Songs for funerals and intercession

A collection of polyphony for the confraternity of
St Barbara at the Corbie Abbey. Amiens, Bibliothèque
Centrale Louis Aragon, MS 162 D

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

Volume 1

Introduction

Prayers for the dead, funeral music and simple polyphony
in a French music manuscript of the early sixteenth century

Preface

This edition is the result of a long relation≠≈ship with the manuscript 162 D in the Bibliothèque Centrale Louis Aragon in Amiens. My first encounter with this source of simple polyphony was during my research on the MS Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2° in the Royal Library in Copenhagen in the early 1980s, because it containe≠≈d some intriguing concordances and related songs. Since then it has stayed in my consciousness as a fascinating sacred parallel to the repertory of 'everyday music' in the Copenhagen MS. In a way the two sources supplement each other by their throwing a sidelight over the well-know repertory of professional high-art music of the period.

The decision to do a complete edition of the repertory of the Amiens MS was taken in 2004, and my transcription of most of the music has been online since 2007. However, the introduction and commentary had to wait. One of the reasons for the delay was that I found it difficult to get a hold on the placement of its repertory in its age and context. Only when I realized that I had to set aside a great part of my experiences with the music of the period, I began to understand how a learned person, but certainly not a person learned in music, would perceive music for use in his institution. Viewed from that perspective, the pattern finally began to emerge. This realization forced me to divide the introduction in two separate sections: a factual description of the MS (in this PDF version it is placed in *Appendix A*) and a highly interpretative article 'Prayers for the dead …', which discusses the MS, its context and its repertory.

This project was from its very beginning planned as a collection of open access documents accessible only on the Internet. It consists of many related elements. First and foremost of all the music published in separate PDF-files. They can be reached through links in html-pages, which contain my comments on the music's appearance in the MS, on the texts, the music and related settings. The entry to these pages is the start page of the edition or the online list of contents. Other pages bring the description, the introductory article, and a summary of the life of Antoine de Caulaincourt etc. I have in every single instance made an effort to present the information to the reader as complete as possible irrespective of which route into the maze of connected pages was chosen. Also the publication in single pages during a long period of time made this setup preferable. All in all, this unavoidably leads to a high level of duplication of content and topics in the webpages, which is reflected in this PDF-version, and which I ask the reader to bear with.

Quite late in the project, I decided to publish the online site also as an e-book in two volumes. The PDF-version contains everything found in the online version. The interconnected webpages have been re-arranged into a linear format, which has ended up having a lot of appendices. There are appendices to the main text in volume 1, which contain supplementary information, and many of the editions of the single settings in volume 2 are provided with their own appendices in which related compositions appear.

In the PDF-version, the layout of the long introductory article conforms to a paper publication with footnotes and self-contained bibliographic references. This may be easier to study than the online version, which uses abbreviations and has the bibliography in a separate database. I had decided not to use music examples in the introduction, because every scrap of music is published in the edition. However, approaching the end of the writing, I found the constant cross-referencing on screen or on paper cumbersome, so examples were added to both versions to make it possible in one look to get an impression of the music described. It adds only a small percentage to the level of duplication in the publication.

A list of sources and the bibliography covering both volumes can be found in the second volume.

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Peter Woetmann Christoffersen
University of Copenhagen, November 2015

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I shall be very happy to know if this edition is of any use to the readers. Please send a word to pw@pwch.dk. Any comments are welcome, including corrections of facts or of my use of the English language.

Contents

Prayers for the dead, funeral music and simple polyphony in a French music manuscript of the early sixteenth century (Amiens, Bibliothèque Centrale Louis Aragon, MS 162 D)

Peter Woetmann Christoffersen

"Unparalleled" and "deeply fascinating", these are the words that come to my mind, if I am asked to characterize the manuscript Amiens, Bibliothèque Centrale Louis Aragon, MS 162 D (hereafter Amiens 162).[1] But, of course, much depends on the eyes that look at it and on how we read a French musical source from the period around 1500. If we as reference take our fascination with the contemporary, brilliant art music, it is easy to view Amiens 162 as a record of a musically boring, provincial repertory consisting of simple polyphony for two and three voices interspersed with plainchant and some small pieces of a more modern design. And this view would be quite accurate. But if we enter into an interpretation of the manuscript's physical details and combine these with the possible context of its genesis, a picture of a highly complex testimony to the use of music in very special circumstances begins to emerge. Then it offers insight into the use of music to alleviate human fear, to support the search for safety in turbulent times, and on the other hand it may represent a cool economic and political calculation, which intended to explore this fear for practical purposes. Furthermore, we seem to find in it traces of a single person's ambition and care for his institution as he attempts to navigate in a difficult situation; and not least, it demonstrates the efficiency and versatility of simple polyphony in a struggle between the old ways and new political and musical circumstances.

I choose, of course, to read this source through highly interpretative optics and to assign the 'cool' reading of such a 'boring' source to a separate section. This is why the technical description of the manuscript has been placed in the appendices following this text. Here one can find discussions of its physical details and traces of use and of their significance for our understanding of the manuscript. The online (and PDF) edition of its musical repertory and related compositions in other sources contains an extensive commentary on the single pieces.[2] I shall at once excuse the unavoidable duplications between these sections.

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1 I wish to express my gratitude to the staff and administration of the Bibliothèque Centrale Louis Aragon for their readiness to help during my visits to Amiens in October 2004 and again in November 2007; and a special thanks to Conservateur du fonds ancien, A.-B. Rothenburger, who advised me on the collections and lent me her personal work copy of Garnier's *Catalogue*. My work on the manuscripts, which are preserved in the quite inaccessible Bibliothèque de l'Hospice at Grand-Saint-Bernard, was enormously facilitated by the lending of a complete, digital colour facsimile from the archivist of the library, Chanoine Jean-Pierre Voutaz, a help I highly appreciate. My thanks also go to senior researcher, dr.phil. Erik Petersen, The Royal Library in Copenhagen, for his help with some difficult Latin texts; and to David Fiala, Catherine Vincent, Pierre Desportes, Catherine Denoël, Ulrike Hascher-Burger Chris Fenner and John T. Brobeck for sending advice and materials.

2 In references to music, I use the reversed quotation marks »« around titles to indicate that the pieces are published in the edition.

For a start we need a short resume of some of the conclusions reached in the manuscript description. Then the situation in Corbie, the career of Dom Antoine de Caulaincourt and the genesis of the music manuscript will form the central part of my narrative. The last topic will be an evaluation of its repertory.

I The manuscript

The manuscript Amiens 162 is a composite volume consisting of three items: a fragment of an early 16th century missal from Corbie, one fascicle only, a 14th century missal likewise from Corbie, which was complete until some time in the 19th century, and a music manuscript. They are all made of parchment and in large format. The volume measures c. 32 x 22 x 4,3 cm and contains 124 folios distributed in 14 fascicles or gatherings. The book was rebound in Amiens in 1826, and during this process all folios were trimmed, and some time later an ink foliation ff. 1-124 was added. These items were brought together, bound in a fragile binding and finally posited in the library of the Corbie Abbey by Dom Antoine de Caulaincourt during the 1530s or earlier.

In the music manuscript we meet four different writing hands. The first certainly belongs to a professional scribe, while the three other hands most probably represent the work of Caulaincourt during a decade or more with small differences and refinements in his writing accumulating. The greatest and most important part of the manuscript was probably produced in Paris during the young Caulaincourt's stay there in 1502-03, and it would be difficult not to assume that he acted on a commission from the abbot of Corbie. The additions and revisions in the music manuscript were results of its use in the services of the St Barbara confraternity through the following decade. It went out of use during the years when the monastery struggled for its independence. By the beginning of the 1520s at latest, its usefulness must have come to an end. At some time before his death, Caulaincourt bound his materials concerning the confraternity in one volume and placed it in the monastery library.

This composite manuscript has never made much of an impression neither as a missal nor as a music manuscript. Its appearance and contents is cursorily described in the catalogue of the Amiens library of 1843,[3] in the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue of manuscripts in French public libraries,[4] and in Abbé Leroquais' big catalogue of missals.[5] In 1965 Helma Hofmann-Brandt 're-discovered' the manuscript in connection with research for her dissertation on responsory tropes of the Office,[6] and she published a small study of its musical contents;[7] since then a short description and a thematic catalogue has been

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3 Jacques Garnier, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Communale de la Ville d'Amiens.* Amiens 1843, p. 125.

4 *Catalogue Géneral des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Départements Vol. XIX: Amiens* (E. Coyecque). Paris 1893, p. 72.

5 Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France I-III + Planches.* Paris 1924, vol. II, p. 298.

6 Helma Hofmann-Brandt, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Officiums 1-2.* Dissertation, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1971.

7 Helma Hofmann-Brandt, 'Eine neue Quelle zur mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit' in M. Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag.* Kassel 1967, pp. 109-115.

published in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*.[8] I have discussed a song from its repertory in my dissertation of 1994,[9] and I have presented the manuscript at a couple of congresses[10] and in an article in the collection *La musique en Picardie*.[11]

The Corbie Abbey, Antoine de Caulaincourt, and conte-abbé Pierre d'Ostrel

The manuscript remained in the monastery library until the dissolution and demolition of the Corbie Abbey, which began in June 1790 during the revolution. Its library was transported to the region's main city, Amiens, 17 kilometres west of Corbie. Here the books were counted and loosely listed in a document containing 403 numbers. From this list the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris selected 74 numbers that were sent to Paris. The reason for this interest in the books was that the library of *L'Abbaye de Corbie* went back to the foundation of the monastery around the year 660 and had been associated with a famous scriptorium.[12] In the 18th century it still owned some of the most valuable and interesting manuscripts from the early Middle Ages. Already before the revolution the library had been thinned out, because the monks during the difficult times following the monastery's loss of independence in 1523 sold books or used them as gifts or bribes. And through the centuries wars rolled across the flat landscape of Northern France – just like it happened in the 19th and 20th centuries. This caused one of the library's greatest losses of books. Four hundred of the most important manuscripts were in 1638 moved to safety in Paris, because Spanish troops two years earlier had occupied Corbie. These manuscripts were never sent back to Corbie.[13]

Amiens kept around 325 volumes of which some were placed in the departmental archive and others in the book collections, which later became the city's public library, Bibliothèque Communale de la Ville d'Amiens. The library opened in 1826 and is still situated in the same beautiful, but much extended building in Rue de la Republique. It

8 Kurt von Fischer (ed.), *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts I-II* (RISM B IV/3-4). München-Duisburg 1972, vol. 3, pp. 429-443.

9 *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century. Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons. The manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2° in the Royal Library, Copenhagen I-III.* Copenhagen 1994, vol. I, pp. 323-325.

10 'Attention to text setting and sonority in simple 15th-century music (the MS Amiens, Bibl. Mun. 162)', (*MED-REN*, Glasgow 2004), and 'The Music Sections of MS Amiens 162: Copyists, Purpose, Corbie, Confréries and the Role of Antoine de Caulaincourt', (*Colloque International In Seculum Amiens. Les manuscrits musicaux d'Amiens au Moyen Âge*, November 22-24, 2007 in Amiens).

11 'L'Abbaye de Corbie, sainte Barbe et le manuscrit Amiens 162', in Camilla Cavicchi, Marie-Alexis Colin & Philippe Vendrix (eds.), *La musique en Picardie du xive au xviie siècle.* (Collection « Épitome musical »), Turnhout 2012, pp. 256-261.

12 For the early history of the monastery, see for example M. Rouche, 'Corbie', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters I-IX.* München 1980-98, vol. III, coll. 224-228, and Dom Grenier, *Histoire de la ville et du comté de Corbie (des origines à 1400), publiée par MM. H. Josse, A. de Calonne et Cl. Brunel* (Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, Fondation Henri Debray. Documents inédits sur l'abbaye, le comté et la ville de Corbie), Amiens 1910; concerning the library and the scriptorium, see Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur l'ancienne bibliothèque de Corbie (Extrait du tome XXIV, Iᵉ partie, des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres),* Paris 1861, and Leslie Webber Jones, 'The Scriptorium at Corbie: I. The Library, II. The Script and the Problems', *Speculum* 22 (1947), pp. 191-204 and 375-394.

13 The majority of these manuscripts can today be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale. 35 manuscripts ended up in Sankt Petersburg; cf. David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Beihefte der Francia, Band 20), Sigmaringen 1990.

has been reckoned that the library today owns 177 manuscripts from Corbie.[14] Before the move to the new building the manuscripts were stored un-catalogued and apparently in quite bad shape. An amateur, Paul Leprince, was permitted to rebind more than 500 of the library's books at his own cost after studying in Paris for nearly a year in order to learn the art of bookbinding. The author of the first catalogue of the manuscripts in the Amiens library, Jacques Garnier, indignantly refuses a contemporary critique that this procedure should have "vandalised, cropped and falsified our manuscripts".[15]

This information calls for some caution, because our manuscript was indeed cropped, reordered and bound by Leprince in 1826. The crucial question is, does the rebound manuscript represent the tattered volume brought from Corbie, or did the binder compile it? In this case Garnier was right about the work of Leprince. An examination of the old sewing holes and the fascicles corroborates that they were bound together in an only slightly different order.[16] This is moreover confirmed by an inscription and by references to the manuscript before 1826. The MS Amiens 162 is by and large identical to the book, which Antoine de Caulaincourt deposited in the Corbie Library.

Antoine de Caulaincout belonged to one of Picardy's oldest noble families.[17] He spent his whole career at the Corbie Abbey and is author of an important source for the history of this institution, known as *Chronicon Corbeiense*. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale as MS lat. 17.757 (Corbie 25) in a partial autograph by Caulaincourt. This work is also found in later copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MSS lat. 10.111 and 12.893).[18] The library in Amiens owns a carefully written copy with the title *Per anni et insignis ad modum Monasterii S. Petri de Corbeia fundatio*, MS 524 D, which has been my main source for the following description.[19] In this work Caulaincourt tells the history of the abbey from 662 to 1529. The story becomes gradually more detailed as the events move toward his own time. He gives an account of the long row of abbots, of the holders of many different offices in the monastic organisation, of the changes in liturgy and practices

14 This information comes from the homepage of the library (http://www.bm-amiens.fr; accessed 12/08/04).

15 "M. Le Price ainé, qui venait de quitter le commerce, offrit de consacrer ses loisir à la reliure de ces volumes. Dès lors il alla à Paris étudier cet art auquel il était tout-à-fait étranger, et après un apprentissage qui dura près d'une année, il se créa un atelier, revint à Amiens et, avec un zèle et générosité sans exemple, donna à plus de 500 volumes et à ses frais, une reliure simple, riche, solide et convenable. On n'a point craint de l'accuser de vandalisme, et de lui reprocher d'avoir rogné et dénaturé plusieurs de nos Mss. Nous ne savons sur quelles preuves on s'est fondé, mains nous, qui avons examiné tous ces volumes un par un, feuillet par feuillet, nous pouvons assurer qu'ils ont été reliés avec une attentions qui allait jusqu'au scrupule: ..." (Garnier, *Catalogue*, pp. XXXI-XXXII). This critique was raised in Le comte de Montalembert, *Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art (framens),* Paris 1839, p. 23. Montalembert, however, remarks only on the cropping of folio volumes – and that did happen.

16 It is now difficult to see, as several of the old sewing holes have been reused by the new binding, but about one centimetre above the lower edge an empty hole is visible in most bifolios.

17 Concerning the Caulaincourt family, see La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse : contenant les généalogies, l'histoire et la chronologie des familles nobles de France.* Tome 4 (3rd ed.) Paris 1864, pp. 853-865.

18 Concerning the sources for the works of Caulaincourt, see further Charlotte Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt (1482-1536/1540 ?), official de l'Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Corbie, historien et possesseur de livres', *Scriptorium. Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits* LXIV (2010), pp. 81-94.

19 Copied at Corbie in the late 16th or the early 17th century in "Ecriture batarde très-correcte" (Garnier, *Catalogue,* p. 462), cf. also *Catalogue Géneral,* vol. XIX, p. 273. Caulaincourt's material has been reused by Dom Paul Bonnefons in his *Historia Corbeiensis* (after 1648) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. lat. 17143.

of the abbey, and he recounts big-time politics viewed from Corbie with visits of princes and ecclesiastic dignitaries as important points, but he takes care also to paint a broader view of events and developments on the European scene – in fact, Corbie was quite well informed on the world.

From 1489 a first person narrator appears, when Caulaincourt himself crops up as the very last in an enumeration of the residents in the monastery, "et ego ultimus quadragesi-mus sextus in ordine",[20] and from then on his career and opinions come to occupy an increasingly prominent place in the story. He was probably born in 1482 or a little later as the second son of Jean III de Caulincourt and Jeanne Le Vasseur who married in 1480.[21] His uncle, Renaud Le Vasseur, was a monk in Corbie, where he in 1489 became *thesaurarius* and later *supremus superior claustralis* (died 1517). As a novice Caulaincourt was educated at the abbey, and being one of its best pupils he from 1496 continued his studies for three years at the renowned *Grandes écoles* of Amiens. Returned to Corbie, he was ordained a *subdiaconus* and a short time later a *diaconus*, and finally, in August 1501, Caulaincourt was received as a full member of the Benedictine order. At Easter 1502 he was sent to Paris to study for ten months with his older cousin, the learned Jean Le Vasseur, professor of theology, prior of the Dominican convent at Saint-Omer and suffragan bishop of Thé-rouanne (died 1508). After his return to Corbie, Caulaincourt was ordained a priest in the cathedral of Noyon by the bishop; however, he was not accorded the right to celebrate Mass due to his young age. This was remedied in 1504, when the abbot obtained a dis-pensation from the archbishop of Rouen, permitting Caulaincourt and his contemporary Jacques de Renty to say Mass, and at Advent they were installed as *magistri novitiorum* (teachers of the novices).

Now he started the slow climb up the monastic hierarchy. He was promoted to func-tions within the abbey and acquired benefices, which allowed him to stay on in Corbie as one of the higher officers: He became the abbot's chaplain in 1510, in 1516 *prévôt de Naours,* 1517 *cellerarius aquarum* and during the same year he was *princeps* or *maître* of the *Confrérie Saints-Innocents*, and finally in January 1522, Caulaincourt was installed in one of the most powerful positions at Corbie, as *officialis,* chairman of the clerical court, a sort of 'guardian of the faith'. Caulaincourt died in 1536 or 1540.[22]

Caulaincourt appears totally immersed in the affairs of the abbey and in all sides of monastic life. He was highly educated with years of study in Amiens and Paris to supple-ment the abbey school. His education was certainly supported by his learned relatives Renaud and Jean Le Vasseur, and probably promoted also by his abbot, Pierre d'Ostrel. He does not tell us anything of music at the abbey in his chronicle or of his own experiences with singing. We may simply assume that he participated in the singing at all services since

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20 MS Amiens 524 D, p. 328.

21 This short biography of Caulaincourt builds on his own chronicle and a sketch by Jacques Garnier, *Notice sur Antoine de Caulincourt, official de Corbie (1521-1540)*. Amiens 1856. A more detailed version of this information appears as *Appendix D* in this volume.

22 The copy of the library catalogue of Corbie states "1536" (see below), while Garnier in his *Notice* gives the date as "1540" without mentioning his source. The source was probably Amiens MS 525 C, an abbreviated history of the monastery of c. 1675 by Dom Cocquelin (published by Jacques Garnier as 'Historiæ regalis abbatiæ corbeiensis compendium. Auctore Dom. Benedicto Cocquelin ... Edidit et annotavit J. Garnier', in *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*. Tome VIII, Amiens 1845, pp. 377-534), which p. 30 (Garnier p. 463) says that Antoine Turban followed Caulaincourt as *officialis* in 1540; in several other instances this work mentions 1540 as Caulaincourt's year of death.

his entrance as a novice, and that he was able to pass on these abilities, when he himself became a teacher of the novices – all as part of a monastic routine.

He seems to have been well off and quite successful, even if he often in later life entered into controversies with powers outside the abbey as well as with superiors inside. For example, he recounts with great pride that in 1513 the French king, Louis XII, during his second stay in Corbie for twenty days, preferred to live in Caulaincourt's rooms, while the dukes of Angoulême and Alençon and other high nobles were lodged in the residences of the abbot and the prior.[23] The landing of English troops had called the king to Picardy, where he stayed twice in Corbie. During the next couple of centuries Caulaincourt was remembered by his successors in Corbie as a prolific author and as one of the abbey's great scholars, a "vir pius ac doctus, multa scripsit".[24]

During the entire lifetime of Caulaincourt, the monastery was staggering from crisis to crisis, and its decisive decline set in during his last twenty years. After the peace of Arras in 1435 during the Hundred Years War, the lands along the Somme including Corbie had come under the rule of the Burgundian duchy. This, however, did not remove the region from the devastation of the war zone, and the Burgundian dukes simply disregarded the self-rule of the monastery. The army of the French king captured Corbie in 1475, burned down the town and plundered the abbey. The area returned to the French crown only after the death of duke Charles Témèraire and the collapse of Burgundy as a major political player in 1477. From its earliest days Corbie had been a royal abbey, which enjoyed wide-ranging privileges and was independent of the French church organisation. The monks were entitled to elect their own abbot who only had to be confirmed by the pope, and who at his rise to the title of abbot became *conte* (count) and ruler of the town and of extensive land possessions around it, as well as holdings in Brabant, around Liége, in Louvain, in Flanders and in Southern Germany.[25] When Corbie returned to France, the crown wished to change this situation.

By putting the abbey under *la commende*, the king was able to bestow the title of *abbé-conte* on members of his administration or of his court as a valuable benefice. The holder of such an office did not have to worry about the daily business of the monastery, which was run by the prior. The king met strong opposition from the monks. The first *commende*-abbot, François de Mailly, had to give up his title, when Louis XI died in 1483. The monks put his prior in jail, and the king answered by arresting several monks and forcing them to Paris. In the end, the abbot elected by the monks in 1483, Pierre d'Ostrel (d'Ostreil, Dottrel), was installed in 1485.[26] In compensation the abbey had to pay a pension to his

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23 Amiens MS 524 D, p. 356.

24 Amiens MS 525 C, p. 30 (Garnier, 'Historiæ ...', p. 461). In a list of learned men, most of them abbots of the monastery, and starting with St Adalardus (abbot 780-826), St Paschasius Ratbertus (abbot 843-851), St Anscharius (missionary to Denmark and Sweden, 801-865), and Ratramus (monk 825-c. 870), Caulaincourt is listed as the tenth and last ("Academia", pp. 6-7, Garnier, pp. 399-400). Among those famed for their remarkable wisdom ("Doctrina conspicui", p. 25, Garnier, p. 450) Caulaincourt is mentioned as the third after St Adalardus and St Anscharius. Dom Paul Bonnefons brings a long eulogy on Caulaincourt at the point (p. 971), where he had to leave his *Chronique* as a valuable source for his own *Historia Corbeiensis* (Paris, BN, MS lat. 17143).

25 Cf. Chantal Zoller-Devroey, 'Le domaine de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Corbie en Basse-Lotharingie et en Flandre au Moyen Âge', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 54 (1976), pp. 427-457 and 1061-1097.

26 A short discussion of the abbots of Corbie and the circumstances of their appointments can be found in Pierre Zurfluh, 'L'héraldique des Abbés-comtes de Corbie' in Facultés catholiques de Lille, *Corbie, abbaye royale. Volume du XXXIe centenaire.* Lille 1963, pp. 413-442.
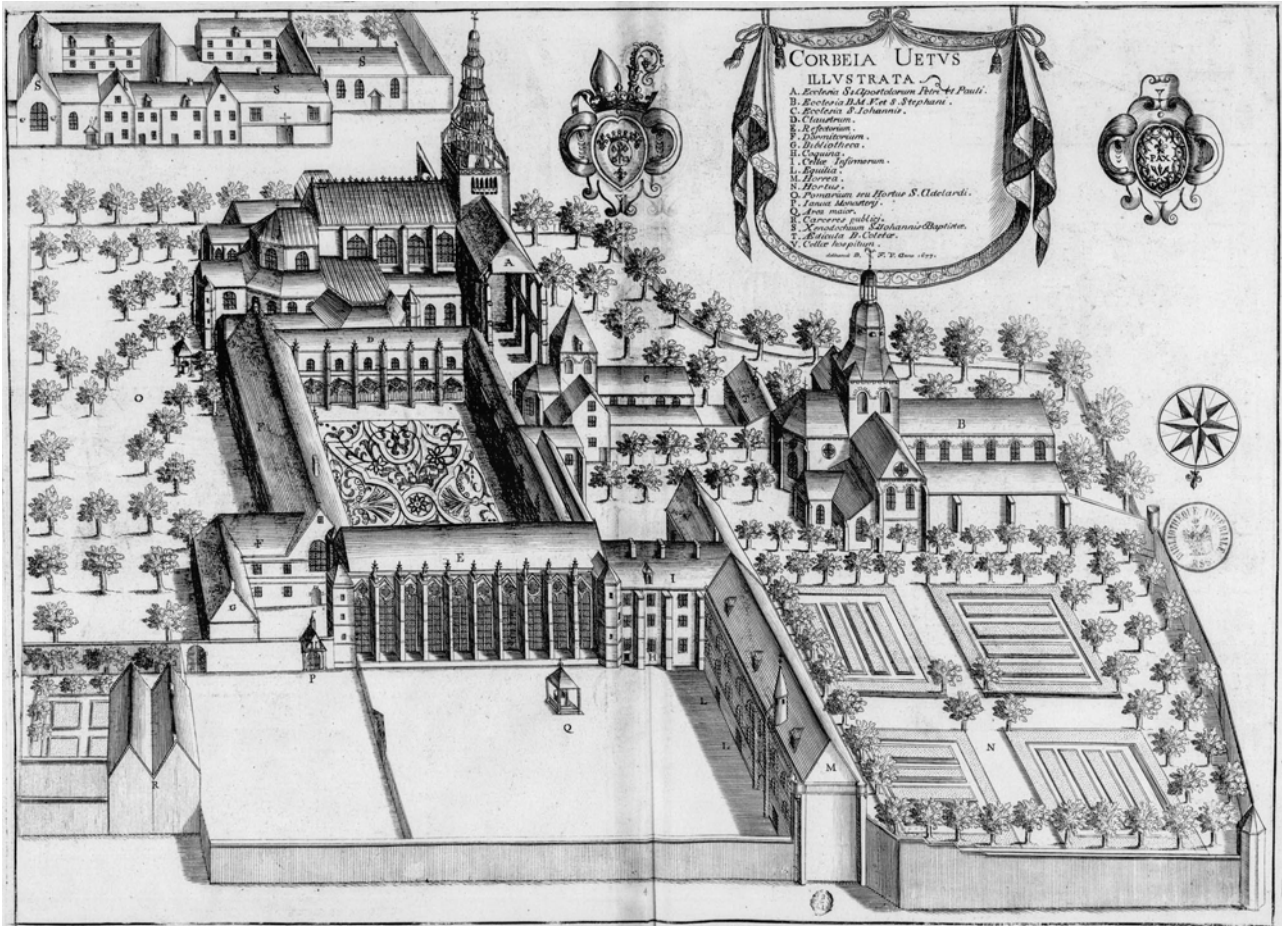
Figure 1, The half-finished St Pierre and the Corbie Abbey in 1677. Drawing in *Monasticon gallicanum* by Dom Germain. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 11820 (http://gallica. bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9080819c/f13.image/). The letter G marks the monastery's library, to the left of the refextory (E).

predecessor. Abbot d'Ostrel made great efforts to restore the abbey to its former glory, even if Corbie during his years in office was hit repeatedly by backlashes such as the English conquest and plundering of the town in 1493.

Their main church, the *Abbatiale* St Pierre, was erected in the 11th century and seemed hopelessly out-dated in comparison to other religious centres of the region.[27] A new, spacious church was designed. It was planned to have a total length of 117,5 meters, with a transept crowned by a bell tower and a spire reaching a height of 90 meters, and a facade dominated by two massive towers – of dimensions a bit smaller only than the cathedral of Amiens (145 meters in length). In order to create space for the construction, the first steps were to demolish the old St Pierre. Under the energetic leadership of Pierre d'Ostrel the building of the new church started in 1501, but owing to the widespread famine in the region it came to a standstill in 1503-04, only to be resumed in 1506. At d'Ostrel's death in 1506 the choir was finished under a temporary roof, and the building of the transept and its covering continued during the following years. However, the monastery became

27 For the building history of St Pierre, see Pierre Héliot, *L'abbaye de Corbie, ses églises et ses batiments* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, fasc. 29), Louvain 1957.

Figure 2, Model of St Pierre before the French revolution
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CORBIE_Abbatiale_Maquette_1810.JPG).

involved in a new controversy concerning the appointment of the next abbot. The monks elected Guillaume du Caurel, while the king preferred the bishop of Amiens, François d'Halluin. Again, the dispute was resolved by paying an enormous yearly compensation to the bishop for his relinquishment of the title. The financial burden made it nearly impossible to keep up the building effort. The conflict went on, now with the king's new appointee, cardinal Louis de Bourbon, as a main actor besides the Amiens bishop. The Concordat of Bologna of 1516 had increased the royal influence on appointments, but abbot Caurel was able to keep his challengers at bay. After the death of Caurel in 1522, the conflict flared up again and escalated into physical violence as well as excommunications of monks including Caulaincourt. Pope Adrian VI nominated, against the wishes of the king, Philippe de la Chambre (the later cardinal of Bologna) as *abbé commendataire* in 1523. To begin with this only complicated the question. The unrest surrounding the position at last came to an end with the final instalment of Philippe de la Chambre in 1528.

From then on the title of *abbé-conte* belonged to non-resident, noble dignitaries, who did not have any interest in sinking funds into a local building project. The church remained half finished. The spire above the transept probably came up in 1540, but the remainder had to wait until the monastery was transferred to the Benedictine society *La Congrégation de St-Maur,* and until it was decided – while cardinal Mazarin officiated as

Figure 3, St Pierre and Corbie in 2004.

abbot – to restore the monastery at the expense of the crown. The building of St-Pierre was resumed around 1685 and finished in gothic style after the original, only slightly revised design around 1740. During the years after the revolution, the big basilica was mainly exploited as a quarry, where materials for other building works could be fetched. After some attempts at restoration, it was decided in 1816 to preserve the facade with its towers and the nave only, while the ruins of the transept and choir were demolished. To-day, only the youngest third of Pierre d'Ostrel's vision of a gothic basilica stands in the townscape of Corbie as a dominating, oddly truncated church.

