Early Music History (2003) Volume 22. © Cambridge University Press
DOI:10.1017/S0261127903003048 Printed in the United Kingdom

EDWARD H. ROESNER

LABOURING IN THE MIDST OF WOLVES: READING A GROUP OF *FAUVEL* MOTETS

Il finera car touz iourz vivre
Ne pourra pas.
(He will meet his end, for he cannot live for ever)

The ensemble of texts brought together in the celebrated MS 146 of the fonds français in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, makes up a complex and many-sided essay on government and kingship, one directed to the French monarch Philip V (1317–22) at or near the beginning of his reign.[1] Its various elements reflect on the problem-laden final years of the rule of his father, Philip IV 'le Bel' (1285–1314), and the troubled succession

[1] Facs. in *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146*, ed. E. H. Roesner, Introduction by F. Avril, N. F. Regalado, and E. H. Roesner (New York, 1990). For a detailed description of the manuscript and its copying history see J. C. Morin, 'The Genesis of Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146, with Particular Emphasis on the *Roman de Fauvel*' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1992). The most comprehensive examination of the manuscript in all its aspects is *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. M. Bent and A. Wathey (Oxford, 1998). The present study was completed before I had access to the important monograph by E. Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the* Roman de Fauvel (New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism; Cambridge, 2002), or to ead., 'Music "bien escriptez et bien notez" in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146' (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1998), on which the book is based. I have tried nonetheless to include citations to her book in the notes when her discussion is complementary to my own. It was already in press when Dillon's article appeared, 'The Art of Interpolation in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of Musicology*, 19 (2002), pp. 223–63. Work on this essay was begun in conjunction with a seminar on *Fauvel* taught jointly with Nancy Freeman Regalado and Elizabeth A. R. Brown at New York University in 2001. My thinking owes much to the seminar; the contributions of individual faculty (Professor Regalado above all) and students can scarcely be adequately acknowledged here. I am also particularly indebted to M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, who shared her work on the canonisation of Louis IX with me prior to its publication. Thanks also to Margaret Bent, Barbara Haggh, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, who read this paper in various stages of its development and made numerous valuable suggestions, and to Leofranc Holford-Strevens, who improved my readings of several Latin texts.

that followed in 1315 and 1316. Each fascicle of the manuscript, the so-called *Roman de Fauvel*, the *dits* of Geffroi de Paris, the collection of songs and *dits* ascribed to Jehannot de Lescurel, and the anonymous verse chronicle of the years 1300–16, interacts with the others in myriad ways and on many levels to yield a collective commentary on the state of the monarchy and the realm, and an *admonitio* on wise rule.[2]

At the heart of the collection is a greatly expanded and lavishly illustrated version of the two *Livres de Fauvel*, as they are called in MS fr. 146, an account of the horse Fauvel, a creature whose very name embodies the vices and whose principal traits are hypocrisy and greed. *Fauvel* presents a moral exemplum that draws many of its object lessons from the scandals and disasters of recent history. As originally conceived, the anonymous first book is an estates satire that dates itself 1310, at the zenith of the reign of Philippe le Bel. Book 2, ascribed to the royal notary Gervès du Bus, recounts the 'ystoire' (La. v. 1231) of Fauvel; it is pointedly dated 6 December 1314, one week after the death of Philippe le Bel and

[2] The original text of *Fauvel* and the long addition at the end of Book 2 in MS fr. 146 are edited in *Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus, publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, ed. A. Långfors (Société des anciens textes français; Paris, 1914–19) (the original text cited here as La. v. 1, etc.; the added text cited as La. add. v. 1, etc.). Most of the remaining *Fauvel* text in MS fr. 146 is edited in E. Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel* (Leipziger romanistische Studien, II/4; Leipzig, 1935) (text cited here as Da. v. 1, etc.; texts of musical works as p.mus. 1, etc.; refrains as ref. 1, etc.; and 'rubrics' as + 1, etc.). The polyphony is edited in *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. L. Schrade, Introduction by E. H. Roesner (Les Remparts, 1984), repr. from id., *The* Roman de Fauvel, *the Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the* Ordinarium missae, with separate commentary vol. (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 1; Les Remparts, 1956). The monophony is edited in *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel*, ed. S. N. Rosenberg and H. Tischler (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991); A. Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 105–59; and S. Rankin, 'The "*Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez*" in BN fr. 146: A Catalogue raisonné', in *Fauvel Studies*, 421–66. Cf. Le premier et le second livre de fauvel *in the Version Preserved in B.N. f. fr. 146*, ed. P. Helmer (Musicological Studies, 70/1; Ottawa, 1997) (complete transcription of the texts and music in the MS fr. 146 *Fauvel*). The other material in MS fr. 146 is edited in *Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris, Written in 1314–1318, Published in their Entirety for the First Time from MS. fr. 146 of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris*, ed. and trans. W. H. Storer and C. A. Rochedieu (North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 16; Chapel Hill, 1950); L. A. Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de Paris: An *Editio princeps*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 247–75; *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel: Edited from the Manuscript Paris, B.N. f.fr. 146*, ed. N. Wilkins (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 30; American Institute of Musicology, 1966); and *La Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris. Texte publié avec introduction et glossaire*, ed. A. Diverrès (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 129; Paris, 1956). All quotations from *Fauvel* follow the readings in MS fr. 146, even when they are given with Långfors's v. numbers.

at the moment when the downfall of the man who most probably was the immediate model for Fauvel, the king's widely hated financial officer, the chamberlain Enguerran de Marigny, was imminent.[3] It is not clear whether the two books were written together or separately, or by one or different authors.[4] The expanded copy in MS fr. 146 is the earliest one known. In all likelihood it was prepared in the royal chancery not more than two or three years after the completion of the original *roman*, by notaries who were colleagues of Gervès du Bus, perhaps with the involvement of the original author.[5] Apart from *Fauvel*, none of the texts in MS fr. 146 is known from other sources. The expanded version of *Fauvel* is also unique to this manuscript; the new text included in it and much of the music that accompanies it appear to have been composed specifically for this *branche*, or 'edition' of the *roman* and its presentation in MS fr. 146.[6]

[3] The standard monograph on this figure remains J. Favier, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny* (Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 16; Paris, 1963). See also J. R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980).

[4] *Fauvel* survives in whole or in part in fifteen manuscripts; see the list in Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 283–4. The fact that Book 1 circulated independently while Book 2 evidently did not suggests that the second book was an addition to an already existing text. It may be that the dates given the two books in the text of the *roman* should not be taken at face value. They may have been included not to date the author's work but for a literary reason, to situate the text at particular times in the reign of Philip IV. I am grateful to Elizabeth A. R. Brown for this suggestion. Equally questionable is the ascription to Gervès du Bus, who had been Marigny's chaplain and the recipient of numerous favours from him. Gervès is thus an unlikely candidate for the authorship of this particular text. The ascription may have been introduced in order to provide ironic and somewhat mischievous 'insider' credibility to the account of Marigny/Fauvel's career in Book 2. See E. A. R. Brown, 'Répresentations de la royauté dans les *Livres de Fauvel*', in *Répresentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du moyen âge: actes du colloque organisé par l'Université du Maine les 25 et 26 mars 1994*, ed. J. Blanchard (Paris, 1995), pp. 215–35, at p. 217. On Gervès and the men around him who may have been responsible for MS fr. 146, see A. Wathey, 'Gervès du Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 599–613; and E. Lalou, 'La Chancellerie royale à la fin du règne de Philippe IV le Bel', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 307–19. These questions are part of a larger group of uncertainties surrounding the names and dates in MS fr. 146, whether they can be accepted on their face or are there as parts of the 'text' pure and simple.

[5] The new *branche* of *Fauvel* is ascribed to 'Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain' (Da. + 6, on fol. 23^{v}, immediately following Da. vv. 41–8 identifying Gervès as the man who 'trouve' the 'livret'. Lalou, 'Chancellerie', proposes an identification of this enigmatic figure. For a study of the production of MS fr. 146 in the context of the Paris book trade, see R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (London, 2000), esp. ch. 8.

[6] This point, now considered virtually axiomatic, was first made in the introduction to the 1990 facsimile edition of MS fr. 146. Part of the added material was drawn from a work ascribed to a chancery colleague of Gervès, Jehan Maillart, the *Roman du Comte d'Anjou*,

As presented in MS fr. 146, the two books of *Fauvel* retain their status as separate texts; but at the same time they are fused into something more nearly resembling a single entity, and their temporal locus is subtly shifted. The date of 1310 at the end of Book 1 serves to set the scene for a substantial block of added material, a passage beginning 'Regnaut li lyons debonaires' (Da. vv. 15–36, p.mus. 32 and 33) about the late Philippe le Bel (the 'lion'), his forebears Philip III and the sainted Louis IX, and his immediate successors, his eldest son Louis X (1315–16), Louis's posthumous son Jean I (born 13 or 14 November 1316, died a few days later), and Louis's brother Philip of Poitiers, Philip V. To close this sequence of added text and music, Philip V himself receives a motet introduced by the line 'Pour phelippes qui regne ores' (Da. v. 35; p.mus. 33). In effect, this added material moves the narrative forward, away from the 'courteous lion' through the unsettled period leading up to the coronation of Philip V on 7 January 1317. Book 2 omits the date of 1314 that appears at the end of the *roman* in its original form, strengthening the impression that in this presentation the Fauvel story is to be understood as unfolding not only during but also, and perhaps especially, after the time of Philippe le Bel. (The end of Book 2 in MS fr. 146 returns the narrative to Philippe le Bel, however: the *roman* effectively ends on fol. 44^{v} with the motet *In nova fert*, p.mus. 129, which speaks in the present tense of the 'blind lion' and the 'fox' [Marigny] who dominates him. This is part of a systematic reversal of narrative flow noticed by Margaret Bent.[7]) And in MS fr. 146 the attribution to Gervès du Bus is moved from the end of Book 2 to the very centre of the *roman* as a whole, to fol. 23^{v}, in

itself only recently completed – or, at least, carrying the date 1316. See Jehan Maillart, *Le Roman du Comte d'Anjou*, ed. M. Roques (Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge, 67; Paris, 1931). In its content the *Comte d'Anjou* is closely related to MS fr. 146, and can be seen not only as a source of borrowed material but also as something of a companion text. See esp. N. Black, 'The Politics of Romance in Jean Maillart's *Roman du Comte d'Anjou*', *French Studies*, 51 (1997), pp. 129–37; and ead., *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville, forthcoming 2003). For a partial listing of text borrowed from Maillart's *roman*, see M. Roques, 'L'Interpolation de *Fauvel* et le *Comte d'Anjou*', *Romania*, 55 (1929), pp. 548–51; this should be supplemented by N. F. Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 488 n. 78 and 491 n. 84.

[7] Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?' in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 35–52. We shall return to this motet in Part V, below.

medias res, half-way down the centre column. In effect, the putative author is relocated to the heart of 'his' work, evoking the impression of a single intelligence guiding it all, as though he were at the hub of a wheel, and ready, like Fortune, to turn it without warning.[8]

Although he is seen to drive his work from the centre of the MS fr. 146 *Fauvel*, this 'author' – whoever he may have been in fact – draws the reader's attention to his presence again and again over the course of the *roman*. He is visible in numerous illustrations, and his voice is heard not only in the added text but also in several

[8] *Fauvel* extends from fol. 1[r] to fol. 45[r]. However, there is an added bifolium, 28 bis–ter, following fol. 28, introduced late in the copying of the *roman*; with this in place, fol. 23[v] is in the exact middle of the fascicle. One of the implications of this is that the presence of the added bifolium was anticipated before the copying of the page some five folios earlier was completed. Although the author ascription does interrupt the narrative flow, its placement in MS fr. 146 is not inappropriate from a thematic standpoint. (See also the discussion of this page in Dillon, 'Art of Interpolation'.) Immediately before the reference to 'G clerc le Roy francois de Rues' (*sic*; Da. v. 41) come *roman* lines (La. vv. 2877–86) in which Fortune affirms that one cannot love both God and the World, and that he who eschews earthly riches will find greater rewards in Heaven; these are given scriptural *auctoritas* in two *versez* that quote the words of Christ, *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire* (p.mus. 53; text from Matt. 6: 24) and *Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum* (p.mus. 54; text from Matt. 5: 3). The ironic juxtaposition of this material with the reference to the notary Gervès, Marigny's protegé, is surely deliberate. A comparable use of symmetry is observable on another structurally significant page, fol. 30[v], the point at which the career of Fauvel is situated in France, Paris, and the royal palace. The centre column begins with six lines from the original state of the *roman* (La. vv. 3195–200); it continues with a monophonic *verse* in praise of Paris as royal capital (p.mus. 73), a miniature depicting the Palais, and a plainchant responsory adapted from the liturgy of the Sainte-Chapelle (p.mus. 74); the column is filled in with six more lines of text, the beginning of the long final expansion (La. add. vv. 1–6). In text, music and illustration, Paris, the Palais and the royal chapel are at the exact centre of the page. The symmetry on fol. 23[v] situates the author; that on fol. 30[v] is used to locate his moral exemplum.

Our association of the 'author' in MS fr. 146 with Fortune and her wheel would appear to be obvious given the presence of the goddess throughout the *roman* from fol. 1[r] on. But the placement of the author at the crux of the text might also suggest the use of another symbol as a structuring device, the labyrinth, with its connotations of the evil beast or demon, the warrior or Christ, his Cross, his Advent, his triumph over Death, the perfect city (Troy hence Paris, for example), reversal and palindrome, fallen pride (Icarus), and so on – all topoi that will be encountered over the course of this study. (See the discussion of the labyrinth in C. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001). I thank Barbara Haggh for suggesting to me the potential significance of this symbol for my reading of *Fauvel*.) To consider the labyrinth as an element of design and content in the 'text' compiled in MS fr. 146 would take the discussion in a somewhat different direction from the path followed here, requiring a study of its own. In the meantime, I note that the number symbolism most directly associable with the labyrinth does not seem to be represented in the musical works considered in this study.

of the interpolated musical works, his moral message delivered in a distinctive tone.[9] Thus, having described how Fauvel and his offspring have trampled 'le jardin de douce France', he remarks, 'Et pour ce que ie m'en courrouce / Ce met ci motet qui qu'en grouce' ('and because I am angry, I am putting this motet here, whoever may grouse about it'), introducing the motet *Quoniam secta latronum/Tribum que non abhorruit/Merito hec patimur* (La. add. v. 1577, Da. vv. 1066–7, p.mus. 120). Through his reactions to the evil epitomised by Fauvel, the 'author' of the assemblage that is MS fr. 146 shapes and focuses (and in some respects, perhaps, subtly modifies) the thrust of the original *roman*. He does this not only through the choice of material added to the original, but also through the ways in which the literary, musical and illustrative elements brought together in the *roman* interact on the page. This can be observed at the very beginning of *Fauvel*, on the first numbered page of the manuscript, fol. 1r. How the content of *Fauvel* is coloured by the music and other added material, and by the design of the page, and how that content is related to the underlying theme of kingship, is the subject of this study. In Part I we shall look briefly at the text on fol. 1r, in Parts II–IV at each of the three musical works on the page in turn; in Part V we will consider some appearances of this 'author's' voice in the motets added towards the close of the *roman*, and draw some additional conclusions in Part VI.

I

Folio 1r of MS fr. 146 brings diverse elements together on an elegantly designed page (see Figure 1). The scribe has surrounded the opening lines of the *roman* with musical and illustrative material that elucidates and comments on the text, the music flanking the *roman* text on both sides, *Favellandi vicium* in column a, *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt* in column c, and the pictures capping and closing the *Fauvel* text in column b. The whole

[9] On the presence of the author see K. Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 73–103; J.-C. Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale* (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 26; Paris, 1994), deuxième partie; and Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, ch. 3 and *passim*. The authorial role of the compiler and scribe is a central topic in Dillon's book.

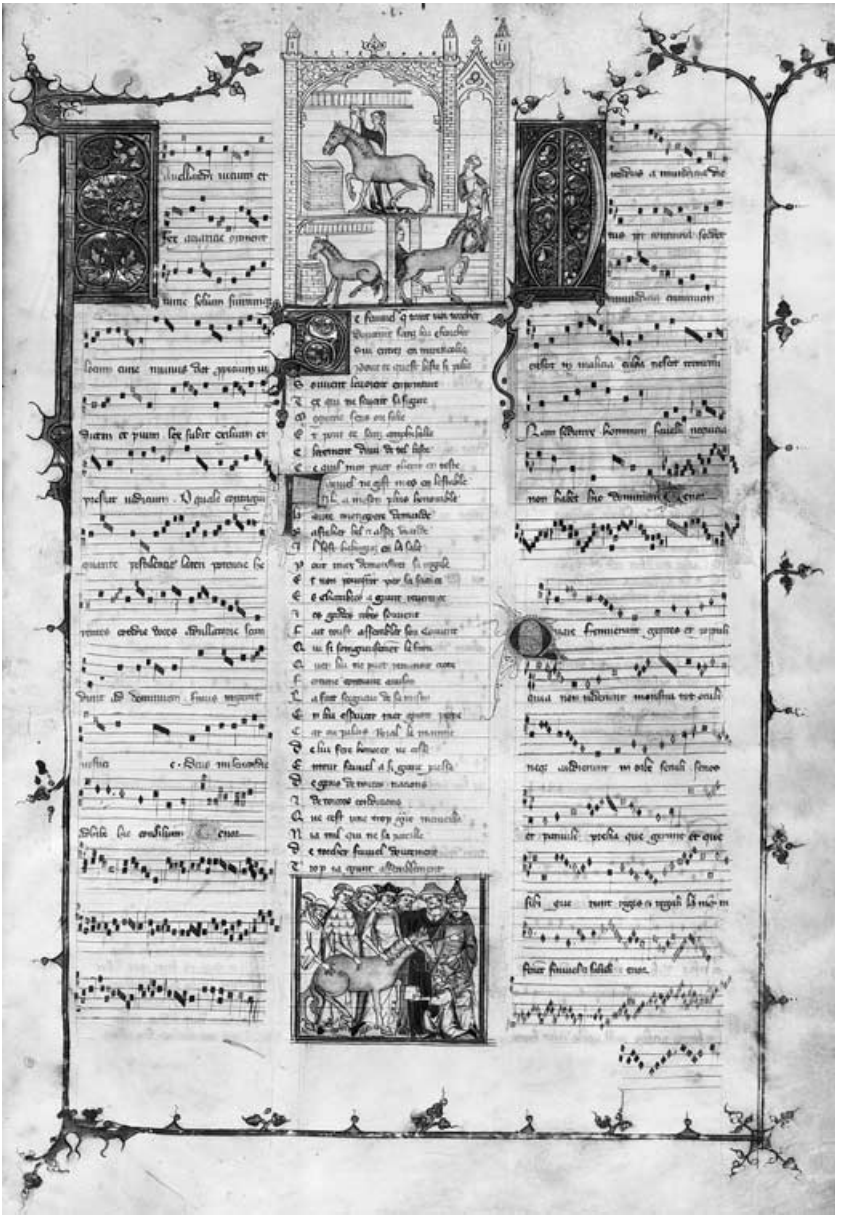


Figure 1 Paris, BNF f. fr. 146, fol. 1r (*Livres de Fauvel*)
Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127903003048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

is nicely framed by the elaborate decorative border.[10] The overall impression is one of balance and self-containment. How much *roman* text would appear on the page was itself carefully calculated: Book 1 is an estates satire, an account of how the various classes of society come to curry Fauvel; the opening page is designed as an introduction to the satire, setting the stage for it, so that the first line on the following page, fol. 1^{v}, could begin the satire proper with the figures to whom the *admonitio* as a whole is most immediately directed: 'Rois dus et contes verriez / Pour torcher fauvel allez' ('Kings, dukes and counts can be observed gathering together to curry Fauvel', La. vv. 35–6, lines carrying forward one of the principal themes of fol. 1^{r}; see Part IV, below). The text on fol. 1^{r} reads as follows:[11]

	D e fauvel que tant voi torcher	Because of Fauvel, whom I see so often curried
	Doucement sanz lui escorcher	Gently, without being flayed,
	Sui entrez en merencolie	I have entered a melancholy state,
	Pour ce quest beste si polie	Because he is so well groomed.
5	Souvent levoient enpainture	Some often see him in paintings
	Tex qui ne sevent se figure	Who do not know if he represents
	Moquerie sens ou folie	Ridicule, reason, or folly;
	Et pour ce sanz amphibolie	And this is why, without ambiguity,
	Clerement dirai de tel beste	I will say right out loud of such a beast
10	Ce quil men puet cheoir en teste	Whatever may come to my mind about him.
	F auvel ne gist mes en lestable	Fauvel no longer lies in the stable,
	IL a meson plus honorable.	HE has a more honourable house,
	Haute mengoere demande	He requests a high manger,
	Rastelier bel et assez viande	A fine hayrack, and enough food.

[10] The only other decorative border of comparable size is found on fol. 63^{r}, the start of the *Chronique métrique*. This suggests that the compilers had in mind a two-part work, one an allegorical fable, the other a historical narrative. The parallels and interplay between the two have often been noted in recent scholarship; see, for example, below, n. 14.

[11] I am grateful to Nancy Freeman Regalado for her assistance with this text. The transcription follows the reading, orthography and word division of MS fr. 146, except that (1) seeming copying errors are corrected (and noted); and (2) abbreviations are expanded and distinctions are made between *u* and *v*. Variant readings (other than differences in orthography) are noted. Flourished and decorated majuscule letters are enclosed in boxes, and other unusually prominent letters are underscored. For the most part, the same principles obtain in the editions of the Latin motet texts in Parts II–IV, below. In the music examples I have read the notation in the light of the group of treatises associated with the name of Philippe de Vitry, and above all those collected in *Philippi de Vitriaco ars nova*, ed. G. Reaney, A. Gilles and J. Maillard (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 8; American Institute of Musicology, 1964) and related texts, rather than in accordance with the doctrine in the *Pomerium* of Marchetto of Padua, followed in the Schrade edition.

15	Il sest herbergiez en la sale	He has lodged himself in the hall,
	Pour miex demonstrer sa regale	The better to display his royal prerogatives,
	Et non pourquant par sa science	And nevertheless in his wisdom
	Es Chambres a grant reverence	In the Chambers in great honour
	Et es gardes robes souvent	And in the privy chambers
20	Fait toust assembler son Couvent	He soon assembles his Faithful,
	Qui si soingneusement le frote	Who rub him so carefully.
	Quen lui ne puet remanoir crote	No muck can remain on him.
	Fortune contraire araison	Fortune, contrary to reason,
	La fait seigneur de sa meson	Has made him lord of her house.
25	En lui essaucer met grant peine	She labours to raise him on high,
	Car en palais Roial le maine	For in the Royal palace she leads him.
	De lui fere honorer ne cesse	She does not cease to make him honoured.
	Entour fauvel a si grant presse	Around Fauvel there is such a crowd
	De gens de toutes nacions	Of folk from every nation
30	Et de toutes condicions	And from every rank
	Que cest une trop grant merveille	That it is a very great wonder:
	Nia nul qui ne sa pareille	There is no one there who does not make ready
	De torcher fauvel doucement	To curry Fauvel gently.
	Trop ia grant assemblement	There is a great gathering there.

