CONCORDARE CUM MATERIA:
THE TENOR IN THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY
MOTET

By Alice V. Clark

Princeton University
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THE TENOR IN THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MOTET

Alice V. Clark

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Margaret Bent and Peter Jeffery
Abstract

This study takes as its starting point the description of motet composition by Egidius de Murino, who says that the tenor should "concord with the matter" of the motet to be written. The repertory under consideration at this stage is the French tradition of the mid-fourteenth century, mostly transmitted in the complete-work manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS fonds français 1584, 1585, 1586, 9221 and 22545-22546, and New York, Wildenstein Galleries) and in the Ivrea codex (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115); this group is further limited to those motets for which a liturgical source has been identified for the tenor.

After an introductory chapter that traces modern scholarly interest in the tenor's role in the motet, chapter 2 examines the evidence for compositional manipulation of borrowed melodic material. The loss of liturgical propriety as a functional criterion allows the tenor to serve as more than a source of melodic and harmonic materials, and the possibility of alteration of a chant-based melody suggests the existence of other reasons for the use of a liturgical source. One of these, the use of liturgical function as a symbolic device, is explored in chapter 3, with special focus on a group of French-texted amatory motets that use tenors from Lent and Holy Week chants, a process that encourages an explicit comparison between the lover's sufferings and the passio of Christ. Chapter 4 examines another group of motets, also in French on the subject of love, that appear to name historical women by the liturgical context of their tenors; these
motets are probably connected with the marriage or betrothal of the women named. Chapter 5 considers three new tenor sources discovered during the course of this study and suggests avenues for future work.
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A list of manuscript sigla is given in the List of Manuscripts Cited at the close of this study.

CAO numbers refer to the indices of Office chants found in *Corpus antiphonalium officii*; see Hesbert 1963-79. Biblical citations are taken from Weber 1983 for the Latin and May and Metzger 1977 for the English.
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While writing a dissertation is a solitary task, many aspects of its creation and survival are social, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge some of the help and support I have had along the way.

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Portions of this study have been presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (Pittsburgh, 1992), the Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1992), and the International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, 1994 and 1995), at a lecture at the University of Texas, and to the semiannual exchange of musicology graduate students of Princeton, Cornell University, and the University of Pennsylvania and the Graduate Colloquium in Medieval Studies at Princeton. In all cases I am grateful to those who listened and provided suggestions.

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I received financial support from the Department of Music from 1987-90, from the Lurcy Foundation during 1990-91, and I am grateful to have served as a Cotsen Junior Fellow under Carolyn Abbate during 1991-92.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, who have provided support through a process that must be strange to them. I dedicate this study to the oldest and youngest women of my family: to Virginia S. Whitten, my grandmother, for whom it represents the culmination of a dream of sorts, and to Felisha Novan, my niece, that she may learn to dream.
Chapter 1
Introduction

A medieval motet begins with a tenor. The genre takes its origin in the polyphonic setting of Gregorian chant, and the tradition of basing a motet on a preexistent melody, usually a liturgical one, persisted even when there was no longer a functional reason for doing so. The tenor provided the melodic, harmonic and formal underpinnings of the motet, at no time more so than during the ars nova of the fourteenth century, when the genre as practiced in France became an architectural hierarchy of voices, with its tenor given note values so long as to call into question its identity as a distinct melody.\(^1\) The conceptual importance of this voice is easily overlooked in our own time, when the tenor is often subjugated in performance to upper-voice melody—according to a way of hearing polyphonic music that has developed over many centuries, largely since the end of the middle ages.\(^2\) Yet our tendency to focus on the higher parts may have its roots as early as the fourteenth century, for in the polyphonic songs of Guillaume de Machaut the untexted lower voices took an accompanying role below the texted cantus and were composed after it.\(^3\)

\(^1\) As Sarah Fuller puts it, “the elongated tenor rhythms of the ars nova motet forced attention toward the quality of extended sonorities and toward relationships among sustained pitches, just as periodic phrase patterns directed the ear toward phrase endings and cadences.” (Fuller 1990, 200)

\(^2\) As Peter Jeffery has pointed out to me, however, this way of hearing has not been the only one operating in recent centuries: some eighteenth-century chorale settings, for example, still present the melody in the tenor.

\(^3\) Sometimes much later. See, for example, this passage from letter 31 of Machaut’s Livre du Voir-Dit: “I’m sending you a rondeau with music, of
Although we usually listen to the motet as we do to the chanson—focusing on the upper voices that bear the text and move more rapidly—the motet was not conceived that way; this may be one reason the motet often seems to be a more difficult genre than the chanson, less accessible to modern audiences.4

This study proposes turning our accustomed attitude on its head: considering first the tenor, the primary voice of the motet. I am concerned at this stage mostly with liturgical symbolism, though in the future I hope to continue with more obviously musical issues as well. The decisions discussed here—the selection of a tenor source and the possible modification of its melody—fall into a category that can be called precompositional: according to the theorists, these questions were settled before the tenor's isorhythmic structure was laid out, and before a single note of the upper voices was written.5

which I made the tune and the text a while ago. I have newly made a tenor and contratenor for it." Translated in Leech-Wilkinson 1993, 48; he identifies the rondeau as R18, Puis qu'en oubli. The French, from Paris 1969, 242, is: "Je vous envoie un rondel noté, dont je fis pièce le chant & le dit. Sy y ay fait nouvellement teneure & contreteneur."

4The statement of Johannes de Grocheio regarding the difficulty of the motet has become something of a commonplace, but Christopher Page has recently questioned part of this interpretation. Grocheio's statement 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 quaerentes is rendered by Page as "This kind of music should not be set before a lay public [rather than "the vulgar," as Albert Seay gives in Grocheo 1967, 25] because they are not alert to its refinement nor are they delighted by hearing it, but [it should be performed] before the clergy [again, not "the learned"] and those who look for the refinements of skills." These passages are given in Page 1993b, 36; see also chapter 3 of Page 1993a.

5See for example the treatise of Egidius de Murino, discussed below.
The starting point for this study is the brief treatise describing motet composition by Egidius de Murino. This treatise, *De modo componendi tenores motetorum*, is appended to four manuscripts of the *Tractatus figurarum*; the *Tractatus figurarum* itself was once thought to have been the work of Egidius as well, but recent work has cast doubt on that attribution. Though nothing else is known for certain about Egidius, he

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7 The *Tractatus figurarum* survives in fourteen versions in twelve manuscripts. *De modo componendi* appears in five of these manuscripts, four times either immediately following the *Tractatus figurarum* or conjoined to it; it does not appear in any source that does not also contain the *Tractatus figurarum*. Where the two texts are conjoined (the London, Rome, and Washington manuscripts), the complex is attributed to Egidius; the Siena manuscript attributes the *Tractatus figurarum* only to Egidius, while the Seville manuscript does not attribute either treatise. Schreur 1989, 60, links the four sources that transmit both texts together in a single branch of his stemma of the *Tractatus figurarum*, in part because of their attribution of the texts to Egidius. See Schreur 1989, 3-9, on the attribution question for the *Tractatus figurarum*. After considering the competing claims of Egidius and of Philipoctus de Caserta, he concludes that the *Tractatus figurarum* “was most likely written by an Italian trained in the French style in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The composer Philippus de Caserta would be an ideal candidate for authorship based on these criteria, yet the notation of his extant compositions contradicts this possibility.” (9) Schreur accepts *De modo componendi*, however, as “truly by Egidius” (6) and considers its “much simpler style of composition more
was clearly highly regarded by his peers, for he is named in two of the motets that celebrate living musicians.\(^\text{8}\) Richard Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx note that he probably came from the diocese of Thérouanne (Latin *Morinum*, in northern France), and they suggest several potential candidates for this individual:\(^\text{9}\) first an Egidius Morini, bachelor in civil law and student at the University of Orléans who, at the request of Philippe VI, received a canonicate with expectation of a prebend at Le Mans on 27 January 1337; second, another Egidius Morini, a *clerc* from the diocese of Amiens who received a canonicate with expectation of a prebend at Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles, in the diocese of Liège, on 28 March 1378; third, Gilles Aicelin de Montaigu, bishop of Thérouanne and later cardinal; and finally Egidius de Flagiaco, *in arte musice capelle regalis Parisius*, who received a canonicate with expectation of a prebend in Thérouanne on 16 March 1336.\(^\text{10}\)

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\(^{8}\)These are *Musicalis sciencia / Sciencie laudabili / Tenor* (H33) and *Apolinis eclipsetur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (H9). On the musician motets, see the introduction to Harrison 1986. Margaret Bent’s and David Howlett’s work in recent years on these motets is particularly important, though still unpublished.

\(^{9}\)Hoppin and Clercx 1959, 84-85; see also Reaney 1980, 67. Hoppin and Clercx note (p. 83) that Gilles / Egidius is a common name, especially in northern France.

\(^{10}\)Hoppin and Clercx 1959, 85. They consider this canonicate to be “une belle occasion de rédiger un traité à l’usage des *parvuli,*” but they ultimately seem to reject Egidius de Flagiaco as a possible author for the treatise because 1336 is most likely too early for the author of the *Tractatus figurarum*, which they take to be Egidius’ work as well, to be active. Reaney 1980 mentions only the first two of Hoppin’s and Clercx’s candidates, perhaps because because he believes, as they do, that Egidius de
Since the treatise deals only with the most basic steps for writing a motet—the author states that it is “for the teaching of children”\textsuperscript{11}—it is difficult to suggest a date for Egidius’s career on the basis of its contents alone. The late date traditionally given for the treatise is based mostly on that of the \textit{Tractatus figurarum}, for rhythmic and notational subtleties are often easier to place. Once the \textit{Tractatus figurarum} is taken away from Egidius, though, the earlier part of the century becomes plausible, and, if Karl Kügle is correct that the Ivrea codex (which transmits \textit{Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram}, one of the motets that names Egidius) presents a repertory “frozen in 1359,”\textsuperscript{12} the earlier candidates become more likely. Perhaps the authorship of Egidius de Flagiaco, known to have been a musician but whom Hoppin and Clercx do not seem to take seriously as the author of our treatise and whom Reaney omits entirely from his discussion of the author’s identity, ought to be reconsidered. This would make Egidius a rough contemporary of Machaut and Vitry, who are both named in the same two motets that name Egidius. If this is so, his treatise could be seen as a beginner’s introduction to the composition of the type of motets under consideration here, or at worst those of a generation or so later.

\textsuperscript{11}Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 22; the Latin, on p. 19, reads: \textit{Sed que scripta sunt superius ad doctrinam parvulorum scriptum sunt}.
\textsuperscript{12}Kügle 1990, 550.
Egidius begins his instructions with the selection of a tenor: "First take the Tenor from some antiphon or responsory or another chant from the antiphonal, and the words should concord with the matter of which you wish to make the motet. And then take the Tenor again, and you will order and color...." The tenor is thus the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic point of origin for the motet, though it is in fact preceded by the motet’s materia, on whose basis it is chosen. In his sketchy account, it is easy to overlook this statement concordare cum materia, and perhaps even Egidius is more interested in talea and color formation than in tenor selection, but he makes it clear that such selection is not a random act.

Egidius does not, however, specify just how the tenor is to relate to the matter of its motet. That relationship is generally thought to center around the textual incipit given to the tenor in the manuscript: that is, the tag is appropriate for a tenor on that subject. Most scholars accept this, but few say more. Furthermore, this tag usually identifies the chant or other melody from which the tenor is taken. Friedrich Ludwig identified a number of chant sources for motets by Machaut and others in the introduction to his edition of Machaut’s music; Gordon Anderson found several more, as did Leo Schrade, Frank Ll. Harrison and Ursula Günther

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14 "Quellennachweise für die liturgischen Tenores in den Motetten Machaut’s" (sic), critical commentary to Ludwig 1926-54, 58*-62*. 

6
as they edited the motet repertory. Other tenor identifications have occasionally been made as well, including three I have discovered that will be discussed at the close of this study. Even for those tenor tags that have not been linked with known liturgical sources, it is usually assumed that a source exists that we have not yet found.

Most definitions of the medieval motet describe the presence of a chant-derived tenor as a necessary feature. As Margaret Bent has pointed out, this has created some generic confusion, especially in considerations of the fourteenth-century English repertory, where works with a chant tenor are classified as motets, while those without are not. Harrison speaks of “the two hallmarks of motet-use of cantus prius factus (plainsong, secular or ad hoc) and polytextuality,” and in the series Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century he separates pieces that he calls Motets of English Provenance (in volume XV) from English Music for Mass and Offices (in volumes XVI and XVII) on the basis of whether or not they have multiple texts in the upper voices or a recognizable preexistent tenor, usually based

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15 Anderson 1976 summarizes the identifications made to that date and adds his own. Those and identifications made since then are summarized in Appendix 2.

16 Stanley Boorman, for example, says that Machaut’s motets are “écrits chacun sur un tenor pré-existant (bien qu’il ne soit pas toujours identifiable)” (introduction to Schrade 1977, vol. 2: Les Motets). I do not believe, however, that all tenor melodies, or even texts, come either from liturgical chant or from preexisting secular song.


18 Harrison 1980, xii. See also Harrison et al. 1983-86, where he distinguishes “non-ritual items, of free composition” from motets because they are not “structured on a cantus prius factus, whether plainsong, secular, fashioned ad hoc, or even pseudo” (XVI, xi).
on Gregorian chant. The result is that works appearing adjacently in manuscripts, with similar texts and musical styles, are in separate volumes if one has an identified chant tenor and the other does not. For example, the fragment ObHa 81 contains four adjacent works using rondellus technique:

\[ A \text{ solis ortus cardine, edited in PMFC XVI, 94 } \]
\[ Ovet mundus letabundus \text{ PMFC XVI, 95 } \]
\[ Hostis Herodes impie, PMFC XVI, 96 \]
\[ Salve cleri speculum / [Sospitati dedit egros], PMFC XV, 11 \]

The first and third of these make use of preexisting material at the beginning of the upper voice, while the last uses a prose melody (unlabeled in the manuscript) in the lower voices beginning in measure 27; because the chant material of Salve cleri speculum / [Sospitati dedit egros] appears in the tenor, it is classified as a motet and edited in volume XV, while the other three works are called “Settings for the Offices” and edited in volume XVI. Bent has remarked on this inconsistent generic division and has argued for a definition of the motet that goes beyond isorhythm, preexistent tenor melodies and polytextuality. Her arguments are welcome in broadening the picture as they do to include the Italian and

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19 Rondellus technique usually involves the exchange of phrases between voices in a three-voice structure, sometimes over a pes; it was particularly common in thirteenth-century England.
20 The editors suggest, following the lead of Margaret Bent, that this work may in fact be the second section of A solis ortus cardine; see Bent 1981, 76.
21 This example was discussed in a seminar given by Margaret Bent at Princeton University, Fall 1989.
22 Bent 1992b touches on issues of genre, something she plans to explore further in future.
English motets as well as the French, and any study of the motet as a genre must take them into consideration.

Peter M. Lefferts has also shown that genre boundaries are particularly fuzzy in the English motet repertory, which includes motets with cantus firmus, motets written over a *pes*, freely-composed motets, and troped chant settings. The closest he comes to a generic definition of the English motet is a statement made in reference to the freely-composed variety:

> What is essential to the character of these motets—what seems to have made them motets in English eyes—is the stratification of function, range, melodic material, and to a lesser degree, rhythmic activity, between those voices that are texted, hence in the foreground of the composition, and that voice (or those voices) never texted and serving as a structural skeleton or foundation. 23

If a general generic definition for the motet can be constructed, one that takes into account the French, English and Italian types, I believe it would work along these lines of a hierarchical approach to composition rather than the primarily French criteria of chant tenors, polytextuality, or isorhythm.

Nevertheless, it is true that preexistent tenors and isorhythmic structures remain primary generic markers and stylistic elements for the motet in France, and it is on this repertory that I would like to focus. In the present study I am not so concerned with questions of genre, and my intention is therefore not to debate the importance of the *cantus prius*

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23 Lefferts 1986, 4, though I tend to disagree that this statement describes a fundamentally “un-Continental approach to the motet” (320 n. 8), as he seems to imply.
factus for genre definition, but rather to investigate tenors with known sources in order to begin to consider why a composer would choose such a tenor and what he might do to it once chosen.

Most fourteenth-century motets have a Latin word or phrase at the beginning of the tenor in addition to the simple identification Tenor; less often a French text is used. Latin texts, including Neuma,24 are used with chant-derived or similar-sounding melodies and isorhythmic forms. French tenor texts signal a secular song or chanson-like source, reflected in part in the use of a sectional form in the tenor corresponding to that of the original song.25 Secular-song tenors use the entire source melody unaltered, rather than a fragment disposed isorhythmically, as is more typical of late-medieval French motets. Musical form is governed not by talea and color, but by the musical repetitions of the formes fixes. There is also less rhythmic stratification between voices in motets with French tenors: that is, the tenor moves at a pace near or equal to that of the upper

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24David Hiley calls a neuma “a passage of wordless chant...used in medieval service books to denote the melisma added to the model antiphons found in tonaries; the melisma or jubilus at the end of responsories, graduals, alleluias etc; and the vocalized repeat of a verse of a sequence after performance of that verse with text” (Hiley 1980, 123). Terence Bailey has noted that, as early as the tenth century, neumae (unlike other model melodies) “had what amounted to a liturgical function, and were sung as caudae on solemn occasions with the antiphons of Matins, Lauds and Vespers” (Bailey 1974, 17). In addition to their role as motet tenors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, neumae were troped at Laon in the twelfth century; see Huglo 1971, 320 and 337.

25That form may or may not be reflected in the upper voices. I plan to return to motets based on secular songs in future, but I will not deal with them here.
voices. Thus the language of the tenor text itself describes some aspects of the style of the tenor, and about its preexistent source, if it has one, and a distinction can be made even for motets with unidentified tenors between a more “chanson-like” style in fixed forms (like tenors provided with French text) and more “chant-like” melodies in isorhythm (like those given Latin text).

Consideration of a tenor’s relationship to its source, beyond mere identification, has not been common in the scholarly literature, though recent studies by such scholars as Anne Walters Robertson, Sylvia Huot, Kevin Brownlee and Margaret Bent have begun to change the situation.26 Even the simple act of identification has become more peripheral in recent work: the recent report of the discovery of a tenor source for Machaut’s Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus (M19) by Sarah Fuller was hidden in a footnote, since the chant source was not central to her argument.27

All scholars emphasize that the melody predates the motet, and most seem either to assume that the melody is taken unchanged, or not to have considered the question at all. Such an attitude is consistent with the conventional focus on issues of form and rhythm, as well as the low level

26See for example Robertson forthcoming, Huot 1994, Brownlee 1991 and Bent 1991, as well as unpublished papers given by all of these.
27Fuller 1990, 231 n. 43. She does not dwell on the identification, but I can find no other record of it in print. Similarly, sources for the tenors of two (or three) Machaut motets are given in Sanders 1973, 563-64, n. 287. It should be emphasized, of course, that the presence or absence of a melodic source for the tenor is largely irrelevant to musical structure strictly defined.
of interest in late-medieval chant. Though some recent studies have compared variant readings in the hope of identifying the geographic provenance of specific chant tenors, a case will be made in chapter 2 of this study that composers also altered the chant materials they borrowed.

Friedrich Ludwig described the motet as practiced by Machaut as "der technisch schwierigsten und kunstvollsten Gattung," the basis of "eines völlig neuen Motettenstils," which he labels "isorhythm"; the description of this new style is his primary concern. He seems to have believed that the composer's interest in the textual and liturgical significance of the tenor receded during the thirteenth century with the loosening of the functional connection of the motet to the liturgy. In an essay first published in 1902-3, he says of the early motet:

Wir finden hier Motetten—so nannte man die neue Kunstform, und motetus speziell die Stimme mit eigenem Text über dem Tenor—bald in mannichfacher [sic] Art, solche, die sich unmittelbar dem Gottesdienst einordnen lassen, solche, die auf religiösem Empfindungs boden bleibend nur noch in loserer Beziehung zu dem im Tenorwort oder -text angedeuteten Gedanken stehen, schließlich solche, deren Oberstimmen-Texte sich inhaltlich völlig frei bewegen und den Tenor, der nach wie vor mit dem ihm in der gregorianischen Melodie zugehörigen Text bezeichnet wird, nur noch als rein musikalisches Fundament des Ganzen betrachten.31

28 One symptom of the general lack of interest in the tenor except as the primary building-block of isorhythmic structures is the fact that tenor texts are not even given by some scholars: Besseler, and many after him, name a motet by its triplum and motetus alone. (Even the program of a recent concert by Gothic Voices gave only the upper-voice texts of the conductus motets performed; all voices are named, however, and all texts given and translated, on their recordings.)
29 See especially Robertson forthcoming.
30 Ludwig 1930, 272-73.
31 Ludwig 1966, 8, emphasis mine.
Even before the fourteenth century, the tenor is a

Begleitstimme, der hier seine Eigenbedeutung als Ausschnitt aus einer liturgischen Gregorianischen Melodie völlig verloren hat und vielleicht gar nicht mehr vokal, sondern nur noch instrumental ausgeführt wurde. Er hatte sich aber musikalisch als Begleit- oder Stützstimme bei der lateinischen Motette so bewährt, daß er auch für die Komponisten der französischen Motetten zunächst musikalisch unentbehrlich war; und zur Kennzeichnung seiner Herkunft wurde er ruhig weiter mit dem alten liturgischen Textfragment bezeichnet. 32

The decreased importance of the tenor to the role of a “purely musical foundation” is placed in the context of a shift, as early as the thirteenth century, to an increased emphasis on the upper voices as bearers of musical and textual meaning:

Dafür wird eine andere Eigenschaft dieser zweistimmigen Motette von höchster Bedeutung: das melodische Schwergewicht des mehrstimmigen Ganzen rückt wieder in die Oberstimme; die Oberstimme wird, wie wir sagen, melodieführend, der Tenor rein begleitend. 33

This is not to say that there is no connection between the tenor and its motet by the fourteenth century. Ludwig called the In omnem terram tenor of one of the musician motets “beziehungsreich,” 34 and the tenor texts in Machaut, he says, “in der Regel auf den Sinn des Ganzen anspielen, gewöhnlich contemplativer, seltener erotischer Natur ....” 35 But

32Ludwig 1966, 123. This essay was first published in 1905-6. I will not enter the debate on instrumental vs. vocal performance of tenor parts here.
33Ludwig 1966, 121.
34Ludwig 1966, 11. Ludwig does not, however, mention the liturgical origin of the tenor’s source in the Common of Apostles, a connection that has been fruitfully explored by Bent and Howlett.
35Ludwig 1966, 12.
such allusions were not one among his major concerns. Similarly, Heinrich Besseler's extensive study of the motet from Franco of Cologne to Philippe de Vitry is focused mostly on form and rhythm. Of course, the path-breaking work of Ludwig and his student Besseler was written when this repertory was still largely unknown. They quite rightly sought to understand the rhythmic novelties of the ars nova, and they worked in an era that valued architectural ideals of form perhaps more exclusively than our own.³⁶

Later scholars have for the most part followed the lead of these two pioneering figures. General discussions of the genre, such as those of Ursula Günther³⁷ and Ernest H. Sanders,³⁸ deal mostly with questions of form and rhythm, or, beginning especially with the work of Sarah Fuller,³⁹

³⁵See for example Besseler 1926-27, 201: “Einmal zeigt sich hierin ein gewisser Vorrang der formal-architektonischen Bestimmung vor dem Selbstwert des musikalischen Einzelgliedes....” It might be interesting to note that Besseler’s article appeared two years after the first volume of Alfred Lorenz’s Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner. I do not know whether Besseler knew Lorenz’s work, but the coincidence may be symptomatic of a general scholarly interest in architectural ideas of form. It should be remembered, though, that the architectural image has medieval roots: see for example Johannes de Grocheio: Tenor autem est illa pars supra quam omnes aliae fundantur quemadmodum partes domus vel aedificii super suum fundamentum et eas regulat et eis dat quantitatem quemadmodum ossa partibus aliis. (“The tenor is the part upon which all the others are founded, as the parts of a house or edifice [rest] upon a foundation, and it regulates them and gives substance, as bones do, to the other parts.” See Page 1993b, 37-38.)
³⁷Günther 1958.
³⁸Sanders 1973.
³⁹See especially Fuller 1990. Fuller consciously uses tenor melodies without reference to source chants because her interest is how the composer projects harmony through talea formation and three-part counterpoint.
harmony. Studies of individual works have tended to appear in the commentary sections of critical editions, where space is severely limited; nevertheless, Günther and Harrison in particular often evoke the text of the tenor as a participant, and they seem to be especially interested in the possibilities inherent in the juxtaposition of sacred and secular in works with French upper-voice texts.

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht’s magisterial study of Machaut’s *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (M9) is one of the few extended studies of a single motet, and he emphasizes the role of the tenor as textual and musical source for the entire motet: “Dessen Verba sind für das Bilden und Verstehen der Oberstimmentexte so notwendig und entscheidend, wie seine Töne für das Zustandekommen der Tonsetzung. Der Choralausschnitt ist so die Quelle der Texte wie er das Fundament der Komposition ist.”

The tenor text comes from Jacob’s lament after he is led to believe that his son Joseph has been eaten by a wild animal (Genesis 37:33), and Eggebrecht grounds the triplum and motetus texts in the story of Joseph’s betrayal by his brothers, who sold him into slavery in Egypt—a type of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas—and allegorically links the wild beast said to have devoured Joseph to the deadly sin of Envy. A similar use of Biblical context has been used to good effect in recent studies of Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot.

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40 Günther 1965, Harrison 1968.
41 Eggebrecht 1962-63 and 1968.
42 Eggebrecht 1962-63, 293.
The liturgical context of the tenor, on the other hand, has not been given much attention, perhaps because liturgical assignments are considered to be unstable. The assignment of a chant to a given day, however, seems to be fairly constant, though its location within the liturgy of that day, as well as the readings and other elements that surround it, may well vary from place to place. A given chant may or may not be used for a specific occasion, but, if it is not used there, it is unlikely to appear elsewhere. The main exceptions are items from the Common, which should be treated with greater care, both because they can be used on different occasions in different centers and because many Common items have Proper origins.

In this study I will deal only with Latin-tagged tenors that have been identified with a chant source and tenors without an identifying tag whose source has nevertheless been discovered by modern scholars. The repertory will be limited to that of mid-fourteenth-century France: that is, the works of Machaut—preserved in a special group of manuscripts devoted solely to his works—and the Ivrea codex and related manuscripts. According to Karl Kügle's recent study of the Ivrea codex, it was copied in Ivrea in the 1380s, but the musical repertory is a central French one, at least two decades older. Since all but four of Machaut's motets are present in

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44 The responsories *Amo Christum* and *Ipsi sum desponsata*, for example, appear in Hesbert 1963-79 (CAO) for the Common of Virgins as well as for Saint Agnes. Since they are used most often for Agnes, and since their texts come from her *Vita*, I have taken the Proper association as primary. For items I list as Common, however, I have not found as clear a connection to a specific saint.

45 Kügle 1990.
Machaut manuscript C (Pn 1586), copied in the 1350s, and the entire corpus is present from Machaut manuscript Vg (NYw), which was illustrated c. 1371-75 and perhaps copied in the late 1360s, the Ivrea repertory is roughly contemporary to Machaut's and can therefore be used to see how far any theories created in reference to Machaut can be extended. The later Chantilly and Modena codices are dealt with more peripherally, as is the early *ars nova* repertory surviving in the manuscripts surrounding the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, Pn 146.

Some English motets also use chant and other preexisting material, but those works, I believe, should be viewed in relation to the English repertory as a whole and are therefore not considered here.

The motets of Machaut are admittedly anomalous because of their unique transmission history, preserved mostly in manuscripts containing only his works and in some cases probably compiled under his supervision. Their value for this study, however, to some extent derives from this special status: since the authority of their attribution is certain, it is possible to hypothesize more plausibly about intention and compositional process than, say, for the motets of Philippe de Vitry. In

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46 Avril 1982. The motets that are not present are *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi* (M4), *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adiuvet / Contratenor* (M21), *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (M22), and *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (M23).

47 Earp 1989, especially Table I, p. 474.

48 The basic study of the Machaut manuscripts is Earp 1983; for a summary see Earp 1989.
addition, tenor tags survive in the Machaut manuscripts for all motets, something that certainly cannot be said for other manuscripts. Machaut’s solicitude in naming his tenors, even where no tenor source has been located, is typical of the unusual concern he took to ensure the preservation of all his works, and it encourages us to look beyond simple identification to consider symbolic and referential aspects of the tenor’s participation in the motet as a whole.

In the early stages of the genre’s history, the motet was closely connected to the clausula from which it derived, and therefore to liturgical polyphony in general. Twelfth-century organum was built on the solo sections of responsorial chants for major feasts—an ornamented expansion of the chant not unlike the tropes in conception. The motets later built on these segments often had a homonymic relationship with their tenors, and the texts were usually written to fit already-existing music. In the thirteenth century, the loosening relationship of the motet as a genre to its organum source opened a broader scope for richer symbolic relationships between the tenor and the other voices; both textual and musical resonances became more frequent and pronounced.

By the turn of the fourteenth century, the motet in France had emerged as an independent genre, no longer bound to the liturgical assignment of its tenor text.49 Freed from this context, composers began to build motets on other parts of chant, as Gordon Anderson has shown.50 If

49Liturgical motets continued to be written in England; see Lefferts 1986. On a possible liturgical use for a French motet in the fourteenth century, see Robertson forthcoming.
50Anderson 1976.
a composer no longer had to respect the distinction between solo and
choral sections of chant, he may as well have been able to change the pitch
content of his melodies for a variety of musical and extra-musical reasons.
In chapter 2 I examine the evidence for such compositional alteration and
consider how and why it may have occurred.

Due to the peculiar history of modern chant scholarship, however,
the most easily available sources are facsimile editions of English
manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Where I have
been able to check the identifications of other scholars against extant late-
medieval French manuscripts, there does not appear to be much variation
on the level of feast placement: that is, a given chant does not tend to be
used for more than one feast, though it may not be used for that feast in all
books. Appendix 2 gives all chant sources I have examined so far for the
identified chant-based tenors discussed in this study. The melodies,
however, are much less stable than the liturgical assignments. I have tried
to examine as many versions of a chant as possible, focusing on
manuscripts from northern France. The results of this examination appear
in Appendix 1 and are discussed in chapter 2.

A freer relationship between a tenor melody and its chant source
raises the question of why one should continue to base a tenor on liturgical
material at all. Indeed, Italian and English motets in the fourteenth
century rarely use chant-based tenors. The evident preference for such
tenors in France, however, may in part reflect a certain scholastic delight in
writing with as many constraints and built-in complexities as possible.

51On the Italian motets see Bent 1992a; on the English Lefferts 1986.
This interest can be seen as well in the regular patterning of texts (unlike those of earlier motets), the frequent formal connections between textual and musical structures,\footnote{This is examined most closely in Reichert 1956.} and the hierarchical nature of the isorhythmic motet, which becomes more rigid as the century progresses. Basing the whole on a preexistent melody adds a harmonic constraint to the rhythmic and formal ones of isorhythm, and French composers obviously enjoyed working within such prearranged parameters.

The freedom of composers to alter tenor melodies, though, suggests that there were other reasons for basing a tenor on a chant. In chapters 3 and 4 I consider to what uses the liturgical context of a tenor’s chant source can be put within a motet. This is often a very simple matter: a motet addressing the Virgin, for example, is likely to use a Marian chant as its tenor. Other combinations, however, are not so obvious. Chapter 4 examines three motets that seem to refer to historical figures—a connection visible only in the liturgical assignment of the tenor’s source to a saint of the same name.

Chapter 5 looks at three motets for which I have located tenor sources. At this point I am most interested in those issues raised elsewhere in this study: the relationship of the tenor melody to that of the source chant and the symbolism available because of that chant’s liturgical function. I hope, though, that consideration of these motets might suggest avenues for future work as well.
Chapter 2

The Tenor Melody and its Chant Source

In this chapter we will consider the tenor melody, both in terms of some general characteristics common to chant-based tenors and the results of a preliminary comparison of tenor melodies with different melodic versions of the source chants from which they come. Anne Walters Robertson has also begun a comparison of tenors and chant melodies, with a goal of finding, where possible, local chant versions used for specific motets: for example, she has linked the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera*, attributed to Philippe de Vitry and transmitted in the *Roman de Fauvel* (F30(124)) to the area of Arras, on the basis of the similarity of chant readings of that area to the motet’s tenor.¹ I do not yet have the amount of material or the geographical range of her sources, and at this point I can make few similar conclusions. I will attempt, however, to consider another issue as well: whether chant-based materials can be altered along the path from chant fragment to motet tenor. I believe it is possible to demonstrate a mindset among fourteenth-century motet composers that would see such preexistent melodies not as sacrosanct, but as changeable.²

¹Roberson forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Robertson for sharing a copy of her paper with me in advance of publication, as well for helpful discussions, in person and electronically.

²Peter Jeffery has pointed out to me that theorists of chant allowed editing for modal reasons. See for example the eleventh-century Italian treatise formerly attributed to Odo of Cluny (on the attribution question, see Huglo 1980):

*From this it is understood that the musician who lightly and presumptuously emends many melodies is ignorant unless he first goes through all the modes to determine whether the melody may perhaps not stand in one or another, nor should he care as much for its*
The possibility of altering a chant-derived tenor has not been fully considered, but several scholars have suggested it. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, for example, seems to believe that Machaut might have changed the melody of *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (M9) in order to achieve the strict alternation between A / F and B / G that is so important to the harmony of that motet.³ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has also found “evidence...both for and against the idea that Vitry adjusted chant fragments to make more convenient *colores.*”⁴ One of his examples is the tenor of M5, *Aucune gent m’ont demandé que j’ay/ Qui plus aimme plus endure / T. Fiat voluntas*

  similarity to other melodies as for regular truth. But if it suits no mode, let it be amended according to the one with which it least disagrees. This also should be observed: that the emended melody either sound better or depart little from its previous likeness.” (Strunk 1950, 111)

The Latin is:

  Ex quo comprehenditur, quia imperitus musicus est, qui facile ac præsumptose plures cantus emendat, nisi prius per omnes modos investigaverit, si forsitan in aliquo stare possit; nec magnopere de similitudine aliorum cantuum, sed de regulari veritate curet. Quodsi nulli tono placet, secundum eum tonum emendetur, in quo minus dissonat. Atque hoc observari debet, ut emendatus cantus aut decentius sonet, aut a priori similitudine parum discrepet. (Gerbert 1963, I, 256-57)

It is possible that the alteration found in these motet tenors reflects a more generally fluid concept seen in chant transmission as well and needing no further justification. Still, as will be seen below, exact borrowing did occur. The question of borrowing and alteration deserves further study and may never be answered completely.

³Eggebrecht 1962-63, 293. He notes, however, that the Lucca Antiphoner gives the same melody as Machaut’s tenor; this tenor is discussed later in this chapter. Since Sarah Fuller deliberately avoids the chant-tenor relationship in her discussion of this motet (Fuller 1990), she does not consider the question.

⁴Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 35. One of the cases he cites, however, the “variant” in V11, *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis / T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor,* is most likely not a compositional variant but a possible scribal conflation.
tuæ / Contratenor, which he derives from an alternation of phrases from the
tenor of *Douce playsence est d’amer loyalment / Garison selon nature / T. Neuma
quinti toni* (V6) and a *Pater noster* chant. He calls Machaut’s tenor “a
conflation of that of his model [perhaps better “models,” if correct] and of
elements newly introduced,” with both sources apparently altered in the
process. A more convincing example of the joining of two preexistent
melodies in a tenor is *Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu
me, Tristis est anima mea* (F25(71)); the second element here may be altered to
join it more easily to the *heu me* melody that precedes it. Finally, Margaret
Bent and David Howlett have studied an English motet that may include
manipulation of tenor pitches, as well as a chant-based Credo *Omni tempore*
that certainly does.

We will consider first some general characteristics of the chant-based
tenors used by Machaut and his contemporaries, then those tenors for which
exact melodic matches have been found in local chant repertories. Finally, we
will examine the evidence in favor of compositional alteration before entering
a comparison of tenors with chants that may show how and why such
alteration may occur. The tenor melodies under consideration, and the chant
versions I have collected so far, are given in Appendix 1. Because the range of
local traditions is so vast (though many sources have been lost), my
comparative work in this area is an ongoing process, and the results discussed
here may be modified in light of manuscripts studied in future. Still, I believe

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Machaut’s tenor to a *Pater noster* chant.
the framework exists to make compositional alteration a plausible theory, and I hope this study will begin to elucidate how the composer may begin to control tenor materials even before the crucial stage of ordering and coloring—that is, giving the melody rhythm and form—that begins composition proper.

**General Characteristics**

A chant-based tenor has certain general melodic characteristics, shared with other tenors not based on secular song. Such tenors tend to have 15-30 pitches and are mainly, though rarely entirely, stepwise. Up to a third of the intervals contained within such tenors may be leaps, but very rarely more. The majority of these leaps are thirds, and almost none are larger than a fifth. Most tenors have a range of between a fifth and an octave, and nearly all conclude with a descending step, which is important in providing the strongest form of cadential closure available; those tenors that do not have this feature give the cadential function to another voice. Many internal

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7Sarah Fuller has discussed this point; see Fuller 1990.
8These tenors are: M22, *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (cadential progression provided by contratenor; final remains the same); M23, *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (contratenor supplies cadential motion, but to a different final than that of the tenor); H32, *D'ardant desir / Efus d'amor / T. Nigra est set formosa (medial tenor; duplum supplies motion to different final); and H9, *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (same, but the tenor does conclude with a descending step to its last pitch, the fifth of the final sonority). Only *Musicalis sciencia / Sciecie laudabili / Tenor* (H33), a motet whose tenor source, if there was one, has not been identified, ends without a descending step to the motet final in any voice: its tenor descends a fourth to
divisions also have this characteristic. Finally, many chant-based tenors have a final on F, G or C, and therefore are based on a scale with a major third above the final; this phenomenon is particularly striking in the Ivrea repertory. Most of these traits are usually present in the tenor’s chant source as well and may therefore be out of the composer’s control once the fragment is selected, but some aspects, such as the presence of leaps or descending steps, are exploited by the composer in talea formation,9 while others may be affected by the way in which the composer extracted the color from its chant source—and perhaps by the way he altered it.

**Exact Matches**

Even the wider range of manuscripts I have examined has not changed the fact that chant readings that correspond exactly to tenor melodies appear to be relatively rare. I have located such exact melodic matches for the following tenors:

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9See Fuller 1990 for an explanation of how this may occur.
Of these eleven tenors, five have exact matches only in the French manuscripts I have examined, while the other six appear in the same form in the

10 The chant manuscripts used in this study are described more fully in the list of manuscripts cited at the close of this study.
11 This chant version has a slightly different underlay and continues with three pitches.
12 This is the manuscript cited by Harrison in Harrison 1968; I have not seen the manuscript myself and rely upon his reading.
13 The other part of this tenor, Tristis est anima mea, does not match any version of the chant melody I have seen.
14 These are Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentiment / De ma doulour confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo (M14), Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus] (V9), Se pâour d’umble astinance / Diex, tan desire estre amés de m’amour / T. Concupisco (H16), L’amoureuse flour d’esté / En l’estat d’amere tristour / T. [Sicut fenum arui] (H21), and Inflammatus invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus / T. [Victime paschali laudes] (F23(51)).
"standard" (that is, easily available) facsimiles, and some of these latter actually appear to contradict the "French" melodic tradition of their chant sources. This may suggest an English connection for these motets, but a definitive statement of that type is probably premature.

In addition to the exact matches listed above, one has been found by Robertson: the tenor for the motet *Firmissime fide teneamus / Adesto sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124)), which is transmitted in the *Fauvel* manuscript (Pn 146) and has been attributed to Philippe de Vitry. This tenor corresponds to a version of the source chant that Robertson has found only in Cambrai and Arras, suggesting an origin for the motet (or at least its tenor) in that region and a possible use for the motet at the Trinity chapel of one of those cathedrals.

The exact matches I have found do not always appear to tell us as much about local use, though the data gathered so far is suggestive in a few cases. The presence of two exact matches for Machaut’s tenors in a manuscript from Châlons-sur-Marne (Pars 595) is certainly suggestive, especially given the proximity of that city to Reims, where Machaut may have been born and where he lived out the last thirty or more years of his life. Most Machaut tenors whose source chants are found in that manuscript vary to some extent from the Châlons version, but many relationships are quite close, often closer

\[\text{15These are those cited in Ludwig 1926-54 and by many others since: the Sarum Gradual (Frere 1966) and Antiphonal (Frere 1901), and the Worcester and Lucca Antiphoners (Mocquereau 1922 and 1906, respectively).}\]
\[\text{16See especially *Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxiei] / T. Reverenti* (F22(50)), and also *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu’amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea* (“M24”).}\]
\[\text{17See Robertson forthcoming.}\]

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than those of any other chant tradition. The tenors of De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi (M4), S’il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S’amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum (M6) and Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem (M10), for example, have only one variant each relative to the reading of Pars 595, and in each case that variant serves to fill in a third in the chant.¹⁸ In those cases, the difference is so minor that it would be difficult to prove compositional alteration as distinct from local tradition.¹⁹ Nevertheless, for the tenor of De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi, a melody that is entirely stepwise, like that of Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima (M9), it is easy to envision a composer filling in the one leap in his chant source.

The tenor of Christe qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet (M21), part of which is also used in Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suia mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet (M8), is also close to the reading of Pars 595: an ascending third at

¹⁸None of the plicas in Pars 595 are observed in Machaut’s tenors—this includes one plica in the source of Hareu, hareu, le feu / Helas, ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem and two in that for Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor (M23).
¹⁹David Hughes considers the filling-in of thirds to be a “trivial” variant, perhaps “a matter of local preference, as some regions show considerable consistency” (Hughes 1987, 384). Nevertheless, it would seem to be one of the most frequent forms of variant between tenors and chants as well, perhaps for the same reasons. Hughes is mostly interested in the earlier stages of transmission, but he notes that “later manuscripts are on the whole richer in variants—perhaps because the increasing availability of books made real copying [as opposed to writing from memory or dictation], and hence conflation, easier; perhaps also because the chant came to be held in less regard” (400-1).
the beginning of the chant is omitted in the tenor by the suppression of one pitch, and two descending thirds are filled in, while the repetition of the final pitch in the chant does not occur in the tenor. The result is a tenor whose only leaps are two ascending thirds, two ascending fourths, and one descending fifth. It may be significant that here also many variants are in the direction of more stepwise motion, specifically the filling in of a descending (or less frequently ascending) third of the chant source; this phenomenon may suggest an increased likelihood of compositional manipulation.

