

Antiphonarium

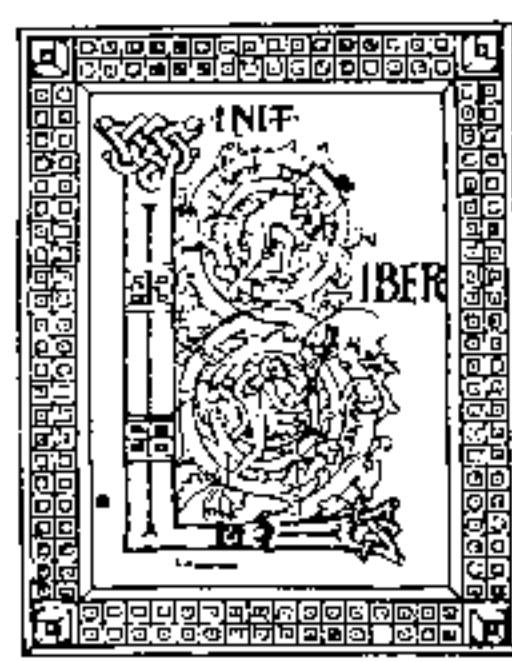


Codices illuminati medii aevi 45

Antiphonarium
seu
Magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario

Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1

Introduction to the 'Notre-Dame Manuscript' F
by Edward H. Roesner



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The 'Notre-Dame Manuscript'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pluteus 29.1
(*Magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario*)

The Parisian repertory and its manuscript sources

The repertory of polyphonic music that appeared in France, and above all in Paris, during the second half of the twelfth century and the first several decades of the thirteenth was of crucial importance for the history of European music. In this repertory, polyphony was transformed from a primarily orally generated, improvised performance tradition cultivated *ex tempore* to written "composition" as we have come to understand the concept today. The Parisian tradition constitutes a matrix in which there emerged a musical language — rhythmic, harmonic, contrapuntal — and a system of notation for communicating that language in writing that would stand as the foundation of the polyphonic practice of the next three centuries and beyond. In this repertory, also, we see for the first time distinct, differentiated polyphonic styles and idioms, and clearly delineated genres in which they are employed. And the Parisian repertory was the point of departure for a didactic tradition that for the first time in Western music taught musicians how to recreate what they saw on the manuscript page, and how to create new works in the same style, rather than, as earlier, how to produce polyphony *ad hoc* in performance. It was the vehicle as well in which the practices of the musically "unlettered" *trouvère* and *jongleur* were integrated into more "learned" and "literate" practice.

Disseminated throughout Europe, the music of Paris became a "Classical" repertory, the first such repertory to appear since the establishment of Gregorian chant as the standard corpus of liturgical song in the Carolingian domains some four centuries earlier. It constituted an *ars antiqua* that served as the point of departure for numerous local polyphonic traditions in France, the British Isles, and Italy, among other places, traditions some of which would assume roles of fundamental

importance in the following century. In every respect, then, the new Parisian repertory holds a central place in the creative milieu of the period, alongside the new institutions in which much of it was conceived, the Gothic cathedrals springing up throughout the Ile de France,¹ and the schools of the emerging University of Paris, with their cultivation of inquiry, logic, debate, and the synthesis of knowledge and philosophical speculation.²

The Parisian repertory consists primarily of the genres of organum, conductus, and the motet.³ For at least the earlier layers of the repertory, this is primarily music to be used in the liturgy, music to embellish the celebration of Mass and the Office on the major festivals of the Parisian liturgical calendar. But this music soon spread beyond the walls of the cathedral, as did the renaissance of learning and letters that was happening concurrently with the emergence of the repertory. Some conductus and many of the later motets were used in non-liturgical and even secular circumstances, and it is clear that at least some of the later repertory was created outside of Paris. It is highly sophisticated, intricate music for virtuoso solo singers, and it strove for brilliance in its design and execution alike.

A few definitions:

Organa are polyphonic settings of the great solo plainchants of the Mass and Office — the gradual, Alleluia, great responsory, and *Benedicamus domino*, in addition to some chants used in processions. The Gregorian melody appears in the bottom voice, and the text is taken from the formal liturgy. The great majority of these compositions serve as polyphonic meditations that accompany Scripture readings in the service. As such, organa were sung during moments in the ritual that are among the only purely "musical" occasions in the liturgy, moments when nothing else was going on to draw the attention of the congregation and clergy.

Conductus, on the other hand, are works that are not based on already existing plainchant. Newly conceived in all their parts and with newly created poetic texts as well, they are settings for one or more voices of the strophic, rhyming, rhythmic lyrics, religious and secular alike, that were flourishing in the hands of such brilliant poets as the chancellor of Notre-Dame de Paris, Philip (r. 1217-36). As the name of this genre implies, much of the conductus repertory was used in connection with ritual action, above all to accompany the deacon to and from the lectern for the reading of the epistle and gospel at Mass and the presentation of the lesson at Vespers and Matins, but also to supplement or replace the *Benedicamus domino*

sung at the end of a service and, if less regularly, to support action elsewhere in the ritual, in the offertory and communion ceremonies, for example, or in coronation and funeral liturgies and other "topical" rites. If the *cantus firmus* on which organum is based is a Gregorian chant, the underlying *cantus* in the conductus is its poetic text.

The *motet* is a less easily defined genre in some respects, in part because motets were sometimes created in highly original and experimental ways. It is ordinarily based on a snippet of melody taken from one of the plainchants set in organum, and often, especially in the earlier layers of the repertory, it uses part of an organum composition as its musical setting. Each line of the polyphonic fabric is usually provided with its own text, however, with those in the upper voices being newly composed. These new texts often comment on the meaning of the underlying chant or the liturgy in which it is used. The new texts in the upper voices could be in Latin, but many are in the vernacular, and, occasionally, a motet will have texts in both at once. Thus the motet involves both musical and verbal polyphony. Its name implies that the motet ("word", "little strophe") was thought of as a textual form first and foremost, and possibly as a form with its roots in a vernacular tradition, but what defines it in fact is that polyphony of texts above a borrowed melody that was ordinarily taken from the chant. Stylistically, then, it is a kind of hybrid, a cross between organum and conductus. In terms of function, motets, like conductus, appear to have been used in a variety of ways. In an early layer of the repertory, a motet might have provided a sort of liturgical gloss that could be interpolated into the larger organum from which the chant at its foundation was taken; in the later parts of the repertory, many motets would seem to be virtual prototypes of the secular polyphonic song forms that would emerge as dominant genres at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

There are two polyphonic textures operative in this music. One is *organum purum*, or sustained-tone writing, in which one or more florid upper voices move above a held-out pitch in the lowest voice; this is especially prominent in organum, where the held notes are those of the underlying chant. The other is *discantus*, counterpoint as such, in which all the voices move in a measured rhythmic cadence. The choice of idiom was dependent on a variety of stylistic and formal concerns. Organa and conductus are both conceived on a grand scale. Motets, on the other hand, tend to be small, even tiny, many lasting only a few seconds or perhaps a minute; but they are characterized by intricate and highly original workmanship. If organa and conductus

were ideally suited to take maximum advantage of the acoustical and ritual space in the Gothic cathedral, much of the motet repertory would seem to take its inspiration from the intellectual world of the Parisian schools.

The Parisian repertory survives today in a relatively large number of manuscripts dating from the third decade of the thirteenth century, perhaps, to the first half of the fourteenth, and originating in locales as wide-flung as Spain, the German lands, Italy, and the British Isles, in addition to France and Paris itself, and in establishments as different in their makeup and traditions as the secular and regular cathedral, the royal *capella* and papal chapel, the Benedictine monastery and Dominican convent, and a royal Cistercian nunnery.⁴ Most were produced as large anthologies compiled fifty years and more after the repertory they preserve had come into existence; few if any appear to be contemporaneous with the inception of their repertories. However, the Parisian repertory underwent rapid development and stylistic evolution, so that the surviving manuscripts, despite the retrospective nature of their collections, often preserve this music in states that were contemporaneous and up-to-date at the time of their compilation. A large number of the sources survive in a fragmentary state. Numerous others have most certainly been lost.⁵

An important early witness to both the development of the Parisian repertory and the character of its manuscript sources is provided by the English music theorist known today as Anonymous IV, writing towards the end of the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth. In a parenthetical aside embedded in his presentation of the system of mensural notation that was one of the most striking features of the Parisian idiom, Anonymous IV observes:

