Or Ai Ge Trop Dormi

A Study of the Unfinished F-Pn fr. 12786

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Abstract

F-Pn fr. 12786 was made in the early fourteenth century in Northern France. Codicological and palaeographic evidence suggests that the middle of the three codicological units may have been produced before the others, perhaps because the high demand for the texts in this unit made such an approach commercially interesting. The two codicological breaks are both obscured by the incomplete nature of the texts ending immediately before these moments, and it is unclear whether the texts were intended to be completed. Other aspects of the manuscript have likewise been left uncompleted: the scribe left spaces for miniatures, initials, and musical notation, but these have never been added. Although the absence of these features must have impoverished the reading experiences of the book's readers, no-one added the illustrations, the initials, and the notation for both monophonic and polyphonic songs, suggesting that the users of fr. 12786 considered the manuscript finished enough for their purpose. Users' traces show that the book remained in use for many centuries and in various ways.

The manuscript transmits a collection of diverse contents in which some anthological tendencies can be observed. Many manuscripts containing such collections survive, and in this respect, fr. 12786 is situated firmly in a tradition of compilation in which collections were assembled of a combination of usually devotional and moralising texts, often also scientific texts and romances, and in certain cases even music. Fr. 12786 stands out most because of its collection of relatively complex song. This song collection is unique and contains the largest surviving collection of polyphonic *rondeaux*. It appears to have been organised roughly by genre, and also in an order of increasing complexity or difficulty. The texts in this collection are part of a large network of song transmission, in which fr. 12786 finds itself, albeit on the periphery.

An *ex libris* which can clearly be seen under ultraviolet light shows that the book belonged to Jean Sala, a manuscript collector in Lyon in the early sixteenth century. It came to the Bibliothèque nationale between 1815 and 1830, and remains there until today.

Declaration of Authorship

I, Frieda van der Heijden, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

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Thank you.

Library Sigla

A-Iu	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek
A-Wn	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Alber 1er
B-LVu	Leuven, Universiteitsbibliotheek
B-M	Mons, Bibliothèque de l'Université UMONS
B-Tm	Tournai, Bibliothèque municipale
CH-Beb	Bern, Burgerbibliothek
CH-Cobodmer	Cologne (Geneva), Biblioteca Bodmeriana
CH-Gpu	Genève, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève
CH-LAac	Lausanne, Archives Cantonales Vaudoises
D-BAs	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek
D-Bkk	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek und Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett
D-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
D-W	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
DK-Kk	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek
F-AI	Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale
F-AM	Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale
F-AS	Arras, Bibliothèque municipale
F-B	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale
F-CA	Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale
F-CH	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé
F-CHch	Chantilly, Bibliothèque et Archives du Château
F-CHRm	Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale
F-CV	Charleville-Mézières, Mediathèque Voyelles
F-Dm	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale
F-DRAm	Draguignan, Bibliothèque municipale
F-E	Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale
F-Ge	Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale
F-Lm	Lille, Bibliothèque municipale
F-LYbl	Lyon, Bibliothèque de Louvain
F-LYm	Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale
F-LYpa	Lyon, Palais des Arts
F-ME	Metz, Bibliothèque municipale
F-MEL	Melun, Bibliothèque municipale
F-MO	Montpellier, Faculté de Médicine
F-NAm	Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale
F-Pa	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
F-Pi	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
F-Psg	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève
F-R	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
F-RE	Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole
F-RS	Reims, Bibliothèque municipale
F-T	Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale
F-TOm	Tours, Bibliothèque municipale
GB-AB	Aberstwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru
GB-Ccc	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
GB-Ce	Cambridge, Emmanuel College
GB-Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
GB-Ct	Cambridge, Trinity College

GB-CHEp	Cheltenham, Phillips Library
GB-Cu	Cambridge, University Library
GB-H	Hereford, Cathedral Library
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Mr	Manchester, John Rylands Library
GB-NO	Nottingham, University Library
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
GB-WO	Worcester, Cathedral Library
I-Fl	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana
I-Ma	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
I-Mb	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense
I-MOe	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
I-Rvat	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
I-Tn	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
NL-Au	Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek
NL-DHk	Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
RUS-SPsc	Saint Petersburg, Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka
US-BEb	Berkeley, University of California, Bancroft Library
US-CA	Cambridge, Harvard University
US-Cu	Chicago, University Library
US-NHub	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
US-NYmm	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Library
US-NYpm	New York, Piermont Morgan Library and Museum

Contents

Introduction

"All men by nature desire to know." The opening words of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, cited by Richard de Fournival in his thirteenth-century *Bestiaire d'Amours* as well as by numerous other authors both during the Middle Ages and since, offer a reasonable explanation for all research. The present study, likewise, was born from a desire to find as much as possible about one manuscript, a single book that will provide an insight into medieval book production, textual transmission, reading practices, and more.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 12786, henceforth referred to as fr. 12786, appears to be unfinished: blank spaces have been left by the scribe where musical notation, initials, and miniatures were once intended, but for unknown reasons the manuscript was left in an uncompleted state. The book contains a seemingly miscellaneous collection of texts in Old French consisting of devotional, scientific, allegorical, and moralising texts as well as romances in verse, prose, and song.

Although some of the texts have been roughly dated to various decades within the thirteenth century, palaeographic evidence suggests that the manuscript was made in the early fourteenth century, and while there are some exceptions within recent scholarship, there seems to be general consensus on this dating. An example of such an exception of a recent work in which fr. 12786 is dated to the late thirteenth century is Keith Busby's *Codex and Context*.[1] Busby refers to the dating (and localising) of the book by Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin in their edition of the works by Rutebeuf, a poet to whom two texts in fr. 12786 are or were attributed.[2] One of the first studies in which the manuscript is mentioned and also dated is the 1870 article "Verlorene Handschriften" by Julius Brakelmann; the German medievalist who worked in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris already concluded that fr. 12786 was made in the early fourteenth century.[3] As there is no internal evidence in the texts of fr. 12786 to support a more precise estimate of when it was made, the dating will have to be, to borrow a term from Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz, "permanently provisional".[4]

Based on palaeographic, linguistic, and textual features in the manuscript, we know that it must have been made in the North of France. Few scholars touch upon the matter of the location of origin, and most who do remain deliberately vague. However, Faral and Bastin, and later also Busby, locate fr. 12786 to Île-de-France or Champagne; and Eberhard König and Gabriele Bartz refer to the book as "das Pariser ms. fr. 12786" in their *Leuchtendes Mittelalter*,

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[1] Busby 2002: p. 587.
[2] Faral and Bastin 1959-60: pp. 12-17; 25-26.
[3] Brakelmann 1870: pp. 104-8.
[4] Busby and Kleinhenz 2015: p. 220.

but unfortunately none of the above reveal their evidence.[5] Walther Suchier, who studied the dream treatise that is transmitted in the manuscript, notes that the spelling of certain words which are found in this book (such as *chevol*, *chevox*) and the use of the word *li* point to the region of Champagne, while others (for example *diaus*, *enterra*, *ou*, *po*, and *iqui*) are typical for the area around Picardy and Wallonia.[6] Such linguistic or dialectal information can help shed light on the places of origin of a manuscript, but conclusions need to be drawn carefully and taken with a grain of salt, as there are many factors that influence the spelling, such as the scribe's dialect and style, the region where the craft of writing was learnt, the intended owner of the book and his/her dialect and expectations, the origins of the exemplars that are used, etc.[7] Because there is no further evidence, I will for this purpose consider the place of origin to be an unspecific "Northern France".

Fr. 12786 has been studied by scholars from various fields and disciplines, such as linguistics, philology, literary studies, musicology, and others, most of whom focused on a single text that is transmitted in the manuscript, most frequently the *Roman de la Rose*. Even though there are more than three hundred surviving witnesses to this text, fr. 12786 is mentioned in many studies because it is the only one that does not contain Jean de Meun's famous continuation of the romance by Guillaume de Lorris, but has a much shorter anonymous conclusion instead.[8] This conclusion is also found in six other manuscripts, but all of those also contain the one by Jean de Meun after the anonymous one.[9] Even in its most widely transmitted text then, fr. 12786 is unique.

The more obscure texts in the manuscript have received much less scholarly attention, but they, too, have occasionally been studied, in particular the *Roman de la Poire*, a romance with *refrain* insertions that survives in four manuscripts; it is incomplete in each of them.[10] The song collection in fr. 12786, which includes several texts by Adam de la Halle, and which

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[5] Faral and Bastin 1959-60: pp. 12-17; Busby 2002: p. 587; König and Bartz 2000: p. 20. König and Bartz may also refer to the current location of the manuscript.

[6] Suchier 1956-57: p. 147.

[7] For the sake of fluency, the male personal pronoun is used for the scribe, other scribes, and other craftsmen and producers of manuscripts throughout this thesis. Though it is much more likely that these anonymous people were men, they may have been women.

[8] The ongoing digital project *Roman de la Rose: Digital Library* lists 326 known witnesses in September 2017. "Roman de la Rose Digital Library." <http://romandelarose.org/#corpus> (Accessed: September 2017). Also see e.g.: Langlois 1891; Langlois 1910: pp. 49-52; Todd 1928, p. 7; Van der Poel 1989: p. 68; Dahlberg 1999: pp. 118, 129, 188, 203.

[9] Huot 1987: p. 17. These manuscripts are: F-AM 437, US-CA A Rg. 3.40, GB-Mr fr. 66, F-Pn Rothschild 2800 (IV.2.24), B-Tm 101, the Rouard Manuscript (passed out of sight) and the Tersan Manuscript (now lost). Brownlee, Huot 2016: pp. 370-72. Also see: Zink 1992 for an edition of the anonymous continuation.

[10] E.g. Stehlich 1881: pp. 23-24, in which fr. 12786 is merely mentioned; Marchello-Nizia 1984, the most important edition of the *Roman de la Poire*; Harris and Reichl 1997: p. 90, in which the *Poire* is briefly discussed with all its witnesses.

contains the largest surviving collection of polyphonic *rondeaux*, has understandably been of interest to musicologists, albeit perhaps not the same level of interest that it would have received had it contained musical notation, and arguably not the level of interest that this fascinating collection deserves: in most studies the manuscript is merely mentioned briefly as a concordance for a text that is discussed, without being looked into in more detail.[11]

An important exception here is Mark Everist's "The Polyphonic 'Rondeau' c. 1300", in which the rise of the polyphonic *rondeau* in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is discussed. Because this was a new genre at the time, there are very few surviving sources that transmit these songs, in fact, fr. 12786 and F-Pn fr. 25566 are the only large collections of such songs.[12] It is unsurprising then, that Everist pays much attention to fr. 12786 in his study to this genre. He describes the manuscript and in particular the song collection in detail and also takes into account palaeographic features. His article is a valuable source for the current study, one to which will be referred frequently throughout the thesis, particularly in the chapter in which the music in fr. 12786 is discussed.

Most of the *unica* in the manuscript have not been properly examined. Interestingly, though perhaps not necessarily surprisingly, these texts were apparently more popular amongst scholars of the later nineteenth century, such as the famous French historian Charles-Victor Langlois, and an anonymous author in an article in the ninth annual *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, both of whom mention *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophets Fist* in a study of texts that are similar to this almanac which survives uniquely in fr. 12786.[13] Neither author, however, goes into any detail regarding this manuscript.

As Gerard Bouwmeester writes: "There might be pragmatic reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of certain texts (such as the availability of texts), but the very fact that a text was included in a manuscript makes it desirable that every individual text should be studied by anyone aiming to understand the book as a whole".[14] Almost all of the abovementioned studies refer to fr. 12786 only because it transmits a concordance for the text that is central to their study, and although some of them provide some additional information about the book, such as a rough dating sometimes with a (speculative) localisation and often a list of the other texts in

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[11] E.g. Stevens 1986 (pp. 193, 463); Bent 1998 (p. 123); Butterfield 2002 (pp. 87-88, 335); Atchison 2005 (p. 563); Dixon 2008 (pp. 175-76); Maxwell 2010 (pp. 27-28). There are, however, studies in which the manuscript is dealt with as being more than simply another witness to a text to provide comparison. An interesting example is *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, a study about songs with feminine voices in which fr. 12786 is given as an example of how these are sometimes grouped together. See: Doss-Quinby et al. 2001: p. 53. In their *Companion to Guillaume de Machaut* Jennifer Bain and Deborah McGrady speak of three-part polyphony, for which fr. 12786 is considered an important early source, even though the music itself was never added See: Bain and McGrady 2012: p. 156.
[12] F-Pn Collection de Picardie 67 contains two polyphonic *rondeaux* and F-Pn fr. 146 one. See: Everist 1996, pp. 68-69.
[13] Langlois 1891: p. 237; Anonymous (6) 1883, Vol. 3: p. 88.
[14] Bouwmeester 2017: p. 57

the collection, hardly any of them attempt to establish a relationship between the text on which they focus and the other texts in the volume.

Sylvia Huot's *From Song to Book* is an important exception. In this book, Huot examines different forms of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century book compilation, such as narrative and lyric anthologies and single-author volumes, through her discussion of case studies that exemplify the compilers' suggested approaches. Fr. 12786 is one of these case studies and serves to illustrate an anthological compilation of texts based on thematic unity. Huot suggests that the *Roman de la Rose* is the central text in the manuscript, not only in place (in the book's current collation) – which, Huot argues, may well have been how it was originally intended – but also in meaning, and that all the other texts in the volume are compiled in this collection of texts to support the *Rose* in one way or another: the *Roman de la Poire* is modelled on the *Rose*, the *Bestiaire d'Amours* uses allegory in a very similar way, and the *Explication des Songes* explores the theme of dreams, to give some examples.[15] Although some of these intertextual relations described by Huot are very convincing, others, such as those between the *Rose* and the devotional poems or the *Rose* and *Le Dit d'Aristote* seem perhaps somewhat forced, and therefore it might be more compelling to argue that although there certainly are connections between the *Roman de la Rose* and many of the other texts in the collection which the compilers of the manuscript may well have been aware of, it might be more fruitful to abandon the idea of a central text and approach the inter- and intratextual relations in a different manner. This matter will receive more attention in Chapter 3.

