

## Vitry in the Rhineland: new discoveries

A recent trawl of the internet for text snippets associated with 14th-century motets produced a listing from a published catalogue of books preserved at the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.<sup>1</sup> Texts familiar from 14th-century motets appeared as incipits of ‘sequences’ transmitted in fragments of a ‘hymnary’ that had been used in the binding (front and rear pastedowns) of a mid-15th-century host volume. The listing further classified the notation as ‘five red lines inscribed with Hufnagel notation’ (‘Hufnagelnotation auf 5 roten Linien’).

Binding reinforcements containing something music-related naturally attract the attention of any specialist in late medieval mensural music. Fifteenth-century bindings tend to be particularly fertile in yielding fragments of older repertory, and the unusual notice of sequences being notated on five lines—as opposed to the usual four-line staves—further raised my curiosity. But there was more: two of the three incipits cited in the entry would have struck a chord immediately in the mind of anyone familiar with early 14th-century music: *Firmissime fidem teneamus* and *Adesto sancta trinitas* (rear pastedown) are the text incipits of the triplum and the motetus of one of the most famous motets in the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*.<sup>2</sup> *Firmissime / Adesto* attracted a great deal of attention from musicologists early on, being one of the first examples of duple division, and was ascribed to Philippe de Vitry by Heinrich Bessler in the 1920s, although the evidence remains somewhat inconclusive.<sup>3</sup> Less obviously ringing a bell might have been the text *Gaude virgo porta Dei, omni fraude nescia* which was listed as the incipit of the third ‘sequence’. But to those familiar with the Brussels *rotulus* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 19606), these words, too,

harbour an important clue—they are virtually identical with the incipit of the motetus voice of the fifth motet in the *rotulus*, *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo mater Christi omni fraude nescia*.<sup>4</sup> Even more strikingly, *Firmissime / Adesto* is copied as composition no.4 in the Brussels *rotulus*, directly preceding *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo*. But unlike *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo*, musically known so far only from the Brussels source, *Firmissime / Adesto* survives in a small range of concordances distinguished by their shared provenance from northern France, England and the Low Countries, an area closely interconnected in late medieval times.<sup>5</sup> These include not only the interpolated version of the *Roman de Fauvel* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 146 (fol.43r), dating from about 1317–20/22 and prepared in Paris, and the Brussels *rotulus*, placed by the present author at the abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy near Liège and thought to have been copied there in 1335, but also an intabulation of English provenance in the British Library, Add. Ms. 28550 (fols.43v–44r; the ‘Robertsbridge’ manuscript) believed to date from about mid-century.<sup>6</sup> Also striking is that both *Firmissime / Adesto* and *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* have text concordances (although not adjacent ones) in a much later source from the Lower Rhine region: Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (*olim* Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek), Ms. 521 (‘Orationale magnum per circulum anni’), a manuscript copied in the third quarter of the 15th century at the Cistercian abbey of Kamp near Cologne. A second text concordance for the upper voice of *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* survives in Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2653, fols.74v–75r, another monastic source dating from the mid to late 15th century and, like Darmstadt 521, originating in

the Lower Rhine region, this time the Charterhouse in Wesel.<sup>7</sup> With this background (a cluster of early to mid-14th-century sources from France, the south-eastern Low Countries and England, and two late 15th-century monastic text concordances from the Lower Rhine), the Koblenz fragments described by Overgaauw looked like a source well worth investigating, and I am delighted to be able to introduce them to the public in what follows. It should be stressed, however, that this article reflects only the first stage of an ongoing enquiry, and that the full scope of the musical discoveries to be made in Koblenz Best. 701 Nr. 243 will be addressed elsewhere in due course.

### The music fragments in Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243: an initial assessment

The Koblenz fragments (for whose contents, see Table 1) consist of the front and rear pastedowns (or, following the nomenclature of the Landeshauptarchiv, ‘Spiegel 1’ and ‘Spiegel 2’) used in the binding of a manuscript copy of sermons (‘sermones de tempore’, from the first Sunday of Advent to Palm Sunday) by the Austin friar Jordan of Quedlinburg (*Jordanus de Quedlinburgo*). Also known as *Iordanus de Saxonia*, Jordan of Quedlinburg was a prominent

and highly influential member of his order in the German-speaking lands during its heyday in the early to mid 14th century. Born around 1300, Jordan studied in Bologna and Paris, then served as *lector* (‘Lesemeister’) in Erfurt and Magdeburg in the 1340s. He was head of the province of Saxonia-Thuringia in the 1340s, and died around 1380 in Vienna.<sup>9</sup>