The tenor of *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa* (M17), however, does not follow the Châlons reading of Pars 595, though the tenor melody is no closer to the readings of the Sarum or Worcester Antiphoners, the only other versions of this melody I have seen. This may be in part because Marian antiphons appear to be susceptible to more variation in local traditions than other chant types; the same phenomenon seems to be the case, for example, for *Alma redemptoris mater*, the source for two other tenor-related motets. In this case, however, the source of Machaut’s tenor can easily be found in *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (V7), a motet that has been attributed to Philippe de Vitry. The source of the earlier motet, of

20 These are V11, *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis / T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor*, and H4 / G3, *Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor*. Marian antiphons not only appear to be more variable than some chant types, they are also harder to locate in medieval liturgical books, perhaps because their function was less regular.

21 The fact that the tenor of *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor* is longer, including as well the earlier phrase *Gaude gloriosa*, suggests that it was the earlier motet: a composer
course, is open to doubt, but the Châlons reading need have no bearing on Machaut’s tenor, so the value of Pars 595 for investigating Machaut’s tenors remains.

The tenor of *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me* (M12), on the other hand, is far closer to the Parisian versions of the chant, as given in manuscripts such as Pn 10482, Pn 15181, CH 86 and Pgen 2618, all of which transmit an identical melody that differs from Machaut’s in only two places: a the repetition of the penultimate pitch in the tenor and a descending third in the tenor that is filled in the chant (thereby perhaps demonstrating, whether this variant represents an alteration on Machaut’s part or a feature of his chant source that he did not change, that Machaut did not always alter in the direction of stepwise motion). Here it is possible that this motet has an unknown association with the Paris region that Machaut may have wished to reflect in its tenor. A similar association may be true for the Saint Quentin motet *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19)—a tenor which, interestingly, is far closer to the

would be more likely to take only part of a preexistent tenor than to take that tenor and add melodic material, thereby producing a tenor borrowed in part from chant, and in part from a chant-based tenor. This common-sense argument, of course, does not apply to the other such pair in the fourteenth-century repertory: Machaut’s motets *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8) and *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet* (M21), where the later tenor does in fact use material not present in the earlier one. (The chronological relationship between these two tenors is reasonably certain, since *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet* does not appear in Machaut manuscript C.) Nevertheless, the fact that both motets are obviously by the same composer may explain this exceptional relationship, which may in turn suggest that Machaut took his tenors from a written source rather than from memory.
Parisian sources Pn 15182 and Pn 10482 than the Saint-Quentin manuscript Pgen 2619.

Several other Machaut tenors are based on chants found in Pars 595, but with readings more distant from those of that manuscript. These are Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde (M1), Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro (M2), J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te (M7), and Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. (M23). The tenor of Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde, like that of Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me (M12), is closer to Paris readings than those of the Châlons manuscript Pars 595 (see, for example, the melody given in Pn 15181), while the beginning of the tenor of Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro seems to follow something like the reading of the more distant Lucca Antiphoner and Pn 3003, from the Swiss town of Sion-en-Valais, rather than the French tradition found in Pars 595 and elsewhere, for the brief period that it uses preexistent material at all. No chant reading I have seen is close to the tenor of J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te, while the tenor of Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. (based on a Marian antiphon) bears some affinity to the versions of the chant given in both the Paris manuscript Pn 10482 and Pars 595 from Châlons, though it also has substantial variants from both.

Still, many of Machaut's tenors are closer to the readings of the Châlons manuscript Pars 595 than any other. In fact, the readings of that manuscript
are as close as, and sometimes closer than, those of the extant Mass books from Reims. If a manuscript from a specific tradition such as Pars 595 Châlons could be shown to bear a close relationship to Machaut’s tenors, even if not to have been Machaut’s actual chant source, it could be suggested that

a) He usually used chants from his native tradition rather than that in which he worked. This might accord well not only with the non-liturgical nature of his employment as secretarius and familiarus to John of Bohemia during much of his career, but also with the personal, or at least not overtly topical, nature of most of his motets. In this light, it is interesting that the only Machaut motet with a demonstrable link to a specific occasion, Bone pastor Guillerme / Bone pastor, qui pastores / T. Bone pastor (M18), does not have an identified chant source. As an aside, a closer link with Châlons than Reims may even suggest that Machaut’s early training could have taken place in the former city. This is slightly problematic, given both the presence of the town of Machault in the diocese of Reims and Machaut’s known later links to that city, but not impossible.

22For De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi (M4), the version found in Pars 595 and Pn 802, both from Châlons, is closer than that of RM 217 or the common melody of RM 264, RM 224 and RM 221. For Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem (M10), the Pars 595 reading is also found in RM 221, and this version is slightly closer than that of RM 224 (which is lacking one repeated pitch present in the tenor and the other chant versions), while the version in RM 264 is more distant from all of these. There is no Châlons source for the tenor of Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respública! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor (M22); the northern reading found in Pgen 2619 (from Saint-Quentin) and CA 38 (from Cambrai) is closest to the tenor, but RM 283 has only one additional variant (and that is a pitch that is expressed by a plica in CA 38).
b) The lack of a given chant reading in the Châlons manuscript Pars 595 or other sources from that area, or the presence of a reading in that manuscript more distant from other versions, may suggest a special association for the motet in which that tenor is used. An example of such a special case may be *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19), whose connection to Saint-Quentin has generally been assumed because it addresses Saint Quentin, though melodic evidence shows that Machaut’s melody is far closer to the Paris manuscripts Pn 10482 and Pn 15182 than the Saint-Quentin manuscript Pgen 2619.

c) If he did not use the local melodic tradition of the place in which he worked, Machaut may have quoted his tenors from memory. Counter-evidence, however, may be seen in the relationship, mentioned above, between *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop sui mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8) and *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet* (M21), where the later motet appears to use the same version of the parent melody, which might rather suggest reliance on a written chant source. The question of the use of memory or book is an important and

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23Machaut was a canon of Saint-Quentin in the 1330s (see Machabey 1955, I, 30; II, 103), and Armand Machabey seems to have assumed that this motet must be connected to that foundation. I do not have any information concerning the cult of Saint Quentin elsewhere in France; his feast is in fact often overshadowed by the Vigil of All Saints. Anne Walters Robertson argues that Quentin is a saint “peculiar to the area of Corbie, Reims, Amiens, and Noyons.” (Robertson 1991, 427) Noyons is about 20 miles from Saint-Quentin.
interesting one, but one I do not feel competent to address at this time. It should be emphasized, however, that quotation by memory need not suggest imperfect recall.24

d) If Machaut used a chant tradition other than the one in use where he worked, then he may have felt more free to make changes in that melody.

* * * * *

So far, we have seen that the exact match for the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124)), located by Robertson, may serve to link that motet to the region of Arras, and possibly to an extra-ritual use at the Trinity chapel of the cathedral there.25 In addition, it can be concluded that most of Machaut’s chant tenors come from a *champenois* tradition represented by a source much like Pars 595. It is significant that most of Machaut’s tenors appear to originate in what was likely his native tradition rather than that in which he worked for much of his career, that of the peripatetic court of John of Bohemia;26 this could reflect in part the fact that he was in John’s employ as *secretarius* and *familiarus*, and the performance of the liturgy would most likely not have been among his

24 See Carruthers 1990.
25 On the extra-ritual use of motets in the fourteenth century, see, for example, Harrison 1968, xv-xvi. The phenomenon is much more common in the English repertory; see Lefferts 1986, 9-13.
26 To my knowledge, the liturgical tradition likely to have been used by John of Bohemia has not been determined; the most likely candidate, however, may be that of Luxembourg, the family seat. Luxembourg, however, was not a distinct diocese until 1870; in the middle ages the duchy was divided ecclesiastically as follows: most “pertained to the See of Liège and, still more, to the See of Trier; smaller sections belonged to the Dioceses of Metz, Verdun, Reims, and Cologne.” See Conzemius 1967.
primary duties. Moreover, those rare motets whose tenors are more closely
associated with Parisian uses than those of Champagne may have a hitherto
unrecognized association with the royal court or other institutions in the Île-
de-France; this would appear to be true as well for the Saint Quentin motet
*Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19),
whose tenor is closer to the Parisian version of the source chant than to that of
Saint-Quentin.27

Can any similar conclusions be made concerning the other exact
matches? In some cases, the answer would appear to be no. The melody used
for the tenor of *Zolomina zelus virtutibus / Nazarea que decora / T. Ave Maria*
(H10) is found in the Lucca Antiphoner and a manuscript from Sion-en-Valais
(Pn 3003), as well as in manuscripts from Saint-Quentin (Pgen 2619), Beauvais
(Pn 1030) and Châlons (Pars 595 and Pn 802), indicating a fairly constant and
widespread melodic tradition. The same could be said of the source of the
tenor of *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques n’a
cognu / T. Tristis est anima mea* (H15), which appears not only in six
manuscripts from Paris (CH 86, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 10482, Pn 15181, and
Pn 15613) and one from Bourges (Pn 1255), but also the Sarum and Lucca
Antiphoners. Local tradition does not appear to be an issue for these tenors,
and melodic comparison cannot tell us much about the origin of these motets.

Some tenors with exact chant matches, however, do appear to have a
single geographic point of origin. The tenor of *Inflammatus invidia / Sicut de
ligno parvulus / T. [Victime paschali laudes] (F23(51)) matches exactly a chant version of Cambrai, with a variant also found in the Utrecht Psalter, but not in other northern sources. This match may suggest an origin for the motet in the Low Countries or northern France.\footnote{Other northern connections exist for material that appears in the Roman de Fauvel; see Robertson forthcoming, as well as an essay by Andrew Wathey forthcoming in Fauvel Studies, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey.} In addition, Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie] / T. Revertenti (F22(50))\footnote{I have no other readings, however, for this tenor.} matches the English sources WA and SA, while the tenors of Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus] (V9), A vous, vierge de douçour / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi (H13), and L'amoureuse flour d'esté / En l'estat d'amere tristour / T. [Sicut fenum arui] (H21) are closely linked to Parisian traditions. The predominance of the Parisian tradition among these tenors would appear to support the idea that many motets come from the French court or the region of Paris.

Other tenors correspond to groups of manuscripts whose geographical relationships are less obvious but interesting. The tenor of Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea ("M24") matches melodies appearing in the English Worcester and Sarum Antiphoners, but also in the Saint-Quentin manuscript Pgen 2619. One other tenor has links both to England and a region of France: Heu me, the first part of the tenor of Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea (F25(71)), which corresponds to the melody transmitted in the Worcester and Sarum Antiphoners as well as the Châlons manuscripts Pars 595 and Pn 802. The case for local influence is still incomplete for that
motet, however, for the rest of the tenor, based on the responsory *Tristis est anima mea*, does not correspond to any local version of the chant. This melody may be a particularly good candidate for compositional manipulation.

For the rest of the repertory, I have not located exact matches in any chant reading. Since we know so little about the origins of most motets, or their composers, we must consider each motet individually, and continue comparisons with various chant traditions, especially those of central and northern France. This is no less true for the motets attributed to Philippe de Vitry, for the grounds for attribution to this composer are often very tenuous. It is to be hoped that further melodic comparisons will allow more to be said in time.

**Melodic Alteration**

Very few tenors in this repertory, however, appear to correspond in all details to the relevant portion of the parent chant. When previous scholars have placed a tenor next to any given version of its chant source, in nearly every case there has been at least some discrepancy between the two melodies. At first glance, that may appear to be the result of the chant versions used: Ludwig used the Sarum Antiphoner (in two cases) and Vatican editions for the melodic versions he gives in his Machaut edition; in his *Einleitung*, where he identified chant sources not only for nine Machaut motets but also for others in the fourteenth-century repertory, he cited other editions, but also the

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30 The other tenor based on this chant, however, that of *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneü / T. Tristis est anima mea* (H15), does match the standard reading of the responsory, as we have seen.
Lucca and Worcester Antiphoners, as well as, in one case, the Rouen Gradual published in facsimile.31 Most of these can by no means be linked to the time and place of composition of the motets concerned; Ludwig’s concern, rather, appears to have been to use only sources that had been published and that could therefore be considered to be easily available to his readers.

Leo Schrade followed Ludwig’s lead in manuscript citation, as in many other things, when making his own edition of Machaut’s motets; aside from the tenor of the falsely-attributed “M24,” Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu’amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea; he made no new identifications, nor did he use any chant sources not used by Ludwig. In his edition of the Fauvel motets and those attributed to Philippe de Vitry, Schrade again appears to have borrowed heavily from Ludwig and others, and he did not cite additional manuscript sources for chant melodies. More recent scholars, however, have sought to use medieval manuscript sources rather than modern printed ones, and they have often gone beyond the easily-available facsimiles. Frank L.L. Harrison in particular seemed to try whenever possible to use manuscripts originating in France and the Low Countries, and Ursula Günther as well used medieval French sources in some cases.

The above remarks, though, are not meant to criticize the efforts of previous scholars. In each case, although it was not a primary component of his or her project, the editor identified the tenor’s chant source and gave a

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31Loriquet et al. 1907. The chant involved is the sequence by Adam of Saint Victor used in F5(5), Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.
32Even this is not truly a new identification; it appears in Machabey 1955, II, 112.
melody similar enough in character to convince the reader—and to use indexed editions and published facsimiles also available to the reader is commendable as well as practical. I have taken this work as a starting point and simply cast my net, following Harrison’s lead, a little wider and more toward France. Since we cannot know at present what version of a chant served as the basis of a given motet tenor, I have tried to gather a number of melodies for the purpose of comparison with each other and the tenor. The preliminary results of this ongoing process appear in Appendix 1.

We will begin, however, by examining the evidence in favor of compositional alteration; this evidence is found not by comparing tenors with chants, but by examining and comparing tenors with other tenors. I will begin by considering the seven pairs of tenors that share at least part of their melody:
The two motets on *Tristis est anima mea* are transmitted in manuscripts copied at least a half-century apart and, perhaps not surprisingly, use entirely different melodies. The later motet, *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui dolereus onques n’a cogneii / T. Tristis est anima mea* (H15), uses the most common version of the responsory, while the melody used in the *Fauvel* motet *Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea* (F25(71)) begins unlike any version I have seen. The different reading could come from a local tradition, but it is more likely the result of the compositional

<table>
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<th>Motet 1</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tristis est anima mea</td>
<td>F25(71)</td>
<td>H15</td>
<td>different melodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuma quinti toni</td>
<td>F33(129)</td>
<td>Sanders(^{33})</td>
<td>two variants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribulatio... / Et non est...</td>
<td>M8</td>
<td>M21</td>
<td>M21 includes M8(^{34})</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alma redemptoris mater</td>
<td>V11</td>
<td>H4</td>
<td>identical melody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolor meus</td>
<td>H17</td>
<td>H19</td>
<td>identical melody(^{35})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaude... / Super omnes</td>
<td>V7</td>
<td>M17</td>
<td>V7 includes M17(^{36})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruina</td>
<td>F4(4)</td>
<td>M13</td>
<td>one variant</td>
</tr>
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\(^{33}\)This refers to the motet *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni*, edited in Sanders 1975. This motet appears not to have been edited in the series Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century or anywhere outside Sanders' study.

\(^{34}\)The section in common has the same pitches in both tenors. There is, however, a difference in signature, and therefore in intervallic content, between the two.

\(^{35}\)The tenor of H19, *Amer amours est la choison pourquoy / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus*, gives the melody twice, at two different pitch levels a fifth apart.

\(^{36}\)The overlapping section is identical in the two motets, though at different pitch levels (V7, *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis specie / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor*, begins and ends on F, M17, *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa*, on C). The intervallic content is the same.
process that joined the responsory to another chant fragment to form the tenor of this most unusual motet.

The three motets that use a fifth-mode neuma as tenor transmit two different melodies, and the two that share melodic tradition (both associated with the *Roman de Fauvel*) have nearly identical melodies. Sanders gives the same melody for both *Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni* (F33(129)) and *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni*, while Schrade and Leech-Wilkinson have another melodic variant, which fills in a descending third in the tenor of *Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni*, but destroys the melodic parallelism. Since the talea structure of *Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni* does not follow the melodic repetition, a compositional change is possible, and the upper voices suggest that Schrade and Leech-Wilkinson are correct in giving the B passing tone at that point. The tenor melodies therefore differ slightly. *Douce playse nce est d’amer loyalment / Carison selon nature / T. Neuma quinti toni* (V6) uses the same tenor text, but with a different melody; the use of a different melody for this motet would tend to suggest that it is not by the same composer as the other two, though questions of attribution are beyond the scope of this study. The use of the same melody for the overlapping tenors of Machaut’s *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8) and *Christe, qui lux es et

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37Edited in Sanders 1975.
38See Sanders 1975, 30; Schrade 1956a, 69 (m. 22); and Leech-Wilkinson 1989, II, p. 13 ex. 19.
dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet /  
Contratenor (M21) can easily be explained since they were composed by the same person, but for the pairs on Alma redemptoris mater and Dolor meus we have no evidence concerning the identity of the composers—and for the pairs on Gaude gloriosa / Super omnes speciosa and Ruina we can be certain that each motet was composed by a different person, for one motet of each pair is by Machaut and the other is not. We will return to Ruina in a moment.

The color repetition of H19, Amer amours est la choison pourquoy / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus is on a different pitch level than its original presentation. This tenor melody, which is identical to that of H17, Fortune, mere à dolour / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus, is presented twice: once beginning on G and ending on C and once beginning on C and ending on F. (The tenor of Fortune, mere à dolour / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus moves only from C to F.) Since the range of the tenor melody is only a fifth, and since there is a B♭ signature in the tenor, the two statements of the melody have the same intervallic content. The color repetition at a different pitch level of Amer amours est la choison pourquoy / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus demonstrates a compositional alteration in favor of an expanded tenor range.

It is clear, however, that where two fourteenth-century motets share a tenor melody, that melody is almost always the same in both works. This identity would be unlikely, given the common variation of chant melodies from one institution to another, or even within a single institution, unless the most immediate source for the tenor of the second motet was in fact the tenor
of the first. If so, such compositional modeling is already one step removed from the authority of the liturgical source.39

More concrete evidence in favor of the compositional manipulation of borrowed material may exist in Machaut's motet 13, *Tant doucement m'ont attrait / Eins que ma dame d'onnour / T. Ruina*. That motet does not have an identified chant source for its tenor, which is also used in the earlier motet *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidentes in thronis seculi / T. Ruina* (F4(4)). Until and unless a chant source is located for this melody, it appears that Machaut's tenor source must have been the earlier motet. If so, Machaut made a small but critical change in the melody:

![Musical notation of the tenor of the earlier motet](image)

a) the tenor of the earlier motet

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39Manfred Bukofzer has also suggested that the source for the tenor of later *Caput* Masses was the Mass formerly attributed to Dufay (Bukofzer 1950, 263). He goes on to show that the process of compositional modeling goes beyond the pitches of the borrowed melody to include its rhythm and structure. He also argues that two pitches are inserted into the original chant melody for cadential purposes (259-61); if he is correct, this tenor also serves as a later example of compositional alteration.
b) Machaut's tenor

c) a comparison of the two melodies, indicating where the variant occurs.

In Machaut's melody, two pitches are switched relative to the earlier tenor; this change makes audible a small melodic repetition, almost doubling its length as well as incorporating a striking ascending fourth. Machaut's talea structure also emphasizes this similarity, though the repetition occurs not at the beginning but in the middle of talea phrases 1 and 3. The recurrence here of both pitches and rhythm gives the impression—a false impression, as it happens—that the tenor melody is being repeated, although there is really only one color in Machaut's motet. This subtle change may serve as a gesture to the technique of tenor repetition—a technique used by the composer of the earlier motet—and indicates that Machaut saw something in the melody the
earlier composer may not have seen. The alteration here appears to function within a broader system of modeling through opposition linking the two motets.40

There are other factors that may suggest that composers saw fit to treat preexistent materials with some freedom. For example, two motets in the fourteenth-century repertory—one by Machaut and one attributed to Philippe de Vitry—have a partial color repetition. In M22, *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor,* the segment to be repeated is not written out in any of the Machaut manuscripts, though it does appear to be signalled by the additional text transmitted in two sources.41 Interestingly, in this case the partial repetition is not only melodic but rhythmic; the motet therefore ends in the middle of its fourth talea and third color. In the motet *Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus] (V9),* the partial melodic repetition consists only of the first three pitches, which are written out and serve to complete the seventh talea and provide a proper cadence at the end of the tenor.

40 I have discussed this motet in “Prope est ruina!: The Transformation of a Medieval Tenor,” paper given at Conversion, Subversion, Perversion...: Aspects of Change in the Middle Ages (Princeton, 5 April 1992).
41 In manuscripts A and G, the text reads Tenor. *Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge. Apprehende arma.* Manuscripts B and E have the text *Tenor apprehende arma et scutum et exurge or.* In all versions of the chant I have found so far, the tenor final actually falls on *et* rather than *arma.* Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 122 n. 33, suggests that only those who knew the chant intimately would know how to perform this tenor, but I believe anyone conversant with the convention of tenor repetition would know to go back, even without the text cue, and anyone aware of motet style would know when to conclude.
In both motets, the tenor final, as a result of the partial color repetition, is different than it would have been if the tenor ended where the chant fragment does, and in both cases the quality of the scale is also different:

<table>
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<th>approach</th>
<th>tenor ends</th>
<th>approach</th>
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<tr>
<td>M22</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>descending step</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V9</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>ascending step</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, both motets are changed by the additional melodic material from works that would otherwise be in minor-third tonalities to ones with a major third above the final. The preference for such major-third tonalities evident elsewhere in the fourteenth-century repertory may provide one reason for this alteration.

Another group of motets where the composer apparently asserts a bit more control over the preexistent melody is that where less or, more often, more material than the tenor text suggests is used. A list of the pieces in this category follows:

I. **Motets that use more melodic material than their manuscript text indicates:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motet</th>
<th>Manuscript text</th>
<th>Full segment used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F5(5)</td>
<td>Superne matris gaudia etc.</td>
<td>Superne matris gaudia representet ecclesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8(9)</td>
<td>Vergente</td>
<td>Vergente mundi vespere sereno fusus sidere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F11(21)</td>
<td>Displcebat ei etc.</td>
<td>Displcebat ei quicquid agebat in seculo preulcedine dei et decore domus eius quam dilexit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42This melody leaves off the last notes of each section relative to the version given in Wagner 1921, 495, and the last pitch of the version in Pn 830, but it also adds three notes outside the talea and color structure. These three pitches allow a final cadence with a descending step in the tenor; the color ends with an ascending step.
F17(35) Mane prima sabbati Mane prima sabbati surgens Dei filius nostra spes et gloria
F22(30) Revertenti Revertenti Abraham
F25(71) Heu me, Tristis est... Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem
M2 Suspiro [come]dam suspiro
M7 Ego moriar pro te Ego moriar pro te fili mi
M15 Vidi Dominum Vidi Dominum facie ad faciam et salva facta
M23 Ad te suspiramus... Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo, advocata nostra.
H5 Ante thronum trinitatis Ante thronum trinitatis miserorum miserata
V7 Gaude gloriosa Gaude gloriosa super omnes speciosa
V9 Libera me Libera me de sanguinibus
H24 Rosa vernans caritatis Rosa vernans caritatis li:im virginitatis
H25 Amicum querit Amicum querit pristinum qui spretit in
H26 Virgo prius ac posterius Virgo prius ac posterius Gabrielis ab ore lumens illud ave peccatorum miserere
H31 In omnem terram...orbis In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum

43This tenor, however, omits the final melisma on suspiro.
44The relationship becomes more tenuous toward the end.
45The tenor bears only a vague resemblance to the source given in Harrison 1968 (Lbm Add. 39678, from Louvain), and the manuscripts Pars 595 and RM 264, especially after the first nine pitches.
46The tenor melody omits the final pitch of the chant source, and maybe others as well.
II. Motets that use less melodic material than their manuscript tag indicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motet</th>
<th>Manuscript tag</th>
<th>Full segment used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F30(124)</td>
<td>Alleluya Benedictus...</td>
<td>Alleluia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H9</td>
<td>In omnem terram</td>
<td>In omnem terram47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;M24&quot;</td>
<td>Ecce tu pulchra...mea</td>
<td>Ecce tu pulchra et amica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G11</td>
<td>Alleluia Preveniamus</td>
<td>Alleluia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most cases, the change consists of taking more of the melody than the tag would suggest, and in many of these, the complete text used makes sense on its own and in the context of the motet. Another easily-explained case is that of the two *Alleluia* tenors, where the melody of the alleluia alone is used; the fuller tag doubtless appears in part simply to identify the source chant, and its liturgical occasion, which would be unclear if only the common word *alleluia* were used.

There are cases, however, that do not allow such easy explanation: for example, the tenor of *Alpha vibrans momentum / Cetus venit heroycus / T. Amicum querit / Contratenor* (H25 (G6)) uses the melody of the text *Amicum querit pristinum / Qui spretum in—!* Another case in which the tenor fragment cuts off in an ungrammatical manner is Machaut's motet *Amours qui ha le pouvoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi dominum facie ad faciem* (M15): *Vidi dominum facie ad faciem, et salva facta—[est anima mea].* Even the tenor of *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea* ("M24") uses the text *Ecce tu pulchra et amica, omitting the*  

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47This tenor uses the melody through *terram*, but not the melisma following. The melisma on *Suspiro* (for M2) is similarly omitted.
In these cases, the text given in the manuscript either makes grammatical sense where the portion actually used does not, or it is short enough to act as a cue only.

Finally, some tenors with liturgically-based tags have melodies that do not appear to correspond with a chant source at all. This is especially true of the slightly later motets transmitted in the Chantilly codex, where two motets appear to borrow a liturgical text without its melody. In these cases, it is possible that the use of a liturgically-oriented tenor text serves to anchor the motet to generic tradition and its symbolic possibilities, while claiming maximum compositional flexibility by allowing a new melody.

The examples seen so far, I hope, suggest an attitude that might allow compositional alteration of a borrowed melody. Most of this evidence is

48These chants are all either syllabic or close enough to syllabic for the relationship between text and music to be clear.
49These are:
1) L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi deum ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi / Contratenor (H27 (G8); the text does not correspond exactly to either of the two antiphons for Lucy beginning Ego rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, CAO nos. 2584 and 2585, nor to the responsory Rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, CAO no. 7550)
2) D'ardant desir / Efi!S d'amer / T. Nigra est set formosa (H32 (G7))
In addition, Inter densas deserti meditans / Imbribus irriguis / ST Admirabile est nomen tuum (H29 (G15)) has a solus tenor given the text Admirabile est nomen tuum; the text may or may not be related to the relevant chant, but the melody is not.
Laurea murtirii / Conlaudanda est / T. Proba me Domine / Contratenor / Solus tenor (G13), a motet found in the Modena codex, may also be a member of this group; its text, like that of L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi deum ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, does not correspond exactly to any chant for Saint Lawrence, but rather evokes several, none of which has a melody that matches that of the tenor.
circumstantial. Nevertheless, if Machaut changed the Ruina tenor, it is likely that it was not the only time he modified a source melody to fit his compositional needs, and that he was not the only composer to do so.

I would suggest that there are several steps along the spectrum of relationships possible between a chant-based tenor and its source. Some tenors borrow chant melodies exactly, while others make smaller or larger changes. Especially given the inherent problems in the sample of extant chant manuscripts, small-scale changes are difficult at best to prove. In some tenors, chant-based material appears to be mixed with free material; the Machaut motets provide particularly good examples of this phenomenon. Finally, some melodies that appear to be entirely freely composed are in fact given chant-based texts: in these cases, the composers may have desired the link with symbol and tradition represented by a liturgical text, along with the melodic freedom inherent in a new melody.

The purposeful compositional change of a chant source would seem to imply a radically different point of view from that of the origins of the motet. The thirteenth-century motet long maintained a link with its origin in discant clausulae; even as the upper voices came to be newly composed, the tenors on which they were based still tended to come from the solo portions of responsorial chants.50 As Anderson has noted, from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century tenors came to be taken more often from sections not previously exploited polyphonically, whether in organum, clausula or

motet. This fourteenth-century development may also carry a freer attitude toward the tenor as melody. That is, if liturgical propriety (whether active or traditional) no longer demands that a solo portion of chant be selected, it may no longer be necessary to preserve the melody intact. This statement implies that the tenors of thirteenth-century motets can be matched precisely with their chant sources—something I have not verified, but that does not appear to have been questioned by scholars of this genre, especially as one gets closer to the origins of the motet in discant clausulae. If thirteenth-century motets do have a closer relationship to their chant sources, it is possible that the repertory of the Roman de Fauvel may represent a transition in the composer’s attitude toward the melody, in the same way that it occupies a middle ground between the use of soloist’s chants and other chants as tenor sources.

Still, there are motets in the Fauvel manuscript that suggest a prior history for the compositional alteration of liturgical material to serve as a motet tenor. The manuscript contains not only motets whose tenors correspond exactly with known versions of their chant sources (such as Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie] / T. Reverenti (F22(30)), Inflammatus invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus / T. [Victime paschali laudes] (F23(51), and the first part of Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea (F25(71)), but also tenors more or less removed at least from the manuscript

51 "Thus, the Ars nova sources still keep predominantly to the solo parts of the Responsories, but not to the degree found in the previous century. On the other hand, the two central bodies of fourteenth-century motets (the Machaut motets and those of the Ivrea manuscript) distribute their use of the various chant types—solo or choral—fairly evenly.” (Anderson 1976, 126)

52 Such a determination is beyond the scope of this study, but something I would like to attempt in the future.
sources so far examined for this study. For example, the tenor of F8(9), *Nulla pestis est gravior* / *Plange, nostra regio* / *T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis*, is taken from the first two phrases of the sequence *Vergente mundi vespere*; it corresponds exactly to the version of the melody in Pn 830 from Paris (possibly Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois), except that the last pitch of the chant is not present in the tenor. The omission of the final E of the chant phrase may serve to focus the melody more clearly on D, the first note of the melody and, in the tenor (though not the chant), the last as well. Such tonal unity between the first and last pitches of a tenor is not a requirement of medieval harmony, but some other tenors appear to have been altered in that direction.

The tenor of *Scariotis geniture* / *Jure quod in opere* / *T. Superne matris gaudia etc.* (F5(5)) may present a better case. All versions of the chant I have seen, with one exception, leap up a third to the close of the second phrase, which is the end of the tenor fragment; the tenor, on the other hand, proceeds by step—an ascending step, which provides a cadence less strong than a descending step in the tenor, but still contrapuntally preferable to an ascending third. The chant phrase concludes with two Gs in all versions; the tenor appears to omit the second. These are small but telling variants, and

\[53\] The first phrase of the melody given in Wagner 1921, 495 concludes on C, a pitch not found in Pn 830 or the tenor.

\[54\] The exception, Pn 17311, does not have the descent to D present in the tenor and all other chant readings. It should be noted that this version *does* ascend stepwise to the final, but I believe the missing descent to D rules out this version as a tenor source. A version including both the descent to the low D and the stepwise ascent to the final is possible, but there is no evidence for it at present.
more likely the result of compositional manipulation than a chant tradition
different from either the majority or alternate tradition.

The tenor of F9(12), _Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra
sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus_, is based on a
responsonry beginning with the same text. The melody corresponds exactly
to the version of the chant in the Worcester Antiphoner, and is not too far
removed from the Sarum and Lucca Antiphoners. The last pitch of the tenor,
however, has no basis in the chant—but it does mean that the tenor color ends
on G, as it began, rather than on A. Such a seemingly minor change, but one
with great harmonic implications, occurs as well in _Nulla pestis est gravior /
Plange, nostra regio / T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis_ (F8(9)), as we have seen, and
may in fact be common in this repertory.

A far more interesting case is the motet _Condicio nature defuit / O Nacio
nephandi generis / T. Mane prima sabbati_ (F17(35)), which also appears (among
other places) as the first motet in fascicle IV of the Montpellier Codex and
therefore must have an early date. This tenor is significant not so much for
its small-scale alterations of pitches as for its overall form, which is precisely

55The tenor text is slightly changed from the chant’s _Verbum iniquum et
dolosum longe fac a me, Domine_, perhaps to alter the focus from a personal one
in the chant to an impersonal one for the motet. It also echoes more closely
Psalm 5:7: _virum sanguinem et dolosum abhominabitur Dominus._
56The motet is Mo51, found on p. 87v. Fascicles 1-6 of the Montpellier Codex
are dated to the 1270s, though Yvonne Rokseth notes that this motet must date
before the treatise _Discantus positio vulgaris_, from earlier in the thirteenth
century, which cites the motetus. (Rokseth 1935-36, IV, 186) For the _Discantus
positio vulgaris_ see Cserba 1935, 191ff.; the treatise has been translated in
Knapp 1962. Knapp dates the compilation of Jerome of Moravia to the last
quarter of the thirteenth century, but the treatise in question she places c. 1230-
40 (201-2).
regular neither in rhythm nor in melody. A general mode 3 pattern (LBBL...) is used throughout, save at the end of major sections, which end with a maxima and final long. These major sections correspond to melodic divisions as well: section 1 uses material from stanza 1 of the sequence, section 2 corresponds to stanza 2, and section 3 uses material from both stanzas. The picture is not quite that simple, though: section 1 presents the stanza 1 melody (present only once in the chant source), repeats it, adding in the process two passing tones, and then tacks on a D-E-D coda to close. Section 2 gives the sequence's second-stanza melody with a more varied repetition. Finally, in section 3, another version of stanzas 1 and 2 are presented in full.

This extremely complex form uses the sequence's melodic material, but in a far freer manner than any example we have seen so far. The tenor makes no sense liturgically and serves purely as a compositional construct underpinning a polyphonic work. A precedent therefore exists from as early as the mid-thirteenth century for even extreme compositional reworking of liturgically-based source material.

Machaut

Some of the best candidates for compositional alteration of chant materials may come from Machaut. The tenor of M1, `Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde`, is taken from the end of the responsory `Plange quasi virgo`. It is in fact one of very few Machaut tenors that come from the end of their parent chant; Machaut appears to have

57It is interesting to note that these sections correspond to manuscript lines in Pn 146, another example of the careful layout of that manuscript.
preferred to use interior portions such as the beginning of the repetendum or
the beginning or end of the verse for those tenors taken from responsories.
The cadence, however, is unlike any known version of the chant, which with
one exception concludes with a common cadence formula.\(^58\) The tenor
cadence differs in having an extra ascent to A that I have not found in any
version of the chant, which may reflect a compositional change—perhaps an
extension to make the melodic fragment fit the ten-note talea. The variant
found in SA, however, must serve as a reminder that this version could be an
uncommon melodic variant present in Machaut's source.

What may make planned alteration of this tenor more likely, however,
is the fact that, while the melody of talea 1 (notes 1-10) follows the chant
model exactly and that of talea 3 (notes 21-30) is very closely related, the
second phrase of the tenor (notes 11-20) is more distant from all chant
versions. (This section is boxed in Appendix 1.) Four antiphoners give a
similar melodic contour at this point (these are Pn 15181, Pn 15613, Pn 10482
and Pgen 2641), but even here the tenor fills in what appears to be an
important melodic leap at the end of this passage, and no version of the chant
has the stepwise descent and return that follows the tenor's opening
ascending third. No two versions of the chant agree at this point, but these
four versions and the other French melodies given below it transmit a melodic
tradition distinct from that of the English facsimiles and the Lucca

\(^58\)The exception is SA; CA 38, Pn 3003, Pn 12305 and WA conclude on G, but
with the same formula found in the other versions, which have an F final. The
cadence formula can be seen in examples F1-F7 of modes 5 and 6 as described
in Frere 1901, though it is used for other modes as well. The cadence that
appears in the tenor is not described by Frere, which may further support the
idea that it is a compositional alteration.
Antiphoner. Machaut's tenor clearly belongs to the French tradition, as one would expect, but the differences from what seem to be almost defining features of this chant tradition—especially the chained descending thirds at the end of this phrase, the second of which is filled in Machaut’s tenor—may suggest that the composer made changes to it along the way. It may also be significant that Machaut disposed this melody into three taleae that appear to have distinct relationships to the chant source: talea 1 follows exactly a stable portion of the chant, talea 2 may modify an unstable section, and talea 3 more likely alters the cadence of an otherwise stable conclusion.

A better example, perhaps, is the tenor of M2, *Tous corps qui de bien amer* / *De souspirant cuer dolent* / *T. Suspiro*, taken from a chant from the *historia de Job*: the responsory *Antequam comedam suspiro*. The melody, however, bears little relation to the chant source beyond the opening phrase, which begins with a descending gesture similar to that used for the preceding word *comedam* in many versions of the responsory—though even here only the version of the Lucca Antiphoner has the simple A-G-F descent present in the tenor. The tenor continues with the ascent on *suspiro*, but with only one D on top, against two in all versions of the chant. (The portion common to the tenor and the chant is boxed in Appendix 1.) This chant, unlike that seen in the previous example, is relatively stable at this point, with minor variants separating groups of manuscripts with identical readings. The following melisma is not used in the tenor, and taleae 2-4 appear to consist of new material. For this tenor, then, Machaut apparently made use of only part of

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59 This identification first appears in print in Huot 1994; I located it independently.
his melodic source, perhaps beginning a few notes before his tag and omitting
the final melisma, therefore using his borrowed material more as a
springboard than as a source.60

Unfortunately, I have seen only one melody for the chant source of M3,
_He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T. Quare non sum
mortuus_, and that from the Worcester Antiphoner, therefore from a different
melodic tradition than any likely to be available to Machaut. That melody,
like the English readings of the melody used in _Quant en moy vint premierement
/ Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde_ (M1), is fairly close to the tenor at the
beginning and end, but differs in the middle. Until French sources of this
melody are located, however, the questions of local use and compositional
alteration cannot be raised.61

The source of M4, _De Bon Espoir, de Tres Douz Souvenir / Puis que la
douce rousee / T. Speravi_, since it comes from a Mass chant, is one of the few for

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60I have located two tenors in the Ivrea repertory that also appear to begin
with chant-based material, only to depart from that source after 6-8 pitches:
these motets, _Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T.
[Non est inventus similis illi]_ (V12) and _Cum statua Nabucodonasor / Hugo, Hugo,
princeps invidie / T. Magister invidie_ (V8), will be discussed in chapter 5. The
former identification naturally relies on the discovery of that tenor text by
Andrew Wathey; see Wathey 1993b.

61It is interesting that this chant appears only ten times in the CANTUS
database, which contains nineteen sources at this time (August 1995), and only
twice in French sources. (It appears in F-AS 465(893), from Saint-Vaast, Arras,
in Pn 12044, from Saint-Maur-des Fossés, in the Worcester Antiphoner, and in
A-GU 30, A-KN 1018, A-VS 287(29), D-BAs lit. 25, D-KA Aug. LX, E-Tc 44.1
and I-FAR.) The CANTUS database, a project headed by Ruth Steiner and
based at the Catholic University of America, indexes the musical contents of
an ever-growing number of manuscript and early print sources for the Office.
which melodic readings from Reims are available.\textsuperscript{62} This is a case, however, where the Reims version may be more distant from the tenor. The tenor is entirely stepwise, with a range of a fourth—indeed, in fact, it has the same alternation of F/A and G/B\textsubscript{b} that Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Sarah Fuller have noted for the tenor of \textit{Fons tocius superbie} / \textit{O livoris feritas} / \textit{T. Fera pessima} (M9); this alternation is broken only when the penultimate G is repeated at the end of the color.\textsuperscript{63} The creation of such a melody could easily lead to the two variants from the “standard” version of this melody: the leap from B(b) to G present in all versions of the chant (except RM 217, to be considered below), and the leap back to B\textsubscript{b} given in three of the four Reims sources. (This section is boxed in Appendix 1.) The reading of RM 217 is incomplete (the last two pitches of the tenor source are missing, as are the first two of the next phrase); what exists of the melody is fully stepwise, but it lacks the return to G of all other versions and would therefore appear unlikely to have been Machaut’s source. The constancy of all other versions of the melody, however, suggests that Machaut may well have taken a source like the “standard” melody and filled in its leap or leaps in order to create the fully stepwise, even static, tenor. Such a conclusion is necessarily tentative, but it may be strengthened both by the existence of a similar tenor in \textit{Fons tocius superbie} / \textit{O livoris feritas} / \textit{T. Fera

\textsuperscript{62}The only extant medieval liturgical books with notation from Reims are Mass books.

\textsuperscript{63}Machaut exploits the alternation present in this melody in part by dividing the tenor into two- or four-note units, beginning each subsidiary unit with F or A, and concluding each with G or B\textsubscript{b}, excepting only the G-F pair that concludes each color.
pessima, and by what appear to be other cases of alteration by Machaut in the
direction of filling in leaps of a third.

The tenor of *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir*
/T. *Et gaudebit cor vestrum* (M6) has the cadence formula we have seen already
in *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde*
(M1), against most Parisian versions of the chant.64 The chant version found
in the Cambrai manuscript CA 38 and Pn 12035 from Meaux departs from
Machaut's tenor in only one particular: the tenor has three iterations of C
where these chant readings have only two. This chant reading is found in LA
and SA as well, indicating a certain geographic dispersion of this version, but
all other French versions leap from A to this C, and most have three rather
than two iterations of the C. If one of these latter readings, such as that of Pars
595 from Châlons, was Machaut's source, he added a passing tone B—a
change that is not inconsistent with others we have seen. (The relevant section
is boxed in Appendix 1.)

M7, *J'ai tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego
moriar pro te*, is another motet whose tenor appears to maintain only the broad
outlines of its chant source, though it should be emphasized that this is not a
stable chant; no two of its versions agree in all particulars. The initial ascent
from A to C is filled in in the tenor but in no version of the chant save that of
LA. Most central French sources (including Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641 and Pn 748
from Paris, Pn 1028 from Sens and Pars 595 and Pn 802 from Châlons) rise to

64Another cadence formula appears in the Parisian sources Pn 15181, Pn
10482, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 1028 from Sens and Pn 1255 from Bourges, as
well as the Worcester Antiphoner; Pgen 2618 is very close to this version.
D before dropping a fourth or fifth; this feature does not occur in the tenor, nor in the English sources or the northern French readings from Saint-Quentin (Pgen 2619), Cambrai (CA 38) and Beauvais (Pn 1030). The descent to the low D, followed by a leap to A and subsequent return to the low D, is present both in the tenor and most versions of the chant, but the tenor consists for the most part of a simple descent without the leaps or decorated neighboring motion found in most versions of the chant. Moreover, the portion of chant used to provide this tenor framework consists not only of the text provided in the manuscript, but also the preceding *ut* and following *fili mi*.

