Recycling Reversed

Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries Around 1400

Recycling Reversed

Een verkenning van de geschiedenis van de polyfonie in de noordelijke Lage Landen omstreeks 1400

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof.dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen op vrijdag 18 mei 2018 des middags te 2.30 uur

door
Eliane Andrea Fankhauser

geboren op 24 juli 1986
te Winterthur, Zwitserland

Promotor: Prof.dr. K. Kügle

Acknowledgements

My first encounter with the polyphonic fragments which are the subject of this study happened on an afternoon at the Special Collections of the Utrecht University Library. The fragments were presented during a general introduction into the Special Collection's keepings of music manuscript and fragments. Immediately, I was fascinated by the fragments' formats, notational features, and music and text scripts. That a research project about these fragments would be anything but a simple undertaking was apparent from the very deteriorated state of some of the fragment leaves. Nevertheless, I was eager to delve into them. If only I examined them closely enough, these—at first glance—random assemblies of fragment leaves will reveal more about their genesis and history of use, so I thought. This idea kept me going during the whole process of doing research. That it proved wrong may be a disappointment at first sight but really this is one of the most important insights that I will take with me in my further career.

In the period of the research project I was in contact and exchange with a great number of scholars, librarians, archivists but also with friends, family and supporting staff at the University. All of them helped me and contributed to this study in one way or another for which I am very grateful. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Karl Kügle for his efforts and the time he invested into reading and commenting on my writings. Amongst others, Karl made me recognize the nature of research as carried out in the field of medieval musicology and made me think about the ways in which I want and do not want to contribute to it.

A major part of my research time was I spent at special collections and archives. I certainly would not have been able to carry out the research in the way I did without the help and friendly support of the staff at these institutions. I owe special debts to Bart Jaski, curator at the Special Collections at Utrecht University Library I owe special debts. His strong interest in my research and will to collaborate led to sessions during which we took additional photos of the fragments and their host books without which I would not have been able to carry out

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> Schläft ein Lied in allen Dingen,
> Die da träumen fort und fort,
> Und die Welt hebt an zu singen,
> Triffst du nur das Zauberwort

Table of Contents

Part One
History and Examination of The Utrecht Fragments NL-Uu 37.I

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Examples

Manuscripts and Prints

Sigla

Sigla are based on the RISM Library Sigla. The first uppercase letter or letters stand for the country, which is followed by a hyphen. The following uppercase letter represents the city; lowercase letters designate the institution. All sigla provided here can be looked up online.[1] Furthermore, they are in accordance with the sigla as given on the website of DIAMM.[2]

List of Manuscripts and Prints

List of Musical and Non-Musical Sources and Their Short Sigla

Apt	F-APT Trésor 16 bis
Arnhem hs 6	Arnhem, Centrale Bibliothek, hs 6
Bamberg Msc.Astr 4	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc Astr. 4
Bar 5170	B-Bar Fonds St-Goedele, 5170
Barcelona 2	E-Boc MS 2
Bbc 853	E-Bbc 853
Bbc 971	E-Bc Ms 971
Berlijn 190	D-Bsbha Ms. germ. oct. 190
Berlin songbook 922	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 922
Bern 827	CH-BEsu 827
BEsu A 421	Ch-BEsu Cod. A 421
Br 19606	B-Br MS 19606
Bux	D-Mbs Mus. 3725 (Buxheim organ book)
CA 1328	F-CA 1328
CA B 56	F-CA Inc. 56
CB B 166	F-CA Inc. 166
Ch	F-Ch MS 564 (Chantilly Codex)

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1   "Sigla - RISM," *RISM*, accessed September 28, 2017, http://www.rism.info/en/sigla.html.
2   "Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music," *DIAMM*, accessed November 29, 2017, https://www.diamm.ac.uk/.

Cividale 98	I-CFm 98
Cortona 1, Cortona 2	I-CTa
Darmstadt 2225	Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 2225
EscA	E-E MS IV.a.24
Fa	I-FZc MS 117 (Faenza Codex)
Fauvel	F-Pn fonds français 146 (*Roman de Fauvel*)
Gent 3360	B-Gr Varia D.3360 A (Ter Haeghen)
Gr 133	B-Gr Fond Groenenbriel, Ms 133
Groningen 70	NL-G Inc. 70
Grottaferrata 219	I-GR Kript. Lat. 219
Gruuthuse	NL-DHk 79 K 10
Haags Liederenhandschrift	NL-DHk 128 E 2
HEI	A-HEI fragment
Helmond MS	Eindhoven, access no. 15240, inv. no. 3788 (olim: Rechterlijk Archief Helmond)
Iv	I-IV MS 115
J.II.9	I-Tn MS J.II.9
Leiden choirbooks	L-Lml 0502 inv. no. 1438, 1439, 1400, 1441, 1442, 1443
Lpro E 163	GB-Lpro E 163/22/1/24
Lu 2515 (1)	NL-Lu B.P.L. 2515 (1)
Lu 2720	NL-Lu B.P.L. 2720
Lu 2777	NL-Lu B.P.L. 2777
Lu 342	NL-Lu L.T.K 342
Lu 342A	NL-Lu L.T.K 342A
Mbs 3224	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3224
McVeagh	GB-Lbl 41667
MO	F-MO H 196
ModA	I-MOe MS {alpha}.M.5.24 (Modena A)
ModB	I-MOe MS {alpha}.X.1.11 (Modena B)
Namur reg.	B-Naet Transports de l'Echevinage de Namur, Reg. 5, 6, 7, 8
Ox 56	GB-Ob Canon Pat. Lat. 56
PadA	I-Pu 1475
PadC	I-Pu 658
PadD	I-Pu 1225
Padua 553	I-Pas Santa Giustina 553
Padua 7,14	I-Pas Santa Guistina catastico VII, busta 14
Pieter-Potter MS	NL-NA inv. no. 436
Pit	F-Pn fonds italien 568
PR	F-Pn nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771 (Codex Reina)

Q15	I-Bc Q.15
Robertsbridge fragments	GB-Lbl Add. MS 28550
Roch44	US-R 44
SL	I-Fsl MS 2211 (San Lorenzo)
Sm 222	F-Sm 222 C. 22
Solsona 109	E-SOL 109
Sq	I-Fl MS Mediceo Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex)
Tar frag. 1	E-TAc fragment 1
Tar frag. 2	E-TAc fragment 2
Toulouse 94	F-TLm 94
Trém	F-Pn nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23190
Trent 92	I-TRbc MS 1379 [92]
Troyes 1397	F-T 1397
U406	NL-Uu MS 406
U416	NL-Uu Hs 2 F 4 fol
Uu 37.I, II, III	NL-Uu 6 E 37 (Cat. 1846)
Van Hulthem	B-KB Ms. 15589-15623
Ven145	I-Vnm MS It. IX. 145
Wn 5094	A-Wn Cod. 5094
Wn frag. 661	A-Wn fragm. 661 Han
XI E 9	CZ-Pu MS XI E 9

List of Manuscripts Without Short Sigla

B-Bc 4948	A collection of prayers and hymns
B-Br II 270	Music manuscript associated with the Modern Devotion, in Dutch and Latin, ca. 1450–1500
B-Br IV 421	Book of devotion at the Regulary Order St. Maria ter Nood Gods. Ca. 1450–1500
D-Bsbha ms. germ.oct. 280	Music manuscript "Anna von Köln," ca. 1500
D-Mbs Clm 19824	*Hymni plurimi de Maria*, *Christe*, *Sanctis*
D-Mu Hs 41	Hoya Missale
F-Pn acc. Fr. 837	Guillaume de Villeneuve, *Crieries de Paris*
F-Pn fonds lat. 3343	Poetry of the fourteenth century
GB-Lbl Add. 9769	Ordinal St. Marie, Utrecht
I-Rvat Pal Lat. 1260	Treatise on medieval medicine with two songs in stroke notation
NL-DHmw Hs. 10 B 17	*Annales* St. Marie, Utrecht
NL-Hs 184 C 7	Gradual Balije St. Catharina, Utrecht
NL-KB KA 16	Jacob van Maerlant, *Der Naturen Bloeme*
NL-Uu 16 H 34	Music manuscript associated with the Modern Devotion, Deventer, 1450–1500

NL-Uu 413	Gradual, St. Marie, Utrecht
NL-Uu 417	Prosary, St. Marie [?], Utrecht
NL-Uu 424	Breviary, St. Marie, Utrecht
NL-Uu ABM H 62	Missal, Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
S-Sk Vu 22	François Villon, *Le grand testament*, 1461
US-BAw Ms W.174	Greiffenklaumissale
US-NYpm MS M.945	Book of hours Katharina van Kleef
L-Lbl MS Harley 542	Contains poem "London Lickpenny"
L-Lbl MS Harley 367	Contains poem "London Lickpenny"

List of Prints and Their Short Sigla[3]

Uu 106 C 2	NL-Uu L 106 C 2, *Textum Biblie cum postilla domini Hugonis cardinalis, secunda pars*
Antwerps liedboek	D-W A: 236.5 Poet
BibTrajectina	NL-Uu C qu 166 (Rariora), *Bibliothecae Trajectinae catalogus*
Uu L fol 54	NL-Uu L fol 5, *Repertorii Bertachini prima pars*
Uu L fol 56	NL-Uu L fol 56 *Repertorii Bertachini tertia pars*
Uu L fol 810	NL-Uu L fol 810 (Rariora), *Corpus juris civilis Volumen*

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[3] Short sigla used for prints are specific to this dissertation and do not strictly follow the rules given by RISM. Printed books are also included in the bibliography.

Abbreviations

AAU	*Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*
CMM	*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*. [Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1947–forthcoming.
CMM 11.7	Reaney, Gilbert, ed. *Early Fifteenth Century Music (part 7)*. Vol. 11.7 of *Corups Mensurabilis Musicae*. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1983.
CMME	*Computerized Mensural Music Editing*. http://cmme.org/
DBNL	*Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren*. http://www.dbnl.org/
DIAMM	*Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*. https://www.diamm.ac.uk/
EMH	*Early Music History*
HUA	Het Utrechts Archief [Utrecht Archives], Utrecht
JRMA	*Journal of the Royal Musical Association*
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
NA	Nationaal Archief [National Archive], The Hague
NGrove	Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, editors. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition. 29 volumes. London: Macmillan, 2001.
OLV	Onze Lieve Vrouwen [Our Dear Lady]
OM	Oudmunster [Old Minster], collegiate church St. Salvator
PMFC	*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*. Leo Schrade, Frank Ll. Harrison, and Kurt von Fischer, general editors. 25 volumes. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956–1991.
PMFC 1	Schrade, Leo, ed. *Roman de Fauvel; Works of Philippe de Vitry; French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae*. Vol. 1 of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956.
PMFC 22	Greene, Gordon and Terence Scully, ed. *French Secular Music: Rondeaux and Miscellaneous Pieces (part 5)*. Vol. 22 of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1989.

PMFC 23A	Cattin, Giulio, Francesco Facchin, and María del Carmen Gómez Muntané, ed. *French sacred music (part 1).* Vol. 23A of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century.* Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1989.
PMFC 23B	Cattin, Giulio, Francesco Facchin, and María del Carmen Gómez Muntané, ed. *French sacred music (part 1).* Vol. 23B of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century.* Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1989.
RISM	*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*
SaD	Stadsarchief [City Archive], Delft
SAB	Staatsarchief van België [State Archives of Belgium], Brussels
TVNM	*Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*

MS	manuscript
r	recto
v	verso
p.	page
inv. no.	inventory number
fol. / fols.	folio / folios
bifol. / bifols.	bifolio / bifolios
mm. / mms.	measure / measures

Voice designation

Ca	Cantus
Ct	Contratenor
Tr	Triplum
Mo	Motetus
T	Tenor
ST	Solus Tenor

Genre designation

B	Ballade
C	Canonic piece
V	Virelai
O	Ordinary of the Mass
R	Rondeau
L	Lied
M	Motet

Notes on Terminology, Transcriptions, and Currency

Terminology and Names

The capitalized terms Ars Nova and Ars Subtilior are used as stylistic and geographic indicators in this study. Ars Nova broadly refers to complex, mensurally-notated polyphony originating in French-speaking regions between 1320 and 1380. Ars Subtilior here is defined as an umbrella term for a style repertoire from the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries that encompasses complex mensural, rhythmic, and harmonic features. As geographic, linguistic, and political borders more often than not are different from the modern state names of, for instance, France or Italy, pieces are labelled French-texted or Dutch-texted rather than French or Dutch.

English terminology is used for the description of mensural music. Note values are thus called breve, semibreve, minim, and semiminim. To avoid confusion with the English word "long" the note value of the long is referred to as "longa / longae."

Local proper names like names of institutions and names of individuals remain untranslated. Internationally known individuals such as important rulers and popes are provided in English.

Music Transcriptions

All music examples are diplomatic transcriptions, using modern notational symbols. Specifically, this is understood as follows: I have abstained from providing reconstructions of longer music passages and recommendations for the use of fictas. The text is displayed without punctuation unless present in sources; use of lower and upper-case letters follows the original text. Words, furthermore, are aligned to the notes they are assigned to in the source. Hyphens are only used in cases in which word parts are clearly aligned to notes (example: pa-ter).[4] All words are written out fully regardless of their abbreviated

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4   This first and foremost applies to the motet *…ic hebbe ripe kersen, Uu 37.I,* bifolio II, fol. 1v-2r.

spelling in the sources. Due to the very deteriorated state of some of the fragment leaves, the text at times remains incomprehensible. For an accurate rendering of the state of transmission, it has been decided to add difficult-to-read text in brackets [text], whilst undecipherable text is indicated by [text illegible].

Unless stated otherwise, all music examples are my own transcriptions.[5] The music transcription follows the original as closely as possible. Note values are reduced for the sake of a better reading; minims in the original notation become eighth-notes in the modern transcription. Ligatures are marked with square brackets; mensuration changes indicated by red ink in the original source are likewise colored red in the transcription. However, subtle elements of black mensural notation such as dots of divisions do not appear in the transcriptions, as these are difficult to display accurately. Missing musical content, be it as a consequence of cut-off sections or the state of the fragment leaves, is visualized by empty brackets [ ] in the length of the missing section. As an exception, unknown lengths of music omitted in single voices are displayed by a standard, concise number of measures.

Voice designation:

Ca	Cantus
Cal / Call	Cantus I, cantus II
Ct	Contratenor
T	Tenor
ST	Solus Tenor
Tr	Triplum (used for voice designation of motets)
Mo	Motetus (used for voice designation of motets)

Text Transcriptions

All text excerpts from archival sources are transcribed as meticulously as possible. Punctuation is used in the modern way to clarify textual meaning; names and proper names are always capitalized. Abbreviations and ligatures in Latin texts are transcribed as full words. However, abbreviations in Dutch texts such as 't are preserved, as they provide a picture of the general tone of a text. Numbers in account book entries in the original texts appear in Roman numerals. For the sake of clarity, they are displayed with Arabic numerals in both the transcriptions

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and the translations. Common abbreviations of currency as found in the majority of the account books are maintained in the transcriptions. These are lb. [pounds], s. [sous], and d. [deniers]. Two recurring terms specific to the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical institutions in general, and of cathedral and collegiate chapters specifically, are *domino/domini* and *socii*. *Domino/domini* is translated as "cleric/clerics"; *socii* appear as "fellows" in the translations.

A Note on Currency

The majority of the account book entries quoted in this study work with pounds (lb.), sous (s., shillings), and deniers (d., pennies). The Utrecht pound (*pond goede penningen*) after 1300 was valued 1 *livre gros Trournois*, which in turn was worth 12 deniers. It was, furthermore, equivalent to the new currency of the (golden) French shilling, introduced by King Philip VI of France in 1337.[6] Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Utrecht pound was linked to an earlier currency, the *oude schild*, equivalent to 4.5 grams of gold—a silver currency that was no longer minted. The value of one Utrecht pound was one third of 4.5 grams of gold.[7] The above-mentioned currencies were used as accounting units only. Cash in Utrecht was circulated in the form of silver coins called *wit* (albus) in the fourteenth century.[8] These were followed by the Utrecht *stuiver* in the fifteenth century, and both appear in the account book entries of confraternities cited in this study. Finally, the *cromstert* was named after a lion with an inward-rolling tail, being worth 2 *livre gros Tournois*. As with the Utrecht pound, all these silver coins underwent severe devaluation in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

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6   Currency in the northern Low Countries and elsewhere constantly underwent changes. However, it is true that the County of Holland and the bishopric of Utrecht in the late Middle Ages followed the coinage of Brabant, Flanders, and the kingdom of France. For a more detailed overview of currencies used in Utrecht around 1400, see Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk: De Kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997), 396–401. A tabular overview of currencies in use in Utrecht is provided in N. B Tenhaeff, *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom te Utrecht* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1946), LXIV.

7   G. M de Meyer, "Middeleeuwse munten en hun gebruik in de boekhoudingen," *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 3 (2000): 207.

8   As a reference, from 1395 to 1425 the pound in the account books of the cathedral was valued eight *wit*. Wilhelmus Hermanus Vroom, *De Financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen: In het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht* (Maarssen: G. Schwartz, 1981), 337.

Research Data and Recordings

A selection of data collected in the course of this research project is archived and publicly accessible at the online repository EASY. Recordings of a selection of pieces contained in *Uu* 37.I (see APPENDIX 1, 4. RECORDINGS) make up part of this dataset.

https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq

Introduction

Music fragments with late-medieval complex polyphony in The Netherlands were first discovered in Utrecht around 1900. At the time, enthusiasm about their (re)-discovery was great, not least because of the Middle Dutch texts that accompanied some of the music settings. Nevertheless, it took over sixty years until a musicologist conducted research on the fragments, transcribing and analyzing a single setting with Dutch texts. Edward Stam's assessment of this setting leaves one in no doubt as to its inferiority in comparison to the polyphonic repertoire from Italian-speaking areas:

> The setting is primitive, but rather consistent in its application of compositional rules... . The imperfect measurement and its perfect beats reminds one of our simplest folk songs, especially children's songs, in 6/4 of 6/8. . . . In my opinion, the technical aspects of the piece cannot be compared to those of the art of Italian Trecento[1]

The subordinate role that was attributed to complex polyphony found in The Netherlands may have been one of the reasons why so little thorough research was carried out on the fragments and their repertoire. Thus, for many years The Netherlands were thought to have played, at best, only a minor role in the Western European tradition of late-medieval polyphony.

Historically speaking, studies of medieval musicology have been mainly concerned with large manuscripts and the biographies of individual composers. Regions and their musical traditions were classified as either "central" or "peripheral," labeling them as important and influential, or insignificant and emulating respectively.[2] In response to

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1   Translated by the author. "De zetting is primitief maar neemt een duidelijke discipline tamelijk konsekwent in acht... . De imperfekte maat met haar perfekte maatdelen doet denken aan onze simpelste volksliederen, speciaal kinderliederen, in 6/4 of 6/8 maat... . Mijns inziens mogen de technische aspecten van het stuk niet vergeleken worden met die van de italiaanse Trecento-kunst." Edward Stam, "Het Utrechtse fragment van een Zeeuws-Vlaamse markt-roepen-motetus," *TVNM* 21, no. 1 (1968): 29.
2   See, for instance, Leo Treitler, "'Peripheral' and 'Central,'" in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to*

this "two-tier" classification, medieval musicology scholarship in the past twenty years concentrated increasingly on the study of fragments, transforming fragment studies into an important branch of medieval musicology. Recent research dedicated to the study of fragments include Martin Staehelin's work on the Notre-Dame fragments and Rodney Thomson and Michael Gullick's cataloguing of the Worcester fragments.[3] Studies focusing on fragment sources from the late Middle Ages include Michael Cuthbert's dissertation about *Trecento* fragments, Robert Klugseder and Margaret Bent's book on the Viennese fragments from the Veneto, and the project *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich (1340–1520)* run by Reinhard Strohm, Birgit Lodes, and Marc Lewon from 2011 to 2014.[4] All of these studies highlight a previously little-researched repertoire and contribute to a more holistic picture of the musical environment in the later Middle Ages. Using digital tools such as Photoshop and methods such as multispectral imaging research, some of these studies have been conducted with the most up-to-date scientific research techniques currently available. This study is a contribution to the ongoing discovery of the full complexity of surviving sources of medieval music fragments. The mapping, restoration (with the help of Photoshop), and analysis carried out for this study thus aim to help (re)-discover the music history of a region that hitherto was largely disregarded in the broader historiography of medieval polyphonic music.

Unlike the present-day, The Netherlands in the late Middle Ages was anything but a clearly-defined area. For this reason, this introduction seeks to provide background information and clarify terms (see FIGURE 0.1). To this end, I shall define terms used for the geographical and political area and provide a brief overview of the political situation. I will then summarize existing research on medieval musicology with a specific focus on complex polyphony in the region of the northern Low

Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003): 84–102.

3   Martin Staehelin, *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet - I: Die Notre-Dame-Fragmente aus dem Besitz von Johannes Wolf*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen - I: Philologisch-Historische Klasse (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001).

4   Margaret Bent and Robert Klugseder, *Ein Liber cantus aus dem Veneto (um 1440): Fragmente in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München und der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien* [*A Veneto Liber cantus (c. 1440): Fragments in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna*] (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012); Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006); Marc Lewon, "Vienna Fragments," *Musikleben - Supplement: News and Byproducts from the Research Project "Musical Life of the Late Middle Ages in the Austrian Region (1340–1520),*" accessed March 20, 2017, https://musikleben.wordpress.com/category/vienna-fragments/.

Countries. A specific discussion of the (re)-discovery and subsequent research concerning the fragment collections that form the substance of this study, alongside a summary of relevant aspects of the Middle Dutch language, complete the introduction.

Figure 0.1: Map of the political situation in the Low Countries around 1350 (map adapted from "Political Map of the Low Countries (1350)," Wikipedia, last modified March 12, 2017, https://goo.gl/u1oahn). `

Defining and Naming: From the Northern Low Countries to The Netherlands

The nation state of The Netherlands as we know it today has its roots in 1648 when, through the Peace of Westphalia, the War of Independence (1568–1648) between the Seven United Provinces and Spain came to an end. As a result, the European powers of the time recognized the Dutch Republic as a sovereign state, its borders much resembling those of The Netherlands today. The Seven United Provinces originally consisted of the provinces of the Duchy of Guelders, the counties of Holland and Zeeland, and the Lordships of Utrecht, Overijssel, Frisia, and Groningen. However, through the Peace of Westphalia, this further expanded to the circumjacent Brabant, Flanders (today's Zeelandisch Flanders or, in Dutch, Zeeuws-Vlaanderen), Limburg, and Upper Guelders. After a period of occupation by the French Republic, the region regained independence in 1813. From 1814 to 1830 William I of The Netherlands (1772–1843) ruled a territory called the *Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* [United Kingdom of the Netherlands], which rejoined the southern provinces with the north.[5] Its present-day territory, however, was finally consolidated in 1830 after the southern provinces separated. "The Netherlands" in this study will refer solely to the territory encompassed by the present-day nation state.

Another term frequently used in conjunction with The Netherlands and Belgium is the "Low Countries," relating to parts of five different present-day nation states: Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands.[6] It is not entirely clear how this designation evolved, but it is thought that the term was used by the Austrians at the time the region was ruled by the Habsburgs.[7] At the time, the "Low Countries" referred to less elevated lands as opposed to the homeland of the Habsburgs, which is dominated by hills and mountains.[8] In this study, a distinction is made between the southern Low Countries and the northern Low Countries. The definition and territorial inclusion of the northern Low Countries will be discussed shortly.

During the last forty years scholars have often underrated or misunderstood the complex political structures prevailing in the regions

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5 These were the Austrian Netherlands, consisting of Luxemburg, western Belgium, and Liège.
6 Hugo de Schepper, "The Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands," in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 1, Structures and Assertions (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 499–534.
7 The northern Low Countries were under Habsburg rule from 1482 to 1581; the southern Low Countries from 1482 to 1795.
8 John Everett-Heath, "Benelux," *Oxford Reference*, accessed March 16, 2017, https://goo.gl/nn6MGu.

Figure 0.2: Map of the Low Countries showing the borders of the northern Low Countries as defined for this study (map adapted from "Political Map of the Low Countries (1350)," Wikipedia, last modified March 12, 2017, https://goo.gl/u1oahn).

of the Low Countries and their influence on cultural developments therein.[9] In the past twenty years, medievalists of various disciplines have worked towards a more holistic historiography of the Low Coun-

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9   Karl Kügle, "Study Session 45: Redefining the Low Countries," in *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future: Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society London, 1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 571–73.

tries, redefining the political and geographical structure of this region. Against this background, more recent studies often use the term "Rhine-Meuse region" as a designation for regions in the Low Countries.[10] However, for the purpose of this study this geographical definition is centered too much on the south of the modern nation state of The Netherlands. Against the background of a wide range of already-existing nomenclatures for the region of the Low Countries, I will adhere to the term "northern Low Countries." In the *a priori* geographical definition of this term I include the counties of Holland and Zeeland, the diocese of Utrecht with the *Sticht* and the *Oversticht*, and the county of Guelders (see **FIGURE 0.2**). The county of Guelders will not be addressed in this study. The term "northern Low Countries" as presented above not only includes all the places important to this study, but also has one unifying feature: parts of the lands in the diocese and the principalities lie at, or below, sea level.

A Brief Note on the Political Situation of the Northern Low Countries Around 1400

Without doubt, the most important of the principalities within the northern Low Countries as defined above are the counties of Holland and Zeeland, which—together with the county of Hainaut—were ruled in personal union. Their two most important ruling dynasties in the period under consideration here are the houses of Avesnes originally from Hainaut (1299–1351), and the Straubing line of the house of Wittelsbach originally from Bavaria (1354–1433).[11] Both houses acquired the counties of Holland and Zeeland through marriage: The marriage of John I of Avesnes to Adelaide of Holland in 1246 ensured that the two counties were ruled by the same family. The marriage of Louis IV of Wittelsbach (Emperor Louis the Bavarian) and Margaret of Avesnes (1324) in turn was the reason for the transfer of the Avesnes domain to their sons William (ruled 1354–1388) and Albert (ruled 1388–1404), who, as Dukes of Lower Bavaria, also ruled the territories around Straubing. When Albert I of Bavaria (1336–1404) came to

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10 For example, see Helmut Tervooren, *Van der Masen tot op den Rijn: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Literatur im Raum von Rhein und Maas* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2006); Frank Willaert, "'Hovedans': Fourteenth-Century Dancing Songs in the Rhine and Meuse Area," in *Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 168–87.

11 For a detailed overview of The Netherlands and the surrounding countries, see Maarten Roy Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, *Nederland en het poldermodel: Sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Nederland, 1000–2000* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2013).

power in 1358, he promoted the expansion of the court of Holland in The Hague. It was only then that this court became the main residence of the counts of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut.[12] Under the Avesnes rulers, the family resided primarily in Hainaut, only paying occasional visits to the counties of Holland and Zeeland.

Ecclesiastically, the county of Holland belonged to the diocese of Utrecht with the city of Utrecht as the bishop's see.[13] Utrecht and some surrounding land (the *Sticht*), together with a larger area of land including the towns of Zwolle, Deventer, and Groningen towards the north east (the *Oversticht*), made up a self-contained political entity under the rule of the bishop, the prince-bishopric (Dutch: *sticht*, German: *Hochstift*) of Utrecht. As will be outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, a prospering local economy together with a high number of ecclesiastical institutions made Utrecht a highly competitive city in the later Middle Ages. Together with The Hague as the residential city of the count, Utrecht therefore belongs to the culturally most interesting hotspots in the northern Low Countries around 1400.

Important principalities in the vicinity of the northern Low Countries include the county of Flanders and the county of Brabant. Both these counties were ruled by the house of Valois-Burgundy from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards and thus belonged to the conglomerate usually referred to as Burgundy.[14] The cosmopolitan city of Bruges in the county of Flanders and the court of Brabant in Brussels play a particularly important role in the cultural landscape of the later Middle Ages. The nearby city of Cologne, moreover, was not only the ecclesiastical center of the Archdiocese of Cologne, but also the densely-populated home of a university of international repute. We are thus able to state that the south and southeast portions of the northern Low Countries were bordered by a number of economically, politically, and culturally significant centers.

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12 The architectural history of the court at The Hague is described in C. H. de Boer, "Hoe oud is toch Den Haag: Over de ouderdom van het grafelijk kasteel op het Binnenhof," in *Jaarboek 1980: Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe* (1980): 93–133.
13 The county of Zeeland belonged to the diocese of Cambrai.
14 The county of Flanders lost its independence in 1369 upon the marriage of Philip the Bold with Margaret of Dampierre; the Duchy of Brabant was inherited by Philip the Bold in 1430.

Past Research on the Music History
in the Northern Low Countries

Liturgical music in the northern Low Countries has been a field of continuous investigation in the twentieth century right up to the present day.[15] However, research into the environment in which complex polyphony blossomed has attracted only marginal scholarly attention. This has, among other things, been responsible for its absence in the greater discourse of the development and exchange of learned polyphony.[16] The following paragraphs contain a brief overview of the current state of research into polyphony from the Low Countries.

Two articles, written in 1986 and 1992 respectively, have drawn attention to the musical environment at the court of The Hague in its position as the northern residential place of the count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut. The first, by Antheun Janse, was a publication examining the musical milieu at the court of The Hague under the rule of Albert I, Duke of Lower Bavaria-Straubing.[17] Notwithstanding well-preserved archives of the court at The Hague, a sound study from a musicological perspective is still lacking.[18] The second—albeit

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15 A more detailed overview of studies on liturgical music in Utrecht is provided in Chapter 4. Important publications on liturgical music in the northern Low Countries include Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113) - mit einer Edition der Gesänge* (Boston: Brill, 2002); Wilbur W. Hollman, *The Maastricht Easter Play: A 12th Century Liturgical Music Drama* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1966); Ike de Loos, "Drama als liturgie - liturgie als drama," in *Spel en spektakel* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2001): 35–56; Ike de Loos, "Liturgy and Chant in the Northern Low Countries," *TVNM* 53 (2003): 9–47; Marcel Zijlstra, "Het Officie van Sint Adalbert: Visitekaartje van een middeleeuws abdij," in *Egmond tussen Kerk en wereld*, vol. II, Egmondse Studiën (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), 193–214. For a more detailed overview of publications on liturgical music in Utrecht in particular, see Chapter 3.

16 Largely based on secondary literature, Rob Wegman draws attention to the unwritten practice of two-voice discant in the Low Countries. A vast majority of the records mentioning discant singing, however, concern the period after 1450. Rob C. Wegman, "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500," *JAMS* 49, no. 3 (1996): 409–79.

17 Antheun Janse, "De hoofse liedcultuur aan het Holland-Beierse hof omstreeks 1400," in *Een zoet akkoord: Middeleeuwse lyriek in de Lage Landen* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1992): 123–34; Antheun Janse, "Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358–1404) in Den Haag," *TVNM* 36 (1986): 136–57.

18 Studies on history and art history in the past have likewise combed archives selectively. For instance, see D. E. H. de Boer, "Tussen Jacob van Minneken en Jorijs de beeldsnijder: De Hollandse bouwkunst omstreeks 1400," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (1994): 140–59; Anne-Maria J. van Egmond, "Opgetekend: Luxe objecten in de Hollandse grafelijke rekeningen" (PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, forthcoming); A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland: Portret van een adellijke elite in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2001); Frits P. van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer: Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1987); M. M. Tóth-Ubbens, "'Van Goude, Zelver, Juellen ende Anderen Saken': Twintig jaren Haagse tresorie-rekeningen betreffende beeldende kunst en

on a bigger scale—written by C. Lingbeek-Schalekamp, aimed to provide an overview of the kind of musicians, their number and their roles in major Dutch cities from the late Middle Ages to 1600.[19] His study of archival records includes the court of the counts of Holland in The Hague, the counts of Blois in Schoonhoven, and the count of Oostervant (Frank van Borselen) in addition to archival material from many cities, including Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Brielle.[20] The picture he draws sheds light on the employment of minstrels, singers, and also, to some extent, organ players. However, the large scope of the study led to rather superficial surveys of the musical environments in the respective cities. Further to these, Jan Willem Bonda conducted a similar study with a focus on Dutch-texted music sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth century.[21] His dissertation is an overview of the totality of sources with Dutch-texted music accompanied by a bibliographical review.

In addition to the studies that focused on the above-mentioned courts, research has also been conducted on the musical environment of smaller courts and ecclesiastical institutions with relations to ruling families. Much like Antheun Janse's archival study of the musical milieu at the court at The Hague, Bea van Kaaij-Huiber examined the musical activities at the court of John of Blois (1342–1381).[22] A reference to instrumental playing and dancing during one of John's visits to Rijnsburg abbey is the only indication regarding musical activity in a monastic institution.[23] Gerard Nijsten's study on the court of Guelders in the late Middle Ages includes the major cities of the Duchy of Guelders, Nijmegen, Arnhem, Zutphen, and Venlo.[24] The

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kunstnijverheid ten tijde van Albrecht van Beieren 1358–1378," *Oud Holland* 78, no. 1 (1963): 87–95; Jeanne Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland: Heraut Beyeren en de historiografie omstreeks 1400* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1995).

19 C. Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en muziek in Holland tot 1672: Een onderzoek naar de rechten en plichten van zangers, organisten, beiaardiers en speellieden, in overheidsdienst in de Nederlanden, in het bijzonder in Holland, tot 1672* (Rotterdam: Blok and Floor, 1984).

20 C. Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en Muziek.* Through an enfeoffment at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the "lands of Blois"—which lie within the territory of county of Holland—were ruled by the French aristocrat Blois family. The court at Schoonhoven served as the residential place during the regency of John II of Blois (ca. 1342–1381). In 1397, the lands of Blois fell back to the count of Holland. The lands of the counts of Oostervant lied adjacent to the county of Hainaut. Today they cover parts of the French Départements Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

21 Jan Willem Bonda, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen van de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996).

22 Bea van der Kaaij-Huibers, "Muziek en dans aan het hof van Jan van Blois (1342–1381)," *TVNM* 45, no. 2 (1995): 91–109.

23 Van der Kaaij-Huibers, "Muziek en dans," 100.

24 Gerard Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Tanis Guest (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

study dedicates one chapter to music and musicians, both at the court and in the above-mentioned cities.

The range of publications engaging with the subject of medieval music in Utrecht—in particular liturgical music and practices—is more extensive than that for the aforementioned locations.[25] One reason for this may be the bishop's see and an especially high concentration of ecclesiastical institutions within the city walls. The prolific publication activity notwithstanding, the episcopal city was never looked at from the perspective of a broader musical and cultural milieu within *and* next to the ecclesiastical environment.

We are thus able to state that there are no major studies on music life for the period prior to 1500 for any of the economically and politically important places in the northern Low Countries. This is in stark contrast to major cities and courts in the southern Low Countries.[26] The city of 's-Hertogenbosch, formerly the most northern city of Brabant, possesses a rich collection of archival material from the late Middle Ages. Most of the archival material concerns the wealthy and influential *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* [Confraternity of Our Dear Lady]. The musical past of this city and its well-known confraternity is very well researched for the early modern period.[27] Selected account book entries concerning music were published in 1923.[28] More cities for which significant musicological research has been carried out are, amongst others, Bruges, Brussels, Cambrai, Liège, and Tongeren.[29]

25 A detailed overview of the research regarding music in medieval Utrecht will be given in Chapter 3.

26 For the current purpose the term "southern Low Countries" first and foremost points towards the counties of Flanders and Brabant. The region, however, also includes the prince-bishopric of Liège, the county of Loon, the county of Gulik, the Duchy of Luxemburg, and the Duchy of Namen.

27 Studies published to the present day largely concern the early modern period, some of which also touch upon 's-Hertogenbosch's medieval music history. F. P. M. Jespers, "Van piperen en hogenconters: Muziek te 's-Hertogenbosch in de Renaissance," in *In Buscoducis - Kunst uit de bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch: De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance* (The Hague: Garry Schwartz, 1990): 519–23; Véronique Roelvink, *Gegeven den sangeren: Meerstimmige muziek bij de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw* ('s-Hertogenbosch: A. Heinen, 2002); Véronique Roelvink, *Gheerkin de Hondt: A Singer-Composer in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries* (Utrecht: Donaas Projecten, 2015).

28 Albert Smijers, *De illustre Lieve Vrouwen broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam: Alsbach, 1932).

29 Liane Renée Curtis, "Music Manuscripts and Their Production in Fifteenth-Century Cambrai" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991); David Fallows, "L'origine du manuscrit 1328 de Cambrai," *Revue de Musicologie* 62 (1976): 275–80; Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1988); Irmgard Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, vol. 11, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987); Catherine Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests: Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014); Catherine

The Transmission of Mensurally-Notated Polyphony
in the Northern Low Countries

The corpus of surviving sources of polyphony from the period around 1400 in the northern Low Countries consists of five fragment collections, all of which currently reside in The Netherlands. Three of these collections are in the possession of the University Library in Leiden (*Lu 2720*, *Lu 342A*, *Lu 2515* [1]). The university libraries in Utrecht and Amsterdam host one collection each: *Uu 37* (Utrecht) and *Au 64* (Amsterdam). The fragment collection in Utrecht, moreover, can be subdivided into three groups: (i) a group consisting of Mass settings, motets, and Dutch-texted songs (*Uu 37.I*); (ii) a set of fragments of French-, Dutch-, and Latin-texted songs (*Uu 37.II*); and (iii) a single fragment of liturgical chant (*Uu 37.III*). They were catalogued jointly as a single collection (*Uu 37*) because of their shared place of discovery.[30] Whereas minor studies were carried out on *Uu 37.II*, *Uu 37.I* has thus far attracted very little scholarly attention.

The collections kept in Leiden consist of Mass settings and motets alongside French- and Dutch-texted songs. *Lu 342A* includes four Latin-texted motets in fragmentary state on one-and-a-half folios. *Lu 2515* (1) similarly contains Latin-texted motets, in addition to a Credo fragment on two cut folios. Due to their excessively fragmented state, both these collections still await in-depth research. *Lu 2720* is a collection of French- and Dutch-texted songs on six bifolios similar to the one found in *Uu 37.II*.[31] The Amsterdam fragments—*Au 64*—are a compilation of excerpts of Johannes de Muris's treatise *Musica speculativa* (1323) and French- and Dutch-texted songs on two bifolios, to which Rob Wegman

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Saucier, "Sacred Music and Musicians at the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of Liege, 1330–1500" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005); Eugeen Schreurs, *Muziek uit de collegiale kerk van Tongeren: ca. 1300–1600* (Peer: Alamire, 2000); Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

30 I will return to this in Chapter 1.

31 Initial research on *Lu 2720* was carried out in the 1960s by Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius. In her 1969 article Wagenaar-Nolthenius provides an overview of the repertoire contained in *Lu 2720* and editions of a selected number of pieces. A few years later, some French-texted chansons in *Lu 2720* and *Uu 37.II* were included in Willi Apel's edition of all French-texted chansons. Willi Apel and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 53–I, II, III, CMM ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1970–1973); Helene Wagenaar-Nolthenius, "De Leidse fragmenten: Nederlandse polyfonie uit het einde der 14e eeuw," in *Renaissance-muziek, 1400–1600: Donum natalicum René Bernard Lenaerts* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, Seminarie voor Muziekwetenschap, 1969): 303–15. Selected songs from *Uu 37.II* and *Lu 2720* are discussed in Walter Kurt Kreyszig, *Ten Anonymous Vocal and Instrumental Compositions from the Late-Fourteenth and Early-Fifteenth Centuries: A Critical Edition* (London, ON: University of Western Ontario, 1980).

devoted an article in 1992.[32] The totality of the above-introduced fragments will be referred to as the "Holland fragments" in this study.

The similar content and page layouts of *Uu 37.II*, *Lu 2720*, and *Au 64* prompted Rob Wegman to surmise a connection between these collections. Their chansonnier character together with the occurrence of different languages—all the pieces are songs in French, Dutch, and Latin—make the origin and use of these fragments at the court at The Hague a likely scenario.[33] Apart from the small amount of codicological evidence Wegman himself provides, two other publications in particular support his assumption. These are Anteun Janse's article on the music life at the court in The Hague, and Jan van Biezen and Jan Pieter Gumbert's edition of a large part of the songs in *Lu 2720* and *Uu 37.II*.[34]

Being in an overall legible state and containing a considerable number of well-known songs, the French-, Dutch-, and Latin-texted chansonnier repertoire of *Uu 37.II*, *Lu 2720* and *Au 64* is connected to the trans-regional corpus of complex polyphony produced around 1400, as demonstrated by concordances with pieces from two of the major song-collections at the time, the Chantilly and the Reina Codices, amongst others. A focus on the less well-explored segments of the repertoire *Uu 37.I*—the Mass settings, motets, and Dutch-texted songs, preserved in the most versatile fragment collection—thus seems to provide a promising opportunity to highlight further otherwise unexplored aspects of the musical environment in the northern Low Countries. This study, therefore, concentrates on the thorough examination of the sub-collection *Uu 37.I*.

The Holland Fragments in Previous Scholarship

Utrecht was the first place in The Netherlands where polyphonic fragments caught the attention of modern scholars. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Jan van Dokkum (1868–1938), the librarian of the Special Collections at Utrecht University, discovered fragments with mensurally-notated polyphonic music glued to the front and back of several printed books from the sixteenth century. Van Dokkum approached the well-known Netherlandist Jacob Muller, who arranged for

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32 Rob C. Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony at the Court of Holland in the Early Fifteenth Century: The Amsterdam Fragments," *JRMA* 117, no. 2 (1992): 181–207.

33 Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony," 190.

34 Jan van Biezen and Johan Peter Gumbert, eds., *Two Chansonniers from the Low Countries: French and Dutch Polyphonic Songs from the Leiden and Utrecht Fragments (Early 15th Century)*, vol. 15, Monumenta Musica Neerlandica (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1985); Janse, "Het muziekleven."

the removal of the fragments from their host books. In 1906, Muller published an article containing a brief description of the fragments and their former positions in the host books, a description of the content, transcriptions, and a detailed analysis of all Dutch texts.[35] From Muller's text it is clear that sub-collections *Uu 37.I* and *Uu 37.III* were discovered first. The leaves of *Uu 37.II* were only found after a targeted search in similar books carried out by Muller and Van Dokkum. Despite Muller's thorough research, the fragments fell into obscurity until almost fifty years later, when the Dutch musicologist Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius (1920–2000) drew attention once again to the existence of the fragment collection *Uu 37* in her inaugural speech at Utrecht University.[36]

In 1965 Gilbert Reaney published an inventory of fragments preserved in France, Belgium, and The Netherlands in a journal article, which is also included in RISM.[37] However, specific information about either their palaeographical or codicological aspects is sparse. In the same decade, Metha-Machteld van Delft and Edward Stam wrote short articles about isolated settings in *Uu 37.I*: Van Delft published a transcription of the Gloria movement with the trope *Gaude superno nam assumpta*; Stam dedicated an article to the transcription and discussion of the Dutch-texted street-cries motet.[38] Both authors provide the reader with transcriptions in their appendices.

Some twenty years later, the Utrecht fragment collection caught the attention of Reinhard Strohm. In an article about Magister Egardus, Strohm included the transcription of a Gloria *Spiritus et alme* in *Uu 37.I*.[39] A few sentences were dedicated to *Uu 37.I* and its broader context in *Late Medieval Music in Bruges*.[40] Based on a number of loose textual

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35 Jacob Wijbrand Muller, "Brokstukken van middeleeuwsche meerstemmige liederen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 25 (1906): 1–60. Muller mentioned being in contact with the musicologist Florimond van Duyse, who said that he planned to publish the music of *Uu 37*. However, as Van Duyse died only four years later, in 1910, the work was never realized. Lenaerts René Bernard, *Het Nederlands polifonies lied in de zestiende eeuw* (Mechelen: Het Kompass, 1933), 3.

36 She voiced the assumption that the sub-collection *Uu 37.I* originates from the collegiate church St. Mary in Utrecht. Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius, *Nederlands muziekleven in de middeleeuwen: Rede* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1958), 17.

37 Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320–1400)*, vol. 2, RISM, B IV (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1969); Gilbert Reaney, "New Sources of 'Ars Nova' Music," *Musica Disciplina* 19 (1965): 53–67.

38 Metha-Machteld van Delft, "Een Gloria-fragment in de Universiteits-bibliotheek te Utrecht," *TVNM* 19, no. 2 (1961): 84–85; Stam, "Het Utrechtse fragment."

39 Reinhard Strohm, "Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts," *Atti del congresso internazionale "L'Europa e la musica del Trecento*, 6 (1993): 41–68.

40 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 105–106. The well-known Netherlandist Frits van Oostrom, conversely, rates the chanson repertoire of *Lu 2720* and *Uu 37.I* among the artistic development at the court at The Hague. Oostrom, *Het woord van eer*, 86–91; Frits

references and musical settings, he stresses the likelihood that *Uu 37.I* originated from the collegiate church of St. Donatian in Bruges. In two more publications, Strohm refers to *Uu 37.I* as a collection of Mass settings and motets—a so-called *liber motetorum* with ties to Bruges.[41] Thereafter, in the 1980s, research and scholarly publications concerning *Uu 37.I* ceased to be resumed until the start of this research project in 2013. Chapters 1 and 2 of this study are dedicated to the history of *Uu 37.I* and its thorough codicological and palaeographical (re)-examination, shedding fresh light on its origin and whereabouts, but also on its layout and internal structure.

Editions of a selection of Mass settings in *Uu 37.I* focusing on all legible—or partly legible—Mass movements were published by Gulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin in the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* between 1989–1991.[42] Since digital restoration techniques were not yet available to Cattin and Facchin in the late 1980s, parts of the repertoire contained in *Uu 37.I* were either transcribed erroneously or left out. The application of digital tools in the current study made possible improved readings and subsequent transcriptions of a selection of the repertoire. Fresh diplomatic transcriptions of these are provided in Appendix 1.

The (re)-discovery and early research history of the fragments kept in Leiden is more obscure than that of the Utrecht fragments. Whereas *Lu 342A* was part of a larger collection purchased at an auction in 1841 in Amsterdam, *Lu 2720* and *Lu 2515 (1)* were acquired in their current state as fragment leaves in the 1950s and 1960s from antiquaries in Amsterdam. Unfortunately, due to poor record-keeping, information on the provenance of the Leiden fragments remains limited. The deteriorated state and limited scope of *Lu 342A* are probably the reasons for the absence of published research. As a physical examination revealed, *Lu 2515 (1)* most probably originates from the Italian-speaking regions of Europe and is thus unlikely to be related to the corpus of fragments with ties to the northern Low Countries. *Lu 342A*'s previous verifiable whereabouts, conversely, was the convent of St. Ursula in Delft. This small city had a prosperous economy of which beer production and the cloth trade were the most important branches. However, due primarily to the absence of archival sources and the necessarily limited scope of

P. van Oostrom, *Wereld in Woorden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur 1300–1400* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2013), 382–85.

41   Strohm, "Magister Egardus"; Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *TVNM* 34, no. 2 (1984): 109–31; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

42   Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin, eds., *French Sacred Music*, PMFC, 23 A and B (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1989–1991).

this research project, I refrain from exploring the cultural environment in Delft in greater detail.

It can be assumed with some certainty that the Amsterdam fragments, *Au 64*, served as flyleaves in bindings, since traces of glue remain on both bifolios. There is no more information on their history available other than that they formerly belonged to a private collection and were catalogued at the University Library in Amsterdam in 1956.[43]

The Cultural Context

Based on the findings of the codicological and palaeographical analyses in Chapters 1 and 2, which strongly suggest Utrecht as the most likely place where the fragments were kept before they were used as binder's waste, Chapters 3 and Chapter 4 focus on exploring the broader cultural context of Utrecht in the period around 1400. This will broaden the perspective on *Uu 37.I* and put its genesis and use in context. It also provides the possibility to examine the cultural environment in the episcopal city as a whole. The last part of this study, Chapters 5 and Chapter 6, deal with the corpus of Dutch-texted polyphony and the close reading of a concise selection of pieces from the *Uu 37.I* and *Lu 2720* collections. Thereby, the various dialectal forms of Middle Dutch, often referred to as *diets* in contemporaneous parlance, seemed an essential analytical component to determine the geographic provenance of the song texts. However, this proved difficult to ascertain unequivocally, in the same way that the territories to be subsumed under the term "Low Countries" proved difficult to define. Today being recognized as a separate language, Dutch historically formed part of a continuum of dialects, all of which belonged to the Germanic language family. In the Middle Ages, Middle Dutch—as found in documents and literary texts from the Low Countries between roughly 1300 and 1600—is a subset of a larger number of dialects within the Germanic language family.[44] The main dialect groups of Middle Dutch as defined by literary historians in The Netherlands and Flanders today include Flemish, Brabantian, Limburgish, East Middle Dutch, and Hollandic.[45]

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43 Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony," 182.
44 Even though the demand for the definition of specifically Dutch language manifested itself in the sixteenth century, the clear separation between Dutch and German only took place in the nineteenth century with the establishment of the first official dictionary of the Dutch language. J. H. van Dale, *Taalkundig handboekje*, ed. Albert Hoffstädt (Utrecht: Van Dale Lexicografie, 1995), 5–6; Petrus Weiland, *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1799).
45 Middle Dutch texts from Utrecht show strong influences of the Hollandic dialect. For more

Written testimonies reveal that attempts were made to standardize the written language, especially at the court in The Hague around 1400.[46] The frequently changing political power structures, however, impeded the establishment of a consistent written language.

The last part of this study is devoted to the Dutch-texted repertoire in the northern Low Countries and, more specifically, settings with Dutch texts contained in *Uu 37.I*. Chapter 5 offers an overview of all Dutch-texted polyphonic pieces between 1350 and 1450 in the context of secular monophony and the production of literature and poetry in Middle Dutch. A close reading of one of the most peculiar phenomena within the corpus of Dutch-texted songs, the street-cries settings, is examined in Chapter 6. Whereas in *Uu 37.I* an entire motet (... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*) is devoted to an imaginary market scene, two songs in *Lu 2720* (*Des vasten avonds* and *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*) both contain one single street cry. The close reading of these pieces sheds light on the kind of repertoire in use in the northern Low Countries, investigating the similarities and peculiarities of these pieces in comparison with textually-related pieces from other linguistic areas to the south. The result of this close reading will not only allow for an analysis of the region's involvement in the musical exchange, but for the first time also identify a distinctive cultural taste of the upper echelons of society in the late-medieval northern Low Countries.

The dissertation consists of three parts: Part I (Chapters 1 and 2) covers the history and examination of the fragments *Uu 37.I*. Full diplomatic transcriptions and measurements of codicological features of *Uu 37.I* are included in Appendix 1. Part II (Chapters 3 and 4) provides insight into late-medieval Utrecht from an institutional and archival perspective, allowing the situation of fragments of *Uu 37.I* into their specific cultural context. Documentation about the archival research and the transcriptions of records are provided in Appendix 2. Part III (Chapters 5 and 6), finally, concentrates on the close-reading of a selection of Dutch-texted songs contained in the Holland fragments, full transcriptions of which are to be found in Appendix 3.

detailed information about the Middle Dutch dialects, see Matthias Hüning and Ulrike Vogl, "Middle Dutch: A Short Introduction," in *Of Reynaert the Fox: Text and Facing Translation of the Middle Dutch Beast Epic Van den vos Reynaerde* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009): 257–71.

46 Brigitte Schludermann, *A Quantitative Analysis of German: Dutch Language Mixture in the Berlin Songs Mgf 922, the Gruuthuse-Songs, and The Hague MS 128 E 2*, vol. 1, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, no. 338 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1996), 23.

Part One

History and Examination of The Utrecht Fragments NL-Uu 37.I

Chapter 1
Description and History of *Uu 37.I*

Of the five fragment collections kept in The Netherlands today—*Uu 37*, *Lu 2720*, *Lu 2515 (1)*, *Lu 342A*, and *Au 64*—the sub-collection *Uu 37.I* held by Utrecht University Library is the most diverse, both in terms of content and physical appearance.[1] This became especially evident after the completion of an initial physical examination of all the fragment leaves with mensurally-notated complex polyphony currently in The Netherlands. Due to the volume of material to be considered in relation to this project, *Uu 37.I* was chosen to stand at the core of this study.[2]

A number of techniques and methods were used to conduct the physical examination of the fragments. These include the classical physical examination with the naked eye during which features of the page layout and the script were measured, including an analysis of the music and the text script. Additionally, digital techniques for the restoration of highly deteriorated fragment leaves, alongside the application of Ultraviolet (UV) light to those pages with difficult-to-read content, were applied.

Methodological Considerations

The physical examination with the naked eye implies the measurements of the folios and the page layout, as well as the measurement

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1   An earlier version of this chapter has been published in 2014. Eliane Fankhauser, "A Collection of Collections: New Insights into the Origins and Making of the Utrecht Fragments, NL-Uu 37.I," *TVNM* 64 (2014): 3–29.

2   The genres contained in *Lu 2515 (1)* and *Lu 342A* are similar to those in *Uu 37.I*. That is, both fragment collections kept at the Leiden University Library include Mass settings and Latin-texted motets. Therefore, a physical examination of *Lu 2515 (1)* and *Lu 342A* has been conducted in order to assess to what extent *Lu 2515 (1)* and *Lu 342A* show codicological, palaeographical, and content-related similarities. Both fragment collections codicologically appeared to be unrelated to *Uu 37.I*. Their content, moreover, is too limited to serve as a reference for comparison. In light of the focus of this study, it has been decided to abstain from providing the full physical examination. Inventories and measurements are nonetheless included in Appendix 1.

and analysis of the music and text scripts. The text scripts are analyzed in accordance with Albert Derolez's milestone book *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, in which Derolez describes and elaborates on three types of scripts important for this study: *textualis*, *cursiva*, and *hybrida*.[3] Derolez's book is essentially an expansion and redefinition of the Lieftinck system.[4] This system differentiates between the above-mentioned script types, but was first and foremost based on manuscripts from the Low Countries.[5] For this reason, Derolez's book forms the theoretical framework by which the scripts are categorized.

The use of digital techniques in the study of medieval music fragments is still relatively new to the field, being developed over approximately the last fifteen years. Increasing interest in the subject prompted Julia Craig-McFeeley and Alan Lock to prepare a workbook on digital restoration with Photoshop in 2006.[6] Even though this method is widely used today, their workbook provides the only current publication on this topic, and Julia Craig Mc-Feely remains the leading expert in the field. In the current study, digital restoration techniques not only contributed to making visible previously illegible music and script, but also helped to reconstruct the scope of the fragment collections in their original condition.[7] As will be seen in the course of this chapter, the pasted-down pages in *Uu* 37.I are especially challenging to read, as, upon removal from the host books, some content remained on the wooden book covers. The image of the original page and the offset on the wooden book cover combined led to a substantial improvement of legibility in isolated cases.[8] In cases where digital restoration could not enhance readability, exposure to UV light brought to the fore content previously invisible to the naked eye.[9] Transcriptions of a number of pieces into modern notation that previously remained illegible are the direct result of a combination of digital restoration techniques and the application of UV light.[10]

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[3] Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[4] Gerard Lieftinck (1902–1994) was professor at Leiden University from 1963 to 1972.

[5] An overview and explanation of Lieftinck's system is to be found in the publications of Lieftinck's pupil, Johan Peter Gumbert. See, for example, Johan Peter Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 199–209.

[6] Julia Craig-McFeely and Alan Lock, *Digital Restoration Workbook* (Oxford: OSSC Publications, 2006).

[7] Adobe Photoshop CS6 was used to carry out restorations and reconstructions for this study. This was the latest version of Adobe Photoshop available at the time restorations and reconstructions were carried out.

[8] See restored images in the dataset archived at the certified online repository EASY, https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq.

[9] See repository at online repository EASY.

[10] See Appendix 1.

Other, more advanced techniques such as spectral imaging or hyperspectral imaging, which allow for the collection of spectral information of an image, were not used in this study. These techniques, time-consuming and costly as they are, would only have been of limited use for the reconstruction and evaluation of U*u* 37.I.[11]

The following in-depth study of U*u* 37.I will re-open the question of how exactly the fragment leaves are related to each other, and query the established view of considering all fragment leaves as belonging to a single source. This will be done by means of a detailed description of the physical layout in combination with an analysis of the music and the text scripts of U*u* 37.I. Based on paratextual features, such as the size of the writing blocks; the number and the size of staves; distances at which staves are applied; and remnant features of the original bindings, more precise relations between the fragment leaves than previously available will be deduced. Common features, such as the application of stitch marks on the fold and the presentation of voices on openings and individual folios, will allow us to draw further conclusions about the relationship the fragments have to each other as well as their potential use for study, rehearsal, and performance. I shall begin with a general overview and description of the fragment leaves and their content. Detailed descriptions including measurements of the respective individual leaves will be given later.

General Description of *Uu 37.I*

The full collection of U*u* 37 is the only collection of complex polyphony from the late Middle Ages kept at the Utrecht University Library.[12] Further to this collection, the University Library is also in possession of a number of important sources of chant, of which U406 is the best-known. A manuscript with ties to the Modern Devotion from around 1500, NL-Uu 16 H 34 also belongs to the collection of music manuscripts at the Utrecht University Library, dating from the later Middle Ages.[13] The extremely limited number of sources containing complex

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[11] The technique of spectral imaging is available at the Dutch National Archive (Nationaal Archief, NA) in The Hague. For an example of how spectral imaging is applied to manuscripts and early prints, see "Ketelaar's Day out," video, 8:56, May 21, 2011, https://goo.gl/86sWYi.

[12] This section provides an overview of the number, layout and condition of the fragment leaves in *Uu 37.I*. A detailed description of their layouts and contents is presented in the following section.

[13] Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113) - mit einer Edition der Gesänge* (Boston: Brill, 2002).

polyphony from the high and later Middle Ages and the early modern period at the University Library thus emphasizes the importance and special status of *Uu 37*—notwithstanding its fragmentary condition.

The fragment collection *Uu 37* is divided into three sub-collections according to genres and parchment sizes. This division was initiated upon the discovery of the fragments at the beginning of the twentieth century.[14] *Uu 37.I* consists of four bifolios, one folio, and one snippet containing Mass movements, Latin- and Dutch-texted motets, and French- and Dutch-texted songs. The four bifolios that belong to *Uu 37.II* are smaller in size than the bifolios in *Uu 37.I*. They include French- and Dutch-texted songs, in addition to one Latin-texted song. Finally, *Uu 37.III* consists of one single bifolio with chant.[15]

The six parchment leaves collected under the shelf mark *Uu 37.I* were thought to have belonged to one and the same source. There is little in-depth research conducted into this collection. While the majority of scholars who examined it were concerned solely with the transcription of single works or groups of pieces, Reinhard Strohm dedicated a few sentences exclusively to *Uu 37.I* and its broader context in his 1985 book *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*.[16] From a number of textual references as well as distinct musical settings, Strohm concluded that *Uu 37.I* was to be associated with Bruges:

> One fragment in particular, from a choirbook with mass movements, motets and secular songs, in the University Library of Utrecht (Uu 37I), may have been written in Bruges, or even be identical with one of the libri motetorum of St. Donatian's of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.[17]

Taking for granted the homogeneous nature of the fragment leaves and thus assuming that they belonged to one and the same manuscript, Strohm repeatedly refers to them as a collection of Mass settings and motets in other studies.[18]

Physical Characteristics of Uu 37.I

Uu 37.I consists of four bifolios (bifolios I, II, III, and VI), one single folio (folio V), and one tiny snippet of a folio (IV)—which may indeed also be a bifolio. This snippet is much smaller in size than the other

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14 See Introduction.
15 An inventory of *Uu 37* is provided in Appendix 1.
16 Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
17 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 105.
18 Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *TVNM* 34, no. 2 (1984): 109; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 69, 99.

fragment leaves.[19] Except for bifolio I, which contains contemporary foliation, the fragments do not display any foliation. The Roman numbering (I to VI) used in the secondary literature has been applied to the fragments with pencil, presumably in the 1950's when they were roughly ordered according to their content and format.[20]

All fragment leaves have undergone multiple, in some cases severe trimming due to their re-use in book bindings from the sixteenth century. Some are affected substantially, such as bifolio VI, while others appear to be nearly intact, only having been trimmed marginally. The readability of some of the fragments is seriously impacted in a negative way by external influences, such as traces of glue still remaining on the parchment leaves, and ink that has fallen off and is now found partially on the wooden book covers of the host books. Attempts, presumably undertaken in the early twentieth century, to make visible the text of some of the fragments by means of applying a chemical solution has resulted in the dark brown staining of the text lines of bifolio V and VI.

A multitude of genres can be found in *Uu* 37.I. The most prominent genre is that of the polyphonic Mass setting, represented by eight Glorias (five troped and three untroped) and approximately six Credo settings, all in various states of preservation.[21] There are also three Latin-texted motets and one Dutch-texted motet, in addition to four Dutch-texted songs. One French-texted three-voice song of superior rhythmical complexity, finally, appears below one of the Glorias.

In the entire fragment collection, only two pieces—a Gloria on bifolio I and the only French-texted song on bifolio III—are transmitted with a complete set of voices. All other entries lack one or several voices, which were originally located in preceding (or following) folios no longer present. Credo settings are exclusively transmitted on folio V and bifolio VI, a finding that was made possible through the application of digital restoration techniques and UV light. The bifolios, however, are damaged to such a degree that determining the number of Credo settings transmitted is impossible.

Except for the single folio V, which in its original state was slightly bigger than the folios of the other fragment leaves, the overall sizes of the parchment leaves were very similar to each other, all having an estimated full size of approximately 322 by 242 mm per individual folio. The

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19 More detailed descriptions of individual fragment leaves including measurements will be provided later in this chapter. For an overview of codicological features, see Appendix 1.

20 For a note on the foliation used in this study, see Appendix 1. In the following analysis I shall continue using the Roman numbering of the fragment leaves.

21 The reason why I can only give an estimate number for the Credo settings will be explained shortly.

layout is organized along the same single-column format throughout. Staves often slightly overrun the vertical guides on the right-hand side.

None of the fragments are illuminated, nor are there any marginal decorations. Lombard capitals in red and blue ink, however, are employed throughout. No erasures and only a single correction can be found, pointing to a very careful copying process.[22] The exact copying sequence within the set of fragments and within individual leaves is difficult to determine. The fragmentary state of the leaves and the fact that the leaves are not directly related to each other with regard to their content impede reliable statements about their sequence of copying onto the bifolios. Quire numerals or catchwords, if they were ever affixed to the leaves, are lost, and so are any leaf signatures. Any further traces of manuscript production apart from stitch marks and foliations are lacking or have been cut off.

Tracing the Fragments in Early Modern Utrecht Book Bindings

The fragment leaves of *Uu 37.I* were discovered in three prints from the early sixteenth century, where they served as flyleaves in the bindings.[23] Two books with the shelf marks *Uu L fol 54* and *Uu L fol 56* belong to a series of three volumes in total entitled *Repertorium Bertachini*. Printed in Venice in 1507–1508, they contain an index of canonic and secular law.[24] *Uu 106 C 2*, similarly belonging to a series of three volumes, contains a biblical text with comments of cardinal Hugo—*Continens textum Biblie cum postilla domini Hugonis cardinalis*—which was printed in Basel in 1504.[25] The only written testimonial we have concerning the original location of the fragments in the host books comes from Jacob Muller's essay published in 1906. Providing the reader with information about the discovery and the kind of material, Muller cites the titles of the host books together with the corresponding fragments.[26]

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22 On bifolio VI, folio 36/38v, an omitted word is added above the text.

23 The totality of fragment leaves contained in *Uu 37* were discovered in five different prints from the sixteenth century with religious and legal contents. The print in which *Uu 37.II* was found consists of a collection of three different texts on canon law entitled *Super Clementis*, carrying the shelf mark *Uu L fol 412*. Constituting a single fragment leaf, *Uu 37.III* was glued to the back of a series of a commented bible text. The first book of this series also contained fragments of *Uu 37.I*.

24 Johannes Bertachinus, *Repertorii Bertachini prima pars* (Venice: Paganinum de Paganinis, 1507); Johannes Bertachinus, *Repertorii Bertachini tertia pars* (Venice: Paganinum de Paganinis, 1508).

25 Conradus Leonturius, ed., *Secunda pars hujus operis: Continens textum Biblie com postilla domin Hugonis cardinalis* (Basle: Johann Amerbach, 1504).

26 Jacob Wijbrand Muller, "Brokstukken van middeleeuwsche meerstemmige liederen," *Tijdschrift*

Restoration reports do not exist, neither from the time of their discovery, nor from later restoration work executed on the books. Imprints on the wooden book covers, however, are clear proofs for the original positions of the fragment leaves.

Hard evidence about when and where precisely the prints were bound is lacking. However, the bindings and the flyleaves suggest that all of the host books were bound upon their arrival in Utrecht. Two of the three leather book covers (U*u L fol 54* and U*u L fol 56*) exhibit a rhomboid pattern with stamps in the form of a flower. The flower with four leaves is characteristic for the bindings of Dirck Claeszoon Roest *die boeckebynder* ["the bookbinder"], who was active as a bookbinder for the collegiate chapters of St. Jan and Oudmunster in Utrecht between 1503 and 1524 (see **FIGURE 1.1**).[27] The third host book (U*u 106 C2*) shows the characteristic rhomboid pattern, but has no flower stamps. Even though the bindings of our host books cannot be assigned to Dirck Claeszoon Roest with certainty, their binding in the first two decades of the sixteenth century by Roest in Utrecht seems highly likely.