The host manuscript (Best. [= ‘Bestand’] 701 Nr. 243) was probably copied between 1450 and 1455 at the Carmelite convent of Boppard, a small town about 20 kilometres upstream (south) of Koblenz in the Middle Rhine region of Germany. An *ex libris* on fol.2v indicates that the volume was used—or perhaps owned—by one Heinrich of Montabaur (*Henricus de Montebuir de Boppardia*).<sup>10</sup> A native of Boppard, Heinrich studied logic, then philosophy (1439–42), followed by theology (1443–5) at the University of Cologne, interrupted by a year as *informator* in the Carmelite friary of his home town, Boppard (1442–3). He later occupied teaching positions with the Carmelites in Trier and, by 1449, was *lector* at the Carmelite establishment in Mainz. Heinrich’s career within the order, his professional interest in theology, and his pastoral practice as *lector* sufficiently account for his acquiring a copy of Jordan’s sermons for his own use. Heinrich ended

Table 1 Inventory of Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243, Spiegel 1 (= front pastedown) and Spiegel 2 (= rear pastedown) (RISM siglum: D-KBlha 701-243, 1 and 2)

Incipits	No. of voices	Genre	Concordances
<i>Spiegel (= Pastedown) 1:</i> ... <i>turris iustorum / Gaude virgo / O Xpisti pietas.</i> Tenor	3	motet	B-Br 19606, <i>recto</i> (no.5); D-DS 521, fol.192r (triplum text paraphr.); D-DS 2653, fols.74v–75r (triplum text paraphr.)
<i>Spiegel (= Pastedown) 2:</i> <i>Firmissime / Adesto / ...</i>	3	motet	F-Pn fr. 146, fol.43r; B-Br 19606, <i>recto</i> (no.4); GB-Lbl Add. 28550, fols.43v–44r (intabulation); D-DS 521, fol.228r (triplum text only) [ <i>olim</i> A-Wn 7977 (motetus text) <sup>8</sup> ]

RISM sigla denote the following libraries:

A-Wn: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

B-Br: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/Bibliothèque royale de Belgique

D-DS: Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (*olim* Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek)

F-Pn: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

GB-Lbl: London, British Library

his days at the Carmelite friary in Boppard, although no specific dates of birth or death are given in the secondary literature.<sup>11</sup>

The binding of Koblenz Best. 701 Nr. 243 dates to the 15th century and consists of two wooden plates covered in brown leather. It exhibits traces of a chaining mechanism typical of the Carmelite friary in Boppard. Various call numbers and an *ex libris* ('Carmeli Boppardiensis') dating from the 18th century confirm that the host book was in the possession of the Boppard Carmelites before reaching its present repository.<sup>12</sup> However, it is not clear if the book reached the Boppard Carmelites in its present binding, or whether the Carmelites had it bound after they acquired Heinrich of Montabaur's personal copy of Jordan of Quedlinburg's sermons. Nor is there any clarity concerning where the binding was produced. Any of those variables have significant impact on scenarios that might plausibly account for the dating and provenance of the music fragments.

Boppard was by no means a provincial house within the Carmelite order. Rather, it enjoyed pride of place, having been the third foundation of the Carmelites in Germany (1252) after Cologne (1249) and Würzburg (1250). The house was, among other things, famous for its library.<sup>13</sup> It therefore comes as no surprise that Heinrich's books were kept safe there until Napoleonic times, at which point the Boppard house was suppressed (1802). In the years that followed, many books from the library of the Boppard Carmelites, including manuscript 243, made their way into what is now the Landeshauptarchiv in nearby Koblenz.

### Physical description

The two folios (see [illus.1](#) and [2](#)) are still *in situ* in a 15th-century binding at the time of writing. My considerations in what follows are preliminary, and remain subject to revisions as necessitated by the further course of my ongoing investigation into the remnants of the Boppard Carmelite library and the biography of Heinrich of Montabaur.