The omission of *ut* in the tenor tag may be reasonable, since to include it would be to have a tenor text that does not make grammatical sense on its own, while including *fili mi* would bring into the open the conflict inherent in this motet between the relationship of Lover and Lady on the one hand—an inverted comparison with the relationship between Narcissus and Echo, where the formerly disdainful woman will die for the Lover, who has by now moved on to someone else—and that of David and Absalom on the other. This conflict is one that Machaut probably would have acknowledged but, by withholding the words *fili mi* from the tenor text, it is now kept below the surface of the motet. Two levels of compositional manipulation may therefore be present in this tenor: on the one hand, the selection of a larger melodic fragment than the manuscript text suggests, perhaps to link more firmly,

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65 Pgen 2619 and Pgen 2641 descend only to E, while LA does not descend at all; Pgen 2618 rises only to F and Pn 1028 rises D-F-A.
66 Although the tenor of *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8), for example, begins with the conjunction *et*. 
though silently, the Lady’s sacrifice for her beloved to David’s would-be sacrifice for his son, a type of Christ’s sacrifice for humankind, and on the other hand the less tangible alteration or simplification of melodic material, leaving only the outlines of the source melody.

The repetition of the final pitch is the only variant between the tenor of M8, *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*, and the French chant tradition.\(^{67}\) Here, despite Robertson’s theory that the repetition or non-repetition of pitches, or even phrases, does not constitute a substantive variant,\(^{68}\) the constancy of the melodic tradition at this point suggests to me the probability that Machaut chose to omit the repetition of the final pitch of his tenor, whether for reasons of number\(^ {69}\) or cadential propriety.\(^ {70}\) He does appear to have made a more critical change to this tenor, however, in transposing it to conclude on F (without a signature) rather than on C or G, as all chant versions do. The tenor therefore operates with a different scale than that of the chant.

The extended tenor of M21, *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet*, may have a better case for compositional alteration. No version of the chant matches the first part of this tenor, though most variants are again in the direction of stepwise motion

\(^{67}\)LA has the same reading as the French manuscripts; WA and SA vary slightly. Only Pn 1255, from Bourges, does not repeat the final.

\(^{68}\)Robertson forthcoming.

\(^{69}\)The sixteen-pitch color is set to four four-pitch units, three of which are in turn grouped by upper-voice rhythms to form a talea.

\(^{70}\)The repetition of the final pitch would force a repetition or prolongation of the final sonority; this is certainly possible, but Machaut may have wanted to end this motet with the cadential arrival.
in the tenor where leaps or repeated pitches exist in the chant. All versions of the chant either repeat the E (LA, and the Parisian sources CH 86 and Pgen 2618) or leap to F/C in the initial ascent, and all versions have leaps between E / C and F / D later in the chant that are filled in the tenor. The elimination of these leaps does not produce an entirely stepwise melody, but it does leave only two ascending-third leaps, in addition to the fourth and fifth leaps present in the section of the tenor common to Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet (M8).

The only discrepancy between the tenor of M10, Hareul hareul le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem, and most French versions of the chant source occurs at the word usque, where the chant gives a descending triad on F (repeating the A in Pn 905 from Rouen, Pn 830 from Paris, RM 264 from Reims, Pars 197 from Saint-Victor, and Pn 1337 from Paris), while the third A-F is filled in the tenor; two manuscripts (Pn 861 from Paris and Pn 17312 from Auxerre) repeat the A, giving a plica to pass to the F. This latter version therefore differs from the tenor only in the repetition of A. Either the addition of a passing tone or the omission of a repeated pitch would be consistent with likely changes we have seen so far in other tenors, but this chant is unstable enough that neither conclusion can be made with confidence.

(This section is boxed in Appendix 1.)

M12, Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me, is one example of a motet whose tenor is closer to other readings of the chant source than that given in the Châlons manuscript

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71 The leaps are between B / G and C / A in the transposed versions of this melody in WA and SA, as well as the Annunciation verse in Pars 595.
Pars 595. The Parisian reading differs from the chant in only two places, both of which are reflected in other readings as well: the third from A to F is filled in the chant but not the tenor,72 and the penultimate E is repeated in the tenor but not the chant. Again, because these differences, though minor, appear in all versions of the chant, compositional alteration may appear to be more likely, though here it is in the direction of creating rather than suppressing a leap.

The chant source of M15, *Amours qui ha le pouver / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem* is very stable within the French tradition.73 This melody differs from Machaut's tenor only toward the end. Moreover, the resulting tenor has a threefold presentation of the pitches F-G-A (with different rhythms each time), followed by the cadential F-G-F, a melody that may betray signs of compositional planning. This passage is boxed in Appendix 1.

The tenor source for Machaut's Saint Quentin motet, *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19), is not a common melody; I have found four melodic readings for it to date, two in Parisian sources (Pn 10482 and Pn 15182), one from Saint-Quentin (Pgen 2619), and one from nearby Beauvais (Pn 1030). Interestingly, the Saint-Quentin and Beauvais versions of the melody are more distant from the tenor than the Parisian readings, which may indicate a Parisian association for the motet rather than the link with Saint-Quentin that is usually assumed. The tenor has

72D to B in CH 86, G to E in Pars 595 and CA 38. This is boxed in Appendix 1.
73The only variants between the French versions I have compiled is on the level of pitch repetition: CH 86 does not repeat the penultimate G, while CA 38 has an extra G at the beginning of *faciem*.
four variants from the Paris version of the chant: three are suppressions of pitches repeated in the chant, and one is a third leap filled in the chant. More evidence is needed before the question of whether these could be compositional changes can be answered, but the variants are suggestive, especially the presence of only one G before the final, while Pn 15182 and Pn 10482 have a by-now familiar cadential formula.

The tenor of M22, *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge*, would seem to be another case where Machaut fills in a leap present in his chant source, here between *et* and *scutum*—which is also, perhaps significantly, after the mid-talea and mid-color final. (This is boxed in Appendix 1.) The leap between F and D is present in all versions of this chant, though only the northern sources Pgen 2619 (from Saint-Quentin) and CA 38 (from Cambrai) agree with the tenor at all other points.

Because the tenor of M23, *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc.*, is taken from a Marian antiphon, readings of which appear to be more susceptible to variation, and because I only have three French readings for this melody so far, all (including Pars 595, which is, however, closest) reasonably distant from the tenor, I believe it to be too early to consider alteration and local use for this melody.

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74Pn 10482 repeats the first pitch as well, which neither the tenor nor Pn 15182 does.
75The other versions of this chant (WA, RM 283 and Pn 12035 from Meaux) each have one additional variant; those variants are not in common between the three sources. It is perhaps significant that the pitch "missing" in the Reims source is often notated as a plica, omission of which would be a very easy scribal error.
Many of the alterations I would see in Machaut tenors are in the direction of filling in leaps of a third that are present in the chant. Most of Machaut's tenors are closest to readings from Châlons and Reims, though there is often a fundamental stability between those versions and others found in French manuscripts, at least for those features that may be changed in Machaut's tenors. More work in chant manuscripts may change this picture, but it appears that alteration of melodic material can occur, ranging from the repetition or suppression of individual pitches, to the filling in of leaps, to the use of a melodic gesture as the springboard for a new continuation.

**Ivrea**

For the Ivrea repertory as well, there exists a spectrum of tenors—from those that have exact chant matches to those that resemble available chant readings only in broad outlines. The tenor of H5 / G14, *Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor*, is one of the latter: after the words *Ante thronum trinitatis* and the distinctive turn to the upper octave that follows, the tenor loses even the vague resemblance to the chant melody that was present before. (The opening passage is boxed in Appendix 1.) This tenor may therefore represent another case, like that of the Machaut motet *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro* (M2), where the chant material serves as starting point to a tenor that uses new material as well.

Tenors taken from Marian antiphons also correspond only in general to specific chant readings. These melodies, however, appear to be particularly unstable and susceptible to local variants; they are also more difficult to locate.
in manuscripts, since the use of Marian antiphons is more variable and often stands outside the formal structure of the Office. For these reasons, melodic comparisons are particularly tentative, and conclusions are especially premature. I plan to study these tenors and chants further at some point, but they will not be discussed here.

The tenor melody of H9, Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram, differs from chant versions found in Bec (Pn 1105), Reims (RM 221 and RM 264) and Rouen (Rouen 277) only on the level of pitch repetition. The repeated pitches suppressed in the tenor are present in all or nearly all versions; the tenor would appear therefore to contain purposeful alterations of a relatively stable chant.

The chant source for VIa, Tuba sacra fidei / In arboris empiro / T. Virgo sum, is also fairly stable. The most important difference between the tenor and most chant readings from Paris and, to a lesser degree, central and northern France occurs at the end, where the tenor has two pitches not found in any chant version. (These are boxed in Appendix 1.) This is most likely a compositional change, either for reasons of number and talea structure or to emphasize the G final by not two but three descending steps to it.

The tenor of Tant a souttile pointure / Bien pert qu’en moy n’a d’art point / T. Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur (H12 (G1)) comes from a chant with more variation between manuscript readings, but some fairly stable features of the chant do not appear in the tenor; these may be especially good candidates for compositional alteration. Most important of these is the

76 As mentioned above, the last part of the melisma on terram is not used in the tenor.
repetition of C-D after the seventh pitch of the chant (actually, both pitches are usually doubled as well), which is followed in both chant and tenor by a B-C-D ascent,\textsuperscript{77} the last pitch of which is doubled in the tenor but not in any version of the chant. (This passage is boxed in Appendix 1.) The chant thus spends its first fourteen pitches (in most versions) mostly hovering around C and D; the tenor cuts that figure down to eleven, which may reflect an attempt to minimize this static opening. Similarly, the tenor has leaps between A and C (notes 12 and 13) and F and A (notes 20 and 21) that are filled in many, though not all, versions of the chant. If these are changes, they could serve to emphasize the pitches involved: F, the final, and the third and fifth above it.

The tenor of \textit{A vous, vierge de doufour / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi} (H13) has an extra A not in any version of the chant. The resulting melody has three distinct cells: an F-A-C triad, neighboring motion A-G-A, and mirroring motion C-D-C. The last A in the second group is the one that appears to be added; this middle cell is boxed in Appendix 1. The symmetrical quality of the two neighbor-note sequences, and the clear focus on the opening F, as well as the third and fifth above it, suggest that the single variant pitch is not an accident, or even a local chant variant.

The chant source shared by \textit{Fortune, mere à douleur / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus} (H17) and \textit{Amer amours est la choion pourquoy / Durement au cuer me blece / Dolor meus} (H19) ends with the standard cadential pattern we have already seen in many tenors and chant fragments; the presence in this tenor of only one of the two standard iterations of the pitch above the final is most likely a conscious alteration. Aside from this omission, the tenor

\textsuperscript{77}C-C-D in Pn 12038.
matches exactly the version of the chant found in the Lucca Antiphoner and in a manuscript from Bourges (Pn 1255). It differs, however, from the Paris reading by filling in one leap as well; similarly, the version found in Châlons, Cambrai and Meaux\textsuperscript{78} has one third leap where the tenor proceeds by step, though that leap is in a different place than that of the Paris version. It is possible that the composer added a passing tone to one of these versions, especially since the resulting tenor melody is entirely stepwise after the initial drop from C to F—we have seen other cases where pitches appear to have been added or removed to produce a stepwise melody. (These leaps are boxed in Appendix 1.)

Similarly, the composer of \textit{In virtute nominum / Decens carmen edere / T. Clamor meus / Contratenor} (H18) appears to have changed his chant source in two ways that are by now familiar: the second iteration of E-F at the beginning is omitted, while the descent B-G at the end is filled with a passing tone. These are boxed in Appendix 1. Both these features of the tenor are found in no version of the chant.

\*

We have seen that chant-derived melodies are susceptible to change as they become motet tenors. Some melodies seem to remain intact, others are changed slightly, and some chants appear to be more inspirations than sources for their tenors. Indeed, in the Chantilly codex, there are motets that appear to borrow liturgical texts for their tenors, but to apply these texts to new melodies.

\textsuperscript{78}Pars 595, CA 38 and Pn 12035, respectively; Pn 3003, from Sion-en-Valais, and the Sarum Antiphoner share this reading.
If the melody is mutable, or if the text can even be taken without it, why use chant materials at all? The weight of the earlier tradition of motet writing is doubtless important: from the beginning theorists stated that a motet was based on a fragment of chant, and composers wrote in that way. It is possible, though, that a liturgical fragment came to be used in part for what it could bring to the symbolism of a motet. In chapter 1 we noted several scholars who have profitably examined the Biblical contexts of tenor texts; at this point I would like to turn to liturgical context.
Chapter 3
Liturgical Symbolism

As we have seen, there is evidence that composers did not feel obligated to use chant melodies in their original form as motet tenors. If a melody can be altered, that suggests that its pitch content is not the only reason it was selected in the first place. I would therefore like to suggest that the use of a preexistent tenor brings to a motet an additional web of potential symbolic elements not otherwise present. By investigating the source of the tenor, then, some part of the background from which the motet was likely created and read can be reconstructed. Other scholars have taken note of the general textual content of a motet, and several have been particularly successful in explaining how the Biblical context of a tenor underlies—or undercuts—the texts built above it.\(^1\) The level I will discuss here is specifically the liturgical context of the chant from which the tenor is taken. That is, among the elements available to a composer when choosing a tenor appropriate for the motet to be written is the role the chant plays in its original liturgical context.

One of the best examples of the use not only of a chant and its text but of its liturgical context as a symbolic device is the group of motets that celebrate living musicians. As Margaret Bent and David Howlett have demonstrated,\(^2\) the comparison of the musicians named in *Apollinis*


\[^{2}\text{In papers and seminars given on both sides of the Atlantic over several years but not yet published.}\]
**eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram** (H9) to the Apostles operates on every level, from the twelve musicians named to the twelve signs of the Zodiac to the 144 (12 x 12) breves the motet contains, and more. The tenor of this motet reflects not only the fame of the musicians through its text ("Their sound has gone out into all lands"), but also the Apostolic context that pervades the motet’s upper voices by the use of the tenor’s source in the Common of Apostles. The use of liturgical symbolism in other motets may not always be quite so clear, but I hope to show that it does appear elsewhere in this repertory as well.

Gordon A. Anderson showed that chant genre appears to be one factor in tenor selection: in the late thirteenth- / early fourteenth-century repertory, as represented by the manuscripts surrounding the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, Mass chants are as common as Office chants. In the later repertory of Guillaume de Machaut and the Ivrea and Chantilly codices, on the other hand, Office chants are used more often. A summary of Anderson’s findings is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Mass chants</th>
<th>Office chants</th>
<th>Total motets (^3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Fauvel</em></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machaut</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivrea</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chantilly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\)Anderson 1976, 123; the "total motet" figures do not include motets already counted: that is, the Ivrea count does not include the four Machaut motets in that source, and the Chantilly count omits the three concordances with Ivrea.

71
The total percentage of Mass chants to Office chants, omitting the four Fauvel motets taken from the older Notre-Dame repertory, Anderson calculates as follows: 16 Mass chants (23.2%) to 40 Office chants (58.0%), of a total of 101 motets. 4

Within the group of Office chants, by far more tenors are taken from responsories than any other type of chant, with the antiphon a distant second:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Office chants</th>
<th>Responsories</th>
<th>Antiphons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fauvel</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machaut</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivrea</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chantilly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anderson further traces a historical shift away from the use of graduals and alleluias as primary sources for tenors—as was common in the Notre-Dame repertory as represented by Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (F), and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099 (W2)—to the fourteenth-century situation outlined above. He finally notes that by the fourteenth century, the fragment of chant used as a tenor comes to be taken less often from the solo portions of the chant than was true in the earlier repertory, when presumably the connection with the motet’s origin in soloistic liturgical polyphony was more strongly perceived. Since the use of a chant tenor had become traditional by 1300, less firmly linked to the origins of the motet in Notre-Dame polyphony,

4Anderson 1976, 124. His percentages seem to be calculated according to the total number of identified tenors, including those derived from secular songs.
composers evidently felt free to choose a tenor from any portion of the chant.

Anderson’s investigation thus confirms the statement of Egidius that the tenor should be taken from the Antiphonal, the collection of chants for the Daily Office, and that the source chant should be an antiphon or responsory. He also puts that statement into a historical context of a shift in the late thirteenth century from Mass chants to Office chants as tenor sources, and he points to the weakening of the connection of tenors exclusively with solo sections of responsorial chants. These latter issues are not mentioned by Egidius, but they are consistent with his simple statement.

Machaut

The secure attribution and uniform transmission of the twenty-three motets by Guillaume de Machaut makes this self-contained corpus an ideal place to begin, as does the importance he seems to give to tenor names, thus perhaps by extension to other forms of tenor symbolism. The Machaut motets are listed in Table 1. Three motets (all with French amatory motetus and triplum texts) have secular-song tenors, two with tenor text underlaid throughout and one whose only text is the same as the opening phrase of the motetus. Of the twenty Latin-tagged tenors, seventeen come from identified chant sources. The remaining three

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5Edward H. Roesner and Peter Jeffery have pointed out to me that the term "Antiphonal" can refer to the Mass book as well as that for the Office. Nevertheless, most motet tenors in this repertory come from responsories and antiphons for the Office.
Table 1: The Motets of Guillaume de Machaut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>Quant en moy</td>
<td>Amour et biaute</td>
<td>Amara valde</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Holy Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>Tous corps</td>
<td>De souspirant</td>
<td>Suspiro</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>He! Mors</td>
<td>Fine Amour</td>
<td>Quare non sum ...</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4</td>
<td>De Bon Espoir</td>
<td>Puis que la douce</td>
<td>Speravi</td>
<td>Pentecost 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M5</td>
<td>Aucune gent</td>
<td>Qui plus aimme</td>
<td>Fiat voluntas tua</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M6</td>
<td>S'il estoit nulz</td>
<td>S'Amours tous</td>
<td>Et gaudebit cor vestrum</td>
<td>Advent 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7</td>
<td>J'ay tant mon cuer</td>
<td>Lasse! je sui</td>
<td>Ego moriar pro te</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M8</td>
<td>Qui es promesses</td>
<td>Ha! Fortune</td>
<td>Et non est qui adjuvet</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M9</td>
<td>Fons tocius</td>
<td>O livoris feritas</td>
<td>Fera pessima</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M10</td>
<td>Hareu! hareu!</td>
<td>Helas! ou sera pris</td>
<td>Obediens usque ...</td>
<td>Lent 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M11</td>
<td>Dame, je sui</td>
<td>Fins cuers doulz</td>
<td>Fins cuers doulz</td>
<td>Maundy Thurs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M12</td>
<td>Helas! pour quoy</td>
<td>Corde mesto</td>
<td>Libera me</td>
<td>Lent 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M13</td>
<td>Tant doucement</td>
<td>Eins que ma dame</td>
<td>Ruina</td>
<td>unidentified&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M14</td>
<td>Maugre mon cuer</td>
<td>De ma dolour</td>
<td>Quia amore langueo</td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M15</td>
<td>Amours qui ha</td>
<td>Faus Samblant</td>
<td>Vidi Dominum</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M16</td>
<td>Lasse! comment</td>
<td>Se j'aim mon</td>
<td>Pour quoy me bat ... ?</td>
<td>Lent 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M17</td>
<td>Quant vraie</td>
<td>O series summme</td>
<td>Super omnes speciosa</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M18</td>
<td>Bone pastor</td>
<td>Bone pastor que</td>
<td>Bone pastor</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M19</td>
<td>Martyrum</td>
<td>Diligenter</td>
<td>A Christo honoratus</td>
<td>Quentin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M20</td>
<td>Trop plus est</td>
<td>Biaute paree</td>
<td>Je ne sui mie certeins ...</td>
<td>secular song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M21</td>
<td>Christe, qui lux es</td>
<td>Veni, creator</td>
<td>Tribulatio proxima est</td>
<td>Palm Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M22</td>
<td>Tu qui gregem</td>
<td>Plange, regni</td>
<td>Apprehende arma ...</td>
<td>One Martyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M23</td>
<td>Felix virgo</td>
<td>Inviolata genitrix</td>
<td>Ad te suspiramus ...</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Full chant texts appear in Appendix 2.

<sup>b</sup> This tenor also appears in F4(4), *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidentes in thronis seculi / T. Ruina.*
tenors\(^6\) could have sources yet unlocated, but they may also be newly composed and supplied with text for other reasons. As we saw in the previous chapter, a few tenors exist whose melodies do not correspond to the known chants suggested by their texts. In these cases, and probably elsewhere as well, the tenor text appears to function not as a means of identifying a chant source, but as a symbolic element in its own right.

It should be noted at the outset that Machaut’s motet repertory is atypical for the fourteenth century. In the first place, all of Machaut’s tenors are in fact given text, and the act of naming the tenor and copying that name into the manuscript appears to have been important to Machaut. Tenor texts are more easily lost in the repertory manuscripts, but

\(^6\)The motets with unidentified tenors are: *Aucune gent m'ont demandé que j'ay* / *Qui plus aimme plus endure* / T. *Fiat voluntas tua* / Contratenor (M5), *Tant doucement m'ont attrait* / *Eins que ma dame d'onnour* / T. *Ruina* (M13, sharing a tenor with F4(4), *Super cathedram Moysi* / *Presidents in thronis seculi* / T. *Ruina*), and *Bone pastor Guillerme* / *Bone pastor, qui pastores* / T. *Bone pastor* (M18). Sanders 1973, 563-64 n. 287, suggests that the tenor of *Aucune gent m'ont demandé que j'ay* / *Qui plus aimme plus endure* / T. *Fiat voluntas tua* / Contratenor is “an elaborate version of the appropriate phrases from the ‘Pater noster’,” and Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 91-92 goes even further by deriving the tenor in part from a *Pater noster* chant and in part from the tenor of *Douce playsence est d'amer loyalment* / *Garison selon nature* / T. *Neuma quinti toni* (V6). Since this would, if true, represent an extreme case of both derivation and alteration, if true, and since the *Pater noster* is sung at every Mass and therefore lacking in specific liturgical context, this possibility will not be discussed here. As far as Biblical context for this text, without reference to a melody the *Pater noster* is not the only possibility: the version of Jesus’ prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane before his betrayal by Judas in Matthew’s Gospel includes the phrase *fiat voluntas tua*. (This is Matthew 26:42; the other synoptic Gospels use different phrases.) The Maundy Thursday connection may well be significant in light of the importance of tenors based on Holy Week chants in this repertory, as will be seen below.
they are present throughout the Machaut sources. Secondly, French-texted
motets (or, in two cases, mixed Latin and French works) on themes of
courtly love predominate in Machaut's works, where Latin dedicatory,
satirical, occasional or devotional motets are the norm elsewhere. Since
the *materiae* of the Machaut motets are differently balanced between
French amatory and Latin dedicatory, occasional or devotional works than
the Ivrea repertory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machaut</td>
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it may be possible that the liturgical contexts of their tenors reflect this
difference as well.

When examining the chant sources for the identified Machaut
tenors, it is striking to note how many of them are taken from Lenten and
Holy Week chants. Of the seventeen tenors whose chant source is known,
seven come from chants sung during this penitential season:

M1  *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite /
    T. Amara valde* (Holy Saturday)

M8  *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis
    mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (Palm Sunday)

M9  *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (Lent 3)

M10 *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T.
    Obediens usque ad mortem* (Maundy Thursday)

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7This count does not include the motets (two French and one Latin) by
Machaut transmitted in this source.
M12 Helas! pourquoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me (Lent 2)

M15 Amours qui ha le pouvoir / Faus Samblant m’a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem (Lent 2)

M21 Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem (Lent 2)

Of the remaining ten, five come from elsewhere in the Temporale, three from Marian chants, and one each from a Sanctorale feast (Saint Quentin) and Common (One Martyr):

**Temporale**

M2 Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro (Historia de Job)

M3 He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T. Quare non sum mortuus (Historia de Job)

M4 De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi (Pentecost 1)

M6 S’il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S’Amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum (Advent 2)

M7 J’ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te (Historia de Libris Regum)

**Marian**

M14 Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma dolour confortes douceement / T. Quia amore langudeo (Marian)

M17 Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa (Marian)

M23 Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor (Marian)
Sanctorale

M19  Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus (Saint Quentin)

Common

M22  Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor (Common of One Martyr)

These liturgical sources can in many cases be connected with the subject-matter of the motets they support. The Saint Quentin tenor (A Christo honoratus, from the responsory Sancte namque Quintinus), the only one taken from the feast of a specific saint other than the Virgin, is linked with Latin texts that name the same saint: Martyrum gemma latria / tyranni trucis impia, / QUINTINE, sapiencia and Diligenter inquiramus / QUINTINI preconia. Machabey assumed, quite reasonably, that the motet was written for Saint-Quentin-lès-Beauvais, where Machaut had a canonicate at least from 1335 to 1362. The tenor melody, however, is closer to Parisian versions than to those from Saint-Quentin and Beauvais, as we saw in the previous chapter. This may suggest a connection with Paris for the motet.

The tenor from the Common of One Martyr is used in Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor (M22), a Latin motet that is one of a group of three (M21-23) that reflect what Leech-Wilkinson calls a “spirit of

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8Machabey 1955, I, 30 and II, 103.
lament,” borrowing from a statement of Ludwig that these three motets are all “prayers and laments on the wickedness of men.” In this motet, as Leech-Wilkinson continues, “the Motetus bewails a divided state, misruled and oppressed, while the Triplum calls a leader of the people (Charles, duke of Normandy?) to lead them from the misery outlined in the Motetus to a state of peace.” The leader addressed in the triplum, you who lead your flock, is not named, though Leech-Wilkinson’s conclusion is doubtless correct, given the frequent punning in this text on forms of dux, ducis (duke) and duco, ducere (to lead). Though Charles was the first heir to the French throne to bear the title dauphin de Viennois, he was more frequently called by the title his father also bore before ascending the throne: duc de Normandie. The opening reference to gregem tuum (your flock) might at first suggest a clerical subject, but the coronation rite bears similarities to that of ordination, and the position of rulership

9Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 119. The motets are Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor (M21), Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni república! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor (M22), and Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor (M23).

10Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 105, citing Ludwig 1902-3, 27; the German, which Leech-Wilkinson does not provide, reads: “Gebete und Klagen über die Schlechtigkeit der Menschen, eins speziell über die der Bischöfe.” (Reprinted in Ludwig 1966, 12.)

11Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 119. Charles, duc de Normandie and dauphin de Viennois, later Charles V, was regent during his father’s captivity in England, 1356-60 and 1363-64.

12For example, the following prayer emphasizes the value of anointing with oil of chrism: Christe perunge hunc regem in regimen unde unxisti sacerdotes. reges. ac prophetas. ac martyres. qui per fidem uicerunt regna. operati sunt iustaciam. atque adepti sunt promisiones.... (Dewick 1899,
includes a sacral role; the image of king as shepherd occurs in other texts, including a later motet, *Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (H26 (G5)), interestingly also addressed to Charles.

The call to arms of the tenor text, “Take up weapons and shield and rise up [to help me],” echoes the plea of the triplum. A liturgical connection to the Common of One Martyr, however, is less obvious, though it might seem appropriate that both tenor and triplum refer to an unnamed man (the motetus is addressed to *regni respublica*). Leech-Wilkinson did not find the melody in any French antiphoners,¹³ and I have not found a more specific use of the Common chant. The tenor dedicatee is a martyr, someone who died for the faith, and the composer of the motet triplum calls upon the *dux* not necessarily to die for his country and people (the *gregem*), but at least to be willing to risk his life. A comparison may be intended to Charles’s father, Jean II le Bon, who was himself captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 because he refused to flee the field. Jean’s capture may seem a pointless gesture to modern eyes, but his chivalry in this matter endeared him to his people—at least until they had to raise his ransom and deal with the chaos that followed his capture—and to the chroniclers, Froissart chief among them.

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¹³Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 121 n. 32.
Charles's youngest brother, Philippe, eventually duc de Bourgogne, was captured with his father, while Charles and his other brothers, Louis, later duc d'Anjou, and Jean, the future duc de Berry, managed to escape in time.14

Perhaps the text of the responsory can also help. The tenor is taken from the verse, which is in turn taken from Psalm 34(35), Iudica Domine. The responsory refrain, whose textual source (if any) I have not been able to trace, is Posuit coronam capiti meo et circumdedit me muro salutis ad expugandas gentes et omnes inimicos, describing how God has rewarded me with a crown and protected me by means of a wall of safety/salvation. The dual images of a crown and protection may be useful here. Unless a source (in a Vita or elsewhere) is found for the responsory text, or a more specific liturgical use for the chant, it would be difficult to say more.15

14Delachenal 1909-31, I, 237 n. 1 notes, "il semble que l'opinion publique fut défavorable aux jeunes princes; elle leur reprochait précisément une docilité bien grande à des ordres qu'ils eussent été excusables de ne pas respecter." The author of the Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, however, as Delachenal notes, defends Charles's escape by attributing the order to flee the field not to an ordinary knight but to the king himself: "Ains que le roy fut prins, quant il aperçut que la bataille estoit doubteuse, il manda à son ainsné filz Charles duc de Normendie que, sur quanque il amoit et doubtoit, il se retrait à Poitiers, combien que moult envys le feist. Mais il convinst qu'il obeist à son pere, comme raison estoit" (Luce 1862, 56-57).

15Here it may be of interest to note the benedictio that follows the placing of the crown on the king's head in the Ordo of Charles V: Extendat omnipotens deus dexteram sue benedictionis. et circumdet te muro felicitatis. ac custodia sue protectionis sancte marie ac beati petri apostolorum principis. sanctique dyonisii: atque omnium sanctorum intercedentibus meritis. Amen. (Dewick 1899, col. 38)
The non-Lenten Temporale chants from which tenors are taken are the *Historia de Job*, used in the first half of September, when the book of Job is read at Matins16 (M2, *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro*, and M3, *He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T. Quare non sum mortuus*), the *Historia de Libris Regum*, used for the Sundays after Pentecost (M7, *J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te*), the First Sunday after Pentecost (M4, *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Douiz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi*),17 and the Second Sunday of Advent (M6, *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum*). All five motets use French amatory texts in the

16“In the late Middle Ages ‘historia’ designated the antiphons and responsories of the Divine Office for an entire day; this use of the term was no doubt derived from the close relationship between these chants and the readings of the Office, which were mostly from stories of the lives of saints,” Smither 1980, 592. The *historiae* in question here are for use in the periods between major feasts in the Temporale, especially for the weeks after Pentecost; each *historia* is used for several weeks, and its elements are taken from books of the Bible, especially the narrative books of the Old Testament.

17“This liturgical assignment is less stable than most, probably because of the eventual placement of Trinity on the Sunday after Pentecost. This fixing of Trinity, designed “to mark the conclusion of the liturgical commemorations of the life of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit by a celebration embracing God in all three Persons, was universally enjoined by Pope John XXII” in 1334, though it was celebrated, often the week after Pentecost, much earlier. See Cross 1966, 1377. In most manuscripts I have seen, like the edition used by Ludwig (*Graduale* 1908), both the Sunday after Pentecost and Trinity are given. Modern editions tend to assign this chant to Pentecost 7, while medieval sources that do not include Pentecost 1 as a distinct celebration may give this chant to the Sunday after Trinity or the Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost. Nevertheless, the original assignment of this chant is to the Sunday after Pentecost. The point remains in any case that the liturgical marking of this chant is not strong.
upper voices, but four of their tenors are not strongly marked from the liturgical point of view. The use of an Advent chant in *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust* / *S'Amours tous amans joir* / T. *Et gaudebit cor vestrum* (M6), though the only such example in the Machaut corpus, might be significant, since Advent is a season of hope, preparation and expectancy, with a Marian component as well. In the triplum and motetus of this motet, these ideas of preparation to receive something special (the penitential aspect of Advent), hope in its most positive form, and focus on the lady through whom all this comes are present. For the four post-Pentecost chants, however, I have not yet been able to determine whether liturgical placement in any unique way relates to the subject matter of the associated motets. In fact, especially for the three taken from *historiae*, the Biblical context is doubtless the primary one.¹⁸

Three motets use Marian tenors. *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentiment* / *De ma dolour confortes doucement* / T. *Quia amore langueo* (M14), on an antiphon for the Assumption of the Virgin and other Marian feasts, is a straightforward lover’s complaint with French texts. For Machaut, then, the Virgin can cross the boundary between “sacred” and “secular,” a commonplace assumption in the language of courtly love and of the Marian cult of the middle ages. It should also be emphasized that the text of this chant comes from the Song of Songs and therefore can easily be applied to human as well as spiritual forms of love.

The two tenors on Marian antiphons may also support upper-voice texts about the Virgin. In *Quant vraie amour enflamée* / O *series summe*

¹⁸See Huot 1994 on the two motets with tenors from the *Historia de Job.*
rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa (M17), the triplum is a lover’s statement in French, but several clues may suggest subtly that the Lady here may in fact be the Virgin: references to vraie amour and a vrai amans, the lover’s work par foy de fait esprouvee, and even an oblique reference to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin\(^\text{19}\) (comme ordonnee / Nature qui l’a fourmee, / sans estre en riens brise). The motetus, in Latin, is less clear, mixing references to love and to a mitem creaturam, / que sola sit michi grata with language of measure and proportion that may contain musical references (phrases such as tenens ligaturam and spernatque mensuram). 

The tenor, from the Marian antiphon Ave regina celorum, borrows its melody from the motet Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis specie / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor (V7), which further suggests a connection of Machaut’s motet with the Virgin, who is the subject of Vitry’s motet.

Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor (M23), the other motet on a Marian antiphon, is directly addressed to the Virgin in both its Latin texts (Roga natum in triplum line 9, juvaque nos in motetus line 14), praying to her for help and peace. The tenor continues this first-person plea: to you we

\(^{19}\)This doctrine was supported by the Franciscans, following Duns Scotus, and opposed by the Dominicans, following Thomas Aquinas; it was not “affirmed...as a pious opinion in accordance with Catholic faith, reason, and Scripture” until 1439 at the Council of Basle; see Cross 1966, 681. It is possible that this reference to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin might suggest a connection between Machaut and Franciscan thought and devotion, though there is nothing known of his career that would tend to support such a suggestion.
cry, mourning and weeping. Marian tenors can thus be used for French love song texts, Latin prayers addressed to the Virgin, and texts that fall between these extremes.

These three motets may form a self-contained group within Machaut’s motets, a group that includes a progression of sorts, as the lover turns his attention from his lady to the Virgin. The first motet, *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma doulour confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo* (M14), uses a Marian chant with a text from the Song of Songs in a motet about love for an earthly lady, while in *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa* (M17), the lady seems perhaps to have become the Virgin. Finally, in *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (M23), the speaker addresses the Virgin clearly and directly and asks for her help. We will see another possible progression from an earthly to a heavenly focus in another group of motets below.

But it is the Lenten tenors that predominate in Machaut’s oeuvre, accounting for seven of the seventeen identified chant tenors. Of these, two have Latin texts (M9, *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* and M21, *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima es et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor*), both protesting the evils of the age and calling on Christ (with the Virgin in the

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20The basic study of this motet is Eggebrecht 1962-63 and 1968; he grounds the motet in the betrayal of Joseph by his brothers that forms the Biblical context of the tenor text.
motetus *O livoris feritas* and the Holy Spirit in the motetus *Veni, creator spiritus*) for help. The use of a penitential chant in the tenor of such motets could refer to the need for the people of France to repent and ask for divine grace and protection. M21, interestingly, not only uses a chant tenor (from the responsory *Circumdederunt me viri mendaces*), but both upper-voice texts begin with the opening line of a hymn: *Christe, qui lux es et dies*, a Compline hymn,\(^21\) and *Veni, creator spiritus*.\(^22\) A portion of this tenor is also used for another Machaut motet, one about courtly love with French texts (M8, *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Hal Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*).\(^23\)

The remaining five Lenten tenors, nearly one-third of the identified chant tenors, combine the penitential chant with upper voices on the subject of love. They are fairly evenly divided between Lent proper and the Triduum, the days commemorating the events leading up to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. All of them use French texts in the upper voices:

\(^21\)Mone 1853, no. 70, p. 92 gives this hymn *In quadragesima per duas hebdomadas, ad completorium*; Lütolf 1978, 1, 192 gives three hymns with this incipit: no. 5029 (27, 111) for *Dom. diebus. Complet.*, no. 5030 (23, 157) for *Coleta*, and no. 5031 (51, 21) for *Complet*.

\(^22\)Mone 1853, no. 184, p. 241, *In pentecoste, ad tertiam*; Lütolf 1978, 1, 960, gives a total of twelve hymns with this incipit, many though not all for either *Spiritus sanctus* or Pentecost.

\(^23\)In another study I hope to devote more attention to motets paired like these by the use of the same or related tenors.
M1  Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite
/T. Amara valde (Holy Saturday)

M8  Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis
mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet (Palm Sunday)

M10  Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T.
Obediens usque ad mortem (Maundy Thursday)

M15  Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi
Dominum facie ad faciem (Lent 2)

and Helas! pourquoi virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando
conqueror / T. Libera me (M12, with a tenor from a chant for the Second
Sunday of Lent) is a mixed motet with French triplum and Latin motetus.

Beyond the appropriateness of the tenor tags to the motets they underpin, I
believe the connection with Lent is significant: the sorrow and pain of the
lover is explicitly compared to that of Jesus on the cross, the narrator's
passion with the passio of Christ. This comparison may be either
straightforward or ironic, or both at once, but I believe it must be
intentional.24

24I do not mean to say that this specific wordplay necessarily appears in
medieval French literature; though I believe it may have been used, I
cannot cite a specific example. Nevertheless, both meanings of passion are
available (see Tobler-Lommatsch 1969, vol. 7 cols. 456-58 and Godefroy
1880-1902, vol. 6 p. 29, where the non-Biblical meaning is more a matter of
"souffrance, mal, douleur, maladie" than passion in the modern sense),
and I would not be surprised to find them used simultaneously.
Moreover, the medieval idea of amorous passion is much more closely
connected with suffering than are modern meanings of the word, as a
perusal of the upper-voice texts of Machaut's French-language motets will
demonstrate. I do, however, wish to emphasize that, although the
linguistic play I use in describing the combination of French amatory texts
and Lenten or Holy Week tenors may not have a medieval precedent, the
motets, I believe, represent a conscious joining of the concepts. I am
One of these motets, and perhaps the one that gains most with a 
Lenten association, is M8, Qui es promises de Fortune se fie / Ha!
Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet. The tenor 
comes from a responsory used most often on Palm Sunday:
Circumdederunt me viri mendaces, sine causa flagellis ceciderunt me: sed 
tu, Domine defensor, vindica mea. [V.] Quoniam tribulation proxima est, et 
non est qui adjuvet.25 This text is in turn reworked from parts of Psalm 
21(22), Deus deus meus. The psalm is associated with the Crucifixion of 
Christ from early on, and Augustine was doubtless not the first to see the 
fulfilment of the psalm’s opening words in the cry of Christ on the cross:
“My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?”26 A comparison of the 
lover with Christ is therefore possible on the basis of the psalm’s exegesis 
alone, but an association with Palm Sunday may add to the meaning of the 
motet. The upper-voice texts follow:27

grateful to Christopher Page for expressing his skepticism, which has made 
me more clearly formulate this point. He also alerted me to an early 
English text that links Lent, spring, and love:
Lenten is come with love to towne, 
with blosmen and with briddês rowne... 
See Sisam 1970, p. 120 no. 48.

25It is also used occasionally on Passion Sunday, and on weekdays during 
Holy Week.

26Mark 15:34. For the connection of these passages in the Enarrationes in 
Psalmos, see Augustine 1956, 125, for the Latin, which is translated in 
Augustine 1960, 213.

27Texts are taken from Ludwig 1926-54; Chichmaref 1973, 497-98, has no 
substantive variants. Translations are my own.
Triplum
Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie
et es richesses de ses dons s’asseure,
ou cilz qui croit qu’elle soit tant s’amie
que pour li soit en riens ferme ou seure,
il est trop folz, car elle est non seure
sans foy, sans loy, sans droit et sans mesure,
c’est fiens couvers de riche couverture,
qui dehors luist et dedens est ordure.
Une ydole est de fausse pourtraiture,
ou nulz ne doit croire ne mettre cure;
sa contenance en vertu pas ne dure,
car c’est tous vens, ne riens qu’elle figure
ne puet estre fors de fausse figure;
et li siens sont toudis en aventure
de trebuchier; car, par droite nature,
a la desloyal renoie, parjure,
fausse, traitre, perverse et mere sure
oingt et puis point de si mortel pointure
que ciaulz qui sont fait de sa norriture
en traison met a desconfiture.

(He who trusts the promises of Fortune and assures himself of her gifts, or who believes that she is at all his friend, that she will be firm or sure for him in anything—he is foolish indeed, for she is unstable, faithless, lawless, without right and immoderate. She is dung covered with a rich covering that shines without and is filth within. She is an idol of false portraiture, in which none must believe or pay any attention; her countenance does not remain strong, for it is all wind, nor can anything she represents be other than a false form. Her adherents are always in danger of overthrow, for, by her true nature, the disloyal one renounces them; a perjurer, false, a traitor, perverse and a bad mother, she anoints and then pierces them with so mortal a wound that those who are reared on her nourishment she traitorously puts to flight.)

Motetus
Hal Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port,
quant en la mer m’as mis sans aviron
en un bustel petit, plat et sans bort,
foible, porri, sans voile; et environ
sont tuit li vent contraire pour ma mort,
si qu’il n’i a confort ne garison,
merci n’espoir, ne d’eschaper ressort,
ne riens de bien pour moy, car sanz raison
je voy venir la mort amere a tort
preste de moy mettre a destruction;
mais celle mort recoy je par ton sort,
fausse Fortune, et par ta traison.

(Ah! Fortune, you have placed me too far from port when you put me to sea without a rudder, in a little boat, flat and without a rim, weak and rotted, and around are all the contrary winds [gathered] for my death, so that there is neither comfort nor healing, mercy nor hope, nor possibility of escape, nor anything good for me, for with no reason I see bitter death wrongly come close to destroying me. But I receive this death by your lot, false Fortune, and by your treachery.)

Palm Sunday is an awkward event: a joyous entry into Jerusalem that will lead to tragedy in a few days, a public affirmation that will result in betrayal and execution. Jesus foretells the events on the road to Jerusalem: “Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man will be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death, and deliver him to the Gentiles; and they will mock him, and spit upon him, and scourge him, and kill him; and after three days he will rise.” (Mark 10:33-34; similar passages appear in Matthew 20:17-19 and Luke 18:31-34.) The triplum of this motet begins with a warning that would be fitting for Palm Sunday: do not believe in the good things promised by Fortune, for she changes quickly. But that is not all: she is

28The instability of Fortune is musically depicted by the syncopation that appears in each upper voice in turn during the second half of each talea, and it is reflected as well in the triplum text: the internal rhyme of the first four lines, which describe those who believe Fortune’s promises, is broken at the words il est trop folz, car elle est non seure, thus demonstrating as
not only unstable, but actively traitorous, as is emphasized over and over. She is faithless, lawless, without reason or measure, she is dung hidden under rich clothes, she is disloyal, a perjurer and a traitor. As evil as a bad mother, she anoints, then pierces unto death those nourished by her.\textsuperscript{29} The warning implied by this text—that false promises have been given by a traitor—may suggest a connection of Fortune with Judas, who betrayed Jesus a few days after the triumphal entry of Palm Sunday. Fortune anoints, then pierces; Judas kisses and betrays.