Huot and most other scholars referring to fr. 12786 mention the unfinished nature of the book, but they do not pay much attention to what is missing, what this meant for the readers, or what may have been intended for the manuscript. It remains unknown when and where exactly the book was made, in what circumstances it was produced, who had ordered it, who its owners were throughout its seven hundred-year long history, what the compilers' motives may have been, and why the book was left in its uncompleted state. The present study aims to shed new light on this interesting and important manuscript that is one of the earliest witnesses to a new musical repertoire and that transmits some of the most popular texts of its time as well as little-known and even unique texts. The unfinished nature of the book gives an insight into the production process and into the manuscript makers' intentions that completed manuscripts cannot always reveal. In this thesis, fr. 12786 will be studied from different angles in order to deduce more about why and how the manuscript was made, why these texts may have been compiled together, what the intended purpose of the book may have been, and how and by whom it was eventually used.

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[15] Huot 1987: pp. 16-19.

In Chapter 1, *An Open Book*, the material and visual aspects of the manuscript will be discussed. Fr. 12786 has an interesting codicology that raises questions about the original intentions of the manuscript makers and may give an insight into the production processes at use in the place in which this book was made. The parchment, the foliation, the binding, the script, and even the nineteenth-century cover all provide information about the original purposes of the manuscript and the context in which it was produced, but they will also reveal an ambiguous view on the original, the intended, and the current collation and state of the book.

In the second chapter, *Under Construction*, focus will be on what is *not* there rather than on what is, and the blank spaces will be examined. The shapes, sizes, and placing of these spaces, combined with comparisons with manuscripts that have been completed give an idea about what was intended and allow for a (sketchy) conceptual filling in of the blanks. This will give an idea of what the readers missed out on. The unfinished nature leaves questions, but also provides an insight into the intended collaboration between the various craftsmen who were meant to work on the book, which in turn sheds some light on book production processes of the early fourteenth century.

After these two chapters in which the facts are laid out and hypotheses are offered regarding the production and the intended physical appearance of the manuscript, it will be time to start 'reading' the book, and in Chapter 3, *Compiling a Collection*, the texts in fr. 12786 will be discussed both individually and in light of the other texts in the collection. Comparison with other manuscripts in which the same, or in the case of the *unica* very similar texts are copied will cast light on how these texts were collected and transmitted and on how they were managed by the compilers of fr. 12786. This chapter will show that the manuscript is simultaneously part of a widespread compilation tradition and exceptional in its collection.

Chapter 4, *Comparing Notes*, is devoted entirely to the music in fr. 12786. Most attention will be paid to what is inarguably the beating musical heart of the manuscript, the song collection, which will be discussed in detail. Analysis of the forty-one songs and the order in which they are found will lead to a new hypothesis regarding the organisational structure of the collection, and a look at the concordant manuscripts for these texts as well as other witnesses to the *refrains* of the songs, will give an insight into patterns or tendencies in the transmission and circulation of these songs. Additionally, the *Roman de la Poire* with its nineteen short *refrains* will receive attention in this chapter, as will a *son poitevin* strophe that is copied in a small space between the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose*.

Finally, in Chapter 5, *The Real Readers*, the actual historical owners and users of the book will be discussed. Based on detailed examination of the traces they left behind on the parchment, careful conclusions may be drawn regarding the reading practices and the different functions fr. 12786 fulfilled throughout its history. Some of these traces give clues about

historical owners, and a new piece of evidence regarding the provenance of the manuscript will be revealed.

Chapter 1. An Open Book

This first chapter will consider the codicology and other corporeal aspects of fr. 12786. The codicological structure of the book raises certain questions about the intentions of the manuscript makers regarding the order of the three codicological units and about the production of the codex, which will be addressed first. This will shed some light on how the gatherings were produced and gathered and how the manuscript makers may have worked. The next step in the production process is to add ruling to the pages, and this will be discussed in detail. Close analysis will show that the compilers of the book knew exactly what it was to contain. The scribe likewise left evidence that provides insights into how fr. 12786 was manufactured. Finally, the foliation and the rebindings of the manuscript will be discussed. They are the most recent additions and adjustments that result in the book as it exists today.

1.1.   Codicological Unity?

Fr. 12786 consists of ninety-nine folios. Table 1.1 below sets out the contents of the volume in the book's current collation and also shows the points of the two codicological breaks. While the codicological structure is relatively consistent, it is not entirely straightforward, and the three codicological units were not necessarily always bound in the order in which they are now.

Table 1.1: Contents of fr. 12786

First codicological unit:	
ff. 1r-24v	*Le Roman de la Poire* (Messire Thibaut)
ff. 24v-30v	*Le Livre des Pierres* (anonymous)
Second codicological unit:	
ff. 31r-42v	*Li Bestiaire d'Amours* (Richard de Fournival)
f. 42v	*Son poitevin* (anonymous)
ff. 43r-75r	*Le Roman de la Rose* (Guillaume de Lorris; anonymous)
f. 75v	[blank]
Third codicological unit:	
ff. 76r-82r	Song collection (Adam de la Halle; anonymous)
ff. 82v-83r	*Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist* (anonymous)
ff. 83r-84v	*Explication des Songes* (anonymous)
ff. 84v-87v	*L'Ordre d'Amours* (Nichole)
ff. 87v-90v	*La Trinitiez Nostre Dame* (anonymous)
ff. 90v-92r	*Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* (anonymous)
ff. 92r-92v	*Le Dit d'Aristote* (Rutebeuf)
ff. 92v-98v	*Le Lunaire de Salomon* (anonymous)

One might argue that the order of the units and therefore the order of the texts influences the intertextual relations and possibly the way the texts were read and understood, but in fact the order in which texts are copied and bound in a book may not have made a significant difference to the medieval reader. Miscellanies, anthologies, and other multi-textual collections were not necessarily read from cover to cover, and this possibly anachronistic conception of continuous reading practices may disturb our analysis of medieval books. There is no reason to believe that books were opened at the front of the volume, or that texts were read in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. Rather, a book would have been opened at any point, a great advantage offered by the navigable codex form that its predecessor, the scroll, could not provide, and some texts would have been read more than others, regardless of their position in the book. Peter Stallybrass writes: "To imagine continuous reading as the norm in reading a book is radically reactionary: it is to read a codex as if it were a scroll, from beginning to end."[16] The existence of reference tools in some manuscripts such as "finding tabs" on the side of the parchment, (alphabetical) indices, tables of contents, headings, incipits, capitals and initials, and, to a certain extent, foliation, is evidence of non-linear reading practices.[17] This does not mean that it would be irrelevant to find out whether the units in fr. 12786 are bound in the same order in which they were first gathered or in which they were intended by the manuscript makers; after all, knowing whether the end result differs significantly from the original intentions, or whether the units have been shuffled around and meddled with by someone in the book's seven hundred-year history, a meddling which may even have even involved the removal of a now hypothetical fourth codicological unit, would shed light on important aspects of the book's history both during and after the initial production phase.

Additionally, the two codicological breaks in fr. 12786 give room for hypothetical scenarios in which intended quires were not included or quires were removed, perhaps containing the endings of the two texts that have been left unfinished, *Le Livre des Pierres* and the *Roman de la Rose*, or containing entirely different texts now not present in the volume; in which the original plans of the manuscript makers for this book did not include all three units we have now, but only one or two of them, and the texts now transmitted together in fr. 12786 may therefore not have been originally bound or intended to be bound in one volume; or in which these two hypotheses are combined. In contrast to the scenario in which the three units are bound in a different order than the one in which they were originally bound or intended to be bound, these hypotheses would indubitably have a considerable influence on the inter- and intratextual relations and on the reading experiences of the contemporary and indeed later audiences. However, the appearance of a single and very consistent hand throughout the

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[16] Stallybrass 2001: p. 48.
[17] See: Stallybrass 2001.

manuscript, as well as relative uniformity in the shapes and sizes of the columns, and consistency in the number of lines in each column suggest at least that the three units were produced in the same circumstances or workshop and that they may even always have been meant to be bound as one volume.

The two codicological breaks are supported by the collation of the manuscript: I-III[8], IV[6] (7 and 8 removed), V-IX[8], X[5] (4-6 removed), XI-XIII[8]. Diagram 1.1 below is a schematic representation of the codicological structure of fr. 12786. As the collation formula and the diagram clearly indicate, only two quires are not completely regular; in both Quire IV and Quire X folios have been removed.

Diagram 1.1: The codicological structure of fr. 12786
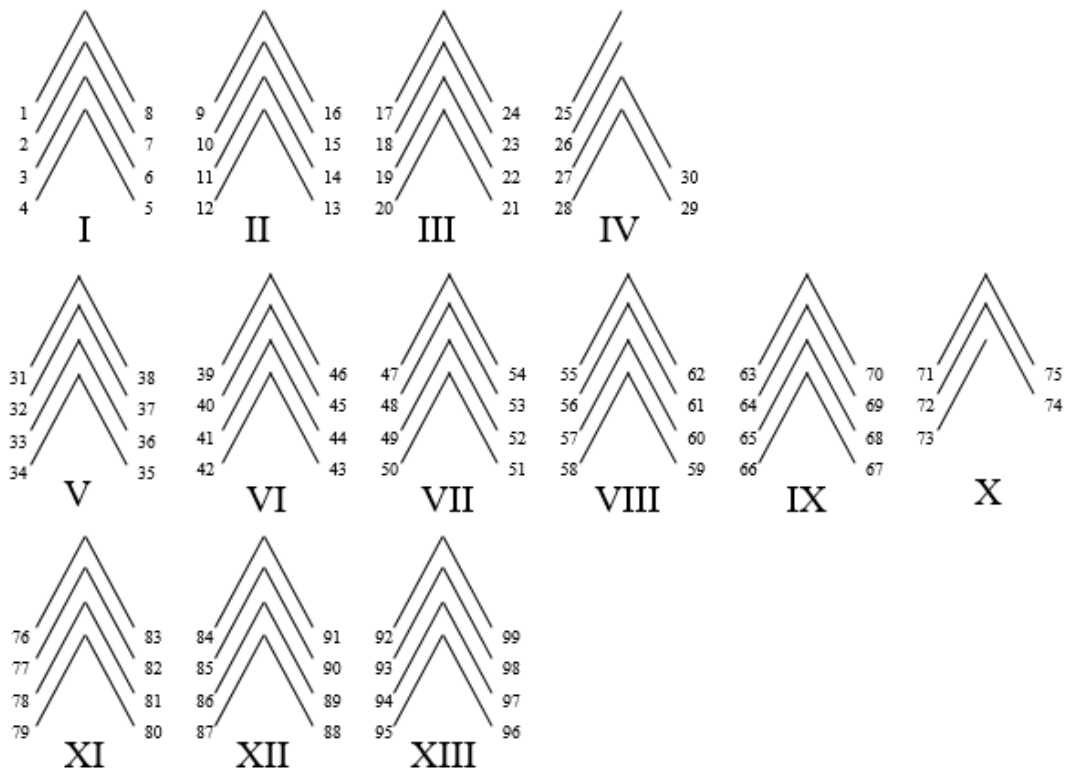
Between what are now the third and fourth folios of the tenth quire (ff. 73 and 74 in the manuscript), the stubs of the three removed folios can still be observed, as is the case for those between ff. 30 and 31 in Quire IV, where remnants of the two folios that have been taken out can still be seen.[18] These stubs are even visible in the digitised facsimile on the *Gallica* website (See Image 1.1 below), and they are evidence that the folios were removed after the quire was

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[18] It is difficult to see all three stubs in Quire X. One of them is very small and can only be seen on on the top end. Additionally, all three appear to be glued together.

assembled. After all, if the smaller quires of five and six folios respectively were compiled as such, the middle bifolio in Quire X would not have been required at all, and a gathering of three bifolios of which one folio is taken out would have the same result when it comes to the number of pages. Equally, Quire IV could just as easily have consisted of three bifolios. One of the stubs left in the tenth quire, a remainder of the middle strip of the bifolio of which both halves have been taken out, has been glued to the stub that is left over from the removed sixth folio to ensure the quire's solidity. The presence of this stub proves that the quire was already assembled rather than still consisting of individual bifolios. Because the centres of the bifolios of which one or both sides have been removed remain, and all quires therefore contain (the central remnants of) all four bifolios, all the gatherings in fr. 12786 are of the same thickness at the fold, where they are bound together, resulting in a very regular-looking collation and a consistent appearance in the binding.

Image 1.1: F-Pn fr. 12786: Stubs between ff. 73v and 74r

The continuousness of the text in the tenth quire indicates that the removal of the folios had happened before the scribe copied the *Roman de la Rose* here, which means that even though it was known that only five folios would be required, an eight-folio quire was used which was then manipulated in order for the correct size to be obtained. One could imagine a stack of already-compiled quarto quires (and possibly also quires of other formats) from which the scribe could select a convenient gathering and adjust it according to the requirements. A narrow strip on the right-hand side of f. 91v, the final page of the twelfth quire, appears to contain glue stains, while the opposing folio, 92r, does not show any such marks, implying that Quire XII was previously attached to another that is now not part of fr. 12786. The texts are not interrupted, and as far as can be seen there are no large deletions anywhere on its folios, so it appears that though previously connected to another gathering it was not written on before it was used for inclusion in fr. 12786. The quality of the parchment in this quire does not differ significantly from that in the others. These small pieces of evidence suggest that the compilers of the manuscript acquired their parchment in various forms – individual quires as well as groups of quires glued together and presumably also individual sheets – or that they pre-prepared these gatherings and somewhat larger booklets of blank parchment before they knew how exactly they would be used in the manuscripts. This may imply a commercial practice of manuscript production and may also point to a larger scriptorium.

It is no mere coincidence that Quires IV and X mark the places right before the codicological breaks, and the removal of the folios ensures that these breaks take place. The breaks, therefore, are not accidental, something that happens when the end of a text naturally coincides with the end of an undisrupted quire, but artificial: the two texts that end at the end of Quire IV and Quire X respectively are *made* to finish where the quires end.[19] However, the two instances are problematic, as both texts seem to lack their endings.

The first codicological unit contains the *Roman de la Poire* and *Le Livre de Pierres*, a lapidary that survives in ten other manuscripts of which two, F-Pn fr. 2008 and fr. 2009, have been digitised and are for that reason used as comparison here.[20] Though one does not need to see any other witness to notice that the lapidary in fr. 12786 is incomplete – the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence and indeed in the middle of a word – this comparison does shed some light on how much is missing. However, because the surviving witnesses to *Li Livres des Pierres*, a text which describes the qualities and peculiarities of precious stones, show great variation

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[19] There are no other texts within any of the the three codicological units that end at the end of a quire in fr. 12786.