"Every figure [of notation] in ligature with 'propriety' and 'perfection' is understood thus: the penultimate note is a breve and the final a long; the preceding [note] or preceding [notes], should there be any, has or have the value of a long. Furthermore, every figure without 'propriety' and [with] 'perfection' handles itself in the opposite way, so that the penultimate [is] long and the final, breve. These rules are used in many books of the *antiqui*, and this from the time of the great Perotinus, and in his time, but they did not know how to formulate them with certain others that are given below, and, similarly, from the time of Leo, to a certain extent, since at that time two [notes] in ligature were used to express breve-long and, in like fashion, in many places three in ligature [were used] to express long-breve-long, etc. And note that Master Leoninus was the best *organista*, so it has been said, who made

the great book of organum [*magnus liber organi*] on the gradual and antiphony to enrich the Divine Service. It was in use up to the time of the great Perotinus, who made a redaction of it [*abbreviavit eundem*] and made many better clausulae, that is, *puncta*, he being the best *discantor*, and better [at discant] than Leoninus was. (But this is not to be said regarding the subtlety of organum [*purum*], etc.) This Master Perotinus made the best *quadrupla*, such as *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, with an abundance of musical *colores*; likewise, the noblest *tripla*, such as *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* and [*Alleluia*] *Nativitas*, etc. He also made three-voice conductus, such as *Salvatoris hodie*, and two-voice conductus, such as *Dum sigillum summi patris*, and also, among many others, monophonic conductus, such as *Beata viscera*, etc. The book, that is, the books of Master Perotinus were in use up to the time of Master Robertus de Sabilone in the choir of the Paris cathedral of the Blessed Virgin, and from his time up to the present day."

("Omnis figura ligata cum proprietate et perfectione sic est intelligenda: paenultima eius brevis est, ultima vero longa; praecedens vel praecedentes, si fuerint, pro longa habentur vel habeantur. Iterato omnis figura sine proprietate et perfectione opposito modo se habet sicut paenultima longa, ultima vero brevis. Ista regulae utuntur in pluribus libris antiquorum, et hoc a tempore et in suo tempore Perotini Magni, sed nesciebant narrare ipsas cum quibusdam aliis postpositis, et similiter a tempore Leonis pro parte, quoniam duae ligatae tunc temporis pro brevi longa ponebantur, et tres ligatae simili modo in pluribus locis pro longa brevi longa etc. Et nota, quod magister Leoninus, secundum quod dicebatur, fuit optimus organista, qui fecit magnum librum organi de gradali et antifonario pro servitio divino multiplicando. Et fuit in usu usque ad tempus Perotini Magni, qui abbreviavit eundem et fecit clausulas sive puncta plurima meliora, quoniam optimus discantor erat, et melior quam Leoninus erat. Sed hoc non [est] dicendum de subtilitate organi etc. Ipse vero magister Perotinus fecit quadrupla optima sicut Viderunt, Sederunt cum habundantia colorum armonicae artis; similiter et tripla plurima nobilissima sicut Alleluia Posui adiutorium, Nativitas etc. Fecit etiam triplices conductus ut Salvatoris hodie et duplices conductus sicut Dum sigillum summi patris ac etiam simplices conductus cum pluribus aliis sicut Beata viscera etc. Liber vel libri magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus magistri Roberti de Sabilone et in coro Beatae Virginis maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis et a suo tempore usque in hodiernum diem.")⁶

Further along in his treatise, Anonymous IV provides additional details on the content and organization of the great Parisian *liber organi*.⁷ Noting the "multiplex via et multiplex numerus modorum voluminum" that preserve this repertory,

Anonymous IV observes that one such *volumen* (the term is here used as a synonym for *liber*, and is to be understood in the sense of "fascicle") contains *quadrupla* such as Perotinus' *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*, pieces that constitute the greater part of the works of this type known to him ("pro maiori parte totius artis huius [i.e., the *quadrupla*] habeatis ipsa in usu cum quibusdam similibus etc."). Another *volumen* is devoted to the great *tripla*, such as *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus*; anyone using this collection in the liturgy would have the best of its sort in his hands, he says. A third *volumen* preserves three-voice conductus such as *Salvatoris hodie* and *Relegentur ab area*, pieces with melismatic *caudae*, that is, cadenza-like flourishes; a fourth collection is devoted to two-voice conductus with *caudae*, pieces such as the "old" *Ave Maria*, as well as *Pater noster commiserens*, and *Hac in die rege nato*; a fifth contains conductus for four, three, and two voices without *caudae*, works that are much used by singers with less skill; a sixth is given to organum *in duplo*, works such as *Iudea et Iherusalem*, *Constantes*. And, he tells us, there are still other sorts of *volumina*, which are devoted to various other genres and idioms, and which include one collection containing monophonic conductus that are evidently conceived on a large scale (*simplices conducti la[r]gi*).⁸

Leoninus was a canon of Notre-Dame de Paris active between the 1150s and 1201.⁹ Perotinus' biography is more elusive, but he seems to have worked at Notre-Dame between the 1190s and the 1220s, and to have collaborated with some of the highest figures in the cathedral hierarchy, among them Bishop Eudes de Sully and Philip the Chancellor.¹⁰ The extant manuscripts bear eloquent witness to the recasting alluded to by Anonymous IV in connection with Perotinus. Among other changes, one manuscript will replace individual sections (the clausulae mentioned by Anonymous IV) with others as part of a process of modernization and seemingly endless reworking of the material. This recasting is most evident in the *organa dupla* and motets, but it can also be seen, if to a lesser degree, in the three- and four-voice organa and in the conductus. Anonymous IV's testimony allows us to ascribe certain compositions to Perotinus, but, apart from these it is difficult if not impossible to determine what were the specific contributions of Leoninus, Perotinus, and the other *organistae* who created and reworked this music (such as the shadowy Master Robertus de Sabilone). That this repertory originated at Notre-Dame, as Anonymous IV strongly implies, is confirmed by the organa, which conform to the liturgical practice and plainchant tradition of the cathedral of Paris to an extraordinary degree.

Although a large number of manuscripts transmit parts of the Parisian repertory, the *magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario* of Leoninus and Perotinus, as Anonymous IV calls it, can be found in something approaching the form, scope, and comprehensiveness he describes in a group of four manuscripts from the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century. These so-called "Notre-Dame manuscripts" include: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (today known universally by the siglum, W_1), copied for the Augustinian cathedral of St. Andrews in Scotland, perhaps in the 1230s;¹¹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 29.1 (henceforth referred to as F), the manuscript that is the subject of the present reproduction;¹² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (W_2), copied in Paris, perhaps in the 1240s or '50s;¹³ and Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS 20486 (Ma), copied in Spain, possibly for the cathedral of Toledo, in the mid thirteenth century.¹⁴

Anonymous IV's description of the *magnus liber organi* matches the contents and organization of W_1 almost perfectly — not surprising, perhaps, in view of the British origins of both the theorist and the manuscript.¹⁵ But it also corresponds to manuscript F in numerous respects. All of the works mentioned by Anonymous IV appear in this source. The manuscript opens with Perotinus' *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*, presented in that order. As Anonymous IV intimates, there are not many other four-voice liturgical works known; F includes all of them. Fascicle 2 is devoted to *organa tripla*, and begins with music for Christmas, the second piece (the first Mass organum in the *triplum* cycle) being a setting of *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus*. Fascicles 3-4 are devoted to *organa dupla*, a collection beginning with *Iudea et Iherusalem, Constantes*. Fascicle 5 contains two-voice clausulae of the sort Anonymous IV must have had in mind when he mentioned Perotinus' revision and redaction of Leoninus' *liber organi*; other clausulae appear at the end of the organum collections in fascicles 1 and 2. *Salvatoris hodie* and *Relegentur ab area*, in that order, are placed at the beginning of fascicle 6, devoted to three-voice conductus and opening with large works with melismatic *caudae*. *Ave Maria*, *Pater noster commiserens*, and *Hac in die rege nato* are all found in the large, multipartite collection of two-voice conductus in fascicle 7. The more modest conductus for two, three, and four voices, "lesser" in stature and therefore not dignified by Anonymous IV with references to specific works, are found in subsidiary positions in the collections in fascicles 1, 6, and 7. As in the *volumina* cited by Anonymous IV, finally, the collections of polyphonic conductus are followed by fascicles devoted to

"other" genres, motets for three voices in fascicle 8, two-voice motets in fascicle 9, and then by two collections of monophonic conductus, fascicles 10 and 11, the former including Perotinus' *Beata viscera* among its works.