Judas is in fact linked with an act of anointing—one he tries to prevent—on the eve of Palm Sunday, according to the Gospel of John:

Mary took a pound of costly ointment of pure nard and anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped his feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the fragrance of the ointment. But Judas Iscariot, one of his disciples (he who was to betray him), said, “Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the poor?” This he said, not that he cared for the poor but because he was a thief, and as he had the money box he used to take what was put into it. Jesus said, “Let her alone, let her keep it for the day of

well as declaring her propensity to change. These images were discussed in a visit by Kevin Brownlee to Margaret Bent’s motet seminar in fall term 1990 and on other occasions.\textsuperscript{29} The type of mother Fortune is is diametrically opposed to the natural father of Matthew 7:9-11: “what man of you, if his son asks him for bread, will give him a stone? Or if he asks for a fish, will give him a serpent? If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him!” See also Luke 11:11-13. The images of anointing and death by piercing may also resonate with other events in the life of Christ; see Matthew 26:6-13, Mark 14:3-9, Luke 7:36-50 and John 12:1-8 on the woman who anointed Jesus’s feet and John 19:31-35 on the piercing of his side.
my burial. The poor you always have with you, but you do not always have me. (John 12:3-8)\(^{30}\)

This anointing precedes the entry into Jerusalem, and it foreshadows both Jesus's burial and Judas's betrayal and the money he would receive for it.

The motet ends with what is perhaps the key word of the triplum: *traison*. Its basic image, though, is less linked with Judas and the events leading up to the Crucifixion. The first-person narrator is rather stranded on an unseaworthy boat in a storm.\(^{31}\) This text also exploits the homonymic relationship between *la mer* (the sea) and *amer* in the sense of "bitter"; the absence of *amer* in the sense "to love" would seem to be deliberate.\(^{32}\)

In this motet, then, images surrounding the events of Palm Sunday, the liturgical source of the tenor, may help one to understand the true depth of Fortune's treachery as well as the lover's sufferings. The association of the lover with Jesus also suggests that, to some extent, the lover's sufferings are voluntary: he has the power to prevent them, but he chooses not to do so. His reasons, however, are perhaps not as clear as Jesus's, though, and certainly more self-focused.

\(^{30}\)In Matthew 26:6-16 and Mark 14:3-11, the event occurs a couple of days after the entry into Jerusalem, two days before Passover; in both cases this event leads to Judas's offer to the chief priests to betray Jesus for money.

\(^{31}\)A comparison may be possible with the evening when Jesus walked on water to the disciples, who were on a boat in a storm (see Matthew 14:22-36, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:15-21), or alternatively with another storm that Jesus calms (Mathew 8:18, 23-27, Mark 4:35-41 and Luke 8:22-25). In this case, of course, the narrator is not expecting divine aid.

\(^{32}\)Similarly, *la mort* (death) is used (with its related forms *ma mort* and *celle mort*), but not *l'amour* (love).
The connection between the five Lenten chants and the motets they support may on one level may operate in a progressively more complex relationship from a straightforward comparison of the lover’s sufferings with those of Christ to an emphasis on conversion and departure from earthly love. *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (M1), which begins the motet sequence, plays with the semantic connections between *amer* as both “to love” and “bitter” in Middle French, and the use of a tenor labeled *Amara valde*, taken from a chant for the day that Christ lay dead in the tomb, shifts the balance toward the bitterness in store for the lover. In the next motet with a Lenten tenor (*M8, Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*), the instability of Fortune is emphasized, as well as the helplessness of the lover, here further underlined by the tenor, and *there is none to help*. This tenor’s source, a chant used most often on Palm Sunday, shows the dark side of the celebration of Christ’s entry into Jerusalem and warns of the sufferings to come, as we have seen. In *Hareul hareul le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* (M10), the lover believes he will die before his Lady gives him mercy, and the tenor promises that he, like Christ, shall continue to be *obedient even unto death*.

With *Helas! pourquoi virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me* (M12), we leave behind a

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33 Another possible resonance for these words is with the *Dies irae*, the sequence for the Mass for the Dead. Such an extratextual link with the commemoration of a dead person may strengthen the association with the dead Jesus for this motet. The melody, of course, does not match.
straightforward comparison of the lover's sufferings to those of Christ: this tenor is taken not from Holy Week, the period most directly focused on the Crucifixion, but from the Second Sunday of Lent, which could be more likely focused on self-examination and conversion. Similarly, its textual source comes not from the New Testament or from the Psalms or Prophets most easily turned to allegory, but from the book of Genesis, specifically the story of Jacob and Esau. The motetus text does complain about the pains of love, but it uses no forms of *amo* or *amor*; on the other hand, it evokes *Fortuna* twice. The tenor likewise does not speak of love or obedience, but rather the lover's desire to be freed—free of love and the Lady as well as of Fortune?

Finally, in *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem* (M15), the lover understands fully the nature of Faus Semblant (False Seeming, a character from the *Roman de la Rose*) and turns from Love and his Lady toward the Lord who has spared his life. As Kevin Brownlee has said, "the key in this motet is the opposition between the amorous, courtly hope explicitly articulated in the triplum and motetus, and the Christian, spiritual hope evoked by the tenor." Brownlee points out the topicality for this argument of the

34See for example the Lenten sermons of Augustine, which focus not on the sacrifice of Christ but on the listeners and their sins. Sermon 207 begins: "By the help of the merciful Lord our God, the temptations of the world, the snares of the Devil, the suffering of the world, the enticement of the flesh, the surging waves of troubled times, and all corporal and spiritual adversities are to be overcome by almsgiving, fasting, and prayer." (Augustine 1959, 89.) By contrast, Sermon 218, for Good Friday, focuses more on the Passion itself.

35Brownlee 1991, 13-14; emphasis original.
Biblical context of the chant: that is, Jacob's wrestling match with God, after which he receives the new identity of Israel. I would argue, though, that another part of the point of this motet has to do with the chant's Lenten context. This tenor, like the one discussed above, is taken from the Second Sunday of Lent, a period of penitence but one perhaps linked less strongly with the Passion of Christ than that of the first three motets studied in this group. These five motets, then, appear to move from a comparison of the lover's sufferings with those of Jesus to a focus on Jacob and penitence more human in focus, but turning its attention to heaven for help. As we have seen, a similar progression may be present in the three motets on Marian tenors, from the purely amorous to *vraie amour* to direct address to the Virgin for aid.

Are these "progressions" intended to be seen as such? Such a question would be difficult to answer. Lawrence Earp has shown that the Machaut motets may not represent a simple chronological series, as has been suggested, but an ordered group—or rather two ordered groups, since M4 (*De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi*) and M21-23 (*Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor, Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor, and Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor*) do not appear in manuscript C.36 If that is the case, then principles of organization

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36Earp 1983. He suggests that *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi* (M4) could have been part of the
should be sought, and this dual progression from sacred to spiritual love
may turn out to be an important factor in the ordering process. For
example, the triplum text of M1, *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde*, seems to have been composed
with an eye toward its position opening the motet corpus: the word
*premierement* ("first") occurs in the first line of the first voice of the first
motet in the manuscript, while the third line from the end, *Et pour ce di en souspirant*, foreshadows the opening of the motetus of the next motet,
*De souspirant cuer dolent*.

For the Machaut motets, at least, it thus becomes apparent that the
liturgical placement of the source chant is one factor that may be taken into
consideration when selecting a tenor for a motet. The use of a chant from
a saint's office for a motet honoring the same saint is perhaps obvious, but
other examples of careful selection exist through most of the Machaut
repertory, the Holy Week tenors to French courtly-love motets being
perhaps the most striking and most interesting of these. We will now turn
to the other great collection of mid-century motets, the Ivrea codex, to test
this hypothesis further.

**Ivrea**

Karl Kügle has recently for the first time successfully accounted for
the copying of this important source and its existence in the relatively
unimportant Piedmont city of Ivrea. According to Kügle, the manuscript

original grouping, accidentally omitted as the motet section of the
manuscript was copied.
was "a product of the Savoyard presence in Ivrea during the late 14th century….most likely copied in the 1380s and 1390s at Ivrea cathedral by two Savoyard clerics, Jehan Pellicier and Jacometus de ecclesia." He suggests, however, that the source repertory for the manuscript came not from the Papal curia at Avignon or the court of Gaston Fébus at Orthez, as has often been suggested, but rather the collegiate foundation of Saint-Aignan in Orléans. This foundation had royal patronage, as Kügle notes, as early as the formation of the first royal duchy of Orléans in 1344, and its benefices served to fund key royal clerks as early as the second half of the reign of Saint Louis IX a century before. This repertory, despite the late copying date, seems to have been "frozen in 1359, and it may well reflect the polyphony—perhaps of a conservative inclination—cultivated at Saint-Aignan in the late 1350s." The motet corpus of the Ivrea codex is thus relatively comparable to Machaut’s both in date (before c. 1360-70) and provenance (Champagne on the one hand, Orléans on the other, and both to some degree connected with the royal court and the central French royal domain).

The largely anonymous repertory of this manuscript, however, presents a different view of the fourteenth-century motet. Of the 37 motets present in whole or in part, only 14 have French amatory texts, two of

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37 Kügle 1990, 549.
38 Kügle 1990, 541. The first Valois duc d’Orléans was Philippe, son of Philippe VI; he died in 1375 without issue.
41 I include the Ite, missa est of the Tournai Mass, because it appears as a motet in this manuscript. Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis /
these by Machaut. On the other hand, 16 of Machaut's 23 motets are of this type (this count includes the mixed motet M12, *Helas! pourquoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T.
Libera me*, on amatory themes, but omits M17, *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa*, since it is perhaps as much Marian than courtly). The Ivrea codex thus contains more Latin-texted works, including *admonitiones* concerning pride and court life, Marian works, and motets celebrating individual saints, kings and nobles, and even musicians.

Most of the Latin-texted motets relating to current events, nobles and kings, unfortunately, do not use tenors whose sources, if there were any, are known to us. Of the twenty-three Latin and mixed-language Marian motets in the Ivrea codex, only thirteen have tenors or tags taken from identified chants. (See Tables 3-4.) These include four Sanctorale chants, five for Marian feasts, one from the Common of Apostles, one from the Common of a Virgin Martyr, and two for Wednesday of Holy Week, in addition to the *Ite, missa est* motet.

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*T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor (V11), Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor (H4 (G3)), and Dantur officia / Quid scire proderit / Tenor (V13) are all fragmentary in this source, due to a piece torn away from f. 5.

42 This count omits the mixed motet H13, *A vous, vierge de doucour / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi*, with Marian texts. It omits as well *Se grace n'est / Cum venerint miserii / T. Ite missa est*, the mixed motet with devotional themes that serves as the *Ite, missa est* of the Tournai Mass.
The Sanctorale chants include Machaut’s Saint Quentin motet

(Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo
honoratus, M19), a Latin-texted motet on matters of faith attributed to
Philippe de Vitry on a tenor for Saint Agnes (Tuba sacra fidei / In arboris
empiro / T. Virgo sum, V10), a motet honoring Robert of Anjou, king of
Sicily (Naples) and using a chant for Saint Louis IX as its tenor (O canenda
vulgo per computa / Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura / T. Rex
regum [regi filio], V14), and a motet in honor of Saint Louis of Toulouse
(d. 1297, canonized 1317), Flos ortus inter lilia / Celsa cedrus ysopus effecta
/ T. Quam magnus pontifex (H7), that uses a chant from his liturgy.

43 There seems to be some confusion regarding the placement of this chant. Harrison assigns it to Louis of Toulouse in Harrison 1968, 207, but to Louis IX on the next page. I have found it used only for Louis IX, though both saints were canonized late enough that they tend to be celebrated with Common material, if at all. Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 34 has pointed out that the words rex regum regi filio are not strictly applicable to Louis of Toulouse: though indeed the son of a king, he gave up his right to the throne of Sicily in favor of his brother, Robert of Anjou. Still, to evoke Louis of Toulouse in a motet honoring his brother, who pushed for his rapid canonization (twenty years after his death, more rapid even than that of Louis IX), may seem more appropriate than a reference to Louis IX, great-uncle of the younger Louis and Robert. I hope to gather more material in time to shed light on the liturgical assignment of this chant, and perhaps also the question of the confusion of these two saints.

44 Harrison 1968, 194 says Quam magnus pontifex “must refer to a text in honour of St Louis of Toulouse, but such a text with this music has not been found.” Whether this means that he has found such a text with different music, or that he has been able to locate neither but feels sure that this tenor must come from a chant for this saint’s feast because of the subject of the upper-voice texts, he does not specify. I have found the tenor source in an antiphon for Saint Louis of Toulouse, O quam magnus pontifex.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>O Philippe, Franci</td>
<td>O bone dux</td>
<td>[Solus tenor]</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>Altissonis aptatis</td>
<td>Hin principes</td>
<td>Tonans</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>Febus mundo</td>
<td>Lanista vipereus</td>
<td>Cornibus equivocis...</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V11</td>
<td>Impudenter</td>
<td>Virtutibus</td>
<td>[Alma redemptoris ...]</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>Apta caro</td>
<td>Flos virginum</td>
<td>Alma redemptoris ...</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V13</td>
<td>Dantur officia</td>
<td>Quid scire</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>Portio nature</td>
<td>Ida capillorum</td>
<td>Ante thronum ...</td>
<td>antiphon Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6</td>
<td>Post missarum</td>
<td>Post missa</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V7</td>
<td>Vos qui</td>
<td>Gratissima</td>
<td>Gaude gloriosa</td>
<td>antiphon Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H7</td>
<td>Flos ortus</td>
<td>Celsa cedrus</td>
<td>Quam magnus ...</td>
<td>antiphon Louis of Toulouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M19</td>
<td>Martyrnum</td>
<td>Diligenter</td>
<td>A Christo honoratus</td>
<td>responsory Quentin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H8</td>
<td>Almifoni</td>
<td>Rosa sine culpce</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H9</td>
<td>Apollinis</td>
<td>Zodiacum</td>
<td>In omnem terram</td>
<td>offertory Apostles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H10</td>
<td>Zolomina zelus</td>
<td>Nazarea que</td>
<td>Ave Maria</td>
<td>responsory Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V8</td>
<td>Cum statua</td>
<td>Hugo, Hugo</td>
<td>Magister invidie</td>
<td>antiphon? Andrew?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V10</td>
<td>Tuba sacre fidei</td>
<td>In arboris</td>
<td>Virgo sum</td>
<td>responsory Agnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H11</td>
<td>Rachel plorat</td>
<td>Ha fratres</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V9</td>
<td>Colla jugo</td>
<td>Bona condit</td>
<td>Libera me</td>
<td>antiphon Wed., Holy Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H12</td>
<td>Tant a souttille</td>
<td>Bien pert</td>
<td>Cuius pulcritudinem...</td>
<td>responsory Agnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H13</td>
<td>A vous, vierge</td>
<td>Ad te, virgo</td>
<td>Regnum mundi</td>
<td>responsory Virgin Martyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M15</td>
<td>Amors qui ha</td>
<td>Faus Sambiant</td>
<td>Vidi Dominum...</td>
<td>responsory Lent 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toub</td>
<td>Se grace n'est</td>
<td>Cum venerint</td>
<td>Ite, missa est</td>
<td>Ite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H14</td>
<td>Les l'ormelle</td>
<td>Mayn se leva</td>
<td>Je n'y saindrai plus...</td>
<td>secular song</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Motets are given in the order in which they appear in this manuscript.

b See Van den Borren 1957.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H15</th>
<th>Mon chant</th>
<th>Qui doloreus</th>
<th>Tristis est anima mea</th>
<th>respnsory</th>
<th>Maundy Thursday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V6</td>
<td>Douce playse</td>
<td>Garison selon</td>
<td>Neuma quinti toni</td>
<td>neuma</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M8</td>
<td>Qui es promesses</td>
<td>Ha! Fortune</td>
<td>Et non est qui adjuvet</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>Palm Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H16</td>
<td>Se pâour d’umble</td>
<td>Diex, tan desir</td>
<td>Concupisco</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>Agnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M24c</td>
<td>Li enseignement</td>
<td>De tous</td>
<td>Ecce tu pulchra ...</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V12</td>
<td>Petre Clemens</td>
<td>Lugentium</td>
<td>[Non est inventus...]</td>
<td>gradual</td>
<td>One Confessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H17</td>
<td>Fortune, mere</td>
<td>Ma doulour</td>
<td>Dolor meus</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>Good Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V14</td>
<td>O canenda</td>
<td>Rex quem</td>
<td>Rex regum [regi filio]</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>Louis IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H18</td>
<td>In virtute</td>
<td>Decens carmen</td>
<td>Clamor meus</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>Wed., Holy Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H19</td>
<td>Amer amours</td>
<td>Durement</td>
<td>Dolor meus</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>Good Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H20</td>
<td>Trop ay dure</td>
<td>Par sauvage</td>
<td>[Tenor]</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H21</td>
<td>L’amoureuse</td>
<td>En l’estat</td>
<td>[Sicut fenum arui]</td>
<td>unidentfied</td>
<td>Historia de Psalmis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H22</td>
<td>Clap, clap</td>
<td>Sus, Robin</td>
<td>[Tenor]</td>
<td>respnsory</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>Je comence</td>
<td>Et je seray</td>
<td>Soules viex ...</td>
<td>secular song</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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c This is included in Schrade’s edition of Machaut (Schrade 1956b) on the basis of an attribution in the Fribourg fragment; since it does not appear in the Machaut manuscripts, its authenticity is usually denied.

d Edited as no. 31a in Greene 1987.
Table 3: Latin-texted and mixed Marian motets with identified chant tenors and their subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
<th>motet subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M9</td>
<td>Fons tocius</td>
<td>O livoris feritas</td>
<td>Fera pessima</td>
<td>Lent 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pride and envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M21</td>
<td>Christe, qui</td>
<td>Veni, creator</td>
<td>Tribulatio proxima ...</td>
<td>Palm Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V9</td>
<td>Colla jugo</td>
<td>Bona condit</td>
<td>Libera me [de sanguinibus]</td>
<td>Wed., Holy Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>court life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H18</td>
<td>In virtute</td>
<td>Decens carmen</td>
<td>Clamor meus</td>
<td>Wed., Holy Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>style and subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V10</td>
<td>Tuba sacre</td>
<td>In arboris</td>
<td>Virgo sum</td>
<td>Agnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>matters of faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M19</td>
<td>Martyrum</td>
<td>Diligenter</td>
<td>A Christo honoratus</td>
<td>Quentin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quentin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H7</td>
<td>Flos ortus</td>
<td>Celsa cedrus</td>
<td>Quam magnus pontifex</td>
<td>Louis of Toulouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Louis of Toulouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V14</td>
<td>O canenda</td>
<td>Rex quem</td>
<td>Rex regum [regi filio]</td>
<td>Louis IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert of Anjou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M17</td>
<td>Quant vraie</td>
<td>O series summe</td>
<td>Super omnes speciosa</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M23</td>
<td>Felix virgo</td>
<td>Inviolata</td>
<td>Ad te suspiramus ...</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V11</td>
<td>Impudenter</td>
<td>Virtutibus</td>
<td>[Alma redemptoris mater]</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>Apta caro</td>
<td>Flos virginum</td>
<td>Alma redemptoris mater</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V7</td>
<td>Vos quid</td>
<td>Gratissima</td>
<td>Gaude gloriosa</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>Portio nature</td>
<td>Ida capillorum</td>
<td>Ante thronum trinitatis</td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ida of Boulogne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H10</td>
<td>Zolomina</td>
<td>Nazarea que</td>
<td>Ave Maria</td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>virtue / Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H13</td>
<td>A vous, vierge</td>
<td>Ad te, virgo</td>
<td>Regnum mundi</td>
<td>Virgin Martyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H9</td>
<td>Apollinis</td>
<td>Zodiacum</td>
<td>In omnem terram</td>
<td>Apostles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>musicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M22</td>
<td>Tu qui gregem</td>
<td>Plange, regni</td>
<td>Apprehende arma ...</td>
<td>One Martyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Church / Schism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motets are divided into groups by the liturgical source of their tenors: first tenors taken from Temporale chants (in liturgical order), then Sanctorale chants (again in liturgical order), then Marian and finally Common chants.
### New identifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Identifying Name</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Against</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V8</td>
<td>Cum statua Hugo, Hugo</td>
<td>Magister invidie</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>contra &quot;Hugo&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V12</td>
<td>Petre Clemens Lugentium</td>
<td>[Non est inventus...]</td>
<td>One Confessor</td>
<td>Clement VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triplum</td>
<td>Motetus</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Motet subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M18</td>
<td>Bone pastor Guillerme</td>
<td>Bone pastor</td>
<td>Guillaume de Trie, archbp. Reims</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>O Philippe, Franci</td>
<td>O bone dux</td>
<td>Philippe VI/ Jean de Normandie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>Altissonis aptatis</td>
<td>Hin principes</td>
<td>Gaston Fébus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>Febus mundo oriens</td>
<td>Lanista vipereus</td>
<td>Gaston Fébus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V13</td>
<td>Dantur officia</td>
<td>Quid scire proderit</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>after Mass/good governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6</td>
<td>Post missarum</td>
<td>Post misse</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H8</td>
<td>Almifonis melos</td>
<td>Rosa sine culpe</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Marian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H11</td>
<td>Rachel plorat filios</td>
<td>Ha fratres</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>friars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A chant from the Common of Apostles appears in *Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum signis lustrantibus/T. In omnem terram* (H9), one of the musician motets. It therefore forms an unusual example of tenor pairing with a motet in the later Chantilly codex that likewise celebrates musicians, *Sub Arturo plebs vallata/Fons citharizantium/T. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis* (H31 (G12)): both motets share a tenor text, from Psalm 18(19), but the melodies come from different chants, respectively an offertory and an antiphon from the Common of Apostles. Given the close connections between motets in this group, as outlined by Margaret Bent and David Howlett, it is likely that this coincidence of tenor texts was deliberate and that the later motet was modeled on the earlier one. The Apostolic connection is in keeping with the number symbolism of these motets— for example, twelve contemporary musicians are named in the triplum, and the motetus evokes the twelve signs of the zodiac.45

It is interesting to note that the tenor from the Common of a Virgin Martyr (the mixed motet H13, *A vous, vierge de douçour/Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio/T. Regnum mundi*) is used for a Marian motet, while a Marian chant appears as the tenor of a motet honoring Saint Ida of Boulogne (H5 (G14), *Portio nature precellentis geniture/Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum/T. Ante thronum trinitatis/Contratenor*). Similarly, one motet attributed to Philippe de Vitry (V10, *Tuba sacre fidei/In arboris empiro/T. Virgo sum*), on matters of faith, uses a tenor from

45Margaret Bent and David Howlett are preparing a study of the musician motets as a group, so far unpublished but eagerly awaited.
the feast of Saint Agnes. These assignments do not seem to "fit" into the patterns thus far seen, nor does there appear to be any logical reason for their seeming deviance. It is possible that the liturgical assignments of these chants reflect a local tradition that has not yet been determined. It should be noted that the tenor of Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor is "mislabeled" in the Strasbourg codex as Ante thronum huius virginis, an error that Harrison attributes to "confusion with a text from the Common of Virgins."46 This evident confusion could originate with the composer or with the scribe. If scribal, it could reflect a belief that the tenor of such a motet should come from a Sanctorale chant (that is, a non-Marian chant); the scribe corrected what seemed to him a mistaken or incomplete identification by citing the chant from the Common.47 The other four motets with Marian tenors also have Marian texts in the upper voices, some referring to virtues as well:

46Harrison 1968, 193.
47It would in fact be the wrong Common, since Ida of Boulogne (c. 1040-13 April 1113) was not a virgin. Daughter of Duke Godfrey II of Lower Lorraine and niece of Pope Stephen IX, she married Eustace II, Count of Boulogne, c. 1057, and two of her sons were kings of Jerusalem, most notably Godfrey of Bouillon, who is also counted among the Nine Worthies (Neuf Preux), "les neuf héros qui furent réputés les types de la vaillance et de l'honneur chevaleresque" (Collignon 1924, 79). Ida was buried at the Abbey of Saint-Vaast, Arras; see Brouette 1967, 335.
The two Latin motets on Lenten chants, both, interestingly, for Wednesday of Holy Week, are admonitiones. The first, *Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libra me [de sanguinibus] (V9)*, attributed to Philippe de Vitry, criticizes those who give up their freedom in favor of living at court; the triplum concludes with a hexameter from Lucan: *Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra secuntur.* The second (*In virtute nominum / Decens carmen edere / T. Clamor meus / Contratenor, H18*) speaks of decorum in the use of words, not an unimportant subject in a world where a major accusation against courtiers is flattery. The use of chants from the same day may suggest one motet was composed in imitation of the other, or both writers may have individually found a way to exploit the appropriateness of a penitential context for their criticisms.

For the French-texted motets as well, the liturgical context of the tenor's chant source, not only the text of the relevant fragment, seems to have been a factor in tenor selection. Of these fourteen motets, three take tenors from secular songs, one uses a neuma and one tenor is unlabeled in the manuscript and unidentified since. We will leave out of consideration for the moment the two motets by Machaut, *Qui es promesses de Fortune*
se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet (M8) and Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciemi (M15), both on Lenten tenors, that fall into this group. Seven chant-based motets remain; these are given in Table 5.

L'amoureuse flour d'este / En l'estat d'amere tristour / T. [Sicut fenum arui] (H21) takes a tenor from the Historia de Psalmis, a liturgically neutral period including the Saturdays after the Octave of the Epiphany, and, as with Machaut's historia tenors, the Biblical context is probably most important. Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea ("M24"48) uses a Marian tenor, one whose text comes from the Song of Songs; again, as was true for Machaut's Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma doulour confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo (M14), this association is probably as important as the Marian one. Tant a sottille pointure / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point / T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur (H12 (G1)) and Se pâour d'umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amês de m'amour / T. Concupisco (H16) use tenors from the feast of Saint Agnes and will be discussed in the next chapter.

48This motet is transmitted only in the Fribourg fragment. Since it does not appear in any of the Machaut manuscripts, the accuracy of its attribution to Machaut is usually doubted.
Table 5: French-texted and mixed amatory motets with identified chant tenors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M6</td>
<td>S’il estoit nulz</td>
<td>S’Amours tous</td>
<td>Et gaudebit cor vestrum</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H21</td>
<td>L’amoureuse</td>
<td>En l’estat d’amere</td>
<td>[Sicut fenum arui]</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M12</td>
<td>Helas! pour quoy</td>
<td>Corde mesto</td>
<td>Libera me</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M15</td>
<td>Amours qui ha</td>
<td>Faus Samblant</td>
<td>Vidi Dominum</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M8</td>
<td>Qui es promesses</td>
<td>Ha! Fortune</td>
<td>Et non est qui adjuvet</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M10</td>
<td>Hareu! hareu!</td>
<td>Helas! ou sera</td>
<td>Obediens usque ...</td>
<td>gradual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H15</td>
<td>Mon chant</td>
<td>Qui doloreus</td>
<td>Tristis est anima mea</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H17</td>
<td>Fortune, mere</td>
<td>Ma doulour</td>
<td>Dolor meus</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H19</td>
<td>Amer amours</td>
<td>Durement</td>
<td>Dolor meus</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>Quant en moy</td>
<td>Amour et biaute</td>
<td>Amara valde</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4</td>
<td>De Bon Espoir</td>
<td>Puis que la douce</td>
<td>Speravi</td>
<td>introit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M7</td>
<td>J’ay tant mon cuer</td>
<td>Lasse! je sui</td>
<td>Ego moriar pro te</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>Tous corps</td>
<td>De soupirant</td>
<td>Suspiro</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>He! Mors</td>
<td>Fine Amour</td>
<td>Quare non sum mortuus</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M14</td>
<td>Maugre mon cuer</td>
<td>De ma dolour</td>
<td>Quia amore languedo</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“M24”</td>
<td>Li enseignement</td>
<td>De tous</td>
<td>Ecce tu pulchra ...</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H12</td>
<td>Tant a soutille</td>
<td>Bien pert</td>
<td>Cuius pulcritudinem...</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H16</td>
<td>Se pâour d’umble</td>
<td>Diex, tan desir</td>
<td>Concupisco</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motets are divided into groups by the liturgical source of their tenors: first tenors taken from Temporale chants (in liturgical order), then Sanctorale chants (again in liturgical order), then Marian and finally Comon chants.
Finally, three tenors are taken from chants used in the Triduum, the three-day period from the Last Supper to the Resurrection:

H15  *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour*. *Qui doloreus onques n’a cogni*. / *T. Tristis est anima mea* (Maundy Thursday)

H17  *Fortune, mere à dolour*. / *Ma doulour ne cesse pas*. / *T. Dolor meus* (Good Friday)

H19  *Amer amours est la choison pourquoi*. / *Durement au cuer me blece*. / *T. Dolor meus* (Good Friday)

Including the two Machaut motets, then, a total of five of the nine known chant tenors come from Lenten chants, and four of these are from Holy Week itself, the period most closely connected with Christ’s sufferings.

The practice of using this tenor type for French amatory motets is thus not limited to Machaut but is to some degree true in the contemporary Ivrea repertory as well.

It may therefore be concluded that part of the process of choosing a tenor in the mid-fourteenth century is choosing a type of tenor that will fit the motet to be written, not only in terms of its text but also its liturgical context. The Virgin occupies a space between sacred and secular, and her feasts may be culled for tenors for both Latin motets addressed to her and French motets with an amatory theme; the latter may be particularly associated with Marian chants whose texts come from the Song of Songs. Similarly, Lenten chants may be used for Latin motets, especially those that emphasize the sins of the age and the need for general repentance, but they are even more often used for French amatory motets, where the
connections between the lover’s passion and the Passion of Christ can be best exploited.

Expanding the Range: The Chantilly Codex

The Chantilly codex contains thirteen motets in its last fascicle, three of which also appear in the Ivrea manuscript. (See Table 6.) The provenance and date of this manuscript have been the source of much debate. Most recently, Ursula Günther has modified the majority view, that the manuscript preserves a southwestern French repertory of the late fourteenth century as copied by an early-fifteenth-century Italian scribe, as follows:

In spite of the many compositions undoubtedly originating in Aragon, Foix, and Avignon, and finding their way into the ms CH, it seems probable to me that the source of CH was written in Paris. It must then have been brought to Florence by a member of the Alberti family [who lived in exile in Paris from 1401 to 1428 and owned the Chantilly codex in 1461] and copied there.

While Günther’s theory remains the most convincing statement of the manuscript’s origins, it does not fully answer the many questions about this source, whose repertory has been linked variously to southwestern France, Paris and Avignon, and whose calligraphy and orthography have been called both Italianate and Franco-Picard. Since, however, the precise

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49See especially Reaney 1954.
50Günther 1984, 107. Elizabeth Randell, of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is currently writing a dissertation on the manuscript, where she suggests an association of the manuscript with the Visconti court in Milan; this theory was put forth in a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (Pittsburgh, 1992).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>Apta caro</td>
<td>Flos virginum</td>
<td>Alma redemptoris mater</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>Portio nature</td>
<td>Ida capillorum</td>
<td>Ante thronum trinitatis</td>
<td>antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H23</td>
<td>Degentis vita</td>
<td>Cum vix artidici</td>
<td>Vera pudicitia</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H24</td>
<td>Pictagore</td>
<td>O terra sancta</td>
<td>Rosa vernans caritatis</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H25</td>
<td>Alpha vibrans</td>
<td>Cetus venit</td>
<td>Amicum querit</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H26</td>
<td>Rex Karole</td>
<td>Leticie, pacis</td>
<td>[Virgo prius ac posterius]</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H27</td>
<td>L’ardure</td>
<td>Tres dous espoir</td>
<td>Ego rogavi Deum ...</td>
<td>antiphon (text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H28</td>
<td>Alma polis</td>
<td>Axe poli</td>
<td>[In omnem terram?]b</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H29</td>
<td>Inter densas</td>
<td>Imbritus irriguis</td>
<td>Admirabile est...c</td>
<td>antiphon (text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H30</td>
<td>Multipliciter</td>
<td>Favore habundare</td>
<td>Letificat iuventutem ...</td>
<td>communion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H31</td>
<td>Sub Arturo</td>
<td>Fons</td>
<td>In omnem terram exivit ... antiphond</td>
<td>Apostles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These motets are given in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

bUrsula Günther suggests (Günther 1965, xlvi) that this tenor is an unidentified setting of the text In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum, which is used for two other musician motets (H9, Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram, and H31, Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizancium / T. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis) and appears frequently in the Common of Apostles and feasts of individual Apostles. She also posits a melodic similarity between this tenor and that of Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram.

cThis voice is actually a solus tenor.

dHarrison 1968, 200, following Ludwig, says the tenor source is “one of the Communions for Common of Apostles,” while Günther 1965, liii, calls it “without doubt a slightly shortened and transposed version of the first ant. for the first Nocturn for Apostles.” Günther’s melodic comparison shows a closer connection...
than Harrison's, though neither is exact. My interest here is more in the liturgical assignment to the Common of Apostles, on which both agree, in any case.

*This text is a variant from that of the antiphon and the Song of Songs, both of which have the verb *sum*. The variant may be an indication that texts, like melodies, could be changed, especially where only the text is borrowed from its liturgical source.
circumstances of the origin of this important and puzzling source are beyond the scope of the present study, it is enough here to say that the manuscript transmits a French repertory from the generation or so after that of Machaut and the Ivrea codex.51

With only thirteen motets, the picture will necessarily be less clear than for the earlier group, but perhaps some generalizations can be made in light of previous findings. There are ten Latin motets and three French ones, with a total of eight identified chant-based tenors. The tenor texts of three other motets can be linked to known chant texts, though the melodies do not correspond. Eleven of the thirteen motets in this manuscript—all three French motets and eight of the Latin ones—can therefore be linked with liturgically-based material.

Of the eight Latin motets with identified tenors or texts, three tenors are taken from Marian chants and one each from chants for the feasts of Saint Louis of Toulouse, Saint Francis, All Saints, Sexagesima and the Common of Apostles. Two of the Marian tenors have been discussed above with the Ivrea repertory, respectively a Marian motet (H4 (G3), Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor) and one in honor of Saint Ida of Cc.ulogne (H5 (G14), Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor). The third (H26 (G5), Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor) has a triplum

51Greene 1981, X: “The repertoire of the main body of the codex covers the years c. 1370 to c. 1395.”
addressed to Charles V of France and in the motetus a prayer to the Virgin; both texts ask for peace, insofar as earthly and heavenly powers can grant it. Since it is Mary who is asked to intercede in heaven, it seems appropriate to use a Marian chant as tenor—perhaps it indicates as well that her efficacy is more trusted than that of the temporal powers. Similarly, the Saint Francis tenor appears in *Alpha vibrans monumentum / Cetus venit heroycus / T. Amicum querit / Contratenor* (H25 (G6)), a motet celebrating Franciscans and their devotion to the Nativity.

The use of a text for Saint Louis of Toulouse for the Crusade motet *Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta suplica / T. Rosa vernans caritatis / Contratenor* (H24 (G9)) is more difficult to understand, since he was not connected with any crusade. In fact, I would wonder if either the composer or the scribe confused this saint for his better-known kinsman, Saint Louis IX, king of France, whose crusading spirit cannot be denied. A text for Louis of Toulouse could, however, serve as a reference to the royal house of France as well as to that of Sicily, since both the first Angevin house of Sicily and the Valois were descended from Louis VIII, and since Charles V (r. 1364-80) was also the great-grandson of Margaret of Anjou, Louis of Toulouse’s sister and wife of Charles de Valois. Evocation of the “lesser”

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52 This suggestion may perhaps be supported by the fact that, as mentioned above, Harrison 1968 assigns the responsory *Rex regum regi filio*, the tenor source for *O canenda vulgo per computa / Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura / T. Rex regum [regi filio] / Contratenor* (V14), to Saint Louis of Toulouse on p. 207 and to Saint Louis IX on p. 208. Since the two saints died only 27 years apart and were canonized 20 years apart, since they share a name and were in fact related, the potential for confusion is clear. On the importance of the crusading ideal to the reign of Louis IX, see Jordan 1979.
Saint Louis might be especially appropriate for his namesake Louis, duc d'Anjou, friend of the Avignon Popes and royal lieutenant in Languedoc for his brother Charles V. Louis d'Anjou was also designated as leader of a crusade planned in 1375 and was later named adoptive son and heir to Jeanne, queen of Sicily, granddaughter and heir of Robert of Anjou and therefore great-niece of Louis of Toulouse. In addition, Günther considers it “possible that lines 9 and 10 refer to the negotiations for peace between France and England,” negotiations that took place in Bruges in 1375 with the duc d’Anjou present. The motet may therefore be related to the Anglo-French negotiations as well as the planned crusade, one of whose goals was surely to occupy the troops who would be made idle as the result of a peace treaty; Louis d’Anjou would therefore be the motet’s principal dedicatee, signaled by the use of a Saint Louis tenor.

The use of a chant from the Common of Apostles in the musician motet *Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizancium / T. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis* (H31 (G12)) shows the same liturgical assignment as that of the musician motet in the Ivrea manuscript on the same tag (*Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram, H9*) and has been discussed above. The Sexagesima chant underlies *Multipliciter amando / Favore habundare / T. Letificat*

53Gregory XI was encouraged in returning to Rome and planning this crusade by Catherine of Siena, who “écrivit plusieurs lettres au Pape, le pressant de partir pour l'Italie, d'y venir la croix à la main, non point en conquérant et en maître; insistant sur la nécessité de la croisade, qui avait d'ores et déjà un chef, le duc d'Anjou ayant accepté d'en prendre le commandement” (Delachenal 1909-31, IV, 597, emphasis mine).

54Günther 1965, xl.
iuventutem meam (H30 (G4)), a motet whose Latin upper-voice texts are in fact amatory in nature, so the use of a chant for the penitential season before Lent may be reasonably consistent with the norm for amatory French motets. The All Saints text is used in *Inter densas deserti meditans / Imribus irriguis / ST Admirabile est nomen tuum / Contratenor* (H29 (G15)), a motet praising Gaston Fébus. Günther sees this reference as not so much liturgical as Biblical, though a comparison of Gaston with saints is perhaps more likely than her suggestion that the tag “should perhaps be interpreted as a hidden comparison [of Fébus as Apollo] with the God of the Christians.”

Of the three French-texted motets in this source, one is concordant with the Ivrea codex: the Agnes motet *Tant a soutille pointure / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point / T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur* (H12 (G1)); this motet will be discussed in the next chapter. Another motet, *D'ardent desir / Efus d'amér / T. Nigra est [sic] set formosa* (H32 (G7)), uses a line from the Song of Songs; this text appears as an antiphon for Marian feasts, as well as in the Common of Virgins and for Mary Magdalene and Mary the Egyptian, but the melody does not correspond. The text variant—from *Nigra sum*, as it appears in the antiphon and in the Song of Songs, to *Nigra est*, a shift from a first-person assertion to a third-person description—may suggest the possibility of alteration of texts as well as melodies. The possible liturgical association with the Virgin is well within

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55 Günther 1965, lxiii. An All Saints tenor is used as well for *Scarioitis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.* (F5(5)), a motet in honor of Henry VII.

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the norms outlined above for the earlier repertory, and whether the intended association is Marian or the Song of Songs, or both, the connection of these elements is not surprising. In fact, the tenor text seems to carry a notational joke as well: in the Chantilly codex, the only source for this motet, all tenor rests are black and all notes red. Longs in this motet are imperfect, and the two-breve long rests confirm imperfect modus, so the tenor longs need not be colored red to be understood as duple; the red breves, on the other hand, are dotted, thereby making them triple and negating the effect of coloration. As Harrison points out, “they could just as well be written black.” The tenor text most likely serves in part as an implicit acknowledgement that its notation is black in conception, but red for beauty.

The third French motet in this source, *L’ardure qu’endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* (H27 (G8)), uses a tenor for Saint Lucy, like Saint Agnes a fourth-century Virgin and Martyr. This motet, like the Agnes pair, will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The result of this investigation of motet tenors in the Chantilly codex is consistent with the findings of the Machaut—Ivrea study: liturgical function can be a factor in tenor selection. Certain connections, such as Lenten or Marian chants for French amatory motets, Apostle chants for musician motets, and Sanctorale chants for motets directed toward saints, are seen here as well as in the mid-century repertory.

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56Harrison 1968, 200. I am grateful to Peter Jeffery for reminding me of this notational joke.
Furthermore, the tenor can emphasize connections between motet types not made explicit in the upper voices, such as the French Marian texts that refer to *vraie amour* and the Latin amatory texts, whose secular focus may be confirmed by the use of a tenor for the penitential period of Sexagesima. In the next chapter, we will examine three French-texted motets that use Sanctorale tenors in an amatory context and appear to operate as occasional French-texted motets, a type hitherto unrecognized.

It may be significant that several of these references appear to be textual only, especially in the later Chantilly repertory. It is possible that these tenors simply use versions of chant that have not yet been traced, but the melodies are so distant from chant readings I have collected that there is good reason to believe they may in fact be newly composed melodies applied to liturgical texts. The liturgical association, and the text itself, seems still to have symbolic value, but it appears that, as the century progresses, the need for the use of a preexistent melody diminishes.