Notes on the text: 5 MS *pointure* (sting, wound, sharp pain); *peinture* also implies misleading speech, false appearance | 6 MS *sa* also in 4 other MSS | 11 *en estable* in all but 3 MSS | 13–14 all other MSS: *Avoir veult haute menjoere Et rastelier de grant afere* | 15 MS *hebergiez* | 16 *sa* in 3 MSS; Långfors prefers *son* | 17 *ne* in all other MSS | 18 *Chambres*: personal or workrooms, private domains, assemblies or administrative bodies, or, by inference in association with l. 19, places where one relieves oneself | 19 *gardesrobes*: wardrobes? antechambers? bedrooms? the room where one keeps his commode? | 20 all other MSS: *Fet il assembler son couvent* | 24 *La* (*L'a*) in 4 MSS; Långfors prefers *Le* | 26 MS *ou*; *en* in 2 MSS; Långfors prefers *el* | 30 *condicions*: classes, stations, walks of life | 32 Långfors, following the other MSS, gives *s'appareille* |

The horse Fauvel, seeking more fodder than was to be had in the stable, has inexplicably been made lord of the house by Fortune. There he holds court, surrounded and curried – flattered – by the throng that flocks to him, sending the author into a fit of melancholy and prompting him to expose the beast to those who might not understand the danger he represents. The passage is self-contained from a textual standpoint, beginning and ending with the theme of the universal currying of Fauvel. The narrative portion is set off from the author's opening apology by a large capital F, one of many 'F words' that are strategically placed in the manuscript. (Note in this regard the first words on the page in column a, 'Favellandi vicium et fex avaricie', and the last words

on the page in column c, 'inferunt fauvel et fasuli'.[12] These words at the corners and the pictures of Fauvel at the top and bottom of the middle column create a thematic frame for the page that is complemented by the decorative frame that wraps around most of the writing block.) This F and the emphasised 'IL' (also referring to Fauvel) immediately below it appear next to 'O quale contagium' (p.mus. 1, v. 9; 'Oh, such infection!') in the adjoining column to the left.

The orthography of the scribe identifies the speaker, the author, as Parisian, and the script suggests the royal chancery on the Île de la Cité as the place from which his words issue.[13] The capitalisation of certain words – 'palais Roial', 'Chambres', 'Couvent' – contributes further to the sense of topicality, implying specific places and institutions: this is not just any royal palace, but *the* royal palace; it is *the* 'chambres' and *the* 'couvent'. The setting will be further particularised later in the manuscript, when Fauvel is shown seated on the throne of Dagobert (fol. 11^{r}), and when it is made clear that his palace, called 'Desespoir' in the narrative as expanded in MS fr. 146 (La. add. vv. 117–22), is in fact the royal Palais de la Cité, transformed into a coherent administrative and residential complex by Philippe le Bel and Enguerran de Marigny, and formally inaugurated during the Pentecost festivities of 1313 (fols. 30^{v}–31^{r}).[14] By association, 'regale', 'meson', 'sale' and 'gardes robes' also acquire specific connotations: Fauvel has taken over the palace

[12] These are the last words of the motetus; they are immediately followed on the page by the designation '[T]enor', but of course this is only a label, not text to be read, sung, or heard. The fact that this label, unlike the two other tenor designations on the page, did not receive a decorated capital letter raises the suspicion that it may have been added late in the copying process, after the decorator had done his work. If that is the case, it would be a clear sign of the prominence of the concluding motetus text in the mind of the scribe. The missing initial is but one of the anomalies evident in the copying of the tenor part of *Quare fremuerunt*; see Morin, 'Genesis', 70 n. 34, and Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, p. 154.

[13] Thanks to Nancy Regalado, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, and Véronique Sigu for their many observations regarding the nuances in this text.

[14] M. T. Davis, 'Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris, and the Royal State', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 187–213. Regarding the treatment of the 1313 Pentecost festivities in the *Chronique métrique*, see two studies by E. A. R. Brown and N. F. Regalado, '*La grant feste*: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Ryerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6; Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 56–86; and '*Universitas et communitas*: The Parade of the Parisians at the Pentecost Feast of 1313', in K. Ashley and W. Hüsken (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 117–54.

and the government of the King of France, emblematic of the French nation itself, and usurped the royal prerogatives, the readings in the manuscript making it clear that this is a fait accompli, not something that is in the course of happening (see La. v. 24).

Much of this is depicted and reinforced in the two miniatures that frame the text. At the top of the page is shown Fauvel, first tethered at his manger in the stable in the lower left compartment; then led upstairs by the blindfolded Fortune, with someone, probably a page, in attendance at his rear; then at his higher and better provided manger in the great hall, above, where Fortune is engaged in tethering him, and where the beast, now significantly bigger, can indulge his insatiable greed. It is noteworthy that it is Fortune herself who tethers Fauvel, and that she appears to fasten him to the same railing or banister to which he had been hitched in the stable below; it is Fortune who controls his destiny.[15] The architectural border around three sides of the miniature, showing a decorated roof with three small towers, two of them framing a gable, is suggestive of the exterior of Fauvel's palace.[16]

[15] I am grateful to Kathryn Smith for drawing my attention to the tether. See also Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 115–17. The railing to which the tether is attached does not recur again in MS fr. 146, suggesting that it is there only as a hitching rod. The position of the rope on Fauvel's neck and its fastening to the overhead beam are reminiscent of a gallows. On fol. 30^{r}, Fortune condemns Fauvel and his descendants to a terrible fate (La. vv. 3145–52). The beast responds with the motet *Heu Fortuna subdola/Aman novi probatur/Heu me tristis est anima mea* (p.mus. 71, introduced by Da. vv. 1032–9), the lament of the ambitious man betrayed by Fortune. It is interesting that this exemplum of fallen pride dies by hanging on the gallows of Paris at Montfaucon; the cord around Fauvel's neck in the first picture of the beast to meet the eye in the manuscript may, like much else on fol. 1^{r}, as we shall see, look forward to that end. For the most recent study of *Heu Fortuna subdola*, see A. Puca, 'Composing Chant: Tenors and Compositional Practice in the Latin Motets of the Manuscript F-Pn fr. 146', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 4 (2002), pp. 297–312. On the crucial role played by the figure of Fortune in delivering the *roman*'s moral message and directing it towards the theme of kingship, see N. F. Regalado, 'Fortune's Two Crowns: Images of Kingship in the Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 146 *Roman de Fauvel*', forthcoming in the festschrift for Lucy Freeman Sandler. Also regarding Fortune see T. Hunt, 'The Christianization of Fortune', *Nottingham French Studies*, 38 (1999), pp. 95–113.

[16] Cf. the picture of the Palais on fol. 30^{v}, col. b. See also the framing on the picture of Fauvel on his throne, fol. 11^{r}, and the author picture in the adjacent column, and cf. the more 'ecclesiastical' frames on fols. 8^{v} (depicting the clergy and the Church) and 13^{r}, top (Envy), and the frame surrounding Fortune's palace on fol. 19^{r}. Cf. the 'ecclesiastical' frame in the miniature from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BNF), f. fr. 9123 (*Estoire*), fol. 4^{r}, reproduced in A. Stones, 'The Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel, with a Note on *Fauvain*', in *Fauvel Studies*, p. 534; also the frames and the urban profiles depicted in several miniatures in the contemporaneous *Vie de Saint Denis* manuscripts, Paris, BNF f. fr. 2090–92, and f. lat. 13896; and the depictions of the Sainte-Chapelle in the somewhat earlier St Louis Psalter, Paris, BNF f. lat. 10525.

At the bottom of the page Fauvel is seen surrounded by his 'Couvent', the 'grant assemblement' or 'presse de gens de toutes nacions et . . . condicions' – two tonsured clerics, four monks, a cardinal, a pope, a nobleman, and a king with crown. Significantly, the king is placed at the centre of the group.[17] Here and in all the pictures that follow over the course of the *roman*, Fauvel is depicted without his tether: although we are to understand that this cord is always there, in the world of men he appears to reign unfettered. (His unbridled state is affirmed in the *roman*, La. vv. 294–5.) Thus through the use of primarily visual devices – illustration, orthography, page design – a rather general text about the triumph of hypocrisy and greed has been made topical, and pointed in a specific direction. The music on the page lends a further dimension to this text.

II

The *roman* text on fol. 1[r] suggests that Fauvel's usurpation is all-encompassing, incomprehensible, 'une trop grant marveille', and distressing; but it is the musical works glossing the text that bring the malign impact of Fauvel into clear relief. All three works are classified as 'Motez a tenures sanz trebles' in the index that precedes the *roman* (fol. B).[18] Although they are said to be 'a tenures', the tenor parts themselves are each wholly newly composed, designed to fit an already existing upper voice or at least composed simultaneously with it, as an accompaniment rather than as the sort of foundation usually employed in a motet.[19] All

See also the detailed examination of this question in Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 113–17.

[17] See the description of these figures in Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, pp. 414–15.

[18] The index was made before the collection achieved its final form. It was entered by the scribe who copied the Lescurel songs, who Morin believes may have been the man who exercised 'editorial oversight' in the production of MS fr. 146; see Morin, 'Genesis', 69–81. The index effectively turns a *roman* with insertions into something approaching a conventional music manuscript, its contents arranged as though in fascicles, according to genre and the number of voices. More importantly, however, the index bears witness to the centrality of the music in the expanded *Fauvel*: music is not merely a literary embellishment, as it is in other romances with added lyrics; it is central to the compiler's purpose, to delivering his moral message, as central as the *roman* text itself. See also Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 164–9.

[19] See most recently A. V. Clark, '*Concordare cum materia*: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1996).

three are unique but based on music or text from the preceding century – each using the material it borrows in a different way, however. All conclude with music and text that is entirely 'new', not based on the model (or, at least, not on the same model as the earlier part of the motet). In each the final thought is set off by a somewhat prominent initial letter. Each motet delivers a different aspect of the *roman* message, but, as we shall see, all three are based on a single premise. All were composed – or, better, arranged – specifically for use in *Fauvel*. They are not the only two-voice motets in the manuscript that were created without using pre-existing melodic material in their tenor voices, but they are the only such pieces that are based on polyphonic models. Thus they form something of a special group within the larger *Fauvel* collection of music.[20]

Column a of fol. 1[r] is occupied by *Favellandi vicium*/Tenor (p.mus. 1, Schrade no. 1):[21]

	F avellandi vicium	The vice of fauvelling
	et fex avaricie	and the muck of avarice
	optinent nunc solium	are now occupying the throne
	summumque locum curie	and the highest position in the court.
5	munus dat propicium	A gift makes the judge
	iudicem et pium	favourable and gentle.
	lex subit exilium	Law passes into exile,
	et prostat iudicium.	and the judgement of law is up for sale.
	O quale contagium	O what an infection,
10	quante pestilencie	how great the boils
	lateri potencie	that daily plague
	herentes cotidie	the flanks of the mighty!
	voces adullatorie	Flattering voices
	scandunt ad dominium.	ascend to power.
15	fraus imperat iusticie.	Fraudulent justice rules.
	Deus misericordie	Merciful God,
	adhibe hic consilium.	apply here counsel!

Notes on the text: 1 *fex*: sing. of *faeces*, hence the excrement that is the product of Fauvel's greedy eating, the dung that his curriers pick from his coat (Leofranc Holford-Strevens informs me that *fex* does not have the rude connotations of the modern 'shit') / 8 MS *prestat*, emended for sense but preferred by Spanke / 9 *contagium*: also, negative influence, touch, temptation / 14 MS *dominum*, emended in accordance with the rhyme /

[20] Cf. the discussions of these motets in Morin, 'Genesis', ch. 6; and L. Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductus in BN fr. 146: *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 615–36.

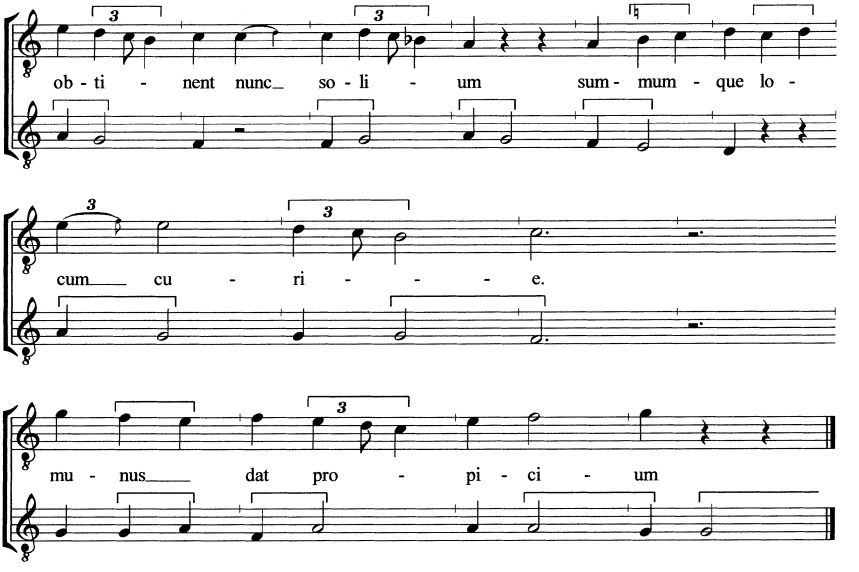
[21] On Dahnk's reading of the text, see P. A. Becker, *Fauvel und Fauvelliana* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse, 38/2; Leipzig, 1936), p. 23; and H. Spanke, 'Zu den musikalischen Einlagen im Fauvelroman', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 37 (1936), p. 204.

Fauvel himself is alluded to only once in the motet, in what is the very first word on the page. *Favellandi vicium* describes two plagues holding sway over the throne and the highest position in the court, 'fauvelling' and greed, leading to the corruption of justice. The former is characterised as a 'vice', the latter as a 'fouling' or 'besmirching', as 'dirt'. 'Fauvelling', 'playing the Fauvel game', must entail flattery, hypocrisy, deceit, falsehood, treachery – the evils stressed throughout the motet poem: bribery, the subversion of justice, deceit prevailing over forthrightness. Flattery and greed are also the vices singled out in the adjacent *roman* text (Fauvel's eager curriers, his greed for more fodder) and the ones stressed in the description of the beast that follows further on in the *roman* (the derivation of his name from 'faus vel', 'veil of deceit', the significance of his colour, fauve, etc.; see La. vv. 171–260). Indeed, 'Flaterie' and 'Avarice', the two vices of the motet, are the sources of the first two letters of Fauvel's name.[22] This is a condition prevailing here and now, as the first and last sentences make a point of affirming through their use of 'nunc' and 'hic'.[23] The opening statement is given the status of a motto through its musical treatment: it is set off in both voices by a stroke connoting a general pause, like a *finis punctorum*. This is the only point in the motet where the two voices do not overlap to produce a continuous web of sound (see Example 1).

This opening statement sets the tone not only for this motet, but indeed for the first book of *Fauvel* as a whole, where the vices that seem to be stressed above all are hypocrisy and greed. The ranking of vices shifts in the second book, recounting the courtship and marriage of Fauvel. After an inserted musical work comments on the 'nacio nephandi generis', the vices as a group, the piece

[22] Throughout the Middle Ages Pride and Avarice were given pride of place among the vices by different authors; see L. K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), 16–49. Superbia and Hypocrisis are seen as related vices in some schemes, e.g., that of Robert Grosseteste, 'Primo videndum est quid est peccatum', where they stand opposed to the virtue of Humilitatio (this following Aristotle, who held that each virtue was matched by two vices); see S. Wenzl, 'The Seven Deadly Sins: Problems of Research', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 11–12. On the central role of Hypocrisy in political and eschatological writing in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries see R. K. Emmerson and R. B. Herzman, 'The Apocalyptic Age of Hypocrisy: Faus Semblant and Amant in the *Roman de la Rose*', *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 612–34.

[23] See Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, pp. 199–201 on the 'timeliness' of the version of *Fauvel* in MS fr. 146.



Example 1 *Favellandi vicium* (excerpt)

immediately following singles out Carnalitas and Luxuria for special treatment.[24] These are also the vices emphasised in the descriptions of the wedding feast and tournament included in Book 2 of the MS fr. 146 *Fauvel*: of the thirty-three vices listed among the wedding guests (La. add. vv. 55–75), the first three are Charnalite, Fornicacion, and Advoutire; the large tournament pictures on fols. 39v–40v show first Charnalite and Concupiscence vs.Virginite, then Fornicacion vs. Chastete, and then Orgueil vs. Patience and Gloutonnerie vs. Abstinence.[25]

Implicit in this motet text is a theme that recurs throughout the *roman*, both in its original form and markedly so in the expanded version in MS fr. 146, the idea of *mundus inversus*, that the normal order has been negated or reversed, with evil dominating good, lawlessness justice, and hypocrisy honesty. The subversion of justice and the rule of law is the dominant theme of the motet. Just rule is one of the central tenets of good kingship in

[24] P.mus. 35, *O Nacio nephandi generis/Condicio nature defuit/Mane prima sabbati*; p.mus. 36, *Carnalitas Luxuria in favelli palacio presunt*.

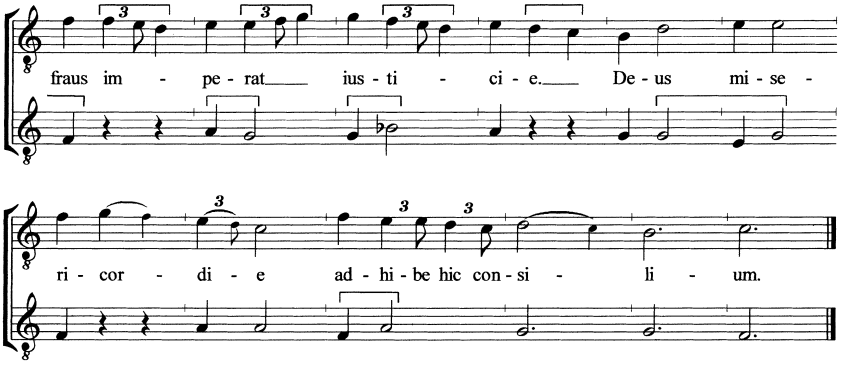
[25] See also N. F. Regalado, 'Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (BN MS fr. 146)', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), pp. 135–46.

late Capetian France.[26] The coronation *ordo* that was probably used at the crowning of Philippe le Bel in 1285 and that is certainly representative of the customs prevailing at the time of the compilation of MS fr. 146, includes a commitment (*promissio*) by the new king, responding to a clerical admonition to respect and defend the privileges of the Church and the law, that 'debitam legem atque iusticiam servabo' ('I will serve under the law and in accordance with justice').[27] This motet tells us that the promise has been abrogated – or, more likely, never made, that Fauvel does not sit legitimately on the throne. Kingship has been taken over by unworthy and probably unsanctioned, unsanctified elements. We know from the surroundings of the motet on fol. 1^{r} that it is the legitimacy of the Throne of France that has been compromised.

The plea to God to summon his 'consilium' that closes the motet is, like much else in *Fauvel*, double-edged: it can be read as a petition for aid, counsel; it can also be read as a plea for help from an assembly of councillors. (To a medieval reader it might also have evoked an association with the *consiliarius* of the celebrated messianic prophecy in Isai. 9: 6, a connection that will find support in the discussion of *Quare fremuerunt* in Part IV, below. Be that as it may, this *consilium* stands in pointed contrast to the other counsel mentioned in the poem, the dung-smeared individual in verse 2 who occupies the 'highest position in the court' – the monarch's principal counsellor. It can also be understood as the antithesis of the 'couvent' that Fauvel has gathered around himself, according to the *roman* text.) This plea is set off from the foregoing complaint and given visual emphasis by an unusually large initial. But it stands apart musically as well. There is a significant change in the style of the musical setting towards the close of this final phrase with the introduction of text-bearing semibreves, the only ones in the piece; this speeding up of declamation is followed by

[26] See the discussion of the primacy of justice in Capetian royal thinking in M. C. Gaposchkin, '*Ludovicus decus regnantium*: The Liturgical Office for Saint Louis and the Ideological Program of Philip the Fair', pt. 6 (forthcoming).

[27] *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. A. Jackson, 2 vols. (Middle Ages Series; Philadelphia, 1994–2000), ii, p. 383. See also M. C. Gaposchkin, 'The Sanctification and Memorialization of Louis IX of France, 1297–ca. 1350' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001), p. 248.



Example 2 *Favellandi vicium* (conclusion)

a written out 'cadential retard' in both voices that slows the pace to movement in perfect longs, thereby imparting a sense of closure (see Example 2).

The musical disjunction of the final phrase operates on a less obvious level as well: the preceding part of the motet uses music drawn from an already existing motet (we shall consider the implications of this presently), but the concluding plea is set to new music. The plea can thus be seen not only as a focusing of the thrust of the work, but also as something of an extension to it. Since the text is apparently newly composed throughout, and consequently could have been as long or short as the poet/composer wished, it is noteworthy that he did not craft his poem so that the entire text would fit within the limits dictated by his model. It seems likely therefore that he wanted 'new' music for this 'new' appeal to God. But the composer may have had other motives for extending the work beyond the length of his model: he may have wanted to reach a particular length. If the general pause is not assigned a specific duration, the work is seventy perfections long; if the pause is read as the theoretical equivalent of a long, as in Example 1, the length is seventy-one perfections. The implications of this will become clear in Parts IV–VI, below.

Joseph Morin has shown that *Favellandi vicium* is based on the triplum line of a three-voice motet composed in the earlier thirteenth century and surviving with the texts *De gravi seminio/In corde* in Ma and W_2 (in the former source without the tenor, in the latter without the triplum, however), and with the texts *Cum li*

plus desesperes/Bien me doi/In corde in W_2, again, and Mo.[28] The triplum melody is taken over more or less in toto as the motetus line of *Favellandi vicium*; the only variations between the two that are significant for our purpose have already been mentioned, the general pause and the extension at 'Deus misericordie'. A new tenor is composed around this motetus.

Neither Morin nor anyone else has explained why the *Fauvel* composer chose this particular motet as his source for *Favellandi vicium*. It is doubtful that he selected it because of the thrust of its French motet texts: the French texts are love lyrics of a sort found in numerous motets of the period, the complaints of a despairing lover impelled to sing.[29] It is possible, however, to make a case for at least an oblique relationship between the thirteenth-century Latin version and *Favellandi vicium*. That text celebrates the Franciscan Order, which is said to fill the world with the zeal of its love (for Christ). Given the 'royal' thrust of *Favellandi vicium*, this Franciscan locus may not be without resonance for the new motet, since there were intimate ties between the *fratres minores* and the French Throne, cultivated from early on in the reign of

[28] Morin, 'Genesis', pp. 325–44. Ma: Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS 20486, fols. 2^{v}–3^{r} (a late addition to the manuscript); W_2: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstad., fols. 157^{v}–58^{r} and 202^{v}–203^{v}; Mo: Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, MS H 196, fols. 185^{v}–187^{v} (in fasc. 5). Ed., among other places, in *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, ed. Y. Rokseth, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–9), no. 136; *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. H. Tischler, 3 vols. (New Haven, 1982), no. 93; and *El códice de Madrid: polifonías del siglo XIII*, ed. J. C. Asensio Palacios (Patrimonio Musical Español; Madrid, 1997), no. 3. Cf. Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductus', pp. 631–4 on the model and on what the original note values may have been.

[29] However, the opening lines of the motetus (not the triplum used by the *Fauvel* arranger), 'Cum li plus desesperes / qui soit chant' ('As the most despairing person there is, I sing'), are suggestive of the mood underlying *Favellandi vicium* and of what we will see is one of its primary themes, speaking out or preaching. The same rhetorical topos, speaking what is thought and felt, is central to the *complainte* that once formed part of the MS fr. 146 *Fauvel* and that now serves as something of a prelude to it on fol. A (see the introduction to the 1990 facsimile, pp. 6 and 28); it is edited and translated in Morin, 'Genesis', pp. 411–19. It must be kept in mind, too, that vernacular love poetry could serve political ends, the poet/lover acting as a political spokesman; see J.-C. Mühlethaler, 'Le poète et le prophète: littérature et politique au XV^e siècle', *Le Moyen Français*, 13 (1983), pp. 37–57. Thus the French version of this motet may have more affinity with *Favellandi vicium* than meets the eye. I am grateful to Nancy Regalado for drawing my attention to all this. The French and Latin texts are translated in *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt* [sic] *1099 (1206)*, i: *Critical Commentary, Translation of the Texts, and Historical Observations*, ed. G. A. Anderson (Musicological Studies, 24/1; Brooklyn, [1968]), pp. 174–7.

