va–64vb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Mappemonde* (incomplete at the end)
- fols. 65ra–65va: Pierre de Beauvais, *Diète du corps et de l'âme* (incomplete at the beginning)
- fols. 65va–66ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Oeuvre quotidienne*
- fols. 66rb–67rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Les trois séjours de l'homme*
- fols. 67rb–68ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Les trois Maries*
- fols. 68ra–69vb: Anonymous, "Doctrinal sauvage"
- fols. 69vb–70ra: Anonymous French paraphrase of "Veni creator"
- fol. 70ra–70rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *L'olympiade*
- fol. 70rb–vb: Genealogy of the kings of France

Hand: A

Fluid damage: No

Sewing holes at the spine: Yes

Stage: I

Comments:

The two constituent gatherings of this unit (9 and 10) are the work of the same scribe throughout, in the same layout of 52 lines per column. For this reason, I consider them to be part of a single production unit. However, material is now missing from it. Gathering 9 opens in the middle of a text (the Bible translation attributed to Guiot), showing that material is now absent which previously headed the production unit. Pierre de Beauvais's *Mappmonde* begins within this gathering (at fol. 59v,a,11 of the ruling), and continues without interruption onto a leaf which now forms the first of gathering 10 (fol. 64). Fol. 64 *verso* is fully used, but textually incomplete, while fol. 65 *recto* begins in the middle of another, therefore incomplete text, Pierre's *Diète du corps et de l'âme*. Fol. 64 now terminates in a stub visible at the end of gathering 10 (between fols. 70v and 71r). The leaf must have been the first of a gathering; it may be possible with further research to infer how much material must be missing by collating against other manuscripts that contain this subset of La Clayette's literary texts, especially as the gap between gatherings 9 and 10 falls within the corpus of works by Pierre de Beauvais. It may be that fol. 64 was all that remained of a whole gathering at the time of binding; or, should there have been little material left to accommodate, that it was the first of a limited number of loose leaves that were to be used up and bound around gathering 10—a procedure like that used in production unit 2, and resembling that of the motet fascicle (production unit

11). There is no evidence from the material still present to suggest that the missing gatherings were discarded due to damage. The final text of the unit (a genealogy of the kings of France, concluding with Louis IX, d.1270) finishes complete at fol. 70v,b,4, the remainder of which is blank.

Production unit 3

	Folio	Text
9	58	Guiot de Provins(?), <i>Bible Guoît</i> (fols. 58ra-59va; INCOMPLETE at beginning)
	59	
	60	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Mappemonde</i> (fols. 59va-64vb; INCOMPLETE at end)
	61	
	62	
	63	
10	64	
	65	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Diète du corps et de l'âme</i> (fols. 65ra-65va; INCOMPLETE at beginning)
	66	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Oeuvre quotidienne</i> (fols. 65va-66ra)
	67	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Les Trois séjours de l'homme</i> (fols. 66rb-67rb)
	68	Pierre de Beauvais, <i>Les Trois Maries</i> (fols. 67rb-68ra)
	69	Anon., "Doctrinal sauvage" (fols. 68ra-69vb)
	70	Anon., French paraphrase of "Veni Creator" (69vb-70ra) Pierre de Beauvais, <i>L'Olympiade</i> (fols. 70ra-70vb)
	[stub]	Genealogy of the kings of France (fols. 70rb-70vb)
		E M P T Y S T U B

Production unit 4

Gatherings: 11–17 (7 total)

Folios: 71r–120v

Texts:

fol. 71ra–93ra: Wace, *La conception de Nostre Dame*

fol. 93ra–93rb: French paraphrase of Psalm 44, “Eructavit,” following the
Conception without interruption

fol. 93va–108ra: Anonymous, *Vie de sainte Catherine d’Alexandrie*

fol. 108ra–113va: Anonymous, *Vie de sainte Marie-Madeleine*, prose version

fol. 113vb–120ra: Anonymous, *Vie de sainte Marie l’Egyptienne*, prose
version

Hand: C (up to fol. 86v) then D (fol. 87r)

Fluid damage: None

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II/III

Comments:

All gatherings of the unit are quaternions with the exception of 15 (a ternion) and 16 (a binion). Gathering 15 displays no other irregularity by comparison with its surroundings, with which it is textually continuous; the discrepancy in its number of leaves seems insignificant. That only the first column of fol. 120r is used, the remainder of the leaf being blank, suggests that the binion was tailored to accommodate the remaining material of the copying stint. Production unit 4 shares with production unit 3 slits into the outer edge of the folio at roughly half-way along the outer edge.

There is a pronounced change of aspect between fols. 86v and 87r, which is the division between gatherings 12 and 13; it seems to evidence a change of scribe. The second hand copies all text to the end of the production unit. Both hands work with an elaborately calligraphic model script in which strokes are frequently broken, creating a squared and geometric effect. However, whereas this quality is sustained with notable control in the first hand, the second hand is not so even: component strokes of its letters are frequently separated from one another, and minim strokes regularly curve counter-clockwise, or slope backwards. This hand has a tendency to finish the curve of straight s with a closed loop on the right. The two hands also differ in their ways of elaborating the top line. The first scribe significantly extends the essential strokes of the first notabilior of a column. In the first of his two gatherings (11), he adds to these a variety of spurs along the shafts of long letters, and allows their forks to terminate in long decorative hairlines that curve into circular forms. Ascenders of the remaining text in the top line may also extend into the upper margin, but not with the same degree of elaboration. In gathering 11, the visual effect changes, whether because the scribe changed the way he himself was decorating his extended notabiliores, or because he anticipated a different style of decoration

would be added, perhaps by a new artist. The *notabiliores* on the top lines of this gathering are decorated with highly ornate extensions to their fundamental strokes, that accrue fine penwork in both black and red elaborating floral motifs that terminate in characteristic “raspberry” forms. The same decoration is used in production unit 13.

Production unit 4

	Folio	Text
11	71	Wace, <i>La Conception de Nostre Dame</i> (fols. 71ra-93ra)
	72	
	73	
	74	
	75	
	76	
	77	
	78	
12	79	
	80	
	81	
	82	
	83	
	84	
	85	
	86	
13	87	
	88	
	89	
	90	
	91	
	92	
	93	
	94	
14	95	French paraphrase of Psalm 43, "Enustavit" (fol. 93ra-93rb; follows <i>Conception</i> without interruption)
	96	Anon., <i>Vie de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie</i> (fols. 93va-108ra)
	97	
	98	
	99	
	100	
	101	
	102	
	103	
15	104	
	105	
	106	
	107	
	108	
	109	
	110	
	111	
16	112	Anon., <i>Vie de Sainte Marie-Madeleine</i> (fols. 108ra-113va)
	113	
	114	
	115	
	116	
	117	
	118	
	119	
17	120	Anon., <i>Vie de Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne</i> (fols. 113vb-120ra)
		Folio 120 verso is BLANK

Production unit 5

Gatherings: 18–28 (11 total)

Folios: 121r–203v + stub

Texts:

fol. 121ra–203va: Anonymous, *Vie des pères*, first collection

Hand: E

Fluid damage: None

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II/III

Comments:

This production unit consists of 11 gatherings in total, quaternions by default, except for gatherings 25 (a ternion) and 28 (an irregular gathering of 5 leaves and a stub). The final, irregular gathering (28) clearly demarcates the end of a production unit: its unused parchment has accrued later additions, while a final (presumably blank) leaf of the irregularly formed gathering has been cut away. Note also that the first and outermost leaf of the final gathering (fol. 199, terminating in a stub) is of markedly lower quality even than the mediocre materials of the rest of the unit: browned and brittle, its dimensions are also smaller than the surrounding leaves, and required horizontal compression of the writing block and script to fit with the project. Again, a picture emerges of a scribe who is happy to use lower quality materials to accommodate the end of a desired text, and who would prefer to find an economical and ad-hoc use for parchment than to discard it.

Fol. 103v bears a heavily erased ex libris marking of which only the first words can now be deciphered: “iste liber [...] est con[...] sancti [...]”. It has been so aggressively scratched that ultra-violet light is of no use in reconstructing it.

Production unit 5: Item 25. First collection of tales from the *Vie des Pères*.

		121	Anonymous, <i>Vie des Pères</i> , first collection (fols. 121 ^{ra} –203 ^{va})
		122	
		123	
		124	
18		125	
		126	
		127	
		128	
		129	
		130	
		131	
		132	
19		133	
		134	
		135	
		136	
		137	
		138	
		139	
		140	
20		141	
		142	
		143	
		144	
		145	
		146	
		147	
		148	
21		149	
		150	
		151	
		152	
		153	
		154	
		155	
		156	
22		157	
		158	
		159	
		160	
		161	
		162	
		163	
		164	
23		165	
		166	
		167	
		168	

		169
		170
		171
		172
24		173
		174
		175
		176
		177
		178
25		179
		180
		181
		182
		183
		184
		185
26		186
		187
		188
		189
		190
		191
		192
		193
27		194
		195
		196
		197
		198
		199
		200
28		201
		202
		203
		[stub]



Production unit 6

Gatherings: 29–30 (2 total)

Folios: 204r–219v

Texts:

fol. 204ra–219vb: Anonymous, *Vie des pères*, second collection

Hand: E

Fluid damage: None

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II/III

Comments:

The unit comprises two regular quaternions. Several features identify it as a production unit. The final tale of this subset is the only one of the production unit that receives an explicit. The explicit is expanded to fill five lines of the remaining space on column b of fol. 219v. It may be that the scribe already had the texts of the next production unit to hand, but did not feel there would be enough space left on the folio for a historiated initial of the kind that usually begins a tale in this layer of the manuscript. However, fol. 212r contains at the level of the 16th line of text; and without the expanded explicit now present, the new text's initial would have begun here at the 17th – hardly a significant difference. As the historiated initial opening the first leaf of the next gathering is of the same degree of elaboration as that placed at the beginning of 204r, it seems most likely that fol. 219v was the end of a unit of copying, and a layer of production.

Production unit 6: Second collection of tales from the *Vie des Pères*.

	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Text</u>
	204	
29	205	
	206	
	207	
	208	
	209	
	210	
	211	
	212	
30	213	
	214	
	215	
	216	
	217	
	218	
	219	

Production unit 7

Gatherings: 31–34 (4 total)

Folios: 220r–247v

Texts:

fol. 220ra–247v: Anonymous, *Vie des pères*, third collection

Hand: E

Fluid damage: None

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II/III

Comments:

Production unit 7 is completed with a final gathering half the regular size (four leaves instead of eight), which tailors the material closely to the collection's length. At fol. 247v, the word "chantemelle" has been added by an early fifteenth-century hand. This is clearly a variant form of Chantemerle, the name of the family who had been resident at the château of La Clayette in Saône-et-Loire since the mid-fourteenth century.