[20] D-Bkk Hamilton 391 (ff. 1-34), CH-Beb 646 (ff. 73-79), B-Br 11004-11017 (ff. 87-89), GB-Lbl Add. 32085 (ff. 15-17), F-Pa 2805 (ff. 15-71), F-Pn fr. 2008 (ff. 1-20), F-Pn fr. 2009 (ff. 1-11), F-Pn fr. 2043 (ff. 120-259), F-Pn lat. 11210 (ff. 64-83), and F-Psg 2261 (ff. 30-34). Some of these will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

particularly towards the end of this text, it is difficult to know what was intended in fr. 12786 and how long the compilers meant for it to be.

The lapidaries in fr. 12786 and in fr. 2008 are more or less the same up until and including the account of the diamond; both start with an introduction and cover descriptions of the following stones in this order: *Topace* (topaz), *Esmeraude* (emerald), *Rubiz* (ruby), *Saphir* (sapphire), *Jaspes* (jasper), *Ligure* (ligure), *Acate* (agate), *Matiste* (amethyst), *Crisolite* (chrysolite), *Oniches* (onyx), *Beril* (beryl), *Or* (gold), *Balaiz* (balas ruby?), *Crisophas* (chrysoprase), *Calcedoine* (chalcedony), *Sardoine* (carnelian), and *Diamans* (diamond). From here on, the two witnesses go in different directions. The lapidary in fr. 2008 goes on to discuss *Allectorie* (alectorius), *Celidoine* (celadon?), *Laez* (lazuli?), *Magnete* (lodestone), *Theramius* (?), *Eliotrope* (heliotrope), *Aspetites* (apatite), *Egestez* (?), *Colonites* (?), *Badda* (?), *Medux* (?), *Callastida* (calcite?), *Corites* (ammolite?), *Cristal* (crystal), and *Aymant* (magnetite), while the one in fr. 12786 describes *Estoupace* (topaz), *Esmeraude* (emerald), *Rubiz* (ruby), *Saphur* (sapphire), *Iaspes* (jasper), *Ligure* (ligure), *Achate* (agate), *Matiste* (amethyst), *Crisolite* (chrysolite), *Oniches* (onyx), and *Berilz* (beryl) again.[21] The repetition of the first eleven stones is a remarkable error which may explain why the text was not completed in this manuscript and perhaps why the two folios have been removed. Had the scribe copied the same list of stones as is transmitted in fr. 2008 while having left out the repeated eleven, the text would have been a little under two columns longer than it is now, and it would, thus, have fitted comfortably to end on the final folio of the fourth quire had only one folio instead of two folios been removed, and the verso side of what would have been f. 31 would still be empty.[22]

Fr. 2009 offers a different insight into the incompleteness of the lapidary in fr. 12786. The same text in this manuscript discusses the following stones: *Ethopace* (topaz), *Esmeraude* (emerald), *Rubiz* (ruby), *Saphur* (sapphire), *Jaspes* (jasper), *Ligure* (ligure), *Achate* (agate), *Matiste* (amethyst), *Crisolite* (chrysolite), *Oniche* (onyx) and *Turquemaus* (turquois), and when compared to fr. 2008 does not seem to be complete either. An essential difference between this text and the lapidary copied in fr. 12786 is that fr. 2009 contains an 'ending' in the form of the word "Explicit" at the end of the final description, not nearly as elaborate as the full conclusion to the text followed by the word "Amen" in big capital letters that we find in fr. 2008, but an indication of completeness nevertheless that shows that the compilers of fr. 2009 considered the lapidary finished.

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[21] See: Fery-Hue 200: pp. 107-109.

[22] Up until and including the description of the diamond, the text in fr. 2008 is 27.5 single-columned pages long, while that in fr. 12786 is 20.5 columns; the fifteen stones in fr. 2008 that are not in fr. 12786 take up 9 pages, so that would have taken up c. 6.7 columns in fr. 12786 taking into account the relative size of the columns and the script; the final 5 columns in fr. 12786 are taken up by the repetition of the stones, so if those had not been there and the text had been the same as in fr. 2008, another two columns would have been sufficient.

As said above, the uninterrupted text of the *Roman de la Rose* indicates that the three removed folios in Quire X at the end of the second codicological unit were taken out before the scribe copied this romance on its folios. There is no indication that this was also the case for Quire IV; in fact, one would expect to see evidence in the script, such as an attempt at compression, to suggest that the scribe found that there was a lack of sufficient space, and the absence of any such changes in the hand suggests that the scribe continued the text on the folios that are now no longer present. The removal of the two final folios of the text that is implied by the palaeography and the codicology of the manuscript may well be related to the abovementioned error in the text itself. The duplication of the descriptions of the stones may be the result of a flawed exemplar. It is clear that the scribe did not simply copy the same exemplar twice, since the introduction to the descriptions of the precious stones is not duplicated, and, more importantly, the descriptions of the stones, though similar in content, are not precisely the same in wording. However, the fact that descriptions of at least eleven, probably more, and possibly all of the same stones were copied, does tell us that there was either a considerable amount of time between the copying of the two halves of the text, the regular half and the duplicated one, during which the scribe forgot what had already been copied, a hypothesis that is not supported by the palaeography; or that the scribe focused much more on *how* to copy than on *what* to copy, an interesting supposition with regards to scribal practice.[23]

The eleven repeated stones fill more than one folio; the second topaz starts on f. 29v. It is unclear why f. 30 was not also removed; after all, there is no information on this folio, recto and verso, that is not already found earlier in the text. If this folio had been taken out as well, it would have been possible without too much effort to wash or scrape off the ink in most of the second column on f. 29v where the description of the topaz is now found, and to either finish the text on inserted folios or to at least 'end' the text in a similar way as was done in fr. 2009.

A very different situation is found at the point of the second codicological break. The *Roman de la Rose* is a text that survives in over three hundred manuscripts. The famous romance attributed to Guillaume de Lorris is followed by the possibly even more famous continuation by Jean de Meun in almost all of these witnesses, but this continuation is not included in fr. 12786.[24] Instead, this manuscript contains a much shorter anonymous continuation which is transmitted

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[23] It is possible that the duplication was no error but was a deliberate decision made by the scribe, perhaps for the purpose of critically comparing the two descriptions for each stone. This is, however, highly unlikely considering the context of the lapidary in fr. 12786, the lack of any repetition of stones in other surviving witnesses, and the lack of any precedent of deliberate duplication in this manner in any similar text known to me.

[24] According to Ernest Langlois fr. 12786 is the only source in which Jean de Meun's continuation has not been added. Langlois 1910: p. 235. However, we now know of at least one other manuscript that may not have originally included this section: F-Pn fr. 1573.

in seven concordant witnesses and which is, therefore, relatively rare.[25] The other manuscripts that contain this anonymous continuation also include the one by Jean de Meun, which follows the first one.

Interestingly, even the anonymous continuation is unfinished in fr. 12786: it lacks its final couplet and has no explicit. It is unclear why this ending is missing, but it may point to an incomplete exemplar.[26] The final folio of the quire, f. 75 is almost completely blank and only the beginning of the first column on the recto side has been used. There is sufficient space for the missing couplet and an explicit, and there may well have been an intention for these to be included here. Sylvia Huot suggests that the removal of the 'two' (sic) folios of the final quire on which the *Roman de la Rose* has been copied would have "made it possible to add Jean's continuation without any erasures, recopying, or dismantling of gatherings".[27] Of course it is possible that the compilers of fr. 12786 did intend to include Jean de Meun's continuation, a text that is over four times as long as Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*, after the anonymous continuation, but this is not related to the reduction of the size of the quire; if the continuation had been meant to be acquired separately and its quires had been attached at the end of what is now the second codicological unit of fr. 12786, which is presumably what Huot suggests here, there would be a large amount of blank parchment in between the two continuations, even if the first had been finished, and this is unlikely.[28] The lack of any ruling on f. 75v, the only folio in the manuscript to have been left without any ruling lines, does indeed seem to indicate that no text was intended on final verso of the quire.[29] There is no evidence that there was any plan of including Jean de Meun's *Rose*, and I believe that the fact that the other manuscripts which transmit the anonymous continuation also include Jean's is not sufficient reason to assume that there ever was such a plan. Moreover, Huot's suggested intention for adding Jean's continuation further obscures the removal of the three folios rather than offering an explanation for it, and the fact that the size of Quire X has been reduced in such a way that the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and the anonymous continuation together end on what is now the final folio of the gathering rather suggests the reverse: that the text was meant

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[25] They are: F-AM 437; US-CA A Rg. 3.40; GB-Mr Fr. 66; F-Pn Rothshild 2800 (IV.2.24); B-Tm 101; the Rouard manuscript (now lost); and the Tersan manuscript (now lost). Of these seven, US-CA A Rg. 3.40 is most contemporary with fr. 12786. Brownlee, Huot 2016: pp. 370-72.

[26] As far as I have been able to find, fr. 12786 is the only surviving witness that misses its final couplet.

[27] Huot 1987: p. 17.

[28] Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose* is c. 4056 lines long, the continuation by Jean de Meun is at least 17614 lines, while the anonymous continuation is only 76 lines in length. See: Zink 1992. Only one manuscript out of more than three hundred survives in which the continuation by Jean was added after Guillaume's *Rose* as a separate codicological entity and in a different hand: F-Pn fr. 1573. Zink 1992: p. 38.

[29] The ruling is difficult to see on some folios, but is always present apart from on f. 75v. The ruling in fr. 12786 will be discussed in detail below.

to finish there.[30] My conclusions about the two texts that miss their ending are almost the exact opposite of those offered by Mark Everist, who copies Huot's belief in the manuscript makers' intentions to include Jean de Meun's continuation, and who sees the codicological structure of Quire IV as evidence which "seems to suggest that this text comprises all that its scribe intended to include, and not that it was to have been finished at a later date."[31]

If the compilers of fr. 12786 had always planned for the second codicological unit to be immediately followed by what is now the third, the song collection that now starts on f. 76r could have started on f. 75r, where the *Roman de la Rose* ends, or at least on f. 75v, now an entirely blank page at the end of the tenth quire. In that case, moreover, the removal of the three folios would not have been required at all. With or without Jean de Meun's continuation on separate quires, the blank space at the end of the tenth quire is remarkable and stands out in the present compilation of the book. However, if this quire had been intended to be at the end of a volume, one might not even notice the bare parchment on the final folio; after all, the final page of a book is hardly ever filled completely with text. If this this were the intention, the three folios would still have had to be taken out, as four blank folios might still be considered too many, even at the end of a book.

This hypothesis is not without its problems and only works when the rest of the manuscript is not taken into account. The final text of fr. 12786 in the current collation, *Le Lunaire de Salomon*, ends halfway down the first column on f. 98v, the seventh folio of the thirteenth quire, leaving three quarters of the page blank, as well as the whole of f. 99.[32] The absence of a new text following the *Lunaire* suggests that this codicological unit, likewise, was meant to be at the end of a book. Although the overall unfinished state of the manuscript and of some of the texts in it might suggest that either one of the units was intended to be filled to the end, the combination of the two units that both appear to have been designed to be the culmination of a volume could imply that the original intentions for fr. 12786 comprised two or three books. However, the current situation may also be a result of the production process of the manuscript if we consider the hypothesis of a commercially pre-produced unit.

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[30] Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose* finishes rather abruptly in the middle of a monologue by Amant, the main protagonist, and the story does not have the ending one would expect: the castle is not taken, the rose is not picked, and the dreamer does not wake up, something that does happen in all other allegorical dream poetry. The poem does not lack anything in poetical or syntactical sense (though both the anonymous continuation and that by Jean de Meun treat the final sentence as incomplete by the way they finish it). Importantly, the anonymous continuation concludes the story in a more satisfying way and wakes up the dreamer. In short, Amant finishes his monologue, all 'good' characters (temporarily) escape from the tower in which they were imprisoned, Amant spends a night with his beloved Rose, plans are made for the future, and the dream ends. In this sense, there is no need for Jean de Meun's long text here. Zink 1992: p. 239. Also see: Brook 1995.
[31] Everist 1996: p. 73.
[32] F. 99 did not always remain blank. This provokes some interesting questions that will be discussed below.

The second codicological unit of fr. 12786 contains the *Bestiaire d'Amours* by Richard de Fournival, a *son poitevin* strophe, and the *Roman de la Rose*. The *son poitevin* appears to function as a space filler: it is copied in the small space at the bottom of f. 42v in continuous lines and ensures that this folio is filled while the *Rose* starts on the recto side of a new folio.[33] The combination of the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose* in one unit is not surprising. Both texts were popular and widely transmitted and must have appealed to a large audience. The survival of a vast number of separate books or booklets that transmit the *Roman de la Rose* only or the *Rose* with another, similar text, such as the *Bestiaire*, may point to a possible commercial practice amongst scribes who were aware of the high demand for this romance and who copied its text in large numbers, sometimes by itself and sometimes combined with other popular allegorical romances, either in order to sell them individually or to bind them with a collection of other texts that were copied especially by the order of the patron of that book. This would have saved time in the production of such manuscripts containing a collection of various texts, of which fr. 12786 is an example. If the scribe of this book had a pre-prepared booklet containing the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Bestiaire d'Amours* available, this unit could simply be added to the collection of perhaps less popular texts that were copied specifically at the request of the intended owner of this manuscript. This hypothesis fits well within the context of the commercialisation of book production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the French cities and particularly in Paris.[34]

Evidence of an interesting mode of production in which such booklets were made individually is found by Jason O'Rourke in his study of the English manuscript GB-Lbl Harley 2253, a trilingual 'miscellany' that is famous for containing the majority of early fourteenth-century secular lyrics in English.[35] The collection also contains bible stories, romances, fabliaux, medical texts, recipes, and religious lyrics copied by a number of different scribes of whom the most important is often referred to as the Harley Scribe. Based on his analysis of Harley 2253 and two other manuscripts copied by the same scribe, GB-Lbl Harley 273 and Royal 12.C.xii, O'Rourke proposes how this scribe may have worked: all three manuscripts are composite and consist of booklets of single or multiple quires, some of which were copied by the Harley Scribe, others produced by other scribes and acquired by the Harley Scribe who annotated them. O'Rourke suggests that such booklets, to which he refers as 'sourced booklets', may have been circulating independently in the community before being 'codicised', and they were either used as exemplars or, as is the case for some of the booklets in Harley 2253, obtained by a compiler and bound in with other booklets produced for the purpose or acquired

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[33] The text may well have additional functions in the manuscript. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.4.
[34] See e.g.: Rouse and Rouse 1990; Rouse and Rouse 2000; Fianu 2006; Fianu 1992: esp. pp. 192-201.
[35] O'Rourke 2005.

elsewhere. Perhaps the scribe intended the second unit of fr. 12786 to have the possibility of being such a booklet that would have been in demand on the 'sourced booklet' market and would then have been bound in with another manuscript. Royal 12.C.xii was produced over a period of approximately twenty-four years, which does suggest such an approach with 'sourced booklets' and exemplars and further implies that the compiler (presumably the Harley Scribe) sometimes had to wait a long time before the desired texts could be accessed. O'Rourke also suggests that some booklets may have "lain on the shelf" for years before they were even completed, and certainly before they were bound in with others.[36]

Though none of the three codicological units in fr. 12786 were 'sourced booklets' copied by another scribe and acquired individually by the compilers of this book, it should be considered that they were not all produced with the intention of being bound together, and one or more of them may have "lain on the shelf" either waiting for exemplars to become available from which texts could be copied, as could well have been the case for the third unit which transmits the largest number of texts and the most diverse collection; or to be bound with other booklets, as is a plausible hypothesis for the commercially interesting second codicological unit that, as argued above, may have been pre-produced.