Louis IX (1226–70), and peaking in the work of the Order to further the cause of Louis's canonisation (realised in 1297). Indeed, Louis, the model of a latter-day monarch ruling under God – and by extension the King of France, whoever he might have been – was identified in late Capetian royal ideology with Francis himself, and seen to exemplify that saint's virtues and the ideals of the Order (poverty, humility, mystical identification with Jesus as an *alter Christus* living in 'imitatio Christi').[30] These are the qualities stressed in the Latin version of the thirteenth-century model: 'Iam paupertas innolevit, fastum devotio sprevit cordis de sacrario, malum lex dei delevit' ('Poverty has now become ingrained, devotion has dispersed pride from the sacristy of the heart, and the law of God has blotted out evil'). One might draw an ironic comparison between the renunciation of wealth (along with other ties to the material life) pursued by the friars and the 'fex avaricie' of *Favellandi vicium*.

Also linking the Franciscan motet to *Favellandi vicium* is another well-known aspect of the Franciscan persona – preaching. The text of the sixth Matins responsory in *Franciscus vir catholicus*, the proper Office of St Francis, affords an indication of the centrality of preaching in the life of the Order: 'Audit in evangelio quae suis Christus loquitur ad praedicandum missis: hoc inquit est quod cupio . . .' ('He [Francis] hears in the Gospel that Christ says to his disciples to go out and preach: "This", he says, "is what I desire"').[31] As we shall presently see, the theme of preaching, proclaiming the truth, obtains in one of the principal subtexts of *Favellandi vicium*. In this regard, the allusion in the responsory to Luke 10: 1, the account of Christ sending his disciples forth to preach his coming, is noteworthy. The Lucan text is laden with agrarian language, language echoed in *De gravi seminio* (e.g., the opening: 'De gravi seminio quod pater colonis sevit, morti dato

[30] On the relations between the Franciscans and the Throne in late Capetian France see, most recently, Gaposchkin, 'Sanctification and Memorialization', pt. 4.

[31] *Franciscus vir catholicus* was composed in Paris *c.*1232 by Julian of Speyer. For the most recent edns. of the text see *Fontes franciscani*, ed. E. Menestrò and S. Brufani (Assisi, 1996), pp. 1105–21; and the edn., trans., and commentary in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. R. J. Armstrong, J. A. W. Hellmann and W. J. Short, 3 vols. (New York, 1999–2000), i, pp. 311–63. See also the discussion of this passage in relation to the liturgy for St Louis in Gaposchkin, 'Sanctification and Memorialization', pp. 413–14; and ead., 'Typology and Fulfillment in the Franciscan Liturgical Office for Louis IX' (forthcoming).

filio, bone messis seges crevit' – 'From the fertile stock that the Father sowed among his labourers, the gift of the Son to death, waxed the fruit of the bountiful harvest').[32] We shall return to this Gospel text in our discussion of *Quare fremuerunt* in Part IV, below, and also in Parts V–VI. But whatever elements of Franciscan ideology lie behind the choice of model for *Favellandi vicium*, fully to understand the reasons for the choice of model and to grasp more deeply the content of *Favellandi vicium* in its *Fauvel* context, we must look not only at the upper-voice texts of that model but also at its tenor.

The tenor of *De gravi seminio* is a fragment of plainchant drawn from the gradual *Os iusti meditabitur, Lex dei eius*, sung in the Mass for Doctors of the Church, and hence available for use in a number of different feasts in the Sanctorale. In most motets the tenor controls every aspect of the composition, its length and overall rhythmic idiom, its tonality and the melodic profiles of its upper voices, and, often, its message.[33] In this case it is not the liturgical occasion, the tenor melody itself, or the text of the tenor, 'in corde' ('in his heart'), by itself that is significant, but rather the full text of the gradual from which it was drawn and the scriptural context from which it was taken in the first instance. The gradual text reads: 'Os iusti meditabitur sapientiam, et lingua eius loquetur iudicium. Lex Dei eius *in corde* ipsius, et non supplantabuntur gressus eius.' This is drawn verbatim from Psalm 36: 30–1: 'The mouth of the just shall meditate wisdom: and his tongue shall speak judgement. The law of his God is *in his heart*, and his steps shall not be supplanted.'[34] (The psalm text is echoed

[32] Asensio Palacios, in *El códice de Madrid*, proposes emending the opening words from 'De gravi seminio', found in both manuscripts, to 'De grani seminio'. This would make the agricultural imagery even more direct.

[33] See esp. Clark, '*Concordare cum materia*'; and ead., 'New Tenor Sources for Fourteenth-Century Motets', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 8 (1999), pp. 107–31.

[34] The tenor is M 68 in the motet numbering system of Friedrich Ludwig. Unlike most tenors, which generated numbers of different works, the motets under discussion are the only ones known to have been composed on this chant. Throughout this article, texts quoted from Scripture follow the Vulgate; for the psalms I use the readings in *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam Clementinam nova editio*, ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado, 4th edn. (Biblioteca de autores Cristianos; Madrid, 1965) rather than those of the *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem*: *Liber psalmorum ex recensio Sancti Hieronymi* (Rome, 1953), which antedate what a late medieval reader might have seen. Translations of biblical texts follow the NRSV except for the psalms, which follow Douay–Rheims–Challoner; but I have not hesitated to modify these English renderings when it seemed appropriate.

in the final line of the Latin version of the motet source, *De gravi seminio*: 'malum lex dei delevit' – 'the law of God has blotted out evil'.) The resonance of these lines with the text of *Favellandi vicium* is striking: the plea in the motet for counsel and the opening words of the gradual, that the just shall meditate wisdom and proclaim judgement; the bitter complaint about the destruction of law and justice through bribery, flattery and deceit, and the affirmation that the law of God is in the heart of the just man proclaiming judgement, and that God's law cannot be set aside by something else.

Thus the snippet of text in the tenor of the motet model stands for, calls into play, a larger scriptural passage. It is not only verses 30 and 31 of Psalm 36 that are relevant to *Favellandi vicium*, but in fact the whole of the psalm. Psalm 36 is framed as a comparison of the righteous and the wicked, promising blessings to one and the destruction of the other. It is that destruction for which the final lines of *Favellandi vicium* implicitly ask. Thus, verses 1–2: 'Be not emulous of evildoers [*malignantibus*]; nor envy them that work iniquity [*facientes iniquitatem*]. For they shall shortly wither away as grass, and as the green herbs shall quickly fall.' Introduced at the outset of the psalm is the theme of the reversal of fortune that will befall the evildoer, a motif that plays a dominant role throughout *Fauvel*. Verses 6–7 introduce the theme of justice that will course through the rest of the psalm: 'And he will bring forth thy justice [*iustitiam*] as the light, and thy judgement [*iudicium*] as the noonday. Be subject to the Lord and pray to him. Emulate not the man who prospereth in his way; the man who doth unjust things.' The verses used in the gradual are followed by lines that resonate with the theme of corrupt justice in *Favellandi vicium*. Verse 32: 'The wicked [*peccator*] watcheth the just man [*iustum*], and seeketh to put him to death. But the Lord will not leave him in his hand; nor condemn [*damnabit*] him when he shall be judged [*iudicabitur*].' And later, concerning evildoers who have achieved great power, verses 35–6: 'I have seen the wicked highly exalted [*impium superexaltatum*], and lifted up like the cedars of Libanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not: and I sought him and his place was not found.' Again, the reversal of fortune.

Thus it was the scriptural context of the tenor in the model of *Favellandi vicium* that rendered its triplum appropriate, even

desirable for reworking and reuse in *Fauvel*. The snippet of plainchant in that discarded tenor harks back to the gradual chant from which it was taken and in turn to the psalm from which the gradual drew its text. That is, the thirteenth-century tenor partook of the quality, the message of the parent chant and of its scriptural environment.[35] The tenor was not only the premise underlying the work as a whole, governing its design and content; its influence went further. It imparted a kind of genetic blueprint to the different parameters of the composition, both musical and textual, infusing them with the meaning, the genetic code, so to speak, perhaps of the liturgical situation in which the chant was employed, and certainly of the scriptural text from which it was drawn. That blueprint remained in the other voices as a kind of stem memory, even if the tenor were no longer present. The poet/composer of the *Fauvel* motet was sensitive to all this; for him that genetic marker was evident enough in the triplum of his thirteenth-century model to prompt him to choose that voice for reworking as the opening element in the *Fauvel* collection, thereby imparting that genetic code not only to the reworked piece but also to the collection as a whole.

A reader familiar with the compilation of MS fr. 146 (that is, a reader on the 'inside') would probably have understood the scriptural subtext of *Favellandi vicium* and the dialectic with the motetus text in which it engaged. He may also have been aware of its Franciscan background, and its connotations for the meaning of the *Fauvel* motet. Whether the poet/composer or the compiler of the manuscript expected his readers to recognise this lineage is irrelevant, however: the genetic marker was there whether it was perceived or not; the composer and compiler used it deliberately, if well nigh subliminally, to set the moral tone of their edition of *Fauvel*. The voice of the author rings with scriptural *auctoritas*: implicit in the words he utters in the motet is the affirmation that, with God's law in his heart, he will pronounce judgement on Fauvel, and that the just will prevail over the beast. The evildoer Fauvel 'shall shortly wither away as grass, and as the

[35] Although the Ma version of the motet omits the tenor entirely, the other three states include not only its melody but also its text. It is a measure of the learning of the *Fauvel* composer that he would have been familiar with the source of the tenor melody and its scriptural background.

green herbs shall quickly fall'. The justice that is at the heart of proper kingship will return, and worthy rule will be restored to France.

III

The themes of corruption, filth and the natural order turned upside down that dominate *Favellandi vicium* are also taken up in the two motets that fill the right-hand column on fol. 1[r] of MS fr. 146, *Mundus a mundicia*/Tenor and *Quare fremuerunt*/Tenor. The setting of *Mundus a mundicia* (p.mus. 2, Schrade no. 2) is based on a thirteenth-century conductus that survives in five manuscripts and that has a strong attribution to Philip the Chancellor.[36] In its *Fauvel* presentation, three lines of text are appended to Philip's stanza:

	Mundus a mundicia	'World' [*mundus*], derived from
	Dictus per contraria	'cleanliness' [*mundicia*] by way of antiphrasis,
	sordet inmundicia	is sullied by the filth of
	criminum	sins.
5	crescit in malicia	It waxes in wickedness,
	culpa nescit terminum	moral turpitude knows no limit.
	Nam sedutrix hominum	For the seductress of mankind,
	favelli nequicia.	the unworthiness that is Fauvel,
	non habet hic dominum	has no master here [in the world].

Notes on the text: 2 *per contraria* cf. La. vv. 1184–5: *Meine tout per antifrasin, C'est a dire par le contraire*; also p.mus. 29, triplum, v. 2: *car tout ce fait par contraire /*

The strident moral tone of this text betrays its early thirteenth-century origins. Filth is linked rhetorically with the idea of the world turned upside down, 'per contraria'. By association, this filth is the *fex* of *Favellandi vicium* across the page and the stable dung that Fauvel has brought with him into the royal palace in the adjoining miniature, and that his curriers try to pick clean from his coat, soiling themselves by doing so. However, this motet

[36] F: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS plut. 29.1, fol. 240[v] (*a 3*, one strophe only); London, British Library (henceforth BL), Egerton MS 274, fol. 41[r] (*a 2*, seven strophes, entitled 'de prelatis', among the works ascribed to Philip the Chancellor); Paris, BNF f. lat. 8433, fol. 46[r] (*a 1*, ascribed to Philip, called a 'prose'); Paris, BNF f. lat. 8237, fol. 13[v] (text only); Praha, Státní knihovna, Archiv Pražského hradu Kap N 8 (p48), fol. 38[r] (text only, ascribed to Philip). In its three-voice transmission the conductus is edited in *Three-Part Conductus in the Central Sources*, ed. G. A. Anderson (Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Opera omnia, 2, Collected Works, X/2; Henryville, Pa., 1986), pp. 31–2.

discloses an aspect of this filth that is different from what we have encountered thus far. The nouns 'crimen' and 'culpa' imply immorality, fornication, and the Original Sin.[37] The text added by the *Fauvel* poet is sensitive to these sexual undertones when in verse 7 it refers to Fauvel as a seducing woman,[38] a traitor or deceiver of mankind, hence an agent of the Devil, that is, most likely, Eve. Tertullian offers an early example of the tone used in much medieval writing on Eve when he says to women bearing her curse, 'You are the Devil's gateway; you are the unsealer of that tree; you are the first deserter of the divine law; you are she who persuaded [Adam], whom the Devil was not strong enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image, man. Because of your reward, that is, death, even the Son of God had to die' ('Tu es diaboli janua, tu es arboris illius resignatrix, tu es divinae legis prima desertrix, tu es quae eum persuasisti , quem diabolus aggredi non valuit. Tu imaginem Dei, hominem, tam facile elisisti: propter tuum meritum, id est mortem, etiam Filius Dei mori habuit').[39] Paralleling this line of thought a millennium later, the early twelfth-century Canterbury monk Eadmer, in his important treatise on the Conception of the Virgin, addresses Eve: 'imbued with seed from the manifold traces of perverse desires, you seduced [Adam] into consenting with you by enticing eloquence, presaging in this work of yours that the judgement of the man of God would be true, namely that women make even the wise apostasise' ('e vestigio multiplici perversarum cupiditatum semine imbuta, illecebrosa facundia illum ad tibi consentiendum illexisti, praesignans in hoc opere tuo veram fore futuram sententiam viri Dei, mulieres scilicet apostatare facere etiam sapientes').[40] Citing

[37] See the citations in A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, rev. H. Chirat (Turnhout, 1993).

[38] The protagonist of Raoul le Petit's *Roman de Fauvain* is a female Fauvel figure. The work is preserved in Paris, BNF MS fr. 571, a manuscript that, although a decade younger than MS fr. 146 and prepared elsewhere, is similar to it, indeed related to it in several respects. See the facsimile of *Fauvain* in *L'Histoire de Fauvain: reproduction phototypique de 40 dessins du manuscrit français 571 de la Bibliothèque nationale (XIV^e siècle), précédée d'une introduction et du texte critique des légends de Raoul le Petit*, ed. A. Långfors (Paris, 1914). For the most recent study, see J. H. M. Taylor, '*Le Roman de Fauvain*: Manuscript, Text, Image', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 569–89.

[39] Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum lib. II*, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), Patrologia cursus completus series Latina [henceforth PL], 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), 1, col. 1305a–b.

[40] *Tractatus de conceptione B. Mariae Virginis*, in PL 159, col. 312d; I am indebted to D. Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (The Middle Ages Series; Philadelphia, 1999), for this discussion of Eadmer's work.

Isaiah 64: 6, Eadmer goes on to observe that because of Eve's sin, mankind's relation to God is like sullied menstrual rags ('sicut pannus menstruatae').[41] Thus dirt, seduction and the Original Sin are linked.

Eve is described in much Christian writing as not only gullible but also inconstant, vain, greedy and proud – traits reminiscent of Fauvel. As the Serpent's agent, she herself becomes as the Serpent. Eadmer suggests, following Genesis 3: 5, that she wanted to be as God ('Forte magis putavit Eva se Deum illico fore'),[42] and thus she is comparable to Lucifer. The figure she was most often compared to, contrasted with, in medieval literature is the Virgin.[43] The *seductrix* of *Mundus a mundicia* reigns as an all-powerful harlot queen; as the Queen of 'Mundus' she is, 'per contraria', as it were, the antithesis of the Queen of Heaven. Similarly, Tertullian's *diaboli ianua* contrasts with the *porta celi* of antiphon and motet; she who listened to the Serpent with she who listened to Gabriel; she whose disobedience resulted in death and she whose obedience resulted in eternal life, and Eadmer's source of filth with, paraphrasing Zechariah 13: 1, his 'clear Fountain of David' who washes away the menstrual flow ('fons David patens, in ablutionem menstruatae flue ad nos').[44] 'Eva' is reversed [!] in the 'Ave' with which Gabriel greets Mary at the Annunciation; thus, in the sequence *Missus Gabriel de celis*, 'et ex Eva formans Ave, Evae verso nomine' ('and from "Eve" forms "hail" by turning the name "Eve" around').[45] There is, then, a Marian ele-

[41] Eadmer, *Tractatus de conceptione*, col. 314a.

[42] *Ibid.*, col. 312c.

[43] Thus, in the sequence *Virgini Marie laudes*, 'Eva tristis abstulit, sed Maria contulit natum qui redemit peccatores' ('sad Eve destroyed, but Mary created a son who redeems sinners'). Facs. after London, BL Add. MS 710 in *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Monumenta Musicae Sacrae, 4; Rouen, 1970), pl. 169; text in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. G. M. Dreves *et al*., 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922), liv, no. 18. On Eve and Mary see E. Guldan, *Eva und Maria: Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz, 1966); A. M. Dubarle, 'Les fondements bibliques du titre marial de Nouvelle Ève', in *Mélanges Jules Lebreton*, 1/*Recherches de science religieuse*, 39 (1951), pp. 49–64; M. Leisch-Kiesel, *Eva als Andere: Eine exemplarische Untersuchung zu Frühchristentum und Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1992); M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York, 1976), ch. 4; J. A. Phillips, *Eve, the History of an Idea* (San Francisco, 1984), chs. 4 and 5; J. Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in History* (New Haven, 1996), ch. 3; and, for the scriptural and Patristic background, *Genesis 1–3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, ed. G. A. Robbins (Studies in Women and Religion, 27; Lewiston, NY, 1988).

[44] Eadmer, *Tractatus de conceptione*, col. 314b.

[45] Facs. after Bari, Archivio della Basilica di S. Nicola, MS 1, in *Le prosaire de la Sainte-Chapelle*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Monumenta Musicae Sacrae, 1; Macon, 1952), pl. 117; text in *Analecta hymnica*, liv, no. 102. Cf. the antiphon *Ave maris stella*, 'Sumens illud Ave . . .,

ment in *Mundus a mundicia*, introduced subtly and 'per contraria'. We shall return to this in Part IV.

The unbridled sway of this Fauvel/seductress parallels the complaint at the opening of *Favellandi vicium*. Fauvel spreads his (her) filth over the world; wickedness is everywhere. It is the three added lines, verses 7–9, with their allusion to the seductress, that attribute the state of affairs to Fauvel specifically. The last line uses the word 'hic', just as *Favellandi vicium* does in the same location, making clear the immediacy of Fauvel's malign influence. This is not an abstract condition; it is something that is happening now.

Although in its original state Philip's conductus has nine stanzas, each sung to the music of the first, the *Fauvel* poet/composer has used only the first. As Elizabeth A. R. Brown has noted, however, the remaining eight stanzas are also appropriate to the Fauvel theme.[46] In fact, the omitted stanzas carry forward not only the thought of *Mundus a mundicia*, but also that of *Favellandi vicium*, across the page. It is likely that the informed reader of MS fr. 146 would have had access to the original poem, as the person who adapted it for *Fauvel* almost certainly did; if so, it is not inconceivable that he would have realised this 'motet' as a strophic song, with the three Fauvel/Eve lines added to the end of the stanza serving as a refrain, resulting in an unusual hybrid of conductus and motet.[47] At the very least, the informed reader would probably have recalled the entirety of the Chancellor's poem when he encountered its first stanza in MS fr. 146, and had it in mind when he considered the message on fol. 1[r].

The motetus voice is essentially the tenor line of the original conductus. Against it a new tenor was composed, flowing homorhythmically with it as an accompaniment.[48] To this polyphonic

mutans Hevae nomen'; 'receiving that 'Ave' . . ., changing Eve's name'; *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis*, ed. by the Monks of Solesmes (Paris, 1934), p. 705.

[46] Brown, '*Rex ioans, ionnes, iolie*: Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, p. 68. If, as seems likely, the motet was fashioned specifically for MS fr. 146, the creators of the volume probably had the original conductus at hand, and thus would have been familiar with its remaining strophes. It is possible that some other pieces transmitted in MS fr. 146 with fewer than a full complement of stanzas could have been expanded in a similar fashion; one such is *O labilis sortis humane status* (p.mus. 34), based on another conductus by Philip the Chancellor.

[47] See the discussion of genre in Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', *passim*.

[48] Welker, *ibid*., pp. 618–23, prefers to regard it as a conductus, its designation in the

complex the composer/adapter added music in the same style to accommodate the three additional verses. The new music is twelve perfect longs in length, thirty-six breves. This added music results in a work in which the new material is divided from the old – the state of affairs and the blaming of Fauvel for it – at the Golden Section.[49] The use of the Golden Section as a structuring principle elsewhere in the *Fauvel* repertory raises the likelihood that this was deliberately intended by the composer.[50] We shall return to the planned use of number in this work in Part VI of this study.

IV

Quare fremuerunt/Tenor (p.mus. 3, Schrade no. 3) follows *Mundus a mundicia* in column c of fol. 1[r] without a break, apart from a decorated initial letter,[51] filling in the remainder of the page.[52]

Quare fremuerunt	Why have they been raging,
gentes et popluli	the nations and the peoples?
quia non viderunt	Because never have eyes
monstra tot oculi.	beheld so many portents,

manuscript, layout on the page, and single-voice texting notwithstanding. Cf. Morin, 'Genesis', pp. 347–9. The choice of the tenor line for reuse in the new setting is not surprising, since this was always the structural voice in the conductus.

[49] Strictly speaking, the Golden Section divides *Mundus a mundicia* into 21:13:8, and our disposition is not quite that. But if we see the division as falling at the start of the following word, on the crucial 'Nam', that puts it at the beginning of the Fauvel extension. It would seem reasonable to admit liberties such as this when considering the presence of the Golden Section in poetry set to mensural polyphony; cf. M. Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* and its "Quotations"', in D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York, 1997), p. 102, n. 13. There are twenty-two longs up to this point, ending with '[nescit termi]-num'. The final sonority here is the same as that at the close of the piece as a whole.

[50] See Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music', p. 102. For another example, see p.mus. 12: *Qui secuntur castra/Detractor est nequissima vulpis/Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominum* (Schrade no. 9), in which the significant allusion to 'Pinquegnie O vice domine' falls at the Golden Section. On this reference see A. Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), pp. 19–21; and id., 'Gervès du Bus', pp. 601–2. The considered use of the Golden Section in medieval polyphony is not universally acknowledged; cf. R. Tatlow, 'Golden Number [Golden Section]', in *New Grove II*.

[51] The initial is smaller than the one introducing *Mundus a mundicia*; if it is more elaborate than those used to indicate the tenor voice, that may be at least partly owing to its placement in the margin, affording the flourisher more room to work.

[52] Cf. the edition in H. Tischler, 'The Two-Part Motets of the *Roman de Fauvel*: A Document of Transition', *Music Review*, 42 (1981), p. 7.

5	neque audierunt	nor over the course of generations
	in orbe seculi	have old men and little ones
	senes et parvuli.	heard of [so many] conflicts
	prelia que gerunt	that kings and princes wage
	et que sibi querunt	and that they
10	reges et reguli	seek for themselves.
	Hec inquam inferunt	Fauvel and his corrupt little helpers,
	fauvel et fasuli.	I do say, are causing these things.

Notes to the text: 12 *fasuli*: Dahnk suggests *falvuli* in accordance with the 'Fauveaus nouveaus' mentioned later in the *roman* (La. add. v. 1557), but that substitutes a modern concoction for the one offered by the scribe. It may have been derived from ML *vassalus* (retainer) or an OF counterpart, as a diminutive with a Fauvel inflection intended to go with 'gentes et populi', etc. (hence, Fauvel's little henchmen); or from *fas* (right, that which is lawful, divine law, command – hence, a meagre or skimpy moral and legal code). Both connotations may be intended.

Like *Mundus a mundicia*, *Quare fremuerunt* is based on a thirteenth-century conductus, this time on one known only from F.[53] The setting takes over the lone strophe preserved in F without variation, then adds two new lines at the end to relate its message directly to Fauvel (vv. 1–10, 11–12). It differs from *Mundus a mundicia* (and from *Favellandi vicium*, for that matter) in that nothing of the music of its model is used in the *Fauvel* version – or, if it is there, it is so altered that it is scarcely recognisable.[54] Also distinctive – indeed, unique within the corpus of *Fauvel* polyphony – is the musical idiom chosen by the composer, one that combines the homorhythm and contrary motion that dominate *Mundus a mundicia* with the florid decoration of the melodic line found in many of the monophonic vernacular songs in the manuscript, both in the *Fauvel* collection and among the Lescurel songs. Also striking is the overall musical design of the motet: an opening section, written out twice, but with *ouvert* and *clos* endings, setting verses 1–4 and 5–8, and a contrasting section setting for the last four lines, each of the three resulting sections identical in length.[55] If

[53] F, fols. 244^{v}–245^{r}. Edited in *Three-Part Conductus in the Central Sources*, ed. Anderson, pp. 48–9 and xxvii.