The Confrérie Ste Barbe

On folio 1 of MS Amiens 162 we find along the spine a nearly illegible Latin inscription, which identified the contents of the MS by mentioning the first and last items in the volume, "Missale imperfectum … officium proprium Ste Barbare virginis et martyris: propter sodalita … corbeiensi … in fine libri … …". It was, judging by the style of the writing, added sometime during the 17th or early 18th centuries. Similar information can be found in a copy of an old catalogue of the Corbie Abbey library made by Dom Pardessus in 1761, which describes the MS as "Missale. Il se trouve a la fin un office de ste Barbe pour la confrerie de cette ste qui etoit dans l'eglise de Corbie a qui Dom Antoine de Caulaincourt

donna ce livre. Antoine de Caulaincourt est mort en 1536. Cotté 105 II." (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Collection de Picardie*, tome 15, f. 9).[28] This information reappears in the later, printed catalogues of the Amiens library.[29] It confirms that the two missals and the music manuscript were bound together at an early date, that the St Barbara vespers contrary to their present placement were placed at the end of the volume, and furthermore, that the volume was donated to the Corbie library by Antoine de Caulaincourt before 1536. It is easy to reconstruct the original disposition of the volume: The present fascicles 1-6 must simply be moved to the end of the volume. Hereby the music manuscript becomes an entity ending with the vespers of St Barbara, and it was presumably preserved between covers of which f. 1 is the sole remains. Into this cover Caulaincourt placed an old missal in his possession, and before that a fascicle from another, younger missal ("Missale imperfectum …"), and had it all bound. In this shape, the manuscript fits the old catalogue description perfectly.

What is of special interest to us is that the inscription and the catalogue entry establish a connection between the manuscript and a *confrérie Ste Barbe*. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find any references to St Barbara in the quite scanty literature on Corbie in the 15th and 16th centuries. There seem to have been neither chapels nor altars dedicated to this saint at the monastery, and any confraternity in her honour cannot be documented in the town. In this connection we have to bear in mind that the many wars in this region have to some degree ravaged the archives and made research challenging. It has earlier been noticed that it is difficult to document any significant number of confraternities in the Picardy,[30] but later research shows that it probably had the same relative number of such institutions as other Northern French provinces.[31] But there is still much to find out about Corbie.[32] There cannot, however, be any doubt that such a confraternity did exist. In a listing of financial dispositions by abbot Pierre d'Ostrel in 1501, Caulaincourt's own chronicle of Corbie documents the existence of two confraternities in connection with

28 Garnier describes how he in order to establish the catalogue of the manuscripts from Corbie had to send an assistant to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris to copy the older Corbie catalogue; the new copy entered the Amiens library as MS 561 D, *Catalogue des livres manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Corbie* (Garnier, *Catalogue*, pp. 497-498). The older catalogue was among the papers of Dom Pierre-Nicolas Grenier. The Benedictine Dom Grenier and his collaborators were commissioned to collect archival documents in preparation of a description of Picardy and its history. After the death of Grenier in 1789, his collected or copied documents organized in 32 big packages were transferred to Bibliothèque Nationale, cf. M. Ch. Dufour, 'Pouillé des manuscrits, composants la collection de Dom Grenier, sur la Picardie, a la Bibliothèque du Roi' in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie,* tome II, Amiens 1839, pp. 385-474. Since then the papers have been part of the library's *Collection de Picardie* and have been arranged in 263 volumes supplemented by 73 volumes of maps, cf. Ph. Lauer, *Bibliothèque nationale. Collections manuscrits sur l'histoire des provinces de France. Inventaire I-II.* Paris 1905-11, tome I, pp. XXIV-XXIX – the copy by Dom Pardessus of the old catalogue is here mentioned in tome II, p. 82.

29 *Catalogue*, p. 125, and *Catalogue Géneral,* vol. XIX, p. 72.

30 See for example the most authoritative survey of confraternities in late medieval France in Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France. XIIIe-XVe siècle.* Paris 1994, p. 42.

31 Cf. Pierre Desportes, 'Le mouvement confraternel à Amiens et en Picardie aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age' in *Aspects de la Picardie au Moyen Age,* Amiens, Centre d'histoire des sociétés de l'Université de Picardie, 1995, pp. 161-184.

32 In a private communication (December 2005), professor Desportes kindly answered that there has been very little research on Corbie in the 15th-16th centuries during the last century, but that it is far from impossible that exciting things could surface. However, I have had to desist from this time-consuming research positioned at the borders of my topic.

the abbey, "Item trigintas duas libras Annui et perpetui Redditus super villam de Wiencourt ad faciendum pastum monachis diebus videlicet sui Anniversarii Beati Sebastiani martiris Die quo prime Reliquie reponuntur, et in confraternitatibus sanctarum marie magdalene et barbare martiris." (MS Paris, BN, lat. 17.757, ff. 90v-91). This grant from the abbot allocates 32 livres coming from the revenues of the abbey's property in Willencourt (Viencourt) to pay for the participation of the monks in the banquets held yearly on the day of the re-enshrinement of the relics of Saint Sebastian in the Abbatiale, and in the banquets of the confraternities of the saints Maria Magdalena and Barbara the martyr.

In the second half of the 15th century there existed in Amiens a *confrérie de Sainte-Barbe* at the Dominican convent, which organized some of the most important citizens of Amiens. It was one of the rallying grounds for the privileged.[33] In Corbie there may very well have existed a similar confraternity under the protection of St Barbara, which allied the monastery and the people of the town in a spiritual community, and which held its services in one of the abbey's three churches, St-Pierre, St-Étienne or St-Jean, or in one of the town's parish churches, with a priest from the monastery as officiant. However, we have no documentation of such a confraternity, no statutes, no financial records or records of testamentary gifts, except for the old catalogue description of the manuscript and the almost accidental mention of it in a listing of the abbot's dispositions in 1501. It would be, of course, of great importance to have sure knowledge of the organization behind the unique musical source. But everything we can say about the *confrérie Ste Barbe* has to be a web of hypotheses, based only on the general literature on French confraternities and on what the manuscript itself can tell us.

Spiritual confraternities connecting monasteries and lay society had existed since the 11th century. The confraternity movement grew in many different shapes and reached a peak in the second half of the 15th and the first decades of the 16th centuries, where they could be found in abundance in cities, and they were numerous in rural parishes also. Often they catered for groups of the populace with shared professional interests, but could as well reach across social boundaries. Their primary mission was to prepare the members for life eternal by organizing their 'good deeds' (alms and presence at services and prayers) and their funerals, and by holding memorial services for the deceased and festive services for the patron saint. A confraternity could function as a sort of extended spiritual family (or a family substitute). The solidarity was strengthened by the members' participation in at least one yearly procession and in a shared meal with high-quality food and drink, during which memorials to deceased members were read; this banquet was interpolated between attendances to a mass and vespers dedicated to the patron saint.

Attendance to the funerals of fellow members and requiem masses was important, likewise was the availability of the necessary paraphernalia belonging to a funeral (candles, bier, pall etc.) a matter of great importance, especially to the less affluent.[34] To be assured

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33 Cf. Desportes, 'Le mouvement confraternel', pp. 174-176. David Henry Dieterich describes a similar *Confrérie de Sainte-Barbe* in Liège during the years around 1500, which was the most prestigious society in the city with an equal number of members from the clergy of the cathedral and members selected among the most affluent lay citizens; cf. *Brotherhood and Community on the Eve of the Reformation: Confraternities and Parish Life in Liège, 1450-1500.* Ph.D.-diss., Univ. of Michigan 1982, Ch. III.

34 Cf. Jeanne Deschamps, *Les confréries au moyen age.* Bordeaux 1958, Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales …, passim* and James R. Banker, *Death in the Community. Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages.* Athens & London 1988, which discusses the situation in Italy, but contains a concise introduction to the topic pp. 1-37.

Figure 4, Jan van Eyck (about 1395-1441), *St Barbara* (Oil on panel, 1437), Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Belgium.

of a solemn funeral and of continuing intercessory prayers for their souls was a weighty reason for the increasing support for the confraternities. This, however, could be combined with other purposes, which added considerably to the 'good deeds' accumulated for the members. For example, in Northern France after the destruction of many churches during the Hundred Years War, we find confraternities founded for the purpose of supporting and financing the rebuilding of churches.[35]

Confraternities were dedicated to a patron saint, most often to the Virgin Maria or to the Holy Sacraments, or to saints of local importance. But also the fourteen saints renowned as helpers in times of need were loved as patrons. Saint Barbara was among the most popular. She was regarded as the patron saint for builders, miners, artillerists and the dying – patron of the most dangerous trades and "la patronesse de la bonne mort".[36] In Italy we find several *Confréries de Sainte-Barbe* consisting of members from Flanders and Northern France.[37]

Of the two confraternities mentioned in Caulaincourt's *Chronique*, the first one may have been connected with the chapel in "S. Mariae Magadalenae domus leprosorum", a leper infirmary (12th century) in Neuville-sous-Corbie, which belonged to the monastery.[38] Regarding the other one, we have to presume that the *confrérie Ste Barbe* was created or revived on the initiative of *abbé-conte* Pierre d'Ostrel who in all his actions showed himself as a vigorous leader. Its existence, judging from the contents of the music manuscript, seems to be part of a conscious strategy to gain the support and confidence of the local society as well as of the work force during the complicated process of renewing the *Abbatiale*. And it may have been as short-lived as many other confraternities, which did not survive their founder(s) by many years.[39]

It is possible to regard the music manuscript as a tangible psychological tool, as a manifestation of what the confraternity was able to put up in defence for the soul who had participated in the joint project when death took its toll either by natural causes, by violence or caused by the evidently dangerous work of demolition and building. The manuscript may have functioned as something that created a feeling of security, an object to be looked at and touched, and the members could hear the music sung at the appropriate occasions. It signified the promise that the participants received something important in return for their contribution whether they donated money or worked.

All evidence indicates that the monastery had done without polyphonic music in its liturgy during the nearly thousand years before 1500 – notated as well as improvised polyphony. Much of the music gathered for inclusion in MS Amiens 162 is in fact, as we shall see, very similar to simple improvised polyphony, which could be recreated *alla*

35 Cf. Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales …,* p. 34.

36 Desportes, 'Le mouvement confraternel', p. 175. In Normandy St Barbara was worshipped intensely since the 11th century with many confraternities under her patronage, cf. Jean Fournée, 'Le Culte Populaire et l'Iconographie de Sainte Barbe en Normandie', *parlers et traditions populaires de normandie* 10 (1978), pp. [1]-[32], and Catherine Vincent, *Des charités bien ordonnées. Les confréries normandes de la fin du XIIIe siècle au début du XVIe siècle.* Paris 1988, p. 303.

37 Cf. for example, Mario Battistini, *La Confrérie de Sainte-Barbe des Flamands a Florence. Documents relatifs aux tisserands et aux tapissiers.* Bruxelles 1931, concerning the confraternity in Florence, which had Heinrich Isaac as a member, and which took care of his funeral.

38 Listed among the assets of Corbie by Dom Cocquelin, cf. Garnier, 'Historiæ ...', p. 492; see also Société des antiquaires de Picardie, *Dictionnaire historique et archéologique de la Picardie. Arrondissement d'Amiens : cantons de Corbie, Hornoy et Molliens-Vidame.* Amiens 1912, p. 2.

39 Cf. Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales …,* pp. 45-46.

mente just by following a set of established rules – this applies to the two-part settings of sequences in particular. But in our manuscript these songs are carefully written out in simple notation making singers, who mastered only the monophonic singing of the liturgical repertory, able to perform them. It is remarkable that the monastery with this collection did stake so much on polyphonic music for funerals and services. Moreover, the pieces were carefully selected for their ability to create a sound picture, which was just as solemn as much of the contemporary art music for such occasions. This indicates a consciousness of what was needed to make an impression in the cultural climate of France around 1500. The 'customers', or the eyes and ears that the music should impress, might very well have experienced polyphony performed using notated music or improvised in the churches of other cities and in institutions, which had singers at their disposal who were educated in cathedral schools. In MS Amiens 162 they could ascertain that the monastery had access to solemn music for intercession for the souls, beautifully written on big sheets, and at funerals and memorial services the singers of the confraternity was able to fill the church with an impressive sound.

This way of viewing polyphony as a valuable factor in the confraternity's mission, and as an offer to its members, may have been inspired by the rich musical life sponsored by confraternities in the rich cities in the regions north of Picardy, in Flanders and Brabant, where Corbie had extensive land holdings. The well-endowed confraternities in these regions regularly used improvised or notated polyphony with daily or weekly participation of professional musicians and singers – including famous composers – in masses, vespers and especially Marian worship such as 'Salve'- and 'Lof'-services and processions.[40] Did the music of the Amiens MS try to imitate the sound of the music in such circles, or was it an attempt to suggest a feeling of belonging in order to make the members of the *confrérie Ste Barbe* willing to contribute to the building of the new magnificent *Abbatiale*?

The genesis of the music manuscript

The library was carefully maintained at the Corbie monastery. Old books were kept in repair and supplementary literature was purchased, but an active scriptorium was no longer in existence. New manuscripts were ordered from local copyists, from Amiens and from the Parisian workshops.[41] Therefore, when it was decided to acquire a collection of music for the special needs of the *confrérie Ste Barbe*, it seems impossible that it should have been ordered from a local shop. Musical expertize of a particular type was required to select the repertory. It must be our best guess that the young Caulaincourt, when he at Easter 1502 set off for Paris to study for ten months, brought along a detailed set of instructions from abbot d'Ostrel for the music collection and a sum of money to cover the expenses. His journey started a few months after the start of the building of the new church.

40 Cf. Pieter Mannaerts, 'Die Bruderschaften und Zünfte und die kirchenmusikalische Praxis in den Niederlanden (14.-16. Jahrhundert)', in Franz Körndle & Joachim Kremer (eds.), *Der Kirchenmusiker: Berufe - Institutionen - Wirkungsfelder.* Laaber 2014, pp. 101-122; for Bruges, Antwerp and Ghent, see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges,* Oxford 1985 (rev. ed. 1990), Kristine Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp', *Early Music History* 7 (1987), pp. 1-51, and Paul Trio & Barbara Haggh, 'The Archives of Confraternities in Ghent and Music' in Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelmans, André Vanrie (eds.), *Musicology and Archivial Research. Colloquium Procedings Brussels 22-23.4.1993* (Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique 46) Bruxelles 1994, pp. 44-90.

41 Cf. Delisle, *Recherches sur l'ancienne bibliothèque de Corbie*, pp. 40 ff, and Jones, 'The Scriptorium at Corbie', p. 201.

Caulaincourt's *Chronique* does not tell us anything about his studies. The financing of his stay in Paris did not pose any problems, because in the same list of the abbot's dispositions for the year 1501, where the monk's participation in the banquets of the confraternities was settled, 200 livres yearly were granted to the maintenance of "our monks in Paris or study in other places" (Monachorum nostrorum Parisiis, vel alibi studentium).[42] And, as Caulaincourt mentions, he studied with and probably stayed with his cousin, the learned Jean Le Vasseur. In these Parisian circles it was certainly possible to find the looked-for expert with access to a wide-ranging repertory of monastic music. This person was the copyist we have dubbed Hand A, and he was surely also responsible for the selection of the funeral music and the sequences, which fills out the main part of the manuscript.

Thirty sheets of good quality parchment in large format were used for the music manuscript, and its big musical notation makes it eminently legible at a distance for a group of singers. All the text below the music is written in variants of the gothic minuscule script or textura (*littera textualis formata*) of the type found in countless manuscripts from the scriptoriums of churches and monasteries. In textura script it is often difficult to discern individual characteristics of the hands that had participated in producing a manuscript. Every letter is so to say drawn separately, often with more than one stroke, according to patterns, which did not vary much in the many parts of Europe where the script was used. This makes the textura very different from cursive script, which often discloses the copyist's personal characteristics in the flow of letters across the page. However, in Amiens 162 it is relatively simple to discern the two main copyists (hands A and B) – the two scribes' conspicuously different methods of preparation for music copying are in this respect very helpful. It is also quite easy to recognize three hands as developments of the same copyist's writing over time (Hands B, C and D).

It seems obvious that the copying of the music manuscript started when the repertory was selected and ready. In order to get the work done in the short time available, the two main hands worked alongside each other, each on his part of the project, and we can imagine how they worked on the music manuscript.

Hand A concentrated on the music for funerals and commemoration, for which he prepared 14 sheets of parchment.[43] He was a professional scribe of liturgical books with musical notation such as missals and antiphonaries, in which prose and music alternate. In such manuscripts it could be difficult to predict where precisely musical notation should take over from text and rubrics, and therefore the musical staves were only drawn when initials and rubrics were in place upon the pages. This was exactly his method of working. First he entered all the text and the initials in dark brown (black) ink leaving spaces open for the red initials and for letters in a contrasting colour. Then he drew the initials and after that the music staves in red ink with a *rastrum*, seven staves on each page, carefully matching the texts below (staff system 1). The last stages were to enter the music in brown ink and the emphasized capitals and the decorations of the black initials in yellow ink. His texts are entered in a clear and well-formed textura with the single letters closely spaced and strong contrasts between the heavy strokes and the hairlines and with acute-angled feet on all vertical strokes. His expertise in musical notation was probably restricted to the black notation of plainchant and the related simple polyphony; his custos are – as usual in chant manuscripts – formed as miniature *puncta*.

42 Amiens MS 524, p. 336, and Paris Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 17.757, f. 90v.
43 For details, see the description of the MS in *Appendix A*.

He folded eight sheets into two fascicles (quaternions), which gave him sufficient space for four songs, and he left the front page of the first fascicle blank (ff. 2-17v). In the single two-part composition (ff. 13v-16) the tenor voice with the pre-existent tune is placed on the left hand pages, and the contra voice is on the right hand pages. In the three-part compositions the tenor is written across the openings at the bottom of the pages with the higher voices above it; the highest placed at the left. This disposition of the parts was traditional, known from countless motets from the 13th century onwards. In the songs with several stanzas the music and text for every single stanza is fully written out, each stanza occupying an opening. The fifth funeral piece was very long, ten stanzas, and he folded sheets in two fascicles in order to copy it, one of four sheets and one of two (ff. 18-29v). After filling out the ten openings in exactly the same way as in the preceding three-part songs, leaving the front page blank, he furnished the remaining pages with empty music staves drawn from side to side (ff. 18 and 28v-29v, staff system 2).

The funeral or commemorative repertory of hand A

This repertory of five very different polyphonic compositions exemplifies the expertise of its compiler. They are carefully selected with their liturgical function as criterion, probably from quite diverse exemplars as they – as we shall discuss later – display considerable differences in notation and compositional technique:

> »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« a 3, ff. 2v-10
> »Lugentibus in purgatorio« a 3, ff. 10v-13
> »Quando deus filius virginis« a 2, ff. 13v-16
> »Creator omnium rerum deus« a 3, ff. 16v-17v
> »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« a 3, ff. 18v-28

We find some quite unusual features considering that the repertory consists of anonymous music in very simple notation: For three out of the five compositions the tunes are known from other sources ("Quando deus", "Creator omnium" and "Juxta corpus"), the texts of three of the five are known in one or more contemporary or recent polyphonic settings ("Bone Ihesu", "Lugentibus" and "Juxta corpu*s*"). Among the five only one sets a text and tune from the older liturgical repertory ("Creator omnium"), which on the other hand has the most 'modern' setting, while we for the remaining four know the texts only from the late 15th century and in particular in slightly different versions from other monasteries in French speaking regions and Southern Germany ("Bone Ihesu" changes an original Franciscan text into one acceptable to Benedictines, "Juxta corpus" has a Dominican leaning, but has been changed into an Augustinian text in a MS from the monastery Grand-Saint-Bernard etc.).

What unite these songs is that all of them are tropes or verses for the responsory "Libera me, domine, de morte eterna", which had a prominent position in the funeral ritual, or more specifically in the *absolution* ceremony, which followed the Requiem mass and came before the procession to the churchyard. Moreover, it was an important element in the *Officium pro defunctis*, which was sung in intercession for the deceased on the day of death/funeral and on the 3rd, 7th and 30th days following the day of death, and in monasteries it was sung daily besides the office of the day in intercession for all the dead who had been connected with the monastery. "Libera me" is the final responsory of the third nocturne in the matins of *Officium pro defunctis*, and here it was often expanded

with long rows of verses between the repeats of the responsory sections, and stanzas from metrical rimed hymns might appear.[44]

In his preface to the facsimile edition of the antiphoner from the cathedral of Worchester Dom André Mocquereau describes the Benedictine funeral ritual according to the rubrics in the antiphoner (13th century) supplemented with descriptions of ceremonies in the affiliated Benedictine monastery in Evesham:[45] After the requiem mass a procession was formed, and with the cross bearer, bearers and acolytes with incense and holy water in front the monks went to the main altar and grouped around the catafalque where the deceased rested. From the choir steps the cantor and two monks intoned in "lamenting voice" (*voce lacrimosa*) the antiphon "Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis", which the assembly answered with "Dolores inferni circumdererunt me". This alternated singing was repeated trice. Then two brethren sang "Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson" and the assembly repeated, then followed the prayer "Nos intres", during which the brethren bowed low. The singers intoned the responsory "Qui Lazarum" and the assembly sang the continuation, while the prior swung the censer around the altar and the body. After the incensement a new series of prayers started with "Circumdederunt" and "Kyrie" as before. Then came the prayer "Deus qui omnia vivunt", and while the responsory "Heu mihi" was sung, the altar and the body were again incensed. The third and last series of prayers again consisted of "Circumdederunt" and "Kyrie" followed by the prayer "Fac quaesumus Domine", and the singers sang the responsory "Libera me, Domine, de morte" with the verse. "Creator omnium rerum deus";[46] the assembly continued with "Dum veneris", and finally the singers repeated "Libera me". During this, the incensement was repeated. Here after the procession was formed again, and singing the antiphon "In paradisum" and the psalm "In exitu" it transported the deceased to the churchyard with lighted candles while the bells were ringing.

The three-part »Creator omnium rerum deus« in Amiens 162 sets a widely circulated verse whose tenor tune can be found in the Worchester antiphoner; it is a prayer for the soul of the deceased on the day of judgment: "… facies in die iudicii resuscitari. Exaudi, exaudi. exaudi me ut animam meam in sinu Abrahe patriarche tui iubeas collocari"[47] The words "Exaudi, exaudi, exaudi me" are set with fermatas on all notes to emphasize the personal address. Also the two-part »Quando deus filius virginis« is a prayer for grace on the day of judgement for the resurrected after the souls' descends into the abyss. Its three stanzas each end refrain-like with the exclamations "O, O, O" with fermatas, followed by first hopefully "felix vox, felix promisso", then worriedly "proth dolor, quanta tritistia", and finally by a prayer to Jesus "Ihesu rex, exaudi poscimus preces nostras". The setting ends

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44 Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead.* Aarhus 1993, pp. 213 ff, describes a repertory from Cambrai, where stanzas from the hymn "Ad consultum veritas" are sung to its own tune among verses of a different character.

45 Dom André Mocquereau (ed.), *Le codex F 160 de la Bibliothèque de la cathedrale de Worchester. Antiphonaire monastique (XIIIe siècle).* (Paléographie Musicale XII) Tournai 1922-25, pp. 115-17.

46 The entire verse is entered with music in the Worchester antiphoner; all the preceding standard songs are represented by incipits only. Mocquereau, *Le codex F 160 …,* planches 438-39.

47 Knud Ottosen has found the versus in 465 sources after the 11th century – in 461 instances as a versus for "Libera me", cf. Ottosen, *The Responsories …,* p. 405, V38. The verse appears also in books of hours copied in the second half of the 15th century, cf. for example *Horæ ad usum Sarum* (The Bohun Hours), Copenhagen, The Royal Library, MS Thott 547 4°, f. 59, or The Burnet Psalter, Aberdeen University Library, MS 25, f. 277r-v.

with a clue for the repeat of the responsory by way of the musical and textual incipit of "Libera ..." in both voices in unison. The tune in the tenor and the text is found in a nearly identical version – with a clue for the repeat of the "Dum veneris"-section of the responsory after the second stanza – in a *processionale/tropar* from the second half of the 15th century copied in the Augustine monastery Grand-Saint-Bernard or in the Aosta Valley (Ms. 7).[48] Clemens Blume states that this regular poem of quite limited circulation probably is a reworking of the trope "Dicet iustis ad dexteram positis", which first appeared in sources from the second part of the 15th century.[49] Surely, it is much younger than the text of »Creator omnium rerum«.

In the thinking about the end of earthly life, we meet in the late medieval ages an increasing obsession with thoughts about what happens to the human soul in Purgatory. The cleansing fire (*ignis purgatorius*) that washed away sins before resurrection, becomes more and more a punitive measure, and it appears eventually as only one among many devilish contrived torments for the soul. The Purgatory becomes a feared, concrete station, which the dead has to pass through.[50] The intercessory prayers for the dead take on an ever-increasing importance in spiritual life, and the number of services and intercessory rituals explodes in the 15th century.[51] If one wishes to expand the intercessory prayer for the soul, the natural place to set in is in the responsory "Libera me", in which the core of the prayer is hewn out in stark words: "Libera me, Domine, de morte eterna, in die illa tremenda: Quando celi movendi sunt et terra: Dum veneris iudicare seculum per ignem." (Deliver me, O Lord, from death eternal on that fearful day, when the heavens and the earth shall be moved, when thou shalt come to judge the world by fire.)

The two multi-stanza songs in Amiens 162, "Bone Ihesu" and "Juxta corpus", whose texts can be found in more or less contemporary polyphonic settings from other monasteries, expand the prayer to invoke the whole range of saints, from Jesus to holy men and women, for their assistance in saving the soul of the deceased from the jail of torments ("Bone Ihesu", stanza 2). Their many stanzas are to be sung as verses in "Libera me" alternating with shortened *repetenda* of the responsory.[52] Hereby the responsory gains an impressive length and weight in the ceremonies. The strictly hierarchical order of the stanzas' supplications is remarkably similar in their litany-like structure (see the table summarizing

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48 Grand-Saint-Bernhard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, Ms. 7 (2038) ff. 73-74v; cf. *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 3 Appendix.

49 Clemens Blume, *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter,* Leipzig 1906 (G.M. Dreves & C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi,* Vol. 49), pp. 383-84; Knud Ottosen has found the stanzas 14, 5 and 4 times respectively as verses for "Libera me" in sources from the second half of the 15th century and later; cf. Ottosen, *The Responsories …*, pp. 410 ff, V173, V261 and V108. In an office from the Benedictine monastery in Tiron (near Chartres) the verses appear in the same order as in Amiens 162 and Grand-Saint-Bernard, Ms. 7 (*ibid.* p. 250).

50   Cf. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (trans. by A. Goldhammer from *La naissance du Purgatoire*, Paris 1981), London 1984, and *Lexikon des Mittelalters,* Art. 'Fegfeuer', Bd. IV, sp. 328-31.

51 On this delevopment, see Barbara Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996), pp. 87-128.

52 "Bone Ihesu" has clues for the repeats of the responsory sections (after stanzas 2 and 7 repeats from Quando celi", and after stanza 6 from "Dum veneris"), and for the final repeat of the complete responsory. "Juxta corpus" in Amiens 162 does not include references to "Libera me". However, the two-part setting of the same tune and text in Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, Ms. 6 (1983), pp. 208-223 has elaborate clues for the repeats of the responsory; see further the edition and its comments in the *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 5 Appendices.

Summary of the long trope poems

Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis (ff. 2v-10)	Juxta corpus spiritus stetit (ff. 18v-28)	Lugentibus in purgatorio (ff. 10v-13) – Refrains:
1. Jesus Christus	1. Jesus Christus	1. *O, Jhesu rex, miserere eis*
2. Maria *fons dulcedinis*	2. Maria *virgo atque mater*	2. *O, Maria, ora pro eis*
3. Archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael	3. Archangels Michael and Gabriel, angels and archangels	
4. Johannes the Baptist, patriarchs, Peter and Paulus, apostles	4. Johannes the Baptist, Abraham, prophets and patriarchs	3. *Sancte Petre, ora pro eis*
	5. Apostles Peter and Paulus	
5. Stefan *prothomartir,* Laurentius, Christoforus, martyrs	6. Stefan *prothomartir* and Peter *martir* and other martyrs	
6. Gregory, Martin [of Tours], Franciscus [of Assisi], Anthonius [of Padova] and Benedict (Bernardinus)	7. *Confessor N*, Thomas [Aquinas] and all confessors	
7. Maria Magdalena, Agnes, Martha, Catherina, Clara [of Assisi], Elizabeth and Cristina, virgins	8. Anna *mater virginis,* Catharina *de Senis* and virgins	
8. All sacred men and women	9. All sacred men and women	
	10. *Jesu Christe audi nos, Kyrie eleyson*	

the texts). First the prayers in "Bone Ihesu" and "Juxta corpus" are directed towards Jesus, then to Maria, on to archangels, to John the Baptist, to patriarchs and apostles; in stanzas 5-6 we get to martyrs and male and female saints. In the second halves of the songs, saints from the later part of the middle ages begin to appear. The late saints combined with the different versions of the poems can help us to date and place this repertory.

Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis

In the case of »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« it is interesting to compare one word in its text with the text of a two-part setting in a *rituale/processionale*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 10581 (suppl. lat. 446), where it appears on ff. 89v-101 in a simple setting with the same music fully written out for all eight stanzas – the setting has no musical similarity to the one in Amiens 162.[53] The manuscript from an abbey of the Order of St Clare in

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53 Cf. Kurt von Fischer (ed.), *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts I-II* (RISM B IV/3-4). München-Duisburg 1972, vol. 3, p. 549; Michel Huglo, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Les manuscrits du processional I-II* (RISM B XIV/1-2) München 1999-2004, vol. 2, pp. 123-24; and the paper of Solange Corbin in Marie Louise Göllner (ed.), Symposium 'Das Organum vor und außerhalb der Notre-Dame-Schule' in Franz Giegling (ed.), *Bericht über den neunten internationalern Kongress, Salzburg 1964* (International Musicological Society), Kassel 1966, vol. II, p. 70, which also brings a transcription of the song's first stanza pp. 70-71. The complete setting can be found in the *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 1 Appendix.

Meaux can be dated *c* 1490-1510. It is a luxurious small parchment manuscript (the space for writing measures 60 x 90 mm only) with illuminated initials on backgrounds of gold; it was probably a private book made for the use of a leader of the institution. It contains processional songs, sequences and litanies etc., and ff. 43 onwards it brings the rituals for administering to the sick and for funerals and commemorations (the responsory "Libera me" can be found ff. 63v-65). This long section is followed by two supplementary songs, a sequence to St Franciscus, *De sancto francisco prosa* "Regit victor virtualis hic", ff. 83-89, and "Bone Jesus dulcis cunctis", which is the only example of polyphony in the manuscript.[54]

If we disregard orthographic variants, the texts offer very few differences. We find the only important one in stanza 6, where a name in Amiens 162 seems to be emphasized in yellow ink:

Amiens 162:	*Paris 10581:*
Gregori doctrine sator	Gregori doctrine sator
par apostolis martine.	par apostolis martine.
Francisce stigmatum lator.	Francisce stigmatum lator
Anthoni et **benedicte**,	anthoni et bernardine.
hinc gloriam sine fine,	Hinc gloriam sine fine
impetretis suppliciter,	impetretis suppliciter.
ut in celorum culmine	Ut in celorum culmine
collocetur feliciter.	collecetur feliciter.
Dum ve.	Dum ve.