Codex F stands apart from the other 'Notre-Dame manuscripts' in several respects.¹⁶ It is the largest by far of these sources, containing a huge repertory — indeed, the largest repertory of polyphony to survive from the middle ages. It is also the most comprehensive, with large collections devoted to each of the major genres cultivated in Parisian ecclesiastical circles up through the earlier thirteenth century. And the musical and literary texts it transmits have an authority that none of the other copies can claim. It is the only one of the four sources that has close ties to Notre-Dame itself, as its organum, clausula, and motet cycles demonstrate. (The other sources transmit the Notre-Dame liturgical repertory in part only, and their selection does not conform in all details to the practice of the cathedral.) It is also far and away the most lavishly produced of these manuscripts, copied on the best vellum, planned in the most consistent and professional fashion, executed by the most competent scribe. Its illuminations, the work of a major artist, are among the finest of their kind produced in Paris at the time. As the central witness to the Parisian tradition and a prime example of Parisian book production, its importance cannot be overestimated.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pluteus 29.1 Codicological description

Manuscript F is preserved in a binding of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, with its chain still in place. Nothing is known regarding earlier bindings. The book measures 232 by 157 mm., with a writing block averaging 149 by 92 mm. It is somewhat larger than the other 'Notre-Dame manuscripts' in its overall dimensions, but approximately the same size in its written space: W₁ (210 x 150 mm., writing block ca. 155/160 x 80/90 mm.), W₂ (180 x 130 mm., writing block ca. 104 x 73 mm.), and Ma (ca. 166 x 115 mm., writing block ca. 122 x 90 mm.); cf. also the manuscript Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196, produced in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century and most closely approaching F in terms of its comprehensiveness and the lavishness of its workmanship, although differing from F in being devoted primarily to the motet (192 x 130 mm., writing block ca. 130 x 80 mm.).¹⁷

F now contains 441 folios of high quality uterine vellum, making it, as noted previously, by far the largest volume of its kind to survive from the middle ages. Originally, indeed, it was even larger, since a number of folios are now missing: 48-64 (a gathering at the end of fascicle 2), 94, 185-200 (a gathering at the end of fascicle 5), and 255-56, and probably also at least one gathering each at the ends of fascicles 8 and 9. Thus, there were once at least 477 folios in the manuscript, and probably as many as 500 or more. An original foliation in red Roman numerals appears at the top center of each leaf beginning with the second folio (numbered fol. 1) and running through fol. 355. Extended here through the remainder of the volume, to fol. [476], this foliation is the one followed in this essay. A foliation in Arabic numerals, entered mostly in the lower right-hand corner of each recto leaf, was added in ink in modern times; it runs from 1 to 441 (thus obscuring the lacunae in the manuscript).

F was copied by a single text scribe and notator, apart from some slightly later additions that are of only marginal significance for the history of the manuscript (see below, the description of fascicle 6). It is conceivable that the text and music were the work of a single scribe, but that has not been proved to be the case. The text hand is a careful *littera textualis* characteristic of the period and typical for a volume of this sort; I have not found it in other books illuminated by the same artist (see below). The music script is a "square" modal notation that uses the paleographic vocabulary developed in the corpus of Gregorian chant; apart from some appearances of the breve figure, these rhythmically neutral figures of notation exhibit none of the various modifications in shape that the theorists and scribes of the thirteenth century introduced to make the notation more rhythmically specific. (These modifications would have converted the notation from a "modal" to a "mensural" system of the sort described by Anonymous IV.). The musical orthography in F is undoubtedly close to the notation in which the repertory was originally conceived, but it was somewhat old-fashioned by the time of the copying of the manuscript. (The small group of additions on fols. 252^v-254^v do make use of a mensural script.) It is nonetheless a music script that is rich in subtle nuance, suggesting the work of a scribe who was intimately familiar with this music and its sounding tradition.

F is now made up of 27 gatherings; there were once at least 29, and in all likelihood as many as 31 or more. The gatherings are unusually large, each consisting of between seven and eleven bifolios rather than the quaternions that are more

characteristic of such books, and of many of the other formal books produced in Paris at this time. It is unlikely that the explanation for this atypical aspect of the production of F lies in the sheer size of the repertory to be included, since the music of fascicle 11, for example, could easily have fitted into a quinternion, and the conductus in gathering 16 required less than a quaternion (see the descriptions of the individual fascicles and the discussion of page layout, below). Perhaps it has to do with the excellent quality of the vellum, which would have facilitated the use of large gatherings (but this does not explain their relative scarcity in other sources written on vellum of comparable quality). In accordance with their contents, the gatherings are disposed into eleven fascicles as follows:

Fascicle 1: gathering 1 (a septern, fols. [0]-13). *Quadrupla* and one four-voice clausula, four-voice conductus, *tripla* and three-voice clausulae. Fol. 13^v is blank, but was ruled for compositions *a 3*.

Fascicle 2: gatherings 2 (9 bifolios, fols. 14-31), 3 (8 bifolios, fols. 32-47), 4 (missing, apparently consisting of 8 bifolios with an added leaf, fols. 48-64). *Tripla* and three-voice clausulae.

Fascicle 3: gatherings 5 (8 bifolios, fols. 65-80), 6 (irregular, now consisting of 8 bifolios and a single leaf, fols. 81-98; the single leaf, fol. 93, and the missing fol. 94 were evidently conjugate in a bifolio that had been inserted into the gathering proper before copying reached that point, presumably to accommodate repertory that was anticipated by the scribe but that was never entered). *Organa dupla* for the Office. Fols. 93^r, syst. III-98^v are blank, but were ruled for compositions *a 2*.

Fascicle 4: gatherings 7-9 (each consisting of 8 bifolios, fols. 99-114, 115-130, 131-146). *Organa dupla* for the Mass. Fols. 145^r, syst. IV-146^v are blank, but were ruled for compositions *a 2*.

Fascicle 5: gatherings 10 (10 bifolios, fols. 147-166), 11 (9 bifolios, fols. 167-184), 12 (missing, evidently consisting of 8 bifolios, fols. 185-200). Two-voice clausulae.

Fascicle 6: gatherings 13 (8 bifolios, fols. 201-216), 14 (9 bifolios, fols. 217-234), 15 (a septern, fols. 235-248), 16 (a septern, fols. 249-262, missing its middle bifolio). Three-voice conductus and a few other works that could be notated in a similar format. Fols. 252^v, syst. II-262^v were left blank, but were ruled for compositions *a 3*. Additions in a later hand that employ a mensural notation appear on fols. 252^v-254^r and 254^r-254^v (incomplete); space was left in these additions for text and decoration, but neither was entered; both pieces are three-voice conductus like the principal repertory in the fascicle.

Fascicle 7: gatherings 17-19 (each consisting of 8 bifolios, fols. 263-278, 279-294, 295-310), 20 (11 bifolios, fols. 311-332), 21 (7 bifolios, fols. 333-346), 22 (9 bifolios, fols. 347-355, [356]-[364]), 23 (8 bifolios, fols. [365]-[380]). Two-voice conductus. Fols. [366]^v, syst. IV-[371]^r, syst. I were left blank, but were ruled for compositions *a* 2, presumably in anticipation of more repertory; the end of the fascicle, fols. [375]^r-[380]^v, is also blank but ruled.

Fascicle 8: gathering 24 (9 bifolios, fols. [381]-[398]); 1 or more gatherings appear to be missing following gathering 24. Three-voice motets, with the two upper voices singing the same text. Fols. [387]^r, syst. V-[388]^v, syst. II are blank but ruled for compositions *a* 2, as are [389]^v, syst. V-[390]^r; [390]^v-[392]^v, syst. III are ruled for compositions *a* 3 to accommodate the unusual "motet organum," *Veni doctor pervie/Veni sancte spiritus*, after which rulings for two voices in score resume.

Fascicle 9: gathering 25 (8 bifolios, fols. [399]-[414]); 1 or more gatherings appear to be missing after gathering 25. Two-voice motets, a few three-voice double motets that can be notated in the same format.

Fascicle 10: gatherings 26-28 (each consisting of 8 bifolios, fols. [415]-[430], [431]-[446], [447]-[462]). Monophonic conductus. Fols. [451]^v, staff VII-[462]^v are blank but ruled for monophony.

Fascicle 11: gathering 29 (7 bifolios, fols. [463]-[476]). Latin refrain songs and other conductus in a similar style, all monophonic. Fols. [471]^v, staff IV-[476]^v are blank but ruled for monophony.