[54] Cf. the discussion in Morin, 'Genesis', pp. 349–55 and Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', pp. 622–30. Welker sees the music as having been derived from the bottom voice of the F conductus, which he finds reworked in both voices of the *Fauvel* motet.

[55] If this scheme is reminiscent of the vernacular ballade, it can also be seen, if ordinarily in not quite so balanced a form, in the conductus repertory; see, for example, the monophonic *Beata viscera* attributed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV (edited, among other places, in *Ipt Conductus – Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence Manuscript*, ed. G. A. Anderson (Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Opera omnia, 6, Collected Works, X/6;

Mundus a mundicia looks like a hybrid, *Quare fremuerunt* has even more of that aspect.

To come fully to terms with this seemingly modest motet, we must approach *Quare fremuerunt* from (at least) two distinct but complementary directions. One is textual, broadly conceived: we shall examine the work in the light of the sources drawn upon for both its text and its music. The other is structural: we shall consider the design of the motet, evident in text and music alike, as an essential part of its content, and see how it shapes the message of the work. We shall look first at the content of the motet poem, then at the structure of the work, and finally at one aspect of its musical text. To do this, we shall examine three sources drawn upon by the composer in turn.

'adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum eius'

Read without reference to anything else, the message of *Quare fremuerunt* would seem to be straightforward: the *gentes* and *populi* have been fulminating, raging, because of the state of affairs in the land. The world is seeing ominous signs in unparalleled numbers, conflicts without precedent, and rulers who act only out of self-interest, not in that of their subjects and the state. (These same themes are addressed by several of the *dits* of Geffroi de Paris that follow *Fauvel* in MS fr. 146, including *De la comete et de leclipse et de la lune et du soulail*, *Des alliez en latin*, *Des alliez en francois*, *Auisemenz pour le Roy Loys*, and *De Roy phellippe qui ore Regne*.) The poem describing all this may be as much as a century old at the time of its adaptation for *Fauvel*; the crisis is brought into the present, the 1310s, by the added lines: it is happening now because of Fauvel and his band ('inferunt', in verse 11, reinforces the sense of currency that dominates the original poem). These remarks on the corruption and lack of leadership displayed by the 'reges et reguli' complement nicely the text of *Favellandi vicium*, with its references to hypocrisy and greed on and surrounding the Throne

Henryville, Pa., 1981), p. 25). For a somewhat parallel situation to *Quare fremuerunt* cf. the ballade-like *Fauvel* song *Falvelle qui iam moreris*, MS fr. 146, fol. 29^{v}, an adaptation of a conductus text ascribed to Philip the Chancellor (*Homo qui iam moreris*, in F, fol. 428^{v}, among other places); p.mus. 69, edited in *Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, no. 52. The *Fauvel* indexer was initially uncertain whether to call *Falvelle qui iam moreris* a 'prose' or a 'balade'.

and corrupt judges. Read in the context of the *roman* narrative in column b, these figures must be understood as constituting the leadership of early fourteenth-century France; the 'gentes et poppuli' are the other estates and the populace of the realm who are harmed by their behaviour. The ironic counterpointing in the last line of 'fauvel et fasuli' with both the 'reges et reguli' and the 'gentes et poppuli' underscores syntactically Fauvel's role in the trouble, as does the musical setting of the added lines, which, unlike the treatment of the parallel added passage in *Mundus a mundicia*, flows seamlessly from what had gone before.

The choice of *Quare fremuerunt* to round out the musical package on fol. 1[r] was undoubtedly sparked by the reference to the 'si grant presse de gens de toutes nacions et de toutes condicions' in the adjacent *roman* text (La. vv. 28–30). Its selection was doubly apt because the 'reges et reguli' of the motet anticipate the reference to kings and nobility that launches the estates satire on the following page. However, if the 'gentes et poppuli' indeed constitute part of Fauvel's 'grant presse', there is likely to be more to them than what we have just suggested: they cannot merely be the people of France oppressed by Fauvel, for they too are part of Fauvel's entourage, just as they too are linked syntactically to the corrupt 'reges et reguli'.

Now the text of *Quare fremuerunt* has a rich tradition behind it, which must be taken into account when reading this motet. Like *Favellandi vicium* it is dependent on a scriptural source, another psalm, in this case Psalm 2. This is most evident at the beginning of the poem, which paraphrases the opening line of the psalm, but in fact verses 1–3 of Psalm 2 would seem directly or indirectly to inform much of the motet text:

1 Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania?	Why have the Gentiles raged, and the people devised vain things?
2 Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum eius.	The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes met together, against the Lord, and against his Christ. [Saying]:
3 Disrumpamus vincula eorum, et proiiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum.	Let us break their bonds asunder, and let us cast away their yoke from us.

To probe the relationship between the psalm and the motet, it will be helpful to consider Psalm 2 in the light of the extensive

medieval exegetical tradition that grew up around it. We shall concentrate in particular on the commentary of Thomas Aquinas, which offers a fair example of what a sensitive reader at the time of *Fauvel* would have been likely to find in the psalm, complementing this with exegesis by earlier writers, from St Augustine to Peter Lombard, as appropriate.[56]

In Psalm 2, the *gentes* and *populi* rage and plot against the authority of the true king, the Messiah or 'Christ', the one anointed by God. They are supported in their schemes by the *reges terrae* and *principes*, by those in positions of authority. Aquinas interprets all these figures Christologically, as the people implicated in the persecution of Christ.[57] Thus the *gentes* (the 'nations', or 'Gentiles') are to be understood as the Roman soldiers who came for Christ and who carried out his execution; the *populi* are the Jews who erroneously believed they had killed him;[58] the *reges* are Herod of

[56] *Postilla super Psalmos*, in, among other edns, *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici Ordinis Praedicatorum opera omnia ad fidem optimarum editionem*, xiv: *Expositio in aliquot libros Veteris Testamenti et in Psalmos 1* (Parma, 1863), pp. 152–5; French trans. and commentary in Thomas d'Aquin, *Commentaire sur les Psaumes*, trans. J.-É. Stroobant de Saint Éloy; preface by M. D. Jordan (Paris, 1996); English trans. (with Latin text) by S. Loughlin in 'The Aquinas Translation Project', coordinated by S. Loughlin, on line at http://faculty.niagara.edu/loughlin/Psalms/Psalm_2.html. Quotations from Aquinas are after the Parma edition and Loughlin's translation. Cf. the useful compendium of patristic opinion collected by Peter Lombard in his influential *Magna glosatum*, publ. as *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*, in PL 191, cols. 69–77. Testifying to its importance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Lombard's *Glosa* seems to have been the primary source for the illustrative cycles and accompanying moralising verses in the psalms portions of the *bibles moralisées*; see T. Alfillé, 'The Psalms in the Thirteenth-Century Bible moralisée: A Study in Text and Image', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1992), ch. 3. It is not our intent here to examine the various medieval interpretations of Psalm 2 comprehensively or in any depth. Useful as such an undertaking would be, it would require a book-length study of its own and a much broader purview than the narrow focus of this essay either permits or requires.

[57] Aquinas remarks at the outset of his commentary that the psalm concerns 'the tribulations of Christ', and that 'this [psalm] . . . treats of [David's] kingdom in the figure of the kingdom of Christ. For by David, Christ is suitably signified' ('in hoc procedit ad materiam propriam, scilicet tribulationes suas signantes tribulationes Christi. . . . et de regno eius in figura regni Christi agit. Per David enim Christus convenienter significatur . . .'; *Postilla*, 152). Cf. Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*, cols. 69c–70b.

[58] Aquinas also remarks that 'a people [*populus*] is a multitude of men associated by legal consent. And thus the Jews are called a people, because they are with and under the law of God. The rest are called gentiles, because they are not under the law of God' ('Populus est multitudo hominum juris consensu sociata. Et ideo Judaei dicuntur populus, quia cum lege et sub lege Dei sunt. Alii dicuntur gentes, quia non sunt sub lege Dei'; *Postilla*, 152). This is admirably clear, but it is apparent from the contexts in which *gentes*, *populi* and *nationes* are used that these words can be multivalent in their connotations, and that their meanings sometimes cross each other. This can be seen, for exam-

Ascalon and Herod Antipas, the former responsible for the Slaughter of the Innocents in an attempt to kill the infant Jesus, the latter responsible for the execution of Christ's herald John the Baptist; and the *principes* are represented by Pilate, who condemned Jesus, and the chief priests of the Temple.[59] That it is these figures who are the speakers quoted in v. 3 was recognised by commentators as early as Jerome and Augustine.[60]

The reading of the opening of Psalm 2 offered by Aquinas was the standard one throughout the Middle Ages. It is reflected in the iconography used to illustrate this psalm, for example in the moralised Bible probably made in 1234 for Louis IX and his wife Marguerite de Provence, Paris, BNF lat. 11560, fol. 2[r] (Figure 2).[61] Medallion (g) shows the plotters gathered in conspiracy; medallion (h) depicts Christ on the Cross, with the soldier offering him vinegar to drink. The moralising text to the left of the medallions, drawn from the *Magna glosatum* of Peter Lombard, explains the opening lines of the psalm in terms that anticipate Aquinas:

Psalmus id est tractatus iste attribuitur David id est Christo qui agit de se rege et increpat hic Propheta deinde reges et principes id est Herodem et Pylatus et gentes id est milites Romanorum et populos id est Iudeos Christi crucifixores, qui meditati sunt inania id est Christum detinere conati sunt in morte, et hoc frustra quia non impleverunt ut Christe extingueretur.

This psalm, that is, text, is attributed to David, that is, to Christ, who stands as king through him; and this Prophet then rebukes the kings and princes, that is, Herod and Pilate, and the Gentiles, that is, the Roman soldiers and the people, that is, the Jews, the crucifiers of Christ, who considered a vain thing, that is,

ple, in Gen. 10: 1–32, the account of the descendants of Noah: the offspring of Iapheth are described 'in nationibus suis' (v. 5), those of Cham and Sem 'in gentibus suis' (vv. 20, 31), and the whole list is summed up thus: 'Hae familiae Noe iuxta populos et nationes suas. Ab his divisae sunt gentes in terra post diluvium' (v. 32). This blurring of distinctions will be evident in several of the texts presented in this study.

[59] Aquinas, *Postilla*, 153. Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes, 4:* 'Dicitur hoc enim, de persecutoribus Domini'; and Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum I–LXX*, ed. I. Adriaen (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (henceforth CCSL), 97; Turnhout, 1958), who remarks, p. 40, that vv. 1–3 concern the Jews 'propter passionem Christi', and who offers, pp. 41–2, more or less the same Christological identification of the four groups of rebels as Aquinas.

[60] Jerome, *Commentarioli in psalmos*, ed. G. Morin (CCSL 72; Turnhout, 1959), p. 181; Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos I–L*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (CCSL 38; Turnhout, 1956), p. 4.

[61] On this manuscript see most recently J. Lowden, *The Making of the* Bibles moralisées, 2 vols. (University Park, Pa., 2000), i, ch. 5. Cf. the medallions in the closely related late thirteenth-century Bible, London, BL Add. MS 18719, *ibid.*, i, fig. 89. On the illuminations for Psalm 2 in thirteenth-century Parisian psalters see Alfillé, 'The Psalms in the Thirteenth-Century Bible moralisée', i, pp. 97–8.

Figure 2 Paris, BNF f. lat. 11560, fol. 2r (*Bible moralisée*)
Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127903003048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

they attempted to drag him to death, but this was thwarted because they were unable to destroy Christ.[62]

Our previous reading of the motet suggested that the *gentes* and *populi* of the poem are in uproar in reaction to the abuses of their *reges* and *reguli*, who have been corrupted by Fauvel. But when the motet is considered against the backdrop of the psalm, it admits a more nuanced reading, one implying not only that the popular rage is on account of Fauvel, but also that it has something of the quality of the foment in the scriptural source. The medieval poet has taken over the verb 'fremo' ('to rage'), using it to characterise the actions not only of the *gentes*, as in the psalm, but also those of the *populi*, suppressing the phrase 'meditati sunt inania', with its implications of deliberation and taking counsel. Aquinas comments that the raging *gentes* of the psalm evince 'minus . . . de ratione' ('a deficiency of the rational powers'), and glosses the verb thus, '*fremuerunt*, quod est bestiarum' ('*fremuerunt*, like the raging of a beast').[63] Whatever the original poet's reasons for the contraction of the psalm verse in the thirteenth-century conductus text, the association with bestiality, and consequently with Fauvel, would not have escaped the man who made the *Fauvel* adaptation. He would also have understood another textual detail that supports a more subtle reading of the motet: the meaning of 'quare' in Christian exegesis. Peter Lombard, following a long patristic tradition, states that the question is to be understood rhetorically, in the sense of 'what use is it that . . .?', rather than literally, in the sense of 'why?'[64] And Aquinas notes, 'he [the speaker] does not ask, but rebukes' ('Non interrogat sed increpat').[65]

[62] Cf. Peter Lombard, *Commentarium in psalmos Davidicos*, cols. 69c–70b: 'iste, id est tractatus iste, qui dicitur psalmus, quia monet ad bene operandum, attribuitur David, id est Christo, qui agit hic de se rege. . . . Primo increpat persequentes et minatur, et loquitur Christus, vel Propheta. . . . VERS. 1. *Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania*? *Gentes*, id est Romani milites, crucifixores; *fremuerunt*, ut ferae sine ratione: fremere enim ferarum est; *et populi*, scilicet Judaei; . . . *meditati sunt inania*, id est Christum detinere in morte. . . . ; et hoc, *quare?* id est qua utilitate sua? Quasi dicat, frustra, quia non impleverunt, ut Christus exstingueretur. VERS. 2. *Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus*. *Astiterunt reges*, quasi dicat, non solum populi et gentes, id est minores, contra Christum surrexerunt, sed etiam majores, quia astiterunt, quasi cum mora, mora enim notatur in hoc; *reges terrae*, id est Herodes; *et principes*, id est Pilatus . . .' (the PL text slightly adjusted here for the sake of clarity).

[63] *Postilla*, p. 152.

[64] Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*, col. 69d: '*quare*? id est, qua utilitate sua? Quasi dicat, frustra, quia non impleverunt, ut Christus exstingueretur'. Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, p. 41.

[65] *Postilla*, p. 152.

Thus the *gentes* and *populi* of MS fr. 146 might be understood to be raging in the manner of beasts, to have become as beasts owing to what Fauvel and his *fasuli* have brought about.[66] They have become as Fauvel; as we intimated, above, they are *fasuli*. In like fashion, the *reges* and *reguli* have taken Fauvel as their leader, and, like the rulers in the psalm, have rejected their true king, the one anointed of God, in favour of Fauvel.[67] Aquinas comments that when the rulers of Psalm 2 seek to rid themselves of the 'yoke' (*iugum*), they are trying to cast off the fetters (*vincula*) of 'royal power' (*regis dominium*).[68] In the spiritual sense, 'in Christo', that 'yoke' is to be understood as 'lex charitatis' ('the law of charity'), and the 'bonds' as 'virtutes, spes, fides, charitas' ('the virtues, faith, hope, charity').[69] Thus, the kings and princes of the psalm have rejected the virtues; their fellows in *Quare fremuerunt*, again, like the *gentes* and *populi* they govern, are Fauvel's *fasuli*, driven by the vices he epitomises rather than guided by Christian virtue. This is confirmed by the next lines of the *roman*, at the top of fol. 1^{v}, text remarkably reminiscent of Psalm 2: 2, 'Kings, dukes and counts can be observed gathering together to curry Fauvel' (see Part I, above). The other texts on fol. 1^{r} of MS fr. 146 have already made it clear that the beast, not the anointed king, Christ, presides over the world of *Quare fremuerunt*, the court, and the Throne. *Quare fremuerunt* imparts to this situation a scriptural foundation.

In an elegant touch of irony, the laws of God that the princes

[66] The twelfth-century *Glosa ordinaria*, commenting on Lev. 18: 24 ('Defile not yourselves with any of these things with which all the nations [*gentes*] have been defiled, which I will cast out before you') and its surrounding text, defines 'gentes' as 'demons: who on account of their multitude are called all the nations. Who rejoice in every sin: but especially in fornication and idolatry . . .'; cit. after Elliott, *Fallen Bodies*, pp. 126 and 239, n. 2. In Leviticus, these sins are same-sex intercourse and bestiality. This reading of 'gentes' is in harmony with the definition given by Aquinas (see above, n. 58), and it also fits with the thrust of Psalm 2 (the *gentes* do not follow the Levitical laws of God, and seek to overthrow his authority) and with the distinctly demonic character of Fauvel that will be suggested in the discussion to follow.

[67] Aquinas: 'Or [*gentes* can be understood] literally: In David's kingdom there were subjugated gentiles and faithful Jews, and both struggled against him' ('Vel ad literam. In regno David erant gentes subjugatae, et Judaei fideles; et utrique moliebantur contra eum'; *Postilla*, p. 152).

[68] Aquinas: '"yoke" signifies "royal power". . . . In a kingdom, "bonds" are those things by which the royal power is made firm, such as soldiers, forts, and arms. Therefore, it is appropriate [for rebels] first to destroy these things and then to remove the yoke' ('regis dominium dicitur jugum. . . . Vincula autem sunt in regno illa quibus firmatur potestas regia in regno, sicut milites, castra, et arma. Primo ergo oportet ista dissolvere, et tunc removere jugum'; *Postilla*, p. 153). Cf. Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*, cols. 70c–71a.

[69] *Postilla*, p. 153.

of Psalm 2 conspire to set aside are the very laws and justice that *Favellandi vicium* declares have been corrupted. As in the other texts on the page, the natural order has been upended. The princes who take counsel together against the Lord and his king can be seen as the antithesis of the *consilium* prayed for in the final line of *Favellandi vicium*. Reading that *consilium* Christologically (as evocative of Isaiah's *consiliarius*) like the Christus of *Quare fremuerunt* makes the contrast all the more telling. Even more striking is the parallel that can be drawn between the *populi* that schemed in vain ('meditati sunt inania') in the psalmic background to *Quare fremuerunt* and the *iustus* who will meditate wisdom ('meditabitur sapientiam') in the psalmic subtext to *Favellandi vicium*. The two motets reinforce each other subliminally across the page. The net result is a subtle but powerful statement that the corruption described in *Favellandi vicium* will not stand; the laws of God and the rule of His anointed king cannot be set aside, and the transgressors who plot in vain to do that will be judged and punished.

Although the poet of *Quare fremuerunt* drew specifically on the first three verses of Psalm 2, he doubtless had the complete psalm in mind, the incipit evoking the whole to inform his text on a broader level, just as the content of *Favellandi vicium* is moulded by the entirety of Psalm 36.[70] This will be clear from a brief look at the remainder of the psalm and its exegesis by Aquinas. Much of it is concerned with the entitlement of God's Anointed. Psalm 2: 6 introduces this Christus, who declares, 'But I am appointed king by him over Sion, his holy mountain, preaching his commandment' ('Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion, montem sanctum eius, praedicans praeceptum eius').[71] Aquinas affirms what any medieval reader would have understood, that Sion is Jerusalem, that the king is God's appointed ruler over the people

[70] This would have been true of both the writer of the original conductus text and the poet/composer of the *Fauvel* arrangement.

[71] Thus in the Vulgate, and thus understood by the Latin exegetical tradition; see, for example, Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*, col. 71d. In the Hebrew, as in modern translations based on it, it is God himself who speaks here: 'I have set my king on Sion.' Cf. the textual commentary in Peter Lombard, *Commentarius*, cols. 74d–76b. Psalm 2 would seem to have originated as a coronation prayer; the 'voice' speaking throughout, whether quoting others or uttering his own words, is likely to be that of either the monarch himself or one of his vassals; see S. R. A. Starbuck, *Court Oracles in the Psalms: The So-Called Royal Psalms in their Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, 172; Atlanta, 1999), pp. 161–8. See also P. Auffret, *The Literary Structure of Psalm 2* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series, 3; Sheffield, 1977).

of Israel, and that 'his commandment' is the Gospel.[72] In verses 7–9 the king reports the words of God that confirm his authority: 'The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Gentiles [this is also Aquinas's understanding of the meaning of *gentes* here] for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel' ('Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te. Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminios terrae. Reges eos in virga ferrea, et tamquam vas figuli confinges eos'). Aquinas's comments on the 'rod of iron' begin with a 'historical' reading:

But because the citizens [*cives*] were ruled one way, and the conquered enemy [*hostes*; Aquinas otherwise calls them *gentes*] in another (citizens were ruled by the guidance of mercy, the enemy by the guidance of harsh justice), thus [the psalmist] says, 'with a rod of iron'. But it is better that this be referred to the spiritual dominion of Christ, for it is necessary that he who rules have a rod. 'The rod of governance, the rod of your kingdom.' It is for this kings are necessary, so that they have the rod of discipline by which they punish transgressors. And because Christ was appointed king by God to rule the people [*populus*], he says: 'You shall rule them with a rod of iron.' He adds 'iron' to designate the inflexible discipline of justice [*iustitiae*]. For the rod by which the Jews were ruled was not made from iron, because they frequently shook themselves free by worshipping idols. But this is an iron rule [*virga*] whereby he governs the Gentiles [*gentes*], because they will no longer withdraw from the dominion of Christ, when the plenitude of the people [*gentium*] shall have entered in.

Sed quia aliter reguntur cives, nam cives reguntur regimine misericordiae, aliter hostes subjugati, scilicet regimine severae justitiae; ideo dicit: *In virga ferrea*. Sed melius est ut referatur ad dominium spirituale Christi: necesse est enim quod qui regit habeat virgam: Ps. 44: 'Virga directionis, virga regni tui.' Ad hoc enim necessarii sunt reges, ut virgam habeant disciplinae qua puniant delinquentes. Et quia Christus constitutus est rex a Deo ad populum regendum, ideo dicit: *Reges eos in virga ferrea*. Et addit, *Ferrea*, ad designandum inflexibilem justitiae disciplinam.Virga namque qua regebantur Judaei, non fuit ferrea, quia frequenter excusserunt se adorando idola. Sed haec est virga ferrea qua regit gentes, quia non recedent amplius a dominio Christi, quando plenitudo gentium intraverit.[73]

Aquinas also interprets the *virga* allegorically, as 'good people' ('bonos scilicet') and the pieces of the shattered wheel as, among other things, 'evil people which were finally destroyed' ('malos qui finaliter conterendi sunt').[74] We shall return to this *virga* presently.

[72] *Postilla*, p. 153. Aquinas adds, 'so that I might rule the people according to God's law' ('sed ut regam populum secundum legem Dei'). Cf. Peter Lombard, *Commentarius*, col. 72a.
[73] *Postilla*, p. 154.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5. Cf. Peter Lombard, *Commentarius*, col. 73b–c.