Flower stamp on the cover of *Uu L* fol 54.

Flower stamp on the cover of *Uu L* fol 810.

Figure 1.1: Comparison of flower stamps on the covers of *Uu L* fol 54 and *Uu L* fol 810 (image source: Utrecht University Library, L fol 54 and L fol 810).

Owner of the Host Books

The first known owner of the host books was Evert van de Poll (Latin name: Everardus Pollio), whose name is written on the opening pages of all the host books (*ex donatione* Ev. *Pollionis*, see **FIGURE 1.2**).

Van de Poll was a respected lawyer in Utrecht and his family history is deeply entangled with this city. Nevertheless, only a few details are known about Evert van de Poll's life. For example, his date of birth is unknown, however, from his educational background it can be as-

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voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde 25 (1906): 1–2.

27 Abraham Hulshof and M. J. Schretlen, *De kunst der oude boekbinders: XVde en XVIde eeuwsche boekbanden in de Utrechtsche Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht: Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Bibliothecarissen en Bibliotheekambtenaren, 1921), 19.
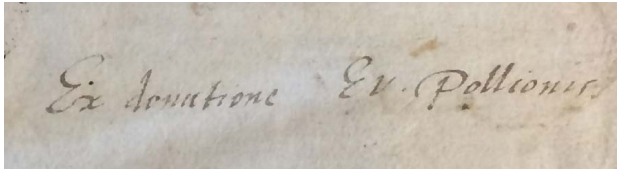
Figure 1.2: Exlibris Evert van de Poll (image source: Utrecht University Library, L fol 54).

sumed that he was born in the early 1560s. His father, Herman Evertzoon van de Poll, was a clerk of the city of Utrecht and his mother was called Geertruyd Thin. Family members on his mother's side also occupied official positions in the city of Utrecht.[28] Evert van de Poll studied law at Leiden University from 1580 to 1584, living in the household of his teacher and later friend, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Van de Poll also studied abroad between 1584 and 1590 in Bourges, Heidelberg, Basle, Frankfurt am Main, Padua, and Rome. In 1593 he returned to his city of birth, taking up the profession of lawyer.[29] In later years, Van de Poll founded the *werkhuis* [workhouse] in Utrecht in order to bring beggars in, off the street. The workhouse, which was situated in one of the buildings of the former Carmelite monastery, remained an important institution in combating poverty until well into the nineteenth century. Van de Poll never married, nor did he leave any legitimate offspring.

Van de Poll possessed an impressive book collection, which consisted of about 1000 volumes. As a dedicated lover of books, he purchased books on journeys and regularly visited the Frankfurt Book Fair.[30] Additionally, during his studies in Leiden, Van de Poll obtained books from the scholars Hugo de Groot, Johannes Meursius, and Justus Lipsius.[31] He also possessed books acquired from family members, canons and monasteries.[32]

After Van de Poll's death in 1602 his library became part of what was to later become Utrecht's municipal library.[33] The library was founded in 1584 as a consequence of the city's decision to confiscate the books of the cathedral, the collegiate churches, and all the monasteries in

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28 Samuel Muller, *Catalogus van het archief der fundatie van Mr. Evert van de Poll* (Utrecht: Bosch, 1919), 8.

29 Jan Tholen, "Zonder pracht of pomp: Evert van de Poll en zijn verlangen naar de muzen," in *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (2012): 74–75.

30 Koert van der Horst, L. C. Kuiper-Brussen, and P. N. G. Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1984), 181.

31 Van der Horst, Kuiper-Brussen, and Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken*, 180–81.

32 Van der Horst, Kuiper-Brussen, and Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken*, 28.

33 Handwritten testament from August 10, 1602. Tholen, "Zonder pracht of pomp," 80. A first catalogue of books in the possession of the library dates from 1608. Hubert van Buchell's collection is indicated by a capital letter B in front of the entries; Van de Poll's collection has the letter P in front of the entries. Pastores et Administri Eccesiae Trajectina, ed., *Bibliothecae Trajectinae catalogus* (Utrecht: Typis Salomonis Rhodii, 1608).

Utrecht in the course of the Reformation.[34] The library's stock grew considerably when the two lawyers Hubert van Buchell (1413–1599) and Evert van de Poll (ca. 1560–1602) both died in the first years of the seventeenth century, the former of old age in Cologne, the latter unexpectedly and at a relatively young age in Utrecht. The municipal library was renamed University Library when the university was founded in 1636. To the present day, the Utrecht University Library is in possession of Van Buchell's and Van de Poll's collections.[35]

Fragments as flyleaves: Their former positions in the host books
Upon the discovery of the music fragments at the beginning of the twentieth century, they were removed from their host books. Even though Utrecht University Library is not in possession of restoration reports, most of the original placements in the host books can be reconstructed due to imprints on the wooden book covers, which in many cases are very clear. This first reconstruction of a previous state *in situ* may be an indication of the way and order in which the fragments were used in the bindings.

Bifolio I was found in *Uu L fol 54*, where it was glued to the back cover. A considerable part of the ink, therefore, remains on the wooden cover.[36] In the front, the title page and the first page of a Latin-texted charter in dense *cursiva* script remains in its original position, albeit partially detached from the book cover. On the open side "*ta Rapud me Lathum*" is written in big capital *textualis* script. On the top left-hand side of the title page an inscription reads "*Jan Hoenso kanunik in St Maria dd. 1469.*" On the bottom right-hand side three more notes appear written in three different hands: "*Revalidatio pro lobe hor ...*"; "*Extensio sine expectation ...*"; "*Detur domino Arnoldo Petri de Leydis canono beatem Marie [Tr]ajectensis et scolastico euisdem eccles[ie]*" (see FIGURE 1.3). The first two inscriptions remain unclear, also due to poor legibility. Research on the last note has shown, however, that "Arnoldus Petri de Leydis" studied law at the university of Rome around 1447 and in 1452 was canon at St. Marie in Utrecht.[37]

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34 Van der Horst, Kuiper-Brussen, and Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken*, 179. For more information on the Reformation in Utrecht, see Chapter 3.

35 Van der Horst, Kuiper-Brussen, and Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken*, 179.

36 For images, see dataset archived at the certified online repository EASY, https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq.

37 Brigide Schwarz, *Kurienuniversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471*, vol. 43 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 171. A letter from Arnoldus Petrus de Leydis, a canon at St. Marie in Utrecht sent to the monastery in Rijnsburg on June 18, 1452 confirms that Arnoldus was a canon in Utrecht. "Abdij Rijnsburg," *gahetna.nl*, accessed October 28, 2014, https://goo.gl/xKi6X3.
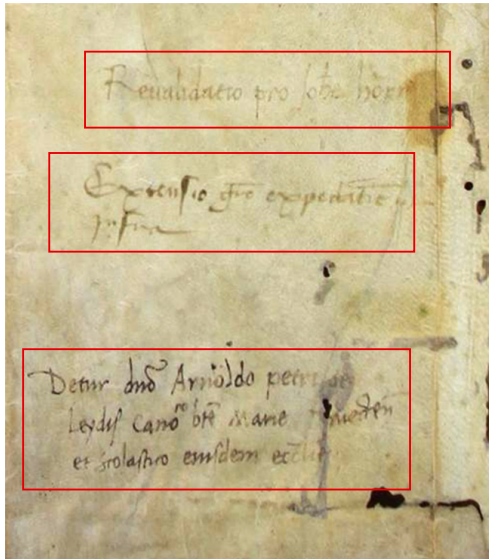
Figure 1.3: Notes on fly leaf on the front cover of *Uu L fol 54* (image source: Utrecht Universiy Library, *L fol 54*).

Three parchment leaves served as binding material in *L fol 56*. Bifolio II was placed in the front, and bifolio III in the back together with snippet IV. All served as flyleaves. The snippet was glued to the cover first, as it had the function of completing bifolio III, the right edge of which was cut out. It was either cut out long before the bifolio was used as a flyleaf for unknown reasons, or alternatively, it proved to be of some value at the time the host book was bound. Consequently, it was cut out prior to the incorporation of the bifolio in the host book. It is often observed in such artefacts that richly decorated initials were cut out and kept separately.[38] However, judging from the material under examination here the missing left-hand corner is more likely to have been used as binding material in another sixteenth-century binding.

Bifolio VI and folio V have served as flyleaves for *Uu 106 C 2*. Being restored in the second half of the twentieth century, modern, thick paper flyleaves in the front and the back of the book cover possible ink remnants. Due to the smaller size of this book in comparison to the previously discussed host books, bifolio VI is heavily trimmed—one fifth of the folio is lacking at the bottom and more than half of one of the folios has been cut off. It supersedes the trimming of other bifolios of approximately the same original size, such as bifolio I.[39] Folio V is a single folio, the original size of which conveniently matched that of the host book.

What can the reconstruction of the original location of the fragments in the host books tell us about the physical state of the fragments prior to their incorporation into the host books? The *Uu 37.I* fragments found in three different bindings may permit a preliminary conclusion concerning the way that fragments, being recycling material to be used for the binding of new books, were stored at binding workshops in the early sixteenth century. The multitude of flyleaves with completely different content found in those bindings—polyphonic music and a

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38 In *Gr 133*, consisting of one bifolio, an upper corner is cut out, most probably due to a richly decorated initial. Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," 110.

39 An image of bifolio VI is provided in Chapter 2.

charter—point to the keeping of recycling material in the form of piles of loose leaves rather than to whole manuscripts that were gradually dismantled for the manufacturing of bindings for prints. The book-binder would pick the leaves from a pile of randomly ordered leaves, first cutting them to the right size, then gluing them to the book. Our fragments are thus likely to have been dismantled from their original source before they were brought to the workshop. On the one hand, this reduces the possibilities to trace their origin, as the leaves could have been bought from different institutions located in different cities. On the other hand, it increases the chance that more leaves containing polyphonic music are awaiting discovery in other host books originating from the same workshop.

In Chapter 2, I shall concentrate on the in-depth examination of the fragment leaves of *Uu* 37.I. An analysis of their codicological and palaeographical features, in addition to a comparison between individual fragment leaves, will clarify the precise relations of the fragments to each other.

Chapter 2
Codicological and Palaeographical Examination of *Uu 37.I*

Tracing *Uu* 37.I's history in Chapter 1 revealed that the fragments were most likely in Utrecht before their incorporation into the host books. Moreover, this initial description of the individual fragments and their physical characteristics indicates that we are dealing with a diverse fragment collection, the leaves of which may, or equally may not, have been related to each other. The following in-depth codicological and palaeographical examination will yield insights into the page preparation and copying process, as well as the collection's internal structure.

Uu 37.I, Bifolios I and VI

At first glance, the two bifolios do not appear at all alike due to their differing states of preservation. Whereas bifolio I (present dimension 297 by 421 mm) is physically in an acceptable overall state, being only marginally trimmed, bifolio VI (242 by 336 mm) is in a very deteriorated state.[1] It is heavily trimmed, both vertically and horizontally. One folio still retains its full width, but one fifth is cut off at the bottom; the other folio has suffered even more severely, leaving us with no more than a slender strip, 111 mm in width and 242 mm in length. Moreover, the little content that remains of bifolio VI has proved difficult to decipher—only shadows of the text and the music notation remain on the recto and the verso side of both folios, making it practically impossible to read the content with the naked eye. Uninformed restoration techniques, such as the application of a chemical solution to certain text lines, have caused additional damage.[2] Even though some of the music notation can be discerned when exposed to UV light, the text remains largely obscure. Due to remnants of glue that remain on the pastedown side, UV light exposure to the other side of the bifolio does

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1 Images of *Uu 37.I* are accessible online. "NL-Uu Hs. 6 E 37 (Cat. 1846)," *DIAMM*, accessed May 30, 2017, https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/754/#/.
2 See Chapter 1.

make visible the content, but also clearly displays the shine-through of the pastedown side. This makes an accurate evaluation and later transcription of the content extremely difficult.[3]

However, upon closer inspection the two bifolios have two physical similarities: firstly, identically applied stitch marks along the fold; and secondly, a closely matching width of the writing block that is almost exactly the same in both cases. The following close examination of the two bifolios will further clarify the relationship between these fragment leaves.

Paratextual Features and Gathering Structure

Bifolio I's present dimensions are 297 by 421 mm; bifolio VI measures approximately 242 by 336 mm.[4] Since one of the outer margins of bifolio I is folded in instead of trimmed, it is likely that the width of this folio survives in its original state. A reconstruction of the original format thus reveals a projected full size of about 322 by 242 mm per individual folio for bifolio I. Given the corresponding features between bifolio I and VI mentioned above, it can be assumed that both bifolios had the same size. A reconstruction of the full bifolio VI is provided below (**FIGURE 2.1**).

av   36/38r   36/38v   ar

Figure 2.1: Reconstruction of original bifolio size *Uu 37.I*, bifolio VI, fols. av-36/38r and fols. 36/38v-ar (image source: Utrecht University Library, Uu 37.I, bifolio VI).

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3   See images in the dataset archived at the certified online repository EASY, https://doi. org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq.

4   Measurements are generally taken at the same position for every folio so far as can be determined. However, it is clear that the measurements given here must ultimately remain approximate values. Due to trimmings, shrinking of the parchment, and limited possibilities to take exact measurements, the actual size of individual features may fluctuate at a rate of about 0.5 to 1.00 mm. An overview of measurements of *Uu 37.I* is provided in Appendix 1.

Bifolio I contains a fully preserved writing block, measuring ca. 272 by 195 mm. As for bifolio VI, the remaining part of the writing block on the folio that survives less damaged, has a size of approximately 225 by 194 mm. Exhibiting nearly identical measurements for the width of the writing block (although not for the length due to severe trimming as described above)—194 mm for bifolio VI—it can be assumed that the size of the writing blocks for both bifolios may have originally been the same.

As for the page preparation, both bifolios show two vertical guidelines, which are overrun by the staves on both sides. Moreover, they are both ruled with head and baselines to limit the text width; these, too, remain clearly visible today. Head and baselines for the text are ruled across the full width of the bifolio, as can be seen in the fold where the drawn-through horizontal lines are clearly visible. Since both are clearly not inner bifolios, the simultaneous ruling of the folios, which only occurs on those two bifolios, may be indicative of a particular style of ruling.

The ruling on both bifolios likewise shows identical characteristics. Bifolio I is ruled with eleven red five-line staves per page with nine staves remaining on bifolio VI. The staves on both bifolios show the same rastrum width of approximately 13 mm, which is subdivided into staff-line spaces varying around a mean of 3 mm each.[5] Staves are applied to the pages at constant distances. Except for one distance between the penultimate and the ultimate stave that is considerably smaller (22 mm, see d10 in **TABLE 2.1**), distances between staves consistently range between 25 and 27 mm for bifolio I. The same applies

Folio	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10
17r (I)	26	27,5	27	27,5	27	27	25,5	24	26	22
17v (I)	27	26	27	27	26	27	26	24	26	21,5
26r (I)	26	27,5	27	27	26,25	27	26	23,5	26,5	21
26v (I)	25	27,5	27,5	27,25	26,5	27	25	23,75	26	22
36/38r (VI)	27	27,5	26	27	25,75	27,5	26	24,5	-	-
36/38v (VI)	27	27,5	27	26	26,25	27	27,75	24,25	-	-
ar (VI)	27	27	26,5	26,75	25,5	27	26,5	24,25	-	-
av (VI)	26,5	27	27	27	0	0	27	24,25	-	-

Table 2.1: Distances (d) between staves on *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I and VI measured in mm. (Distances between staves are always measured from the uppermost stave line to the next uppermost stave line.)

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[5] Distances between stave lines are measured top line to top line.

to the remaining staves of bifolio VI. Despite the lack of the last two staves—the distance between which could have served as one important feature with which to prove their shared origin—the almost identical distances between the staves may nevertheless serve as additional evidence for their codicological closeness.

Bifolios I and VI both show evidence of an original foliation in the middle of the top margins written in red ink. Bifolio I carries the original foliation 17 and 26 in Arabic numerals. Therefore, the bifolio probably was the outer or second outer bifolio of at least a quintern, possibly a sextern (see **FIGURE 2.2**). The foliation on bifolio VI has vanished almost completely, which makes its deciphering extremely challenging. Viewed up close and further brought to the fore with the help of digital restoration techniques, it appears that the first numeral must be a three; the second could be a six or an eight. Hereafter, I shall refer to the individual folios of bifolio I and VI by using their original foliation (17 and 26 for bifolio I and 36/38 for bifolio VI). I shall refer to the slender strip of un-foliated parchment that remains of the second folio of bifolio VI as ar (a recto) and av (a verso) respectively. I abstain from providing a reconstruction of the gathering to which bifolio VI belonged since too little information could be extracted from the remnants of the bifolio, thus leaving too many questions unanswered.
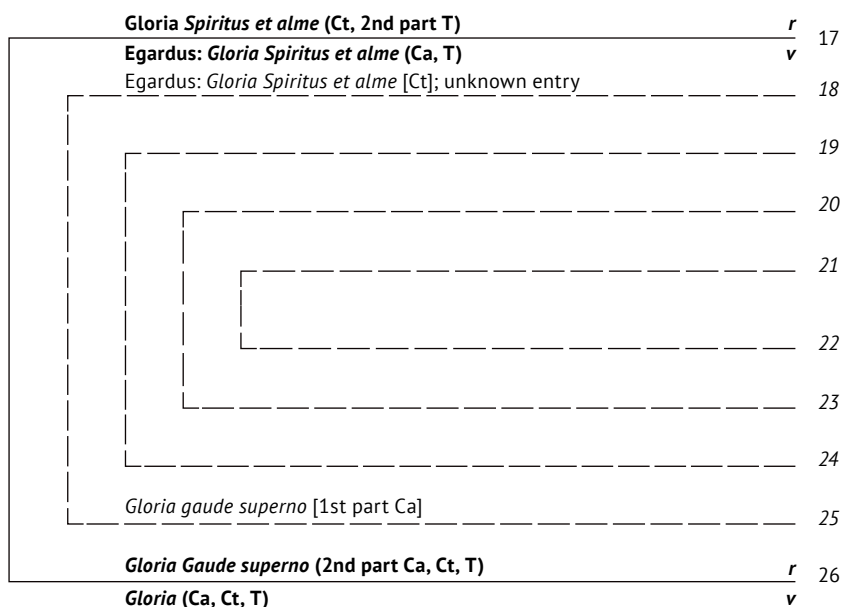
Figure 2.2: Reconstruction of gathering *Uu 37.I*, bifolio I (image by the author).

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
1	Uu 37.I	17r (Bifolio I)	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	O	[Ca],[6] {Ct}, {T}			
2	Uu 37.I	17v (Bifolio I)	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	O	{Ca}, [Ct], {T}	*PadA; PadD*	Magister Egardus	
3	Uu 37.I	26r (Bifolio I)	*Gloria: Gaude superno nam assumpta*	O	{Ca1, Ca2}, Ct, T			Voice division in the cantus; unknown Marian trope (feast *Assumptio beatae mariae virginis*)
4	Uu 37.I	26v (Bifolio I)	*Gloria*	O	Ca, Ct, T			Partially panisorhythmic
5	Uu 37.I	36/38r (Bifolio VI)	*Credo*	O	Ca, {Ct}, [T]			Partially legible under UV light; mensuration changes
6	Uu 37.I	36/38v (Bifolio VI)	*Credo*	O	Ca, {Ct}?, [T]			Illegible even under UV light because of shine-through of the reverse page
7	Uu 37.I	ar (Bifolio VI)	*Credo?*	O	{Ct or T}			Most of the bifolio cut off
8	Uu 37.I	av (Bifolio VI)	*Credo: de rege*	O	{Ca}	*Apt; CA B 166; CA B 56; Cividale 98; Bbc 971; Iv; Lu 2515; Padua 7,14; Roch44; Solsona 109; Toulouse 94; Trém*	Sortes	Most of the bifolio cut off

Table 2.2: Inventory of *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I and VI.

The relatively distant numbering of the folios—17 and 26 on the one hand, and 36/38 on the other—permits a few conclusions. Firstly, the foliation indicates that the original source was extensive, having well over thirty folios. Secondly, the foliation of bifolio I reveals that the gathering to which it originally belonged must have been a quintern or larger. Regardless of how many gatherings made up the first sixteen folios (most probably two), they must have contained a differing number of bifolios from the gathering originally containing bifolio 1726.

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6 Symbols for the designation of voices are listed in Appendix 1.

Bifolio	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8
I	(15)	35	52	52	52	53,5	(27,5)	cut off
VI	(15)	35	52	51	52	(25)	cut off	cut off

Table 2.3: Comparison of distances (d) between stitch marks along the fold on *Uu 37.I,* bifolio I and VI.

Most likely, the first two gatherings were regular quaterns, consisting of four bifolios each. Yet, the sixteen proceeding leaves could also have been divided in two irregular gatherings of three and five bifolios, or five and three bifolios respectively. In fact, any division is possible, as we have no information about the size of the surviving gatherings. However, we may reliably consider them the third and fourth gathering of the original collection. Nothing can be said about the full scope of this collection, but even at three to four gatherings it would have been substantial. There is thus compelling reason to assume that the original source was structured irregularly, consisting of gatherings with an inconsistent number of bifolios.

Both bifolios share a number of page preparation and binding features that together strengthen the assumption voiced earlier that they are closely related. Most importantly, both bifolios have clearly visible stitch marks appearing as rips along the fold. While the ones on bifolio I exhibit a length of 10 mm, those on bifolio VI are slightly smaller with a length of ca. 6–7 mm. As visible in **TABLE 2.3**, the remaining five stitch marks on bifolio VI are applied at precisely the same distances as on bifolio I (for a visual comparison, see also **FIGURE 2.3**). The staves on both bifolios, moreover, are applied with strikingly similar distances between—varying from 26 to 27 mm, as stated earlier (see **TABLE 2.1** above).

Figure 2.3: Comparison of stitch marks along the fold. Folded bifolio VI superimposed on bifolio I (image source: Utrecht University Library, *Uu 37.I*).

Scripts and Scribes

Music and text on bifolio I are written in black ink with red rubrication and passages of red notes. Over the centuries, the black ink has taken on a slightly brownish shade. As for bifolio VI, ink colors are more difficult

to determine. The remaining shades suggest, however, that the main part of the text and music must have been copied in black ink. Traces of red ink appear occasionally.

Text Script
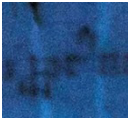
The text script of bifolio I is a *textualis* that shows few individual characteristics. Nevertheless, certain individual letterforms stand out. These are the lower case letter *x* with a loop on the descender, and the lower case letter *g*, which has a rather angular 8-shape and an upward final stroke at the right-hand side. Furthermore, the dot on the *i* is drawn out with a hairline, and the letters *f* and straight *s* stand on the baseline. The common abbreviation for the word *propter* with a loop below the baseline on the left-hand side can be found regularly, whereas the 9-shaped *-us* abbreviation is only applied occasionally. The vertical alignment of the script corresponds well with the vertical guide lines. Together with the uniform shapes of individual letters, we are able to state that we are dealing with a well-trained, skilled scribe.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with deciphering the content, the reasons for which were given above, the UV images of bifolio VI reveal that, in all likelihood, the same scribe was responsible for the copying of both bifolios. This can be deduced from a number of similarities in layout and letter shapes. The most striking similarity in the layout of the script is the shape and size of the capital letter Q. Having a perfect round shape and an open lobe on the baseline, the letter Q appears on both bifolio I and on bifolio VI (see **TABLE 2.4**).
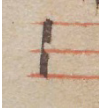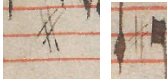
The deteriorated state of bifolio VI does not allow for further comparisons concerning characteristic individual letter shapes as described above for the text script on bifolio I. The abbreviated word *propter*, however, appears twice on folio 36/38r in sufficient legibility. In both cases, it shows a loop below the baseline on the left-hand side (see **TABLE 2.4**). This acts in favor of attributing the texts on bifolios I and VI to a single hand.

Music Script

The music script—mensural notation in black and red ink—on bifolio I is as uniform—and therefore as unremarka-

	bifolio I	bifolio VI
lower case letter *x*		illegible
lower case letter *i*		illegible
lower case letter *g*		
propter		
capital letter *Q*		

Table 2.4: Comparison notational features in the text of Uu 37.I, bifolio I and VI.

	Bifolio I	Bifolio VI
c-clef		
Longa		
Breve		
Semibreve		
Minim		
Sharp		none
Flat		none
Ligature		
Custo		
Prolatione minoris, tempus perfectum	none	
Prolatione minoris, tempus imperfectum	none	

Table 2.5 Comparison notational features music of *Uu 37.I*, bifolio I and VI.

ble—as the text script. Ascending as well as descending stems are consistently upright. Ascending stems appear to occur in two shapes. They are either long and thin, or short and wide. The bodies of breve, semibreve, and minim note shapes are uniform and mid-sized; breves tend to slant slightly downwards. The shapes of the ligatures are even; strokes of c-clefs are slightly descending. Accidentals have somewhat more characteristic shapes. Sharps appear in two different guises. On bifolio I, folio 17v, the only occurring sharp has a tilt of approximately 30 degrees backwards. On bifolio I, folio 26r, it stands upright, taking the common modern shape. Flats are regularly applied. Written in a one-stroke ductus and having an open lobe, they are fairly small in size in comparison to the size of the notes.

The music script on bifolio VI shows essentially the same characteristics. Despite the lack or illegibility of accidentals—a comparison of which may have yielded compelling arguments for the identification of the hand—the consistent upward positions of the stems and middle-sized, well-formed note bodies suggest that the music hand on bifolio VI is identical to the hand on bifolio I (see **TABLE 2.5**).

There is one type of custos found in both bifolios. Its form is curled, ending in a round, looped check.[7] This form of custos does not change much throughout the folios. However, custo marks on

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7 Terminology is taken from Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006).

bifolio VI, while having the same shape, at times show a more spacious loop, the descenders of which often clearly exceed the baseline.

A comparison between the ink shades of the text and the music notation, finally, reveals that the two resemble one another closely. Since the ductus of many individual letter and note shapes on bifolio VI appears to be congruent, I propose one scribe to be responsible for the copying of bifolios I and VI. Subtle variations occurring in single letters and note body shapes may be caused by two different copying stages. It is, however, clear that, without applying techniques such as spectral imaging, no further statements about the scribe(s) and the copying stages can be made.

Content

Bifolios I and VI exclusively transmit Mass settings, and among those Gloria and Credo settings only. One untroped and three troped Glorias—two with the relatively common *Spiritus et alme* trope and one setting a Marian trope—constitute the content of bifolio I, while fragments of four Credo settings are to be found on bifolio VI. It is currently known that only two of those eight Mass settings have concordances. Reinhard Strohm discovered a concordance between the troped Gloria *Spiritus et alme* on bifolio I, folio 17v, and the Italian sources *Pad*A and *Pad*D, in which the piece is ascribed to Magister Egardus.[8] Strikingly, in the Italian sources the piece seems to be transmitted in an identical layout. Moreover, the repertoire and its organization on the pages are very similar to that of the Utrecht fragments. Mass movements are located on the top while secular songs were mostly copied at the bottom of the pages. *Pad*A and *Pad*D originally belonged to the same source and were almost certainly copied in the monastery of St. Giustina in Padua.[9] Finally, for one of the Credo settings on bifolio VI, folio av, Michael Cuthbert and I found a concordance with the cantus of the widely-disseminated Credo *de rege* ascribed to Sortis.[10] The remaining entries on bifolios I and VI are *unica*.

To summarize, we thus deal with two bifolios that presumably belonged to a quite extensive collection of Mass settings of at least four—

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8 None of the versions of this Gloria *Spiritus et alme* are transmitted in full. Whereas in *Uu 37.*I the verso page of an opening is transmitted, in *Pad*A and *Pad*D the recto pages survive. Bernhold Schmid, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer Gloria-Motette von Engardus in den Paduaner Fragmenten," *Die Musikforschung*, no. 38 (1985): 195–201; Reinhard Strohm, "Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts," *Atti Del Congresso Internazionale "L'Europa e La Musica Del Trecento"* 6 (1993): 41–68.

9 For a detailed description of *PadA/PadD* and its ties to Padua see Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 116.

10 For concordances, see Table 2.2 above and the inventory in Appendix 1.

possibly more—gatherings. Foliation and content—Glorias on bifolio I and Credo settings on bifolio VI—provide evidence that the two bifolios once belonged to two different sections of a convolute dedicated, first and foremost, to Ordinary settings, at least in gatherings 3 and 4. The two gatherings were probably organized along the Kyriale principle, combining individual pieces in a series of genre-specific fascicles, as opposed to the later trend of forming Gloria-Credo pairs evident in sources such as J.II.9 or Q15.

Uu 37.I, Bifolio III

Bifolio III is a parchment bifolio, the pastedown side of which is illegible and has undergone substantial trimming. I designate the single folios as folio 1 and folio 2. Besides the trimming of the margins folio 1 has a cut-off upper right-hand corner, most probably caused by the need for a smaller piece of parchment in another binding.[11] Moreover, almost a fifth of folio 2 is cut off vertically along the right-hand side. Digital restoration executed on the pastedown side has improved legibility significantly. However, a close examination of features such as text and music script or the shape of initials must remain limited to the two well-preserved folios 1r and 2v. All of the red stave lines have almost vanished beyond recognition.

Paratextual Features
Bifolio III's overall present size is 290 by 405 mm. Folio 1 measures 290 by 175 mm; folio 2 takes up the bigger part of 290 by 228 mm. Bifolio III has a nearly identical size to the writing block and a similar, though slightly smaller, width of the single folio to bifolio I. Since bifolio I's outer margin most probably is untrimmed or only slightly trimmed, I assume that only a sliver of the margin has been cut from folio 1. I therefore propose an original size of 320 by 240 mm for the single folio, a dimension that is virtually identical to the original dimension proposed for bifolio I.

None of the writing blocks on bifolio III are fully preserved. Folio 2v contains the most complete one with only a small amount of content missing, measuring approximately 250 by 190 mm; the two upper stave lines of the first stave are cut off. However, the height of the cut-off first stave can be easily reconstructed. Adding the height of the missing portion results in an original writing block size of 263 by 190 mm. The

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11 See Chapter 1.

Folio	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8
I	(15)	35	52	52	52	52,5	(26)	cut off
VI	(16)	35	52	51	52	(25)	cut off	cut off
III	cut off	(22)	50	49	50	50	33,5	(18)

Table 2.6: Distances (d, millimeters) of stitch marks along the fold on *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I, VI, and III.

writing block on bifolio III thus has a markedly smaller height (263 mm for bifolio III and 272 mm for bifolio I) and is slightly smaller in width than that of bifolio I (190 mm for bifolio III and 195 for bifolio I). The difference in height is a result of the slightly narrow spacing of the staves on bifolio III. Whereas the staves on bifolio I are applied with distances varying around a mean of 24 and 27 mm, those on bifolio III show distances ranging between 24 and 26 mm. Interestingly, a considerably smaller space between the penultimate and the ultimate stave of approximately 22 mm can be found on both bifolios.

Similar to bifolio I, bifolio III is ruled with eleven red five-line staves per folio. Staves on both bifolios have the same height (13 mm). The rastrum used to draw the staves on bifolio III was slightly uneven, producing marginally bigger spaces between lines 2, 3, and 4. The top stave on every folio is indented for the later application of initials. Since all folios begin with a new voice, it cannot be determined whether the first staves were indented by default or whether the ruling was flexible depending on the text previously copied to the folios—as is the case for bifolio I.

Any potential foliation on bifolio III was most probably cut off as a consequence of the trimming process, leaving us with an unfoliated bifolio, the position of which in the gathering we can only surmise as not innermost. This is evident from the contents of the individual folios of bifolio III, which are discontinuous.

The stitch marks along the fold are spaced similarly to those found on bifolios I and VI, yet not identically. Except for irregularities caused by trimming, which affects the measurement of d1, d2, d7, and d8, they show a regular distribution of distances of approximately 50 mm, thus deviating slightly from the distances on bifolio I, as evident from TABLE 2.6. Vertical guidelines are partially present on bifolio III, making it likely that the pages were prepared in a similar way to those of bifolios I and VI, applying horizontal guide lines for the limitation of the text to the whole bifolio at once.

	bifolio III	bifolio I
lower case letter *x*		
lower case letter *i*		
lower case letter *g*		
propter		
capital letter *Q*		

Table 2.7: Comparison notational features text of Uu 37.I, bifolio I and bifolio III.

Scripts and Scribes

Text Script

The individual that owned this text hand wrote a formal, unremarkable *textualis* in black ink, abstaining from eccentric pro-liferation. Characteristic features of his or her script are the frequent use of the lower case letter *x* with and without loop on the descenders, the drawn-out dot of the lower case letter *i*, and the angular-shaped lower lobe of the letter *g* (see **TABLE 2.7**). The script is marginally tilted towards the vertical axis defined by the two guidelines. Among a few abbreviations the word *propter* appears, hav-ing the same characteristic loop below the baseline on the left-hand side as those on bifolios I and VI (see **TABLE 2.4** above). Capi-tal letters at the beginning of new verses are bigger sized and rubricated. Just as on bi-folios I and VI, the capital letter Q has an open lobe on the base line. However, contrary to capital letters on the first few staves on bifolio I, folio 26r—which are often considerably bigger than the rest of the script—capital letters on bifolio III as well as on bifolio VI stay within the regular size of the script.

Music Script

The music script in black and red mensural notation is copied by one skilled hand, again showing little individual features. Most of the red ink on the side of 2v-1r has been absorbed by the preceding paper page, being the very last page of the print and thus pressing on the bifolio with the full weight of the host volume.[12] Just as in bifolio I, the note bodies of the breve, the semibreve, and the minim are uniform and mid-sized (see **TABLE 2.8**). We find well-proportioned, rather long stems for the minims, which all have a perfect vertical alignment. Ligatures

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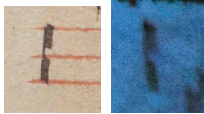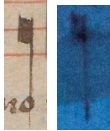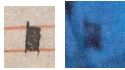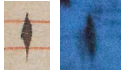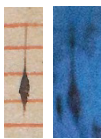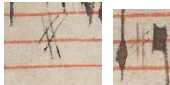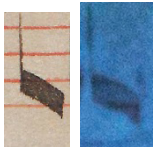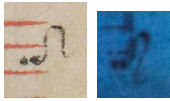
12 The absence of red notes in the music make the deciphering and subsequent transcription of the pieces—in particular the French chanson on folio 1r—extremely challenging. This is one of the reasons why Willy Apel failed to transcribe the chansons accurately in his 1954 edition of French-texted chansons from the fourteenth century. A further attempt to transcribe the piece and match the voices was also unsuccessful. It seems that the end of the canonic inscriptions, the last words of which are cut off, is crucial for the correct performance of the piece. Willi Apel and Samuel N. Rosenberg, eds., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century: III Anonymous Virelais, Rondeaux, Chansons, Canons*, vol. 53–III, 3 vols., CMM ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

are even, however, their endings are rounded. Accidentals here are applied very sparsely. There are no flats, and sharps are slanted backwards by 30 degrees. A similar shape of the sharp is also found on bifolio I. The custos, finally, is curled with a round, looped check. Again, it closely resembles the type of custos found on bifolios I and VI.

On bifolio III, folio 2v, the scribe indicated imperfected notes as void notes despite red notes appearing on all other folios of bifolio III. Since red notes seem to be the standard way of indicating mensural changes as apparent from bifolio III, folio 1r, it is likely that, at the moment of writing the music, red ink was not available. Alternatively, the scribe could have copied from a source that used void notes for imperfect notes, simply imitating what he had found on the original. However, judging from the music and text script, which both point to an experienced scribe, the latter seems rather unlikely. The occurrence of both void and red notes to indicate mensural changes is characteristic of bifolio III and does not occur in either bifolio I or VI.

The characteristic features of the text and the music script on bifolio III pointed out above coincide with those of the text and the music script found on bifolios I and VI, which I have assigned to Scribe A. Very similar ink shades on bifolios I, VI, and III furthermore point to the possibility that all entries were made by one scribe. However, subtle differences in the page preparation as well as in a number of other paratextual features between bifolio III on the one hand, and bifolio I and VI on the other—as described above—suggest that bifolio III was created in another period of copying activity than bifolios I and VI.

	Bifolio I and VI	Bifolio III
c-clef		
Longa		
Breve		
Semibreve		
Minim		
Sharp		
Flat		
Ligature		
Custo		

Table 2.8: Comparison notational features music Uu 37.I, bifolios I and VI and bifolio III.

Content and Gathering Structure

Bifolio III contains four Glorias, two of which are troped, complement-ed by a French-texted chanson (see **FIGURE 2.4** and **TABLE 2.9**). The two troped Glorias can be sorted into one Gloria with the trope *Spiritus et alme* and one with the *Jubilatio* trope.[13] The untroped Gloria on folio 2v has a concordance with a Gloria preserved in *Ox56*. *Ox56* consists of four folios, heavily trimmed and badly rubbed. They remain glued to the front and the back of the host book—which was believed to have originated in Venice. Although we do not know for certain, Michael Cuthbert was able to place *Ox56* among the circle of sources "with some ties to Padua or its influence" due to the repertoire and the two notes of possession that indicate that the book in the fifteenth century belonged to the Venetian family Barbo.[14] The Barbo family was possi-bly connected to Ludovico Barbo, who reorganized the Abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua.[15]

Gloria [Ca, T]

***Gloria* (Ct); *La grand doulcour* (Ca, Ct, T)** 1

***Gloria Jubilatio* (1st part Ca, 1st part T)**

Gloria Jubilatio [2nd part Ca, 2nd part T]

Gloria Jubilatio [Ct]; unknown entry

unknown number of bifolios in between

Gloria Spiritus et alme [Ca, 1st part T]

***Gloria Spiritus et alme* (Ct, 2nd part T)** 2

***Gloria* (Ca, T)**

Gloria [Ct]; unknown piece?
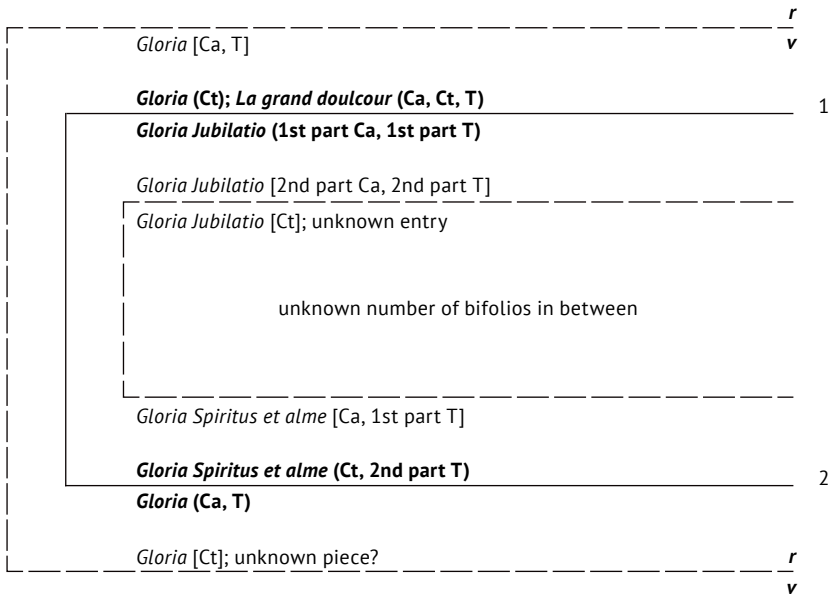
Figure 2.4: Reconstruction of gathering *Uu 37.I*, bifolio III (image by the author).

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13 The trope text and additional information is provided in Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister, eds., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 47 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1905).
14 Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 187.
15 Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 185–86.

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
1	*Uu 37.I*	1r (Bifolio III)	*Gloria*	O	[CaI], [CaII?] Ct, [T]			
2	*Uu 37.I*	1r (Bifolio III)	*La grand doulcour, le plaisir et la joye*	R	{Ca}, {Ct}, {T}			Canonic inscription in the contratenor. Apel's and my own attempt to transcribe the piece remained unsuccessful
3	*Uu 37.I*	1v (Bifolio III)	*Gloria: Jubilatio*	O	{Ca}, [Ct], {T}	*Q15; Ven145*	Hubertus de Salinis	Mostly illegible
4	*Uu 37.I*	2r (Bifolio III)	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	O	Ca, [Ct], {T}			
5	*Uu 37.I*	2v (Bifolio III)	*Gloria*	O	{Ca}, [Ct], T	*Ox 56*		

Table 2.9: Inventory of *Uu 37.I*, bifolio III.

Next to the concordance with *Ox56*, Reinhard Strohm identified the almost illegible Gloria on folio 1v with the Gloria *Jubilatio* transmitted in *Q15* and *Ven145*.[16] In *Q15* the piece is ascribed to H. de Salinis. The text of the Gloria makes references to a newly elected pope who, it was hoped, would bring an end to the Western Schism.[17] For this reason, the coming into existence of the Gloria *Jubilatio* has long been associated with the end of the Council of Constance (1414–1418).[18] John Nádas and Giuliano Di Bacco's discovery of a papal letter from 1409, however, provides evidence for Salinis's presence at the council of Pisa as a singer in the chapel of pope Alexander V, thus making an association with the Council of Pisa more likely.[19] The Gloria *Jubilatio* as transmitted in *Q15* and *Ven145* is paired with a Credo.

Hu(m)bertus de Salinis's birthplace remains somewhat unclear. Nádas and Di Bacco found numerous entries mentioning clerics named "De Salinis" in archival documents from the diocese of Besançon, which seemed to support the notion that Hubertus de Salinis originated from

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[16] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 100, fn 236.

[17] The Western Schism, a time during which three individuals claimed to be the true pope, lasted from 1378 until 1417.

[18] Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Early Fifteenth Century Music*, vol. 7, CMM 11 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1983), IX.

[19] John Nádas and Giuliano Di Bacco, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony During the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998): 71, fn 77. Some years before Nádas and Di Bacco's discovery, Reinhard Strohm claimed that an association with the Council of Pisa for the Gloria *Jubliatio* is more likely. Strohm, *The Rise*, 100.
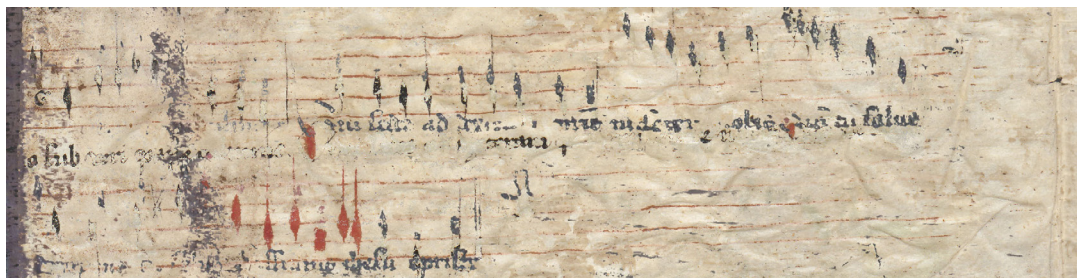
Figure 2.5: Reconstruction of staves 8 and 9 of Salinis's Gloria Jubilatio, Uu 37.I, bifolio III, fol. 1v (image by the author).

this region.[20] In her paper delivered at the Medieval and Renaissance Conference 2017 in Prague, Margaret Bent stressed how the connection between the association of the name with the village of Slin located close to Liège and the dedication of Salinis's motet *Psallat Chorus/Eximie pater* to St. Lambert, the patron saint of Liège, suggests a birthplace for the composer close to Liège.[21] The occurrence of two pieces ascribed to Hubertus de Salinis in *Uu 37.I*—the Gloria *Jubilatio* and the motet *Psallat chorus/Eximie pater*, which will be discussed shortly—may well provide one more indication in favor of Salinis's birthplace being close to Liège, at the same time further underlining *Uu 37.I*'s concentration on a more local repertoire.

The cantus I and tenor voice transmitted in bifolio III, folio 1v, only partially survive. Specifically, cantus I ends after two thirds of the music on stave nine with the text *Tu solus altissimus ihesu christe*; the beginning of the tenor until *deus pater omnipotens* is copied to the last two staves of the page. Strikingly, on stave nine the scribe did not fill the entire stave but left space, yet indicating the continuation of the piece presumably on the previous page by a custos (see **FIGURE 2.5**).

The French-texted chanson *La grand doulcour* is copied below the contratenor of a Gloria on bifolio III, folio 1r. It is the only French-texted chanson transmitted in *Uu 37.I*. With its canonic inscription (*Contratenor la grant ect. pronunciatur ad semicirculum in sesquiteria et ad circulum in … [cut off]*) in the contratenor and regularly appearing alternations of mensuration, it exhibits an extraordinarily sophisticated compositional style, fitting well into the tradition of the Ars Subtilior repertoire that is also to be found in a collection of French- and Dutch-texted songs preserved in Leiden, *Lu 2720*.[22] Copied below the

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20 Nádas and Di Bacco, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony," 71, fn 77.

21 Margaret Bent, presentation, Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Prague, July 5, 2017.

22 *Uu 37.II*, which also contains French- and Dutch-texted songs, transmits a slightly less complex repertoire than *Lu 2720*. Both song collections and their current state of research are touched upon in the introduction to this dissertation.

contratenor of a Gloria, it is clear that *La grand doulcour* is a secondary entry. Similar script and ink shades found in the primary entries and the French-texted chanson suggest, however, that the chanson, while being an addition, was most probably entered shortly, or even immediately, after the completion of the primary entry.

Uu 37.I, Bifolio II and Snippet IV

In addition to bifolios I, III, and VI, two more fragments remain to be examined. Whereas bifolio I and VI and bifolio III show striking similarities, bifolio II and snippet IV are different in their physical appearance and content. Even though snippet IV only bears a small part of the first four and a half staves of a folio, the small amount of text and music present nevertheless exhibit paratextual features, on the basis of which snippet IV can be related to the remaining fragment leaves. In the following examination, I shall offer further details concerning their physical condition as well as a comparison between the previously discussed bifolios in light of their common and diverging features.

Paratextual Features

Bifolio II measures approximately 285 by 405 mm. It consists of two single folios, one being considerably trimmed (folio 1) and one almost intact (folio 2). Folio 1 has a size of approximately 283 by 180 mm, folio 2 measures ca. 287 by 230 mm. All margins except the lower margin are cut off, removing approximately 35 mm of the writing block vertically of folio 1 and almost the entire uppermost stave of both folios. The lower margin seems to be transmitted in full, even though parts of it are torn off or folded inwards. A reconstruction of the original size of the writing block for bifolio II can be achieved by combining measurements of both bifolio II and snippet IV; their codicological and palaeographical similarities also allow for this—as will be discussed shortly. The top margin of snippet IV appears to be preserved in its original size. Thus, together with the height of the first stave it can be added to the almost intact writing block of folio 2r, currently measuring 270 by 230 mm. Hence, the reconstruction of the original folio size reveals a projected full size of approximately 320 by 230 mm; a size for the single folio that is close to what I propose for bifolios I, III, and VI.

Due to trimming, none of the writing blocks is fully preserved. On folio 2rv the writing blocks are only marginally trimmed—half of the first stave is cut horizontally—and measure approximately 250 by 190 mm. Adding the height of the missing first half of the stave, which we know is 13 mm by default (see the section about the rastrum hight

below), results in an overall (reconstructed) size of 260 by 190 mm for bifolio II. TABLE 2.10 shows a comparison between the folio and writing sizes of bifolios I (and VI), III, and II (and snippet IV).

Contrary to the previously-discussed bifolios, which exhibit eleven red five-line staves per page, bifolio II is ruled with twelve red five-line staves. In accordance with the rastrum width found on bifolios I, III, and VI, the rastrum used to rule bifolio II and snippet IV has a width of approximately 13 mm. The same rastrum was used to rule all of bifolio II and snippet IV and it exhibits characteristically smaller spaces between stave lines 1 and 2. The staves are applied with constant distances, ranging between 21 and 23 mm.[23]

Two characteristics of bifolio II deserve special mention. Firstly, its uppermost staves are usually indented, though not by default as can be seen on folio 2r. This flexibility in the ruling is also characteristic of the ruling of bifolio I. Moreover, the spacing of staves, which on all folios showed a distinctive smaller distance between the penultimate and the ultimate stave, does not appear on bifolio II. Secondly, the distances between the staves on the folios of bifolio II exhibit greater variations in comparison to the bifolios previously discussed. This is especially noticeable when comparing the distances between the staves of folio 2v with those of folio 1r (see TABLE 2.12).

Bifolio II does not carry any original foliation. It is, however, conceivable that the fragments contained foliation at some point in the past. The numerals would presumably have been located on the top margins, which are now cut off.

With regard to remnants of the binding, stitch marks along the fold exhibit a similar length as those found on bifolios I and VI, and III (9–10 mm). The first stitch mark is cut off; the following four have regular distances varying around a mean of 50 mm. This pattern is reminiscent of the bifolios previously discussed. Nevertheless, all distances slightly deviate from those measured on bifolios I, III, and VI, indicating that the leaf was bound to a convolute other than the pair to which bifolios I and VI or bifolio III once belonged (see TABLE 2.11).

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23 For a comparison between the codicological features of the fragment groups (bifolio I and VI; bifolio III; bifolio II and snippet IV), see Appendix 1.

Feature	Bifolios I (and VI)	Bifolio III	Bifolio II (and snippet IV)
Reconstructed size (folio)	322 x 242 mm	320 x 240 mm	320 x 230 mm
Writing block size	295 x 195 mm	264 x 192 mm (reconstructed)	260 x 190 mm (reconstructed)

Table 2.10: Original and reconstructed folio and writing block dimensions of *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I, II, and II.

Folio	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10	d11
II 1r	(cut off)	21	23	21,5	22	21,25	21,25	21,5	21,5	22	21,5
II 1v	(cut off)	21,5	22,5	22,5	21,5	22,25	22	22,5	21,5	24	22
II 2r	(cut off)	22	22	23,5	22	21,5	21	21	21,5	21	22
II 2v	(cut off)	22	21,5	22,5	22,5	22	22	22,5	22	22,25	21

Table 2.11: Distances (d) between staves on Uu 37.I, bifolio II, from the top to the bottom in mm.

Folio	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8
I	(15)	35	52	52	52	52,5	(26)	cut off
VI	(16)	35	52	51	52	(25)	cut off	cut off
III	cut off	(22)	50	49	50	50	33,5	(18)
II	cut off	(24)	50,5	50	49	48	32	(17)

Table 2.12: Distances (d) of stitch marks along the fold of *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I, VI, III, and II.

Snippet IV, measuring 120 by 106 mm, shows excerpts of music and text on four and a half staves on each side. Despite its fragmentary state, the stave height, the spaces between stave lines, and distances at which the staves were applied could be determined for the surviving area. Similarly to bifolio II, the stave height varies around a mean of 13 mm. The remaining four and a half staves were applied with the help of a rastrum at a distance of 21 to 23 mm, which is also similar to the ruling on bifolio II. However, a different rastrum was used to rule this folio, as suggested by the different heights between stave lines. Snippet IV does not contain any signs of contemporary foliation. Modern foliation is applied to both sides in pencil.

It is thus clear that the stave height, and the distances at which the staves are applied, of bifolio II and snippet IV are identical, making their origin from a similar source collection highly likely. It is possible that snippet IV and bifolio II once belonged to the same gathering. FIGURE 2.6 shows an approximate ratio between the preserved snippet IV and the full folio size.
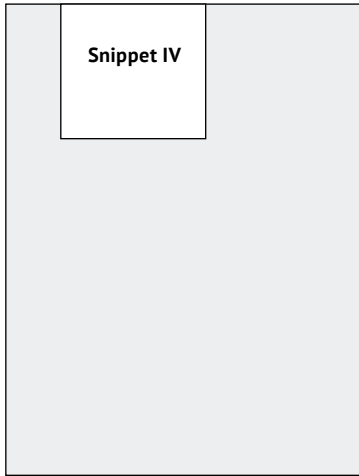
Figure 2.6: Drawing of former full folio *Uu 37.I*, snippet IV. The position of the snippet on the former full folio is determined by the content, which shows the beginning of an upper voice (image by the author).

Table 2.13: Comparison of notational features of the texts of *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I, II, III, and snippet IV.

	bifolio II, snippet IV	bifolio III	bifolio I
lower case letter *i*			
lower case letter *g*			
lower case letter *a*			
lower case letter *h*			

Scripts and Scribes

Text Hand

The comparison and identification of the scripts and scribes for the text of the previously-discussed bifolios I, III, and VI has proved unproblematic because of identical, liturgical texts on all bifolios. Bifolio II and snippet IV, however, contain different liturgical texts in Latin as well as a number of Dutch secular texts that require a different use of letters. In addition to the ligature *ij*, which is specific to the Dutch language, the lower case letters *b*, *g*, and *h* occur frequently on bifolio II and snippet IV.

There are marginal differences in the height of the script between the recto side of snippet IV and the remaining entries. The script on snippet IV recto has a height of approximately 3 mm excluding ascenders and descenders, whereas on the remaining folios the text has a general height of 2 mm. Nevertheless, I propose one single scribe to be responsible for the copying of all text. Recurring characteristics in the text imply the extended limb below the baseline of *h* and the two-compartment double-bow form of *a*. Generally, the script exhibits comparably long, upright ascenders especially noticeable in the lower case letters *b*, *l*, *w*, and *v* (see **TABLE 2.13**). However, the most noticeable difference between the script on bifolios I, III, and VI on the one hand, and bifolio II and snippet IV on the other, is the more rounded shape of the script on bifolio II and snippet IV.

Music Hand

The music script shares several characteristics with the text. Minims on bifolio II and snippet IV exhibit a height of 12 mm, whereas those on bifolios I and III typically are 15 mm or longer. As with the text script, it is a rather small script, as is apparent from the relatively small size of

the stems and the middle to small-sized note bodies in comparison to those found on bifolios I, III, and VI. Note bodies on bifolio II and snippet IV are uniform. Semibreves, minims, and semiminims at times are slightly pointed; longae and breves—even though having a perfect angular shape, resulting from a one-stroke ductus executed with the thick, broad part of the nib—tend to slant downwards. The same is true for c-clefs and the (occasionally-appearing) sharps. F-clefs and flats, however, are straight. Also, the shape of custos—the curled-check type—remain constant throughout all folios of bifolio II, closely resembling the type of custos found on all other fragment leaves of *Uu* 37.I (see **TABLE 2.14**).

There are slight differences in the *habitus* with regard to pen angle, size, and tilt of the music script between the piece *Och lief gesel* on bifolio II, folio 2v, and *[... al]s ic di zach mijn zoete lief* on snippet IVv, and the remaining entries on bifolio II and snippet IV. The music script of those entries is more spacious, showing slightly longer stems for the minims and the semiminims (see **FIGURE** 2.7). However, the most noticeable difference between those music scripts is the tilt towards the vertical axis. Strikingly, this only occurs when the scribe copied series of minims and semiminims.

Moreover, the pen angle seems to be higher than in the other entries, resulting in slender, pointed note bodies on semibreves and minims. With the occurrence of semiminims in *Och lief gesel* and *[... al]s ic di zach*, and changing mensuration signs for *[... al]s ic di zach* to be seen in the frequently occurring dotted and reversed tempus imperfectum signs, those pieces clearly are more complex in mensural style than the remaining pieces on bifolio II and snippet IV. Additionally, being copied below a triplum or

Table 2.14: Comparison of notational features of *Uu 37.I*, bifolio II and snippet IV.

	Bifolio II	Snippet IV
c-clef		none
c-clef with b-flat		none
f-clef		none
Longa		none
Breve		
Semibreve		
Minim		
Semiminim		
Sharp		none
Flat		
Ligature		none
Custo		none
Prolatio minoris, tempus perfectum	none	
Reversed c	none	
2 (tempus)	none	

Series of minims and semiminims in *Och lief gesel,* bifolio II

Figure 2.7: Comparison of minims and semiminims on *Uu 37.I*, bifolio II, folio 2v, and snippet IVr (image source: Utrecht University Library, Uu 37.I).

Series of minims and semiminims in *Als ic di zach mijn zoete lief,* snippet IVv

motetus of a Latin-texted motet on folio 2v, *Och lief gesel* in all likelihood was a supplementary entry only copied to the folio when the copying process of the main entries was completed. It can thus be expected that the later entry was copied at a different point in time—possibly by a different scribe.

It cannot be said with certainty whether the content of bifolio II was copied by one or two scribes, since differences in ink shades on a bifolio that is both highly worn and highly abraded cannot serve as reliable evidence. Nevertheless, despite the above-examined differences in music scripts between *Och lief gesel* on folio 2r and *Als ic di zach mijn zoete lief* and the rest of the entries, I suggest that one single scribe was responsible for all entries on bifolio II and snippet IV, as subtle differences in the music script stand in contrast to a general ductus that is very similar to the remaining entries.

Scribes at Work in *Uu 37.I*
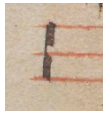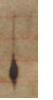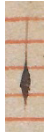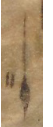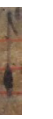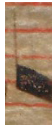
The lack of individual features in the text as well as in the music script makes it difficult to draw a firm conclusion about the number of scribes at work in *Uu 37.I*. The scripts found on bifolio I, III, and VI on the one hand, and on bifolio II and snippet IV on the other hand, only show marginal differences. These are first and foremost the size of the music and the text script, which on bifolio II and snippet IV is smaller than on the remaining bifolios; the more rounded individual letter shapes in the text script of bifolio II and snippet IV; and the tilt towards the vertical axis of the stems in the music script (see **TABLE 2.14**). The occurrence of music signs with an identical shape, such as the sharps and the custos, acts in favor of associating the scripts on bifolios I, III, VI and bifolio II and snippet IV with one single scribe or several scribes trained possibly at the same workshop. Thus, in all likelihood, we are dealing with fragments belonging to different music collections, yet being copied by one scribe—presumably at different stages in his career. Possibly, therefore, these music collections were manufactured over an extended period of time.

Content
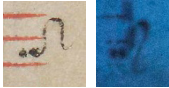
Bifolio II contains a vast number of voices belonging to different pieces. We find fragments of two Latin-texted motets on folios 1r and 2v, and one almost complete Dutch-texted motet on the opening 1v-2r, alongside two Dutch-texted songs on the lower staves of folios 1r and 2v (see **TABLE 2.15**). All these pieces are fragmentary, being transmitted with one and two voices only. Snippet IV contains excerpts of upper voices of two Dutch-texted songs. Hence, besides the codicological consistencies between bifolio II and snippet IV, the pieces preserved on snippet IV also fit well within the repertoire found on bifolio II.

None of the entries have any concordances. With regard to the entries with Dutch texts, it is not very surprising that no concordances exist since the repertoire of Dutch-texted music—whether monophonic or polyphonic—from the fourteenth century is small. It is, however, remarkable that the three motets with Latin texts likewise seem to be *unica*. However, I was able to find a textual concordance between the upper voice of the motet *.../Ave yesse/...* that in earlier research remained unnoticed. It corresponds with texts transmitted in two collections of hymns from the fifteenth century.[24] The first one,

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24 A transcription of the text is provided in Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, *Pia dictamina: Reimgebete und Leselieder des*

Table 2.15: Comparison of notational features of *Uu 37.I,* bifolios I, II, III, VI, and snippet IV.

Notational feature	Bifolio II and snippet IV	Bifolio I and VI	Bifolio III
c-clef			
c-clef with b-flat		illegible	
f-clef		none	none
Longa			
Breve			
Semibreve			
Minim			
Semiminim		none	none
Sharp			
Flat			
Ligature			

Notational feature	Bifolio II and snippet IV	Bifolio I and VI	Bifolio III
Custo			
Prolatio minoris, tempus perfectum			none
Prolatio minoris, tempus imperfectum	none		none
Reversed c		none	
2 (tempus)		none	none

Table 2.15 (continuation): Comparison of notational features of *Uu 37.I*, bifolios I, II, III, VI, and snippet IV.

a paper manuscript titled *Hymni plurimi de Maria, Christe, Sanctis*, is thought to have been copied in Tegernsee at the end of the fifteenth century (1490), being referred to as B in **TABLE 2.16**.[25] The second one is a parchment manuscript from the Carthusian monastery located close to Enghien (France), similarly copied in the fifteenth century, which I call C (see **TABLE 2.17**).[26] In both cases the texts survive in books without music notation. A comparison of the texts revealed only little differences between the unnotated text and the text accompanying the music preserved on bifolio II.

Gathering Structure and Page Layout

Bifolio II must have been an inner bifolio, a fact that is apparent from the matching voices on folios 1v–2r. That is, the motetus voice of the motet on folio 1v (… *ic hebbe ripe kersen*) continues on folio 2r.[27] On the first three and a half staves of folio 1v, the end of the triplum voice of the same motet is copied; the tenor voice follows the motetus voice on folio 2r. On the reverse side of the bifolio we find an upper voice of a Latin-texted motet (*Ave yesse*) followed by the solus tenor *Salve sancta parens*. Tenor and contratenor voices of a Dutch-texted song *Wouter was een vule* are to be found on the second half of folio 1r.[28] On folio 2v the triplum voice of yet another Latin-texted motet

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Mittelalters - Dritte Folge: Stunden- und Glossen-Lieder, vol. 30, Analecta hymnica medii aevi (Leipzig: Reisland, 1898), 200.

25 D-Mbs Clm 19824. A digital version of the manuscript as well as a description can be consulted online at "Hymni Plurimi de Maria, Christo, Sanctis: BSB Clm 19824," *BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliotheek*, accessed October 28, 2014, https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/search?db=100&View=default&lokalkey=11720910.

26 B-Bc 4948. Joseph van den Gheyn and Lyna Frédéric, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1901), 506–507.

27 This motet used to be referred to by a different name (*[… go]eden … kaccharinc, drughen harinc!*), see Chapter 6.

28 The exact designation of the transmitted voice with the text *Ave yesse* is difficult to determine since the position of the c-clef points to a triplum voice, but the position on the folio, the length of the voice, and its note range suggest that it is a motetus voice.

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Concor-dances	Attri-bution	Comments
1	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio II)	*Ave yesse, stirps regalis*	isoM	{Tr}, [Du], [T]			Textual concordances: B-Bc 4948; D-Mbs Clm 19824
2	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio II)	*Salve sancta parens*	M?	[Tr], [Du?], {ST}			ST possibly belongs to *Ave yesse*. Due to cut-off parts in both voices their connection remains questionable
3	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio II)	*Wouter was een vule*	L	[Ca], {Ct}, {T}			
4	Uu 37.I	1v–2r (Bifolio II)	*… ic hebbe ripe kersen*	L	{Tr}, {Du}, T			Piece also known as *marktroepen motetus* (street-cries motet) and in earlier studies referred to as *[…] go] eden […] kaccharinc, drughen harinc! Breken.*
5	Uu 37.I	2v (Bifolio II)	*… christus te vocavit coronam accipiens*	isoM	Tr, [Du], [T]			Badly rubbed; surviving voice isorhythmic
6	Uu 37.I	2v (Bifolio II)	*Och lief gesel ic heb vernomen*	L	Ca, [Ct], [T]			
7	Uu 37.I	IVr (snippet IV)	*[Ic beghi]nne mijn liedekijn wel*	L	{Ca}, [Ct]?, [T]?			Excerpts of 4½ staves only
8	Uu 37.I	IVv (snippet IV)	*[… al]s ic di zach] mijn zuete life*	L	{Ca}, [Ct]?, [T]?			Excerpts of 4½ staves only

Table 2.16: Inventory of *Uu 37.I,* bifolio II and snippet IV.

Ave, yesse stirps regalis
Castitatis lilium
Maria pontificalis
Trinitatis [solium
Gratia te] triumphalis
*P*lena decet[1] luminum
Dominus *ens* aeternialis
*T*ecum *cepit*[2] hominum
Benedicta tu [natalis
Solvens] nexus criminum
*I*n mulieribus talis
Nulla virgo virginum
Et *que*[3] benedictu[s est talis
Fructus {numen numinum}
*V*entris ante virginalis
Et post part[*us*[4] terminum
Tui] prece specialis
Det vitae remedium
*I*esus nobis flos *vernalis*[5]
Et [cae]lorum ga[udium
Amen dictas] clericalis
Sicque chorus ordinum
{Atque gens universalis}
Benedicat [dominum]

Table 2.17: Text of motet … */Ave yesse / …* as transmitted in *Uu 37.I,* bifolio II, fol. 1r (A). Text variants found in D-Mbs Clm 19824 (B) and B-Bc 4948 (C) are displayed in sidenotes.