The Paris version mentions "bernardine" in the fourth line, while Amiens 162 emphasizes "benedicte". One look at the pattern of rimes discloses that the Paris version must be the original wording of this stanza. It rimes, and St Bernardinus of Siena (1380-1444) who was canonized in 1450, rounds off nicely the stanza's short enumeration of Franciscan saints, consisting of the founder of the order Francis of Assisi and Antonius of Padova.[55] St Bernardinus was a popular preacher who called for an ecstatic worship of the name of Jesus in his sermons. He was accused of heresy several times and was close to be excommunicated. At the same time he was an ardent reformer of the Franciscan Order and became in 1438 the first general vicar for the 'observant' or 'spiritual' branch of the order, which attached great importance to the duty of poverty and to preaching in the vernacular.[56] In this respect he along with his contemporary Colette of Corbie (1381-1447) had a decisive influence on the Order of the Poor Clares and other orders of nuns affiliated the Franciscans.

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54 Exactly the same selection of contents, including the two-part "Bone Jesu dulcis cinctis", can be found in a contemporary French processional in the Honnold/Mudd Library, Claremont Colleges, MS Crispin 14 (cf. C.W. Dutschke & R.H. House, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Claremont Libraries*. Los Angeles 1986, pp. 32-33, and Chris Fenner, '*Veni Emmanuel* and its Manuscript Sources', *The Hymn. A journal of Congregational Song* 66 (2014), pp. 21-26, incl. a facsimile), and in a similar book in Philadelphia, Free Library, Collection John F. Lewis, MS E 180, dated 1603 (cf. RISM BXIV/2, pp. 494-495). These small books were probably produced by Clarisse nuns in many copies after closely related exemplars during a period beginning in the late 15th century.

55 In stanza 7 the founder of the Order of the Poor Clares, St Clara of Assisi, is mentioned among the female saints along with St Elisabeth who was a Clarisse nun.

56 Cf. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. I, coll. 1973-75.

Figure 5, "Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis", stanza 6 (ff. 7v-8).

If we take a closer look on the pages in Amiens 162 containing stanza 6, it becomes clear that Hand A did in fact copy the text exactly as it stands in the Paris MS, including "bernardine". The name was later partly erased and changed into "benedicte" with reuse of some letters. The chemical erasure has since then caused the dark brown ink to bleach, so now the name stands out in yellow or very light brown colour. The other, older saints invoked in stanza 6, St Gregory and St Martin of Tours, was completely acceptable to the monks of Corbie. Back in Corbie after his Paris studies and using the music collection for services in the confraternity, Caulaincourt with his strong consciousness of Benedictine traditions and history could not endorse the controversial Franciscan reformer, and he put in the name of St Benedict, completely disregarding the rime. Moreover, neither he nor his fellow monks had forgot the Corbie monastery's acrimonious quarrels with Colette of Corbie and the Order of the Poor Clares, an incident he discusses extensively in his *Chronique*.[57]

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57 Nicolette Boillet (Colette of Corbie, 1381-1447) had grown up at the Corbie Abbey and had received her education from the Benedictines. Between her 21st and 25th year she chose to let herself be confined in a small cell in the apse of the church Saint-Étienne in the abbey. During these years of reclusion she had visions of St Franciscus, which induced her to work for the foundation of monasteries of the Poor Clares – later called Colettine (or Coletan) houses – primarily in the Burgundian lands. She founded 17 female monasteries with the support of the Burgundian duke. In 1440s, with Corbie under Burgundian rule, she tried again in 1445 to create at a Clarisse nunnery in Corbie – her first attempt in the 1420s had failed. Her project had the support of the duke, of the French crown, the abbot of the monastery and of the pope, but it failed because of the fierce resistance from the monks, cf. Amiens MS 524 D, pp. 307-312, Dom Louis Gaillard, 'Corbie pendant la guerre de cent ans' in *Corbie. Abbaye royale. volume du XIIIe centenaire.* Lille 1963, pp. 319-27 (pp. 325-26), and Nancy Bradley Warren, *Women of God and arms female spirituality and political conflict, 1380-1600.* Philadelphia 2005, pp. 15-20. On Colette of Corbie, see further Anna Campbell, 'St Colette of Corbie and the friars 'of the Bull'. Franciscan Reform in Fifteenth Century France' in M. Breitenstein, J. Burkhardt, S. Burkhardt, J. Röhrkasten (eds.), *Rules and Observance: Devising Forms of Communal Life*, (Vita Regularis, vol. 60), Berlin 2014, pp. 43-66, and Elisabeth Lopez,

All this makes it clear that Hand A had obtained »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« in Franciscan circles in Paris. The poem was written in the second part of the 15th century, after the canonization of Bernardinus in 1450, and it must have been quite widely circulated, since it is found in Amiens 162 with a more 'modern' three-part music, different from the setting in Paris 10581. The simple two-part setting got, in return, a surprising afterlife, as its well-formed tenor tune resurfaced in the 19th century as the hymn "O come, 0 come, Emmanuel".[58]

Juxta corpus spiritus stetit

The opening lines of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« quote the widely circulated dialogue from the 12th century, *Visio Philiberti* or *Disputatio inter corpus et animam*, which was used and reworked even in the 16th century, also in the vernacular. Here the soul and the deceased body quarrel about the responsibility for a wasted life. The soul cannot disclaim all blame, but both of them decline the main responsibility. The poem ends, when two demons take the soul to the torments of the damned.[59] In the stanzas 6-8 of the Amiens 162 setting saints are invoked, which belonged to the Dominican Order, Petrus Martyr (dead 1252, canonized 1253), Thomas Aquinas (dead 1274, canonized 1323), and Catherine of Siena (dead 1380, canonized 1461). Even if Catherina was intensely worshipped from shortly after her death, when prayers addressed to her caused miracles, this version of the poem probably was written after her canonization, later than 1461, because she is here ranked with St Anna, the mother of the Virgin Maria.

This text was obviously acceptable at Corbie; the music of the stanzas has been carefully revised on the pages of the manuscript by Caulaincourt with the adjustment of the relationship between music and text as one of his objectives.[60] In a Franciscan paper manuscript from the first part of the 16th century in Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mk 96, we find a two-part setting of the tenor tune in simple polyphony, which use five of the stanzas in a nearly identical version (stanzas 1-3 and 9-10). This setting appears in a revised version in a paper *sequentiary/lectionary* in Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, Ms. 6 (1983), written around 1500 at the Augustinian monastery or in the Aosta Valley.[61] Here the music shows a few changes, while the eight stanzas of text, corresponding to stanzas 1-6 and 8-9 in Amiens 162 display greater differences; they probably represent a revised version adapted to the Augustinian liturgy. In stanza 6, Petrus Martyr has been replaced by Triumphator Vincenti; and in the next stanza, Anna and Catherine of Siena have been replaced by Maria Magdalena and Catherine of Alexandria. In this way all the Dominican saints from the 13th-15th centuries have been replaced by Biblical saints or saints from the early centuries of Christianity. St Vincentus was martyred in 304, and Augustine wrote his *Vita*. The text in Grand-Saint-Bernhard 6 seems to have been revised during the copying process with greater attention to changing the names of saints than to its poetic structure. Several stanzas do not rime, and three stanzas (5-7) all end with the word "celorum" in complete disregard of the rime structure.

'L'observance franciscaine et la politique religieuse des ducs de Bourgogne', *Annales de Bourgogne* 72 (2000), pp. 57-103 and 177-236.

58 See further the comments to the edition.

59 Cf. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. VIII, coll. 1733, Art. 'Visio Philibert', and coll. 235 ff, Art. 'Streitgedicht'.

60 See further the comments to the edition and 'Notes on the reworked stanzas of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«' in *Appendix C*.

61 Both settings are published in *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 5 Appendices.

This permits us to assume that this intercessory poem was created in circles of Dominican observance during the decades following 1461. Its text and tune apparently had appeal to monastic societies of other observances and became the starting point for new versions of the text as well as of the music.

Lugentibus in purgatorio

"Lugentibus" or "Langentibus in purgatorio" is a prayer for the souls in Purgatory, which enjoyed a wide circulation in the 15th and 16th centuries with a differing number of stanzas.[62] A two-part setting in the Franciscan manuscript already mentioned, Tübingen 76, transmits four stanzas with clues for the repeats of the "Libera me"-sections, and in the Augustinian MS Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, the same music and text appear in a revised version under the heading "Pro fidelibus deffunctis". It is obvious that Hand A has regarded this song as being of the same type as the other songs in this group.[63] In many sources the text unequivocally appeals to the Virgin Maria with "O Maria" as refrain after each stanza.[64] In the two-part setting in Tübingen 76 and Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, the prayer in the two first stanzas invoke Jesus, while it in the two last stanzas passes through his mother. The refrain-like fermata passages in the end of the stanzas changes addressees in Amiens 162: to Jesus, to Maria and to St Peter, thereby its structure becomes similar to the two long "Libera me" tropes (see p. 23). The poem can be found in four different polyphonic settings, which do not use the same music, and they are preserved in sources of widely different origin and function, namely in three monastic manuscripts,[65] in a fragment of a collection of polyphonic masses and in a chansonnier, the last two can be dated in the decade just after 1500.[66]

It seems striking that we for each of the three three-part compositions, which we have just looked at, can find related songs in contemporary sources, all set in simpler two-part polyphony. This indicates that Hand A was in fact able to deliver a specified repertory, which could live up to the highest demands imaginable for a collection of monastic music. He could offer – as we later shall discuss – a fullness of sound in music performable for untrained singers.

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62 Cf. U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum I-VI*. Louvain 1892-1921, nos. 10180-81 and 10723, F.J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters I-III*. Breisgau 1853-55, vol. I, pp. 400-402, and Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale I-II + Planches*. Paris 1927. *Supplement [III]*. Macon 1943, vol. I, p. 160 and vol. II, p. 240.

63 In the later stanzas of the poem (not set in Amiens 162) the prayer concerns the soul on the day of judgement, "In tremendo dei iudico" and "Dies illa, dies terribilis", with invocations of Maria as helper. The similarity of expression to the sequence "Stabat mater dolorosa" (in Amiens 162 ff. 30v-35) has been pointed out, cf. Josef Szövérffy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung. Ein Handbuch. I-II*. Berlin 1964, vol. II, p. 289. Even more striking is the kinship of these stanzas with the verses "Dies irae" etc. in the responsory "Libera me" and with the renowned sequence of the requiem mass.

64 See F.J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*; *Variae Preces ex liturgia tum hodierna tum antiqua collectae aut usu receptae,* Solesmes 1901, pp. 239-241; *Antiphonale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae*. Tournai 1949, p. 198*; Dom Joseph Pothier, 'Prose à Marie pour les Fidèles trépassés' *Revue du chant grégorien* 4 (1895), pp. 33-36; and the two(three)-part setting in the fragment of the early 16th century, Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 6632 fonds musicales, f. 12.

65 The MSS Amiens 162, Grand-Saint-Bernard 7 and Tübingen 76.

66 Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 6632 fonds musicales, and Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Musik i Handskrift 76a, cf. Christoffersen, *French Music …,* vol. I, pp. 319-327. Concerning the Lyon fragments, see further Fiona Shand, 'A New Continental Source of a Fifteenth-Century Mass', *Music & Letters* 88 (2007), pp. 405-419. The four compositions are published in the *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 2 Appendices.

The contribution of Caulaincourt – tonary and sequences

While Hand A worked on his collection of funeral music, the undoubtedly young and inexperienced Hand B, who with great probability was Caulaincourt, folded the remaining sheets in quaternions and prepared them for use. First he drew music staves in red ink on all pages, where he used a rastrum narrower than Hand A's and put eight staves on each page, one more than Hand A, and he never left spaces for initials (staff system 3). Then he probably copied a tonary, which would be useful primarily for teaching the modes to novices, into an empty fascicle. He started on the front page with the 1st tone and copied most of the 2nd tone on the reverse page. This first folio is missing in the manuscript to-day, therefore the tonary (ff. 113-116v) as it now stands, opens with the last "Gloria Patri" in the 2nd tone followed by the tones 3-8 and *Tonus peregrinus*.[67] Every complete set of directions for a tone begins as the tradition decrees with a short model antiphon on a Biblical quote, which demonstrates the characteristic intervals of the mode and its recitation pitches, and which ends in a textless melisma (neuma),[68] then follow the melodic formulas for canticles, Alleluia and "Gloria patri".

As already hinted at, Caulaincourt's procedure for making a music manuscript was different form Hand A's, and easy to distinguish from his. As in most music manuscripts he began by furnishing all the pages with music staves in one operation, then he copied the text in black ink leaving spaces for emphasized letters, next came letters in red and his very big initials covering two staves, which were drawn upon the staves, and finally, the music. His custos are small zigzag-lines followed by a curvy flourish as common in music manuscripts. In his texts Caulaincourt tries to write the same type of formal textura as Hand A, but he was not able to form his letters with the same regularity. Their spacing is looser, not merging into word pictures in the same way, and the sharp differences between the heavy lines and hairlines often become blurred. Obviously, he was a copyist of limited experience, but he tried as best he could to conform to the style of the professional scribe. This is not so noticeable in the tonary, which was a separate project of his, but it becomes quite clear in the sequences, where he for real followed in the footsteps of Hand A.

There can be no doubt that Hand A regarded the four fascicles of funeral music as a finished independent collection, a thin folio book for a special use.[69] In addition, he had

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67 Cf. the proposed reconstruction of fascicles 13-14 in *Appendix A*.

68 Cf. Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison* (Publications de la Société française de musicologie, troisième série, tome III) Paris 1971, pp. 385 ff; see also Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen. Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made.* Oxford 2003, pp. 36-38, and Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory.* Berkeley 2005, ch. 2 'Tonaries. A Tool for Memorizing Chant', pp. 47-84.

69 Also posterity regarded this section of the MS as a special collection. John Mason Neale (1811-1866), author of the well-known hymn "O come, O come, Emmanuel", visited Amiens in May 1859 (cf. *Letters of John Mason Neale D.D. Selected and Edited by His Daughter.* London 1910, pp. 303-304). Here he studied the manuscript and published a selection of poems – as one single hymn – in his series 'Sequentiæ ineditæ' (part XXI) in *The Ecclesiologist,* vol. XXI February 1860, pp. 14-15. He introduced it in this way "It is, from the intercalated stanza as well as from the character of the writing, Italian; and is headed *Officium proprium Sanctæ Barbaræ.* It appears to have belonged to a guild under the invocation of this saint, and to have been used at the funeral of its members. I must not forget to mention that the music is in *four parts.*" Then follow the texts of "Le grant pena" (f. 1), "Bone Jesu, dulcis cunctis" (ff. 2v-10), "Lugentibus in purgatorio" (ff. 10v-13), "Quando Deus" (ff. 13v-16), "Creator omnium, Rex Deus" (ff. 16v-17v) and stanzas 2-3 of "Juxta corpus spiritus stetit" (ff. 19v-21); the last one surely shortened by the editor of the journal.

procured a collection of two-part sequences for equal voices in simple polyphony, which he apparently intended to present as a similar collection for use in masses and on saints' days. It consists of three Marian sequences, one for the Holy Spirit and a trope in a sequence-like form for the responsory "Ex eius tumba" belonging to the office of the very popular St Nicolaus:

> »Virgine Marie Laudes« a 2, ff. 28v-30
> »Stabat mater dolorosa« a 2, ff. 30v-35
> »Veni sancte spiritus« a 2, ff. 35v-37
> »Veneremur virginem« a 2, ff. 37v-41
> »Sospetati dedit egros« a 2, ff. 41v-42

To get this work done, he took a fascicle of four sheets, which was prepared with red staves by Hand B, and copied »Stabat mater dolorosa« on the first opening leaving the front page without music. He finished the sequence following the same procedure as in the funeral music – except for the drawing of staves (ff. 30v-35). It was clearly his intention that "Stabat mater" should open this collection. However, this was the last piece Hand A copied in the manuscript. Maybe time had run out, and he had pressing duties elsewhere, or the money sent with Caulaincourt did not go any further. Anyway, Caulaincourt was left with the responsibility for the manuscript, but retained access to the use of the exemplars collected for the job.

Caulaincourt went on with »Veni sancte spiritus«, »Veneremur virginem« and »Sospetati dedit egros« making them as similar to the work of Hand A as possible. Already during "Veneremur virginem" he had to start using the next fascicle of four sheets, and with "Sospetati dedit" copied, it was already halfway filled. Now, he seemingly began to economize on the costly parchment. Probably he envisaged that in time it would be necessary to copy much more music into the manuscript – that he would need the empty pages. Therefore he broke the structure planned by Hand A. The empty pages at the end of the funeral music combined with the empty front page of the first fascicle containing sequences (fasc. 5) could be used for the sequence »Virgine Marie Laudes« (ff. 28v-30), and as a result he had seven pages left for other things at the end of the second sequence fascicle (fasc. 6). Now the two clearly defined collections of polyphonic songs had become united into a slightly different sort of music manuscript.

These songs are of the simplest type of two-part harmony, with roots back to the earliest singing of polyphony. To a tune in the tenor range is set a counter voice, which follows the tenor note-against-note in perfect and imperfect consonances in parallel or contrary motion with many crossings above or below the tune.[70] Their texts and the known tunes are much older than the ones in the funeral repertory. It is only the Dorian tune of "Stabat mater" that cannot be found in older sources. "Virgine Marie Laudes" is a widely circulated 12th century French contrafactum of the sequence "Victime pascali laudes". All the sequences or sequence-like compositions are like the funeral music written out in full with all repetitions.

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70 The two parts in nearly the same ranges could appropriately be designated "Cantus" and "Duplum" in order to underscore the music's roots in very old traditions. In the following and in the editions I have chosen to follow the practise of Hand A in the first section of the manuscript, which designates the part carrying the tune or the lowest voice "Tenor" and a counter voice in the same or slightly higher range as "Contra".

Probably it was the intention of the scribe to present these songs in a uniform way, that is with the tune placed on the left-hand pages and the counter voice at the right. That is how its is in most cases, but in »Veneremur virginem« the voices have been reversed for stanzas 1-5. The tenor carrying the not very widespread tune here stands on the right-hand pages.[71] This composition, apparently copied straight after the exemplar, is strange. Before the last stanza is inserted a stanza from a different sequence "Hodierne lux diei" in a two-part setting, which contrasts in technique and mode with the "Veneremur"-setting.[72] After this the tenor changes its place to the left-hand page, only to change back for the final "Amen". The peculiarities in the music as well as in the layout surely originated with the exemplar for this probably quite recent composition.

The sequence-like »Sospitati dedit egros« appears as a sequence or a hymn in some sources.[73] In Amiens 162 it is made clear that the composition is a trope for the responsory "Ex eius tumba". The words for the responsory are copied above the music across the opening until where the trope comes in: "Ex eius tumba marmorea ... et debilis quisque"; and the last two words "Sospes regreditur" come in their appropriate place below the trope.

As far as we can ascertain, Hand A copied his exemplars without introducing any major changes in the songs. Of course, he corrected errors on the pages, and he may have adjusted the placement of notes in relation to the words. Hand B apparently began to revise the music already in the start of »Veni sancte spiritus« (ff. 35v-37). This tells us that Caulaincourt had some knowledge of music and that he was eager to put his stamp on his work. When he looked through the setting and remarked its Dorian mode, he apparently disliked its opening on *c* and changed the start of the tune by writing *d-e-f-e-e* in stead of *c-d-e-f-e.* When copying the counter voice, he forgot about this change and copied the exemplar's notes *c'-a-b-a,* which perfectly fit the sequence's original opening. He had to erase the four notes and replace them by *a-g-a-b,* which agree with the new tenor – and the setting now opens on *d.* In the next versicle (1b) the tenor is closer the traditional tune, *c-d-f-e,* and the counter voice has a variant of what he first wrote at the start of the piece. He took some further trouble to vary the double versicles in the counter voice by inserting small changes. However, the versicles in stanzas 4 and 5 are identical, probably slavishly copied from the exemplar. It looks as if Caulaincourt got tired of keeping the two-part structure in mind and resorted to simply copying, and this is how he proceeded for the remainder of this repertory. Later, when the music came into practical use, he made extensive revisions in the music copied by Hand A as well as in pieces that he had copied himself. This urge to revise is a small part of the evidence that permit us to identify Caulaincourt with Hand B.

71 Helma Hofmann-Brandt found the tune in the Parisian gradual of the late 13th century, Bari, Archivio di Stato, Fondo S. Nicola 85 (cf. 'Eine neue Quelle', p. 114). The tune in Amiens 162 is identical – except for a few details – to a late version, which was published by Gastoué after a 16th century French MS, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 448 (in Amédée Gastoué, 'Une ancienne prose à la sainte Vierge', *Tribune de Saint-Gervais. Revue musicologique de la Schola Cantorum,* vol. 4, no. 10, Octobre 1908, pp. 234-236).

72 The tenor carries the traditional tune (ed. David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook.* Oxford 1993, p. 192 or Dom J. Pothier, *Cantus Mariales quos e fontibus antiquis eruit aut opere novo veterum instar concinavit.* Paris 1903, pp. 83-84) in a compressed form, but still recognizable.

73 Cf. Hofmann-Brandt, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien ...,* vol. 2, pp. 126 ff, U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum I-VI.* Louvain 1892-1921, no. 19244, and F.J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters I-III.* Breisgau 1853-55, vol. III p. 464.

Example 1, "O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie eleyson" (ff. 123v-124), bb. 1-10.

The limits of his understanding of music are on the other hand exposed in the problematic »Veneremur virginem«. The exemplar probably did not have any key signatures, but after copying the piece he may have observed that b-flats were needed in the 'inserted' fifth stanza, and he added a key signature of one flat all the way through in both voices. He did not care much about where it was placed, just put it on or around the uppermost line of the staves. This means that the flats in accordance with the changes in the positions of the clefs happen to refer to many different pitches. Literally understood they indicate in turn the following pitches as *fa*-steps, *f', e', g', d', c'* and *b*. We shall probably just understand them as a warning: flats are needed somewhere in the piece.

This repertory is so to say 'retrospective'. Most of the texts and the musical technique point far back in time. The collection of pieces procured by Hand A for the monks in Corbie is of the sort that better educated singers could create *alla mente* by following traditional rules to enhance the sound of well-known tunes with a counter voice at solemn occasions. The detailed writing down and organisation of such performances for less experienced singers could, however, very well be quite recent.

The characteristics of the text hand we have identified as Hand B are also found in two songs in the last fascicle of the manuscript, which had not been used for other music. It is a plainchant sequence or trope »Sedentem in superne« on f. 124v and an old-fashioned three-part motet »O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie eleyson« on the preceding opening. Caulaincourt chose this placement for the two pieces, which he probably had found himself through his contacts in the Parisian monastic milieu, because they did not fit in with the careful selected repertories of funeral music and sequences nor with the tonary. The monophonic "Sedentem in superne" is often found in Northern France as a trope for "Gloria in excelsis", and it also appears as a trope for the responsories "Centum quadraginta" and "Hic est advenit".[74] The motet was probably a quite recent creation in the shape in which it appears in Amiens 162, but its history reaches 200 years back to when it started life as a double-texted motet in modal or Franconian notation.[75] Here it has the same text in both upper voices, and it is written in a semi-mensural notation following the principles of the other pieces in simple polyphony, and in sound it does not differ from them (ex. 1). The old art music pattern of the motet has been re-interpreted to fit into a more recent perception of simple polyphony.[76]

74 Cf. Hofmann-Brandt, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien* ..., vol. II, pp. 119-220.

75 It appears for example in the Bamberg and Las Huelgas codices, see further the comments in the edition.

76 For a description of another type of re-interpretation of such motets, see Marie Louise Göllner-Martinez, 'The transmission of French motets in German and Italian manuscripts of the 14th century' in Cesare Corsi e Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds.), *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980* (Miscellanea musicologica 4) Roma 1989, pp. 163-180.

Example 2, "Bone Jesu dulcissime" (ff. 40v-41), bb. 1-10.

Before Caulaincourt left Paris, he added »Bone Jesu dulcissime« for four voices on an opening almost left empty, ff. 40v-41, because the end of »Veneremur viginem« only took up one staff on each of its pages. This small motet or lauda was later ascribed to Mathieu Gascongne who possibly was a member of the French court chapel already while Caulaincourt stayed in Paris.[77] Maybe it was the prayer in this version of the song for the protection and salvation of a "free [monastic] house" (domum istam liberam) that caught his attention; in the version, which was published later by Attaingnant in Paris, it had become a prayer for the king and his realm! His abbey's constant struggle to avoid being put under the king's *commende* surely had a prominent place in in his thoughts. This song is the only one in standard choirbook layout and white mensural notation in the music manuscript, which Caulaincourt brought back to Corbie (ex. 2). The stylistic distance between the two pieces, which he apparently found on his own, is remarkable.

The music manuscript in Corbie

When Caulaincourt returned to Corbie, the music collection consisted of a bundle of fascicles protected by a sheet of parchment with empty staves, which he probably already in Paris had removed from the last fascicle to keep it all together. Inside this cover were the six fascicles with the funeral music and sequences, a single fascicle with the tonary, and the last incomplete one with two additional pieces only. The main collection looked impressive when placed open on a lectern with its big and clear writing and the different voices arranged across the openings.

The next music copied into Amiens 162 was the plainchant vespers for St Barbara (ff. 42v-45v), which were needed for the services of the *Confrérie Ste Barbe*. Caulaincourt had kept space open for them after the sequences, and now he could bring together a complete set of proprium items for the first and second vespers, spoken as well as sung.[78] He had the exemplars for the vespers ready and did the copying carefully in one operation. All text and initials were entered first, and where writing space was needed for readings and text stanzas without music, he simply erased every second staff line and draw new lines in between the staves to write the text on. His writing here is visibly less influenced by the style of Hand A; it is smaller and more rounded with a better control of the pen, but all in all a less formal textura. It is the writing that we in the description of the manuscript have named Hand C, but at the end of the vespers, probably getting tired, he lapsed into the

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77 Cf. Peter Gram Swing, 'Gascongne, Mathieu' in Grove Music Online (accessed May 2015).

78 Regarding this entry as well as the Catherine mass, see the comments and the edition in the *Amiens 162 Edition* nos. 23-24.

bigger, less controlled writing of Hand B (f. 45v). Here too, he displays the same lack of interest in the precise placement of key signatures as seen earlier.

Evidently, some time had passed since Caulaincourt worked alongside Hand A to bring about this maturing of his writing of the textura. His studies in Paris stretched over ten months offering rich opportunities to get new impressions, and his involvement in the confraternity may have had to wait for him to receive the full rights to celebrate mass. He was ordained very soon after his return to Corbie, but only in 1504 the abbot was able to obtain the dispensation from the archbishop of Rouen, which accorded the full rights to the young priest at the age of 22. It is tempting to understand this hurried ordination as an indication that the abbot wished Caulaincourt to take over the responsibility for the *Confrérie Ste Barbe*, and that the new additions to the music manuscript should be viewed in this connection. However, Caulaincourt does not mention anything about this matter in his *Chronique*.

At same time, he intended to enter a plainchant mass for St Catherine (of Alexandria) including all the spoken items. It is in the same script as the vespers, using the exact same procedure to make space for the lengthy readings, and showing the same lack of understanding of key signatures. It was placed after the tonary with an empty folio as divider, and it runs into the next fascicle (ff. 118-121) linking the two last fascicles together. After writing all the texts, he only got two items of the music copied, the "Alleluya. Hodie Katherina virgo" and the sequence "Triumphanti verbo". These were the least familiar items in the mass; the remainder of the music belonged to the standard chant repertory, and their copying was deferred until a more convenient occasion – which apparently never materialized.

Some time later he got hold of a two-part »Credo in unum deum«, which he wanted to add to the collection. Now, however, he nearly could not find space enough for it in the manuscript. He started the copying on the empty opening after the Catherine mass, ff. 121v-122, in a writing smaller and more compact than before, but still he had to squeeze in the ending of both voices in very small script on the empty staves below »O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie eleyson« (ff. 123v-124). It is an old-fashioned setting in simple polyphony for two equal voices, which constantly cross each other. The tenor builds on the *Credo cardinalis* tune, which probably originated in France around 1300 and during the next centuries became widely circulated all over Europe.[79] Like in »Veneremur virginem« he got the normal layout of the voices reversed, so that the tenor carrying the Credo-tune was placed on the right-hand pages; possibly the unison opening of the setting led him or his exemplar astray. However, he did not recognize the tune and therefore later revised this voice with several erasures and changes in the belief that it was the counter voice.

At this stage the music manuscript was nearly filled out, not many empty spaces were left, and – more important – it was in use. We must assume that Caulaincourt after trying out the repertory in actual performance during services became somewhat dissatisfied with some of the songs and sat down to revise them to his liking as far as he could. The alternative, that the revisions were a result of a purely intellectual venture into the intricacies of music, seems less credible taking his lack of musical knowledge in certain areas in consideration; the revisions were probably consequences of singing the music rather than of reading it. We shall return to his revisions of the songs copied by Hands A (»Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« and »Stabat mater dolorosa«), B (»Virgini Marie laudes« and »Veni sancte spiritus«) and C (»Credo in unum deum«) in the discussion of the repertory.

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79 *Credo IV* in *Graduale romanum,* Tournai 1961, p. 67*.

During this period he probably added some very short and curious pieces on empty spaces in the lower parts of pages. The psalm verse "Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum" (Vulg. Ps. 132, v. 1: Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity) is written with music in chant notation on f. 116v. The verse had become a sort of devise for confraternities around 1500,[80] and here it is set syllabically in five-note segments, which produce a very disjunct tune. The last element of text appears twice, the second time in a lower range and after a double bar, and this appears to be an indication that it might be performed note-against note in two parts as a polyphonic Phrygian ending. Moreover, it is possible to sing the curious tune as a four-part canon, because all the segments can be combined in simple polyphony with parallel fifths. The counter-voice for the last element cannot be used while the canon runs, but may possibly be added when the parts thin out again.[81] This confraternity song is fun to sing, surely a local product, and it may have been constructed by Caulaincourt himself or by one of the singers of its polyphonic repertory.

Something similar can be found on f. 45v, where Caulaincourt has entered the short invocation of the three archangels, »Micael, Gabriel, Raphael«, consisting of three times three notes, which can be sung as a three-part canon. Below it another hand has added a similar disjunct tune in three segments of five notes singing »Kirieleyson«. This one cannot be performed as a canon, but it is rather a harmonization of the simple Kyrie-intonation. These snippets of polyphony may have been used as part of litanies.