Finally, a postscript on the three motets in the Modena codex (see Table 7). This early-fifteenth-century Italian source contains three motets, one of which is also found in the Ivrea and Chantilly codices (*Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor, H4 (G3)*). These three motets are all in Latin, all on devotional themes, and all use tenors or tenor texts associated with the saint addressed in the upper voices, respectively Lawrence, the Virgin, and George. As Günther notes, the Saint Lawrence tenor of *Laurea martyrii / Conlaudanda est / T. Proba me Domine / Contratenor / Solus tenor (G13)* does not correspond to a melody used for the saint. Moreover, its text does
not borrow exactly from any one chant used for Saint Lawrence but rather evokes both an antiphon and a responsory assigned to him. Like similar motets in the Chantilly codex, this may be indicative of a movement toward use of free melodies as tenors, while maintaining a link with compositional tradition and with liturgical connections by means of a tenor text.
Table 7: The Motets of the Modena codex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>Apta caro</td>
<td>Flos virginum</td>
<td>Alma redemptoris mater</td>
<td>Marian antiphon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G13</td>
<td>Laurea martirii</td>
<td>Conlaudanda est</td>
<td>Proba me Domine</td>
<td>antiphon (text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G11</td>
<td>Gratiosus</td>
<td>Magnanimus</td>
<td>[Alleluia. Preveniamus]</td>
<td>invitatory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aThese motets are given in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.
A Backward Look: The Roman de Fauvel

The final repertory to be considered here is in fact the earliest in time: the motets inserted into Chaillou de Pesstain’s deluxe manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel, compiled c. 1316-18 (Pn 146), and transmitted in manuscripts concordant with it such as Pn 571 and Br 19606. The Roman de Fauvel in many ways does not represent a musical repertory so much as a group of exempla, including among its polyphonic material both works from the thirteenth-century Notre-Dame repertory and motets referring to events contemporary with the compiling of the manuscript itself. Nevertheless, it is the major source for motets written between the compilation of the last fascicle of the Montpellier codex and the copying of the first Machaut manuscript. Thirty-four motets are present among the 130 musical works included in this version of the Roman. (See Table 8.) Two motets (and possibly a third) are adaptations of material from conductus found in the Florence manuscript, and four other works are concordant with Notre-Dame motets; because of their earlier date, these will be left out of consideration here.

Nine of the remaining works have identified chant tenors. (See Table 9.) In addition, one uses a tenor that, according to Gastoué, is “un fragment de l’office chanté, dès 1299, en l’honneur de Saint Louis,” though Leo Schrade says that this statement has “not...been verified.” Because of

57The most recent and most thorough study of this source is the introduction to the facsimile of the manuscript: Roesner et al. 1990. See also the essays in the forthcoming Fauvel Studies, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey.
58Commentary to Schrade 1956a, 74, citing Gastoué 1922, 47.
Table 8: The Motets of the Roman de Fauvel (Pn 146)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triplum</th>
<th>Motetus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(1)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Favellandi vicium</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>unidentified&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(2)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mundus</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>conductus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(3)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Quare fremuerunt</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>conductus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4(4)</td>
<td>Super cathedram</td>
<td>Presidentes</td>
<td>Ruina</td>
<td>unidentified&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(5)</td>
<td>Scariotis geniture</td>
<td>Jure quod in opere</td>
<td>Superne matris gaudia</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6(7)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>In mari miserie</td>
<td>[Manere] [M5]</td>
<td>gradual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7(8)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ad solitum</td>
<td>[Regnat] [M34]</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8(9)</td>
<td>Nulla pestis</td>
<td>Plange, nostra regio</td>
<td>Vergente. Ex imperfectis</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9(12)</td>
<td>Detractor est</td>
<td>Qui secuntur castra</td>
<td>Verbum iniquum ...</td>
<td>responsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10(17)</td>
<td>Ex corruptis</td>
<td>In principibus</td>
<td>Neuma de alleluya</td>
<td>unidentified&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11(21)</td>
<td>Trahunt&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Ve, qui gregi</td>
<td>Displacebat ei etc.</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12(22)</td>
<td>Orbis orbatus</td>
<td>Vos pastores</td>
<td>Fur non venit ...</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13(27)</td>
<td>Desolata mater</td>
<td>Qui nutritos filios</td>
<td>Filios enutrivi ...</td>
<td>unidentified&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14(29)</td>
<td>Je voi douleur</td>
<td>Fauvel nous a fait</td>
<td>Fauvel: Autant m’est ...</td>
<td>secular song</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Ludwig saw a relationship between this tenor and the conductus De rupta rupecula in the Florence manuscript, but Schrade 1956a, Commentary, 57 said this “cannot be verified.”

<sup>b</sup>This is the same tenor used in M13, Tant doucement m’ont attrait / Eins que ma dame d’onnour / T. Ruina.

<sup>c</sup>No music exists for this motet.

<sup>d</sup>This motet also has a quadruplum, Quasi non ministerium.

<sup>e</sup>Anderson 1976, 121 calls this a “verse for an unknown responsory,” saying that there are about 100 verses with this melody in the Sarum Antiphoner, but none with the corresponding text. Since this identification seems to be made on the basis of melodic similarity alone, it will not be included here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15(32)</td>
<td>Se cuers ioians Rex beatus Ave</td>
<td>unidentified f Louis IX?</td>
<td>Louis IX?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16(33)</td>
<td>Servant regem O Philippe Rex regum et dominus... responory</td>
<td>Advent 3</td>
<td>Advent 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17(35)</td>
<td>Condicio nature O Natio nephandi Mane prima sabbati prose</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18(37)</td>
<td>Facilius a nobis Alieni boni Imperfecte canite unidentifed</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19(38)</td>
<td>— Veritas arpie Johanne alleluia</td>
<td>John Baptist</td>
<td>John Baptist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20(39)</td>
<td>— Ade costa Tenor unidentified</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21(41)</td>
<td>La mesnie J'ai fait Grant despit ai ie ... secular song</td>
<td>Quinquagesima</td>
<td>Quinquagesima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22(50)</td>
<td>Inter amenitatis [O livor anxie]8 Revertenti</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23(51)</td>
<td>Inflammatus Sicut de ligno [Victime paschali ...]</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24(68)</td>
<td>Bonne est Se mes desirs fust A</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25(71)</td>
<td>Aman novi Heu, Fortuna Heu me, Tristis ... responory</td>
<td>Maundy Thurs.</td>
<td>Maundy Thurs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26(78)</td>
<td>Thalamus Quomodo [Tenor] secular song</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27(120)</td>
<td>Tribum que Quoniam secta Merito hec patimur responory</td>
<td>Lent 3</td>
<td>Lent 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28(122)</td>
<td>Celi domina Maria, virgo Porchier mieuz estre ... secular song</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29(123)</td>
<td>— Omnipotens Flagellaverunt Galliam... unidentifed</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30(124)</td>
<td>Firmissime fidem Adesto, sancta Alleluya Benedictus etc. alleluia</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31(125)</td>
<td>— Scrutator alme [Neuma sexti toni] neuma</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32(128)</td>
<td>Zelus familie Ihesu, tu dator [Tenor] unidentified</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33(129)</td>
<td>Garrit Gallus In nova fert N[euma quinti toni] neuma</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34(130)</td>
<td>Quant ie le voi Bon vin doit on Cis chans vuelt boire secular song</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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†Gastoué 1922, 47 calls this “un fragment de l’office chanté, dès 1299, en l’honneur de Saint Louis,” though the chant has not been located by anyone since.

§This text is listed in the index to the Trémoïlle fragment (Pn 23901) and evidently is the original motetus of this work, which appears, surprisingly, in full in Trent 87. (Commentary to Schrade 1956a, 83-84).
Table 9: Identified tenors in the *Roman de Fauvel* and their subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>chant type</th>
<th>liturgical source</th>
<th>motet subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5(5) Superne matris gaudia etc.</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>All Saints</td>
<td>murder Henry VII (1313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8(9) Vergente. Ex imperfectis</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>Marian</td>
<td>general <em>admonitio</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9(12) Verbum iniquum et dolosum...</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td><em>Historia de Sapientia</em></td>
<td>Templars? Marigny?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15(32) Ave</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
<td>Louis IX?</td>
<td>Louis X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16(33) Rex regum et dominus...</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td>Advent 3</td>
<td>Philippe V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22(50) Revertenti</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td>Quinquagesima</td>
<td>envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23(51) [Victime paschali laudes...]</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25(71) Heu me, Tristis est anima mea</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td>Maundy Thursday</td>
<td>Marigny (d. 1315)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27(120) Merito hec patimur</td>
<td>responsory</td>
<td>Lent 3</td>
<td>Marigny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30(124) Alleluya Benedictus et cetera</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>music/Trinity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
its associations, I will include this reference only provisionally. Most of these motets can be linked with early fourteenth-century events, and two have been attributed to Philippe de Vitry. In addition, six of the ten have concordances in fourteenth-century sources, notably the Brussels rotulus (Br 19606) and Pn 571, which tends to confirm a relatively late date for the motets, and two are cited in treatises of *Ars nova* theory. (See Table 10.)

All ten of these motets are Latin occasional or topical works, though it should be noted that two also make use of French-language textual material in the upper voices: *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt mseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus* (F9(12)) has alternating Latin and French lines in both triplum and motetus, while the triplum of *Se cuers ioians, ionnes, iolis / Rex beatus, confessor domini / T. Ave* (F15(32)) is in French. In the introduction to the facsimile of this manuscript, Edward H. Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado note the symbolic value given in this manuscript to the use of Latin, the language of the educated and of ecclesiastical authority, and of French, the language of the lower classes and of the “world” in general; the alternation of the two in the upper voices of *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt mseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus* they see “as an expression of one of the central themes of the roman: French, the language of corrupt Fauvel, has penetrated into Latin just as Fauvel has penetrated into the Church.”59 The other bilingual motet in this group refers to Louis X, eldest son of Philippe IV le Bel, but here the bilingualism

59Roesner et al. 1990, 17.
Table 10: Concordances for motets with identified tenors in the *Roman de Fauvel*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>motet subject</th>
<th>concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5(5)</td>
<td>Superne matris gaudia etc.</td>
<td>murder Henry VII (1313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8(9)</td>
<td>Vergente. Ex imperfectis</td>
<td>general <em>admonitio</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9(12)</td>
<td>Verbum iniquum et dolosum...</td>
<td>Templars? Marigny?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15(32)</td>
<td>Ave</td>
<td>Louis X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16(33)</td>
<td>Rex regum et dominus...</td>
<td>Philippe V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22(50)</td>
<td>Revertenti</td>
<td>envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23(51)</td>
<td>[Victime paschali laudes... ]</td>
<td>envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25(71)</td>
<td>Heu me, Tristis est anima mea</td>
<td>Marigny (d. 30.IV.1315)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27(120)</td>
<td>Merito hec patimur</td>
<td>Marigny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30(124)</td>
<td>Alleluya Benedictus et cetera</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

a The cue is "O Philippe"; it is impossible to determine whether the reference is to this motet or the one in the Ivrea codex addressed to Philippe VI, though most scholars incline toward the latter.

b The piece on f. 43 of this source is in two voices, with the texts *Dixit, dixit, dixit iracundus homo* and *Quoniam secta latronum*, but the music has no relationship with the motet given here.

c The *Tractatus figurarum* is edited in Schreur 1989, the Wolf anonymous (also known as the Erfurt anonymous) in Wolf 1908, the La Fage anonymous in La Fage 1964, and the *Ars nova* in Reaney et al. 1964.

d Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 521 is a text manuscript.
has a more positive purpose: “to underscore the idea that all men, secular
and ecclesiastical alike, hail the newly crowned Louis X.”

These ten motets show a wide variety of liturgical associations:
three tenors taken from chants for Lent, and one each for Easter,
Trinity, Advent, the Historia de Sapientia, the Virgin, All Saints and
(possibly) Saint Louis IX. The use of a Saint Louis chant in Se cuers
ioians, ionnes, iolis / Rex beatus, confessor domini / T. Ave (F15(32)), a
motet honoring his namesake and descendant Louis X, would be quite
fitting, and it is most likely from works of this type that the French
dedicated motets discussed in the next chapter spring. In addition, Louis
IX was already seen as a paradigm of good kingship as well as a saint, and
he was therefore an especially apt example for the heir of Philippe IV le
Bel.

The other coronation motet in this manuscript, Servant regem
misericordia / O Philippe, prelustris Francorum / T. Rex regum et
dominus dominancium (F16(33)), uses an Advent chant. This season, the
beginning of the church year, is penitential and preparatory in nature, as is

60Roesner et al. 1990, 17.
61Susan Rankin has found “two patterns of liturgical time” in the story of
Fauvel as presented in Pn 146: one moving from Pentecost to Trinity and
one, less linear, focused on Advent and Christmas. See Rankin 1994, esp.
235-38. Emma Dillon is also investigating the use of the liturgical calendar
within the interpolations to the Roman de Fauvel in a thesis at Oxford
University.
62Jean de Joinville’s life of Saint Louis, which was dedicated to the future
Louis X, begins and ends with Louis’s supposed advice to his son,
including not only matters of personal piety, but also detailed discussions
of policy. See Corbett 1977 for an edition of this text and Joinville and
Villehardoin 1963 for a translation.
Lent, but with a greater sense of hope culminating in the Nativity. All of this would fit well with a motet celebrating a new reign but at the same time asking for a return to good government. More important than all this, perhaps, is the origin of this text in the book of the Apocalypse (19:16) and, perhaps most of all, the role of this phrase in the coronation ceremony: in the “Last Capetian Ordo,” the prayer at the Consecratio regis begins: Omnipotens sempiterne deus, gubernator caeli & terrae, conditor & dispositor angelorum & hominum, Rex regum & Dominus dominorum.... It is interesting to note that this motet seems originally to have referred to Louis X as well; Roesner notes, “In its only concordance, in Paris MS fr. 571, this work is addressed not to Philippe but to his brother Louis; the motetus text begins not ‘O Philippe’ but ‘Ludovice.’ The latter no doubt preserves the original form of the motet.” Here, with the crowning of Philippe le Bel’s eldest son, truly begins a new age, and thus a time for cleansing France of the evils that took place under Philippe IV le

63In modern times, the Third Sunday of Advent, from which this tenor is taken, is known as Gaudete Sunday, from the first word of the introit; on this Sunday the normal purple vestments may be exchanged for rose, signaling a lightening of the penitential spirit. To what degree this lightening was in force during the fourteenth century I do not know.

64Martène 1967, vol. 2, col. 627. This ordo is number 17 in Schramm 1938 and number XXIIIA in Jackson 1995, who dates it from “the latter part of the reign of St. Louis” and suggests that it “was probably followed to a large extent...from 1270 (or 1285) to 1350” (I, 31). Jackson has criticized Martène’s edition, but it is the only one available until the second volume of Jackson’s own study appears. The passage also occurs in the ordo of Charles V; see Dewick 1899, col. 27.

65Roesner et al. 1990, 24.

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Bel, a plea equally cogent less than two years later when Louis was prematurely succeeded by his brother Philippe V.

Andrew Wathey discusses this motet in relation to the manuscript Pn 571, which he argues was compiled as an engagement gift, probably from the English prince Edward (later Edward III) to Philippa of Hainault in 1326. He also suggests the symbolic importance of Saint Louis IX to the new interpretation of the motet presented in this manuscript version, though for Wathey Louis’s significance is more for dynastic reasons than as a model of good kingship:

against the political background of the betrothal, the Louis of the text can also be read as a reference to St. Louis, the marriage partners’ most illustrious mutual forebear; by praising the kingship of Louis IX, the text also served to emphasize the common ancestry of Edward and Philippa. Not only the dynastic consequences of the marriage, but also the latent English claim to the French throne were thus brought sharply into focus.66

Both these motets therefore use the liturgical associations of their tenors to underline—figuratively and literally—their message: a new king is both a time for celebration and for return to good government, as exemplified by Saint Louis.

The All Saints tenor supports a motet accusing the Dominicans of the murder of Emperor Henry VII: Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc. (F5(5)). The use of an All Saints chant may be a form of homage to the late emperor, a suggestion that he somehow ranks among the saints, like the later motet honoring Gaston Fébus that uses a text from the same feast. Henry of Luxembourg was elected King of

the Romans on 27 November 1308, in lieu of the French candidate, Philippe le Bel’s brother Charles de Valois. Henry was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen on Epiphany 1309 and Emperor in Rome on 29 June 1312, the first emperor to be consecrated in Rome since Frederick II. He was considered to be a good man:

Even Henry’s enemies acknowledged his noble virtues, his valiance, courage, magnanimity, and generous pacific intentions, although at times they mentioned his ingenuousness. Clerical chroniclers praised his piety and Catholicity, and joyously noted his regular attendance at divine offices.67

As his entry into Italy came closer to reality, Dante wrote an ecstatic open letter prophecying the benefits an imperial presence in Italy would bring.68 The proctor of Casale compared Henry’s arrival in Italy “to Christ’s descent into the underworld ‘for the well-being of the human race, that he might snatch it forth from the snare of diabolical servitude.’”69

The prospect of a strong imperial power in Italy, however, did not fill everyone with joy: Philippe IV le Bel in Paris and Clement V in

68“Behold, now is the acceptable time, wherein arise the signs of consolation and peace.... Rejoice, O Italy, though now to be pitied even by the Saracens, for soon you will be envied throughout the world, because your bridegroom, the solace of the world and the glory of your people, the most clement Henry, Divine and Augustus and Caesar, hastens to the nuptials. Dry your tears and remove the marks of grief, O fairest one, for he is near who will liberate you from the prison of the impious, who striking the malignant with his sword’s edge shall destroy them....” (Bowsky 1960, 49-50, citing Dante, Letter V, probably written at Forli, Sept.-Oct. 1310.)
Avignon risked losing power and influence in Italy, and Italian authorities, from the city-states of Lombardy to the kingdom of Sicily, could likewise feel threatened. According to Bowsky, Henry apparently saw legal issues in simple terms of justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty, black and white with few shadings of gray in between. He desired decisions that were simple and swift. In many later peace arbitrations he ordered that any controversies arising as to goods or rights be judged simply and quickly by the city’s imperial vicar alone, without the “clamor and formality” of a normal legal case—a desire for equity perhaps, but in fact an unworkable oversimplification.70

His inability to grasp the complexities that confronted him, which could also be seen as a holy insistence on the right, combined with his seemingly genuine desire to make peace, might be consistent with the use of a tenor for All Saints in a motet in his honor.

The factional disputes continued, however, and the emperor could not help but get involved. Just over a year after his coronation he was besieging Siena when he was felled by a malarial fever and died on 24 August 1313. Bowsky notes that “soon after Henry’s death a rumor circulated that his Dominican confessor had poisoned him. This story was not even universally believed at the time, and has been completely discredited by modern scholarship.”71 It was evidently believed, however, by the author of this motet.

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70Bowsky 1960, 66.
71Bowsky 1960, 271 n. 112.
The Marian tenor of *Nulla pestis est gravior / Plange, nostra regio / T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis* (F8(9))\(^{72}\) is an *admonitio*; Roesner calls it "a lament on the state of affairs in France, not readily associative with any specific occasion, but probably reflecting the sense of crisis in France during 1314 and '15, at the end of the reign of Philippe le Bel."\(^{73}\) As Dahnk notes, this complaint about the general corruption caused by a familiar enemy appears "sous la forme d'un jeu avec des termes grammaticaux."\(^{74}\) A specific reason for a Marian tenor is not easy to find, though the Virgin does figure prominently in another political work, *Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (H26 (G5)), a later motet asking Charles V and the Virgin to save France from her enemies. The use of a Marian tenor in this motet may simply represent a request for intercession by the Virgin.

The use of *historia* chants in other motets has already been noted; in *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus*, (F9(12)), like similar cases, the liturgical symbolism is probably less important than the Biblical one. The Trinity tenor of *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto*,

\(^{72}\)Lütolf 1978, 968, in fact lists a total of nine texts beginning *Vergente mundi vespere*, including sequences for the Assumption and for Christmas and two hymns for Saint Louis. The tenor color does generally correspond to the Assumption chant Schrade gives (Commentary to Schrade 1956a, 65, after Wagner 1921, 495) and the melody I have located in Pn 830, also for Assumption; I have seen no other melodies for this or any other *Vergente* text. The rest of the tag, *Ex imperfectis*, appears simply to refer to the use of imperfect *tempus* in the motet.

\(^{73}\)Roesner et al. 1990, 24.

\(^{74}\)Dahnk 1935, 21.
sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera (F30(124)) is used for a motet whose upper voices in turn evoke the Trinity; Dahnk calls it a “prière des musiciens à la Sainte Trinité afin qu’elle leur soit propice.”75 Use of an Easter chant (also used for Mary Magdalene) in a motet about envy, Inflammatus invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus / T. [Victime paschali laudes] (F23(51)) is perhaps strange, and it may be significant that this tag does not appear in the manuscript—in fact, despite the fame of this melody, its use in this motet seems not to have been noticed before 1976.76 In the triplum, the sacrifices of Abel and Joseph are compared to the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews; the reference to the Paschal victim in the tenor is certainly appropriate in this context, and the Resurrection focus could conceivably suggest that the fratricidal envy that led to the murder of Abel and the selling of Joseph into slavery can be overcome in contemporary France by dei caritate pura.

Finally, three motets use Lenten chants (one is actually for Quinquagesima, the Sunday before Lent):

F22(50)  Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie] / T. Reverenti (Quinquagesima)

F25(71)  Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea (Maundy Thursday)

F27(120) Tribum, que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / T. Merito hec patimur (Lent 3)

This focus on penitence has been noted above and is doubly appropriate for the overall agenda of this manuscript. The Maundy Thursday tenor of

75Dahnik 1935, 210. On this motet, see also Robertson forthcoming.
76See Anderson 1976, 121.
Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea is particularly interesting: the motet is a lament of Enguerrand de Marigny, a minister of Philippe le Bel who fell from favor and was hanged shortly after that king’s death. The words of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane just before his betrayal (tristis est anima mea) are here ironically linked with Marigny’s lament in the motetus as he also awaits an ignominious death (velud Aman morior). Marigny’s self-comparison to Christ manifests the same pride which marked Haman in the book of Esther, the other figure to whom he compares himself and who was himself hanged on the gallows he had prepared for his enemy Mordecai. The chant that provides the first part of this tenor, Heu me, is used in the Office for the Dead, which would have been sung for Marigny following his execution.

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The motets in the Roman de Fauvel do not show the consistency of liturgical usage present in the later sources. Liturgical placement does seem to be available as a bearer of meaning, but that meaning can be created in a wide variety of ways. This is doubtless in part because of the special nature of this source, and the in-depth consideration the motets deserve in terms of the overall content of the Roman de Fauvel and the manuscript as a whole is beyond the scope of this study. Latin motets in later sources continue to be more variable in tenor selection, as we have seen, but this is most likely in part because of the increased range of subjects relative to the Fauvel manuscript.
French-texted amatory motets are not present in that manuscript. In the Machaut—Ivrea repertory and that of the Chantilly codex, however, Lenten and Holy Week tenors are predominant enough in such works to say that this was a readily perceived option for the composer. Similarly, Marian tenors are reasonably common, both for straightforward amatory works and ones that stray into the grey area between sacred and secular love. If a search for possible unidentified tenor sources were to be made, perhaps it should begin with the chants for Lent and for Marian feasts, though the motets studied in the next chapter suggest that Sanctorale chants may be used in French-texted motets for a specific purpose.

The large number of unidentified tenors for Latin motets is a rather different issue. Since these motets do not fall as readily into groups, with the exception of those referring to a saint or to the saint’s namesake or relative, it is more difficult to suggest where to begin. For those motets containing admonitiones, as we have seen most notably for the Fauvel manuscript, Lent may also be the best place to start. Those I have found, however (which will be discussed in chapter 5), also use Sanctorale material to underline their points.

But I do not urge the search for tenor sources be taken too seriously. Though the liturgical background of a tenor may add to the message of its text and those of the motet’s upper voices, it is not essential for this background to exist. The motet is a multivalent entity that can be enjoyed on many levels, including, but not limited to, the study of subtleties cited by Johannes de Grocheio, and the context of a tenor source qualifies as such a subtlety. Those Latin texts that do not refer to identified chants usually
have a Biblical context that may be at least as important. French texts, of course, signal an entirely different sort of motet and therefore do not fit into this system at all. Above all, the very fact that so many tenor texts have been lost in the transmission process—or in some cases may never have existed—suggests that this is not the only way to choose a tenor, or to read a motet. I hope, however, that I have shown it to be a fruitful way of doing so.

In sum, Egidius's dictum to choose a tenor according to the *materia* of a motet, I believe, goes beyond the text of the fragment chosen to comprehend the liturgical context of the tenor itself. The use of Lenten and Holy Week tenors in French amatory motets and Latin *admonitiones* and the exploitation of the ambiguous role of the Virgin are two of the most interesting combinations this approach shows. Although a relatively large number of works fall under the system just outlined, the exceptions, as we will see, may in fact be exceptional for a reason, thus both confirming the importance of a tenor's liturgical context and manifesting elements that might not have been seen otherwise.
Chapter 4
The Vernacular Dedicatory Motet

In the previous chapter, we examined the relationship between motets and the liturgical sources of their tenors. We found that many common-sense relationships hold (such as the use of a chant for a saint’s feast in a motet celebrating that saint), but we also found a strong connection between French amatory motets and chants from Lent and Holy Week, a combination that compares the lover’s sufferings with those of Christ. French motets can also take tenors from Marian chants, especially those whose texts come from the Song of Songs, and from *historiae*, more liturgically neutral times where the Biblical context is probably more important than the liturgical one. We have to this point, however, avoided three motets with a more intriguing combination: French amatory texts with Sanctorale tenors.

*Agnes*

*Tant a soutille pointure / Bien pert qu’en moy n’a d’art point / T.*

*Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur* (H12 (G1)) and *Se pâour d’umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amés de m’amour / T.* *Concupisco* (H16) use tenors from chants for the feast of Saint Agnes to support French amatory upper-voice texts. These are the only French motets in the Machaut—Ivrea repertory whose tenors are taken from non-Marian Sanctorale chants; we will discuss below a similar case from the Chantilly codex, *L’ardure qu’endure / Tres dous espoir / T.* *Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis*
iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor (H27 (G8)), with a tenor for Saint Lucy. While the Virgin can readily be appropriated in a secular mode, by the intermediaries of courtly love and the Marian cult, and the Song of Songs is particularly easy to use in an amatory context, it would be difficult to use any other saint that way, especially one such as Agnes, an early Roman girl who preferred martyrdom to giving up the virginity she had dedicated to Christ. Why is she evoked here?

Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has remarked on the unusual use of Agnes chants for a total of three motets in this repertory. He suggests that St Agnes is not an obscure saint, but the diversity of color sources found elsewhere suggests that she is unlikely to have attracted so much attention from composers of the central tradition by a series of coincidences....[E]xactly what her significance was for the ars nova it is at present impossible to say.¹

It is not entirely clear why Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris empiro / T. Virgo sum (V10), a Latin-texted motet whose upper voices are on matters of faith, uses an Agnes tenor, but I believe the impulse behind that decision is strictly religious and should be distinguished from that underlying this pair of French-texted amatory motets.

So far, we have seen Sanctorale tenors have been used for both devotional and occasional works in the Latin repertory (and that includes the Agnes tenor of V10, Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris empiro / T. Virgo sum); perhaps one of these contexts lies behind these two French-texted

¹Leech-Wilkinson 1982-83, 15. He says “perhaps four,” but his IV31, the Marian motet A vous, vierge de doucour / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi, edited as H13, uses a chant that is from the Common for a Virgin Martyr and not associated only with Agnes.
motets as well. It is difficult to accept a devotional function here. The motet could, however, have a dedicatory function, with the tenor referring to a namesake of the saint. Latin-texted motets in honor of saints such as Quentin and Louis of Toulouse use the tenor to name the saint, and Louis IX and Louis of Toulouse are evoked in motets that appear to honor their namesakes or other relatives, as we saw in the previous chapter. I would like to suggest that these two motets with Agnes tenors may similarly be connected with Agnès de Navarre, sister of Charles II "le Mauvais," king of Navarre, and wife of Gaston III Fébus, count of Foix and Béarn, a man whose name is familiar to music history as the subject of a number of musical works that seems surprising for a second-rank nobleman, if one in a critical geographic area.

Agnes was an early Roman saint, virgin and martyr, killed in the early fourth century. According to her principal Vita, by pseudo-Ambrosius, she was martyred at the age of thirteen because she refused to marry, maintaining rather that her true husband was Christ. She was first burned, but her prayers put out the flames, so she was stabbed through the throat. The two chants from which tenors are taken for these motets use the text of the Vita for the two principal passages in her voice, the first and last of the story: her statement that her true beloved is Jesus, and her

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2The appellation "le Mauvais" is not medieval. Suzanne Honoré-Duvergé has traced the first use of the sobriquet to Diego Ramírez de Ávalon de La Pisciña, in a manuscript chronicle that ends in 1534; the name first appears in print in 1571. See Honoré-Duvergé 1951.

3See Tucoo-Chala 1991, or his earlier works on Fébus, as well as Harrison 1968 and Günther 1965 for the motets and Greene 1981 for the songs.
prayer over the flames. Most of the text of both chants is a literal borrowing from the *Vita*:4

Chant: *Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli serviunt, cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur. Ipsi soli servo fidel; ipsi me tota devotione committo. [V.] Dextram meam et collum meum cinctit lapidibus preciosis; tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas. [Ipsi]*

*Vita* (351, 3): *Ad haec B. Agnes tale furtur juveni dedisse responsum: ...Ornavit inaestimabili dextrochirio dexteram meam, & collum meum cinctit lapidibus preiosis: tardidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas, & circumdedit me vernantis atque coruscantibus gemmis: ...Cui Angeli serviunt, cuius pulcritudinem sol & luna mirantur: cujus opes numquam deficiunt, cujus divitiae non decrescunt. *Ipsi soli servo fidel. Ipsi me tota devotione committo.*

Chant: *Omnipotens, adorande, colende, tremende, benedico te, quia per Filium tuum unigenitum evasi minas hominum impiorum; et spurcitas diaboli impolluto calle transivi. [V.] Te confiteor labiis et corde, te totis visceribus concupisco. [Quia]*

*Vita* (353, 11): *Tunc B. Agnes expandens manus suas in medio ignis his verbis orationem Judit ad Dominum: Omnipotens, adorande, colende, tremende, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, benedico te, quia per filium tuum unigenitum evasi minas hominum impiorum & spurcitas diaboli impolluto calle transivi: ...Te confiteor labiis, te corde, te totis visceribus concupisco.*

4Quotes from pseudo-Ambrosius are taken from Bollandus and Heneschenius 1784, January, vol. 2. Agnes's feast is 21 January, and the *Vita* of pseudo-Ambrosius is given on pages 351-54. References are given in the form (page, paragraph). I have verified that this reading rather than the *Legenda aurea* was the source for these texts: Jacques de Voragine, who uses pseudo-Ambrosius as his source, reports the first speech and gives much though not all of its language, including the phrase *cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur*, but Agnes puts out the fire without the prayer of the earlier *Vita*, thus the text from which the second chant is taken is absent entirely.
These chants thus come from Agnes's principal speeches, at the beginning and end of her *Vita*, and serve not only to frame her life but to define her as first virgin, since she repudiates marriage in favor of union with Christ, and then martyr, since the prayer takes place while the prefect tries to burn her and before her actual death by the sword. These texts therefore encapsulate her life and her significance.

If Agnes's principal action as a saint is to preserve her virginity, refusing to marry even in the face of persecution, why use chants about her as the basis for motets about courtly love? A straightforward devotional reading seems unlikely. Rather than trying to set up a complex system of irony by which the evocation of the virgin Agnes undercuts the amatory upper-voice texts, I would like to suggest that the reference to Agnes has another function: to name the lady to whom these texts are addressed. Agnes does not appear to be a very common name in this period, though this impression may owe something to the general neglect of women in contemporary accounts and in modern scholarship of the period. For example, in the index of Delachenal's five-volume biography of Charles V, only three fourteenth-century women with the name appear, all

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5 The rest of pseudo-Ambrosius's work is taken up with the later martyrdoms of Emerentia and Constantia.
6 I am grateful to Roger Lustig for this formulation, and to him, Lee Blasius and K. M. Knittel for conversations that have helped to clarify various points in this argument.
7 Delachenal 1909-31. The index, vol. V, p. 437, lists in addition to Agnès de Navarre and *Agnès (Fête du sainte)*, Agnès de Brion, daughter of Anseau de Brion (II, 168 n. 1), and Agnès de Chalon, wife of Amé II, comte de Genève (III, 186 n. 10). Lehoux 1966-68 gives several royal *Agnèses* as well, including the youngest daughter of Saint Louis, wife of Robert II, duc de Bourgogne (I, 20 n. 4), the seventh of the nine children of Jean II and

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peripherally. By far the most important of these is Agnès de Navarre, wife of Gaston III Fébus, count of Foix and Béarn.

Not much is known of Agnès, and no study exists of her life, so I will summarize what I have found here. As a daughter of Jeanne de France, queen of Navarre (thus granddaughter of Louix X) and of Philippe d’Évreux (thus also a descendant of Philippe III by Marie de Brabant, his second wife), she inherited Capetian blood from both her parents. Her place and date of birth are unknown; Prosper Tarbé says that she grew up in the Midi, presumably meaning Navarre, but he gives no evidence for this statement.8 Pierre Tucoo-Chala, the principal biographer of Gaston Fébus, says that in 1349 “la famille royale de Navarre s’était installée en Île­de-France pour un long séjour afin de s’occuper de la gestion de ses domaines normandes,” thus also suggesting that their normal residence was possibly in Navarre.9 One of Agnès’s sisters was queen of Aragon, and

Bonne de Luxembourg, who died at the age of four in 1349 (I, 8), and a daughter of Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne, who in 1406 was betrothed to the future Charles VII, though the marriage never took place (III, 112 n.). By contrast to the three appearances of the name Agnès in Delachenal’s index, there are eight Blanches, eleven Marguerites, and thirty-eight Jeannes, five of these “de France” and three “de Navarre.”

8Tarbé 1856, ii.
9Or perhaps in Normandy? See Tucoo-Chala 1991, 52. Meyer 1897 only says that Jeanne de Navarre died at Conflans “dans un voyage fait en France” (25); on the other hand, on p. 8 he calls Philippe d’Évreux the “compagnon de plaisir de Philippe VI”—does this mean that Philippe at least was fairly frequently at court, or at least in Normandy? Tarbé 1856 says that at some point he does not specify, Agnès “suivait ses parents à la cour de France: son éducation devait s’y perfectionner,” though again he gives no evidence and is mostly interested in telling the story of Agnès and Machaut as he sees it.
her sister Blanche briefly became queen of France when she married Philippe VI in 1350, less than a year before the king’s death.\textsuperscript{10}

Aliénor de Comminges, mother of Gaston Fébus, evidently began planning for a marriage between Gaston and Agnès when negotiations with the king of Majorca for his daughter fell through.\textsuperscript{11} The Navarrese marriage was evidently seen by Aliénor as a useful alternative alliance within the region, though the involvement of the French king, who went so far as to contribute to Agnès’s dowry, may suggest that to Philippe VI at least it was meant to solidify Gaston’s rather tenuous links to the Valois court in Paris in the face of the Anglo-French conflict.\textsuperscript{12} This French royal marriage policy was followed in other southern territories as well, resulting in the alliances of Jean II’s daughter Jeanne de France with Agnès’s brother Charles II, king of Navarre, in 1352 and his son Jean, duc de Berry, with Jeanne d’Armagnac in 1360. In this case, though, it backfired by throwing together Gaston and Agnès’s brother during the 1350s, a period when the Navarrese king asserted his own claim to the French throne and

\textsuperscript{10}Delachenal 1909-31, I, 37-38 gives the date of the marriage as 11 January 1350, one day short of a month after the death of Philippe’s first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne; Meyer 1897 gives the date as 29 January. Philippe himself died 22 August. Meyer 1897, 25, says that Philippe stole Blanche from his son: he “avait d’abord destinée [Blanche] à son fils [Jean, duc de Normandie, soon to become Jean II, whose first wife likewise had recently died], mais «elle était si belle et si gracieuse, qu’il la prit pour lui», au grand regret de Jean, qu’il éloigna sous un prétexte quelconque et qui s’en montra très irrité, dit le P. de Moret.”

\textsuperscript{11}Tucoo-Chala 1991, 50-52.

\textsuperscript{12}See Brutails 1890, documents XXXVI (pp. 44-46) and XXXVIII (pp. 48-52). There is no indication that Philippe VI contributed to the dowry of any other member of Agnès’s family.
in general made trouble in Normandy, especially after the battle of Poitiers when Jean II was a hostage in England and the dauphin (the future Charles V, also duke of Normandy) was governing the kingdom in his father’s absence.

Agnès only appears in the chronicles or in later historical works in a few places: her marriage to Gaston in 1349, the birth of their son and only surviving child, also named Gaston, in 1362, and Fébus’s repudiation of her in 1363/64, ostensibly for non-payment of her dowry, though Tucoo-Chala quite reasonably attributes it more to the rupture between Gaston and Charles de Navarre.¹³ Urban V and Gaston’s mother, Aliénor de Comminges, sought to negotiate a reconciliation, but in vain, and Agnès never returned to her husband’s territories. In the 1370s, Charles set up a separate hôtel for his sister in Pamplona, a clear sign that he had accepted that she would be at his court and his dependent for the foreseeable future.¹⁴ Agnès left the Navarrese court at Pamplona in early 1373 for France, accompanying her sister-in-law Jeanne de France, queen of Navarre. Jeanne’s mission in France is not known but doubtless involved her influence with her brother Charles V as well as business in her husband’s territories in Évreux. Jeanne died suddenly at Évreux on 3 November of the same year, however, and Agnès returned to Navarre with her sister-in-law’s remains.¹⁵

¹³Tucoo-Chala 1960, 111-12.
¹⁵Delachenał 1909-31, IV, 386-88. According to Claveria 1971, 200, she died at Évreux on 3 November 1373. “Su cuerpo fue enterrado en el monasterio de San Dionisio de París, su corazón en el coro de Santa María de
Later, a visit by the young Gaston to his mother and uncle in Pamplona set off the events leading up to his death in 1380. According to Tarbé, after the death of her son, Agnès left Navarre for France, where she was taken in by Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles V. Since the young Gaston died in 1380 (which date Tarbé does not give in his account), and Jeanne de Bourbon died on 6 February 1378, this cannot be true; Tarbé must have confused the death of Jeanne de Bourbon, queen of France, with Jeanne de France, queen of Navarre, whose death in France in 1373, in Agnès's presence, has been described above.

In fact, the Archivio General de Navarra contains occasional records pertaining to Agnès into 1397, when she evidently died between 3 January and 7 February. Charles gave Agnès an income of 400 florines de oro per...
year in 1372, later changed to 600 florines de Aragón. From 1376 frequent references are made to the “household of the countess of Foix and of the infantas”;

evidently the hôtel mentioned above was established not only for Charles’s sister but also for his own daughters until they were married. There seems to have been a conflict between Agnès and Gaston’s heir, Mathieu de Castelbon, about lands in France that should have passed to Agnès upon the death of her husband in 1391, and her nephew, then reigning as Charles III, supported his aunt’s claim; Charles VI of France

por los paños negros que se compraron para vestir a los reyes, a sus hijas y hermanas por la muerte de la condesa de Foix....

Datum en Olit VIIº día de febrero, l’aynno de gracia mil CCC LXXXXVIº.
Caj. 71, no. 10, VIII.

18Castro and Idoate 1952-74, VIII, 840: [Olite, 10.IX.1372] Carlos II concede a su hermana Inés de Navarra, condesa de Foix, 400 florines de oro de renta anual, a recibir en doz plazos en tesorería, para que pueda mantener honestamente su estado.

Data en Olit Xº día de septiembre, l’aynno de gracia mill CCCLXXVIº.
Caj. 27, no. 54, II.

19Castro and Idoate 1952-74, X, 439: [Olite, 31.XII.1376] Carlos II ordena a Guillem Planterosa, tesorero del reino, que pague a Inés de Navarra, condesa de Foix, 600 florines de Aragón anuales, que le ha concedido para sus necesidades, en vez de los 400 que se le pagaban antes.

Donne a Olit le dernani iour de decembre, l’an de grace mil CCC LX et seize.
Caj. 32, no. 48, III

20See, for example, Castro and Idoate 1952-74, X, 187: [1.VIII.1376] Baude Hanecoys, panadero, reconoce que se han gastado en el hostal de la condesa de Foix y de las infantas, desde el día 1 de julio hasta el 8 de dicho mes, 9 cahices y medio robo de trigo.

...le premier jour d’aoust, l’an mil CCC LXXVI.
Caj. 32, no. 51, XLV.

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found in favor of Agnès in February 1392, but “certain disputes and debates between the king [of Navarre] and the countess of Foix, on the one hand, and the count of Foix [now Mathieu de Castelbon], on the other” continued for another year.

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21 Castro and Idoate 1952-74, XIX, 130: [Paris, 20.II.1392] Carlos VI, rey de Francia, ordena a su primer sargento, atendiendo a la súplica de Inés de Navarra, condesa de Foix, la satisfacción de lo que reclamaba la condesa, la cual alegaba que cuando contrajo matrimonio con Gastón, conde de Foix, la reina Juana de Navarra le dio 2.000 libras y muchos bienes y alhajas, que importaban unas 20.000 libras; que el conde le señaló 5.000 libras de renta sobre el condado de Foix, con la jurisdicción alta, mediana y baja de los lugares, tierras y villas de Mazeres, Savardun y Caumont y otros; que habiendo hecho vida marital durante 14 años con dicho conde, éste, sin motivo alguno, la echó de su compañía, sin autoridad de la Iglesia, apoderándose de las 2.000 libras y de los bienes que aportó la condesa al matrimonio, y a la sazón la condesa solicitaba que se le devolviesen con las rentas de los 28 años que contaban desde su separación.

Donne a Paris le XXe jour de feurier, l’an de grace mil CCC IIIXX et onze et le deuziesme de notre regne.

Caj. 61, no. 14; extracta Yanguas, Dicc. de antig., II, 79-80.

22 Castro and Idoate 1952-74, XIX, 299: (San Juan de Pie de Puerto, 4.V.1392) Pes de Lasaga, caballero, reconoce que ha recibido de Johan de Recalde, recibidor de Ultrapuertos, por mandamiento de García López de Lizasoain, tesorero del reino, 90 florines, equivalentes a 112 libras, por sus expensas de los días que permaneció en la villa de San Juan de Pie de Puerto, entendiendo en ciertos pleitos y debates entre el rey y la condesa de Foix, de una parte, y el conde de Foix, de la otra.

Dade en la ville de Sent Johan quatro jorns de may, anno quo supra.

Caj. 63, no. 43, V.

23 The last entry in the accounts is dated 27 January 1393; Castro and Idoate 1952-74, XX, 72: (San Juan de Pie de Puerto, 27.1.1393) Johan de Bearne, capitan de Lorda, reconoce que ha recibido de Johan de Recalde, recibidor de Ultrapuertos, 500 florines, que, a 25 sueldos, valen 625 libras, por arbitrar, declarar y sentenciar los pleitos y debates habidos entre el rey y la condesa de Foix, de una parte, y el conde de Foix, de la otra.