Production unit 7: Third collection of tales from the *Vie des Pères*

	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Text</u>
31		220
		221
		222
		223
		224
		225
		226
		227
32		228
		229
		230
		231
		232
		233
		234
		235
33		236
		237
		238
		239
		240
		241
		242
		243
34		244
		245
		246
		247

Production unit 8

Gatherings: 35–39 (4 in total + 2 leaves)

Folios: 248r–281v

Texts:

fol. 248ra–278ra: Roger d'Argenteuil, *Bible en français*

fol. 278ra–281ra: French translation of a passage from Honorius of Autun,
Elucidarium

Hand: E

Fluid damage: None

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II/III

Comments:

The final two folios of the production unit are single leaves, terminating in stubs visible between fol. 289v and 290r in the next production unit. That the scribe chose to use loose leaves to accommodate the remaining text rather than expand gathering 38 precludes the possibility of the unit's separate circulation. It may be that the leaves originally formed bifolia, which the scribe anticipated he would soon fill; but that fol. 280 is of still lower quality than the material used in rest of the unit, and that most of fol. 281 remained blank makes it equally possible that the scribe knew this stint of copying would soon be bound with other material, and perhaps material already copied.

Production unit 9

Gatherings: 39–42 (4 total)

Folios: 281r–311r

Text:

fol. 282ra–311ra: Anonymous, *Roman des sept sages*, version A

Hand: E

Fluid damage: None (but see comments below)

Sewing holes at spine: None

Stage: II/III

Comments:

There is some pronounced staining on some folios here, but it is not of the kind shown by the music gathering. Although fol. 311r is very heavily stained indeed on the bottom right edge, perhaps with fluid, the staining is worse on this side of the leaf than on its verso. As fol. 310 is undamaged, it seems that whatever caused this discoloration, whether fluid damage or not, did not affect the surrounding leaves. In general, the parchment here is thinner than in later portions of the book, and corners have regularly been damaged by repeated

turning. Several have been torn or repaired, e.g. fol. 298. Otherwise, the leaves are of the same mediocre quality evidenced in other production units of stage II/III: some are heavily spotted with pore-marks (e.g. fol. 297); others have medieval repairs or parchment grafts (e.g. fol. 304, on which the repair has been written over rather than avoided).

The structure of this production unit at its opening bears a close resemblance to the technique used to incorporate the music gatherings into this final stage of the volume. At the opening of production unit 9, an original quaternion (fols. 282–289) now begins with the third leaf of gathering 39. The first two leaves of the gathering contain the last lines of the “Enseignements nouveaux” (which is concluded in the same hand as the main body of its text), and hence must be considered part of production unit 8. These two leaves are loose leaves terminating in stubs clearly visible between folios 289 and 290; as throughout, these have been remounted on restoration parchment, but medieval parchment can be seen at their bases. The single text of production unit 9, the anonymous *Roman des Sept Sages*, is complete and uninterrupted, concluding in the irregularly structured gathering 42. This, too, was originally a quaternion; but the text concludes at 311ra, the remainder of which is blank; and the last two leaves of the gathering were then cut away.

Production unit 8

	Folio	Text
35	248	Roger d'Argenteuil, <i>Bible en François</i> (fols. 248ra-278ra)
	249	
	250	
	251	
	252	
	253	
	254	
	255	
36	256	
	257	
	258	
	259	
	260	
	261	
	262	
	263	
37	264	
	265	
	266	
	267	
	268	
	269	
	270	
	271	
38	272	
	273	
	274	
	275	
	276	
	277	
	278	
	279	
39	280	
	281	
	Folio 281ra-281vb is B L A N K	
	Production unit 9	
	282	
	283	
	284	
	285	
286		
287		
288		
289		
[stub]	Stub s blank	[Text continues uninterrupted from fol. 289vb-290ra]
[stub]		

		290	
		291	[Anon., <i>Roman des sept sages</i> , cont.]
		292	
		293	
40		294	
		295	
		296	
		297	
		298	
		299	
		300	
		301	
41		302	
		303	
		304	
		305	
		306	
		307	
		308	
		309	
42		310	
		311	
	[stub]		Folio 311rb-311vb is BLANK
	[stub]		Stubs blank

Production unit 10

Gatherings: 43–49 (7 total)

Folios: 312r–366v

Texts:

fol. 312vb–366vb: Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*,
anonymous French translation (incomplete at the beginning and the end)

Hand: F

Fluid damage: Yes

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II

Comments:

This production unit shows heavy staining of precisely the same kind as the music fascicle and other fluid-damaged sections, and in the same position at the bottom outer corner of the leaves. The fluid seeped through the gatherings from front to back: it is clearly worse at the front of the production unit, but is no longer visible (at least on the black-and-white microfilm) by fol. 335r. This production unit was, therefore, present with the music at an earlier stage, and would have been placed after it in the binding: the fluid trauma which caused the staining must have impacted the book at a central position, the oil-based substance then seeping both forward and backward through the gatherings.

This production unit contains only one text, an anonymous French translation of the *Historia Albigensis* by Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay. The unit is incomplete at both the beginning and the end, and evidence of fascicular structure, regularly derived from the physical details of the first and last gatherings of a text, cannot be offered here. However, even in its mutilated form, this production unit is the largest of the manuscript, and distinct from all others in comprising a narrative text without internal division into tales (such as in the *Vie des Pères*) – that is, into textual units that themselves were amenable to selection, collection, and separate circulation.

This production unit terminates at the end of a gathering, and is followed by two loose leaves that continue the text without interruption, but in a different hand. This is discussed in detail in the commentary to production unit 11. The incomplete state of the *Historia Albigensis* at the start of production unit 10 is also codicologically complicated. Gathering 42 now comprises 7 numbered leaves, fols. 312–18, preceded by a stub clearly visible since it has been remounted on modern parchment. Fol. 312 is heavily cut away, leaving roughly a third of the original area. Although it has subsequently been remounted on parchment which completes the leaf to the dimensions of the book, the pencil foliation is on the remainder of the original parchment. That the blank-parchment completion appears also on the black-and-white microfilm (that is, on the photography executed before the major restoration) suggests that the volume may have

enjoyed another session of restoration work at the BnF of which no records were kept; though it is ultimately impossible to determine at what stage of the volume's history this parchment mount was added.

The original leaf was once fully written, also in two columns, on both sides of the leaf. On fol. 312 *recto*, all remaining visible text has been canceled with black lines along the length of the column. On the *verso*, the last 8 lines of text on column b have been fully preserved, along with the elaborate filigree initial which opens them, and most remaining lines on the leaf not part of that unit have also been canceled with black lines. It seems that the leaf was cut precisely to preserve those last 8 lines, and only those lines, the compiler going to the unusual length of blacking-out remaining text, signaling its lack of consequence to him. Although the opening of this production unit displays heavy fluid damage, then, the present form of the section cannot entirely be explained by the discarding of damaged material, for the unit that remains displays clear markers of judgment and choice on the part of whoever adapted this previously written material to the shape of the new codex. The unusual qualities of the extension at the end of the unit also suggest active repertorial selection and judgment in the construction of the volume (though they raise further complexities also; see below). In sum, these codicological features suggest that this production unit was not copied explicitly for inclusion in the present volume; but, being found suitable for inclusion in it (for whatever reason), was physically adapted to fit its surroundings. However, there is no remaining evidence that this production unit had previously been sewn into a bound volume; and its *paleographic* relation to the rest of the volume must be examined separately before scribal concordance with other portions can be ruled out.

Production unit 11

Gatherings: (two single leaves, wrapped around gathering 50, terminating in two stubs between gatherings 50 and 51)

Folios: 367r-368v

Texts:

fol. 367ra-368vb: Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*
(continuation for two folios; incomplete at the end)

Hand: G

Fluid damage: No

Sewing holes at the spine: No

Stage: III

Comments:

These two leaves were added to the *Historia Albigensis* for this binding.

Although they conclude before reaching the end of the text, I suspect this omission was deliberate at the end, echoing paleographically the deliberate suppression of text at the opening of production unit 10. See the comments on production unit 10 for a full explanation of these leaves. Although they do not display fluid damage, these two leaves bear several physical signs of an informal quality of production: fol. 368 has both a hole and a repaired tear in its outer half, both of which were written around by the scribe, indicating that they predated copying. Some shared spotting visible in contiguous positions on both sides of both leaves is not shared by the previous production unit, suggesting that the leaves were contiguous but blank in some previous structure, before being reused as the extension to the *Historia Albigensis*. Could they have been leaves cut from other production units in La Clayette?

Production unit 12

Gatherings: 50–52 (3 total)

Folios: 369r–390v

Texts:

fol. 369ra–390vb: fifty-five *ars antiqua* motets

Hand: H

Fluid damage: Yes

Sewing holes at the spine: Yes

Stage: I

Comments:

The damage to the music fascicle is heavy, evident at the bottom outer corner of each leaf, and becomes progressively worse towards the back of the three gatherings. Although the damaged area increases incrementally from one leaf to the next, consecutive leaves display damage in roughly the same shape when the book is closed, and thus in roughly symmetrical shapes on either side of an opening. These features all strongly indicate the damage to have been caused by fluid seeping through the book over time, while the book was closed and under pressure. That the damaged portions of the leaves are waxen and almost translucent indicates moreover that the fluid was oil-based. I am grateful to Michael Gullick for pointing out to me that water damage or damp would have left evidence of bacterial action on the parchment, not in evidence here (private correspondence, August 2010). However, the outer surfaces of each gathering are also more rubbed than surfaces within the gatherings; though the outer leaves of the fascicle as a whole, 369r and 390v, are no more noticeably rubbed than the sides at gathering divisions within the fascicle (i.e. 376v and 377r; 384v and 385r). This feature is noticeable in other production units also, and is a characteristic result of a loose binding such as may well have been caused by

resewing the gatherings onto the supports at stage three through the same holes used at stage two. (I am grateful to Nicolas Bell for this observation about loose bindings; private correspondence, November 2010). Most importantly, none of this damage is consistent with the theory that the music fascicle circulated separately as a performance manuscript for any length of time: the outer leaves do not display the pronounced dog-earring that would be expected from such circulation.

	Production unit 10	Folio	Text
43		312 313 314 315 316 317 318	<i>Fol. 312 is cut away, preserving only the last 8 lines of 312^{vb}</i> Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay, <i>Historia Albigensis</i>, anon. French translation (fols. 312^{ra}–366^{vb}; INCOMPLETE at both beginning and end)
49		359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366	<i>N. B. Diagram abbreviated. The text is continuous through the whole production unit, in a single hand. Gatherings 44–48 are regular quaternions.</i>
	Production unit 11	367 368	[<i>Historia Albigensis</i> , cont.] Text is continuous with the preceding gathering, but with a <i>CHANGE OF HAND</i>
50		369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376	Collection of 55 <i>ars antiqua</i> motets (fols. 369 ^{ra} –390 ^{vb})
51		377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384	
52		386 387 388 389 390	

Production unit 13

Gatherings: 53 (1 total)

Folios: 391r–397v

Texts:

fol. 391ra–395ra: Anonymous, “Complainte d’amour”

fol. 395rb–396ra: Simon, “Epître amoureuse”

fol. 396rb–397ra: Simon, “Salut d’amour”

Hand: C

Fluid damage: Yes

Sewing holes at the spine: None

Stage: II

Comments:

This unit displays heavy fluid damage. Indeed, at folio 397 where the damage is at its worst, the corner was formerly missing, but was repaired (that is, in a medieval repair executed before the modern restoration, as it is visible on the microfilm). The blank sides at the end of the unit, and the stub at its start, identify this gathering as its own booklet. There is no evidence from the microfilm to suggest that the position of the stub was changed at the time of restoration in the 1980s; and medieval parchment can be seen at the base of the modern parchment forming the stub in the present form.