The psalm then admonishes the rebellious *reges terrae* and *principes*, the anointed one still speaking: 'And now, O ye kings, understand: receive instruction, you that judge the earth. Serve ye the Lord with fear: and rejoice unto him with trembling. Embrace discipline, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and you perish from the just way' (vv. 10–12: 'Et nunc, reges, intelligite; erudimini, qui iudicatis terram. Servite Domino in timore, et exsultate ei cum tremore. Apprehendite disciplinam, nequando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de via iusta').[75] Commenting on this passage, Aquinas is careful to distinguish between the *reges*, to whom is committed the *universalis gubernatio*, 'government overall', and the *iudices*, to whom *speciale iudicium*, 'particular judgement', is entrusted. The former are exhorted to understand ('ad intelligendum'), this supported with a quotation of Proverbs 1: 5, 'he that understandeth, shall possess governments'. Aquinas cites Augustine to the effect that 'the king serves God, in so far as he is a man, by living justly in himself, but in so far as he is a king, by enacting laws against those which are contrary to the justice of God'.[76] The 'judges' (we presume that these include Pilate, mentioned earlier in the commentary as representative of the *principes*), whom Aquinas calls 'teachable' ('tales dicuntur bene docibiles'), are exhorted to 'receive instruction, namely so that they may acquire the form of judgement from others' ('ad erudiendum, ut scilicet ab aliis formam judicii accipiant').[77] (For authority Aquinas quotes Wisdom 6: 2: 'hear, therefore, ye kings, and understand; learn, ye who are judges of the ends of the earth'.) The discipline that the rulers are exhorted to embrace consists of '[God's] commandments and good practices, or adversities, as if an assistance and protection' ('praecepta et bonos mores, vel adversa quasi praesidium et munimentum'). By 'perish from the just way', Aquinas understands '[the path] of justice and the goods of society, which is exceedingly painful to them who have tasted of the sweetness of justice' ('scilicet justitiae et societatis bonorum, quod est valde

[75] Readers as early as Jerome and Augustine understood that this passage is addressed to the *reges terrae* and *principes* of v. 2; see Jerome, *Commentarioli in psalmos*, p. 181, and Augustine, *Epistola CLXXXV (De correctione Donatistarum liber)*, PL 33, cols. 801–2. On the identify of the speaker cf. Peter Lombard, *Commentarius*, cols. 73c–74a.

[76] *Postilla*, p. 155: 'Et notandum secundum Augustinum: quod rex servit Deo inquantum homo, in se juste vivendo, sed inquantum rex, leges ferendo contra ea quae sunt contra Dei justitiam.' His source is Augustine, *Epistola CLXXXV*, col. 801.

[77] *Postilla*, p. 155.

poenosum his qui dulcedinem justitiae gustaverunt'; this echoes Augustine and Peter Lombard, the latter remarking of the *via iusta*, '*Ne pereatis de via iusta*, id est Christo sublati, vel de operatione bona' – '*Lest you perish from the just way*, that is, removed from Christ, or from the good work').[78]

The psalm concludes with a benediction introduced by the theme of anger: 'When his wrath shall be kindled in a short time, blessed are all they that trust in him' (v. 13: 'Cum exarserit in brevi ira eius, beati omnes qui confidunt in eo').[79] Some measure of that wrath is described earlier in the psalm, in verses 4–5, when the Lord derides his rebellious subjects and their rulers, throwing them into confusion, and is, according to Aquinas, sitting 'in judgement' ('in judicio') and 'setting them [the rebels] on his left' ('statuens eos a sinistris'), casting them 'into eternal punishment' – into damnation ('in corde et in anima in aeterna poena').[80]

Many, if not all, of these associations would have occurred to a reader of *Quare fremuerunt*.[81] The anointed king ruling in justice in accordance with the law of God, the rulers who reject the authority of God and his Christ who are admonished in the strongest terms to bow before the authority of the Anointed One – these stand in vivid and stark counterpoint with the dreadful state of affairs conjured up in the motet launched by the psalm's opening lines. In large measure they are also the themes of *Favellandi vicium*. The psalmic background to *Quare fremuerunt* is much more concerned with empowered kingship, however, than is the scriptural foundation of *Favellandi vicium*, the so-called royal Psalm 2 forcefully bringing the motet into line with the central theme of

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 155; Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos I–L*, p. 4; Peter Lombard, *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos*, col. 74c.

[79] The adjective 'iusta' in v. 12, present in both the Roman psalter and the Vulgate, is absent from Jerome's translation from the Hebrew; see *Sancti Hieronymi psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, ed. H. de Sainte-Marie (Collectanea Biblica Latina, 12; Rome, 1954). Aquinas comments on this: 'Jerome's version has "perish from the way", and "just" is not there. . . . But if "he perishes from the way", he is irretrievable (Job 4). And because he understands nothing, he will perish for ever' ('Litera Hieronymi habet, *Pereatis de via*; non est ibi *justa*. . . . Sed si *perit de via* irreparabilis est', Job 4. Et quia nullus intellegit, in aeternum peribunt'); *Postilla*, p. 155. Cf., however, Jerome, *Commentarioli in psalmos*, p. 182 ('via recta').

[80] *Postilla*, p. 153.

[81] It is conceivable that the *Fauvel* arrangement of *Quare fremuerunt* is modelled not only on the content of Psalm 2 but also on its structure. The motet text has seventy-two syllables while Psalm 2 has virtually double the number of grammatical units, 145 words (144 if one follows Jerome and omits 'iusta' in v. 12).

the *roman* and MS fr. 146 as a whole, kingship. It is squarely congruent with the political theology of the later Capetian monarchs, and that was forcefully articulated during the reign of Philippe le Bel.[82] This is an ideology of kingship that saw the Capetian lineage as the successor to the kings of biblical Israel, and especially David and Solomon. The king is God's chosen one to be the steward of Christ's kingdom on earth. His authority derived from Christ's kingship. Capetian kingship was intrinsically saintly; we have already seen aspects of that in the brief consideration of Louis IX and the Franciscans, in Part II, above. That sanctity derived from the virtues of good rule and just dealing, from wise and prudent administration of the realm. This royal ideology informs, if in different ways, the *Fauvel* motets addressed to Philippe le Bel's two immediate successors, *Rex beatus confessor domini/Se ceurs ioians/Ave* (p.mus. 32, to Louis X) and *O Philippe prelustrus francorum/Servant regem misericordia/Rex regum et dominus dominancium* (p.mus. 33, to Philip V in its *Fauvel* context, but possibly addressed to St Louis in an earlier state of the work).[83] Supported by its exegetical tradition, Psalm 2 provided a scriptural foundation for this theology of kingship.

Philippe le Bel's sainted grandfather Louis IX was the quintessential example of this holy kingship in action. The sanctity of Louis's kingship dominates his proper Office, *Ludovicus decus reg-*

[82] Regarding the late Capetians specifically, see J. R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King', in his *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History*, ed. J. F. Benton and T. N. Bisson (Princeton, 1971), pp. 300–14; E. A. R. Brown, 'The Prince is the Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France', *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), pp. 282–334; ead., 'Persona et Gesta: The Images and Deeds of the Thirteenth-Century Capetians, the Case of Philip the Fair', *Viator*, 19 (1988), pp. 219–46; ead., 'Kings Like Semi-Gods: The Case of Louis X of France', *Majestas*, 1 (1993), pp. 5–37; ead., 'The Religion of Royalty: From Saint Louis to Henry IV, 1226–1589', in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. M.-H. Tesnière and P. Gifford (New Haven, 1995), pp. 131–48; A. W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies in Familial Order and the State* (Harvard Historical Monographs, 100; Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 122–49; the essays collected in W. C. Jordan, *Ideology and Royal Power in Medieval France: Kingship, Crusades and the Jews* (Variorum Collected Studies Series, 705; Aldershot, 2001); and, most recently, Gaposchkin, 'Sanctification and Memorialization', esp. ch. 3, 'Ideology, Kingship and Sanctity'. The present discussion is heavily indebted to Professor Gaposchkin's dissertation and to her '*Ludovicus decus regnantium*'.

[83] Regarding these two works see Brown, '*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis*' and E. Dillon, 'The Profile of Philip V in the Music of *Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 215–31. On the relationship of *O Philippe prelustrus francorum* to Louis IX see Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III'. This theology of sacred kingship is also to be seen in the stained glass of the Sainte-Chapelle; see A. A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout, 2002).

nantium, perhaps composed in 1298 for Philippe le Bel in conformity with the court's ideology.[84] Significantly, the second psalm in the Matins liturgy is Psalm 2, *Quare fremuerunt*, introduced by an antiphon, *Regni sedem consectus*, that is itself a paraphrase of verse 6 of the psalm:

Ant. Having obtained the seat of the kingdom, he [Louis] surrendered himself to humility and, appointed in Sion, he shone in service to the Lord.

Regni sedem consectus humilem se prebuit, et in Syon constitutus cultu Dei claruit.

Ps. 2: 6. I am appointed king by him over Sion his holy mountain, preaching his commandments.

Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon, montem sanctum eius praedicans praeceptum eius.

Louis (and, with him, those of his line who followed him on the throne) is the new David. (In the Benedictus antiphon sung at Lauds in *Ludovicus decus regnantium*, Louis is said to be David's 'twin in virtue'.)[85] David was the prefiguration of Christ; Louis, the anointed king, reigned in the image of Christ. Sion, understood to connote Jerusalem and Israel, has become France. This has its immediate resonance in *Fauvel*, and nowhere more strikingly so than in the *vers, Ha Parisius civitas regis magni* (p.mus. 73), on fol. 30^{v} of MS fr. 146.[86] The text is a paraphrase of Psalm 47: 3: 'Fundatur exultatione universae terrae montes Sion latera Aquilonis civitas regis magni' ('With the joy of the whole earth is mount Sion founded, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king'). Sion has become not only France but even Paris; the picture that follows this piece depicts the Palais, and the chant that follows that image (p.mus. 74) is taken from the Feast of Relics at the Sainte-Chapelle, the royal reliquary built by Louis IX and emblematic of the sanctity of the Capetian lineage. The adjoining *roman* text describes Paris, the royal palace on the Seine, and the relics in the Sainte-Chapelle, declaring that Fauvel will be married there (La. add. vv. 28–52). This would seem to be the ultimate manifestation of the rebellion described in Psalm 2.

[84] The most readily available edn of this office is in M. Epstein, '*Ludovicus decus regnantium*: Perspectives on the Rhymed Office', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), pp. 283–334.

[85] 'hic virtute geminus'; see M. C. Gaposchkin, 'Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX' (forthcoming).

[86] On this and the following piece, see Rankin, 'The "*Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez*"', pp. 431–3; and ead., 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), p. 227.

Implicit in the ideology of sacred kingship is the idea that royal sanctity resided in proper rule, in stewardship. The measure of sacred kingship, as defined in *Ludovicus decus regnantium*, is the well-being of the king's lands and subjects. Preserving the kingdom against evil, favouring justice over the other primary royal attribute, mercy, rewarding good with peace, and scattering evil were the foundations of good kingship for writers from Augustine on. Scriptural authority for all this is provided by Psalm 2. Verse 9 of the psalm evokes an important symbol of royal justice and authority, the sceptre or rod (*virga*) with which the king will rule his subjects.[87] The image is a triumphant and militant one, connoting battle and victory. It figured prominently in the coronation liturgy as part of the king's investment with the symbols of authority. In the *ordo* probably used for the coronation of Philippe le Bel, one of the prayers, drawing on text from numerous earlier coronation rituals, reads: 'take the sceptre [*sceptrum*] as the symbol of royal power [*potestatis*], the lawful sceptre [*virgam rectam*] of the kingdom, the sceptre of power [*virgam virtutis*] by which you may rule yourself well, and defend with royal power the Church and Christian people entrusted to you against the wicked, correct the corrupt, bring peace to the righteous . . .'.[88] It is noteworthy that 'virgam virtutis' connotes both power and virtue; this is wholly consistent with the commentary on Psalm 2 by Aquinas cited earlier. Royal virtue and royal power/authority are one and the

[87] Discussed in Gaposchkin, 'Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX'.

[88] 'Accipe sceptrum regie potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet regni rectam, virgam virtutis qua te ipsam bene regas, sanctam ecclesiam populumque videlicet christianum tibi a Deo commissum regia virtute ab improbis defendas, pravos corrigas, rectos pacifices, et, ut viam rectam tenere possint tuo iuvamine dirigas, quatinus de temporali regno ad eternum regnum pervenias'; Jackson, *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ii, p. 399; see commentary in Gaposchkin, 'Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX'. Although much of the spirit of Psalm 2 is echoed in the Frankish and Capetian coronation texts, the psalm itself did not find any specific use there. However, Psalm 2 was sung within the weekly *cursus*, as in the proper Office for St Louis, in Sunday Matins as the second psalm. Coronation Ordo XXIIa, the so-called Last Capetian Ordo, describes the activity of the king-to-be and the clergy on 'Sabbato precedente diem dominicum in qua rex est consecrandus et coronandus', stating that after Compline, 'Matutine more solito decantantur'; Jackson, *Ordines*, ii, pp. 380–1 (cf. the fourteenth-century French translation, Ordo XXIIb: 'Matines doivent estre chantees selon la maniere acoustomee'; *ibid.*, pp. 424–5). If this is a reference to Sunday Matins, as the *ordo* implies, Psalm 2 would indeed have been sung in the context of the coronation, if not during the ceremony itself. See also Ordo XXV, for Charles VIII; *ibid.*, p. 573. I am grateful to Professor Jackson for sharing his thoughts on this question with me.

same. Fauvel and the 'reges et reguli' who follow him in *Quare fremuerunt* possess neither. The admonition to the new king, Philip V, is clear.

In addition to *Quare fremuerunt*, two important political essays written in the early fourteenth century draw on Psalm 2, a measure of its relevance for the theory of kingship in the Middle Ages. John of Paris's *De potestate regia et papali*, written *c*.1302–3 in support of the French position in the struggles between Philippe le Bel and Boniface VIII,[89] rejects the thesis that the 'Christus' of verse 2 should be understood to be the Pope, who, it is proposed, as Vicar of Christ has power over kings, countering that the psalm should be interpreted from a moral standpoint, as concerning 'the persecution of Christ sustained at present in his members through evil-doers, and his rulership in his members in the future, when . . . all things will be subject to him in heaven'.[90] This is in line with Aquinas. Dante's *Monarchia*, probably written between 1316 and 1318 (and therefore exactly contemporaneous with the production of MS fr. 146),[91] on the government of the world by a single monarch, opens Book 2 with a quotation of Psalm 2: 1–3.[92] Dante uses the text sermon-like for his own ends; thus, God's Anointed becomes the Roman Emperor, against whom enemies plotted in vain.[93] He draws on it a second time later in Book 2, at a major point of division in his presentation. Dante writes that 'those who claim to be zealous for the Christian faith are the ones who "raged" and "meditated vain things" against the Roman ruler. And yet they are not moved to pity Christ's poor, who are defrauded of the income of churches but also daily have the income of their very patrimonies snatched away from them. Thus the Church is impoverished while those who pretend to be just refuse to acknowledge him who is the executor of justice. Furthermore, such impoverishment cannot be done without incurring God's judgement. . . . What do [these so-called Christians] care if the wealth of the Church is dispersed, so long as the property of their

[89] John of Paris, *On Royal and Papal Power*; trans. J. A. Watt (Toronto, 1971).
[90] *Ibid*., pp. 138–9 and 203–4.
[91] On the dating, see the summary in *Dante's* Monarchia, ed. and trans. R. Kay (Studies and Texts, 131; Toronto, 1998), pp. xx–xxxv.
[92] *Monarchia*, trans. Kay, 2.1.
[93] *Monarchia*, 2.1.5; see also p. 90, n. 1.

relatives is increased?'[94] The parallels with *Quare fremuerunt* (those who care only for their own enrichment, not for the welfare of the people under their protection) and *Favellandi vicium* (greed, corruption and hypocrisy) are striking – as is the eventual calling to account, also implied by John of Paris.

'I send you out as lambs in the midst of wolves'

Quare fremuerunt has twelve lines of text, with six syllables to a line, seventy-two in all. It presents its text over a span of seventy-two breve *tempora*. The composer does not set the text one syllable to a *tempus* unit, however, but instead utilises the full range of available rhythmic values, longs, breves, *recta* semibreves and semibreves *minimae* as syllable carriers. The motet unfolds in a series of short bursts of rhythmic activity, each leading to a point of stasis lasting a perfect long. The result is a remarkably symmetrical design, but one that does not always correlate perfectly with the unfolding content of the poem (L = long; B = breve):

music	A (24B)		A′ (24B)		B (24B)				
	L-6B-L	9B-L //	L-6B-L	9B-L //	6B-L	4B	5B	3B-L	
vv.	1–2	3–4	5–6	7–8	9	10	11	12	

These features suggest that the correlation between the number of syllables, the number of breve units, and the overall design of the piece is deliberate and consequently significant – that the number 72 has something to do with the content of the motet, and that this is reflected in its structure.[95] The key to that significance is found, once again, in Scripture.

To medieval readers familiar with the symbolism inherent in numbers, 72 was rich in connotations. Perhaps the most immediate association that would have been drawn is with the descendants of Noah, described in chapter 10 of Genesis. Noah's three

[94] *Monarchia* 2.10.1.

[95] Cf. the use of 72 by Dante, discussed in M. Hardt, *Die Zahl in der Divina Commedia* (Linguistica et Litteraria, 13; Frankfurt am Main, 1973), pp. 53–5 and 68–70. On the symbolic meaning of 72 see H. Meyer and R. Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 56; Munich, 1987), cols. 760–4; M. Steinschneider, 'Die kanonischen Zahlen 70–73', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 57 (1903), pp. 474–507; and V. F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 132; New York, 1938), pp. 70–1.

sons had a total of seventy-two male offspring. 'These are the families of Noah, according to their peoples [*populos*] and nations [*nationes*]. From these the nations [*gentes*] spread abroad on the earth after the flood' (Gen. 10: 32). Several texts quoted in the discussion to follow refer to this association. The significance of these seventy-two 'nations' for understanding the meaning of the 'gentes et poppuli' of *Quare fremuerunt* is obvious: *all* the nations of the earth are raging. By extension, the immediately following scriptural passage, Genesis 11: 1–9, describing the Tower of Babel, was construed as implying that these seventy-two nations spoke seventy-two different languages.[96] To Honorius of Autun, among many others, the number also suggested the seventy-two books of the Bible.[97] Whatever specific connotations 72 had, it stood symbolically for inclusiveness – all the races, all the languages. This is formulated in concise terms by Isidore of Seville in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*:[98]

> There are the seventy-two canonical books, and owing to this Moses selected seventy priests to prophesy, and owing to this Jesus our Lord charged seventy-two disciples to preach, and since seventy-two tongues were spread abroad in this world, the Holy Spirit accordingly made provision that there might be created as many books as there were nations, whose peoples and races might understand thanks to faith.
>
> Hii sunt libri canonici LXXII, et ob hoc Moyses LXX elegit presbiteros qui prophetarent, ob hoc et Iesus dominus noster LXXII discipulos praedicare mandauit; et quoniam LXXII linguae in hoc mundo erant diffusae, congrue prouidit spiritus sanctus, ut tot libri essent quot nationes quibus populi et gentes ad percipiendam fidei gratiam aedificarentur.

Most medieval theologians concurred that these various connotations were interrelated; thus Alcuin: 'gentes septuaginta duae, inter quas misit Dominus discipulos septuaginta duos' ('the seventy-two races among which the Lord sent the seventy-two disciples').[99] Isidore's reference to Moses' priests concerns the seventy who attended him on Sinai (Exod. 24: 1–9), and also

[96] See, for example, Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae sive de divinis officiis et antiquo ritu missarum deque horis canonicis et totius annis solemnitatibus*, in PL 172, cols. 560d–61a.

[97] *Ibid.*, col. 613a.

[98] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C. M. Lawson (CCSL 113; Turnhout, 1989), p. 11. On the continuing influence of writers such as Isidore on later authors, see, among much other literature, B. Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, 1100–c. 1280* (London, 1985), p. 246.

[99] Alcuin, *Opusculum primum interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, in PL 100, cols. 532c–533a; cf. the pseudo-Augustinian *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae libri tres*, in PL 35, cols. 2160–1.

the seventy elders and officials of Israel ('whom you know to be elders and officers of the people [*senes populi . . . ac magistri*]') whom Moses gathered together at God's command, and who encountered God and spoke prophetically (Num. 11: 16–25). The number 70 had a range of connotations of its own, but it could also stand in for 72, or be symbolically equivalent to it, especially once the two elders who stayed behind in the Israelite camp were added to the tally of 70 (see Num. 11: 26).[100] Jesus' seventy-two disciples, described in the Gospel of Luke, were prefigured by the elders.[101]

It is the image of the seventy-two disciples of Christ that is crucial for our understanding of *Quare fremuerunt*. The narrative of the disciples' mission occurs in Luke 10: 1–24; it will be useful to quote verses 1–19 *in extenso*:

1 After this the Lord appointed seventy-two others, and sent them on ahead of him, two by two, into every town and place where he himself was about to come. 2 And he said to them: 'The harvest is plentiful, but the laborers [*operarii*] are few; pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest. 3 Go your way; behold, I send you out as lambs in the midst of wolves [*sicut agnos inter lupos*]. 4 Carry no purse, no bag, no sandals; and salute no one on the road. 5 Whatever house you enter, first say, "Peace be to this house!" 6 And if a son of peace is there, your peace shall rest upon him; but if not, it shall return to you. 7 And remain in the same house, eating and drinking what they provide, for the laborer deserves his wages; do not go from house to house. 8 Whenever you enter a town and they receive you, eat and drink what is set before you; 9 heal the sick in it, and say to them, "The kingdom of God is come near to you". 10 But whenever you enter a town and they do not receive you, go into its streets and say, 11 "Even the dust of your town that clings to our feet, we wipe off against you; nevertheless know this, that the kingdom of God has come near". 12 I tell you, it shall be more tolerable on that day for Sodom than for that town. 13 Woe to you, Chorazin! woe to you, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works [*virtutos*] done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. 14 But it shall be more tolerable in the judgement [*in iudicio*] for Tyre and Sidon than for you. 15 And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to heaven? You shall be brought down to Hades [*ad infernum*]. 16 He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me, and he who rejects me

[100] Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon*, cols. 756, 758. Several of the sources for Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* read the number of Moses' priests as seventy-two. Isidore himself elsewhere reports the number of elders as seventy-two; see his *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae* [= *De nominibus legis*], in PL 83, cols. 109–10. So also does the pseudo-Augustinian *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, col. 2192, where it is stated, 'Dum enim Moysi spiritus in septuaginta duos consiliarios distribuitur'.

[101] See Augustine, *De heresibus ad quod vult deum liber unus*, in PL 42, col. 38; pseudo-Augustine, *De mirabilibus*, cols. 2160–1; Honorius, *Gemma animae*, col. 550b. Whether the correct number is seventy-two or seventy remains unsettled; see B. M. Metzger, 'Seventy or Seventy-Two Disciples', *New Testament Studies*, 5 (1958–9), pp. 299–306. The medieval tradition is virtually unanimous in accepting 72.

rejects him who sent me.' 17 The seventy-two returned [*reversi sunt*] with joy, saying, 'Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!' 18 And he said to then, 'I saw Satan fall like lightening from heaven. 19 Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power [*omnem virtutem*] of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you.'

Luke's narrative, which is without obvious parallels in the other Gospels, sets the disciples' mission at the beginning of the mission that would take Jesus to the royal capital, Jerusalem, a journey that would reach a climax in his triumphal entry into Sion, and then culminate in his crucifixion and resurrection. The 'harvest' is the spreading of the Word; the fact that Jesus sent seventy-two disciples suggests that the harvest is the entire world (or, at least, all of Israel, David's kingdom; it follows the earlier, more modest mission of the twelve apostles recounted in Luke 9: 1–10).[102] There is a sense of urgency in Jesus' injunctions to the disciples: they are his heralds, announcing that his kingdom is immediately at hand. There is a clear judgmental tone to Jesus' injunction to inform those whom they meet that 'the kingdom of God is come near', followed as it is by his malediction upon the disbelieving Galilean cities that had previously rejected him, comparing their fate with that of Sodom after its citizens attacked the two (!) angel messengers (Gen. 19). The disciples are not only enjoined to bear witness and teach, as in the other Gospels; they are also authorised to pass judgement. The judgement is to be public, declared in the streets. The seventy-two return joyous from their mission, having driven out demons in the name of Jesus. (This looks ahead to Jesus' own casting out of Beelzebub in Luke 11: 14–23.) In a visionary remark Jesus, responding to the story of their exorcisms, sees in their work the fall of Satan from his high place.[103] The disciples can destroy evil creatures in the name of the King.