*The last additions to the music manuscript*

Caulaincourt's interest in music was of course focused on what he found useful for Corbie and the confraternity. But it did not stop there. The small four-part motet in white mensural notation »Bone Jesu dulcissime«, which he added to the collection while in Paris judging from his writing, is proof that he found the sound of the contemporary art music repertory attractive. In fact, the sound of this declamatory lauda-like piece with many fermatas is not far from some of the songs in simple polyphony (see ex. 2), but it demands another sort of expertise from its singers.

We find another proof of this interest in a textless four-part composition entered on f. 117 in white mensural notation. It is a rather touching essay in composing imitative polyphony, which the composer apparently had heard. He has tried to recreate its sound by letting the four voices enter one after the other with very simple motives. This, however, only produces a sort of distributed monophony as the voices drop out before the entrance of the next. It happens twice (bb.1 ff and bb. 26 ff), and both 'imitative' passages are followed by simple four-part homorhythmic declamatory textures (ex. 3), all lines cadencing on G. The piece, *lauda*-like, was entered in the MS as a fair copy, but not without errors that made it difficult to fit the voices together, and it was soon erased again. Maybe because it was so tightly written that it had become impossible to fit a text below the music. It may have been an attempt at composing 'modern' music by the enterprising Caulaincourt or something shown to him by an acquaintance. In any case, it was not suitable here. It was replaced by two monophonic songs in square notation with presumably Latin texts, which also soon were erased. Finally, this page was reused for a list of invitatory antiphons and Psalm tunes, which better fitted in after the tonary; the musical

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80 Cf. Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales*, p. 68.

81 See the reconstruction in the *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 14.

Example 3, Without text (f. 117, erased), bb. 1-12.
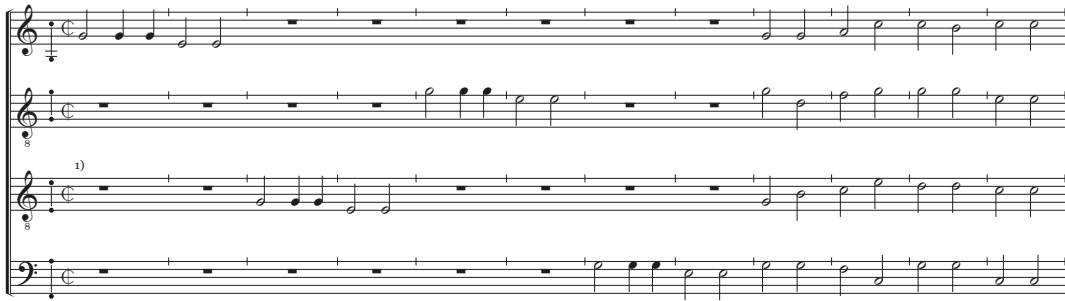
incipits, however, was never entered.[82]

All the erasing done on this page makes it difficult to classify the writing of the two last-mentioned items. The hand that entered the four-part textless piece does, however, seem to be similar to the latest development of Caulaincourt's writing, which I have labelled Hand D. This script is quite varied, and it can be a bit difficult to know if all items were done by the same hand, because the execution in some cases is highly stylized, as for example in the »O salutaris hostia« discussed below. The scribe imitates his exemplars faithfully, and the texts are drawn to look like printed type, and the script is without any personal traits. In four songs he attempts to notate the music in white mensural notation according to the best standards of the period with well-defined angular note shapes, similar to those we find in manuscripts from the leading workshops, for example Alamire's,[83] or in the style that had been model for the music type in the prints by Petrucci.

Another four-part textless song on f. 121 uses like the erased one on f. 117 a less ambitious variant of writing. It is a fragment of a declamatory *lauda* or something of similar character. It mixes mensural and plainchant notation and thereby places itself on the border between simple polyphony and art music, but only four short lines with no ending are included. Why it was copied, is hard to know. Maybe it like the other four-part piece was a local product and an example of Caulaincourt's interest in newer music – and he let it be because the space was not needed for other music.

On the inside of the sheet with staff systems used as a cover for the collection, we find an intriguing three-part setting of »O salutaris hostia« (f. 1v). All three voices look like plainchant with square black notes and ligatures. The voices are designated in red ink "Superius", "Tenor" and "Bassus", and each voice occupies its own range appropriate for boys and male voices respectively. It is a note-against-note setting of the hymn tune placed in the upper voice.[84] The tenor is a real, structural counter-voice to the superius without any dissonances or parallel perfect concords, and the bassus mostly complete the harmony by supplying the fundamentals of the triads in a quite mechanical way (ex. 4). It sounds like a hymn setting from the early 16th century; it has a 'modern' sound, but is unmeasured – or measured in the way that the singers were used to sing the tune in plainchant. It was conceived and notated in chant notation for singers who did not master mensural notation. There can be no doubt that this was a local product. Maybe it was made to

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82 See further the comments on these entries in the *Amiens 162 Edition*.

83 See for example Herbert Kellmann (ed.), *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535*. Ghent 1999.

84 Stanza 5 from "Verbum supernum prodiens", 8. tone, cf. AR p. 93*.

Example 4, "O salutaris hostia" (f.1v, beginning).

comply with the wishes and orders of the French king. In June 1512 Louis XII ordered that "O salutaris hostia" should be inserted in the liturgy, to be sung at the Elevation of the Host between "Pleni sunt celi" and "Benedictus" at mass.[85] King Louis stayed at Corbie in September and November 1513. Caulaincourt in all probability took care to have a setting of "O salutaris hostia" entered into the manuscript in a version performable for the monks at Corbie before the arrival of the king. The copying was done very careful, with lettering looking like printed type, but the black notes were not made with a pen with a broad nib as in normal practise, but drawn as white squares with a fine pen and then hatched black – as if there was no time to get hold of the proper tools.

The 'modern' sound or rather a 'modern' look of the music characterize the last four songs, which was entered on empty pages by Hand D. They differ strongly from the main contents of the manuscript, because they belong to what we could call an international repertory, spiritual songs and small motets, which during the period before and after 1500 most often appeared in chansonniers and later re-appeared in printed arrangements:

»Le grant pena que io sento« a 3 [Anonymous], f. 1,
»Da pacem, domine« a 3 [Alexander Agricola], f. 2,
»Parce, domine, populo tuo« a 3 [Jacob Obrecht], f. 18,
»Dulcis amica dei« a 3 [Prioris], f. 117v.

He wrote on the four-line staves that Hands A and B had drawn. For two of the songs this worked out perfectly, because the ranges of the voices could be contained on these staves (f. 1 and f. 117v), while he in two other cases had to expand the staves to five lines (f. 2 and f. 18). Hand A had in fact left the front page of his collection without staves (f. 2), but the red lines on the reverse page were so heavy that Caulaincourt could just touch them up with red ink along a ruler and add an extra line in every staff; and he made one more complete staff at the bottom of the page to create room for Alexander Agricola's »Da pacem, domine«.

As we have experienced before, Caulaincourt did not have any real understanding of mensural notation. His copies are primarily visual renderings or pictures of music, and his exemplars may have caused him some trouble. In all other parts of Amiens 162, all the voices are furnished with complete and carefully placed texts. It is obvious that the wording of the texts and their careful pronunciation had the highest priority in the monastic world. This was however not the norm in manuscripts containing mensural music intended

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85 Cf. Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 119-120 and 220-221.

for singers who were able themselves to fit the text to the phrases of music. Caulaincourt wished that his new entries should match the remainder of the collection in this regard. In some songs he possibly started by writing the texts in all voices after a careful consideration of where it should be placed to allow space for high and low notes. While copying the music he discovered (f. 1 and f. 2) that the notes came out of step with the text. He then erased most of the music and tried again. This process generated the errors in the very simple »La grant pena« (f. 1) that make the song difficult to perform – what he wrote in his first attempt was correct, but it took up more space. Also in »Dulcis amica dei« (f. 117v) the upper voice came out of step with the words, because the music uses very few notes, but in this case he did not find it necessary to rewrite the music.

In Agricola's »Da pacem, domine« (f. 2) he has erased superius and bassus and re-notated the voices with precise and regular lozenge-shaped note heads and vertical stems without really succeeding in getting them co-ordinated with the words (see fig. 6). His exemplar probably had a text incipit only in the lowest voice, so to begin with he copied the text distribution belonging to the superius below the bassus – the positions of the words are nearly identical. Such a procedure cannot be made to go with these quite figured voices, not even in two attempts. The antiphon tune carried by the tenor is in a semi-mensural notation similar to the one we found in the textless fragment on f. 121. All semibreves are written as black square notes, while breves and minimae are white; this unique change of
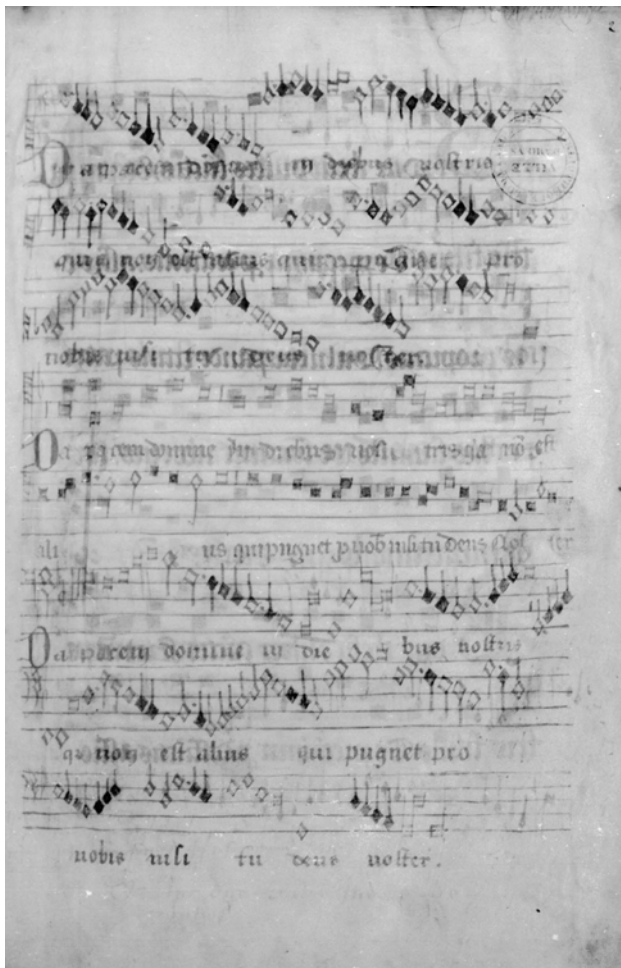

Figure 6, f. 2, "Da pacem, domine" by Agricola (from a worn microfilm).

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notation surely was introduced by Caulaincourt. He also made a change in a ligature, which makes the passage difficult to understand for a reader of mensural music.

He did postpone writing the text until he had finished the music of Jacob Obrecht's »Parce, domine, populo tuo« – taught maybe by his experiences with the other songs. The underlay of the *cantus planus*-like bassus did not pose any problems, and the placement of the words in the upper voice seems plausible, while he for the tenor took over the distribution of the words of the superius, and this causes them to get out of synchronization with the music very quickly; again presumably because the exemplar only gave the first few words of the text. His copy of the music is completely unusable, even if there are no errors in the pitches of the song. He did not pay attention to the details of mensural notation. By dotted figures the dots are missing, in many cases he did not notice them, because his note heads are drawn closely together without spaces for the dots, and stems are missing on minimae and semiminimae. A trained singer would easily discover that the note values did not add up, but apparently it did not disturb Caulaincourt. He has made a graphical representation of precisely those elements of the notation, which was most important in plainchant. One almost gets happy on his behalf, when we can note that he without any major troubles was able to copy Prioris' little laude »Dulcis amica dei« on f. 117v; however, his imperfect understanding of the importance of the rests makes the music difficult to perform.

Undoubtedly, we have to regard these last additions to the music manuscript as primarily a visual upgrade and not as an expansion of its repertory. None of the added compositions can be performed according to the manuscript without problems, and no corrections and changes have been made as results of musical practise. They are meant to serve as evidence that the owners of the collection were aware of and familiar with the more prestigious mensural notation, which had become standard in the contemporary repertory at cathedrals and princely churches. Leo Treitler has called attention to an illuminative example of the visual status of mensural notation; it is a two-part song in simple polyphony, "Verbum patris", which in a 15th century Dominican monastic manuscript has been 'disguised' in mensural notation. The mensural elements, however, has no significance for the sounding reality of the music.[86]

The four songs are short prayers mostly in Latin for peace and salvation to the Lord and the Virgin. Only the Italian text of »Le grant pena« differs, but there can hardly be any doubt that this love lament, "Le grant pena que io sento / Me tormenta nocte dia / de morir Jozo contento / por la vostra signoria", in France was perceived as a song to the Virgin, and it is found only in French sources. The four songs are different in style and texture: We find an antiphon in a tenor-setting with animated counter-voices (Agricola), a pseudo *cantus planus* with expressive upper voices (Obrecht) – probably a contrafactum of a French motet-chanson[87] –, and two *lauda*-like settings, which embrace improvisatory simplicity in »La grant pena« as well as Prioris' crystalline musical art.

It is remarkable that all four songs appear in a French music manuscript from Lyons, and that two of them have been arranged for keyboard and published by Pierre Attaingnant in

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86 Cf. pp. 151ff and p. 161 in Leo Treitler, '*Cantus planus binatim* in Italy and the Question of Oral and Written Tradition in General' in Cesare Corsi e Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds.), *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980* (Miscellanea musicologica 4) Roma 1989, pp. 145-61.

87 Cf. Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early …*, vol. I, p. 279.

Paris in 1531 in *Treze Motetz avec ung Prelude*. The manuscript *Ny Kgl. Samling 1848 2°* in The Royal Library, Copenhagen, is a music collection, which a copyist used in his work during the early 1520s. It functioned as an archive in which he could keep useful music of nearly all genres; and it was a collection of exemplars from which he could produce small music manuscripts for sale containing carefully selected and balanced repertories. All four songs form part of such exemplars for 'commercial repertories', whose contents are retrospective and mostly consist of secular songs from the second half of the 15th century.[88] Moreover, the four songs first come to light in sources, into which they were copied during the 1480s and 1490s; and the versions transmitted by Amiens 162 are closer the early French or Flemish sources than the versions, which were known to the copyist at Lyons.[89] Therefore, there are good reasons to regard these last additions to Amiens 162 as belonging to a well-established repertory, which enjoyed a wide circulation during the period after 1480-90. The tablature by Attaingnant can only confirm this view. His repertory is, considering its date, still more retrospective than the Lyons manuscript. The print contains a number of sure 'hits' by composers of the generation active before 1500 as Antoine Brumel and Loyset Compère along with music by the younger composers like Antoine de Févin, Pierre Moulu and Claudin de Sermisy.[90]

It is quite conceivable that Caulaincourt's exemplar was a small manuscript consisting of one or two fascicles made by a professional scribe, a commercial manuscript of the type, which the Lyons scribe was able to produce, and which we can meet in a more voluminous version in the chansonnier in the University Library in Uppsala, the MS 76a.[91] In such a manuscript there was a good chance to find precisely these small sacred and spiritual songs along with a selection of the most durable secular songs, courtly as well as popular, from the decades before and after 1500.

Caulaincourt may have got hold of his exemplar already while he was studying in Paris, or he may have found the music in Amiens or during one of his journeys to Paris. The impulse to add such music may also be a result of the long visits to Corbie of the king and the many courtiers and soldiers in his retinue in 1513. There cannot be much doubt that these last pieces were added, while the music collection still was important to the activities of *Confrérie Ste Barbe*, and that means while the building of the new *Abbatiale* progressed. It is difficult to imagine any function for the added songs in mensural notation other than to provide the confraternity's music collection with some sheen of modernity. It is furthermore possible that the renewed struggles surrounding the appointment of a new abbot after Pierre d'Ostrel's death in 1506 brought the monastery in closer contact with a changed world. Recurring negotiations with opponents in Amiens and at the French court may have strengthened their awareness that the music of the leading institutions was leaving the solemnity of simple polyphony behind. If we take the proposed dating of the copying of »O saluris hostia« in 1513 as our starting point, then the date of the addition of the last four songs might be nearly the same or maybe a short time later.

88 *Ibid.,* vol. II, pp. 186 and 191, and nos. 52, 232, 238, 242 and 265.

89 See further the detailed discussions of the single items in the *Amiens 162 Edition*.

90 RISM 1531/5, cf. Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant. Royal Printer of Music. A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue.* Los Angeles 1969, pp. 240-241. »Dulcis amica dei« is printed as no. 9 and »Parce domine, populo tuo« as no. 13, and »Bone Jesu dulcissime« (Amiens 162 ff. 40v-41) also appears here as no. 3; all the tablatures are anonymous in the print. The collection is published in Yvonne Rokseth (ed.), *Treize motets et un prélude pour orgue parus en 1531 chez Pierre Attaingnant.* Paris 1930.

91 Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early ...,* vol. I *passim*; concerning the MS Uppsala 76a, see pp. 325 ff.

We have no information on when the confraternity stopped its activities. It is obvious that it declined in importance during the years after 1510 when the building of the church lost momentum owing to the financial insecurity caused by the struggle for independence from the bishop of Amiens and the crown. During the years after 1516, Caulaincourt's position at the monastery was strengthened. He was appointed *prévôt de Naours* and the next year *cellerarius aquarum*, which placed him among the higher officers of the monastery. And he tells with pride in his *Chronique* that in 1517 he was *princeps* of the *Confrérie Saints-Innocents* and had great expenses in that connection.[92] In the light of this information, it seems safe to assume that the *Confrérie Ste Barbe* had stopped its activities before 1516. It was presumably founded by abbot Pierre d'Ostrel around 1500, and it did not survive its founder with a full decade.

Some time before he laid the manuscript aside, Caulaincourt added his characteristic signature "DE CAULAINCOURT" on top of folio 2, the original front page of the collection. This is his 'official' signature, in big and angular majuscules, which he also used to sign his entries in the register of the *Officialité de Saint-Pierre de Corbie* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 17145, ff. 42v-58) during the 1520s.[93] He may have entered his signature when the front page was without music, when he copied Agricola's »Da pacem, domine«, or when the collection was bound with the other elements.

The creation of the composite manuscript

At some point in time when the music was no longer of interest for musical practise, Caulaincourt had the music manuscript and two other manuscripts bound together in one volume, which he placed in the Corbie library. The binding was probably quite simple and not very durable, because the collection had to be rebound after entering the Amiens library, and it had lost some pages during the centuries. The different manuscripts in the collection may very well represent a stack of materials related to his duties in connection with the confraternity of St Barbara, which was left in his possession.

The inscriptions from the Corbie library on f. 1 make it clear that that Caulaincourt placed the two new elements inside the cover of the music manuscript and in front of the music. It was first a single fascicle from a missal ("Missale imperfectum") and then a complete missal. After them came the fascicles of the music manuscript, which probably never had been sewn together, in the following order: fascicles 13-14 (ff. 113-124v) and 1-6 (ff. 2-45v).[94]

The single fascicle 7 (ff. 46-54v) is part of a missal that was copied at Corbie on good quality parchment during the first decade of the century. The script and the initials are very similar to the work of Hand C in Amiens 162, and we may quite safely assume that the main hand belongs to Caulaincourt or to one of his contemporaries in the abbey. The fascicle starts in the middle of a mass to the Virgin, so the manuscript it belonged with must have consisted of at least one more fascicle containing the beginning of *Proprium sanctorum*. Folio 54v was probably the original last page of this small manuscript. Besides one more Marian mass for the period following Septuagesima (includes the sequence "Stabat mater"), it contains among others a mass for St Sebastian, whose relics were intensely venerated at Corbie (his "Missa de sancto Sebastiano martire" (f. 49v) is singled out by a pen drawing of the saint pierced by arrows), "Missa de beato Anthonio" (f. 50v) and "De

92 MS Amiens 524 D, p. 365.

93 Cf. Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt', pp. 89-90 and Plate 4a.

94 See the contents of the reconstructed manuscript in *Appendix B.*

sanctis viribus Fusciano Victorico et Gentiano" (f. 54). The last mentioned mass commemorates three local martyrs from Amiens who died during the devastation by the Vandals in 407. It is not common in French missals. In fact, all the sources listed by Leroquais originate in Northern France, especially in the regions around Corbie and Amiens[95] – including a few examples from Paris.

The other missal, consisting of fascicles 8-12 (ff. 55-112v), is a late 14th century parchment manuscript from Corbie, carefully written in two columns like the younger fascicle, and decorated with large initials in *lettres filigranées*. It contains the *Temporale,* a long series of votive masses, the *Ordo missae* according to the Benedictine rule (ff. 75 ff), *Proprium sanctorum* and *Commune sanctorum.*

A later user, surely Antoine de Caulaincourt, has erased and changed the texts in two masses of special interest to him and to the members of the *Confrérie Ste Barbe*. The writing in these additions is very similar to his Hand C and to the main hand of the preceding younger missal. One is the mass for the patron saints of the abbey, Peter and Paul, where he (f. 68) after *Postcommunio* has erased the original text and entered "Alleluya. Per dei genitrix" and the hymn "Preter rerum seriem". And on f. 85 he has erased a mass entirely and replaced it by a mass for the souls of father and mother (Pro patre et matre) only leaving the original illuminated initials in order to reuse them. The mass for parents has a quite personal tone: "... miserere clementer animabus patris et matris mee: ...". His father, Jean III de Caulaincourt, had died before 1504, but his mother, Jeanne Le Vasseur, seems to have died some time after 1529.

In the middle of fascicle 9 (ff. 73-74v), in the big missal just before the *Ordo missae*, he placed a single sheet of parchment, which was something that he wanted to preserve from a discarded collection of texts. On the front side of this sheet (ff. 73v-74) we find two full-page paintings in strong colours on a golden background depicting the crucified Christ between Maria and Johannes the Baptist and Christ enthroned among symbols for the four evangelists (fig. 7). These pictures were made during the second half of the 15th century,[96] and they must be characterized as some sort of movable illustrations. Only the front side of the parchment was prepared for use with chalking and glue; while the backside, the hair side, was raw and never meant to write on. It was, however, used by the hand we find in the changes made in the old missal, and it was incorporated in a booklet or another small collection of liturgical texts containing recent votive masses. The first page of the folded bifolio has two masses, "[Pro] regis catholici contra turcos" and "Pro subsidio christianorum contra turcos" (f. 73), and the last page has the church prayers, known as the *Clamor* (f. 74v). Unlike the two missals these texts were copied in one column only. The bifolio must have been salvaged from another manuscript as the first mass did begin on a preceding page. The missing text has been carefully copied on to a small piece of parchment by the same hand and glued in before f. 73 (f. 72bis).

The care for the integrity of the mass text indicates that it was the masses and the church prayer that Caulaincourt wanted to preserve, and not primarily the pictures, when he prepared the collection of manuscripts for binding. Ammon Linder has analysed the role of the liturgy in the fight for the holy Land and later against the advancing Turks. The prayer

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95 Cf. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires …, passim*. Concerning the office of the three martyrs, see Jean-François Goudesenne, 'A typology of *historiae* in West Francia (8-10 c.)', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13 (2004), pp. 1-31; he dates their *historiae* to the period after 900 in Amiens and Corbie (pp. 24 and 29).

96 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires …,* vol. II, p. 298: "Peintures à pleine page d'execution mediocre".

Figure 7, ff. 73v-74 (http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15186).

(*Clamor*) for the recapture of the Holy Land by crusades was created soon after the defeat of the Christians at Hattin in 1187. The version of the prayer, which we find in Amiens 162, is subdued on the topic of crusades. It was instituted by pope Johannes XXII in 1328 and used frequently during the following centuries in slightly varying shapes.[97] The masses can be dated to the last decades of the 15th century, when anti-Turk masses and calls for crusades resounded in Christian churches after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. The second mass "Pro subsidio christianorum contra turcos" is in its wording of the three prayers, *Collect, Secreta* and *Postcommunio,* closest to the mass "Contra turcos", which pope Sixtus IV instituted after the battle of Otranto in 1480, but it is more explicitly aimed against the Turks than the official version.[98] The first mass, which Caulaincourt took such care to preserve in extenso, build on the traditional mass "In tempore belli" under the title "[Pro] regis catholici contra turcos",[99] and its prayers refer to the catholic king and the defender of Christianity: "… famulo tuo Ferdinando fidei christiane defensori …" (f. 72bis

97 Ammon Linder, *Raising Arms. Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Cultural Encounters in the Late Antiquity and Middle Ages 2) Turnhout 2003, p. 50. For a survey of the prayers and the mass texts, see the commentary to the *Amiens 162 Edition.*

98 *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88 and 220-23.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 175-177.

in *Secreta*), and *Postcommunio* ends on the same note: "… famulo tuo Ferdinando fidei christiane defensori et omni exercitui eius arma celestia ut pax ecclesiarum et populorum christianorum turcis vicinorum nulla turbetur tempestate bellorum." (f. 73). Leroquais notes that "Il s'agit sans doute de Ferdinand V, le Catholique".[100]

Pope Alexander VI awarded Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile the honorific title of "Catholic Kings" after the conquest of Granada in 1492 and the expulsion of the last remnants of the Moorish rule on the Iberian Peninsula. After that Ferdinand pursued his fight against the Muslim states about control of the Western Mediterranean and political influence in Northern Africa.[101] The war against Granada extended though the decade 1482-1492, but Ferdinand had already at an earlier date gained renown as defender of the faith and as one of most important adversaries of the Osman imperium. He was often spoken of as the "rex catholicus". The inquisition was the preferred tool of Ferdinand in order to create unity in the divided society. Although the pope opposed it, he established the inquisition as an instrument subordinated the crown from 1480. It played a dominant role in the expulsion of the Jews, and it was along with the religious confraternities important for the missionary work in the newfound world on the other side of the Atlantic. Ferdinand realised the importance of the unity and dominance of the church in the creation of a world empire.[102] An Osman fleet captured and destroyed in 1480 the Italian port city Otranto, and it stroke Rome with horror that the Turks were able to attack so close the religious centre of Europe. The next year the city was recaptured by a coalition in which Ferdinand participated. Still more important for his reputation as defender of the faith were his efforts in conjunction with the pope to put together a crusade against the Turks in Anatolia. The pope called for a crusade in 1499 and again in 1517, and taxes for this purpose were levied several times. Especially in connection with a meeting in Savona between the kings Ferdinand and Louis XII in 1507 there were high expectations that the crusade would come about. But it never happened.[103]

We must assume that the two masses were copied during the years when the hope for a crusade still was alive among ecclesiastics. After the death of Ferdinand in 1516 the prayers of the first mass were no longer relevant. A frame of time between the years around 1506 and before 1516 places the copying of the masses nicely in the period when Caulaincourt used the music manuscript. His *Chronique of Corbie* ends in a tone of despair over the Turkish advance and the situation before the walls of Vienna in 1529. Also here he puts his hope in a king Ferdinand, the grandson of the catholic king, the archduke of Austria and king of Hungary, Bohemia and Croatia. It is no wonder that he wanted to keep the anti-Turkish masses for future users of his volume of missals and music.

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100 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires …,* vol. II, p. 298.

101 Cf. the articles 'Katholische Könige' and 'Ferdinand II' in *Lexikon des Mittelalters,* vol. V, coll. 1077, and vol. IV, coll. 358; and Joseph Pérez, *Ferdinand und Isabella. Spanien zur Zeit der Katholischen Könige.* München 1989 (*Isabelle et Ferdinand. Rois catholiques d'Espagne.* 1988), pp. 7 ff.

102 Cf. Denys Hay (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History. Volume I: The Renaissance 1493-1520,* Cambridge 1957, pp. 334 ff.

103 *Ibid.,* p. 264.

II The simple polyphony in Amiens 162

A part of the repertory of Amiens 162 belongs to the type that has been characterized as *cantus planus binatim* by Alberto Gallo.[104] His terminology was inspired by a remark by Prosdoscimus de Beldemandis in his *Expositiones tractatus pratice ...* of c. 1404, and it describes according to Gallo a polyphony consisting of unmeasured plainchant that is "shadowed" by an extra voice, whose function it is to enhance the sound and solemnity of the chant. The term "cantus planus binatim" has been criticized by Margaret Bent for being too exclusive, not including music just as simple, which has mensural elements in its notation or is right-out mensural,[105] and Christian Berktold has challenged that Prosdoscimus was at all describing this sort of singing.[106] I prefer the term "simple polyphony", which includes all the songs copied with an intention of practical use in Amiens 162, measured or unmeasured, for two to four voices.

I understand this term as a neutral label, which underscores the music's technical simplicity in comparison with contemporary complex polyphony, not necessarily 'retrospective' and certainly not 'primitive'.[107] As we have seen in the preceding chapter, what Caulaincourt was looking for was contemporary music of a specialized sort, and that he needed help from an expert to succeed in finding it. Its technical basis is traditional, founded in musical skills for improvising a solemn sound for certain services, and it reaches back to the oldest traces of polyphony; it has to be regarded on the background of improvised polyphony and the different traditions of this art flourishing through the centuries. However, in the world of sacred music, many participants in the services were able only to read and sing the monophonic chants of the liturgy. Therefore, also simple polyphony had to be circulated in a notation, which was readable to everyone, as the numerous and geographical widespread sources testify. In this way the 'simple polyphony' can be regarded as a sort of counterpart to 'plain chant'.

Setting aside all the terminological differences, the literature gives us an overview of the geographical spread and composition of this repertory supplemented by analyses of selected segments. A great number of the sources are catalogued in the volumes of *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (series B IV, vol. 3-5).[108] The German-speaking regions,

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104 F. Alberto Gallo, '«Cantus planus binatim». Polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive', *Quadrivium* 7 (1966), pp. 79-89; 'The practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy from the beginning of the 14th to the beginning of the 16th century' in Cesare Corsi e Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds.), *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980* (Miscellanea musicologica 4) Roma 1989, pp. 13-30; and 'Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert' in Frieder Zaminer (ed.), *Geschichte der Musiktheorie,* vol. 5, Darmstadt 1984, p. 304.

105 Margaret Bent, 'The definition of simple polyphony. Some questions' in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli ...*, pp. 33-42.

106 Christian Berktold, '"Cantus planus binatim": Ein musiktheoretischer Beleg zur Mehrstimmigkeit?' in Walter Pass & Alexander Rausch (eds.), *Beiträge zur Musik, Musiktheorie und Liturgie der Abtei Reichenau* (Musica mediaevalis Europae occidentalis 8), Tutzing 2001, pp. 149-165.

107 I cannot agree with Thomas Schmidt-Beste who wrote that these repertories were "formerly given the pejorative label 'simple polyphony'", see 'The Art of Cellular Counterpoint: The Motets of Petrus Wilhelmi' in Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel (eds.), *Essays on Renaissance Music in Honour of David Fallows: "Bon jour, bon mois et bonne estrenne"*, Woodbridge 2011, pp. 154-162 (at p. 156).