All three texts of the unit were copied by the same hand. The slight change in aspect between columns a and b on folio 395r (that is, the boundary between the first two texts of the production unit) results from a change of pen: the second pen is narrower and less sharp, not matching the crisp diagonality in the aspect of the text on column a; but both columns display the same elegant complementary relationship between the broken strokes at the top and bottom of minims. Note the “raspberry” decorations to the first notabilior of each column, in small, red hair-line strokes. These rely on cross-hatching written with the main pen, then augmented with hair-line strokes in the text pigment and in red ink. They are in the same style as the decorations in production unit 4.

Production unit 13

	Folio	Text
53	[stub] STUB BLANK	
	391	Anon., “Complainte d’amour” (fols. 291ra-395ra)
	392	
	393	
	394	
	395	Simon, “Épître amoureuse” (fols. 395rb-396ra)
	396	Simon, “Salut d’amour” (fols. 396rb-397ra)
	397	Folio 397rb-397vb is BLANK

Production unit 14

Gatherings: 54 (1 total)

Folios: 398r–403v

Texts:

fol. 398ra–403vb: Anonymous, *La Châtelaine de Vergi*

Hand: I

Fluid damage: Yes

Sewing holes at the spine: No

Stage: II

Comments:

As currently collated, the single gathering of this production unit (gathering 54) begins with two stubs before folio 398, which join with folios 402 and 403. However, discrepancies between the microfilm photography and the present state of the volume suggest that the gathering may not have been so structured before restoration in the 1980s. The photographs show stitching between folios 402 and 403, apparently sewn *around* the outer fold and back through the surface of the leaf. The photography is of such poor quality that it has ultimately proven impossible to determine the structure of this gathering in its last medieval binding. However, as medieval parchment is just visible at the base of the restoration-parchment stubs conforms that leaves 402 and 403 were, indeed, loose sheets in their pre-restoration binding: while the method by which they were affixed to their gathering has changed, it seems that the centerfolds of the remaining leaves, while reinforced, were not themselves remounted, and fols. 399–400 would have formed the central bifolium of the gathering at the pre-restoration stage.

Again, the text is complete, starting at the top of the first column on folio 398, and finishing at 403v,b,26 (following which the blank space has accrued a pen-trial text in the same hand, although with a diluted pigment). It is possible that this was the last text of a longer production unit, and the two loose leaves now terminating in stubs contained the end of a previous text, now lost. However, the parchment of folio 402 is of noticeably poorer work than the surrounding leaves (themselves of only mediocre quality): the irregular curves of its long edge must have been so shaped before writing was begun, as the visible pricking is inset significantly from the edge by comparison to the previous folio, to avoid the irregularity. This, combined with the more pronounced browning, suggests that this leaf, and presumably folio 403 also, was a loose one leftover from a previous project, used up at the end of this text, rather than a remnant of a physical structure that preceded the gathering in its current form.

Production unit 14

	Folio	Text
54	[stub]	STUBS BLANK
	[stub]	
	398	Anon., <i>La Châtelaine de Vergi</i> (fols. 398ra-403vb)
	399	
	400	
	401	
	402	
	403	

Production unit 15

Gatherings: 55–56 (2 total)

Folios: 404r–419v

Texts:

fol. 404ra–419v: Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, selections (final tale of the collection incomplete at the end)

Hand: E

Fluid damage: Yes

Sewing holes at the spine: No

Stage: II

Comments:

This layer displays the same fluid damage as the music fascicle, and the shape formed by the stain is mirrored on either side of the opening at the gathering division between production units fourteen and fifteen (403v–404r). However, even in those sections not affected by fluid, the parchment is often browned in appearance, with frequent pore marks (e.g. fol. 412r). The shape of the folios is uneven, and curved along the outer edge. As in the previous unit, the prick marks visible along the long edge deviate to fit the curve (e.g. fol. 404) showing that the irregularity was present before the text was copied. There are sewn restorations to several folios, overlapped by writing, that must have been in place before text-copying began. In all these respects, the writing surface here is of a relatively informal quality of workmanship, in ways not accounted for by subsequent damage. However, the final verso is heavily stained indeed, uniformly across its area, and the writing and painted initial have rubbed. The text of the final tale is incomplete.

This aspect of informality extends to the hand also. Letter forms were executed quickly, with a large degree of horizontal extension becoming more pronounced as the session of copying went on. It is especially visible at the right margin of each column, where horizontal strokes at the x-height frequently extend for more than double the width of the rest of their host letter-form. This is the work of the same hand as for the *Vie des Pères*; but here he uses a narrower nib, resulting in an emaciated, “spidery” appearance to the script which becomes more exaggerated over the course of the unit. In an interesting parallel to production unit ten (the *Historia Albigensis*), this unit also offers evidence to suggest an act of repertorial selection that could extend to destruction of previous work. Folio 414v,a,12 – 415r,a,9 contained a tale rubricated “Du moine qui fu sauf | Par la priere nostre dame.” Red hairlines in large cross formations are traced over the areas of the opening it occupies, but were traced carefully so as not to mark the texts immediately before and after this tale. Unlike the case of the *Historia Albigensis*, the unwanted text here is still visible. It may be significant

that this is the only tale not to receive a painted initial of some kind at its opening, even though space was left for it.

Production unit 15

	Folio	Text
55	404	Gautier de Coinci, <i>Miracles de Notre Dame</i> , selections (fols. 404ra-419v; INCOMPLETE at end)
	405	
	406	
	407	
	408	
	409	
	410	
	411	
	412	
	413	
56	414	
	415	
	416	
	417	
	418	
	419	

APPENDIX 1.2

THE BINDING STAGES OF THE LA CLAYETTE MANUSCRIPT

This appendix presents the production units of the La Clayette manuscript and their constituent texts according to the chronological stages in which they were added to the book.

STAGE ONE

Production unit 2

Folios: 22r–57v

Texts:

- fol. 22ra–30va: Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*, short prose version
- fol. 31ra–37rb: Guillaume de Conches, *Livre de moralitez*, anonymous prose translation
- fol. 37rb–42rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Translation et miracles de Saint Jacques*
- fol. 43ra–56ra: Pseudo-Turpin, *Chronique*, anonymous prose translation
- fol. 56rb–57vb: Anon., “Rapport du Patriarche de Jérusalem au Pape Innocent III sur l’état des Sarrazins,” translation of selected prose from Haymarus Monachus, *Relatio tripartita ad Innocentium III de viribus Agarenorum*. (Incomplete at the end.)

Production unit 3

Folios: 58r–70v

Texts:

- fol. 58ra–59va: Guiot de Provins? *Suite de la Bible* (incomplete at the beginning)
- fol. 59va–64vb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Mappemonde* (incomplete at the end)
- fol. 65ra–65va: Pierre de Beauvais, *Diète du corps et de l’âme* (incomplete at the beginning)
- fol. 65va–66ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Oeuvre quotidienne*
- fol. 66rb–67rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Les trois séjours de l’homme*
- fol. 67rb–68ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Les trois Maries*
- fol. 68ra–69vb: Anonymous, “Doctrinal sauvage”
- fol. 69vb–70ra: Anonymous French paraphrase of “Veni creator”
- fol. 70ra–70rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *L’olympiade*
- fol. 70rb–vb: Genealogy of the kings of France

Production unit 12

Folios: 369r–390v

Texts:

fols. 369ra–390vb: fifty-five *ars antiqua* motets

STAGE ONE, TWO, OR THREE

Production unit 1

Folios: 1r–21v + stub

Texts:

fols. 1ra–10rb: Pierre de Beauvais, *Vie de saint Eustache*

fols. 10rb–15ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Vie de saint Germer*

fols. 15ra–19ra: Pierre de Beauvais, *Vie de saint Josse*

fols. 19rb–21va: Fouque(?), *Vie de sainte Marguerite*

STAGE TWO

Production unit 10

Folios: 312r–366v

Texts:

fols. 312vb–366vb: Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*,
anonymous French translation (incomplete at the beginning and the end)

Production unit 13

Folios: 391r–397v

Texts:

fols. 391ra–395ra: Anonymous, “Complainte d’amour”

fols. 395rb–396ra: Simon, “Epître amoureuse”

fols. 396rb–397ra: Simon, “Salut d’amour”

Production unit 14

Folios: 398r–403v

Texts:

fols. 398ra–403vb: Anonymous, *La Châtelaine de Vergi*

Production unit 15

Folios: 404r–419v

Texts:

fol. 404ra–419v: Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, selections (final tale of the collection incomplete at the end)

STAGE TWO OR THREE

Production unit 4

Folios: 71r–120v

Texts:

fol. 71ra–93ra: Wace, *La conception de Nostre Dame*

fol. 93ra–93rb: French paraphrase of the psalm “Eructavit,” following the *Conception* without interruption

fol. 93va–108ra: Anonymous, *Vie de sainte Catherine d’Alexandrie*

fol. 108ra–113va: Anonymous, *Vie de sainte Marie-Madeleine*, prose version

fol. 113vb–120ra: Anonymous, *Vie de sainte Marie l’Egyptienne*, prose version

Production unit 5

Folios: 121r–203v + stub

Texts:

fol. 121ra–203va: Anonymous, *Vie des pères*, first collection

Production unit 6

Folios: 204r–219v

Texts:

fol. 204ra–219vb: Anonymous, *Vie des pères*, second collection

Production unit 7

Folios: 220r–247v

Texts:

fol. 220ra–247v: Anonymous, *Vie des pères*, third collection

Production unit 8

Folios: 248r–281v

Texts:

fol. 248ra–278ra: Roger d’Argenteuil, *Bible en français*

fol. 278ra–281ra: French translation of a passage from Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium*

Production unit 9

Folios: 281r–311r

Text:

fols. 282ra–311ra: Anonymous, *Roman des sept sages*, version A

STAGE THREE

Production unit 11

Folios: 367r–368v

Texts:

fols. 367ra–368vb: Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*
(continuation for two folios; incomplete at the end)

APPENDIX 2.1

A HANDLIST OF MOTETS IN THE LA CLAYETTE MANUSCRIPT, WITH FOLIATION REFERENCES.

The La Clayette motets are listed here in the order they appear in the manuscript. Each voice part is followed by its designated number in Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: published by the author, 1989).