[102] It would seem that the mission was to the Jews specifically; see H. L. Egelkraut, *Jesus' Mission to Jerusalem: A Redaction Critical Study of the Travel Narrative in the Gospel of Luke, Lk 9:51–19:48* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, XXIII/80; Frankfurt am Main, 1976), pp. 144–8. Augustine, *Sermo CI*, in PL 38, cols. 605–6, distinguishes between the metaphoric 'harvest' (among the Jews) and 'planting' (among the *gentes*). Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, ed. D. Hurst (CCSL 120; Turnhout, 1960), p. 214, states that the seventy-two were sent out to preach the Gospel into the whole gentile world, just as the twelve apostles had gone to the twelve tribes of Israel; see also the remarks of Isidore of Seville cited in n. 106, below.

[103] See Egelkraut, *Jesus' Mission*, esp. pp. 142–52; and D. P. Moessner, *The Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Philadelphia, 1998), *passim*.

Throughout Luke's account, those evil beings are couched in animal imagery – wolves, serpents, scorpions.

The relevance of the topos of the seventy-two disciples to *Quare fremuerunt* is clear. In the midst of the awful situation described in the motet, a wrecked country without her anointed king, her 'Christ' ruling after his scriptural model, the king's disciples are spreading the word of his imminent arrival. They are present in the very bricks and mortar of the motet, its seventy-two verbal and temporal elements. The seventy-two disciples speak out, crush evil creatures, cast out demons; they rebuke and cast out the demon Fauvel and his corrupt *fasuli*. Thus there are two scriptural authorities, one psalmic, the other an Evangelist, informing *Quare fremuerunt* and projecting its underlying message, the advent of the Anointed King and the end of Fauvel.

The linkage of Psalm 2 with the disciples of Christ is given a scriptural foundation of its own through an incident in New Testament history recorded in Acts. Peter addresses the throng in the Temple after he and John have healed a lame man, remonstrating with them, 'brethren I know that you acted in ignorance, as did your rulers [when you denied Christ and delivered him up to be crucified]. . . . Repent, therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus' (3: 17–21). The next morning, 'the rulers and elders and scribes were gathered together in Jerusalem' (4: 5) to question Peter and John, after which they 'conferred with one another' (4: 15) and then warned the two apostles not to speak further in the name of Jesus. Peter replied, 'we cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard' (4: 20). When the two reported these happenings to their brethren, the community responded, quoting verses 1–2 of Psalm 2, 'why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves in array, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed' (4: 25–6), then continuing, 'for truly in this city there were gathered together against thy holy servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, to do whatever thy hand and thy plan had predestined to take place. And now, Lord, look upon their threats, and grant to thy servants to speak thy word

with all boldness, while thou stretchest out thy hand to heal, and signs and wonders are performed through the name of thy holy servant Jesus' (4: 27–30). The company was greatly heartened, and 'with great power the apostles gave their testimony to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus' (4: 33).

The identification of the *nationes* and *populi* with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, and the rulers with Herod, Pilate and the dignitaries of the Temple; the rulers sitting in council, conferring against Christ, in effect conspiring to escape the law of God; Peter's remark that they had acted in ignorance but can gain understanding; the admonition to repent; the connotations of sanctified kingship seated in a royal capital: all these derive from Psalm 2 and are reflected in its exegetical tradition. The preaching of the apostles and the ecstatic words of the early Christians at the close of the passage put this psalmic material into the context of the disciples spreading the Word and doing their work. This relationship cannot have escaped either the *Fauvel* poet/composer or the reader of MS fr. 146 when he encountered *Quare fremuerunt*. The 'signs and wonders' worked in Christ's name, paralleled in the disciples' casting out of demons, have their counterparts, perhaps ironically, in the portents of *Quare fremuerunt*.

The theme of speaking out against the mischief-makers, present in Psalm 2 and in the passages from both Luke and Acts and important to *Quare fremuerunt*, is central to *Favellandi vicium*. Also linking the two motets is the motif of Christ's disciples labouring in the harvest: this recalls the allusion to the same text in *De gravi seminio*, the Latin motet source for *Favellandi vicium* across the page ('From the fertile stock that the Father sowed among his labourers . . . waxed the fruit of the bountiful harvest'; see Part II, above). Just as the psalmic backgrounds of the two motets complement each other, so this Lucan text links them, imparting yet another element of coherence to an already tight-knit page.

Further relating *Quare fremuerunt* to its scriptural sources is the medieval understanding of what the 'wolves' were, among whom the disciples laboured. Bede understands 'wolves' to be 'scribas et Pharisaeos . . . qui sunt clerici Iudaeorum'.[104] These are the very

[104] *Bede, In Lucae evangelium expositio*, p. 215; and *ibid.*, p. 216 for his thoughts on serpents and scorpions.

figures who, according to the commentators on Psalm 2, rose up against God's anointed king. In Luke's narrative, that king, Jesus, is making his way towards his capital, Jerusalem, and the seventy-two disciples are heralding his way and judging those very people who foment against him. Again, Old and New Testament themes are combined in *Quare fremuerunt*.

Another aspect of the wolf can be seen in Acts 20: 29–30. There, 'wolves' refers not to Jews hostile to the Christian doctrine, as in Isidore and elsewhere in Acts, but rather to those who teach a false Christian doctrine: 'I know that after my departure fierce wolves [*lupi rapaces*] will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them.' The link between these wolves and those in Luke 10: 3 is made explicit by Matthew 7: 15: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing [*in vestimentis ovium*] but inwardly are ravenous wolves [*lupi rapaces*].' These threads are taken up by Alanus of Lille in his *Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicalium*:

> [*Lupus*] is said to be the Devil, whence in the Gospel: the wolf ravages and scatters the sheep, the wolf comes and the servant flees; for as the Devil rises up, the false shepherd is not attentive to the disquiet. . . . It is called the predator, whence the Prophet: the wolf dwells with the lamb. It is called a tyrant hounding God's Church, whence in the Gospel: seeing the wolf come, the servant, he who is not the shepherd, flees. It is called the persecutor of Christians, whence in the Gospel: behold, I send you as lambs in the midst of wolves. It is said to be the hypocrite, who deceives others with false doctrines.
>
> Dicitur diabolus; unde in Evangelio: Lupus rapit et dispersit oves, lupus venit et mercenarius fugit; quia, cum diabolus surgit, falsus pastor curam sollicitudinis non habet. . . . Dicitur raptor, unde propheta: Habitabit lupus cum agno. . . . Dicitur tyrannus persequens Ecclesiam Dei, unde in Evangelio: Mercenarius et qui non est pastor, videns lupum venientem, fugit. Dicitur persequens Christianum, unde in Evangelio: Ecce ego mitto vos, sicut oves in medio luporum. Dicitur hypocrita qui alios decipit falsa religione, unde in Evangelio: Attendite a falsis prophetis, etc., lupi rapacis.[105]

Alanus's *lupus* bears a tantalising resemblance to the figure of Fauvel himself (the horse of hypocrisy and the 'faus vel' ('veil of deceit'); La. vv. 241–2).

[105] In PL 210, col. 843b–c. Cf. Alanus' *Contra haereticos*, in PL 210, cols. 377c–380c. His language bears a striking resemblance to the rhetoric in the closing motet in the *Fauvel* collection, *In nova fert*, discussed in Part V, below.

The number 72 influenced the design and content of *Quare fremuerunt* in ways that reach beyond the symbolism that this number considered as an integer brings to the motet. Isidore of Seville, writing of the 'apostles' number', 12, states, 'Hic duodenarius numerus sexies multiplicatus facit septuaginta duos discipulos, qui missi sunt ad praedicandum per totum mundum in septuaginta duabus linguis divisum' ('this number 12 multiplied by 6 yields seventy-two disciples, who were sent to preach through all the world divided into seventy-two tongues').[106] The factoring of 72 into 12×6 is reflected in the motet poem, with its twelve six-syllable lines, and also to a considerable extent in the musical setting, which accords twelve *tempora* for each of the first four pairs of lines, while the last two pairs are off by one *tempus* each (13 and 11 *tempora* for vv. 9–10 and 11–12, respectively; see above), the disruption of the pattern occurring, not surprisingly, at the junction of the old and the new text.

A deployment of the number 72 with a different symbolic connotation can be inferred from the manner in which *Quare fremuerunt* unfolds, in its bursts of semibreve activity punctuated by points of stasis where the two voices dwell together on a perfect long. There are eight of these points of stasis distributed over the course of the piece, for a total of twenty-four *tempora*, one-third of the overall length of the motet. As the composition proceeds, its tripartite structure also results in blocks of music that each extend for twenty-four (this time, contiguous) *tempora*. If one admits the presence of number symbolism in this motet, the threefold aspect of its temporal planning can be seen as imparting a layer of allegory suggestive of the Trinity.[107] But it can be understood as connoting something else in addition: 72 is the number of hours (three days of twenty-four hours each) that Christ lay in the grave before his resurrection; thus the layout of the motet suggests the resurrection itself,[108] and by extension may even connote the rebirth of an orderly and sanctified France. (24 is the number of hours in the day, hence its musical exploitation suggests the dawning of a new

[106] Isidore, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, in PL 83, cols. 192c–193b.
[107] See the various explanations of Augustine, *Quaestionum evangeliorum libri duo*, in PL 35, col. 1339, Bede, *De tabernaculo*, ed. D. Hurst (CCSL 119a; Turnhout, 1969), pp. 111–13; and Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae*, cols. 560d–561a.
[108] See Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae*, col. 665c–d, quoted in Part V, below.

day.) In this regard, the eight points of rhythmic stasis mentioned above can be seen from the perspective of resurrection allegory: 8 connotes the day from the Sabbath to the next Sunday, the weekly octave, hence renewal and rebirth.[109] We shall return briefly to these themes when we examine *Adesto sancta trinitas* in Part V, below.

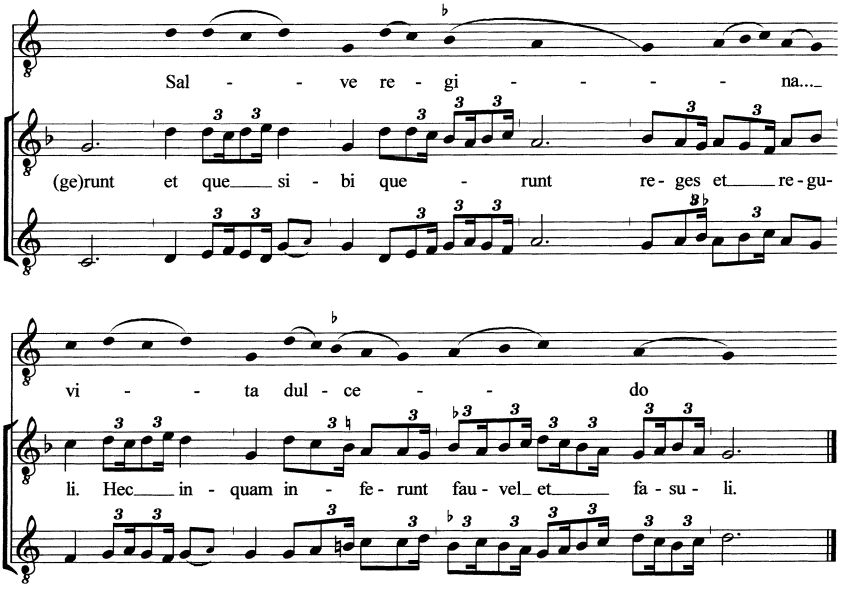
'ad te clamamus exsules filii Hevae'

There is still more to be said about *Quare fremuerunt*. Lorenz Welker has drawn attention to an extraordinary but hitherto unnoticed aspect of the motet, the fact that the music of the 'B' section, setting verses 9–12 of the motet poem, is based on a snippet of plainchant, the opening phrases of the Marian antiphon *Salve regina*.[110] Indeed, despite the melodic decoration with which it is festooned, the distinctive melodic profile of this celebrated chant is clearly evident, first in the motetus and then in the tenor, precipitating an abrupt shift in the tessitura and ambitus of the polyphonic complex, among other things (see Example 3). Welker speculates on the reason for the introduction of the chant melody, suggesting that perhaps 'the composer wished to exploit the salutation to the Queen of Heaven as a play on the reference to "reges" and "reguli"' in verse 10 of the poem'. Indeed: such an ironic counterpointing of images and ideas would be consistent with what we have already suggested about this motet and the other works on fol. 1[r]. Moreover, the musical parallels between the two halves of the borrowed chant fragment serve as yet another element that relates verses 11–12, attributing the mischief running through the world to Fauvel and his gang, directly to the self-serving activity of the 'reges et reguli' in verses 9–10. The focus of the motet is thereby directed even more forcefully towards kingship, good and bad, sanctified and unholy.

But the presence of the antiphon melody in *Quare fremuerunt* has a deeper connotation. To appreciate it, it will be helpful to examine the full text of the antiphon, since surely the quotation of its opening would have triggered memory of the complete chant, text

[109] Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon*, col. 762.

[110] Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', pp. 626–7. The antiphon is published, among other places, in *Antiphonale monasticum*, pp. 176–7, there assigned to Second Vespers from Trinity to Advent.



Example 3 *Salve regina* (beginning) and *Quare fremuerunt* (conclusion)

as well as music, just as the citation of the beginning of Psalm 2 must have evoked the psalm in its entirety.

Salve regina mater misericordia,	Hail, Queen, mother of mercy,
vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.	our life, our sweetness, and our hope, hail.
Ad te clamamus exsules filii Hevae.	To you we cry, the banished children of Eve.
Ad te suspiramus gementes	To you we send our sighs, mourning
et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.	and weeping, in this vale of tears.
Eia ergo advocata nostra illos tuos	Come, therefore, our advocate, turn your
misericordes oculos ad nos converte.	merciful eyes towards us.
Et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris	And after this, our exile, show us the
tui nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.	blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus,
O clemens o pia o dulcis virgo Maria.	O clement, o loving, o sweet Virgin Mary.

In the immediate context of fol. 1[r] this petition to the Queen of Heaven complements the petition to God that ends *Favellandi vicium* across the page. Mary is the advocate to Christ on behalf of suffering and sinful humanity, wretched in its 'exile', its 'banishment' owing to the sin of Eve, and miserable in 'this vale of tears'. This 'vale' is the racked kingdom described in *Quare*

*fremerun*t, and indeed in all three motets on fol. 1[r]. As seen in *Mundus a mundicia*, it is a filthy world dominated by Fauvel, the harlot queen, the First Eve, the antithesis of the antiphon's New Eve. The two motets that occupy column c of fol. 1[r] are thus linked by a dialectic between the glancing allusions to these two 'Eves'.

Beyond this, in the immediate milieu that produced (and received) MS fr. 146, the citation of *Salve regina* would have evoked a more specific image, the cathedral dedicated to her and devoted overwhelmingly to her veneration, Notre-Dame of Paris, only a few steps from the Palais where Fauvel is said to have taken up residence and where our manuscript originated. The role of Mary in the scheme of salvation in Paris specifically is succinctly articulated by Rebecca Baltzer thus:

> the clergy of Notre-Dame of Paris asserted a special role – one closely tied to the Virgin – for their church in their world . . . [Mary] was the Mother of God, and through her, in *this* cathedral church built in her honor, salvation could best be found. Although Mary was first and foremost the Mother of God, from this role followed her other great position, that of the Queen of Heaven, crowned and seated on the right hand of Christ. But . . . Mary was also seen as a type of the Church, as the restorer of salvation (the new Eve), as intercessor to Christ in Judgement, and as the supreme mediatrix between heaven and earth. . . . [The] Virgin was, simply put, the sinner's best avenue to salvation. But she was also the Church, and it was through the Church, inside the *templum deitatis*, that she became accessible.[111]

Fauvel and his *fasuli* dominate the 'reges et reguli' and the 'palais Roial'; we shall learn later in the *roman* that Fauvel has even infected the Sainte-Chapelle, the king's chapel in the Palais. With the introduction of the *Salve regina*, the author, speaking with the collective voice of the seventy-two disciples heralding the coming of Christ, directs us for refuge from the scourge to another sacred house in Paris, the cathedral, and more specifically to its

[111] R. A. Baltzer, 'The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris', in M. E. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner* (New York, 2000), pp. 470–1. On Mary as symbolising the Church itself see also C. Wright, 'Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*: King Solomon's Temple and the Veneration of the Virgin', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), pp. 396–441. Among much else see also H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (Westminster, Md., 1985); M. Thurian, *Mary: Mother of the Lord, Figure of the Church*, trans. N. B. Cryer (London, 1985); D. Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, DC, 2001); M. O'Carroll, *Theotokos: Theological Encyclopedia of the Blessed Virgin* (Wilmington, Del., 1982); and D. Iogna-Pratt, E. Palazzo and D. Russo (eds.), *Marie: le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1996).

patroness, Mary.[112] (It may also conjure up the image of another cathedral, Notre-Dame of Reims, where the king of France was anointed and crowned.)[113] Mary is the mother not only of Christ passing the judgement called for in our motets, but also the mother of the Christ of Psalm 2, God's true king, represented on earth by the wise and holy king who comes to sit on the throne of France. [See the Postscript following this article.]

V

'Quomodo cantabimus?'

Quare fremuerunt is not the only musical work in the *Fauvel* collection to make significant symbolic and structural use of the number 72. Another such is the motet *Quomodo cantabimus/Thalamus puerpere*/[Tenor] (p.mus. 78, Schrade no. 26). *Quomodo cantabimus* appears on fol. 32^{r}, where it is introduced as being sung by the Virtues as part of their ominous commentary on the unholy celebration unfolding at Fauvel's wedding feast (La. add. vv. 382–4). Like *Quare fremuerunt* it deploys the new compositional idiom but draws on material from the thirteenth century. Like *Quare fremuerunt*, again, the text is rooted in Scripture, this time taking its point of departure from Psalm 136: 4 ('Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?' – 'How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?'). Like *Mundus a mundicia*, *Quomodo cantabimus* is based on a conductus (a monophonic one) by Philip the Chancellor.[114] Unlike *Mundus a mundicia* but like *Quare*

[112] By analogy with the seventy-two disciples, some cathedrals had seventy-two canons. One such was Santiago de Compostela, which increased the total number to seventy-two under Bishop Gelmírez early in the twelfth century; see R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Cambridge, 1984), 166. Notre-Dame of Paris had fifty-one canons in addition to a large number of other senior clergy; see C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 18–27.

[113] Notre-Dame of Reims had seventy-two canons in the early fourteenth century, the number increasing to seventy-four in 1313, when Pope Clement V authorised the division of two prebends into four; see A. Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 33. I am grateful to Professor Robertson for sharing her work with me prior to its publication.

[114] F, fols. 425^{v}–426^{r}; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmstad. [W_1], fol. 185^{r} (beginning lost); Da, fol. 4^{r} (text of str. 1 only, attributed to Philip the Chancellor). Edited in *1pt Conductus*, ed. Anderson, pp. 37 and XLI.

fremuerunt it borrows only the text, not Philip's musical setting. Unlike both of these motets, its text has not been 'Fauvelised', provided with additional lines to link it more immediately to the topic of Fauvel. The *Fauvel* version, unique to MS fr. 146, uses the first two of Philip's three strophes, presenting them simultaneously, one in each of the two upper voices, and providing a newly composed tenor as a foundation and accompaniment.[115]

The text of this motet, particularly that of the first strophe, bears a striking relationship to the poem of *Quare fremuerunt*. Thus, in the motetus: 'Quomodo cantabimus / sub iniqua lege? / oves quid attendimus? / lupus est in grege / . . . o quando discuciet / spelunca latronum? / quam tremendus veniet / deus ulcionum' (verses 1–4, 11–14: 'How shall we sing under the weight of an unjust law? O sheep, why do we wait? The wolf is in the flock. . . . O when will He scatter this den of thieves? How fearful will the god of vengeance be when He comes'). The triplum speaks of the Church, equated with the very womb of the Virgin (the 'thalamus puerpere'), and of the Throne as beset by adversity, concluding that 'iustus germinabit' ('the just shall flourish', verse 14).

In view of links such as these, it is surely not without significance that each of Philip's strophes in the upper voices has thirty-six words in its text, for a total of seventy-two. (The unused third strophe, strongly Marian in content, has thirty-three.) The tenor *color*, apparently freely invented, has forty-eight notes and is stated twice (the second time the antepenultimate note is repeated thrice as part of a cadential slowdown, for a total of ninety-nine notes). The *color* is arranged according to an interesting symmetrical repetition scheme, thus: a (twelve longs) b (six longs) b (six longs) a (twelve longs), for a total of thirty-six perfections. This is stated twice, as just mentioned, but with the second statement extended by five longs because of the cadential slowdown. (In both upper voices the text at the slowdown consists of a melisma on the penultimate syllable of the strophe; the presentation of the text has effectively concluded, and the cadential extension is superfluous from the standpoint of text delivery.) Without the extension, that is, taking into account only the two statements of the *color* proper,

[115] The tenor melody spans a hexachord; it is the hexachord *g–e*, systematically avoiding the 'Fauvel' pitch *f*. Cf. the discussion of *In nova fert* and *Mundus a mundicia*, below. Clark, '*Concordare cum materia*', p. 124 states that the tenor has its source in a 'secular song'.

the motet extends for seventy-two perfections. Once again, the voices of the disciples of Christ are heard in judgment, this time embodied in the Virtues, and, what is more, arranged in a palindrome and thus suggestive of Fortune's wheel, informing the message of the motet and the *roman* in words and music alike, just as they did in *Quare fremuerunt*. In effect they drive out demons; they ensure the destruction of Fauvel and his crew at what would seem to be one of his moments of triumph, his (hollow) marriage to Vaine Gloire.

'In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora'

On fols. 42v–44v of MS fr. 146 the second *Livre de Fauvel* draws towards its conclusion with a series of prayers to the Virgin, God the Father and the Trinity, and Christ for deliverance from Fauvel and 'sa mesnie toute' (La. add. vv. 1653–1798),[116] ending with an exhortation to 'douz Jhesucrist' to imprison them, and another to the 'trez douz lis de virginite' to safeguard the Virtues, who protect 'le lis et le jardin de France' (La. add. vv. 1786–98), as they had done in their tournament with Fauvel's Vices a few pages before.[117] The remainder of fol. 44v is taken up by the motet *In*

[116] The prayers follow the author's complaint to Fortune about her permitting Fauvel to flourish, fol. 42v, col. a, bottom (introduced by a picture of the author addressing Fortune) to col. b, top. Each prayer is something of an independent unit, completely filling as it does a group of discrete columns in the manuscript. The prayer to the Virgin, La. add. vv. 1653–60, occupies all but the very top of fol. 42v, col. b, where it is capped by a picture of the author kneeling before the Mother and Child, and followed, at the bottom of the column and in all of col. c, by a motet. The strongly Trinitarian prayer to God the Father, La. add. vv. 1661–1784, occupies col. b of fol. 43r, where it is also capped by a miniature (the author kneeling before the Trinity) and surrounded on the other three sides by polyphony, all of col. b of fol. 43v, with music in cols. a and c, and col. a of fol. 44r, footed again by music and followed by polyphony in cols. b and c. This prayer is a set piece, not only because of its position in the manuscript, but also because of the text itself, since most of it is taken directly from Jean Maillart's *Roman du Comte d'Anjou* of 1316 (La. add. vv. 1661–1764, with one additional word in v. 1765 = *Anjou* vv. 877–944, 947–54 and 978–1008). The Maillart text effectively breaks off after the twentieth line in the column, exactly halfway down the page on fol. 44r; this is the point, La. add. vv. 1764–7, at which Fauvel is (re)introduced. Remarkably, much of this borrowed prayer touches on the theme of Christ's betrayal, suffering, death and resurrection in terms not unlike the exegetical tradition surrounding Psalm 2 explored in Part IV, above. The prayer to Christ, La. add. vv. 1785–98, occupies fol. 44v, the tops of cols. a–c, where it serves as a header for the motet *In nova fert* beneath.