108 Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts I-II*, München-Duisburg 1972 (RISM B IV/3-4), and Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscrits de musique polyphonique, Xve et XVIe siècles. Italie*, München-Duisburg 1991 (RISM B IV/5).

France, Hungary and Scandinavia were surveyed in the classic studies by Arnold Geering and Theodor Göllner, and by many others.[109] The Italian repertory has been the theme of several conferences and collective volumes;[110] and simple polyphony has also been high-lighted as separate themes in conferences of broader aims.[111] All of these publications open the doors to a wealth of other bibliographical references.

Two-part simple polyphony

The two-part settings in Amiens 162 are all in strict note-against-note style. The surveys of the German repertory by Geering and Göllner conclude that the settings of this type largely conform to the rules laid down in the organum treatises, which can be dated around 1100, but which obviously reflect older performance traditions.[112] Göllner based his analysis on two manuscripts, whose main sections can be dated in the first half of the 15th century. He found that these songs in general showed the following characteristics:

- The liturgical tune is enhanced by a counter voice in principally the same range; the restricted range of the setting forces many voice crossings and a preference for contrary motion.
- Every musical unit begins and ends on a perfect concord, octave or fifth prefer-ably; fifths above or below the tune are the preferred concords, and concords of thirds mostly appear in passing when the voices cross on a prime concord (in the typical sequence of intervals 5-3-1-3-5).

109 Arnold Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprach-gebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Publikationen der schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft ser. II, vol. 1) Bern 1952; Arnold Geering, 'Retrospektive mehrstimmige Musik in französischen Handschrif-ten des Mittelalters' in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés.* Barcelona 1958-61, pp. 307-14; Theodor Göllner, *Formen früher Mehrstimmigkeit in deutschen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters.* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte Bd. 6) Tutzing 1961; Theodor Göllner, *Die mehr-stimmigen liturgischen Lesungen. I-II* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte Bd. 15) Tutzing 1969; Jürg Stenzl, *Repertorium der liturgischen Musikhandschriften der Diözesen Sitten, Lausanne und Genf. Band I: Diözese Sitten.* Freiburg 1972; Marie Louise Göllner, *The Manuscript Cod. lat. 5539 of the Bavarian State Library. With an Edition of the Original Treatises and of the Two-voice Organal Settings.* (Musicologocal Studies & Documents 43) Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1993; John Bergsagel, 'The Practice of *Cantus Planus Bina-tim* in Scandinavia in the 12th to 16th Centuries' in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli ...,* pp. 63-82; Benjamin Rajeczky, 'Spätmittelalterliche Organalkunst in Ungarn', *Studia Musicologica* 1 (1961), pp. 15-28.
110 Cf. *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli ...*; P. Dalla Vecchia & D. Restani (eds.), *Trent'anni di ricerche musi-cologiche: Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo* (Miscellanea musicologica III:2) Roma 1996; Giolio Cattin & F. Alberto Gallo (eds.), *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oraltità e scrittura* (Quaderni di musica e storica 3) Bologna 2002.
111 Heinrich Husmann, 'Das Organum vor und außerhalb der Notre-Dame-Schule', and Marie Louise Göllner (ed.), Symposium 'Das Organum vor und außerhalb der Notre-Dame-Schule' in Franz Giegling (ed.), *Bericht über den neunten internationalern Kongress, Salzburg 1964.* (International Musicological Society), Kassel 1966, vol. I pp. 25-35, and vol. II pp. 68-80. Jürg Stenzl (ed.), '»Peripherie« und »Zentrum« in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert' in Hellmut Kühn und Peter Nitsche (eds.), *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974. (Gesellschaft für Musikforschung).* Kassel 1980, pp. 14-170; Christian Meyer (ed.), *Polyphonies de tradition orale – histoire et traditions vivantes. Actes du colloque de Royaumont – 1990.* Paris 1993.
112 For example, the treatise known as *Ad organum faciendum* and the *De musica* by Johannes, see further Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 'Die Mehrstimmigkeitslehre von ihren Anfängen bis zum 12. Jahrhundert' in Frieder Zaminer (ed.), *Geschichte der Musiktheorie,* vol. 5, Darmstadt 1984, pp. 40 ff.

- The melodic figures of the counter voice are determined by the vocabulary of the plainchant tunes; in some cases the melodic shape of the voice takes precedence over the strict application of consonance rules.[113]

The datings of the sources analysed by Geering represent a longer span of time, from the 13th to the 16th centuries. We can extract the following observations to complement the description:

- Settings in strict parallel motion are unknown in the notated repertory. Geering has found only one setting with moments of parallel fourths; the fifth is the favourite concord, more thirds and sixths crop up in the younger repertory, and among the youngest we can find songs with parallel motion only in thirds and sixths, and parallel fifths are excluded.
- Predominant contrary motion belongs to the settings copied during the 15th century; in the earlier centuries such settings are not common.
- Geering found 20 three-part songs in his repertory, most of them from the 15th-16th century.[114]

Ulrike Hascher-Burger has looked at this type of music from a different angle.[115] She has analysed two Dutch song collections dating from the end of the 15th century, that is, more or less contemporary with the repertory of Amiens 162, and both of them were written in houses belonging to the reform movement *Devotio moderna*. The male and female communities of the *Devotio moderna* were in spiritual outlook probably far removed from the conservative monks of Corbie who fought for the preservation of their feudal rights, but their musical outlook reflect similar monastic traditions. Hascher-Burger divides the two-part songs in five groups, of which we can disregard the fifth group, songs with traces of art music:

1) Songs in predominant contrary motion with many perfect concords,
2) with parallel motion primarily in fifths,
3) with more dissonances than average, including fourths, and
4) with many imperfect concords, thirds and sixths.

This is, of course, a quite rough classification, as all the songs show characteristics of more than one group. The differences in the numbers belonging to each group that she has found in the two manuscripts are remarkable. In MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, oct. 190, a songbook from a male convent in Utrecht, Hascher-Burger counts 19, 10, 5 and 7 respectively in the four groups, while the other manuscript from a female house in Zwolle, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 16 H 34, has 4, 1, 4 and 23 respectively in

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113 Cf. Göllner, *Formen früher Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 40-59.
114 Cf. Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus,* pp. 44-51.
115 Ulrike Hascher-Burger, "Simple polyphony' im späten Mittelalter: ein Vergleich zweier Liederhandschriften aus Kreisen der Devotio moderna' in K. Pietschmann (ed.), *Das Erzbistum Köln in der Musikgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts.* (Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 172) Kassel 2008, pp. 191-211. I am grateful to Dr. Ulrike Hascher-Burger for lending me a copy of her article. On this repertory see also Alexander Blachly, 'Archaic Polyphony in Dutch Sources of the Renaissance', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 53 (2003), pp. 183-227.

Example 5a-b, "Quando deus filius virginis", second stanza (ff. 14v-15), notes 15-25 (line 2) and notes 53-68 (line 5 and beginning of line 6)

the same four groups. This is a near reversal of the counts in the two songbooks. Hascher-Burger explains the differences in style by pointing at the influences of different localities and traditions, of levels in education and of gender.

It is of great importance to our project that Hascher-Burger documents the existence of widely differing styles and aesthetics in contemporary sources of simple polyphony. That the repertory incorporated the solemn sound of parallel perfect concords and the often quite disjunct motion of the counter voice as well as the smooth enjoyment of parallel thirds and sixths. This wider stylistic spectrum puts a new perspective on the description given in Geering's survey. The differences seem less to depend on different stages of musical 'evolution' than they signal differences in localities and contexts of tradition, and as we shall see in the Amiens 162 repertory the different stylistic models may co-exist within extended settings.

How do we place the two-part songs in Amiens 162 in relation to these analyses of contemporary repertories? Most of them are extended, multi-section settings, and they comprise one song in the group of funeral compositions, four sequences and a trope, which all belong to the repertory collected by Hand A, and finally a Credo-setting, which Caulaincourt (Hand C) later added.

Already in the first two-part song in Amiens 162 we meet an aspect of simple polyphony not stressed in the research just mentioned, namely the evidence of a clear plan for the course of the setting. A 'compositional intention' is discernible in the three stanzas of the "Libera me"-trope »Quando deus filius virginis« on ff. 13v-16. It opens inconspicuously with the voices circling each other within the range of the fifth *d-a*. The peak of the tenor tune on *d′* is reached at the start of the fourth line, while the highpoint of the contra voice comes at the end of the fifth line on *e′* with a tenth between the voices. It happens in the repeat of the tune's b-element, which was first heard with the second line of text (cf. ex. 5a-b). This leads to a full repeat of the tune's a- and b-elements with the contra voice in high range singing the refrain-like lines starting with the exclamation "O, O, O" and emphasized by fermatas. This development towards the climax was prepared in lines three and four (the c- and d-elements), which both end on a concord of a third, *f-a* (in stanzas 2 and 3, which give us the original version, stanza 1 has been revised),[116] and thus evade

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116 Hand A has shortened the fourth line by one note for lack of writing space, and Hand B has changed a *b* into an *a*. He (Caulaincourt) apparently preferred the progression 5-5-8 over 5-6-8; and he has added his own custos to the voices.

Example 6, "Sospitati dedit egros" (ff. 41v-42), notes 1-30 (lines 1-2).

cadential points of rest and keep up the flow. The repeats of the b-element, which appears as lines two, five and seven, demonstrates the planned development. The all begin in an identical way, but in the last two lines a fifth concord is simply changed into a sixth resulting in a higher curve for the rest of the line.

The contra voice is mainly in contrary motion and avoids parallel perfect concords entirely in the original version; parallels are in thirds and sixths, and mostly only two in a row. When the tune is in the low end of its range, the contra is above it, and when high, it goes below – up to an octave below. The composer appreciated the change of sonority from fifth to third on repeated notes, and for the "O, O, O"-passage's repeated notes he used in the contra the in improvised polyphony 'safe' progression of third, fifth and sixth (ex. 5b). This song represents a 'modern' type of contrary motion two-part note-against-note setting and is a proof of Hand A's ability to procure the newest and most effective music of this sort for his collection of funeral music.

The short trope »Sospitati dedit egros« (ff. 41v-42) exhibits another type of 'modern' simple polyphony. Its first line opens in contrary motion, but then it changes to parallel motion in mainly thirds, four in a row. The second line starts in a similar way, progresses in parallel fourths and thirds, but ends in parallel fifths, six in a row (ex. 6)! The next line is nearly consistently in contrary motion with the contra above the tenor, while it in the fourth line, which repeats the tune, goes below the tenor and uses some parallel thirds and fifths. In the last two lines where the tenor is high, the contra follows it in parallel octaves below and ends by shadowing it in fifths. This piece of simple polyphony is clearly more influenced by parallel motion than "Quando deus", and its composer obviously accepts parallel motion in perfect concords as well as in imperfect concords as equal means to vary the sound and to direct the course of the counter voice. The very compact, sequence-like setting demonstrates the way in which the multi-section tune in double versicles develops and intensifies its melody by introducing a contrasting semitone (in the fifth line "Vas in mari ...") or by changing into a higher range (in the seventh line "Ergo laudes ...". The composer of the counter voice has taken great care to vary the sound by using its full range in the first two double and varied versicles (lines 1-4), in which the tune is a bit restricted in expression. This is not needed in the last two pairs (lines 5-8), where the tune attracts more attention, so they are just identical repeats.

This interpretation of a traditional technique, which we safely can assume was 'modern' in Caulaincourt's circles, characterizes the sequence settings collected by Hand A. For the

long compositions the whole spectrum of techniques are used to keep the music alive – in varying selections. »Virgini Marie laudes« (ff. 28v-30) is a contrafactum of "Victime pascali laudes" and has the well-known tune in its tenor. The counter voice follows it mainly in thirds while constant crossing above and below it; parallel fifths and octaves appear when needed. The setting is smooth in sound and the contra is easy to sing. The original version has very little variation in the double versicles; in the long third section the internal cadences are reversed, from first unison then fifth to fifth-unison – simple, and quite effective. Caulaincourt has later introduced a bit more variation by changing a third into a fifth sonority in section 2b (at "Mors et vita"). This was a conscious choice, because when the exactly same melodic figure returns in section 4b, he made the same change (at "Scimus Christum"). In this way he made the sound of the second versicle in sections 2 and 4 slightly different from the first ones. »Veni sancte spiritus« (ff. 35v-37) is a similar setting of a well-known tune, tending a bit more towards contrary motion, but also containing long rows of thirds. As previous mentioned this was probably the first long composition, which Caulaincourt had the sole responsibility of entering in the manuscript, and he tried his hand in revising the music.[117] Originally this setting probably was completely regular with identical settings of the double versicles.

One of the most interesting creations in this genre is the sequence »Veneremur virginem« (ff. 37v-41), which as earlier discussed probably baffled Caulaincourt in its use of key signatures – he did not touch it later. It is a combination of two different Marian sequences: The Mixolydian "Veneremur virginem" is set complete in five stanzas (1-4 and 6), but before the last a stanza from the more widespread Dorian sequence "Hodierne lux diei" has been interpolated. It is the last stanza of "Hodierne lux diei", beginning "Salve splendor firmamenti", which in its concluding praise of Maria fits perfectly into the meaning of "Veneremur virginem", and it creates a nice contrast to the longer setting.

The setting of the five stanzas of "Veneremur virginem" is in itself a well-formed and consistent sequence in the 'modern' style (ex. 7a). It involves much contrary motion, but every phrase tends to contain also shorter or longer parallel passages, and it avoids any use of parallel perfect concords, and most versicles use internal repeats. It is euphonious, placed within the Hypomixolydian range *d-f'*, and variation in sound is obtained by letting the stanzas 1-2, 4 and 6 be dominated by the sound of parallel thirds with the parts quite close together, while stanza 3 stands out by its parallel sixths and up to a tenth between the parts, and in stanza 4 its pace is slowed down a bit by the introduction of double values and ligatures.

Stanza 5 uses a probably local version of the tune for "Hodierne lux diei".[118] The setting differs audibly from "Veneremur virginem". Its range is higher, *f-g'*, it demands a key signature of one flat, and the two first line endings involve parallel fifths (ex. 7b); and its three-line versicles and different rime pattern contrast the steady flow of the four-line versicles of "Veneremur virginem". Coming from the very stable sound universe of "Veneremur", this set of versicles stand out as if belonging to a different tradition. However, it is not too far away: The two identical versicles also repeat most of their first line, and they end in five concords of thirds in a row before the final fifth!

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117 Cf. the more detailed report on his changes in the comments to the edition.

118 The tenor carries the traditional tune in a compressed form, where the range has been reduced from a ninth to a sixth, but it is still recognizable, see further the comments to the edition.

Example 7a-b, "Veneremur virginem" (ff. 37v-41), notes 1-17 (start of versicle 1a)
and notes 264-284 (start of versicle 5a).

It is impossible to know if this stanza was lifted from a complete setting of "Hodierne lux diei" or was made for insertion into "Veneremur" – with the traditional tune modified for the occasion. As it stands in Amiens 162, the setting challenges us to consider that the composer had a clear idea of the different styles in simple two-part polyphony and used them to create some contrast and a culmination in an otherwise slightly monotonous sequence, and that the aesthetic deliberations put into the work of creating simple polyphony followed the same paths as in the working out of mensural art music. Or, maybe our aesthetic appreciation of his choices is irrelevant, because the extra stanza was inserted for textual reasons, and its musical effect was purely accidental. The second alternative is, of course, possible, but appears less probable.

Hand A had envisioned the long »Stabat mater dolorosa« (ff. 30v-35) as the opening piece of his collection of sequences. Its ten double versicles set an otherwise unknown tune in a style similar to »Virgini Marie laudes«, but with a more disjunct counter voice. The majority of its double versicles are varied to some degree, and during its course it displays the full range of possibilities of the genre in contrary and parallel motion in perfect and imperfect concords. Originally, parallel fourths and unisons between the parts appeared in several places – most of them were since eliminated in the revision. In this way all four types found by Hascher-Burger in shorter contemporary songs are present in one or more of its sections. The setting has been carefully phrased with the help of vertical strokes and fermatas, and rows of fermatas are found on important words. It ends with a long "Amen", which appears to be freely composed with the two voices conceived simultaneously in more or less strict contrary motion.

Caulaincourt has put some work into a revision of the counter voice. He has erased and rewritten notes in nearly all the sections, and he has drawn his own custos on top of those of Hand A at the end of all staves. All the erasures, which I have been able to discern on the pages, are shown in 'Erasures in *Stabat mater dolorosa*', which is appended to the edition.[119] There we can compare the black notes, the erased ones, with his corrections, the white notes. His primary goal seems to have been the elimination of what he regarded as errors in the counter voice and in some passages to shift it into a lower range. For example, he has removed unisons in sections 3a-b and 6a-b; and in section 9a, the strict contrary motion at "inebriari" ended in the progression seventh-none – he has replaced it with the

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119 *Amiens 162 Edition* no. 7b.

parallel motion of section 9b. In section 5a the counter voice started on a fourth concord and had a short unison passage near the end, and it was mostly above the tenor; all this has been changed into a counter voice mostly below the tenor. In 5b he has changed the beginning into a variant of the low version, but has retained the remainder of the high one, only correcting parallel fourths at "sibi" into contrary motion. Here he has created a greater difference of sound between the two halves of the stanza than before. He did not appreciate concords of fourths. In sections 10a-b, he has changed fourths into unisons, but in 6b he left the fourth on "pati", and erased the corresponding third on "plagas" in 6a, and put in a fourth instead in order to make the two halves identical. Possibly the words "plagues" and "suffer" justified the fourths.

It is not easy to find a principle for the changes not provoked by 'errors'. In sections 1 and 5 he has introduced new differences between the double versicles, while in sections 3 and 6-9 he has attempted to make them more similar. Probably the notes as they stand were not Caulaincourt's final word on the counter voice. Above it he has on all the right hand pages written "vacat" and drawn a vertical line in the left margins. Maybe he had the amended piece performed and decided that the song would make a better figure without the counter voice, and therefore discarded it from further deliberations by deeming it "vacat" (it is useless!). If we compare the varied and quite engaging "Stabat mater" tune in the tenor when sung alone with impact of the two-part setting, where the counter voice tends to blur the contours of the melody, we may easily be convinced to agree with him.

A piece that Caulaincourt added after he had returned to Corbie, is the two-part »Credo in unum deum« (ff. 121v-124); the exemplar for it may have been lent to him by somebody passing by, or he may have found it in Amiens. It sounds old-fashioned compared with the other two-part simple polyphony songs. Parallel fifths and octaves dominate its sound, and we even find a passage in parallel fourths (at "Crucifixus") and quite a few single concords of fourths. The setting is like the "Stabat mater" phrased by vertical strokes and fermatas, and important passages like "Et homo factus est" and "Et vitam venturi seculi. Amen" are emphasized with fermatas above all notes. Also this song has been extensively revised by Caulaincourt, and the erased notes tell a curious story.

His exemplar was presumably not of the highest quality – that he suddenly should have become quite sloppy in his copying seems unlikely in the light of his careful writing. The version originally copied had passages where strong dissonances appeared, and somewhere in the process the positions of the voices had been reversed, so that the tenor carrying the pre-existent tune stands on the right hand pages in Amiens 162. Normally, the left side of the openings are reserved for this voice. This reversal was of consequence for his corrections of the faulty passages.

It is a setting of the "Credo cardinalis" tune, which probably originated in France around 1300, and during the next centuries it became widely circulated all over Europe, always in rhythmically differentiated notation (*canto fratto*), and in several sources in two-part polyphony.[120] Also in Amiens 162 it is notated in square and rhomboid notes that permit a rhythmical interpretation. The counter voice, however, is notated in undifferentiated square notation, and everything point at that the rhythmical elements were not appreciated at

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120 Cf. Marco Gozzi, 'Alle origini del canto fratto: il "Credo Cardinalis"', *Musica e storia* 14 (2006), pp. 245-302, and Richard Sherr, 'The performance of chant in the Renaissance and its interactions with polyphony' in Thomas F. Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2) Cambridge 1992, pp. 178-208, at pp. 183 ff; a modern version of the chant is *Credo IV* in GR, p. 67*.

Corbie. The tenor tune, as originally copied, was identical with the in the 15th century well-known Credo-tune with a few lesser variants.[121] Only three passages, "vivos et mortuos" (notes 257-262), "Et in spiritum … ex patre" (272-294) and "Amen" (398-401), are different.

The two-part structure was remarkably dissonant in two places, that is at "Qui ex patre ... procedit" (notes 289-301) and "Et vitam venturi seculi" (389-397). Here the many seconds and fourths between the voices give the impression that the counter voice was not at all constructed with the tenor tune in mind.[122] They called for Caulaincourt's intervention. In fact, the Credo-tune was easy to recognize in these passages, but he chose to erase it and compose a new tenor instead of changing the counter voice. He placed it in a higher range and avoided all dissonances. For example, in "Et vitam venturi" the concords were 5-4(3)-2-3-4-4-2(3)-2-5, which he changed into 8-8-5-5-6-8-8-8-3. The majority of his other changes concern avoidance of fourths at line endings; he has three times changed the progression 4-4 into 3-5 by reversing the tenor notes, but still he left many other fourths untouched. Also, he did not like the ending in parallel thirds in the fermata passage "Et homo factus est" (167-172); this was replaced by parallel fifths, by changing both voices.

It is quite obvious that he was convinced that the voice part placed on the left-hand pages was the main voice, and consequently he made by far the greatest number of changes in the voice carrying the *Credo cardinalis.* Furthermore, these changes helped to pull the tune even stronger towards the Dorian central tones D and A, and thus the tenor became further and further removed from the well-known tune.

It seems amazing that he did not recognize the Credo tune. But it must be so. A good example can be found at the word "Visibilium" (note 31), where the Credo-tune on "-um" has the note *b*, which then is repeated for "omnium". The original had the perfectly consonant sixth *d-b* here, which progressed to the fifth *e-b*. But the sixth was transformed into a fifth *d-a* by erasure and rewriting in the tenor, and thereby a distinguishing feature of the tune was lost and only more parallel fifths gained.

It is, of course, thinkable that the tune was not much in use in the Benedictine monastery. But it is more credible that the setting already appeared somewhat corrupted in Caulaincourt's exemplar, with the placement of the voices reversed and with many wrong notes, which may have deceived him into regarding the tenor tune as the variable counter voice. In any case, he succeeded in producing a usable Credo without any disturbing dissonances, which was solemn in its old-fashioned sound of fifths and octaves.

The two-part settings of Amiens 162 show quite a wide stylistic spectrum. From the Credo added by Caulaincourt to the most modern settings collected by Hand A. In some cases we find an awareness of the structuring of sound and development in the settings, which points away from the spontaneity of improvised polyphony and from its monotony of sound. At the same time we see a tendency to let parallel thirds and sixths dominate the sound picture at the expense of fifths and octaves – they are still present, but not as prominent. And they sound different from the more traditionally oriented settings. Simple two-part polyphony lived on for centuries, but when we browse the sources from the 17th-19th centuries we find mostly settings whose parallelism is based on imperfect

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121 Cf. Sherr, 'The performance of chant …', pp. 186-187, which reproduces the version of the Giunta Gradual, Venice 1499-1500.

122 Cf. the "Erasures in *Credo in unum deum*", which is appended to the edition as no. 11b, and *Example 1a-b* in the comments to the edition.

consonances.[123] Not much research has been done on this change into a preference for third-sixth sonorities; the repertory of Amiens 162 may be an indicator of what was happening.

Three-part simple polyphony

The tree-part settings show a similar wide variation. We have already discussed two songs added by Caulaincourt. In Paris he apparently found the motet »O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie eleyson« (ff. 123v-124, cf. ex. 1), a dissonant recreation of a 13th century motet into simple polyphony, and we counted »O salutaris hostia« (f. 1v) among his latest additions, a 'modern' hymn-setting in plainchant notation (ex. 4).

   The remaining four three-part compositions, which belong to the funeral music selected and copied by Hand A, must be regarded as the most significant contributions to the repertory of simple polyphony. They offer quite different solutions for how such music could be crafted, even if they all ultimately build on simple improvisatory models. But, however different the four settings may be, they have a number of features in common in addition to their place in the responsory "Libera me":

- They all use to some degree cadential patterns and other elements drawn from the stock of commonplaces of mensural music.
- Their music is placed on the pages in a voice disposition, which traditionally was used for old-fashioned motets or settings of liturgical tunes with the given tune in the tenor, and which is characterized by the placement of the tenor voice across the bottom of the openings. They seem so to say to imspire a sort of ecclesiastical confidence; but in fact, it makes no difference if the tenor is carrying a tune as is the case in »Creator omnium rerum, deus« and »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«, or is simply a supporting voice as in »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« and »Lugentibus in purgatorio«. This layout apparently did not convey any musical meaning.
- All four probably represent the most recent style of the genre, which was accessible to the compiler.
- Three of them employ passages, in which all notes are furnished with fermatas, as important structural and textual markers.

The three strophic settings have textual or melodic relations to other more or less contemporary settings, which already have been mentioned in the first section of this article, and which it is necessary to include into the discussion of the music too.

Creator omnium rerum

This last-mentioned feature, the fermata passages, which we also could observe in the two-part songs "Quando deus", "Stabat mater" and "Credo", is prominent in »Creator omnium rerum, deus« (ff. 16v-17v). The exclamations, which open the second part of the setting (bb. 46-53, cf. ex. 8a), stand out not only by way of their rhythmical indefiniteness, but also by their sound. The four-note repeat in the liturgical tune on "Exaudi, exaudi" is set with parallel tenths in the superius, while the Contratenor fills in between them. During the whole fermata-passage it is remarkable that the Contratenor avoids taking the position

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123 See, for example, the articles by Annunziato Pugliese, Cesare Ruini and Antonio Lovato in *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica.*

Example 8a-b, "Creator omnium rerum, deus" (ff. 16v-17v), bb. 46-53 and bb. 19-27.

of a fourth below the upper voice. In the remainder of the setting, the superius is a structural counter voice against the tenor tune in contrary and parallel motion, and the Contratenor often takes the fourth below and thereby produces the characteristic sound of improvisatory practices like the fauxbourdon (see for example bb. 19-26, ex. 8b). Moreover, the setting's general note-against-note style is enlivened by the introduction of smaller note values (white *minimae*) in the Contratenor, which smooths its lines and produces syncopations in some instances (bb. 14-15, 61-62 and 72). All this clearly indicates that the setting is measured in spite of being mainly in chant notation, and it incorporates traces of contemporary cadential patterns and differentiated roles of the voices. In comparison with this, the 'floating' fermata-passage stands out by force of its different rhythmic and harmonic personality.

As a whole, "Creator omnium rerum" is perfectly adapted for its role as a prose versus in "Libera me" at funerals; it is solemn and modern, in many ways similar to the three-part hymn "O salutaris hostia" in pure plainchant notation, except that the liturgical tune in "Creator omnium" is placed in the lowest voice as in many other liturgical settings.

Lugentibus in purgatorio

The strophic setting of »Lugentibus in purgatorio« (ff. 10v-13) is constructed in a different way. It is notated in white mensural notation, but basically it is much closer to the two-part simple polyphony than "Creator omnium". Its two equal upper voices in the range *a-b′* make up a self-sufficient structure, note against note without dissonances or parallel perfect concords. This structure seems to be developed from the 'modern' type of two-part simple polyphony, which we have just discussed, based on contrary motion and parallel motion in imperfect concords. Every line is brought to its end with stock cadential figures including syncopations. The "Tenor" is a supporting voice below the duet in the range *c-a*. (ex. 9).

This setting does not appear to build on any known tune, but its simple melodic phrases are clearly related to the other settings of the text. Its five verse lines are organized in the

Example 9, "Lugentibus in purgatorio" (ff. 10v-13), stanza 1, bb. 1-6.

form aba'ab' with the a-lines ending on A in the upper voices and the b-lines on D. Every line ends with a fermata, and the first four lines are subdivided by a fermata on the fourth syllable; the invocations in the fifth line, "O Ihesu rex", "O Maria", "Sancte Petre", are emphasized with fermatas on every syllable.

In spite of its extremely restricted musical motives great care have been taken to vary the setting. The upper voices exchange places and motives as well as the functions as superius and tenor in the cadences, and the "Tenor" supports the varied harmony. In sound it is very close to a contemporary devotional song conceived according to the rules of mensural counterpoint. Its foundation in simple polyphony emerges with even greater clarity when we consider it alongside contemporary two-part settings of the poem.

The first two stanzas of the song in MS Tübingen 96 (ff. 55v-57) are very similar to the upper voices in the Amiens 162 version. This setting is notated in semi-mensural black notation, which uses two note values only: *breves* (square notes) and *semibreves* (rhomboid notes and ligatures *c.o.p.*). It presents the same alternation between note-against-note style and stock cadential patterns with a preponderance of imperfect concords between the voices, and sounding a fifth lower (ex. 10). It also has the same care for varying the sound with the voices exchanging places and motives as well as functions as superius and tenor. And the stanzas end with a 'refrain', "Ihesu pie, dona eis requiem" set off with fermatas over the first four notes – as in Amiens 162.

When we reach the two last stanzas, something new happens. They are set to a different music, similar in style, but using a greater variety of pitches for the line endings, and having a new refrain "O Maria, ora natum pro eis". This creates an intensification of the music through the four stanzas, which alternate with the sections of the monophonic "Libera me".

The setting in Tübingen 96 probably represents an older version of this trope, even if this manuscript may be younger than Grand-Saint-Bernard 7. In fact, the version in Grand-Saint-Bernard 7 may have been copied after an exemplar very similar to Tübingen 96 and revised in order to obtain an increased level of variation in the music. More instances of voice exchange have been introduced, and cadences have been prolonged to make room

Example 10, Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mk 96, ff. 55v-57,
"Lugentibus in purgatorio", bb. 1-8.

for syncopations. Furthermore, the scribe/arranger did not appreciate the closing of the second setting (stanzas 3-4) on D, seeing that the first setting ended on G, so he simply added the first prayer-'refrain' to the setting and thereby rounded off the whole nicely with a double refrain in stanzas 3-4 (cf. ex. 11). He did not include neither the many fermatas nor the clues for the repeats of "Libera me". The latter combined with the arranger's care for tonal closure opens up the possibility that the Grand-Saint-Bernard version was meant as a stand-alone prayer for the dead.[124]

Example 11, Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, Ms. 7 (2038), ff. 60v-63v "Lugentibus in purgatorio", bb. 168-185.

This semi-mensural setting exhibits several interesting traits: The combination of a modernized, 'non-contrapuntal', note-against-note style combined with two-part cadential figures; the importance of constant variation of the simple material (voice exchange); the use of two different settings, in Grand-Saint-Bernard 7 with a common 'refrain'; and the differentiation in speech rhythm between the calm beginning with its first four syllables (*breves*) and the following faster pace (*semibreves*) in every line. All this was probably developed within the framework of the traditional monastic simple polyphony, but evidently its surface was influenced by the musical idioms of the secular church.