In those fascicles that are complete, the last pages in the concluding gathering of the fascicle were left blank, apart from the ruling for the writing block and the presence of staff lines. As is customary in this repertory, the staff lines are in red ink, in accordance with the practice in the more elegantly produced liturgical books of the period. Musical lines based on plainchant (the tenor voices in the organa, clausulae, and motets) use four-line staves (again, as in chant books); all other lines ordinarily use five-line staves. Gatherings intended for four-voice works disposed in a score format are laid out with three four-staff systems to the page; three voices in score are written on four three-staff systems to the page; works with two voices in score have six two-staff systems to the page; and works written as single lines, whether monophonic (as in fascicles 10 and 11) or polyphonic (as in fascicle 9) appear on pages laid out with ten staves. The consistency in the size of the individual staves suggests that they may have been drawn with a rastrum or similar device. Although the empty staves at the ends of gatherings and, occasionally, in the middle as well, suggest that the gatherings were ruled for music before copying began, other

evidence indicates that the process was more complex. In the single gathering that constitutes fascicle 1, for example, although the gathering was intended principally for four-voice compositions, that collection was too small to fill the large gathering provided for it, and the remainder of the gathering was used for the overflow from the collection of *organa tripla* and three-voice clausulae in fascicle 2. This must have been the scribe's intention from the outset of his copying, for gathering 1 was not ruled as a unit before he began his copying stint. The first folio, containing a full-page frontispiece on its verso page, was left unruled. When additional strophes of text had to be entered following each of the conductus, the staff lines were broken off before the start of the block of text. (This is true of the strophically composed compositions in the conductus fascicles as well.) And, beginning with the third (last) system on fol. 10^v, the layout switches from the original disposition of three four-staff systems to one appropriate for the appended *tripla*. Thus the staves in this fascicle, and elsewhere in the manuscript as well when it was appropriate, were ruled as copying progressed. This is different from the procedure observable in the other 'Notre-Dame manuscripts', in which entire gatherings were ordinarily ruled before copying began.

Relatively elaborate minor initials typical of the period, alternating red and blue letters with decorative filigree in the opposite color and employing a painted white background, are used throughout the manuscript. The treatment of the "V" of *Viderunt omnes*, fol. 1^r, the opening work in the manuscript, is exceptional in its use of gold fleur-de-lys figures on a blue background as decoration. Each of the eleven fascicles opens with an important historiated initial, as follows.

Fascicle 1. Fol. [0]^v: a frontispiece opposite Perotinus' four-voice *Viderunt omnes*, the gradual for the third Mass of Christmas. The picture is an extraordinary visualization of Boethius' three categories of music, *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*, in which Lady Music on her throne sits opposite to each category of *musica* and governs it. Although many of the iconographic elements in this picture are not new, the composition as a whole is virtually unique. It is as much a frontispiece to the collection as a whole as a realization of the opening words of the Christmas gradual ("All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God; sing joyfully to God, all the earth"; Ps. 97.3-4).¹⁸ <See fiche 1 A5>

Fascicle 2. Fol. 14^r: "D" in *Descendit de celis*, the third responsory for Matins, Christmas, depicting the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Nativity, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds. <See fiche 1 C8>

Fascicle 3. Fol. 65^r: "I" in the Vespers responsory for Christmas, *Iudea et Iherusalem*, showing the Tree of Jesse, the genealogy of Christ as set forth in Matthew 1.1-17. <See fiche 2 D4>

Fascicle 4. Fol. 99^r: "V" in the (two-voice) Christmas gradual, *Viderunt omnes*, showing the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, and the Slaughter of the Holy Innocents. <See fiche 3 D10>

Fascicle 5. Fol. 147^r: "E" in the first of three clausulae on "et Iherusalem" from the Christmas responsory, *Iudea et Iherusalem*, showing clerics looking at four angels, in illustration of the responsory text, "Be satisfied and you will see the help of the Lord above you". (Thus the miniature reflects the content of the responsory as a whole rather than the specific words "Et Iherusalem". This may be one clue that these clausulae were in fact intended to be inserted back into the larger organa; it also indicates that whoever settled on the subject matter of these illustrations was familiar with the nature and content of the repertory with which he was dealing.) <See fiche 5 B10>

Fascicle 6. Fol. 201^r: "S" in the conductus *Salvatoris hodie*, for Circumcision (see n. 54, below), depicting the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and his baptism. <See fiche 6 D2>

Fascicle 7. There are four historiated initials in the large and varied conductus collection in this fascicle, each demarcating a different layer of the repertory, thus:

Fol. 263^r: "F" in *Fraude ceca desolato*, on the Incarnation, concerned with Original Sin and its obliteration. The miniature shows Adam, Eve, the Serpent, and the Expulsion from Eden. <See fiche 8 D2>

Fol. 299^r: "A" in *Austro terris*, a text concerned with the coming of spring, showing the Easter scene of the three Marys and the angel at the empty tomb of the risen Christ, as well as the meeting of Mary Magdalene with the resurrected Christ. <See fiche 9 E2>

Fol. 336^r: "D" in *Deduc syon*, a polemic against the corruption of the clergy, showing Sion weeping as a prelate anoints a kneeling figure. <See fiche 11 A4>

Fol. 349^r: "A" in *Artium dignitas*, appropriately for this last — and hence "least" — miniature in the conductus collection, it is one of the group of "lesser" conductus that Anonymous IV mentions as constituting a *volumen* by itself. The text maintains that the dignity of the Liberal Arts has been degraded in recent times. The miniature depicts the seven Arts. <See fiche 11 C6>

Fascicle 8. Fol. [381]^r: "A" of *Ad veniam perveniam/Tanquam*, a motet on the opening word of the verse of the Christmas responsory, *Descendit de celis*, with a penitential text. The miniature depicts the Ascension and Pentecost; the links between the subject matter of the picture and that of the motet, although subtle, are

nevertheless real, and indicate, once again, the presence of a well-informed and sophisticated individual in control of the content of these pictures. <See fiche 12 C10>

Fascicle 9. Fol. [399]r: "M" of *Mens fidem/In odorem*, a motet on an Alleluia for the feast of St. Andrew, the miniature depicting Christ, the Virgin, the apostle Andrew, and a prelate. <See fiche 13 A10>

Fascicle 10. Fol. [415]r: "H" in *Homo natus ad laborem*, a moral text affirming that man is born to labor; the picture shows a man plowing in the field. <See fiche 13 D6>

Fascicle 11. Fol. [463]r: "D" in the first work of the collection of refrain songs, *De patre principio*, showing five dancing figures. <See fiche 15 B6>

History of manuscript F

The first known owner of F was the father of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Piero de' Medici, who held the ducal title in Florence between 1464 and 1469. Piero's name appears in an inscription on fol. [476]v: "*Liber Piero de' Medici. Cos. fili*". Entries that seem to be references to the manuscript are found in inventories of Piero's possessions drawn up in 1456 (in an addition datable between 1456 and ca. 1460) and 1465.¹⁹ Along with other Medici books, F was eventually placed in the library adjacent to the Florentine church of San Lorenzo following the death of Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) in 1512. That library was opened formally in 1571 as the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, and the so-called *Antiphonarium* of Piero de' Medici has been part of its collection ever since.²⁰ Nothing is known of its history prior to its acquisition by Piero de' Medici in the mid fifteenth century.²¹

The place and approximate date of origin of F are not in much doubt. The compositions that are datable originated between 1164 and 1236, perhaps.²² It has always been known that the manuscript originated in Paris.²³ The text script is that of the mid thirteenth century.²⁴ The musical notation is not particularly helpful for dating purposes, above all because the paleographical criteria generally used to date the musical notations of this period — the ways in which the rhythmically neutral neumes of plainchant were modified to communicate rhythm — have more to do with content than they do with form or writing style as such, and therefore are as much a part of the language and substance of the text as they are of its external orthography.²⁵ When viewed in terms of the development of mensural notation, the modal script used throughout F was at least a quarter of a century out of date by the time the manuscript was copied. But there is no reason to assume that an older

system would not have co-existed alongside newer ones for a number of decades, especially when the repertory being copied had been conceived in that older system (and especially when the manuscript was not intended for use in actual performance, as F most likely was not). In the manuscript W₂, produced in Paris at about the same time as F, the *organa dupla* are heavily inflected with musical traits, while the other genres, the conductus and motets, remain in a relatively "pure" modal notation. And the organum fragment in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Potsdamerstraße), lat. 4^o 523 uses modal and mensural writing within the same work, deploying one style where the other was thought to be inadequate to convey the rhythm with the specificity that the scribe considered necessary.