No.	Motet	Starts fol.	Ends fol.
1	<i>Ave virgo regia</i> (805) / <i>Ave gloriosa</i> (804) / DOMINO (unidentified)	369r,a,1	369v,a,10
2	<i>O Maria virgo davitica</i> (449) / <i>O Maria maris stella</i> (448) / IN VERITATE (M37)	369v,a,11	370r,a,2
3	<i>Caro spiritui</i> (unnumbered) / <i>Lis hec racio</i> (1055) / <i>Anima iugi</i> (unnumbered)	370r,a,3	370r,b,6
4	<i>L'autrier m'esbatoie</i> (83) / <i>Demenant grant joie</i> (84) / MANERE (M5)	370r,b,7	370v,a,14
5	<i>Mout loiaument</i> (407) / <i>Se longuement</i> (406) / BENEDICTA (M32)	370v,b,1	370v,b,12
6	<i>Onques n'ama</i> (675) / <i>Molt m'abelist</i> (674) / FLOS FILIUS EIUS (O16)	370v,b,13	371r,a,14
7	<i>Quant define la verdour</i> (661) / <i>Quant repaire la doucour</i> (662) / FLOS FILIUS EIUS (O16)	371r,b,1	371v,a,3
8	<i>Cest quadruble</i> (798) / <i>Vos n'i dormirez</i> (799) / <i>Biau cuers savereus</i> (800) / FIAT (O54)	371v,a,4	371v,b,12
9	<i>Qui voudroit fame</i> (639) / <i>Quant naist la flor</i> (637) / <i>Tanquam suscipit</i> (636) / TANQUAM (O2)	371v,b,13	372r,b,13
10	<i>Ave deitatis templum</i> (512a) / <i>Cele m'a tolu la vie</i> (511) / <i>Lonc tens a</i> (512) / ET SPERABIT (M49)	372r,b,14	372v,b,10
11	<i>Mors a primi patris</i> (256) / <i>Mors que stimulo</i> (254) / <i>Mors morsu</i> (255) / MORS (M18)	372v,b,11	373v,a,2
12	<i>Res nova mirabilis</i> (582) / <i>Virgo decus castitatis</i> (583) / ALLELUIA (M78)	373v,a,3	373v,b,4
13	<i>Lonc tens ai mise</i> (117) / <i>Au coumencement</i> (118) / HEC DIES (M13)	373v,b,5	374r,a,8
14	<i>Nonne sanz amor</i> (549) / <i>Moine qui a cuer jolif</i> (550) / ET SUPER (M66)	374r,a,9	374r,b,8
15	<i>Se j'ai servi longuement</i> (396) / <i>Trop longuement</i> (397) / PRO PATRIBUS (M30)	374r,b,9	374v,a,9
16	<i>Ne sai tant</i> (283) / <i>Ja de bone amour</i> (282) / SUSTINERE (M22)	374v,a,10	374v,b,11

17	<i>Par une matinee</i> (807) / <i>Mellis stilla</i> (808) / ALLELUIA (unidentified)	374v,b,11	375r,b,6
18	<i>Au douz mois de mai</i> (275) / <i>Crux forma penitentie</i> (274) / SUSTINERE (M22)	375r,b,7	375v,a,8
19	<i>Ave lux luminum</i> (784) / <i>Salve virgo rubens rosa</i> (783) / NEUMA (O53a)	375v,a,9	375v,b,4
20	<i>Douz rossignolet</i> (541) / <i>Virgo gloriosa</i> (542) / LETABITUR (M66)	375v,b,5	376r,b,7
21	<i>Mout me fait grief</i> (196) / <i>In omni fratre tuo</i> (197) / IN SECULUM (M13)	376r,b,8	377r,a,10
22	<i>De la virge Katherine</i> (536) / <i>Quant froidure</i> (535) / <i>Agmina milicie</i> (532) / AGMINA (M65)	377r,a,11	377v,b,13
23	<i>Plus bele que flors</i> (652) / <i>Quant revient</i> (650) / <i>L'autrier jouer m'en alai</i> (651) / FLOS FILIUS EIUS (O16)	377v,b,14	378r,b,5
24	<i>Qui la vouldroit</i> (220) / <i>Qui d'amours</i> (218) / <i>Qui longuement</i> (219) / NOSTRUM (M14)	378r,b,6	378v,a,13
25	<i>In salvatoris nomine</i> (452) / <i>Ce fu en tres douz tens de mai</i> (452a) / <i>In veritate comperi</i> (451) / VERITATEM (M37)	378v,a,14	379v,b,6
26	<i>Pour renvoisier</i> (28) / <i>Mulier omnis peccati</i> (30) / OMNES (M1)	379v,b,7	380r,a,12
27	<i>Le premier jor de mai</i> (521) / <i>Par un matin me levai</i> (522) / <i>Je ne puis plus durer</i> (523) / IUSTUS (M53)	380r,a,12	380v,a,14
28	<i>El mois d'avril</i> (318) / <i>O Maria mater pia</i> (317a) / <i>O quam sancta</i> (317) / ET GAUDEBIT (M24)	380v,b,1	381v,b,3
29	<i>Trois sereus</i> (343a) / <i>Trois sereus</i> (343b) / <i>Trois sereus</i> (343c) / PERLUSTRAVIT (M25)	381v,b,4	381v,b,14
30	<i>Dame de valour</i> (71) / <i>Dame vostre douz regart</i> (72) / MANERE (M5)	382r,a,1	382r,b,2
31	<i>Amours mi font rejoir</i> (99a) / <i>In Bethleem Herodes</i> (98) / IN BETHLEEM (M8)	382r,b,3	382v,a,11
32	<i>Quant voi le douz tens</i> (235) / <i>En mai quant rose est florie</i> (236) / LATUS (M14)	382v,a,12	382v,b,12
33	<i>Par matin s'est levee</i> (528c) / <i>Tres douce pensee</i> (528d) / [FLOREBIT] (M53)	382v,b,13	383r,b,5
34	<i>Mout souvent</i> (377) / <i>Mout ai este en doulour</i> (378) / MULIERUM (M29)	383r,b,6	383v,a,9
35	<i>He Dieu</i> (708) / <i>Maubatu</i> (707) / CUMQUE EVANGILASSET (O31)	383v,a,10	384r,a,6
36	<i>Ave beatissima</i> (778a) / <i>Ave Maria gracia plena</i> (778b) / AVE MARIS STELLA (O51)	384r,a,7	384r,b,4
37	<i>Chascuns dist que je foloie</i> (149) / <i>Se j'ai ame folement</i> (150) / IN SECULUM (M13)	384r,b,5	384v,a,6
38	<i>A ce que dist bien m'acort</i> (520) / <i>Bele sanz orgueil</i> (519) / ET EXALTAVI (M51)	384v,a,7	384v,b,5

39	<i>Encontre le tens de Pascour</i> (496) / <i>Mens fidem seminat</i> (495) / IN ODOREM (M45)	384v,b,6	385v,a,9
40	<i>Li douz maus</i> (146) / <i>Trop ai lonc tens</i> (148) / <i>Ma loialtez</i> (147) / IN SECULUM (M13)	385v,a,10	386r,b,3
41	<i>Cil qui aime</i> (281a) / <i>Quant chantent</i> (281b) / PORTARE (M22)	386r,b,4	386v,a,2
42	<i>J'ai les maus d'amours</i> (188) / <i>Que ferai</i> (189) / IN SECULUM (M13)	386v,a,3	386v,a,9
43	<i>Joie et soulaz</i> (684) / <i>Doucete sui</i> (685) / EIUS (O16)	386v,a,10	387r,a,7
44	<i>Ja n'amerai</i> (211) / <i>Sire Dieux</i> (212) / IN SECULUM (M13)	387r,a,8	387v,a,2
45	<i>Amours mi font soffrir</i> (664) / <i>En mai quant rose est florie</i> (663) / FLOS FILIUS EIUS (O16)	387v,a,3	387v,b,7
46	<i>En doit fine amour</i> (187) / <i>La biaute ma dame</i> (186) / IN SECULUM (M13)	387v,b,8	388r,b,2
47	<i>Diex de chanter maintenant</i> (176) / <i>Chant d'oiseaus</i> (177) / IN SECULUM (M13)	388r,b,3	388v,a,8
48	<i>Pour vos amie</i> (362) / <i>He quant je remir</i> (361) / AMORIS (M27)	388v,a,9	388v,b,10
49	<i>Quant voi remirant</i> (126) / <i>Virgo virginum</i> (127) / HEC DIES (M13)	388v,b,11	389r,a,7
50	<i>Mout m'a fait cruieus</i> (854d) / <i>He Dieux tant sui joie eloignez</i> (854e) / GENTES (unidentified)	389r,a,8	389r,b,10
51	<i>Par un matinet</i> (658) / <i>He sire</i> (659) / <i>He berger</i> (657) / EIUS (O16)	389r,b,11	389v,b,3
52	<i>Diex je ne m'en partire ja</i> (828) / NEUMA (O51)	389v,b,4	389v,b,14
53	<i>Ja pour mal</i> (278) / <i>He desloials</i> (279) / PORTARE (M22)	390r,a,1	390r,b,4
54	<i>Povre secours</i> (265) / <i>Aucuns m'ont par leur envie</i> (263) / [ANGELUS] (M20)	390r,b,5	390v,b,5
55	<i>L'autrier jouer m'en alai</i> (780) / SECULORUM AMEN (O52)	390v,b,6	390v,b,14

APPENDIX 3.1

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF MOTETS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER THREE

Contained in this appendix are new scores of all motets discussed in chapter three, presented in the order in which they appear there. They should be considered transcriptions, not editions: only a fully comparative study of each piece in all its sources, together with a commentary defending all choices, could be considered an edition, and that work falls beyond the utilitarian purpose of these scores.

The transcriptions preserve La Clayette's readings in all but clearly erroneous cases where the manuscript is corrupt. In such instances, I supply the text (musical and poetic) reconstructed in Gordon A. Anderson's edition *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521*, with French texts edited and translated by Elizabeth A. Close, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 68 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975). Such additions are indicated in square brackets. Also placed in square brackets are tied notes not corresponding to a feature of the manuscript, and tenor *cursus* abbreviated in the source through the use of repetition signs. Context makes clear which of these situations prevails.

Poetic texts preserve the manuscript orthography, using "7" for the Tironian *et* sign, and numbers have been added at the start of each verse. I have interpreted the rhythms of La Clayette's notation in accordance with the scribal principles identified in chapter two of this dissertation, and have translated the parts into modern notation. So that the reader may follow my rhythmic choices, I present the manuscript's note forms above each staff of the score. Needless to say, there are some passages where another interpretation may have been possible.

Dotted barlines have been added to facilitate counting and cross-referencing with the analyses presented in chapter three. The number of perfections per measure is kept consistent within each piece. However, the number per measure chosen for each piece varies so that, in each, long values used in the tenor or other parts can be represented with a minimum of modern tie markings, which would introduce more graphemes not corresponding to features of the manuscript. Tenor *cursus* are marked with roman numerals beneath the system.

Finally, the suggested accidentals placed above the staff should be considered highly provisional: more research on the use of accidentals in thirteenth-century manuscripts, and on unsigned practices of melodic inflection in the service of good discant, is badly needed.