A two-part setting of the poem, which is found in a set of fragments containing primarily four-part mass music, plainchant invitatories and three-part polyphony without text in Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 6632 fonds musicales, f. 12, was probably copied in Lyon around 1500.[125] It is written in white mensural notation without any indication of the mensuration, and it is for equal voices at a low pitch with many crossings of voices. This setting in simple note-against-note polyphony shows the same 'rush to the cadence' as we found in the preceding songs, but it does not use the standard, mensural cadence patterns (cf. ex. 12, which shows the nearly complete final line of the song). It is much more varied rhythmically, because it uses no less than four different note values. It resembles the Amiens 162 version of the song in having only one setting for the five stanzas, it

Example 12, Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 6632 fonds musicales, f. 12 "Lugentibus in purgatorio", ending (the two original voices only).

124 More detailed discussions of both versions can be found in the comments to the edition.
125 Cf. note 66 above.

has a fixed refrain "O Maria", and presumably the scribe tried to modernize it by adding a third voice, composed on the page, which should complete the harmony. As far as one can reconstruct the piece from the cut-down page, the added voice mostly muddles the sound in a rather incompetent way.

The last song in this family takes the idea of different musical settings of the stanzas much further. In the MS Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a, ff. 68v-73, we find »Kirie eleyson - Langentibus in purgatorio«, in which eight stanzas of the poem alternate two different settings for male voices – one for the odd and one for the even stanzas. Here the simple polyphony has become nearly completely disguised in white notation (see ex. 13b-c), without, however, any indication of mensuration. They include stock phrases from polyphony according to *contrapunctus* rules, but basically they are modernised simple polyphony with the voices moving note-against-note in contrary or parallel motion, mainly in thirds, and with many crossings of parts. If one imagines them in a black notation and without some of the embellishments, and articulated with fermatas, they would not be very different from the other settings of the text.

The transformation of this song into mensural notation was in reality easy. The general feeling of the music is that it should be sung in triple time. However, the arranger (and probably his customers too) had no knowledge of the rules for notating a song in mensural *tempus perfectum* with its augmentation of note values in order to fit into the pattern of perfections or of the use of coloration to produce hemiola effects. He just wrote it in a binary notation, in which values can only be halved or doubled, and left out mensuration signs.

The song opens with a "Kirie eleyson" in traditional simple two-part polyphony, rewritten in white notation, which keeps both voices within a sixth (ex. 13a). A performance might involve two alternating groups of singers who all sang the "Kirie" as a sort of 'refrain'.

It was entered into the MS Uppsala 76a by the manuscript's main copyist along with secular chansons, some of them in the most modern, popular style. The small-format paper chansonnier was probably made in Lyons during the first decade of the 16th century – that

Example 13a-c, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a, ff. 68v-73, "Kirie eleyson - Langentibus in purgatorio" ("Kirie" and beginnings of stanzas 1 and 2).

is, during the same decade as Amiens 162.[126] Many things points at that the manuscript was produced with sale at the book market of Lyons in view, and apparently this extended song for the deceased was included as a means to broaden its selling points.

Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis

The Franciscan – in Amiens 162 turned Benedictine – set of verses for "Libera me" with prayers for the deceased exists in two contemporary, but very different settings. The original text is set for two voices in the MS Paris 10581, ff. 89v-101, in a luxurious small parchment manuscript, which belonged to a Clarisse abbey in Meaux.[127] It is written in chant notation for equal voices, regularly built of repetitions, ababcde(a')b, and the first five syllables of each line are kept in nearly perfect contrary motion followed by a cadential formula in parallel thirds (ex. 14). And like in Amiens 162, the manuscript contains careful clues for the repetitions of the responsory. It is a normal 'modern' simple polyphony setting, and its well-formed tenor tune became immortalized as the hymn "O come, 0 come, Emmanuel".

Example 14, "Bone Jesu dulcis cunctis", Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 10581, ff. 89v-101, stanza 1 (first two lines).
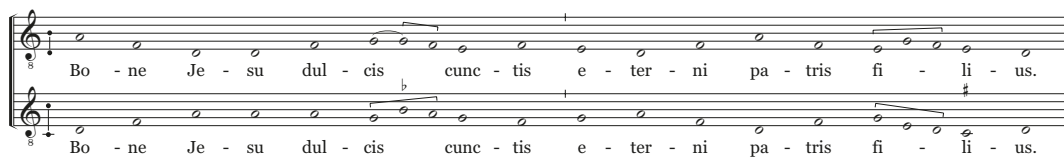
Also the three-part Amiens 162 setting »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« (ff. 2v-10) is apparently written in chant notation, but it is most likely that it should be read in a semi-mensural way. It alternates passages written in notes shaped as *virgae* with fermatas above with passages in *puncta* without fermatas. This in itself does not indicate any rhythmic differentiation. But near the end of each stanza we find a ligature, which in the majority of instances has a stem upwards to the left, that is, as *c.o.p.* ligatures indicating that the two first notes are to be halved in value. In a semi-mensural logic the *virgae* and *puncta* are then to be understood as *longae* and *breves*, and the setting uses three note values. Probably the notation is meant to communicate an alternation between calm unmeasured notes and measured notes. The edition adopts the measured interpretation, supplemented by a single unmeasured stanza as example.[128]

For a casual glance it looks similar to the later added three-part »O salutaris hostia« in chant notation (f. 1v). A crucial trait is, however, missing; namely the structural superius-tenor duet, which characterizes "O salutaris". The equal upper voices (in the ranges *a-f′* and *d-e′* above a supporting "Tenor" *A-b*) are more like the self-sufficient duet in simple polyphony of »Lugentibus in purgatorio« (ff. 10v-13), and then – not quite. They move mostly in parallel thirds and sixths, but in the opening fermata-passage we find fourths between them (bb. 1 and 4, see ex. 15). Obviously this version of the music takes advantage of the

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126 Cf. my discussion and partial online edition, *The music manuscript Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a in the University Library of Uppsala* (http://uppsala.pwch.dk/).

127 This apparently widely circulated setting can also be found in two other sources, in a contemporary processional in Honnold/Mudd Library at Claremont Colleges, and in a hundred years younger MS in Philadelphia, Free Library, see further the comments to the edition.

128 Cf. the *Amiens Edition* no. 1b.

Example 15, »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« (ff. 2v-10), stanza 1, bb. 1-13.

supporting voice, which supplies the fundamentals; this happens only in these first chords. The remainder of the setting adheres in its upper voices to the style of the 'modern' simple polyphony. Parallel fifths were not avoided completely; they appear between superius 1 and the "Tenor" in bars 47-48, and in stanzas 1-3 and 8 between the same voices in bars 30-31. In stanzas 4-7 the tenor goes to *a* in bar 31 instead of *f* and thus avoids parallel fifths. This is the only real difference in the music of the eight stanzas, and later hands have not been at work in this piece except for the replacement of the name of St Bernardinus.

It is difficult to pinpoint one of the voices as carrying a pre-existent tune. Possibly the two superius voices take turns in presenting the tune like they take turns in taking care of the tenor and superius functions. Formally the setting is through-composed, but the first four lines are clearly parallel in two by two lines (riming abab), the first pair ending on C and D, and the second pair on D and D. The four remaining lines end on C/F, A, C and D respectively, creating a welcome variation in sound. The rhythmical formulation of the parallel pairs of lines (*longae* with fermatas followed by *breves* without) is obviously related to the procedures in simple polyphony with calm declamation followed by a more active drive towards the cadence.

Example 16, Anonymous (Compere?), "Adoramus te, Jesu Christe", Milano, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Librone 1 (*olim* 2269), ff. 167v-168, bb. 1-13.

If we look at a single stanza as a freestanding composition, its rhythmical disposition displays an amazing similarity to the *motetti missales* of the Milanese Ducal liturgy, especially to the motet cycle (or substitution mass) *Ave domine Jesu Christe*, which is anonymous in its source, but ascribed to Loyset Compere by Ludwig Finscher. At the point of the Elevation, which comes with the 7th motet "Adoramus te Christe", it has the same alternation between long note values with fermatas and shorter notes without – or alternation between

free and measured rhythm (ex. 16).[129] Something similar happens at *Ad Elevationem* "Ado-ramus te, Christi" in Compere's *Missa Galeazescha*,[130] and the same procedure is found in his *Missa Hodie nobis de Virgine* in the motet *Sanctus - Verbum caro factum est,* in which breves with fermatas appear at "Verbum caro … nobis" (bb. 23 ff).[131] The effect, however, is most impressive in *Ave domine Jesu Christe*, where fermata passages and normal meas-ured homophony alternates. Loyset Compere and Gaspar Weerbecke, the two foremost early composers of *motetti missales*, may very well have experienced this sort of solemn singing during their youth in Northern France and Flanders.

Juxta corpus spiritus stetit

The closest relatives to this three-part song are again two-part settings found in manuscripts in Tübingen and Grand-Saint-Bernhard. MS Tübingen 96 has ff. 13v-16v + 10 a setting of five stanzas, which are identical to stanzas 1-3 and 9-10 in Amiens 162. It sets the same tune for two equal voices both covering an octave (*c-c'*) using only two note values, long and short, and no ligatures. The counter-voice is in near consequent contrary motion and produces no parallel perfect concords, and the form follows the tune without embellish-ment: A(a-b)AB(c-a')A'(a"-b). The triple time produced by the alternation of note values is alleviated by the careful placement of the words, which persistently in the tenor tune places a change of syllable on the *b-flat* in bars 3, 11 and 27 and thus establishes a pattern of 2-1-2-2-2-2 beats at the beginning of all A-lines and derived places (ex. 17). The song is a classic example of simple, 15th century euphonious polyphony in contrary movement.

Example 17, Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mk 96, ff. 13v-16v + 10, »Justa corpus spiritus stetit«, stanza 1, bb.1-8.

While the Tübingen version seems very regular, the one in the MS Grand-Saint-Bernard 6, pp. 208-223, has been adapted for use in the Augustinian monastery. The poem in particu-lar has been revised during the copying. In its eight stanzas, corresponding to stanzas 1-6 and 9-10 in Amiens 162, Dominican saints have been replaced with saints more fitting for the Augustinian liturgy (see above, p. 26), and at its end a presumably alternative set of two-part prose verses for "Libera me" has been added in unmeasured two-part polyphony.[132] The setting of "Justa corpus" shows up some musical elaborations. The 2nd note in the counter voice has been made into two descending *minimae*. This is repeated in both voices in bar 5, and hereby the arranger has put the spotlight on the automatic 'voice exchange' produced by the contrary motion in the contra (ex. 18). In bars 17-20 the counter voice

129 Cf. Loyset Compère (L. Finscher ed.), *Opera omnia* 1-5 (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 15) AIM 1958-1972, vol. 2, p. 35; see also Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c. 1450 –1518). Life and Works* (Musicological Studies and Documents 12) s.l. 1964, p. 92, and Paul A. Merkley & Lora L.M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia III). Turnhout 1999, p. 338.

130 Compère, *Opera*, vol. 2, p. 16.

131 *Ibid.* p. 50.

132 See further the comments to the edition.

Example 18, Grand-Saint-Bernhard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice Ms. 6 (1983)
pp. 208-223 »Justa corpus spiritus stetit«, stanza 1, bb. 1-8.

has been directed towards the concord of a fifth in bar 20 instead of the octave. The most important changes, however, are the notation of bar 3 and all similar places as a single note followed by a *c.o.p.*-ligature and the removal of the bridging note *g* in bars 4, 12 and 28. This produces a different pattern at the beginning of every A-line of 2-1-2-1-1-2-3 beats, which underscores the triple time and tends to break up every line in halves – and further highlights the voice exchange. The reworking of the two-part setting seems to be a conscious effort to clarify and streamline the music, and it is done with more skill than demonstrated in the adaption of the text.

Compared to the rhythmical distribution of the words in the two-part versions, the three-part »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« in Amiens 162 (ff. 18v-28) had in its basic shape been made completely regular in triple time with its steady flow of 2-1 beat formations. The tenor tune is the same as in Tübingen 96 except for a couple of differences, and its three-part setting has obtained a smooth regularity with cadences every fourth bar. The highest voice is a counter voice to the tenor tune moving within a fifth (*c'*-g') in contrary and parallel motion. The "Contra" completes the sound within a range restricted to a sixth (*f-d'*) above the "Tenor" (*c-d'*) often taking the fourth below the superius – in bars 21-24 like in all the cadences a sound of pure *faulxbourdon* is achieved (ex. 19). It is a late development of simple polyphony characterized by the use of only two note values, long and short, by the restricted ranges of the voices, and by the layout of the pages with the tenor written across the bottom of the openings.

This description of the Amiens setting applies only to a single one of its ten stanzas. It is the seventh, a sort of default stanza, "Confessor N hereticos confutasti", in which worshippers as occasion required could insert the name a local saint, preferably with a name of four syllables. This stanza has never been in use, and therefore it has not been changed in any way. It represents the original foundation for the bewildering multitude of differing details that we find in the nine active stanzas.

In this model stanza the lines of the poem have their maximal length; the first two lines with the rimes aa each consists of 7+8 syllables and the last two lines riming bb of 7+7

Example 19, Amiens 162, ff. 18v-28, »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«, stanza 7, bb. 1-8.

syllables. This regularity is not present in many of the active stanzas; the second halves of the lines variegate between six and eight syllables, and the music has to be adjusted accordingly by the singers. However, this was not possible when the song was performed from the big pages of Amiens 162 by a group of singers, probably with more than one singer on each part, and with singers trained only in plainchant. Therefore, each stanza had to be adjusted on the pages, and this happened in at least two stages.

The first adaption and introduction of variation in sound had presumably happened already before it was copied by Hand A. The interchange of notes in tenor and contra in bars 25-26, which appears in stanzas 1-3 and 10 and obscures the outline of the tenor tune from the beginning, was present in the exemplar. So were probably most of the first adaptions caused by the poem, but Hand A may have been involved too. The result of his work was a row of relatively homogenous stanzas with a bit of variation in sound and a passable adjustment of the notes in relation to the text, but still exhibiting some ambiguous points, which could hamper a performance.

Caulaincourt has tried to remedy these deficits by erasing and re-notating many notes, by changing pitches and by adding more notes to ligatures. An important objective was to clarify the distribution of the text, but apparently he also wanted to create variation in sound by changing some elements of the harmony. One point that he found disturbing was the note *g*, which in bars 4, 12 and 28 connects the two halves of the melody line of the A-lines; and it is exactly this note, which had been removed in the two-part version in MS Grand-Saint-Bernhard 6. It is imaginable that the harmonization of this *g* with its triad above was the main reason for his dislike. Obviously Caulaincourt's familiarity with the use of scale inflections in polyphonic music was limited, and he found the progression involving an augmented fourth in the Contra caused by its *b* unacceptable. Every possible occurrence of this g-triad except for two in stanza 4 and those in the *ad libitum* stanza 7 have been changed. Some of his changes are consonant, but involve parallel fifths and octaves, while others are highly dissonant. It would have been so much easier just to sing a b-flat in the Contra, but his careful reworking of all these moments adds some spice to the otherwise quite bland singing of nine repeats of the music.[133] In his work on the pages of Amiens 162 he disregarded the rhythmical elements of the notation. He replaced as a matter of course rhomboid notes with square notes and added notes to ligatures. Caulaincourt treated in his way the notation as plainchant, made the distribution of the words unambiguous, but had to rely on the singers' knowledge of the basic pattern of the song – and probably his own instructions to them – in order to keep the three parts together. The stanzas copied by Hand A mirrored a contemporary aesthetic of harmonious music influenced by the art of counterpoint, but leaving details of the word setting to the performers. Caulaincourt's reworking brought the words into line with monophonic liturgical singing, and he overlaid the music with reminiscences of traditional simple polyphony in momentary dissonances and the homely sound of parallel fifths and octaves.

Music for a confraternity

The picture of the desirable music for a confraternity, which MS Amiens 162 presents to us, displays music with roots far back in time as well as music entirely contemporary in its outlook. All of it was created on paper, it is 'composed music', but on the other hand all

133 For a detailed discussion, see *Appendix C, Notes on the reworked stanzas of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«.*

of it has strong affinities with the techniques of making music *a la mente* to adorn the liturgy. The extended two-part settings show up whole catalogues of traditional procedures reaching from the uses of basically parallel *quintizans* or fifthing techniques[134] through the improvising of a simple counter voice in contrary motion as described by Nicolaus Burtius[135] to the flowering of discant technique without parallel perfect concords, but permitting short stretches of parallel thirds and sixths, in the teachings of Guillaume Guerson.[136] Guerson's *Utilissime musicales regule* printed around 1495 by Michel Toulouze in Paris enjoyed wide popularity and appeared in at least ten new editions and reprints before 1550, possibly because his manual appealed primarily to monastic singers. A song like »Quando deus filius virginis« (Amiens 162 D, ff. 13v-16) agrees perfectly with his prescriptions as do the other most 'modern' two-part songs.

Also the three-part settings have near parallels in music *a la mente* or sight singing. In his treatise of c. 1480, *De preceptis artis musicae*, Guilielmus Monachus described how the English sang what he called *faulxbourdon*.[137] The sight singing he demonstrates was probably a quite common procedure known in monasteries all over the continent as well. If we apply his methods to the tenor tune of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« (Amiens 162, ff. 18v-28), we get a sound and texture very similar to its original setting (ex. 20). There was not much work on paper left to create the only slightly more interesting result that we find in the actual setting (compare ex. 19).

In the same chapter Monachus also describes the singing of *gymel* in predominantly parallel thirds, and he exemplifies how to do it with three voices ("tribus vocibus non mutatis", that is, the voices of three boys; ex. 21). The keeping together of the upper voices,

Example 20, tenor tune of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«, stanza 7, sung according to the sight singing rules of Guilielmus Monachus; the sights for the upper voice are indicated on the single staff with black notes below the tune, and the sights for the contra above.


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134 Cf. Sarah Fuller, 'Discant and the Theory if Fifthing', *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), pp. 241-275.

135 Nicolaus Burtius (translation Clement A. Miller), *Musices opusculum* (Musicological Studies & Documents 37) Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1983, 2nd book, ch. 6 "de contrapuncto praticorum: qui vltramontanis et maxime gallicis est in vsu", pp. 87-88.

136 Cf. Ernest T. Ferand, 'Guillaume Gerson's Rules of Improvised Counterpoint (c.1500)' in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés.* Barcelona 1958-61, pp. 253-263.

137 Guilielmus Monachus, *De preceptis artis musicae*, ed. Albert Seay (Corpus scriptorum de musica 11) AIM 1965, ch. IV "Ad habendum veram et perfectam cognitionem modi Anglicorum", pp. 28-30.

Example 21, Guilielmus Monachus, *De preceptis artis musicae*, c. 1480,
Ch. IV, "Regula ad componendum cum tribus vocibus non mutatis".
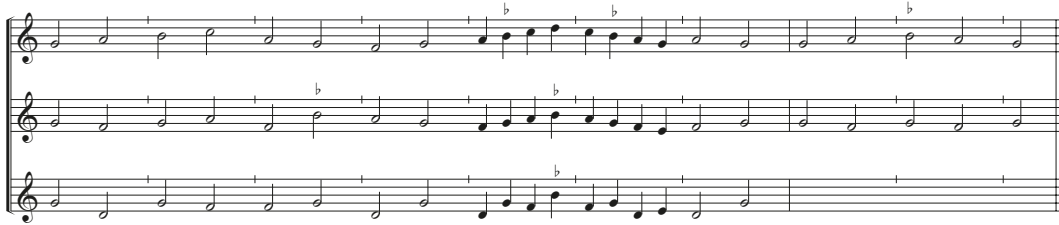
which circle each other in thirds, with the third voice furnishing simple harmonic support, and not least the simultaneous change of pace to halved values in this example is astonishing similar to the procedures we found in »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« (Amiens 162 D, ff. 2v-10). The beginning of "Bone Ihesu" has been worked out on paper to present itself as composed music with fourths between the upper voices (cf. ex. 15). However, if we compare the next sections (bb. 14-36 for example, cf. the edition) with Monachus' example, we find the same characteristic reliance on thirds and unisons. "Bone Ihesu" could very well have been created as an improvisation on paper according to the directions recorded by Monachus, which then was revised and equipped with performance details such as the many fermatas, and finally all eight stanzas were carefully written out in full. In this way untrained singers suffered no risk of encountering doubts during a performance.

In many ways »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« complies with what Bonnie Blackburn has described as "a method of composition in which harmony rather than counterpoint is the guiding principle".[138] In her article, she traces the appearance of passages of fermata-chords in masses, motets and a few chansons from Machaut's mass until around 1500. Such passages serve to give prominence to important words in the texts, and the fermatas not only suspend the regular pulse of the music but also tend momentarily to put the rules of counterpoint on hold. Without a pulse the rules recede in favour of the pure sound of consonant chords. The elevation motets with their uninterrupted rows of fermata chords in the Milanese substitution masses make an obvious point of departure. They have often been thought of as representing a typically Italian lauda style, and have been localized as a distinctive mark of a special Milanese style. The wide and primarily northern distribution of fermata passages however causes Blackburn to characterize this style with the universal term "the devotional style".[139] In works of the later 15th century, the chordal passages become quite formulaic, and Blackburn rightly compares them to Monachus' methods of automatic generation of four-part harmony whether composed or improvised.[140]

Given the relationship of the three-part as well as the four-part settings in 'devotional style' with improvisatory practises, the idea immediately suggests itself that the sound and experiences of simple polyphony might be more linked with the professional art music than what we usually think. The use of fermata passages can be found in Amiens 162 in

138 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Dispute about Harmony *c.* 1500 and the Creation of a New Style' in Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans & Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.), *Théorie et analyse musicales 1450-1650. Actes du colloque international Louvain-la-Neuve, 23-25 septembre 1999* (Musicologica Neolovaniensia Studia 9) Louvain-la-Neuve 2001, pp. 1-37, at p. 13.

139 *Ibid.*; Jesse Rodin expresses his uneasiness concerning the whole concept of a special Milanese style in his book *Josquin's Rome, Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel,* New York 2012, pp. 163-170.

140 Blackburn, 'The Dispute', p. 29.

different sorts of music: in the funeral music, in the sequence "Stabat mater" and in the added Credo. Maybe it is a bit overdone here, but we must remember that it probably represents the efforts of a conscientious editor to communicate a repertory and its performance traditions to a body of singers not experienced in polyphonic singing. There cannot be much doubt that Hand A had access to a great pool of monastic music, and that the music he selected was similar to what could be heard in monastic institutions, in confraternities and secular churches outside the centres. His selection of pieces is traces of a probably widespread repertory, quite international in sound whether performed from written music, which was circulated by the different monastic orders, or sung by better-trained singers from a book of plainchant.

To pursue this idea a bit further, it is easy to find many other places in high art music of the 15th century where we experience the sound of simple polyphony. To mention just one example we can listen to Loyset Compere's famous singer motet "Omnium bonorum plena" from around 1470. When he finally gets to his own name, it comes out from a passage in strict canon at the fifth and stands out in embellished parallel sixths (ex. 22); such passages in parallel two-part singing recalling contemporary simple devotional singing is common in art music. Here it comes just after an enumeration of heroes and friends from Ockeghem to Regis in four voices and mostly in brevis notes, which only miss the fermatas to be in devotional style. Such moments remind us that Johannes Tinctoris, who certainly is mentioned among Compere's musical heroes, in his teaching of virtuosi singers in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477) stands besides the rich tradition of simple polyphony, which caters for the less skilled. His teachings cover the knowledge of building complex and interesting polyphony, but the sheer sounding solemnity of the simple traditions often inspired composers to some their most memorable moments.[141]

Example 22, Loyset Compere, "Omnium bonorum plena" 4v in Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, Ms. 91 (1378), ff. 33v-35, bb. 249-254.

In Amiens 162 we find a tendency in the most 'modern' pieces towards a style without dissonances or parallels forbidden by the educated music of the time. It is seemingly in line with the period's aesthetic preference for the incredible sweetness of consonant harmony reported by Tinctoris and many contemporaries.[142] Apparently Caulaincourt did not put too much weight on this way of hearing music. His changes and corrections prove that he readily accepted momentary dissonances and 'forbidden' parallels, and that he even introduced such things in perfectly consonant passages. To ensure a clear delivery of the words

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141 See further my articles 'Improvisation und schriftliche Komposition', in Michele Calella und Lothar Schmidt (eds), *Komponieren in der Renaissance. Lehre und Praxis* (Handbuch der Musik der Renaissance, Band 2), Laaber 2013, pp. 233-247, and 'Alexander Agricola's Vocal Style – »bizarre« and »surly«, or the Flower of the Singer's Art?' in Nicole Schwindt (ed.), *Alexander Agricola. Musik zwischen Vokalität und Instrumentalismus* (Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 6 - 2006), Kassel 2007, pp. 59-79.

142 Cf. Rob C. Wegman, "Musical understanding' in the 15th century', *Early music* 30 (2002), pp. 47-66 (at pp. 52ff).

of the texts was of greater importance to him – and more surprisingly so was a certain variety in sound in the many repeated stanzas of "Juxta corpus". At these points Caulaincourt, whose position in church and national policies was quite conservative, was in agreement with humanistic thinkers and new tendencies in art music.[143]

In addition to giving us a solid basis for discussing a sort of music still highly viable in the years around 1500, a music which musicology mostly has disregarded, the repertory of Amiens 162 documents quite intimately an activity of a strong personality. The manuscript permits us to take part in Caulaincourt's efforts to establish a musical institution to support the monastery in a difficult situation. The additions to the repertory and the many changes in the music are probably all results of the decisions he made in order to create the best possible foundation for the activities.

At the start of this introduction I mentioned that part of the impetus for the creation of the *confrérie Ste Barbe* and the music collection probably consisted of a cool strategy for gathering support and capital for the church building in Corbie. This must not, however, make us forget that these funeral and commemorative songs were crucial to alleviate some of the worst human fears. What happens to the soul after the disintegration of the physical body? This thought was a torture to the living in the late 15th century, when the confidence in the promises of the universal church had worn quite thin. It seemed safer to people to rely on activities, on which they themselves might have some influence. Rich persons and families could found masses and services where the intercessory prayers were helped towards heaven by costly performances of polyphony by professional singers and choirboys. This helped to expand the economic foundation for the 'big' church music during the second part of the century. For less affluent people the solution was to unite in brotherhoods whose primary duty it was secure funeral rites for its members and the necessary prayers afterwards individually and collectively during the services for the patron saint. The presence of the music manuscript in the Corbie confraternity was tangible evidence that the prayers would be sung, and it enabled the confraternity to offer a service to its community and members, which in dignity and solemnity of sound was not inferior to that of any institution in France. Moreover, the special character of its repertory permitted this to happen without any investment in especially educated singers.

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143 Cf. Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in the Early Modern Europe 1470-1530.* New York 2005, ch. 5 "The Crisis and ITs Legacy", pp. 167ff.

Appendix A

Description of Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale Louis-Aragon, Ms. 162 D

Amiens 162 is a parchment manuscript in large format, c. 32 x 22 x 4,3 cm, consisting of 124 folios (several have been lost) distributed in 14 fascicles. The book was bound in 1826 by Paul Leprince in Amiens in red half binding decorated with the arms of the city and marked "Corbie, 115 II". During this process all folios were trimmed, and some time later an ink foliation (ff. 1-124) was added.[1]

It is a composite manuscript made up by three items, two missals without music and a music manuscript containing mainly two- and three-part simple polyphony, plainchant and some added pieces in mensural notation. These items were brought together, bound in a fragile binding and finally posited in the library of the Corbie Abbey by Dom Antoine de Caulaincourt during the 1530s or earlier. Old sewing-holes and the comments in an older catalogue of the library of Corbie attest that the items did belong together in a former binding, but not in the present order. The constituents of the manuscript must in the following be treated separately. An overview of the manuscript in its present state, which tabulates its fascicle structure, repertory, staff systems, and hands, can be found in the table *Fascicle structure*, and the detailed contents of each section appear from the links in the *List of contents* in the online edtion and the commentary to the edition in volume 2.[2]

A fragmentary missal (early sixteenth century)

One fascicle (ff. 46-54v) of good quality parchment, smooth, pale and thin, which contains the last part of *Proprium sanctorum*. The pages are ruled in red ink in two columns of 25 lines. The text is carefully copied by one or more hands. The dominant hand writes a quite rounded and open textura, which is very similar to Hand C in the music sections of

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1 Scholarly literature (selection): Jacques Garnier, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Communale de la Ville d'Amiens.* Amiens 1843, pp. 125-126; Jacques Garnier, *Notice sur Antoine de Caulincourt, official de Corbie (1521-1540).* Amiens 1856; *Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts: Catalogue Géneral des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Départements, vol. XIX: Amiens* (E. Coyecque), Paris 1893, pp. 71-72; Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France I-III + Planches.* Paris 1924, vol. II, p. 298; Helma Hofmann-Brandt, 'Eine neue Quelle zur mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit' in M. Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag.* Kassel 1967, pp. 109-115; Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century. Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons. The manuscript »Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°« in the Royal Library, Copenhagen I-III.* Copenhagen 1994, vol. I, pp. 321 ff; Charlotte Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt (1482-1536/1540 ?), official de l'Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Corbie, historien et possesseur de livres', *Scriptorium. Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits* LXIV (2010), pp. 81-94; Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, 'L'Abbaye de Corbie, sainte Barbe et le manuscrit Amiens 162' in Camilla Cavicchi, Marie-Alexis Colin & Philippe Vendrix (eds.), *La musique en Picardie du xive au xviie siècle.* (Collection « Épitome musical »), Turnhout, 2012, pp. 256-261; *Memoria mortis. Motet Cycles of the Late XVth Century,* Ensemble Charneyron, Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, Kontrapunkt 32082 (cd – 1991), track 3,"Juxta corpus spiritus stetit". A complete set of black and white photos and a selection of colour facsimiles from the manuscript can be viewed on http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=9990.