Comparing the penwork decoration in the minor initials to that in other, dated Paris manuscripts, Mark Everist concludes that "they are unlikely to have been executed after 1250 or perhaps 1255, and while many of the characteristics in this decoration date from the second decade of the [thirteenth] century, the minor initials are unlikely to have been produced before 1240 or 1245".²⁶ In the 1880s, Léopold Delisle dated the historiated initials to the reign of Philip the Fair, 1285-1314,²⁷ but this is no longer accepted. Rebecca Baltzer places the historiated initials between ca. 1245 and 1255 on general stylistic criteria, but would allow for a margin of error of five years on either side of that decade.²⁸ And Robert Branner, also working primarily with style, identified the painter of the historiated initials as an artist working in the so-called Johannes Grusch Atelier, a workshop active in Paris between the late 1230s and ca. 1270, to which Branner assigned some thirty-five manuscripts.²⁹ Branner places F early in the middle phase of this shop's activity, and associates it with several other liturgical manuscripts produced in the Grusch atelier: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 15613, a noted breviary of Paris use datable on liturgical grounds between 1239 and 1253; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 9441, a noted missal, also of Paris use, produced after 1247; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 426, a Franciscan missal dated 1254-61 (possibly 1251-54/57); and London, British Library, Add. 23935, a collection of Dominican liturgical and administrative documents, with musical notation, perhaps copied 1254-61 or a year or two later. Everist, in fact, considers F to be "almost certainly" the work of the group of artists who executed these manuscripts.³⁰ Taken together, then, both external and internal evidence point to a production date in the 1240s or early '50s.³¹

At best, determining the place and time of origin and identifying the painter of the historiated initials tells us about only one aspect of the circumstances of origin of F,

however. Some caveats: It seems likely that the association with a "Johannes Grusch Atelier" is mistaken. For want of a better name, this "workshop" was named after the writer of the colophon in one of the shop's manuscripts, the Bible, Sannen (Austria), Collegium, MS 16, which bears the date 1267. But Martin Staehelin has pointed out that the colophon written by "Johannes Grusch" and bearing the date 1267 is in fact some 200 years younger, and is the work of a Basel theologian of that name.³² Moreover, the very idea of an "atelier" in Paris in the mid thirteenth century needs to be examined critically. Illuminators generally worked alone, or with an assistant, often a son or wife, and at home, rather than in a formal atelier in which a number of artists followed the lead of a master. What Branner called the "Johannes Grusch Atelier" was probably less a "shop" as such than a manner of painting produced by changing combinations of illuminators who were contracted by a *librarius* or someone else functioning as a dealer and/or producer. "Grusch" is thus a look or style created for a commercial market, and could have been practiced by a variety of artists.³³

It follows from this that identifying the artist — if that has in fact been done — does not help to identify the *librarius* who contracted him to execute the historiated initials or the individual or institution for whom F was produced. The painter is only one link in a particular chain of production; other manuscripts painted by the same artist would have had their own, potentially quite different chains of production that crossed with the F chain at one or more points, depending on the various and changing factors that would have gone into the making and marketing of luxury books in the Paris trade.³⁴

For whom, or for what institution, was F prepared? This is not an easy issue to resolve. Baltzer argues that the care with which the manuscript was executed and the excellent condition in which it has survived suggest an individual patron rather than an institution, and that, among other things, the presence of compositions with Latin texts to the exclusion of vernacular works points to "a well-educated and well-off member of the Church's hierarchy, who had some association with and appreciation of such music, knowledge of which may have been acquired in the University of Paris as well as in the Church".³⁵ (It should be kept in mind, however, that the absence of texts in the vernacular may be due to nothing more than the disappearance of material over the years. Gatherings are missing from the motet collections, fascicles 8 and 9; indeed, whole fascicles, possibly containing French motets, may also have been lost. If F did once include motets with French texts,

these works would most likely have followed the Latin motets, as they do in W_2 , for example. That is, they would have occupied precisely those positions in the manuscript where there are now lacunae). Everist, on the other hand, points to the presence of the "royal" colors of azure and gold and the use of the fleur-de-lys as a decorative motif in the initial introducing Perotinus' *Viderunt omnes* on fol. 1^r as implying a royal connection, perhaps someone in the king's *capella* or the Sainte-Chapelle, or possibly a member of the royal family.³⁶

Keeping in mind that the illuminator was only one link in the chain of production, and that conclusions drawn regarding one book may not necessarily apply to another painted by the same artist, it may nevertheless be worth noting that two of the "Grusch" manuscripts illuminated contemporaneously with F, Mazarine 426 and Add. 23935, record the liturgies of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, respectively. Books such as these would have been extremely costly; it is improbable that these two volumes were intended for individual members of the mendicant Orders, except perhaps for the Master General himself.³⁷ It is equally improbable that a cathedral *organista* could have commissioned F for his personal use.³⁸ Taking a clue from this, it is conceivable that an institution — Notre-Dame, the cathedral of Paris, is the most likely candidate — would have commissioned and owned a volume such as F, thereby preserving a record of what must have been one of the most striking features of its liturgical tradition. The professionalism and virtuosity of the music copying may also suggest an institutional affiliation, that the notator was a cathedral *organista* who either worked at the institution itself or took its exemplars to an outside scriptorium to copy the book. Either way, he would have been associated with the cathedral more closely than merely as a professional scribe hired *extra muros* to do a job. If F is a cathedral book, however, the manuscript is more likely to have been kept in the treasury than to have been used as a working liturgical book available for regular consultation by the succentor or other cathedral personnel involved in the celebration of the liturgy.

On the other hand, should the hypothesis that F is a treasury item rather than a working book prove to be correct, then the fact that music (albeit, only two works) was added to the manuscript in a later hand and style of notation may argue against institutional ownership. So also might the Boethius frontispiece and some of the details in the other miniatures. These initials cannot have been the invention of the illuminator, nor are they likely to have been thought up by the *librarius* who consigned the work to him. The sheer originality of the frontispiece implies the

involvement of a patron with ideas of his own rather than an institutional commission, and the close ties between the subject matter of some of the miniatures and the works they illustrate suggests someone with intimate knowledge of how this repertory functioned. Furthermore, if the book were at Notre-Dame or an institution like it, it is difficult to see how it would have found its way into the collection of Piero de' Medici as early as it did. Now another of the Parisian liturgical books executed in the "Grusch Atelier", Paris 15613, was owned in the third quarter of the thirteenth century by Robert de Sorbon, and very likely was made for him as well.³⁹ In addition to his role in the early history of the college that bears the name of his family, Robert was a canon at both Notre-Dame and the cathedral of Cambrai, the archdeacon at Laon, a master of theology at the University of Paris, and perhaps also a confessor to Louis IX.⁴⁰ He is the sort of person who could have appreciated (and even asked for) the F frontispiece, and who would have had the means to acquire a book as lavish as F. In the library of such an individual, F would most likely have been a *livre de collection* rather than a volume intended for use or even for the close perusal of its musical texts, the later additions to the manuscript notwithstanding. Thus Baltzer and Everist may both be right. But although we can conclude that the manuscript was indeed prepared with a specific patron in mind, there are still too many unanswered questions for us to be able to determine the *destinaire* of F with any degree of assurance.

Organization of the repertory

F contains nearly 1,000 compositions, spanning the genres of organum (and pieces of organa, or clausulae), polyphonic and monophonic conductus, including a collection of refrain songs, and motet. It is more a *cantatorium*, a soloist's book, than an *antiphonarium*, the name assigned it on the spine of its fifteenth-century binding.⁴¹ All of its works have texts in Latin. (Cf. W₁: organa and clausulae, monophonic and polyphonic conductus, no refrain songs or motets as such, exclusively Latin texts; W₂: organa, but virtually no clausulae, polyphonic conductus, including a group of conductus with texts in French, motets in Latin, French, and French and Latin together; and Ma: only a few organa, all for three and, especially, four voices, virtually no clausulae, polyphonic conductus and motets, all with Latin texts only). The contents of the manuscript are highly organized, with several modes of organization operating simultaneously.

On the broadest level, the F repertory follows a progression from strictly liturgical works (fascicles 1-5) to compositions that are less clearly defined liturgically (fascicles 6-11), with the repertory most closely associated with secular song placed at the end (the refrain songs in fascicle 11). There is also an overall progression from old to new, with the more recent genre of the motet appearing late in the manuscript (in fascicles 8 and 9) and, again, the presumably relatively modern refrain songs coming at the end (fascicle 11). Similarly, within the strictly liturgical section, the clausulae that for the most part represent reworkings of an earlier corpus of organa are placed after their respective parent repertories, the two-voice clausulae in fascicle 5 following the *organa dupla* in fascicles 3 and 4, the three-voice clausulae entered at the end of the *triplum* cycle in fascicle 2 (and then carried over onto the left-over pages at the end of fascicle 1), and the one extant four-voice clausula following the two *quadrupla* in fascicle 1. There is also a progression from works with a larger number of polyphonic voices to pieces in fewer parts. Works for four voices have pride of place, fascicle 1 opening with liturgical *organa quadrupla* and continuing with less specifically liturgical conductus *a 4*. These are followed by organa for three voices (fascicle 2 and the *tripla* added to fascicle 1 after the four-voice compositions), and then by organa and clausulae for two voices (fascicles 3-5). Next come conductus for three and two voices (fascicles 6 and 7, respectively), and then motets for three voices (fascicle 8, notated with two voices in score, and consequently employing a page layout that is similar to the one used for the two-voice conductus that precede them in fascicle 7), followed by motets for two voices (fascicle 9, notated in single parts, and therefore entered as though they were monophonic compositions). The two-voice motets are followed by true monophony (fascicles 10 and 11).