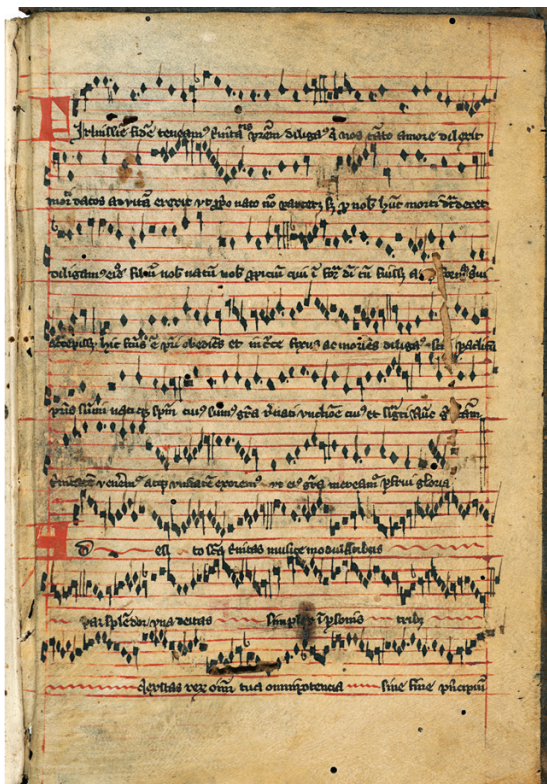
The new source consists of two parchment sheets measuring 21 × 13.5cm, with a writing-block of 16.5 × 11.5cm.<sup>14</sup> The *mise-en-page* involves two horizontal and two vertical lines drawn in red ink across



1 Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243, Spiegel 1 (= front pastedown)

the full length of the page to demarcate the writing-block. This frame is supplemented by 43 (Pastedown 1) or 45 (Pastedown 2) horizontal lines also drawn in red ink, apparently with a ruler. The procedure seems modelled on the copying of text, here adapted by the copyist to provide seven five-line staves (each occupying the space of four text lines) and two four-line staves, each with a text line underneath them, in Pastedown 1, and nine five-line staves plus text line in Pastedown 2.

Pastedown 1 contains about one third of the triplum of the Brussels motet *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo*, together with a full copy of text and music of the motetus and the tenor. The readings are quite similar to those provided by Brussels 19606; however, the Koblenz source offers a previously unknown caption for the tenor ('O Xpisti pietas. Tenor'). A close melodic and textual match for the



2 Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 243, Spiegel 2 (= rear pastedown)

tenor, which had thus far remained unidentified, was found by this author in the opening phrase ‘O Christi pietas’ of the third responsory for the third nocturn of Matins for the feast of St Catherine of Alexandria as transmitted on fol.236v of an antiphoner from the collegiate church of St Mary in Utrecht (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406; see *ex.1*).<sup>15</sup>

Spiegel 2 contains the triplum *Firmissime fidem teneamus* in its entirety, and almost the complete text and music of the motetus *Adesto sancta trinitas* (only the last 25 out of 192 breves in total are missing).<sup>16</sup>

Text and music on both sheets were copied in the same deep-black ink, suggesting that text scribe and music scribe were the same person. Lombard capitals and decorations in the form of wavy horizontal lines were added in red ink after text and music were copied, but probably in very close chronological

proximity to the former. The custos shape seems somewhat crude, with its right-hand upward stem rising almost vertically as opposed to the more customary 45° angle. It is evidently derived from the more elegant versions usually seen in music manuscripts and was written by the same hand that copied the music on both folios, although perhaps at different stages of the compilation process.

The text script is in a Gothic book hand and seems practised, suggesting a scribe well-versed in literary matters. Conversely, the music hand appears to lack the same level of fluidity, at least when writing mensural notation: the contours of note-heads look smudged at times. The quality of the Latin, while heavily abbreviated, is good, offering better readings of the texts than found in most music sources (for example, Spiegel 2, line 9: ‘qui exstas’ as opposed to ‘qui extas’ in Brussels 19606 and the inferior reading ‘qui extat’ on fol.43r–v of Paris fr. 146).<sup>17</sup> Minim stems (and some longa stems, for example, for the *b* on *di-li-ga-mus* in the third staff from the page top) in Spiegel 2 (*Firmissime / Adesto*) were added later, as evident from the lighter ink hue, indicating that the motets were firstly notated in undifferentiated multiple-semibreve notation.<sup>18</sup> The photograph of Pastedown 1, too, shows numerous erasures and additions of stems (here in the same ink as the main entry), including downward stems indicating a *semibrevis maior* (a notational feature also found in the Brussels 19606 version of *Gaude virgo*) that were subsequently removed, for example at ‘Benedicta eternorum’ (staff 7 from the page top) where three undifferentiated semibreves were first changed to a group *semibrevis maior*–semibreve–minim, but the added stems cancelled later. The copyist therefore worked from exemplars in pre-Ars Nova notation; he and/or later users subsequently updated the notation to conform to Ars Nova standards.<sup>19</sup> The copious use of plicas to embellish longs and breves in both Pastedown 1 (motetus *Gaude virgo*) and Pastedown 2 (both voices) fits well with a notational idiom typical of the early to mid 14th century. This is therefore presumed to be the date of copying of the fragments.