O'Rourke's argument shows that booklets or units may not necessarily appear in the order in which they were copied, and there is palaeographical evidence in fr. 12786 at the beginning of the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, which will be discussed later in more detail, that suggests that the middle codicological unit was indeed produced before the other two.

The final folio of the collation of fr. 12786, f. 99, seems to have been left blank by the manuscript makers. However, later users of the book added texts on the recto side of this folio, now almost illegible because someone attempted to remove them (see Image 1.2 below).[37] The largest text consists of ten lines over the width of the page written in a hand contemporary with but not the same as that of the main scribe of the manuscript; this scribe may have been one of the first users of the book. Though very faint and barely legible, the text appears to be a romance.[38] Three other later additions, the most recent of which having been added in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, have likewise been removed (though not successfully), suggesting that the 'washing' of this sheet happened after this time. The person who attempted to make the sheet blank again may have had the same aesthetic ideas concerning this folio as the

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[36] O'Rourke 2005: pp. 48-54.
[37] Extensive exposure to sunlight likewise would have caused the ink on this folio to fade, but this would also have caused the parchment to have darkened and thickened, and this is not the case: the material is still as thin and flexible as the other folios. Additionally, in order to receive sufficient sunlight to cause the ink to fade to this extent, the quire would have had to be open for a long time; f. 99r is not on the outside of a quire, and this makes it unlikely that anything other than deliberate removal or 'washing' is the cause for the texts to have almost disappeared now.
[38] This text will be discussed in Chapter 5.

manuscript makers who originally left it blank, ideas which were not shared by the user who copied the short romance or by those who added the very short marks underneath. One of these three short additions turns out to be an important piece of evidence regarding fr. 12786's provenance and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

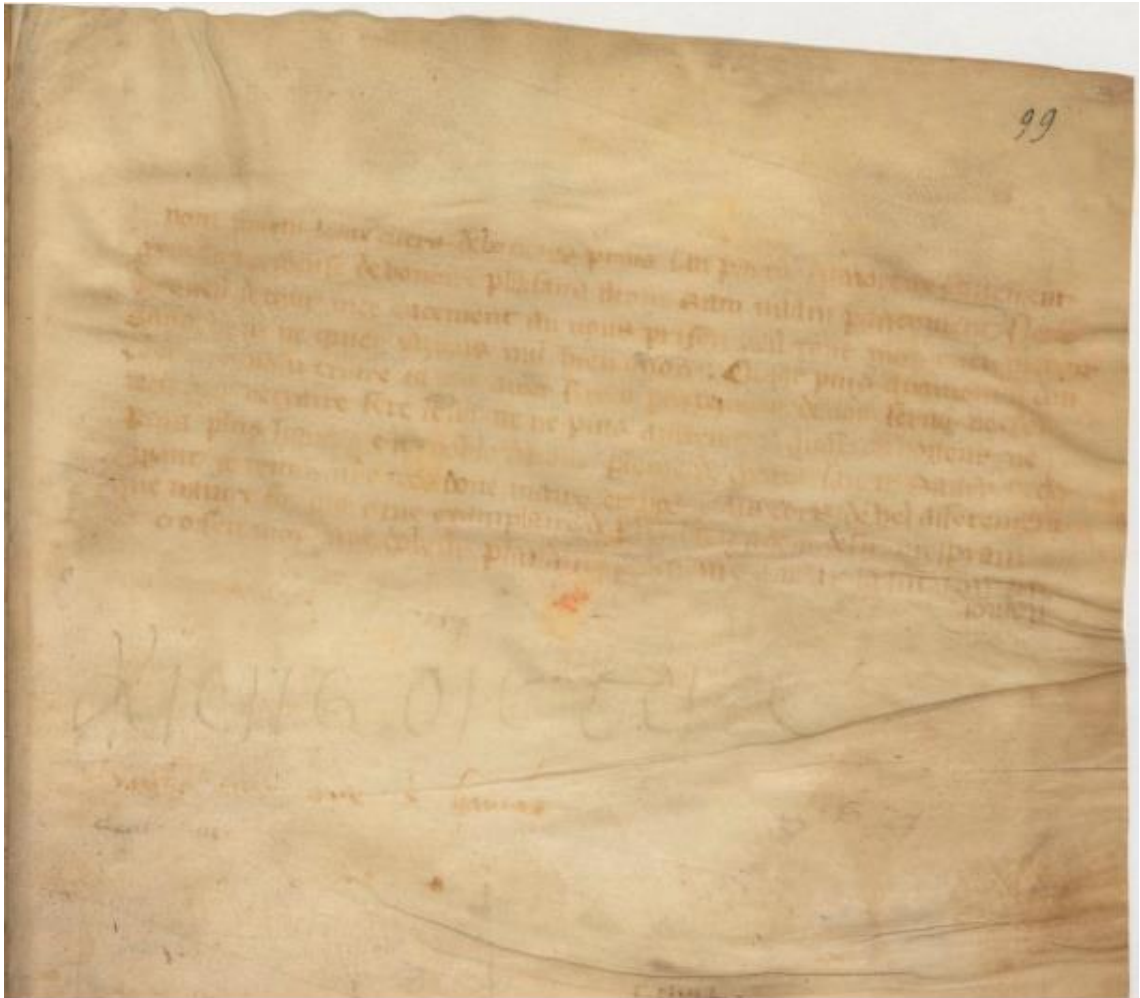Image 1.2: F-Pn fr. 12786: The top half of f. 99r

Diagram 1.1 above illustrates that f. 99 is part of the collation: the bifolio consists of f. 99 and of what has become f. 92 which contains the end of *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame*, the short *Le Dit d'Aristote*, and the beginning of *Le Lunaire de Salomon*, which is the final text in the book as it is compiled today. It is, therefore, unlikely that the bifolio already contained a text on what is now f. 99r before it became part of the quire; though not impossible, it would be extraordinary if the manuscript makers had assembled in the quire a bifolio of which a part was already used, and a part not even at the top left of the sheet; nor would it be reasonable for someone to write a short text on the recto side of the final folio of an already gathered but otherwise still empty quire. Thus, we can be reasonably confident that the longer text on f. 99r was indeed copied after, rather than before, the other contents of this final quire, not long after the manuscript was

produced, by someone who had access to the book. If this person were indeed one of the first owners of fr. 12786 and possibly also the patron who had ordered it to be made, this text may give some insight into the intended use and audience of the manuscript. This matter will receive more attention in Chapter 5.

1.2.   Prickings and Ruling

At the top and bottom of many folios in most quires, prickings can still be observed in the parchment. The uniformity of these small punctures within each quire shows that they were made after the quires were assembled, which is believed to be common practice and also makes most sense. Not all folios contain prickings anymore, and most must have been trimmed off. There are no surviving 'horizontal prickings' (those punctures from which the horizontal lines were drawn) on the outsides of the folios of fr. 12786, and only some of the 'vertical prickings' remain, usually in sets of two or three punctures, depending on the type of ruling that was intended. Table 1.2 below provides information about these surviving prickings for each of the thirteen quires and presents their location, the exact distances between them in millimetres, the type of ruling on the folios, the sort of text that is copied there, and additional information where necessary.[39]

Ruling is done with thin dark brown ink lines with so little ink that they sometimes appear to be drypoint, and with pressure so light that the lines are sometimes barely visible. This is consistent throughout the manuscript and there are no quires in which the ruling was drawn without ink altogether or in pencil. There are four different types of ruling. Type 1 consists of two columns for both of which are provided three vertical lines at the left, two at the right, and thirty-six horizontal lines to frame the thirty-five lines of text (the text is written below top line); Type 2 is the same with the exception of the number of vertical lines, as the left-hand column here only has two lines on the left side and one on the right, while the right-hand column is merely bordered by one single vertical line on each side; Type 3 is a single-columned layout consisting of the same thirty-six horizontal lines and three vertical lines on each side; and Type 4, specifically designed for three-part polyphony, consists of two vertical lines on the left-hand side of the page, two on the right, and horizontal lines that serve as the base for the four text lines on every page and for each of the three staves above each text line, the latter of which were not added in fr. 12786. Diagram 1.2 below gives a representation for each of the four types.[40]
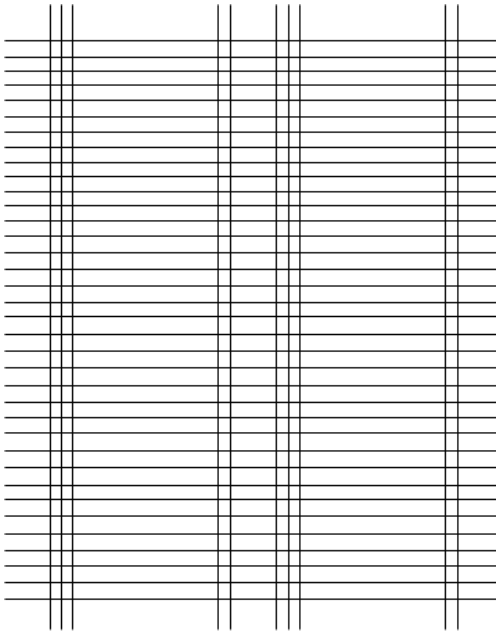
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[39] For the sake of consistency all measurements are done on the recto sides of the folios.
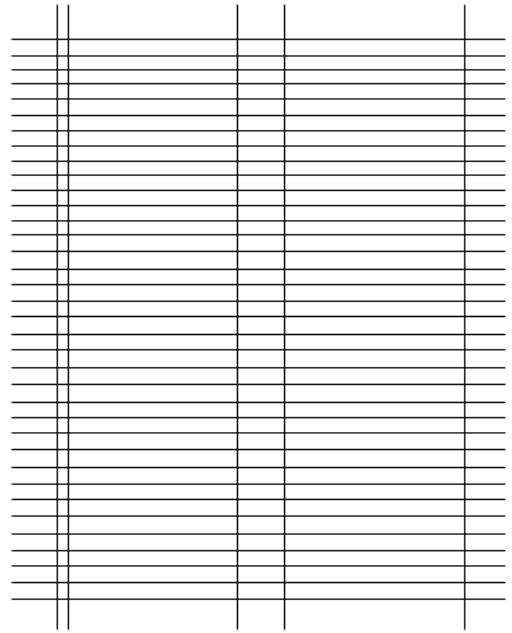[40] The relative distances between the lines are not representative for the ruling in the manuscript, but are merely there to indicate the general sort of framework.
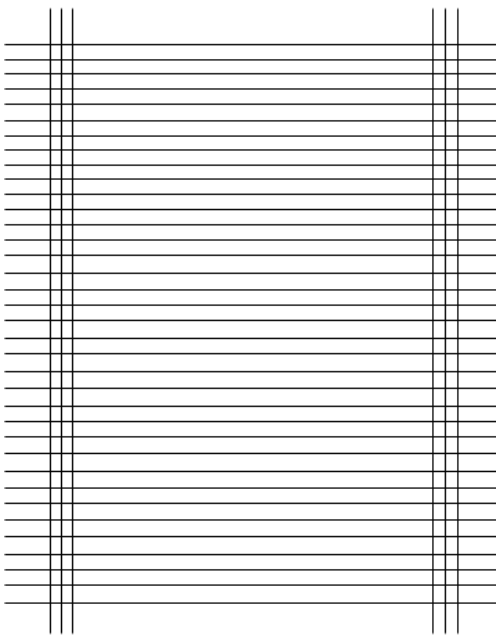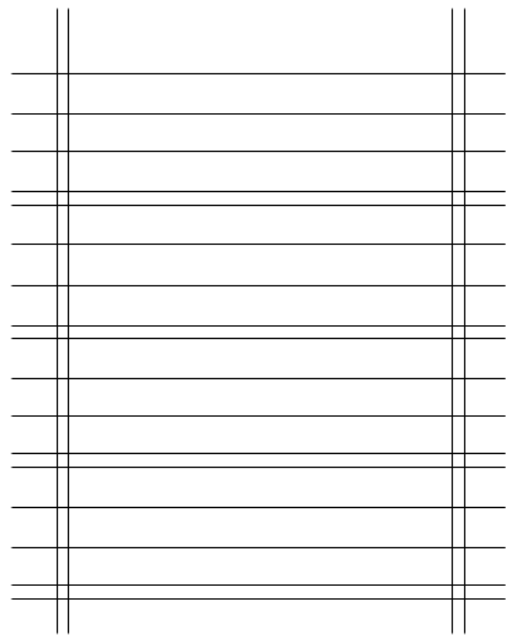
Diagram 1.2: The four types of ruling

Type 1

Type 2

Type 3

Type 4

Table 1.2: The prickings and ruling in fr. 12786

Quire	Location of prickings[41]	Distances (in mm)	Ruling type	Text type	Additional information
I	Top left: 2 Top right: 3	3.8 3.5/3.5	Type 1	Verse	
II	Top right: 3 Bottom centre: 3 + 3	3.5/3.5 4.1/3.5 + 3.0/3.0	Type 1	Verse	The second set at the bottom centre is somewhat lower than the first.
III	Top right: 3 Bottom centre: 3 + 3	4.0/3.1 3.5/3.2 + 3.0/3.0	Type 1	Verse	The middle puncture in the first set at the bottom centre is lower than the two next to it.
IV	Top right: 1 Bottom left: 1 Bottom centre: 2 Bottom right: 1	- 68 to centre-left 11.8 67 from centre-right	Type 2	Prose	The columns are not straight: the right column is 67 mm at the bottom, but 70 at the top.
V	Top right	-	Type 3	Prose	Prickings only at the end of the quire[42]
Codicological break					
VI	-	-	Type 3 (ff. 39r-42v); Type 1 (ff. 43r-46v)	Prose; Verse	
VII	Top right: 3	3.5/3.0	Type 1	Verse	
VIII	Bottom centre (left): 3 Bottom right: 3	3.3/2.9 3.4/3.0 (74.9 from centre-left)	Type 1	Verse	The middle pricking in the bottom right set is somewhat higher than the two next to it.
IX	Bottom centre: 3 + 3 Bottom right: 3	3.5/3.0 + 3.2/3.0 3/3.5 (64 from centre-right)	Type 1	Verse	
X	Bottom centre: 3 + 3	3.8/3.2 + 3.2/3.0	Type 1	Verse	
Codicological break					

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[41] The possible locations of the 'vertical prickings' are: top left (near the spine of the book), top centre for double-columned layouts (two sets of prickings, centre-left and centre-right, one for the right side of the left column, the other for the left side of the right), top right (near the fore edge of the book), bottom left (near the spine), bottom centre for layouts with two columns (two sets of prickings), bottom right (near the fore edge).