[117] That these lines mark the end of the *roman* proper is evident from the way the material is presented in the manuscript: the scribe was obliged to write the last several lines in col. c of fol. 44v as though they were prose, so that they would fall where they do and so the final lines, expressing the hope that Fauvel will someday perish, and the explicit would fall at the top of fol. 45r.

nova fert/Garrit gallus/Neuma (p.mus.129, Schrade no. 33).[118] The following page, fol. 45[r], is largely a wrap-up: a few gloomy lines strategically placed at the top of this final page in the *roman*, hoping for the eventual end of Fauvel 'car touz iours vivre / ne pourra pas' (La. add. vv. 1799–1806), followed by a closing gesture (La. add. vv. 1806–8) and a formal explicit in Latin in a more formal script (+ 18), all this encircled on three sides by a little three-voice motet (p.mus. 130) and a refrain (ref. 15), the close, explicit, and musical works all on the theme of drinking and wine.[119]

In nova fert is justly famous as a technical tour de force, in every respect a fitting capstone to the *Fauvel* compilation.[120] Its text offers a virtuoso blend of imagery drawn from the *Renart* tradition and other animal fables, the Old and New Testaments, and Classical authors. The thrust of the motet as a whole is established at the very beginning of the motetus with a quotation from the opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This passage serves as a motto that echoes one of the principal themes of the *roman* itself, that man is become as beast: 'In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / [corpora]' (lib. 1, vv. 1–2; 'My mind turns to speak of forms changed into new [bodies]'). Transformation takes many guises in this motet, but at the centre is the metamorphosis of the red dragon of the Apocalypse (Rev. 12: 3–17; motetus verse 2: 'draco nequam', the 'worthless dragon') into a horrific Renart figure, a fox who deceives (blinds) and dominates the lion and ravages his kingdom (motetus verses 9–11: 'vivit in vulpem mutatus / cauda cuius lumine privatus / leo vulpe imperante paret' – 'it lives, transformed into a fox, the fox ruling the lion who, deprived of sight, is in thrall at his tail'; see also triplum verses 5–8 and 19–20).[121]

[118] A superior edition is *Anthology of Medieval Music*, ed. R. H. Hoppin (New York, 1978), no. 59. Also transmitted in Paris, BNF Collection de Picardie, MS 67, fol. 67[r], no. 2 (rotulus). Cited in the *Ars nova* attributed to Philippe de Vitry, the *Quatuor principalia* and the treatise of (pseudo) Theodoricus de Campo.

[119] Emma Dillon argues, in *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 201–15, that these closing items on the theme of drinking are more than a whimsical packet of explicit material, that they are directly related to the themes of the preceding pages and to the organisation of the manuscript as a whole.

[120] This article will consider *In nova fert* and the other Marigny motets from only a limited perspective; a future study by Margaret Bent promises to afford these works the detailed examination that they deserve.

[121] This passage is not without its textual problems. MS fr. 146 reads 'draco nequam . . . russus vivit' ('the worthless dragon . . ., red, lives'); Picardie 67 reads 'rursus' ('lives again'). Both manuscripts read 'cauda', which Dahnk would emend to 'caude'; in keep-

It has long been recognised that this 'fox' is a grotesque but thinly veiled caricature of Philippe le Bel's chamberlain, Enguerran de Marigny.[122]

The Ovidian topos of *mutatio/mutabilitas* that is developed in *In nova fert* carried strong moral connotations in the Scholastic and Christian milieu that engendered *Fauvel*. Metamorphosis was viewed with suspicion from the standpoint of natural philosophy because of its apparent incompatibility with the Aristotelian categories and their predicate, the notion of inviolability of species; and it was considered well-nigh blasphemous and heretical by theologians, who saw it as contrary to the essential integrity of the body and soul, and to the survival of the individual *virtus* at the End of Time.[123] From Ovid to the present day, the most frequently reported sort of such body hopping is lycanthropy.[124] Most writers followed Augustine in holding that the metamorphosis of human beings into animals is impossible; when it is seen to occur, it is an illusion, a phantom, something concocted by demons as a snare.[125] These various speculative and moral threads find resonance throughout the motet's apocalyptic vision, and link it not only with its ostensible subject, Marigny, but also, and particularly

ing with triplum l. 20 ('fraudi paret vulpis'), Becker, *Fauvel und Fauvelliana*, p. 37, would emend 'cauda' to 'fraudi' ('fraud'), a reading adopted by most subsequent scholars. A slightly less literal rendering of the opening line might be, 'I shall speak of metamorphosis into new and strange things'. In the motet, 'corpora' is omitted, so that 'in nova . . . mutatus . . . formas' is followed by the subject of the motet, the 'draco nequam'.

[122] The relationship to Marigny was first systematically explored in Becker, *Fauvel und Fauvelliana*, pp. 36–41. Marigny was known for his overweening pride; it is noteworthy, therefore, that Ovid uses this phrase again in the *Metamorphoses*, l. 775, putting it into the mouth of Phaethon's mother as her son's pride takes over his reason ('Si modo fert animus, gradere et scitabere ab ipso!' – 'If your mind is so inclined, go and inquire of him [the Sun] himself!'). This links *In nova fert* with another extraordinary Marigny motet in *Fauvel*, *Heu Fortuna subdola* (see n. 15, above), in a tantalising way that cannot be explored here.

[123] See, most recently, C. Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York, 2001), esp. ch. 2, 'Metamorphosis, or Gerald and the Werewolf', rev. from her article in *Speculum*, 73 (1998), pp. 987–1013.

[124] See, among much other literature, D. M. Kratz, 'Fictus lupus: The Werewolf in Christian Thought', *Classical Folia: Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics*, 30 (1976), pp. 57–79. Ovid remarked of Lycaon, 'he became a wolf, and yet retained traces of his old form [*veteris vestigia formae*]'; *Metamorphoses*, l. 237. Johannes de Garlandia read this passage as moral allegory, seeing Lycaon's transformation as a moral decline into wolfishness; see Bynum, *Metamorphosis*, 100. Ovid's account of Lycaon's behaviour (*Metamorphoses*, l. 64–239) finds strong echoes in the text of *In nova fert*.

[125] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de civitate Dei*, ed. B. Dombard and A. Kalb, 2 vols. (CCSL 47–8; Turnhout, 1954–5), lib. 18, ch. 18 (but see also chs. 16–17); ii, pp. 606–10.

effectively, with the subject of the *roman* into which the motet is inserted, Fauvel. Thus, compare the intrinsic falseness of the metamorphosis with the *roman*'s derivation of 'Fauvel' from 'faus vel'. Note the abiding nature of the dragon regardless of the *figura* in which he is cloaked (motetus, verse 16). Consider the motet's allusions to lycanthropy: the dragon is 'mox lupinis dentibus armatus' (motetus, verse 7: 'now armed with a wolf's teeth'; cf. the scriptural motif of the 'wolf in sheep's clothing' and the image of the false pastor, mentioned in our discussion of *Quare fremuerunt*). The monster is 'vulpes quamquam vispilio / in Belial vigens astucia' (triplum, verses 5–6: 'the fox, albeit the most insignificant of worthless creatures, flourishing with the cunning of Belial').[126] As Belial/the dragon he is the biblical Satan, but the name Belial also conjures worthlessness (cf. Deut. 13: 13, 2 Cor. 6: 14–15, and Rev. 12: 9 and 12; motetus, verse 2: 'draco nequam', cf. the reference to Fauvel in *Mundus a mundicia*, verse 8: 'favelli nequicia'). As Satan/the Serpent (Rev. 12: 14–15) he is the 'sedutrix hominum' of *Mundus a mundicia* – Fauvel. According to Revelation 12: 4–5 the dragon sought to devour the Woman's (Israel's, also the Church's, also Mary's) new-born son (the Messiah, Christ), 'who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron'; this unmistakable allusion to Psalm 2 links the beast of *In nova fert* with the 'raging' rebels of *Quare fremuerunt*. (The appearance of the dragon in Revelation follows the seventh trumpet call, when 'the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ', Rev. 11: 15.) As the creature who has taken the rightful place of the king, he embodies the 'favellandi vicium et fex avaricie' that now occupy the throne and the highest position in the court. Thus Fauvel's corruption in the highest places that had been decried in the first words of the very first work in the collection are given the exemplum of Marigny in the last work in the collection proper.

Enguerran de Marigny fell from power at the beginning of 1315 and after the death of Philippe le Bel, and was executed on 30 April of that year. He thus provides a vivid illustration drawn from recent history of the *mutatio* theme. The musical setting of *In nova fert* develops the idea of *mutatio* and the labile world of the motet

[126] In this context 'vispilio' could also connote a robber who stalks by night, perhaps a ghoul; see R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965).

poem through its shifts back and forth between perfect and imperfect *modus*, the palindrome structure of its tenor rhythmic *ordo*, and the staggered isoperiodicity of its upper voices.[127] The motet is ordinarily dated 1313–14 on the basis of its description of a thriving Marigny. Margaret Bent has suggested on the other hand that there is no reason not to suppose that it was composed specifically for the *Fauvel* in MS fr. 146, that is, perhaps as late as 1316–17 or even 1318.[128] Our assessment of the poet's use of the *mutatio* topos lends support to that hypothesis. So also does the brief look at the design of the motet that follows here.

The tenor of *In nova fert* is based on a plainchant formula used to identify and characterise the fifth mode.[129] It carries no text of its own, but only the generic designation 'Neuma', although in the theoretical sources of the period this formula might be found with the stock texts 'amen' or 'alleluia'. It is one of a very few tenors in the *Fauvel* motets based on already existing material that does not carry an explicit scriptural, liturgical, or moral message – unless one wants to suppose that a reader would have associated it with 'amen', implying closure, or 'alleluia', implying jubilation, perhaps in anticipation of the death of Fauvel that is foreseen on the following page, perhaps at the completion of the *Fauvel* edition. (To the extent that *Fauvel* and the *Chronique métrique* are texts to be considered in tandem, with the other items in the manuscript understood as supplementary to them, the end of *Fauvel* on fol. 45^{r} does indeed mark the conclusion of the collection as a whole.) Nonetheless, a closer look suggests that the choice of tenor melody does in fact have something to do with Fauvel. Pitched on fa, *f*, it may be one more example of 'F' being thrown into relief as emblematic of Fauvel. Furthermore, the tenor *color* spans a hexachord, *f* to *d*, from *fa-ut* to *la* (*re-sol*), outlining the name of Fauvel

[127] See the description of the motet's design in E. H. Sanders, 'The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), pp. 26–7.

[128] Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny'. This hypothesis is in line with the issue of authorship raised at the beginning of this article; see n. 4, above.

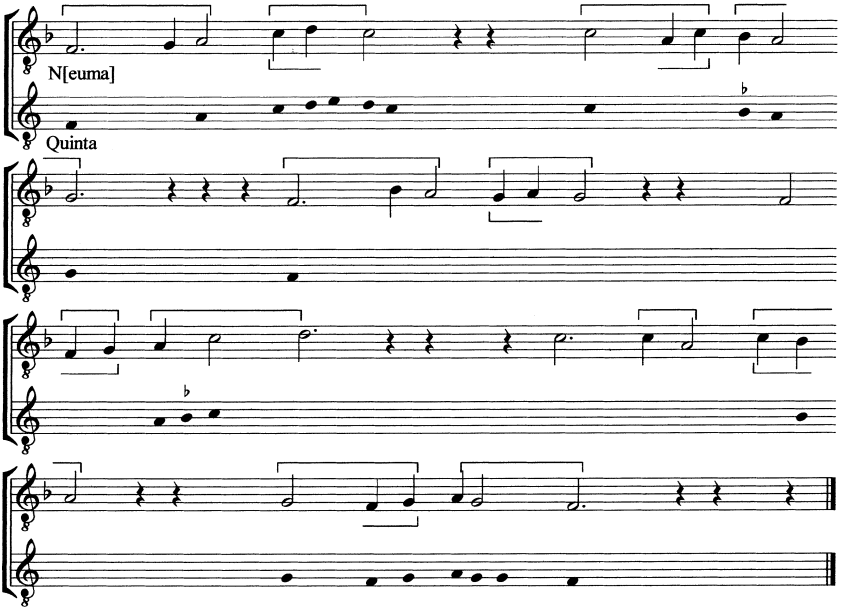
[129] For examples, see *Petrus de Cruce tractatus de tonis*, ed. D. Harbinson (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 29; American Institute of Musicology, 1976), p. xvii f.; and *Iacobi Leodiensis speculum musicae*, ed. R. Bragard, 7 vols. (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 3; American Institute of Musicology, 1955–73), vi, p. 231. The author, in *Petrus de Cruce tractatus*, p. vii, remarks on the diversity of usage exhibited by these formulae.

and even including the same number of elements, six.[130] (The tenor of *Mundus a mundicia* is also pitched on *f*, and it exceeds the range of the hexachord *f–d* only once, and then only in a structurally weak position and possibly for the sake of text painting – on 'con*tra*ria' in verse 2.) Finally, and most importantly, there is the length of the tenor melody, thirty-six notes. This *color* is stated twice, yielding a total of seventy-two notes. Now the melody of the tenor *neuma* does not correspond closely to any known form of the plainchant formula, let alone match it exactly. For one, the intonation ordinarily includes the pitch *e*, avoided in the tenor; for another, it does not unfold in the double melodic cursus found in the motet. Example 4 compares the tenor *color* with the form of the *neuma* found on fol. 9^{v} of the manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 115, the most important of all witnesses to the musical activity of Philippe de Vitry (but most likely copied in Savoy or Ivrea itself, not in France).[131] The divergences between the *neuma* and the motet tenor suggest that the formula was adjusted and extended to achieve the desired melodic profile and number of notes.[132] Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that each

[130] Moreover, this hexachord is the same pitch-letter sequence as that employed to organise the Lescurel songs, although there the texts are arranged in alphabetical order rather than following the pitch sequence (the Lescurel works proceed from A to D, skip E, then continue with F and G).

[131] See K. Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars nova Polyphony* (Musicological Studies, 69; Ottawa, 1997), pp. 234–5.

[132] In the identical melodic form, the *neuma* is used in the tenor of another three-voice Ars nova motet, *Florens vigor/Floret cum vana gloria*/Neuma quinti toni, transmitted in the rotulus Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}, MS 19606, no. 6 (preserving a repertory with significant ties to the *Fauvel* collection) and Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 1328 (fragmentary). In *Florens vigor* the number of notes in the *color* is thirty-seven, not thirty-six; the difference results from a repeat of the penultimate note in the second cursus. Since the two pitches together have the same duration as the single pitch in the first cursus, however, the total number of notes is effectively still thirty-six. The triplum alone is used in MS fr. 146 with the text *Carnalitas Luxuria in favelli palacio presunt* (p.mus. 36, called a 'prose' in the index to the collection; ed. in Sanders, 'Early Motets', pp. 37–45), placed on fol. 12$^{r–v}$, near the beginning of Book 2, where it comments on the Vices attending the enthroned Fauvel. For the most recent discussion of this motet, see A. V. Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité and the Marriage of Fauvel', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 175–86 (the two tenors are compared on p. 177). Whatever the reasons for the composition of *Florens vigor* in the first place, whether it was initially intended for use in *Fauvel* or not, the triplum was most likely chosen for deployment in MS fr. 146 because it was informed with the 'content' (that is, the 'message') of the discarded tenor, a message that has everything to do with Fauvel, on one hand, and the symbolic meaning of the number 72, on the other. (Particularly intriguing is the possibility that *Florens vigor* was initially intended for fol. 45^{v}, the page following the present close of *Fauvel* in MS fr. 146, a page that remained blank but that had been ruled for a large-scale three-voice motet. Should



Example 4 The tenor *color* of *In nova fert* (as given in MS fr. 146) and the *Neuma quinti toni* (as given in Ivrea MS 115)

statement of the *color*, with thirty-six notes, extends for seventy-two breve *tempora*. The two *colores* are separated by a perfect long rest, resulting in an overall design of 72 + 3 + 72 *tempora*, another layer of palindrome. Thus 72 controls both the number of tenor pitches and the extent of each limb of the palindromic arch. The motet thus parallels, if in a more complex fashion commensurate with its isorhythmic idiom, *Quare fremuerunt*, which uses 72 for both the number of words in the poem and the number of breve *tempora*. That is, the same underlying structural principle that informs

this prove to be the case, it would raise a host of questions about possible exemplars from which the *Fauvel* compilers may have drawn their repertory, and about the relationship between MS fr. 146 and other sources. In an as yet unpublished paper, Karl Kügle argues that the Brussels rotulus was prepared a decade or so later than MS fr. 146, and in a monastic setting, perhaps in the Empire near the north-eastern border with France. (I am grateful to Professor Kügle for sharing his work with me.) On the Cambrai fragments see I. Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, 2 vols. (Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 11; Kassel, 1987), esp. i, pp. 205–15. The version of this *neuma* in Ivrea 115 is much closer to the tenor in Philippe de Vitry's motet *Douce playsence/Garison selon nature*/Neuma quinti toni, in the same manuscript, fols. 23^{v}–24^{r}, a work that, like *In nova fert*, may date from before 1320; see Sanders, 'Early Motets', p. 30. On the relationship of tenor *colores* to their plainchant sources, see Clark, '*Concordare cum materia*', pp. 25–54.

Quare fremuerunt, on the first page of *Fauvel*, and *Quomodo cantabimus*, in the middle of the *roman*, also informs this motet at the conclusion of the work.

Reading *In nova fert* in the light of these earlier motets, I suggest that implicit in its use of 72 as a structuring principle is the message that the followers of the anointed king, Christ, are on the scene, proclaiming the new king, speaking out, speaking the truth against the falsehood that is around them. They are 'labouring in the midst of wolves', in the den of the dragon/fox/wolf, the deceiver ruling in the king's stead. They are casting out the demon Belial/Fauvel that they find there. Their triumph in the struggle with the dragon has apocalyptic authority: 'And they have conquered [the dragon] with the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death' (Rev. 12: 11).[133] The 72 permeate the motet through the substructure of its tenor; like a virus, in effect, they invade, infect Fauvel at the height of his power. Their message complements the ominous shadow of Fortune that has hung over Fauvel from fol. 1^{r} on, symbolised musically in this motet by the palindrome design of the tenor *ordo* and the shifts in mensuration, both suggestive of her wheel and its instability. Both motetus and triplum close with the thought that the beast shall (or should) meet his end; this is also voiced in the *roman* text immediately before and after the motet. Through its design the tenor sends the same message. The tenor melody may represent Fauvel, but the creature thus symbolised is a doomed one.

'subito suo ruere merito in mortem privatam bonis'

In the tournanent that is the climax of the festivities that celebrate Fauvel's marriage to Vaine Gloire in MS fr. 146, the Virtues roundly defeat Fauvel's Vices, and the humiliated beast and his bride retire to their palace (the Palais de la Cité) with their retinue in tow while the populace (of Paris) rejoices (La. add. vv. 1401–1542). The jubilation is premature, however, for Fauvel prospers; he and Vaine Gloire spawn a swarm of 'Fauveaus nouveaus' who overrun 'li jardin de douce France', and a fetid Fountain

[133] It is noteworthy that the motet is dominated by the symbolism of 72, rather than drawing on the numerous opportunities for number allegory offered by Rev. 12, and specifically by its description of the dragon.

of Youth keeps them perpetually rejuvenated (La. add. vv. 1543–1642). On fols. 41v–42r, accompanying the description of the unholy fountain and the famous miniature that depicts it, is the motet *Quoniam secta latronum/Tribum que non abhorruit/Merito hec patimur* (p.mus. 120, Schrade no. 27).[134]

Quoniam secta latronum, like *In nova fert*, takes the example of Marigny as its subject, recounting how the fox who once ruled the (now deceased) lion has been brought to justice along with his 'tribe'; they have been cast out from the society they had polluted and their leader delivered to the gallows (as Marigny had been in 1315). Although clearly conceived as a companion piece to *In nova fert*, it has none of the latter's apocalyptic imagery. Instead of a final struggle with the forces of Heaven, it is the angry whim of Fortune that brings down the fox and his tribe (the presence of Fortune is suggested in the music of *In nova fert*, but she is not mentioned in the text).

The tenor of *Quoniam secta latronum* presents its liturgical melody in alternating short and long rhythmic values reminiscent of the second rhythmic mode in the *ars vetus*. It unfolds not in the breves and longs of the older tradition, however, but in longs and maximae; it is, therefore, an early example of augmentation, and thus is as remarkable in its fashion as the tenor of its companion, *In nova fert*. Its *color*, eighteen notes long, is repeated for a total of thirty-six notes, the number of notes in the *color* of *In nova fert*. These are laid out over a span of seventy-two imperfect longs. (This count includes the two longs of rest that theoretically conclude the final *ordo*, if we view the tenor rhythm as indeed being in the second mode. Seventy-two longs are 144 *tempora*, the same number as appear in *In nova fert* when the 'non-modal' rests at the end of the two *color* statements are *not* taken into account.) The seventy-two longs of tenor activity are preceded by one full *ordo*'s worth of tenor silence, six longs in all. During this prologue to the entrance of the tenor the triplum introduces the 'tribum que non abhorruit indecenter ascendere' (v. 1: 'the tribe that did

[134] Also transmitted in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, MS 19696, no. 3; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 29775/10; Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 100, fol. 43r (motetus and tenor only); Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Sm 222, fol. 71v (destroyed); and London, BL Add. MS 28550, fol. 44r–v (keyboard arrangement). It is also cited in the Wolf Anonymous and the *Tractatus figurarum*.

not shrink from ascending brazenly'), waiting for the tenor to enter before it tells us what has happened to the gang; and the motetus remarks that 'quoniam secta latronum' (v. 1: 'since the band of thieves . . .'.), singing this against the triplum's 'indecenter ascendere'. The entrance of the tenor, the work's foundation, spanning seventy-two longs, marks the arrival of the seventy-two disciples spreading the word, speaking out and casting out demons. The disciples are thus introduced after, and surely in ironic response to the 'gang' (or 'tribe') of Fauvel's followers (the *fasuli* of *Quare fremuerunt*). The irony is twofold: through the numerical symbolism of its design the tenor evokes the disciples of Christ and their work, but the very text to which the tenor is sung, 'We deserve to suffer these things', is surely to be read as the voice of the fallen and expelled 'tribe', heard against the moralising account of their fall in the upper voices.[135]

'Adesto sancta trinitas musice modulantibus'

Quoniam secta latronum is the first work in a veritable explosion of polyphonic music that extends from fol. 42^{r} to the *roman*'s explicit on fol. 45^{r}; these four folios proffer no fewer than eight of the collection's thirty-four motets (in addition to three monophonic 'verssez'[136] and the final one-line musical explicit). Apart from *Quoniam secta latronum* and *In nova fert*, the motets are all explicitly prayers addressed by 'nos' – that is, the author – to the Virgin, to 'omnipotens dominus' and the Trinity, and to Christ, the progression following the sequence of prayers in the surrounding *roman* text. In one way or another, all these musical prayers ask for deliverance from Fauvel. Several use liturgical texts in their

[135] See the discussion of this motet in Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music', pp. 82–103. Enhancing the irony is the fact that the text of this liturgical melody is drawn from Gen. 42: 21, an episode from the story of the exiled Joseph. Joseph, risen to a position of authority, accuses his brothers of espionage and threatens them with imprisonment and death. The brothers (including Joseph, twelve in number!), who do not recognise Joseph, speak the words sung in the motet tenor among themselves as they acknowledge their guilt. The chant is a responsory sung at Matins on the Third Sunday in Quadragesima; interestingly, the Gospel reading for the Mass that day was Luke 11: 14–28, an account of Jesus driving out an unclean spirit.