Some accidentals (both *mi* and *fa* signs) were added during the first stage of copying, as visible

Ex.1 The previously unidentified tenor melody of *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo*: (a) the source melody *O Christi pietas* for the tenor of *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* as transmitted in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406 (NL-Uu 406), fol.236v; (b) the tenor of *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* as transmitted in Koblenz Best. 701 Nr. 243, Spiegel 1.



from the ink shade which matches that of the notation, while others were apparently added later in a lighter brownish ink (for example, Pastedown 1, line 5, *fa* sign at ‘omni’ entered at time of copying *v.* an added *fa* sign at ‘Benedicta’ in line 7). This suggests that we are dealing with a collection that was used for performance and/or rehearsal in the early to mid 14th century, and possibly for quite some time.

The contents of the texts (*Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* in praise of the Holy Virgin, *Firmissime / Adesto* in praise of the Trinity, all in Latin) point towards an educated, pious, clerical—possibly monastic—milieu, inasmuch as any conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the collection as a whole from the very limited evidence of two surviving sheets. This may be further supported by the ‘lapse’ from five-line to four-line staves at the bottom of Spiegel 1 (staves 8 and 9), which suggests a copyist used primarily to copying music notated on four-line staves, i.e. chant. The provenance of the pastedowns must remain open at this stage. I find the text hand difficult to place geographically; if pressed, a guess might be hazarded to consider it Germanic, rather than French or Parisian. Transmission within the Carmelite order, with a final stop immediately preceding reuse as binding material either in the personal library of Heinrich of Montabaur or the Carmelite friaries of Boppard or Mainz, seems a possibility. Cologne or Trier are possible locations for the pastedowns to have been acquired by Heinrich of Montabaur earlier in his life, if we favour a scenario where the sermons by Jordan of Quedlinburg were bound with materials found either in Heinrich of Montabaur’s *Nachlass* or deemed dispensable by the Boppard friars or their bookbinder.

There is one suggestive hint that may favour Cologne as a place where the fragments at least passed through: Overgaauw’s catalogue indicates that there are additional fragments (parchment strips) taken from the same or other music manuscripts that have been worked into the binding of Best. 701 Nr. 243 as binding reinforcements (sewing guards).<sup>20</sup> This laborious binding technique, typical of 15th-century paper manuscripts bound to high book-binding standards, was also used in Oxford, All Souls College, Ms. 56, a manuscript indubitably bound in the early 1440s in Cologne.<sup>21</sup> All Souls 56 transmits the remnants of a musical *rotulus* presumably of French provenance that contained Ars Nova motets, including the widely disseminated ‘musicians’ motet’ *Apollinis / Zodiacum* and two Marian settings. One of them is the motet *Flos vernalis* which has a concordance, like our Koblenz fragments, in the Robertsbridge manuscript.<sup>22</sup> As further research into the sewing guards revealed, *Flos vernalis* also survives in the Koblenz fragments where it was part of the dismantled motet collection from which our two pastedowns were drawn. Together with my earlier considerations about the concordance pattern for the Koblenz fragments, this provides a new and intriguing context for the dissemination of the Koblenz motets to and within the Rhineland: with early to mid-14th-century music concordances found exclusively in France, England and the southern Low Countries; the newly identified chant tenor ‘O Christi pietas’ associated, again, with northern France and the Low Countries, specifically the region including Arras, Utrecht and Liège; and the cluster of post-1450 text sources from the Lower Rhineland (Charterhouse in Wesel,

Cistercian abbey of Kamp) the possibility arises that the Koblenz fragments may at some point have been in Cologne, either in the orbit of Cologne University or the numerous monastic and secular ecclesiastical establishments that graced the late medieval city. This hypothesis would align well not only with the known biography of Heinrich of Montabaur, who studied at Cologne University from 1439 to 1442 and then again from 1443 to 1445, but also with the filiation of the Boppard friary which was founded from Cologne around 1250. Either Heinrich or another member of the Boppard friary could have picked up the motets through their contacts with Cologne. The source itself, on the other hand, seems to have been copied in or near the second quarter of the 14th century anywhere between Paris, the Low Countries and the Rhineland. Perhaps the copyist should be sought among the many students from the Rhine-Meuse area who trained at the monastic *studia* and university colleges of the French capital.