[42] The folios must have shifted somewhat during the production process of the manuscript or during a (re)binding and are no longer exactly aligned compared to how they were when the prickings were made, therefore trimming sometimes causes some of the prickings in a quire to disappear while others can still be observed at the very edge of the folio.

XI	-	-	Type 2 (f. 76); Type 4 (ff. 77r-82r); Type 2 (ff. 82v-83v)	Mono-phonic and polyphonic music; Polyphonic rondeaux; Prose	
XII	Bottom left: 1 Bottom centre: 2 Bottom right: 1	69.5 to centre-left 12 69.2 from centre-right	Type 2 (ff. 84r-84v); Type 1 (ff. 85r-91v)	Prose; Verse	All prickings are the same throughout and match a Type 2 ruling. The two prickings at the bottom centre descend in height; the one on the right is very high.
XIII	Bottom centre: 2 Bottom right: 1	12.5 69.5 from centre-right	Type 1	Verse	The prickings are those of a Type 2 ruling and do not match the lines. Prickings only remain on f. 92, the first folio of the gathering. The bottom right pricking is again very high.

As Table 1.2 indicates, the remaining prickings differ from one quire to the next: the distances between the small holes in the parchment are never precisely the same, and even when they are very similar in two gatherings, such as in Quires XII and XIII where even the deviant position of the bottom right pricking is alike, it is always evident that the prickings were made one quire at the time. The punctures at the bottom of the folios survive more often than those at the top, and in particular the two sets of three prickings – those from which the lines on the right-hand side of the left column and those on the left-hand side of the right column in a Type 1 ruling system – at the bottom centre of the page survive often. These are relatively consistent. The set of prickings on the centre-left shows more variation than that on the centre-right, which is very consistent throughout the quires.[43] The relative consistency in the distances and the uniformity in styles suggest that the prickings, and therefore also the ruling, were made in the same place and were not part of ready-assembled acquired gatherings.

Most important here is the use of the four different ruling styles which are used for four different types of text: Type 1 for verse text in two columns, which is the most common type in

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[43] The distances between the three punctures in the set on the centre-left are 3.3-4.1 and 2.9-3.5 mm respectively, while those on the centre-right are 3.0-3.2 between the first and the second, and consistently 3.0 mm between the second and the third.

fr. 12786; Type 2 for prose text in two columns, used for the lapidary, *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist*, and *l'Explication des Songes*; Type 3 for prose that is copied over the width of the page, used in fr. 12786 only for the *Bestiaire d'Amours*; and Type 4, the presumably specially-invented framework for the polyphonic *rondeaux*, which was a musical genre just emerging at the time in which fr. 12786 was made and for which layout conventions may not have existed.[44] With the exception of Quire XIII and the majority of Quire XII, all surviving prickings exactly match the style of ruling, indicating that the manuscript makers were very much aware of what sort of text would be copied in which quire, and how they would be laid out on the page.[45] Interesting are those quires in which more than one type of text is copied: Quires VI, XI, and XII. Unfortunately, prickings only survive in the last of these and it is, therefore, impossible to draw any general conclusions. However, it is important to observe in this quire that even though only one folio out of eight contains Type 2 ruling, the first folio of the gathering, the prickings match this style rather than that which matches the majority of the sheets in the quire. Moreover, the quire immediately following this one, Quire XIII, also contains Type 2 prickings, but Type 1 ruling. This may suggest that the manuscript makers prepared the prickings in both quires as soon as the scribe, who was at that time working in double-columned prose requiring Type 2 ruling, 'arrived' there.. However, the ruling must have been added immediately before the verse texts were copied, as it is the exact same style used for verse in the first, second, and earlier in the third codicological unit. Thus, the quires were assembled and laid by until they were required, the prickings were made once the manuscript makers had an idea of what the contents of the gatherings were to be, but the ruling was applied later when there was absolute certainty about the type of text and desired layout.

Even though the prickings are the same for each folio within a quire, they do not always align: when compared between folios, the punctures are sometimes a little higher or lower relative to the edge of the sheet, indicating that the bifolios have shifted vertically after the prickings were made; and, more surprisingly, sometimes a little to the left or the right, which suggests that a horizontal shift has taken place. The absolute distances (in millimetres) between the right-hand side of the centre-left and centre-right set of prickings at the bottom of the folios respectively and the right-hand side of the sheets in Quires VIII and X show this shift clearly:[46]

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[44] The palaeography and layout of these texts will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
[45] Prickings are absent in Quires V, VI, and XI. Of the ten quires in which prickings do survive, less than two contain a type of ruling that does not match the prickings.
[46] Because the parchment is not completely flat and also due to sometimes somewhat untidy trimming of the sides of the folios, the horizontal shift of bifolios may appear to be obscured.

Quire VIII	Quire X
f. 55r: 91.0	f. 71r: 73.5
f. 56r: 95.2	f. 72r: pricking trimmed off
f. 57r: 95.5	f. 73r: 74.5
f. 58r: 95.5	f. 74r: 76.0
f. 59r: 95.0	f. 75r: 78.0
f. 60r: 94.0	
f. 61r: 94.0	
f. 62r: pricking trimmed off	

Diagram 1.3: Codicological structure, detail
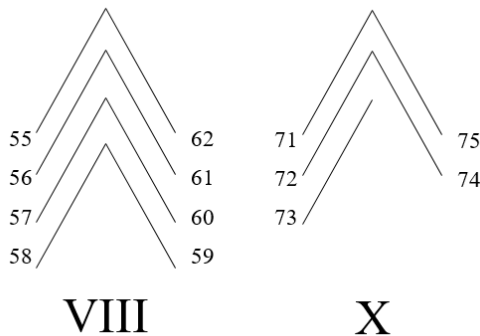
The clearest shift in Quire VIII is that of the bifolio 55-62, with almost three-and-a-half millimetres off the average, though on only one of these folios the evidence survives. The only bifolio in the reduced Quire X of which both halves still have prickings is 71-75, and it is again this outer sheet that appears to have shifted the most, with almost two-and-a-half millimetres off-average.

While the vertical shifts may easily occur during a rebinding – once loose, the sheets may move freely in that direction – the folded bifolios would be much more resistant to the horizontal ones, as the fold would no longer be in the centre of the quire. The parchment, then, was handled in such a way it would not naturally want to be handled, and this must have increased the difficulty of a rebinding. Therefore, it is most likely that the shifts happened early in the manuscript's history, when the parchment was still more flexible and the folds in the bifolios were not as strong and enduring as they later became. This matter reopens the issue of the ready-made gatherings waiting on the shelf and suggests something about the order of the production activities: the shifts seem to suggest that the quires may have been (re)gathered after the prickings were made, and in such a way that those no longer aligned. Perhaps then, the pre-produced quires already contained prickings, and the manuscript makers only needed to pick a

gathering from the pile that had the correct style of prickings. This would imply a uniformity in all manuscripts of the same size from the scribal workplace or scriptorium in which fr. 12786 was produced. It might also explain why Quire XIII contains the 'wrong' style of prickings.

Image 1.3 below shows the two opposing folios 8v and 9r, one of many possible examples of the shift being discernible. It is easy to see the difference in the sizes of the top and bottom margins on these two pages; the top margin of f. 8v is clearly larger than that of f. 9r, seemingly implying that at least the vertical shifts happened after the text was copied. However, the precise layout of the text relies on the ruling, which, in turn, depends on the prickings, which were made before the shift. The horizontal marginal differences are more difficult to see, as they are not directly next to each other to the beholder, but they, too, can be spotted by a careful observer. What is clear is that the folios were trimmed after the shifts took place, for the book block is relatively straight and folios do not stick out to the same extent to which some of the prickings are misaligned.

Image 1.3: F-Pn fr. 12786: ff. 8v and 9r
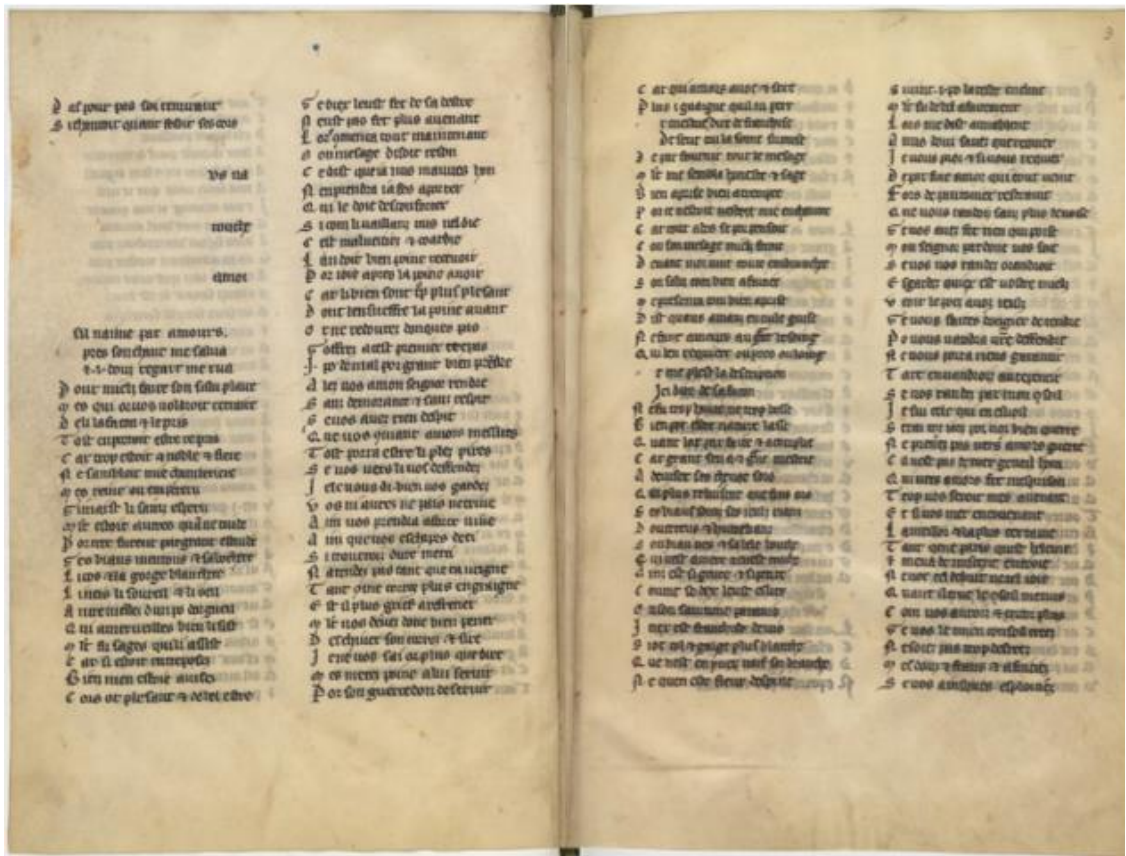
If the shifts happened during a rebinding, the person in charge of this process may have noticed the effect of the shifts on the sizes of the margins and, therefore, on the overall appearance and symmetry of the text blocks in opposing folios. If so, their apparent carelessness might indicate

their lack of esteem for the manuscript as an aesthetic object; its unfinished nature may have made the book look untidy, or mediocre at best, in the eyes of some.

1.3.   The Scribe

The function of a scribe is never a passive one. Like the reader who delivers the text aloud, the scribe, too, "mediates between a written text and its audience; and he, too, is a reader and editor and a counterpart to both narrator and performer".[47] Each scribe is also an audience and each influences the text in ways both parallel and opposite to readers. Making scribal errors is inevitable no matter how carefully one copies out the text from the exemplar, but a scribe also makes editorial decisions and alters the text when he or she believes that this will improve or correct it. But, as Huot notes, "[i]f his revisions are too extensive, he will be not a scribe, but a narrator, an author in his own right".[48] There is a large grey area between the idea of copying a text without any corruptions or alterations and inventing a new text based on or inspired by one in an exemplar. Each time a text is copied, it changes; texts are living rather than fixed things, and the scribe's influence on the manuscript is therefore of great significance.

All texts in fr. 12786 were copied by a single scribe. Hardly anything is known about this person; neither is a name left on the folios of the manuscript, nor is any information presented in the book about the identity of the the scribe, who will, therefore, remain anonymous, at least until another work in the same hand in which such information is presented, should be discovered in the future. As far as I have been able to find, there are no other known manuscripts in this hand, and therefore the scribe's identity cannot at present be ascertained.