Cl no. 1, *Ave virgo regia* (805) / *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris* (804) / DOMINO (O. Be. I)¹

[Triplum]
369r,a,1

1. A - Ve uir - go re-gi - a 2.ma-ter cle-men-ci - e 3.uir-go ple - na gra-ci-

[Motetus]
369r,b,9

1. A Ve glo - ri - o - sa 2.ma - ter sal - va - to -

[Tenor]
369v,a,7

Domino
I.

8

a 4.re-gi - na glo - ri - e 5.ge-ni-trix e-gre-gi - a 6.pro-lis e-xi-mi - e 7.que se-des

ris 3.[a] - ue spe - ci - o - sa 4.uir go flos pu - do - ris

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 1-3 (for the score) and XXXII (for the critical notes).

17

in glo - ri - a 8.ce-le - stis pa-tri - e 9.re-gis ce - li re-gi - e 10.ma-ter 7 fi-li - a

5.a - ue lux io - co - sa 6.tha la - mus splen - do - ris 7.a - ue

26

11.ca-strum pu - di-ci-ci - e 12.stel-la - que pre - ui - 13.a in tro-no iu-sti-ci - e 14.re-si -

pre - ci - o - sa 8.sa - lus pec - ca - to - ris 9.a - ue

34

des ob-ui - a 15.a-gmi-na mi - li - ci - e 16.ce-le - stis om - ni - a 17.oc-cur - runt

ui - te ui - a 10.ca - sta mun - da pu - ra 11.dul - cis

42

le-ti-ci - e 18.ti-bi - que pre-ui - a 19.can ti-ca sim-pho-ni - e 20.tam mul - ti - pha - ri -

mi - tis pi - a 12.fe lix cre - a - tu - ra 13.pa - rens

50

a 21.tu tan-te po-ten-ci - e 22.tan-te uic-to-ri - e 23.for-me tam e - gre - gi -

mo-do mi - ro 14.no - ua pa - ri - tu - ra 15.ui - rum

58

e 24.ma-ter ec-cle-si - e 25.lux mun-di - ci - e 26.ge - ni-trix pi - a 27.o-be-di -

si - ne ui - ro 16.c - tra le - gis iu - ra 17.uir - go

II.

66

unt ti-bi ce-le-sti - a 28.ce li lu - mi-na - ri - a 29.stu-pe-fi - unt de tu - a spe-ci - e

uir - gi - num 18.ex - pers cri - mi - num 19.de - cus lu - mi - num

76

30.sol 7 lu - na cun-cta - que 31.po-lo - rum sy-de - ra 32.uir-go re - gens su - pe - ra

20.ce - li do - mi - na 21.sa - lus gen - ti - um

84

33.te lau - dant an - ge-li su - per e-the - ra 34.a-ue de - i tu-tum pre-si-di - um

22.spes fi - de - li - um 23.lu - men cor - di - um

92

35. pau pe - ris - *que* ue - rum sub - si - di - um 36. tu es pu - ra li - ma ma - li - ci - e 37. tu ge - ni -

24. nos il - lu - mi - na 25. nos - *que* fí - li - o

101

trix - gra - ci - e 38. pec - ca - to - rum mit - te re - fu - gi - um 39. e - gro - tan - ci - um 40. so -

26. tu - o tam pi - o 27. tam pro - pi - ci - o

109

la - bi - le so - la - ti - um 41. no - bis [as - sis] post o - bi - tum 42. post i - sti - us se - cu - li

28. re - con - ci - li - a 29.7 ad gau - di - a 30. nos per -

118

43. ui-te vi - lis tran-si - tum 44. per gra-ci am non per me-ri - tum 45. du-cas nos ad pa-trem et

[hen - ni] - a 31. duc pre - ce pi - a 32. uir - go

126

fi - li - um.

ma - ri - a.

Cl no. 2, *O Maria virgo davitica* (449) / *O Maria maris stella* (448) / IN VERITATE (M37)¹

[Triplum]
fol. 369v,a,11

1.O Ma - ri - a uir-go da-ui - ti - ca 2.uir-gi-num flos ui-te spes u-ni - ca

[Motetus]
fol. 369v,b,7

1.O Ma - ri - a ma - ris stel - la 2.ple - na gra - ci - e

[Tenor]
fol. 369v,b,14

In ueritate
I.

9

3.ui-a ue - ni - e 4.lux gra-ci - e 5.ma-ter cle - men - ci - e 6.so-la iu - bes in ar -

3.ma - ter si - mul et pu - el - la 4.uas mun - di - ci - e

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 3-4 (for the score) and XXXII-XXXIII (for the critical notes).

17

ce ce - li - ca 7.o-be-di - unt ti-bi mi-li-ci - e 8.so-la se - des in tro - no glo - ri -

5.tem - plum no - stri re - demp - to - ris 6.sol iu - sti - ci - e 7.por - ta

26

e 9.gra-ci-a ple-na ful - gens de - i - ca 10.stel-le stu - pent de tu - a [fa - ci -

ce - li spes re - o - rum 8.tro - nus glo - ri - e 9.sub - le -

34

e] 8.sol lu - na de tu - a po - ten - ci - a 12.que lu-mi-na - ri - a

ua - trix mi - se - ro - rum 10.ue - na ue - ni - e 11.au - di

42

13.in me-ri-di - e 14.tu-a fa-ci - e 15.uin-cis om-ni - a 16.pre-ce pi - a mi - ti -

ser - uos te ro - gan - tes 12.[ma-ter] gra - ci - e 13.ut pec -

50

ga fī-li - um 17.mi-ro mo - do cu-ius es fī-li - a 18.ne iu-di - ce - mur in con-tra-ri -

ca - ta sint a - bla - ta 14.per te ho - di e 15.qui te pu - ro

59

um 19.[sed] det e - ter - na ui-te pre - mi - a.

lau - dant cor - de 16.in ue - ri - ta - te.

Cl no. 12, *Res nova mirabilis* (582) / *Virgo decus castitatis* (583) / ALLELUIA (M78)¹

[Triplum]
373v,a,2

1. REs no - ua mi - ra - bi - lis 2. [uir - go sem - per a - ma - bi - lis]

[Motetus]
373v,a,10

1. Uir - go de - cus ca - sti - ta - tis 2. uir - go re - gi - a 3. uir - go

[Tenor]
373v,b,3

Alleluya.
I.

3. uir - go ue - ne - ra - bi - lis 4. om - ni - bus co - mes [u - ti - lis] 5. uir - go de - cus uir - gi -

ma - ter pi - e - ta - tis 4. ui - ri ne - sci - a 5. uir - go tem - plum tri - ni - ta - tis 6. ce - li

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 16 (for the score) and XXXVI-XXXVII (for the critical notes).

20

8 num 6. ce - le - ste — lu - men lu - mi - num 7. a - ue sa - lus gen - ti - um 8. u - na - que spes fi -

8 re - gi - a 7. uir - go pu - ra pra - ui - ta - tis 8. de - le ui - ci - a 9. nos e - mun - dans

iter||

31

8 de - li - um 9. uir - go ce - li re - gi - e 10. re - fer - ta ple - na gra - ci - a

8 a — pec - ca - tis 10. per suf - fra - gi - a 11. per te — no - bis pe - ne da - tis 12. de - tur

II.

41
8
11.de-i - ta - tis plu - ui - a 12.uir-go su - per om - ni - a 13.iam de-le___ no - stra ui - ci
ue - ni - a 13.ne damp - ne-mur pro pec - ca - tis 14.in mi - se - ri - a_____

52
8
a 14.7 per - cep - ta ue - ni - a 15.per - du - cas nos ad gau - di - a.
15.sed fru - a - mur cum be - a - tis 16.ce - li glo - ri - a. _____

Cl no. 49, *Quant voi remirant* (126) / *Virgo virginum* (127) / HEC DIES (M13)¹

[Triplum]
388v,b,11

8

1. QUant uois re - mi - rant 2. de - ste la sai - son 3. quant le —

[Duplum]
389r,a,2

8

1. UIr - go uir - gi - num 2. lu - men lu - mi - num 3. re - stau -

[Tenor]
389r,a,6

8 Hec.

I.

8

8

bois font re - ten - tir 4. touz cil io - lif oi - se - lons 5. a - donc

8

ra - trix ho - mi - num 4. que por - ta - sti — do - mi - [num] 5. per te

II.

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 61–62 (for the score) and LI (for the critical notes).

16

8 plour 7 sou - pir 6.pour le grant de - sir 7.cai de la be - le ma - ri - on

8 ma - ri - a 6.de - tur ue - ni - a 7.an - ge - lo nun - ci - an - te

25

8 qui mon cuer a en sa pri - son.

8 uir - go - es post 7 an - te.

Cl no. 18, *Au douz mois de mai* (275)/ *Crux forma penitencie* (274) / SUSTINERE (M22)¹

[Triplum]
375r,b,7

1.AU douz mois de — mai 2.en un uer - gier

[Duplum]
375v,a,1

1.CRux for - ma — pe - ni - ten - ci - e gra-ci - e

[Tenor]
375v,a,7

Sustinere.
I.

10

pen-sis men en - trai 3.si trou - uai pa - stou - re de iouste

2.cla - uis cla - ua pec - ca-ti ue - ni - e 3.ue -

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 21-22 (for the score) and XXXIX (for the critical notes).

20

un — glai 4.ses aig - niaus gar - doit 5.7 — si se de - mem - toit

na ra - dix li - gni iu - sti - ci - e 4.ui - a ui - te — ue -

II.

30

6.si — cum ie — vos di - rai 7.ro-bin douz a - mis

xil-lum glo - ri - e 5.spon - si le[c] - tus in me - ri -

40

per - du uos ai 8.a grant dou - leur de uos me de -

di - e 6.lux ple - na-ri - e nu - bem lu - ens tri - sti - ci -

51

par - ti - rai 9.lez li ma - sis si la - coin - tai

e 7.se - re - con - sci - en - ti - e

III.

61

10.es - ba - hi - e la trou - uai 11.pour la-mour

8.hanc ho-mo por - tet 9.hanc se con - [for - tet 10.cru - cem o] -

71

ro - bin 12.qui de li est par - ti 13.senz [es-toit] en__ grant es - may.

por - tet 11.si uis lu-cis ue - re 12.gau - di - a sus - ti - ne - re.

Cl no. 31, *Amours mi font rejoin* (99a) / *In Bethleem Herodes iratus* (98) / IN BETHLEEM (M8)¹

[Triplum]
fol. 382r,b,2

1.[A] - Mours mi font re-io - ir 2.7 mon fin cuer es - bau -

[Motetus]
fol. 382v,a,2.

1.In beth - - - le -

[Tenor]
fol. 382v,a,10

Bethleem.
I.

6

8 dir 3.si chan-te - rai que plus ne men puis te - nir 4.quant ce - le que

8 hem he - ro - des i - ra - tus 2.qui - a pu - er

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 42-43 (for the score) and XLV (for the critical notes).