[136] Two of the 'verssez' are new compositions; the other is an adaptation of a liturgical recitation formula, but in all likelihood this is a later addition put in to fill in empty space. On these pieces see Rankin, 'The "*Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez*"', pp. 462–6.

upper voices, but only one deploys a plainchant melody or a liturgical or scriptural text in its tenor.[137]

The second of the motets that gloss the Trinitarian prayer on fol. 43r–v, *Adesto sancta trinitas/Firmissime fidem teneamus/Alleluia Benedictus* 'et cetera' (p.mus. 124, Schrade no. 24),[138] brings the 72 into view again. *Adesto sancta trinitas* calls for devotion to Christ the Son (i.e., the True King, the model of Capetian royalty) as well as to the Father and the Holy Spirit. It is another compositional tour de force, another demonstration of *ars nova* virtuosity. The motetus text is a line-by-line gloss of the first stanza of a celebrated Trinitarian hymn, and the tenor *color* is the 'Alleluya' section of a proper alleluia for Trinity Sunday, clearly identified as such by the rubric, 'Benedictus et cetera', the 'et cetera' indicating that the reader contemplating the motet should have in mind not only the 'Alleluya' refrain that is being sung but indeed the complete text of the verse.[139] That text, 'Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum et laudibilis in secula' ('Blessed art thou, o Lord the God of our fathers, and for ever worthy to be praised') is drawn from the beginning of Dan. 3: 52–90, the canticle of the three youths in the furnace, proclaiming their faith in the face of Nebuchadnezzar's murderous wrath. This choice of tenor is significant not only because of its associations with the Trinity liturgy, and hence with the *roman*'s Trinitarian prayer, but also because of its scriptural analogue to what we identify as one of the themes in the *Fauvel* compilation, the idea of disciples (or youths) – in this instance, numbering three, like the Trinity itself – speaking out in the midst of disbelievers and in the face of imminent danger. But its relevance to Fauvel reaches further: like the tenor of *In nova fert*, it is in mode 5, and the note *f* is the dominant pitch,

[137] Only two of them have texts of any sort in their tenors, *Celi domina/O Maria/Porchier* (p.mus. 122), fol. 42v, based on a *Fauvel* rondeau that also appears near the end of Book 1, and *Omnipotens domine/Flagellaverunt Galliam et ortum eius inquinaverunt* (p.mus. 123), fol. 43r. On the former, see N. F. Regalado, 'Le Porcher au palais: *Kalila et Dimna*, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, Machaut, et Boccace', *Études littéraires*, 31 (1999), pp. 119–32.

[138] Also transmitted in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, no. 4; and London, BL Add. MS 28550, fols. 43v–44r (keyboard arrangement). Triplum text alone in Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS 521, fol. 228r. Cited in the *Ars nova* attributed to Philippe de Vitry and the Wolf Anonymous.

[139] This practice holds for other chant texts in the *Fauvel* collection that follow the incipit with 'etc.'; see, for example, the incomplete quotation of *Alleluia veni sancte spiritus* 'etc.' (p.mus. 31), on fol. 10r, placed towards the end of Book 1 in a position that is approximately parallel to that of *Adesto sancta trinitas* in Book 2.

occurring fourteen times out of a total of forty notes (five of the eight tenor *ordines* end on *f*, the other three on *a*; *f-a* for Fauvel).

Like *Quoniam secta latronum* and *In nova fert*, *Adesto sancta trinitas* presents its tenor in a remarkable display of mensural ingenuity: laid out in the second rhythmic mode, like *Quoniam secta latronum*, this tenor employs augmentation for the first of the two statements of its *color*, so that the melody moves in longs and duplex longs, then diminution for the second statement, with the movement entirely in equal breves. (*Maximodus* is perfect, as in *Quoniam secta latronum*, but *modus* and *tempus* are imperfect, hence the equal breves of the passage in diminution.) In the first statement of the *color* there are seventy-two (imperfect) long units; in the second there are twenty-four. This is but one of the numerous ways in which the motet is shaped by the three-in-one idea of the Trinity.[140]

It is noteworthy that the composer of *Adesto sancta trinitas* chose 72 to symbolise the Trinity. As the product of 24 (hours in the day) and 3 (illuminations of the earth by the sun), 72 was emblematic of the proclamation of faith in the Trinity. Thus, Bede, commenting on the seventy-two pomegranates and bells that were thought to adorn Aaron's priestly tunic (Exod. 28: 33–5), sees them as signifying the disciples sent forth by Christ and the lesser clergy of the Church, but adds that:

> [Aaron] bore seventy-two golden bells and an equal number of pomegranates so that he might show mystically that the same faith and working of righteousness would lead the whole world from the darkness of error into the true light. For seventy-two hours comprise three days and nights, and because over the course of seventy-two hours this visible sun circles every part of the world three times as it sheds its light above and below, aptly was this number used . . ., teaching figuratively that Christ's sun of righteousness would illuminate the entire world and give it the gift of true faith, which is in the acknowledgement and confession of the Trinity, and also the gift of good works, found in the flowering and splendour of the virtues.
>
> Portabat et septuaginta duo tintinnabula aurea cum totidem malis punicis ut ostenderet mystice quod eadem fides et operatio iustitiae uniuersum esset mundum ab errorum tenebris ad ueram lucem perductura. Tres namque dies ac noctes habent horas septuaginta duas, et quia sol iste uisibilis omnes mundi partes in septuaginta duabus horis supra infraque lustrando tribus uicibus circuit apte hic numerus . . . . inditus est ad docendum figurate quod sol iustitiae Christus orbem esset illuminaturus uniuersum eique donum praebiturus et uerae

[140] See esp. A. W. Robertson, 'Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet*, pp. 52–81.

fidei quae est in agnitione et confessione sanctae trinitatis et bonae operationis quae in uariarum est flore ac splendore uirtutum.[141]

The number also signified the length of time, three days, that Christ's body lay in the tomb before his resurrection. Thus, Honorius of Autun, in a passage that links the themes of the Resurrection and the seventy-two disciples:

We celebrate the three days of the Lord's entombment. Three days and nights we calculate as seventy-two hours. And therefore we put out all light, because we mourn on these days the extinguished true light, and replicate the sorrow of the seventy-two disciples.

His tribus diebus sepulturam Domini celebramus. Tres autem dies et noctes septuaginta duabus horis computamus. Et ideo totidem lumina exstinguimus, quia lumen verum his diebus exstinctum lugemus; et septuaginta duorum discipulorum tristitiam exprimimus.[142]

It was during this interval that Christ harrowed Hell; it is striking and perhaps no coincidence that the prayer glossed by *Adesto sancta trinitas* speaks at length of the Harrowing (La. add. vv. 1737–56). This use in common of that theme may suggest that the motet was composed specifically for MS fr. 146 and its *Fauvel* edition.

The three motets at the end of the *Fauvel* collection that we have just considered, the only works in the final group that are composed in the *ars nova*, all use the number 72 as a structuring principle. In its deployment of 72, *Adesto sancta trinitas* adds another strand of symbolic meaning to those underpinning *Quoniam secta latronum* and *In nova fert*. In retrospect its use of the three-in-one idea also lends weight, if only indirectly, to the suggestion of a Trinitarian subtext to *Quare fremuerunt* that we mentioned in passing in Part IV, above. All this further enriches the network of associations in which the *roman* is cloaked.

VI

We return, finally, to fol. 1[r] of MS fr. 146 and to the first item on the page, the motet *Favellandi vicium*. We remarked in Part II that this motet has an overall duration of seventy perfect longs in the transcription by Leo Schrade, with the *tractus* following the first

[141] Bede, *De tabernaculo*, in CCSL 119a, 112.
[142] Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae*, in PL 172, col. 665c.

sentence rendered as a double bar rather than a pause of a given duration. If the stroke is read as written, as a perfect long rest, however, the total length increases to seventy-one longs. We suggested that this *tractus* acts to set the crucial opening sentence apart motto-like from the rest of the motet. We also noted the unusual rhythmic treatment of the equally crucial final thought, throwing into relief the 'here and now' thought that comes to the fore in the text. If we see this striking passage as concluding, at least conceptually, with a perfect long rest analogous to the one following the motto opening, then the motet is seventy-two longs in duration.[143] Considered in the light of what we have observed elsewhere in the *Fauvel* collection, including what we have found in what has emerged as the ideological parallel to this motet, *Quare fremuerunt*, either number, 70 or 72, should catch our attention. The scriptural sources are divided as to whether there were seventy-two or seventy disciples; the tally of Moses' elders exhibits a similar lack of consistency: the two numbers were well-nigh interchangeable in medieval number allegory.[144] If 72/70 is indeed a significant element in the 'text' of *Favellandi vicium*, when the author beseeches God, 'apply here [your] counsel!' the fact is that He has already done so: His seventy-two are already there, in the temporal bricks out of which the work is built. This scriptural undercurrent is found again in the temporal plan of *Mundus a mundicia*, but there it manifests itself in a somewhat different way. The music and text added to Philip the Chancellor's original conductus, which affirm the dominance of the harlot beast Fauvel

[143] In theoretical terms, the end of the piece, moving in Franco's second rhythmic mode, could indeed have concluded its rhythmic *ordo* with a perfect long rest. (This mode moves in alternating breves and longs or/and in all longs, in a manner similar to Franco's first mode; for confirmation see the examples in some of the manuscripts preserving the treatise, in *Franconis de Colonia ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. G. Reaney and A. Gilles (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 18; American Institute of Musicology, 1974), p. 27, apparatus.) The tenor of *Quoniam secta latronum*, in the second rhythmic mode (in augmentation), extends for seventy-two longs when the rest that concludes the final *ordo* is taken into account. The same is true of the tenor *color* of *Adesto sancta trinitas*, also in the second mode, also moving in augmentation. On the other hand, the rest that concludes each of the two *colores* of *In nova fert* does not figure in the symbolic numerical count. The same is true of *Quare fremuerunt* and *Quomodo cantabimus*. The tenors of these three motets do not manifest a rhythmic flow conceived in 'modal' terms.

[144] See nn. 101 and 100, above. 70 also symbolises the number of years of the Babylonian Captivity (e.g. 2 Chron. 36: 21 and Jer. 25: 11), and evokes Septuagesima, the beginning of the liturgical progression towards Lent and Easter – that is, the very progression heralded by the Lucan disciples; see Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon*, cols. 755–9.

over the world, extend for twelve longs, thirty-six breves. If both voices are taken into account, the total is, again, 72 (this time, breves). (The disciples went forth in pairs, not unlike the two angel messengers who visited Sodom to warn of its impending destruction.)[145] In *Quare fremuerunt*, the usage is different again. The motet is seventy-two breves in length, and its text numbers seventy-two syllables. The disciples inform not only the duration of the motet, but also the organisation of the very words through which its message is articulated.

Thus the voice of the author, couched symbolically as the collective voice of the disciples of Christ 'labouring in the midst of wolves', is heard figuratively at the outset of the *Livres de Fauvel* to set the tone, to establish an allegorical and moral platform on which the edifice as a whole would be built. One or another aspect of that platform can be discerned from time to time as the *Fauvel* edition unfolds. At the close of *Fauvel* it is only the motets in the 'new' style that reveal the presence of the 72; there the voice of the disciples is heard in all three *ars nova* motets. Each uses the figure of the 72 as a structuring premise, but, as on fol. 1^{r}, each does so in a somewhat individual way. The three motets share many external features. They alone among the eight motets in the closing group are based on plainchant. They are the only pieces in the closing group that are not unique to MS fr. 146. Moreover, they have much in common stylistically. Taken together, these circumstances suggest with some degree of probability that they were written as a set, and specifically for *Fauvel*. Or, alternatively, one of them could have served as a model for the other two, the new works fashioned by a composer who understood the 'subtext'

[145] Gen. 19: 1. Moreover, the 12 (longs) can be seen as emblematic of the twelve apostles, the 'first' group of heralds dispatched to proclaim the coming of the King. Bede, commenting on the priestly vestments worn by Aaron, remarks (*De tabernaculo*, 112): 'ut sicut in umero ac pectore apostolicum ferre numerum iussus est ita etiam discipulorum septuaginta duorum circa pedes numerum assignatum haberet. Constat enim quod sicut duodenarius apostolorum numerus episcopalis gradum dignitatis inchoauit sic discipuli septuaginta duo qui et ipsi ad praedicandum uerbum sunt missi a domino gradum sacerdotii minoris' ('so that just as he [Aaron] was commanded to bear the apostolic number on his shoulder and breast, he might have the number of the seventy-two disciples put around his feet. For just as the number of the twelve apostles instituted the rank of the episcopal dignity, it is evident that the seventy-two disciples, who were also sent out by the Lord to preach, signify in their selection the lesser rank of the priesthood'). See the numerous other citations from Scripture and the exegetical literature given in Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon*, cols. 619–46.

encoded in his model.[146] (In fact, this hypothesis does not rule out the previous one; the two procedures are not mutually exclusive.) These three motets are precisely the *Fauvel* works that have the strongest claims to the authorship of Philippe de Vitry.[147] Were the relatively simple works on fol. 1[r] also composed by this musician, Philippe or someone else, *pace* the seeming differences in style between *Favellandi vicium* and *Mundus a mundicia*, on one hand, and *Quare fremuerunt*, on the other, and between all three of these technically unassuming works and the three highly complex 'Vitry' motets? It seems reasonable to propose this hypothesis. If they were not all the work of this composer, they were in any event fashioned by someone who was privy to the message embedded in his compositions. Alternatively, were the complex works at the end of the *roman* written in response to the simpler ones on fol. 1[r], and is this also the case with *Quomodo cantabimus* on fol. 32[r], and possibly others still to be identified? Or is this the wrong way to put the question – ought we rather to be asking whether the person responsible for the music in the *Fauvel* collection decided on an allegorical topos that he or his composer(s) could develop in various but related ways? All these scenarios are interesting: if these pieces were indeed all written for *Fauvel*, as the arrangements on fol. 1[r] surely were and as Margaret Bent has suggested is the case with the 'Vitry' motets,[148] then there is a strong possibility that one or another of them was at work.

[146] On 'imitation' and other forms of modelling, see most recently J. Ziolkowski, 'The Highest Form of Compliment: *Imitatio* in Medieval Latin Culture', in J. Marenbon (ed.), *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 293–307.

[147] For the most recent discussion of the vexed question of what works can be ascribed to Philippe de Vitry, see A. Wathey, 'Vitry, Philippe de [Vitriaco, Vittriaco]', in *New Grove II*. Briefly stated, no work in MS fr. 146 can be attributed to Philippe de Vitry on external grounds. There is, however, evidence to suggest that he at least knew one (and possibly more) of the *Fauvel* motets, *Quoniam secta latronum*, two decades after the preparation of MS fr. 146; see Wathey, 'Myth and Mythography in the Motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Musica e storia*, 6 (1998), pp. 95–6. This is not to say that he did not write some or even many of them, including all those under discussion here, only that our analytical tools are not yet sharp enough to be reliable, and that we may sometimes find significance in the wrong sorts of data, leading us to unsupportable conclusions. Until we are better equipped and can frame the questions more cogently, it would seem better to err on the side of restraint, a policy that few would reject when studying, say, the music of the fifteenth century. The possibility that Philippe de Vitry was the musician involved in the production of MS fr. 146 is very attractive, the lack of hard evidence notwithstanding; if it should prove to be true, this manuscript would represent the closest thing to a composer's autograph to survive from the Middle Ages.

[148] Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny'.

All this raises tantalising questions, not only about the oeuvre of Philippe de Vitry but also about the role he might have played in the preparation of MS fr. 146, perhaps as its music scribe, perhaps as someone whose involvement in the production of its *Fauvel* was even more central. It also suggests the need for further enquiry into the difference between 'old' and 'new' musical idioms at the dawn of the Ars nova, about whether we know what those differences actually consisted of and how (if at all) they relate to the notions of 'simple' and 'complex' that we have just used to characterise those idioms, about how deep-seated those distinctions are in fact, and about their relevance in discussions of attribution and chronology.[149]

This study has concentrated on a single page, fol. 1[r], but similar sorts of observations could be made regarding many other pages and groups of pages in MS fr. 146. The version of *Fauvel* in this book can be understood as behaving like a giant motet, as a huge assemblage of different elements, textual, musical, illustrative, all brought together on the page in an intricate web of intertextual relationships that transcends language, genre and medium.[150] On

[149] Among other recent work on these questions, cf. D. Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Emergence of *Ars nova*', *Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), pp. 285–317; Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny'; ead., 'Polyphony of Texts and Music'; ead., 'Early Papal Motets', in R. Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 5–43; and Robertson, 'Which Vitry?' See also the reviews of *Fauvel Studies* by L. M. Earp, in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9 (2000), pp. 185–202, and D. Leech-Wilkinson, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), pp. 152–9.

[150] 'War er's nicht, der meint', ich ging zu weit? . . . Und blieb ich nicht im Geleise, war's nicht auf seine Weise? Doch war's vielleicht auch Eitelkeit?' (Veit Pogner). Has recent research on *Fauvel* gone too far, reading too much into what can be found in MS fr. 146 in its pursuit of the game at the expense of common sense? I do not share the concerns in this regard voiced by Leech-Wilkinson in his review of *Fauvel Studies* (see n. 149, above). My own experience with the manuscript convinces me that it is a highly cohesive artefact, the parts of which inform each other, often in subtle ways, at every turn and over large spans. Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that the collection achieved its final form (indeed, perhaps its very form) only as it was being produced, it shows many signs of the planning that went into its production, and it reveals a close and subtle interaction between the book as an artefact and the book as a repository of texts. MS fr. 146 is not alone in this regard, of course: for another striking example see K. A. Duys, 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1997); and, among numerous other studies of late medieval illuminated psalters and books of hours, see the forthcoming monograph by K. A. Smith, *Three Women and their Books of Hours: Art and Devotion in Early Fourteenth-Century England* (The British Library Publications). See also Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, esp. ch. 1. What sets MS fr. 146 apart from comparable volumes may be the fact that much of the evidence lies so close to the surface, and hence is easily discovered.

fol. 1r the material added to the original text, and above all the added music, sets in motion a dialectic that will continue off and on throughout the *roman*. The three motets underscore and focus the *roman*'s picture of a monarchy degraded by unworthiness and vice, but at the same time they promise salvation, relief from Fauvel and the evil he represents – salvation that is to come from within the institution of kingship itself. Fauvel appears on the surface to be omnipotent; the interpolated Fountain of Youth passage late in the narrative suggests that he and his like might continue to reign for ever. But the attentive reader has known otherwise from the outset, from fol. 1r. The Lucan and psalmic references that drive much of the music on that page tell us this, and tell us why that is so. The text at the very end of the *roman*, on fol. 45r, says that Fauvel 'will meet his end, for he cannot live for ever'; the motets on fol. 1r suggest a less literal rendering of the French, 'for eternal life is not granted him'. The reappearance of the 72 later in the *roman* reminds us of the prophecy that imbues the first page. The disciples tell us as surely as the fact that it was Fortune who perched the tethered Fauvel on high, that the creature will perish. Damnation, not eternal life, is for him. The 'author', the creative genius behind the enterprise that is MS fr. 146, proclaims this and the coming of the True King with biblical *auctoritas*, with the voice of those 'labouring in the midst of wolves'.

The year 1314 saw the execution of Jacques de Molay on 18 March at the hands of Philippe le Bel, and then the deaths of the two major players in the suppression of the Templars, Pope Clement V (20 April) and Philippe le Bel himself (29 November). Philippe's last year was marked by widespread unrest over his fiscal policies and, breaking out in mid-April, the adultery scandal that engulfed the wives of his three sons, throwing into question the legitimacy of the royal succession. Jeanne, the wife of the future Philip V, was eventually cleared of the allegation of complicity that had been brought against her, but the other two spouses were evidently guilty. Marguerite of Burgundy, the notorious wife of Louis X, died in prison under suspicious circumstances in late April 1315; a few days later, on 30 April, Philippe's chamberlain Enguerran de Marigny was hanged after a show trial. Louis X did not compare favourably with his sainted great-grandfather and namesake, Louis IX, and his premature courtship (initiated

months before Marguerite's death) and hasty marriage (31 July 1315) to Clementia of Hungary perpetuated the cloud of scandal that hung over the Throne of France. His own sudden death on 5 June 1316, leaving behind a pregnant queen, precipitated uncertainty over the succession that was not resolved until the death of the newborn Jean I in mid-November of that year. The advent to the throne of Philip V at the beginning of 1317 settled the question of succession; it also held out the hope that Holy France would once again prosper under proper rule.

Proper kingship as embodied in the new king Philip V is the subject of MS fr. 146. The theme of the king anointed by God and presiding in virtue, prevailing over evildoers who would set aside his rule and God's law, is one of the principal ideas running through its *Fauvel* edition. Implicitly, the newly crowned Philip V is an exemplum of good kingship – indeed, it seems reasonable to suppose that his advent to the throne was the catalyst for the *Livres de Fauvel* and the compilation as a whole. It is not known whether Philip ever saw the book, or whether in fact it was even intended for his eyes, either in public or in private: its composition as an *admonitio* on kingship tells us nothing about who commissioned it or why, or its *destinataire*.[151] We should be equally circumspect about concluding that the reign of Fauvel that is excoriated so stridently was meant to be understood as the reigns of Philip's immediate predecessors, Philippe le Bel and Louis X. The examples that those reigns provided were convenient and vivid cases in point on the pitfalls of monarchy, and they could make the ascent of the new king appear all the more climactic and meaningful. They are rhetorical ploys that help situate the theme of good kingship and the new king who exemplifies it, but not necessarily more than that.

Form and content interact in MS fr. 146 to promote its message. The message is launched on the first page of *Fauvel* with

[151] We must conclude that the makers – the scribes and decorators – of MS fr. 146 were themselves responsible for shaping the final form of much if not all its content, if not necessarily for its overall thrust. They are certainly not unique in this regard: in a forthcoming monograph on the books produced for the Bohun family in the second half of the fourteenth century, Lucy Freeman Sandler shows that the Bohun artists, working as an integral part of the household over an extended period of time, articulated the political and dynastic aspirations of the family with considerable originality and independence of thought.

an Old Testament foundation congruent with Capetian political ideology, and proclaimed by New Testament heralds out in a world infested by devils. Scriptural allegory is deployed as a rhetorical tactic that both articulates the theme of kingship and shapes it. There are many threads woven into *Fauvel*, but those discussed here are surely among the more prominent ones unifying and colouring this complex tapestry.

New York University

Postscript. In our discussion of *Quare fremuerunt* in Part IV we suggested that the *Salve regina* melody embedded in the motet served to direct the reader to the Virgin and the cathedral dedicated to her Assumption, Notre-Dame of Paris, as refuges from Fauvel. Now in its essay on the Assumption, the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine reports the following: 'Et, secundum quod ait Epiphanius, XXIV annis post ascensionem filii sui superuixit. Refert ergo quod beata uirgo quando Christum concepit erat annorum XIV et in XV ipsum peperit et mansit cum eo annis XXXIII et post mortem Christi superuixit annis XXIV et secundum hoc quando obiit erat annorum LXXII' ('According to the statement of Epiphanius, she lived for 24 years after her son's Ascension. He figures, then, that the Blessed Virgin was 14 years of age when she conceived Christ, and she gave birth in the 15th [year], and she lived with him for 33 years, and she lived after the death of Christ for 24 years, and, so it follows, she was 72 years of age when she died'); Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea, edizione critica*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Florence, 1998), ii, p. 779 (Jacobus probably drew directly or indirectly on the Latin version of the apocryphal life of the Virgin by the Byzantine monk Epiphanius, ed. as *Historia auct. Epiphanio mon., interprete Paschali Romano*, in E. Franceschini, *Studi e note di filologia medievale* (Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, IV, 30; Milan, 1938), esp. pp. 115, 123–4). The passage is retained in the French translation by Jean de Vignay; see Jacques de Voragine, *La légende dorée, édition critique dans la révision de 1476 par Jean Bataillier, d'après la traduction de Jean de Vignay (1333–1348) de la* Legenda aurea *(c. 1262–1266)*, ed. B. Dunn-Lardeau (Paris, 1997), p. 739. Guillaume Durand presents the same information in very similar words in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum; Guillelmi Duranti rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed.

A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, 3 vols. (Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 140, 140A–B; Turnhout, 1995, 2000), ii, p. 70. Both authors go on to question Epiphanius' account, but the very fact that these widely read works of the later thirteenth century associate the Assumption with the number 72 has significance for our reading of *Quare fremuerunt*: it strengthens the association of the motet's Marian aspect with Notre-Dame specifically, and links that Marian aspect to the other connotations of 72, the numerical *res* determining structure and meaning in the motet.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127903003048 Published online by Cambridge University Press