2 A short list of contents can be foumd also in the following *Appendix B*.

Fascicle structure of Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale Louis-Aragon, Ms. 162 D

Column headings:
I = fascicle / gathering no.;
II = folio no. of the visible right page of a sheet – the verso side of the folio (1v) is only mentioned where a composition starts on it;
III = the other half of the sheet, "–" indicates that it is missing;
IV = title and number of voices;
V = staff system;
VI = hand;
VII = comments.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1a	1	–	Le grant pena, a 3	3	D	one folio; f. 1 is sewn on to
		1v	O salutaris hostia, a 3	3-ext.	D	fasc. 1
1	2	9	Da pacem, domine, a 3	(2-ext.)	D	4 bifolios; the front page of
		2v	Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis, a 3	1	A	the fascicle originally was
	3	8	(8 stanzas)	1	A	blank
	4	7		1	A	
	5	6		1	A	
	6	5		1	A	
	7	4		1	A	
	8	3		1	A	
	9	2		1	A	
2	10	17		1	A	4 bifolios
		10v	Lugentibus in purgatorio, a 3	1	A	
	11	16	(3 stanzas)	1	A	
	12	15		1	A	
	13	14		1	A	
		13v	Quando deus filius virginis, a 2	1	A	
	14	13	(3 stanzas)	1	A	
	15	12		1	A	
	16	11		1	A	
		16v	Creator omnium rerum, a 3	1	A	
	17	10		1	A	
3	18	25	Parce domine, a 3	2-ext.	D	4 bifolios
		18v	Juxta corpus spiritus stetit, a 3	1	A	
	19	24	(10 stanzas)	1	A	
	20	23		1	A	
	21	22		1	A	
	22	21		1	A	
	23	20		1	A	
	24	19		1	A	
	25	18		1	A	
4	26	29		1	A	2 bifolios
	27	28		1	A	
	28	27		1	A	
		28v	Virgine Marie laudes, a 2	2	B	
	29	26	(squence)	2	B	
5	30	37		3	B	4 bifolios
		30v	Stabat mater, a 2	3	A	
	31	36	(sequence)	3	A	
	32	35		3	A	
	33	34		3	A	
	34	33		3	A	
	35	32		3	A	

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
		35v	Veni sancte spiritus, a 2	3	B	
	36	31	(sequence)	3	B	
	37	30		3	B	
		37v	Veneremur virginem, a 2 (se-	3	B	
6	38	45	quence)	3	B	4 bifolios
	39	44		3	B	
	40	43		3	B	
		40v		3	B	
			Bone Jesu dulcissime, a 4		B	
	41	42		3	B	
		41v	Sospitati dedit egros, a 2	3	B	
	42	41		3	B	
		42v	Vespers (Officium de S. Barbare)	3	C	
	43	40	(plainchant)	3	C	
	44	39		3	C	
	45	38		3	C	
		45v		3	C	
			Michael, Gabriel, a 3		C	
			Kirie eleyson, a 3		?	
7	46	54	Missale (early 16th cent.)		(C)	4 bifolios + 1 folio glued in
	47	52			(C)	
	48	51			(C)	
	49	50			(C)	
	50	49			(C)	
	51	48			(C)	
	52	47			(C)	
	53	–			(C)	1 folio glued to f. 54
	54	46			(C)	
8	55-66	66-55	Missale (14th cent.)			6 bifolios
9	67-72	80-73				6 bifolios + 1 bifolio
9a	73	74	Two full-page pictures (early 16th		(C)	inserted folio, f. 72bis is a
	74	73	cent.) + masses and *Clamor*		(C)	snippet glued to f. 73
	75-80	72-67				
10	81-92	92-81				6 bifolios
11	93-104	104-93				6 bifolios
12	105	–				6 bifolios (incompl.) 2nd half torn out
	106	–				2nd half torn out
	107	–				2nd half torn out
	108	–				2nd half torn out
	109	112				
	110	111				
	111	110				
	112	109				
13	113	118	Tonary (incompl.)	3	B	4 bifolios (incompl.);
	114	117	2nd-8th tones + peregrinus	3	B	1 (or 1/2) bifolio missing
	115	116		3	B	
	116	115		3	B	
		116v	Ecce quam bonum, a 2 & a 4 (canon)	3	C	
	117	114	Without text, a 4	3	D	erased
			[plainchant]		?	erased
			Invitatories (plainchant)		?	
		117v	Dulcis amica dei, a 3	3	D	
	118	113	Missa de S. Katharina (plainchant)	3	C	
14	119	–		3	C	4 bifolios (incompl.); 2nd
	120	–		3	C	halves of ff. 119 and 120 are
	121	124		3	C	torn out; f. 119 probably did
			Without text, a 4		D	belong to fasc. 13.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
		121v	Credo, a 2	3	C	
	122	123		3	C	
	123	122		3	C	
		123v	O miranda / Kyrie, a 3	3	B	
	124	121		3	B	
		124v	–	Sedentem in superne (plainchant)	3	B	

the mamuscript. Rubrics and capitals are emphasized in red, and the beginning of each mass has big initials, which are decorated by patterns of white curves and waves inside the vertical, thick stems of the letters – on a background of alternating red and brown (black) colours (see fig. 1.1). The same type of embellished letters accompanies the work of Hands B and C in the music sections (cf. fig. 1.2). On f. 49v the mass for St Sebastian is accompanied by a pen drawing of the saint pierced by arrows.

Figure 1, Letter "L"
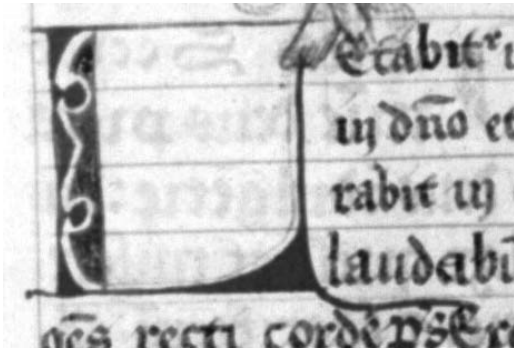
1.1 f. 49v (*Missale*)   1.2 f. 118, Hand C (initial type 3)

The fascicle consists of four bifolios, which were supplemented by an extra folio (f. 53) glued to f. 54 in order to make room for the last three masses, which deal with the relics of the church, with the ailing, and with the three local saints, Fuscianus, Victoricus and Gentianus. The beginning of the first mass in the fascicle is missing; it must have been written on the last page(s) of a preceding fascicle. Folio 54v was probably the original last page of this small missal. It was made in Corbie around 1500 or a short time later, and it seems safe to assume that the main hand belongs to Antoine de Caulaincourt or to one of his contemporaries in the abbey.

Missal (14th century, incomplete)

The five fascicles 8-12 (ff. 55-112v), each consisting of six bifolios, make up a 14th century missal from Corbie. It is made of parchment, which is a bit rough but of good quality. Each page is carefully ruled in blue ink in two columns with 25 lines for writing. The texts are entered in black ink in a clear, tightly spaced, formal textura with many abbreviations and rubrics in red; capitals in the text are emphasized in alternating blue and red, and the big initials (*lettres filigranées*) are decorated in red and blue and accompanied by decorative vertical staves in the same style, which link the initials and often extends into the upper and lower margins.

Abbé V. Leroquais described this section of MS Amiens 162 as a 14th century missal from Corbie.[3] It follows the Benedictine *ordo missae* found in many other and older missals and liturgical manuscripts with a similar calendar of Saints from the 9th century and onwards.[4] It contains the *Temporale* (beginning "In vigilia nativitatis domini"), a long series of votive masses, the *Ordo missae* (ff. 75 ff), *Proprium sanctorum* and *Commune sanctorum*. The last section is defective, since four pages, which surely had space for completing the missal (it ends in the middle of "Plurimorum virginum"), have been torn out. This happened after the new binding, and before the new foliation. A loose corner piece from one of the missing pages is still placed at the end of the volume, and its text carries on from the last words on f. 112v, "… Alleluya Versus: Diffu / sa est …" (earlier one more scrap of a page existed as the microfilm of the library shows). This means that at least until sometime in the 19th century this part of the manuscript was a complete missal or at least an integral liturgical book for use in the Corbie Abbey. On the bottom of folio 84 an un-datable hand has written "Corbie" and a blurred name.

A later user, surely Antoine de Caulaincourt, has erased and changed the texts in two masses. On f. 68, in the right column and following the postcommunio belonging to the mass for the apostles Peter and Paul, the text has been erased, and in its place he has entered "Alleluya. Per dei genitrix" and the hymn "Preter rerum seriem". And on f. 85 he has erased a mass entirely and replaced it by a mass for the souls of father and mother (Pro patre et matre) only leaving the original illuminated initials in order to reuse them. The writing in these additions is very similar to the main hand of the preceding younger missal.

We also meet this hand on a bifolio inserted into the middle of fascicle 9 (ff. 73-74v). On the front side of this sheet (ff. 73v-74) we find two full-page paintings in strong colours on a golden background depicting the crucified Christ between Maria and Johannes the Baptist and Christ enthroned among symbols for the four evangelists. These pictures, which Leroquais characterised as "Peintures à pleine page d'execution mediocre",[5] were made during the second half of the 15th century and were some sort of movable illustrations with only the front side of the parchment prepared for use with chalking and glue. The backside, the hair side, was raw and never meant to write on, but it was filled by the same hand as we find in the changes made in the old missal, and it was incorporated in a booklet or other small collection of liturgical texts containing recent votive masses. The first page of the folded bifolio has two masses against the Turks, "[Pro] regis catholici contra turcos" and "Pro subsidio christianorum contra turcos" (f. 73), and the last page has the church prayers, known as the *Clamor*, for the unity of the church and against its enemies (f. 74v). Unlike the two missals these texts were copied in one column only. The bifolio must have been salvaged from another manuscript as the first mass did begin on a preceding page. The missing text has been carefully copied on to a small piece of parchment by the same hand and glued in before f. 73 (f. 72bis).

It is quite obvious that Caulaincourt may have revised two masses of special interest to himself. One is the mass for the patron saints of the abbey, Peter and Paul, and the other a mass for parents "... miserere clementer animabus patris et matris mee: ...". His father, Jean III de Caulaincourt, had died before 1504, but his mother, Jeanne Le Vasseur,

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3 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires …*, vol. II, p. 298.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 25-28, 63-64, 79-81, 164-67, 192-94, and vol. II, pp. 165-66, 177-79; several among these MSS originated in the great Benedictine abbey of Corbie.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 298.

seems to have died some time after 1529. Likewise, the single sheet and its extra scrap of parchment, which was added to preserve the text intact, was something that he wanted to preserve from a discarded collection of texts, and he placed it in the older missale when he prepared it for binding along with the other items in MS Amiens 162. We can see that the bifolio had its present place in the original binding. The adjacent pages, ff. 72v and 75, are miscoloured, and f. 72v is smeared in spots, probably from the contact during centuries with the rough, untreated reverse side of the bifolio.

Music manuscript (early 16th century)

Eight fascicles, fasc. 1-6 and 13-14 (ff. 1-45v and 113-124v), make up the music manuscript. Originally the eight fascicles each consisted of four bifolios, except for fasc. 4 that only has two, and all were folded from the same stock of parchment of a sturdy and smooth quality, yellow in colour. They were prepared for music and filled concurrently, more or less, by two scribes who used different methods of preparation, and each of them had distinct repertories of music ready for copying. None of the scribes used the techniques of letting small holes pricked through the parchment secure a uniform placement of text and music on the pages, neither did they use dry-point lines or other visual guides on the pages. Instead, as the placement of text and music are consistent for each scribe, they must have placed some sort of template on paper or parchment under the sheets they worked on. The transparency of the parchment made this an obvious solution.

Hand A belonged to a professional scribe of liturgical books with musical notation such as missals and antiphonaries, in which prose and music alternate. In such manuscripts it could be difficult to predict where precisely musical notation should take over from text and rubrics, and therefore the musical staves were only drawn when initials and rubrics were in place upon the pages. This was exactly his method of working. First he entered all the text and the initials in dark brown (black) ink while leaving spaces open for the red initials and for letters in a contrasting colour. Then he drew the initials and the music staves in red ink. For the staves he used a *rastrum*, which made four lines in one operation when drawn along a ruler. The distance between the staff lines is five millimetres creating a total staff height of 15 millimetres, and he put seven staves on each page. To the left he started the staves just after the initial or in accord with the margin of his template and thus produced a visual straight left margin. To the right he ended the staves just after the last word written below and got a slightly curvy right margin, which exactly fitted the words of the song. The last stages were to enter the music in brown ink and the emphasized capitals and the decorations of the black initials in yellow ink.

His texts are entered in a clear and well-formed textura with the single letters closely spaced and strong contrasts between the heavy strokes and the hairlines and with acute-angled feet on all vertical strokes (for example, in his minuscule "a" the upper loop is closed by a hairline – and different from Hand B's). He alternates between two types of initials (see Figure 2): Type 1 is an only slightly decorated type of Roman capital often met with in French manuscripts, here in red ink, while type 2 is a Gothic capital in black ink with decorations in yellow ink consisting of grotesque faces, flowers and birds. His expertise in musical notation was probably restricted to the black notation of plainchant and the related simple polyphony; his custos are – as usual in chant manuscripts – formed

Figure 2, Initials of type 1 and 2 by Hand A, ff. 2v-3 »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis«

f. 2v   f. 3

as miniature *puncta.* The less assured white notation, which we find in »Lugentibus in purgatorio« (ff. 10v-13), may have been entered by a different hand.

Hand A copied a collection of polyphonic music for funerals and commemorations for which he had the exemplars ready, and its large format, the big letters and big musical notation make it eminently legible at a distance for a group of singers. It consists of four fascicles (or 2 x 2 fascicles) and the whole collection was prepared during one single period of work:

Folios 2-17v, 2 quaternions, staff system 1, content four songs, the front page was left blank.

Folios 18-29v, 1 quaternion + 1 fascicle of 2 bifolios, staff system 1, content one song only. After finishing, hand A furnished the front page (f. 18) and ff. 28v-29v with empty staves (staff system 2 – like staff system 1, but with straight margins as no text was entered first).

As part of his work he also entered the sequence »Stabat mater dolorosa« ff. 30v-35 on pages with musical staves prepared by Hand B.

Hand B adhered to a different procedure in his work. As in most music manuscripts he began by furnishing all the pages with music staves in red ink in one operation; and he used a *rastrum* slightly narrower than Hand A's, with a total height of 13 millimetres, which enabled him to put eight staves on each pages occupying the same space as in Hand A's contribution. He did not leave any page blank without staves or left spaces for initials, and his margins appear straight, drawn according to his template. His initials are drawn upon the staves, and they are very big, covering two staves, where Hand A's took up only the space of one staff. He uses two types of initials: Type 3 is a roman capital with decorations inside the stems of the letters; they are made in black and red ink and are very similar to the initials found in the youngest of the two missals bound with the music manuscripts (see Figure 3 and Figure 1); type 4 consists like Hand A's type 2 of heavy black letters with double vertical stems and is decorated with flowers and faces in alternately red and yellow ink (see Figure 3); in some cases one half of the letter is decorated in red while the other half is in yellow, and this colour scheme is reversed on the opening's opposite page. The custos of Hand B are small zigzag-lines followed by a curvy flourish as common in music manuscripts.

Figure 3, Initials of type 3 and 4 by Hand B

f. 29 "Virgine marie laudes"   f. 36 "Veni sancte spiritus"

In his texts Hand B tried to write the same type of formal textura as Hand A, but he was not able to form his letters with the same regularity. Their spacing is looser, not merging into word pictures in the same way, and the sharp differences between the heavy lines and hairlines often become blurred (for example, in his minuscule "a" the upper loop is very big, because he did not master the change to hairline); some of his letterforms are easily identifiable, for example his backwards sloping "s". Obviously, he was a copyist of restricted experience.

Hand B entered music in four fascicles, or rather in two small sections of the manuscript, each probably from the beginning consisting of two quaternions:

Folios 30-45v, 2 quaternions, contain a series of two-part sequences for which the exemplars had been collected before the start of copying, and like the collection of funeral music intended for a group of singers. Leaving the front page without music, Hand A began the project by entering the lengthy »Stabat mater dolorosa« on ff. 30v-35, then Hand B filled out ff. 35v-41 and finally entered the sequence »Virgine Marie laudes« ff. 28v-30, which connects the fourth and fifth fascicles. Most of the opening ff. 40v-41 and the pages ff. 42v-45v were left without music.

Folios 113-119 originally constituted a quaternion, which can be reconstructed from the present fascicles 13-14 (for a proposed reconstruction, see Fig. 4). Its original content, a tonary, lacks the first pages, which probably was the missing half of f. 119 (this folio was placed in fasc. 14 during the last binding of the MS); 6 pages (ff. 117-119v) were left without music at the end of the fascicle.

Folios 120-124v, two and a half bifolios only are left of the last fascicle, which probably consisted of four bifolios from the start. The second half of f. 120 has disappeared. It may be preserved as the present f. 1 (now glued to fasc. 1) – then the last fascicle may have consisted of 3 bifolios only. However, it is more probable that the fourth bifolio served as a cover for the whole music collection, and that f. 1 is the remains of this original cover sheet (see fig. 4). Hand B has entered only a motet and a monophonic sequence (ff. 123v-124); both are items that did not fit into the otherwise selected groups of repertory for the MS (funeral music, two-part sequences and the tonary).

Finally, Hand B has added on ff. 40v-41, below the end of a sequence, the four-part motet »Bone Jesu dulcissime«, a prayer for a free monastic house!

Figure 4, Reconstruction of fascicles 13-14

The present composition of the fascicles   Proposal for a reconstruction
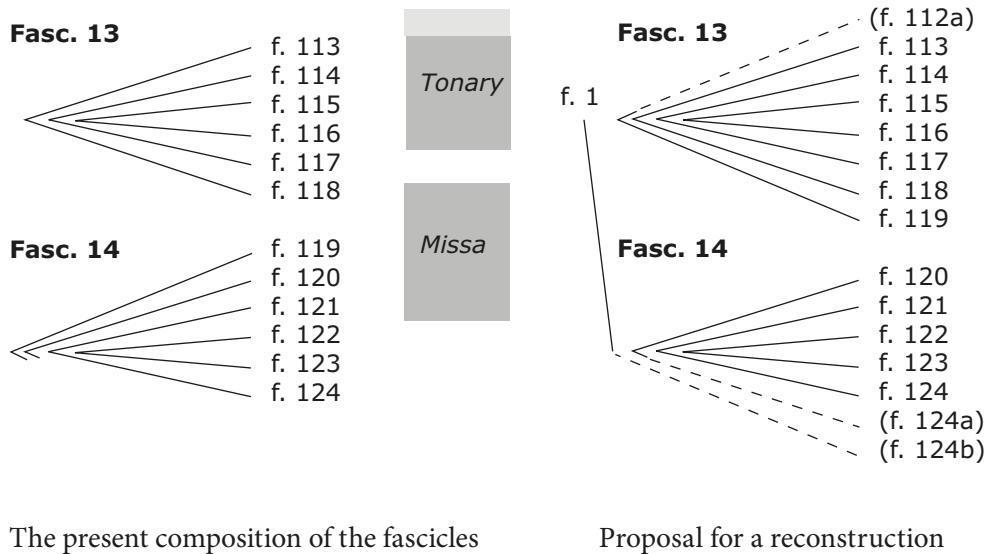
The results of this cooperation between Hands A and B were:

1) A manuscript of six fascicles with funeral music and sequences.

2) A fascicle containing a tonary supplemented by a nearly empty fascicle – the whole collection probably was kept inside one of the bifolios with music staves belonging to the last fascicle.

Hand C has added a monophonic vesper for St Barbara on empty pages in the sequence-section (ff. 42v-45), a monophonic mass for St Catherine on the many empty pages in fasc. 13-14 (ff. 118-121), thereby linking the fascicles (much of the music was never entered), a two-part Credo ff. 121v-124, and the same hand probably also added some short pieces on the lower parts of pages to fill out spaces on ff. 45v and 116v. All these additions were made after the fourth bifolio had been removed from fasc. 14 for use as a cover.

Hand C most probably belongs to the owner of Hand B at a later stage in his career. We find a writer who masters the letter shapes to a much higher degree. His writing is smaller, but still with disjunct letters, and his control of the pen is better; for example, the letter "a" does not stick out anymore, also because he simply has abandoned closing the upper loop. The result is an assured, but less formal textura, rounder and in some places more connected (traces from cursive tending towards *bastarda*). It is a typical French textura and very similar to the writing in the youngest missal in MS Amiens 162 and to the changes in the older one.

Hand D is certainly Hand C at a later date. It has made additions on the empty pages ff. 1, 1v, 2, 18, 117, 117v, and 121. Most of the additions are mensural music copied without real understanding of the notation. The script is quite varied, and it can be a bit difficult to determine if all items were done by the same hand. The scribe imitated his exemplars closely, and the texts were carefully drawn to look nearly like printed type, without any personal traits. In four songs he attempted to notate the music in white mensural

notation according to the best standards of the period with well-defined angular note shapes. On top of f. 2 Caulaincourt has added his characteristic signature "DE CAULAINCOURT".

Dating, genesis and provenance

Folio 1 bears on the top of the page the inscription "Missale antiquum", and in vertical position along the spine of the MS we find a nearly illegible Latin text, which identifies the contents of the MS by mentioning the first and last items in the volume, "Missale imperfectum … officium proprium Ste Barbare virginis et martyris: propter sodalita … corbeiensi … in fine libri … …". These inscriptions were judging by the style of the writing added sometime during 17th or early 18th centuries. Similar information can be found in a copy of an old catalogue of the library of the Corbie abbey made by Dom Pardessus in 1761, which describes the MS as "Missale. Il se trouve a la fin un office de ste Barbe pour la confrerie de cette ste qui etoit dans l'eglise de Corbie a qui Dom Antoine de Caulaincourt donna ce livre. Antoine de Caulaincourt est mort en 1536. Cotté 105 II." (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Collection de Picardie*, tome 15, f. 9).

This confirms that the two missals and the music manuscript were bound together at an early date, that the St Barbara vespers contrary to their present placement were placed at the end of the volume, and that the volume was donated to the Corbie library by Antoine de Caulaincourt before 1536. Moreover, Caulaincourt's involvement in the MS is strongly confirmed by his signature on top of f. 2, which is identical to his signatures in the register of the *Officialité de Saint-Pierre de Corbie* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 17145, ff. 42v-58);[6] Caulaincourt was the *officialis* of Corbie from 1522.

The original disposition of MS Amiens 162 is easy to reconstruct: The fascicles 1-6 must simply be moved to the back of the MS. Hereby the music manuscript becomes an entity ending with the vespers of St Barbara, and presumably preserved between a cover of which f. 1 is the sole remains (see the *Table of the Contents of the reconstructed manuscript*, Appendix B). Into this cover Caulaincourt placed an old missal in his possession, which was intact until the 19th century, and before that a fascicle from another, younger missal ("Missale imperfectum …"), and had it all bound. In this shape, the manuscript fits the old catalogue description perfectly.

Caulaincourt's own chronicle of Corbie, *Chronicon Corbeiense*, which is preserved in a partial autograph in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. lat. 17.757), documents the existence of two confraternities in connection with the abbey "et in confraternitatibus sanctarum marie magdalone et barbare martiris" (f. 91). Caulaincourt's handwriting on these pages and in the register mentioned above is a hasty cursive, angular and quite different from the textura used in MS 162, but surely he mastered formal script as well given his education at Corbie and at the *grandes écoles* of Amiens. Changes and additions are characteristic features of the books that we know he owned. This is true of the music manuscript, so it is to some degree of the two missals, and still more of a parchment *Livre d'heures*, printed in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet in 1502 or 1503 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 18.034) and remade by Caulaincourt in 1530. Its original calendar covering the years 1502-20 according to the use of Cluny was changed into a book of *Heures de Corbie* for the years 1530-46 by erasures and handwritten additions.[7] Here we find additions in

6   Cf. Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt', pp. 81-94 (at pp. 89-90 and Plate 4a).

7   See *ibid.*, pp. 90-94 and Plates 4-7.

Caulaincourt's characteristic cursive hand as well as changes made in a textura very similar to the one in MS Amiens 162.

In the light of this obvious urge to change and to put his own stamp (and in some cases his name also) on his books, it seems safe to assume that Caulaincourt himself was the writer of much of MS Amiens 162 and of the additions to the other items, and that the Hands B, C and D represents stages in his maturing as a copyist. On the other hand, we have to keep in mind that Caulaincourt, who for some of his career occupied a prominent position in the monastery, might have had assistance from copyists educated in the same tradition. It makes no real difference to the understanding of the genesis of the music manuscript if Caulaincourt did the work himself or could ask an assistant or a fellow monk to do it. And certainly, the changes in the music must have been decided by a person who used the MS regularly.

The assumption that a single person was responsible for not only the assembly of the three MSS in one volume but also for the creation of the music manuscript places Antoine de Caulaincourt (1482-1536/40) in a central role, and it enables us to put up a time frame for its genesis. The preparations before the actual copying, which consisted in the finding and selection of a quite specialized repertory of funeral music and sequences coming from several monastic traditions, indicate access to the resources of a musical centre (see further the *Introduction*). The provincial town Corbie probably did not offer such resources. The nearby city of Amiens is a better candidate, but Paris must be regarded as the most probable place. This is exactly where Caulaincourt was sent at Easter 1502 in order to study for ten months while living with his older cousin, Jean Le Vasseur, who had a position as professor of theology in Paris besides functioning as prior of the Dominican convent at Saint-Omer and as suffragant bishop of Thérouanne. Caulaincourt departed a few months after the start of the building of a new *Abbatiale* in Corbie. The demolition of the old church and the plans for the construction of a vast new one probably prompted the abbot Pierre d'Ostrel to prioritize local confraternities, which could assist in supporting the project and take spiritual care of the expanding work force. Here in particular that of St Barbara was relevant, the saint being the patroness of builders and fusiliers. It is highly thinkable that the abbot commissioned the young Caulaincourt while in Paris to procure a collection of polyphonic music suitable to serve this confraternity, namely music of the highest social and liturgical standing, which local singers, not educated in polyphony, were able to perform.

The funds for this project probably were sufficient for the acquirement of the 30 sheets of good quality parchment and for the remuneration of the participation in the first stages of the work of an experienced copyist in the Paris residence of the Corbie abbey. Evidently, Hand A and Hand B (the young Caulaincourt) worked concurrently, each on his part of the project. Hand B ruled four quaternions and copied the tonary and a couple of pieces more, and when Hand A had copied the funeral music and one sequence, Hand B had to finish the set of sequences. Before leaving Paris he probably added the small motet »Bone Jesu dulcissime«, ff. 40v-41, later ascribed to Gascongne, below the last notes of of a sequence. Maybe its prayer for the protection and salvation of a "domum … liberam" caught his attention given the constantly strained relationship between his monastery and the French crown.

The next stage in the genesis of the MS came later in Corbie when Caulaincourt, now visibly less influenced by the writing style of Hand A, entered the vespers for St Barbara

that were needed for the services in the saint's confraternity (Hand C) on ff. 42v-45, just after the sequences. The same hand C also copied the mass for St Catherine without entering all the music. It was placed after the tonary with an empty folio as divider, and it runs into the next fascicle. After that he nearly could not find space enough for copying the two-part »Credo in unum deum«, ff. 121v-124; he had to squeeze in the ending below the motet »O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie elyson«, earlier placed here by Hand B.

The pieces added by hand D on empty pages ff. 1, 1v, 2, 18, 117, 117v, and 121 belong to the next decade. Most of them are in white mensural notation and belong with the three-part repertory, which later was printed by Pierre Attaingnant in Paris, but had circulated much earlier. Caulaincourt may have collected their exemplars while he studied in Paris, or he may have got to know them later, for example when the king twice stayed at the Corbie monastery in 1513 or during Caulaincourt's many visits to Paris. There cannot be any doubt that the pieces were added in order to provide the music collection with some sheen of modernity, and this most probably happened while the MS still was important to the operation of the confraternity of St Barbara.

The changes and revisions made in the music copied by Hands A (»Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« and »Stabat mater dolorosa«), B (»Virgini Marie laudes« and »Veni sancte spiritus«) and C (»Credo in unum deum«) certainly were made during the period when the music MS was in active use. And it seems natural to ascribe all of them to Caulaincourt. The tendency to revise the settings already appears during the copying process of Hand B. Therefore, if we must accept that the same person was responsible for all the work done by Hands B-D, Caulaincourt is the obvious candidate.

At some point when the music no longer was of interest for regular use, Caulaincourt brought the two missals, the bifolio with pictures and the two anti-Turkish masses, and the music manuscript together and had them bound in one volume, which he placed in the Corbie library. The different manuscripts in this collection may very well have represented the materials related to his duties in connection with the confraternity of St Barbara. The confraternity probably declined during the years as a result of the standing controversy over the status of the monastery and became less important when the building of the new church slowed down during the years after 1510. In 1523, Corbie finally was subjugated *la commende* (ruled by the king) when Philippe de la Chambre was appointed abbot (installed in 1528). And in 1522 Caulaincourt had been installed in one of the most powerful positions at Corbie, as *officialis* (chairman of the clerical court).

To sum up: The music manuscript was probably created with Antoine de Caulaincourt as its prime mover in Paris during his stay in 1502-03. The additions and revisions were results of its use in the services for the St Barbara confraternity through the following decade. It went out of use during the years when the monastery struggled for its independence. By the beginning of the 1520s at latest its usefulness must have come to an end. At some time before his death Caulaincourt bound the materials concerning the confraternity in one volume and placed it in the monastery library, where it remained until the dissolution of the monastery during the revolution and the transference of most of the monastery's library to the Bibliotèque Communale of Amiens.

Appendix B

List of contents of the manuscript and of the reconstructed manuscript

Amiens 162 – contents

f. 1	»Le grant pena que io sento« 3v [Anonymous]	Hand D
f. 1v	»O salutaris hostia« 3v	Hand D
f. 2	»Da pacem, domine« 3v [Agricola]	Hand D
ff. 2v-10	»Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« 3v	Hand A
ff. 10v-13	»Lugentibus in purgatorio« 3v	Hand A
ff. 13v-16	»Quando deus filius virginis« 2v	Hand A
ff. 16v-17v	»Creator omnium rerum deus« 3v	Hand A
f. 18	»Parce domine, populp tuo« 3v [Obrecht]	Hand D
ff. 18v-28	»Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« 3v	Hand A
ff. 28v-30	»Virgini Marie laudes intonant christiani« 2v	Hand B
ff. 30v-35	»Stabat mater dolorosa« 2v	Hand A
ff. 35v-37	»Veni sancte spiritus« 2v	Hand B
ff. 37v-41	»Veneremur virginem« 2v	Hand B
ff. 40v-41	»Bone Jesu dulcissime« 4v [Gascongne]	Hand B
ff. 41v-42	»Sospitati dedit egros olei perfusio« 2v	Hand B
ff. 42v-45v	»In primis vesperis beata Barbare martire« 1v	Hand C
f. 45v	»Michael, Gabriel, Raphael« [canon 3v?]	Hand C
f. 45v	»Kirie eleyson« 1v [3v?]	Hand ?
ff. 46-54v	Fragment of missal (early 16th century)	
ff. 55-112v	Missal (14th century, 2 pages missing at the end)	
ff. 113-116v	Tonary (incomplete, 2nd-8th tones + peregrinus) 1v	Hand B
f. 116v	»Ecce quam bonum« 2v & 4v (kanon)	Hand C
f. 117	Without text 4v (erased)	Hand D
f. 117	Unreadable text 1v (erased)	Hand ?
f. 117	»Surgite, vigilemus. [V]enite exul[temus]«	Hand ?
f. 117v	»Dulcis amica dei« 3v [Prioris]	Hand D
ff. 118-121	*Missa de Sancta Katharina*	Hand C
f. 121	Without text (fragment) 4v	Hand D
ff. 121v-124	»Credo in unum deum« 2v	Hand C
ff. 123v-124	»O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie eleyson« 3v [Anonymous]	Hand B
f. 124v	»Sedentem in superne« 1v	Hand B

Components and contents of the reconstructed manuscript

I A single folio (probably half of a bifolio originally wrapped around the music collection) at present glued to fasc. 1; along the spine of the MS is a fragmentary description of the MS in Latin)

f. 1, »Le grant pena que io sento« 3v [Anonymous]	Hand D
f. 1v, »O salutaris hostia« 3v	Hand D

II Fragment of missal (early 16th century; fasc. 7)

ff. 46-54v, Last part of *Proprium sanctorum*

III Missal (14th century; fasc. 8-12)

ff. 55-112v, *Temporale, Ordo missae, Proprium sanctorum, Commune sanctorum*
(two leaves have been torn out at the end)

IIIa A bifolio inserted in the middle of Fasc. 9
ff. 73-74v, Two full-page pictures (late 15th c.), two masses *[Pro] regis catholici contra turcos* and *Pro subsidio christianorum contra turcos* (f. 72bis-73), and the Holy Land Clamor, *Letatus sum ...* (f. 74). F. 72bis is a scrap of parchment glued to f. 73.