13

8 tant de - sir 5.ma sa - mour dou - ne - e 6.car ie

8 na - tus 3.ti - mens prin - ci - pa - tus 4.[s]cep-tro

20

8 lain sanz re - pen - tir 7.ne si - ne men - puis te - nir

8 se pri - ua - ri 5.iu - bet de - col - la - ri

27

8 8.car trop - long [tens] lai a - me - e 9.quant re-mir sa fre -

8 6.pu - e - ros bi - ma - tus 7.o mi - ra - no - ui -

34
8 sche cou - lour 10.7 sa be - le bou - che de sa - uour 11. sen sui
8 tas 8. fa - ci - no - ris. 9. o. o. o. [o]

41
8 plus io - lis 12.7 en mon cuer men res - io - is 13. quant touziourz
8 li - uo - ris 10. y - ma - ni - tas o pu - ri - tas 12. in - no -
II.

48
8 ei - re — ses a - mis 14.7 ele est moie a touz diz 15. sa - urai ma
8 cen - ti - um 13. pe - de ge - mi - no - se - quen - ti - um 14. a - gni

55
8
io - ie a mon de - uis 16. car ie__ nai ail - lours pen - se -
ue - sti-gi - um 15. o ro - sa_____ ru - bens o can - do -

62
8
e 17. ne ia__ na - urai__ ce mest uis 18. ses euz ri - enz 7____
ris 16. li - li - um 17. flos o - do - ris 18. uox in - fan - ci -

69
8
son tres douz cler__ uis 19. ai en__ mon fin cuer as - sis
um 19. lau - des de - o di - cen - ti - um 20. can - tan -

76

8 20.bien doiee - [stre] io - lis 21.quant tel a - mour ai trou - ue - e

8 ci - um. o. o. o. o. - sa - na.

8

III.

Cl 10, *Ave deitatis templum* (512a) / *Cele m'a tolu la vie* (511) / *Lonc tens a* (512) /
ET SPERABIT (M49)¹

[Quadruplum]
fol. 372r,b,14

1.A-Ve de - i - ta - tis 2.tem-plum mi-ra - bi - le 3.o li - li - um

[Triplum]
fol. 372v,a,7

1.CE - le ma to - lu la vi - e 2.qui lonc tens me fait tour -

[Motetus]
fol. 372v,b,1

1.Lonc tens a que ne ui ma - mi - e 2.trop me gre -

[Tenor]
fol. 372v,b,10

Et s[perabit]
I.

8

4.sta - bi - le 5.cui-ius fo - li - um 6.non est [fra - gi - le] 7.fe - dus ho - no-ra-

8

menz souf - frir 3.quant por sa-mor plor de cuer sou - pir 4.cest la

8

ua quant men cou - uint par - tir 3.car ie laim 7 de - sir 4.trop ma -

8

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 12–13 (for the score) and XXXV–XXXVI (for the critical notes).

17

8 bi - le 8.a - ro - ma sa - na - bi - le 9.i - ter iu - st[i]s ha - bi - le 10.tu spes

8 rien del mont que plus de - sir 5.nai rien puis io - ir 6.si me

8 ir 5.quant por lui ser - uir 6.me - steut lan - gir 7.7 si

25

8 fi - de - li - um 11.tu lux ue - ri ta - tis 12.tu pre - si - di - um 13.so - la - bi - le

8 cou - uen - dra lan - guir 7.7 dou - lor souf - frir 8.7 nuit 7 ior

8 ne men puis te - nir 8.quant la re - mir 10.du cuer sou - pir

II.

33

14. tu mi-se - ris 15. re - fu - gi - um 16. op - ta - bi - le 17. tri - cli - ni - um

9. por tout son plai - sir 10. fe - rai tout iorz 11. que que men doie a - ve -

10. si que tout me fait fre - mir. 11. car ie laim de fin cuer sanz men -

41

18. tu uas tri - ni - ta - tis 19. iu - ris a - ma - bi - le 20. cun - ctis u - ti -

nir 12. si la ser - ui - rai 13. nau - tre a - mi - e nau - rai 14. a - des la - me -

tir 12. nen puis io - ir 13. diex ne re - pen - tir 14. si me - steut souf -

50

le 21. pec - can - ti - um 22. par - ce pec - ca - tis.

rai 15. ne ia ne men par - ti - rai.

frir 15. les maus dont ne puis ga - rir.

Cl no. 3, *Caro spiritui quid subderis* (–) / *Lis hec ratio* (1055) / *Anima iugi lacrima diffloe* (–)¹

[III: Anima]
fol. 370r,a,3

1. A - Ni - ma iu - gi 2. la - cri - mas

[II: Racio]
fol. 370r,a,8

1. Lis hec ra-ci - o 2. tu - o iu - di-ci - o

[III: Caro]
fol. fol. 370r,a,14

1. CA - ro spi-ri - tu-i 2. quid sub - de - ris 3. quid te-nu -

7

8 dif - flu - e 3. di - lu - e sau - ci - e 4. sor - des

8 3. fi-nem su - be - at 4. co - hi-be - at 5. car-nis im-pe - tus 6. iu - sti

8 i 4. fla - tu sus - pen-de - ris 5. ad so-li - ta re-uer - te - re 6. ui - a tri -

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 5 (for the score) and XXXIII (for the critical notes).

14

8 con - sci - en - ti - e 5.fac ti - bi tu - tum 6.lu-te - um

8 iu - di-cis me - tus 7.ex - pi - e - tur a - ni - ma

8 ta cur-ri - tur li-be - re 7.stes le - gis di-ui - tum 8.ve-ti - tum li-ci -

21

8 uas ex - u - e lu - tum 7.su - bi - tus ex - i - tus

8 8.car - nis uic - ti - ma 9.li - be - re ser - ui - tu - tis

8 tum 9.pu-tes ad li-bi - tum 10.de - ui - a cu-rans 11.non de pa-tri - a

28

8 8.pi - um ne pro - po - si - tum 9.pe - ri - mat me - ri -

8 10.o - pe - re spe sa - lu - tis 11.ui - ge - at pe - ni-ten - ci-

8 na - tu - re 12.[de-b]i - ta cul - tu - re 13.le-tos a-ge di - es 14.le-ues re-qui -

35

8 tum 10.re - di-mat ui - te 11.damp - na per - di - te.

8 e 12.gra - ci - a pa - te - at 13.pa-tri - e ui - a.

8 es 15.cu - re te - di - um 16.sit quod iu - uat pi - um.

Cl no. 26, *Pour renvoisier et pour moi deporter* (28) / *Mulier omnis peccati* (30)/ OMNES (M1)¹

[Triplum]
379v,b,7

1. Pour ren-voi - sier 7 pour moi de-por - ter 2. ma-lai lau - trier en un ver-gier io - er —

[Duplum]
380r,a,5

1. MU - li - er om - nis pec - ca - ti 2. fa - cta est i - ni - ci - um

[Tenor]
380r,a,12

[Omnes]
I.

9

3. car de-sir - rer mes-toit pris de chant - ter 4. si cou-men - cai un sou - net ren-voi - sie 5. por moi

3. per hanc de - pr[i] - ua - ti 4. per te su - mus de - o gra-ti 5. o li - li -

III

II. III.

18

re-con-for - ter — 6. mes quant me sou - uint de la bele au uis cler 7. tout main-te - nant la pris

um 6. flos con - ual - li - um 7. per hanc de - pra - ua - ti 8. pe - nis ig - ni -

IV.

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 35 (for the score) and XLIII (for the critical notes).

27

8 a re-gre - ter 8.7 en mon cuer grant ioie a de-me - ner 9.nu-le rien tant ne de - sir _____

8 um 9.per te de - tur no - bis re - fri - ge - ri - um 10.dum hu - ma - ni -

V.

36

8 10.com la dou - cete en-tre mes braz te - nir 11.si com a - loie i - le - ques de - men - tant _____

8 ta - ti fa - ctor om - ni - um 11.[ui - tis] _____ ui - te sup - pli - ci - um _____

VI.

44

8 12.so-i la be-le qui di - soit en plo - rant 13.biauz douz a - mis por quoi de - mou - rez ³ tant.

8 12.di - gna - tur _____ mor - tis _____ pa - ti _____ 13.cui con - fers tu re - me - di - um.

VII.

Cl no. 55, *L'autrier jouer m'en alai* (780) / SECULORUM AMEN (O49a)¹

[Motetus]
390v,b,6

[Tenor]
390v,b,13

8 LAu - trier — iou - er — men a lai en

8 Seculorum amen.
I.

10 8 un — ver ger — men en trai da me — plai sant —

II.

21 8 i trou - uai be - le e - stoit si — len a - mai

III.

1. Square brackets indicate the presence of an error in the manuscript that has been corrected to the text reconstructed by Anderson in *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette*, 68 (for the score) and LIII (for the critical notes).

33

et sa - mour li de - man - dai el - le me

IV.

44

re - spont sanz de - lai que tos iors sa - mour au -

V.

55

rai sa - mour la - ueuil

APPENDIX 3.2

COLLATION OF THE REFRAIN VDB 1778

(a) M336
[Mo fol. 37r]

tos iors vos ser - vi - rai — ne ia de vos ne par - ti - rai.

(b) M511
[Cl fol. 372v]

a - des la - me - rai ne ia — ne men par - ti - rai.

(c) M568
Mo fol. 261r

7 tous iors la ser - ui - rai ne ia nen par - tirai

(d) M628
Mo fol. 285v

quetousiours la - me - rai ne ia — ne men par - ti - rai.

NB. The underlay in m. 6 of version (c) is erroneous in the manuscript.

APPENDIX 3.3

COMPARATIVE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE MOTETUS OF CL 26 AND THAT OF MO 2,24

NB. No editorial accidentals have been added to the transcription, because its purpose is to compare the notated versions of the two melodies. This is not to claim that no semitonal inflections would have been operated by contemporaneous singers.

Mo 2,24
fol. 37r

1.E non diu que - que nus di - e 2.ie ne la puis ou - bli - er

Cl 26
fol. 380r,a,5

1.MU-li - er om - nis pec - ca - ti 2.fa - cta est i - ni - ci - um

9

3.ma tres douce a - mi - [e] 4.tant est bele et bien tail - li - e 5.pour

3.per hanc de - pr[i] - ua - ti 4.per te su - mus de - o gra - ti 6.o

17

es - gar - der 6.trop mi fet pen - ser 7.sa grant cor - toi - sie 8.et son gent

li - li - um 6.flos con - ual - li - um 7.per hanc de - pra - ua - ti 8.pe - nis

26

de - por - ter 9.so - uent mi fet de - dans mon cuer sos - pi - rer 10.non - ques

ig - ni - um 9.per te de - tur no - bis re - fri - ge - ri - um 10.dum hu -

35

en ma vi - e ne mi pot gre - uer 12.mes or li vois mer - ci — cri - er —

ma - ni - ta - ti fa - ctor om - ni - um 11.[ui - tis] ui - te sup - pli - ci - um —

44

12.a - le - gies moi douce a - mie 13.au cuer mi tient li maus da - mer.