...en la vile de Sent Johan dou Pe dou Port XXVIIo dies dou mes de jener, anno Domini M0. CCC0. nonagesimo secundo.
If Agnès had little publicity during her life, for a time she had greater renown as the model for Toute-Belle, the young female protagonist in Guillaume de Machaut’s Livre du Voir-Dit. After the initial identification by M. le Comte de Caylus in the eighteenth century, Prosper Tarbé edited some of the poems attributed to Toute-Belle in the Voir-Dit and certain other poems in a female voice found in the Machaut manuscripts and published them as Agnès’s work. The link between Agnès and Toute-Belle, however, was broken in 1875 by Paulin Paris, who showed that since the Voir-Dit is a work of the 1360s, thus well after Agnès’s marriage, she is most likely not Toute-Belle; rather, he found the anagram that led to his identification of Toute-Belle with Péronne d’Armentières. Since that time, Agnès has slipped back into the obscurity that has marked both her life and the centuries since her death.

Caj. 62, no. 25, XIX.

24 Tarbé 1856. He did not include all the Machaut works in a female voice, or even all such works in the Voir-Dit, omitting for example the rondeau Celle qui nuit et jour desire de vous voir (Paris 1875a, 29); he includes none of the motets in a female voice. Tarbé’s account of her life, unsullied by reference to any sources save Froissart’s Chroniques and the works of Machaut, especially the Livre du Voir-Dit, is heavily colored by his identification of Agnès as Machaut’s Toute-Belle and artistic heir of her ancestor Thibault IV, comte de Champagne and roi de Navarre, as well as by his wish to glorify Champagne, though it should be noted that Agnès’s mother Jeanne de France/Navarre renounced her rights to Brie and Champagne in 1336; see Delachena 1909-31, I, 74.

25 Paris 1875 discusses the Agnès identification, then the Peronne anagrams, on pp. xviii-xxiii; the date of 1362-64 for the poem is explained on pp. xxvii-xxvi. This identification has also been questioned in recent years, but more emphasis is currently placed on the Voir-Dit as an example of Machaut’s authorial self-projection than as autobiography; see for example Brownlee 1984.
If Agnès de Navarre is in fact to be linked to these motets, the most logical time for them to have been written is the period around her wedding to Gaston, which took place in Paris on 4 August 1349. The central French location of the wedding and the Valois connection, as well as the date, is consistent with the motets’s inclusion in the Ivrea codex. Moreover, Karl Kügler has suggested that the two motets on Gaston Fébus contained in the manuscript “may well have been composed as early as summer 1349, perhaps connected with Gaston’s marriage.” If that is the case, it might be reasonable to allow a pair of motets celebrating the bride as well.

As noted above, both motets use tenors whose text is taken from sections in Saint Agnes’s voice as given in her Vita. It could be argued that these words are inappropriate for love poetry, since in their original context the saint is asserting her virginity, for which she is willing to die rather than give in to human love. Given the common use in similar amatory contexts of Holy Week tenors that exploit the connection between the Lover’s passion and the Passion of Christ, however, I do not find the use of texts of Saint Agnes in a motet celebrating a historical Agnès to be discordant. Furthermore, though the full chants evoke her martyrdom, her passio in the Christian sense, the specific fragments used by the composers do not say “Virgin and Martyr,” so much as, literally, “at whose

26 Kügler 1990, 550 n. 97. He admits there are difficulties with this dating, notably the lack of a demonstrated use of Gaston’s sobriquet Fébus before the mid-1360s, but he notes that “both motets harp on the pro-Valois attitudes of Gaston, a position certainly no longer convincing after 1356, when Gaston was involved in a plot to remove king Jean II from his throne, while stopping active support for the king as early as 1353.”

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beauty the sun and the moon marvel" and "I yearn," both quite appropriate sentiments in an amatory context. Similarly to the Lenten tenors, but from a female point of view, these motets take statements of spiritual desire, originally addressed to Christ, and turn them to an earthly lover. Since these motets take amatory texts and place them over Sanctorale chants, they in effect combine elements from both the French amatory and the Latin occasional motet types. If in both cases the tenor is in Agnes's voice (either the saint or the lady), the upper voices are masculine statements of desire. The motets thus combine the points of view of both Lover and Lady—a very appropriate procedure for a wedding.

The upper-voice texts of the two motets may also refer to Agnès in oblique ways, though any such connection would be difficult to prove. Nothing is known of her physical appearance, so we cannot know whether the description given in the triplum Tant a sottile pointure is of her or simply of an ideal woman:
...sa faiture
tant gente et polie,
la chevelure dorée,
crêpée, menu cerceelée
qui taint par mastrée,
son front de forme carrée,
de bruns sourcils porcelée,
plus plaisamment coulourée
que rose espanée,
si vair oeil plains d'attrayture
todis riant par nature,
garni d'escremie,
son nez traytis à droyture,
sa bouche/o/ poy d'ouverture
fors quant rit lors prent mesure
qui par semblant crie
besier à voys répetée.

(...her appearance [is] so noble and polished, her hair golden, curled, with ringlets, masterfully tinted, her square face bordered with brown eyebrows, a face more pleasantly colored than a blooming rose, her grey eyes so full of attraction, always naturally laughing, garnished with fighting, her well-turned nose, her mouth, small except when she laughs, when it takes a measure that would seem to cry out to be kissed repeatedly.)

The word play on “point” and “dart” in both that voice and its motetus
Bien pert qu’en moy n’a d’art point may also contain an allusion to Gaston Fébus, whose prowess as a hunter was fabled in his own time, but this too must remain conjectural. The texts of H16, Se pâour d’umble astinance / Diex, tan désir estre amés de m’amour / T. Concupisco, tell how it is better to confess love than to be silent, but there is little in either text that could

27 I have been unable to understand this reference to jousting or combat; perhaps it refers to Gaston’s abilities in the tournament or the hunt.
be connected to a specific event or person. These identifications must therefore rest primarily on the tenor connections to Saint Agnes.

If this theory about the origin and destination of these motets is correct, it provides further proof that *Se pâour d'umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amés de m'amour / T. Concupisco* is the original version of the motet and that the Latin motet *Domine, quis habitabit / De veri cordis adipe / T. Concupisco* (H16a) presented in the Bury St Edmunds manuscript Ob 7 is a later contrafactum.28

Lucy

Another motet, found uniquely in the Chantilly codex, *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* (H27 (G8)), uses a tenor for Saint Lucy, like Agnes a fourth-century Virgin and Martyr. Lucy appears to be an even more uncommon name than Agnes in the fourteenth century, and I have so far been able to find only one viable candidate: Lucia, daughter of Bernabò Visconti, who was betrothed to the young Louis II d'Anjou in Angers on 6 May 1384,29 shortly before he succeeded to the dukedom—and a claim to the throne of Sicily—upon the death of his father in August of

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28For this version, see Harrison 1968, no. 16a and the facsimile given in Harrison and Wibberley 1981, 68-69.
29Corio 1978, 1, 875: “Al sexto di magio Ludovico d'Angiò institui octo oratori con il consentimento de Maria, regina de Sicilia [Marie de Blois, wife of Louis d'Anjou], de venire a ratificare le sponsalicie di Lucia, figliola di Bernabò, e condurla a lui con lo intero pagamento de la dota. Et al duodecimo Carlo, christianissimo re di Francia, con sue littere approbò il parentato.”

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that year.\textsuperscript{30} Given the Sicilian connection, it is interesting to note that Saint Lucy lived and died in Syracuse on the island of Sicily, though this is probably coincidental.

A date as late as 1384 for this motet might be questioned, in light of its appearance in the index of the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23190), dated 1376, but Margaret Bent has recently shown that this date only applies to part of the index:

The original heading, with the date 1376, was copied before, and probably at the same sitting as, the earliest form of the index, a retrospective listing of the contents of the first 32 folios. Scholars have accepted 1376 as the \textit{terminus ante quem} for all the compositions listed. In fact, this terminus can only be applied to most of the music copied on the first 32 folios.\textsuperscript{31}

Since this motet is listed among the additions to the index and assigned to f. 42, it need not have been written before 1376.

The similarities between Lucy’s story and Agnes’s are striking. Günther summarizes Lucy’s \textit{Vita}:

Legend has it that Lucy dedicated her life to Christ, although she had promised to marry a pagan youth. She was accused by her former admirer, and stabbed to death during the persecution of Diocletian, because she had publicly declared herself a Christian. Previously the judge Paschasius had vainly attempted to have her punished by placing her in a brothel. Since that plan miscarried, she was ordered to be burnt at the stake, but she called on her beloved, Jesus Christ, and the fire could not harm her.\textsuperscript{32}

The antiphon whose text is used for the tenor of this motet is part of her prayer over the flames; it has been shown above that one of the Agnes

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{30}Lehoux 1966-68, II, 105. Louis I died at Bisceglie on 20 September 1384.
\textsuperscript{31}Bent 1990a, 222.
\textsuperscript{32}Günther 1965, xxxviii.
motets uses a chant from the analogous moment of Agnes’s martyrdom. The melody for the Lucy tenor does not correspond to the chant source as given by Günther, or to any other chants using similar words, but several other motets in this manuscript use tenor texts with more or less clear liturgical associations while exploiting what appear to be newly-composed melodies. This phenomenon, whereby a liturgical text becomes a tenor name for its own sake, with a melody other than that of the original chant, may be a mid-to-late-fourteenth-century development; it appears, however, that the liturgical association of the text maintains its importance and value for naming.

It is therefore possible that the motet refers to the betrothal of Lucia di Bernabò and Louis II d’Anjou, as the Agnes motets may be linked to the wedding of Agnès de Navarre and Gaston Fébus. The Visconti-Angevin alliance was discussed as early as 1382; according to the journal of Jean Le Fèvre, the elder Louis’s chancellor, it initially involved a marriage between Bernabò’s daughter and Charles, Louis’s second son, presumably because negotiations were taking place at the same time to marry the eldest son to an Aragonese princess. By 23 March, Le Fèvre reports that the prospective groom was now Charles’s older brother Louis, and terms were set for Bernabò’s assistance to the Angevin effort in Sicily. This alliance

33"...entre la fille Barnabo et Charle filz se:cond de monseigneur [d’Anjou].” Moranville 1887, 25, entry dated 18 March 1382. Louis eventually did marry Yolande d’Aragon.
34"...apres disner devers le Pape, nous fu ouvert du traitié de Barnabo et de monseigneur sur le mariage de Loys monseigneur avec sa tierce fille; et il feroit paie pour VI mois à monseigneur de IMM lances et deffieroit Charle de Duras et envoieroit son filz et sa baniere avec monseigneur, et seroit
was closely tied to the conflicts surrounding the Sicilian succession, and the marriage was to be the capstone of a treaty in which Bernabò promised money and troops to Louis, and possibly Louis agreed in turn to assist Bernabò in conquering Verona.\textsuperscript{35}

The formal engagement took place in Angers on 6 May 1384.\textsuperscript{36} A similar ceremony must have taken place in Milan: on 8 November 1384, Le Fèvre writes: “On this day messire Regnault Bresille, knight, returned from Milan, where he had been sent to arrange the betrothal [\textit{les espousailles}] of monseigneur Louis, duke of Calabria, and a daughter of messire Bernabò, lord of Milan.”\textsuperscript{37} Upon the death of Louis in Italy, his widow, Marie de Blois, continued to uphold the claim of her seven-year-old son to the throne of Sicily, and she and Bernabò reaffirmed the alliance. Bernabò in fact seems to have been anxious to assure Marie de

\textit{amis aus amis de monseigneur et livreroit passage seur aus genz de monseigneur; et je seelle une procuracion à l’evesque d’Agen sur le mariage.” (Moranvillé 1887, 26)}

\textsuperscript{35}Muir 1924, 79-81. The fullest account of the proposed marriage, and of the possible influence of the Franco-Milanese alliance on the fall of Bernabò Visconti, is Romano 1893, who makes heavy use of Le Fèvre’s journal.

\textsuperscript{36}Lehoux 1966-68, II, 105. There is a lacuna in Le Fèvre’s journal between 29 November 1383 and July 1384, when he “revenu de Portugal en Avignon” (Moranvillé 1887, 54).

\textsuperscript{37}“Ce jour messire Regnault Bresille chevalier, fu revenu de Milan où il avoit esté envoié pour faire les espousailles de monseigneur Loys duc de Calabre et de une fille du sire de Milan messire Barnabo.” Moranvillé 1887, 55. Lehoux asks: “Le mariage par procuration de Lucie Visconti avec Louis II d’Anjou avait-il été célébré à Milan le 2 août?” (Lehoux 1966-68, II, 116 n. 2, citing Valois 1896-1902, II, 70 and noting Le Fèvre’s entry cited above). She concludes that since Louis was not yet seven years old, “vraisemblablement il s’agissait seulement d’une promesse de mariage.”
Blois of his continuing interest, perhaps the more so given the prospect of being father-in-law to a child king of Sicily.\textsuperscript{38} Plans for the marriage and another Angevin campaign in Italy continued, and on 30 April 1385 “it was decided before the Pope to send for Bernabò’s daughter, and to send 60,000

\textsuperscript{38}On 4 December 1384, according to Le Fèvre, “vindrent deux chevaliers de par le seigneur de Milan, messire Raymon Restain et messire J. de Lisques; dirent que messire Barnabo estoit dolant de la mort de monseigneur; dirent qu’il offroit corps et chevance à mettre à la conquête de Secile; dirent que l’avis qu’il avait pris, estoit de envoyer devers le seigneur de Coucy pour faire ligués avec les communes d’Italie; item li sambloit que qui pourroit fournir mil lances continuement yver et esté, ce seroit assés pour faire guerre à Charle de la Pais [Charles de Durazzo], e pense que en brief le pais de Secile se pourverroit et mettroit hors ledit Charle; et se le Pape en veult paier sa part, le Roy de France la sienne, messegneurs les oncles Berri et Bourgongne la leur, Madame la sienne, il en paiera sa part comme l’un des IIII dessus nommés. Et se il veulent doubler à II\textsuperscript{M}, aussi en paiera sa quinte part; et se plus grande armée veulent faire par mer ou par terre, il se offre à paier sa porcion et y exposer li et le sien jusques à conclusion que il ne soit que un Pape en l’esglise et un Roy en Secile: c’est assavoir monseigneur Loys. Dirent oultzr lesdis ambaxieurs que messire Barnabo tient monseigneur le Roy Loys pour son filz principal et le plus chier, combien qu’il en ait IIII aultres. Dirent aussi que messire Barnabo donnoit cel avis pour cause de briefte et de non perdre temps; mais se meilleur conseil on trouvoit, il estoit prest de l’ensuir. Et advisoit que pour Dieu, ce que on promettroit fust certainnement paié en argent ou or, non point en lettres ou cartes” (Moranvillé 1887, 72-73). Two days later, “Après disner vindrent lesdis ambaxieurs devers monseigneur de Calabre en une haulte chambre et là, au prendre congé, leur bailla un anel à porter à la fille messire Barnabo son espouse nommée Luce et à chacun des II chevaliers donna une aiguière et un gobelet couvert. Madame escript à Barnabo en français, nommant: \textit{tres excellent et tres honnoré seigneur et frere}, et dedens la lettre se souscript assés haut en chief de ligne. Monseigneur de Calabre escript en latin et se souscript en lettre ou milieu de ligne: \textit{vester filius Ludovicus Calabre dux...}” (Moranvillé 1887, 73).
florins for the army that is in the kingdom of Sicily.”\textsuperscript{39} Since it was traditional that young brides be raised in the households they would eventually join, to send for Lucia indicates that the marriage plans were still well underway.

A few days later, however, on 6 May, Bernabò was captured outside Varese by his nephew Gian Galeazzo; he died in prison at Trezzo in December of that year. All thought of a marriage between the young duke and Lucia seems to have been conveniently forgotten from that time, despite the money Bernabò had already paid for Louis’s effort. The value of a Franco-Milanese alliance, however, was still recognized. On 14 July 1385, Louis’s uncle, Jean, duc de Berry, suggested to Marie de Blois an alternative alliance with the Visconti\textsuperscript{40}—a marriage between Louis and Gian Galeazzo’s daughter Valentine—before deciding instead to marry Valentine to another nephew, Louis, duc de Valois, younger brother of Charles VI and later duc d’Orléans.\textsuperscript{41}

Lucia’s later history was troubled: first sought by John of Gaunt for his son Henry of Hereford (later Henry IV), she was engaged to Frederick of Thuringia, though she claimed this alliance was forced upon her by Gian Galeazzo. Finally, in 1407 she married Edmund Holland, earl of Kent, who died a year later in Brittany; she remained in Yorkshire until her own

\textsuperscript{39}Moranvillé 1887, 104: “devers Ie Pape fu delibere de envoyer querir la fille Barnabo et de envoyer LX\textsuperscript{M} florins pour les gens d’armes qui sont ou royaume de Secile.”

\textsuperscript{40}Moranvillé 1887, 142: “Ce jour monseigneur de Berri visita Madame et li parla de marier le Roy à la fille du conte de Vertus.”

\textsuperscript{41}Lehoux 1966-68, II, 167.
death in 1424. For his part, Louis II d'Anjou was married to Yolande d'Aragon on 2 December 1400, after a long period of negotiations.

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These three motets, by combining non-Marian Sanctorale material in their tenors with French amatory upper-voice texts, suggest an association with namesakes of the saints whose chants are used. The fact that the tenors use texts in the voice of the female saints, while the upper voices are masculine statements of desire, may make the combination particularly appropriate for a wedding—and afterwards, the topical connection can easily be resubmerged. It is interesting that the historical connection of these motets is so well hidden, perhaps in part because there are no other motets in honor of living women—or of named women other than the Virgin and female saints such as Ida of Boulogne—in the fourteenth-century repertory. It is often more difficult to find the women in medieval history, and that is no less true here.

These motets also suggest that the division between occasional and amatory works can be bridged. They show as well how easily a topical work can lose its connection with the occasion for which it was written—

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42 Muir 1924, 204-5.
43 Lehoux 1966-68, II, 427 n. 5: “Selon la Chronique de Bertrand Boysset (p. 358-362), le mariage fut célébré à Saint-Troïme d'Arles, le 2 décembre 1400. Le RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS (Chronique, t. II, p. 772), probablement moins bien renseigné, puisqu'il s'agit d'événements provençaux, donne la date de janvier 1401.” The Aragonese marriage was considered even before the Milanese alliance, as we have seen.
or acquire a new occasion. As fundamental as the tenor is to the motet, its message can be more easily lost or avoided than those of the upper voices.

44 See Wathey 1992 on Servant regem misericordia / Ludovice [O Philippe], prelustris Francorum / T. Rex regum et dominus dominancium (F16(33)), as discussed in chapter 3.
We will close with a consideration of two—or perhaps three—tenors whose chant sources I have located during the course of this study. The fact that I have found these suggests that more may yet appear, though I tend to believe that some tenors are not based on any preexistent melodic source. Particularly good candidates for free tenor melodies may be the few tenors with liturgical texts that do not use the corresponding melody, such as L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor (H27 (G8)) and D'ardent desir / Efus d'amor / T. Nigra est set formosa (H32 (G7)), both transmitted in the Chantilly codex.¹

Each of these new identifications raises special problems. The interpretation of the first—Trahunt in precipicia / An diex! ou pora ge trover / [Tenor] in the Brussels rotulus, Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve qui gregi deficiunt / T. Displacebat ei etc. (F11(21)) in the Roman de Fauvel—is complicated, yet perhaps in the end solved, by the identification of its tenor with Augustine. The second, Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi] (V12), a motet by Philippe de Vitry in honor of Clement VI, raises questions of liturgical usage and melodic composition that cannot be entirely answered at present. The third, most tentative case, Cum statua

¹L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor is also listed in the index of the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23901), no. 98.
Nabucodonosor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T. Magister invidie

[Magister meus Christus?] (V8), would represent an extreme case of alteration of chant-based materials, where the text is modified and the melody takes its chant source only as a point of departure. The liturgical association, if this identification is plausible, is, at least at present, also among the most opaque we have seen. Still, such trickery would be in keeping with what is known of Philippe de Vitry, the motet’s composer. Each of these pieces will, I hope, suggest avenues for future work as the present study draws to a close.

Displicebat ei etc.\(^{2}\)

Once composed, motets in the fourteenth-century French repertory were rarely revised; only occasionally were new voices added to the original three or four.\(^{3}\) One of the few to be so revised is *Trahunt in precipicia / An diex! ou pora ge trover / [Tenor]*, as it appears in the Brussels rotulus. In the *Roman de Fauvel* substantial changes have been

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\(^{2}\)This material also appears in part as “A New Tenor for Augustine,” forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*.

\(^{3}\)Those added voices, moreover, are almost always untexted contratenors. The only other motet to have texted voices added to it is the musician motet *Apollinis eclipatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (H9), which attracted to it a host of additions: two new voices in the now-lost Strasbourg codex (an untexted “quadruplum” and the texted voice *Pantheon abluitur*; this version is edited as number 9a in Harrison 1968), two different voices in a fragment now in the London Public Record Office (an untexted contratenor and *Sallentes zinzugia*; see Wathey 1993a, 54-55), and two other untexted voices in a Barcelona fragment (E-Bcen 853, where the contratenor is labeled *Per sanctam civitatem*; see Reaney 1969, 89, and Gómez 1985).
made. A Latin motetus text, *Ve, qui gregi deficiunt*, replaces the French *An diex! ou pora ge trover*, and a new quadruplum voice, *Quasi non ministerium*, is added. The tenor is also supplied with the text *Displicebat ei etc.*, lacking in the rotulus.⁴ Since four-voice motets are rare in this repertory, and since voices are far more often added to than subtracted from motets in the fourteenth century,⁵ the bilingual version of the motet in the Brussels rotulus is more likely the original state of the motet, indicating that the motetus has been retexted and the quadruplum newly composed. Evidence for the priority of the bilingual motet found in the Brussels rotulus is also indicated by the motetus voice, which, with the original French text discarded from the *Fauvel* reworking, took on a life of its own. The French-texted motetus, with its music, appears later in the *Roman de Fauvel* as the basis for what Ernest Hoepffner called a “motet farci,” where bits of the text serve as frames for new poetry. The first two lines of *An diex! ou pora ge trover* also underpin the first of the *sottes chansons* of the charivari.⁶

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⁴ *Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve, qui gregi deficiunt / T. Displicebat ei etc.* has been edited in Schrade 1956a as F11(21); the Brussels version has not been edited. The transformation of this motet is described in Dahnk 1935, li-lixi.

⁵ One of the only cases of such reduction also occurs in the *Fauvel* manuscript, where the motet *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni* becomes the monophonic prose *Carnalitas luxuria*. On this transformation, see my “The Flowering of Charnalite and the Marriage of Fauvel,” forthcoming in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey.

⁶ The uses to which this text is put are described in Hoepffner 1921, though he was unaware of the Brussels motet. Given this fact, it is perhaps all the more striking that he correctly identified the original text as a motet voice.
Perhaps unique to this motet complex is the amount of borrowed material contained in it. The French motetus text in the rotulus takes six lines from a *Dit d'amour* by Nevelon Amion d'Arras, as Ernest Hoepffner has demonstrated. Since Hoepffner states that Nevelon's work does not appear to have been transmitted far from his native Arras, a northern origin for the motet, or at least for its composer, seems likely. Such an origin would surely be consistent with other northern connections found for material transmitted in this manuscript and those involved in compiling it. All three Latin texts come from the conductus repertory.

The triplum, which is part of the original state of the motet, is the second stanza (minus the refrain) of *Trine vocis tripudio*, the motetus replacing the French text uses both stanza four of *Ve mundo a scandalis* and stanza three of *Trine vocis tripudio*, and the new quadruplum uses stanzas five and six of *Quid ultra tibi facere*.  

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7 This is described in Hoepffner 1921; he says that the *dit* was written before 1280. Hoepffner also notes the use of the refrain *Fui de ci; de toi n'ai que faire!* in one of the songs of Jehannot de Lescurel also transmitted in Pn 146.

8 See, for example, Robertson forthcoming, where she links the tenor of the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124), attributed to Philippe de Vitry) to the cathedral of Arras.

9 Edited as number E4 in Anderson 1986.

10 *Ve mundo a scandalis* is edited as K27 and *Quid ultra tibi facere* as K17 in Anderson 1981. All three conductus are transmitted in the Florence manuscript (among other sources), and two, *Ve mundo a scandalis* and *Quid ultra tibi facere*, are attributed to Philip the Chancellor. For a summary of Philip's career, see Wright 1989, 294-99. Dronke 1987 is the latest examination of the bases of attribution of works to Philip; he accepts both *Ve mundo* and *Quid ultra* as Philip's work. The most extensive study of Philip in recent times is Payne 1991.
In fact, the only voice for which a textual source has not been located to date is paradoxically the voice that traditionally consists of borrowed material: the tenor.\textsuperscript{11} I have identified this tenor as the verse of \textit{Volebat enim}, a responsory for the feast of Saint Augustine of Hippo (28 August).\textsuperscript{12} Although the tenor text \textit{Displicebat ei etc.} does not appear in the Brussels rotulus, which transmits what appears to be the earlier state of the motet, the tenor melody corresponds closely enough to that of the responsory verse to demonstrate dependence—the text cannot be a later addition to the motet.\textsuperscript{13}

The tenor uses the entire verse of its source responsory; at 55 pitches, this is probably one of the longest clearly chant-derived tenor melodies. The melody does not match precisely any version of the chant I have yet seen, but the amount of comparative material I have collected at present is insufficient to determine whether the melodic variants between tenor and chant reflect a local tradition not yet found or are the result of compositional alteration. (See Appendix 1 for a comparison of the tenor melody to several chant readings.) Nevertheless, it is clear that the melodies are related, and that the responsory was the source for the tenor. The tenor begins and ends on G, where all versions of the chant I have

\textsuperscript{11}Emilie Dahnk did suggest two possible Biblical allusions for the tenor: \textit{displiceat ei} (Proverbs 24:18) and \textit{displicebit illi} (Eccli. 21:18). As we shall see, neither of these is actually the tenor source, though, with no other evidence available, Dahnk made the most logical connection.

\textsuperscript{12}I discovered at a conference on the manuscript Pn 146 (Paris, July 1994) that Jacques Boogaart had independently found this responsory; I am grateful to him for sharing his discovery with me.

\textsuperscript{13}This is not the only case of a tenor text missing in the Brussels rotulus but present elsewhere.
seen are C-based; if the composer transposed the verse, it would be in keeping with the overall favor given to F and G finals in the fourteenth-century motet repertory.¹⁴

The tenor source can refer to no one but Augustine of Hippo: not only are the responsory and verse not used for any other saint, but the texts of both are selected and adapted from the beginning of Book 8 of Augustine’s Confessions. The texts follow:

responso ry:  Volebat enim conferenti estus suos ut proferret quis esset aptus modus vivendi sic affecto ut ipse erat ad ambulandum in via dei. In qua alius sic alius sic ibat. [V.] Displicebat ei quicquid agebat in seculo pre dulcedine dei et decore domus eius quam dilexit. In qua...

Confessions: ...Vnde mihi ut proferret uolebam conferenti secum aestus meos, quis esset aptus modus sic affecto, ut ego eram, ad ambulandum in via tua. Videbam enim plenam ecclesiam, et alius sic ibat, alius autem sic. Mihi autem displicebat, quod agebam in saeculo, et oneri mihi erat ulde non iam inflammatibus cupiditatibus, ut solebant, spe honoris et pecuniae ad tolerandam illam servitutem tam grauem. Tum enim me illa non delectabat prae dulcedine tua et decor domus tuae, quam dilexi, sed adhuc tenaciter conligabar ex femina, nec me prohibebat apostolus coniugari, quamuis exhortaretur ad melius maxime ulens omnes homines sic esse, ut ipse erat.¹⁵

¹⁴Of the five occurrences of this responsory in the CANTUS index, four are also in transposed mode 6, presumably with the same C final I have found in my melodic readings. The only one in untransposed mode 6 is A-KN 1018, a fourteenth-century Antiphoner from Klosterneuberg. (The CANTUS database consists of indexes of the musical contents of an ever-growing number of manuscript sources for the Office; information here is current as of August 1995 and does not reflect sources added since that time.)

¹⁵Augustine 1981, 113-14. All further quotations from the Confessions come from this source. I was assisted in locating this reference by the CETEDOC database of Christian Latin texts edited in the series Corpus Christianorum; the database, like the series, is distributed by Brepols. This
Having shown the link of this tenor to Augustine, we must now turn our attention to what this connection might mean, both in the motet as it appears in the Roman de Fauvel and in the likely original state preserved in the Brussels rotulus. As we have seen, the original version of the motet combines a Latin triplum, the first six lines of which are borrowed from a conductus text, with a French motetus whose last six lines are similarly borrowed from a dit by Nevelon Amion d’Arras. The apparent contrast between the texts, however, is more confusing: while many pairs of texts in a bilingual (or even monolingual) motet juxtapose opposing ideas such as spiritual and courtly love—caritas and cupiditas, as Augustine would say—the clerical criticism of this triplum seems to

passage is not contained in the Vita of Augustine edited in Mombrizio 1978. The English, following Augustine 1961, 157-58, is: “I hoped that if I put my problems to him [Simplicianus], he would draw upon his experience and his knowledge to show me how best a man in my state of mind might walk upon your way. I saw that the Church was full, yet its members each followed a different path in the world. But my own life in the world was unhappy. It was a heavy burden to me, because the hope of honour and wealth was no longer, as before, a spur to my ambition, enabling me to bear so onerous a life devoted to their service. Such things now held no attractions for me in comparison with your sweetness and my love of the house where you dwell, the shrine of your glory. [Ps. 25:8 (26:8)] But I was still held firm in the bonds of woman’s love. Your apostle did not forbid me to marry, although he counselled a better state, wishing earnestly that all men should be as he was himself. But I was a weaker man and was tempted to choose an easier course, and this reason alone prevented me from reaching a decision upon my other problems....”

16This combination of words appears about a hundred times on the CETEDOC database. Among those examples are two from the Confessions, including one from book 8, chapter 5, line 36: *ut sicut nemo est, qui dormire semper uolit... ita certum habebam esse melius tuae caritati me dedere quam meae cupiditati cedere; sed illud placebat et uincebat, hoc libebat et uincebat.* A concise definition can be found in *Enarrationes in*
have nothing to do with the love complaint of its motetus. Why are these texts combined in this motet?

The tenor may in fact provide the key to understanding this unusual combination of themes. The Augustine responsory contrasts explicitly the world, which offender the saint, and the sweetness of God—and, perhaps more to the point, the propriety of his home. In the context of the motet, this propriety underpins the description of what may be seen as two forms of the improper life: the ambitious flatterer described in clerical Latin, and the tormented lover, who speaks in courtly French.

Moreover, the context of the responsory in the Confessions is crucial: this text starts the action of Book 8, which culminates in the famous “tolle, lege” scene that marks Augustine’s moment of conversion to Christianity and to the religious life. Augustine’s decision to visit Simplicianus at the beginning of the book was made because of the positive personal qualities of the older man, and it led to Augustine’s renunciation of the honors and love of this world. That the two were related has been shown by Peter Brown. Augustine, by his own account, sent his common-law wife back to Africa and planned a marriage to a daughter of the Milanese elite; this alliance would give him the social connections and money needed to set himself on the career ladder of government service. According to Brown,

Augustine had been numbed by the departure of his woman. Cut loose from this stable relationship, his own sexuality was bleakly demystified. It appeared to him that both his present stop-gap

Psalmos, Ps. 31, Ennarratio 2, par. 5, l. 38: amor dei, amor proximi, caritas dicitur; amor mundi, amor huius saeculi, cupiditas dicitur.
relationship and any further relationship (lawful marriage included) was based, in the last analysis, on a need for sex, that seemed to Augustine, as spring turned to summer in 386, only to make ever more painfully clear the compulsive force of habit...It conducted him, like an armed escort, straight on a course towards a conventional marriage. And behind this marriage there lay the dark compromise with the "hope of this world" implied in such an alliance, between a gifted parvenu from Africa and the Milanese families grouped around the imperial court.17

It is in this mood that Augustine met Simplicianus, Ambrose’s spiritual father (patrem in accipienda gratia tunc episcopi Ambrosii, 114), who told him the story of the convert Victorinus (rhetor urbis Romae, quem christianorum defunctorum esse audieram, 114), a story that Augustine was led to wish to emulate. What stood in his way was his own will, which he now saw split in two—"So these two wills within me, one old, one new, one the servant of the flesh, the other of the spirit, were in conflict and between them they tore my soul apart."18

We know the struggles Augustine had, and the end of the story. The responsory abbreviates it: Augustine recognized that there are two paths, and he wanted to follow the proper one; he saw his own life in this world as distasteful, and he desired to seek the sweetness of God. So too should the speaker of the motetus part, who wants confort, conseil, n’alegement—and so should those criticized in the triplum, who instead are leading us astray. Augustine found Simplicianus, but the author of the triplum does not appear to have been so lucky. The tenor, then, roots the

18Augustine 1961, 164; the Latin, from Augustine 1956, 120, is: una uetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritualis, confilgebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam.
seemingly disparate upper-voice texts in the context of conversion to a life that leaves behind both physical love and worldly ambition.

It is therefore the tenor that merges the two upper voices of the Brussels motet into a study of proper and improper ways of life. This enables us to see even more clearly the sharp and unambiguous criticism of the clergy represented by the Fauvel Latin version, which functions as part of an extended diatribe covering ff. 5v-7r, a section that includes three motets (the music of one was never copied) and three monophonic conductus; our motet is fifth in this group. In this context, the vernacular has no place, which easily accounts for the suppression of the French motetus (which is put to good use elsewhere, as we have seen) and its replacement by a Latin one. Conductus texts are the natural sources for this new motetus text, as well as for that of the added quadruplum.

The context of this motet in the roman criticizes the clergy by means of the topos of the world turned upside down. Relevant lines in the Roman de Fauvel on the subject include:

1. 609-610: 20 Pastours sont, mès c'est pour els pestre:  
Huy est le louf dez brebis mestre  
(They are shepherds, but now for themselves: today the wolf is master of the sheep)

1. 627-28: Eulz ont non de reverent pere,  
Et enfans sont....  
(They are called reverend father, but they are children...)

19The classic description of this topos is Curtius 1953, 94-98.  
20Text and line numbers are taken from Långfors 1914-19.
The contrast inherent in this *topos* is used to good effect within our motet as well:

**Triplum:**

*Trahunt in precipicia*

qui nos tenentur regere,

*si que docent salubria*

*pravo deformant opere....*

**Quadruplum:**

*Quasi non ministerium*

*creditum sit pastoribus,*

*sed regnum et imperium...*

The priest as shepherd is another important metaphor in the Latin motetus text, which laments *qui gregi deficiunt*. The transformation of the text that follows, however, departs from this image: where the conductus text criticizes those who do not cast out the wolf (*qui lupum non reiciunt*), the motetus derived from it refers to those who overthrow truth-speakers (*qui veraces deiciunt*). Perhaps the shepherd has, as in the roman, not simply let the wolf in the door but has himself *become* the wolf, to the danger not only of the flock, but especially to anyone who might denounce the change. This shift may be echoed by the quadruplum’s reference to the one who does not enter the sheepfold through the gate (*ac in ovile ovium / non ingressi per ostium, / sed vel vi vel muneribus*). The Gospel reference (John 10:1) is in turn picked up in the tenor of the next motet: *Fur non venit, nisi ut furetur, et mactet, et perdat.*
The opposition between word and deed, between honors and duties, and above all between truth and falsehood, is very strong in the *Fauvel* motet, and it makes tangible the more general opposition between shepherd and thief or shepherd and wolf. Here the focus may be as much on the example of Simplicianus, and that of Victorinus, as on Augustine himself. At the beginning of Book 8, after all, Augustine is more a sheep than a shepherd—and even he could be led astray, as indeed it could be argued he already had been.

A possible background for this Augustine complex, with its focus on proper living, may be found in the order of Canons Regular, who followed Augustine’s rule—an order that placed great emphasis on teaching by word and example, and on the reform of the secular clergy.21 Probably the best-known community of Augustinian canons was that of Saint-Victor, and their traditional target just across the Seine at Notre-Dame; another reform-minded community was Saint-Quentin-lès-Beauvais.22 All three

21 It would be premature to suggest that the motet (in either version) was composed by or for Augustinian canons, since not enough is known of the careers of those canons, and most French composers about whom there is much information seem to have been seculars. Guillaume de Machaut held a canonry at Saint-Quentin, as did Philippe de Vitry, but I do not know if either was forced to make any profession to hold it, and Machaut at least certainly did own property later in life. The canons of Reims in Machaut’s time did not live under a rule.

22 Ivo, bishop of Chartres, in the words of Margot Fassler “the most important reformer in the vicinity of Paris” in the early twelfth century, was prior of Saint-Quentin early in his career and helped to design the customary for the reformed community. He also supported William of Champeaux in the election of another reformer, his student Galon, as bishop of Paris in 1104; it was William who, with other canons from Notre-Dame, founded Saint-Victor “not only as a haven for Parisian canons who yearned for the common life, but also as an example for the
of these houses, of course, were connected with major medieval composers at some point in their histories. A connection with the Augustinians would be less likely for the original bilingual motet than for the Fauvel version.

The Augustine tenor thus puts this motet—in both forms—into a context of conversion. In the Confessions, the lost sheep is found, thanks to the shepherding of Simplicianus, among others, and the sinner is set on the path that leads to God and away from worldly pursuits. Unfortunately, in a world turned upside down, where all rush to curry Fauvel, shepherds are wolves and thieves who lead the sheep down the wrong path—the one that ends with a cliff. The Fauvel motet and its context do not paint a very pleasant picture of clerical authority, but the Augustine tenor serves as a reminder of how the world should be, and will be again when Fauvel has been eradicated.

secular canons at the cathedral.” See Fassler 1993, 197-202. It is also interesting to note that Saint-Victor and Saint-Quentin are already known to musicologists for other reasons, and both were at one time home to a manuscript that includes conductus and organum from the Notre-Dame tradition; see Roesner 1988. I am unaware at present of the nature of the relationship between these two houses by the late thirteenth / early fourteenth century. The proximity of Saint-Quentin to Arras, home of Nevelon and possible source of at least the tenor of Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera (F30(124)) is also intriguing. Peter Jeffery has suggested to me that Saint-Victor or Saint-Quentin could be a possible place of origin for the Fauvel version of the motet; given the personal associations between those known to have had a role in the texts used in Pn 146 and the royal chancery demonstrated, for example, in the introduction to Roesner et al. 1990, such a theory may seem less likely, but it is possible.
Non est inventus similis illi

My second new source is for a motet by Philippe de Vitry in honor of Pope Clement VI: Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi] (V12).23 The tenor text has recently been found by Andrew Wathey in a text manuscript copied in Avignon in the late 1340s.24 Wathey has noted that the text comes from the book of Ecclesiasticus,25 but it is also used as the verse of the gradual Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo. [V.] Non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret legem excelsi, used in the Common of One Confessor.

The text of the responsory does not come directly from the Bible, but rather from a liturgical text that epitomizes chapters 44 and 45 of the book of Ecclesiasticus, used as an epistle in the Common of One Confessor. The reading, as given in AR 444, is:

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23 The motet is attributed to Vitry in two text sources: Pn lat. 3343, which gives the triplum only, has Hunc motetum [sic] fecit Philippus de Vitriaco pro papa Clemente, cited in Sanders 1980, 27. The newly-discovered source A-Wn 4195, which includes all three texts, gives Magistri Philippus de Vitrejo in laudem Pape Clementis vii] anno suo primo circa natalem domini; see Wathey 1993b, 134, who dates this motet therefore to the period 24 December 1342-5 January 1343.

24 This is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 4195, described in Wathey 1993b, 149, as "Sermons, addresses delivered in consistory, and other political pieces, in particular against Louis of Bavaria, by Pierre Roger."  

25 Ecclesiasticus 44:20:

Abraham magnus pater multitudinis gentium et non est inventus similis illi in gloria qui conservavit legem Excelsi et fuit in testamento cum illo.

The opening passage may be based on Ecclesiasticus 50:1 (Simon Onii filius sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua suffulsit domum et in diebus suis corroboravit). The bulk of the reading, though, is freely adapted and borrowed from 44:16-45:20:

44:16 Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradiso
ut det gentibus paenitentiam
(17) Noe inventus est perfectus iustus
et in tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio
...
(20) Abraham magnus pater multitudinis gentium
et non est inventus similis illi in gloria
qui conservavit legem Excelsi
et fuit in testamento cum illo
(21) in carne eius stare fecit testamentum
et in temptatione inventus est fidelis
(22) ideo iureiurando dedit illi semen in gente sua
crescere illum quasi terrae cumulum
...
(25) benedictionem omnium gentium dedit illi
et testamentum confirmavit super caput Iacob
(26) agnovit eum in benedictionibus suis
et deedit illi hereditatem
et divisit ei partem in tribus duodecim

26This passage is found on f. 78v. I have silently expanded abbreviations; the semicolon is used to reflect a punctus elevatus in the manuscript.
et conservavit illis homines misericordiae
inventientes gratiam in oculis omnis carnis
(45:1) dilectus a Deo et hominibus Moses
cuius memoria in benedictione est
(2) simillem illum fecit in gloria sanctorum
et magnificavit eum in timore inimicorum
et in verbis suis monstra placavit
(3) glorificavit illum in conspectu regum
et iussit illi coram populo suo
et ostendit illi gloriam suam
...
(7) excelsum fecit Aaron fratrem eius
et similem sibi de tribu Levi
(8) statuit ei testamentum aeternum
et dedit illi sacerdotium gentis
et beatificavit illum in gloria
...
(18) conplevit Moses manus eius
et unxit illum oleo sancto
(19) factum est illi in testamentum aeternum
et semini eius sicut dies caeli
fungi sacerdotio et habere laudem
et glorificare populum suum in nomine suo
(20) ipsum elegit eum ab omni vivente
adferre sacrificium Deo incensum et bonum odorem
in memoriam placere populo suo

The reading takes the passage, part of the well-known "praise of famous
men," and makes it a general description of the man who pleases God—in
other words, a Confessor, like Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses
and Aaron. The fact that all of these men had a special relationship with
God, and Aaron was a priest, may explain why, in Arras at least, the
reading Ecce sacerdos was especially used for bishops and popes.27

27In AR 444, the reading Ecce sacerdos is used in the Common De uno
confessore pontifice and for the following saints: Marcellus, Vigil of Saint
Vaast, Athanasius, Deposition of Saint Hadulfus, Urban, Leo, Martial,
Firminus, Leodegarius, Calixtus, Amatus, Vigoris, Martin, Clement, and
Nicholas; all of these have the rank of bishop or higher. The responsory
Though the motet clearly names Clement VI, I have not found a liturgical source in which the gradual Ecce sacerdos is assigned to the person whose symbolic value would seem most appropriate for this motet: Clement I, pope and martyr. The reading Ecce sacerdos given above, however, and the responsory Ecce sacerdos (CAO 6609, with a different verse), however, I have found used for Clement in a tantalizing setting: Saint-Vaast, Arras. Anne Walters Robertson has suggested that Vitry may have come from Vitry-en-Artois—rather than from Vitry-en-Perthois, near Châlons-sur-Marne, as has long been thought—and he may even have gone to Paris as a student at the Collège des bons enfans d’Arras à Paris, founded in 1308.28 Not only may Vitry have been connected with Arras, but Pierre Roger, the future dedicatee of Vitry’s motet, was consecrated bishop of Arras in December 1328. Within a year, however, he had been transferred to the archbishopric of Sens, then to Rouen before the end of 1330, so his tenure in Arras is only a small footnote in his meteoric rise to the See of Peter, which he assumed as Clement VI in 1342.29 By Christmas 1342, Arras (and the association of Ecce sacerdos texts with Clement) could have served as a distant memory for Clement and Philippe, perhaps as a private reference between them, but little more.