Alternatively, the music fragments could of course have reached the Boppard Carmelites, Mainz or Trier independently. In any case, the fragments, in conjunction with All Souls 56 and Lichtenthal 82, point towards a sustained reception of motets from France with Latin texts in the Rhineland, and perhaps the Mosel valley, that previously remained unrecognized. This view is less surprising than it might seem at first: links between the Rhineland and France were close. Cologne Cathedral for example (begun as early as 1248) was modelled on Amiens Cathedral, and the mendicant orders in particular, notably the Dominicans with Albert the Great and his pupil Thomas Aquinas, were quick to establish high-profile *studia* in the prosperous metropolis on the Rhine, eventually leading to the founding of Cologne University in 1388 when studying in Paris became problematic due to the Great Schism (1378). Germanists, art historians, and general historians, too, would readily recognize the influence of Old French on Middle High German and Middle Dutch/Low German poetry as well as the unusual importance of the Rhineland as a cultural hub and crossroads in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The mountainous geography of the Middle Rhine valley enforced continued and intense traffic along the river, and the concentration of monastic *studia*

in Cologne made the city the obvious first choice for the academic training of young Carmelites like Heinrich of Montabaur throughout the late 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. To illustrate further the intellectual and cultural mettle of late medieval Cologne and its multiple links to Paris, the biography of Heinrich Eger von Kalkar provides a good example: Eger was born in 1328 in Kalkar, a town on the Lower Rhine about 100 kilometres downriver from Cologne. By 1350 he studied in Paris, where he acquired a doctorate in theology. In 1365 he left the University of Paris and entered the Cologne Charterhouse of St Barbara, an eminent centre of learning where he pursued an active career within the order that ended with his final stay at the Cologne Charterhouse in 1396 and his death and burial there in 1408. His *Cantuagium* (c.1380), written during a period when he served as prior of the Cologne Charterhouse and probably addressed the Cologne Carthusian community in the first instance, provides vivid testimony of Heinrich's—and implicitly his Cologne fellow monks'—intimate knowledge of the Parisian *Ars Nova*. Eger, with a twinkle in his eye, even acknowledges his personal contact, in his former life as a Parisian academic, with—in all likelihood—Philippe de Vitry.<sup>23</sup> In this context, we may also note that one of the only two copies of Johannes de Grocheio's treatise *Ars musicae* (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2663) was kept at the Cologne Charterhouse around 1400. It may have reached Cologne from Paris through Heinrich Eger, too.<sup>24</sup>

Another witness to the standing of late medieval Cologne as a cultural and intellectual hub as well as its cosmopolitan connections is Heinrich vom Birnbaum (Henricus de Piro), the partial copyist and first owner of the manuscript that later became the host volume to the music fragments transmitted in Oxford, All Souls Ms. 56. Born around 1400 to a prosperous Cologne family, he studied the *artes* in Paris (1418) followed by law in Cologne (1424), then (probably) Orléans and Bologna (1426–8). He thereafter became professor at the University of Leuven (1428). His next posting was a professorship at the University of Cologne (1432), while also serving as adviser to the provost of Cologne Cathedral and to the Duke of Juliers, and representing the University of Cologne at the Council of Basle (1434). Birnbaum entered the Cologne

Charterhouse in 1435, and soon—like Eger before him—became a prominent member of the order, including service as prior of Douze-Apôtres in Liège (1445), followed by the Charterhouse in Wesel on the Lower Rhine (1447–54) where one of the text concordances of *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* was copied (Darmstadt 2653, c.1450–75). Birnbaum, again like Eger, ended his life at St Barbara where he died in 1473.<sup>25</sup>

All this offers mounting evidence to recognize the presence and ongoing cultivation in Cologne in particular, and the Rhineland—or the Rhine-Meuse area—in general, of complex mensural polyphony in Ars Nova style, including the monastic establishments of the region. The Koblenz fragments provide another element that helps us reconstruct a musical landscape that almost completely disappeared in the vortex of bookbinders' workshops during the 15th century but is now painstakingly being rediscovered through fragment research.

### Reading the Koblenz fragments

In more general terms, we may consider the fragments as well as their host manuscript the product of a combination of monastic (and more broadly ecclesiastical) culture and the cultural transfer enabled through the framework provided by the *studia* and universities of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The importance of Paris as an institutional model remained strong throughout the period. The University of Paris provided the blueprint for a series of new universities in Central Europe established first in Prague (1348), Kraków (1364) and Vienna (1365), and later in Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388) and Erfurt (1389). Moreover, monastic orders including the Carmelites realized that there was a clear link between providing a university education for their talented young, and the success of their apostolate. They were keen to reap the benefits generated through the enhanced geographical and cultural mobility that such an education required and provided. We should therefore recognize the monastic orders as prime conduits for the trans-European transmission of cultural practices, including the singing of motets.