Nevertheless, details in the script provide information about the way the scribe worked. The script is a consistently-formed gothic textualis, written with a wide-nibbed pen. All characteristics of the hand are common for the North of France during the early fourteenth century and although easy to recognise, there are no remarkable or distinctive features in the hand of this scribe. The most frequently used abbreviation signs in fr. 12786 are the common sign of abbreviation, a horizontal line indicating the absence of usually an 'm' or an 'n'; the nine-shaped sign that signifies *con-* or *com-* at the beginning of a word; and abbreviations involving the letter 'p'. Although certain sections are more heavily abbreviated than others, presumably in line with the exemplars used, abbreviations are relatively few, which is one of the
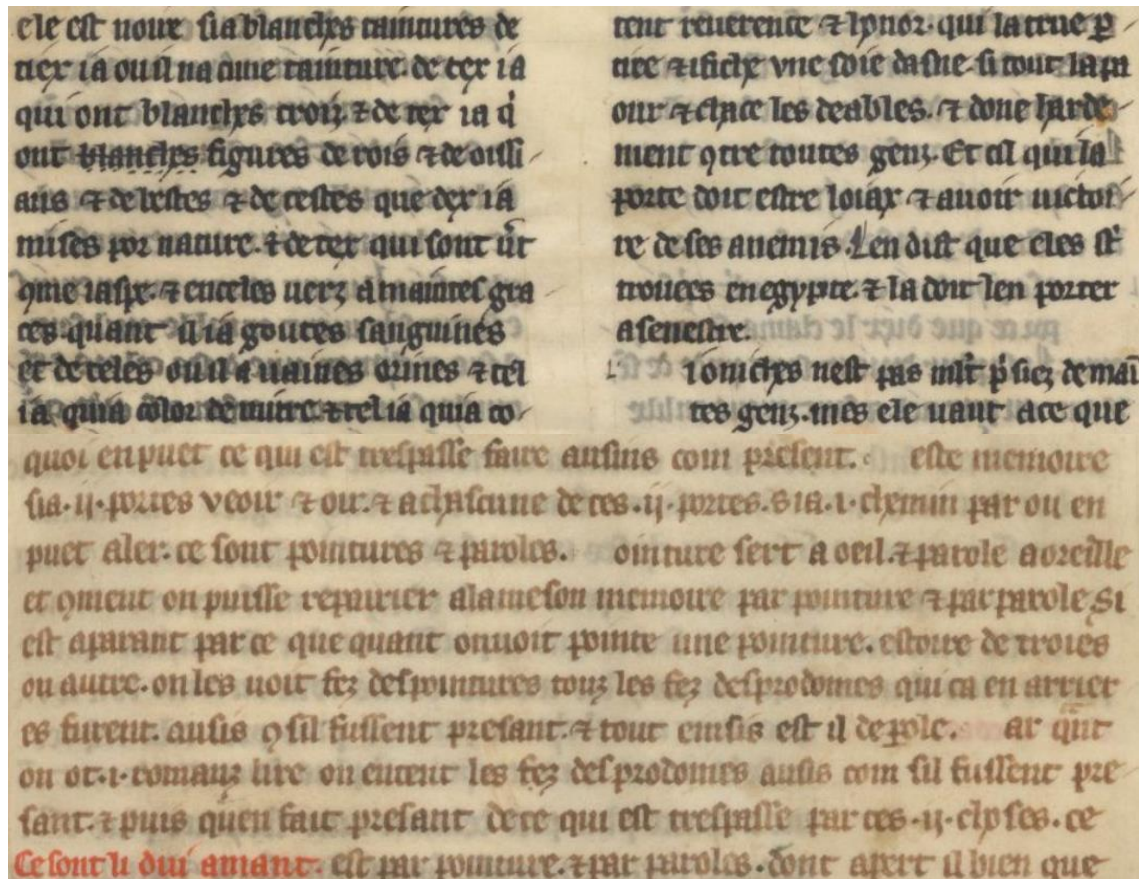
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[47] Huot 1987: 84.
[48] Huot 1987: 84.

factors used in assessing the grade of a book: manuscripts in which most words are spelt out and a 'slow' script such as the textualis is used are often the more luxurious and expensive ones.

Image 1.4: F-Pn fr. 12786: Examples of the hand on f. 30v and f. 31r respectively

The most remarkable palaeographic feature, already hinted at above, is a difference between the appearance of the hand at the beginning of the second codicological unit (f. 31 onwards) and the rest of the manuscript. The hand in the first unit, the third unit, and the rest of the second unit is very consistent. Image 1.4 above illustrates this by showing parts of the two opposing folios 30v and 31r, which are the pages immediately before and after the first codicological break. As can clearly be seen in the image, the different appearance has to do firstly with a much lighter colour of the ink at the start of this second unit. Ernest Langlois argues that this may be the result of exposure to sunlight and sees this as evidence that suggests that the now middle unit was once the first, before the manuscript had been (re)bound, which could have happened at any time during the manuscript's history.[49] However, though the parchment of f. 31 is somewhat darker and less flexible than those around it, as will be discussed below, the amount of sunlight needed for the ink to become so much fainter would presumably have had a stronger effect on the material of which the sheet is made: on other folios that have seemingly been exposed to the

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[49] Bossu 1924: pp. 49-52.

elements more than others, such as f. 1r, the ink has not faded. More importantly, the colour of the ink gradually increases in darkness over the first several folios that follow f. 31r, and although it does not take long before it is as black as the ink in the rest of the manuscript, this regular darkening demonstrates that sunlight was not the reason for the light colour of the ink at the beginning of the unit, but rather that it had something to do with the way the ink was made, as will be discussed further below.

The colour of the ink, however, is not the only difference that can be observed in the beginning of the second unit: the hand itself is more regular and the text here must have been written in a more careful and probably slower manner; letter shapes are more consistent in their execution and their height here than anywhere else in the manuscript. Indeed, when the hand on f. 30v is compared to that on f. 31r with the use of a digital tool for the critical examination of historical handwriting, measurements show that that the first is less regular than the second. For example, the angles of the thin line within the letter 'e' vary much more on f. 30v than on 31r.[50] Likewise, the angles of the hairline stroke on the 'i's is more regular on f. 31r, but it should be noted here that there are very few on this page compared to on other folios in the manuscript: the seemingly more carefully-written hand at the beginning of the middle unit contains a relatively large number of undotted 'i's.[51] This is remarkable, as one might expect the opposite to occur: a somewhat more 'hurried' scribe might be more likely to forget these small indications. In contrast, the spaces between the lines of text are less regular on f. 31r than on f. 30v, but the text lines are straighter and less uneven at the beginning of this second codicological unit than at the end of the first.[52]

Interestingly, the hand gradually evolves over the folios following f. 31r, and moves towards the slightly more irregular and more quickly written style that is found in the rest of the

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[50] Software used for this analysis: Image J (image processing software) with the plugin Graphoskop (historical handwriting examination software). Ten samples, randomly chosen on each page, are compared. Of those ten, the smallest angle of the thin line within the letter 'e' on f. 30v is 32.471 degrees and the largest is 49.185; the average is 40.101 degrees and the range or *ambitus* is 16.714 degrees. On f. 31r the smallest angle of the ten samples is 33.024 degrees while the largest is 37.999; the average is 35.299 and the range between the largest and smallest is 4.975 degrees, more than three times as small as that on f. 30v. The difference between the average angle of the centre of this particular letter is also remarkable, and one might expect a more quickly-written hand to have smaller rather than larger angles, or for lines to be more horizontal.

[51] The smallest angle of the hairline strokes in the ten samples taken from f. 30v is 34.380, the largest is 45.000, the range, therefore, is 10.620 degrees, and the average is 38.978 degrees. On f. 31r, the smallest angle is 33.690, the largest 37.405, the range 3.715 (again, almost three times as small as on f. 30v), and the average is 36.278, which is, again, more horizontal than the average on f. 30v.

[52] The height between eight text lines are measured on each page. The average height between those lines on f. 30v is 5.330 mm and the range between the smallest and largests height is 2.911 mm; the average on f. 31r is 5.594 mm and the range is 3.704 mm, so significantly larger than that on the previous page in the manuscript. The difference between the averages may be surprising because the ruling was done in the same way and each folio contains the same number of lines, but can be explained by a slightly smaller lettering on f. 31r. There is, however, no significant difference between the percentage of parchment on which is written, and in fact, this is a little higher on f. 31r (38.114% on average) compared to that on f. 30v (36.895%), which may be explained by smaller distances between the letters on f. 31r.

manuscript. By the end of the first text in the second unit, the *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 31r-42v), the hand has unmistakably transformed into the one that is found in the first unit, the third unit, and end of the second unit. The gradual transformation proves that it is one and the same hand throughout the manuscript rather than a different one at the beginning of the middle unit. The difference in the colour of the ink and in the style of writing suggests at the very least that the units were not copied continuously in the order in which they are bound today, and might well imply that the middle unit was copied first, and that when the scribe found out that the speed of copying was not sufficient in order to finish the book or the unit within the intended limits of time or those agreed upon with the one who had ordered it to be made, the scribe started writing faster. The palaeographical irregularity is an additional reason to suggest that the second unit may have been produced separately from the others, as is argued above. The middle unit may also have been the first one to be copied simply because exemplars were available first for the two most widely transmitted texts in the collection, but the combination of the palaeographical differences at the beginning of the second codicological unit and the evidence described above concerning the codicological make-up of the book and the empty parchment at the end of both the second and third unit does indeed suggest that the booklet transmitting the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Bestiaire d'Amours* was copied before the rest of the manuscript was fully planned.

It is not unlikely that the scribe made the ink in the scriptorium or workplace, which is believed to have been common practice at the time. Ink-making was a very time-consuming process, and manuscripts in which either the ink is very light or in which it has damaged the parchment show that it must sometimes have been difficult to get the consistency right.[53] The ink that is used throughout fr. 12786 is of a deep black colour, apart from the abovementioned section which is of a much lighter brownish colour. If the scribe did indeed start working on the manuscript at the beginning of the second codicological unit, or if the second unit was produced as a separate entity, there may have been some problems with the consistency of his ink as well as with the possibly too time-consuming lettering, but both issues were solved at the same time when the scribe increased the speed of copying whilst gradually adding more colour. A casual observer of the manuscript would not have noticed the difference, had it not been for the contrast with the previous codicological unit, and had these two opposing folios not shown this distinction in colour and hand so clearly; in other words: had the unit containing the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose* been assembled at the beginning of the volume, this would not have shown. This might be a reason to believe that perhaps this unit was meant to be at the beginning of the book, but if the now middle unit was indeed produced separately, this probably

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[53] See for example the lengthy description of ink-making given in the twelfth-century *De Diversis Artibus* by Theophilus Presbyter: Hendrie 1847: pp. 48-51; Dodwell 1961.

happened unintentionally. Moreover, this hypothesis would not solve problem of the blank space at the end of what is now the middle unit, but rather obscure it further.

Additionally, the second unit is the only place in the manuscript in which we find rubrication, and indeed the only place where red ink was used at all. The rubrics, which were copied by the same scribe as the one who copied all other texts in fr. 12786, are there to inform both the reader and the expected miniature artist about what these illustrations were meant to depict. They also serve as finding aids: by glancing at the text in red, a reader can quickly find a particular section of the long texts. All spaces intended for miniatures, one hundred and fourteen in total, are found in the two large romances that make up the middle codicological unit. In this respect, too, the second unit differs from the first and the third, and this is another reason to at least consider the possibility that this unit was produced separately from the rest of the book. Almost every rubric is paired with a miniature-to-be, though the *son poitevin* likewise is introduced by these two words in red ink, indicating what the short text is or represents. Even though the absence of rubrication in the first and third codicological unit can be explained by the function of almost all of the rubrics in fr. 12786 as miniature titles and the absence of (intended) miniatures in these two parts of the manuscript, this difference between the second unit and the other two further emphasises the uncertainties regarding the codicological structure of the volume, as well as the original intentions of the manuscript makers.[54] It is yet another palaeographic difference between this middle unit and the two that now surround it, and might again point towards the now middle unit having been made at least at a different time than the other two, or even for the purpose of a separate volume.

The scribe added the rubrication at a later stage than the text in black ink. Image 1.5 below illustrates a situation in which the exact length of the rubric was miscalculated and even the compressed and abbreviated lettering does not prevent the scribe from having to squeeze in the final word between the lines of the main text. It is unknown whether the rubrication in the middle unit was added shortly after the main text was copied there, or after the manuscript was assembled and the production process was at a further stage.

Image 1.5: F-Pn fr. 12786: Not enough space for the rubric on f. 34r

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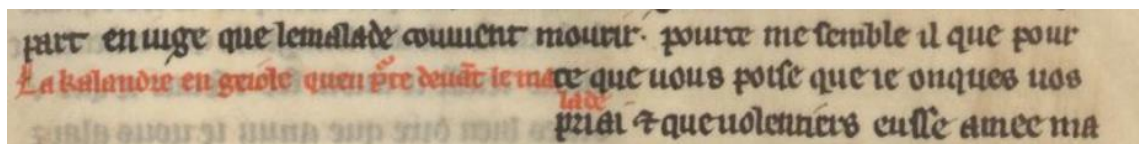
[54] Sylvia Huot remarks that rubrication was meant to be added to the "second half of the codex" and that "space was also reserved" for this, but it is unclear to me where these spaces are to be found, and I do not believe that there is any evidence that suggests that rubrics were ever intended anywhere in the manuscript apart from where they have been copied. Huot 1987: p. 17.