Ecce sacerdos appears in the Common and is used as well for Silvester, John Chrysostom, Vigil of Saint Vaast, Ambrose, Deposition of Saint Hadulfus, Leo, Gaugericus, Augustine (of Canterbury), Evortius, Calixtus, Severinus, Amand, and Aubertus.

28Robertson forthcoming.
29These dates are: 3 December 1328 (bishop of Arras), 24 November 1329 (archbishop of Sens), 14 December 1330 (archbishop of Rouen). See Wood 1989, 10; she gives no information, however, concerning the actual residency in Arras by Roger.
The most common association with the *Ecce sacerdos* gradual, however, in Arras or elsewhere, an association that appears in manuscripts as far back as the ninth century,\(^{30}\) is with Silvester, another early pontiff, though not a martyr like Clement I. Moreover, Silvester’s feast day is 31 December, therefore within the period in which the motet was likely first performed: Andrew Wathey has located a source for the texts of this motet with the label *Magistri Philippus de Vitrejo in laudem Papa Clementis vjti anno suo primo circa natalem domini*, which he interprets as the period 24 December 1342-5 January 1343.\(^{31}\) Silvester was pope when Constantine promulgated the Edict of Milan, which granted official tolerance to Christianity. He is said to have baptized the emperor and healed him of leprosy, though in reality Constantine was baptized only on his deathbed, two years after Silvester’s own death in 335. The Donation of Constantine, in which Constantine was supposed to have endowed the Roman Church and raised the Roman See above all others, would also have given Silvester, as pope, considerable power in the eyes of medieval people.\(^{32}\)

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\(^{30}\)Hesbert 1935, 20 gives this gradual for Silvester in all sources save Rhenaugiensis, which does not include the feast.

\(^{31}\)See Wathey 1993b, 134.

\(^{32}\)The Donation of Constantine was actually a later forgery, “fabricated probably in the Frankish Empire in the 8th-9th cent., to strengthen the power of the Church and in particular of the Roman see. It had great influence in the Middle Ages. In it the Emp. Constantine purported to confer on Pope Sylvester I (314-15) the primacy over Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and dominion over all Italy, including Rome and the ‘provinces, places, and civitates of the Western regions; the Pope was also made supreme judge of the clergy...,” and he was even offered the Imperial crown (which, however, he refused).” The falsity of this document was proven by Nicholas of Cusa, Reginald Pecock.
According to the account of Silvester's life in the *Golden Legend*, Constantine ordained seven laws in support of the Church, one of which was “that just as the Roman emperor was supreme in the world, so the bishop of Rome would be the head of all the world’s bishops.”

This association with Silvester and Constantine, and the resulting emphasis on papal authority parallel and perhaps even superior to that of the emperor, may well be an important subtext in this motet. Indeed, even without knowledge of the liturgical association of the tenor, Wathey described this motet in terms of a message of the “universal rather than local character of papal power,” a message particularly appropriate at Christmastime of 1342, when Clement in Avignon had to explain to an embassy from Rome why he could not visit, despite his professed wish to do so. Wathey describes the manuscript in which the tenor text is found as:

> a general monument to Clement’s early years as Pope, but more particularly as a tribute to his role in the disputed imperial election and the subjection of the empire to the Holy See.... (135) Petre *clemens* here takes shape more clearly as a propaganda piece, designed to promulgate the message of papal diplomacy....The diplomatic answers given to the Roman ambassadors, embracing the dictum ‘ubi Papa, ibi Roma’, therefore sought to detach the concept of universal papal authority from residence in Rome....

and Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century. See Cross 1966, 414-15. I am grateful to Peter Jeffery for reminding me of this infamous document and its role in medieval consciousness.

33Voragine 1993, I, 165. The Latin is: *ut sicut imperator Romae sic Romanus pontifex caput ab universis episcopis habeatur* (Graesse 1890, 72).

Whatever the tenor's liturgical symbolism, its melodic character is unusual: after twelve pitches that serve as the basis of an untexted three-part introitus,35 there comes a 203-note melody36 that begins with six notes common to the gradual verse before departing from it to develop freely. The use of six notes only may be symbolic for Clement VI; such number play is common in this motet, as in others in this repertory.37 There are several points of vague resemblance later in the tenor, but the chant becomes more of an inspiration than a source after the first six pitches (which correspond to the words *non est inventus*).38 This use of a

35 The introitus is seven longs or fourteen breves and uses twelve tenor pitches; the tenor material bears no relation to the chant, as is normal for those rare motets where the introitus includes the tenor. The importance of the tenor here blurs the distinction between introitus and motet proper, which may have a symbolic significance as well. Certainly the numbers seven and twelve have resonance elsewhere in the motet.

36 204 notes are actually given, but there is an extra g' at the end of talea 7 before the final ligature; this long should be held to cover a total of seven breves of music in the upper voices before the final cadence.

37 For example, there are twelve pitches in the introitus (6+6; also the number of the Apostles). The seven longs of the introitus and seven taleae of the motet could refer to the number of days in the week or the number of letters in the name Clement. The thirty-three breves of each talea would seem to refer to the age of Christ at the Crucifixion. These numbers are not always easily referable to Clement himself, but they could symbolize the Church's approval of his power, or even the motet as microcosm, something true of all sounding music in the Boethian sense. Perhaps the best examples of number symbolism can be found in the musician motets, where twelve (the number of Apostles) is a particularly frequent unit of measure, as Bent and Howlett have shown.

38 The words *similis illi* could have been included for reasons of sense; the full line also reflects the last line of the motetus: *cui non est inventus similis*. They could also be used for reasons of number: both upper-voice texts have ten-syllable lines, and the complete tenor text has the same number.
melodic gesture from a chant as the springboard for a new tenor melody can be seen also in *Suspiro*, the tenor of Machaut's motet 2, *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro*. For the extremely large scale of the Clement motet's tenor, however, no similar example can indeed be found.

**Magister invidie / Magister meus Christus?**

My final example is a tentative one for another motet by Vitry: *Cum statua Nabucodonosor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T. Magister invidie* (V8).39 The antiphon *Salve crux pretiosa*, for Saint Andrew, ends with the words *magister meus Christus*; the melody at that point corresponds to the first eight pitches of Vitry's tenor. We have just seen a case of chant material used to generate a new tenor melody, but this would involve as well a major change of text. Tenor texts are rarely changed in this repertory, but it does happen: for example, *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus* (F9(12)) is based on a chant whose text begins *Verbum iniquum et dolosum longe fac a me, Domine*. It is possible that the variant here could be of scribal origin—that is, the scribe of the

39 The basis for attribution here is fourfold: line 14 of the triplum is *hec concino Philippus publice*; Pseudo-Tunstede cites *in motelo qui vocatur Hugo quem edidit Philippus de Vitriaco* (Coussemaker 1963, IV, 268; cited in Sanders 1980, 27); the motetus is copied in the humanist collection Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Buder 4° 105, “copied in the late 1450s while its owner, Lorenz Schaller, was a student in Pavia” (Wathey 1993, 125); and a reference to Hugo appears in a ballade by Jehan de la Mote: *Ne fay de my Hugo s'en Albion / Sui...*; see Pognon 1938, 410.
Cambrai fragments (CA 1328) replaced something illegible or absent after the word *magister* with *invidie* taken from the end of the first line of the motetus.\(^{40}\) It is also possible, however, that the text *magister invidie* is an alteration of the end of the Andrew antiphon by Vitry himself; such a change would be in keeping with what is known of this erudite and witty man.\(^{41}\)

The reason for a reference to Andrew, however, at this point continues to elude me. Andrew could refer to a friend or colleague of Philippe's, one about whom we do not know. Another possible referent is one of the few Andrews who was a major international figure, a man who played the role of victim in the scandal of 1345: Andrew of Hungary, first husband of Jeanne I of Naples. Andrew's assassination in that year had repercussions as far as Avignon since the young queen was a vassal and ward of the pope as well as countess of Provence.\(^{42}\) The question of Jeanne's involvement in the assassination has never been settled, though at the time it was widely believed that she was responsible. She married

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\(^{40}\)The Ivrea codex has the label *Tenor Cum statua*, a simple identification of the triplum to which the tenor belongs.

\(^{41}\)Wordplay and obscure references are common in Vitry's texts. For example, the motetus of V12, *Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi]*, includes the lines *Petrus primum petrum non deseris* ("Foremost Peter, you do not abandon the rock [of the church]") and *tu clemens es et Clemens diceris* (you are clement and you are called Clement). (Text and translation by David Howlett are taken from Wathey 1993.) References to Peter in this motet would apply not only to the Apostle whose successor the pope is, but also to Clement's birth-name: Pierre Roger. Both voices are also full of mythological images whose meanings are not always apparent to us; see Pognon 1938.

\(^{42}\)On the assassination, see Léonard 1932, 465-82.
another Angevin cousin, Louis of Taranto, in 1347, and, shortly thereafter, unrest in Naples as well as the continuing accusations of the king of Hungary, Andrew’s brother, concerning her complicity in Andrew’s murder sent her to Provence to swear her innocence to Clement, who absolved her of any role in the crime.

If the assassination of Andrew of Hungary, however, is the subject of the motet, which side does Vitry take? Is “Hugo” Andrew or Louis of Taranto? Does the slow deterioration of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, described in the triplum, criticize the state of affairs before or after the crime? The fact that the tenor quotes the words of the saint, uttered when he saw the cross on which he would be martyred, may suggest Andrew of Hungary’s innocence, but from our vantage point the historical situation is far too murky and the references in the motet are far too obscure to us to be sure at this point. Moreover, the personal tone of the texts, suggesting accusations against Vitry himself, could argue for a connection with a completely different event. As I suggested above, perhaps a friend named Andrew is the intended recipient of Vitry’s invective.

* * * * *
These three motets, like those studied in previous chapters, are all given another level of subtlety by the identification of their tenors. They also demonstrate two approaches to the treatment of preexistent melodic material: the fairly straightforward presentation of a borrowed melody (perhaps with small-scale adjustments) and the use of a melodic gesture from chant as the basis of a newly-composed tenor. More work remains to be done on all three motets, and I hope to return to them, but I hope that they show how the relationship—melodic and liturgical—between a tenor and its chant source can enrich our understanding of the motet.
Appendix 1
Melodic Comparisons
M1—Amara valde

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<th>Tenor</th>
<th>Pn 15181</th>
<th>Pn 15613</th>
<th>Pn 10482</th>
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<th>CH 86</th>
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M3—Quare non sum mortuus
M4—Speravi
M6—Et gaudebit cor vestrum
**M7—Ego moriar pro te**

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M8—Et non est qui adjuvêt
M9—Fera pessima

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M10—Obediens usque ad mortem
M12—Libera me
M14—Quia amore langueo
M15—Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem

Tenor
Pn 15181
CH 86
Pgen 2618
Pn 10482
Pgen 2641
Pn 15613
Pn 12035
Pn 3003
Pn 1028
CA 38
SA
LA
WA
MI9—A Christo Honores
M21—Tribulatio proxima est et non est...
M22—Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge
M23—Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc.
V11 / H4 (G4)—Alma redemptoris mater
H5 (G14) – Ante thronum trinitatis
V7 – Gaude gloriosa / M17 – Super omnes speciosa
H9—In omnem terram
H10—Ave Maria

Tenor

Br 669/6432

Pgen 2619

Pn 1030

Pn 3003

Pars 595

Pn 802

LA

Pgen 2641

Pn 1028

Pn 15182

Pn 10482

Pgen 2618

CH 86
V8—Magister invidie [Magister meus Christus]
V10—Virgo sum
V9—Libera me de sanguinibus
H12 (G1)—Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna...
H13—Regnum mundi
H15—Tristis est anima mea
H16—Concupisco

Tenor

Pn 1028

Pn 15181

Pn 10482

Pgen 2618

Pgen 2641

Pn 15613

Pars 595

SA

Br 669/6432

CA 38

Pn 1255

Pn 12035

LA

WA

RM 283

213
"M24"—Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea

Tenor

Pgen 2619

WA

SA

CA 38 (1)

Pars 595

Pn 3003

Pn 1028

CA 38 (2)

Pn 10482 (1)

Pgen 2618

Pn 10482 (2)

Pn 15181

Pgen 2641

CH 86

Pn 15613

Pn 1255

LA

Pn 802

214
H17 / H19—Dolor meus
V14—Rex regum [regi filio]
H18—Clamor meus
H21—Sicut fenum arui
H24 (G9)—Rosa Vera na cantus (c)
H25 (G6) — Amicitiam querit
H26 (G5)—Virgo prius ac posterius
H30 (G4)—Letificat iuventutem meam
H31 (G12)—In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum...
F5(5)—Superne matris gaudia
F8(9)—Vergente
F9(12)—Verbum iniquum et dolosum...
F16(33)—Rex regum et dominus dominancium
F17(35)—Mane prima sabbati

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F22(30)—Revertenti

Tenor

WA

SA
F23(51)—Victime paschali laudes
F25(71)a—Heu me...
F25(71)b—...Tristis est anima mea
F27(120)—Merito hec patimur
F30(124)—Alleluya Benedictus et cetera
Appendix 2
Chant and Biblical Sources

Motets are listed in the order in which they appear in the principal sources: Machaut first, then Ivrea, then Chantilly, Modena, and Fauvel. For each, a chant source, when known, is given, with a reference to the place in which that identification was first published; all manuscript versions located follow, beginning with notated sources, in alphabetical order by siglum, and continuing with liturgical sources that do not contain notation. Textual (usually Biblical) sources are then given, if known. CAO numbers refer to Hesbert 1963-79; Biblical citations are from Weber 1983.

Machaut

M1: Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T.
Amara valde

chant source: Holy Saturday, responsory: Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea.
[Quia.] [V. B.] Plauerunt super me manibus omnes transeuntes per viam, sibilaverunt et moverunt caput. [Quia.] [V. C.] Accingite vos, sacerdotes, et plangite, ministri altaris. [Quia]
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 58*
CAO 7387
CA 38, f. 115v
CH 86, f. 93v
LA 202
Pars 595, f. 158v
Pgen 2618, f. 131
Pgen 2641, f. 150v
Pn 1028, f. 117v
Pn 1255, f. 148v
Pn 3003, f. 201
Pn 10482, f. 172v
Pn 12035, f. 112
Pn 15181, f. 291
Pn 15613, f. 233v
SA 233
WA 125
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 103
Pn 760, f. 143
RM 2190, f. 150
RM 316, f. 155
RM 315, f. 127

text sources: Joel 1:8 (plange quasi virgo accincta sacco super virum pubertatis suae), Jeremiah 25:34 (ululate pastores et clamate), Dies irae (dies magna et amara valde), etc.

M2: Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro
chant source: Historia de Job (1 August-1 September), antiphon:
Antequam comedam suspiro, et tamquam inundantes aquae sic rugitus meus, quia timor quem timebam evenit mihi, et quod verebar accidit.
Nonne dissimulavi, nonne silui? et jam quievi, et venit super me indignatio tua, Domine. [V.] Nolo multa fortitudine contendat mecum,
nec magnitudinis suae mole me premat, aequitatem proponat contra me. [Nonne / Et venit / Evenit.]

identified Huot 1994, 225
CA 6106
CA 38, f. 166v
CH 86, f. 137v
LA 282
Pars 595, f. 232
Pgen 2168, f. 179
Pgen 2619, f. 36v
Pgen 2641, f. 179
Pn 748, f. 248v
Pn 802, f. 99
Pn 1028, f. 148v
Pn 1030, f. 31
Pn 1255, f. 194
Pn 3003, f. 278v
Pn 10482, f. 394
Pn 15182, f. 122v
SA 313
WA 172
Pn 760, f. 238 ([V.] Ecce non est auxilium michi in me et necessarii quoque mei recesserunt a me. [Et venit.])
RM 316, f. 292
RM 315, f. 184

text source: Job 3:24: antequam comedam suspiro et quasi inundantes aquae sic rugitus meus.
M3: *He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T.*

*Quare non sum mortuus*

chant source: *Historia de Job* (1 August-1 September), responsory:

Inclinans faciem meam ingemisco, commovebor omnibus membris meis; scio enim, Domine, quia impunitum me non dimitis; et si sum impius, *quare non sum mortuus* sed laboro? [V.] Quae est enim fortitudo mea ut sustineam, aut quis finis meus ut patienter agam?

[Scio / Et si / Sed laboro.]

identified Anderson 1976, 122
CAO 6947
WA 175

text source: Job 3:11: *quare non in vulva mortuus sum egressus ex utero non statim perii*

M4: *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Douiz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T.*

*Speravi*

chant source: Pentecost 1,1 introit: *Domine, in tua misericordia speravi: exultavit [sic] cor meum in salutari tuo: cantabo Domino, qui bona tribuit mihi.* [Ps.] Usquequo Domine oblivisceris me in finem? usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me?

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

Grad. Rouen f. 165
Grad. Sar. 141
Pars 197, f. 80v
Pars 595, f. 206v
Pn 830, f. 162v
Pn 845, f. 111
Pn 858, f. 193v
Pn 861, f. 186v
Pn 905, f. 147; f. 151
Pn 1105, f. 110v
Pn 1107, f. 178
Pn 1337, f. 172v
Pn 17311, f. 137
Pn 17312, f. 96
Pn 17320, f. 149
RM 217, f. 45v
RM 221, f. 13v

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1This introit is occasionally assigned to the Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost, or even to the Sunday after Trinity.
text source: Psalm 13(12): 6, 1: ego autem in misericordia tua speravi
exsultabit [sic] cor meum in salutari tuo
cantabo Domino qui bona tribuit mihi
et psallam nomini Domini altissimi
(1) Usquequo Domine oblivisceris me in
finem
usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me

M5: Aucune gent m’ont demandé que j’ay / Qui plus aimme plus endure
/ T. Fiat voluntas tua / Contratenor
Sanders 1973, 563-64 n. 287, suggests that “the cantus firmus seems to be an
elaborate version of the appropriate phrases from the ‘Pater noster’”;
Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 92, derives the tenor from an alternation of a
Pater noster melody and the tenor of Douce playsence / Garison selon
nenature / T. Neuma.

text source: Matthew 6:9-10: sic ergo vos orabitis
Pater noster qui in caelis es
sanctificetur nomen tuum
(10) veniat regnum tuum
fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra ...

M6: S’il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust I S’Amours tous amans joir / T.
Et gaudebit cor vestrum
chant source: Advent 2, responsory: Sicut mater consolatur filios suos, ita
consolabor vos, dicit Dominus; et de Jerusalem, civitate quam elegi,
veniet vobis auxilium; et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum. [V. A.]
Deus a Libano veniet, et Sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso.
[Veniet / Et videbitis.] [V. B.] Dabo in Sion salutem, et in Jerusalem
gloriam meam. [Et videbitis.]
identified Anderson 1976, 122
CAO 7660
CA 38, f. 16
CH 86, f. 5v
LA 8

240
text source: Isaiah 66:13-14: quomodo si cui mater blandiatur ita ego consolabor vos et in Hierusalem consolabimini
(14) videbitis et gaudebit cor vestrum et ossa vestra quasi herba germinabunt et cognoscetur manus Domini servis eius et indignabitur inimicis suis

M7: J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T.
Ego moriar pro te

chant source: Historia de Libris Regum (Trinity 1-1 August), antiphon:
Rex autem David, cooperto capite incedens, lugebat filium, dicens:
Absalon fili mi, fili mi Absalon, quid mihi det ut ego moriar pro te, fili mi Absalon?

identified Sanders 1973, 563-64 n. 287
CAO 4650
CA 38, f. 159v
LA 275
Pars 595, f. 227
Pgen 2618, f. 165v
Pgen 2619, f. 21
Pgen 2641, f. 175v
Pn 748, f. 240
Pn 802, f. 65
Pn 1028, f. 147
text source: 2 Samuel 18:33: contristatus itaque rex ascendit cenaculum portae
et flevit et sic loquebatur vadens 
filii mi Absalom filii mi Absalom 
quis mihi tribuat ut ego moriar pro te 
Absalom filii mi filii mi

M8: Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet

chant source: Palm Sunday, responsory: Circumdederunt me viri mendaces, sine causa flagellis ceciderunt me: sed tu, Domine defensor, vindica mea. [V.] Quoniam tribulatio proxima est, et non est qui adjuvet. [Sed tu.]
used also for M21 below
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*
CAO 6287 (also used for Lent 4, Passion Sunday, Passion Week, Maundy Thursday, Holy Saturday)
CA 38, f. 101
CH 86, f. 82v
LA 183
Pars 595, f. 154 (Good Friday)
Pars 595, f. 303 (Annunciation, same melody with text Christi virgo dilectissima virtutum operatrix opem fer famulis subveni domina clamantibus ad te iugiter. [V.] Quoniam peccatorum mole premimur et non est qui adjuvet.
Pgen 2618, f. 122
Pgen 2641, f. 140v
Pn 861, f. 99v (Benedictio palmarum)
Pn 1028, f. 111
Pn 1255, f. 140v
Pn 3003, f. 165 (Passion Sunday)
Pn 12035, f. 102v (also for feria 4, f. 107)
Pn 15181, f. 271
Pn 15613, f. 213v
SA 189
WA 113

242
text source: Psalm 22(21): 12, 13:
ne discesseris a me
quoniam tribulatio proximo est
quoniam non est qui adjuvet
(13) circumdeederunt me vituli multi
tauri pingues obsederunt me

M9: Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima
chant source: Lent 3, responsory: Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph, scidit
vestimenta sua cum fletu, et dixit: Fera pessima devoravit filium
meum Joseph. [V. A.] Vide si tunica filii tui sit an non; et cum vidisset
pater ait. [Fera] [V. B.] Congregatis autem cunctis liberis ejus ut
delinirent dolorem patris, noluit eos audire, sed ait. [Fera.] [V. C.]
Tulerunt autem fratres ipsius tunicam ejus, mittentes ad patrem; quam
cum cognovisset pater, ait. [Fera.]
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*
CAO 7858
CA 38, f. 86v
CH 86, f. 69v
LA 148
Pars 595, f. 121
Pgen 2618, f. 109
Pgen 2641, f. 132v
Pn 1028, f. 98v
Pn 1255, f. 126v
Pn 3003, f. 147v
Pn 10482, f. 97v
Pn 12035, f. 86v
Pn 15181, f. 241v
Pn 15613, f. 188
SA 172
WA 96
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 80
Pn 760, f. 113
RM 315, f. 101
RM 316, f. 132
RM 2190, f. 118v
Genesis 37:33: *quam cum agnovisset pater ait*
*tunica filii mei est fera pessima comedit eum*
*bestia devoravit Ioseph*

M10: *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem*

chant source: Maundy Thursday, gradual: *Christus factus est pro nobis oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. [V.] Propter quod et Deus exaltavit illum: et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen.*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

Grad. Rouen f. 86v
Pars 197, f. 55v
Pars 595, f. 153
Pgen 2619, f. 79v (votive mass, *De cruce*)
Pn 805, f. 85
Pn 830, f. 102
Pn 861, f. 118
Pn 905, f. 86v
Pn 1105, f. 71
Pn 1107, f. 125
Pn 1337, f. 111v
Pn 17311, f. 95v (also used f. 237v *de Cruce*)
Pn 17312, f. 66v
Pn 17320, f. 100
RM 221, f. 116 (*In exaltatio sancte crucis*)
RM 224, f. 91
RM 264, f. 3v (also f. 61v *In exaltatio sancte crucis*)
Pn 845 f. 88v
RM 227, f. 224v

Philippians 2:8-9: *humiliavit semet ipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis (9) propter quod et Deus illum exaltavit et donavit illi nomen super omne nomen*

M11: *Dame, je sui cilz qui weil endurer / Fins cuers doulz, on me deffent / T. Fins cuers doulz*

secular song source
M12: *Helas! pourquoy virent onques mi oueil* / *Corde mesto cantando conqueror* / *T. Libera me*

chant source: Lent 2, responsory: *Minor sum cunctis miserationibus tuis,* 
Domine Abraham; in baculo meo transivi Jordanem istum, et nunc 
cum duabus turmis regredior. *Libera me,* Domine, de manibus Esau, 
quia valde contremis cor meum, illum timens. [V. A.] Deus, in cujus 
conspectu ambulaverunt patres mei; Domine qui pascis me a juventute 
mea. [Libera.] [V. B.] Tu locutus es quod mihi bene faceres, et dilatares 
semen meum sicut arenam maris. [Libera] [V. C.] Deus patris mei 
Abraham, Domine qui pascis me a juventute mea. [Libera.] [V. D.] 
Domine, tu dixisti mihi: Revertere in terram tuam et in locum 
nativitatis tuae, et benefaciem tibi. [Libera.] [V. E.] Eripe me, Domine, 
ab homine malo, a viro iniquo eripe me. [Quia.] [V. F.] Ne forte 
veniens percutiat matrem cum filiis, tu locutus es quod mihi bene 
feceris. [Libera.]

identified Anderson 1976, 122
CAO 7156
CA 38, f. 84
CH 86, f. 87
Pars 595, f. 115v
Pgen 2618, f. 105v
Pn 1028, f. 96
Pn 10482, f. 93v
Pn 12035, f. 83v (feria 2)
Pn 15181, f. 234v
SA 164
WA 92
Ob canon. lit. 192 f. 76v
RM 315, f. 97
RM 316, f. 129
RM 2190, f. 114

text source: Genesis 32:10-11: *minor sum cunctis miserationibus et*
*veritate quam explesti servo tuo*
in baculo meo transivi Jordanem istum 
et nunc cum duabus turmis regredior 
(11) erue me de manu fratris mei de manu 
Esau 
quia valde eum timeo 
ne forte veniens percutiat matrem cum 
filiis
M13: *Tant doucement m'ont attrait / Eins que ma dame d'onnour / T.*

Ruina

no chant source located; melody is that of F4(4), *Presidentes in thronis seculi / Super cathedra Moysi / [T.] Ruina*, with one alteration
text source: lots of possibilities, especially in Proverbs, Isaiah, Ezechiel; tends to refer to destruction of Israel's enemies or Israel (threatened in law or predicted in Prophets) because of its transgressions, corpse or other "ruins," or "snare/stumbling block" to Israel

M14: *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma dolour confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo*

chant source: Marian feasts (especially Assumption), Vespers antiphon: *Anima mea liquefacta est, ut dilectus locutus est. Quaesivi et non inveni; illum vocavi et non repondit mihi. Invenerunt me custodes civitatis; percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me; tulerunt pallium meum custodes murorum. Filiae Jerusalem, nuntiate dilecto quia amore langueo.*

identified Anderson 1976, 122
CAO 1418
CA 38, f. 315v
CH 86
Pars 595, f. 445v
Pgen 2618, f. 320
Pgen 2619, f. 138
Pgen 2641, f. 243
Pn 748, f. 105v
Pn 1030, f. 138
Pn 3003, f. 465
Pn 10482, f. 485v
Pn 15182, f. 304v
SA 491
WA 361
Pn 1026, f. 237v
RM 315, f. 507

text source: Song of Songs 5:6-8: *pessulum ostii aperui dilecto meo at ille declinaverat atque transierat anima mea liquefacta est ut locutus est quaesivi et non inveni illum vocavi et non respondit mihi (7) invenerunt me custodes qui circumeunt civitatem*
percusserunt me vulneraverunt me
tullerunt pallium meum mihi
custodes murorum
(8) adiuro vos filiae Hierusalem si
inveneritis delectum meum ut
nuntietis ei quia amore langureo

M15: *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m’a deceu / T. Vidi*

*Dominum facie ad faciem*

chant source: Lent 2, responsory: *Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem: et salva facta est anima mea.* [V.] Et dixit: Nequaquam vocaberis Jacob, sed *Israel erit nomen tuum.* [Et salva.]

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7874
CA 38, f. 81
CH 86, f. 66v
LA 141
Pgen 2618, f. 105v
Pgen 2641, f. 131
Pn 1028, f. 96
Pn 3003, f. 142
Pn 10482, f. 93
Pn 12035, f. 83
Pn 15181, f. 234
Pn 15613, f. 181v
SA 165
WA 93
Ob canon. lit. 192 f. 76v
Pn 760 f. 107v
RM 315, f. 97
RM 316, f. 129
RM 2190, f. 114

text source: Genesis 32:30: *vocavitque Iacob nomen loci illius Phanuhel dicens*

*vidi Deum facie ad faciem et salva facta est anima mea*

M16: *Lassel comment oublieray / Se j’aim mon loyal ami / T. Pourquoy me bat mes maris?...*

secular song source
M17: Quant vraie amour enflamée / O series summe rata! / T. Super
omnes speciosa
see V7 below

M18: Bone pastor Guillerme / Bone pastor, qui pastores / T. Bone pastor
no chant source; tag may only refer to motetus incipit
possible text source: John 10:11: ego sum pastor bonus
bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus

M19: Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo
honorus
chant source: Saint Quentin, responsory: Sanctus namque Quintinus urbe
roma genitus domino diucente gallias venit insignis et virtutibus
glorioso a christo honoratus. [V.] Instabat enim ieuniis atque
orationibus predicando sacros christi triumphos. Insignis.
identified Fuller 1990, 231 n. 43
not in CAO
Pgen 2619, f. 207
Pn 1030, f. 206v
Pn 10482, f. 541
Pn 15182, f. 413
Pn 1026, f. 349 (Beatus namque Quintinus [V.] Instabat enim)

M20: Trop plus est bele que biaute / Biaute paree de valour / T. Je ne sui
mie certeins d'avoir amie...
secular song source

M21: Christe, qui lux es et dies! Veni, creator spiritus! / T. Tribulatio
proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor
see M8 above

M22: Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T.
Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor
chant source: Common of One Martyr, responsory: Posuit coronam capiti
meo, et circundedit me vestimento [muro in some MSS] salutis, ad
expugnandas gentes et omnes inimicos. [V.] Judica, Domine, nocentes
me, expugna impugnantes me; apprehende arma et scutum et exurge in
adiutorium mihi.² [Ad]

²There are versions of this responsory that have a short verse (Judica
Domine...apprehende arma et scutum.) with a different melody.
identified Anderson 1976, 122
CAO 7415 (also gives for Saint Paul, Decoll. S. Joannis Baptistae, S. Clementis, Common One Confessor)
CA 38, f. 388v
LA 525
Pgen 2619, f. 236v
Pn 1030, f. 253
Pn 12035, f. 192v
RM 283, f. 255
WA 418
Pn 802, f. 278 (short verse with different melody)
Pn 1255, f. 363 (short verse with different melody)
Pn 3003, f. 596v (short verse with different melody)
RM 315, f. 201 (also for Quentin f. 243)
RM 316, f. 457
RM 2190, f. 3

text source: Psalm 35(34):1-2: Iudica Domine nocentes me
expugna expugnantes me
(2) adprehende arma et scutum
et exsurge in adiutorium mihi

M23: Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus
gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor
chant source: Marian antiphon: Salve, regina misericordie: vita, dulcedo
et spes nostra, salve. Ad te clamamus, exules, filii Hevae. Ad te
suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo,
advocata nostra,illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte...
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*
CAO 1356
Pars 595, f. 445v
Pn 1255, f. 317
Pn 10482, f. 402
Pn 15182, f. 313
WA 352
Pn 1026, f. 243
Pn 3003, f. 493 (not notated)
RM 316, f. 496
Ivrea

H1: O Philippe, Franci qui generis / O bone dux indolis optime / Solus tenor
source unidentified

H2: Altissonis aptatis viribus / Hin principes qui presunt seculi / T. Toncns / Contratenor
source unidentified

H3: Febus mundo .riens / Lanista vipereus / T. Cornibus equivocis...
no known chant source; “presumably freely composed” (Harrison 1968)

chant source: Marian antiphon: Alma redemptoris mater que per via celi porta manens et stella maris succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo tuo que genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem virgo prius tu posterius Gabrielis ab ore lumens illud ave peccatorum miserere.
also used for H4 (G4) below
last section of this chant is also used for H26 (G5) below
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
CA 38, f. 156; f. 326
Lbm, Add. 30072, f. 368 (given in Harrison 1968, App. 1, 1 as “an example of some ornate forms of this antiphon which were current in the Middle Ages”)
Pars 595, f. 363; troped version f. 446
Pn 1255, f. 259v (Purification; also used for Assumption f. 317)
Pn 3003, f. 467
Pn 10482, f. 349v
SA 529
WA 303
RM 316, f. 496

H4 (G4): Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor
see V11 above

V13: Dantur officia / Quid scire proderit / Tenor
source unidentified

250
H5 (G14): Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris 
domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor

chant source: Marian feasts, antiphon: Ante thronum trinitatis
miserorum miserata via mater pietatis sis pro nobis advocata, causam
nostrae paupertatis coram Deo sustine, et veniam de peccatis, ter
virgo, primitiis tuis votive

not in CAO
Lbm Add. 39678 (given as Harrison 1968, App. 1, 2)
Ob Rawl. lit. g. 13, f. 59v has Alleluia Ante thronum trinitatis...et veniam
de peccatis servis tuis obtine; “The tune of its verse corresponds in
general to that of the antiphon.” (Harrison 1968)
Pars 595, f. 444 (as Alleluya verse)
RM 264, f. 34v
RM 233, f. 335

H6: Post missarum sollemnia / Post misse modulamina / Tenor cum
contratenore / Contratenor / Solus tenor

unidentified; “probably an Ite missa est–Deo gratias melody, since the
motet is a Deo gratias substitute at Mass” (Harrison 1968)

V7: Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa /
Contratenor / Solus tenor

chant source: Marian antiphon: Ave regina coelorum, ave domina
angelorum: salve radix, salve porta, ex qua mundo lux est orta: gaude
virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa: vale, o valde decora, et pro nobis
Christum exora.

also used for M17 above
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*, 61*
CAO 1542 (De Beata)
Pars 595, f. 445v
Pn 1255, f. 317
SA 529
WA 360
Pn 3003, f. 493 (not notated)
RM 316, f. 496

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3As Harrison has noted, the Strasbourg codex gives the tag Ante thronum
huius virginis in error “due to confusion with a text from the Common of
Virgins.” (Harrison 1968, 193) That antiphon is Ante torum huius virginis
frequentate nobis dulcia cantica dragnatis.

251
H7: Flos ortus inter lilia / Celse cedrus ysopus effecta / T. Quam magnus pontifex
chant source (at least text source): Saint Louis of Toulouse, antiphon:
O quam magnus pontifex
cui suppremus opifex
ita magna fecit
magnum natu
magnum statu
magnum vita
signis cum munita
cum felice
sine Ludovice
Christus te perfecit
no noted sources yet located
Harrison 1968 did not identify, but he suggested the tenor “must refer to a
text in honour of St. Louis of Toulouse, but such a text with this music
has not been found. The same T in the same layout is used in the
Gloria IV f. 48v (also in Apt f. 17v), which is pr. in CMM 29, 22 (Stäblein-
Harder; see her note on this relationship in MSD, 7, 117).”
not in CAO
Pn 760, f. 492v

H8: Almifonis melos cum vocibus / Rosa sine culpe spina / Tenor
Almifonus
source unidentified

H9: Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram
chant source: Common of Apostles, offertory: In omnem terram exivit
sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
Grad. Sar. 203 and pl. z, mode 2; Index gives verses Caeli enarrant and Dies diei
Pars 197, f. 145v
Pars 595, f. 332v
Pn 830, f. 258v
Pn 861, f. 297v
Pn 905, f. 243ff
Pn 1105, f. 193v
Pn 1107, f. 287v
Pn 1337, f. 279
Pn 17311, f. 216v

252
text source: Psalm 19(18):5: in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum
et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum

H10: Zolomina zelus virtutibus / Nazarea que decora / T. Ave Maria
chant source: Marian feasts (especially Assumption), responsory: Beata es
Virgo Maria Dei Genitrix, quae crededisti Domino; perfecta sunt in te,
quae dicta sunt tibi: ecce exaltata es super choros angelorum; intercede
pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum [Iesum Christum LA]. [V. A.]
Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. [Intercede / Ecce] [V. B.]
Beata es et venerabilis, Virgo Maria, cujus viscera meruerunt portare
Dominum. [Ecce / Intercede]
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
CAO 6165 (mostly Assumption; also Nativitas BMV, Omnium Sanctorum)
Br 669/6432, f. 267 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 4)
CH 86, f. 246v
LA 445
Pars 595, f. 359
Pgen 2618, f. 323
Pgen 2619, f. 141
Pgen 2641, f. 244v
Pn 802, f. 195
Pn 1028, f. 236v
Pn 1030, f. 142
Pn 3003, f. 460v
Pn 10482, f. 489v
Pn 15182, f. 310
SA 497
Pn 760, f. 489v
Pn 1026, f. 241v
RM 283, f. 85 (different text and melody)
RM 316, f. 384
text source (for verse A only): Luke 1:28: et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit
have gratia plena Dominus
tecum
benedicta tu in mulieribus

V8: Cum statua Nabucodonasor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T.
Magister invidie [Magister meus Christus]
unidentified; “Since the motet is composed against a certain Hugo, a
personality not yet identified, the T might be a melody of Philippe
himself rather than borrowed material; but in view of the nature of
motet composition, this is suggested with considerable reservation.”
(Schrade 1956a)
possible chant source: antiphon, Saint Andrew: Salve crux pretiosa
suscepi discipulum eius qui pependit in te magister meus christus
Pars 595, f. 256
Pn 802, f. 271v
Pn 1028, f. 175
Pn 1255, f. 223
Pn 3003, f. 317v
text source: none identified, though Jesus is addressed as Magister bone in
several occasions, such as Mark 10:17.

V10: Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris emprio / T. Virgo sum
chant source: Saint Agnes, responsory: Amo Christum, in cujus
thalamum introivi; cujus Mater virgo est, cujus Pater feminam nescit,
cujus mihi organa modulatis vocibus cantant; quem cum amavero
casta sum, cum tetigerò munda sum, cum acceperò virgo sum. [V. A.]
Mel et lac ex ejs or suscepi, et sanguis ejs ornavit genas meas.
Quem.] [V. B.] Annulo fidei suae subarrhavit me, et immensis
monilibus ornavit me. [Quem.] [V. C.] Jam corpus ejs corpori meo
sociatum est, et sanguis ejs ornavit genas meas. [Quem.]
identified Anderson 1976, 122
CAO 6084
CA 38, f. 231v
LA 333
Pars 595, f. 277v
Pgen 2618, f. 246
Pgen 2641, f. 205v
Pn 1028, f. 182
Pn 1255, f. 246v
Pn 3003, f. 345v
text source: text comes from the *Vita* of Agnes by pseudo-Ambrosius; see Bollandus and Heneschenius 1784, 351-54

**H11**: *Rachel plorat filios / Ha fratres, ha vos domini / Tenor*
source unidentified

**V9**: *Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus]*
chant source: Wednesday in Holy Week, Laudes antiphon: *Libera me de sanguinibus, Deus, Deus meus, et exaltabit lingua mea justitiam tuam.* identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
CA 38, f. 107v
CH 86, f. 87
LA 187
Pars 595, f. 148v
Pgen 2618, f. 126
Pgen 2641, f. 144v
Pn 1028, f. 113
Pn 1255, f. 142
Pn 3003, f. 187
Pn 10482, f. 163v
Pn 12035, f. 106v
Pn 15181, f. 279v
Pn 15613, f. 221
SA 214
WA 117
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 98v
Pn 760, f. 136
RM 2190, f. 143v
RM 316, f. 150
text source: Psalm 51(50): 16: 
libera me de sanguinisibus Deus Deus salutis
meae
exsultabit lingua mea iustitiam tuam

H12 (G1): Tant a soutille pointure / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point /
T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur

chant source: Saint Agnes, responsory: 
Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli
serviunt, cujus pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur; ipsi soli servo
fidem, ipsi me tota devotione committo. [V. A.] Propter veritatem et
mansuetudinem et justitiam. [Ipsi.] [V. B.] Dextram meam et collum
meum cinxit lapidibus preciosis, tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles
margaritas. [Ipsi] [V. C.] Jam corpus ejus corpori meo sociatum est, et
sanguis ejus ornavit genas meas. [Cujus.]

identified Günther 1965, xix
CAO 6992.
Br 669/6432, f. 223 (given Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 5)
CA 38, f. 232
LA 335
Pars 595, f. 278
Pgen 2618, f. 246v
Pgen 2641, f. 206
Pn 1028, f. 182v
Pn 1255, f. 247v
Pn 3003, f. 343v
Pn 10482, f. 216
Pn 12035, f. 155v
Pn 15181, f. 424v
Pn 15613, f. 362
RM 283, f. 41
SA 375
WA 255
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 311v
Pn 760, f. 344
RM 316, f. 200v

text source: Vita of Agnes by pseudo-Ambrosius; see Bollandus and
Heneschenius 1784, 351-54

H13: A vous, vierge de douceur / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T.
Regnum mundi

chant source: Common for Virgin Martyr, responsory: Regnum mundi et
omnem ornatum saeculi contenpsi, propter amorem Domini mei Jesu
Christi, quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi. [V.]
Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea Regi. [Quem]

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
CAO 7524 (used once each for Agnes, Mary Magdalene, All Saints,
Common Virgins, Ad Processionem Virginum)
CA 38, f. 401
Lbm Add. 30072, f. 358v (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 6)
Pars 595, f. 428
Pgen 2618, f. 409v
Pgen 2619, f. 249v
Pn 802, f. 290v
Pn 1028, f. 280v
Pn 1030, f. 270
Pn 1255, f. 375
Pn 3003, f. 610
Pn 10482, f. 237v (Mary the Egyptian; also for Mary Magdalene f. 458)
Pn 15613
RM 283, f. 186v (Mary Magdalene)
SA 666
WA 432
RM 315, f. 216
RM 316, f. 448 (also f. 488)

text source: Psalm 45(44):2 for verse; none identified for responsory

Tour: Se grace n'est / Cum venerint miseri / Ite missa est
This is Ite missa est of Tournai Mass, presented here as a motet.