[ ]   Text cut off in A
{ }   Text illegible in A
1)   *decet plena* in B and C
2)   *fuit* in B and C
3)   *que* omitted in B and C
4)   *partum* in B
5)   *virginalis* in B

```
[1v]                                      [2r]

┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐
│                     │   │                     │
│    End Triplum      │   │                     │
│ ... ic hebbe ripe   │   │ Continuation motetus│
│      kersen         │   │ ... ic hebbe ripe   │
└─────────────────────┘   │      kersen         │
┌─────────────────────┐   │                     │
│                     │   └─────────────────────┘
│                     │   ┌─────────────────────┐
│     Motetus         │   │                     │
│ ... ic hebbe ripe   │   │      Tenor          │
│      kersen         │   │ ... ic hebbe ripe   │
│                     │   │      kersen         │
│                     │   │                     │
└─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────┘
```
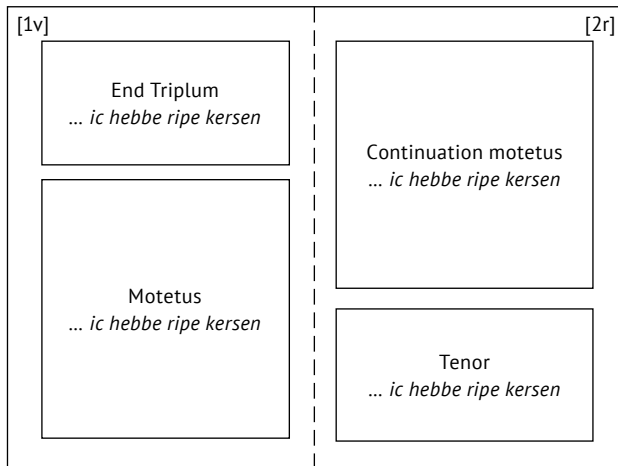
Figure 2.8: Layout of motet ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, *Uu 37.I*, bifolio II, folios 1v–2r (image by the author).

is preserved—*[...]* *christus te vocavit*—together with the cantus of the Dutch-texted song *Och lief gesel*.[29]

The entry ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* on folios 1v–2r deserves further investigation. Only two and a half of what were originally three voices of this motet are transmitted on those folios, leaving us with an incomplete triplum. The voices are outlined as follows: the second half of the triplum occupies four staves on folio 1v; the full motetus is written on the remaining staves of folio 1v, continuing on the first seven staves of folio 2r. The tenor, finally, is copied below the motetus on 2r (see **FIGURE 2.8**).

As discussed above, on the recto page (folio 1r) where we might expect to find the first part of the triplum—that is, the beginning of the piece—we find voices belonging to two different pieces, but no entry that could be identified as the missing first part of the triplum. Therefore, it seems that we are missing at least one folio or bifolio. The proposed (bi-)folio would have contained the first half of the missing triplum, presumably occupying one full page. Voices of one additional—though now lost—entry may have been copied to the verso side of the (bi-)folio. Where would this additional folio or bifolio have been located and what exactly could it have contained?

From the above reconstruction of the gathering structure it is clear that the additional, (lost) folio to which the triplum of the motet ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* was copied was not a regular single folio bound into the gathering. Instead, I propose the additional folio to have been kept loosely as an insertion at the center of the gathering (see **FIGURE 2.9**).[30]

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29 The motet preserved on the first eight staves of folio 2v is largely illegible. A search for the text of this triplum voice on the basis of text fragments did not yield any results. The triplum ends with the words " ... *christus te vocavit coronam accipiens*" and it is thus referred to as ... *christus te vocavit*.

30 Andrew Tomasello proposes a similar scenario for the incomplete *Sacrosanctus pater ingenitus/ Sanctus muri gaudio in caelesti* (Mass of Barcelona) on the opening of the inner bifolio 12v–13r in *Apt*: " ... it seems ... that the conclusion of this piece was copied onto a loose sheet of parchment or paper, inserted, though never glued into the gathering." Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 137.
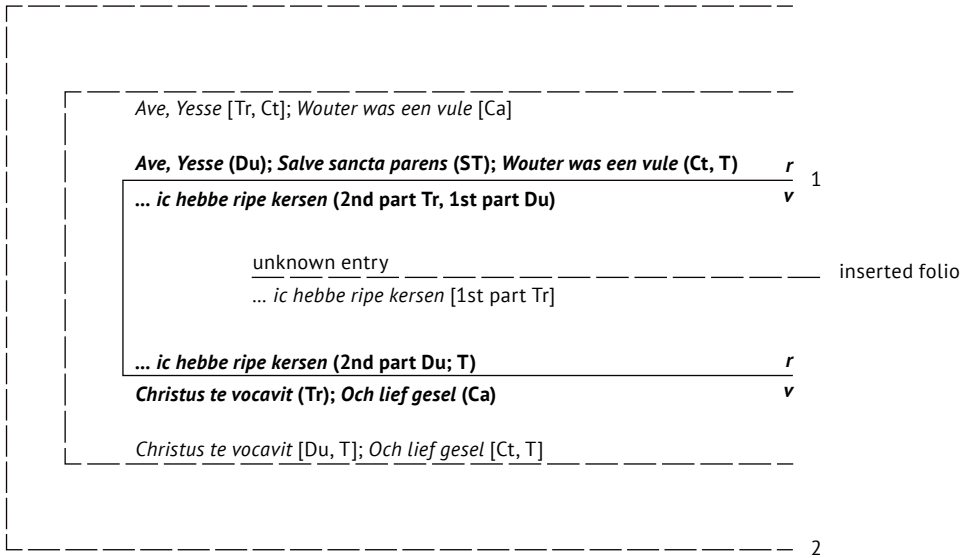
Figure 2.9: Reconstruction of gathering *Uu 37.I*, bifolio II (image by the author).

For study and performance, the folio could have been set next to the opening 1v–2r, a practice that additionally would have allowed for the display of the whole piece at once (see **FIGURE 2.10**). The exceptional length of the motet may have been the most plausible reason for the scribe to copy the piece in this unusual layout.

Hence, we are most likely dealing with an extended convolute, originally prepared around the substantial motet … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* occupying a bifolio and a folio, which at a later stage was expanded into a fascicle. The Latin-texted motets and the Dutch songs complementing the street-cries motet in both language and subject matter most probably were part of this expansion. In other words, the Dutch-texted songs that were added to bifolio II in a secondary copying stage seem to be additions prompted by the street-cries motet.

Uu 37.I, Folio V

Only a little can be said about this single parchment folio. Its music and text have vanished almost completely. Even exposure to UV light does not significantly enhance legibility. The folio measures 330 by 245 mm; the size of the writing block is approximately 265 by 200 mm. Both pages were ruled with eleven red five-line staves, having a height of 14 mm each. They were applied at a distance ranging between 24 and 25 mm. Folio V contains two voices on each folio. The upper voice from stave five on folio Vr belongs to the four-voice motet *Psallat cho-*
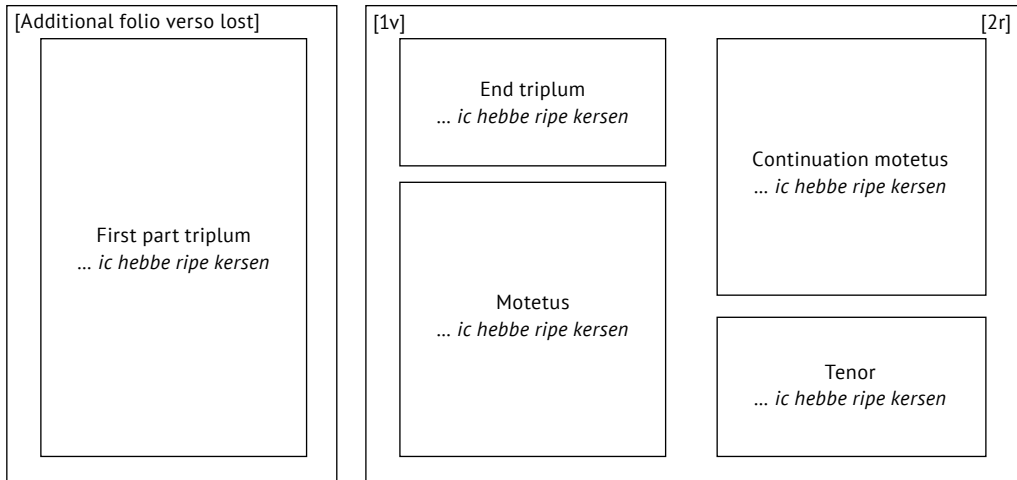
Figure 2.10: Reconstruction of page layout with additional folio of the motet … *ic hebbe ripe kersen, Uu 37.I,* bifolio II, fols. 1v–2r (image by the author).

rus / Eximie pater by Hubertus de Salinis.[31] On the first four staves an untexted tenor or contratenor voice is preserved. On folio Vv two different voices can be discerned: presumably a tenor voice on stave one to three; and a contratenor voice on the remaining staves (see **TABLE 2.18**). However, the specific genre with which we are dealing remains unclear. The text on both pages is entirely covered with the traces of a chemical solution also to be found on bifolio VI. The reason and effects of these restoration attempts have been discussed earlier in this chapter. For the time being at least, the text is lost. With regard to the music, however, several notes on every stave remain legible.

From the notes that remain it is clear that the music is notated in black mensural notation. Passages of black void notes can be found on 1r (staves 3, 7, and 9). Sharps and flats are applied to the music on the recto and the verso side respectively. On folio Vv semiminims appear. As for custos, those which are still legible are again similar to those on all the other folios of U*u* 37.I.

Despite the poor legibility of this folio, the physical appearance and the remnants of the music notation provide sufficient information to state that this folio differs greatly from all the fragment leaves previously discussed. Exhibiting a height of 14 mm, the staves exceed that of all other staves found in U*u* 37.I by 1 mm. The ruling is more consistent, not showing the smaller spacing between the penultimate and

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31 I am thankful to Michael Scott Cuthbert who, upon searching for concordances with the program *Music21,* found this new concordance. The motet is fully preserved in *Q15,* fols. 279v–280r.

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
22	Uu 37.I	Vr (Folio V)	Psallat Chorus /Eximie pater	M	{Ca1}, {Ca2}, [Ct], [T]	Q15; SL	Hubertus de Salinis	Largely illegible
23	Uu 37.I	Vv (Folio V)	Credo?	O?	[Ca], {Ct}, {T}			Illegible
24	Uu 37.I	Vv (Folio V)	Credo?	O?	{Ca}?, [Ct], {T}?			Illegible

Table 2.18: Inventory of *Uu 37.I*, folio V.

ultimate stave, which is typical for the ruling of bifolios I, III and VI. Moreover, the notation contains longer series of void notes as well as occasional semiminims and changes in mensuration. All of these facts lean in favor of the assumption that this folio belonged to a collection of works that was written at a considerably later date than the fragments previously discussed. There is thus a strong reason to assume that folio V belonged to an entirely different music collection, having a larger format that was likely to have been produced at a different point in time and by a different scribe.

Internal Order: Convolutes Within *Uu 37.I*

Until now the fragment leaves of U*u* 37.I were thought to have belonged to one single source containing Mass settings and motets, next to some added chansons. The comprehensive examination of all the fragment leaves of U*u* 37.I confirmed that the bifolios I, II, III, and VI and the snippet IV indeed do share a number of characteristics, both physical and with regard to their content. Folio V is distinct from the remaining fragment leaves. However, a close analysis of all the features revealed a number of subtle variations between the fragment leaves, making an origin from a single, through-copied source unlikely.

The analysis and comparison of bifolios I, II, III, VI and snippet IV has shown that those fragments form a coherent group that is likely to have been produced in one workshop. Similarities in layout, script—and to some extent repertoire—point to this possibility. This group can be sub-divided into two smaller groups, consisting of bifolios I, III, and VI on the one hand, and bifolio II and snippet IV on the other.

Besides coincidences in almost all features, identical stitch marks on bifolio I and VI strengthen the hypothesis that those two bifolios come from the same source. Henceforth, I will refer to them as **convolute A**. Bifolios I, VI and III, in turn, show differences in the height

Convolute	Bifolios	Host books
Convolute A	I and VI	*Uu L fol 54* and *Uu 106 C 2*
Convolute B	II and snippet IV	*Uu L fol 56*
Convolute C	III	*Uu L fol 56*
Convolute D	V	*Uu 106 C 2*

Table 2.19: Overview of convolutes *Uu 37.I.*

of the writing block and differently spaced stitch marks along the fold. Consequently, bifolio III in all likelihood belongs to yet another sub-source to which I refer as **convolute C.**[32] The convolutes A and C show very similar codicological and palaeographical features.

Differences in ruling—twelve instead of eleven staves; smaller distances between the staves; and differences in script and repertoire—clearly separate bifolio II from the rest of the fragment leaves. However, the unity between bifolio II and snippet IV suggests that they once belonged to the same source and thus form **convolute B.**

The heights of folio V and that of the staves, as well as the distances between the staves, are unique on this folio. It can thus be hypothesized that folio V belonged to a source that was copied at a different stage than the remaining fragment leaves of U*u* 37.I (see **TABLE 2.19**). It makes up the last convolute, referred to hereafter as **convolute D.**

Hence, we are able to distinguish between fragment leaves from four different convolutes. Common codicological and palaeographical features suggest that the majority of the fragments—five out of six—can be associated with a single scribe or multiple scribes trained at the same workshop. Most likely, these scribes were associated with a chapel in a place where Dutch was the common vernacular language. The presence of many sacred pieces and the occurrence of the Dutch language certainly support this hypothesis.

Conclusions

The above codicological and palaeographical examination revealed that U*u* 37.I consists of fragment leaves belonging to four different convolutes. Three of these are likely to have originated from a single workshop.

The above-described commonalities in page preparation, ruling, script, and layout point to the idea that the individual(s) involved in

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32 The assignment of letters to the four different convolutes was chosen according to the foliation order of the leaves.

the copying—and possibly also the production and performance of this repertoire—favored a certain style of copying music on a given format in a given division of voices, while engaging in a considerable variety of compositional styles. Some of these styles are quite unusual, such as Marian tropes, or the frequent transmission of songs with Dutch texts. Thus, copying in a "house style" was applied to pre-existing repertoires and new compositions alike.

The repertoire is an interesting mix of Dutch-texted pieces, presumably covering a more local tradition, and music disseminated across Europe, as demonstrated by the Paduan concordances between some of the pieces copied in *Uu* 37.I. Also remarkable is that, next to the widely-transmitted Credo *de rege* by Sortes, all of the concordances appear in sources associated with the Veneto. The composition dates of the repertoire transmitted in *Uu* 37.I presumably fall between the second half of the fourteenth century (Credo *de rege*) and the beginning of the fifteenth century (Gloria *Jubilatio*).

The fragment leaves do not reveal any indication as to their place of origin. Research into the binding history has shown that the bindings of the host books can be associated with Utrecht. Their binding date, furthermore, could be narrowed down to the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Given that the bookbinder, Dirck Claeszoon Roest, bound books for the collegiate chapters St. Jan and Oudmunster with binding material from the collegiate chapter of St. Marie, it is plausible that he obtained his binding material from institutions nearby. This prompts the question of what happened to the *Uu* 37.I fragment leaves in the period between their presumptive date of origin and use around 1400, and their incorporation into the prints from the early sixteenth century. Given the musical developments elsewhere in Europe in the fifteenth century, there is reason to assume that *Uu* 37.I in the second half of the fifteenth century was no longer used. Thus, the music collections may have been kept at an institution in Utrecht where they had fallen into obscurity until their dismantling and preparation as recycling material. However, around 1400 they might have represented a significant contribution to the cultural and musical environment as cultivated in and around the most important institutions in Utrecht. All of this disproves the established view of associating the fragment collection *Uu* 37.I with the court at The Hague.[33] It also casts doubt upon Reinhard Strohm's association of *Uu* 37.I with the city of Bruges,

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[33] Antheun Janse, "Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358–1404) in Den Haag," *TVNM* 36 (1986): 136–57; Rob C. Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony at the Court of Holland in the Early Fifteenth Century: The Amsterdam Fragments," *JRMA* 117, no. 2 (1992): 181–207.

as a transfer of the music collections from Bruges to Utrecht seems unlikely.[34] Rather, it strengthens Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius's hypothesis proposed in her inaugural speech over fifty years ago, in which she connected the fragments to St. Marie in Utrecht.[35]

The findings give rise to the assumption that the episcopal city of Utrecht played a more important role in the cultural landscape of the northern Low Countries in the later Middle Ages than previously thought. Part II of this study is dedicated to a discussion of the cultural and musical environment of Utrecht in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century. In particular, it will investigate the possibility of institutions or private individuals supporting music of the kind preserved in the *Uu* 37.I fragments. To this end, an overview of the institutions and their surviving archival sources will precede the study of selected archival material in the period between 1350 and 1450.

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[34]   Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 105–106.

[35]   Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius, *Nederlands muziekleven in de middeleeuwen: Rede* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, 1958), 17.

Part Two

The Cultural Environment in Late Medieval Utrecht

Chapter 3
The City of Utrecht
in the Late Middle Ages

Utrecht in the late Middle Ages stood out, not so much because of its size and international trade relations—for which the medieval "hotspots" like Bruges, Venice, and Florence were known—but rather because of its status as an episcopal city. The prince-bishop's court and the well-endowed chapters of the cathedral and the four collegiate churches together attracted visitors and fostered international exchanges with high-ranking clergy and secular rulers alike. On a more local level a multitude of secular and monastic institutions addressed the spiritual needs of Utrecht's inhabitants. These ranged from the Benedictine monks of the venerable and ancient abbey of St. Paulus to the representatives of the various mendicant orders—from parishes and pious foundations, to the innumerable confraternities.

This chapter will offer an insight into the history of Utrecht from the Roman times to the fifteenth century and map the prominent ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht at the time. It also discusses the current state of affairs concerning the surviving corpus of archival records. This overview of the institutions active in late-medieval Utrecht will offer a snapshot of the city as it was in the period between 1350 and 1450. The chosen timeframe covers the period immediately before and after the estimated date of *Uu* 37.I (around 1400). As we shall see, even though a vast number of archival records were lost throughout the intervening centuries, surviving documentation nevertheless allows us to gain considerable insights into both the institutions and their role within the political and religious life of Utrecht from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.

The City of Utrecht: A Brief Historical Overview

Being built as a *castellum* named Traiectum in the first century AD by the Romans, Utrecht fulfilled an important function as a fortress at the northern border of the Rhine. As the consecrated archbishop of the Frisians, the English missionary Willibrord came to Utrecht in 695 and

founded the cathedral church St. Salvator inside of the city walls of the former *castellum*. In the same year, Utrecht became the capital of the diocese of Utrecht, its territory being ruled by the bishop of Utrecht. It was divided in two distinct areas: the *Oversticht* (now the province of Overijssel) and the *Nedersticht* (or *Sticht*, now the province of Utrecht).[1]

Utrecht not only housed the bishop's see, but was also an important trading center in the high Middle Ages. Local trade with surrounding areas, and Zeeland in particular, made the bishop of Utrecht a wealthy leader. From the high Middle Ages onwards, Utrecht became a center for short-distance trade.[2]

The reclamation of land from what were originally the marshes of the Rhine-Meuse-Schelde delta caused a significant growth in the rural population of the area during the high Middle Ages—a growth that reached its peak in the thirteenth century. Conditions for family farmers in the countryside were excellent due to relatively weak feudal structures which, in turn, were caused by the fact that the farming land was new.[3] Nevertheless, scarce resources in the countryside forced people to move closer to urban areas, and this was the reason for the increasing growth of Utrecht throughout the Middle Ages.

Economy, Population and Feasts in Late-Medieval Utrecht

Around 1400 Utrecht maintained a particularly strong, healthy, prosperous economy. Bas van Bavel and Jan Luiten van Zanden have shown that at the time, the wages of craftsmen in Utrecht were comparable with those in London and even exceeded the wages in Florence—albeit staying below a craftsmen's income in Leiden and Ghent.[4] This ranking is somewhat surprising, especially as in the past the economic area of Utrecht and the northern Low Countries in general was thought to have played a subordinate role in comparison to the economic hotspots of Flanders, Bruges, and Ghent.

Population

Regarding the number of inhabitants in Utrecht in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, numbers are, at best, speculative. Similar to many other towns and cities in the Netherlands, Utrecht has no records for the late Middle Ages and the early modern period from which

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1   For a map of the northern Low Countries in the late Middle Ages, see Introduction.
2   Kaj van Vliet, "De stad van de burgers," in *"Een paradijs vol weelde": Geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht*, ed. R. E. de Bruin (Utrecht: Utrechts Archief, 2000), 96–97.
3   Bas J. P. van Bavel and Jan L. van Zanden, "The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy During the Late-Medieval Crisis, c.1350-c.1500," *The Economic History Review* 57, no. 3 (2004): 504.
4   Van Bavel and Van Zanden, "The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy," 513.

the number of inhabitants could be estimated.[5] Efforts to collect an adequate volume of data undertaken in the twentieth century make possible a partial reconstruction of the development of Utrecht's population between 1300 and 1500.[6] It can be assumed that Utrecht had approximately 3,000 inhabitants around 1200; a number growing exponentially to between 5,000 and 7,000 a century later. The population reached its initial peak of 30,000 in 1525.[7] It can be assumed that the number of inhabitants between 1300 and 1525 increased according to a nonlinear progression, growth and decline being influenced by diseases and the state of the economy. Correspondingly, it is plausible that Utrecht had over 10,000 inhabitants around 1400. The outbreak of the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century seemed not to have influenced the growth of the city's population over a longer period of time.[8] This is remarkable, since on a European scale the Black Death—in recent studies also referred to as the "Big Death"—caused a major population crisis, eradicating approximately a third of the population.[9]

Three major cities in the broader vicinity of Utrecht serve as references and points of comparison for the evaluation of Utrecht's size in the late Middle Ages. To begin with, the population of the episcopal city of Liège in the neighboring diocese of Liège grew to between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants in the fifteenth century.[10] Cologne—with which Utrecht maintained trade relations and political relations—was the see of the archbishop and home to a university of international repute.

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5   Both the terms "city" and "town" are used in this context. I define them as follows: the term "town" is used for communities with city privileges and less than 10,000 inhabitants in the later Middle Ages; the term "city" is applied to communities with city privileges and 10,000 or more inhabitants.

6   For an overview of Dutch urban historiography, see Pim Kooij, "The Netherlands," in *European Urban History: Prospect and Retrospect*, ed. Richard Rodger (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 127–51.

7   Vliet, "De stad van de burgers," 95. The spatial growth of the city indicates that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Utrecht had possibly reached over 5,000 inhabitants. Remi van der Schaïk's study of the demographic structure in Guelders and Zutphen shows how conclusions about the population can be drawn from contemporary tax statements and invoices. Remi van Schaïk, *Belasting, bevolking en bezit in Gelre en Zutphen: 1350-1550* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987).

8   Van Bavel and Van Zanden more generally comment on the growth of the population in Holland: "In contrast to almost all other parts of Europe, where epidemics (the Black Death) severely reduced population numbers, the population of Holland declined only moderately during the second half of the fourteenth century, and this was followed by strong growth in the fifteenth century." Van Bavel and Van Zanden use the term "Holland" for the present-day provinces of North and South Holland. Van Bavel and Van Zanden, "The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy," 506.

9   Steven Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000–1500* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 168.

10   Jean-Louis Kupper, "Lüttich, II. Die Stadt," in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias: Lexikon des Mittelalters Online* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977–1999), 26.

With a population of well over 40,000 inhabitants in the first half of the fifteenth century, it was one of the most populous and prosperous cities in late-medieval Europe, although it is not generally perceived as such outside specialist circles.[11] Bruges, lastly, was on an equal footing with Cologne, already reaching a population of about 40,000 inhabitants in the thirteenth century. This number remained at the same level throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—albeit fluctuating due to epidemics.[12] From the population numbers of major cities presented above it is thus clear that Utrecht, in terms of its population, belonged to the mid-sized, smaller cities. One of the reasons for its moderate size may lie in the city's primary investments in local trade.

Feasts

In late-medieval Utrecht the following five high feast days were most important to the community: Christmas; Easter; Pentecost; the Feast of the Dedication; and the patron saint's day of the cathedral, St. Martin (11th of November). The superior statuses of the cathedral and Oudmunster are evident in the roles they took during these feast days. While offices and Masses were held at the cathedral, Oudmunster was the departure and final destination point of processions.[13] Among the high feasts dedicated to saints, St. Martin was the most extensively celebrated. An entry in the *Buurspraakboek* [Neighbors' Book of Speech] of 1386 shows that this feast was not only celebrated by the sacred institutions and the collegiate chapters in particular, but that people from the diocese and possibly also from other regions came to Utrecht to get indulgences. These were given on the feast day itself, but also eight days before and after. The great popularity of the feast is apparent from the municipality's statement that it was forbidden to sell food and drinks for higher prices.[14] Furthermore, the feast days of those who had Christianized Utrecht were of special importance. Among these the most prominent saints were Odulf (died after 854), Bonifatius (ca.

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11 Along with Venice, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Barcelona, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Cologne, Frankfurt-on-Main, Basle, and Strasbourg were involved in long-distance trade. Norman Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1974), 267.

12 Jan Dumolyn, "Population et structures professionnelles à Bruges aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Revue du Nord* 91, no. 329 (1999): 43–64.

13 Eelco G. van Welie, "Omnes canonici: Een verkenning van de Utrechtse stadsliturgie," *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 93, no. 4–5 (1994): 189.

14 "Men gheeft gheleyde al denghenen de hier ten aflaet comen zellen, dat wezen zel op sinte Martinusavont ende op sinte Martinusdach naest comende ende achte daghe voer ende achte daghen na …. Voort so ghebiet de raet enen ygheliken dat nyemant sijn wijn noch sijn bier, nochte broot, nochte vleysch, nocht visch, nochte al dat men eten ofte drincken mach, hoger nochte duerre en gheve dat men haer toe ghedaen heeft." June 13, 1396 HUA 701-1, inv. no. 16-2, fols. 17r. For a translation, see Appendix 2.

672–755), and Willibrord (ca. 658–739). Relics of these saints were in the possession of the cathedral and some of the collegiate chapters.[15]

Reformation in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

The city's period of sacred glory came to an end at the close of the sixteenth century. Similar to many other cities in the Netherlands, reform-oriented clerics and laymen rebelled against the strong Catholic government. The phenomenon of iconoclasm was the most apparent manifestation of the rebellion and as such a physical expression of the movement and its theological claims. The iconoclasm began with political unrest in Antwerp at the beginning of August 1566, soon reaching Utrecht at the end of August that same year.[16] The iconoclasm started in the Buurkerk, Utrecht's principal parish church, which was the first ecclesiastical institution to be attacked, immediately followed by the plundering of the two major mendicant establishments—the Jacobikerk (Dominicans) and the monasteries of the Predikheren and Minderbroeders (Franciscans). Numerous witness reports describe that furnishings, including chairs, organs, and books were destroyed.[17] After the plundering of two further parish churches, the Nicolaaskerk and the Geertruidakerk, the municipal government and the Calvinists reached an agreement, after which the iconoclasm stopped. However, the destruction of the interior equipment of churches continued in the years that followed. After a period of relative quiet and an un-easy co-existence, two more iconoclasms—in 1579 and 1580—occurred, during which the cathedral and the collegiate churches, as well as a number of monasteries, were plundered. Thereafter, the Protestants came to power.[18]

The parish churches and the establishments of the mendicant orders were the first victims of plundering during the 1566 iconoclasm for

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15 A list of all feast days in the diocese of Utrecht is provided in Joris van Eijnnatten and Frederik Angenietus van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), 113. See also G. Verhoeven, "Kerkelijke feestdagen in de late middeleeuwen: Utrechtse en Delftse kalenders," *Holland: Regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 25 (1993): 159.

16 For more information about the origin and circumstances of the iconoclasm and its consequences for the churches in Utrecht, see Jan van Vliet, *Ketters rond de Dom: De reformatie in Utrecht 1520–1580* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1987).

17 "Dat de voers. Renes, erstont naer dat de beelden te Mynrebroeders gebroken zijn geweest, gestaen heeft te Mynrebroeders op 't hoechchoor, ende begeert van anderen personen, die daer mede quamen besien de destrcutie, dat zy zouden willen van daer gaen, ten eynde dat zijl. 't goet mochten bewaeren, tot prouffijt van den armen, ende dat het van den boeren ende rabbauwen niet gedistribueert zoude worden." Brussels, Staatsarchief van België, Raad van Beroerten I 218, inv. no. 7. Cited from Historisch Genootschap Utrecht, *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap*, vol. 14–15 (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1858), 274. For a translation, see Appendix 2.

18 Van Vliet, *Ketters rond de Dom*, 54–57.

a simple reason, namely because they were more closely connected to the population of Utrecht than the collegiate chapters and monasteries, which were independent sacred authorities. Thus, the treasures of parish churches were the most severely harmed, whereas the collegiate churches and non-mendicant monasteries experienced comparatively little damage.[19] However, the precise extent to which archives and libraries of individual institutions suffered from the rebellion and the re-organization during and after the Reformation years remains obscure.

The above has provided a brief overview of the history of medieval Utrecht—its population growth, and its radical religious and political shift during and after the Reformation. We now turn to the structure of ecclesiastical institutions in late-medieval Utrecht.

Mapping Ecclesiastical Institutions

The institutional landscape within the city walls of Utrecht in the late Middle Ages consisted of the cathedral, four collegiate chapters, four parishes, about twenty monasteries (both male and female), over forty *broederschappen* [confraternities], and approximately twenty *gasthuizen* [hospitals], all of which existed next to a continuously growing number of beguinages and similar informal pious associations of lay persons. Usually, the cathedral of an episcopal city makes up the oldest and therefore most venerable clerical institution. In Utrecht, however, the status and self-evident superiority of the cathedral chapter was challenged by another institution situated right next to the cathedral: the collegiate chapter of Oudmunster.[20] The canons of Oudmunster insisted on the fact that their chapter was the oldest and therefore most important institution in Utrecht, a statement that lead to repeated conflicts between the cathedral and Oudmunster. A letter by Bonifatius to pope Stephan II dated 753 mentions two churches at the cathedral square, one dedicated to Christ the Savior (St. Salvator, called Oudmunster), the other one to St. Martin (the cathedral).[21] To the

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19 Wilhelmus Hermanus Vroom, *De Financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen: In het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht* (Maarssen: G. Schwartz, 1981), 352.

20 Bas J. P. van Bavel and Louise van Tongerloo, *Plattegronden van middeleeuws Utrecht (tot 1100, 1100–1250, 1250–1400 en 1400–1550), waarop aangegeven de kerken, kloosters en gasthuizen* ([Utrecht?], 1987).

21 D-Mbs Clm 8112. For a translation into German and a detailed discussion of the surviving sources, see Bonifatius, *Briefe des Bonifatius: Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius nebst einigen zeitgenössischen Dokumenten,* trans. Reinhold Rau (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 9–22, 338–43.

present day neither archaeological nor archival research could confirm the order in which the churches were built. In Charlotte de Boer and Martin de Bruijn's latest article addressing this question, they conclude that Willibrord built a church consecrated to St. Salvator first. Then, in 720, he initiated the transformation of St. Thomas to St. Martin.[22] Thereafter, Bonifatius built a new church consecrated to St. Salvator at the place where the church of the collegiate of Oudmunster chapter was located.[23] Hence, the question which church was built first remains open to interpretation. Future archeological research may cast new light on the matter.

The Cathedral Church and Collegiate Chapters

In the high Middle Ages until the eleventh century, the cathedral and the chapter of Oudmunster formed a single administrative unit. First and foremost, this unit arose from the need for a practical solution to the administration of the various properties.[24] Liturgically speaking, the cathedral and the four collegiate chapters also formed one unit—in documents referred to as *una ecclesia*.[25] Together, they elected the bishop, followed mostly the same liturgy, and held joint feasts and processions.

The three remaining collegiate chapters—St. Jan, St. Pieter, and St. Marie—were built in the eleventh century. After the unexpected death of Emperor Conrad III (1093–1152) during one of his visits to Utrecht, his mortal remains were buried in the cathedral. This suddenly made the cathedral an institution of European importance, entailing financial support for the expansion of the cathedral and institutional worship of Conrad II's mortal remains.[26] Bishop Bernold (1027–1054) thereupon established a master plan according to which three new churches were to be built around the cathedral: St. Pieter, St. Jan, and St. Paul. A fourth church, St. Marie, was only finished under Bernolt's successor bishop Conrad of Sabia (Koenraad van Zwaben, 1076–

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22 St. Thomas was built around 630 by King Dagobert I (ca. 603–639).

23 Charlotte Broer and Martin de Bruijn, "De tiende-eeuwse Heilig-Kruiskapel in Utrecht en haar relatie met Willibrord," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 107 (2008): 87.

24 Jan Kuys, *Repertorium van collegiale kapittels in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 11.

25 Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, "Lumpen oder Luxus? Das Einkommen des Säkularklerus am Beispiel der Kanoniker von St. Salvator in Utrecht (1350–1530)," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 54 (2009): 382.

26 Hein Hundertmark, "Naar Adelbolds voorbeeld: De kerken van bisschop Bernold," in *De nalatenschap van de Paulusabdij in Utrecht*, Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 130 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012), 38.

Capitular church and collegiate chapters in Utrecht			
No	Name	Year of foundation	No. of benefices
1	Cathedral (St. Maarten)	ca. 800	40
2	Oudmunster (St. Salvator)	before 724	20
3	St. Pieter	1048	30
4	St. Jan	1050	20
5	St. Marie	1076	30

Table 3.1: Overview of the cathedral and collegiate chapters in Utrecht.

1099).[27] St. Pieter, St. Jan, and St. Marie are collegiate churches (see **TABLE 3.1**). The church of St Paul belonged to the Paulusabdij [St. Paul's Abbey], housing Benedictine monks. The four new churches were built in rapid succession in different parts of the city. This has prompted some scholars to assume that the new churches were arranged in the shape of the Holy Cross with the cathedral at the center.[28] Since there is no contemporary proof of such a master plan, this view remains controversial.

Monasteries

In addition to the cathedral and the four collegiate churches, a great number of monasteries and hospitals were domiciled in Utrecht in the later Middle Ages. The above-mentioned Paulusabdij was by far the oldest and most prestigious monastery situated inside the city walls—and the only monastery following the Benedictine order. The foundation of the Paulusabdij lies chronologically-speaking between the foundation of the first (and most important) Benedictine abbey in the region of the northern Low Countries at Egmond, which dates from the beginning of the eleventh century, and the abbey for noble women in Rijnsburg, which was established in 1133. Both Egmond Abbey and Rijnsburg Abbey were founded by family members of the count of Holland.[29]

Among the many monasteries in Utrecht, the Paulusabdij was the only abbey. Its abbot belonged to the leading clergy, together with the bishop. Archival documents and accounts survive in limited quantities. A number of books associated with the Paulusabdij survive to the present day. Next to the manuscripts, fragments found in book bindings

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27 Hundertmark, "Naar Adelbolds voorbeeld," 38; Kuys, *Repertorium*, 308–309.
28 Hundertmark, "Naar Adelbolds voorbeeld," 38–39.
29 Ike de Loos, "Egmond of Rijnsburg? De liturgische handschriften van een grafelijke abdij," in *De Abdij van Egmond: Geschreven en beschreven*, ed. G. N. M. Vis (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002), 104–105.

	Monasteries in Utrecht[30]				
No	Name monastery	Foundation	Order	Commentaries	Male / Female
1	Paulusabdij	ca. 1000	Benedictines		M
2	St. Catharina I	ca. 1122	Hospitallers	Military order	M
3	St. Elisabeth I	1231	Teutonic knights*	Military order	M
4	Sint-Servaas	1227	Cistercians		F noble
5	Sint-Andries	1232	Dominicans	Usually referred to as "Predikheren-klooster"	M
6	Wittevrouwen	1240	Premonstraten-sians		F noble
7	Minderbroeder	1246	Franciscans		M
8	Zakbroeders	1267-1290	Zakbroeders (Franciscans)		M
9	Maria en de 12 Apostelen	1290	Zakbroeders (Franciscans)	Usually referred to as "Regulieren-klooster"	M
10	Sint-Nicolaas	1337	Beguines	From 1395 Franciscans, MD	F
11	Duits huis	1345	Teutonic knights*	Military order	M
12	Maria Magdalena	1386	Beguines		F
13	St. Jan de Doper	1394	Augustinians	MD, Jeruzalemklooster	F
14	Cecilia	1396	Tertiaries (3rd OSF)	MD, with monastery Bethlehem outside of town	F noble
15	Vredendaal	1399	Tertiaries (3rd OSF)	MD	M
16	Mariënwijngaard	ca. 1407	Tertiaries (3rd OSF)	MD	F
17	Sint Agnes	1420	Tertiaries (3rd OSF)	MD	F
18	Karmeliten	1468	Carmelites		M
19	Hieronymusconvent	1475	Franciscans	MD	M
20	Brigitten	1484	Tertiaries (3rd OSF)	MD	F

Abbreviations:
F: female
M: male
MD: Modern Devotion
3rd OSF: Third order of St. Francis
* Order of the House of St. Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem

Table 3.2: List of monasteries in Utrecht until the Reformation.

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30 The list of monasteries is based on Bas J. P. van Bavel, "Het kloosterleven," in *Geschiedenis van de provincie Utrecht: Tot 1528*, ed. C. Dekker and J. Aalbers (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1997), 313–28; Albertus van Hulzen, *Utrechtse kloosters en gasthuizen* (Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1986).

can be tied to the Paulusabdij. The majority of them contain chant, originating from former antiphonaries. As Leo Lousberg was able to show in a detailed analysis of the chant contained on those flyleaves, it is most likely that they were written in the twelfth century.[31] Even though the Paulusabdij belonged to the most wealthy and influential institutions within Utrecht's city walls, information about its musical practices (other than chant) is completely absent.

After the Benedictines of the Paulusabdij had taken pride of place, increasing prosperity—as described earlier in this chapter—went hand in hand with the founding of new monasteries. A broad variety of orders established themselves in Utrecht, most notably in the course of the thirteenth century. The Dominican and Franciscan mendicant orders of friars gained footholds within forty years of each other (between 1232 and 1267) and around the same time, older reformed orders (Cistercians and the female order of the Premonstratensians) arrived. The Cistercian and Premonstratensian monasteries Sint-Servaas and Wittevrouwen were the first female institutions within Utrecht's city walls, presumably being established to balance the predominance of male monasteries. The membership of both these monastic institutions was restricted to noblewomen. Finally, towards the end of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century, a considerable number of new foundations associated with the Modern Devotion movement appeared. **TABLE 3.2** provides a list of monastic institutions both in the vicinity of Utrecht up to 1500.

Side Note: Monasteries Connected to the Modern Devotion

From the list of monasteries up until 1500 given above, it is evident that a considerable number of the monasteries in Utrecht were founded during the heyday of the Modern Devotion at the turn of the fifteenth century. This openness towards a new approach to practicing the faith is not only characteristic of the urban community in Utrecht, but can be found in many other cities in the northern Low Countries. The great popularity of the Modern Devotion—the primary target of which was to practice faith in a purer form—did not come about by chance. Throughout the fourteenth century, residents in cities increasingly chose to live their lives as beguines and beghards. Their ambiguous status—being committed to the Christian faith while not having an affiliation to an official Catholic institution—resulted in their persecution all over Europe in the beginning of the fourteenth century.[32]

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31 Leo A. J. Lousberg, "Early-Twelfth-Century Utrecht Responsories: A Quest for Musical Style Elements" (master's thesis, Utrecht University, 2013), 66–69.

32 Hildo van Engen, *De derde orde van Sint-Franciscus in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht: Een*

As a result, many beguines and beghards joined the movement of the Modern Devotion, which was able to provide some protection against the authorities' arbitrariness.

The Modern Devotion can be divided into three branches: the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life; the Windesheim Congregation; and the Utrecht chapter of Tertiaries of St. Francis. The first two were closely entangled with one of the founding fathers of the Modern Devotion, Geert Grote (1340–1384).[33] Whereas the Brothers and Sister of the Common Life formed single-sex communities that shared property but did not take vows, the Windesheim Congregation consisted of monasteries with communities living according to the rule of St Augustine. The first monastery to have been founded in the spirit of the Modern Devotion was in Windesheim in 1384. Many other monasteries followed—all of them belonging to the Windesheim chapter. The third branch, the Utrecht chapter of Tertiaries of St. Francis, was established around 1400. The third rule of St. Francis allowed for the building of communities without the necessity to take vows. Soon after the foundation, many communities joined the Utrecht chapter, among which were five of the above-listed monasteries in Utrecht.[34]

Except for signs of resistance in episcopal circles, it seems that the movement in Utrecht was generally well-received and even supported by many influential canons across the collegiate chapters. This is most probably due to the fact that, as a canon at the cathedral, Geert Grote had built up a solid network among his peers. From its foundation at the end of the fourteenth century until the Reformation at the end of the sixteenth century, the communities of the Modern Devotion peacefully co-existed alongside the other institutions of the Roman Catholic Church.

In contrast to prevailing assumptions, recent research conducted with regard to song books from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has shown that simple polyphony was allowed in communities of the Modern Devotion and was used as a supportive element in meditative exercises.[35] There is, however, no evidence that can be connected with

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bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van de Moderne Devotie (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), 62.

33 Geert Grote was born into a patrician family in Deventer. Leading the life of a well-off student, he studied law at the Sorbonne in Paris. In the following years he was canon at the cathedrals of Aachen (1368–1374) and Utrecht (1371–1374). In 1379 Grote became deacon and founded the above-mentioned branches of the Modern Devotion.

34 For a brief summary of the Modern Devotion and its sub-structures, see Engen, *De derde orde*; Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 16 H 4* (Ottawa, ON: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2004), XVI.

35 Ulrike Hascher-Burger, "Music and Meditation: Songs in Johannes Mauburnus's Rosetum Exercitiorum Spiritualium," *Church History and Religious Culture* 88, no. 3 (2008): 347–69.

the Utrecht chapter of the Tertiaries or the Modern Devotion in general for the tradition and performance of complex polyphony such as found in *Uu 37.I.*[36] The only contemporary source mentioning music making is the Windesheim chronicle, which contains regulations set up by Johan Cele, rector at the city school in Zwolle (1374/75–1417). The chronicle states that simple polyphony is allowed at services, whereas the performance of complex polyphony must be restricted to Christmas Eve.[37]

The earliest manuscripts emanating from circles influenced by the Modern Devotion and containing music notation date from the middle of the fifteenth century. However, the majority of the surviving music books came into being in the first half of the sixteenth century.[38] Hence, it is reasonable to assume that those monasteries in Utrecht affiliated with the Modern Devotion were in possession of music books or booklets, but that complex polyphony is unlikely to have been fostered or used in this environment.

Parish Churches

Until the twelfth century, the Buurkerk was the only parish church in Utrecht. As such, it naturally took over the function of the official sacred space within the municipality. Amongst others, the Buurkerk hosted the chapel of the council and the altars of guilds. The ringing of bells for official announcements was performed from its tower.[39]

The Gregorian reform that was carried out during the episcopacy of bishop Godebald (1114–1127) together with the growing population most probably led to the establishment of three more parish churches, the Jacobikerk, Nicolaaskerk and Geertruidakerk (see **TABLE 3.3**). Since documentation detailing their construction is completely absent, their precise founding dates are unknown. The Buurkerk was situated in the center of the city very close to the cathedral; the Jacobikerk was built in the north; and the Nicolaaskerk was situated in the south of

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36   The impact of this rule on the communities of the Modern Devotion is little researched. Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113) - mit einer Edition der Gesänge* (Boston: Brill, 2002), 195–96.

37   Hascher-Burger, *Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 16 H 4*, XXII–XXIII.

38   One of the best-known manuscripts that can be connected with the Modern Devotion is the manuscript *Berlijn 190*. Research has shown that it is likely to have been copied in the Utrecht *Nedersticht*. Th. Mertens and Dieuwke E. van der Poel, eds., *Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190: Hs. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz germ. oct. 190*, Middeleeuwse verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 57. The most important manuscripts containing simple polyphony include B-Br IV 421, NL-Uu 16 H 34, B-Br IV 421, B-Br II 270, and D-Bsbha ms. germ.oct. 280.

39   Vroom, *De Financiering*, 345.

Parish churches in Utrecht		
No	**Name**	**Year of foundation**
1	Buurkerk	10th century
2	Jacobikerk	ca. 1173
3	Nicolaaskerk	12th century
4	Geertruidakerk	12th century

Table 3.3: Overview of parish churches in Utrecht.

the city. The Geertruidakerk was originally built outside of the city walls.[40] After their consecration in the twelfth century, the Jacobikerk, the Nicolaaskerk, and the Geertruidakerk underwent intense refurbishment up until the fifteenth century. Competition stimulated the builders and parishes to successively expand their churches.[41] However, in comparison to other cities in the northern Low Countries, the parish churches remained relatively modest in size.

Broederschappen [Confraternities]

At the end of the fifteenth century, Utrecht was home to no less than forty-three confraternities. Their statutory goal was to ensure the community's sincere Christian life on earth and to prepare its members for a dignified afterlife. Most probably the oldest confraternity was the *Onze Lieve Vrouwenbroederschap* [Confraternity of Our Lady, henceforth OLV]. Since almost all archival documents are lost, it can only be assumed that the institution was founded some time before the only proof of its existence—a title deed dating from 1309. Its association with the collegiate chapters suggests that the members were canons with a juridical education who took up functions in the retinue of high-ranking rulers. Similarly, the *Priesterbroederschap* [Confraternity of the Priests] founded in 1326 consisted of canons from the cathedral and the four collegiate chapters.[42]

The confraternities can be divided into three groups. The first group, to which most of the communities belonged, consisted of confraternities that permitted the membership of laypeople—both male and female. These confraternities, the majority of which were connected to parish churches and monasteries, held services, joint prayers, and

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40 Karl Emmens, "The Utrecht Parishes and Their Churches," in *Utrecht: Britain and the Continent*, ed. Elisabeth de Bièvre, The British Archeological Association Conference Transactions, XVIII (Leeds: W.S. Maney and Son, 1996), 113–14.

41 Emmens, "The Utrecht Parishes," 117.

42 Jules Struick, *Utrecht door de eeuwen heen* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1968), 216.

	Confraternities in Utrecht[43]		
No	**Name confraternity**	**Foundation**	**Affiliation**
1	Grote Kalende	1263	Collegiate chapters
2	OLV	1309	Maria in Vinea
3	Priesterbroederschap	1326	Collegiate chapters
4	Hl. Geestbroederschap van de 5 kapittels	1358	Collegiate chapters
5	Kleine Kalende	1360	Buurkerk
6	OLV ter Nood Gods	c. 1375	Nicolaikerk
7	OLV ter Nood Gods	c. 1380	Buurkerk
8	Hl. Kruis	1383	Jacobikerk
9	OLV ter Nood Gods	1394	Jacobikerk
10	St. Jan	1398	St. Jan
11	OLV	1392	Predikherenklooster
12	Jeruzalembroederschap	1394	Own chapel
13	H. Sacrament	c. 1410	Buurkerk
14	OLV	1414	Predikherenkerk
15	St. Sebastiaan	1427	Buurkerk
16	Hl. Kruis	1428	Unkonwn
17	Broederschap der Ellendige Zielen	1436	Buurkerk
18	Hl. Kruis	1437	Buurkerk
19	St. Servaas	1337	St. Servaaskerk
20	St. Maria Magdalena	1439	Wittevrouwenklooster
21	St. Antonius	1439	Jacobikerk
22	St. Anna	1440	Buurkerk
23	Hl. Drievuldigheid	1446	Buurkerk
24	St. Antonius	1450	St. Jan
25	St. Jacob	1450	Jacobikerk

Table 3.4: Overview of confraternities until 1450 in Utrecht.

commemorations. The well-situated *Kruisbroederschap* [Confraternity of the Holy Cross] at the Jacobikerk and the S. *Sebastiaansbroederschap* [Confraternity of St. Sebastian], both consisting of nearly one hundred male and female members, are exemplary of this group.[44] The confraternities in the second group took up similar tasks to the first. Affiliat-

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43 For a more detailed overview of confraternities, see Bogaers, "Aards, betrokken en zelfbewust," 847–52.
44 Struick, *Utrecht door de eeuwen heen*, 222.

ed to the cathedral or to one of the collegiate churches, membership of these confraternities was limited to clerics. The third group consisted of charitable institutions—the so-called *gasthuisbroederschappen* [confraternities of hospitality]. Organized in six institutions, they were responsible for the relief of the poor. Naturally, those confraternities were affiliated to the *gasthuizen* [hospitals].[45]

Documentation written by, and about, the confraternities in Utrecht is incredibly rare. Of the total of twenty-four confraternities with a known or an approximate foundation date either before or within 1350–1450 (see TABLE 3.4)—the period under investigation in this study—only four have surviving account books. No documentation survives from the two communities with wealthy and influential members, the confraternity OLV and the *Priesterbroederschap*.[46] This is especially regrettable because in previous studies researching polyphony in medieval cities, the archival documents of major confraternities played an important role in tracing the presence and use of polyphony.[47]

Gasthuizen [Hospitals]

The *gasthuizen*—which literally translates as guesthouses, but are actually hospitals—were Utrecht's welfare institutions. Initially, they were established to offer the homeless and pilgrims shelter for a maximum stay of one night. These houses could be found inside and outside of the city walls in order to cater for visitors within the city itself, and pilgrims who arrived after the city gates were closed.[48] Over time, the ongoing urbanization and growth of Utrecht required gradually more institutions and, especially in the fourteenth century, the guesthouses took on other tasks—the care of the sick, handicapped, and elderly. The significant rise of the number of guesthouses in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries points to the fact that the city of Utrecht established and maintained a well-organized system to provide basic health care for inhabitants with little financial resources.

Most of the monasteries in Utrecht made available rooms or entire buildings to host both the needy and travelers. The first monastery

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45 For a list of confraternities affiliated with hospitals, see Llewellyn Bogaers, "Aards, betrokken en zelfbewust: De verwevenheid van cultuur en religie in katholiek Utrecht, 1300-1600" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2008), 853–84.

46 John Henderson similarly observes a lack of archival documents for the majority of the confraternities in Florence, blaming the uneasy relationship with the Florentine regimes. John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 37.

47 For example, see Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1988); Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

48 Van Hulzen, *Utrechtse kloosters*, 15.

Gasthuizen in Utrecht				
No	Name	Foundation	Comments	Confraternity?
1	St. Catharijnengasthuis	1250		
2	Duitse Huis			
3	Melantenhuis	before 1267	Hospital for leprosy, outside of city at Kromme Rijn	
4	H. Geesthuis	1307		
5	Gasthuis at Buurkerk	before 1349		
6	St. Barbara- en St. Laurensgasthuis	1359		Yes
7	St. Agathagasthuis	1366		
8	St. Apolloniagasthuis	1367		
9	St. Margarethagasthuis	1367		
10	Gasthuis at cathedral	1369		
11	Jacobsgasthuis	before 1375		Yes
12	St. Joostgasthuis	1377		Yes
13	Bartholomeusgasthuis	1378	Also an institution for disabled; with confraternity	
14	Mariënwijngaardgasthuis	before 1378		Yes
15	St. Maria Magdalenagasthuis	1395		Yes
16	Eleemosynae Oudmunster	1402		
17	H. Kruisgasthuis	1408	Consecrated to St. Sebastian, St. Adrian, and St. Julian; located outside of the city wall; with confraternity	
18	St. Antoniusgasthuis	before 1439	Outside of city wall	Yes
19	St. Eloyengasthuis	before 1446	Founded by the guild of the smiths	
20	St. Martha's gasthuis	c. 1447		

Table 3.5: Overview of Gasthuizen until 1450 in Utrecht.

with a guesthouse next to its church was the Catharijneconvent. The order of the convent, the Hospitallers, defined its main tasks as taking care of pilgrims and the poor. For over a century they ran the first—and only—hospital. Archival sources from the early history of the Catharijnegasthuis in the 1250s provide evidence for the importance of the institution concerning poor relief.[49] In addition to the institutions

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49 Samuel Muller, *Geschiedenis der fundatiën, beheerd door het college van regenten der vereenigde gods- en gasthuizen te Utrecht* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1900), 3–4.

run by monasteries, hospitals were also founded by individuals.[50] They made available premises and paid for material costs and labor. After the Reformation, the majority of the hospitals were reappropriated, becoming homes for the elderly, regular hospitals, and orphanages.

Thus, in summary, Utrecht's institutional structure consisted of several layers, covering the spiritual demands of a broad section of the population. On the top of the hierarchy there was the cathedral, which had to share its power with the collegiate chapter of Oudmunster. As the less influential and more practically-oriented institutions, *gasthuizen* appear at the bottom of the hierarchy. The two top institutes—the cathedral and Oudmunster—are the most likely to have invested in culture, both because of their financial strength and power, but also for representational reasons. The remaining three collegiate chapters were of relative wealth and, although they will not be looked at in detail, some information will be given for comparison. To further our knowledge of these institutions, in the following sections their archival documentation, history, and function will be explored.[51] This is preceded by an outline of the history and keeping of archival records, which is necessary to fully understand the state of archival transmission at the cathedral and Oudmunster.

Archival Records at the Utrecht City Archive (HUA)

All archival documents in Utrecht today are kept at one single institution: the municipal archive named *Het Utrechts Archief* (HUA, [the Utrecht Archive]). It houses documents both from the city of Utrecht and the province. The archive has a long history—the first mention of charters kept in a box with drawers (*landkist*) and located in one of the town gates dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. It appears, however, that a considerable number of charters and documents concerning the city and the province of Utrecht were also kept in the archive of the cathedral. Samuel Muller assumed that until the first half of the sixteenth century the archive of the province of Utrecht consisted of charters and a few other documents, whereas important charters and other documents were kept at the cathedral.[52] However,

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50 The St. Barbara- en St. Laurentiusgasthuis, for example, was founded by the baker Ghisebrecht Weddeloep and his wife. Hulzen, *Utrechtse kloosters*, 105.

51 A list of archival documents consulted for this study is provided in Appendix 2. Selected surviving records of a wide range of institutions, such as accounts, were also consulted.

52 Samuel Muller, *Catalogus van het archief der Staten van Utrecht: 1375–1813* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1915), V–VII.

in reality, right up to the nineteenth century, the archives of the city, the cathedral, the four collegiate churches, and the monasteries were all kept separately, each of these institutions having their own repositories in which they preserved archival documents.

From the nineteenth century onwards, more attention was given to the administration of the archive of the Estates General. The first person appointed to inventory and order the archives in Utrecht was Petrus van Musschenbroek (1764–1824) who, in 1803 was followed by Petrus Jacobus Vermeulen (1809–1878). For the first time, Vermeulen systematically inventoried the archive of the cathedral after it had remained untouched for many years. He published the first comprehensive inventory of the city archives and the archives of the four collegiate churches and the cathedral in 1875.[53] After Vermeulen's death in 1878, Samuel Muller (1848–1922) became the new conservator and chief archivist. He acquired additional archival collections from institutions in Utrecht, aiming to close the gaps in the transmission of the archives available to him at the time.[54] Muller continued Vermeulen's work, publishing inventories of the archive of the province, the cathedral and St. Pieter, as well as archival records of monasteries, parish churches, and confraternities until 1920. In the first half of the twentieth century, his successors completed the inventories of the cathedral, the four collegiate chapters and a large number of smaller-sized monasteries, parish churches, and confraternities.[55] Inventories of other important institutions, such as the Paulusabdij and the female monasteries, were inventoried as late as in the 2000s. The structure and numbering inherent to the inventories of the archives set up at the beginning of the twentieth century remain the same to the present day.

Archival material was kept at two different institutions from the nineteenth century onwards: the *Gemeentearchief* [Archive of the Municipality] and the *Rijksarchief* [State Archive]. It was not until the late 1990s that these two archives were united under their present-day name *Het Utrechts Archief*. This merger, together with poor documentation about decisions made regarding the structuring and cataloguing of the HUA, has led to an arbitrary arrangement of the numbering of

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53 Petrus Jacobus Vermeulen, *Inventaris van het archief der Provincie Utrecht: Van den vroegsten tijd tot en met het jaar 1810*, 3 vols. (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1892).

54 Muller, *Catalogus van het archief der Staten*, XLIV–XLV.

55 The full title of the two collections, which cover several institutions, is: "Archieven, bewaard bij het stadsbestuur van Utrecht, in bewaring gegeven aan de stad. ('Bewaarde archieven I')" and "Archieven, bewaard bij het stadsbestuur van Utrecht, in bewaring gegeven aan de stad. ('Bewaarde archieven II')." Inventories of both of these collections can be found on the website of the HUA. "Archief," *Het Utrechts Archief*, accessed October 25, 2017, https://goo.gl/Rach3t.

single archive collections—a numbering that does not follow any super-ordinate rules. According to Mieke Breij, head of the reading room at the HUA, there is no documentation about the numberings applied to archival collections at the stage of the unification of the two archives.[56]

The range and number of surviving documents from individual institutions in Utrecht varies widely. An unknown number of sources was lost in the course of the Reformation at the end of the sixteenth century. In the 1580s all monasteries and chapters were closed down. Some of them continued to exist as reformed institutions, while others were abolished and their buildings used for different purposes. At the time the city of Utrecht was especially interested in the formation of a municipal library, appropriating books from monasteries and chapter libraries as a founding stock. However, the attitudes of the collegiate chapters and monasteries towards the city's desire to collect the material were very different. Whereas the monasteries reluctantly handed over their books, the collegiate chapters largely ignored the request. Instead, they distributed what property they could—including books—among the chapter members to prevent their confiscation.[57] This is one of the main reasons why documents dating from the foundation of the institutions to the late Middle Ages are often transmitted incomplete and with substantial lacunae. In the case of the cathedral, for example, a very limited number of archival documents survive until the fifteenth century, whereas from the sixteenth century onwards the level of documentation improves significantly. The same is true for many other institutions. In contrast, almost complete, comprehensive archival documentation of Oudmunster survives from 1347 onwards.[58]

History and Archival Transmission of the Cathedral and the Collegiate Churches

As elaborated in previous paragraphs, the cathedral and Oudmunster were the most powerful ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht. The three remaining chapters of St. Marie, St. Jan, and St. Pieter played subordinate, but nevertheless important roles in the institutional history of Utrecht. The cathedral and all collegiate chapters underwent

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56 Mieke Breij, personal communication with the author, November 3, 2015.
57 Koert van der Horst, L. C. Kuiper-Brussen, and P. N. G. Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1984), 176.
58 The official name of the biggest collegiate chapter is St. Salvator. As the chapter is best known under its vernacular name Oudmunster [Old Minster], it will be referred to with this name henceforth.

profound changes in the course of the Reformation at the end of the sixteenth century, yet continued—albeit as reformed institutions—until their final demise in 1811, after Napoleon Bonaparte's annexation of the Low Countries.[59]

Thanks to Jan Kuys's bibliographical study of collegiate chapters in the diocese of Utrecht published in 2014, we have a recent compendium of the archival holdings surviving from the three collegiate chapters of St. Marie, St. Jan, and St. Pieter.[60] In addition to an overview of the archival situation and an account of previous research, Kuys provides us with a short introduction into the history of these institutions. Further resources are Stuart Moore's study on the cathedral in the sixteenth century, which provides insight into the liturgical, economical, and to some extent social history of the cathedral, and Vim Vroom's examination of the cathedral's building history in the Middle Ages.[61] Finally, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen's 1997 book provides a major study on Oudmunster that offers detailed information about its history based on the corpus of archival records.[62]

Surviving archival documents yield insights into the history of the cathedral and Oudmunster in the late Middle Ages. They show the influence that the institution had on the election of the bishop, the possibility to install new prebends for canons, and the substitution of distinct official actions in the case of a vacant bishop's see.[63] Financial and property management was organized according to the division between the *grote kamer* (property related to the prebends of the canons), the *kleine kamer* (property destined for the *memorie*), and the fabric accounts.[64]

The Cathedral of St. Martin

As elaborated above, power relations between institutions in Utrecht were not defined as clearly as they were in other bishoprics. Tensions between the cathedral and Oudmunster were based on their somewhat indistinct histories of origin paired with approximately equal financial resources. In cases in which the transmission of documents allows for

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59 Horst, Kuiper-Brussen, and Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken*, 176; Kuys, *Repertorium*, 291.

60 Kuys, *Repertorium*.

61 Stuart Francis Campbell Moore, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht before the Revolt" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 1990); Vroom, *De Financiering*.

62 Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk: De Kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997).

63 For a detailed overview of all records from and about the cathedral, see Heeringa's inventory. Klaas Heeringa, *Inventaris van het Archief van het Kapittel van de Dom te Utrecht*, ed. Theo van de Sande (Utrecht: Het Utrechts Archief, 1929), 22.

64 For more detailed information about the financial accounts of ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht, see Chapter 4.

direct comparisons, it is clear that competition between the two institutions was an ongoing process, both institutions being eager to keep up with international standards of representation. On many levels, the cathedral and Oudmunster were thus on an equal footing.

The cathedral had forty prebends in addition to one prebend that was sub-divided among three canons, fulfilling the positions of priest, deacon, and sub-deacon during the weekly services.[65] Based on information rendered in various archival documents, a list of names of those who were in the possession of a prebend at the cathedral between 1400 and 1811 could be established. From this list, it is clear that the majority of the canons were of noble birth. As Moore puts it: "Evidently a resident canon of the Dom was a wealthy man in the wealthy echelons of a wealthy corporation."[66]

A multitude of relics were in the possession of the cathedral, the most noteworthy of which were relics of John the Baptist and the apostles Paulus and Petrus alongside with relics of St. Martin. What is more, dean Zweder Uterlo's foundation of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwen altar (an altar consecrated to Our Dear Lady) in 1367 entailed the purchase of pieces of the Holy Cross and Jesus's tomb next to a great number of relics of apostles, bishops and martyrs.[67]

The state of the archival record of the cathedral is incomplete and, as a matter of fact, very random. Documentation of the *grote kamer* starts in the year 1394, and records of the subsequent years until the 1460s only survive incomplete and in small numbers.[68] The same holds true for the *kleine kamer* from 1389 onwards.[69] The low number of accounts and other archival documents make a thorough analysis of its history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a challenging endeavor.[70] This may be the reason for the lack of comprehensive studies looking at the cathedral's history prior to 1500.

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65 Statutes written in 1342 by the cathedral canon Hugo Wstinc provide an overview of the functions that were associated with the prepends. Next to the sub-divided prebend, nine canons had to be priests, ten deacons, ten sub-deacons, and nine acolytes. HUA 216, inv. no. 67. A transcription of the text is published in Hugo Wstinc, *Het Rechtsboek van den dom van Utrecht*, ed. Samuel Muller (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1895).

66 Moore, "The Cathedral Chapter," 160.

67 "Databank Bedevaart En Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland: Utrecht H. Maarten (Martinus)," *www.meertens.knaw.nl*, accessed December 1, 2017, http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart/bol/plaats/1060.

68 Heeringa, *Inventaris van het Archief*, 119–21. HUA 116, inv. no. 626-1, 2.

69 Heeringa *Inventaris van het Archief*, 122–24. HUA 116, inv. no. 633-1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

70 In a comprehensive inventory of the cathedral's archive, Heeringa elaborates on its history at length. He states that the archive underwent a re-organization in the course of the reformation (1580), during which the most important documents were brought to a private house. In the following centuries, the archive was renovated several times until its closure in 1811. The first complete inventory of the archive was established in 1891–1895.

Oudmunster

Unlike the cathedral chapter, the chapter of Oudmunster benefits from a comparatively rich documentation from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. From an almost complete set of account books divided into the *kleine kamer*, *grote kamer*, and fabric accounts starting in the year 1347, to testaments and charters, a wide variety of documents survive to the present day. Thanks to Van den Hoven van Genderen's 1997 monograph, the archival material of Oudmunster has been thoroughly studied and contextualized.[71] His work brings to the fore various aspects of the organizational structure, from the building and refurbishing of the church and other facilities, to the lives of the canons in and around the collegiate chapter.[72]

Oudmunster was located at what is now the cathedral square, where it was positioned between the cathedral, the Paulusabdij, and the episcopal palace (the *bisschopshof*). The constraints of the physical space imply that Oudmunster was a mid-sized chapter church with little possibilities for expansion. The church itself was built according to the model of a cross, a shape quite peculiar in comparison to the appearances of other collegiate churches in Utrecht. It consisted of a broad transept and a short nave with narrow aisles.[73] The desire to recreate the Holy Cross was only one reason for the church's shape; another reason was the need for representational space—Oudmunster was home to a number of important relics that had to be suitably presented. Next to relics of saints such as Willibrord, Odulf, Pancratius, Gregorius, and Bonifatius, Oudmunster was in possession of four other highly significant relics: a piece of the True Cross and pieces of fabric worn by Christ, Mary, and St. John the apostle.[74] In 1587, after the Reformation, the church complex was destroyed and the rubble was used for

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71 Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*.
72 Other important publications on the history of Oudmunster in the Middle Ages are Louise E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud en zilversmeden te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (The Hague: G. Schwartz/SDU, 1990); R. E. de Bruin, "Brokstukken van twee kerken: Bouw- en beeldhouwfragmenten van Dom en Oudmunster," *De Domkerk: Bericht van de Stichting Vrienden van de Domkerk* 11, no. 1 (1999): 5–11; Charles Caspers and Louis van Tongeren, *Unitas in Pluritate: Libri Ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen Und Forschungen 103 (Munster: Aschendorff, 2015); Reitze Johann Stöver, *De Salvator- of Oudmunsterkerk te Utrecht: Stichtingsmonument van het Bisdom Utrecht* (Utrecht: Clavis, 1997).
73 Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 504.
74 The first reference to the restoration of a cross is recorded in the fabric accounts of 1390–1391; HUA 223, inv. no. 483–84. A series of inventories of church decoration at Oudmunster between 1569 and 1627 reveal that Oudmunster was in possession of four crosses, presumably one of which was the cross with the relics; HUA 223, inv. no. 404. A transcript of the 1578 inventory is contained in Samuel Muller, "Inventaris van het goud- en silverwerk der Utrechtsche geestelijke gestichten in 1578," *AAU* 7 (1879): 284–350.

the fortification of the town. Thanks to a detailed description of the church written by the canon Jan Mersman in 1592 after its destruction, we still have some information about the church's internal arrangements.[75] A drawing by Aernout van Buchel from 1616 gives an idea of the shape and size of Oudmunster before its deconstruction (see **FIGURE 3.1**).