Deletions by the scribe also provide an insight into the working methods and scribal practice, and shed light on the production of the manuscript.[55] For deletions in fr. 12786 either puncti are used or the ink is wiped or scraped off, depending on the type of error, the direct context in which this error is situated, and on how soon it was discovered. When a word or syllable was accidentally copied twice or when an erroneous word was copied, neither of which imply carelessness or a lack of attention but are inevitable mistakes, the scribe often placed puncti underneath the word or syllable that was duplicated to indicate that it was not supposed to be there, as was common practice at the time. The erroneous syllable or word was sometimes also struck out by the scribe, who then placed a horizontal line through the middle to make it absolutely evident for the reader that this was not meant to be read (see for examples of both varieties Images 1.6-1.10 below). The ink used for these deletions seems to be the same as that used for the copying of the texts, suggesting that they were applied by the scribe rather than by a later corrector.
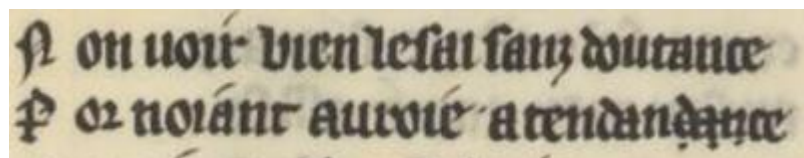
Image 1.6: F-Pn fr. 12786: Deleted word, f. 9r
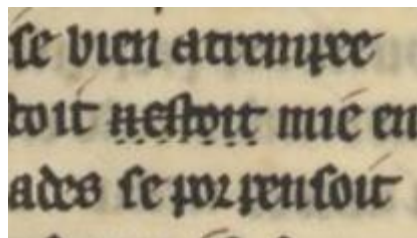
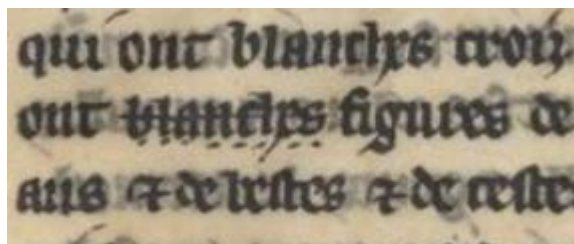Image 1.7: F-Pn fr. 12786: Deleted syllable, f. 15r
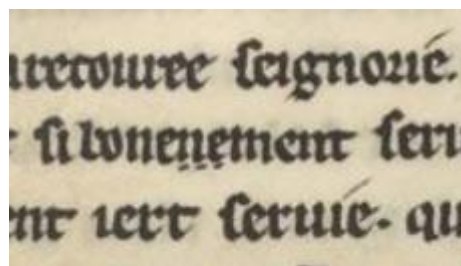

Image 1.8: F-Pn fr. 12786: Deleted word, f. 30v

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[55] Certain deletions presumably made by the users of fr. 12786, such as those in the song collection, will be discussed in Chapter 5.
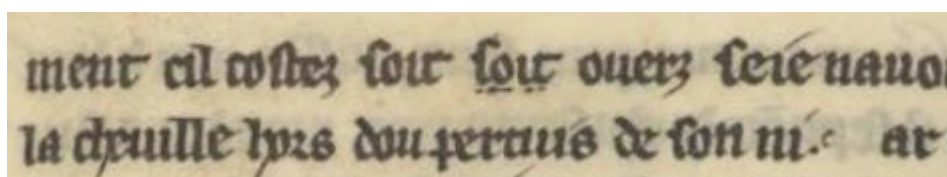
Image 1.9: F-Pn fr. 12786: Deleted syllable, f. 42v

Image 1.10: F-Pn fr. 12786: Deleted word, f. 38r

Where the scribe found that the wrong word was copied instead of – rather than in addition to – the correct one, puncti could not be used, and in these situations, the ink was wiped or scraped off the parchment in order for the scribe to be able to replace the word. This overwriting makes this type of deletion difficult to detect, which is precisely what the scribe must have intended. Image 1.11 gives an example of a situation in which the ink was scraped off, which is indicated by the darker spot on the parchment where the top layer of the material is damaged.

The same method of deletion was required when the space between words was accidentally missed by the scribe; if puncti are used in such a situation, the reader would not be able to tell whether he or she is reading one word or two, as the duplicated letter is still there. If there is no duplicated letter, or if the scribe did not notice the mistake early enough, the two words would have had to be scraped off and re-copied in a more compressed way in order to solve this problem. Image 1.12 below illustrates this with an example that is found on f. 12r. The scribe copied the word *si* and, without leaving a space, moved on to copy the next word, *le*. It is unclear whether a letter was duplicated here or whether the scribe noticed this error after copying only that letter, but the scraping off ensures that both words are now complete and separated.

Image 1.13 illustrates more clearly how the scribe must have wiped off the ink when it was still wet; more clearly because in this situation there is nothing that replaced the deleted word and letter. In the example on f. 8r, shown in the image, the scribe initially started copying the top line of the page, the start of a *refrain* in the *Roman de la Poire* that was meant to receive monophonic musical notation but never did. It is easy to imagine how the scribe must have started on the top line of the column, quickly realising the error of omitting to leave space for

the stave for music, wiped off the ink, and copied the same word, "[E]st", again three lines lower. The stain left on the parchment reveals the movement of the hand or the piece of cloth used by the scribe in the process. Had the manuscript been finished and music been added to the nineteen short *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire*, this piece of evidence that gives such a vivid insight in the scribe's methods and procedures, would have been obscured.
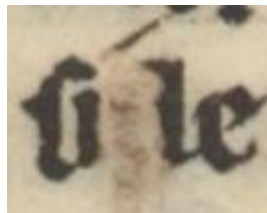
Image 1.11: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 5r: Deleted and corrected: "ne de basme"
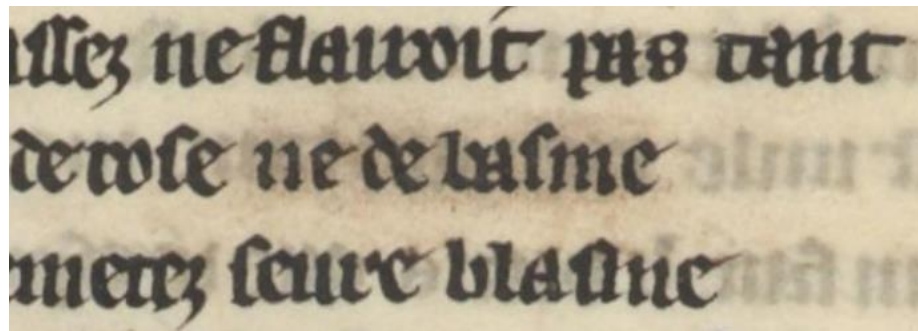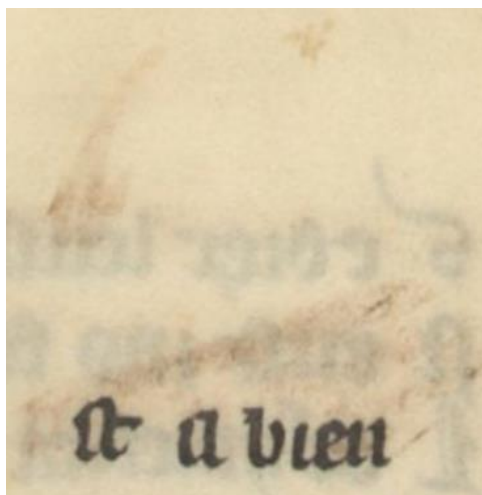

Image 1.12: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 12r: Deleted letter

Image 1.13: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 8r: Deleted word: [E]st

All methods of deletion, illustrated by the examples above, show that the scribe was very careful both to have a correct text with as few errors as could be achieved, and to maintain the

appearance of the manuscript as undisturbed as possible: the deletions, cautiously done, have very little impact on the way fr. 12786 looks, and will only be observed if searched for or if looked at very closely.

The song collection (ff. 76r-82r) contains an interesting palaeographic phenomenon: a series of very light mirrored lines. Although sometimes they are barely visible, they are found on almost every folio of the collection. The reason the lines are mirrored, is because they are imprints of the lines on the opposing folios. This is something that is not found often, and that has never been systematically studied, but is found in some other manuscripts in which the phenomenon can be observed on folios opposing a miniature, for which a thicker layer of paint may have been used, or in which the imprint has been made on paper, a much more absorbent material than parchment.

It is unclear whether these imprints were made at the very beginning, when the scribe had just finished writing these folios, or, alternatively, at a later stage in the manuscript's history, caused by an external factor, such as exposure to damp or heat. If exposure to damp had been the reason for the ink to stain in such a way, one would expect to find the same thing to happen elsewhere in the manuscript, or at least elsewhere in the third codicological unit, which is not the case. On the other hand, in order for the ink to have made an imprint on the opposing page right after the copying, it would presumably have had to stay wet for a long time, long enough for the scribe to finish copying two pages, unless the quire was closed after the copying of each individual line of text, which is unlikely. If the ink did indeed take a long time to dry and stain after two opposing folios were finished, we might expect the imprints to be more easily visible or darker on the verso sides than on the recto sides of the folio, as the ink on their facing folios, the recto sides, would have been added later and would therefore be wetter. This is not the case. However, the song collection contains much less text on each folio than all the others, as most space was left blank for stacks of staves intended for three-part polyphonic music, suggesting that the hypothesis of the quires being closed while the ink was still damp is perhaps not very far-fetched. If we accept this, the phenomenon might say something about the consistency of the ink, and, perhaps more interestingly, about the scribe's speed of writing.

1.4.   Foliation

The folio numbers were added after the manuscript was assembled in its present form and match the current collation. The foliation that is not copied by a manuscript's scribe(s) is generally difficult to date, because it consists of very short examples of a hand and shows very few

different alphabetical signs, or numerals only. The shape of Arabic numerals changed greatly from when they were first introduced to Europe, and this helps to give a rough dating of a hand that left nothing but numbers. The shapes of the numerals in the foliation in fr. 12786 suggest that they cannot have been added before the sixteenth century, and that they were probably done much later.

The foliation was not supplied by the same person who wrote the title and the catalogue number on the third paper flyleaf in the front of the manuscript in 1889, which will be addressed below; even though there may be variation in the shapes of numerals within one hand when these numbers are used for different functions, in this case for a title page and for folio numbering, evidence exists showing that the hand in which the title page was copied had a different style of foliating from the one that is found in fr. 12786. F-Pn n.a.f. 5429 is one of many catalogues of the Bibliothèque du Roi. The ink used for both the title page and the foliation is of such a distinct red colour, that there is no doubt that both were done with the same pen and presumably by the same hand. The shapes of the numerals match those used on the title page of. n.a.f. 5429. This hand, probably belonging to a librarian of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, added title pages to a large number of manuscripts over a period of several decades. The fact that this librarian, who added the information on the title page flyleaf of fr. 12786 in 1889, did not add the foliation in the manuscript, but did include it in another in which this was apparently lacking, probably suggests that foliation was already present in fr. 12786 at the time, which in turn makes it highly likely that the collation was the same as it is today. This suggests that if the latest rebinding took place directly before the librarian provided the flyleaf with the information, – a plausible hypothesis considering the nineteenth-century appearance of the current binding which will be discussed below – the order of the three codicological units was kept the same.

If there were any older foliation in the past, it has since been trimmed off. There are no signatures, quire marks or custodes at the bottom of the folios to give additional information about the original or the intended order of the quires. These features would have been useful for the first assembling of the manuscript, as well as for the readers; they would have helped them to find certain texts, particularly if there had also been an index, which is not found in the manuscript today. The lack of contemporary foliation, the fact that this may never have been there, and the absence of an index may suggest that this manuscript was meant for private use; it was a personal collection based on an individual's requests, and this individual would have been able to find everything he or she was looking for without the use of such additional finding aids. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that foliation was added later in the manuscript's history. The person who applied it must have thought it useful, either because he or she wanted

to read (parts of) fr. 12786 more than once, or because he or she believed that someone else would later profit from folio numbers.[56]

1.5.   Rebindings

The cardboard binding that currently covers fr. 12786 is not the original one, but most likely dates from the nineteenth century: its style, colour patterns, and materials resemble other nineteenth-century bindings. There are, however, no archival records that can verify this dating, no catalogues that contain any specific information about the latest or any earlier rebinding, and the binding itself is not signed or dated. The manuscript spent most of the nineteenth century in what is now the Bibliohèque nationale de France in Paris, and it is therefore likely that the last rebinding happened in this library.[57] The paper flyleaves were probably added at this point. One of the leaves at the front of the codex, which is mentioned above, contains information about the manuscript: the catalogue number, a title (*Recueil de Poèmes Divers*), and some general information about the book were written on this page on 13 June 1889, presumably by someone working at the Bibliothèque nationale. Though fr. 12786 had been in the library for more than half a century by this time, the date may be close to the date of the rebinding.

The parchment of ff. 1r, 9r, 17r, and 31r has thickened and darkened over time and is in contrast to the lighter, thinner and more flexible parchment of the other folios. There is no sign of wear or damage caused by extensive use, implying that the darkening of the material was caused by exposure to sunlight.[58] All four of these folios are the beginning of a new quire. This suggests that these quires were unbound for some time, most likely in the early fourteenth century when the manuscript was still in the process of being produced. The darkened parchment of f. 1r and f. 31r respectively supports the abovementioned theory in which the codicological units were manufactured individually and in which they were laid by until

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[56] There is a conservation aspect in foliation: librarians may supply foliation in order to help ensure that the book remains intext in the future or in order to identify any folios that may be damaged or later become damaged and which require specific conservation efforts. Foliation may also have academic purposes: the current study and many others before have benefited greatly from the presence of the foliation.

[57] The earliest of the two library stamps found in fr. 12786 dates from the time of the Restauration (1814-1830). This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

[58] The ink has not faded on any of these folios, an observation which may support an opposite hypothesis in which these pages have seen little daylight, a hypothesis that is however easily dismissed because ink only fades when exposed to the elements if it is of a certain quality and consistency, and the black ink that was used by the scribe of fr. 12786 does not appear to fade easily. It may be repeated that the ink on the first folios of the second codicological unit (ff. 31 onwards) is lighter and fainter and is of a different, lower quality than that in the rest of the manuscript. This does not appear to be the result of exposure to sunlight. Additionally, the ink may well have been applied to the folios after the sun had already darkened the parchment.

exemplars were available or until other quires with which they were to be bound were finished. The front of the second and third quires has not darkened to the same extent as that of the first quire, suggesting that the gatherings were pre-produced and waited on the shelf, their top recto exposed to the elements, for some time until they were required, but once used by the scribe and provided with their text became part of the codicological unit and remained codicologically united. The recto side of f. 1 is darker than that of f. 31, which might imply that the finished collection that is now fr. 12786 was unbound for some time. This may have happened after the completion of the copying and is a hypothesis that can be supported by the unfinished nature of the manuscript: a book that was not completed in many of its aspects and that still lacked its initials, miniatures, musical notation, possible border decoration, and of which at least two texts may have been intended to be completed as well, may not have reached its intended owner, and may have remained unbound for years before it eventually ended up with someone who considered it finished and complete enough to have it bound and to add it to his or her library.[59] After all, as Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham write: "Once all textual and decorative elements of a manuscript were complete, the codex was ready to be bound."[60] Fr. 12786 did not reach this stage and may have received its first cover well after its production. However, the difference between bound and unbound is not entirely black and white, and it may well be possible that the manuscript was kept in loose vellum wrappers for some time.