IV Music collection consisting of two main sections

1) *Tonary and plainchant* (fasc. 13-14)

ff. 113-116v, Tonary (incomplete, 2nd-8th tones + peregrinus) 1v	Hand B
f. 116v, »Ecce quam bonum« 2v & 4v (kanon)	Hand C
f. 117, Without text 4v (erased)	Hand D
f. 117, Unreadable text 1v (erased)	Hand ?
f. 117, »Surgite, vigilemus. [V]enite exul[temus]«	Hand ?
f. 117v, »Dulcis amica dei« 3v [Prioris]	Hand D
ff. 118-121, *Missa de Sancta Katharina* 1v (cantus planus)	Hand C
f. 121, Without text (fragment) 4v	Hand D
ff. 121v-124, »Credo in unum deum« 2v	Hand C
ff. 123v-124, »O miranda dei caritas / Kyrie eleyson« 3v [Anonymous]	Hand B
f. 124v, »Sedentem in superne« 1v (cantus planus)	Hand B

2) *Polyphony*, fasc. 1-4, music for funerals and commemoration; fasc. 5-6, sequences and officium

f. 2, »Da pacem, domine« 3v [Agricola]	Hand D
ff. 2v-10, »Bone Ihesu dulcis cunctis« 3v (8 stanzas)	Hand A
ff. 10v-13, »Lugentibus in purgatorio« 3v (3 stanzas)	Hand A
ff. 13v-16, »Quando deus filius virginis« 2v (3 stanzas)	Hand A
f. 16v-17v, »Creator omnium rerum deus« 3v	Hand A
f. 18, »Parce domine, populo tuo« 3v [Obrecht]	Hand D
ff. 18v-28, »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« 3v (10 stanzas)	Hand A
ff. 28v-30, »Virgini Marie laudes intonant christiani« 2v (sequence)	Hand B
ff. 30v-35, »Stabat mater dolorosa« 2v (sequence)	Hand A

ff. 35v-37, »Veni sancte spiritus« 2v (sequence)   Hand B
ff. 37v-41, »Veneremur virginem« 2v (sequence)   Hand B
ff. 40v-41, »Bone Jesu dulcissime« 4v [Gascongne]   Hand B
ff. 41v-42, »Sospitati dedit egros olei perfusio« 2v (prosula)   Hand B
ff. 42v-45v, »In primis vesperis beata Barbare martire« (cantus planus)   Hand C
f. 45v, »Michael, Gabriel, Raphael« 1v [canon 3v?]   Hand C
f. 45v, »Kirie eleyson« 1v [3v?]   Hand ?

Appendix C

Notes on the reworked stanzas of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«

The three-part setting of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit«, ff. 18v-28, in MS Amiens 162 consists of ten stanzas using in principle the same music. The stanzas exhibit, however, a great variability in musical details. The tune in the tenor can be found in a contemporary two-part setting, which has been preserved in two different versions in the MSS Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mk 96, ff. 13v-16v + 10, and Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibl. de l'Hospice, Ms. 6, pp. 208-23 respectively (all the settings are published in the *Amiens 162 Edition* as no. 5 including appendices). The three-part setting is simple: It is in triple time, the superius is a counter voice to the tenor tune in contrary and parallel motion, and the "Contra" completes the sound in the same range as the "Tenor", often following the superius in parallel fourths.

   This simple setting has been varied in two or more stages in order to fit the music to the varying number of syllables and the changing word formations of the text. But apparently it has been just as important to create some variation in sound during a lengthy performance of its many stanzas. This is highly interesting. The desire for variation has moreover disguised the outline of the tenor tune, which only appears in its original shape in stanzas 4-9 because of an interchange of notes in tenor and contra in bars 25-26 in stanzas 1-3 and 10. Some of the variations in the music were made before it was copied, but many more result from using the music in performance and then changing unsatisfactory details by erasure and rewriting. We can follow the process on the pages of Amiens 162. The result of these many changes is that the notation of the stanzas probably has become difficult to understand for users outside the circle, where the changes were made. An intimate knowledge of the basic rhythmical and harmonic pattern of the setting was needed to make the notation adequate for its intended use.

   We find this original pattern in stanza 7 "Confessor N", where worshippers as occasion required could insert a local saint with – preferably – a name of four syllables. This stanza was never used, and therefore it has not been reworked – neither before the copying into Amiens 162 nor later. It is regularly structured and represents the original foundation for the composition (see ex. 1). The lines of the poem here have their maximal length; the first two lines of the stanza with the rimes aa each consists of 7+8 syllables and the last two lines riming bb of 7+7 syllables. The lines are set almost syllabic in uniform segments: A (a-b), A (a-b), B (c-a'), A' (a''-b).

   If we compare the tenor tune of stanza 7 with the versions of the tune used in the two-part setting, which are reproduced in examples 2a-b, we find that the Amiens 162 version is nearly identical to the one in Tübingen 96. The only differences are that Tübingen 96 does not use ligatures, and that differences concerning two unaccented pitches appear (*e* instead of *g* in bar 17.3, and *b* instead of *c'* in bar 25.3). Grand-Saint-Bernard 6 agrees with Amiens 162 on these two pitches, but uses the ligatures in a slightly different way, which strongly influences the perceived rhythm of the song. The decisive difference in Grand-Saint-Bernard 6 is the elimination of the upbeat note *g*, which connects the segments of the A- and A'-lines (bars 4.3, 12.3 and 28.3). This elimination creates a very

Example 1, "Juxta corpus spiritus stetit", stanza 7, ff. 24v-25.

homogenous flow with a prime or fifth sonority sounding for a perfect *brevis* bar every fourth bar. Exactly this note bridging the segments of the A-lines, which the two-part setting in Tübingen 96 handled in the most natural way, turned out to cause great difficulties and probably some speculation during the process of revision, which we can follow on the pages of Amiens 162.

It is important to keep some points in mind if we want to understand the ten stanzas as they appear in Amiens 162. Firstly, that the initials and the text were written in as the first on the openings, only thereafter came the staff lines and the music. Secondly, that the exemplar probably was exactly notated as regards rhythm with the use of two note

Example 2a-b, tenor voice of "Justa corpus spiritus stetit" 2v, stanza 1, in
a) Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mk 96, ff. 13v-14, and

b) Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibl. de l'Hospice, Ms. 6, pp. 208-09.

values: long (black square notes) and short (black rhomboid notes or *c.o.p.*-ligatures). Thirdly, that the reworking of the music happened in two stages, namely as a result of Hand A's efforts during the copying process (he may simply have copied his exemplar exactly or only made small adjustments), while the greatest part of the reworking can be ascribed to a later user, who with great probability was Antoine de Caulaincourt.

Hand A's adjustment of the music to the changing number of syllables was made during the writing of the music. Many perfect *breves* have been made unmistakable by a *punctus* (*divisionis/additionis*), and notes have been written together in ligatures above a single syllable or placed in such a way that their distribution in relation to the text was reasonably obvious. The result of this work was a row of relatively homogenous stanzas with a bit of variation in sound and a passable adjustment of the notes in relation to the text, but still exhibiting some ambiguous points, which could hamper a performance.

Caulaincourt has tried to remedy these deficits. He apparently wanted to create a more variegated development in the many repeated stanzas, and also to get rid of the elements that he found disturbing. Both persons involved in the process had a restricted knowledge of mensural notation. Some of the ligatures used can be interpreted mensurally (for example short-long), but nonetheless in many places the upward tails of *c.o.p.*-ligatures (halving the note values) have been omitted, which makes their rhythmical meaning

Example 3, "Juxta corpus spiritus stetit", stanza 1, ff. 18v-19.

unclear. Caulaincourt simply ignored the rhythmical element. He combined square and rhomboid notes with a stroke or added freely extra notes to existing formations and thus produced ligatures in unorthodox ways. And after erasing single rhomboid notes, he often replaced them with square notes (cf. the comments in the transcriptions). We have to conclude that the notation did not convey any rhythmical information for Caulaincourt, and that he, as was normal in chant notation, regarded ligatures as indications only of how to distribute the words.

This means that the rhythmical and harmonic pattern clearly put forward in stanza 7 probably has to be retained also in the reworked stanzas. Where the later user has added

an extra note in ligature to a *semibrevis,* common sense tells us to perform the ligature as two *minimae.* But in other cases, when a perfect bar containing a *brevis* and a *semibrevis* has been replaced by one or two ligatures consisting of four notes in all, it becomes absolutely uncertain how to sing the passage. In the last cases, the notes belonging to the basic pattern are in the transcriptions notated as normal notes, while the added notes have been placed as grace notes before and after (cf. ex. 3, bar 29 in the contra).

If we now compare the beginning of the song (ex. 3) with the 'unused' stanza 7 (ex. 1), we can at once note that the intervention that interchanged the notes of the tenor tune and the contra in bars 25-26 in stanza 1 – just like in stanzas 2-3 and 10 – was done prior to the copying, that it belongs to the history of the setting before it found its way into the workshop of Hand A. In the same way, the following changes stem either from the exemplar or from Hand A while he distributed the notes above the text, which here has only six syllables in the second part of the lines (cf. the red markings in the music example):

Bar 5, *brevis* and *semibrevis* have been written closely together above "-tit" in superius and contra.

Bars 6.3 and 14.3, the scribe has omitted the *semibrevis a* in the contra and instead added a *punctus* to the *brevis*.

Like in bar 5 the notes have been placed closely together in superius and tenor in bars 12-14 and 28-30 above the words "Christum" and "tu me".

Bar 31.1-2, in superius he has not written a ligature but a *brevis e′* only.

By these means he has copied a version of the first stanza, which is hardly distinguishable from stanza 7 except for the voice interchange in bars 25-26, but with the shorter lines of text clearly co-ordinated with the music. This has been the starting point for the real reworking of musical details by the later user (the blue markings):

Bar 5, the notes in superius and contra have been connected with strokes into ligatures in order further to clarify the text underlay.

Bar 4.3, the note *b* in contra has been erased and replaced by a *brevis a*, and in tenor the note *g* has been erased.

Bar 7.2, both in tenor and contra an *a* has been added to the *brevis* filling the two first beats in the bar.

Bar 12.3, in the contra, a rhomboid *a* has been inserted after the *semibrevis b.*

Bar 27.1-3, in the contra, the note *g* has been erased end then rewritten in ligature with *b.*

Bar 28.3, the note *d′* has been erased in the superius and then rewritten in ligature with the next note, *c′.*

In the same way, the tenor's *g* and *a* have been erased and rewritten as a ligature in bars 28.3-29.2, and the note *d* bar 30.1 has been erased and added to *f* in ligature.

In bar 29 in the contra, two *g*'s have been added to the already existing notes, *brevis f* and *semibrevis a*.

By this revision Caulaincourt succeeded in making the three bridging passages between the first and the second segments in the A- and A'-lines different, where they all were similar in stanza 7. This is an effort that far exceeds the purpose of fitting of the music to the variable text lines. As already mentioned, exactly this *g*, which connects the A-lines and is omitted in the Grand-Saint-Bernard 6 version, seems to have displeased him, and even more so in its three-voice harmonization with a triad based on *g* – the note *b* in the contra has according to common practice (*musica ficta / falsa*) to be inflected to remedy the tritone leap *b-f*. He has made a great many efforts to avoid the tritone; probably his knowledge of the use of inflections in polyphonic music was as scarce as his experience with mensural notation. On the other hand, he did not change much in the B-line of the song. It simply does not show up similar problems, and he only added a few decorative notes in two of the last stanzas.

If we disregard the different solutions he created concerning the co-ordination of music and text by the use of ligatures and repositioning of notes, we can follow his attempts to solve his problems through the stanzas (a tabulation of all the changes he made on the pages of Amiens 162, and which I have been able to discern, can be found below in *Changes in the music of »Juxta ...*):

In stanza 2, bar 4.3, he erased the note *b* in the contra and replaced it by a ligature *a-f*, but let the tenor keep its *g* – strongly dissonant! In bar 12.3 the tenor's *g* is erased and replaced by *d*; the contra is not changed. In bar 28.3, the contra's *b* is erased. None of these changes functions or solves his problems in any satisfactory way.

In stanza 3, his two first initiatives from stanza 2 have been combined as shown in example 4a, which effectively removes the contra's tritone leap, but produces parallel octaves and fifths between the tenor and the upper voices. He found motion in parallel perfect concords satisfactory, as we know from his revisions of other songs. This solution is used in the two A-lines, while a variant is found in the A'-line. Solutions like this are found also in stanzas 6, 9 and 10.

Stanza 4 is in these places similar to stanza 7, that is, showing the basic pattern (ex. 1).

In stanza 5 we find again – as in stanza 2 – a new dissonant *a* in the contra against the tenor's *g* in bars 4.3 and 12.3 – in bar 28.3 he chose as described for stanza 3 a *d*-sonority (see ex. 5a). In stanza 8 he found a new solution, which is shown in example 4b, where an extra note *c'* has been inserted after the contra's *b* in bars 4.3 and 12.3, which eliminates the tritone problem.

Caulaincourt's problems with the *g*-sonority in the song's A-lines seem to be founded in his ignorance of the performance and adjustment of polyphonic music with the help of

Example 4a, "Juxta corpus spiritus stetit", stanza 3, ff. 20v-21, bars 4-8.

Example 4b, stanza 8, ff. 25v-26, bars 4-8.

traditional rules for inflections of the scale. However, this cannot have been his only motive for the changes. If this was the case, he could have changed all occurrences of the problem into the one of his solutions, which he found the best, when he was erasing and revising in all the usable stanzas. Probably he consciously wanted some variation in the sound, which the monotone basic pattern could not offer through the nine stanzas. What he chose to do produced quite a lot of variation, if we only look at the critical spots in bars 4.3, 12.3 and 28.3 (letters designate triads, superscript divergences from a triadic structure):

Stanza 1, F^d / g / g; stanza 2, g^a / d^b / g^c; stanzas 3, 6 and 9, d / d / d; stanza 4, g / g / g; stanza 5, g^a / g^a / d; stanza 8, g^{b-c} / g^{b-c} / d; stanza 10, d / F^d / d; more or less dissonant stanzas alternate with consonant stanzas!

This view of his efforts can be confirmed by his changes in the endings of the stanzas (cf. bar 29 in ex. 3), which can be explained only as a wish for variation in sound and for an increased activity in the voices towards the finals:

In stanza 4, bar 29 in the contra is similar to example 3.

Stanza 5 has a richer decoration, see example 5a.

In stanza 8, as it happened several times in earlier stanzas, a *g* has been inserted before the melody note *a* in bar 29.3 in the contra – this time the change seems more well-considered, because also the tenor's melody note has been erased and changed into *g*, see example 5b.

We cannot know how much of his efforts was actually used for practical music in performances of the stanzas at funerals or in commemorative services, maybe what we look at is

Example 5a, "Juxta corpus spiritus stetit", stanza 5, ff. 22v-23, bars 28-32.

Example 5b, stanza 8, ff. 25v-26, bars 28-32,

just his musings alone after having tried out the settings once or twice. However, what we see is surely a performance of simple music on the pages of the manuscript. A performance by a person, who certainly was educated for taking care of plainchant in the liturgy of the abbey, but lacked any formal training in mensural polyphony. This deficiency, however, did not impinge on his awareness of contemporary musical issues. For example, he surely did not think that the co-ordination of text and music should be left to the discretion of individual singers or to chance, and he found that a measure of excitement and variation in sonority was desirable in solemn chanting. As documentation from the early sixteenth century of how far the ideas current in art music had spread, to the world of monastic simple polyphony too, these erasures and revisions are indeed rare and invaluable.

Changes in the music of »Juxta corpus spiritus stetit« made on the pages of the MS

The poetic text was written first. The first adjustments of the music to the changing num-
bers of syllables in the text were made during the copying process, or were reproduced
after the exemplar. The table only mentions the changes made in the music by adding
notes or by erasure and re-notation of the music on the pages of the MS Amiens 162.
This may have happened during the copying or – probably most of the changes - on the
initiative of a later user. Some changes can be difficult to discern, so I may have over-
looked some; the pattern of changes, however, remains obvious.

Abbreviations: S = Superius; C = Contra; T = Tenor;
br = brevis(-es); sbr = semibrevis(-es); mi = minima(-ae).

Stanza	Voice	Bar	Change
1	S	5	ligature line added
		28.3	*d′* erased, re-notated in ligature with *c′*
	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced by br *a*
		5	ligature line added
		7.2	*a* added, changes br into a ligature of 2 sbr
		12.3	sbr *a* added, formning 2 mi with sbr *b*
		27.1-2	*g* erased, re-notated in ligature with *b*
		29	2 notes *g* added, changing br *f* and sbr *a* into ligatures
	T	4.3	*g* erased
		7.2	*a* added, changes br into a ligature of 2 sbr
		28.3-29.2	*g* and *a* erased, re-notated as a ligature
		29.2	*a* erased, re-notated in ligature with *g*
		30.1	*d* erased, re-notated in ligature with *f*
2	S	29.3	*d′* erased and re-notated closer to br *c′* (above the word "hac")
		30	*f′* erased and re-notated above "die"
	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced byd a ligature *a-f*
		28.3	*b* erased
		30.1-3	br *c′* erased, replaced by br *a* and sbr *a*
		31.1-3	br *d′* and sbr *b* erased, replaced by ligature *c′-h* and br *g*
		32	*c′* erased, replaced by *a*
	T	12.3	*g* erased, replaced by br *d*

Stanza	Voice	Bar	Change
3	S	29.1	*e′* erased, replaced by *c′*
	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		12.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		28.3-29.2	sbr *b* and br *a* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		30-end	originally notated a third higher, erased and re-notated in correct position
	T	4.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
		12.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
		28.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
4	C	26.3	*g* erased, replaced by *f*
		29	2 notes *g* and *f* added, changing br *f* and sbr *a* into ligatures
	T	12.3	*g* erased, re-notated in ligature with *f*
5	S	29.3	*d′* erased, re-notated in ligature with *c′*
		30	br *f* and sbr *d* erased, replaced by a four-note ligature *f-e-d-e*
	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced by a ligature *a-f*
		6.3	sbr *a* erased
		12.3	*b* erased, replaced by *a*
		28.3	*b* erased, replaced by br *a*
		29	2 notes *g* added, changing br *f* and sbr *a* into a four-note ligature *g-f-g-a*
	T	28.3	*g* erased, replaced by br *d*
		29	the notes *g* and *e* added, changing br *a* and sbr *f* into a four-note ligature *a-g-f-e*
6	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		6.3	*a* erased
		12.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		13	br *f* og sbr *a* erased, replaced by br *a*
		28.3	*b* erased, replaced by br *a*
	T	2.1	a forgotten br *a* has been added in white notation
		4.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
		12.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
		28.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
7			no changes

Stanza	Voice	Bar	Change
8	S	21.3	*f'* added very close to *e'*
		31.1-2	*d'* erased, replaced by *e'*
	C	4.3	*c'* added very close to *b*
		12.3	*c'* added very close to *b*
		28.3	*b* crossed out, *a* added
		29.1-2	br erased, re-notated along with *g* in ligature with *a*
	T	28.3	*g* erased, replaced by br *d*
		29.3	sbr *f* erased, replaced by *g* in ligature with *a*
9	S	5.1-2	br *c'* erased, re-notated as sbr *c'* very close to the preceding *d'*
	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		12.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		28.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
	T	2.3-6.2	*g-a-f-d* erased, re-notated as two ligatures *d-a* and *f-d*
		12.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
		28.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligature with *a*
10	C	4.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
		5.3	sbr *a* erased, replaced by *a* in ligatue with *f*
		6.3	sbr *b* erased
		12.3	sbr *b* erased, replaced by br *f*; before that an *a* is sketched outlined in ligature, but not filled out
		28.3	*b* erased, replaced by ligature *a-f*
	T	4.3	*g* erased, replaced by *d* in ligatue with *a*
		12.3	*g* erased, replaced by br *a*
		18.3	*f* added in ligature with *e*
		28.3-30.2	the notes *g-a-f-d* erased, re-notated as ligature *d-a-f* and br *d*

Appendix D

Dom Antoine de Caulaincourt (1482-1536/40)

Officialis of the Benedictine monastery Saint-Pierre in Corbie, author of *Chronicon Cor-beiense (Chronique de Corbie)* – a history of the monastery from its foundation in the 7th century and until 1529, which is preserved in Caulaincourt's own hand (partially) in the Bibliothèque Nationale –, and other learned writings, and the former owner of the music manuscript Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, ms. 162 D. It is not unthinkable that he played the main role in the genesis of this manuscript.

That Caulaincourt once had the MS Amiens 162 in his possession and gave it to the monastery library is made clear by a description of the MS in a copy of an old catalogue of the Corbie library (cf. *Appendix A Description*). Moreover, at the top of fol. 2 in MS Amiens 162 Caulaincourt signed his name in majuscules: "DE CAULAINCOURT". This important find was made by Charlotte Denoël.[1]

In Dom Cocquelin's 17th century abbreviated history of the monastery (Amiens MS 525 C) Caulaincourt is remembered several times as an author and a *vir doctus* (p. 30 in a list of "Officialis seu fori ecclesiastici contentiosi præfecti"). In a list of learned men, most of them abbots of the monastery, and starting with St Adalardus (abbot 780-826), St Paschadius Rathberthus (abbot 843-851), St Anscharius (missionary to Denmark and Sweden, 801-865), and Ratramus (monk 825-c. 870), Caulaincourt is listed as the tenth and last ("Academia", pp. 6-7). Among those famed for their remarkable wisdom ("Doctrina conspicui", p. 25) Caulaincourt is mentioned as the third after St Adalardus and St Anscharius.

A parchment *Livre d'heures* originally printed in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet in 1502 or 1503 (Paris, BN, ms. lat. 18.034) was remade by Caulaincourt in 1530. The calendar covering the years 1502-20 according to the use of Cluny was changed into as an *Heures de Corbie* for the years 1530-46 by erasures and additions including new decorations and pages;[2] many of these additions look like the items added to MS Amiens 162.

Caulaincourt has also been the owner or user of a 12th century *Lectionaire* (Amiens MS 146 C), which on f. 80v carries the (maybe youthful) inscription: "Antonius de Caulaincourt cum Johanne de Crequi, qui fuit, qui est pro presenti et qui reit pro futuro, mediante gratia Christi, Amen". Joannes de Creques/Crequi was a novice with Caulaincourt and is often mentioned in his chronicle.

Life[3]

C. 1482-83, C was born in a noble family. He was probably the second son of Jean III de Caulincourt and Jeanne Le Vasseur who married in 1480. His uncle, Renaud Le Vasseur, was a monk in the Benedictine monastery Saint-Pierre in Corbie who in 1489 became *thesaurarius* (guardian of the treasury and maybe also of the library) of the monastery and later *supremus superior claustralis* (died December 1517).

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1 Cf. Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt …', p. 89.
2 *Ibid.* pp. 90-94.
3 This chronology was compiled with the help of Amiens MS 524 D and Jazques Garnier's *Notice*.

1489, June, C entered the monastery in Corbie as a novice, as the youngest and lowest in the monastic hierarchy "et ego ultimus et quadragesimus sextus in ordine" (MS 524 D, p. 328).

1495, December, the auxiliary bishop of Beauvais and bishop of Nazareth *(Episcopum de Nazaretho suffraganeum Bellovaensem)* tonsured C and the other schoolboys against the privilege of the abbot ("vim privilegiorum") as C writes (p. 333).

1496 ("1495"), January, C left Corbie with Pierre Cossart, the "duo primi in scholis", in order to continue their schooling in Amiens. C stayed here for more than three years.

1499, May 20, C left the school in Amiens and returned to Corbie, where he in the choir of Saint-Pierre was ordained a *subdiaconus* by his older cousin Jean le Vasseur, suffragan (auxiliary) bishop of Thérouanne and titular bishop of Gebal (Byblos, *episcopum Gebeldensem*).

1500 ("1499"), January, C was ordained a *diaconus* in Carlepont by the bishop of Noyon.

1501, August, C and six other young monks were received as full members of the Benedictine order by Pierre d'Ostrel, the abbot of Corbie since 1483.

1501 C mentions in his chronicle two confraternities in connection with the abbey "... in confraternitatib. Sanctorum Mariæ Magdalonæ & Barbaræ ...." (p. 336). Abbot Pierre d'Ostrel began the building of a new *Abbatiale* in Corbie.

1502, at Easter, C was sent to Paris to study for ten months with his cousin Jean Le Vasseur, suffragan bishop of Thérouanne, prior of the Dominican convent at Saint-Omer and professor of theology in Paris (died 1508).

1503, after his return to Corbie, C was ordained a priest in Noyon by the bishop along with Jean Du Four and Jacques de Renty "... promoti ad ordinem presbyteratus" (pp. 341-342); however, they were not accorded the right to celebrate Mass due to their deficiency in age.

1504, September, the abbot obtained a dispensation from the archbishop of Rouen, George d'Amboise, for C and Jacques de Renty permitting them to say Mass, and at Advent they were installed as *magistri novitiorum* (teachers of the novices).

1505, September, C was made *magister cameræ conventus* of the monastery.

1506, August 14, abbot Pierre d'Ostrel died. C was a staunch supporter of abbot d'Ostrel, and he stubbornly continued the late abbot's fights for Corbie's independence and glory. In his chronicle C remains a strong proponent of monastery's traditions and he offers a dramatic and quite coloured account of the turbulent decades, which followed d'Ostel's death.

1506, the monks elected Guillaume de Caurel as abbot and this started a renewed dispute with the French crown and with contenders to the title about the right to nominate the *abbé-conte* of Corbie. This evolved into a long struggle with first the bishop of Amiens, François de Halluin, and later with the cardinal Louis de Bourbon, which escalated into physical violence as well as excommunications of monks, including C. The unrest surrounding the position as abbot only came to an end with Philippe de la Chambre's (the later cardinal of Bologna) nomination as *abbé commendataire* in 1523 and his final installment in 1528. C often took on the role of spokesman for the rights of the monks, which brought him in conflict with both his abbot and external powers.

1510, C was promoted to the office of *pincernaria* (responsible for the serving of wine) and later became the abbot's chaplain.

1513, September and November, the French king, Louis XII, stayed twice in the monastery. The landing of English troops had called him to Picardy. C recounts with pride that the king during the second stay of twenty days preferred to live in C's rooms.

1516, December, C was promoted to *prévôt de Naours* "propositus de Naouldis". This position permitted him to stay on in Corbie as one of the monastery's higher officers.

1517, C was nominated *cellerarius aquarum,* and during the same year he was *princeps* or *maître* of the *Confrérie Saints-Innocents*, which existed at the *Abbatiale Saint-Pierre* (p. 365).[4]

1520, six monks including C journeyed to Paris to plead in vain the monastery's cause in the parliament. They stayed from Christmas to Easter next year.

1521, C and the monks returned to Paris to continue their defence against the demands of the cardinal de Bourbon and followed the king and court to Dijon "... cum maximus expensis, & periculis corporum nostris ..." (p. 369).

1522 ("1521"), January, C was installed in one of the most powerful positions at Corbie, as *officialis* (chairman of the clerical court – p. 373).

1522, November 10, abbot Guillaume de Caurel died.

1536 or 1540 Caulaincourt died - the Corbie library catalogue states "1536", while Garnier gives the date as "1540" without mentioning his source. The source was probably Amiens MS 525 C, which p. 30 says that Antoine Turban followed C as *officialis* in 1540.

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4   Cf. also Dusevel, *Histoire abrégée*, p. 31.

Sources

Caulaincourt's *Chronique de Corbie* is preserved in four manuscripts:[5]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 17.757, ff. 1-123, [*Chronicon Corbeiense*] (Corbie; a partial autograph by Antoine de Caulaincourt, 16th c.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10.111, pp. 1-345 (copy by Maître Jacques Vuauquet, 17th c.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 12.893, ff. 1-180v (Corbie; copy, 17th c.)

Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, ms. 524 D, pp. 1-441, *Perantiqui et insignis admodum monasterii S. Petri de Corbeia fondatio* (Corbie; copy, 17th c.)

Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, ms. 146 C, *Lectionaire* (12th c.)

Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, ms. 525 C, *Historiae regalis abbatiæ S. Petri Corbeiensis compendium primordia* (by Dom Cocquelin, c. 1675, ed. in Garnier (ed.), 'Historiæ')

Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, ms. 561 D, *Catalogue des livres manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Corbie* (1841)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 18.034, *Livre d'heures* (printed in Paris 1502/03 by Philippe Pigouchet as an *Heures de Cluny;* manuscript additions and changes by Caulaincaourt c. 1530 turn it into *Heures de Corbie,* see Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt, pp. 90-94).

M.H. Dusevel, *Histoire abrégée du trésor de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Pierre de Corbie. Nouvelle édition, augmenté.* Amiens 1861

Jacques Garnier, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Communale de la Ville d'Amiens.* Amiens 1843

Jacques Garnier (ed.), 'Historiæ regalis abbatiæ corbeiensis compendium. Auctore Dom. Benedicto Ccquelin ... Edidit et annotavit J. Garnier', in *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie.* Tome VIII, Amiens 1845, pp. 377-534

Jacques Garnier, *Notice sur Antoine de Caulincourt, official de Corbie (1521-1540).* Amiens 1856

Charlotte Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt (1482-1536/1540 ?), official de l'Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Corbie, historien et possesseur de livres', *Scriptorium. Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits* LXIV (2010), pp. 81-94.

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5 Cf. Denoël, 'Antoine de Caulaincourt', pp. 83-84.