The collecting and performing of mensural polyphony early on acquired prestigious status among at least a segment of the population of university

educated churchmen in late medieval Europe. Music-making, to these communities, was much more than entertainment: it was a form of education, of discipline, but also a way of acquiring status within the ecclesiastical elites of the time.<sup>26</sup> Studying, memorizing, debating and singing the often difficult texts, particularly of motets, offered a way to practise and develop hermeneutic skills crucial for an exegesis of the Bible that would be relevant to anyone entrusted with pastoral responsibilities. Learning, rehearsing, practising and singing motets like *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* or *Firmissime / Adesto* would therefore qualify as a worthy educational exercise; in addition, it helped to keep one's Latin sharp, trained one's memory, and honed one's social skills through the interaction required for and during a successful performance, and the discussion of the aesthetic or theological merits of the piece at hand. At the same time, singing or reciting a motet text could serve as a kind of personal prayer, whether performed outside the liturgy as a pious pastime, or within it, as an adornment of special services and feast days. The texts of our two motets, in their closing lines, are anything but sheepish about the direct personal credit that singers might expect in their celestial account books as a result of such pious actions. The triplum *Mater formosa* ends with the words 'placeat tibi / me iuvat. Amen' (may it please you [Holy Virgin] / it [i.e. the present poem/setting/performance] helps me. Amen). The motetus *Gaude virgo* calls on the Virgin to 'tolle culpas peccatorum / et regnabunt in gloria' (take away the debts of the sinners / and they will rule in glory). Similarly, the triplum *Firmissime fidem teneamus* reasons that 'we' should keep the faith most firmly and worship the Holy Trinity 'ut eius gracia mereamur perfrui gloria' (so that by its grace we may unendingly deserve to enjoy the glory [of Heaven]).

At the present stage in the enquiry, the precise dating and provenance of the Koblenz fragments must remain murky. The notation suggests an early date of copying around the second quarter of the 14th century; the amendments point at sustained (early) usage. Any direct connection between the fragments and the owner of the host volume, the Carmelite Heinrich of Montabaur, remains speculative (if seductive). Heinrich of Montabaur's

biography points towards Cologne as a centre of learning where he or another Boppard friar may have acquired the motets during their years of study, possibly as an item of antiquarian interest, but other options, within or outside the Carmelite order, must remain under consideration. The provenance of binding materials—in this case derived from discarded musical materials—may simply have been serendipitous, caused by what was available at the binder's workshop; perhaps old sheaves of music just happened to be lying around, waiting to be used. But there is little question that the binding was produced somewhere in the Rhine or Mosel valley, and that is significant, for it changes our perception of the reception of French-style, Latin-texted motets outside their presumptive immediate areas of origin. It also supports the notion that the monastic orders along with the universities were vital conduits for the dissemination of complex, mensurally notated polyphony from Paris and perhaps other centres of music-making, through a network formed by monastic filiations and shared encounters during periods of learning at educational hubs, first and foremost the late medieval universities.

Last but not least, the texts in the binding in its present state no doubt provided a worthy frame for Jordan of Quedlinburg's sermons. It seems absolutely conceivable that they were selected specifically from a pile of discarded old music manuscripts to adorn this volume, just as we carefully pick wrapping paper to fit the nature of a present, or to send a message to its recipient. Besides their focus on the Virgin and the Trinity, both central to Carmelite piety, could it have been precisely their antiquity that made them a worthy cover for a book of sermons that dated from approximately the same time period as the music preserved in the fragments? Such deliberate invocations of the past to convey authority and embed meaning would certainly be in line with practices encountered elsewhere in university educated circles in Central Europe during the mid and late 15th century.<sup>27</sup> The circulation of both *Firmissime / Adesto* and *Mater formosa / Gaude virgo* as texts in late 15th-century monastic sources from the Lower and Middle Rhine further suggests that these pieces—and by extension Philippe de Vitry—had an afterlife in the Rhineland and elsewhere that lasted considerably longer than hitherto suspected.

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1 E. Overgaauw, *Die nichtarchivischen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe Best. 701 Nr. 191–992* (= Mittelalterliche

Handschriften im Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz 2) (Wiesbaden, 2002), p.230.

2 For the latest discussion of this motet, see A. Zayaruznaya, 'Quotation, perfection, and the eloquence of form: introducing *Beatius/Cum humanum*', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, xxiv (2015), pp.129–66. See also A. Walters Robertson, 'Which Vitry? The witness of the Trinity motet from the Roman de Fauvel', in *Hearing the motet: essays on the motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. D. Pesce (New York, 1997), pp.52–81; E. Vetter, 'Philippe de Vitry and the Holy Trinity: an early manifesto of the *Ars Nova*', in *Liber amicorum Chris Maas: essays*

*in musicology in honour of Chris Maas on his 65th Anniversary*, ed. R. Wegman and E. Vetter (Amsterdam, 1987), pp.4–14.