Oudmunster consisted of a community of twenty canons with a prebend. This is a relatively modest number in comparison to the cathedral chapter, which held forty prebends. A glance at the list of canons with a prebend at Oudmunster reveals that between 1335 and 1437 eighty-nine canons were affiliated to the chapter. Forty-four canons held two or more offices at the papal curia or at other institutions and courts, in addition to their prepend at Oudmunster. Of those forty-four canons nine were in the service of three or more rulers with both regional and international influence.[76] It is thus clear that many of the Oudmunster canons were active on an inter-regional level—a fact that could be taken as an indication that they were highly educated.

Figure 3.1: Drawing of Oudmunster by Aernaout van Buchel, ca. 1615 in Monumenta passim in templis (image source: HUA Hss_van_Buchel_Monumenta, fol. 60).

Due to the small number of canons in combination with the comparatively large endowment of Oudmunster, their income from the corpus was comparably high. Van den Hoven van Genderen compared the incomes of canons at Oudmunster to the wages of stonemasons and foremen hired for the construction of the new Gothic cathedral. Thereby, he took into account the corpus of the prebends, calculating an average rate of return which, in turn, is provided in Utrecht pounds

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75 Reconstructions of Oudmunster are based on Jan Merman's 1592 detailed description of the church after its demolition; HUA 88, inv. no. 160, no foliation. A transcript and translation of the text is provided in J. H. Hofman, "Topographia," *AAU* 1 (1875): 340–85. Ground plans and a drawing by Aernout van Buchel (1565–1641) further complete the picture; HUA Hss_van_Buchel_Monumenta, inv. no. 1, Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa, fol. 60r.

76 Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 727–30, 744–47.

and grams of gold. Account books from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries stating the number of craftsmen, their function, the number of days worked, and their daily wages, allow for a direct comparison of the incomes. Van den Hoven van Genderen states that the incomes of the canons were five times higher than the average wage of a foreman and exceeded the salary of a stonemason by more than three times.[77] The incomes of canons of Oudmunster, moreover, were at least as high as those of canons at the cathedral.[78] In short, the Oudmunster prebends were not only extraordinarily lucrative by Utrecht standards, but also by international standards, ensuring that the Oudmunster canons belonged to the "financial top earners" of Europe at the time.[79]

Agriculturally productive years brought about an especially favorable overall financial situation in the first half of the fourteenth century. The chapter's prosperity was directly dependent on the production of grain, as about three quarters of its corpus consisted of the tithe of grain. However, when a prolonged agricultural crisis emerged in the second half of the fourteenth century the canons succeeded in stabilizing their incomes by tying incomes from lease contracts to relatively stable gold currencies.[80] This may, among others, explain the chapter's developments in several areas during the second half of the fourteenth century against the background of an otherwise struggling economy. Under the deanship of Gerard Foec (1348–1374) the church was refurbished, conflicts were resolved, and the sequence of services was optimized.[81] More about the life of Gerard Foec and other prominent canons will be presented in Chapter 4.

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77 Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Lumpen oder Luxus?," 319.

78 Van den Hoven van Genderen provides us with a list of chapters and their values of prebends in the Holy Roman Empire in the second half of the fifteenth century. According to this list, the cathedral, Oudmunster, and St. Jan were the institutions with the most lucrative prebends. Only the cathedrals of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier may have had higher incomes from prebends. Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Lumpen oder Luxus?," 382.

79 "Compared to incomes elsewhere the canons of Oudmunster were on the same footing as the canons of some exclusive cathedral chapters. Within Europe they belonged to the 'financial top,' too." ["Vergeleken met de inkomsten elders staan de kanunniken van Oudmunster op dezelfde voet als de kanunniken van enkele selecte kathedrale kapittels. Ook binnen Europa behoorden ze dus tot de 'financiële top.'"] Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 421.

80 Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Lumpen oder Luxus?," 389. For a more detailed description and evaluation of the agricultural crisis in the second half of the fourteenth century in the Low Countries, see Van den Hoven van Genderen, "The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy," 516–23.

81 A closer consideration of Gerard Foec's and his nephew Evert Foec's life and career is provided in Chapter 4.

Conclusions

Utrecht strategically, politically, and financially established itself from the early stages of its development in the high Middle Ages. Ongoing urbanization and flourishing local trade, together with the fact that Utrecht was the bishop's see of the diocese, provided excellent conditions for the establishment of a leading position in the local economy and an active involvement in local and trans-regional politics.

The wealth (in both senses of the word) of ecclesiastical institutions including collegiate chapters, monasteries, parish churches, confraternities, and hospitals in late-medieval Utrecht mirrors a neat institutional structure. Within this structure, the superior position of the cathedral and Oudmunster is evident, not only from their status as the cathedral and collegiate chapter, but also from lucrative prebends. The remaining institutions covered the multifarious needs of Utrecht's inhabitants from the monasteries for noble women to the confraternities, in which individuals could engage themselves outside of regular services.

The Reformation, as the major turning point in the history of the Roman catholic church, was not only responsible for great upheavals at the time, but also, in a contemporary context, for the (at times) complete absence of archival records from Utrecht. The most influential institution—the bishop's court—has no surviving records, whereas financial accounts and limited documentation between 1350 and 1450 do exist for the cathedral and the four collegiate chapters. Based on the history and socio-political status presented in this chapter, Chapter 4 will concentrate on the cultural environment and musical activities in late-medieval Utrecht as evident from archival records of the cathedral and Oudmunster, and will also take into consideration specific archival information from other institutions.

Chapter 4
Culture at Ecclesiastical Institutions in Late Medieval Utrecht

In Chapter 3, we have seen that late-medieval Utrecht was home to a great variety of ecclesiastical institutions, the two most important of which—the cathedral and Oudmunster—had considerable financial resources at their disposal. This chapter examines the cultural milieu of Utrecht between 1350 and 1450 from archival records in order to further support the claim that complex polyphony, as found in the U*u* 37.I fragments, was present.

The number of surviving archival records varies greatly between institutions and in many cases records were lost over the centuries. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study the corpus of archival records from ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht between 1350 and 1450 is sufficiently extensive to render necessary a selection process in order to identify the most relevant material. This process was undertaken with consideration for earlier studies on music in medieval cities. One of the most important reference resources for the selection process was Barbara Haggh's 1996 article, in which she elaborates specifically on the search for references concerning polyphony. Based on research experience gained during her study of Brussels in the late Middle Ages, she argues that foundations of individuals for the salvation of their souls play a crucial role in reconstructing the landscape of polyphonic music.[1] Furthermore, she states that it is not only the foundation itself that has to be considered, but more importantly, the renewals of foundations and other related documents such as testaments, account books, and cartularies.[2] In compliance with Haggh's observations, the research of archival documents in this study is based on three types of documents: account books; foundations; and selected testaments. A number of other documents, furthermore, were consulted in order to enrich and complete the picture of Utrecht's cultural environment.[3]

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[1]   Barbara Helen Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions?: On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music," *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 101–102.

[2]   Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions?," 102.

[3]   For a complete list of documents consulted, see Appendix 2.

In this chapter, the focus lies on the two most important ecclesiastical institutions—the cathedral and the collegiate chapter of Oudmunster, the surviving account books and necrologies of which build the core of the archival research. A selected number of other archival documents complete the picture of the musical environment in Utrecht around the turn of the fifteenth century.

This chapter will first focus on the lives of prominent individuals. The field of view will then broaden by looking at the cultural environment of the two most important ecclesiastical intuitions—the cathedral and Oudmunster—and more generally, the investments made into culture in late-medieval Utrecht. Finally, the closing section of this chapter is dedicated to the presence of music, paying special consideration to the organ tradition at the cathedral and Oudmunster.

Selection of Archival Records

The previous chapter on the ecclesiastical institutions of Utrecht—specifically, the preservation of their archival records—has shown that, similar to the situation in many other mid-sized cities, archival documentation for the later Middle Ages up to the second half of the fifteenth century is only available in limited quantities. This leaves us with very unbalanced archival situations per institution. For example, from Oudmunster there exists a nearly complete set of wide-ranging archival documents. In contrast, however, for many other institutions—including monasteries and confraternities—only small amounts of archival material remain. None of the archival records of the bishop's court from the period before c.1550 survive.

The types of archival documents that survive in the greatest quantity in the period between 1350 and 1450 tend to be account books. The Utrecht cathedral and collegiate chapters differentiate between three different types of accounts: the *kleine kamer* (minor chamber), the *grote kamer* (major chamber), and the *fabriek* (fabric). This system of recording expenses and revenues can be found in the earliest surviving account books from 1347.[4] The *grote kamer* lists the tithes, lands owned and their rental yields, followed by goods to which special conditions like a specific payday applied. The *kleine kamer* comprises the *memories*,

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4   Accounts of the *grote kamer* and *kleine kamer* at Oudmunster both survive from 1347 onwards, but show large gaps in the fourteenth century. The same applies to Oudmunster's fabric accounts, with 1347 being the first year of surviving financial documentation. Account books of the remaining four collegiate chapters, including the cathedral, survive from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. Until 1450 all collections show substantial gaps.

feasts, and attendance fees.[5] Finally, the *fabriek* records the costs for administration, the maintenance of property, construction work, and the payment of salaries.

In the course of this study, a selection of account books from the most important institutions have been systematically analyzed. This analysis was undertaken in order to identify entries about the production of cultural goods, such as payments for books, instruments, and musical performances. For the period between 1347—the year of the earliest surviving account book—to 1450, the fabric accounts of the cathedral and Oudmunster have been thoroughly analyzed. Surviving material and general accounts from the remaining collegiate chapters, the parishes, and the confraternities were also taken into account. As discussed in Chapter 3, the preservation of the monasteries' archives is particularly incomplete, at times even missing completely. Even for those monastic institutions that may have once held records documenting instances of polyphony, no archival documents relevant to this study survive. Other archival records were selectively consulted and included documents about the teaching and performance of music within an ecclesiastical setting. Furthermore, this study relies on secondary literature in cases where the records themselves were unavailable for study or the scope of the documents was deemed too extensive to be researched by a single individual. Transcripts written in the period between the last decades of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century were available for a multitude of archival documents from various institutions (see **CHAPTER 3**).[6]

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5   For more detailed information about the history and structure of the collegiate chapter's account books, see Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, "Registers en rekeningen: Een voorbeeld van middeleeuwse administratie en verschriftelijking," in *De kerk en de Nederlanden: Archieven, instellingen, samenleving* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997): 174–79.

6   N. B. Tenhaeff, *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom te Utrecht* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1946); Christiaan Cornelis Vlam and Maarten Albert Vente, *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, Documenta et Archivalia ad historiam musicae neerlandicae 1 (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1965); Christiaan Cornelis Vlam and Maarten Albert Vente, eds., *Bouwstenen voor een Geschiedenis der Toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, Documenta et Archivalia ad historiam musicae neerlandicae 2 (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1971); Maarten Albert Vente, *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, Documenta et Archivalia ad historiam musicae neerlandicae 3 (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1980). For the full list of published transcriptions, see Appendix 2.

Past Studies Examining Utrecht's Musical Environment

Given the limited availability of archival records, it is hardly surprising that only a small number of archival studies examine Utrecht's musical environment in the Middle Ages.[7] A study by C. Lingbeek-Schalekamp concentrated on the relationship between musicians and the authorities.[8] His study mainly covers cities of what are known today as the provinces of North and South Holland. Whilst the cultural environment in Utrecht is mentioned regularly, the references often concern the period after 1450.

A second, more recent study by Mariëlla Beukers takes the form of an article examining city minstrels in Utrecht until 1528.[9] Based on the city's account books and a number of selected accounts of confraternities, she explores the city of Utrecht in its capacity as an employer of musicians. Most importantly for our purposes here, she highlights the lively exchange of musicians between Utrecht and other cities such as Haarlem, Rhenen, and Cologne.[10] Regular appearances of minstrels from Utrecht in the accounts of authorities and city officials confirm the proposition that travelling (within a certain radius) was an inherent part of a minstrel's professional profile—and no less so for those of Utrecht. An entry in 1377 in the accounts of the Count of Holland detailing a visit by Utrecht minstrels and the many visiting minstrels in the entourage of the Countess of Holland supports the view that musical exchanges between the city of Utrecht and the court at The Hague happened on a regular basis.[11] Antheun Janse mentions the city of Utrecht as the place where the minstrels of Count Albert I of Holland played during the new prince-bishop Frederic van Blankenheim's election in 1393. Janse otherwise concentrates on the court at The Hague as the possible place of origin for *Uu 37.II* and *Lu 2720*.[12]

Beukers's list of minstrels from the bishop's household appearing in the account books of the city give an idea about the number and kind of instrumentalists in the service of the bishop of Utrecht. From 1430 onwards minstrels of the episcopal household appear regularly in the

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7   Studies about chant in medieval Utrecht are discussed below.

8   C. Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en muziek in Holland tot 1672: Een onderzoek naar de rechten en plichten van zangers, organisten, beiaardiers en speellieden, in overheidsdienst in de Nederlanden, in het bijzonder in Holland, tot 1672* (Rotterdam: Blok & Floor, 1984).

9   Mariëlla Beukers, "'For the Honour of the City': Utrecht City Minstrels between 1377 and 1528," *TVNM* 41, no. 1 (1991): 3–25.

10   Beukers, "'For the Honour of the City,'" 8, 9–10.

11   Beukers, "'For the Honour of the City,'" 4, 18–19.

12   Antheun Janse, "Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358–1404) in Den Haag," *TVNM* 36 (1986): 140–41.

account books of the city.[13] Even though it is unlikely that the repertoire of minstrels in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries included complex polyphony of the kind found in the *Uu 37.I* fragments, their presence in the city and, more importantly, their travelling activities show that the prince-bishop and possibly also the city of Utrecht participated actively in the maintenance and exchange of music and musicians.

The construction (and subsequent playing) of organs as an integral part of the interior of Utrecht's churches have been extensively researched by Albert Maarten Vente, whilst also being the subject of further scholarly attention.[14] In the 1960s, Vente was the first scholar with a musicological background to work with archival sources in Utrecht. His focus was on the surviving account books of the collegiate chapters—transcriptions of which he published in the first three volumes of the series *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*. A brief examination of these transcripts reveals that the majority of the entries concern the making, restoration, and playing of organs.[15] Records about book production and other expenses related to cultural assets are also occasionally included. Evidently—and as a trained organist—Vente opted for a selective transcription of the account books, favoring items related to his own research interests in organ culture. This creates a biased picture of the expenses and investments of the collegiate chapters. Vente himself summarized and contextualized the results of his archival studies in a book he published on the organ tradition in Utrecht at the very end of his career.[16] The book offers insight into the history of the organ in Utrecht and the surrounding area. However, it fails to paint a bigger picture of the musical environment in Utrecht, in which the organ played a central role, but was certainly not the only means by which to perform music.

In the light of earlier studies that largely concentrate on different aspects of instrumental music, in this chapter I will explore Utrecht's cultural and musical environment as a whole. The cultural life of the city will be approached from several different angles. An examination

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13   Beukers, "'For the Honour of the City,'" §20–21.

14   His most important publications include: Maarten Albert Vente, *Orgels en organisten van de Dom te Utrecht van de 14e eeuw tot heden* (Utrecht: Citypastoraat Domkerk van de Hervormde Gemeente, 1975); Maarten Albert Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen: Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der orgelcultuur in de Lage Landen tot omstreeks 1630*, Muziekhistorische monografieën 12 (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musikgeschiedenis, 1989); Vlam and Vente, *Bouwstenen 1*. See also Henk Verhoef, *Het oude orgel van de Nicolaïkerk te Utrecht: Kroongetuige van de Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2009).

15   Vente abstained from publishing transcriptions of the cathedral's fabric accounts, most probably because they were published in 1946 in Tenhaeff, *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis*.

16   Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*.

of the lives and careers of prominent canons will tell us something about their education and international cultural connections, as well as their possible inclinations towards the patronage of complex polyphony. A number of cultural artifacts, moreover, will be discussed—some surviving, and some now lost, yet mentioned in archival records. The organ tradition in Utrecht will also be reconsidered, taking into account a variety of cultural aspects that formed the basis for an extraordinarily versatile use of the instrument. Looking at the cultural environment of Utrecht from these differing angles will yield a better understanding of the cultural milieu in Utrecht from the second half of the fourteenth century until around 1450.

Career Paths of Prominent Canons

Examining the careers of some of the prominent canons in Utrecht will tell us more about investments into, and the appreciation of, culture and (complex) music in particular. The majority of the Utrecht canons came from wealthy and influential families, some of them with their roots in Utrecht, whilst others came from nearby regions such as Zeeland or Cologne. Only in exceptional cases did canons come from further afield.[17] Since prebends were often passed on to members of the same family, the ratio between individual canons without a financially strong family background and those who came from the local nobility stayed stable over decades or even centuries. Often canons from influential families held multiple prebends and offices.

Archival documents give us access to the names of the members at the cathedral chapter and the collegiate chapters in the period during which they held prebends.[18] Depending on the individual education and careers of each canon, it is also sometimes possible to analyze their travels and their professional relations in detail. However, limitations of time did not allow me to conduct original research on primary sourc-

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17   Johannes de Pistorio, dean of Oudmunster from 1342–1348, originated from Pistoia, a city in the vicinity of Florence. Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk: De Kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997), 727.

18   Bram van den Hoven van Genderen provides a complete list of canons at Oudmunster until 1572; Jan Kuys gives an overview of the deans of St. Marie, St. Jan, and St. Pieter. Moore, finally, focuses on the canons of the cathedral in the sixteenth century, but refrains from providing a complete overview of canons at the cathedral from the beginning of the archival documentation. Stuart Francis Campbell Moore, "The Cathedral Chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht Before the Revolt" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 1990); Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk,* 727–31; Jan Kuys, *Repertorium van collegiale kapittels in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014).

es at this point. Information on the—often cosmopolitan—biographies of individual canons thus includes information taken from a number of secondary studies

Gerard Foec (c. 1320–1383)

Gerard Foec enjoyed a first-class education at the university of Orléans—one of the most prestigious universities in the fourteenth century.[19] He obtained his *baccalaureus legum* in 1340, his studies also including canon law.[20] He held a prebend in Münster during his early career and by the end of the 1340s he became canon and dean at Oudmunster. In 1374, he passed on the deanship to his nephew Everard Foec, taking up a benefice at Cologne Cathedral. Even though he kept his prebend at Oudmunster, thereafter he spent most his time in Cologne.

Besides his prebend in Utrecht, Gerard Foec held a number of offices in the retinues of various high-ranking officials and noblemen: He was an official and councilor to the bishop of Utrecht, Jan van Arkel (1314–1378), and chaplain and *familiaris* of cardinal Guy de Boulogne. Furthermore, he was in the council of Albert I, Count of Holland (1336–1404), and John II, Count of Blois (†1381). Finally, as chaplain, vicar-general, and councilor, he was in the service of for the elector-archbishop of Cologne. Gerard Foec's employment—at almost all the politically important institutions in the northern Low Countries and beyond—indicates that he was an esteemed expert in secular and canon law. This made him a perfect candidate to represent the interests of various noblemen and the bishop of Utrecht in Avignon in the 1340s.

It is this stay in Avignon that deserves special attention. As the city with the papal court, Avignon was one of the cultural crossroads of the mid-fourteenth century, in particular during the papacy of Clement VI (1291–1352). Occasional visitors, such as Philip de Vitry (1291–1362), and the presence of early humanists such as Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), indicate that at the time Avignon was a center for both the production and transmission of culture. Furthermore, detailed descriptions of meals and feasts given for pope Clement VI paint a picture of lavish events with expensive food, drinks, and music, enjoyed by knights and clerics.[21] Gerard Foec stayed in Avignon during pope Clement VI's pontificate from 1342 to 1352, assuming the

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[19] Gerard Foec was the son of Evert Foec, the major of Utrecht in the first half of the fourteenth century.

[20] Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 283; Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, "Evert Foec (1345/50–1418): Kanunnik, jurist en stichter van armenuitkeringen," *Utrechtse biografieen: Levensbeschrijvingen van bekende en onbekende Utrechters* 4 (1996): 71.

[21] Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 16–17.

role of agent and mediator. The function almost certainly required his presence at feasts and other—possibly private—events, during which he could have encountered polyphony.[22] Cardinal Guy de Boulogne—to whose retinue Gerard Foec belonged—was also the patron of Philip de Vitry. This makes Foec's encounter with polyphony a likely scenario. For instance, he could have listened to the motet *Petre Clemens/Lugentium siccentur*, which scholars believe to have come into existence not long after 1342.[23]

Gerard Foec's testament from 1378 is kept at the HUA today. Among the many entries about the distribution of his lands and assets we find an entry about his book collection: "Item he left all his books about canon and civil law, working papers, bound volumes, and booklets to cleric Everardus Foec, dean of the church of St Salvator [and] his nephew."[24] Gerard Foec's book collection thus consisted of specialist literature concerned with law in the form of manuscripts (*codices*), as well as non-specific writings (*scripturas*), and convolutes (*quaternos*). Gerard Foec donated money to the choirboys that, amongst other uses, was used in 1423 to hire a second *magister choralium* [teacher of the choirboys]. Other relevant information in the testament concerns foundations for the poor and his wish to be buried at Oudmunster.

In light of the foregoing, a picture emerges of Gerard Foec as an influential and very successful cleric who owed his career, not only to his family background, but also to the fact that he was highly esteemed because of his specialist skills. Holding a degree in canonic and secular law and taking up diplomatic functions for high-ranking political figures, his professional life was clearly centered around law and politics. During his stay in Avignon and his earlier studies at the University of Orléans, he almost certainly encountered mensurally-notated polyphonic music—the same almost certainly applying to his time in the retinue of Guy de Boulogne or to the frequently held festivities. Moreover, in the role of a patron or purchaser, he could also have brought a taste for sophisticated music to Utrecht. As Gerard Foec's stay in Avignon was about half a century before the approximate dating of *Uu* 37.I, a direct connection between Foec and the *Uu* 37.I fragments seems unlikely. His nephew Evert Foec, however, to whom we shall

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22   One of the accounts describes a feast given for pope Clement VI in detail. The document (dated 1343) reports many times when music was sung and played. The account book entry is transcribed in Tomasello, *Music and Ritual,* 16–17, especially fn 64.

23   Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 15–19; Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, 15; Andrew Wathey, "The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," *EMH* 12 (1993): 135.

24   HUA 223, inv. no. 151, September 4, 1378. For the original text in Latin, see Appendix 2.

turn in the following section, was dean of Oudmunster until 1418. He therefore could have been involved in purchasing and hearing singers perform music of the kind compiled in U*u* 37.I.

Evert Foec (c. 1345–1418)

Evert Foec's career followed an almost identical course to that of Gerard Foec. His education, prebends, offices and, more importantly, his talent to mediate between parties were very similar to those of his uncle, Gerard.[25] Evert Foec, as did Gerard before him, studied canon and secular law at the university of Orléans. Thereafter, he became a canon at the cathedral of Liège as well as at the court chapter of The Hague. In 1374 he took over the deanery of Oudmunster from his uncle. Moreover, he was counsel and legal adviser of the Count of Holland. He held similar positions for various cardinals and bishops, such as the prince-bishop of Utrecht and the prince-bishop of Liège, and he also was a member of the Holland Party, through which he supported a candidate from Holland as prince-bishop of Utrecht.[26] During his deanship at Oudmunster, Evert Foec figured as one of the main advisors for the leaders of the Modern Devotion movement. The fact that he held a degree in law, in conjunction with his close professional relationship with the bishop of Utrecht, made him a perfect candidate for this role. He led negotiations between members of the Modern Devotion movement and the bishop, being largely responsible for the establishment of papal statutes for the brothers and sisters of the third order of St. Francis.[27]

During his relatively long term of office as dean of Oudmunster, he followed Gerard Foec's politics closely. One of the significant dif-

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[25] "Vanwege zijn juridische deskundigheid was hij een veelgevraagd scheidsrechter in moeilijke rechtszaken, en trad hij diverse malen op als pauselijk gedelegeerde; tevens stond hij zijn geboortestad in juridische kwesties bij. Op politiek terrein was hij jarenlang raadgever van de graaf van Holland en diens zoon, de jeugdige elect van Luik" (translated by the author). ["Because of his legal expertise, he was a much sought-after arbitrator in difficult legal cases. Moreover, he acted as a delegate for the pope several times. Additionally, he advised his home town in legal questions. With regard to his political career, he was advisor of the Count of Holland and his son, the young bishop-elect of Liège, for years."] Bram Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Kanunniken, kloosters en kerkgebouwen in laat-middeleeuws Utrecht," in *Utrecht tussen kerk en staat*, ed. Rene E. V. Stuip and Kees Vellekoop (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), 204–205.

[26] Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Evert Foec," 72. Evert Foec received the title *ereburger* [honorary citizen] from the city of Utrecht in 1390. The nomination for this honorary title at the time was exceptional for a canon, since clerics were usually excluded from citizenship. Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Evert Foec," 73.

[27] Hildo van Engen, *De derde orde van Sint-Franciscus in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht: Een bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), 128. Evert Foec's position and his personal involvement in the movement still need to be researched thoroughly.

ferences between Gerard's and Evert's deanship, however, was their physical presence in Utrecht. While Gerard is known to have resided in, and travelled to, other cities more than half of the year, Evert chose Utrecht as his permanent residence. Evert inherited a large portion of Gerard's estate, including money, claustral houses in Utrecht, and precious objects.

From a cultural point of view, Evert Foec's relation to Albert I, the Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut, is of special interest. Antheun Janse brought to our attention the sophisticated tradition of the arts and music at the court of The Hague, and most important in this context is Albert I's endowment of a collegiate church at the court of The Hague in 1367. As many as twelve canons, four chaplains, and an unknown number of choirboys were affiliated with this institution.[28] Moreover, in 1395 three professional singers joined the court chapel, one of which is associated with the composer Martinus Fabri. Four of his compositions survive in the Leiden fragments, *Lu 2720*.[29] It is thus almost certain that polyphonic music was performed at the court of The Hague at the end of the fourteenth century. Evert Foec's presence as a canon at the collegiate chapter and court chapel at The Hague is verifiable at least between 1389 and 1390. Even though Evert Foec's appointment was prior to the professional singer's appearance in the account books, it is still very likely that he came into contact with the kind of polyphonic music practiced at the court of The Hague.

Is it conceivable that Evert Foec, influenced by the cultural happenings at the court of The Hague and his culturally well-informed uncle, was responsible for the purchase of music books containing polyphony. Did he intend to bring Oudmunster, politically *and* culturally, closer to the court at The Hague? It is possible that Evert Foec acquired some of the music that was in use in The Hague sometime after 1409. Under the guidance of the *succentor* [under-singer, who helps preparing and conducting the liturgy] hired only one year after his death in 1419, polyphonic Mass settings could have been performed at Oudmunster.

Other Prominent Canons

The following short biography of Hendrik Scatter (c. 1370–1451) is representative of any cosmopolitan canon with several lucrative benefices and offices at politically highly influential institutions that could be found at late-medieval Utrecht. Even though his link to Utrecht was not as strong as that of Gerard and Evert Foec, some of his career moves

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28   Janse, "Het muziekleven," 140, fn 41.
29   Janse, "Het muziekleven," 150.

connect him to certain musical hotspots of the early fifteenth century. Scatter was canon at Oudmunster from 1420 to 1437. He seems to have been what today might be referred to as an "all-rounder." Having obtained a degree in medicine and liberal arts at the universities of Cologne and Paris, he first became a canon at the cathedral of Liège in 1413. In 1420, he received a prebend from Oudmunster, followed by another in 1425 from the cathedral of Utrecht.[30] Simultaneously, as a highly-esteemed doctor, he was in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, John III (1374–1425), the prince-bishop of Liège (1389–1418), and the Duke of Bavaria-Straubing (1417–1425), as well as the Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut (1417–1425). In the retinue of these prominent noblemen he held a number of other offices, such as a membership of various councils, clerk, and envoy.[31] Furthermore, at the universities of Paris and Leuven he was both professor and dean of the faculty of medicine. As a delegate of the university of Leuven he participated in the council of Basel in 1431.[32] At the end of his career, in 1441, he swapped his prebend and function as a cantor of Oudmunster with Johannes Surlet, who was canon and cantor at the cathedral of Liège. Shortly after, he was elected dean at the cathedral of Liège, in the course of which he lead the institute from 1443 to c. 1451.[33] Given the fact that Scatter was cantor at Oudmunster and later in Liège, it is likely that he had some knowledge of musical matters, even though the office may have been largely ceremonial and the real work of managing the musical aspects of the liturgy carried out by a substitute. Scatter could also—in the same way as proposed for Gerard and Evert Foec—have been actively involved in the musical exchange between Utrecht and cultural hotspots such as Liège, the court of Burgundy, and Basel.

Another prominent canon, Peter de Steyn—canon at Oudmunster from 1400 until 1436—had family ties to the aristocratic family Van Borsele from Zeeland, which may have been one of the main reasons for his election as a canon at Oudmunster. It is known that De Steyn was one of the few canons at Oudmunster who donated money for the

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[30] Hendrik Scatter is first listed as a student in 1378. Hermann Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln 1389 bis 1475*, vol. 1, Die Kölner Universitäts-Matrikel 8 (Bonn: Behrend, 1892), 579.

[31] For a complete list of his offices, see Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 744–47.

[32] His employment at the university of Leuven and his participation at the Council of Basel are recorded in Aernout van Buchel, "Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Traiectinae urbis atque agri inventa" (Utrecht, 1610–1620), 30v.

[33] P. J. Blok and P. C. Molhuysen, "Scatter, Hendrik," in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* 10 (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's uitgevers-maatschappij, 1937): 877–78; Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 724; J. H. Hofman, "Dr Hendrik Scatter: Choorbisschop te Utrecht, hoogleraar te Leuven, domdeken te Luik," *AAU* 30 (1905): 309.

establishment of a chapel in the church.[34] Other than that we have little information about De Steyn's life. However, his family background indirectly connects him to the Gruuthuse manuscript.

The first known owner of the manuscript, Louis van Gruuthuse, was married to Margareta van Borsele. Herman Brinkman suggests that Louis van Gruuthuse could have acquired the manuscript via Hendrik van Borsele (c. 1404–1474), as the Gruuthuse manuscript shows the same coat of arms as another book in his collection that originally belonged to the library of Henry van Borsele.[35] It is thus clear that the Van Borsele family had an interest in culture, and in literature and music in particular. Being born into the Van Borsele family, it cannot be ruled out that Peter de Steyn similarly came into contact—and possibly also fostered—the production and performance of polyphony in one way or another.

The above briefly examined the biographies of four canons living in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—all exemplary of a certain group of prominent canons of Oudmunster. We also examined their relation to culture, with some of them, such as Evert Foec and Hendrik Scatter, living quite cosmopolitan lives. During their travels in the retinue of the ruling aristocracy or as delegates, they may well have encountered the newest fashion of complex polyphony. Canons with an aristocratic family background, moreover, would certainly have had the financial resources and the necessary literacy to foster and enjoy the most sophisticated music of the time in Utrecht. Both Gerard and Everard Foec endowed lands, proceeds of which were spent on the appointment of a *magister choralium*—a position that was finally filled in 1423.[36] It is thus conceivable that the Foec canons were patrons of complex polyphony as performed at courts at The Hague and elsewhere. With this in mind, the following overview of the cultural situation in Utrecht between 1350 and 1450 will focus on the cathedral and Oudmunster as two of Utrecht most important institutions, as they appear to be two places where the music contained in *Uu 37.I* might have been purchased and performed.

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34 Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 125.

35 Herman Brinkman and Ike De Loos, eds., *Het Gruuthuse-Handschrift: Hs. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 79 K 10*, vol. 1 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 217–18.

36 Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 141.

The Cultural Environment of Ecclesiastical Institutions

The broader cultural environment in Utrecht in the later Middle Ages will be tackled from two different perspectives: firstly, from an institutional perspective—as the sharing of both musical and other knowledge played a central role; and secondly, by examining surviving objects in their capacity as witnesses of culture. This latter group will be complemented by an examination of selected valuable objects mentioned in archival records that do not survive to the present day. Together, these two points of references provide an insight into the cultural environment in late-medieval Utrecht.

Liturgical Books with Chant

Despite the vast number of fragments with chant kept at Utrecht University Library, only a very limited number of complete liturgical books with chant survive from before 1450. To be precise, five complete manuscripts from sacred and monastic institutions in Utrecht currently survive.[37] These include a missal housed at the Museum Catharijneconvent (U*c* ABM H 62); a breviary (U*u* 424); the well-known antiphonary U406; a prosary (U*u* 417); and a gradual (H*s* 184 C 7) that is now in the possession of the City Library in Haarlem.[38] The reason for the limited survival of complete liturgical books may be the fact that they were kept at the choir of the church, where they could have been

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[37] For a more detailed overview of manuscripts and fragments with chant notation, see Ike De Loos, "Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties in de 12e en 13e eeuw" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 1996), 79–97.

[38] Instructions for the correct execution of the liturgy and processions survive in four different ordinaries, all of which once belonged to collegiate chapters. One ordinal survives from the cathedral in a fourteenth-century copy of the thirteenth-century original (HUA 221, inv. no. 67). Oudmunster has left us with two ordinaries from the fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries (HUA 223, inv. no. 395; HUA 223, inv.no. 397). One ordinal from the early fifteenth century belonged to St. Marie (GB-Lbl Add. 9769). Regarding their specific instructions, they resemble one another closely—a fact that further underlines the liturgical unity between the capitular church and the collegiate chapters. For more detailed information, see Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz and Willem P. Gerritsen, "De Ordinarius van Sint-Salvator: Codicologische en editietechnische aspecten," in *Meer dan muziek alleen: In memoriam Kees Vellekoop*, ed. Rene E. V. Stuip (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004): 87–111; Ike de Loos, "Libri Ordinarii of the Low Countries: Observations Regarding Filiation and Diversity," in *Unitas in Pluritate: Libri Ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History* (Munster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2015): 81–104; Paul Séjourné, *L'ordinaire de S. Martin d'Utrecht*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca liturgica Sancti Willibrordi (Utrecht: Dekker en van de Vegt, 1919); Kees Vellekoop, ed., *Liber ordinarius Sancte Marie Traiectensis: The Ordinal of St. Mary's Church, Utrecht (Ms. London, British Library, Add. 9769)*, vol. 6, Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1996); Louis van Tongeren, "A Blending of Genres: The Special Nature of the Liber Ordinarius of St. Saviour's or Oudmunster in Utrecht," in *Unitas in Pluritate: Libri Ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History* (Munster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2015): 129–57.

easily confiscated and destroyed during the iconoclasm.[39] Indeed, St. Marie—a collegiate chapter that only suffered marginally from the upheavals—is the one collegiate church with surviving liturgical books.[40] One of the books associated with St. Marie is the antiphonary U 406. Its two main parts were copied around the middle of the twelfth and into the thirteenth century. A final quire with antiphons for newly established feasts was added in the fourteenth century. The antiphonary itself contains no information as to the owner of the book. However, consecrations make an association with St. Marie highly likely.[41] One of the scarce proofs for the presence of simple polyphony within the chant tradition in Utrecht is to be found in a small part of the Kyrie in the final quire of U406, which is notated in two voices.[42] Similarly, the breviary *Uu 424* also belonged to the chapter of St. Marie, and came into existence between 1100 and 1150. The quires at the end of the manuscript were added at a later stage—around 1300.[43]

The missal kept at the Catharijneconvent dates from around the year 1200. Even though its exact place of origin is unknown, characteristics of the chant notation and the presence of saints such as Pontian make an association with the region of Utrecht highly likely.[44] The neumes are written on black four-line staves, whilst there are also some sections containing neumes without staves. De Loos concludes that, in their notation of the chant and in the use of particular melody lines, this missal and the antiphonary U406 resemble one another closely.[45]

The remaining two complete manuscripts with ties to Utrecht are the gradual *Hs 184 C 7* and the prosary *Uu 417*, the latter being associated with St. Marie, the former having belonged to the Balije St. Catharina—a convent of the Hospitallers of St. John. As Calvin Bower was able to show, the sequences contained therein show strong influences of the Germanic and the French sequence traditions. Specifically, he claims that characteristics of both traditions found their way into the repertoire of Utrecht by way of exchanges with Germany and France.[46]

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39 For more about the iconoclasm in Utrecht, see Chapter 3.

40 For an overview of surviving liturgical books from St. Marie, see Kees Vellekoop, "Liturgie in een Utrechtse kapittelkerk: De koorboeken van Sint-Marie," in *Utrecht tussen kerk en staat* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991): 231.

41 De Loos, "Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties in de 12e en 13e eeuw," 255–56.

42 *U406*, fol. 141v.

43 Esther van de Vrie, "De gebruikssporen in de twaalfde-eeuwse collectarius van Sint-Marie: Een onderzoek naar de liturgische betekenis van de gebruikssporen in Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht Hs. 424" (Master's thesis., Utrecht University, 2015).

44 De Loos, "Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties in de 12e en 13e eeuw," 260.

45 De Loos, "Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties in de 12e en 13e eeuw," 263.

46 The gradual of St. Marie (*Uu 413*) is one more example of a complete manuscript with chant. Its origin, however, is thought to be in 's-Hertogenbosch in the last quarter of the fifteenth

Leo Lousberg observed common textual and musical patterns in chants from Utrecht. Specifically, in cases where the text in responsories from the Paulusabdij and St. Marie are identical, Lousberg found that the music is also identical.[47] It is thus clear that a common style of notating chant existed in Utrecht in the high Middle Ages. This is in accordance with the liturgical unit *una ecclesia*—a unit that not only meant that the collegiate chapters held joint services, but seemingly also fostered the sharing of chant between secular and monastic institutions.

In 2016, Dominique Gatté stumbled upon the two-voice hymn *Puer natus in Bethleheem* in a fourteenth-century evangelary from St. Pieter in Utrecht. The piece is written on an empty verso page towards the end of the manuscript.[48] Immediately prior to the hymn and after the evangelary text we find a collection of oaths and two pages of chant in hufnagel notation. Written on two five-line staves each, the two voices of *Puer natus* show a peculiar hybrid notation, consisting of features of both hufnagel and stroke notation. This notation is very reminiscent of the music notation used in manuscripts with links to the Modern Devotion. It thus comes as no surprise that *Puer natus* has a concordance with the well-known manuscript *Berlijn 190*.[49] Even though *Berlijn 190* cannot be connected to a specific institution, scholars agree that the form of the manuscript was influenced by the episcopal city of Utrecht.[50] The date of origin for *Berlijn 190* is assumed to be in the late fifteenth century.[51] The newly found concordance for *Puer natus* in a manuscript with clear ties to Utrecht thus further underlines the connection of *Berlijn 190* with the episcopal city.

From the sparsely written tradition of chant with ties to Utrecht it can be surmised that the religious community in Utrecht engaged in a common chant style and that this style, while being subject to its own developments, experienced influences from different regions in Europe. Furthermore, simple polyphony seemed to be an integral part

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century. Other complete manuscripts with music notation are associated with the wider region of the diocese of Utrecht and date from the second half of the fifteenth century. Calvin M. Bower, "The Sequence Repertoire of the Diocese of Utrecht," *TVNM* 53 (2003): 49–104.

47 Lousberg examined eight *Responsoria Prolixa* belonging to the Paulusabdij and St. Marie. Leo A. J. Lousberg, "Early-Twelfth-Century Utrecht Responsories: A Quest for Musical Style Elements" (master's thesis, Utrecht University, 2013).

48 *U416*, fol. 189v. "Evangeliarium in usum ecclesiae S. Petri Trajecti Ad Rhenum," *Gedigitaliseerde objecten van de Bijzondere Collecties Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht*, accessed January 16, 2017, https://goo.gl/gh4jXT.

49 Fols. 25v–26r.

50 T. Mertens and Dieuwke E. van der Poel, eds., *Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190: Hs. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz germ. oct. 190*, Middeleeuwse verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 45.

51 Mertens and Van der Poel, *Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190,* 41.

of the chant tradition from the high Middle Ages onwards. With this in mind, we will now turn to the musical education offered in Utrecht to choirboys as well as boys from the lay community.

Chapter Schools

All of the five chapters in Utrecht maintained their own chapter schools. Information about the organization of these schools, their education, and the number of choirboys until the first half of the fifteenth century survives only in a select number of documents belonging to the cathedral, Oudmunster, and St. Pieter. A document from the sixteenth century states that the four collegiate chapters had eight choirboys and two *succentors* each, whereas the cathedral maintained double that number.[52]

The group of boys who followed classes at the cathedral's chapter school traditionally consisted of choirboys and other boys (laypeople) from Utrecht.[53] The master (*scolasticus*) figured as the head of the chapter school, and was responsible for the successful running of the institution, while the *rector scholarium* was in charge of teaching. A rather modest salary and frequently changing rectors indicate that the position of the rector did not enjoy great popularity among those entrusted with the post.[54] Even though most of the names of the rectors from the middle of the fourteenth century are known for Oudmunster, it is uncertain whether any received a university education.[55] What

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[52] HUA 223, inv. no. 395, fol. 248v.

[53] This is evident from the ordinal about the chapter school in the statutes written by the canon Hugo Wstinc in 1342 (see next paragraph). ". . . pueri . . . cum ceteris scholaribus scolasticis studiis in scolis nostris insistent sub jugo rectoris ad omnia que scolasticam exigunt disciplinam." HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 20v. For a translation of this passage, see Appendix 2.

[54] Salary records of the *rector scholarium* in the period between 1390 and 1450 show that names of those canons who took up the position of the *rector scholarium* change frequently. HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4,5, 6, 7, and 8.

[55] No further information about the personal careers of those canons who hold the office of the *rector scholarium* could be ascertained from the surviving sources. Under the heading "Succentoren," Maarten Vente and Christiaan Vlam provide a list of names that they found in the account books of Oudmunster. The list starts with the name Daniel in the accounts of 1375/76. However, this is incorrect, as Bram van den Hoven van Genderen observed. Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 209. The only corresponding entry that I was able to find concerns a singer who sings with "domino Daniele" during the octave of Epiphany in the account year 1375/76: "Item uni cantori cantata cum domino Daniele in octava Epiphanie 6 s." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-2. For a translation of the passage, see Appendix 2. On a more general note, it is known from the statutes of a number of chapters in Germany in the second half of the fourteenth century that candidates for canonries were accepted only if they had proof of a two-year study. Their chivalric origin, however, doubtlessly was the first aspect upon which candidates were elected. Martin Kintzinger, "Scholaster und Schulmeister: Funktionsfelder der Wissensvermittlung im späten Mittelalter," in *Gelehrte im Reich: Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Christoph Schwinges (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1996), 350–51.

Figure 4.1: The office of the *scholasticus* in Wstinc, Statutes (image source: HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 51r).

is known from the cathedral, however, is that firstly, only a canon with a prebend at the cathedral was eligible for the office of the *rector scholarium*; and secondly, that this canon must have obtained the title *magister artium* or a similar degree (see **FIGURE 4.1**).[56] A resolution set up at Oudmunster in 1470 likewise stipulates that only canons with a prebend could be appointed to the post of rector.[57]

The daily duties of the master, the rector, and the choirboys at the cathedral are recorded in the 1342 statutes of the cathedral. These include the choirboys' role during regular services and their involvement in processions. The master was obliged to teach the boys how to write chapter letters and how to read the chapter's Masses.[58] He was also responsible for the supervision of the rector's classes, in which grammar, logic, and *musica* were taught.[59] Finally, the master had to provide antiphonaries and graduals at school.[60] This is in line with what past studies about monastic, chapter, and cathedral schools in the high and the later Middle Ages have shown.[61] Although we know nothing about the curriculum at the other chapter schools in Utrecht—only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find entries about graduals and antiphonaries used occasionally for the education of choirboys at Oudmunster—it is reasonable to assume that the focus lay on the basic teaching of Latin grammar and chant.[62]

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56 In the 1342 statutes of the cathedral Hugo Wstinc declares: "Nullus potest esse scolasticus noster, nisi prius fuerit canonicus ecclesie nostre prebendatus …" HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol.51r. A 1468 resolution from the cathedral provides evidence for the rector's level of education: "Declaratur et ampliatur statutum de promotione per rigorosum examen in artibus etc. quod canonici emancipandi et in studio exentes ac deinceps emancipandi possint studere ac promoveri in facultate artium medicinae vel juris seu qualicunque aliis." HUA 216, inv. no. 2548. A translation of these passages is provided in Appendix 2.

57 HUA 223, inv. no. 21-1. See also Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 204, fn 276.

58 HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 51r.

59 For the concept of *musica* in the Middle Ages, see Chapter 6.

60 "Item ipse habet scolaribus ecclesie nostre de rectore qui eos in grammatica loyca et musica instruat providere. Item ipse habet scolaribus de antiphonario et graduali providere in scolis." HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 51r. For a translation, see Appendix 2. The same subjects (grammar, logic, and *musica*) are mentioned in the circumscription of the rector's tasks. HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 56r. The 1460 ordinal of St. Pieter contains a similar passage about the availability of antiphonaries and graduals at school. HUA 220, inv. no. 3, fol. 96.

61 Being subjects closely related to each other, *Grammatica et cantus* formed the basic study of every monastic or cathedral school. Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Grammar and Music in the Medieval Song-School," *New Medieval Literatures* 11 (2010): 195. Further studies include Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Craig M. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Performing Grammar," *New Medieval Literatures* 11 (2010): 159–76.

62 A *liber prophecarium* in 1428/29 and an *antifonale* written by the *succentor* in 1525/26 are

Oudmunster's choirboys in the high Middle Ages and until the fourteenth century were expected to find shelter in the households of canons in exchange for labor. This custom changed in 1399 when a number of canons made donations to provide the choirboys with a basic living.[63] According to Wstinc's statutes, choirboys at the cathedral had their own accommodation in (or shortly after) 1342, as the mention of the construction of a house for as many as sixteen boys demonstrates.[64] The exact number of choirboys at Oudmunster in the fifteenth century varies between four and fourteen, as is evident from the accounts over a number of years.[65] Thanks to Gerrit van Amerongen's bequest of sixteen pounds in 1377, for example, two more choirboys could be hired. The total number of choirboys thus rose from eight to ten in the second half of the fourteenth century.[66] Further to this, the influential and politically highly successful canon and dean Gerard Foec, whose life and career are discussed above, also bequeathed money to the choirboys. In his testament, he endowed the choirboys with a part of the proceeds from fourteen acres of land.[67] However, only at the beginning of the fifteenth century, more than two decades after his death in 1383, Foec's donations were used to appoint a *magister choralium* for the first time.[68] An ordinal that dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century records the appointment of a *magister choralium*, who was expected to improve and lead the singing in the church. His most important tasks included the intonation of the matutinal responsories and the direction of the performance of chant and psalms.[69]

Notwithstanding this evidence, the exact role music played at the cathedral, Oudmunster, and the remaining collegiate chapters in Utrecht

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mentioned in the account books. None of them survive to the present day, however. HUA 223, inv. no. 483-6. See also Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 134.

63 For a summary of information on choirboys and their lives gained from sources from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, see Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 136–41.

64 HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 20v.

65 HUA 223, inv. no. 483-7 and 483-8.

66 HUA 223, inv. no. 150, testament Gerrit van Amerongen. Usually, however, ten choirboys were affiliated with Oudmunster. Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 205, fn 282.

67 HUA 223, inv. no. 151, September 4, 1378.

68 Vlam and Vente provide a list of *succentors* at Oudmunster extracted from the entries in the fabric accounts and the *kleine kamer*. Vlam and Vente, *Bouwstenen 2*, 186–87.

69 HUA 223, inv. no. 395. This inventory number contains registers and a necrology, as well as the ordinal dated between 1330 and 1340. The entry about the appointment of the new *magister choralium* is recorded in two later copies from 1421 and 1423 respectively (HUA 223, inv. no. 368 and 369). In the ordinal, Gerard Foec's nephew, Everard Foec, is mentioned as the donor, whereas in the two copies only the name Gerard Foec appears. Bram van den Hoven van Genderen discusses the three documents in detail in a footnote. It remains unclear, however, whether he regards the ordinal as the original document or the copy. Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 208, fn 303.

in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries remains difficult to evaluate, at least from the surviving sources. Increasing numbers of documents mentioning the employment of clerics specialized in music performance and education—such as the *magister choralium*—the education and duties of choirboys, and the emergence of books for the organ during services suggest that music, as part of daily services, gained importance from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards. This is contrary to the situation in Bruges, where the performance of polyphony is recorded before 1371 and, as Hendrik Callewier was able to show, records demonstrate that one third of resident clerics in the period between 1411 and 1477 took up music-related offices during their careers.[70]

Books and Bookkeeping at the Cathedral and Oudmunster

Bookkeeping is one of the elements most closely related to the collection of general knowledge at ecclesiastical institutions. From archival records, it is evident that libraries in Utrecht were established in the second half of the fourteenth century. Among books of canon and secular law, and religious texts, which typically made up part of the book stock, it is conceivable that music collections were kept in the libraries, too. Fabric accounts of the cathedral only survive from the last decade of the fourteenth century. It therefore remains unclear exactly when the library was established. In the accounts of 1418/19 and 1419/20, however, we find two entries about the restoration of books kept in the library.[71] The library was thus presumably built prior to 1418/19. Regrettably, we do not have any information as to the number or type of books kept there.

More documentation survives about the establishment of a formal library at Oudmunster. Its construction is first documented in 1377/78. The room was located above the chapel consecrated to St. Barbara. The chapel, in turn, was built as an annex at the southern part of the nave.[72]

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70 "Het belang van muziek in het leven van de seculiere clerici kan nauwelijks overschat worden. Op 965 residerende geestelijke uit de onderzoekspopulatie waren er 331 (meer dan één op drie) die tijdens hun carrière een post als koraal, *clericus installatus*, vicaris of als zangmeester bekleedden" (translated by the author). ["The importance of music in the lives of secular clerics cannot be overemphasized: out of 965 residing clerics in the group studied, 331 (more than a third) took up offices as choral, *clericus installtus,* vicar, or *magister choralium*."] Hendrik Callewier, *De papen van Brugge: De seculiere clerus in een middeleeuwse wereldstad (1411–1477)* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2014), 286.

71 HUA 216, inv. no. 659-1.

72 Thanks to the canon Jan Mersman's detailed description of Oudmunster from 1592 we have information about the location of the old library. "Ad dextram istius cryptae capella fuit olim D. Joannis Visker Levitae, decani nostri, sed postmodum per D. Henricum Houberch etiam Decanum magnificentius in honorem D. Barbarae Viginis extructa. Super hac capella, prius

Based on the frequent expenses for writing, bindings, and illuminations found in the accounts from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, it can be assumed that at the time the library was richly endowed.[73] The library's stock is likely to also have included secular books on law and medicine. Some of these secular books were donated by canons such as Johannes uten Leen, canon at Oudmunster from before 1340 to 1388, who is known to have been in possession of a private library and gave books to Oudmunster in 1378/79.[74]

Following the Reformation, the canons of Oudmunster refused to leave the library to the municipality, distributing the books instead to private households. However, they quickly decided to take them back and in 1580 established a list of books and various objects that were deposited at private households. Forty years later, the books were sold among the canons. This might explain why the library consisted of the marginal number of five manuscripts and one volume at the chapter's final dissolution in 1811. Similarly, only small numbers—namely ten manuscripts and some prints—remained at the cathedral.[75]

The Oudmunster Evangelary

An inventory of objects in the church of Oudmunster from 1369 mentions eighteen books kept in the sacristy (*libros in sacristia*) and sixty-one books located elsewhere in the church (*loco cruces*), accounting for a total number of almost eighty books.[76] The listing of the books kept in the sacristy starts with the—presumably—most precious book

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bibliotheca fuit, multis codicibus instructa, et postea, retro organum eam redactam, fuit in majorem sacristiam commutata, ui in ea pretiosiora ornamenta ecclesiae custodirentur." HUA 88, inv. no. 160; J.H. Hofman, "Topographia," *AAU* 1 (1875): 373–74. For a translation of the passages, see Appendix 2.

73 HUA 223, inv. no. 483-1,2.3. Under the heading "Exposita pro diversis aliis" for nearly all years between 1370 and 1450 entries concerning book production (commissioning of parchment, writing, binding, adding ornaments) appear frequently.

74 HUA 223, inv. no. 483-2. Except for his book of hours, he bequeathed all his books to Oudmunster. "Item vult quod ecclesiae sua habeat omnes libros suos tam illos quos aduc locavit libraria quam illos quos adhuc in domo. suo brevario excepto Eremberto nepoti suo." HUA 223, inv. no. 147-2. For a translation, see Appendix 2. I am thankful to Bram van den Hoven van Genderen who generously shared his annotations of this testament with me.

75 St. Pieter possessed eight manuscripts and two prints, while St. Jan had two manuscripts and one hundred and fifty prints. St. Marie, in contrast, still possessed as many as thirty-seven manuscripts. A considerable number of these were liturgical books, some of which are discussed above. For an overview, see Koert van der Horst, L. C. Kuiper-Brussen, and P. N. G. Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1984).

76 HUA 223, inv. no. 403. The inventory mentions an evangelary, antiphonaries, gospels, psalteries, graduals, missals, passionals, sermon (one only), hymnals, bibles (five in total; three new and two old), ordinaries, one book for the divine office, *libri capitualri,* in addition to about twenty non-liturgical books.

in the possession of Oudmunster: the evangelary. From a number of account entries in 1373/74 and 1374/75, it becomes clear that Oudmunster commissioned another, new evangelary. In 1373/74 Elye *aurifabri* [Elias the goldsmith] manufactured the evangelary's silver book covers, which were endowed with miniatures and canopies.[77] In the same year, Johannes Cubebe receives a salary for the illumination of initials and pictures in various books. The evangelary is not mentioned specifically, yet it can be assumed that a considerable part of the twenty-four initials and sixteen pictures for which he got paid belonged to the text of the new evangelary.[78] The evangelary mentioned in the 1369 inventory was most probably the predecessor of the evangelary commissioned in 1374. It is referred to as the old evanglary in the account books of 1397/98.[79] The above example of the manufacturing of Oudmunster's new evangelary in the 1370s shows that the chapter spared no expense to physically show its wealth through the purchasing of precious books— as representative of both wealth and good taste.

Fine Arts and Handicraft

The purchasing and possession of liturgical and chant books, and the maintenance of a chapter school as described above are two essential components of the cultural environment in Utrecht. Yet, to complete the picture of the broader cultural environment at work in Utrecht around 1400, the cultural significance of the fine arts and handicraft also have to be taken into consideration. Surviving objects in both architecture and painting attest a bipolar influence from Cologne and Paris. However, in the handicraft sector, it appears that Utrecht was more strongly influenced by works from Parisian workshops.[80] Some of the surviving art objects shall be discussed in greater detail below.

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77 "Item eiusdem Elye tradidi ad bonorum computum pro factura unius folii de argento cum ymaginibus et tabernaculis super novo libro ewangeliorum pro summis festis 12 marca argenti pro marca 9 lb. 7 s. 6 d. facis 112 lb. 10 s." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-2. For a translation of the passage, see Appendix 2.

78 "Item Johanni Cubebe pro illuminatione 24 litterarum et 16 ymaginum dicti libri 32 lb. 8 s." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-2. For a translation of the passage, see Appendix 2. According to F. Ketner, many of the names mentioned in the account entries can be found in the registers of the city of Utrecht, making the manufacturing of the evangelary in Utrecht a likely scenario. F. Ketner, "Het vervaardingen van liturgische boeken voor het kapittel van Oudmunster in het laatst der 14e eeuw," *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* 46 (1945): 95–99.

79 HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4.

80 Louise E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, "Kunst in Utrecht," in *Geschiedenis van de provincie Utrecht tot 1528*, ed. C. Dekker and J. Aalbers (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1997), 335.

Mural Paintings

There is evidence that in some of the cloistral houses the walls were embellished with wall paintings. Chimneys being situated at the center of the house, moreover, were decorated with friezes.[81] Finally, the bedroom was often decorated with the most expensive material, consisting of precious fabrics for pillows and blankets. It is known that Ludolf van Veen at the beginning of the sixteenth century kept the complete volumes of Vincent van Beauvais's *Speculum* in his bedroom.[82]

Several wall paintings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries survive—albeit in a fragmentary state. A number of them were found in former cloistral or private houses of cathedral and Oudmunster canons. Some of the most remarkable paintings include a

Figure 4.2: Piscina with mural painting at Domplein 4 in Utrecht, first half of fourteenth century (image source: Rijksmonumenten.nl).

wall painting from the fourteenth century, illustrating an ablution of hand washing and a reconstruction of a wall painting depicting a scene from a knight's tale. The religious-themed scene is relatively well preserved and formed part of the private chapel in the house of the cathedral canons Petrus Embrechtzoon and Gijsbrecht Jutphaas, who are mentioned respectively as its previous and new owners in 1320. The painting belongs to a richly decorated piscine that was situated next to a small chancel (see **FIGURE 4.2**[83]).[84]

During the restoration of one of the oldest medieval houses in Utrecht, *Huis Drakenburg*, a scene with a knight was found. A reconstruction from the 1960s shows from right to left a castle, a knight on a horse, a female person wearing simple clothes, and a noble lady on a horse. Next to the noble lady a fox takes up an attack position. It seems

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81 Examples of decorated walls and chimneys with friezes are kept at the Central Museum in Utrecht.

82 Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 416.

83 "Piscina met wandschildering in Utrecht," *Rijksmonumenten.nl*, accessed January 4, 2018, http://rijksmonumenten.nl/monument/36069/piscina-met-wandschildering/utrecht/.

84 Marieke van Vlierden, "Wandmalereien im städtischen Wohnbau in Utrecht um 1300–1600," in *Geschichte in Schichten: Wand- und Deckenmalerei im städtischen Wohnbau des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Annegret Möhlenkamp, Ulrich Kuder, and Uwe Albrecht (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2002), 106.

that the knight on the right side of the image takes action to protect the noble lady from the looming attack of the fox. The role of the peasant lady facing the knight remains unclear. It appears that, next to the scene reconstructed, there was a series of scenes painted on the remaining walls of the room.[85] Scholars disagree about the origin of this mural painting. Erwin Mantingh believes that the reconstructed painting shows a scene from the Walewin romance, however, Marieke van Vlierden sees no clear correspondence between the romance and the scene depicted.[86] Regardless of its exact literary connection, the scene at *Huis Drankburg* makes it clear that Utrecht's upper echelon seemed to engage with knights' tales. It is, therefore, likely that chivalrous romances were an integral part of the heritage of art and culture in Utrecht.

Manuscript Illumination

With regard to the fine arts in the late Middle Ages, Utrecht is today best known for manuscript illumination in the fifteenth century. Whilst at the beginning of the fifteenth century Guelders was the leading center of manuscript illumination, Utrecht soon took over.[87] Thereafter, the production of religious books gradually increased, reaching its climax in 1460. One of the most famous examples of expensively manufactured and beautifully illuminated manuscripts is the *Hoya Missale*, which was presumably written by an individual belonging to the school of the "Master of Zweder van Culemborg." This school's name is derived from illuminated books manufactured for the Utrecht prince-bishop Zweder van Culemborg (unknown–1433) in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Today the manuscript is housed at the university library of Munster. Receiving its name from its sixteenth-century owner prince-bishop Johann von Hoya, the manuscript can be dated to between 1420 and 1430. Other illuminated manuscripts, presumably from the same workshop, include the *Greiffenklaumissale* kept in Baltimore, and the well-known book of hours belonging to Katharina van Kleef, today housed at the Morgan Library Museum in New York. An order for an illuminated two-volume bible for person-

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85 Erwin Mantingh, "Blow up: Walewein in Utrecht?," in *Maar er is meer: Avontuurlijk lezen in de epiek van de Lage Landen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005): 48.

86 Mantingh, "Blow up"; Vlierden, "Wandmalereien im städtischen Wohnbau," 106. Marieke van Vlierden repeated her doubts about the association of the wall painting with the Walewein romance. A reconsideration of the documentation set up during the renovations in the 1960s, moreover, make Van Vlierden believe that the person in the middle originally was on a horse, too. Marieke van Vlieden, e-mail conversation with the author, December 6, 2016.

87 Léon Delaissé, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 21.

al use by canon Evert Zoudenbalch in the second half of the fifteenth century indicates that canons would also commission and purchase books.[88]

Precious Objects

Only a few individual items such as chandeliers and silver cups survive to the present day. These are kept at various museums in Utrecht and Amsterdam.[89] One of the most precious and revealing objects is a silver cup, currently in the possession of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.[90] An inscription underneath its base tells us that Johannes uten Leen († 1388) donated it to Oudmunster in 1376, several years before his death.[91] Based on the type of ornamentation found on the silver cup, scholars assume it to be manufactured between 1330 and 1350. As regards the provenance, Louise van den Bergh-Hoogterp mentions Paris or an Utrecht goldsmith atelier influenced by the Parisian taste as possible places of origin, as the cup shows similarities to decoration patterns on cups with a secured place of origin in Paris. A more accurate idea of its provenance, however, cannot be ascertained.[92] The cup is made of gilded silver of substantial weight. Originally, it was a beaker, but the chapter of Oudmunster used it as a ciborium, adding gold leaf to this end. On top of the lid a bird is placed with its wings half opened (see

Figure 4.3: Silver cup with parrot on top (image source: Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-597).

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88 Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, "Kunst in Utrecht," 347.

89 One of the chimney friezes kept at the Central Museum in Utrecht exhibits St. Martin, who is surrounded by two angels holding the family crests of the duke of Burgundy and bishop David of Burgundy. Made at the end of the fifteenth century, it was placed in the bishop's palace situated next to Oudmunster. Utrecht, Central Museum, inventory number 11177. "Schoornsteenfries met Sint-Maarten," *Centraal Museum*, accessed July 22, 2015, http://centraalmuseum.nl/ontdekken/object/?q=11177.

90 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.no. N.M. 597.

91 The inscription reads: : + IOHES : UTEN : LEEN : CANO : SCI : SALVA : ME : DEDIT :: ANO : DNI : M CCC LXXVI : (Johannes Uten Leen Canonicus Sancti Salvatoris Me Dedit Anno Domini M CCC LXXVI).

92 Louise E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud en zilversmeden te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (The Hague: G. Schwartz/SDU, 1990), 454–60.

FIGURE 4.3). A number of characteristic features suggest that the bird displayed on the top of the cup is a parrot. The bird's beak has a round shape; it forms the predominant portion of the head. Its eyes, placed far apart, look friendly—even joyful.

It is the parrot that makes the ciborium especially interesting. For Van den Bergh-Hoogterp the exact function and meaning of the parrot on Uten Leen's silver beaker remains unclear.[93] The parrot, as an exotic bird, was introduced to Europe in the high Middle Ages. Encountered during the crusades in the Arabic world, this colorful and intelligent bird was soon introduced at various courts in Europe.[94] From the thirteenth century onwards it is illustrated in manuscripts and frequently mentioned in texts, and there is evidence for its presence in literature even before the thirteenth century.[95] The symbolic meaning of the parrot can be interpreted in different ways. Often, the bird served as a messenger of sweet love, much in the way the nightingale did in the late Middle Ages.[96] Its ability to learn the word "Ave," conversely, connects the bird to Maria, therefore guaranteeing a religious connotation.[97] The parrot thus embodies both the secular and the sacred.[98]

In the fourteenth century parrot shootings were a common pastime in the Low Countries. On Easter Monday, for instance, parrot shootings were organized in several cities and towns. Regular participants and honorable personalities shot mock-ups made of wood or clay. Prizes for the most successful shooters included clothes and shooting equipment.[99] Trophies such as silver cups or silver parrots were likely to have been given as prizes. The parrot thus represented several different things, but was nonetheless certainly associated with the upper classes. We will never know whether Johannes uten Leen

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93 Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud en zilversmeden,* 460–61.

94 Marijke Carasso-Kok, "Der stede scut: De schutterijen in de Hollandse steden tot het einde der zestiende eeuw," in *Schutters in Holland: Kracht en zenuwen van de stad* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1988): 25.

95 Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 15–16.

96 For more detailed characteristics of the parrot in conjunction with courtly love songs, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), especially 152–56.

97 Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud en zilversmeden*, 459.

98 We also find the symbolic figure of the parrot at an important place not too far away from Utrecht: the court of Brabant. Not only did Wenceslas (1337–1383) and Johanna of Brabant (1322–1406) organize feast-day tournaments at a regular basis, Wenceslas himself had also chosen this bird as his personal badge, representing "the pleasant appearance and charming manners of Wenceslas and his ability to speak many languages." Remco Sleiderink, "Pykini's Parrot: Music at the Court of Brabant," in *Musicology and Archival Research,* ed. Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelmans, and André Vanrie (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1994), 388–89; Leach, *Sung Birds*, 153.