12.di - gna - tur mor - tis pa - ti — 13.cui con - fers tu re - me - di - um.

APPENDIX 3.4

NETWORK OF CITATIONS FOR THE REFRAIN VDB 673

VdB no. 673 = “En non Diu, que que nus die, / au cuer mi tient li maus d’amer

SOURCES: 5 in total [listed as (a) to (e)]

(a) Motet no. 29 [This piece.]

1 witness:

Qu: *A dieu commant cele* (27)

Tr: *Pour moi deduire* (28)

Mot. *En non Diu, que que nus die* (29)

Ten. OMNES M1

Manuscript: Mo fol. 36v

(29) *En non Dieu que que nus die,
je ne la puis oublier,
ma tres douce amie;
tant est bele et bien taillie
por esgarder;
trop mi fet penser
sa grant cortoisie
et son gent deporter;
sovent mi fet dedans mon cuer sospirer.
N'onques en ma vie ne mi pot grever
mes or li vois merci crier
Alegiés moi, douce amie,
au cuer mi tient li maus d'amer.*

Translation: *In the name of God, whatever anyone says, I cannot forget her, my very sweet friend. She is so beautiful and well proportioned for looking at. Her great courtliness makes me very pensive, and her noble deportment makes me sigh within my heart. Never in my life could she ever grieve me, but now I'm going to cry to her for merci: "Lighten my load, my sweet lover; the pains of love have me by the heart."*

(b) Motet no. 284

1 witness:

Tr. *Li maus amorous me tient* (284)

Mot. *Dieus pour quoi la regardai* (285)

Ten. PORTARE M22

Manuscript: Mo fol. 136v

Text:

(284) *Li maus amorous me tient*
Lonc tens [mes] en sa puissance
mes je n'ai duel ne pesance
quant il me sovient
de Marot ma douce amie
qui me fait chanter
et toz tans joieuse vie
com fins amanz demener.
En non Diu, que que nus die,
au cuer me tient li maus d'amer.

Translation: The pains of love have me, and have had me for a long time in their power. But I have neither woe nor sorrow, when I am reminded of Marot, my sweet love, who makes me sing and lead a joyous life all the time, like a fine lover. *In the name of God, whatever anyone says, the pains of love have be by the heart.*

(c) Motet no. 50:

1 witness:

Tr. *En nom Dieu que que nus die* (51)

Mot. *Quant voi la rose espanie* (50)

Ten. NOBIS VENITE M2

Manuscripts: Mo fol. 145v; Ba 52r

Text:

(50) *Quant voi la rose espanie*
l'erbe vert et le tens cler

et le rossignol chanter
 adonc fine amors m'envie
 de joie faire et mener
 car qui n'aime, il ne vit mie.
 Por ce se doit on pener
 d'avoir amors a amie
 et servir et honorer,
 qui en joie veut durer.
En non Dieu, que que nus die
au cuer mi tient li maus d'amer.

When I see the rose open, the pasture greening and the weather
 getting fine, and the nightingale sing, then fine loving leads me to
 act joyfully. For he who doesn't love doesn't live at all. For that
 reason, one should take pain to have love for a lover, and to serve
 and honor them, he who would remain in joy. *In the name of God,*
whatever anyone says, the pains of love have me by the heart.

(d) Motet no. 80

1 witness:

Mot. Maniere esgarder ne se comment me puisse garder (80)
 Ten. MANERE M5

Manuscript: MüA fol. 8v.

Text:

(80) Maniere. Esgardez,
 Ne sai coument me puisse garder
 de ces felons mesdisans
 qui me blasment de mes chans;
 et quant je ne chant,
 lors si m'en revont blasmant.
 Vilenie
 font de moi blasmer,
 car folie
 seroit de chanter,
 de jouer,
 quant m'amie
 mi veut mie.
En non Dieu, que que nus die

au cuer me tient li maus d'amer.

Look! I don't know how I can guard myself from these treacherous backbiters who slander me for my song. And when I don't sing, then they go around slandering me some more! They are villainous to badmouth me, for it would be folly to sing, to play, when my lover doesn't want me at all. *In the name of God, whatever anyone says, the pains of love have me by the heart.*

(e) Source unknown to van den Boogaard:

1 witness:

Tr. *En nom Dieu que que nus die* (51)

Mot. *Quant voi la rose espanie* (50)

Ten. NOBIS VENITE M2

Manuscripts: Mo fol. 145v; Ba 52r

Text:

(51) *En non Dieu, que que nus die,
quant voi l'erbe vert et le tens cler
et le rossignol chanter,
adonc fine amors me prie
doucelement d'une joliete chanter:
"Marions, laisse Robin por moi amer!"
Bien me doi ades pener
et chapeau de flors porter
por si bele amie,
quant voi la rose espanie
l'erbe vert et le tens cler.*

Translation: *In the name of God, whatever anyone says, when I see the pasture greening and the weather getting fine, and the nightingale sing, then fine loving bids me sing sweetly of a jolly little thing: "Marion! Leave Robin and come love me instead!" Well should I take care, and wear a chaplet of flowers for so beautiful a lover, when I see the rose open, the pasture greening, and the weather getting fine.*

Musical collation of all sources:

vdB 673

(a)
 E[n] non diu *que* que nus di - e au cuer mi tient li maus d'a - mer

(b)
 en non diu *que* que nus die au cuer me tient li maus d'a - mer

(c)
 en non diu *que* que nus die au cuer mi tient li maus d'a - mer

(d)
 e non dieu qe qe nus die au cuer me tient li mals d'a - mer

(e) [Unknown to van den Boogaard]

 En non diu *que* que nus di - e quant voi l'er - be vert 7 le tans cler

APPENDIX 3.5

NETWORK OF CITATIONS FOR THE REFRAINS VdB 667 AND 674

VdB no. 667 = “En non Diu Diu, que que nus die / Trop a celi dure vie / Qui de cuer aime s’amie”

SOURCES: 2 in total; both are voices of the same motet:

(a) Motet 194

(b) Motet 195

1 witness:

Tr. En non Diu que que nus die (194)

Mot. En non Diu que que nus die (195)

Ten. IN SECVLUM M13

Manuscript: Mo 215v

Texts:

- (194) *En non Diu, que que nus die*
Trop a celi dure vie
qui de cuer aime s’amie
et ne puet avoir baillie,
compaignie ne solas.
Et cil a joie esbaudie
qui est amés de s’amie
et gist avec a nuitie,
seul a seul, sans compaignie,
bouche a bouche, braz a braz.

Translation: *In the name of God, whatever anyone says, he has a very hard life indeed who loves his lover from deep in his heart, and yet can have neither possession of her, nor her company, nor solace. And he has emboldened joy who is loved by his lover, and lies with her at night, all alone, without company, mouth to mouth, arm in arm.*

- (195) *En non Diu, que que nus die,*
l’amor n’est pas bien partie
qui toute vient d’une part.
Si m’est vis, quant g’i esgart,

que cil a trop dure vie
 qui de cuer aime s'amie
 et n'i puet avoir regart.
 N'a pas tort, s'il en depart,
 car droit est et courtoisie
 c'une bonté autre gart.

Translation: *In the name of love, whatever anyone says, love is not well quitted which comes entirely from one side. It's my opinion, when I see it, that he has a very hard life who loves his lover from deep in his heart, and cannot even a glance from her in return. It's no shame if he departs in that case; for it is right and courtly that one gift [of love] should garner another.*

Transcription:

vdB 667

(a) [194] E — non diu que — que nus — di - e

(b) [195] E non diu que que — nus di - e

IN SECLUM

VdB no. 674 = "En non Diu, que que nus die / Je les sent, les maus d'amors / Si les servirai toz jours."

SOURCE: 1 in total.

(a) Motet 286:

1 witness:

Tr. Nus ne set les biens d'amors (286)
 Mot. Ja Dieus ne me doint (287)

Ten. PORTARE M22

Manuscript: Mo fol. 192v

Texts:

(286) Nus ne set les biens d'amors,
s'il n'en a senti dolours;
mout en vient honors
et valor et courtoisie
car c'est trop grant signourie
d'amer par amours.
Car j'ai bele amie
pleasant et jolie
s'en sui plus fine amourous.
*En non Diu, que que nus die
je les sent les maus d'amors;
si les servirai toz jors.*

No-one knows the benefits of love if he hasn't felt the pains. Honor comes from it in a great deal, and valor and courtliness too. For it is a very great lordliness to love *par amours*. For I have a beautiful lover, pleasant and jolly, and I am a more refined lover for it. *In the name of God, whatever anyone says, I feel the pains of love, and I will serve them forever.*

Transcription:

vdB 674

(a)



en non diu que que nus die — ie — les sent les maus d'a - mors — si — les ser - vi - rai toz iors

APPENDIX 3.6

NETWORK OF CITATIONS FOR THE REFRAIN VdB 87

VdB 87: “Alegiés moi douce amie, / ceste maladie, / qu’amours ne m’ocie”

SOURCE:

Motet 756:

1 witness:

Tr. Pucelete bele et avenant (755)

Mot. Je langui des maus d’amours (756)

Ten. DOMINO (BD I.10)

1 manuscript: Mo, fol. 193v

Text:

Je langui des maus d’amours:
mieuz aim assez qu’il m’ocie
que nul autre maus;
trop est jolie la mort.
*Alegiés moi, douce amie,
ceste maladie,
qu’amours ne m’ocie.*

I languish from the pains of love;
I would prefer that love kill me
Than any other pains.
Death is very jolly thing!
*Alleviate me, my sweet love,
Of this malady,
So that love doesn’t kill me.*

Motet 756 = clausula F-508; MS F fol. 89 #3

= opening of organum purum on Benedicamus: BD I.8
MS F fol. 89v #2.

Musical collation:

vdB 87
(a)

8 a - le - gies moi douce a - mi - e ces - te ma - la - di - e qu'a - mours ne m'o - ci - e

F
fol. 89r

8

Detailed description: The image shows a musical collation for a voice part (a) and a lute part (F). The voice part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lute part consists of two staves, both with treble clefs and a key signature of one flat. The music is in a 16th-century style, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and accidentals. The lyrics are in French and are written below the voice staff. The lute part has a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes.

APPENDIX 4.1

LIST OF SOURCES AND COMPARATIVE TRANSCRIPTION OF *MELLIS STILLA*

LIST OF SOURCES

The dating of *ars antiqua* sources is the subject of debates that cannot be engaged here. Dates given below reflect the conspectus of opinions collated from the secondary literature by Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts in s.v. “Sources,” MS, §V, “The Early Motet,” *New Grove Online* (accessed August 20, 2011), or given in Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th–Early 14th Century*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. B, vol. 4, pt. 1. Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1966 (henceforth RISM B/IV/1) – the standard reference works published since Friedrich Ludwig’s early twentieth-century research. Where a manuscript has received more recent or detailed scholarly consideration, I give a citation here. It is axiomatic to the work of this dissertation that *ars antiqua* sources still require extensive analysis; the dates offered here are provisional and subject to revision. Each entry is accompanied by a brief comment on the manuscript’s provenance and kind.