3 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, viii (1926–7), pp.192–5. L. Schrade, 'Philippe de Vitry: some new discoveries', *The Musical Quarterly*, xlii (1956), pp.330–54, reinforced and extended Besseler's claims. For early counterarguments, see E.H. Sanders, 'The early motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxviii (1975), pp.28–45; and, most radically, E.H. Roesner, *Le Roman de Fauvel in the*



edition of *Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain* (New York, 1990), Introduction, pp.38–42. The debate about Vitry's oeuvre and, specifically, his authorship of *Firmissime / Adesto* remains undecided.

4 On Brussels 19606, see, most recently, K. Kügler, 'An abbot and a rotulus: new light on Brussels 19606', in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. D. B. Cannata, G. I. Currie, R. C. Mueller and J. L. Nádas (Middleton, WI, 2008), pp.145–85.

5 The Low Countries here are understood as the geographical area of north-western Europe extending from the French département Nord at its southwestern tip to German East Frisia in the northeast, and including the delta formed by the rivers Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine and Ems.

6 On fr. 146, see (*pars pro toto* for an exceptionally rich and complex bibliography) the essays in *Fauvel studies: allegory, chronicle, music, and image in Paris*, *Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. M. Bent and A. Wathey (Oxford, 1997); E. Dillon, *Medieval music-making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'* (Cambridge, 2002); R. Marinescu, 'The politics of deception and the French lais in the *Roman de Fauvel*, manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146' (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2014). On Robertsbridge, see D. Lewis, 'Estampie retrove: finding a place for the music of the Robertsbridge fragment in 14th-century European polyphony' (MMus diss., King's College London, 2000). See also the recent observations by A. Zayarnaya, in her 'Form and idea in the *Ars Nova motet*' (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010), pp.50–4.

7 For Darmstadt 521, see *Die lateinischen Gebetbuchhandschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt*, ed. G. Achten, L. Eizenhofer and H. Knaus (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp.47–64. For the dating of Darmstadt 2653, see the recent catalogue entry by U. Spyra

available online ([www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de](http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de), accessed 1 September 2017). The date 1459 found on fol.146v of Darmstadt 2653 seems to apply to that entry only.

8 Listed in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi IV. Hymni inediti. Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, ed. G. M. Dreves (Leipzig, 1888), p.14. The manuscripts presently kept at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna under the various permutations of call numbers including 7977 unfortunately do not contain the entry. Further research will be needed to determine if the entry in *Analecta hymnica* is spurious or not.

9 A. Zumkeller, s.v. 'Jordan von Quedlinburg', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, v (Munich, 1991), p.629. See also E. L. Saak, 'Ex vita patrum formatur vita fratrum: the appropriation of the Desert Fathers in the Augustinian monasticism of the later Middle Ages', *Church History and Religious Culture*, lxxxvi (2006), pp.191–228, for the far-reaching influence of Jordan on Austin identity.

10 Text of the *ex libris* (in Heinrich of Montabaur's handwriting): 'O Ihesu qui te clarificatum ostendisti discipulis in monte Thabor, Salutis in viam dirige actus lectoris dicti de Monthabuyr' (O Jesus who showed yourself transfigured to the Apostles on Mount Tabor, guide the actions of the lector named of Montabaur to the path of salvation). See Overgaaauw, *Handschriften*, p.230. Montabaur (Latin name: *Mons Tabor*) is a castle and eponymous settlement in the Westerwald region of Germany, not far from Boppard. It was named after the biblical Mount Tabor by the Trier archbishop Dietrich II von Wied (1217).

11 Overgaaauw, *Handschriften*, p.45 (description of Best. 701 Nr. 194, another manuscript collection of sermons owned by Heinrich of Montabaur) and pp.229–31 (description of the host manuscript Best. 701 Nr. 243). For biographical information on Heinrich of Montabaur, see Overgaaauw, *Handschriften*, p.45, and F.-B. Lickteig, *The German Carmelites*

at the medieval universities (Rome, 1981), pp.67–9, 448, 511.

12 Overgaaauw, *Handschriften*, pp.229–30.

13 A. Ottermann, 'Die Mainzer Karmelitenbibliothek: Spurensuche—Spurensicherung—Spurendeutung' (PhD diss., Humboldt University Berlin, 2015), p.350.