99 Carasso-Kok, "Der stede scut," 25–26.

won the silver cup during one of these parrot shootings—although this may well be the case. However, he could have also purchased it from one of the goldsmiths in Utrecht or Paris and donated it to his church in the same way that he donated the books for the library.

The surviving cultural objects introduced above indicate that Utrecht's canons had a personal interest in—and were in possession of—precious items and furnishings. Their investments into the decoration of private houses, precious books, and expensive objects support the notion of a culturally engaged tradition. Having drawn a picture of the broader cultural environment in Utrecht between 1350 and 1450, we will now turn to the tracing of *musicas* as evidenced in account books and necrologies.

Music at Ecclesiastical Institutions: Organ Tradition

The history of the organ offers an excellent opportunity via which to evaluate the investments of church institutions into the performance of music during services. The impressive number of records about the organ, its circumstances of making, refurbishing, and playing provide a picture of a lively organ tradition that was extensively fostered and supported by the church institutions of Utrecht.

Payments to the organ player and to the schoolboys who blew the bellows, together with entries about the restoration of the organ itself, confirm the presence and use of the organ at Oudmunster in the earliest surviving account books of 1347/48 (see **FIGURE 4.4**).[100] As the organ needed restoration in 1347/48, it is most likely that Oudmunster was already in possession of an organ prior to this date.

The fabric accounts of the cathedral, St. Pieter, and St. Jan likewise attest to the use of organs. St. Jan lists the payment of an organ player in 1369/70 for the first time; St. Pieter follows in 1370/71. The cathedral makes mention of an organ player in 1402/03.[101] Thanks to Wstinc's 1342 statutes, which include the description of the organist's office at the cathedral, it can be assumed that the cathedral was already in the possession of an organ in 1342. St. Marie has no surviving fabric accounts from before 1450.[102] However, given that the remaining col-

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100 HUA 223, inv. no. 483-1.

101 HUA 216, inv. no. 651-1 (fabric accounts cathedral, 1395–1450 with gaps); HUA 220, inv. no. 191-1 (fabric accounts St. Pieter, 1370–1425); HUA 222, inv. no. 162-1, 2 (fabric accounts St. Jan 1368-1415 with major gaps).

102 The building of an organ at St. Marie is first documented in 1482. HUA 221, inv. no. 373-1. For partial transcriptions, see Vlam and Vente, *Bouwstenen 1*, 282.
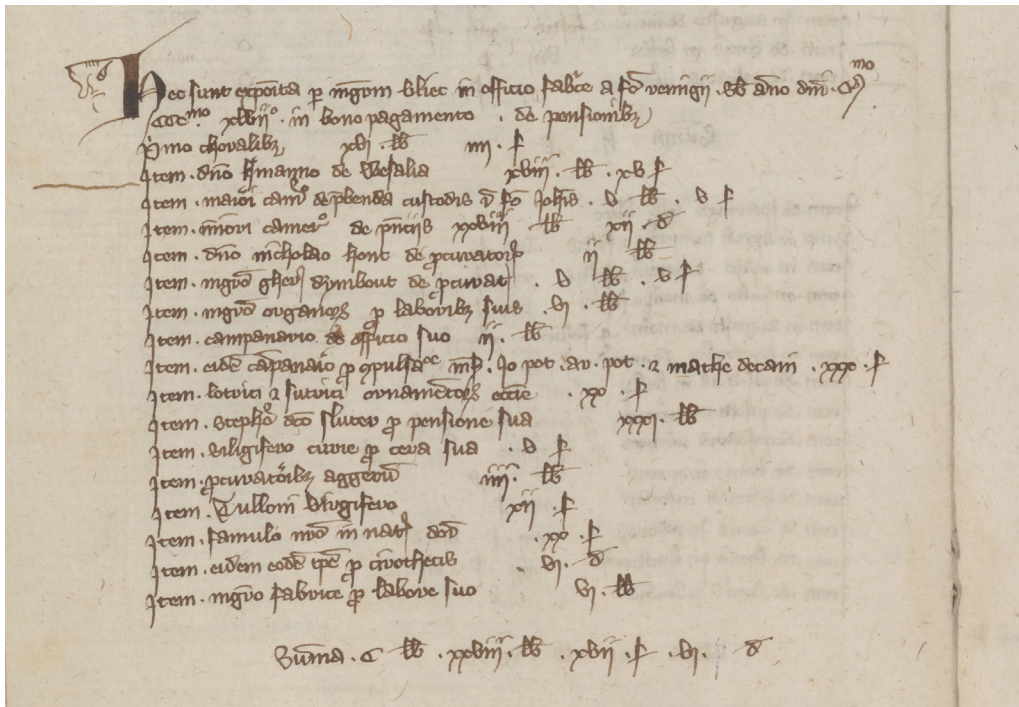
Figure 4.4: Fabric accounts Oudmunster, 1347/48. The sixth entry reads: "Item magistro organorum pro laboribus suis 6 lb." ["Item to the organ player for his labor 6 lb" (translated by the author)] (image source: HUA 223, inv. no. 483-1).

legiate chapters were in possession of an organ from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, it can be assumed that St. Marie likewise maintained an organ in its church. Surviving financial accounts of parish churches and confraternities also record payments to organ players and bellow blowers from the fourteenth century onwards.[103]

Indications as to the precise locations of the organs in the churches survive from the last two decades of the fifteenth century only. An account book entry of 1481/82 attests that the organ at the cathedral was located at the eastern wall of the northern transept. Similarly, Jan Mersman mentions that the organ at Oudmunster was located above the chapel of St. Barbara at the eastern wall of the northern transept.[104] It is, however, clear that other locations for the organ—whether temporary or permanent—were also common.[105]

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103 These include the following parish churches and confraternities: Buurkerk; Jacobikerk; Nicolaïkerk; OLV ter nood Gods at the Jacobuskerk; OLV at the Predikeherenkerk; and the Heilige Kruisbroederschap at the Buurkerk.
104 HUA 216, inv. no. 651-2; HUA 88, inv. no. 160, Jan Mersman, *Topographia,* 1592.
105 Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 16.

Organ Building

The early history of organ building and playing in Utrecht is closely tied to the organ maker Ghiselbert Talp (ca. 1381–1429), who was also the organist at Oudmunster from 1390 to 1429. Additionally, Talp was a member of the *Onze Lieve Vrouwenbroederschap ter Nood Gods* at the Jacobikerk, and certainly played the organ between 1414 and 1416.[106] Numerous account book entries from ecclesiastical institutions in the city of Utrecht show that he was an esteemed organ builder—there is hardly a church in Utrecht that did not hire him for the building or the restoring of its organs.

Of the cathedral and the four collegiate chapters, Oudmunster undoubtably spent the most on organs. A comparison between the fabric accounts of the cathedral, Oudmunster, St. Pieter, and St. Jan in the period between 1380 and 1420 revealed that no other ecclesiastical institution in Utrecht records expenses for the maintenance and operation of the instrument as meticulously as Oudmunster. In the period 1391/92 Talp, together with another organ maker, was commissioned to build a new organ and to restore the old one.[107] Oudmunster paid no less than 129 Utrecht pounds to Talp and his colleague.[108] Compared to the annual salary of the organist, which was slightly over twenty-two Utrecht pounds, this is a large sum. Furthermore, in another entry in the same account year, the organ is referred to as the "major" organ.[109] Even though a small organ is not mentioned explicitly, it can be assumed that Oudmunster was in possession of two organs—one large, one small. It remains unclear from the sources, however, whether the new organ built in 1391/92 was the large or the small one.

The accounts not only mention the building of the new organ and the restoring of the old one—both carried out by Talp in 1391/92—but also record its painting, which contributes to the idea that the organ at Oudmunster enjoyed great popularity.[110] That is, the organ not only fulfilled its role as an instrument for the worship of god during services,

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106 HUA 708, inv. no. 275-1. The last entry in the account books of Oudmunster is in 1428/29. In the following year a "fraterus Jacobus" is listed as the organ player. HUA 223, inv. no. 483-6.

107 "Item Ghiselberto Talp et Laurentio de Veen ad faciendum organa nova et ad reformandum antiqua de labore ipsorum 129 lb. 10 s." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, 1391/92. For a translation of the passages, see Appendix 2.

108 For a note on currencies see "A Note on Currency" at the beginning of this study.

109 Under the heading "Exposita pro calcantibus in organis" the following entry makes mention of the main organ: "Item 9 choralibus et ombehouwen de 24 diebus calcantibus in magnis orghanis 8 lb. 4 s." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, 1391/92. For a translation of the passages, see Appendix 2.

110 "Item pro pictura orghani et altaris retrum magnum altare 5 lb. 11 s." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, 1391/92. For a translation of the passages, see Appendix 2.

but was also a prized addition to the church interior, its presence being emphasized with painted decoration.

From the surviving archival records, it seems that the cathedral maintained only a single organ. The institution paid Talp for the restoration of a part of the organ named *parvus opus* in the accounts of two subsequent years (1403 to 1405).[111] *Parvus opus* literally translated means small work, referring to a separate part of the organ. The German word *Rückpositiv* refers to the placement of the organ at the back (the German term *Rücken* means "back") of the organ player and towards the choir (the English term "choir organ" likewise refers to the orientation). The explicit mention of the choir organ leads Albert Vente to believe that Talp added the choir organ to the pre-existing main organ (German: *Hauptwerk*). He thus concludes that the cathedral had a dual organ from 1404 onwards, assuming that the choir organ was newly built rather than restored.[112] The reference to the "small work" doubtlessly points to the presence of a counterpart, i.e. a "great work," as otherwise there would have been no need to specify the kind of organ. Judging by the account book entries it is, however, more likely that both parts were built prior to the 1404 overall restoration of the organ. Be that as it may, the large sum of three-hundred Utrecht pounds (see footnote 111) points towards the fact that the restorations were extensive.

Several account entries suggest that St. Pieter also maintained a dual organ that was newly built by Talp and his son Herman between 1411/12. This organ underwent major restoration carried out by the same builders in 1422/23. Herman Talp was paid for the restoration of the wind tunnel through which the air transits from the major to the minor work.[113] Similar to the situation at Oudmunster, payments for restoration work on the organ and bellows are listed frequently from the first surviving fabric accounts in the 1370s.[114]

It seems probable that such an accomplished organ maker and player as Ghiselbert Talp maintained a workshop with one or more assistants. Names that are repeatedly mentioned together with Talp—such as Laurens van Veen—are likely to have been journeymen or apprentices at Talp's workshop. Evidence as to the structure and organization of Talp's working environment is, however, absent.[115] In Utrecht, but also on a

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111 "Item Ghiselberto Talp pro reformatione parvis operis organorum minorum pro laboribus suis 80 florin facis 300 lb." HUA 216, inv. no. 651-1, 1404/05. For a translation of the passages, see Appendix 2.

112 Vente, *Orgels en organisten*, 22; Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 24.

113 HUA 220, inv. no. 191-1, 1422/23. See also Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 24.

114 HUA 220, inv. no. 191-1 and 2.

115 Vente associates a few more names connected to organ making or playing in the account

more international scale, organ builders usually belonged to a family of organ makers rather than to a guild. Occasionally, keyboard makers in the southern Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries joined guilds, such as the peddlers guild.[116]

Magister Organorum

Fabric accounts of the cathedral and collegiate chapters provide a wealth of information about the salary of their organists, as they are usually listed among the expenses for offices. The fabric accounts of Oudmunster list an annual salary for the organ player from the first surviving accounts of 1347/48. In contrast, the accounts of the cathedral display annual salaries and payments to the organist irregularly—expenses for blowing the bellows are missing completely.[117] The account books of St. Pieter and St. Jan list payments to the organ players, albeit less regularly than Oudmunster and the cathedral.

Up until 1450, the job specifications for the office of the *magister organorum* differed between Oudmunster and the cathedral—as is evident from the accounts of both. For example, the annual salary of the organ player Ghiselbert Talp included the task of maintaining the clock. However, the organ player at the cathedral had no such task—the maintenance of the clock was the sacristan's responsibility (see **FIGURES 4.5** and **4.6**).[118]

One more striking feature concerns the way in which the salaries paid at the cathedral and Oudmunster increased over time. The fabric accounts of Oudmunster, as the only institution to continuously record the annual salary of the organ player, show a linear increase from six Utrecht pounds in the first surviving fabric accounts from 1347, to thirty-six pounds in 1403/04. From then onwards, the salary stagnates, remaining at
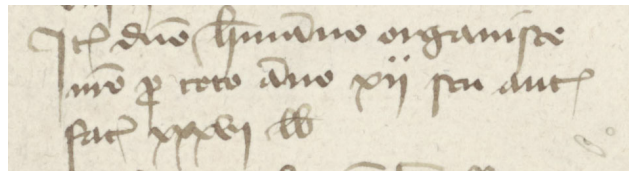
Figure 4.5: Payment to the organ player in account books of the cathedral in 1402/03: "Item domino Hermanno organiste nostro pro toto anno 12 scudatis antiquis facis 36 lb." ["Item to mister Herman, our organ player, for the whole year 12 old crowns, makes 36 lb" (translated by the author)] (image source: HUA 216, inv. no. 659-1, fol. 4v).

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books with Talp. Apart from his son Herman Talp, their precise connections remain speculative. Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 188–89.

116 Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 161.

117 From other account book entries concerning the building and maintaining of instruments at the cathedral we know with certainty that the main organ could only be played if the bellows were operated. However, whether payments for operating the bellows (presumably made to schoolboys) were not recorded, or simply not paid at all, remains unknown.

118 HUA 216, inv. no. 659-1. Tenhaeff, *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis*, 312.
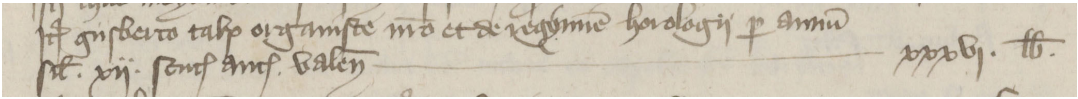
Figure 4.6: Payment to the organ player, including reimbursement for taking care of the clock in the fabric accounts of Oudumster in 1403/04. "Item Gijsberto Talp organiste nostro et regiimine horlogii per annium facit xii scudatis antiquis valentienses 36 lb." ["Item to Gijsbert Talp, our organ player and head of the clock, per year 12 old Valentian crowns, makes 36 lb" (translated by the author)] (image source: HUA 223, inv. no. 483-5).
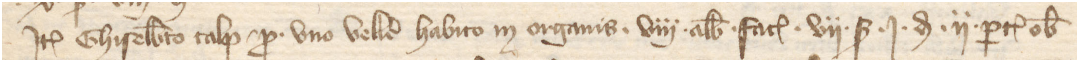
Figure 4.7: Payment to Ghiselbert Talp in the fabric accounts of Oudmunster in 1397/98. "Item Ghiselberto Talp pro 10 quartinis pergamenti pro libro organorum 4 lb. 8 s. 10 d parvis ob" (image source: HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, for a translation see Appendix 2).
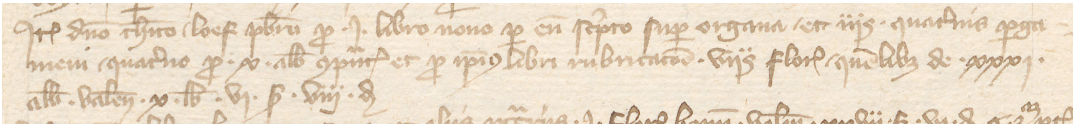
Figure 4.8: Payment to Theodor Loef in the fabric accounts of Oudmunster in 1398/99. "Item domino Theoderico Loef presbitero pro i libro novo per eum scripto super organa et 3 ½ quartinis pergameni, quartino pro 10 albos computato et per ipsius libri rubricatione 7 ½ floris quemlibet de 31 alb[is] valen[tibus] 10 lb. 6 s. 8 d." (image source: HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, 1398/99, for a translation see Appendix 2).

thirty-six pounds until 1450.[119] When comparing the salary of the organ player with the salaries of other offices at Oudmunster—such as that of the scribe of the accounts (*pensione et scriptura conputationum*) at 6 pounds, or the bell ringer (*campanarius*) at two pounds—it appears that they also received a respectable salary. The incomplete information we have about the salary paid at the cathedral confirms that it remained at thirty-six pounds during a period of forty years.[120]

Books "On the Organ"

From the above it has become clear that Oudmunster attached particular importance to the presence of the organ in the church. Its investments into a second organ are in accordance with major renovations carried out at the sanctuary of their church in the years between 1384/85 and 1398/99.[121] Account book entries not only mention the replacement, renovation, and further embellishment of interior furnishings, such

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119 It is not possible to make a direct comparison between the different institutions, since the different currencies they use in the account books are difficult to relate to each other.

120 The structure of the fabric accounts of St. Pieter and St. Jan is fundamentally different, listing expenses, including salaries, monthly.

121 HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4. For contextualization of the entries found in the account books, see Reitze Johann Stöver, *De Salvator- of Oudmunsterkerk te Utrecht: Stichtingsmonument van het Bisdom Utrecht* (Utrecht: Clavis, 1997), 139–41.

as the commissioning of a new altar in Namur in present-day Belgium, but also list the restoration and rebinding of a considerable number of books together with the production of new ones. One well-known example of a considerable investment into a culturally significant object was made some ten years before the start of the sanctuary renovations in 1374/75 when the new, precious evangelary was commissioned.

It was in the account year 1397/98 that Ghiselbert Talp received money for the delivery of ten *quartini* [quaterns] parchments for an organ book (see **FIGURE 4.7**).[122] Regardless whether this organ book was entirely new or whether the ten quaterns were an extension of an existing organ book, its size was substantial. Assuming that *quartini* meant quires of four bifolios, ten *quartini* yield eighty folios and thus contain no less than a hundred and sixty pages to copy music to. If it was Talp himself who was responsible for the production of the organ book—meaning that he entered the music in the parchment leaves—remains unknown. It seems likely, however, that Talp, as a professional organ builder and player, also mastered the copying of the music.

That Talp was commissioned to deliver what were presumably ready-to-use quaterns (he only appears once in the context of parchment delivery) strongly suggests that the pages had to be ruled in a particular manner—with which an organist could have been familiar, but which might be unknown to regular scribes. Thus, we can hypnotize that the pages had to be ruled for the copying of organ tabulatures (discussed shortly). The person doing the ruling had to apply multiple staves with a distinct number of stave lines. Potentially, these staves had to be paired, in the form of tabulatures—which display the upper and lower voice on two separate staves. The mere fact that the organist Talp delivered the quaterns is thus an argument for the book on the organ being more than simply a collection of regular chants to which the organist might play along. It can, of course, not be ruled out that the book simply contained chant.

In the fabric accounts of Oudmunster 1398/99, we find a second entry pertaining to the establishment of written organ music. The presbyter Theodor Loef received ten pounds for writing a new book on the organ (*libro novo super organa*) and delivering three and a half rubricated quaterns of parchment for undefined use (see **FIGURE 4.8**). Loef was paid for both the manufacturing of an organ book and the delivery of rubricated parchment leaves. This makes possible the as-

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122 "Item Ghiselberto Talp pro 10 quartinis pergamenti pro libro organorum 4 lb. 8 s. 10 d." HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, 1397/98. For a translation of the passages, see Appendix 2. The term *quartini* is not included in the common Latin dictionaries. However, the fact that the numeral "four" is contained in the word may be an indication for quires of four bifolios.

sumption that the organ book written by Loef concerns yet another book than the one for which Talp provided ten quaterns in 1397/98. Just as the previous entry, it does not provide any indication as to the content.[123] The name Theodor Loef only appears one more time in the account books of the cathedral, in which he is registered as the organ player in 1419/20.

Polyphonic Organ Repertory

Fixed organs as used in the churches of Utrecht from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards could only be played with the help of several people. This is in contrast to the portative organ, which the organ player could operate himself.[124] The functioning of the organ depended on the work of the so-called bellow blowers, the payments to whom are recorded in account books on a regular basis. It ensured that the organist had at his disposal two hands to play on the keyboard, which could have enabled him to play complex polyphony on the instrument. Sources proving the tradition of a distinct repertoire for the organ from the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries only survive in limited numbers. The most important of these will be introduced below, providing an overview of the known repertoire for keyboard instruments at the time when the presence of organs in Utrecht's churches is recorded for the first time.[125]

The earliest source known to us is the *Robertsbridge fragments*, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century. Transmitted as binding material in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Robertsbridge, England, the source is now kept at the British Library in London. Edward Roesner raises the hypothesis that the fragments could have reached England together with John II (Jean le Bon, King of France from 1350 to 1364). As an organ lover, Roesner argues, Jean I was likely to have had an interest in the performance of these pieces during his impris-

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[123] One of the very scarce entries that further specifies the kind of organ book purchased is an entry in the account books of the Count of Holland in 1448/49. Pieter the sacristan receives a salary of twelve pounds for the copying and binding of a discant book for the organist of the comital chapel. "Bij heer Pieter coster voirscr[iven] is doen scrijven een discant boeck den orgelist inden voerscr cappellen uut up die organen te spelen comt mitten stoffen ende arbeyt tsamen bij den voerscr Rolle 12 pond." NA, Inventaris van het archief van de Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer of Rekenkamer der Domeinen van Holland, archiefnummer 3.01.27.02, inv. no. 281, fol. 57. A transcription of the entry is provided in Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en muziek*, 211. For a translation of this passage, see Appendix 2.

[124] Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons, and Performance Practice* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 16–17.

[125] Grove Music Online provides a comprehensive overview of all early sources of organ tablature. John Caldwell, "Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26298.

onment between 1357 and 1360.[126] The upper voices are transmitted in mensural music notation, whereas the tenor is written right below the notes in small letters. This system of notation is also known form German tabulatures. The two parchment folios contain three intabulated motets, two of which originate from the *Roman de Fauvel* alongside two textless estampies.

The second fragment collection is kept in the northern Low Countries, at the University of Groningen.[127] *Groningen 70* consists of two bifolios that, similar to *Uu 37.I*, served as flyleaves in a printed book from the fifteenth century.[128] The content on the two bifolios includes two French-texted chansons—A*sperance* and the incomplete E*mpris domoyr*. The former is an intabulated version of the well-known chanson *Esperance qui en mon cuer*. The text of the latter is unique, however, and the music is concordant with a virelai titled *Mais qu'il vous legne est plaisante* in the Reina Codex.[129] Furthermore, *Groningen 70* contains different musical treatises, some passages of which are illustrated with music examples. In their palaeographical analysis Van Daalen and Harrison date the text script to the end of the fourteenth century, but abstain from a discussion and dating of the music script. As the host book was bound in Groningen in 1497, the two authors conclude that "the manuscript from which the fragments were cut loose could very well be of northern, even of Groningen, origin."[130] Again, the authors suggest a possible origin of the fragments themselves. The codicological circumstances are very much reminiscent of *Uu 37.I*. The text script, moreover, gives rise to the assumption that the fragments came into existence at the end of the fourteenth century.[131]

With regard to the music notation of the two intabulated French chansons, it is clear that here we are dealing with a hybrid notation, showing characteristics known from sources of Italian origin in the

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[126] Philippe de Vitry, *Complete Works*, ed. Leo Schrade and Edward H. Roesner, PMFC 1 (Monaco: Editions de l'oiseau-lyre, 1984), V–VI.

[127] The first and only study of these fragments was conducted in 1984. Maria van Daalen and Frank Harrison, "Two Keyboard Intabulations of the Late Fourteenth Century on a Manuscript Leaf Now in the Netherlands," *TVNM* 34 (1984): 97–108.

[128] Angelus de Clavasio, "Summa angelica de casibus conscientieae" (Strasbourg, 1491), Groningen University Library.

[129] Van Daalen and Harrison erroneously claim that the piece concordant with *Empris domoyr* is transmitted in the Prague manuscript *XI E 9*. *Mais qu'il vous legne est plaisante* is contained in *PR*, fol. 77r. As Van Daalen and Harrison provide the correct folio number, but mention the wrong manuscript, it can be assumed that the mistake was editorial rather than content-related.

[130] Van Daalen and Harrison, "Two Keyboard Intabulations," 98.

[131] Van Daalen and Harrison's article is clearly meant to be an initial inventory. It shows that a comprehensive study including palaeographical and codicological analyses is more than timely.

upper stave, and French characteristics in the lower stave—i.e. in the tenor. Accordingly, Michael Cuthbert places *Groningen 70* among the collection of keyboard sources from the early fifteenth century, concluding that "the source may have connections to Italy in its use of two levels of semibreves but the paleography is not similar to any Italian fragments of the late trecento or early quattrocento."[132] Whilst the music notation may not provide concrete answers to the question of its provenance, it has become evident that only a scribe with knowledge of both notational systems could have been responsible for the copying of the two chansons, using what—to him at least—were the optimal characteristics of both systems. The confirmed presence of the fragments in Groningen at the end of the fifteenth century make an origin or place of repository in Strasbourg, where the book was printed, a likely scenario. The printed, yet unbound book, was presumably then sent to Groningen with the fragment leaves to cover and protect the pages. It seems thus rather unlikely that *Groningen 70* was copied or used in the northern Low Countries. Nevertheless, its repertoire shows that at the end of the fourteenth century a wide range of genres were adapted for—and played on—the organ.

By far the most famous source of intabulated music is the Faenza codex (*Fa*), copied at the beginning of the fourteenth century in northern Italy.[133] Next to intabulations of polyphonic French- and Italian-texted songs and dance-related movements, this manuscript also contains intabulated sacred pieces. More specifically, the pieces cover three Mass pairs (Kyrie-Gloria) and an intabulation of a single verse of a Kyrie next to three Magnificat verses, one setting of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, and two *Benedicamus domino flos filius* melodies.[134] It is the settings of the Mass pairs that deserve special attention at this point, as they give us information about the exact sequence of the choir-instrument interaction.

As archival records in Utrecht say nothing about the exact involvement of the organ during the services, we have to rely on the few re-

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132 Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Esperance and the French Song in Foreign Sources," *Studi Musicali* 36 (2007): 11.

133 Pedro Memelsdorff's recent study comprises detailed palaeographical and codicological analyses as well as a discussion of the repertoire. Pedro Memelsdorff, *Codex Faenza 117: Instrumental Polyphony in Late Medieval Italy*, vol. I (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2013).

134 Memelsdorff, *Codex Faenza 117,* 128–29. A very fragmentary intabulation of a Gloria in the fragment collection is kept at the Archivo di Stato in Padua and is known as *Padua 553*. The fragmentary state of this intabulation makes a closer determination of its coming into existence impossible. The concordance with one of the Gloria settings in the *Fa*, however, acts in favor of it being dated around the turn of the fourteenth century. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006), 111, 223.

cords from England that provide us with information. It appears that, initially, the role of the organ was to perform plainsong verses in alteration with the choir. This practice of singing passages alternately, also referred to as alternatim performance, dates back to an early stage of Christian worship. During the early and high Middle Ages the alternatim performance was executed by a choir and a soloist. Initial evidence for the replacement of the soloist singer by the organ is transmitted in an English source dating from the late thirteenth century.[135] This practice is confirmed for the first time in a small number of movements of the Ordinary of the Mass in *Fa*, which show exactly the alternatim practice described in archival sources.

In *Fa*'s Gloria settings, instrument and choir alternate verse by verse (see TABLE 4.1). The movements are thus characterized by a vivid interaction between the two parties; the participation of both the choir and the organ are distributed evenly.

A similar structure of alternatim verses can be observed in the settings of all three Kyrie movements, although in these pieces either the organ or the choir take over dominant roles. In two of the three Kyrie's the organ plays three times, whereas the choir sings six sections; in one case the roles are reversed (see TABLE 4.2).[136] All in all, the movements of the Ordinary of the Mass in Faenza allow us to state that none of the parties assume a noticeably predominant role. This may be an indication for the equal roles of the instrument and the choir during services at the beginning of the fifteenth century, at least for the region in which the Faenza Codex was used. Unless evidence for the instrumental performance of Mass movements in the northern Low Countries proves otherwise, we are to assume that, at the time *Uu* 37.I came into existence and was used, the involvement of organs in the church took up a significant position.

Another major source for keyboard music dates from the second half of the fifteenth century. The so-called Buxheim organ book (*Bux*) contains a vast number of intabulated sacred and secular pieces as well as a workbook targeted towards the training of organists. This workbook entitled *Fundamentum orgnizandi* and attributed to the well-known Nurnberg organist Conrad Paumann (ca. 1410–1473) illustrates that organists around 1450 were trained in figural counterpoint and techniques with which to ornament pre-existing melodies by means of

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[135] Evidence of an alternatim performance between choir and organ was first found in England. Frank Llewellyn Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1963), 205–206; Benjamin van Wye, "Ritual Use of the Organ in France," *JAMS* 33 (1980): 287–88.

[136] The Kyrie movements, in which choir sections are predominant, are transmitted on fols. 2rv-3r and 88rv-90r respectively. Reversed roles can be observed on fols. 62r-62v.

Choir	Gloria in excelsis deo
Instrument	Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis
Choir	Laudamus te
Instrument	Benedicamus te
Choir	Adoramus te
Instrument	Glorificamus te
Choir	Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam
Instrument	Domine deus rex celestis deus pater omnipotens
Choir	Domine fili unigenite Jesu Christe
Instrument	Domine deus agnus dei filius patris
Choir	Qui tollis pecata mundi miserere nobis
Instrument	Qui tollis pecata suscipe deprecationem nostram
Choir	Qui sedes ad dexteram patris miserere nobis
Instrument	Quoniam tu solus sanctus
Choir	Tu solus dominus
Instrument	Tu solus altissimus Jesu Christe
Choir	Cum sancto spiritu
Instrument	In gloria dei patris
Instrument	Amen

Table 4.1: Verse distribution between choir and instrument in the Gloria movements of *Fa,* fols. 3v–5r and 90r–92v.

Kyrie fols. 2r–3r			
I		II	
Choir	Kyrie eleison	Choir	Kyrie eleison
Instrument	Kyrie eleison	Instrument	Kyrie eleison
Choir	Kyrie eleison	Choir	Kyrie eleison
Choir	Christe eleison		
Instrument	Christe eleison		
Choir	Christe eleison		
Kyrie fols. 88r–90r			
I		II	
Instrument	Kyrie eleison	Instrument	Kyrie eleison
Choir	Kyrie eleison	Choir	Kyrie eleison
Instrument	Kyrie eleison	Instrument	Kyrie eleison
Choir	Christe eleison		
Instrument	Christe eleison		
Choir	Christe eleison		

Table 4.2: Verse distribution between choir and instrument in the Kyrie movements of *Fa*, fols. 2r–3r and 88r–90r.[137]

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[137] The incomplete Kyrie movement on fol. 79r–79v is excluded from this table.

numerous musical examples. Moreover, the intabulations are notated in German tabulature—a notational system that resembles that used in the *Robertsbridge fragments* very closely. Culturally speaking, ties between the northern Low Countries and German-speaking areas at the time were close. There is evidence for regular trans-regional exchanges in organ building between the northern Low Countries and German-speaking regions from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards.[138] Moreover, the most important and influential county in the region of the northern Low Countries—the county of Holland—was ruled by the Bavarian Wittelsbach family, who are known to have brought culture from German-speaking regions to the northern Low Countries. All this acts in favor of the assumption that German organ tabulature was known in the northern Low Countries.[139]

The presence of one intabulated Gloria setting in *Bux* allows for a direct comparison between the approaches to alternatim practice as preserved in *Fa* and in *Bux*. It appears that the implementation of interaction between choir and organ is fundamentally different in the two manuscripts. Whereas in *Fa* choir and organ alternate verse by verse, in *Bux* multiple verses are grouped into longer passages.[140] The organ in *Bux* plays nearly all verses except for the intonation and three single verses in the first and final thirds of the piece, resulting in a more prominent role of the organ in proportion to the choir. The dating of *Bux*—to the 1470s—of course, is somewhat late for the period researched in this study, and with a time span of approximately fifty years between the copying of *Fa* and *Bux*, allowances are made for changes in taste and style. Yet, the two examples demonstrate how differently the alternatim practice was approached, and that the division between the organ and the choir was likely to have been dependent on the taste of the particular church in which the movements were performed. Such a practice would indicate that institutions commissioned distinct settings of, for instance, the Ordinary of the Mass for use in their services. Specifically, these types of "personalized" settings could have been copied to, and collected in, one of the Oudmunster organ books as recorded in the fabric accounts of Oudmunster in 1397/98 and 1398/99.

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138 Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 189–208.
139 The county of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut was ruled in personal union by the Wittelsbach-Straubing family from Bavaria between 1345 and 1432 (see Introduction).
140 Later sources show similar groupings of verses, but grant less room to verses performed by the organ. Hans Klotz, *Über die Orgelkunst der Gotik, der Renaissance und des Barock* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), 6.

Ritual Use of the Organ

So far, we have seen that the collegiate chapters—and with them the majority of ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht—were in possession of one or two organs that were regularly played by organists. The fact that the organ player was granted an annual salary, and that this salary was quite generous in comparison to other offices, indicates that performances on the organ during services occurred regularly and enjoyed a high level of social prestige. Surviving sources, moreover, give a general insight into the kind of repertoire played during services and other times. Nevertheless, the question remains as to how, and at which moments in the service, the instrument was used in Utrecht.

Little is known about the ritual use of the organ in Utrecht.[141] As little as three documents surviving in the Utrecht-Delft area from before 1450 provide information about the deployment of the organ in an ecclesiastical setting. The first document comprises Wstinc's statutes and privileges of 1342 (mentioned earlier), in which a job description of the organ player at the cathedral is included.[142] According to this description the organist plays at the vespers and Mass of major and old feasts. Furthermore, at Matins of Septuagesima he plays the antiphons *Te Deum* and *Benedictum*. The second source is a charter formulated for the organist of the *Oude Kerk* [Old Church] in Delft in 1451. The charter largely confirms the practice as described in the 1342 statutes, suggesting that the use of the organ during services may not have changed significantly for a century.[143] The Delft charter's text exceeds that of the 1342 statutes in length, but only offers marginally more instructions as to the specific type of organ playing required. It differentiates between feasts during which to play the antiphons prior to the psalms; high feasts, which should be accompanied by antiphons played *van gracien* [with grace]; and finally, high feasts at which to perform the antiphons *Te Deum* and *Benedictus*. The explicit mention of the antiphons to be played prior to the psalms leads Marcel Zijlstra to assume that the organist could have played a prelude, possibly in an embellished and polyphonic manner.[144] This, of course, remains

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141 Other studies about musical environments in cities during the late Middle Ages provide a similar picture. See Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1988), 199–209; Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 31–33. The court at The Hague employed the organist Lambout from the foundation of the chapter in 1385/86 to 1423/24. He not only played the organ in the chapel, but also accompanied the nobility during many of their journeys. Utrecht, however, does not figure among the cities visited by Lambout. Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en muziek*, 51–52.

142 HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 56r.

143 AD 435, inv. no. 98. Vente provides a transcription of the text in Vente, *Bouwstenen 3*, 76.

144 Marcel Zijlstra, "Het liturgisch gebruik van het orgel in de late Middeleeuwen," in *Het oude*

speculative. Yet, it is conceivable that during solo preludes or interludes the organist made use of the capacities of his instrument to play several voices simultaneously.

In light of the two documents discussed above, it becomes clear that, in the Utrecht-Delft region, the organist's task, first and foremost, lay in the performance of antiphons, at least as far as the formalized part of the liturgy is concerned. This practice stands in contrast to the French practice, which stipulates that the organist plays all the movements of the Ordinary of the Mass—with the exception of the Credo.[145]

A third reference to the ritual use of the organ comes from yet a different type of source: the Oudmunster necrology. Whilst foundations regularly pay schoolboys and canons to sing the Mass, the organ is endowed only a few times.[146] In most cases the amount of money that goes to the organ player is listed without further specifications. There is, however, one entry providing instructions about the evolvement of the organ during the endowed Mass at the duplex feast *Exaltatio crucis*.[147] It reads as follows:

> Item in hoc festo dantur ex parte domini Cornelii Christiani vicarii altaris S Crucis corporaliter existentibus in summa missa et perseverantibus ab evangelio usque ad finem dominis 12 sol[idi] sociis 8 sol[idi].
> Ad huc ex parte eiusdem in choro post missam sub an[tiphonario] O crux gloriosa donec coll[ecta] fuerit dicta: Dominis 6 sol[idi] sociis 3 sol[idi].
> Item organista statim post Ite missa est ludet in organis an[tiphonarium] O crux gloriosa unde dantur eidem 2 sol[idi] 6 den[arii] calcanti 5 den[arii].[148]

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orgel van de Nicolaïkerk te Utrecht: Kroongetuige van de Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis, Nederlandse Orgelmonografie 10 (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2009), 201.

[145] Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony," 200; Van Wye, "Ritual Use of the Organ in France," 291.

[146] "Anno domini M.CCC.LXXVII. Obiit Gerardus de Haerderwijc, decretorum doctor et noster canonicus qui ecclesie nostre dedit et legqavit sex libors iuris canonicus et civilis videlicet decretales, sextum, Clementinas, Innocentium, Henricum Loyc, et codicem. Et pro prima et tercia die lune decanta[n]dis assignavit dominis sociis et choralibus. 9 lb. 15 sol. bonorum in modo et forma prout instatuto super hoc edito plenius continentur [...]." HUA 223, inv. no. 395, fol. 112r. For a translation, see Appendix 2.

[147] The Oudmunster necrology survives in five copies. The main hand in the earliest copy dates from the middle of the fourteenth century (HUA 223, inv. no. 394, no foliation). HUA 223, inv. no. 395 is the one discussed here, in which Cornelius Christian's foundation appears for the first time. The following copy from the beginning of the fifteenth century, HUA 223, inv. no. 396, does not list the foundation. The two remaining versions of the necrology concern an incomplete copy (HUA 223, inv. no. 397), including the foundation in question on fol. 14r and a copy from the end of the sixteenth century, HUA 223, inv. no. 398, which, again, excludes the foundation discussed here.

[148] "Item, at this feast is given on behalf of cleric Cornelius Christianus, vicarius at the altar of the Holy Cross, to those who are physically present during the high Mass and stay from the Gospel until the end 7 s. to the clerics, 8 s. to the fellows. Besides, on behalf of the same in the choir after the Mass who stay during the antiphon *O crux gloriosa* until the Collect is finished 6 s. to the clerics, 3 s. to the fellows. Item, the organist shall play immediately after the *Ite missa est* the antiphony *O crux gloriosa* for which he receives 2 s. 5 d., the bellow blower 5 d" (translated by the author). HUA 223, inv. no. 395, fol. 113r.

It is the last sentence that deserves special attention. Evidently, in this foundation the organist is requested to play—or to repeat—the antiphon *O crux gloriosa* right after the *Ite missa est*.[149] The organ thus performs the antiphon as a postlude after the official part of the Mass has ended. Strictly speaking, the antiphon thus falls outside of the official liturgical service, but nonetheless reflects its content—a fact that could have allowed the organist to perform more freely, demonstrating the full capabilities of the instrument.

Even though the source is silent about the exact realization of the antiphon on the organ, two circumstances argue in favor of a possible polyphonic performance of *O crux gloriosa*. First, the endowment happened in the 1390s, at a time when great investments into the instrument and its repertoire were made at Oudmunster.[150] The importance of this dating becomes clear when bearing in mind that it was in the same period that Oudmunster commissioned a second organ in the church by Ghiselbert Talp, who was the organist at Oudmunster from the early 1390. Talp was also paid for the delivery of four quaterns parchment to produce an extensive organ book in the 1390s. Sadly, we may have no factual evidence for the performance of a more complex setting of the antiphon *O crux gloriosa*.[151] It is evident, however, that in the last decade of the fourteenth century conditions were ideal for the establishment of a sophisticated organ repertoire. Secondly, the feast day *Exaltatio crucis*, at which the organ takes up a special role in the Mass, figures among the most important duplex feasts celebrated in Utrecht—*Exaltatio crucis* and *Inventio crucis* celebrated on the fourteenth of September and the third of May respectively, are twinned feasts. Being part of the sanctuary feasts, they were important to the diocese and thus were celebrated extensively in Utrecht. In Bruges, for example, it is known from contemporary sources that during processions in the city, numerous

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149 Vente mentions the endowment, but does not provide us with any context or interpretation of the passage. Vente, *Utrechtse orgelhistorische verkenningen*, 271.

150 The necrology was copied at the end of the fourteenth century. We find one, possibly two, main hands that copied the manuscript between the deaths of two well-known canons, Gerard Bierwisch (died 1390) and Frederik Zuermont († 1400). Additions of a clearly distinct hand date from the first half of the fifteenth century. Our entry about Cornelius Christian's foundation is entirely written on the outer right margin of a recto page. Palaeographical characteristics of the script suggest that it was written by the main hand; the position of the text on the page, however, points to the addition of the endowment sometime after Bierwisch's death, whose memoria is the last entry for that day in the 1390s.

151 The antiphon *O crux gloriosa* set to music by John Dunstaple (1390–1453) in the *motet O crux gloriosa /O crux splendidor* serves as an example for a three-part polyphonic piece composed for the stations of the cross. It survives in the sources *ModB*, fols. 122v–23r and *Trent 92*, fol. 168v. More about the tonal setting of the motet can be found in Robert Michael Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 52–53.
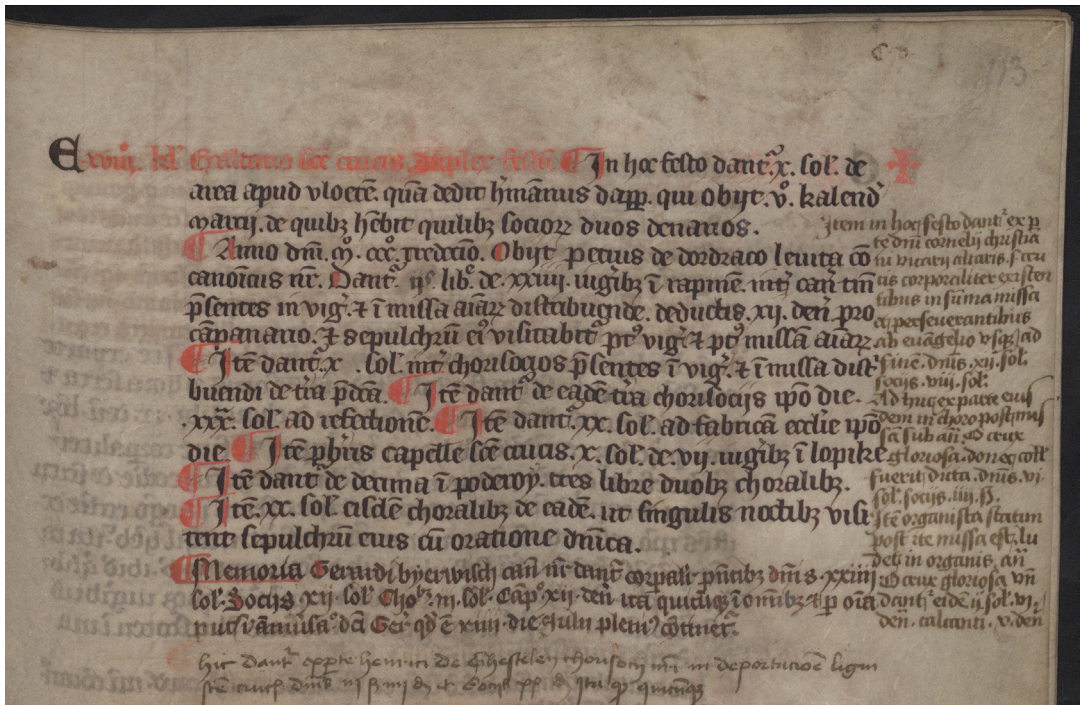
Figure 4.9: Oudmunster necrology from the last quarter of the fourteenth century with Cornelius Chrisitan's endowment on the right margin (image source: HUA 223, inv. no. 395, fol. 113r, for a transcription and translation see Appendix 2).

crosses were carried aloft while the antiphon O *crux gloriosa* was sung.[152] Instructions for the course of processions and services at *Inventio crucis* exist from Utrecht in 1382 and 1418. However, regrettably they do not mention the performance of particular antiphons.[153]

Polyphonic Singing on the Day of Exaltatio Crucis*?*

There is one more archival record concerning the festivities of *Exaltatio crucis* that further supports the hypothesis that polyphony was performed on that special day. Like many other cities at the time, Utrecht had a number of confraternities that were consecrated to the Holy Cross.[154] To these confraternities, the celebration of the two Holy Cross days was of great importance. The small number of surviving account books from confraternities are concise, generally refraining from the listing expenses for specific days and feasts. However, an entry of 1437

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152 Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 65.

153 HUA 223, inv. no. 1, *Liber Catenatus,* fols. 5r and 6r.

154 For an overview, see Chapter 3.
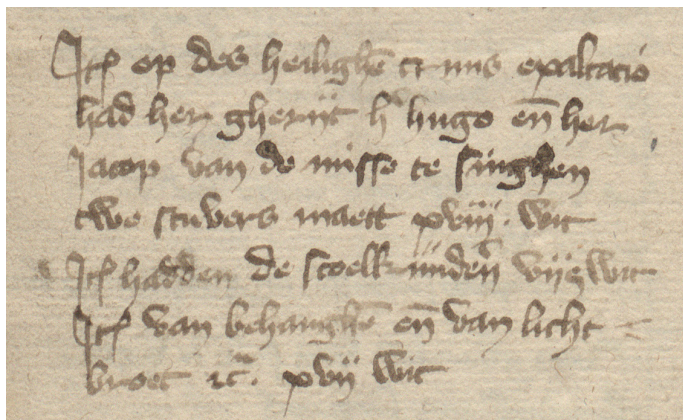
Figure 4.10: Account book entry in 1437 of the Hl. Kruisbroederschap at the Buurkerk about singing the Mass at Exaltatio Crucis (image source: HUA 708, inv.no. 202-1, p. 14, for a transcription and translation see Appendix 2).

in the account books of Hl. Kruisbroederschap [Confraternity of the Holy Cross] at the Buurkerk mentions by name three men who were paid for singing the Mass at *Exaltatio crucis*, receiving two *stuivers*, equivalent to eighteen *wit*, each for their service (see **FIGURE 4.10**).[155]

Whereas payments for musical performances appear regularly in the accounts, but are restricted to general expenses for the school master who "helped to sing"; school children; organ players; bellow blowers; and less frequently for minstrels to play in the church, the payment of three adult men—cleric Gerit, cleric Hugo, and cleric Jacob—for singing the Mass is exceptional. That polyphonic music was a cherished practice at confraternities all over Europe is known from a large number of sources, both musical and archival. The entry discussed here, again, says nothing about the kind of Mass sung by the three men. Yet, the fact that three adult men who appear in the account books only once sing the Mass on one of the most important feast days makes likely the assumption that the performed Mass was polyphonic. If these men were hired to sing polyphony during the Mass, it cannot be ruled out that, on the feast day of the Exaltation of the Cross on the fourteenth of September 1437, they performed a three-part Gloria or Credo from the collections of Mass settings to which the parchment bifolios of Uu 37.I once belonged.

Conclusions

The study of selected archival records and surviving cultural objects from ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht allows us to gain an insight into the artistic engagement of institutions and private persons, drawing a more holistic picture of the cultural environment in the late

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155 "Item op des heilighen crucis exaltatio had her Gherijt h[er] Hugo en her Jacob van der misse te singhen two stuvers maect 18 wit." HUA 708, inv. no. 202-1, 1437, p. 14, for a translation, see Appendix 2. A note on currencies is provided in "Notes on Terminology, Transcriptions, and Currency" at the beginning of this study.

Middle Ages. The Oudmunster deans Gerard and Everard Foec were highly-educated cosmopolitans whose international networks and cultural engagement make likely their encounter with complex polyphony. The biographies of these canons are illustrative for a greater number of prominent canons from the *Sticht*, but also from regions further away, who were affiliated with the cathedral and Oudmunster. Surviving liturgical books, flourishing chapter schools, and institutionalized bookkeeping, moreover, indicate that culture was an integral part of the activities at these two institutions. On a bigger scale, this is further underlined by investments made into fine arts and the flourishing sector of manuscript illumination in Utrecht.

A close consideration of organ building and playing in Utrecht between 1350 and 1450 revealed considerable financial investments into state-of-the-art instruments and extensive organ books. Despite the absence of hard evidence for the purchase and performance of complex polyphony, the broader musical environment nevertheless allows us to make assumptions about its presence in Utrecht. Several entries about organ books purchased at organ makers and players around 1400 are likely to have contained polyphonic music for keyboard instruments. Possible polyphonic improvisation after an endowed Mass and polyphonic singing at *Exaltatio Crucis*, moreover, enhance the previously lacking picture of Utrecht as a place with a rich musical tradition.

In Part III of this dissertation we shall turn to the Dutch-texted polyphonic repertoire. In Chapter 5, an overview of the most important literary texts in Middle Dutch alongside an outline of both monophonic and polyphonic music associated with the northern Low Countries around 1400 will help to clarify the poetico-musical context. A close reading of the street-cries motet ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* contained in *Uu 37.I* in the final chapter of this study will give insight into its textual and musical structure. Against this background, two further Dutch-texted settings with street cries transmitted in *Lu 2720* will be discussed, broadening our view on the kind of polyphonic repertoire collected and performed in the northern Low Countries.

Part Three

Dutch-texted Polyphonic Songs

Chapter 5
Dutch-Texted Music and Poetry in the Late Middle Ages

In the preceding chapters, questions surrounding the origin and use of *Uu* 37.I lay at the center of the discussion. A study of its origin and an in-depth analysis of its codicological and palaeographical features in Chapters 1 and 2, pointing towards Utrecht as the probable home of *Uu* 37.I prior to its subsequent use as binding material. This raises the possibility that Utrecht, from the mid-1300s onwards, was a city in which the type of music preserved in *Uu* 37.I was not only kept, but possibly also performed. Subsequently, Chapters 3 and 4 shed light on the institutional structures and the cultural environment of the episcopal city, with particular emphasis on Oudmunster. The study's findings thus far have underlined Utrecht's financial and intellectual strength in the context of its cosmopolitan appeal, and also revealed a number of places and occasions at which both simple and complex polyphony, organ music, and chant could have been performed.

In the final part of this study, the music itself will be the subject of discussion, providing yet another perspective on the circumstances and the environment in which the repertoire of the Holland fragments came into existence and was used. In the current chapter, an overview of the corpus of Dutch-texted music in the late Middle Ages will be provided. This will enlarge our perspective well beyond the limits of complex polyphony as preserved in the Holland fragments. Given the state of transmission—with the quantity of text sources surpassing those with music notation—this will be complemented by an introduction of the most important Dutch-texted literary manuscripts. Special attention will be given to the Dutch-texted compositions of *Uu* 37.I—one of which will be discussed in-depth in Chapter 6. The above approach will provide further insight into, and a better understanding of, the musical styles of the time and the environment in which Dutch-texted polyphony was heard and cherished.

As with many other regions in Western Europe, polyphony in the northern Low Countries needs to be analyzed in the context of the broader cultural environment. In particular, the examination of Middle Dutch poetry, narrative texts, and monophonically notated songs,

will contribute to a full evaluation of Dutch-texted polyphony, revealing new influences and connections between these various branches. To that end—and prior to the subsequent section on the Dutch-texted polyphonic repertoire and a close reading of some of the sources kept in the northern Low Countries today—an overview of the most important sources of monophony and literary texts in Middle Dutch is provided.

Middle Dutch Song Culture

The Gruuthuse Manuscript and Related Sources

Sources of vernacular songs in the Low Countries are predominantly notated in the so-called stroke notation. The most famous example is the Gruuthuse manuscript.[1] Pitch, and also to some extent rhythm, are indicated by short strokes on five- (or occasionally six-) line staves. Clefs are often missing, and rhythms are not readable in any definite manner. Therefore, this notation was presumably meant as a mnemonic aid within an established tradition of oral transmission. These issues make present-day transcription into modern music notation challenging. The most recent attempt to transcribe the *Gruuthuse* repertoire was made by Ike de Loos in the 2000s.[2] A completely accurate system of rules by which to reliably transcribe pieces in stroke notation is still to be found.

The manuscript's oldest layer (*Gruuthuse* A) consists of three units: (i) rhymed prayers; (ii) the song book; and (iii) narrative poems—all of which are written by one main scribe. The music is copied by different hands, but shows closely-related scribal characteristics.[3] Codicological and palaeographical research, together with an analysis of the content itself, reveal that the oldest section of the manuscript was written within the bourgeois circle that existed in Bruges around 1400.[4]

Gruuthuse A is the only through-copied major collection of songs in existence that systematically uses stroke notation. There is, however, a relatively wide variety of sources containing stroke notation—or

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1 The manuscript is available online. "Digitaal Topstuk," *Het Gruuthusehanschrift*, accessed September 9, 2016, https://goo.gl/GRphNR.

2 Herman Brinkman and Ike De Loos, eds., *Het Gruuthuse-Handschrift: Hs. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 79 K 10*, vol. 1 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015); Ike de Loos, "De liederen van het Gruuthuse-handschrift: Notatie, uitvoeringspraktijk en editieproblemen," in *De fiere nachtegaal: Het Nederlandse lied in de middeleeuwen*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp and Frank Willaert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 105–27.

3 Brinkman and De Loos, *Het Gruuthuse-handschrift*, 86.

4 The ruling of the pages and the type of initials, which are clearly related to surviving books with an attested provenance in Bruges, make the origin from this city a likely scenario. Brinkman and De Loos, *Het Gruuthuse-Handschrift*, vol. 1, 76 and 90.

Source	Folios	Dating	Provenance	No. of songs
Diessenhofener Liedblatt[5]	no foliation	last quarter 14th c.	Southern Germany	2 songs
Berlin songbook 922	131r–134v	1410–1430	Lower Rhine	12 songs
Van Hulthem	30v	ca. 1410	Brussel	1 song
Darmstadt 2225	70r–71v	1410	unknown	1 anonymous song, 1 song by the Monk of Salzburg
Pieter Potter MS	54v	1st half 15th c.	The Hague	1 drinking song
Gruuthuse	11r–58v	ca. 1400	Bruges	
Arnhem hs 6	133v	ca. 1400	Arnhem (monastery Mariënborn)	1 song with Latin and Dutch text[6]
Bamberg Msc.Astr 4	64v	ca. 1400	Southern Germany	1 anonymous, 1 by the Monk of Salzburg
I-Rvat Pal. Lat. 1260	fol. 316r	1410–1415	Unknown	2 songs by the Monk of Salzburg
Namur reg.	282v (reg. 5) 283r (reg. 6) 240v (reg. 7) 200r; 29v (reg. 8)	1412–1423	Namur	9 songs
Helmond MS	fol. 97r–97v; 99v, 186v	ca. 1416	Helmond?	3 songs

Table 5.1: Overview of the most important sources transmitting music copied in stroke notation.

hybrids of stroke, chant, and mensural notation—spread throughout Western Europe.[7] Most sources with texts written in Germanic dialects

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5   The Diessenhofener Liedblatt is currently in private ownership and therefore does not have a shelf mark.

6   According to Frank Willaert, the Dutch text of this song is a direct translation of the Latin text. The folio shows the Latin text in the left column; the Dutch text follows in the right column. The music is notated in strokes on a single four-line stave in a page-to-page layout. Frank Willaert, "Een minnezanger in het klooster: Het lied 'Liepliker zaert' in Arnhem, Centrale Bibliotheek, ms. 6," in *Meer dan muziek alleen: In memoriam Kees Vellekoop* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004): 343–54.

7   Lists of manuscripts and fragments with stroke notation are provided in two articles by Ike de Loos, and Jan van Biezen and Kees Vellekoop. Whereas De Loos confines her list to sources with stroke notation separately notated from text, Biezen and Vellekoop also include transitional forms of stroke notation. Jan van Biezen and Kees Vellekoop, "Aspects of Stroke Notation in the Gruuthuse Manuscript and Other Sources," *TVNM* 34, no. 1 (1984): 3–5; De Loos, "De liederen," 107. For an initial description of the *Helmond MS,* which today are kept at Eindhoven *Regionaal Historisch Museum,* see Barbara Haggh, "New Publications in Dutch on Music Before 1700 and a Newly Discovered 15th-Century Dutch Manuscript with Songs," *Early Music* 25, no. 1 (1997): 127–28. Facsimiles of distinct sources are provided in Eugeen Schreurs, *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen, Middeleeuwen-Renaissance: Polyfonie, monodie en leisteenfragmenten in facsimile* [*An Anthology of Music Fragments from the Low Countries, Middle Ages-Renaissance: Polyphony, Monophony and Slate Fragments in Facsimile*] (Leuven: Alamire Foundation, 1995).

are currently kept in The Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany, with some isolated fragment sources located in Switzerland (*Diessenhofener Liedblatt*), Italy, and Austria.[8] A variant of stroke notation is also found occasionally in sources with ties to England.[9]

Middle Dutch "Songbooks"

A glance at the corpus of Dutch-texted literary texts reveals that, even though the transmission of sources is limited in quantity, a wide variety of poetic forms survive to the present day. These include larger narrative texts, didactic religious texts, chronicles, poetry, procession plays, and a smaller number of theatrical plays.[10] As the establishment of relations between texts of different song styles offers the most promising avenue of investigation for the purpose of this study, in the following an overview and brief description of the four most important manuscripts from the later Middle Ages will be provided. As will be seen, the song tradition was especially strong in the Dutch-speaking regions around 1400.

In addition to the above-introduced *Gruuthuse* manuscript, one of the most important song collections is the *Haags Liederenhandschrift* [The Hague Songbook]. The manuscript contains lyrical forms that almost exclusively cover the topic of courtly love.[11] Nothing is known with certainty about the origin and the date of copying. However, research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s has shown that the manuscript may have been written around 1400 in the northern Low Countries, possibly at the court of Guelders.[12] This hypothesis is supported by the representation of the languages: Dutch, German, and French. Additionally, the Dutch texts show a strong German influence. The

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8 For an examination of stroke notation in Germany, see Christoph März, "Deutsche Liederbücher im Spiegel ihrer musikalischen Notation: Zur Disposition von Text- und Melodieaufzeichnung," in *Musik in Mecklenburg: Beiträge eines Kolloquiums zur mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte veranstaltet vom Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Rostock 24. - 27. September 1997* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2000): 129–48; Christoph März, *Die weltlichen Lieder des Mönchs von Salzburg: Texte und Melodien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999).

9 English sources with stroke notation are discussed in Margaret Bent, "New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony," *JAMS* 21, no. 2 (1968): 194.

10 Four theatrical plays in Middle Dutch with non-sacred content are transmitted in the *Van Hulthem* manuscript. They are known under the collective name *Abele spelen*. Hans van Dijk, "The Drama Texts in the Van Hulthem Manuscript," in *Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 283–96; Theresia de Vroom, ed., *Netherlandic Secular Plays from the Middle Ages: The "Abele Spelen" and the Farces of the Hulthem Manuscript*, vol. 29, Carleton Renaissance Plays in Translation (Ottawa, ON: Dovehouse Editions, 1997).

11 No less than 155 lyrical texts are transmitted in the manuscript.

12 Frits P. van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer: Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1987), 93; Frits van Oostrom, *Wereld in woorden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1300–1400* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2013), 377.

latter attribute conforms to the characteristics of the literary language found at the court at The Hague during the Wittelsbach rule.[13] It is, therefore, one of the few manuscripts with literary texts that, via an analysis of its content, can be associated with the court at The Hague.

The *Van Hulthem* manuscript is a major compilation of a wide range of different genres, including historiographies, devotional texts, small lyrical forms, prayers, and theatrical plays—a small minority of which (fourteen texts) are lyrical forms, one of which includes stroke notation. Herman Brinkman states that the manuscript is "colorful but without character in its substance" because of the remarkable diversity of this compilation.[14] Despite lacking evidence enabling guaranteed statements about its provenance, it is clear that the *Van Hulthem* manuscript can be brought into connection with Brussels and thus with Brabant and the court of Wenceslas of Luxembourg or its vicinity due to internal textual references. More precisely, the distinct compilation of religious texts prompted Brinkman to hypothesize that the parish of St. Jan at Molenbeek—a village in the vicinity of Brussels and today a district of the modern city (Sint-Jans-Molenbeek)—is a possible place of origin.[15] Furthermore, the text copied by the main scribe of the manuscript shows characteristics of the Brabant dialect.[16]

Finally, the *Antwerps Liedboek* [Antwerpen Songbook] is a collection of secular song texts without music notation.[17] Given its printing date of 1544, the *Liedboek* seems chronologically to be quite distant from the previously introduced compilations of Dutch-texted literary texts. Nevertheless, many of the 221 songs contained in this print were transmitted within a long-lasting tradition. As we will see—and despite its late date—even more so than *Van Hulthem*, the *Antwerps Liedboek* will

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13 At the court at The Hague attempts were made to standardize the language. Brigitte Schludermann, *A Quantitative Analysis of German: Dutch Language Mixture in the Berlin Songs Mgf 922, the Gruuthuse-Songs, and The Hague MS 128 E 2*, vol. 1, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, no. 338 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1996), 23. See Introduction.

14 Herman Brinkman, "Het wonder van Molenbeek: De herkomst van de tekstverzameling in het handschrift-Van Hulthem," *Nederlandse letterkunde* 5 (2000): 24.

15 Brinkman, "Het wonder van Molenbeek," 30. A comparison of the watermarks on the *Van Hulthum* manuscript with those on papers used for documents between 1400 and 1410 revealed that a record established by Jacob van Abcoude from 1400—the "Manboek van Geesbeek"—most resembles the *Van Hulthum* manuscript. Herman Brinkman and Janny Schenkel, eds., *Het handschrift-Van Hulthem: Hs. Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, 15/589-623* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 47.

16 Brinkman, "Het wonder van Molenbeek," 23.

17 *Een schoon liedekens. Boeck inden welcken ghy vinden sult. Veelderhande liedekens. Oude ende nyeuwe Omdroefheyt ende melancolie te verdrijven. Item hier sijn noch toe ghedaen Meer dan Veertichderhande nyeuwe liedekens die in gheen ander liedekens boecken en staen. Hier achter aen veruolghende* (Antwerp: Jan Roulans, 1544). Transcriptions of the texts are published in Dieuwke E. van der Poel et al., eds., *Het Antwerps liedboek* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2004).

play an important role in connecting and contextualizing the Dutch texts of songs found in *Uu 37.I*.

In the last two decades, scholars of medieval Dutch literature have made an effort to foreground the visibility of courtly characteristics as opposed to urban features in surviving texts. For instance, Herman Pleij, a great supporter of the profound distinction between urban literature and its courtly counterpart, observes the presence of realism and practicality as characteristics of the intellectual middle class in late-medieval literature. These virtues, he believes, were added to already existing texts from courtly milieus.[18] Much in the same way, Herman Brinkman claims that urban literature at the end of the fourteenth century was a response to the cultivation of literature at the court.[19] He explains that the noticeable presence of many religiously motivated works is the result of an ever-growing intellectual middle class in towns that were organized in confraternities.[20] However, since it is known that aristocrats were present in urban communities and that patricians emulated and copied courtly life, a clear distinction between the two communities as described by Pleij seems unlikely.

The most important collections of Dutch-texted literary texts and songs introduced above—*Gruuthuse*, the *Haags Liederenhandschrift*, *Van Hulthem*, and the *Antwerps Liedboek*—although only a handful of a supposedly much more extensive tradition, show that large collections of literary texts survive from various regions within the wider Dutch-speaking area.

Dutch-Texted Complex Polyphony in Sources Kept Outside The Netherlands

While sources of Dutch poetic texts—with or without monophonic notation—by and large are located in the Dutch-speaking region today, examples of Dutch-texted polyphony are spread throughout a variety of sources kept in different countries all over Europe. The source with the largest corpus of Dutch-texted pieces is the manuscript *XI E 9*, now

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18 For instance, the narrative *Heinric en Margriete van Limborch*, which underwent adaptations prior to its publication as a printed text in 1516, includes creditworthiness as one of Heinric's new virtues. Herman Pleij, "The Rise of Urban Literature in the Low Countries," in *Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context*, ed. Erik Kooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 63–64.

19 Herman Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde: Literatuur in Leiden aan het einde van de Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), 258.

20 Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, 262.

housed at the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague.[21] The section containing songs in mensural notation and music treatises is part of a much larger, otherwise unrelated text collection.[22] The majority of the manuscript was copied around 1400 at the Thomas Convent in Strasbourg.[23] The manuscript contains no less than twelve Dutch-texted pieces next to *forme fixe* chansons with French, German, and Italian texts.[24] The physical appearance of XI E 9's music section points to a relatively simple collection, showing rather unsteady, poorly-trained hands for the copying of the music and a somewhat clumsy arrangement to the order of the pieces. Texts, moreover, are only indicated by incipits at the beginning of the upper voices.[25] Even though XI E 9 represents one of the more intriguing collections of polyphony written around 1400, it has attracted little scholarly attention.