- CI** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521, the “La Clayette” manuscript.

Fols. 374v–375r: bilingual motet, *Par une matinee / Mellis stilla / DOMINE*. A Old French literary anthology, produced in fascicular units between the 1260s and c. 1300. The motet collection was present in the earliest of three identifiable bindings. See chapters one and two of the current dissertation for a complete codicological and paleographical study of the manuscript.

- Mo** Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196.

Fols. 72v–75r: bilingual motet, *Par une matinee / Mellis stilla / ALLELUIA*. A Parisian anthology of motets, of which this section (the “Old Corpus”) was probably copied in the 1270s (see *New Grove Online*).

- PsAr** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Latin 11266, fol. 40v.

Fol. 40v. Latin three-part motet, *O Maria mater pia / Mellis stilla / DOMINO*. *O Maria mater pia* is a contrafact, sharing the same melody as *Par une matinee*.

A Parisian theory manuscript containing the treatise of Lambertus, to which seven motets in three parts were added later. Mark Everist

considers it a manuscript of the early 1280s. See Everist, "Music and Theory in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris: The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale fonds lat. 11266," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (1981): 52–64.

Ba Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 115 (*olim* Ed. IV. 6).

Fol. 36r-v: Latin three-part motet, *Virginis preconia cum melodia / Mellis stilla / DOMINO*.

Virginis preconia cum melodia is a contrafact, sharing the same melody as *Par une matinee*. A Parisian anthology of motets, of which this section was probably copied in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (see *New Grove Online*).

Ars3517 (or **ArsB**) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517–3518. (Manuscript also known as Gautier D-1.)

Fol. 3r: Two-part motet, *Mellis stilla /* [undesignated tenor].

The manuscript is a literary codex containing the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coinci. Originally a single manuscript, it is now bound in two volumes. RISM B/IV/1, 371, dates the codex to the second half of the thirteenth century; suggesting the textual script is from eastern France. It cannot be determined at what stage of binding the polyphonic items were included with the literary collection.

Ars135 (also **ArsA**) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135.

Fol. 290v: Two-part motet, *Mellis stilla / DOMINO*.

The manuscript is a Sarum Gradual of the thirteenth century, of English provenance, to which polyphonic items were added later, possibly in the early fourteenth century (See RISM B/IV/1, 369–71).

Ca Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale, A 410 (*Olim* 346).

Fol. 129v: Two-part motet, *Mellis stilla /* [undesignated tenor].

The manuscript is a miscellany containing a collection of letters and Latin poems on the Schism of the Bishopric of Liège amongst other literary works, of Flemish origin. The main body of the manuscript was copied in the twelfth century, while its ten motets were added by a thirteenth-century hand. (See RISM B/IV/1, 261–63.)

Lyell72 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72.

Fol. 173r: Two-part motet *Mellis stilla* / [undesignated tenor]. The manuscript is a processional. Reaney (RISM B/IV/1, 564–66) considers it an Italian manuscript of the thirteenth century; Jane Disley believes the book to have been made for a “Dominican house in the Patriarchate of Aquileia, in the Dominican province of lower Lombardy,” and “probably [in] the first quarter” of the fourteenth century (222). (See Disley, “The Dominican Processional Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lyell 72 (GB-OL72),” in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli [Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1980], 217–27.) *Mellis stilla* is one of several polyphonic compositions incorporated within a collection of sequences, and its *mise en page* is continuous with those items.

MüC Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 5539.

Fol. 73r–v: Two part piece, *Mellis stilla* / [undesignated tenor]. The manuscript is a compendium of miscellaneous paraliturgical songs both monophonic and polyphonic, and also contains a music-theory treatise. Marie-Louise Göllner states that “the manuscript was begun in Regensburg shortly before 1300 as part of the musical reform instigated by Bishop Heinrich II at the Cathedral.” (See Marie-Louise Göllner, *The Manuscript Cod. lat. 5539 of the Bavarian State Library; with an Edition of the Original Treatises and of the Two-Voice Organel Settings* [Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag / American Institute of Musicology, 1993], 14.) *Mellis stilla* is embedded within a continuously copied group of items introduced with the rubric “incipiunt tropi”: it seems to have been understood by its copyist as a kind of polyphonic trope.

OxRawlG Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G 18.

Fol. 106v: *Mellis stilla*, two-part conductus version, laid out in score. The manuscript is a psalter tailored for private devotion. Obits in the kalendar indicate a connection to Burnham Priory in Buckinghamshire, England, though there is no reason to presume the manuscript itself was housed there rather than owned by a lay patron of the house. The psalter is of the early thirteenth century, and *Mellis stilla* was added at the end of the book in the later thirteenth century, along with a Passion poem in Anglo-Norman, and a notated Middle-English lyric, *Worldes blis*. *Mellis stilla* is arranged as a two-part song, as the first item of an ad hoc formulary whose expressed devotional purpose is to reestablish “concordia” between the hearts of the two singers. (I am preparing an article on this manuscript. The most recent description is RISM B/IV/1, 574–75.)

Todi Todi, Biblioteca Comunale MS 73.

Fol. 33r: *Mellis stilla* is copied in the lower margin by a significantly later (fourteenth-century) hand.

The copy is apparently heavily erroneous, and verse 6 is missing entirely from the melody. I have transcribed it from the black-and-white reproduction in Agostino Ziino "Some Observations on the Motet *Mellis stilla*-Domino," *Revista de Musicología* 13 (1990): 487-500; at 496.

Hu Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, MS without shelfmark.

Fol. 166r: *Mellis stilla* in two parts / [illegible tenor]. Presented as a conductus motet whose triplum is unrelated to those found elsewhere in the network of concordances.

A manuscript made c. 1300 for the Cistercian convent of Las Huelgas where it now remains. The book contains a broad variety of monophonic and polyphonic materials for the liturgy and devotional life of the institution. For a detailed account of the book's production history, see Nicolas Bell, "The Codex," in *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2003), 19-39.

Boul Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 119 (*olim* 148).

Fol. 1v (flyleaf of the original manuscript): *Mellis stilla* copied as a monophonic song without tenor.

The manuscript is a compilation of classical Latin texts and letters. Songs in Messine neumes were added to the flyleaves of the original codex, and were dated 1265 by their scribe. (See RISM B/IV/1: 260-61 for description.)

Ars 8521 (or **ArsC**) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 8521.

Fol. 180r: *Mellis stilla* copied with text only. No space was left for the addition of staves.

The manuscript is a *laudario* used by a confraternity in Pisa. Blake Wilson dates it simply as "fourteenth century" (Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992], 154). *Mellis stilla* was copied as one of a collection of Latin texts at the back of the book for which space was never left for the addition of music. By

contrast, the rest of the manuscript was almost entirely ruled with staves, but notation was never written on them.

Be Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS I, 716 [manuscript lost].

Mellis stilla is the second item in this list of pieces understood to report the contents of a lost motet manuscript. The most recent description and study is Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ed. Luther Dittmer (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, and Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 505–13.

Verse 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la uos a pre - mu - la												
Mo	 Mel - li stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
PsAr	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
Ba	 Mel - lis stel - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
Ars3517	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la.												
Ars135	 [M]el - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
Camb	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
Ly72	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la.												
MuC	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
OxRawlG	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la.												
Todi	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
Hu	 Mel - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												
Boul	 [M]el - lis stil - la ma - ris stel - la ros - a pri - mu - la												

Verse 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la												
Mo	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se vir - gu - la												
PsAr	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la yes - se vir - gu - la												
Ba	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la yes - se vir - gu - la												
Ars3517	 Tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la.												
Ars135	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la												
Camb	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la.												
Ly72	 Tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la												
MuC	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la yes - se uir - gu - la												
OxRawlG	 Tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la.												
Todi	 Tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ie - se uir - gu - la												
Hu	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la ies - se uir - gu - la												
Boul	 tu ma - mil - la stil - lans mel - la yes - se vir - gu - la												

Verse 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
Mo													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
PsAr													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
Ba													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
Ars3517													
	Ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a.												
Ars135													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
Camb													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a.												
Ly72													
	Ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a.												
MuC													
	ex - pers ma - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
OxRawlG													
	Ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
Todi													
	Ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a.												
Hu													
	ex - pers pa - ris uir - go pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												
Boul													
	ex - pers pa - ris de - um pa - ris pa - trem fi - li - a												

Verse 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius su - plet ui - cem gra - ci - a												
Mo													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet ui - cem gra - ci - a												
PsAr													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet vi - cem gra - ci - a												
Ba													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius su - plet vi - cem gra - ci - a												
Ars3517													
	or - dor stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet ui - cem gra - ti - a.												
Ars135													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet vi - cem gra - ci - a												
Camb													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet ui - cem gra - ti - a.												
Ly72													
	Or - do stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet ui - cem gra - ci - a.												
MuC													
	Or - do stu - pet cu - ius su - plet ui - cem gra - ci - a												
OxRawlG													
	Or - do stu - pet cu - ius su - plet ui - ce gra - ci - a.												
Todi													
	Or - do stu - pet cu - ius su - plet												
Hu													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius su - plet ui - cem gra - ci - a												
Boul													
	or - do stu - pet cu - ius sup - plet vi - cem gra - ci - a												

Verse 5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl	me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
Mo	me - di - a - trix vi - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
PsAr	me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
Ba	me - di - a - trix vi - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
Ars3517	me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
Ars135	Me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
Camb	Me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na.												
Ly72	Me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix. mun - di do - mi - na.												
MuC	me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												
OxRawlG	Me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na.												
Todi													
Hu	me - di - a - tris ui - te da - tris mun - di do - mi - na												
Boul	me - di - a - trix ui - te da - trix mun - di do - mi - na												

Verse 6

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl													
Mo													
PsAr													
Ba													
Ars3517													
Ars135													
Camb													
Ly72													
MuC													
OxRawlG													
Todi													
Hu													
Boul													

Verse 7

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
Mo	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
PsAr	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
Ba	 per te de - tur vt pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
Ars3517	 Per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a.												
Ars135	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
Camb	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a.												
Ly72	 Per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a.												
MuC	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
OxRawlG	 Per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a.												
Todi	 Per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur												
Hu	 per te de - tur ut pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a												
Boul	 per te de - tur vt pur - ge - tur fe - cis sco - ri - a.												

Verse 8

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Cl	qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a												
Mo	qua pur - ga - ri tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a												
PsAr	qua pur - ga - ti tu - i gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a												
Ba	qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a.												
Ars3517	Qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a.												
Ars135	qua pur - ga - ti tu - o gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a												
Camb	qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a.												
Ly72	Qua pur - ga - ta tu - a gra - ta sit me - mo - ri - a.												
MuC	qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a												
OxRawlG	Qua pur - ga - ti tu - e gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a.												
Todi													
Hu	qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - ri - a												
Boul	qua pur - ga - ti tu - a gra - ti sint me - mo - []												