Within the individual fascicles, a variety of organizational plans are at work. Organas precede conductus in fascicle 1, as just noted, with the two organa and one clausula presented in the order of their use over the course of the liturgical year (Christmas; St. Stephen, 26 December; Easter Week). The same three works, the only four-voice organa and clausulae known, were copied at the beginning of each of the other three 'Notre-Dame manuscripts'.⁴² The conductus that follow them — again, the only four-voice conductus in the Notre-Dame repertory — are unique to F.⁴³ The *tripla* in fascicle 2 are arranged in liturgical sequence also, with works for the Mass and Office combined into a single cycle, and with organa for the feasts of the Temporale and compositions for feasts of the Sanctorale presented together in one series,

followed in turn by organa for the Commune sanctorum (ending with the Vespers responsory for the Dedication of a Church, *Terribilis est locus iste*) and the still more "Ordinary" settings of the Benedicamus domino, organa that could function in a variety of liturgical contexts and a number of different occasions. This collection was evidently compiled from a number of exemplars, with a substantial group of works appended to the cycle at the end of the fascicle, presumably filling the gathering that is now missing at the conclusion of fascicle 2, and with still more entered on the folios left blank in fascicle 1 following the small four-voice repertory.⁴⁴ (The much smaller collections of *tripla* in W_1 and W_2 follow somewhat different principles of organization; W_1 , in particular, also shows signs of having been culled from several different exemplars).

F, like W_1 and W_2 , divides its repertory of two-voice organa into collections for the Office and Mass, presented in that order.⁴⁵ Fascicle 3 presents *organa dupla* for the Office in a tightly organized cycle following the liturgical year. As with the three-voice repertory, the temporal and sanctoral cycles are fused into one series, with music for the Commune sanctorum placed at the end, the cycle proper concluding with *Terribilis est locus iste* for the Dedication of a Church; this is followed by a group of organa for the Benedicamus domino, works with less specific liturgical function, and then by a set of additional clausulae on the most frequently set "domino" chant melody, compositions that can be used to expand and vary the available repertory of Benedicamus settings. A small supplementary group of Office organa concludes the fascicle with pieces for Ascension, Pentecost, and the Finding of St. Stephen (3 August), in the correct liturgical order. These three additions may have been inadvertently omitted from the main cycle when it was being copied, but the irregular makeup of the last gathering in this fascicle suggests that the scribe anticipated having still more Office pieces to copy, at least at the point at which the inserted bifolio 93-94 was added.

The placement of the organa for the Benedicamus domino in F differs from the arrangements in the other sources: In W_2 they appear at the close of the Mass cycle, as do the three-voice Benedicamus organa in the same source, while in W_1 they are detached from the organum collection completely and inserted among the two-voice conductus. Since a number of conductus conclude with a *cauda* on the text "Benedicamus domino" and evidently served as substitutes for the Benedicamus in the Office and Mass, it seems likely that the W_1 Benedicamus organa were placed where they were so that they could be added to conductus with a different function

(or no clearly defined purpose at all) to convert them into Benedicamus pieces. The different positionings of the Benedicamus organa in the various copies of the *magnus liber* may reflect differing liturgical practices at the institutions for which the manuscripts were prepared. The cycles of *organa dupla* in W_1 and W_2 differ from those in F in numerous other respects as well, above all in terms of comprehensiveness, the choice of liturgical items included, and the selection of feasts represented. F includes organa for Vespers, Matins, and several processions, as well as music for the Octaves of the highest-ranking feasts. It also provides polyphony for the "Gloria patri" sections of responsories (it does so in the *organa tripla* as well) and for the repeat of the respond and the "Alleluia" sections following the verse. W_2 has little polyphony specifically for Matins, processions, or the days within the Octave. And it expands the Commune sanctorum section by putting there a number of organa that are "proper" in F; this trait, among others, helps to convert the Parisian repertory in W_2 into one that is rather "neutral" liturgically. W_1 also has fewer organa for Matins and processions than F, and it does not include polyphony for the "Gloria patri" or for the repeat of the respond and "Alleluia" sections; it limits music for the Octave to organa for the second day of the highest-ranking feasts of the Parisian calendar, and in general it seems to adjust the Notre-Dame repertory to a British liturgical usage.⁴⁶

Fascicle 4 of F follows the same overall plan as fascicle 3, concluding the Mass cycle with a gradual for the Dedication of a Church, and then following it with an appended Alleluia for Sunday within the Octave of Ascension. Unlike the procedure followed with the *tripla* in fascicle 2, in both fascicles 3 and 4, where there are multiple settings of the same liturgical item, they follow directly upon each other, suggesting a prior stage of repertory collection, one not yet undertaken for the *tripla*, at least not in the exemplars that were available to the F scribe.

Fascicle 5 now contains four distinct cycles of two-voice clausulae, with some 462 compositions included (it was originally considerably larger, a gathering having been lost from the end of the fascicle). Each cycle has its own character and historical position within the development of the organum repertory, and, perhaps, each was intended to be used in a somewhat different way.⁴⁷ The F clausulae constitute one of only three such collections to have survived; the others are in W_1 (with two distinct cycles) and, preserving a less closely related layer of the repertory, the so-called 'St. Victor manuscript', Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 15139, a manuscript of the mid thirteenth century that may be linked to a royal foundation in some way.⁴⁸

The first F cycle contains 203 clausulae arranged in liturgical order, with Office pieces preceding clausulae for Mass organa. Composed in the idiom of discant, these are among the most complex and sophisticated works in the Notre-Dame repertory, many of them exploring the limits of the contrapuntal, rhythmic, and notational possibilities offered by the musical language. Most give the impression of being tightly-structured, self-contained, finished compositions rather than fragments to be inserted into larger organa. Many are found elsewhere, in F and in other manuscripts, as motets. The cycle includes numerous instances of multiple settings of the same plainchant segment — for example, there are seven in a row of the "omnes" melody and eleven of "dominus," for *Viderunt omnes* (the last clausula on "dominus" presents the plainchant melody in retrograde order, with the text "Nusmido", as a coda to the set). The first cycle is followed by a small, disorganized supplement (nos. 204-229). A second cycle, nos. 230-288, contains clausulae for Mass organa only, arranged in liturgical order. Most of these works are unica, and only a very small number are found elsewhere as motets. A significant number are set in *organum purum* rather than discant, and many are among the longest compositions in the repertory. The third and fourth cycles, nos. 289-342 and 343-442, contain clausulae for Office and Mass organa, respectively, and thus are analogous to the two organum cycles in fascicles 3 and 4. Most are among the shortest works in the repertory, some consisting of only a few notes. Many are settings of the briefest snippets of plainchant, some involving no more than one syllable of text from a larger word or phrase. A significant number are settings of plainchant that is composed in *organum purum* in the larger organum. As a consequence, unlike the clausulae in the first and second cycles, if these works were to be inserted into a larger organum, they would have the effect of significantly reducing its overall length. While many do not lack for elegance, they tend towards simplicity rather than virtuosity. None have concordances as motets. The twenty clausulae that follow, nos. 443-462, may represent a supplement to the fourth cycle (all but two are settings of Mass chants, and they are not in any particular liturgical order), but it must be remembered that the collection breaks off abruptly as a result of the loss of the following gathering, and that this supplement may actually constitute the beginning of a cycle in its own right.

The liturgical collection in F, fascicles 1-5, would have provided a singer with more material than he could possibly have used. In the case of the Christmas gradual *Viderunt omnes*, for example, the collection includes Perotinus' setting *a 4* and two

settings for two voices. There are also twenty-four clausulae that might be inserted into one or the other of the two *duplum* organa as replacements for material found there (7 for "omnes," 13 for "dominus," and 1 each for "dominus salutare," "su[um]," "ante conspectum," and "conspectum genitum"). Even assuming that one of the organum settings would have been sung in the principal feast, the other on the Octave (Circumcision), there are still only two occasions each year for the performance of *Viderunt omnes*. As these multiple settings demonstrate, F is clearly an anthology containing a superabundance of material, a kind of *Denkmäler* collection, not a practical book containing only prescribed texts.