The manuscript *Sm 222* (although the original was destroyed in a fire in 1870), as with XI E 9, has ties to the region around Strasbourg.[26] Despite containing one song that has a concordance with XI E 9, its provenance is not as clearly traceable as XI E 9.[27] In his *Habilitationsschrift*, Lorenz Welker concludes that on the basis of the predominantly Alemannic dialect in the German texts, and the explicit and concordances of the treatise *Quoniam ut dicit Sanctus Augustinus*, *Sm 222* can be localized to the south-east of the wider German language

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21 Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, *Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts. Mehrstimmige Musik in italienischen, polnischen und tschechischen Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts. Mehrstimmige Stücke in Handschriften aller Länder aus der Zeit um 1400-1425/30. Organale Sätze im älteren Stil und mehrstimmige Stücke in Choralhandschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts [Austria-France]*, vol. B/IV/3, RISM (Munich: G. Henle, 1972), 248–54; Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, vol. 3, Renaissance Manuscript Studies (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1979), 63; Friedrich Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI E 9* (Brno: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1931); Václav Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur* (Prague: Academia, 1973), 401–15. The manuscript is also available online at the *Manuscriptorium* website. "XI.E.9, Národní Knihovna České Republiky," *Manuscriptorium*, accessed February 8, 2017, https://goo.gl/SeJ6ij.

22 On the last stave of folio 216r an untitled piece is notated in a mixed form of square and stroke notation. For a listing of all the treatises, see Plocek, *Catalogus codicum*, 401–403.

23 Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke*, 11.

24 One two-voice piece, *Vaer rouwe in dander huys,* is copied twice on fols. 247v and 249r and is therefore counted as one piece.

25 On the last stave of 261r white mensural notation and stroke notation appears—albeit attracting little attention amongst scholars working on non-mensural secular monophony.

26 Thanks to Edward Coussemaker's partial transcription and notes, the content and the rough order of the manuscript are known to us. Edmond de Coussemaker, "Manuscript de La Bibliothèque de Strasbourg" (Brussels, n.d.), MS 56286, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique. For a facsimile, see Edmond de Coussemaker, *Le manuscrit musical M.222 C22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg: XVe siècle*, ed. Albert van der Linden (Brussels: Office international de librairie, 1977).

27 *O zine me min wat wil ghi maken, Sm 222,* fol. 72v and *O sinne munij, XI E 9*, fol. 250v.

area.[28] Difficulties determining the language of pieces copied with only an incipit instead of the full text result in somewhat varied views on how many Dutch-texted and German-texted pieces are contained in the manuscript.[29] According to my own assessment of the song titles, three Dutch-texted pieces are to be found in the earlier layer with black mensural notation, while two pieces survive in white mensural notation in the younger layer (see TABLE 5.2).[30] In comparison to the fifteen Dutch-texted pieces in *XI E 9* the number of songs with Dutch texts in *Sm 222* is less at only 5.

A single polyphonic piece with Dutch text, furthermore, is contained in the Reina Codex (PR). The three-part ballade praising the qualities of a good wife entitled *Een wyflyc beildt* is transmitted as a secondary entry among a series of French-texted chansons.[31] The multilingual song *En ties en latim en romans vois a ma dame* is a secondary entry, too. The main language of the song is French. Dutch is used for direct speech, whereas Latin appears only twice.[32] The mention of *trois gros de Brabant* may indicate the origin of the song as Brabant. However, the manuscript itself is thought to have been compiled in different stages in the Veneto region of Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century.[33]

Two three-voice pieces—the rondeau *Die mey so lieflic wol ghebloit* and the ballade *Ach Vlaendere vrie*—are transmitted in the Heiligenkreuz fragments (HEI).[34] In their clear *forme fixe* outline, both pieces show exceptionally complex horizontal and vertical rhythmical progressions

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28 Welker claims that, in spite of earlier attempts to associate the manuscript with the choir school at Strasbourg cathedral, evidence to link *Sm 222* with Strasbourg is entirely absent. Whether these compilations came into existence at, or were stimulated by, the Council of Constance—as Reinhard Strohm claims—remains doubtful. Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *TVNM* 34, no. 2 (1984): 121; Lorenz Welker, "Musik am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter: Die Handschrift Strasbourg, olim Bibliotheque de la Ville, C. 22" (PhD diss., Universität Basel, 1993), 121–23, 32.

29 Welker calls texts the dialect of which cannot be determined with certainty *Mischtexte*. Welker, "Musik am Oberrhein," 169.

30 Welker divides the manuscript into three layers: The first, earlier layer with black mensural notation ends on folio 88. The entries on folios 89v, 91r, and 94v together with later additions to the first layer make up the second layer. The third layer is written in white mensural notation and lasts until the end of the music collection. Welker, "Musik am Oberrhein," 57–58.

31 Fols. 56v–57r. Nigel Wilkins, ed., *A 14th-Century Repertory from the Codex Reina*, CMM 36 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), XI, 8–9.

32 The Middle Dutch language is called *diets* in contemporaneous literature, see Introduction.

33 The most recent codicological and palaeographical research is published in John Nádas, "The Reina Codex Revisited," in *Essays in Paper Analysis* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1987): 69–114.

34 The fragment bifolio has no shelf mark. A visit to the monastery Heiligenkreuz in spring 2014 revealed that an enormous archive with music is kept in a single room, most of the material being uncatalogued and kept in piles on shelves. Frater Roman Nägele, who at the time was newly appointed head of the music archive, was not able to find the fragment bifolio in question.

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Genre	No voices	Comments	Concor-dances
1	XI E 9	247v	*Vaer ruwe in dander huys ect.*	R	2		
2	XI E 9	247v	*Min heil min trost etc.*	L	2	Tenor only	
3	XI E 9	247v	*Ic prise altoes gostadecheit etc*	L	2	Tenor only	
4	XI E 9	247v	*Die orolf*	L	2	Tenor only	
5	XI E 9	248r	*In vrouden willen*	R	2		
6	XI E 9	249r	*Vaer rouwe in dander huys*	R	2		
7	XI E 9	250v	*O sinne munij (?)*	R	2		*Sm 222*
8	XI E 9	258r	*Het dunct me wesen verre*	R	2		
9	XI E 9	258r	*Scone es si vanen allen vrouwe*	B	2		
10	XI E 9	259r	*Een meysken dat te werke gaet*	B	2		
11	XI E 9	259v	*Voer mi toent si een scoen ghetaer [ghelaet(?)]*	B	2		
12	XI E 9	260v	*Ich sach den mey met bloemen bevaen*	B	2		*Sm 222*
13	XI E 9	260v	*Siint doecht moest arghelist ontsien*	B	2		
14	Sm 222	47v	*Ich sach den meygen,*	L	3		*Gent 3360 XI E 9*
15	Sm 222	72v	*O zine me min wat wilt ghi maken, ghi strit naer oer lyf*	L	2		*XI E 9*
16	Sm 222	97v	*So lieplich is der is der mey … / wie lieblich*	R	3		
17	Sm 222	107v	*Herte mi wy was du glat*	L	2		
18	Sm 222	115v	*All eerbaer wensch*	R	3		*EscA*
19	PR	56v–57r	*Een wiiflic beildt ghestadt van sinne*	B	3		
20	PR	72v–73r	*En ties en latim en romans vois a ma dame*	B	3		
20	HEI		*Die mey so lieflic wol ghebloit*	R	3	Ascription Thomas Fabri	
21	HEI		*Ach vlaendere vrie*	B	3	Ascription Thomas Fabri	
23	CA 1328		*Saghen, saghen*	L/M?	1+	Contratenor and tenor lost	

Table 5.2: Overview of Dutch-texted complex polyphony in sources kept in Europe.

next to a number of remarkable characteristics, among which the most striking is the section with *coronae* throughout all voices towards the end of A*ch Vlaendere vrie*.[35] The fragment collection as such has not been subject to any in-depth studies so far. Therefore, provenance and dating of *HEI* remain unclear. The relevant entry in the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) states that the bifolio served as binding material for accounts from the seventeenth century for the Trumau Castle in Lower Austria, which at the time belonged to the Cistercian monastery in Heiligenkreuz. According to the frater responsible for the music collection at the time the RISM catalogue was established, the fragment could have originated at a Cistercian monastery in Flanders, traveling internally through different monasteries of the same order.[36] Regardless of the little information we have about *HEI*'s history, it is clear that we are dealing with pieces that, by virtue of their complexity, can be placed within the tradition of Ars Subtilior.

The final Dutch-texted piece in sources kept outside The Netherlands is one of the most peculiar ones. It is the unidentified song *Saghen, saghen, saghen*, which survives with only one incomplete upper voice in the Cambrai fragments (CA 1328).[37] The transmission history of these fragments in many ways resembles that of U*u 37.I*. The origin of the fragments themselves is unknown, the surviving host books providing the only point of reference to their past. They formerly belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Sépulchre in Cambrai. In the only comprehensive study, Irmgard Lerch in her 1987 work refers to the stamps on the leather covers of the original bindings, and touches upon the occurrence of similar stamp patterns in The Netherlands. She concludes, however, that the host books most probably were bound in Cambrai around 1500.[38] From the surviving, single upper voice, the genre of *Saghen, saghen, saghen* cannot be determined with certainty. Lerch classifies the piece as a motet, but does not provide the reader with any grounds for this classification. The meaning of the text of *Saghen, saghen, saghen* seems difficult to grasp at first, although a closer

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[35] Transcriptions of both pieces are provided in the appendix of Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 206–209.

[36] Fischer and Lütolf, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik.*

[37] For an overview of the pieces and ordering of the fragment pages, see Irmgard Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, vol. 11, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987). For transcriptions, see Irmgard Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie: Transkriptionen mit kritischem Bericht*, vol. 11, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).

[38] Lerch thus follows David Fallow's conclusion voiced in an initial journal article about the fragments. David Fallows, "L'origine du manuscrit 1328 de Cambrai," *Revue de Musicologie* 62 (1976): 277; Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai*, 6–9.

examination suggests that the theme of unfulfilled love is expressed through the metaphor of a fire extinguishing scene.[39]

In summary, we are dealing with a total number of twenty-two Dutch-texted pieces contained in five different collections of polyphonic works, preserving repertoire copied from the second half of the fourteenth to the first few decades of the fifteenth century.[40] We may further distinguish between a larger group of two- and three-voice songs in the vernacular (nineteen songs) cast in a relatively simple, polyphonic style notated in black full mensural notation. These pieces appear in XI E 9 and *Sm 222*, both of which have ties to southern and south-eastern parts of the wider German-speaking area. The second group consists of four relatively extensive three-voice compositions and one composition with a partially surviving voice (the song *Saghen, saghen, saghen*). The provenance of two of them can be associated with the Veneto region, while the origin of the remaining three pieces remains unclear. The occurrence of a Dutch-texted ballade and a multilingual virelai with Dutch-texted parts in *PR*—which most probably was copied in the Veneto—suggests that Dutch-texted polyphony was part of an internationally circulating musical repertoire around 1400.

Dutch-Texted Complex Polyphony in Sources Kept in The Netherlands

Viewed against the background of the twenty-three surviving Dutch-texted polyphonic pieces in sources kept outside The Netherlands, the twelve Dutch-texted pieces residing within The Netherlands make up a considerable part, namely one third, of the full repertoire of Dutch-texted polyphony. They are transmitted in *Uu 37.I*, *Uu 37.II*, *Lu 2720*, and *Au 64*. Nine pieces in *Uu 37.II*, *Lu 2720*, and *Au 64* can be categorized as courtly love songs, covering topics such as unfulfilled love for, or the praise of, a noble lady (see **TABLE 5.3**).[41] The remaining three pieces in the three previously mentioned sources encompass other topics. One song, *Des vasten avonds*, deals with the experiences of a poor man during Lent. The text of *Blijfs mi doch bi mij* is a metaphorical description of

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39 A transcription of the music and the text together with a short commentary is provided in the second volume of the study. Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Transkriptionen mit kritischem Bericht*, 63–67.

40 None of the pieces can be dated. The rough dating provided here is determined from the estimated dates of compilation of the manuscripts and fragments. However, it is clear that the moment of inclusion for a piece in a compilation does not necessarily coincide with the date of its initial writing.

41 Numbers 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 in Table 5.3 are courtly love songs.

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Genre	No voices	Comments
1	Uu 37.I	Bifolio II, fol. 1r	*Wouter was een vule*	L	{3}	
2	Uu 37.I	Bifolio II, fols. 1v–2r	*… ic hebbe ripe kersen*	L	3	Street-cries motet. In-depth discussion in Chapter 6
3	Uu 37.I	2v (Bifolio II)	*Och lief gesel, ic heb vernomen*	L	{3}	May song
4	Uu 37.I	IVr (snippet IV)	*[… als ic di zach,], mijn zuete life*	L	[1]	
5	Uu 37.I	IVv (snippet IV)	*[Ic beghi]nne mijn liedekijn: wel*	L	[1]	
6	Uu 37.II	32r	*Ist mi bescheert, so moth ic liden*	B	3	Love song
7	Lu 2720	7v	*Tsinghen van der nachtegale*	B	3	Love song with street cries, parodic. In-depth discussion in Chapter 6
8	Lu 2720	8	*Des vasten avonts*	L	3	Carnival song with street cries. In-depth discussion in Chapter 6
9	Lu 2720	9v–10	*Eer ende lof heb aventuer*	B	3	Love song; composer Martin Fabri
10	Lu 2720	10v	*Een cleyn parabel wilen eer*	B	3	Love song and possibly a Marian worship; composer Martin Fabri
11	Lu 2720	11v	*Genade Venus vrouwe tzart*	B	3	Love song; composer Hugo Boy
12	Au 64	1	*Blijfs mi doch bi mij*	C	3	Text serves as clue for canonic performance of a music piece with tenor and solus tenor

[ ] = Unknown number of voices.   **{ }** = Known number of voices, but incomplete transmission.

Table 5.3: Overview of Dutch-texted pieces kept in The Netherlands.

how to perform the two upper voices canonically.[42] Finally, E*een cleyn parabel* can be interpreted as a courtly love song in which the protagonist honors his lady even more because of her sweet expression when looking at her child. On a deeper level, it can be understood as a Marian worship—the underlying yet clear reference to Mary and her child therefore could be a special form of worship in which the courtly audience is invited to engage in devotion, connecting the concept of "courtly love" with the heavenly and thus more superior love of God through Mary.

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[42]   Rob C. Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony at the Court of Holland in the Early Fifteenth Century: The Amsterdam Fragments," *JRMA* 117, no. 2 (1992): 187.

Uu 37.I, Convolute B

The corpus of works contained in the four different convolutes of *Uu 37.I* includes a considerable number of pieces in Middle Dutch. Of twenty-three pieces, five in total are Dutch-texted. It is convolute B (bifolio II and snippet IV) in which the most Dutch-texted songs appear. Yet, the poor state of the fragments only permits a limited insight into the actual works contained within. The following brief discussion of these pieces therefore aims to provide some insight into both the commonalities and differences between the music and texts. A close reading of the most extensive piece of the convolute, ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, and interrelated Dutch-texted polyphonic pieces will be provided in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.1: Images of the recto (above) and verso (below) pages of *Uu 37.I*, snippet IV (image source: Utrecht University Library, *Uu 37.I*, fol. IVr and IVv).

The remnants of two Dutch-texted pieces on the recto and verso pages of snippet IV only permit the drawing of very limited conclusions. We are dealing with the upper voices of what seem to be rather complex pieces, at least in the case of *[... al]s ic di zach mijn zuete life* [(...) when I saw you, my sweet love]. Mensural changes—two dotted C's, a reversed C, and the number 2 appear in the small excerpt of four staves—and the repeated use of semiminims underline this idea (see **FIGURE 5.1**). Double texting in the two lower staves, moreover, points to a specific form of the song that differs from the well-established *formes fixes*. Due to the incomplete state of snippet IV, I abstain from a close reading of these two pieces.[43]

Three further Dutch-texted pieces that survive with an incomplete set of voices are preserved in bifolio II. Its codicological and palaeographical peculiarities and its poor state of transmission is discussed in detail in Chapter 1. Two of the three Dutch-texted songs—*Och lief gesel* and *Wouter was een vule*—are secondary entries, being copied after two Latin-texted motets; one song, ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, is a primary entry. *Och lief gesel*, the upper voice of which is transmitted in the lower part of bifolio II, fol. 2v, seems musically close to the ballade. Its A section consists of four lines, exhibiting the rhyme scheme abab. Interestingly,

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43 For diplomatic transcriptions of text and music, see the online repository EASY, https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq.

Text *Och lief gesel*	Musical form	Rhyme	Translation
Och lief gesel ic heb vernomen Des ic van herten bin verblijt	A	a b	Oh dear companion, I have heard Something that makes my heart happy
Die wijnter ende die zomer dromen[44] Die wijnter tonder leit int strijt	A'	a b	The winter and summer dreams The winter tastes defeat
Gevangen als inder nette Hout an wel lieve Lijsbette Bet wil dat ghij zonder letten Stoelen bankcken uit die weghe gaet setten Pipen tamburen mit trompetten Com dansen iaioiette iannette iaquette Corijn iosijn iacomijn pirette Bet wil da[t] ghij vrolic sijt Nu hout an bet ter goeder tijt	B	c c d d d c c b b	Caught as in a net Keep up, dear Lijsbette You'd better without delay Do away with chairs and benches Pipes, tamburines with trumpets Let's dance Jaioiette, Jannette, Jaquette Corijn, Josijn, Jacomijn, Pirette You'd best be jolly Keep up with the good times

Table 5.4: Text, structure, and translation of *Och lief gesel, Uu 37.I,* bifolio II, fol. 2v.

ouvert and clos remain and are not marked as such in the source. *Och lief gesel* deals with the revival of life after the cold winter months. In the B section the protagonist calls out women's names with endings on *-ette* (see **TABLE 5.4**).

From the surviving contratenor and tenor voices of *Wouter was een vule* on the lower part of bifolio II, fol. 1r, it is clear that imperfected passages indicated with red ink are omnipresent throughout the whole piece. Regarding the musical form, it appears that the song is organized following the structure of a ballade with a repeated first section (A, A') and a refrain at the close of the second section (B).

As far as the incomplete text allows one to comment upon the textual content of the piece, it seems that Wouter is either in love with Mariken or sexually desires her (see **TABLE 5.5**). His low social status—indicated by the adjectives *vule* [dirty] and *ongesnuyt* [uncultured]—together with his limited intellectual capacities prevent him from getting in contact with her. The character of "filthy Wouter" who is unable to exercise his will has its equivalent in a song transmitted in the *Gruuthuse* manuscript. Song II.71 deals with Wouter, an older man, who unsuccessfully tries to convince Lijskin to sleep with him.[45] Both songs draw upon the stereotyped character of Wouter. He may well have his roots in the character of Gautier in *Le Jeu du Pelerin*, which is known from the

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44 The meaning of this verse line and especially the word dromen [dreams] is unclear.
45 Brinkman and De Loos, *Het Gruuthuse-handschrift*, vol. 1, 417–19; Herman Brinkman and Ike De Loos, eds., *Het Gruuthuse-Handschrift: Hs. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 79 K 10*, vol. 2 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 88–89.

Uu 37.I, fol. 1r	Translation
Wouter was een vule [...]	Wouter was a dirty [...]
[...] man ende *bruyt*	[...] man and a dope
eer d[...]	honor d[...]
wie mocht *brouwen* [...]	those who could brew
[...] dus ouerluyt	[...] thus very loudly
Ziet g[hi Mariken niet?]	Did you not see Mariken?
Merct dan wel wat hi dair hi liet	Note well what he left there behind
waen bedroech den edelen knuyt	Truly he played the noble crow
ensy fait tout iours et nu[yt]	*ainsi fait tous jours et nuits*
[...] aldair verstiet,	[...] routed from that place
doen hi van dane sciet	When he went away
zaechdi Mariken niet?	Did you not see Marieken?
Vrient, di si geseint saluyt	My friend, be welcome
als een deghen ongesnuyt	As an uncultured swashbuckler
wairstu dus in d [...] niet	Were you thus not in [...]
Ghif [...]	Give [...]
Danckelic ende blijf dair wt	Thankful and stay away
Mariken, geloues niet	Mariken, do not believe it
Drait men trou no[ch duech]t[46] en ziet bloeme[..]	Where one notes neither loyalty nor virtues flourish[..]
Tuge[47] frater *hant que puyt*	Frater states truthfully *hant que puyt*
Wouter had des groot verdriet	Wouter was in great sadness about this
doen gh[i van d]ane sciet	When you rushed [off]
zaec[di Mariken niet?]	Did you not see Mariken?

Table 5.5: Text and translation of *Wouter was een vule*, *Uu 37.I*, bifolio II, fol. 1r.

introductory section in Adam de La Halle's *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*.[48] Here, Gautier's role is that of a simple-minded man from a low social class who fails to act according to the social rules of the upper class. In doing so, he hilariously disrupts the progress of the play.

Even though the two texts draw upon the same stereotypical character, differences regarding the context and the ironic tint are quite obvious. In *Gruuthuse* the focus of the text lies on the conversation between Wouter and Lijskin (see **TABLE 5.6**). The context in which this conversation takes place, however, remains unknown to the listener or reader; it seems irrelevant for the message that the text wishes to

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[46] This reading is taken from Muller's transcription. Muller, "Brokstukken van middeleeuwsche meerstemmige liederen," 11.

[47] The verb tugen (modern Dutch lemma: tuigen) is read as *naar waarheid verklaren* [state truthfully] according to the Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek Online. "TugenI," *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek Online*, accessed February 5, 2018, http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/ search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=59703&lemma=tugen.

[48] This introductory section was added to the story after Adam de la Halle's death. Jacob Wijbrand Muller, "Brokstukken van middeleeuwsche meerstemmige liederen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 25 (1906): 18–19.

Gruuthuse, fol. 23rb-23va	Translation
'Lijskin, wat helpt vele ghestreiden?	"Lijskin, why do you resist [me]?
Ic moet u doen dat zotte dinc.	I must do the foolish thing.
Ic hebt u menichwaerf ghebeiden,	Often I asked you for it,
Daer u niet vele an en hinc.'	But you always refused."
'Her Wouter ,	"Mister Wouter,
en tast mi emmer niet beneden,	You better do not touch me from underneath,
ghi ne waert een lettel stouter!'	If you were not a bit more bold!"
'Lijskin, bi deis heren doot,	"Lijskin, by the death of our Lord,
haddic u up den corentas,	If I would get you on that piled grain,
al waerdi 7 waerf so groot,	Even if you would be 7 times as high,
ic soude u leeren tswingen tvlas.	I would teach you how to break flax.
Wat, Lijskin,	Oh, Lijskin,
vindi mi niet in uwen scoot,	If I do not end up in your lap,
so seght dat ic een annin bin!'	You may call me a tit!"
'Her Wouter, ghi sijt al te stout	"Mister Wouter, you are all too naughty
van uwen fellen daden.	Because of your fierce deeds.
Ghi sijt out ende ghi sijt cout.	You are old and cold.[50]
Ic souds u wel verzaden.	I could well give you your fill.
Her Wouter,	Mister Wouter,
vermeit u niet up uwen bout,	Do not show off your bar,
ghi ne waert een lettel stouter!'	If you were not a bit more bold!"
'Lijskin, minne, hout up dijn hant,	"Lijskin, my dear, raise your hand,
ghi sulles noch ontgelden.'	You will pay for this."
'Wacht u, Wouter, goet calant,	"Be warned, Wouter, dear client,
ghi sout mi moeten melden.'	You will have to suit the action to the word."
'Wat Lijskin,	"Oh, Lijskin,
laetti hier niet eenen pant,	If this will not cost you dearly,
so seght dat ic een annin bin.'	You may call me a tit!"
'Secht mi, Wouter, lieve drael,	"Tell me, Wouter, dear hesitant,
Wat pande wildi hebben?	What kind of pledge would you like to have?
Dat ic u gheve, ic jans wael:	That which I will give you, I grant it to you:
een quaet jaer op u rebben!	A sturdy beating on your ribs
Wat, Wouter,	Oh, Wouter,
ne comt me ijsere an gheen stael,	Do not attack steel with iron,
ghi ne waert een lettel stouter!'	If you were not a bit more bold!"
Her Wouter die was arde gram	Mister Wouter was furious
van deser wreeder sprake.	About this brutal statement.
In sinen aerm dat hise nam,	In his arm he took her,
soe slouchen vor de cake.	She punched him in the face.
'Wat, Lijskin,	"Oh, Lijskin,
doe ic u noch niet wesen tam,	If I do not tame you now,
so secht dat ic een annin bin!'[49]	You may call me a tit!"

Table 5.6: Text and translation of *Lijskin wat helpt vele ghestreiden, Gruuthuse*, fol. 23rb–23va.

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49 The transcription, including punctuation, is taken from Brinkman and De Loos, Het Gruuthuse-handschrift, vol. 1, 417–19.
50 Cold in this context means impotent.

convey. The fragmentary text of *Wouter was een vule*, conversely, thus leaves room for interpretation, not least because essential parts of the text are lost. Wouter seems to be an unattractive (*vule*) man. Whether he was a knave, a soldier, a simple servant, or a famer, we do not know. In the context given, it can be assumed that he is of a lower class. So far, it has become clear that *Wouter was een vule* is a song that focusses on the ironic aspects of an unsuccessful male character. As will be seen in the following chapter, ironic and parodic content is widely used in other Dutch-texted polyphonic songs to be found in both *Uu 37.I* and *Lu 2720*.

Conclusions

In total thirty-six polyphonic pieces with Dutch texts survive to the present day. Two thirds are contained in sources spread throughout Europe, while the remaining third are housed in collections within The Netherlands. The vast majority of the corpus consists of three-voice pieces, in the form of courtly love songs. A smaller number of songs are parodic songs with two or three voices. More specifically, the two Dutch-texted songs in *Uu 37.I*, bifolio II, both have satirical content, which, at first glance, might lead to their categorization among the more simple polyphonic repertoire. The vernacular text seems to further confirm this view. However, a brief consideration of the music and the text reveals that quite the contrary is the case: parodic content is intertwined with rhythmically rather complex music and, at times, bilingual text. The third Dutch-texted piece transmitted on biofolio II, fols. 1v–2r, ... *Ic hebbe ripe kersen*, exceeds in length the two songs touched upon above. As one of the few polyphonic songs featuring street cries, it has been mentioned in the context of several studies in the past, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. Yet, it has never been subject to a more extended study, which would have considered text, music, and context with equal emphasis. The in-depth discussion and contextualization presented in Chapter 6 of this study thus constitutes the first ever close reading of this piece.

Chapter 6
Dutch-Texted Settings with Street Cries in *Uu 37.I* and *Lu 2720*

> Along the arch from primal cry to speech to music to sounds in nature, street cries occupy a position somewhere between speech and environmental sound. Like speech, they possess semantic meaning; like environmental sound, they are dispersed in space and time.[1]

Even though Bruce R. Simth's quote primarily concerns the early modern period, the above-quoted observations equally apply to the street-cries settings of the Middle Ages. By extension, it may serve as a background to the discussion of a number of street-cries settings with both Dutch and French texts. The quote provides a condensed categorization of street cries in an urban or village soundscape. At the same time, it uncovers the ambiguous position of the street cry in *musica* as defined by late-medieval theory. In a nutshell, their semantic meaning makes street cries superior to noise.[2] The shouting of the vendor, who repeats his cries continuously without understanding the theory behind his music making, conversely, demotes the streets cries to simple sound, *sonus*. Thus, the hawking of the vendor, in the medieval theoretical perception of *musica*, is not *musica* in the fullest sense of the word—it is not fully rational and the product of clean intervallic relationships. This categorization thus puts street cries close to bird song and other animal sounds—both of which appear exaggerated in late-medieval complex polyphony. Even though the ontological status of street cries in the medieval episteme of sound shall not be the subject of further discussion hereafter, it should be kept in mind for the following close readings of the street-cries settings.

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[1] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 67–68.

[2] The categorization of street cries within contemporary music theory could be the topic of a whole chapter in itself. Since the focus of this study lies on the close reading of Dutch-texted polyphony, I refrain from providing a detailed discussion here. For an explanation of the concept of *musica* in the Middle Ages, see Karl Kügle, "Conceptualizing and Experiencing Music in the Middle Ages (ca. 500-1500)," in *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 1184–1204.

... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*: A Street-Cries Setting in *Uu 37.I*

The polytextual setting ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is the most complete setting in *Uu 37*.I, bifolio II, fols. 1v-2r.[3] The three-voice setting can be described as an assemblage of street cries touting household wares and foods. The cries are interrupted by short narrative texts that initially appear to be unrelated to the street cries.

... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* has two texted upper voices and a textless tenor. The two upper voices are independent and almost equal in range. Both voices, furthermore, show a vivid speed of movement with semibreves and minims as the basic rhythmic components. As far as the fragmentary state of transmission permits one to make a statement about the relation between the upper voices, it can be said that they perform both simultaneously and successively (see, for example, mms. 160–66). In contrast, the tenor moves much slower, but—against expectations—has no underlying pattern and is thus freely composed. The characteristics of upper voices and tenor—the two independent upper voices similar in tonal range and rhythmical patterns, and the slowly moving tenor—are the essential features of a motet. As will be seen, other structural characteristics of motets such as isorhythm and panisorhythm are, in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, completely absent. Nevertheless, in the following ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* will be treated as a motet, with voices being referred to as triplum, motetus, and tenor.

The surviving voices of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* include the last four staves of the triplum, the motetus—the first stave lines of which are cut off at the beginning by approximately five to seven breves—and the complete tenor (see TABLE 6.1). An analysis of the setting will therefore always remain restricted, as neither the text nor the music of any of the two texted voices are transmitted in full. Nevertheless, as we shall see, a number of pertinent observations can be made despite the fragmentary state of the setting.

A glance at the research history of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* reveals that its genre has been discussed controversially in the past. Florimond van Duyse's categorization of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* as motet in the 1900s as stated in Muller's publication was challenged by Lenaerts, who erroneously stated that none of the settings contained in the Utrecht fragments were polytextual.[4] Thirty years or so later, in 1965, Gilbert

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3   Since the beginning texts of both texted upper voices are cut off and lost respectively (see following section). I have chosen to name the setting after one of its most characteristic text parts: the street cry *ic hebbe ripe kersen.* In earlier publications the setting is referred to as *[...go]eden [ ] kaccharinc, drughen harinc.* For a full transcription of the setting, see Appendix 3.

4   René Bernard Lenaerts, *Het Nederlands polifonies lied in de zestiende eeuw* (Mechelen: Het

Table 6.1: Full transcription and translation of … ic hebbe ripe kersen, Uu 37.I, bifolio II, fols. 1v-2r.[5]

Triplum	Translation
[Approximately two thirds of missing text]	
… den kaecharinc drughen harinc	… gutted herring, smoked herring
breken nap maken nap tebroken[6]	Break the cup mend the cup broken
Sulver wit gaern broet al heet al [heet]	Silver-white yarn, warm bread warm
… an dierelijn[7] moy sijn si die daer gaen	… pretty are those walking there
die wille[n] drinken goeden coelen wijn	Who want to drink nice, cool wine
die gaen in den Moerboem	They are going to the *Moerboem*[8]
… groet tornoijse	… *gros* of Tours[9]
loep hale groet Sluse mosselen	Go, get, big mussels from Sluis[10]
hale hale hale ter zee	Get, get, get them from the sea
teemsen kan ic maken vele bet	I am very good at making sieves
… an mijn lief geraken	… get into my loved one
wy souden ons generen wel	We would manage alright
ende driven iolijt ende spel	And [would] make fun and enjoy ourselves
so wel kann ic an teemsen	That well I can repair sieves

Motetus	Translation
… ghesellen […ijn]	… companions…
Macht lijfcoep ende vordeel sijn	… will be a very good bargain
Had ic bonen ic soud zaeien	If I had beans I would sow them
recht hier in dit …	Right here in this …
robijn robrecht in dit dalekijn	Robin, Robrecht in this small valley
Ketelen boeten pannen maken	Repairing kettles, making pans
ketelen boeten ende my gheneren	Repairing kettles and making a living
… wannen maken	… making winnows
Ay my ay my ay my ay my lachen	Oh my, oh my, oh my, oh my laughing
Dat ic oyt wert beghine ende zonder minnekijn …	To imagine that I would ever become a beguine and be without a lover
… hoet in gaet gaet in ghereet	… enter willingly and fast
die stoof is heet die in die Dijncstraet staet	The stove that stands in the Dijncstraet[11] is hot
Ic hebbe Biervliets …. ende comijn	I have … from Biervliet[12] … and cumin

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Kompass, 1933), 7;. Muller, "Brokstukken." Frits van Oostrom also provides a short description and discussion of the piece. Frits van Oostrom, *Wereld in woorden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1300*–1400 (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2013), 392–94.

5 Since the texts of both the triplum and the motetus voices do not survive in full and we therefore are unable to arrange the text in verses, I refrain from using capital letters at the beginning of verses.

6 This verse line is grammatically incorrect.

7 *Dierelijn* is a diminutive, its meaning is unclear.

8 This is probably the name of a tavern. The translation of *Moerboem* into English is mulberry tree.

9 The *gros tournois* was a very common monetary unit all over Western Europe from the fourteenth century onwards. For more information about currencies, see "Notes on Terminology, Transcriptions, and Currency" at the beginning of this study.

10 Small village in the county of Flanders. Today it belongs to the region of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in The Netherlands, which shares borders with Belgium. The village lies about twenty-five kilometers northeast from Bruges.

11 Unknown street name.

12 Biervliet lies approximately forty-five kilometers north-east from Bruges in what is now the Dutch province of Zeeland. Like Sluis, it belonged to the county of Flanders around 1400.

Motetus	Translation
Die wel doet die baet es sijn	Those who buy well make a good bargain
Keersen verbernen moetse	Candles, you must burn them
Coep oude cleder cope ... me	Buy old clothes buy
Boerde boerde goede boerde	... plates, plates, good plates
die beste boerde die noyt man zag	The best plates ever seen
Ic hebbe sauce te mostarde ... [glasine n... yr male]	I have mustard sauce ... [...][15]
Kinder nu zijt alle vro	Children, be all be happy now
en ic ne wil naer meer sorghen	And I will hereafter not worry again
Ic hebbe ... in der hant	I have ... in my hand
om tsavonts tot den morghen	to [...] in the evening until the morning
Lieve moeder hoedet my al ben ic jonc	Dear mother protect me; although I am young
Ic heb veel liever enen man dan dusent pont	I prefer a man over a thousand pounds
Lanternen maken lanternen lanternen	Making lanterns, lanterns, lanterns
platelen cram ic goede bonen met ten zoep	Dishes I repair, good beans with the sauce
Al heet al heet al heet	Hot, hot, hot
Ic hebbe nywe rijchsnoer nywe rijchsnoer	I have new laces, new laces
Met ene wel twee tel vive	Which can each be used for two to five holes[16]
ghif my drinken zwijch verscouwen lollaert[13]	Give me a drink, be silent stupid mendicant
ghif dijn ghelt om knollaert	Spend your money on small biers
Versch harinc versch harinc versch harinc	Fresh herring, fresh, fresh herring
Blas den riethoren blas den duivel doot	Blow the reed horn blow the devil to death[17]
Krakelingen uit gezoden broot al heet krakelinge	Pretzels made of fried bread, hot pretzels
Ic hebbe kersen ripe kersen al ripe kersen	I have cherries, ripe cherries, ripe cherries
Wie sal dit ghelach betalen kinderen	Who is going to pay for all this, children?
Zitten wij hier yet lang	If we are sitting here any longer
het sal ons hinderen al ny[14] ons goet	It will be bad for our money
Ic prijs die mosselen voer den zalm	I recommend the mussels more than the salmon
daer is zo goede cluving an	[because] it has a good bite
Neemt waer ten viere daer achter	Watch out for the fire over there
want daer es te doene	Because that is needed
Die nie niet verbliden	He who is not able to be joyful
so mach hi aes ghaerne duecht gewone	Is not determined to do virtues

Reaney classified the setting as a Lied.[18] Edward Stam, finally, took up the discussion again, concluding that the setting is a motet with different texts in the two upper voices.[19]

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13 A stereotype of a mendicant friar without a formal affiliation to a monastery, who is asked to pay for entertainment and beer. For a definition of the term *lollaert*, see Herman Brinkman and Ike de Loos, eds., *Het Gruuthuse-Handschrift: Hs. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 79 K 10*, vol. 1 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 447.

14 *Ny* is a copying error in the source and should be read as *an*.

15 Text parts in brackets are largely illegible. I therefore do not translate them.

16 The meaning of this verse line is unclear. I follow Muller's suggested reading. Jacob Wijbrand Muller, "Brokstukken van middeleeuwsche meerstemmige liederen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 25 (1906): 36.

17 *Blas den duivel doot* [blow the devil to death] is an expression for blowing with great force.

18 Gilbert Reaney, "New Sources of 'Ars Nova' Music," *Musica Disciplina* 19 (1965): 61.

19 Edward Stam, "Het Utrechtse fragment van een Zeeuws-Vlaamse markt-roepen-motetus," *TVNM* 21, no. 1 (1986): 25.

There are currently two publications that deal with ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, and both provide initial insights into its style and meaning. J. W. Muller's 1906 article primarily concerned itself with the text, while an article by Edward Stam in 1968 discusses the music and its transcription.[20] In his in-depth discussion of the text, Muller provides an accurate transcription of the text in which he stresses the importance of the street cries: "However, at a closer look this rhapsody seems to consist of all sorts of cries of merchants, street traders, hawkers who sell and advertise their wares, who try to entice their customers in all possible ways ..." [21] Furthermore, Muller extensively embellishes the original text, providing the reader with translations of terms into modern Dutch, and at times his own interpretation of the content. He also compares the short narrative text parts to other literary texts of similar content. However, he was unable to find direct textual or musical concordances.[22] In his work Stam recognized the correct number of voices, which allowed him to transcribe the setting for the first time. Except for a few minor errors in the transcription and an erroneous rendering of the texts of the two upper voices, Stam's transcription provides a valuable—indeed pioneering—contribution to the reconstruction of incomplete polyphonic settings from the Middle Ages.[23]

In the following close reading of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* I shall first focus on the analysis of the text. As will be seen, the text structures of the triplum and the motetus seem at first glance to be unorganized—a fact that prompted Muller to call them "rhapsodies" (see quote above). A comparison to the street-cries motet *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*—which shows similarities to ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* on the structural level—will help clarifying the setup and meaning of the Dutch-texted street-cries setting. This is followed by a musical analysis of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* that, amongst others, concentrates on the poetico-musical setting so far as it is traceable in the source. The section will conclude with a comparison to the musical setting of *Je commence/Et je feray/ Soules viex*—the particular poetico-musical similarities of which will be investigated in greater detail.

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20 Muller, "Brokstukken"; Stam, "Het Utrechtse fragment."
21 Translated by the author. "Bij nader toezien echter blijkt deze rhapsodie te bestaan uit allerlei kreten en roepen van kooplui, venters, marskramers, die hunne waar te koop bieden en aanprijzen, die hunne klanten op alle wijzen trachten te lokken ...." Muller, "Brokstukken," 38–39.
22 Muller, "Brokstukken," 30–60.
23 Stam, "Het Utrechtse fragment," 31–36.

Textual Analysis of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*

Transcription of the texts of the triplum and the motetus separately from the music make it clear that they lack any defined poetic structure and, in particular, any subdivision into stanzas. Despite the absence of a clear versification structure, recurring text chunks offer a point of orientation. The most striking of these recurring chunks are the two words *Ic hebbe* [I have] in the motetus, which are the initial words of five street cries. Red rubrication of all the capital letters "I" of *Ic hebbe* indicates that these recurring words indeed played a structural role in the organization of the text in the motetus. It is, however, also clear that the verse structure remains irregular, ranging from four up to seven lines per section, commencing with the *Ic hebbe* section (see **TABLE 6.2**). The surviving text of the triplum does not show any recurring words or text chunks, nor do we find other structural applications of features such as the number of syllables or the rhyme scheme.

Table 6.2: Motetus and triplum texts of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* with syllables per line and a list of wares advertised. Text insertions and possible sayings/quotations are in italics.

Full text motetus (fragmentary state)	Syllables	Wares	Comments
… ghesellen […ijn]	[4]		
Macht lijfcoep ende vordeel sijn	8		
Had ic bonen ic soud zaeien	8	Beans	
recht hier in dit …	4		
robijn robrecht in dit dalekijn	9		
Ketelen boeten pannen maken	9	Kettles and pans	Saying / quotation?
ketelen boeten ende my gheneren	11		
… wannen maken	[4]		
Ay my ay my ay my ay my lachen	10		
Dat ic oyt wert beghine	7		Saying / quotation?
ende zonder minnekijn …	[7]		
… hoet in gaet gaet in ghereet	[7]		
die stoof is heet die in die Dijncstraet staet	10		
Ic hebbe Biervliets …. ende comijn	[8]	… from Biervliet; cumin	
Die wel doet die baet es sijn	7		
Keersen verbernen moetse	7		
Coep oude cleder cope … me	[8]	Old clothes	
Boerde boerde goede boerde	8	Plates	
die beste boerde die noyt man zag	9		
Ic hebbe sauce te mostarde …	[8]	Mustard sauce	
… glasine n… yr male	[7]		
Kinder nu zijt alle vro	7		Saying / quotation?
en ic ne wil naer meer sorghen	8		

	Syllables	Wares	Comments
Ic hebbe ... in der hant	[6]		
om tsavonts tot den morghen	7		
Lieve moeder hoedet my al ben ic jonc	11		Saying / quotation?
Ic heb veel liever enen man dan dusent pont	12		
Lanternen maken lanternen lanternen platelen	13	Lanterns	
Cram ic goede bonen met ten zoep al heet al heet al heet	15	Beans	
Ic hebbe nywe rijchsnoer nywe rijchsnoer	11	New laces	
Met ene wel twee tel vive	8		
ghif my drinken zwijch verscouwen lollaert	10		
ghif dijn ghelt om knollaert	6		
Versch harinc versch harinc versch harinc	9	Fresh herring	
Blas den riethoren bals den duivel doot	10		
Krakeling en uit gezoden broot al heet krakelinge	15	Hot pretzels	Saying / quotation?
Ic hebbe kersen ripe kersen al ripe kersen	14	Ripe cherries	
Wie sal dit ghelach betalen kinderen	11		Saying / quotation?
Zitten wij hier yet lang	6		
het sal ons hinderen al ny ons goet	10		
Ic prijs die mosselen[24] voer den zalm	9		
daer is zo goede cluving an	8		
Neemt waer ten viere daer achter	8		
want daer es te doene	6		
Die nie niet verbliden	6		
so mach hi aes ghaerne duecht gewone	10		
Full text triplum (fragmentary state)	**Syllables**	**Wares**	**Comments**
... den kaecharinc drughen harnic	[8]	Herrings	
breken nap maken nap tebroken	9	Cups	
Sulver wit gaern broet al heet al [heet]	[8]	Bread, yarn	
... an dierelijn moy sijn si die daer gaen	[9]		
die wille[n] drinken goeden coelen wijn	10		
die gaen in den Moerboem	6		
... groet tornoijse	[4]		
loep hale groet Sluse mosselen	10	Mussels from Sluis	
hale hale hale ter zee	8		
teemsen kann ic maken vele bet	9		
... in mijn lief geraken	[6]		
wy souden ons generen wel	[8]		Saying / quotation
ende driven iolijt ende spel	10		
so wel kann ic teemsen	6		

It is striking that ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* shows a most accurate text underlying. Every syllable is clearly assigned to a note—a fact that results from its syllabic setting. I also take it as indicative for the care with which this setting was copied into the source. This careful copying

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24 Mossels are not touted in a street cry. Therefore, they are not included in the list of wares advertised.

is confirmed in the accuracy of the musical text, which becomes evident when transcribing. In fact, in the current, deteriorated state of the bi-folio we only find one error on the last stave of the motetus where the breve rest has to be changed to a semibreve rest (mm. 190).

Concordances

Muller already suspected that the text insertions with content not directly related to the street cries—"brokjes van liederen" [little fragments of songs] (see **TABLE 6.2**) between the prose as he calls them—may be quotations from other texts.[25] He was not able to confirm this hypothesis with direct concordances to other text sources, however.

A search for related text parts in contemporary sources reveals that, even though at the current time there are no direct concordances, text parts and text content transmitted in two different sources have commonalities with the street-cries setting: the *Haags Liederenhandschrift* (two poems) and the *Antwerps Liedboek* (several song texts). Whereas the *Haags Liederenhandschrift* contains poems with a number of matching words (see **TABLE 6.3**)—all of which most probably belong to fixed expressions—the *Antwerps Liedboek* contains poems thematically close to the text insertion *Lieve moeder hoedet my al ben ic jonc Ic heb veel liever enen man dan dusent pont* of the motetus.

… ic hebbe ripe kersen, Uu 37.I	Haags Liederenhandschrift
Kinder nu zijt alle vro en ic ne wil naer meer sorghen Ic hebbe … in der hant om tsavonts tot den morghen	Sal ich sender sorghen Avont onde morgen Unde uch siin verborgen? [L65][26]
Wie sal dit ghelach betalen kinderen Zitten wij hier yet lang het sal ons hinderen al ny ons goet	Hoe ich comen byn in sneven Ich moet betalen al 't gelach Om mi gaef si niet twe sceven [L62][27]

Table 6.3: Opposition of text parts with similar wordings in *… ich hebbe ripe kersen* and the *Haags Liederenhandschrift*.

Lieve moeder hoedet my al ben ic jonc; *Ic heb veel liever enen man dan dusent pont* concerns the common theme of the female transition between childhood and adult life, and the mother who fulfills the role of the "guardian of her daughter's virginity."[28] Ten songs out of a total number of 221 in the *Antwerps Liedboek* cover this topic specifically.[29]

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25 Muller, "Brokstukken," 42.
26 *Haags liederenhandschrift,* fols. 36va-36vb. E. F. Kossmann, *Die Haager Liederhandschrift: Faksimile des Originals mit Einleitung und Transkription* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1940), 79.
27 *Haags liederenhandschrift,* fols. 35va-35vb. Kossmann, *Die Haager Liederhandschrift*, 77.
28 Hermina Joldersma and Dieuwke van der Poel, "Across the Threshold to Maturity: Gender and Mobility in the 'Antwerp Songbook,'" *Itineraria* 8–9 (2010 2009): 175–76.
29 I am grateful to Dieuwke van der Poel, who drew my attention to the presence of this topic in

In the majority of the texts the young ladies disregard their mother's advice to stay home or stay away from men whereupon their lives take dramatic turns for the negative—their sexual experiences result in forced marriages because of their lost virginity, pregnancy, or societal pressure. It is thus quite clear that at the very center of the motetus text, the morally wrong desire of a young woman is the subject of discussion.

Thus, despite the factual absence of textual concordances with contemporary sources it is possible to conclude that, according to the excerpts with similar wordings presented above, the use of sayings, quotations, and rhetorical topoi in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is likely to have been part of this setting's concept. The question whether this concept is inherent to the Dutch-texted street-cries setting or whether it belongs to a broader "blueprint" of street-cries motets will be tackled in the textual examination of *Je commence*/*Et je feray*/*Soules viex* that follows.

The French-Texted Street-Cries Motet
Je commence/*Et je feray*/*Soules viex*

The motet *Je commence*/*Et je feray*/*Soules viex* transmitted in the Ivrea codex is both thematically and stylistically close to the Dutch-texted street-cries motet.[30] It is a non-isorhythmic three-voice setting with a free tenor.[31] Just as … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* the street-cries motet *Je commence*/*Et je feray*/*Soules viex* contains interchanges between street cries and short narrative text parts (see **TABLE 6.4**). Moreover, except for a few distinct passages, the two upper voices sing alternately. Their texts thus appear in the form of a dialogue.

A glance at the text of *Je commence*/*Et je feray*/*Soules viex* reveals that generally, the text also has a syllabic setting. However, the initial four phrases (mms. 1–16) are more melismatic, supporting the introductory character voiced in the beginning phrases of both the triplum *Je commence ma chancon* [I start my song] and *Et je freray li seccons* [And I will sing afterwards]. Moreover, as with … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, the text lacks a clear structure. Neither the rhyme scheme nor the number of syllables show any consistencies. Moreover, recurring text parts such

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the *Antwerps Liedboek.*

30 *Iv*, fols. 61v–62r. Concordances: *McVeagh*, fol. 27r (missing motetus and different tenor text [*J'ay pastez chaud*]); *Trém* no. 35 (incipit only); musical and textual connections to *CA 1328*, fol. 9v. For a full transcription of the music, see Appendix 3.

31 Karl Kügle dated the copying of the manuscript to the last two decades of the fourteenth century, the latest copying stages being completed between 1395 and 1398. Karl Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony* (Ottawa, ON: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 75.

V	Je commence/Et je feray	Translation[32]
Tr	Je commence ma chancon	I start my song
Du	Et je ferray li seccons	And I will sing afterwards
Tr	A trames dames alis	To work, dame Alis
Tr	A trames quar je veuil ordir	To work, for I wish to weave
Du	Ales vos ales vous ales vous	Go, go, go
Du	Dame baignier ales	Lady and bathe, go
Tr	Qui a nuls viex soules viex a vendre	Who has any old shoes for sale
Du	Je ne fileray plus mere par m'ame	I will not weave anymore, mother, upon my soul
Du	J'ay mon fusiau perdu	I have lost my spindle
Tr	La cote la chape	Tunics, hoods
Du	Le mantel le pelicon a faitier	The cloak, the pelisse to repair
Tr	Murelartraine donaline	*Murelartraine donaline*
Tr	mirelatraine don don don don	*mirelatraine don don don don*
Du	La cote et le sercot	The tunic and bodice
Tr	Je referoie les hanaps, les hanaps	I will repair cups, cups
Du	Limacon limacon montre moy tes cornes	Snail, snail show me your horns
Du	Je t'enseigneray ton pere et ta mere	I will tell you about your father and mother
Du	Qui gisent en la fosse	who lie in the grave
Tr	Je seigneroie les pos d'estain	I would mark tin pots
Du	Voires voir, voires jolis	Indeed, truly, indeed lovely
Tr	Ce sont tripes tripes tripes	There is tripe, tripe, tripe
Tr	C'est la mulete du monton	There is ewe's stomach
Du	Meures franches, meures, meures franches	Fresh mulberries, fresh mulberries
Tr	Freses noveles	Fresh strawberries
Du	Voirement voirement voirement sire	Truly, truly, truly my lord
Du	Voirement vous irey voiler	Truly I will come veil you
Tr	Je referteroie la sarge et les tapis	I will darn serge and carpets
Tr	La sarge et les tapis	Serge and carpets
Du	Corbeille le van, corbeilles le van	Winnowing basket, winnowing basket
Tr	La truie est en l'orge Marguet	The sow is among the barley, Marguet
Tr	Il n'est qui l'en oste	There is no one to get her out
Du	Lanternes raparelleroie je	I will repair lanterns
Du	Soufles viex referoie	And old bellows
Tr	Aus et oignons aus et oignons	Garlic and onions, garlic and onions
Du	Jobin Jobart va chantant en un …	Jobin Jobart goes singing in a …
Du	Toute nuit s'en va Jobart aval la rue	All night Jobart goes down the street
Tr	Aÿlie, aÿlie, lie	*Aÿlie, aÿlie, lie*
Du	Ales boire bon vin chic con catiz amis,	Go and drink good wine with poor friends
Du	Robin, et a trentedeux[33]	Robin, and of thirty-two [deniers]
Du	Sus la chenevote ge vieng ge vois je vole	On the fire, I am there, I see, I flee
Tr	de sus la chenevote je vois je vieng je voleray	On the fire, I see, I am there I will flee
Du	J'ay les bons fromages de Brie	I have good Brie cheeses
Tr	Et j'ay chasteignes de Lombardie	And I have Lombardy chestnuts
Du	Gefroi tu fus trouves es boiaux d'une truie	Gefroi you were discovered in the bowels of a sow
Tr	Gastiaux rostis poudres, cuis en la brase	Cakes baked and powdered, cooked on charcoal,
Tr	Gastiaux rasis poudrés poudres	Cakes sprinkled on top, sprinkled
Du	Ay oublie oublie oublie a la denree	I have wafers, wafers, wafers for one denier
Du	Qui veut jouer	Who wants to play [for one]?

Table 6.4: Text and translation of *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, Iv fols. 61v–62r.

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32 The translation is based on Les Musiciens de Sainat-Julien et al., *Je voy le bon tens venir: Polyphonies & danses autour de 1400*, compact disc (Alpha B00B1VP2U0, 2013).

33 The number thirty-two is a reference to the price of "good" wine. Gillaume de Villeneuve's

as the *Ic hebbe* sections in Dutch-texted street-cries settings are also entirely absent. This is due to the lack of introductory words for the street cries. The cries, instead, consist exclusively of the naming of wares.

In the following, a close reading of *... ic hebbe ripe kersen* and its comparison with *Je commence*/Et je feray/*Soules viex* will shed light on both the similarities and the differences between these two settings. In doing so, the focus will lie on *... ic hebbe ripe kersen*, providing condensed readings of *Je commence*/Et je feray/*Soules viex* only for comparison.

Textual Concordances in *Je commence*/Et je feray/*Soules viex*

An examination of the text of *Je commence*/Et je feray/*Soules viex* reveals that—in a similar manner to that of *... ic hebbe ripe kersen*—it is composed of street cries interrupted by short narrative sections. On the basis of selected text passages, I will illustrate how allusions and quotations are used within this motet's overall concept.

The two verse lines *La truie est en l'orgue Marguet; Il nest qui l'en oste* [The sow's among the barley, Marguet; There is no one to get her out], is concordant with an anonymous poem from the second half of the fifteenth century titled *Sermon noveau d'ung fol changeant divers propos*.[34] In this parodic sermon the preacher criticizes wealthy people who live beyond their means as well as denouncing an infamous cardinal for accusing women of being dishonorable. One of the striking features of the risqué and parodistic sermon is the wide variety of expressions for the male member. *Sermon noveau* contains a few sung lines (*en chantant*), but in the most part consists of spoken text (*puis dit*). Towards the middle of the poem four verse lines appear with strikingly similar wording to *La truie est en lórgue Marguet* (see **TABLE 6.5**).

These sung text lines *La truie est en l'orge; lorgien lorget* [The sow is among the barley; what a

Sermon noveau d'ung fol changeant divers propos, text excerpt
Toutes bouttetonnes par derriere
Et me viennent jusques au cul
Trestout me cousta ung escu
Ou au moins une paille d'orge
En chantant
Et la truie est en l'orge
Lorgien lorget
La truye est l'orge
Lorgin lorget
Puis dit
Harou je doys faire le guet
Au jourd'huy avec une pusse
Pour ce qu'elle fait une musse
A bouter dedens son tresor
Avec Nabugodenosor

Table 6.5: Text excerpt from the anonymous *Sermon noveau d'ung fol changeant divers propos*, first published at the end of the fifteenth century.

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poem *Les Crieries de Paris* contains similar lines about the price of wine, from the context of which it becomes clear that thirty-two—presumably deniers—was the price for a decent wine. The text is transmitted in F-Pn acc. Fr. 837, fols. 246r–247r. For a discussion and excerpts of *Les Crieries de Paris,* see following section.

34 Jehan d'Abundance, *Sermon nouveau d'ung fol changant divers propos: Très excellent entre les bons pour rire* (Paris: Jehan Trepperel, 1480), fol. 2v; Eugénie Droz and Halina Lewicka, eds., "Sermon noveau d'ung fol changant divers propos," in *Le Recueil Trepperel 2: Les farces* (Genève: Droz, 1961): 6–8.

feast] are likely to have been part of a well-known folksong, possibly alluding to a life in abundance. A precise translation of *lorgien lorget* remains difficult. It is possible that we are dealing with a wordplay on *orgie* [orgy]. This reading fits well within the context, as orgies, in addition to sexual intercourse, often also included drinking.

The sexual connotations of the text are further underlined by the mention of the name Marguet. Being a variant of Maret or Margot, the name often appears in conjunction with prostitution and in so-called humorous *Chansons Paillardes* [bawdy songs].[35] François Villon's collection of poems titled *Le testament*, for instance, includes a ballade telling of *la grosse Margot* [fat Margot], an excerpt of which is provided below (see **TABLE 6.6**). By the same token, the noun *marguet* could also

Ballde de la grosse Margot, excerpt	Ballade of fat Margot, excerpt[36]
Item, a la Grosse Margot,	Item, as for that Fat Margot,
Tres doulce face et pourtraicture	So picture-pretty, sweet of face,
- Foy que doy, *brulare bigot* !	- By the faith I owe, by God, by gum!
A si devoacte creature,	to a creature so devoted to me,
Je l'ayme (de propre nature)	I love her well (in my own way)
Et elle moy, la doulce sade –	And she loves me, the charming thing –
Qui la trouvera d'aventure,	If someone finds her, quite by chance,
Qu'on luy lise ceste ballade:	Then let him read her this ballade:
Se j'ayme et sers la belle de bon het,	If I love and serve the beauty willingly,
M'en devez vous tenir ne vil net sot?	Must you, for that, think I am vile or dim?
Elle a en soy des biens a fin soubezhet;	She's full of all the charms that one could wish;
Pour son amour seins boucler et passot.	For love of her I gird on dagger and shield.
Quand viennent gens, je cours et happe ung pot,	When people come, I run and grab a pot
Au vin m'en voys, sans demener grant bruyt;	And go for wine, while making little noise;
Je leur tends eaue, frommaige, pain et fruyt.	I hand them water and cheese, and bread and fruit.
S'ilz paient bien, je leur dis: 'Bene stat';	If they pay well, I tell them: 'Bene stat';
Revenez cy, quand vous serez en ruyt,	Come back again, when rutting season is on,
En ce bordeau ou tenons nostre estat!'	Inside this brothel where we hold our court!'
[The following stanza is not provided here]	
Puis paix se se fait, et me fait ung groy pet	Then peace is made, and she breaks wind at me
(Plus enffle qu'un velimeux escarbot).	(No poisonous dung-beetle swells as much).
Riant m'assiet son poing sur mon sommet,	Laughing, she sets her fist upon my crown,
'Gogo' me dit, et me fiert le jambot.	'Gogo,' says she, and smacks me on the ham.
Tous deux yvres, dormons comme ung sabot.	Both of us drunk, we then sleep like a top.
Et, au resveil, quant le ventre lui bruyt,	At waking time, when her belly resounds,
Monte sur moy, que ne gaste son fruyt.	She climbs on me so as not to waste her fruit.
Soubz elle geins, plus q'un aiy me fait plat.	I am moaning beneath her, more flattened than a plank.
De paillarder tout elle me destruyt,	She is running me with such debauchery
En ce bordeau ou tenons nostre estat.	Inside this brothel where we hold our court.

Table 6.6: Two stanzas of *Ballade de la grosse Margot*, in *Le Grand Testament*, 1461.

35 Margot is also known to be the name of a bordello or tavern on the Île de la Cité in Paris. François Villon, *Poems,* trans. David Georgi (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 2013), 257.

36 The translation provided here is published in François Villon, *Complete Poems: Edited with*

be a name for "the male member." All this supports the assumption that *La truie est en l'orgue Marguet*; *Il nest qui l'en oste* refers to a life in abundance in which sexual activity plays an important role.

More sexual symbolism concerns the passage *Je ne fileray plus mere par m'ame*; *J'ay mon fusiau perdu* [I will not weave anymore, mother, upon my soul; I have lost my spindle]. Tools for weaving and spinning like the spindle (*fuseau*) and the distaff in the late Middle Ages had a strong sexual connotation because of their phallic shape.[37] The fact that spinning was an exclusively female activity—albeit one conducted with instruments in the shape of a male member—attached an even more explicit meaning to this sexual metaphor. Alongside the strong sexual connotation of spinning, the activity was one of the highest female virtues and for centuries a domestic occupation for women. Much in the same way, in the bible, the *Book of Proverbs* refers to spinning women: "She puts her hands to the distaff, and her hands hold the spindle."[38] In the context of *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, the reference to the lost spindle most probably has to be read as an allusion to the end of an engagement with the opposite sex.

Further textual similarities are to be observed between our motet and the poem *Crieries de Paris* from around 1300 by Guillaume de Villeneuve. The poem essentially is an enumeration of street cries at a market in Paris, touting a wide variety of wares.[39] Two lines in the Ivrea motet show close similarities to the wording of Villeneuve's poem: *J'ay les bons fromages de Brie* and *Et j'ay chasteignes de Lombardie*. For comparison, the two lines, together with a number of other street cries advertising the same wares, are juxtaposed in TABLE 6.7.

Yet another concordance concerns text and music, namely the street cries *Meures franches*, *meures*, *meures franches* and *Freses noveles*—the former appearing in the motetus voice, the latter being sung by the triplum of *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*. They quote passages in the

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English Translation and Commentary by Barbara N. Sargent-Baur*, ed. Barbara Nelson Sargent-Baur (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 162–65.

[37] On phallic symbols in the Middle Ages and the spindle and distaff as gender attributes, see Malcolm Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages: Discovering the Real Medieval World* (Sparkford: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 107–12, 226–31.

[38] English Standard Version, Proverb 31:19. "Proverbs 31:10-31 - ESV," *Bible Study Tools*, accessed November 24, 2017, http://www.biblestudytools.com/esv/proverbs/passage/?q=proverbs+31:10-31.

[39] The text is transmitted in F-Pn acc. Fr. 837, fols. 246r-247r. A similar street-cries poem is an anonymous English work from the fifteenth century called *London Lickpenny*. It is transmitted in two manuscripts, both of which are kept at the British Library (L-Lbl MS Harley 542, fols. 102r–104r and L-Lbl MS Harley 367 fols. 127–126). For the transmission history of the poem, see Eleanor P. Hammond, "London Lickpenny," *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 20 (1898): 404–20.

Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex	Crieries de Paris
Je referoie les hanaps, les hanaps (line 15)	Je relierais hanaps (line 103)
Aus et oignons aus et oignons (line 34)	Aulx et oignons a longue haleine (line 29)
Alés boire bon vin chic con catiz amis, (line 38) Robin, et a trentedeux (line 39)	Le bon vin fort a xxxii [trentedeux] (line 124)
J'ay les bons fromages de Brie (line 42)	Et y a fromage de Brie (line 41)
Et j'ay chasteignes de Lombardie (line 43)	J'ai châtaignes de Lombardie (line 130)

Table 6.7: Opposition of similar verse lines in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* and *Crieries de Paris*.

three-voice motet *On parole/A Paris/Frèse nouvele*.[40] The motet transmitted in fascicle VI of the Montpellier Codex (MO) has a proposed date of compilation between 1270 and 1280.[41] It is the earliest known example of a polyphonic setting with street cries that appear in the tenor voice exclusively. The triplum and the motet praise the merits of the city of Paris—good food and wine, good company, and beautiful women—while the tenor essentially consists of one single street cry. Emma Dillon draws attention to the dominant character of the street cry, as it is assigned to the authorial voice of the tenor.[42] The quoted passage in the Ivrea motet concerns precisely the tenor text of the Montpellier motet: *Frese nouvele, muere france, muere, muere france!* [New strawberry, fresh mulberry, fresh, fresh mulberry!].[43] The textual content of the tenor can be identified with street cries in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* clearly. The music, however, is not a direct quotation, but an augmented version with prolonged note values spread between the two upper voices

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[40] *MO*, fols. 369r–369v.

[41] For a concise overview of publications on *MO*, see Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 298, fn 10. After lengthy discussions about the dating of the individual fascicles in *MO*, Alison Stones proposes fascicles II to VI to have been completed between 1270 and 1280, and supplements some thirty years later between 1310 and 1320. Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), 50.

[42] Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 90.

[43] Both Hans Tischler in his 1978 full edition of *MO* and Emma Dillon in her monograph translate *france* as "noble." According to the *Tobler Lommatzsch Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* this is a possible translation of the term. In the context given, however, it makes more sense to translate *france* as "fresh." Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 87–90; Erhard Lommatzsch, Adolf Tobler, and Hans Helmut Christmann, eds., *Tobler-Lommatzsch: Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Stuttgart: Franz-Steiner-Verlag Wiesbaden, 1925), col. 2201; Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex - Part II: Fascicles 3, 4, and 5*, vol. IV and V, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978), 189–90; Hans Tischler, *The Montpellier Codex - Part IV: Texts and Translations*, vol. VIII, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978), 109–10.

(see **EXAMPLE 6.1** and **6.2**).[44] This kind of quotation is very reminiscent of the refrain tradition occurring in thirteenth-century literature and music. Ardis Butterfield has argued convincingly that the citation of refrains across a wide variety of genres—motets, *rondeau avec des refrains*, chanson, and romance—served as a mediating device, thus permitting the drawing of connections and comparisons between the genres.[45]

Example 6.1: Beginning *On parole/A Paris/Frèse nouvele*, MO, fols. 368v–369v with full tenor text *Frese nouvele, muere france, muere, muere france!* (mms. 1–8).[46]

Example 6.2: Quotation of tenor *On parole/A Paris/Frèse nouvele* in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* (mms. 84–94).

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44 Tamsin Rose-Steel, "French Ars Nova Motets and Their Manuscripts: Citational Play and Material Context" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2011), 202–203.

45 Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 78–79.

46 All music examples included in this dissertation are by the author.

Furthermore, Yolanda Plumley claims that often-cited refrains functioned as proverbs or sayings in a courtly context.[47] It seems that the settings with street-cries—or at least *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*—in a similar manner draw upon the phenomenon of the re-cited refrain.