14 Overgaaauw, *Handschriften*, p.230.

15 For a digital facsimile, see <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-327915&lan=nl#page/63/23/69/63236914676159638356830589912219538062.jpg/mode/iup> (accessed 1 September 2017). For a printed facsimile, see I. de Loos, C. Downey and R. Steiner, *Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 406 (3.J.7)*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts xxi (Ottawa, 1997). I hope to localize the exact version underlying the motet tenor in the next stage of my enquiry. Based on the results obtained so far, the dioceses of Arras and Liège will be at the forefront of this investigation.

16 Bars 84 to 96 in L. Schrade's edition. See *The 'Roman de Fauvel'—The works of Philippe de Vitry—French cycles of the Ordinarium Missae*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century i (Monaco, 1956), pp.60–3.

17 The motetus *Adesto sancta trinitas* addresses the Trinity in the second-person singular, making 'qui extat' (third-person singular) a solecism. For an edition of the texts of motetus and triplum with English translations, see Robertson, 'Which Vitry?', p.54.

18 For a recent discussion of this notation, see M. Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Hispania, author of the 'Speculum musicae'* (Farnham, 2015), pp.39–43. Bent convincingly argues for abandoning the term 'Petronian' in favour of 'post-Franconian' or, alternatively, to use a merely descriptive terminology. The latter is adopted here.

19 On the notational updating of this and other 'Ars Nova' motets, see also Karen Desmond's contribution to the present issue.

20 I plan to investigate these further in the upcoming months.

21 For a recent discussion of this source, see K. Kügle, 'Die Fragmente Oxford, All Souls 56 und die mensural notierte Mehrstimmigkeit in Köln um 1400: Ein Zwischenbericht', in *Musik der mittelalterlichen Metropole: Räume, Identitäten und Kontexte der Musik in Köln und Mainz, ca. 900–1400* (Tagungsbericht Mainz/Köln, Oktober 2014), ed. F. Kolb (Kassel, 2016), pp.301–24. See also the brief description and inventory by A. Wathey in *Manuscripts of polyphonic music: The British Isles*, Supplement 1 to *RISM B IV 1–2* (Munich, 1993), pp.80–2.

22 Another fragment of *Flos vernalis* was recently discovered by C. A. Raurich in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe in a host manuscript originating in the Cistercian nunnery of Lichtenthal in the Upper Rhine valley, near Baden-Baden (Lichtenthal Ms. 82). See <http://>

[gregorian-chant.ning.com/forum/topics/faugel-and-las-huelgas-codex-a-new-concordance?groupUrl=no tredameschoolandarsantiqua&xg\\_source=activity](http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/forum/topics/faugel-and-las-huelgas-codex-a-new-concordance?groupUrl=no tredameschoolandarsantiqua&xg_source=activity) (accessed 1 September 2017); D. Catalunya, 'Nuns, polyphony, and a Liégeois cantor: new light on the Las Huelgas "Solmization Song"', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, ix (2017), pp.89–133, at pp.98–9.

23 On the *Cantuagium* and Heinrich Eger's biography, see H. Hüschen, *Das Cantuagium des Heinrich Eger von Kalkar (1328–1408)*, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte ii (Cologne, 1952), in particular pp.9–15 and 23. See also the discussion in Kügle, 'Die Fragmente Oxford, All Souls 56', pp.316–21. The passage concerning Vitry may be found in Hüschen, *Das Cantuagium*, pp.44–5.

24 See I. M. Groote, 'Johannes de Grocheio in St. Barbara—ein Zufall? Überlegungen zur Kartäuserbibliothek als Überlieferungraum', in *Musik der*

*mittelalterlichen Metropole*, ed. Kolb, pp.519–34.

25 See R. Feenstra, 'Henricus Brunonis de Piro (d. 1473): Professeur de droit civil et Chartreux', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, lxiv (1996), pp.3–46. Also Kügle, 'Die Fragmente Oxford, All Souls 56', pp.307–8.

26 R. Pieragostini, 'Unexpected contexts: views of music in a narrative of the Great Schism', *Early Music History*, xxv (2006), pp.169–207.

27 See A. Wathey, 'The motets of Philippe de Vitry and the fourteenth-century Renaissance', *Early Music History*, xii (1993), pp.123–50, for the cultivation of Vitry motet texts in 15th-century Austria and Germany; and the essays by P. Gancarczyk and M. Lewon in *Musikalische Repertoires in Zentraleuropa (1420–1450): Prozesse und Praktiken*, ed. A. Rausch and B. R. Tammen (Vienna, 2014), pp.135–50 and.299–343.

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