Each of the two motet fascicles, 8 and 9, uses a different mode of organization.⁴⁹ Fascicle 8 presents its three-voice motets in liturgical sequence according to the use of the plainchant melodies on which they are based. All but a few are based on clausulae found in two- or three-voice form earlier in the manuscript. In the case of the motets based on two-voice clausulae, a third voice was added to the original polyphonic complex that simply duplicates the phrase structure of the other upper line; significantly, many of these works are also found as two-voice motets in other sources and elsewhere in F. These works, then, can be seen as making up a clausula cycle of sorts that is not unlike those in fascicle 5, pieces intended for insertion into organa that would be sung in clearly defined ritual contexts. (The irregularities in copying towards the end of the collection in fascicle 8 suggest, however, that this cycle was only then in the process of being compiled). The same may be true of the two-voice motets in fascicle 9, which are also based on clausulae.⁵⁰ (If so, one more "clausula" would be added to the material available for use in *Viderunt omnes*, since fascicle 9 includes a motet on "dominus" in its collection.) The motets in fascicle 9 do not appear to be presented in any particular order, however. In the large motet collections in W_2 , produced in Paris at about the same time as F, the works are arranged either in alphabetical order or according to their relative popularity; the slightly later Parisian motet manuscript, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 also arranges its repertory in alphabetical order,⁵¹ and presentation by relative popularity seems to obtain in some of the individual motet fascicles in Montpellier H 196. F does not use the alphabetical method, and the criterion of relative popularity does not apply to the collection in fascicle 9, since these are among the most widely disseminated works in the repertory, and also among the most reworked. Whether this lack of order points to a particular stage in the history of the genre or is simply the result of random compilation remains to be determined. It is noteworthy that

the collection in fascicle 9 includes a few examples of three-voice double motets, works with a different text in each of their upper parts (and therefore copied, like the two-part motets, as a succession of individual lines). F has often been seen as transmitting the earliest stages in the history of the motet genre, in part because it does not feature the double motet idiom that dominates the genre in Montpellier H 196, Bamberg lit. 115, and other later sources, and that is also prominently featured in W_2 . But we must bear in mind that one or more gatherings are almost certainly missing from the end of fascicle 9, and that we have no way of knowing what sorts of works these gatherings might have contained — especially given the unstructured nature of the collection in this fascicle. Indeed, it is possible that F is missing not only gatherings at the end of the motet collections, but even one or more additional fascicles of motets. If so, it is conceivable that the manuscript may once have included not only a collection of double motets in Latin, but even one or more collections of motets with French texts, the absence of which is the other principal reason for considering the F motet repertory as bearing witness to an early stage in the development of the genre.

As with the motets in fascicle 9, the plan behind the organization of the conductus fascicles (6, 7, 10, and 11) is difficult to uncover.⁵² Each fascicle breaks down into a group of smaller collections defined by the manner of text setting, style, composer and poet, perhaps, and also by the manner of their dissemination (that is, several groups of conductus tend to circulate together from manuscript to manuscript).⁵³ In view of the liturgical character of the rest of the manuscript, it may not be insignificant that the opening work in fascicle 6, *Salvatoris hodie*, is ascribed by Anonymous IV to Perotinus, the composer of the *quadrupla* that open the manuscript as a whole, and that it has one of the most clearly defined liturgical assignments of any of the conductus compositions (at least, we have more information regarding its role in the liturgy than we do for almost any other conductus).⁵⁴ Other conductus are substitutes for the *Benedicamus domino* or other liturgical chants, *admonitiones* or other moral compositions, sermon-like poems, prayers to the Virgin, Christmas and spring songs, some of them highly secular in tone, and *planctus* or topical works. (Fascicle 6 also includes two four-voice motets, pieces with the same text in the three upper parts and therefore notated in score as though they were conductus; as four-part pieces they are unique to F, but with a smaller number of voices they are found in several other sources). Especially striking are the sixty refrain songs in fascicle 11. Most are *unica*, few works of this sort

appearing in any of the other 'Notre-Dame manuscripts', and most make use of an internal refrain within the stanza, yielding a poetic and musical design that is close to the rondeau form that was beginning to emerge in vernacular song at about the same time. It has often been argued that these *rondelli*, even more than the works that are more typical of the conductus genre, are "movement pieces" par excellence, that they are dance songs intended for ecclesiastical dancing, either outside the liturgy or within it.⁵⁵ For some scholars, the miniature at the beginning of the fascicle, showing five dancing figures, supports the hypothesis that these refrain songs were used in the clerical *tripudium*. But whether they are dance songs or not, what probably caused the scribe to set them apart from the other monophonic conductus in F, those in fascicle 10, and prompted their collection into a separate fascicle are their remarkable formal designs and the way those designs are laid out on the page. That is, as with the more conventional Parisian genres, the *rondellus* songs were gathered together as much on account of their common layout and "look" on the page as because of their particular function or style.

Control of the repertory

Much of the repertory in F is also found in other sources, often in significantly different states, with different music for one or more parts of the work, with a different number of polyphonic voices, with a different number of stanzas of text or with different text altogether, in a different system of notation, sometimes implying a change of rhythm, and so on. In addition, one or more parts of a musical setting may recur in another composition, sometimes within F itself, sometimes in another manuscript. Viewed from the bibliographical standpoint, this repertory is complex, but it is fairly well controlled in the musicological literature. Thus it is not necessary to provide an inventory of the manuscript here. For orientations to the F repertory, see the following catalogues and studies:

REANEY, Gilbert, ed. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-Early 14th Century*. Répertoire international des sources musicales, B IV/1. München: G. Henle Verlag, 1966.

Pp. 610-788 (inventory of fascicles 1-9, with musical incipits presented diplomatically in the original notation).

LUDWIG, Friedrich. *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*. 2nd, "erweiterte" ed. 2 vols. in 3. Luther A. Dittmer, ed. Musicological Studies, 26. New York/Hildesheim: Institute of Mediaeval Music/Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964-78 [vol. I/1 originally publ. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910].
Vol. I/1, 57-124 (inventory and analysis of the repertory in fascicles 1-5, 8, and 9).

WERF, Hendrik van der. *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century*. Rochester: [Published by the Author], 1989.
(Index to the repertory in fascicles 1-5, 8, and 9.)

SMITH, Norman E. "The *Clausulae* of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study". 3 vols. Diss.; Yale University, 1964.
Vol. I (index to the repertory in fascicles 1-5).

FLOTZINGER, Rudolf. *Der Discantussatz im Magnus Liber und seiner Nachfolge, mit Beifügen zur Frage der sogenannten Notre-Dame-Handschriften*. Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 8. Wien: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1969.
Pp. 23-35, 45-55 (inventory of fascicles 3-5).

ANDERSON, Gordon A. "Notre Dame and Related Conductus — a Catalogue raisonné". *Miscellanea musicologica/Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 4 (1972), 153-229, and 7 (1975), 1-81.
(Index to the repertory in fascicles 5, 6, 10, and 11.)

FALCK, Robert. *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*. Musicological Studies, 33. Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981.
(Index to the repertory in fascicles 6, 7, 10, and 11.)

GRÖNINGER, Eduard. *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre Dame-Conductus*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 11. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939.
Pp. 89-137 (inventory of fascicles 6 and 7).

GENNRICH, Friedrich, ed. *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*. Summa musicae medii aevi, 2. Darmstadt: [Published by the Author], 1957.
(Index to the repertory in fascicles 8, 9.)