The examples of quotations and textual allusions given above clearly demonstrate that ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* and, to a larger extent, *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, make use of contemporary literary and musical corpora ranging from simple folk songs to sophisticated motets. Within this tradition, allusions to sexual behavior and misbehavior in different social strata play an important role.

The Imaginary Market Scene: Wares and Food

After considering the overall structure, the concordances and allusions in the texts of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* and *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* we now turn to the content. In ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* the market-related sales pitches are the most striking text parts. Next to the advertisement of household wares and old clothes we observe a striking emphasis on seafood in the texts of both triplum and motetus: two kinds of herrings, mussels, and salmon are mentioned (see **TABLE 6.2** above).[48] The availability of seafood at the market described in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* may point to a location close to the sea—possibly somewhere in the region of the two places mentioned: Biervliet and Sluis. Both these villages today belong to the region of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in The Netherlands, which shares a border with Belgium.[49] Since fresh herring

Household wares	Occurrence in motet
Kettles, pans, and plates	*Uu*
Laces	*Uu*
Old clothes	*Uu*
Yarn	*Uu*
Lanterns	*Uu; Iv*
Old bellows	*Iv*
Serge, carpet	*Iv*
Tin pots	*Iv*
Tunic, bodice	*Iv*
Tunics, hoods	*Iv*
Cloak, pelisse	*Iv*
Winnowing basket	*Iv*

Table 6.8: Overview of household wares advertised and their occurrence in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* and ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen.*

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47 Plumley acknowledges that the precise definition of the refrain remains somewhat undefined. Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 8.

48 A method to prepare and keep herring was invented in the second half of the fourteenth century, possibly by Willem Beukelzoon from Biervliet. This herring, today called "Hollandse Nieuwe," could be kept up to a year. Dietrich Sahrhage and Johannes Lundbeck, *A History of Fishing* (Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012), 77.

49 See the subsection "References to Places and Names" further on in this chapter.

was caught from May until early July and the cherry is a fruit typical of summer, the imaginary market scene represented here most probably describes the availability of items in early summer. Among other food touted in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, cumin deserves special attention. Being a spice imported from the Far East, it was extremely exotic and therefore expensive. Presumably, it was bought for the kitchens of bourgeois households. The occurrence of both everyday commodities and luxury goods such as cumin may point to a larger market at a major city— one that supplied households of different sizes and financial resources.

The wares advertised in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* clearly differ from those touted in the … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*. The text of the Ivrea motet includes a wide range of non-food wares, such as different kinds of clothes, dishes, carpets, and baskets in addition to offal, fruit, some vegetables, cheese, chestnuts,

Food	Occurrence in motet
Gutted herring	*Uu*
Dried herring	*Uu*
Mussels	*Uu*
Beans	*Uu*
Cherries	*Uu*
Cumin	*Uu*
Hot pretzels	*Uu*
Mustard sauce	*Uu*
Snail	*Iv*
Strawberries	*Iv*
Tripe	*Iv*
Wafers	*Iv*
Cakes	*Iv*
Cheese	*Iv*
Chestnuts	*Iv*
Ewe's stomach	*Iv*
Garlic and onion	*Iv*
Mulberries	*Iv*

Table 6.9: Overview of foods advertised and their occurrence in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* and … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*.

and cakes (see **TABLES 6.8** and **6.9**). The mention of cheese from Brie and chestnuts from Lombardy underlines the inter-regional character of the foods for sale. The broad range of wares occurring in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* suggests a market similar in size and location as the one described in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*. Conceivably, this market was situated in a major inland city in which French was the first language.

The different foods and wares advertised lead to the assumption that the imaginary market scenes in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* and *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* took place in regions quite distant from each other, serving consumers with different needs.

References to Places and Names

Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex refers to specific places in conjunction with the advertisement of cheese. However, in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* the names of streets and locations occur throughout the texts of both upper voices. For example, the text tells us that the *Dijncstraet* is a place where "the stove" is located. Nothing is known about a street with this name in the Dutch-speaking area in the late Middle Ages. The reference to the hot stove almost certainly is a metaphor for a woman's vagina or womb and is therefore symbolic of sexual temptation. It could well be the case that the *Dijncstraet* was home to a brothel.[50]

The second reference to a specific place is the *Moerboem* [mulberry tree] in the triplum (line 6). From the context it appears that this is the name of a tavern where people went to drink "tasty, cool" wine. A search for taverns with that name in any of the more important places within the Dutch-speaking regions did not yield any results. Both of these references to places in the city deal with leisure time activities typical for men, yet both involve activities that teeter on the brink of the socially unacceptable—drinking and being sexually active outside of marriage.

The above references to specific (morally dubious) places exist in direct relation to the last two lines of the motetus. That is, in the first half of the very last phrase (line 41), the fire takes central stage: *Neemt waer ten viere daer achter want daer es te doene* [Watch out for the fire over there because we need it there]. The fire is possibly a metaphor for burning passion like it is to be found in the motets of Philippe de Vitry's *Douce plaisance/ Garison/ Neuma quinti toni* and Guillaume de Machaut's *Hareu! Hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera / Obediens usque ad mortem*, which draw upon the danger of burning love.[51] The subsequent, final line tells us that those who cannot restrain themselves will be unable to reflect upon their virtues. Given the morally questionable activities described earlier, the motetus thus ends with a warning against the dangers arising from the burning fire of love.

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50 In late-medieval Utrecht, for instance, prostitution was tolerated in the backstreets close to the town walls. Renger Evert Bruin et al., *"Een paradijs vol weelde": Geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht* (Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 2000), 136. Muller's interpretation of the hot stove as a public bath in which water was warmed with hot stoves cannot be proven wrong, of course. Muller, "Brokstukken," 34.

51 For a more detailed discussion of Vitry's motet, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 229–32. The "heart on fire" motive in Machaut's motet M10 is discussed in Kevin Brownlee, "Fire, Desire, Duration, Death: Machaut's Motet 10," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005): 79–93.

The last reference, finally, concerns currencies in the triplum. The *livre Tournois* [pound of Tours] is subdivided into deniers and sous. It is a very common currency that was used as a stable reference with which to convert local currencies.[52]

Two further references concern places of origin for foods: firstly, Sluis—where the mussels come from—is a small village, today on the border between The Netherlands and Belgium, approximately twenty-five kilometers northeast from Bruges; and secondly, Biervliet, which lies less than thirty kilometers east of Sluis. Both villages currently belong to the region of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in The Netherlands. However, around 1400 both belonged to the county of Flanders, which, in turn, was part of the territories ruled by the Duke of Burgundy. With these places lying within the broader vicinity of Bruges, an imaginary market scene in or near the city of Bruges seems possible—even likely. Bruges was an extraordinarily wealthy and influential city at the time, and thus may have been the environment in which the market scene of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* took place.

Finally, the name Robin is to be found in both … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* and *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*. The fragmentary state of …*ic hebbe ripe kersen* makes further contextualization of the name impossible—all that can be read is *Robijn robrecht in dit dalekijn* [Robin, Robrecht in this small valley (line 5)]. However, greater context is given in *Je commence/Et je ferai/Soules viex*, where Robin seems to be a person who enjoys good wine with his friends: *Alés boire bon vin chic con catiz amis, Robin, et a trentedeux* [Go and drink good wine with poor friends, Robin, and of thirty-two (deniers) (lines 38–39)]. It is likely that both motets refer to the character of Robin in the widely-disseminated *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* by Adam de la Halle and should thus be interpreted as a reference to the genre of the *pastourelle*. The *pastourelle*'s strong connotation with nature together with its setting outside of the court distances it from courtly conventions, thus paving the way for a multi-faceted genre.[53] Possibly, it is a combination of the story's prominence, the connotations of both the *pastourelle*, and Robin's peasant origins that are responsible for the reference to Robin in both motets. Moreover, drinking expensive, excellent wine as a poor shepherd in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* is a parodistic contradiction.

The references highlighted above have shown that the imaginary market scene depicted in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is likely to have been set in, or close to, the city of Bruges. If these geographical locations are taken as

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52 For an overview of currencies in the northern Low Countries, see "Notes on Terminology, Transcriptions, and Currency" at the beginning of this study.

53 Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 151–52.

an indication as to the possible origin of the setting itself, it is conceivable to assume that it was disseminated via links between the nobility, as the courts of Flanders and Holland were closely connected through marriage.[54] Furthermore, metaphors and symbolism give the motet a clearly bawdy feel—albeit one that is mitigated by the moral phrase in the triplum at the very end of the setting. This is the same bawdy feel found in the concordances and allusions of *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*.

A Comparative Close Reading of *... ic hebbe ripe kersen* and *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*

The following discussion of the tonal elements in these compositions are based on counterpoints, the basic tenets of which are discussed and explained in a number of contemporary books.[55] Margaret Bent's *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* offers insight into, and critical discussion of, approaches towards the analysis of late-medieval polyphony in the past years since the 2000s.[56] Further to this, Sarah Fuller and Elizabeth Eva Leach discuss methods of analyzing fourteenth-century polyphony by looking at how composers deal with and interpret the basic contrapuntal rules.[57] Fuller's introduction of a concept of "directed progressions" puts emphasis on the role of imperfect-to-perfect motions in three-part compositions.[58] Thereby, she stresses that directed progressions not only occur at the end of a musical phrase, but are also employed to establish new sonorities within a setting.

Musical Structure and Tonal Setting

... ic hebbe ripe kersen is a three-voice setting with two texted upper voices and a textless tenor. The two upper voices are independent and almost equal in range—the lowest G of the motetus lies only one note below the upper voice. Both voices, furthermore, show a vivid speed

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54 The 1389 double marriage of William of Oostervant and Margaret of Bavaria, children of Albert I of Bavaria, with Margaret of Burgundy and John I of Burgundy, children of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, ensured close familial and political ties between the two courts.

55 For an overview and discussion of contemporary works dealing with medieval music, see Ernst Apfel, *Diskant und Kontrapunkt in der Musiktheorie des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes, 1997).

56 Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002).

57 Sarah Ann Fuller, "Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 36, no. 2 (1992): 229–58; Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Counterpoint and Analysis in Fourteenth-Century Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 44, no. 1 (2000): 45–79.

58 "A directed progression may be defined as a succession of two adjacent sonorities—the first imperfect in nature and unstable in quality, the second perfect in nature and stable in quality ...." Fuller, "Tendencies and Resolutions," 231.

of movement. The tenor, conversely, moves much slower, but—against expectations—has no underlying patterns and thus is freely composed.

As with the tenor, none of the upper voices in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* show either isorhythmic characteristics or other proportional structures. The only structure to be detected is a tendency towards eight-semibreve phrases. Possibly, this lack of musical structure is caused by the free (one could even say non-existent) versification structure mentioned earlier—specifically, despite the use of semi-structural semibreve rests throughout the entire surviving music, a regular application similar to punctuation cannot be detected.

… *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is composed in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione maior*, which results in the basic rhythmic pattern of breves and groups of an imperfected semibreve followed by a minim (♩♪) in both upper voices. This standard progression is interrupted only occasionally by groups of three minims or sequences of semibreves. One more striking feature in the music is the occurrence of long rests in both the triplum and the motetus.

So far an analysis of the tonal setting can be deduced from the small fully-transmitted part with a complete set of voices, it can be stated that the triplum and the tenor build the framework with which the motetus creates a full sound. The tenor is the perfect embodiment of a slowly progressing voice mostly in the form of breves and semibreves, providing the basic tonal setting of the motet. The basic sonorities from mms. 159 to 196 appear to be the slightly dominant c/f sonority (mms. 158, 166, 169, 190), going back and forth to the g sonority (mms. 173, 178, 189). After a lively three-part passage, the setting finally ends on the terminal sonority d/g.

There are six moments at which non-decorative dissonances occur at strong beats within the fully transmitted three-part section. Three of them concern minor 7ths between the motetus and the tenor and the motetus and the triplum respectively in mms. 176 to 180 (see **EXAMPLE 6.3**). The interval of a 2nd occurs between the triplum and the motetus in mm. 177. All remaining dissonant moments happen within the last five measures between the triplum and the motetus (see **EXAMPLE 6.4**). It seems that all dissonances are caused by the melodic structures of both upper voices. That is, the motetus in mms. 176–180 centers around d', going against the linear progression of the triplum ascending from g' to a'. The voice crossings at the closing of the setting are responsible for the increased amount of dissonances on strong beats. As neither the triplum nor the motetus show sophisticated melody lines, it remains questionable why the composer chose to have dissonances on strong beats. It could simply be explained as indicative of the composer's incompetence, however, it might also be a distinctive writing

Example 6.3: Dissonances as part of the contrapuntal structure in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, mms. 176–81.

Example 6.4: Dissonances due to voice crossings in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, mms. 192 and 194.

style characteristic to the composer or, more broadly, a regional style.

The following investigation of the sonorities in all surviving parts of the tenor and the motetus will assist in the formation of a hypothesis with regard to the intentional or unintentional use of dissonances in the contrapuntal framework. It appears that dissonances of 7ths and 2nds appear three times at moments of directed progressions (mm. 69, mms. 83–84, 90–92). Instead of a regular 6th-to-8th (6→8) progression, the tension sonority of the 7th and the 2nd resolves in a fifth or an octave (see **EXAMPLES 6.5**, **6.6**, and **6.7**). As these dissonances only occur a few times in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, they may well be the result of erroneous copying or misreading of the music in the (hardly decipherable) source. It is, however, equally conceivable that the composer used dissonances intentionally. In this case, these "spicy" sonorities within the contrapuntal framework may well have been one of the means with which to express the cacophony at the market musically.

Interaction Between Upper Voices

One more important aspect that deserves attention is the interaction between the two upper voices. Examination of the fully surviving final part of the setting reveals that the rests not only structure the text, but also serve as interruptions, occasionally causing the character of a dialogue to exist between the triplum and the tenor, and the motetus and the tenor respectively (see, for instance, mms. 159–70). Rests ranging

Example 6.5: Reaching and resolving the tension sonority (2) in the contrapuntal framework between motetus and tenor, ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, mms. 68–69.

Example 6.6: Reaching and resolving the tension sonority (7) in the contrapuntal framework between motetus and tenor, ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen,* mms. 83–84.

Example 6.7: Reaching and resolving the tension sonority (2) in the contrapuntal framework between motetus and tenor, ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen,* mms. 90–92.

between one longa to two longae length throughout the entire triplum point to the fact that this dialogue character is a central element in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* (see **TABLE 6.10**).

In the only surviving dialogue passage (see numbers 9–11 in **TABLE 6.10**) the two voices imitate and expand each other's melodies. In mm.167 the triplum takes over the melody after a two-longa rest, repeating the last few notes of the motetus in mm. 166 with a slight rhythmical variation at the beginning (see **EXAMPLE 6.8**). Further to this, the two upper voices also convey intertextual content, which is evident from the two following examples: Firstly, while the triplum sings about getting mussels from Sluis, the protagonist in the motetus claims that he (or she) prefers mussels over salmon (mms. 175–83). Subsequently, the motetus continues with the phrase *Neemt waer ten viere daer achter* [Watch out for the fire over there], the metaphoric meaning of the burning passion of love and the moralizing function of which are discussed above. At the same time, the triplum sings about a— presumably—young couple cavorting with each other (mms. 186–96).[59]

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59 Stam likewise observes a strong intertextual connection between the two voices. Stam, "Het Utrechtse fragment," 27.

Voice	No.	Measures	Length rest	Comments
Motetus	1	9–12	2 longa	
Motetus	2	17–19	1 longa	
Motetus	3	57–59	1 longa + 1 brevis	
Motetus	4	73–75	1 longa + 1 brevis	
Motetus	5	93–97	2 longa	
Motetus	6	108–09	1 longa	
Motetus	7	143–46	2 longa	
Motetus	8	152–55	1 longa + 1 brevis	
Motetus	9	159–60	2 longa	Start dialogue[60]
Triplum	10	163–65	2 longa	Dialogue
Motetus	11	167–68	1 longa	Dialogue

Table 6.10: Overview of major rests and rest lengths in the motetus and triplum voices of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen.*

The Sounding Market Scene: Street-Cries Motifs

The search for typical sounds at a market has to start with the question: what *are* typical sounds at the market? Two empirical studies about street cries in Amsterdam at the beginning of the twentieth century provide evidence for the intonation of street cries at the time. Both studies provide detailed lists with street cries that indicate that declamation and the minor third were prominently used in street cries.[61] Three corresponding structural characteristics could be found between our street cries and the street cries collected in the beginning of the twentieth century: (i) the long-short rhythmic pattern; (ii) the repetition of small motifs, often consisting of minor thirds or fourths; and (iii) declamation.[62] The first char-

Example 6.8: Imitation between motetus and triplum voices of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen,* mms. 166–67.

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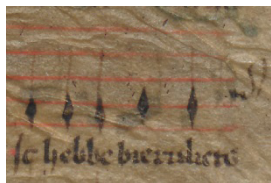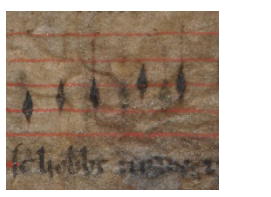
60 The transmission of the motetus voice starts at mm. 159.

61 Johan Hendrik Garms, "Over straatuitroepen en primitieve muziek," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 9, no. 1 (1909): 3–40; Frans Sagers, "Amsterdamsche Straatroepen," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 10, no. 2 (1919): 87–132. Sager's list of street cries from all over Amsterdam is categorized according to the wares touted.

62 For the repetition of descending 4th leaps, for instance, see Sagers, "Amsterdamsche Straatroepen," 104.

acteristic—the long-short rhythmic pattern—has already been mentioned as the basic rhythmical structure of the triplum and the motetus. The occurrence of declamation—the third characteristic—is to be found in the above-discussed metaphoric text part *die stoof is heet die in die Dijncstraet staet*, where the motetus stays on g' (mms. 50–56) as well as in a number of other passages. The recurring small motifs, finally, can be best observed in the text parts *Ic hebbe* discussed previously. The findings about their structuring function are confirmed when having a closer look at the corresponding rhythms. That is, the first three *Ic hebbe* passages are set with three minims; the latter two have a semibreve followed by an alternated semibreve and a minim (see **TABLE 6.11**).

The correspondences between street-cries motifs in *… ic hebbe ripe kersen* and the ones found in the studies carried out at the beginning of the twentieth century are an indication for their strong character, persisting across centuries. Moreover, the structural function of the street-cries passages is further underlined by the use of such stereotypical motifs. The following musical comparison to *Je commence/*

Text	Source	Transcription
Ic hebbe biervliets		
Ic hebbe sauce (te mostarde)		
Ic hebbe … in der hant		
Ic hebbe nywe rijksnoer		
Ic hebbe kersen		

Table 6.11: Overview of rhythmical patterns used at *Ic hebbe* passages in *… ic hebbe ripe kersen*.

Et *je feray/Soules viex* will, amongst others, consider the use of stereo-typical street-cries motifs.

Comparison with *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*

The main aspects discussed in the close reading of ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* will now be searched for in, and compared to, *Je commence/Et je feray/ Soules viex*. These aspects are (i) the extrinsic compositional features such as the number of voices, their range and the mensuration of the setting; (ii) the tonal and melodic structure; (iii) the interaction be-tween the upper voices; and (iv) the musical setting of the imaginary market scene with special consideration of the street cries.

The three-voice motet *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* is a two-voice setting in which triplum and motetus sing interchangeably over a steadily progressing tenor whose only text is the incipit *Soules viex*. If performing simultaneously, accompanying voices are textless. The au-dience thus listens to one single text throughout the whole motet. This occurs four times throughout the whole motet, including the full-voice ending of the motet (mms. 101–03, 143–48, 177–82, 191–93). These three-voice passages may be meant to take over a structuring function. However, in the actual placing of the passages there is no mathemati-cally logical structure to be observed.

Triplum and motetus have similar tonal ranges with the triplum (F-a') exceeding that of the motetus (F-g') by one note. The tonal am-bitus of the tenor ranges from C to c'. *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* is composed in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione maior*. This results in the basic rhythmical pattern of breves and groups of an imperfected semibreve followed by a minim (♩♪) in both upper voices. So far, the basic features—number and tonal range of voices, mensuration, and basic rhythmical pattern—are very similar to the ones found in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*. However, the structural feature of interchangeably performing upper voices throughout the entire motet in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* is not applied as consistently in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*.

The harmonic tonality of the motet is based on the terminal sonori-ties f/c and the f-f with occasional use of tension sonorities g/d and b/f. This tonal set up is introduced in the first sixteen measures. The first musical phrase of the triplum ends on the c/f sonority (mm. 4, triplum-tenor), immediately followed by the initial phrase of the mo-tetus ending on the d/g sonority (mm. 8, motetus-tenor). The triplum commences with its second phrase, which ends half way on a f/b-so-nority (mm. 12, triplum-motetus) to terminate on an f/c-sonority in mm. 16 (triplum-tenor). This is in line with the textual introductory character of the first sixteen measures to be observed in the use of melismas as voiced earlier (see **EXAMPLE 6.9**).

Example 6.9: Opening section of *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, mms. 1–16 with melismatic passages in the triplum voice, mms. 1–4 and mms. 1–16.

Strikingly, every phrase has a terminal sonority, mirroring the unrelated textual content of the two upper voices. This is different from … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, where soloist phrases in most cases merge smoothly with thee-voice passages (see, for example, mms. 181–82). Furthermore, in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* in the vast majority of cases, the phrases end on the c/f or f/f sonorities. Endings on the g/d sonority (five times) and the f/b sonority (in three instances) only occur occasionally. The final sonorities of the phrases *Toute nuit s'en va Jobart aval la rue* (motetus) and A*ÿlie, aÿlie, lie* (triplum) towards the end of the motet stand out, as they both end with minor thirds (g/b, mms. 149 and b/d, mms. 152).

In comparison, the relatively basic tonal structure with a clear emphasis on the f/f and f/c sonorities found in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* is different from the tonal setting of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* where, whilst also building upon the c/f sonority, harmonies switch more vividly between f and g sonorities. Furthermore, it is clear that, whereas the two upper voices in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* perform alternately, in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* both simultaneous and alternate performances in the upper voices are utilized.

Looking for sub-structures in the three voices, a recurring set of four longa rests (referred to as 4L rests in **TABLE 6.12**) in the tenor is a conspicuous, recurring element. Upon calculating the length of the phrases be-

Tenor: Melodic structure
20 breves – 4L rest
32 breves – 4L rest
22 breves – 4L rest
22 breves – 4L rest
24 breves – 4L rest
28 breves – 4L rest
42 breves – 4L rest
28 breves – 4L rest
36 breves – 4L rest
55 breves – end of setting

Table 6.12: Melodic structure of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* expressed in length of breves and rests.

tween these sets of rests it becomes clear that no regular structure can be found in the tenor—the phrases show lengths ranging between twenty and forty-two breves. The same is true for the melodic sections in the two upper voices. Even though they show a tendency towards a length of eight semibreves, their duration varies widely. This is very reminiscent of … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, in which—although showing some kind of structure in the recurring *Ic hebbe* phrases—the melodic and rhythmical sub-structures are largely absent.

An examination of the many street cries in *Je commence/Et je feray/ Soules viex* reveals that they essentially consist of one motive typical for street cries—declamation. TABLE 6.13 shows that, in accordance with the predominant sonority c/f, declamation on the f appears most frequently. In the majority of the cases, declamatory passages are interrupted by semitones (f-e and c-b mostly, for instance mms. 57–59, 107–114, etc.) or reached stepwise from a third below (d-e-f, for instance, mms. 41–42, 69–70, 73–74). This also increases the comprehensibility of the text. Varied rhythmical patterns—breves; alternated breves followed by a minim (♩♪); and groups of three minims—further emphasize the syllabic setting of the text.

Earlier in this section we detected three types of motifs used in street cries for … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*: long-short rhythmical patterns; repetition of small melodic patterns with minor thirds and fourths; and declamation. In *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, we are able to state that two of the three street-cries motifs found in … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*—rhythmical patterns and declamation—also occur in *Je commence/ Et je feray/Soules viex*. However, the third motive in the Dutch-texted street-cries motet—short motifs with fourths and minor thirds—does not occur in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*. Thus, it appears that, even though both motets draw upon street-cries motifs, the prominent use of declamation in the Ivrea motet leads to a sound experience more typical of the imaginary market scene than is the case with … *ic hebbe ripe kersen*.

Conclusion

This close reading of the music and the text reveals that … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is a complex parodic motet with allusions to activities typical of daily life within an urban or village community. The tonal structure, the melodic interplay, and the intertextual content between the two upper voices contribute to a clever musical setting of a sonic environment. Content wise, … *ic hebbe ripe kersen* does not only display an imaginary market scene, but also touches upon socially reprehensible activities such as drinking and sexual intercourse with prostitutes, as well as the personal responsibility of young women. The comparison

Voice	Text *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*	Pitch of declamation	Terminal sonority	Comments
Tr	Je commence ma chancon		c/f	
Mo	Et je ferray li seccons		d/g	
Tr	A trames dames alis			
Tr	A trames quar je veuil ordir		c/f	
Mo	Alés vos alés vous alés vous			
Mo	Dame baignier alés		d/g	
Tr	Qui a nuls viex soulés viex a vendre	F	f/b	
Mo	Je ne fileray plus mere par máme			
Mo	J'ay mon fusiau perdu		g/d	
Tr	La cote la chape	C	c/c	
Mo	Le mantel le pelicon a faitier	F	f/f	
Tr	Murelartraine donaline	D		
Tr	mirelatraine don don don don	D	c/f	
Mo	La cote et le sercot	C	c/f	
Tr	Je referoie les hanaps, les hanaps	C	c/f	
Mo	Limacon limacon montre moy tes cornes			
Mo	Je t'enseigneray ton père et ta mere			
Mo	Qui gisent en la fosse		d/g	
Tr	Je seigneroie les pos d'estain	F	f/f	
Mo	Voires voir, voires jolis	F	f/b	
Tr	Ce sont tripes tripes tripes			
Tr	C'est la mulete du monton		C	
Mo	Meures franches, meures, meures franches		c/f	
Tr	Freses noveles		f/f	
Mo	Voirement voirement voirement sire			
Mo	Voirement sui ge vostre amie			three voices
Mo	Voirement vous irey voiler		c/f	
Tr	Je referteroie la sarge et les tapis	F		
Tr	La sarge et les tapis	F	f/f	
Mo	Corbeille le van, corbeilles le van	F	f/f	
Tr	La truie est en l'orge Marguet			
Tr	Il n'est qui l'en oste		c/f	
Mo	Lanternes raparelleroie je			
Mo	Souflés viex referoie	C	c/f	
Tr	Aus et oignons aus et oignons	C	f/f	
Mo	Jobin Jobart va chantant en un …	F		
Mo	Toute nuit s'en va Jobart aval la rue		b/g	
Tr	Aÿlie, aÿlie, lie		d/b	three voices
Mo	Alés boire bon vin chic con catiz amis,			longest declamation
Mo	Robin, et a trentedeux	F	f/b	
Mo	Sus la chenevote ge vieng ge vois je vole	F		
Tr	de sus la chenevote je vois je vieng je voleray	F	c/a	
Mo	J'ay les bons fromages de Brie	F	f/f	
Tr	Et j'ay chasteignes de Lombardie		f/f	
Mo	Gefroi tu fus trouvés es boiaux d'une truie		d/b	three voices
Tr	Gastiaux rostis poudrés, cuis en la brase	F	d/g	
Tr	Gastiaux rasis poudrés poudrés	E	f/f	
Mo	Ay oublie oublie oublie a la denree	F		
Mo	Qui veut jouer		c/f	three voices

Table 6.13: Overview of declamatory passages and sonorities in *Je commence/ Et je feray/Soules viex.*

with the street-cries motet *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* reveals similarities between the text structure, the compositional model, and, more importantly, the parodic-bawdy feel of the pieces. A number of allusions and verifiable quotations in *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, moreover, seem to confirm the assumption that *… ic hebbe ripe kersen* makes use of quotations. Due to a limited surviving corpora of Middle Dutch texts, however, they proved difficult to engage with more deeply.

Differences between the two street-cries motets include the exact implementation of the tonal structure and the alternating performance of the two upper voices—both of which are dealt with in *… ic hebbe ripe kersen* more freely—in addition to the obvious divergences in the advertisement of the kinds of wares and foods. The latter in particular brings to the fore the strong regional character of the settings against the background of a shared stylistic setup. We are thus able to state that the stylistic closeness of these two street-cries motets provides a striking case for the musical exchange across linguistic boundaries. That this exchange goes beyond the simple acquisition of a genre is underlined by the high level of adaption and modification according to specific, regional traditions to be found in *… ic hebbe ripe kersen*.

Market Scenes in Italian-Texted Polyphony ca. 1400, and in Later Periods

… ic hebbe ripe kersen and *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* are not the only settings with imaginary market scenes. A glance at the transmission of musical settings of market scenes throughout the centuries reveals that this kind of composition is a *longue durée* phenomenon. Within the music tradition in Italian-speaking regions street-cries settings were part of the well-known genre of the *caccia*. Whilst the most popular, allegoric topics in the *caccia* concern hunting and fishing, settings depicting market scenes also occur. Their melodic setting consists of both melismatic and syllabic passages that contribute to an auditory impression of a lively dialogue between the upper voices.[63] The best-known *caccia* with street cries is Zacara da Teramo's three-voice setting *Cacchiando per gustar/Ai cenci, ai toppi*.[64]

Compositions with street cries and quotations continued to appear

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63 Virginia Newes, "Chace, Caccia, Fuga: The Convergence of French and Italian Traditions," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 29–30.

64 *Sq*, fols. 176v-177r; *ModA*, fols. 17v-18r. A contrafract of this *caccia*, titled *Salve mater Jesu Christi,* was included in *Sm 222*. For a detailed discussion of the mutual influences between the Italian *caccia* and the French *chace,* see Newes, "Chace, Caccia, Fuga," 28–29.

in various forms in the period following the late Middle Ages, today summarized under the collective term *quodlibet*. Literally translated the term means "what you please." In a musical sense, it refers to the quotation of several well-known melodies often extracted from folk songs with the primary purpose of amusing the audience. In a musical context, the term is first mentioned in Michael Praetorius's *Syntagam Musicum*, published between 1614–1620.[65] The best-known settings from the sixteenth century in French-speaking regions is Clément Janequin's *Voulez ouyr les cris de Paris* (1530).[66] In England, Richard Deering (ca. 1580–1630) and Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625) composed in the *quodlibet* style, while in Germany, Nikolaus Zangius set to music the market scene in Cologne (*Der Kölner Markt*, 1603).[67]

More Street Cries in Dutch-Texted Songs: *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen van der Nachtegale*

To further examine the tradition of polyphony incorporating street cries, two Dutch-texted settings, *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*—both of which include street cries—will now be discussed.[68] These settings are songs transmitted in the collection *Lu 2720* kept at the Leiden University Library, which is historically associated with the court at The Hague.[69] *Des vasten avonts* deals with the experiences of a poor man during Shrove Tuesday. In the last third of the song a vendor advertises mussels from Duiveland, a small town in the present-day province—then county—of Zeeland. The ballade *Tsinghen van*

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65 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagam Musicum*, 3 vols. (Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel: n.p., 1614–1620). In other languages this is also referred to as *fricassee, centone, incatenature,* and *ensalada*. For a detailed history of the terminology, see Susan Forscher Weiss, "Games of Fame: Street Cries, Birdsong, Gossip, and Other Remnants in Renaissance Secular Vocal Music," in *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William F. Prizer* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2012): 135, fn 9.

66 *Six Gaillardes et six Pavanes: Avec treze chansons musicales a quatre parties le tout nouvellement* (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1530), fol. 8v.

67 Modern editions of more *quodlibets* with street cries are provided in Philip Brett, ed., *Consort Song*, Musica Britannica 22 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967). *Der Kölner Markt* is contained in Nikolaus Zangius, *Kurtz weilige newe teutsche weltliche Lieder* (Cologne: n.p., 1603).

68 *Lu 2720,* fols. 7v-8r.

69 A possible association of *Lu 2720* with the court at The Hague has been first voiced by Antheun Janse and Reinhard Strohm. Rob Wegman's comparative research carried out on *Au 64, Lu 2720,* and *Uu 37.II* confirmed their codicological closeness, but could not provide evidence for their origin at the court at The Hague. Antheun Janse, "Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358–1404) in Den Haag," *TVNM* 36 (1986): 143; Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *TVNM* 34, no. 2 (1984): 120; Rob C. Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony at the Court of Holland in the Early Fifteenth Century: The Amsterdam Fragments," *JRMA* 117, no. 2 (1992): 181–207.

der nachtegale is a love song about a lady who, towards the end of the setting, most beautifully advertises hot mussels. Both of these songs are discussed in depth below.

The Three-Part Song: *Des vasten avonts*

Des vasten avonds is a three-part song copied in black mensural notation, transmitted in the Leiden collection *Lu 2720* on a badly deteriorated folio. Fortunately, most of the music is still decipherable, however, much of the text remains obscure. The composition shows no particularities or exceptional applications of compositional techniques, except for the high tonal ranges of the contratenor and the tenor at F-a' and F-g' respectively.[70] As with *Ic hebbe kersen* and *Je commence/Et je feray/ Soules viex* discussed above, stereotypical street-cries motifs such as declamatory passages and minor thirds are used for the street cries (mms. 20–26).

The poetico-musical form of *Des vasten avonts* deserves special attention. As the setting shows neither ouvert, nor clos, nor double texting, it is clear that it cannot be categorized among the most common song forms of the late Middle Ages: virelai, ballade, and rondeau. The musical form of *Des vasten avonts* is AB; red strokes in the music of cantus and contratenor indicate the end of the first section (mm. 12). Part A and B exhibit nearly the same length with twelve and seventeen measures respectively. Conversely, from the thirteen verses per stanza in total, only four are assigned to part A, while nine belong to part B. It thus appears that, whereas the musical form shows a 1:1 division, the proportion of the text is actually 1:2. The refrain *Ho hale musselen* [Go, get mussels], which is part of the B section, finally, lasts ten measures, making up a third of the whole setting. Musically, therefore, we are dealing with a free song form—albeit with some resemblance to the ballade as observed in the AB sections and the occurrence of a refrain at the closing of the setting.

As far as the verse form of *Des vasten avonts* can be retraced, it is clear that neither the rhyme nor the number of syllables follow any recognizable scheme. Whereas lines 1 to 4 still show some structure, the remaining verses seem to be arranged in a way similar to prose (see **TABLE 6.14**).

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70 Five out of a total number of twenty-two legible settings in *Lu 2720* show the same high range in the contratenor and the tenor. These include the ballade *Tsinghen van der nachtegaele* as discussed below; Martinus Fabri's *Or se depart* and *Een cleyn parable*; and *Genade Venus,* attributed to Hugo Boy Monachus. For a discussion and transcription of the latter three settings, see Jan van Biezen and Johan Peter Gumbert, eds., *Two Chansonniers from the Low Countries: French and Dutch Polyphonic Songs from the Leiden and Utrecht Fragments (Early 15th Century)*, vol. 15, Monumenta Musica Neerlandica (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1985).

Des vasten avonts	Rh	Sy	Translation
I			
Des vasten avonts geen [vertiet]	a	8	At carnival there is no postponement
Hi [toghet mi een] schoen ghel[aet]	b	8	He [shows me a] beautiful face
[ghelijc] der beelden die men siet	a	8	[Just like] the images one sees
Ghemaelt end nyemen bevaet.	b	7	Painted and which nobody grasps[71]
Want tswoensdaechs …	[..]	[3]	Because on (Ash-)Wednesday …
Mijn gelt bevoel ic zere smale	c	9	My money I feel is very little
Bi fauten hoer ic van	x	6	Erroneously I hear
Ho hale musselen,	d	6	"Ho, get mussels
Grote duvelantsche musselen	d	9	Big mussels from Duiveland
Aan d'eechout straet	b	4	At Oakwood Street
Ho hale musselen	d	6	Ho, get mussels
Hale mussel hale hale hale	c	10	Get mussels get, get, get them
Het's goet visch hij'n heeft gheen graet	b	7	It is good fish without bones"
II			
Als vleesch end zuvel van mi vliet			If meat and dairy flee me
Winsch ic om dat mi wel an staet			I desire that which fits me
Ghewae … kaeccharinc of yet			Be it … gutted herring or anything
Datter vasten toe bestaet			That is allowed during Lent
Winsch salm end steur en waer nyet			I desire salmon and sturgeon were it not
… gelt wiste … waer med betalen			… knew about money … to pay with
In sacheit [?] niemen dan [kan?]			In roguishness [?] nobody than [can?]
Ho hale musselen			Ho, get mussels
… het is mijn beste toev[erlaet]			… it is my best support
…			…
III			III
Ic segghe aldus … s min maer niet			Thus I say … mine it is not
… y hen ghien			… them?
… schiet			… shoot
Omdat mi mijn ghelt [al verlaet]			Because my money [already leaves me]
… tiden			… times
… noch eens te minen male			… once more it is mine
met			with

Table 6.14: Text and translation of *Des vasten avonts*.

The poor state of transmission of the setting—the folio once was the paste down side of a flyleaf and is thus very worn—makes a complete transcription of the text impossible, leaving us with an incomplete second stanza and only a few isolated words of the third stanza (see FIGURE 6.1).

Despite the folio's challenging state of transmission, the broader content of the setting seems to be quite obvious at first sight. The audience finds itself in an urban environment where *vastenavond* ac-

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71 *Bevaen* (modern lemma: bevangen) has a great variety of meanings. In the current context *bevaen* is read as to comprise, to understand, to grasp. "Bevaen, 9. Bevatten, begrijpen, verstaan," Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek Online, accessed February 5, 2018. http://gtb. inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=04098&lemma=bevaen.
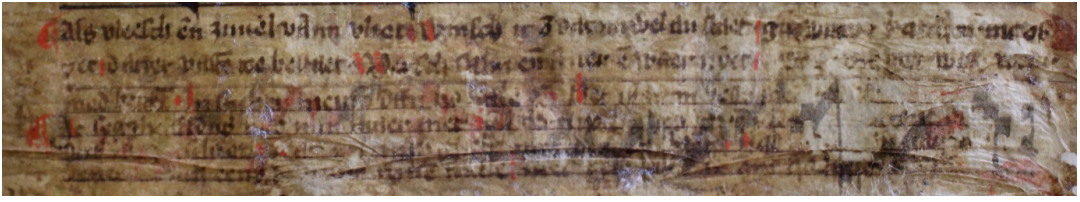
Figure 6.1: The second and third stanza below the music of *Des vasten avonts* (image source: Leiden University Library, BPL 2720, fol. 8r).

tivities take place and vendors advertise their wares at the market for the upcoming period of Lent. *Des vasten avonds* essentially deals with a character who regrets that, during the festivities of Shrove Tuesday, he is too poor to acquire good food to enjoy before Lent. In the absence of any money of his own, he hears vendors hawking their wares: *bi fouten hoer ic van Ho hale musselen* [Erroneously I hear Ho, get mussels]. The protagonist further states that *Als vlees en zuvel van mi vliet* [when meat and dairy flee me] he desires the food that Lent allows him to eat: *kaeccharinc* [gutted herring], *salm* [salmon], and *steur* [sturgeon]. But again, a lack of money does not allow him to purchase these desired foods. The text of the third stanza is too worn to be transcribed in full. It is, however, clear that a lack of money likewise is part of the topic of this closing stanza.[72]

Vastenavond *and Carnival*

The main topic of the setting—the *vastenavond*, *vastelavond*, or *dikke dinsdag* [Shrove Tuesday]—in contemporary sources is a popular event in the region of the northern Low Countries and elsewhere to the present day. The term *vastelavond* or *vastelavondviering* covers a number of feast days between St. Martin (11 November) and Easter.[73] First and foremost, however, the term is used in connection with the festivities commencing three days before Ash Wednesday. In contrast to carnival, which was closer associated with the festivities of the Catholic Church, the term *vastelavond* is more associated with the Celtic-Teuton fertility rites.[74] In the south of The Netherlands—in today's mostly Catholic provinces of Brabant and Limburg—carnival is still popularly celebrated today.

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72 By means of a fresh examination of the folio with the use of UV light together with the digital restoration I hoped to be able to make visible more parts of the text. Regrettably, the attempt was unsuccessful.

73 "Algemeen letterkundig lexicon: Vastelavondviering," *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren*, accessed October 13, 2017, https://goo.gl/4YY4jE.

74 "Algemeen letterkundig lexicon: Vastelavondviering."

The temporary suspension of the morals and social status, and the mocking of people were two important concepts key to late-medieval carnival festivities. That is, charity and modesty as the two strongholds of medieval society—as defined by the church—in their reversed meaning were often translated into sexual self-indulgence and binge drinking.[75] As shall be seen, in light of these concepts, the text of *Des vasten avonds* bridges the divergence between the elite compositional style and the popular topic of the text on many different levels.

"Beautiful" Paintings

The key reading in understanding the underlying, hidden layers of the text in question is to be found in lines three and four of the first stanza. Here, the narrator mentions *beelden die men siet ghemaelt end nyemen bevaet* [Painted and which nobody grasps], possibly alluding to the divergence between seeing and understanding. The dependence between these two concepts and the achievement of the latter are strongly linked to reasoning.[76]

The poor narrator who wants to live above his standards is himself a figure who fails to apply reason to any aspect of his life. Accordingly, an understanding of paintings remains obscure to him.[77] Indeed, his low intellect is further emphasized by his assumption that if he does not understand the images, then no one else will either. Yet, irrespective of his inability to understand the images, he voices an esthetic assessment by stating that the paintings are beautiful: *Hi [toghet mi een] schoen gehl[aet]; [ghelijc] der beelden die men siet; Ghmaelt end nyemen bevaet* [He shows me a beautiful face; Just like the images one sees; Painted and which nobody grasps]. However, this statement begs the question of which paintings the narrator is talking about.

In the courtly context—within which the musical setting of *Des vasten avonts* can be placed—wall decoration was one form of visual art that

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75 Herman Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit: Literatuur, volksfeest en burgermoraal in de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 68. The earliest surviving literary works for and about *vastenavond* include the morality play *Den spyeghel der salicheyt van Elckerlijc* and bundled texts published as a printed book titled *Cort Verhael, van tprincipael, in Leyden bedreven, by sotten meest* in 1497. A. van Elslander, ed., *Den Spyeghel Der Salicheyt van Elckerlijc* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1985); Pleij, *Het Gilde*, 65.

76 Beth Williamson circumscribes the above outlined stages of seeing as seeing with the eyes of sense and understanding with the eyes of spirit. This devotional seeing as a second stage of imagination, as Williamson puts it, is found in a number of paintings from the fifteenth century. A similar categorization of seeing could have been referred to indirectly in the text of *Des vasten avonts*. Beth Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence," *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (2013): 26–35.

77 The narrator's gender remains unclear throughout the poem. A discussion of this phenomenon will follow shortly.

was verifiably present. They are mentioned in archival sources and contemporary literature alike. In a literary context three of the widely disseminated romances from around 1300 make mention of courtly wall paintings: *Roman de la Rose*; *Roman de Fauvel*; and *Renart le Contrefait*. Without going further into the stories of these romances themselves, in that which follows the types of wall paintings and their roles will be highlighted. The wall paintings inside the tent of Reinard the Fox as described in *Renart le Contrefait*, are meant to provide a historical and religious framework to the story.[78] The author elaborates at length on the details of the historical material.[79] In the *Roman de la Rose* the evil of the outside world and the good of the inside world are symbolized by wall decoration on the outside and allegorical figures on the inside.[80] In the *Roman de Fauvel*—in which Fauvel, a fallow-colored, foolish horse plays the leading role—wall paintings reinforce Fauvel's falsity.[81] To this end, monkeys and foxes are depicted as lawyers, judges, story tellers, and counsellors, all of which are professions associated with fraud. Moreover, "false music" and music "notated with flats" were found on the walls. The author-narrator thus transposes Fauvel's evil characteristics into the spatial and architectural dimensions of the wall paintings, and the acoustic dimensions of the music.[82] On a smaller scale—and in a different context—*Des vasten avonds* also includes audible and visual dimensions. It is possible that both the complex music and the mention of paintings serve as a means by which to define both the known and the alien world of the poor narrator. The known world is circumscribed

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78 The famous story of the insidious fox Reinard has its origin in France, where different branches of authors wrote versions of the story. *Renart le Contrefait* is written by a "Clerc de Troyes" between 1310 and 1340, drawing upon the oldest version of Reinard. J.-C. Mühlethaler, "Renart, II: Romanische Literaturen," in *Lexikon Des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977–1999): 721–23. Versions of the story in Middle Dutch today are known under the name of *Van den Vos Reynaerde*. For an overview and contextualization of the Middle Dutch *Reynaerd*, see André Bouwman and Bart Besamusca, eds., *Of Reynaert the Fox Text and Facing Translation of the Middle Dutch Beast Epic Van den vos Reynaerde*, trans. Thea Summerfield (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 9–16.

79 Nancy Freeman Regalado, "The Chronique Métrique and Moral Design of BN Fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 474.

80 Kevin Brownlee, "Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the Roman de Fauvel," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 81, fn 14.

81 Wall decoration is mentioned in lines 1333–58. For a translation, see Ruxandra Marinescu, "The Politics of Deception and the French Lais in the Roman de Fauvel, Mansucript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Francais 146" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2014), 150–51.

82 Emma Dillon emphasized that the act of seeing and the visual representation is an essential component in *Fauvel*. Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 114–15.

in the narrator's urban environment and his status as being poor, while the alien world is displayed in art forms that were an integral part of the noble, educated audience, but remained distant concepts for a person from a low social stratum. The presence and juxtaposition of these worlds were certainly understood as parody by the courtly audience.

Evidence for the existence of wall decoration is not only present in lyrical texts, but also survives in archival sources. For example, various entries in the account books of the court at The Hague attest to the fact that the walls were painted. Regrettably, the design of the *geverwet* [colored] walls at the court chapel, the chapter house, the façade of the great hall, and some of the rooms are not further specified. There is one room, however, that seems to have been painted in a more artistic manner, as the word *bemaeld* [painted] suggests. Scholars assume that the subject were rhombs in blue and white from the Bavarian coat of arms.[83] Moreover, in the area of the northern Low Countries wall decorations were not exclusive to aristocratic living spaces. In Utrecht, for instance, we know that claustral houses were decorated with wall paintings, as discussed in Chapter 4. Most of the surviving wall paintings are thought to date from the first half of the fourteenth century. Whilst some of the remnants show simple patterns like flowers, other subjects concern ancient history, scenes from the bible, and from literature.[84]

Playing with Gender

A close reading of the first stanza brings to our attention the male pronoun *hi* [he] in the second line of the poem. *Hi* refers to *vastenavond* in the first line, personifying it and giving it a qualifying attribution of appearance: *vastenavondt* has a beautiful face.

> Des vasten avonts geen [vertiet]
> **Hi** [toghet mi een] schoen gehl[aet]
> [During carnival there is no postponement
> He shows me a beautiful face]

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83 "Item betaelt Gijss die maelre van Dordrecht voir dat hij die oude grote camer verwede mit ruiten ende voir stof dair toe gebesicht 9 lb." ["Item paid Gijszoon the painter from Dordrecht for painting the old, big room with rhombs and for material for this purpose 9 lb." (translated by the author)] July 1, 1415. NA, Archief van de graven van Holland, inventarisnummer 1267, folio 37v. Anne-Maria van Egmond, email message to author, January 9, 2017.

84 Erwin Mantingh, "Blow up: Walewein in Utrecht?," in *Maar er is meer: Avontuurlijk lezen in de epiek van de Lage Landen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005): 45–57; Marieke van Vlierden, "Wandmalereien im städtischen Wohnbau in Utrecht um 1300–1600," in *Geschichte in Schichten: Wand- und Deckenmalerei im städtischen Wohnbau des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Annegret Möhlenkamp, Ulrich Kuder, and Uwe Albrecht (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2002), 103–12.

The opening lines of the poem thus seem to query the gender and sexual orientation of the protagonist. Is the protagonist of this poem male or female? Assuming that he is male, is he attracted to the male *vastenavond*? These questions doubtlessly require a level of abstraction, especially because *vastenavond* could simply be interpreted as the festivity, in which case the question about the gender of the protagonist would be redundant. Nevertheless, the allusion to blurred gender roles fits well within the carnival context of the setting and its historical context, as sex and gender in the Middle Ages were neatly defined.[85] Playing with it meant to shift key concepts of medieval society. The playful gender switch was one of the core concepts with which to represent the world upside down. This can also be observed in the courtly context, which is neatly circumscribed in the charivari of, again, the *Roman de Fauvel*.[86] There the personages are "masked human beings who play, sing, and dance as at any other contemporary court festivities."[87] With this in mind, it seems likely that the poem of *Des vasten avonts*, the primary subject of which is carnival, includes subtle hints as to the blurred, or "masked" gender of the protagonist.

Erotic Symbolism

Next to the potential gender switch, the text also includes symbolic sexual allusions to eroticism. In the very first line of the poem, the main personage states that, as the world is upside down during *vastenavond*, there is *geen vertiet* [no postponement]. For once, everybody is allowed to express their desires, including the narrator. Yet, in his destitute position he is unable to profit from the most enjoyable "mussels without bones," which most probably can be read as an erotic reference to the vagina.

Contrary to the first stanza, in the second stanza abstinence—i.e. the restriction during Lent—takes central stage. "If meat and dairy flee me" the protagonist states, he wants to get the food he desires, which is not regular fish, but mussels.[88] Again, the protagonist listens to the

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85 Vern L. Bullough, "Cross Dressing and Gender Role Change in the Middle Ages," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1996): 226–27.

86 The original occasion for the charivari processions was to pillory second marriages or marriages between men and women of considerable age differences. The phenomenon, thus, had long been classified as popular justice associated with the lower social strata rather than with the elite. Susan Crane and Ruxandra Marinescu, however, both emphasize the transformation of charivari from a popular to a courtly environment in the fourteenth century. Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 143; Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 93; Marinescu, "The Politics of Deception," 98–99.

87 Marinescu, "The Politics of Deception," 98.

88 Mussels in medieval zoology are classified among fish. This is evident from Jacob van Maerlant's *Der nature bloeme* ca. 1270, which essentially is a translation of Thomas de

street cries hawking "fresh mussels" in the absence of money. The deteriorated state of the lower part of the folio does not allow for a more detailed analysis of the text. It is, however, highly likely that the missing text contained further erotic allusions and symbols.

Erotic symbolism in literature, music, and art is a widespread phenomenon. Well-known examples of texts with sexual connotations in the Dutch-speaking area can be found in the *Gruuthuse* manuscript. Eroticism in this context is always associated with the lower social strata, serving as a means by which to demonstrate their unlearned, animalistic nature.[89] For instance, distinct erotic symbolism and sexual metaphors are to be found in W*i willen van den kerels zinghen* and *Lijskin, wat helpt vele ghestreiden?*, the latter showing similarities to the text of W*outer was een vule* in *Uu 37.I* as discussed in Chapter 5.[90] Furthermore, *Het was een maecht in vreuchden rijch* is about a maid who wants to learn how to play the drum from the master.[91] Playing various instruments in the *Gruuthuse* and elsewhere is an often-used metaphor for sexual conduct.[92]

The above outline of an erotic interpretation of *Des vasten avonts* reveals that a dual reading of the text is possible and even likely, given the occasion for which the song was written. The first reading simply concerns a poor man experiencing the restraints of *vastenavond* due to a lack of money. The second reading covers the complaints of a poor person whose gender remains obscure. This person's low social position is further stereotyped by the emphasis on his illiteracy. All this makes it impossible to hinder him—or her—from fulfilling his or her sexual desire. However, in the light of the various spaces for performances during *vastenavond*, carnival and charivari, the implicit erotic content of *Des vasten avonts* is an aspect that facilitates the song's placement within the broader cultural environment. The clear parodic-erotic tone of *Des vasten avonts* fits well within the Dutch-texted polyphony discussed previously.

Cantimpré's *De natura rerum,* written between 1225/26 and 1241. The passage in question reads: "Ja alle vissche als men spreket in scellen ligghende alse musselen doen die sijn best vele int saison." ["All fish in shells as it were, like mussels, are quite numerous during the season" translated by the author] NL-KB KA 16, fol. 114v.

[89] Brinkman and De Loos, *Het Gruuthuse-handschrift*, vol. 1, 26.

[90] *Gruuthuse,* song II.85, *Wi willen van den kerels zinghen,* fols. 25vb-26ra; *Gruuthuse,* song II.71, *Lijskin, wat helpt vele ghestreiden?*, fols. 23rb–23va.

[91] *Gruuthuse,* song II.38, *Het was een maecht in vreuchden rijch,* fols. 17ra–17rb.

[92] Karl Kügle, "'Ic hadde een lief vercoren…': Muzikale erotiek in de Gruuthuseliederen," in *Het Gruuthusehandschrift: Literatuur, muziek, devotie rond 1400: Internationaal congres Brugge 25-27 april 2013* (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde, 2015): 111–26.

The Ballade *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*

My third example for close readings of Dutch-texted complex polyphony is the three-voice song *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*.[93] As with *Des vasten avonts*, the final few phrases consist of a street cry advertising mussels. Similar to ... *ic hebbe kersen*, *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, and *Des vasten avonts*, the two stereotypical street-cries motifs of declamation and minor thirds make up part of the street cry (mms. 48–62). As shall be seen, it is not only the hawking of mussels that the *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen* have in common. Indeed, within the textual context of the ballade, the erotic connotations of the wares advertised are even more obvious.

Regarding content, the poem deals with a rejected lover who is deeply hurt, but still has to feign loyalty to his lady. Miserable as he is, he listens to his lady hawking *mosselkijn al heet* [hot mussels]. The unexpected appearance of the street cry at the end of the setting quite obviously seems to have an erotic, but also a parodic meaning. That is, the street cry functions as the parodic climax in two ways: it ridicules the lover whose feelings the lady does not reciprocate, and it reveals that the lady is, or acts like, a prostitute. Having to listen to her advertisement of the merits of her own sexuality punishes the rejected lover even more (see **TABLE 6.15**). The parodic-erotic undertone, together with the physical closeness of *Tsinghen* to *Des vasten avonts* in *Lu 2720*, acts in favor of the assumption that *Tsinghen* is also an amusing song suitable for—and possibly performed during—*vastenavond* festivities.[94]

Tsinghen is an atypical courtly love song for two main reasons. Firstly, in other courtly love songs the protagonist never interprets his hopeless situation negatively in stating that he has to feign his loyalty. Secondly, the stereotypical noble lady in courtly love songs never makes statements about herself—let alone about her sexuality—since, in her function as the noble, sacrosanct lady, she has to stay distant from, and hence unattainable for, carnal love. The erotic content and sexual metaphors are thus more obvious than in *Des vasten avonts*, but it also appears that the message *Tsinghen* conveys is simpler than that in *Des vasten avonts*, in which multiple layers of parody and eroticism can be found.

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93 *Lu 2720*, fol. 7v. For a full transcription of the ballade, see Appendix 3.
94 This assumption is in line with Jan Willem Bonda's categorization of *Tsinghen* as resembling carnival songs (*zottenliederen*). Jan Willem Bonda, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen van de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996), 217.

Text	Rh*	Sy**	Translation
Tsinghen van der nachtegale	a	8	The singing of the nightingale
Can ic niet gheprisen wale	a	8	I cannot praise well
Noch gheen voghels zanghes rijc	b	7	Neither that of other birds
Jeghens haer di mi te dale	a	8	Against her who into the valley
Heeft ghetoghen tesen male	a	8	Led me this time
In ellenden misselijc	b	7	In great misery
Haer so moet ic ewelic	c	7	Hers to be eternally
Eyghen vensen, oh soet gheet	b	8	I must feign, whatever happens
Nochtan roept si wonderlijc	c	7	Yet she hawks wonderfully
Hale mosselkijn al heet	c	7	Get hot mussels
Die beste spise die ic weet	c	8	The best food that I know
Da sijn mosselkin al heet	c	7	Are hot mussels

* Rhythm   ** Syllables

Table 6.15: Text and translation with the rhyme scheme, the number of syllables, and semibreves per verse in *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*.

Musical form	Tsinghen	No. of syllables	Typical verse form ballade	Typical no. of syllables[95]
A	a	8	a	10
	a	8	b	10
	b	7		
A'	a	8	a	10
	a	8	b	10
	b	7		
B	c	7	b	10
	b	8	c	7
	c	7	b	10
Refrain	C	7	C	7
	C	8		
	C	7		

Table 6.16: Comparison between the verse form of Tsinghen and the typical verse form of a ballade.

Text and Music

According to its musical form AA'B, *Tsinghen van der nachtegale* is a ballade. However, a closer look at the text and the music reveals that its verse form is different from that typical for a ballade (see **TABLE 6.16**). In contrast to the dual rhyme scheme ab|ab in the A sections of a typical ballade verse form, the stanza in *Tsinghen* has a ternary structure aab|aab that is continued in the B section. The refrain typ-

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95 Ten and seven syllables to the line represent the structure most frequently used in ballades from the middle of the fourteenth century. This structure, however, is by no means fixed.

Figure 6.2: Mensuration changes in the contratenor of *Tsinghen van der nachtegale,* indicated by red ink (image source: Leiden University Library, BPL 2720, fol. 7v).

ically consists of the last verse line. In *Tsinghen*, it takes up three single-rhymed verses CCC. It is conceivable that the three single-rhymed verses (mms. 48–62) represent the refrain. These verses essentially contain the street cry *Hale mosselkijn*.

Tsinghen as transmitted in *Lu 2720* has only one surviving stanza.[96] It cannot be ruled out, however, that in other, subsequently lost sources *Tsinghen* had more than one stanza. Judging from the transmission in *Lu 2720* it appears that the composer was inspired by the form of the ballade, which he applied to a poem with a quite different verse structure.

The syllabic structure of *Tsinghen* is designed very consistently. In accordance with the rhyme scheme, the number of syllables shows a ternary structure of 8-8-7 and 7-8-7 respectively (see **TABLE 6.16**). This again deviates from the typical syllabic structure that, at least in the A section, shows a homogenous number of syllables to the verse line.

In contrast to the text, the musical setting of *Tsinghen* does meet many standard features of a typical ballade. Melismas in the cantus, for instance, occur both on the opening and the final syllables in both sections, all showing lively melody lines, often progressing in minims (for example mms. 1–7). Texted parts, in contrast, essentially move in semibreves.[97] The tenor progresses steadily; minims and minim-rests disrupt the lines at regular intervals (for example mms. 5, 16, 43, 59). The contratenor, conversely, is a lively and rhythmically complex voice. Not only does it show passages of red notes indicating mensuration changes throughout (see **FIGURE 6.2**); its melody line also includes a small number of paired semiminims (mms. 3, 37, 42). The musical setting of the street cry shows little characteristic motifs in *Tsinghen*. However, the threefold repetition of the note c'' at the beginning of the street cry in mms. 48 attaches a shouting character to the phrase. All in all, *Tsinghen* is a well-composed song, the style of which is comparable to that of many ballades composed in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

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96 For an inventory, the folio order, and a description of the reconstruction process, see Biezen and Gumbert, *Two Chansonniers from the Low Countries,* vol. 15, 6–7, 12.

97 Elizabeth Eva Leach observed similarities in the rhythmical outline between *Tsinghen* and two chansons containing bird song: *Par maintes foys* and *Or sus vous dormez drop.* Just as in *Or sus*, the rhythmical structure of *Tsinghen* oscillates between the perfect and the imperfect tempus (6/8 vs. 9/8). The end of the refrain of *Par maintes foys*, moreover, rhythmically closely resembles that of the street cry in *Tsinghen*. Leach, *Sung Birds*, 161, fn 106 and 132, fn 45. For a complete list of manuscripts and concordances for *Or sus* and *Par maintes foys*, see Leach, *Sung Birds,* Appendix 3.1.

In summary, *Tsinghen* turns out to be a well-organized song in which the composer unites a poem with a rather unconventional verse form and a solid musical setting that is largely composed along the lines of a standard ballade. It can therefore be said that *Tsinghen* shows stylistic similarities to the ballade, while also exhibiting a unique song form. This is in line with Felix Diergarten's discussion of genre definitions in fourteenth-century polyphonic repertoires, in which he points out that motets and songs often exhibit hybrid forms.[98] The emphasis on the audibility of the text, which is achieved through the use of a sequence of steadily moving semibreves, underlines the importance of the text. That is, as with *Des vasten avonts*, the parodic-erotic content takes central stage.

Vastenavond at the Court at The Hague

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the fragments *Lu 2720*—in which the above-introduced songs *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen van der nachtegale* are contained—are associated with a courtly environment and with the court at The Hague in particular. Antheun Janse has shown convincingly that singers and composers such as Martin Fabri—three of whose compositions survive in *Lu 2720*—were employed at, or paid regular visits to, The Hague during Albert I's regency.[99] Moreover, it is well known that Albert I (1336–1404) made the court chapel at the court a collegiate chapter in 1367 with twelve canons and a number of choirboys.[100] This alone makes a performance of our *vastenavond* song at the court at The Hague a distinct possibility. In addition, entries in the account books of the court provide evidence for Albert I's active contribution to the carnival activities. For example, an entry in 1387/88 states that he invited noble women to *minen heer gheselscip te helpen doen voir dien vasten avont mit dansen, werscepen, ende hoven* [to keep our lord's company and to support him dancing, dining, and celebrating at *vastenavond*].[101] Similar entries about extensive feasting during carnival with numerous invited guests in the following years suggest that *vastenavond* festivities were held regularly at the court at The Hague.[102]

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98 Felix Diergarten, "Komponieren in den Zeiten Machauts: Die anonymen Liedsätze des Codex Ivrea" (Habilitation, University of Würzburg, 2015), 80.

99 Janse, "Het muziekleven," 142.

100 Janse, "Het muziekleven," 141.

101 Translated by the author. Cited from Frits P. van Oostrom, *Het woord van eer: Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1987), 130.

102 There is a separate section about expenses made during vastenavond in 1390 that reveals numerous activities were organized during *vastenavond*. NA, "Graven van Holland," 3.01.01, inv. no. 1246, fol. 77r–79v.

This fits well with the picture of *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen* drawn above, where unconventional song forms with a parodic-erotic tone take central stage.

Conclusions

Close readings of the three Dutch-texted polyphonic settings ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, *Des vasten avonts*, and *Tsinghen van der nachtegale* reveal that they show strong commonalities in their parodic-erotic content. The imaginary market scene in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* can be localized somewhere in the vicinity of Bruges. The motet conveys parody through the interchange between street cries and excerpts of scenes of daily life. Eroticism in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is implicitly referred to in the scenes of daily life; metaphors directly addressing sexual intercourse are absent. The moral undertone in ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* suggests that the motet is not composed for the pure amusement of the audience, but also contains a clear educational component.

In their overall parodic-erotic message *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen* are very similar to ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen*, although their content appears to be more explicit. The depiction of the poor man in *Des vasten avonts* and the simple-minded man in *Tsinghen* alongside quite explicit metaphors for female reproductive organs one can assume were especially entertaining for the educated, aristocratic audience. That parody and comedy can be conveyed on different levels has become clear from the textual analysis of *Des vasten avonts*, which revealed features such as "the world upside down" and blurred gender roles. Both these street-cries settings clearly served the purpose of being entertaining beyond the boundaries of the socially acceptable. Possibly they were composed for *vastenavond* festivities at the court at The Hague.

All three settings investigated in this chapter show individual, if not unique, poetico-musical stylistics. ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is based on the basic conceptual elements of the motet. However, in its compositional and textual details, the setting is composed more freely. A striking number of similarities between ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* and *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex* regarding allusions to, and symbolism for, eroticism, assumed quotations of folk songs, alternate singing of the two upper voices, and the use of motifs typical for street cries are indications of stylistic exchange beyond linguistic borders. *Des vasten avonts* and *Tsinghen* both deviate from the conventional song forms, yet play with their conventions.

Similarly, the two partially-transmitted songs *Wouter is een vule* and *Och lief gesel ic heb vernomen* touched upon in Chapter 5 exhibit unique characteristics in their musical and verse structure. This individualis-

tic approach towards the composition of Dutch-texted songs is in line with Frank Willaert's observation of a strong tendency towards the use of hybrid genres "in the Rhineland areas and in the Low Countries," which occur in greater numbers in sources from around 1400.[103] The stylistic multiplicity found in Dutch-texted polyphony, therefore, allows for the conclusion that complex polyphony in the northern Low Countries, while engaging in common, inter-regionally used genres, also shows individualistic characteristics.

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[103] Frank Willaert, "'Hovedans:' Fourteenth-Century Dancing Songs in the Rhine and Meuse Area," in *Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 173.

Conclusion

This study has shed new light on the musical environment in the northern Low Countries around 1400 and the role that complex polyphony played therein. The reconstruction of the musical milieu was undertaken via three distinct points of entry. These were (i) the fragments *Uu 37.I* as witnesses of complex polyphony in Dutch-speaking latitudes; (ii) the broader context of the musical and cultural environment in Utrecht—one of the most important cities in the northern Low Countries; and (iii) the Dutch-texted repertoire of complex polyphony as evidence of musical exchange and taste.