H14: Les l'ormel à la turelle / Mayn se leva sire Gayrin / T. Je n'y saindrai
plus graille saintureite...
secular song source

H15: Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques
n'a cognii / T. Tristis est anima mea
chant source: Maundy Thursday, responsory, mode 8, Tristis est anima
mea usque ad mortem; sustinet hic et vigilate mecum: nunc videbitis
turbam quae circumdat me; vos fugam capietis, et ego vadam immolari
pro vobis. [V. A.] Vigilate et orate, dicit Dominus. [Nunc / Vos fugam /
Et ego.] [V. B.] Ecce appropinquabit hora, et Filius hominis tradetur in
manus peccatorum. [Vos fugam.] [V. C.] Verumtamen non sicit ego
volo, sed sicut vis. [Vos fugam.]
used also for F25(71) below

257
text sources: Matthew 26:38: Tunc ait illis

\textit{tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem}
\textit{sustine te hic et vigilate mecum}

Mark 14:34: Et ait illis:

\textit{tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem}
\textit{sustine te hic et vigilate}

V6: \textit{Douce playsance est d'amer loyalment / Garison selon nature / T. Neuma quinti toni}

neuma; not the same melody as that used for F33(129) and Sanders 1975

H16: \textit{Se pàour d'umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amès de m'amour / T. Concupisco}


258
identified Harrison 1968, 196
CAO 7318
Br 669/6432, f. 223 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 8)
CA 38, f. 232 (Te)
LA 337 (Te)
Pars 595, f. 278v (Te)
Pgen 2618, f. 246v (Te)
Pgen 2641, f. 206 (Te)
Pn 1028, f. 182 (Te)
Pn 1255, f. 247v (Te)
Pn 10482, f. 216v (Te)
Pn 12035, f. 155v (Te)
Pn 15181, f. 425 (Te)
Pn 15613, f. 362v (Te)
RM 283, f. 42v (Te)
SA 376 (Te)
WA 255 (Te)
Pn 3003, f. 346 (Ingressa—therefore does not include tenor source)
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 311v
Pn 760, f. 344v (Te)
RM 316, f. 200v (Te)

text source: Vita of Agnes by pseudo-Ambrosius; see Bollandus and Heneschenius 1784, 351-54

"M24": Li enseignement de chaton / De toz les biens qu’amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea
chant source: Marian feasts (especially Assumption), antiphon: Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea; ecce tu pulchra, oculi tui columbarum.
identified Machabey 1955, 112
CAO 2547 (Assumption and Nativity BMV)
CA 38, f. 311v; f. 315
CH 86, f. 247v
LA 455
Pars 595, f. 370v
Pgen 2618, f. 324
Pgen 2619, f. 143
Pgen 2641, f. 245v
Pn 802, f. 210v
Pn 1028, f. 232
Pn 1255, f. 370
Pn 3003, f. 484v
Pn 10482, f. 334v (Common of Virgins; also for Mary Magdalene f. 455; also for Sunday within Octave of Assumption f. 491)
Pn 15181, f. 535
Pn 15613, f. 459
SA 493
WA 354
Pn 1026, f. 242v; also used f. 436 (Common of a Female Saint not Virgin)
RM 315, f. 506v

text source: Song of Songs 1:14: ecce tu pulchra es amica mea ecce tu pulchra oculi tui columbarum

V12: Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi]
chant source: gradual, Common of One Confessor (sometimes pontifex, sometimes non pontifex): Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo. [V.] Non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret legem excelsi
text located Wathey 1993b, 133-34
Pars 595, f. 77v (Silvester; different melody)
Pars 595, f. 344 (Stephen, Pope and Martyr) (also cued for Donantius f. 350; for Elaphius f. 362v; not used for Clement; not in Common One or Several Confessor/s)
Pn 861, f. 315 (also cued for Augustine f. 277v; not used for Clement)
Pn 1105, f. 202 (Confessor episcopi; also cued f. 196v for unius martyris episcopi)
Pn 17311, f. 228v (Confessor non pontifex)
Pn 17312, f. 172
Pn 17320, f. 247v

text source: Ecclesiasticus 44:20: Abraham magnus pater multitudinis
gentium
et non est inventus similis illi in gloria
qui conservavit legem Excelsi
et fuit in testamento cum illo

H17: Fortune, mere à dolour / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus
chant source: Good Friday, responsory: Caligaverunt oculi mei a fletu meo, quia elongabitur a me qui consolabatur me. Videte, omnes populi, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus. [V.] O vos omnes qui transitis per viam; attendite et videte [Si est]
also used for H19 below
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61* 
CAO 6261 (also for Holy Saturday) 
Br 669/6432, f. 170 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 9) 
CA 38 
CH 86, f. 92 
LA 203 (Holy Saturday) 
Pars 595, f. 159v (Holy Saturday) 
Pgen 2641, f. 149 
Pn 1028, f. 116v 
Pn 1255, f. 145 
Pn 3003, f. 198 
Pn 10482, f. 171 
Pn 12035, f. 110v 
Pn 15181, f. 288v 
Pn 15613, f. 230v 
SA 224 
WA 123 
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 102 
Pn 760, f. 142 
RM 2190, f. 149 

text source: Lamentations 1:12: LAMED o vos omnes qui transitis per viam 
attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus 
quoniam vindemiavit me ut locutus est Dominus in die irae furoris sui 

V14: O canenda vulgo per computa / Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura / T. Rex regum [regi filio] / Contratenor 
chant source: Saint Louis IX, responsory: Rex regum regi filio regales 
parans nuptias post certamen in stadio caeli prebet delicias glorioso commerio. [V.] Pro regno temporalium regnum habet caelestium 
Ludovicus in praemium. [Glorioso] 
identified Harrison 1968, 208 (gives Saint Louis of Toulouse in error on p. 207) 
not in CAO 
Lbm, Add. 23935, f. 8 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 15) 
Pars 595, f. 447 
Pn 911 (given in Epstein 1978) 
Pn 1028, f. 334v 
Pn 1026, f. 253
H18: *In virtute nominum / Decens carmen edere / T. Clamor meus /*

*Contratenor*

chant source: Wednesday of Holy Week, tract: Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat...

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

Pars 197, f. 54v
Pars 595, f. 149v
Pn 830, f. 98v
Pn 845, f. 80
Pn 861, f. 113v
Pn 905, f. 85v
Pn 1105, f. 68
Pn 1107, f. 120
Pn 1337, f. 109
Pn 17311, f. 91v
Pn 17320, f. 96
RM 224, f. 87v
RM 264, f. 2v
Rouen 277, f. 84 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 10)
RM 227, f. 224v

text source: Psalm 102(101):2: Domine exaudi orationem meam
et clamor meus ad te veniat

H19: *Amer amours est la choison pourquoy / Durement au cuer me blece /*

*T. Dolor meus*

see H17 above

H20: *Trop ay dure destinée / Par sauvage retenue / Tenor*

source unidentified

H21: *L'amoureuse flour d'esté / En l'estat d'amere tristour / T. [Sicuit fenum arui]*

chant source: Historia de Psalmis, Saturday after Octave of Epiphany,
 responsory: Velociter exaudi me, Domine, quia defecerunt sicut fumus dies mei. [V.] Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt, et ego sicut foenum arui. [Quia]

identified Harrison 1968, 197

CAO 7820 (De Psalmis)
Br 669/6432, f. 111v (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 11)
CA 38, f. 167v (responsory, Historia de Job: Induta est caro mea putredine et sordibus pulvis mea aruit et contracta est. Memento mei domine quia ventus est vita mea. [V.] Dies mei sicut umbra
declinaverunt et ego sicut fenum arui. Memento) (the responsory
Velociter on f. 65v uses a different verse)

CH 86, f. 48
LA 104
Pars 595, f. 92v; f. 232v
Pgen 2618, f. 87v
Pgen 2641, f. 121
Pn 802, f. 99v (responsory, Historia de Job: Induta est [V.] Dies mei)
Pn 1028, f. 83v
Pn 1030, f. 31 (responsory, Historia de Job: Induta est [V.] Dies mei)
Pn 3003, f. 108
Pn 10482, f. 69
Pn 12035, f. 60v
Pn 15613, f. 145
SA 125 (Historia Pauli, used for post-Ephiphany season)
RM 316, f. 104v
RM 2190, f. 81

text source: Psalm 102(101):12: dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt
et ego sicut faenum arui

H22: Clap, clap, par un matin / Sus Robin, alons au molin! / Tenor
secular song source

PMFC XXI, no. 31a: Je comence ma chançon / Et je feray li secons / Soules
viex, soules viex, Tenor
secular song source

Chantilly

H23 (G2): Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici / T. Vera pudicicia /
Contratenor
source unidentified

H24 (G9): Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta suplica / T. Rosa vernans
caritatis / Contratenor
chant source: Saint Louis of Toulouse, alleluia: Alleluya. Rosa vernans
caritatis
identified Harrison 1968, 198
Pn 861, f. 433v

H25 (G6): Alpha vibrans monumentum / Cetus venit heroycus / T.
Amicum querit / Contratenor
chant source: Saint Francis, responsory: Amicum querit pristinum qui
spretum in cenobio tunicula conterit contemptu gaudens hominum.
Leprosis fit obsequo quos antea despexit. [V.] Sub typo trium
ordinum tres nutu dei previo ecclesias erexit. [Leprosis fit]
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
not in CAO
Br 669/6432, f. 325 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 12)
Felder 1901, p. xxiii
Felder 1901, p. lxiv (Rvat 8737)
Groningen / Land 1891
Weis 1901, p. ix
Pn 760, f. 538

H26 (G5): Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo
prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor
chant source: Marian antiphon: Alma redemptoris mater que per via celi
porta manens et stella maris succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo
tuo que genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem virgo prius
tu posterius Gabrielis ab ore lumens illud ave peccatorum miserere.
identified Harrison 1968, 198
see V11 above

H27 (G8): L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi deum ut
ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor
chant source: (1) Saint Lucy, antiphon: Ego rogavi Dominum meum
Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, sed credentibus in
dominio timorem auferam passionum. (melody does not correspond
to tenor)
identified Günther 1965, xxxix
CAO 2585
LA 323
Pn 1255, f. 228v
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 287

4Harrison says, “The text of the T is the beginning of the verse of the
Alleluia in the Mass of St. Louis of Toulouse, but the music is not the
same.”
OR (2) Saint Lucy, antiphon: Ego rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, quatenus tibi insultent confidentes in Christo. (melody does not correspond to tenor)
CAO 2584
WA 247
Pn 12035, f. 149

OR (3) Saint Lucy, responsory: Rogavi dominum meum ihesum christum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi et impetravi a domino... (melody does not correspond to tenor)
Pars 595, f. 265v
Pn 12035, f. 147

H28 (G10): Alma polis religio / Axe poli cum artica / Tenor
chant source unidentified, though Günther 1965, xlvi, suggests that it is an unidentified setting of this text, used frequently in the Common of Apostles; she also posits a melodic similarity between this melody and the tenor of Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis / T. In omnem terram, H9 in Ivrea list above.

H29 (G15): Inter densas deserti meditans / Imbribus irriguis / ST
Admirabile est nomen tuum / Contratenor
chant source: All Saints, antiphon: Admirabile est nomen tuum Domine, quia gloria et honore coronasii sanctos tuos, et constituisti eos super opera manuum tuarum. (melody does not correspond to tenor)
CAO 1283
LA 475
Pn 3003, f. 545v
WA 395
Pn 760, f. 560
RM 316, f. 434v

5Ludwig 1926-54, 61*, says this tenor “entstammt keiner der mir bekannten liturgischen Melodien zu diesem Text.” Günther 1965 writes: “The short T formula, consisting of six notes only, does not seem to be a cantus prius factus. Ludwig (Mach, 61) has already indicated that this color has nothing in common with the known melodies to the text Admirabile est nomen tuum (See the ant. for the feast of all Saints Lib. resp., 382 and Lib. resp., 260) which, moreover, was added in Ch by a later scribe.” Harrison 1968, 199, lists the tenor source as “unidentified.”

265
H30 (G4): *Multipliciter amando / Favore habundare / T. Letificat iuventutem meam*

chant source: Sexagesima, communion: *Introibo ad altare Dei ad deum qui letificat iuventutem meam*

identified Harrison 1968, 200
Grad. Sar. 27, mode 8
Pars 197, f. 17
Pars 595, f. 99v
Pn 830, f. 34
Pn 845, f. 21
Pn 861, f. 35v
Pn 905, f. 33v
Pn 1105, f. 19v
Pn 1107, f. 39
Pn 1255, f. 35v
Pn 1337, f. 33v
Pn 17311, f. 30v
Pn 17312, f. 27v
Pn 17320, f. 30v
RM 224, f. 30
Rouen 277, f. 39 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I no. 13)
RM 227, f. 214
RM 230, f. 19v

text source: Psalm 43(42):4: *et introibo ad altare Dei ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam conﬁtebor tibi in cithara Deus Deus meus*

H31 (G12): *Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizancium / T. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in ﬁnes orbis*

chant source: Common of Apostles, antiphon: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in ﬁnes orbis terrae verba eorum.*

identified Günther 1965, liii
CAO 3262 (also for S. Joannis Ev., S. Petri, S. Pauli, Omnium Sanctorum)
CA 38, f. 383
CH 86, f. 315
LA 505 (with cues 365, Cath. S. Petri, and 432, Vincula S. Petri)

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6Ludwig 1926-54, 61*, links this tenor, like that of H9, *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram,* to the communion for the Common of Apostles; Harrison 1968, 194, follows this, but Günther appears to be correct.
text source: see H9 above

H32 (G7):  D'aidénti desir / Efts d'amér / T. Nigra est set formosa
chant source: Marian feasts and Common of Virgins, antiphon: Nigra
sum sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem; ideo dilexit me Rex et introductit
me in cubiculum suum.  (melody does not correspond to tenor7)
identified Günther 1965, xxxvi
CAO 3878 (mostly for Assumption, also Nativity BMV, Common of
Virgins)
CH 86, f. 332v
LA 543
Pars 595, f. 444v (Alleluia verse)
Pn 802, f. 96v
Pn 1026, f. 433 (Common of Virgins); f. 436 (Common of FemaleSaint not
Virgin)
Pn 1028, f. 232
Pn 1255, f. 374v (Common of Virgins)
Pn 10482, f. 331 (Common of Virgins; also for Mary Magdalene f. 455)
Pn 15181, f. 530
Pn 15613, f. 455v

7Günther 1965, xxxvi says, "The short and unusual color melody lying in
the middle voice does not seem to be a cantus prius factus or at least must
have been changed for polyphonic use...."
nigra sum sed formosa filiae Hierusalem
sicut tabernacula Cedar sicut pelles
Salomonis

Modena

G13: Laurea martirii / Conlaudanda est / T. Proba me Domine /
Contratenor / Solus tenor

chant source: (1) Saint Lawrence, antiphon: In craticula te Deum non
genavi, et ad ignem applicatus te Christum confessus sum; probasti
cor meum et visitasti nocte: igne me examinati, et non est inventus
in me iniquitas. (melody does not correspond to tenor)

identified Günter 1965, lvi

CAO 3216
CA 38, f. 304v
CH 86
LA 441
Pars 595, f. 353
Pgen 2618, f. 316
Pgen 2619, f. 133
Pn 802, f. 186v
Pn 1028, f. 230v
Pn 1255, f. 310v
Pn 3003, f. 453v
RM 221, f. 353
RM 283, f. 207
SA 487
WA 350
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 406v
Pn 760, f. 480
RM 316, f. 379

OR (2) Saint Lawrence, responsory: In craticula te deum non negavi et ad
ignem applicatus te dominum ihesum christum confessus sum. [V.]
Probasti Domine cor meum et visitasti nocte. [Et ad] (melody does
not correspond to tenor)

LA 439
Pn 802, f. 186
Pn 10482, f. 477
G11: *Gratiosus fervidus / Magnanimus opere / T. [Alleluia Preveniamus]*
chant source: Saint George, Matins invitatory: *Alleluia. Praeveniamus faciem eius.*
identified Günther 1965, xlviii
no noted versions found save that given in Günther 1965

Fauvel

F1(1): *Favellandi vicium / Tenor*
according to Schrade 1956a, commentary, 57, the relationship noted by Ludwig to the conductus *De rupta rupecula* "cannot be verified"

F2(2): *Mundus a mundicia / Tenor*
uses sections of the duplum of the conductus *Mundus a munditicia*, etc.
(Schrade 1956a, commentary, 58, citing Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 99)

F3(3): *Quare fremuerunt / Tenor*
in part a paraphrase of the tenor of a conductus melisma (Schrade 1956a, commentary, 59)

F4(4): *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidenies in thronis seculi / T. Ruina*
unidentified; also used by Machaut in M13 above

F5(5): *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.*
chant source: All Saints, sequence *Superne matris gaudia*
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*
AH 55, 45
Pars 197, f. 250
Pars 595, f. 282v (Vincent; also cued for Remigius, f. 272; for Alpini epi. f. 307v; as alternate *In adventu reliquarum beati protomartyris Stephani, 318v; for Memii. epi., f. 349; for Lawrence, f. 353v; for Alpinus f. 370; for Eustache f. 378; for Denis f. 394; for Lupentius f. 396v; as alternate for All Saints f. 406v; for Martin f. 409v; for Katherine f. 416v)
Pn 830, f. 325v (Silvester; also for Germain f. 343; for Bernard f. 350v; for Augustine f. 350v; for Cosmas and Damian f. 355; for Lucanus f. 357; not for All Saints)
Pn 861, f. 366 (Silvester; also cued for William ep. f. 268; Sulpice f. 368; Julian ep. f. 372; Blaise f. 373v; Quiriacus f. 379; Basilius ep. f. 381; Translation Eligius f. 383v; Turianus f. 387v; Victor f. 387v; Germain Antysiodorum f. 389v; Iustino f. 390; Bernard f. 400; Augustine f. 400; Lupus f. 402; Audomarus f. 404v; Cosmas and Damian f. 405v; Denis f. 407v; Mellonus f. 408v; Clarus f. 408v; Severinus f. 411v; Louis of Toulouse f. 433v)

Pn 1335, f. 379
Pn 17311, f. 261v (De martyribus)
Pn 17320, f. 278 (no rubric; follows prose for Several Apostles)
RM 224, f. 257
Pn 1107, f. 353 (In inventione corpus sancti dyonisii sociorumque eius; different melody; also cued f. 347v for Hylarius; for Fabian and Sebastian; for Vincent and Patroclus; for Mauricius sociorumque eius f. 379; f. 388 for Hilarius, Marcinus, Clementis, Romanus)
Pn 858, f. 289 (cued as alternate for Louis IX)

**F6(7): In mari miserie / T. [Manere]**
clausra source M5
identified Ludwig 1926-54, II, 13
text source: John 21:22: dicit ei [Peter] Iesus
    si sic eum volo manere donec veniam quid ad te
tu me sequere

**F7(8): Ad solitum vomitum / T. [Regnat]**
clausra source M34, no. 13
identified Ludwig 1926-54, II, 55

**F8(9): Nulla pestis est gravior / Plange, nostra regio / T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis**
chant source: sequence Vergente mundi vespere
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60* (see also Wagner 1921, 495)
AH IX, 61
Pn 830, f. 348 (alternate during Octave of Assumption)
F9(12): Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abominabitur dominus

cant source: Historia de Sapientia (1 August-1 September), responsory:

Verbum iniquum et dolosum longe fac a me, Domine, divitias et paupertates ne dederis mihi, sed tantum victui meo tribue necessaria.

[V. A.] Ne forte satiatus evomam illud, et perjurem nomen Dei mei.
[Sed.] [V. B.] Duo rogavi te; ne deneges mihi antequam moriar.
[Divitias / Sed.] [V. C.] Extollentiam oculorum meorum ne dederis mihi, et omne desiderium pravum ante me. [Sed.]

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7841
CA 38, f. 164v
CH 86, f. 134
LA 278
Pars 595, f. 230v
Pgen 2618, f. 174
Pgen 2619, f. 32
Pgen 2641, f. 178
Pn 1028, f. 147v
Pn 1030, f. 26v
Pn 1255, f. 191
Pn 3003, f. 274v
Pn 10482, f. 391v
Pn 15182, f. 119
SA 311
WA 169
Pn 760, f. 233v
RM 316, f. 284v

text sources: (1) Proverbs 30:8: vanitatem et verba mendacia longe fac a me
mendicitatem et divitias ne dederis mihi
tribue tantum victui meo necessaria

(2) Psalm 5:7: odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem
perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium
virum sanguinem et dolosum abominabitur Dominus

(3) Psalm 40(41):9: verbum iniquum constituerunt adversum me
numquid qui dormit non adiecit ut resurgat

F10(17): Ex corruptis arboribus / In principibus perpetra / T. Neuma de alleluia

no music; text is not sufficient to identify tenor source

271
F11(21): Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve, qui gregi
deficiunt / T. Displicebat ei etc.
chant source: Saint Augustine of Hippo, responsory: Volebat enim
conferenti estus suos ut proferret quis esset aptus modus vivendi sic
affecto ut ipse erat ad ambulandum in via dei. In qua alius sic alius sic
ibat. [V.] Displicebat ei quicquid agebat in seculo predulcedine dei et
decore domus eius quam dilexit. In qua.
not in CAO
CA 38, f. 320
CH 86, f. 253
Pgen 2618, f. 330v
Pgen 2619, f. 155
Pgen 2641, f. 248
Pn 10482, f. 498v
text source: Augustine, Confessions, book 8; see Augustine 1981, 113-14.

F12(22): Orbis orbatus oculis / Vos pastores adulteri / T. Fur non venit,
nisi ut furetur, et mactet, et perdat
melodic source unidentified
text source: John 10:10: fur non venit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat
ego veni ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant

F13(27): Desolata mater ecclesia / Que nutritos filios / T. Filios enutrivi et
exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt me
chant source: unidentified; according to Anderson 1976, 121, this is a verse
of an unknown responsory
text source: Isaiah 1:2: audite caeli et auribus percipe terra quoniam
Dominus locutus est
filios enutrivi et exaltavi ipsi autem spreverunt me

F14(29): Je voi douleur avenir / Fauvel nous a fait present / T. Fauvel:
Autant m’est si poise arriere comme avant
secular song source

F15(32): Se cuers ioians, ionnes, iolis / Rex beatus, confessor domini / T.
Ave
chant source unidentified; Gastoué 1922, 47, calls this tenor “un fragment
de l’office chanté, dès 1299, en l’honneur de Saint Louis,” but the chant
has not been identified elsewhere

272
F16(33): Servant regem misericordia / O Philippe, prelustris Francorum /  
T. Rex regum et dominus dominancium


identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 6578
CA 38, f. 18v
CH 86, f. 9
LA 13
Pars 595, f. 46v
Pgen 2618, f. 62v
Pgen 2641, f. 90v
Pn 861, f. 72
Pn 1028, f. 39
Pn 1255, f. 72
Pn 3003, f. 18v
Pn 10482, f. 18
Pn 12035, f. 10v
Pn 15181, f. 120v
Pn 15613, f. 55
SA 29
WA 13
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 9
Pn 760, f. 15v
RM 316, f. 66v

text sources: (1) Apocalypse 14:14: et vidi et ecce nubem candidam  
et supra nubem sedentem quasi Filio hominis  
habentem in capite suo coronam auream  
et in manu sua falsam acutam

(2) Apocalypse 19:16: et habet in vestimentum et in femore suo scripium rex regum et Dominus dominantium
F17(35): Condicio nature defuit / O Nacio nephandi generis / T. Mane
prima sabbati

clausula source: M83
motet appears also in Montpellier codex, f. 87v
chant source: Easter (also Mary Magdalene), prose: Mane prima sabbati
identified Dahnk 1935, 74
Pars 197, f. 192
Pn 830, f. 308v (feria secunda post pasche; also cued f. 342 for Mary
Magdalene)
Pn 861, f. 347v (cued f. 155 for feria 2a post pasche; f. 387v for Mary
Magdalene)
Pn 1107, f. 350 (feria 2 Pasche; also used f. 362v for Mary Magdalene)
Pn 1335, f. 347v
Pn 17311, f. 251v (Item de pascha)
Pn 17312, f. 202 (Mary Magdalene)
Pn 17320, f. 279 (Mary Magdalene)
RM 224, f. 253 (Mary Magdalene)
RM 227, f. 277v (Mary Magdalene)
RM 264, f. 87v (Mary Magdalene)
Utrecht 417 (given in de Goede 1965, 22)
Pn 1435, f. 17v (cue only, for liturgical drama, Matins, Easter; also cued f. 44
for Mary Magdalene)
Pars 595, f. 173v (Octave of Easter; different melody; also cued for Mary
Magdalene f. 338)
RM 233, f. 123v (feria 2a post pasche)

text source: Mark 16:9: surgens autem mane prima sabbati
apparuit primo Mariae Magdaleneae de qua eiecerat
septem daemonia

F18(37): Facilius a nobis vitatur / Alieni boni invidia / T. Imperfecte
canite

chant and text sources unidentified; this phrase may simply refer to the use
of imperfect mode, as Schrade 1956a, commentary, 80, suggests

F19(38): Veritas arpie / T. Johanne

clausula source: M29 no. 147
chant source: Saint John the Baptist, alleluia: Alleluia [V.] Inter natos
mulierum non surrexit maior Johanne Baptista
text source: Matthew 11:11:  
Amen dico vobis  
non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior  
Iohanne Baptista  
qui autem minor est in regno caelorum  
maior est illo

F20(39):  
Ade costa dormientis / Tenor
source unidentified

F21(41):  
La mesnie fauveline / l'ai fait nouveaulement / T. Grant despit ai
ie. Fortune...
secular song source

F22(50):  
Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie]8 / T. Revertenti
chant source: Quinquegesima, responsory:  
Revertenti Abraham a cede  
quatuor regum occurrit rex salem Melchisedech offerens panem et  
vimum erat enim Dei sacerdos et benedixit illi. [V.] Benedictus Abraham  
Deo altissimo qui creavit celum et terram. [Et benedixit in WA, Erat in  
SA. Gloria patri. Et ben.]  
identified Anderson 1976, 121  
not in CAO  
SA 142  
WA 80

text source: Genesis 14:19:  
benedixit ei et ait  
benedictus Abram Deo excelso qui creavit  
caelum et terram

F23(51):  
Inflammatus invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus / T. [Victime  
paschali laudes]
chant source: Easter, sequence:  
Victimae paschali laudes / immolent  
christiani
identified Anderson 1976, 121  
Pars 595, f. 174 (In paschali tempore; f. 442 gives the same melody with the  
text Virgine marie laudes / intonent christiani and the rubric In  
commemoratione beate marie in tempore paschali)

Pn 905, f. 108  
Pn 1051, f. 140 (Mary Magdalene, hymn)  
Pn 1107, f. 349 (Octave of Easter)

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8This voice appears in a three-part version of the motet given in Trent 87,  
f. 231v; it is cited as well in the index of the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23190)  
as no. 72.
Pn 10482, f. 455 (prose, Mary Magdalene)
Pn 17311, f. 251
Pn 17312, f. 199
Pn 17320, f. 272 (cued also for Easter f. 116)
RM 264, f. 83 (feria 4 Easter)
Utrecht 417 (given in de Goede 1965, 33)
RM 224, f. 249 (In die pasche)
RM 264, f. 83 (feria 4 post pasche) (Virgine maria laudes also ad missam
nour domine tempore paschali, f. 108)
RM 227, f. 272

F24(68):  *Bonne est amours ou dangier ne maint mie / Se mes desir fust a
souhais / T. A*¹

identified secular song source

Tristis est anima mea*

chant source 1: Pro Defunctis, antiphon: *Heu me, quia incolatus meus
prolongatus est.*

identified Roesner et al., 1984
CA 3038
CA 38, f. 356
CH 86, f. 290v
LA 560
Pars 595, f. 435
Pgen 2618, f. 372
Pn 802, f. 249 (All Souls)
Pn 1028, f. 282v
Pn 1030, f. 271v
Pn 1255, f. 376
Pn 10482, f. 547 (All Souls)
SA 579
WA 435

text source: Psalm 19:5: *heu mihi qui incolatus meus prolongatus est
habitavi cum habitationibus Cedar*

chant source 2: see H15 above

¹ Place-marker for initial only; no other text.
F26(78): Thalamus puerpere / Quomodo cantabimus / [Tenor]
unidentified secular song source

F27(120): Tribum, que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / T.

Merito haec patimur

chant source: Lent 3, responsory: Merito haec patimur, quia peccavimus
in fratrem nostrum, videntes angustiam animae ejus dum deprecaretur
nos, et non audivimus; idcirco venit super nos tribulatio. [V.] Dixit
Ruben fratribus suis: Numquid non dixi vobis: Nolite peccare in
puerum et non audistis me? [Idcirco.]

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7146
CA 38, f. 89r
CH 86, f. 70
LA 151
Pars 595, f. 121
Pgen 2618, f. 109v
Pgen 2641, f. 133
Pn 1028, f. 99v
Pn 1255, f. 127
Pn 10482, f. 98
Pn 12035, f. 87
Pn 15181, f. 242v
Pn 15613, f. 189
SA 174
WA 97
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 80v
Pn 760, f. 113v
RM 316, f. 133
RM 2190, f. 118v

text source: Genesis 42:21: et locuti sunt invicem

merito haec patimur quia peccavimus in
fratrem nostrum
videntes angustiam animae illius cum
deprecaretur nos et non audivimus
idcirco venit super nos ista tribulatio

F28(122): Celi domina / Maria, virgo virginum / T. Porchier mieuz estre
ameroie...

secular song source; also used monophonically as p. mus. 30 (see Dahnk
1935)
F29(123): Omnipotens domine / T. Flagellaverunt Galliam et [h]ortum eius inquinaverunt

source unidentified

F30(124): Firmissime fидem tenezamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T.

Alleluya Benedictus et cetera

chant source: Trinity, Alleluia [V.] Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum, et laudabilis in saecula

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61* 

Grad. Sar. pl. c

Pars 197, f. 80

Pars 595, f. 199v

Pn 830, f. 161v

Pn 845, f. 111

Pn 861, f. 184v

Pn 905, f. 147

Pn 1105, f. 208

Pn 1107, f. 321

Pn 17311, f. 134

Pn 17312, f. 185

Pn 17320, f. 147

RM 217, f. 45

RM 221, f. 12v

RM 224, f. 124

RM 264, f. 23v

RM 265, f. 6

RM 227, f. 230v

RM 230, f. 59

RM 232, f. 117

text source: Daniel 3:52: benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum et laudabilis et superexaltus in saecula et benedictum nomen gloriae tuae sanctum et laudabile et superexaltum in omnibus saeculis

F31(125): Scrutator alme cordium / [Tenor]

source: neuma sexti toni

identified Anderson 1976, 121
F32(128): Zelus familie / Ihesu, tu dator venie / [Tenor]
source unidentified

F33(129): Carrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas
dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni\[^{10}\]
source: neuma quinti toni; also used in Floret cum vana gloria / Florens
vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni

F34(130): Quant ie le voi ou voirre cler / Bon vin doit l'en a li tirer / T. Cis
chans vuelt boire
source unidentified

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\[^{10}\] Place-marker for initial only; no other text.
Manuscripts Cited

Polyphonic music

Bcen 553 (BarcA): Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, MS M. 853: second half 14th century; see Reaney 1969, 89-90

Br 19606 (Brussels rotulus): Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19606: early 14th century; see Reaney 1969, 42-45

CA 38: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS B. 1328: northern France / Low Countries, mid-14th century; see Reaney 1969, 119-28, and especially Lerch 1987

Chantilly: Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564: French late-14th-century material copied in Italy (Florence?) in the early 15th century; see Reaney 1969, 128-60, and especially Günther 1984


Fribourg: Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, Z260: flyleaf, mid-14th century; see Reaney 1969, 60-61

Ivrea: Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115: Ivrea (contents from central France), late 14th century; see Reaney 1969, 282-304, and especially Kügle 1990

Lbm 28550 (LoR, Robertsbridge Codex): London, British Museum, MS Additional 28550: 1330s; see Reaney 1969, 236

Lbm 41667 (MacVeagh): London, British Museum, MS Additional 41667 (I): France (Picardy), mid-14th century; see Reaney 1969, 240-41

Machaut Manuscript A: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1584: c. 1371-75; see Reaney 1969, 174-78, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989

Machaut Manuscript C: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1586: c. 1350-56; see Reaney 1969, 179-82, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989


Machaut Manuscript F-G: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 22545-22546: illustrated late 1380s-early 1390s; see Reaney 1969, 192-97, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989

Machaut Manuscript Vg: New York, Wildenstein Galleries: illustrated c. 1371-75; see Reaney 1969, 342-68, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989

Modena: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α. M. 5. 24 (olim lat. 568): northern Italy, early 15th century; see Fischer 1972, 950-81

Montpellier: Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H196: Paris, late 13th-early 14th centuries; see Reaney 1966, 272-328

Ob 7: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E. Mus. 7: flyleaves, mid-14th century, Bury St Edmunds; see Reaney 1969, 257-61 and Harrison and Wibberley 1981, which gives a facsimile

ObHa 81: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 81: flyleaves, 14th-century; see Reaney 1966, 537-38 and Harrison and Wibberley 1981, which gives a facsimile

Pn 146 (Roman de Fauvel): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 146: Paris, c. 1316-18; see Reaney 1969, 163-72, and especially Roesner et al. 1990, which gives a facsimile

Pn 571: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 571: Hainaut (decorated by English artists), c. 1326; see Reaney 1969, 173, and especially Wathey 1992

Pn 23901 (Trémoiîle fragment): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23901 (formerly Serrant): France, 1376 (with later additions); see Reaney 1969, 205-6, and especially Bent 1990a

Rostock: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, MS phil. 100/2: last quarter 15th century; see Fischer 1972, I, 383-84
Strasbourg: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (*olum* Bibliothèque de la Ville), MS 222. C. 22 (burned in 1870): Alsace / southwest Germany, early 15th century; see Fischer 1972, I, 550-92

Trent 98: Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 87: Trent, mid-15th century; see Bridgman 1991, 461-72

Liturgical manuscripts

This material is based mostly on Leroquais 1924 and Leroquais 1934; where necessary it has been supplemented by Bernard 1965, Bernard 1974, Delisle 1974, Kohler 1896, La Laurencie and Gastoué 1936, Lauer 1939, Loriquet 1904, Martin 1885, Metz 1879, Molinier 1891, and Omont 1928.

Noted chant sources

AR 444: Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 444 (888) (*Sacramentaires* 1260): Noted Missal, Saint-Vaast d’Arras, 13th century

CA 38: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 38: Noted Antiphoner, Cambrai, 13th century

CH 86: Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 86 (*Bréviaires* 161): Noted Breviary, Paris, early 13th century

Grad. Rouen: see Pr. 904

Grad. Sarum (Sarum Gradual): London, British Museum, MS Additional 12194: Gradual, Sarum Rite, 13th century (facsimile in Frere 1966, supplemented by other manuscripts)

LA (Lucca Antiphoner): Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 601: Noted Antiphoner, Lucca, 12th century (facsimile in Mocquereau 1906)

Pars 197: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 197: Gradual, Saint-Victor, late 13th century

1*Sacramentaires* refers to entry numbers in Leroquais 1924; *Bréviaires* refers to entry numbers in Leroquais 1934.

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Pars 595: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 595 (Sacramentaires 369; Bréviaires 406): Noted Missal-Breviary, Saint-Étienne, Châlons-sur-Marne, late 13th-early 14th centuries


Pgen 2619: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2619 (Bréviaires 695): Noted Breviary, Summer, Saint-Quentin-lès-Beauvais, 13th century


Pn 748: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 748 (Bréviaires 452): partially noted Breviary, Paris,3 early 13th century, Summer only

Pn 802: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 802 (Bréviaires 471): Noted Breviary, mid-late 13th century, Saint-Nicaise, Châlons-sur-Marne, Summer only

Pn 830: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 830 (Sacramentaires 318): Noted Missal, late 13th century, Paris4

Pn 845: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 845 (Sacramentaires 511): Noted Missal, second half of 14th century, Châlons-sur-Marne

Pn 858: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 858 (Sacramentaires 596): partially noted Missal, Paris, 15th century

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2Kohler 1896 says that it “semble indiquer que le présent breviaire a été écrit pour une église du centre de la France.”

3Leroquais 1934, II, 427, notes that, according to a 1744 catalogue, this manuscript “aurait appartenu à la Grande confrérie Notre-Dame qui avait son siège dans l’église de la Madeleine-en-la-Cité.”

4Lauer 1939, 291, says of this manuscript, “Parait avoir appartenu à l’abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près.” Leroquais 1924, II, 137, on the other hand, says “La mention des saints Vincent, Germain, Landry et Vulfran [in the prayer for the Missa in honore sanctorum quorum corpora habentur] semble indiquer que ce missel a été à l’usage de Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois.”

Pn 904 (Grad. Rouen): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 904: Gradual, Rouen, 13th century (facsimile in Loriquet et al. 1907)

Pn 905: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 905: Gradual, Rouen, 15th-16th centuries

Pn 1028: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1028 (Bréviaires 486): Noted Breviary, Sens, late 13th century

Pn 1030: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1030 (Bréviaires 489): Noted Breviary, Beauvais, 13th century, Summer only

Pn 1051: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1051 (Bréviaires 510): partially noted Breviary, Paris, 15th century, Sanctorale only, incomplete

Pn 1105: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1105 (Sacramentaires 341): Noted Missal, Bec (diocese of Rouen), second half of 13th century

Pn 1107: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1107 (Sacramentaires 322): Noted Missal, Saint-Denis, second half of 13th century

Pn 1255: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1255 (Bréviaires 527): Noted Breviary, Bourges, 13th-14th centuries

Pn 1337: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1337: Gradual, Paris, late 13th-14th centuries

Pn 3003: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions latines 3003: Breviary, Sion-en-Valais, early 14th century

Pn 10482: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 10482 (Bréviaires 598): Noted Breviary, Paris, 14th century

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5 Leroquais 1924, II, 249, cites the following note on f. 481: “Ce messel est de la grant confrarie Nostre-Dame aus bourgeois de Paris.”

6 According to Leroquais 1934, III, 197, the calendar entry for “Dedicacio ecclesie Meled.” is an addition in another hand; he considers the calendar
Pn 12035: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 12035 (Bréviaires 605): Noted Breviary, Meaux, late 12th-early 13th century, Winter only


Pn 15613: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 15613 (Bréviaires 628): Noted Breviary, Paris, mid-late 13th century, Winter only

Pn 17311: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17311 (Sacramentaires 403): Noted Missal, Cambrai, first half 14th century

Pn 17312: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17312 (Sacramentaires 239): Noted Missal, Auxerre, first half 13th century

Pn 17320: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17320 (Sacramentaires 414): Noted Missal, northern France, 14th century

In general to be for Paris. Delisle 1974 (originally published in 1863), 79, accepts the Melun citation, but his entries tend to be telegraphic; this one, for example, is simply “Bréviaire de l’égl. de Melun. XIV s.”

7Leroquais 1934, III, 260, cites an eighteenth-century annotation in Pn 15181 that declares, “Ce manuscrit du XIIIe siècle contient le livre de chœur suivant le rit de Paris; on se servait de ce livre-là et du missel dans la chapelle de Sorbonne.” Pn 15182 has a similar note: “Ce manuscrit du 13e siècle a été légué à la bibliothèque de Sorbonne par M. Jérôme Parent, docteur de la... (mots cachés par une étiquette) mort le 12 décembre 1637. Il contient le livre de chœur suivant l’ancien rite de Paris.” After having called this a thirteenth-century manuscript, he dates it “plus probablement” to the early fourteenth century on the basis of its decoration.

8According to Leroquais 1934, III, 262, an eighteenth-century hand says that “Ce manuscrit du 13e siècle a été légué à la Maison de Sorbonne par Robert Sorbon, son fondateur. Il contient la partie d’hyér avec le chant suivant [le rit de Paris].” A note on the bottom of f. 1 says that “Hieronymus Parent, Parisinus, doctor et socius Sorbonnicus legavit, et 12 decembris 1637 obiit.”

9Leroquais 1924, II, 239, says that this manuscript “provient de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, ainsi que le ms. lat. 17307 cité plus haut; mais, comme ce dernier, il ne présente aucune des particularités des missels de l’abbaye; tout ce que l’on peut dire, c’est qu’il a été exécuté pour une église du nord de la France.”

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RM 217: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 217 (Sacramentaires 417): Noted Missal, Saint-Denis, Reims, 14th century, Summer only

RM 221: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 221 (Sacramentaires 189): Noted Missal, Reims, late 12th century, Summer only

RM 224: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 224 (Sacramentaires 509): Noted Missal, Notre-Dame de Reims, chapel of Saint-Bartholomew, second half 14th century

RM 227: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 227 (Sacramentaires 192): Noted Missal, Saint-Rémy, Reims, late 12th century

RM 264: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 264: Gradual, Saint-Thierry, Reims, 12th-13th centuries, incomplete

RM 283: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 283: Antiphoner, Saint-Nicaise, Reims, 16th century

SA (Sarum Antiphoner): Cambridge, University Library, MS Mm. ii. g (Barnwell Antiphonal): Noted Antiphoner, Sarum Rite, late 13th century (facsimile in Frere 1901, supplemented by other manuscripts)


Liturgical sources with text only

Pn 1026: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1026 (Bréviaires 484): Breviary, early-mid 14th century, from Paris, Summer only

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10 This is according to Leroquais 1924, II, 241; Loriquet 1904, 197, says it comes from the cathedral and dates from the thirteenth century.
11 According to Leroquais 1924, II, 336, the manuscript has the following annotation: “Ce présent messel appartient au chappellain de la chapelle Saint-Barthélemy fondé en l’église Nostre-Dame de Reims que tient à présent maistre Caillet, presbtre...fait en l’an 1613.”
12 As Leroquais 1924, I, 361 notes, “Ce messel ne comprend que les trois oraisons et les introits, à l’exclusion des autres pièces de chant et des lectures.”
13 This manuscript was owned by Pierre de Pacy, dean of Notre-Dame, who died in 1402.
Pn 1435: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1435: *Ordinarium capellae regis Franciae*, late 14th-15th century; only musical incipits noted

RM 230: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 230 (*Sacramentaires* 418): Missal, Saint-Nicaise, Reims, 14th century


RM 265: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 265: Gradual, Saint-Denis, Reims, 12th century

RM 315: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 315 (*Bréviaires* 734): Breviary, Saint-Thierry, Reims, late 13th century

RM 316: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 316 (*Bréviaires* 735): Breviary, Saint-Remy, Reims, mid-late 13th century

RM 2190: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 2190: Breviary, fragments, Winter

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14This manuscript does not appear in any of the published sources; I owe this information to the staff of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Reims, who brought the manuscript to my attention.
Works Cited


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