Notes

- 1 On the relationship between this music and Notre-Dame de Paris, see WRIGHT (1989), chaps. 7, 9, and passim; and BALTZER (1992), 45-64.
- 2 For a discussion of the Parisian repertory in its larger cultural context, see PAGE (1989).
- 3 For a late thirteenth-century perspective on these genres, one that uses Scholastic terminology, see the remarks of Johannes de GROCHEIO [1967], 144-48.
- 4 The first (and still indispensable) major catalogue of these sources is LUDWIG (1964-78). For a nearly complete list of the organum and motet manuscripts see WERF (1989). For the conductus sources see FALCK (1981). See also REANEY (1966); and REANEY (1969).
- 5 See BALTZER (1987), 380-99.
- 6 RECKOW (1967), I, 45-46. In support of this translation of »abbreviare«, cf. the following statement, which occurs a little further along in the treatise: "Et quae dicuntur cum proprietate et sine perfectione, erant primo confuse quoad nomen. Sed per modum aequivocationis accipiebantur, quod quidem modo non est, quoniam in antiquis libris habebant puncta aequivoca nimis, quia simplicis materialia fuerunt aequalis. ... Sed abbreviatio erat facta per signa materialia a tempore Perotini Magni et partum ante et brevius docebant, et adhuc brevius [a tempore] magistri Roberti de Sabilone, quamvis spatiosae docebat"; RECKOW (1967) I, 49-50 (emphasis mine). One should probably translate »magnus liber organi« as "great book of polyphony" rather than "great book of organum", since it is evident from the context that Anonymous IV uses »organum« in this sentence in the sense of »organum generale« or »musica mensurabilis«, that is, to mean "polyphony in general" and all "music with rhythmic measure", irrespective of genre.
- 7 RECKOW (1967) I, 82.
- 8 I am grateful to Michel Huglo for suggesting the emendation of the manuscript's rather cryptic reading, »lagi«, to »largi«.
- 9 See WRIGHT (1986), 1-35; cf. ROESNER, "Leoninus".
- 10 See the summaries of what is known (and conjectured) about Perotinus in RECKOW (1967), I, 99-102; and WRIGHT (1989), 288-94. Cf. ROESNER, "Perotinus".
- 11 For the most recent facsimile edition, see STAEHELIN (1995).
- 12 Cf. the slightly incomplete facsimile published in DITTMER (n.d.).
- 13 Facsimile edition in DITTMER (1960).
- 14 Facsimile edition in DITTMER (1957).
- 15 See ROESNER (1976), 379-80, n. 201.
- 16 Cf. the penetrating observations in LUDWIG (1964), I/1, 57 and passim.
- 17 Facsimile in vol. 1 of ROKSETH (1935-39). See also WOLINSKI (1992), 263-301.
- 18 See the discussion of this picture in SEEBASS (1988), 27-31. All of the historiated initials in F are examined in BALTZER (1972), 3-9.
- 19 AMES-LEWIS (1962), 103-42; see also EVERIST (1989), 60-62.
- 20 See the entry in BANDINI (1764-78), II, cols. 1-4.
- 21 Peter JEFFERY has hypothesized that F may be the manuscript listed in the (posthumous) inventory of the treasury of Pope Boniface VIII from 1311; see JEFFERY (1979); but cf. BALTZER (1987), 385-91.
- 22 For a list of datable compositions, see SANDERS (1984), II, 521-22.
- 23 See, for example, the first scholarly publication to draw attention to the manuscript, DELISLE (1885), 102. Cf. LUDWIG (1930), 45-46.
- 24 E. K. RAND, cited in Apel (1953), 200, n. 1; cf. HANDSCHIN (1951), 113, n. 2.

- 25 Research on the paleography of Gregorian chant aside, the development of a methodology for dating musical notation based on criteria comparable to those used in the analysis of text hands, if it is feasible at all, has scarcely begun.
- 26 EVERIST (1989), 77-82.
- 27 DELISLE (1885), 102.
- 28 BALTZER (1972), 15.
- 29 BRANNER (1972), 24-30; BRANNER (1977), 82-86, 222-23.
- 30 EVERIST (1989), 75. Branner himself seems to have been more cautious, merely citing the similarities of style and dating F "after 1236" (Manuscript Painting, 222). Three of these manuscripts include musical notation, but neither their music hands nor their text scribes seem to be concordant with the copyist(s) responsible for F or with each other's scribes.
- 31 See also STENZL (1970), 11: "Auf Grund der Miniaturen und der Schrift kann diese Hs. kaum nach 1240, auf keinen Fall nach 1250 geschrieben worden sein". See also E. J. BEER, cited in STENZL (1973), 320.
- 32 STAEHELIN (1987), 187-88, n. 15.
- 33 I am grateful for these thoughts on the Parisian trade in illuminated manuscripts to Professor Harvey Stahl (University of California, Berkeley), whose letter to me of 25 March 1996 I am paraphrasing here.
- 34 EVERIST (1988), 64-71, finds that certain aspects of the »mise en page« of F (staff gauge, ink color, size of the writing block and disposition of the staves within it) are virtually identical to those of the second fascicle of London, British Library, Egerton 2615, a polyphonic supplement to a Circumcision Office proper to the cathedral of Beauvais. He concludes that the parchment for both manuscripts was prepared in the same shop, perhaps using a template, the two books-in-the-making then being handed over to different scribes and notators for copying (they would also have gone to different illuminators, since the styles of decoration have little in common, and, of course, it is highly probable that they were intended for different patrons). Everist implies (p. 71) that both manuscripts were copied in the same scriptorium, and hypothesizes that the shop had its own stock of music exemplars, from which the different scribes worked. But, as we have seen, it is highly likely that it was the scribe himself, not some other craftsman working in an assembly line-like process, who ruled the sheets of parchment and drew the staff lines in F as his copying progressed. Moreover, the scribes of F and Egerton 2615 must have worked from different exemplars, for the two manuscripts occasionally offer different readings in the pieces they have in common; these variant readings are too substantial to fall within what one would expect to be a normal range of variation for a skilled scribe. Some details of the musical orthography suggest that the Beauvais supplement was copied from Beauvais exemplars written in the heavily inflected notation found in the first fascicle of the Egerton manuscript, implying that the supplement may even have been copied in Beauvais using a Paris-style script (or in Paris from Beauvais exemplars, not local or in-house ones). On the other hand, F, given the extraordinary size and comprehensiveness of its collection and the remarkable knowledgeability of its music scribe, is unlikely to have been copied by anyone other than a music specialist, or to have been compiled from the kinds of exemplars that even the largest scriptorium would have had in its working collection. Thus, the codicological data Everist presents remain to be fully explained. For a facsimile of the Beauvais supplement, see EVERIST (1988).
- 35 BALTZER (1972), 16.
- 36 EVERIST (1989), 82-86. Harvey Stahl has suggested to me that F seems "more like the ambitious productions made for the Ste Chapelle in the following decade than other paintings in the same manner".
- 37 LEVY (1974), 199, n. 31, states that Add. 23935 was prepared as a portable copy of the Dominican liturgy for the Master General of the Order. Regarding this manuscript, see BONNIWELL (1944), 94-97.
- 38 On the social status of the clerks who sang organum at Notre-Dame, see WRIGHT (1989), chaps. 5 and 6.
- 39 BRANNER (1977), 222; see also EVERIST (1989), 85-86.

- 40 EVERIST (1989), 85-86.
- 41 Liturgical »cantatoria« are characterized by the individuality and diversity of their contents; see the study of this genre by Michel Huglo, forthcoming in the 'Festschrift' for Kenneth Levy. Still, »antiphonarium«, when understood in the broad sense of a liturgical song book, is not an inappropriate title for this manuscript.
- 42 All three are published in ROESNER (1993).
- 43 Edited in ANDERSON (1986).
- 44 The complete repertory is edited in ROESNER (1993).
- 45 The complete repertory of »organa dupla« is edited in TISCHLER (1988). Mark Everist is editing these works after F in vols. 2-4 of the series, 'Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris' (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, to appear in 1997-99).
- 46 See the discussion of the organa in these three manuscripts in WRIGHT (1989), 269, an assessment, however, that leaves the »organa tripla« out of consideration, taking only the »dupla« into account.
- 47 Edited in BALTZER (1995).
- 48 Facsimile in THURSTON (1959). Edition in STENZL (1970).
- 49 The motet collections are edited in TISCHLER (1982).
- 50 For an overview of the concordances between clausulae and motets, see SMITH (1980), 29-65.
- 51 A facsimile of this manuscript is published in vol. 1 of AUBRY (1908).
- 52 The F repertory of conductus for one, two, and three voices is edited in ANDERSON (1986; ANDERSON (1986); ANDERSON (1981); ANDERSON (1986); ANDERSON (1979); ANDERSON (1981); and Anderson (n.d.).
- 53 For a study of the organization of the repertory, see FALCK (1981).
- 54 As the rubrics in Egerton 2615 state, »Salvatoris hodie« was used before the reading of the gospel at Mass on the Feast of the Circumcision, 1 January. See ARLT (1970), Editionsband, 114. This conductus has five strophes of text, the first three set »a 3«, the last two »a 2«. It may be that the two-voice stanzas were intended to be sung following the gospel, as the reader left the lectern; see the rubrics in ARLT, 115. The music of »Salvatoris hodie« is included in the polyphonic supplement to the Circumcision Office in Egerton 2615.
- 55 See, among other studies, ROKSETH (1947), 93-126; and HOROWITZ (1989), 279-92.

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COLOR MICROFICHE EDITION

Table of original and modern foliation

An original foliation in red Roman numerals appears in the manuscript at the top center of each leaf beginning with the second folio (numbered fol. 1) and running through fol. 355. A foliation in Arabic numerals, entered in the lower right-hand corner of each recto leaf, was added in modern times; it runs from 1 to 441. (For the full codicological description, see above pp. 14-15.) The following table of equivalents will facilitate the use of the fiches.

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