The history of the *Uu 37.I* fragments as traced in Chapter 1 revealed a highly probable connection with Utrecht and its most important ecclesiastical institutions. Furthermore, the codicological and palaeographical examination of the fragment collection *Uu 37.I* carried out in Chapter 2 showed that the fragments of *Uu 37.I* once belonged to four different convolutes—all of which contain a wide range of genres copied in the house style. Foliation on some of the bifolios suggests that the original music collections were of substantial length.

Chapters 3 and 4 concentrated on the institutional structure in late-medieval Utrecht and its musical environment. An insight into the history of Utrecht and an overview of its ecclesiastical institutions in the late Middle Ages in Chapter 3 permitted the drawing of conclusions regarding the city's status and its institutional structure—most significantly that the mid-sized episcopal city of Utrecht took up a crucial role in local trade and regional politics. The number and diversity of ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht in relation to its size is comparable to that found in influential cities such as Florence and Bruges. Research on archival documents in the period between 1350 and 1450 in Chapter 4 unveiled the cathedral's and Oudmunster's exceptional financial power. What is more, a closer look at the lives of prominent canons at Oudmunster left no room for doubt as to their high standard of education and cosmopolitan life styles. Some of them are known to have made verifiable investments into art and culture—both within and outside of the church walls. That Utrecht in the late Middle Ages had

a lively cultural environment is further underlined by aspects such as the development of a chant tradition with regional characteristics; the production of the most expensive, representative books; the presence of a widely-known center for book illumination; and a lively tradition of building and playing organs. The archival documents studied in this research project, however, remain silent with regard to complex polyphony. Nevertheless, I believe that Utrecht's cultural diversity meets important preconditions for the use of complex polyphony and for a possible origin of the convolutes of *Uu* 37.I. I can therefore state that the musical climate in Utrecht in the late Middle Ages goes beyond chant and instrumental traditions alone—traditions with which the city was hitherto primarily associated.

Chapters 5 and 6 dealt with the Dutch-texted polyphonic repertoire and the close reading of a selection of pieces thereof. Chapter 5 contextualized and embedded the Dutch-texted polyphonic repertoire within Middle-Dutch song culture, and provided an overview of the totality of the Dutch-texted polyphonic repertoire. The occurrence of some of the pieces in multilingual song collections of major manuscripts proves that Dutch-texted polyphony made up part of the internationally-circulating repertoire around 1400. An investigation of three pieces with street cries—the extensive street-cries motet ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* transmitted in *Uu* 37.I on the one hand, and the song *Des vasten avonts* and the ballade *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*, both to be found in *Lu* 2720, on the other—in Chapter 6 pointed to the existence of a shared local style in which parodic-erotic content played a crucial role. Moreover, an analysis of their verse structures and song forms revealed that they exhibit forms distinctive from the commonly-employed *formes fixes* in other linguistic areas. Their parodic content and stylistic multiplicity are thus striking characteristics of Dutch-texted polyphonic songs.

What does the Dutch-texted repertoire investigated in this study tell us about the audience? Its subtle, complex compositions and its clear orientation towards lyrical love poetry point to an origin at a court, possibly the court at The Hague, as I conclude in Chapter 6. Recurring allusions to urban life extolled in many of the songs give rise to the notion that the courtly audience had a strong interest in urban life as pictured in polyphonic songs. Furthermore, the concentration of pieces with a parodic-erotic slant suggests that a distinctive musical and lyrical taste in Dutch-speaking regions—maybe even specific to the court at The Hague—existed around 1400.

On an European scale, the Reina Codex with a proposed origin in the Veneto region of Italy is an excellent case with which to observe the international perception of the local music taste described

above.[1] The codex contains one Dutch-texted and one trilingual piece in French, Dutch, and Latin—both of which were copied at a later stage below French-texted songs. I suggest one important reason for their presence in this manuscript to be their parodistic singing about the lower social strata. It may well have been the connection between the complexity of the composition and the more "down-to-earth," risqué topics that prompted the compiler to add them to the collection: even though their compositional style is largely in line with that of the French-texted chanson, thematically they clearly are a counterpoint to the courtly love songs in the Reina Codex. Apparently, the Dutch were—and still are—known for their sobriety. Both these characteristics—sobriety and the focus on topics with a more urban feel—are likely to have been initiated and supported by the geographical proximity and intellectual exchange between the court and cities, amongst which Utrecht figures as the most significant in the northern Low Countries.

In the Absence of Evidence

What can we conclude if we do not know anything with absolute certainty? This question is of particular relevance in Part I and II of this study, which dealt with the transmission history of *Uu* 37.I and the musical environment in late-medieval Utrecht. My research has yielded new perspectives on both the history of the fragments and the musical landscape of the northern Low Countries at the time. However, in the absence of hard evidence for the provenance of *Uu* 37.I and the use of complex polyphony in late-medieval Utrecht, my statements and claims are often accompanied by "most probably," "highly likely," or "supposedly." In that regard the picture of "the dark Middle Ages"—still so vividly alive in twenty-first-century society—is probably more accurate than scholars of medieval studies might have us believe.

There is clearly a dilemma in the way the *Uu* 37.I fragments exhibit some connections to Utrecht, yet there remains an inability to draw firm conclusions about their origin and use. After all, it could be suggested that the absence of references to complex polyphony in archival documents supports the assumption that there was no such music tradition in Utrecht. However, as Van Egmond shows in her article about a crucifixion mural in the chapel of Guy of Avesnes, prince-bishop of Utrecht from 1301–1317, cultural artefacts are not necessarily men-

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1 It is also the only surviving full manuscript with Dutch-texted complex polyphony.

tioned in archival documents.[2] Whilst the mural itself survives in the chapel at the cathedral in Utrecht to the present day, its presence is not reflected in archival documents. However, a search for related entries in a wide range of documents ultimately led to the discovery of some more information with regard to the mural's creation. This is closely reminiscent of the transmission history of U*u* 37.I, for which we have the object—the fragments themselves—yet no references in archival records. The only subtle difference between the mural and the fragments is that the mural's place of origin is determined by default, whereas the fragments are not tied to a place. Against this background, even though positive confirmation for the association of the fragments with a specific place is missing, an origin of the U*u* 37.I fragment s in Utrecht cannot be ruled out. On the contrary, one might well argue that, in light of the evidence presented in chapters 1, 2, and 4, the complete absence of any awareness of complex polyphony in Utrecht at the time is rather unlikely.

Quo Vadimus?

I have shown that thorough research on fragments that at first glance seem to disclose little about their origin and history contributes significantly to our understanding of the musical landscape in the late Middle Ages. These findings are also due to the use of some of the most innovative digital research tools. Therefore, this study makes an important contribution, both to the field of fragment studies and—on a methodological level—to the Digital Humanities.

Fragment studies in more recent years have profited from interdisciplinary approaches, digital tools, and IT-supported research infrastructure such as music information retrieval, network theory, or linked data. Specifically, with the help of the *music21* project Michael Scott Cuthbert continues to increase the number of concordances of polyphonic pieces.[3] The DIAMM image database established by Julia

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2   Anne-Maria J. van Egmond, "Art and Archives, Clerics and Counts: New Insights on the Crucifixion Mural in the Utrecht Burial Chapel of Guy of Avesnes," in *Medieval Art in the Northern Netherlands before Van Eyck*, Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën 23 (Utrecht: Clavis Stichting, 2014), 58–73.

3   Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Esperance and the French Song in Foreign Sources," *Studi Musicali* 36, no. 1 (2007): 1–19; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "A New Trecento Source of a French Ballade (Je voy mon cuer)," *Golden Muse: The Loeb Music Library at 50. Harvard Library Bulletin*, new series 18 (2008): 77–81. Two of these new concordances concern pieces contained in *Uu 37.I*. "Music 21," *music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology*, accessed March 31, 2017, http://web.mit.edu/music21/.

Craig-McFeeley's allows scholars to access a broad range of sources online.[4] On the level of digital tools, basic and even advanced restoration on digital images of sources can be carried out with programs such as Photoshop. Finally, within the field of linked data, the computerized analysis of data establishes complex relationships between places, sources, and single pieces.[5] These relationships cannot be detected by traditional means. It is especially the latter approach from which fragment studies, in my view, will benefit in the future. Above all, the use of linked data can be applied to subareas such as the dissemination of fragments or leather stamps on host books and, more broadly speaking, to databases for mensural music handwriting. The setup of comprehensive, inter-related databases for all of these subareas is a task that will need to be undertaken in the near future.

All of the above-mentioned digital approaches are only effective if paired with thorough "analogue" research on fragments and the cultural environment in which they were created. In this spirit, the thorough study of fragment collections such as the inter-related *Uu 37.II*, *Lu 2720*, and *Au 64* fragments; the Cambrai fragments (CA 1328, CA B 56); and the Heiligenkreuz fragments (HEI), to name but a few, will further deepen our understanding of the transmission and use of polyphony in the later Middle Ages. The more data we collect and the more we share our knowledge across a wide research community, the more precise our idea of the medieval music tradition will become.

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4 "Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music," *DIAMM*, accessed November 29, 2017, https://www.diamm.ac.uk/.

5 Marnix van Berchum's dissertation, for example, establishes links between manuscripts and the repertoire of the sixteenth century. Marnix van Berchum, "Linked Sources: A Network Approach to the Repertory of Sixteenth-Century Polyphony" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, forthcoming). On a larger scale, the project "Mapping Manuscript Migration" links data from Europe and North America and offers an international history of the manuscripts' transmission and provenance. "Mapping Manuscript Migrations: Digging into Data for the History and Provenance of Pre-Modern European Manuscripts," *Digging into Data*, accessed April 5, 2017, https://goo.gl/n9PXMm.

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Appendix 1

1. Inventories *Uu 37.I*, *Uu 37.III*, *Lu 2515 (1)*, and *Lu 342A*

The following inventories concern *Uu* 37.I and *Uu* 37.III, as well as *Lu* 2515 (1) and *Lu* 342A. An inventory of *Uu* 37.II is contained in Reaney's 1965 article "New Sources of Ars Nova Music."[1] The order of the leaves belonging to *Uu* 37.I is arranged according to the convolutes as described in Chapter 1. For the sake of clarity, the current foliation is kept as closely to the one proposed by Reaney in 1965. Changes concern the numbering of individual folios, which now have Arabic rather than Roman numerals; the inclusion of original foliation where present; and the correction of misinterpreted foliation by Reaney. Even though the fragment collections *Lu* 2515 (1) and *Lu* 342A were not further discussed in this study, their inventories are nevertheless included in this appendix. Gilbert Reaney's inventories published in the 1960s here are updated with the newest information about concordances and foliation.[2]

Symbols Used for the Designation of Voices

Ca	Voice transmitted fully
{Ca}	Voice transmitted fragmentarily
[Ca]	Voice not present in the fragment, but possibly transmitted on a lost folio

For all other abbreviations, see "Abbreviations" at the beginning of this study.

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CMM 11.7	Reaney, Gilbert, ed. *Early Fifteenth Century Music*. Vol. 7. CMM 11. [Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1983.

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[1] Gilbert Reaney, "New Sources of 'Ars Nova' Music," *Musica Disciplina* 19 (1965): 53–67.
[2] Reaney, "New Sources," 58–59.

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Uu 37.I

Convolute A, bifolios I and VI

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
1	Uu 37.I	17r (Bifolio I)	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	O	[Ca], {Ct}, {T}	*Fankhauser*[3]			
2	Uu 37.I	17v (Bifolio I)	*Gloria: Spiritus et alme*	O	{Ca}, [Ct], {T}	*Strohm*	*PadA; PadD*	Magister Egardus	
3	Uu 37.I	26r (Bifolio I)	*Gloria: Gaude superno nam assumpta*	O	{Ca1, Ca2}, Ct, T	*PFMC 23B; Delft* (partial transcription)			Voice division in the cantus; unknown Marian trope (feast *Assumptio beatae mariae virginis*)
4	Uu 37.I	26v (Bifolio I)	*Gloria*	O	Ca, Ct, T	*PMFC 23A; Fankhauser*			Partially panisorhythmic
5	Uu 37.I	36/38r (Bifolio VI)	*Credo*	O	Ca, {Ct}, [T]				Partially legible under UV-light; mensuration changes
6	Uu 37.I	36/38v (Bifolio VI)	*Credo*	O	Ca, {Ct}?, [T]				Illegible even under UV light because of shine-through of the reverse page
7	Uu 37.I	ar (Bifolio VI)	Unknown	O	{Ct or T}				Most of the bifolio cut off
8	Uu 37.I	av (Bifolio VI)	*Credo: de rege*	O	{Ca}	*PMFC 1; PMFC 23B*	*Apt; CA B 166; CA B 56; Cividale 98; Bbc 971; Iv; Lu 2515; Padua 7, 14; Roch 44; Solsona 109; Toulouse 94; Trém*	Sortes	Most of the bifolio cut off

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[3] The music examples provided within the text and the appendix of this dissertation are diplomatic transcriptions and by no means meant to be editions.

Convolute B, bifolio III

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Editions	Concor-dances	Attribution	Comments
1	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio III)	Gloria	O	[Ca], Ct, [T]	PMFC 23B			
2	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio III)	La grand doulcour, le plaisir et la joye	R	[Ca], {Ct}, {T}	Apel; PMFC 22			Canonic inscription in the contratenor. Apel's and my own attempt to transcribe the piece remained unsuccessful
3	Uu 37.I	1v (Bifolio III)	Gloria: Jubliatio	O	[Ca], [Ct], [T]	CMM 11.7	Q15; Ven145	Hubertus de Salinis	Mostly illegible
4	Uu 37.I	2r (Bifolio III)	Gloria: Spiritus et alme	O	Ca, [Ct], [T]				
5	Uu 37.I	2v (Bifolio III)	Gloria	O	[Ca], [Ct], T	PMFC 23A	Ox 56		

Convolute C, bifolio II and snippet IV

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Editions	Concor-dances	Attri-bution	Comments
1	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio II)	Ave yesse, stirps regalis	isoM	[Tr], [Du], [T]				Textual concordances: B-Bc 4948; D-Mbs Clm 19824
2	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio II)	Salve sancta parens	M?	[Tr], [Du?], {ST}				ST possibly belongs to Ave yesse. Due to cut-off parts in both voices, their connection remains questionable. Signs resembling sharps occur next to the key at the beginning of the voice:
3	Uu 37.I	1r (Bifolio II)	Wouter was een vule	B	[Ca], {Ct}, {T}	Text Muller; Fankhauser			
4	Uu 37.I	1v–2r (Bifolio II)	...ic hebbe ripe kersen	M	{Tr}, [Du], T	Text Muller; Stam; Fankhauser			Piece also known as marktroepen motetus (street-cries motet). In Reaney 1965 as [... go]eden [ ] kaccharinc, drughen harinc! Breken. New name assigned due to lack of text beginnings

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	isoM	Voices	Editions	Comments
5	Uu 37.1	2v (Bifolio II)	... christus te vocavit coronam accipiens		Tr, [Du], [T]		Badly rubbed; surviving voice isorhythmic
6	Uu 37.1	2v (Bifolio II)	Och lief gesel ic heb vernomen	L	Ca, [Ct], [T]	Text *Muller; Fankhauser*	
7	Uu 37.1	IVr (snippet IV)	[Ic beghi]nne mijn liedekijn wel	L	{Ca}, [Ct]?, [T]?	Text *Muller*	Excerpts of 4½ staves only
8	Uu 37.1	IVv (snippet IV)	[... al]s ic di zach] mijn zuete lijf	L	{Ca}, [Ct]?, [T]?	Text *Muller*	Excerpts of 4½ staves only

Convolute D, folio V

No	MS	Folio	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
22	Uu 37.1	Vr (Folio V)	*Psallat Chorus /Eximie pater*	M	{Ca1}, {Ca2}, [Ct], [T]	CMM 11.7	Q15; SL	Hubertus de Salinis	Largely illegible
23	Uu 37.1	Vv (Folio V)	Unknown	O?	[Ca], {Ct}, {T}				Illegible
24	Uu 37.1	Vv (Folio V)	Unknown	O?	{Ca}?, [Ct], {T}?				Illegible

Uu 37.III

All text beginnings on the cut bifolio that makes up *Uu 37.III* are listed in the table. Since folio 2 is cut severely, only a few text beginnings remain on the page. The position of the chants in *U406* is provided as a reference.

No	MS	Folio[4]	Incipit/Text	Genre	Feast	Folio no. in U406	Comments
1	*Uu 37.III*	1r (full page width)	*Dulce lignum dulces clavos*	R	Inventio Crucis	110v	
2	*Uu 37.III*	1r	*Hoc signum crucis*	R	Inventio Crucis	110v	Illegible
3	*Uu 37.III*	1v	*Helena Constantini mater Jerusalem petit alleluia*	A	Inventio Crucis	111r	
4	*Uu 37.III*	1v	*Helena desiderio plena orabat*	A	Inventio Crucis	111r	
5	*Uu 37.III*	1v	*Preciosus christi martyr*	A	Inventio Crucis	111r	In *U406* feast Alexandri et Soc.
6	*Uu 37.III*	2r (cut page)	*Mors et vita apposita*	A	Inventio Crucis	111r	Incomplete
7	*Uu 37.III*	2r	*Lignum vite in cruce tua*	A	Inventio Crucis	111v	Incomplete
8	*Uu 37.III*	2r	*Per signum crucis*	R	Inventio Crucis	171r	Incomplete; in *U406* feast Exaltatio Crucis
9	*Uu 37.III*	2r	*O crux splendidor cunctis*	A	Inventio Crucis / Exaltatio Crucis	111v	Incomplete
10	*Uu 37.III*	2v	*Ingresso Zacha[ria templum]*	A	Joannes Baptista	124v	Incomplete
11	*Uu 37.III*	2v	*Iste est sublimibus caelrum*	A	Joannes Baptista	185rv	Incomplete; in *U406* feast Remigii

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4 This fragment leaf has no foliation applied to the pages. The foliation given here is chosen according to the content of the folios.

Lu 2515 (1)

No	MS	Folio[5]	Incipit/Text	Form	Voices	Edition	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
1	Lu 2515 (1)	Ir	[...] /Non eclipsis are ferrugine/ Quorum doctrina fulget ecclesia	isoM	{Tr}, Du, T				First half of Tr cut off
2	Lu 2515 (1)	Iv	Apollinis eclipsatur [Zodiacum signis lustantibus]/[In omnem terram]	isoM	{Tr}, [Du], [T]	PMFC 5	Bbc 853; Bbc 971; Iv; Lpro E 163; Oas 56; PadC; San Lorenzo; Sm 222; Tar frag. 2; Trém; Wn 5094	Bernard de Cluny	First stave of Tr cut off
3	Lu 2515 (1)	IIr–IIv	Credo de rege	O	{Ca}, {Ct}, {ST}	PMFC 23B	See "Credo de rege" in inventory Uu 37.I	Sortes	Parts of all voices cut off

Lu 342A

No	MS	Folio	Incipti/Text	Form	Voices	Edition	Concordances	Attribution	Comments
1	Lu 342A	Ir	Philomene comparis /...	M	{Tr}, [Du], {T}				First stave of cantus cut off; upper half of cantus largely illegible
2	Lu 342A	Iv	[Impudenter] circuivi solum/ [Virtutibus laudabilis moribus]/ [Alma redemptoris]	M	{Tr}, [Du], [T]	PMFC I	Apt; Bar 5170; BEsu A 421; Br 19606; Iv; San Lorenzo; Sm 222; Tar frag. 1; Troyes 1397	Philip de Vitry	First stave of cantus cut off; upper half of cantus largely illegible
3	Lu 342A	IIr	[...] causam te virgo dominus / [...]	M	{Tr}, [Du], [T]				Upper half of an upper voice, possibly triplum
4	Lu 342A	IIv	Ida capillorum/[Portio nature precellentis]/[Ante tronum trinitatis]	M	{Tr}, [Du], [T]	PMFC 5	Ch; Iv; Sm 222; Trém	Henricus Egidius de Pusiex	

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5 The two fragment leaves are sewn to a cardboard folder today. Their current order suggests that *Apollinis/Zodiacum* was copied to a recto page. Stitch marks on the left margin of the page, however, suggest a verso page. This contradicts Reaney's foliation in his article "New Sources of Ars Nova Music," in which he catalogues *Apollinis/Zodiacum* on folio Ir and ... *eluminans dum/Non eclipsis/Quorum doctrina* on folio Iv. Reaney, "New Sources," 53–67.

2. Overview of Codicological Features *Uu 37.I, Lu 2515 (1),* and *Lu 342A*

Measurements are generally taken at the same position for every folio so far as can be determined. However, the measurements given here must ultimately remain approximate values. Due to trimmings, shrinking of the parchment, and limited possibilities to take exact measurements, the actual size of individual features may fluctuate from approximately 0.5 to 1.00 mm.

Codicological Features of *Uu 37.I*

The display of the bifolios is arranged according to the convolutes as discussed in Chapter 2.

Feature	Bifolios I (and VI)	Bifolio III	Bifolio II (and snippet IV)
Present dimensions (bifolio)	297 x 421 mm	290 x 401 mm	285 x 405 mm
Reconstructed size (folio)	322 x 242 mm	320 x 240 mm	320 x 230 mm
Writing block	285 x 195 mm	264 x 192 mm (reconstructed)	260 x 190 mm (reconstructed)
Number of staves	11	11	12
Distances between staves	24 to 27 mm	24 to 26 mm	21 to 23 mm
1st stave indented	Yes (flexible)	Yes (by default)	Yes (flexible)
Rastrum width	13 mm	13 mm	13 mm
Ink color initials	Red and blue	Red and blue	Red and blue
Text hand	Textualis	Textualis	Textualis
Music hand	Black mensural with red coloration	Black mensural with red coloration and void notes	Black mensural with red coloration

Overview of Codicological Features *Uu 37.I, Lu 2515 (1)*, and *Lu 342A*

Feature	Bifolios I (and VI)	Bifolio III	Bifolio II (and snippet IV)	Folio V	Lu 2515 (1)	Lu 342A
Present dimensions (bifolio)	303 x 421 mm	290 x 401 mm	285 x 405 mm	325 x 245 mm (folio)	280 x 210 mm (folio)	270 x 200 (folio)
Reconstructed size (folio)	312 x 242 mm	320 x 240 mm	320 x 230 mm	325 x 245 mm	325 x 235 mm	340 x 210
Writing block	285 x 195 mm	ca. 264 x 192 mm	ca. 260 x 190 mm	260 x 195 mm	ca. 240 x 165 mm	217 x 175
Number of staves	11	11	12	11	(10)	(10)
Distances between staves	24 to 27 mm	24 to 26 mm	21 to 23 mm	24 to 25 mm	23 to 27 mm	22 to 26 mm
1st stave indented	Yes (flexible)	Yes (by default)	Yes (flexible)	Yes	No (invisible)	Yes (fol. II) and no (fol. I)
Rastrum width	13 mm	13 mm	13 mm	14 mm	13.5 mm	13 to 16 mm
Ink color initials	Red and blue	Red and blue	Red and blue	Red and blue	Red, purple, and black	Red
Text hand	Textualis (Northern)	Textualis (Northern)	Textualis (Northern)	illegible	Textualis (Southern)	Textualis (Northern)
Music hand	Black mensural with red coloration	Black mensural with red coloration and void notes	Black mensural with red coloration	Black mensural with void notes	Black mensural with red coloration	Black mensural

3. Restorations and Images Exposed to UV-Light

The images provided online are the most successful digital restorations carried out with Adobe Photoshop CS6. The restoration of bifolio III, fol. 1r, in particular, is the result of restoring and combining both the image of the original folio and its imprint on the wooden cover of the host book. Furthermore, the online dataset contains a selection of images exposed to UV-light. These first and foremost concern *Uu 37.I*, folio V and bifolio VI, both of which are in a very deteriorated condition. Restored images and images of bifolio VI exposed to UV light can be accessed via de online repository EASY:

https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq

4. Recordings

Recordings were made at the Oud-Katholieke parochie van de H. H. Jacobus en Augustinus [Old-Catholic parish of the H. H. Jacobus and Augustine] in The Hague on May 3 and 4, 2017 by the Ensemble Diskantores. The ensemble consists of Oscar Verhaar (contratenor), Andrew Hallock (contratenor), Benjamin Jargo Larham (tenor), and Niels Berentsen (tenor and direction). The following pieces were recorded:

– Anonymous, Gloria, *Uu* 37.I, bifolio I, fol. 26v
– Anonymous, *Och lief gesel*, *Uu* 37.I, bifolio II, fol. 2v (reconstruction by Niels Berentsen)
– Hubertus de Salinis, Gloria, *Jubilatio*, *Uu* 37.I, bifolio III, fol. 1v
– Hubertus de Salinis, *Psallat chorus/Eximie pater*, *Uu* 37.I, bifolio V, fol. Vr

The decision was made to pronounce the Latin text in the French way, as French was the most prominent international language at the courts and within circles of wealthy citizens in the northern Low Countries. The little we know about the pronunciation of Dutch in the late-medieval northern Low Countries has been brought to both mine and the ensemble's attention in a workshop given at Utrecht University by the Netherlandist Cécile de Morrée on April 24, 2017. I would like to express my gratitude to Cécile for this informative afternoon.

Improvisatory passages, moreover, are applied to all pieces, but are especially apparent in the Gloria *Jubilatio* where ornaments are added to the *corona* parts. With these ornaments the *coronae* are thus no longer mere static notes, but small islands of improvisation, underlining the highlighting function of *corona*. A similar appearance of ornamentation-like passages is to be found in the opening of Guillaume Du Fay's motet *Flos florum*, in which the cantus seems to sing in an improvisatory manner whilst the contratenor and the tenor progress in long note values.[6]

Och lief gesel is transmitted with its cantus only. Niels Berentsen composed a contratenor and a tenor in the style of the time, taking into consideration the contrapuntal and compositional styles found in the fully-transmitted Dutch-texted pieces in *Uu* 37.II and *Lu* 2720. The reconstruction was first performed on January 26, 2017 in The Hague. In the recording the cantus is first sung alone, being accompanied by

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6   Charles Warren, "Punctus Organi and Cantus Coronatus in the Music of Dufay," in *Dufay Quincentenary Conference*, ed. Allan W. Atlas (New York, NY: Brooklyn College Music Department, 1976), 128–43.

the two reconstructed lower voices afterwards. In the third repetition, finally, all voices are sung on "falala" to emphasize the dance-like character of the piece.

Hubertus de Salinis's Gloria *Jubilatio* survives partially only in *Uu* 37.I. About one third of the cantus and the contratenor are copied to one single page (bifolio III, fol. 1v). Our recording is thus largely based on the Gloria *Jubilatio* as transmitted in Q15. However, the Gloria recorded is sung with variant readings of the surviving voices in *Uu* 37.I. Of *Psallat Chorus/Eximie pater* only the first part of the cantus survives in *Uu* 37.I. Regrettably, the deteriorated state of the fragment folio made a deciphering of the music and the text impossible. Our recording is thus likewise based on the motet as transmitted in Q15. Besides ornamenting the "*corona* chords" as mentioned earlier, it was decided to sing the invocation to Saint Lambert with text in all the voices, which is in contrast to the otherwise vocalizing contratenor and tenor in the rest of the piece. The recordings are accessible via the the online repository EASY:

https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq

5. Transcriptions

Transcriptions of selected pieces into modern notation in a score format are provided here for one of the two following reasons: they are either enhanced readings of pieces already transcribed in the past, or they have never been transcribed before. All transcriptions were achieved through an improved readability of the music and text in *Uu* 37.I by means of digital restorations with Photoshop. Transcriptions of the following pieces are provided in the following:

- *Uu* 37.I, bifolio I, 17r: Gloria Spiritus et alme
- Uu 37.I, Bifolio I, 26v: Gloria
- Uu 37.I, Bifolio II, 1r: Wouter was een vule
- Uu 37.I, Bifolio II, 2v: Och lief gesel
- Uu 37.I, bifolio II, fols. 1v-2r: ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* in Appendix 3

A full transcription of *Uu* 37.I, bifolio II, fols. 1v-2r, ... *ic hebbe ripe kersen* is contained in Appendix 3. Furthermore, some of the remaining repertoire is provided in the form of diplomatic transcriptions in mensural notation in the online repository EASY,

https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-2cv-8uhq.

Gloria *spiritus et alme*

NL-Uu 37.I, bifolio I, fol.17r

Anonymous

[Ca]
Ct
T
Et in terra pax hominibus
bonae voluntatis
[laudamus te benedicimus te]
6
adora[mus] [te glorificamus te]
Gratias agimus
tibi propter
magnam gloriam
12
tuam
Domine deus rex
celestis deus pater
omnipotens
[domine fili unigenite]
19
ihesu christe
[text illegible]

26
[Prim...]
32
[text illegible]
[Qui tollis]
peccata
[mundi]
miserere
38
nobis
Qui tollis
peccata
[text illegible]
[text illegible]
44
Qui sedes
ad dextram
patris
marie
glo
riam
Qui sedes
ad dex
[tram]

51

miserere nobis

[text illegible]   [text illegible]

58

[text illegible]   Tu solus

Mariam sanctificans   Tu solus

64

[dominus]   Mariam   gruberans   Tu solus al - ti- [ssimus]

dominu[s]   Tu solus altis -

71

[text illegible]

simus   Mariam   co - ronans   ihesu   christe

Gloria

NL-Uu 37.I, bifolio I, fol. 26v

Anonymous

Ca: Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis Laudamus

Ct: Contratenor

T: Tenor

te benedicamus te adoramus te glorificamus te

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam Dominus deus

rex celestis deus pater omnipotens Domine fili

unigenite ihesu christe domine deus agimus dei

filius patris Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis

Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram

Qui sedes ad dextram miserere nobis Quoniam [tu solus sanctus

tu solus dominus tu solus altissimus ihesu christe]

Cum   sancto   spiritu   in   gloria   dei   patris

A -

A -

A -

men

men

men

Och lief gesel

NL-Uu 37.I, bifolio II, fol. 2v

Ca

Och lief gesel ic heb vernomen des ic van herten binverblijt
Die wijnter ende zomer [dromen]

[Ct]

[T]

7

Die wijnter tonder leit int strijt gevangen als in der nette hout an wel lieve lijsbette

15

Bet wil dat ghi zonder letten stoelen bancken wt die weghe gaet setten pipen tambueren mit trompetten

com dansen iaiolette   ianette   iaquette   corijn   iosijn   iacomijn pirette   bet wil

dat ghi vrolic   sijt   nv   hout an bet ter   goeder   tijt

Wouter was een vule

NL-Uu 37.I, bifolio II, fol. 2v

The text of the second and third stanza are written next to and underneath the contratenor. For a transcripton see Chapter 5.

Appendix 2

1. List of Archival Sources Consulted

The study of archival material of ecclesiastical institutions in Utrecht is based on seven archival collections and their corresponding archival numbering at the HUA: Cathedral (216); St. Pieter (220); St. Marie (221); St. Jan (222); Oudmunster (223); "Bewaarde archiven I" (708); "Bewaarde archiven II" (709); and "Stadsbestuur van Utrecht 1122-1577" (701). These collections contain all surviving archival documents of the institutions mentioned in this study. More information as to the content and composition of individual archival collections will be provided below. Isolated archival records consulted and cited, furthermore, are kept at the National Archive (NA) in The Hague, the Delft City Archive in Den Hoorn (SaD), and the State Archives of Belgium in Brussels (SAB).

Shelf mark	Title	Year	Publications[1]	Comments[2]
HUA 216, inv. no. 67	Liber Camera	1342	Muller, *Het rechtsboek*	Collection of different sources, contains the statutes by Wstinc
HUA 216, inv. no. 399	Cathedral, necrologium	Beginning of 16th century		
HUA 216, inv. no. 626-1	Cathedral, accounts *grote kamer*	1394–1460		Incomplete
HUA 216, inv. no. 633-1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Cathedral, accounts *kleine kamer*	1389–1450		Incomplete
HUA 216, inv. no. 651-1	Cathedral, fabric accounts	1395–1450	Tenhaeff. *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom 1*	Incomplete, ink partially vanished
HUA 216, inv. no. 659-1,2	Cathedral, accounts receptor prebendarum defunctorum	1402–1492	Tenhaeff. *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom 1*	Incomplete, ink partially vanished
HUA 216, inv. no. 2548	Charter about the tasks of the *scholaster* and the *rector* in managing the cathedral school	1468		
HUA 216, inv. no. 2548	Charter about the tasks of the *scholaster* and the *rector* in managing the cathedral school	1468		
HUA 220, inv. no. 3	St. Pieter, statutes	1460	Calkoen, *Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk*	
HUA 220, inv. no. 75	St. Pieter, necrologium	Beginning of the 15th century to the Reformation	Calkoen, *Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk*	
HUA 220, inv. no. 191-1, 2	St. Pieter, accounts grote en kleine fabriek	1370–1517	Calkoen, *Beschrijving der St. Pieterskerk*; Vlam en Vente, *Bouwstenen 2*	In some years, payments for offices are listed per month

1 Full references of all publications cited in this column are to be found in the Bibliography.
2 Unless stated otherwise texts are written in Latin.

Shelf mark	Title	Year	Publications	Comments
HUA 221, inv. no. 203	St. Marie, necrologium	16th century		Months September and October only. A second necrologium of St. Marie is kept at the museum Meermanno in The Hague (shelfmark 10 B 17)
HUA 221, inv. no. 258	Inventories	1562, 1565, 1574, 1578, 1580, 17th c.	Brom, "Middeleeuwsche kerksieraden"	
HUA 221, inv. no. 318-1	St. Marie, accounts *grote kamer*	1417		
HUA 222, inv. no. 93	Necrologium	Mid 16th century		Incomplete and deteriorated; surviving months January–March, May, and June
HUA 222, inv. no. 149-1	St. Jan, accounts *kameraar grote kamer*	1379–1450	Calkoen, *Het Sint Janskerkhof*	Incomplete
HUA 222, inv. no. 155-1, 2, 3	St. Jan, accounts *kameraar kleine kamer*	1467–1439	Calkoen, *Het Sint Janskerkhof*; Vente, *Bouwstenen 3*	Incomplete
HUA 222, inv. no. 162-1, 2, 3	St. Jan, fabric accounts	1368–1450	Calkoen, *Het Sint Janskerkhof*; Vente, *Bouwstenen 3*	Incomplete, expenses listed per month
HUA 223. inv. no. 1	Oudmunster, Liber Catenatus	1343–1450	Visser, "Berichten over processien te Utrecht"	Descriptions of joint processions of the cathedral and all collegiate chapters
HUA 223, inv. no. 21-1	Statutes rector with prebend	1470		Modern foliation in pencil
HUA 223, inv. no. 147-2	Testament Johannes uten Leen	1387		
HUA 223, inv. no. 150	Testament Gerrit van Amerongen	1377		
HUA 223, inv. no. 151	Testament Gerard Foec	1378		
HUA 223, inv. no. 368	Statute new *magister choralium*	1421		
HUA 223, inv. no. 369	Statute new *magister choralium*	1423		
HUA 223, inv. no. 386	Statute about the singing of the *vroegmis* (early Mass)	1369		Details about the payment of canons, chaplains, and vicars
HUA 223, inv. no. 389	Statute of the chapter of Oudmunster	1412		Statute for the singing of vespers, matins, and masses during the station of the Cross at other collegiate chapters
HUA 223, inv. no. 395	Necrologium Oudmunster	1350–ca. 1390/1400	Rossum, "Necrologium St. Salvator," *AAU* vols. 10, 11, 12	Other surviving copies of necrologies carry the inv. nos. 396, 396, 397, 398.
HUA 223, inv. no. 403	Inventory	1369		List of goods kept at the sacristy and chancel

Shelf mark	Title	Year	Publications	Comments
HUA 223, inv. no. 404	Inventory	1569–1627	Muller, "Inventaris van het goud- en silverwerk"	
HUA 223, inv. no. 483-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Fabric accounts, accounts of the *grote kamer* and the *kleine kamer*	483-1; 1347–1359; 483-2; 1370–1379; 483-3; 1380–1389; 483-4; 1390–1401; 483-5; 1402–1411; 483-6; 1423–1435; 483-7; 1434–1441; 483-8; 1444–1552	Vlam en Vente, *Bouwstenen* 2; Bergh-Hoogterp *Goud en zilversmeden* (excerpts of inv. No. 483-2, 3)	
HUA 701-1, inv. no. 16-2	Statdsbestuur (town administration), *buurspraakboek* [Neighbors' Book of Speech]	1396–1402		In Dutch
HUA 708, inv. nr. 202-1	Kruisbroederschap Buurkerk, accounts	1437–1447		In Dutch
HUA 708, inv. nr. 275-1	OLV ter nood Gods Jacobuskerk, accounts	1414–1450		In Dutch
HUA 708, inv. nr. 359-1	OLV Predikeherenkerk, accounts	1414; 1445–1446		In Dutch, incomplete
HUA 708, inv. nr. 374-1	Maria Magdalenabroederschap Wittevrouwenkerk, accounts	1448–1449		In Dutch
HUA 709, inv. no. 47-1	Buurkerk, accounts	1435–1443	Van Rappard, "Rekeningen van de kerkmeesters;" Bergh-Hoogterp *Goud en zilversmeden* (excerpts)	In Dutch
HUA 709, inv. no. 423-1, 2	Jacobskerk, accounts	1384–1450		In Dutch. Deteriorated state; underwent several restorations in the past. 1401 until 1419 most content completely vanished; 1420-23 legible; 1423 illegible

Shelf mark	Title	Year	Publications	Comments
HUA 709, inv. no. 706-1	St. Nicolai, accounts *kerkmeesters* [churchwarden]	1420–1436		In Dutch. Incomplete, deteriorated state
HUA 85-1, inv. no. 376	Accounts *wijnmeester* [wine master], (*rapellatus*)			In Dutch
HUA 88, inv. no. 160	*Topographia*	1592	Hofman, "Oud-munsterkerk te Utrecht,"	Description of OM after its deconstruction by canon Jan Mersman; ground plan in HUA 88, inv. no. 161
HUA Hss_van_Buchel_ Monumenta	*Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa*	2nd half 16th c. until 1641		Contains a description of OM; ground plan and drawing of the church on fol. 60r
NA, 3.01.27.02, inv. no. 281, fol. 57r	Accounts of Holland ("Rekenkamer der domeinen van Holland")	1448/49	Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en muziek*	In Dutch
NA, 3.01.01, inv. no. 1246	Accounts Count of Holland ("Grafelijke rekeningen")	1390/91		In Dutch
SaD 435, inv. no. 98	Charter on organ playing	1451	Vlam and Vente, *Bouwstenen 1*; (Zijlstra, "Het liturgisch gebruik")	In Dutch
SAB I 218, inv. no. 7	Raad van Beroerten	1566/67		In Dutch

2. Transcriptions and Translations of Archival Texts

The following list of archival texts and their translations concern texts cited in chapters 3 and 4 exclusively. As a vast majority of archival documents such as account books, necrologies, and statues are transcribed and available in book publications already (see "List of Archival Documents Consulted" above), it is abstained from providing long text transcriptions.

Chapter and page number	Shelf mark, institution, year	Original text	Translation
Chapter 3, p. 74	HUA 701-1, inv. no. 16-2, fols. 17r June 13, Stadsarchief Utrecht, 1396	"Men gheeft gheleyde al denghenen de hier ten aflaet comen zellen, dat wezen zel op sinte Martinusavont ende op sinte Martinusdach naest comende ende achte daghe voer ende achte daghen na. [...] Voort so ghebiet de raet enen ygheliken dat nyemant sijn wijn noch sijn bier, nochte broot, nochte vleysch, nocht visch, nochte al dat men eten ofte drincken mach, hoger nochte duerre en gheve dat men haer toe ghedaen heeft."	One offers support to all those who will come here for indulgence on St. Martin's eve and St. Martin's day and eight days before and eight days thereafter. [...] Further, the council commands [everyone] that nobody may sell his wine or his beer, nor bread, meat, fish or any other kinds of food or drink higher or more expensive than has been determined.
Chapter 3, p. 75	Brussels, Staatsarchief van België I 218, inv. no. 7, Raad van Beroerten, 1566/67	Dat de voers[criven] Renes, erstont naer dat de beelden te Mynrebroeders gebroken zijn geweest, gestaen heeft te Mynrebroeders op 't hoechchoer, ende begeert van anderen personen, die daer mede quamen besien de destructie, dat zy zouden willen van daer gaen, ten eynde dat zijl. 't goet mochten bewaeren, tot prouffijt van den armen, ende dat het van den boeren ende rabbauwen niet gedistribueert zoude worden."	That the abovementioned [Jan van] Renes stood on the high of the choir of the Minrebroeder [church] after the images in the Minrebroeder [monastery] were destroyed, and asked other people, who came to look at the damages, to leave and to keep the goods for the profit of the poor so that they [the goods] would not be distributed by farmers and vagabonds.
Chapter 4, p. 112	HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 20v, Cathedral, 1342	"[...] pueri [...] cum ceteris scholaribus scolasticis studiis in scolis nostris insistent sub jugo rectoris ad omnia que scolasticam exigunt disciplinam."	[...] [choir]boys [...] will be housed together with the other pupils who study in our school under the supervision of the master in all matters that the regulations of the school require.
Chapter 4, p. 112	HUA 223, inv. no. 383-2, Oudmunster, 1375/76	"Item uni cantori cantata cum domino Daniele in octava Epiphanie 6 s."	Item to one singer who had sung with cleric Daniel on the octave of Epiphany 6 s.

Chapter and page number	Shelf mark, institution, year	Original text	Translation
Chapter 4, p. 112	HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol.51r, Cathedral, 1342	"Nullus potest esse scolasticus noster, nisi prius fuerit canonicus ecclesie nostre prebendatus…"	No one can be our school master, unless he was first a canon with a prebend of our church.
Chapter 4, p. 112	HUA 216, inv. no. 2548, Cathedral, 1468	"Declaratur et ampliatur statutum de promotione per rigorosum examen in artibus etc. quod canonici emancipandi et in studio exeuntes ac deinceps emancipandi possint studere ac promoveri in facultate artium medicinae vel juris seu qualicunque aliis."	It is established, and made public about the promotion through a rigorous examination in the arts etc. so that canons who are to leave and those taking leave for the purpose of study and thereafter to leave the institutions may be able to study and obtain degrees in the Faculty of Arts, Medicine, or Law or anything else.
Chapter 4, p. 113	HUA 216, inv. no. 67, fol. 132r, Cathedral, 1342	"Item ipse habet scolaribus ecclesie nostre de rectore qui eos in grammatica loyca et musica instruat providere. Item ipse habet scolaribus de antiphonario et graduali providere in scolis."	Item he has to provide, on behalf of the students of our church, for the rector who shall teach them in grammar, logic, and *musica*. Item the same person has to teach the pupils the chants of the Office and the Mass at school.
Chapter 4, p. 116	HUA 223, inv. no. 151, Oudmunster, September 4, 1378	"Item omnes libros suos iuris canonici et civilis scripturas codices et quaternos legavit domino Everhardo Foec, decano ecclesie salvatoris nepoti suo"	Item he left all his books about canon and civil law, working papers, bound volumes, and booklets to cleric Evert Foec, dean of the church of St. Salvator [and] his nephew.
Chapter 4, p. 116	HUA 88, inv. no. 160, Collection of documents from catholic institutions in The Netherlands, 1592	"Ad dextram istius cryptae capella fuit olim D. Joannis Visker Levitae, decani nostri, sed postmodum per D. Henricum Houberch etiam Decanum magnificentius in honorem D. Barbarae Viginis extructa. Super hac capella, prius bibliotheca fuit, multis codicibus instructa, et postea, retro organum eam redactam, fuit in majorem sacristiam commutata, ui in ea pretiosiora ornamenta ecclesiae custodirentur."	At the right side of this crypt formerly there was the chapel of our deceased Dean, Johannes Visker, priest, which was subsequently rebuilt in greater splendor by cleric Henric Houberch, also dean, in honor of the holy maiden Barbara. Above this chapel the former library was located, which was endowed with a multitude of books, all of which were later placed behind the organ when [this room] was converted into the great sacristy so that the more valuable items among the treasures of the church could be kept safe there.
Chapter 4, p. 116	HUA 223, inv. no. 147-2, Oudmunster, 1387	"Item vult quod ecclesiae sua habeat omnes libros suos tam illos quos aduc locavit libraria quam illos quos adhuc in domo. suo brevario excepto Eremberto nepoti suo."	Item he wishes that his church may have all his books including those that up to now were deposited [by him] at the library and those at his house except for his breviary, which his nephew Erembert [inherits].
Chapter 4, p. 117	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-2, Oudmunster, 1373/74	"Item eiusdem Elye tradidi ad bonorum computum pro factura unius folii de argento cum ymaginibus et tabernaculis super novo libro ewangeliorum pro summis festis 12 marca argenti pro marca 9 lb. 7 s. 6 d. facis 112 lb. 10 s."	Item to the same Elias I gave in calculation of goods [earned] for the manufacturing of a silver sheet [book cover] with miniatures and canopies on the new evangelary for the highest feast days 12 silver marks per mark 9 lb. 7 s. 6 d. makes 112 lb. 10s.

Chapter and page number	Shelf mark, institution, year	Original text	Translation
Chapter 4, p. 117	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-2, Oudmunster, 1373/74	"Item Johanni Cubebe pro illuminatione 24 litterarum et 16 ymaginum dicti libri 32 lb. 8 s."	Item to Johannes Cubebe for illuminating 24 initials and 16 miniatures in said books 32 lb. 8 s.
Chapter 4, p. 125	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, Oudmunster, 1391/92	"Item Ghiselberto Talp et Laurentio de Veen ad faciendum organa nova et ad reformandum antiqua de labore ipsorum 129 lb. 10 s."	Item to Ghiselbert Talp and Laurens van Veen for making a new organ and for restoring the old one for their labor 129 lb. 10 s.
Chapter 4, p. 125	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, Oudmunster, 1391/92	"Item 9 choralibus et ombehouwen de 24 diebus calcantibus in magnis orghanis 8 lb. 4 s."	Item to 9 choirboys and *onbehouwen* [coarse = boys?] 24 days of blowing the bellows for the big organ 8 lb. 4 s.
Chapter 4, p. 125	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, Oudmunster, 1391/92	"Item pro pictura orghani et altaris retrum magnum altare 5 lb. 11 s."	Item for paintings of the organ and the altar behind the big altar 5 lb. 11 s.
Chapter 4, p. 125	HUA 216, inv. no. 651-1, Cathedral, 1404/05	"Item Ghiselberto Talp pro reformatione parvis operis organorum minorum pro laboribus suis 80 florin facis 300 lb."	Item to Ghislbert Talp for restoring the small work of the minor organ for his labor 80 florins makes 300 lb.
Chapter 4, p. 128	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, Oudmunster, 1397/98	"Item Ghiselberto Talp pro 10 quartinis pergamenti pro libro organorum 4 lb. 8 s. 10 d."	Item to Ghiselbert Talp for 10 quaterns of parchment for [preparing] an organ book 4 lb. 8 s. 10 d.
Chapter 4, p. 129	HUA 223, inv. no. 483-4, Oudmunster, 1398/99	"Item domino Theoderico Loef presbitero pro i libro novo per eum scripto super organa et 3 ½ quartinis pergameni, quartino pro 10 albos computato et per ipsius libri rubricatione 7 ½ floris quemlibet de 31 alb[is] valen[tibus] 10 lb. 6 s. 8 d."	Item to mister Theodor Loef, priest, for one new book written by him on the organ and 3 ½ quaterns of parchment each of 10 wit and for rubricating said book 7 ½ florins each of 31 wit, valued at 10 lb. 6 s. 8 d.
Chapter 4, p. 129	NA, archiefnummer 3.01.27.02, inv. no. 281, fol. 57, afelijkheids-rekenkamer, 1448/49	"Bij heer Pieter coster voirscr[iven] is doen scrijven een discant boeck den orgelist inden voerscr cappellen uut up die organen te spelen comt mitten stoffen ende arbeyt tsamen bij den voerscr Rolle 12 pond."	To cleric Pieter, the above-mentioned sacristan, who wrote a discant book for the organ player at the above mentioned chapel from which to play on the organ. Together with the materials and [his] labor and according to the above mentioned rotulus 12 pounds.

Chapter and page number	Shelf mark, institution, year	Original text	Translation
Chapter 4, p. 136	HUA 223, inv. no. 395, fol. 112r, Oudmunster, fourteenth century	"Anno domini M.CCC.LXXVII. Obiit Gerardus de Haerderwijc, decretorum doctor et noster canonicus qui ecclesie nostre dedit et legqavit sex libors iuris canonicus et civilis videlicet decretales, sextum, Clementinas, Innocentium, Henricum Loyc, et codicem. Et pro prima et tercia die lune decanta[n] dis assignavit dominis sociis et choralibus. 9 lb. 15 sol. bonorum in modo et forma prout instatuto super hoc edito plenius continentur."	In the year of our Lord 1377 died Gerard Harderwijk, doctor of Law and our fellow canon. He gave and bequeathed our church six books of canon and civil law, that is to say, the Decretales, the [Liber] Sextus, the Constitutiones Clementinae, the [Decretales] Innocentii, the [Decretales] Henricus Loyc, and the Codex. And for the [services of] prime and terce to be. sung on Mondays he assigned the clerics, the fellows, and the choirboys 9 lb. 15. sol[idi] of goods in any manner and form as recorded in greater detail in the statute written on this matter.
Chapter 4, p. 137	HUA 223, inv. no. 395, fol. 113r, Oudmunster, ca. 1390	"Item in hoc festo dantur ex parte domini Cornelii Christiani vicarii altaris S Crucis corporaliter existentibus in summa missa et perseverantibus ab evangelio usque ad finem dominis 12 sol[idi] sociis 8 sol[idi]. Ad huc ex parte eiusdem in choro post missam sub an[tiphonario] O crux gloriosa donec coll[ecta] fuerit dicta: Dominis 6 sol[idi] sociis 3 sol[idi]. Item organista statim post Ite missa est ludet in organis an[tiphonarium] O crux gloriosa unde dantur eidem 2 sol[idi] 6 den[arii] calcanti 5 den[arii]."	Item, at this feast is given on behalf of cleric Cornelius Christianus, vicarius at the altar of the Holy Cross, to those who are physically present during the high Mass and stay from the Gospel until the end 7 s. to the clerics, 8 s. to the fellows. Besides, on behalf of the same in the choir after the Mass who stay during the antiphon O crux gloriosa until the Collect is finished 6 s. to the clerics, 3 s. to the fellows. Item, the organist shall play immediately after the Ite missa est the antiphony O crux gloriosa for which he receives 2 s. 5 d., the bellow blower 5 d.
Chapter 4, p. 139	HUA 708, inv. no. 202-1, p. 14, Hl. Kruisbroederschap at Buurkerk, 1437	"Item op des heilighen crucis exaltatio had her Gherijt h[er] Hugo en her Jacob van der misse te singhen two stuvers maect 18 wit."	Item at Exaltatio crucis cleric Gherijt, cleric Hugo and cleric Jacob had to sing the Mass: two stuivers makes 18 wit.

Appendix 3

1. Transcriptions

a. *… ic hebbe ripe kersen*
b. *Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex*
c. *On parole/A Paris/Frèse nouvele*
d. *Des vasten avonts*
e. *Tsinghen van der nachtegale*

... ic hebbe ripe kersen

NL-Uu 37.I, bifolio II, fols. 1v-2r

Anonymous

die wel doet die baet es sijn keer-sen ver-bern-en moet se Coep ou-de

cle-der co-pe [...me] boer-de boer-de goe-de boe-de die be-ste boer-de die noyt men zag

Ic hebbe sau-ce te mos-tar-de gla-si-ne n[...] yr ma-le

kin-der nu zijt al-le vro en ic ne wil naer meer sor-ghen

Ic heb-be in der hant om tsa-von-ts tot den mor - ghen

Lie - ve moe-der hoe-det my al ben ic jonc Ic heb veel liever enen man dan dusent pont

lanternen maken lanternen lanternen platelen cram ic goede bonen met ten zoep al heet al heet al heet

Ic heb-be ny-we rijch-snoer ny-we rijch - snoer met ene wel twee tel vi - ve

Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex

I-IV MS 115, fols. 61v-62r

Anonymous

Ce sont tripes tripes tripes c'est la mulete du moton

voires jolis

freses noveles

Meures franches meures meures franches

Voirement voirement voirement sire voirement sui ge vostre amie voirement

Je refeteroie la sarge et les tapis la sarge et les tapis

vous iray voiler

114
La truie est en l'orge Marguet
Corbeille le van corbeilles le van
124
il n'est qui l'en oste
Lanternes raparelleroie je soufles viex referoie
133
Aus et oignons aus et oignons
Jobin Jobart va chantant en
142
aÿlie
un [text illegible] toute nuit s'en va Jobart aval la rue

Lyrics under music:

Measure 184: poudres cuis en la brase gastiaux rasis poudres poudres

Ay oublie

Measure 189: oublie oublie a la denree qui veut jouer

On parole de batre/A Paris soir et matin/Frese nouvelle

F-MO H 196, fols. 368v-369v

Tr On parole de batre et de vanner et de foir et de haner

Du A Paris soit et matin truev on bon pain et bon

T Frese nouvele muere france meure meure

mais ces deduis trop me deplaisent car il n'est si bone vie que d'estre a aise

cler vin bone char et bon poison de toutes

france frese nouvele muere france

de bon cler vin et de chapons et d'estre aveuc bons compaignons liés

guises compaignons sens soutie grant baudour

meure meure france frese nouvele

et joiaus chantons truffans et amorous et d'avoir quant c'on

biaus joiaus dames d'ounour et si truev[e] on bien

muere france meure meure france frese nouvele

Des vasten avonds

NL-Lu 2720, fol. 8r

Anonymous

Ca
Ct
T
Des vasten avonts gheen [text illegible]
Contratenor
Tenor Des vasten avonts [...]
7
die beelde die men siet gemaelt end nyemen bevaet.
*
13
Want tswondaechs [text illegible] mijn gelt bevoel ic zere smale bi fouten
19
hoor ic va[n] ho hale musselen grote duvelantsche musselen aan d' eechout straet ho hale

---

* Scribal error: f copied in source.

musselen hale mussel hale h[ale] hale het's goet visch hij'n heeft gheen [gr]aet

Tsinghen van der nachtegale

NL-Lu 2720, fol. 7v

Anonymous

Ca

T -

Ct

Contratenor Tsinghen van der

T

Tenor

singhen | van der nachtegale | Can ic niet gheprisen
Jeghens | haer die mi ter | dale | Heeft getoghen

tesen | wale | noch gheen voghels | zanghes
| male | in ellende | misse -

rijc
lijc

Haer so moet ic ewelic eyghen vesen

ho soet gheet nochtan roept si wonderlic

Hale mosselkijn al heet die beste spise die ik weet dat sijn

mosselkin al heet

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Deel 1: Geschiedenis en onderzoek van de Utrechtse fragmenten *Uu 37.I.*

In het eerste deel van dit proefschrift staan de bronnen, vijf perkamentvellen en een knipsel met laatmiddeleeuwse polyfone muziek in mensurale notatie, centraal. Hoofdstuk 1, "Beschrijving en geschiedenis van U*u* 37.I," achterhaalt de geschiedenis van de fragmenten. Het uitgangspunt zijn de boeken waarin de fragmenten werden gevonden aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw. Deze boeken werden ingebonden in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw en waren in het bezit van de Utrechtse jurist Evert van de Poll die, na zijn dood in 1602, zijn hele bibliotheek aan de stad Utrecht naliet. De fragmenten dienden als schutbladen voor- en achterin de boeken. Door vergelijking van de boeken met de muziekschutbladen en boeken met een soortgelijke bindingsstijl werd duidelijk dat de boekenbinder Dirck Claeszoon Roest de boeken mogelijk in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw in Utrecht heeft ingebonden. De aanwezigheid van een oorkonde die samen met sommige van de muziekfragmenten als schutbladen werd gebruikt en die met zekerheid kan worden toegewezen aan het kapittel van St Marie, versterkt de aanname dat de muziekfragmenten direct voor hun gebruik als schutbladen in Utrecht werden bewaard.

In hoofdstuk 2, "Codicologische en palaeografische studie van U*u* 37.I," komen de codicologische en palaeografische aspecten van de Utrechtse fragmenten *Uu* 37.I aan bod. Daaruit blijkt dat de fragmenten geenszins een eenheid zijn, maar dat ze afkomstig zijn uit minstens vier verschillende bundels. Twee van deze bundels hebben onderling veel met elkaar gemeen. Hun indeling van de bladzijden en de muziek- en tekstschriften lijken sterk op elkaar. Echter verschillen ze in hun pagina-layout en in hoe ze oorspronkelijk waren ingebonden. Over het algemeen kan worden geconstateerd dat de bladzijden weliswaar uit verschillende bundels afkomstig zijn, maar de muziek- en tekstschriften veel op elkaar lijken. Dit doet vermoeden dat de bundels mogelijk in hetzelfde atelier zijn gemaakt. Verder is op een enkele dubbele perkamentbladzijde de foliering nog aanwezig waaruit geconstateerd kan

worden dat de oorspronkelijke bundel uit meerdere katernen bestond en waarschijnlijk een aanzienlijk aantal muziekstukken bevatte waaronder misdelen en motetten.

Deel 2: Het culturele milieu in laatmiddeleeuws Utrecht

Nadat in het eerste deel van dit proefschrift nader werd ingegaan op de afkomst van de fragmenten *Uu* 37.I en een verband met Utrecht weliswaar niet bevestigd maar toch aangetoond kon worden, richt het tweede deel zich op het institutionele en muzikale landschap. Hoofdstuk 3, "Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen," bevat een overzicht van alle religieuze instituten in Utrecht tussen 1350 en 1450. Hieruit wordt duidelijk dat in Utrecht meerdere belangrijke kapittels gevestigd waren. Naast het domkapittel nam een tweede kapittel, het Oudmunster, een belangrijke rol in. Zowel financieel als ook op het politieke vlak was dit kapittel bijna even belangrijk als de Dom. Daarnaast vormden de in totaal vijf kapittels een juridische eenheid, genoemd *una ecclesia*. Een groot aantal mannen- en vrouwenkloosters, vier parochiekerken, broederschappen en gasthuizen maken het beeld van de middeleeuwse religieuze instituten compleet. Helaas is er maar weinig archiefmateriaal overgeleverd voor deze instituten in de tijd tussen 1350 en 1450. De beste documentatie hebben we van het Oudmunster waar rekeningboeken vanaf 1347 zijn bewaard. Ook van de Dom bestaan nog rekeningboeken uit deze tijd, maar veel minder dan van het Oudmunster.

In hoofdstuk 4, "Cultuur bij de religieuze instituten in laatmiddeleeuws Utrecht," wordt een beeld geschetst van het culturele landschap in Utrecht omstreeks 1400. Belangrijke referenties zijn de archiefstukken (rekeningboeken, oorkonden en dodenboeken, om maar een paar te noemen) van het Oudmunster, de Dom en van enkele andere instituten. Hoewel er in de onderzochte bronnen geen verwijzingen naar polyfone muziek werd gevonden, werd toch duidelijk dat Utrecht een rijke muziek- en vooral orgeltraditie had aan het eind van de viertiende eeuw. De talrijke verwijzingen naar orgelbouw en -reparaties samen met aantekeningen over het laten schrijven van orgelboeken met niet minder dan 160 pagina's laten zien dat de orgeltraditie in Utrecht werd gekoesterd en er veel geld aan werd besteed. Daarnaast waren ook andere aspecten van de culturele samenleving van belang in Utrecht. Zo waren aan het eind van de viertiende eeuw in veel kapittels al bibliotheken aanwezig en was de opleiding van koorknapen een belangrijk onderdeel van de kappittelschool. Bovendien volgden veel van de kanunniken opleidingen bij de beste universiteiten van Europa, waren buitengewoon rijk en onderhielden een groot internationaal

network. Het is dus waarschijnlijk dat deze kanunniken in aanraking zijn gekomen met polyfone muziek en dat sommige van hen misschien zelfs opdrachtgevers van muziekcollecties met polyfonie waren.

Deel 3: Meerstemmige polyfonie met Nederlandse tekst

In de eerste twee delen werd ingegaan op de afkomst van de fragmenten en de culturele omgeving waarin ze mogelijk zijn ontstaan en werden uitgevoerd. Het derde en laatste deel concentreert zich op de muziek zelf. Hoofdstuk 5, "Nederlandstalige muziek en poëzie in de late middeleeuwen," geeft een overzicht enerzijds over de meest belangrijke liederenverzamelingen, deels zonder muziek overgeleverd, deels met eenstemmige muziek bewaard zoals het beroemde Gruuthuse handschrift, en anderzijds over alle meerstemmige muziek met Nederlandse tekst rond 1400. Van de in totaal vijfendertig stukken met twee of drie stemmen en Middelnederlandse tekst die vandaag de dag in heel Europa zijn verspreid, is ongeveer een derde in Nederlandse fragmenten te vinden. De meeste muziek met Middelnederlandse teksten is bewaard in de Utrechtse fragmenten, *Uu* 37.I, en de Leidse fragmenten, Lu 2720. Aan het eind van dit hoofdstuk wordt ingegaan op de teksten en liedvormen van twee opmerkelijke liederen in *Uu* 37.I "Och lief gesel" en "Wouter was een vule."

Ten slotte richt hoofdstuk 6, "Nederlandstalige composities met straatroepen in *Uu* 37.I en Lu 2720", zich op een van de meest opmerkelijke stukken in *Uu* 37.I, het zogenaamde marktroepen motetus, "... ic hebbe ripe kersen." Dit stuk is onvolledig overgeleverd. Het overgrote gedeelte van de triplum en de meeste beginregels van de motetus ontbreken. Alleen de tenor is volledig bewaard. De tekst van dit motet lijkt op het eerste gezicht geen geheel te zijn, maar te bestaan uit marktroepen met daartussen kleine citaten van volksliederen of andere teksten. Een uitgebreide zoektocht naar concordantiën van deze mogelijke citaten heeft niets opgeleverd. Toch kon, dankzij een soortgelijk motet met Franse tekst "Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex," worden aangetoond dat de korte tekststukken tussen de marktroepen waarschijnlijk citaten zijn. Voor "Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex" konden namelijk wél overeenstemmingen met volksliederen worden gevonden. Interessant is ook dat de waren die in deze twee motetten worden aangeprezen op de markt een duidelijk regionaal karakter hebben. Terwijl er in "... ic hebbe ripe kersen" veel soorten vis worden aangeboden, zijn er op de markt in "Je commence/Et je feray/Soules viex," kazen, vlees en gebak te vinden. Ook staan in beide motetten de vreugden van het leven in de stad, namelijk het gezellige drinken en kletsen, naast een

aantal impliciete seksuele aanduidingen. In de Leidse fragmenten Lu 2720 zijn er nog twee stukken met marktroepen te vinden die in het laatste deel van hoofdstuk 6 worden geanalyseerd. Qua stijl richten zij zich veel meer naar de Franse "formes fixes." Spelend met deze formes fixes gaven de componisten, die in beide gevallen onbekend zijn, deze twee liederen toch hun eigen vorm. Opmerkelijk is ook dat beide liederen in een stedelijke omgeving in de carnavalstijd spelen, ze de traditionele rol van de seksen in een ander licht laten verschijnen en de teksten een duidelijke seksuele tint hebben. Uit nader onderzoek van de drie stukken met Nederlandse teksten in hoofdstuk 6 kan de conclusie worden getrokken dat het Nederlandstalige meerstemmige repertoire omstreeks 1400 van hoge kwaliteit was. Hoewel de composities aansluiten op het Frans- en Italiaanstalige repertoire maken ze toch gebruik van een eigen muzikale taal.

Conclusie

In de drie delen van dit proefschrift werden verschillende aspecten van de Nederlandse polyfone fragmenten rond 1400 belicht. Weliswaar blijft onduidelijk waar en wanneer precies ze zijn ontstaan, toch hebben we nu een beter beeld van de omgeving waarin ze mogelijk zijn gebruikt en zijn we meer te weten gekomen over de muziek en cultuurstad Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen. Ook laat de analyse van drie stukken met Nederlandse tekst vermoeden dat er voor meerstemmige muziek regionale eigenheden werden ontwikkeld. De analyse van álle meerstemmige muziek met Nederlandse tekst rond 1400 zou echter meer duidelijkheid brengen over hoe de muziek zich onderscheidt van de tradities in de Frans- en Italiaanstalige regio's.

About the Author

Eliane Fankhauser studied recorder at the Zürcher Hochschule der Künste where she obtained her MA in music performance (2009). She thereafter studied musicology at the University of Basel (BA 2011) and at the University of Utrecht (Research MA 2013). In 2013, Fankhauser started her NWO-funded research project on the Utrecht fragments and the musical environment in the northern Low Countries around 1400 at Utrecht University. The codicological examination of music fragments, archival research, and a focus on the analysis and contextualization of the music are central to her in-depth study. Digital tools such as Adobe Photoshop and CMME (Computerized Mensural Music Editing) help her examining the fragments and editing their contents in a most thorough and efficient way. Together with The Hague-based Ensemble Diskantores Fankhauser gives recital-lectures in which her research and the music settings are presented to the public. From 2015 to 2017 Fankhauser was member of the University Council in the function of which she founded the Utrecht PhD Party, UPP.