Between the cardboard binding and the beginning of the body of the codex are a paper bifolio that is marbled on one side and blank on the other, of which one half is glued to the binding and the other is a flyleaf, and two other single-page paper flyleaves that are glued together.[61]At the back of the volume is a matching marbled end sheet with one half glued to the binding and with the other as a free flyleaf, as well as a quire originally consisting of three paper bifolios and a single parchment sheet in the middle, but of which the first three folios have been removed with the exception of the stubs which can still be observed. The parchment flyleaf is foliated as number 100, reflecting its position immediately after f. 99, though it is not technically part of the collation of the manuscript. Importantly, this folio number was not added by the same hand who foliated the rest of fr. 12786, suggesting that the foliation of folios 1-99 was completed before the latest rebinding in which the parchment sheet was bound in with the volume in the way it is now.

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[59] The unfinished nature of the manuscript does not necessarily imply that the book never reachd its intended owner: there is evidence of other uncompleted manuscripts which were owned by their patron who left it in the unfinished state.

[60] Clemens and Graham 2007: p. 49.

[61] The paper bifolio that is marbled on one side has now come loose on the side that is not glued to the binding of the manuscript; this sheet is inside the book but not attached to it anymore.

It is evident that the paper flyleaves were not always part of the manuscript; there are traces of woodworm in the first three and final two parchment folios of the body of the manuscript that are not found in any of the adjacent paper flyleaves or the present cardboard binding, which are free of holes. This suggests that the manuscript was previously bound in a different cardboard or wooden binding that attracted the woodworm. After all, the bug, a natural danger to paper books, does not like parchment, but it often eats itself through the outer folios when it has gone through a binding and, where present, through paper flyleaves.

The wormholes are found in the outer folios of the book block only, and they thus prove that the manuscript was assembled in the same way it is today (unless something was taken out from the middle of the volume) at the time in which this damage occurred. Of course, this still neither confirms nor disproves that the quires were always bound in their present order, as the holes were potentially eaten into the parchment during a time in the manuscript's history after the units had been shuffled, but it does strongly suggest that the order of the units has been the same at least since the rebinding before the latest one.[62]

The sheet that has been foliated f. 100, which shows signs of exposure to sunlight, is certainly older than the most recent rebinding and was used in other ways before; judging by the traces of glue on its recto side it was used to strengthen the collation and the binding of a manuscript and to protect the contents of a book before it was used as a flyleaf at the end of fr. 12786; moreover, both sides of the sheet contain text in what appears to be a fourteenth-century *bâtarda*.[63] Though now hardly legible, this text may offer some insights into where the sheet was first used. It contains personal names, amongst which "Iohannes po(s)terius", "Iacobus gastellanus", "Jaquinus", "Iohannis patier", "Iohannes asinus", "Iacobus bonnefez" (?), as well as sums of money consisting of a number and a denomination, e.g. "iiij.d" (4 denarii), "vi. paris" (6 livres parisis), "[...] s iii ob" (?) ([…] solidi, 3 obuli?), with a declaration of what this money was paid for, often a house or a garden or something of a similar nature. Most interestingly, the accounts are preceded by the name of a saint, "Sancti aygulphi", or Saint Aygulf, at the top of the page. Born in Blois around 630, the Benedictine monk Aygulf was invited to leave the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire in Central France and to join the one on the Lérins Islands in the Mediterranean Sea not far from Cannes where he introduced the Rule of St Benedict. The reform was not welcomed by all, and those unhappy with the prospect of a life of obedience and silence induced others to kill the monk. Aygulf was martyred between 675 and

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[62] It is unknown how many rebindings there have been, and the wooden or cardboard binding that attracted the woodworm was not the first cover per se.

[63] The glue stains could likewise indicate that this leaf was glued to something other than a book cover, but the nature and appearance of the text on the sheet does not suggest that it was ever used as a pamphlet or poster that was glued to a wall or window.

681.[64] St Aygulf was and still is venerated mostly in the village of Roquebrune, the Villepey area, the Lérins Islands, and the town of Fréjus – the latter of which includes the modern holiday resort of Saint-Aygulf, named thus in honour of the seventh-century monk. All of these places are close to where St Aygulf was murdered in the South of France not far from Nice.[65] There are, however, other places in France in which the saint's name appears. For example, there was a church in Lyon named after St Aygulf, and another, the Église Saint-Ayoul, which was established in the town of Provins in the Île-de-France region before 1000.[66] Another link with the saint is the village of Saint-Août in the Loire Valley region, whose inhabitants are still called Saint Aygulphins.[67]

Its location in the middle of the otherwise paper quire flyleaves might imply that f. 100 was included at the same time as those sheets, which may have been added to the manuscript during the latest rebinding. However, the stark contrast between the modern blank paper flyleaves both at the front and at the back of the volume and the worn sheet of parchment that had clearly already been used in several capacities before it was put to use in its current position might also suggest that it was already part of the book, that those who did the latest rebinding chose to preserve this part of the manuscript's history, and that the stains may even show how it was glued to a previous cover of fr. 12786. In fact, three of the wormholes in f. 100 align almost exactly with the three holes in f. 1: they are approximately the same distance from each other as well as from the edges of the sheet, considering that f. 100 is slightly larger than the rest of the book and would have been bound along with the codex. This can be seen in Image 1.14 below. The other wormholes in f. 100 are not also found in f. 1; the woodworm would have stopped eating through the parchment sheets, and, therefore, the further a sheet was removed from the presumably wooden binding, the fewer holes will be found. F. 2 only contains one of three holes also found in f. 1. This piece of evidence strongly suggests that f. 100 was previously used as a flyleaf in the front of the manuscript, or glued to the front board of a previous binding of fr. 12786. If this conclusion is indeed correct, the manuscript must have been in the same place as the sheet during a rebinding or even during its first binding. The glue stains indicate that the folio was already used before it was employed as a flyleaf or endsheet, as both sides are written

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[64] Pinio et al. 1868: p. 740. There are many spelling variants of his name, e.g. Aygulph, Aygulphus, Ayou, Ayoul, and Egoux. For more information about St Aygulf, see: Cooper-Marsdin 1913: pp. 46-49. Also see: Pinio et al. 1868: pp. 728-63.

[65] See for example: "Bienvenue à Saint-Aygulf". <http://frejus.saint.aygulf.free.fr/crbst_0.html> (Accessed: August 2017).

[66] An account survives of a robbery that took place in the St Aygulf church in Lyon. See: Pinio et al. 1868: pp. 760-61. The church in Provins uses a different, vernacular spelling of the name. The church in Lyon is of particular interest in this context, as fr. 12786 spent some time in this city during the sixteenth century, as will be revealed in Chapter 5; the sheet and the book may have come together here.

[67] See: "Saint-Août". <https://www.habitants.fr/saint-aout/banque> (Accessed: September 2017). The small village of Ajou in Normandy may also have been named after St Aygulf, but it did not exist before the end of the eighteenth century.

on in the same hand; the later fourteenth-century hand therefore presumably predates the amalgamation of the sheet and fr. 12786.

Unfortunately, the little evidence available cannot reveal the origins of what has become f. 100. It is, however, interesting to know that someone who encountered fr. 12786 and who even rebound the book, also had access to this sheet with accounts that had fallen out of use.

Image 1.14: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 1r and 'f. 100r': worm holes
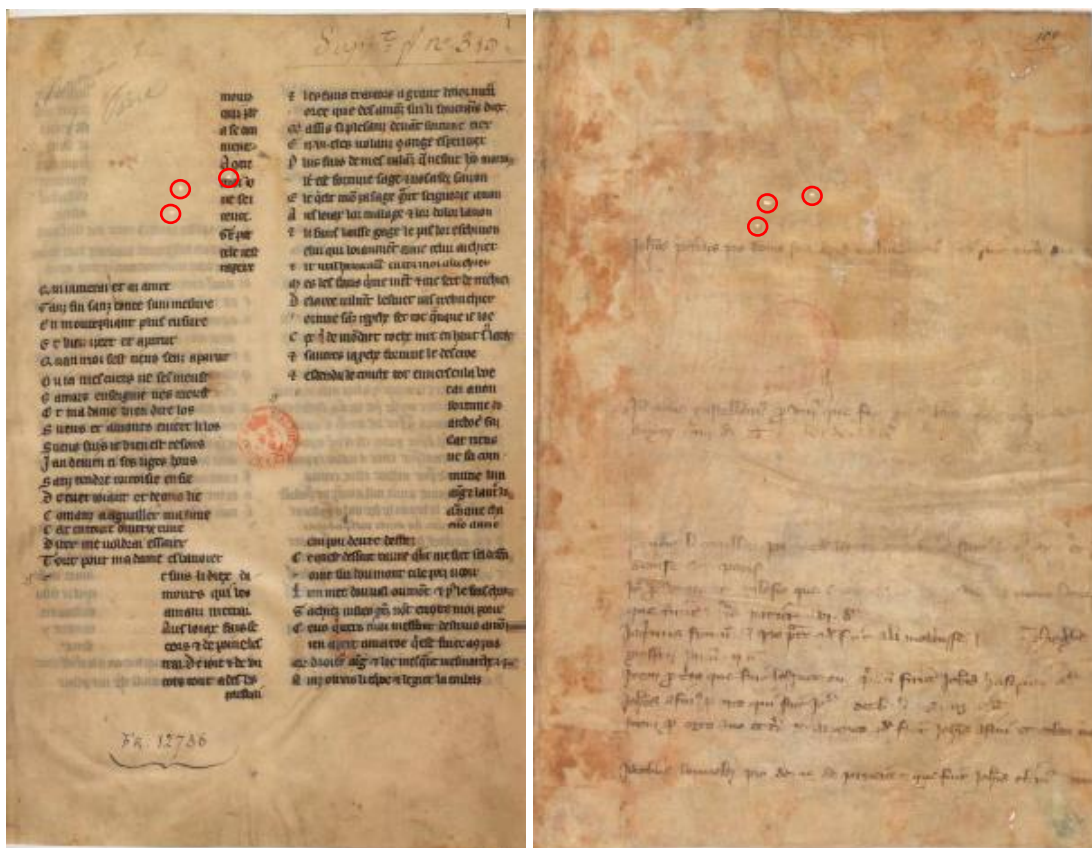
F. 100 has its own history separate from that of fr. 12786, during which it fulfilled at least two different functions and there are several pieces of evidence that show that the sheet was part of something other than fr. 12786 after it was used as writing material. The sheet was trimmed after the accounts were copied on its parchment, as is proved by the text that cuts off at the sides, but before it came to fr. 12786, suggested by its somewhat larger size compared to all other folios, including the flyleaves: the folio is wider and higher than the others and its outer edges have consequently curled up.

The folios of the manuscript have not been trimmed very neatly. The top edge of the book block is somewhat darker than those at the side and bottom, which may suggest either that the sides and bottoms of the folios have been trimmed more recently, perhaps during the latest rebinding; or that the book was stored such that the top edge was exposed to sunlight much

more than the other sides. Both hypotheses are plausible and a combination of the two is also likely.

1.6.   Conclusion

The opening chapter has considered the material aspects of fr. 12786 in order to find out more about how the manuscript was produced and how it ended up as it is today. The three codicological units may not always have been in the same order, though the continuous foliation as well as the wormholes on the outer folios indicate that the order has been the same at least since before 1889. There are a number of pieces of evidence that suggest that the middle unit was produced separately from the others. The codicological break at the end of the second codicological unit is the result of the removal of three folios in the tenth quire, a removal which was done before the text was copied here and which ensures that the *Roman de la Rose* and its anonymous continuation end on the final folio of the quire and of the unit. The text is unfinished, but the missing couplet would have easily fitted on the empty space at the end of the quire, that looks odd in the present collation where the next text, the first of the third unit, follows this blank parchment. This may suggest that the unit was indeed pre-produced. The palaeographical differences at the beginning of the second unit, a lighter ink and a more carefully written lettering, prove that the fifth quire, the first of this unit, was not copied immediately after the fourth, but that the production of this part of the manuscript started at a different time. The darkened parchment on the recto side of the first folio of the middle unit likewise implies that this booklet was unbound for a period of time during which its top was exposed to the elements. The idea of a commercially pre-produced unit is in line with the commercialisation of book production at the time and with the popularity of, and presumably demand for the texts that are transmitted in the second unit.

Also in line with the commercial practice of the scribal workshop in which fr. 12786 was produced, is the suggestion that quires were assembled and set aside until they were required, a hypothesis for which several small pieces of evidence exist, such as a glue stain on the side of Quire XII and the remaining stubs of the removed folios in Quires IV and X. An analysis of the prickings and the ruling shows that the punctures were made one quire at a time and that they are consistent within each gathering, even when a change in text type requires the ruling to change within the quire. The fact that the prickings no longer always align within the quires shows that the bifolios have been shifted both vertically and horizontally, suggesting that the prickings were made very early in the production process and possibly even when the quires were first assembled. The pricked gatherings would wait on the shelf until they were needed,

and the scribe could choose an appropriate quire and, if necessary, adjust it to the specific requirements for the manuscript. The ruling was not added until much later, when the manuscript makers knew exactly what sort of text would be copied on which page, and, unlike the prickings, ruling can vary within a quire. The scribe could then start copying the text.

The scribe's hand is a relatively consistent book hand with few abbreviations and which shows great care for the manuscript's overall appearance; disturbances are kept to a minimum and even deletions are done very carefully. This implies that the manuscript was to be a luxurious book. The scribe may, however, have worked fast: the hand 'quickened' at the beginning of what is now the second codicological unit, and in the song collection, where relatively little text was copied on each page, the ink stained on the opposing folios, leaving imprints that can still be observed and that are a phenomenon not found in any comparable examples.

The darkened parchment on f. 1r, darker even than that at the top of the other quires, suggests that the collection, after having been assembled, remained unbound, possibly for years. This may be related to the unfinished nature of the book: the missing miniatures, initials, musical notation, and the incompleteness of two of its texts may have made fr. 12786 an undesirable object no longer of interest to the intended owner, though the incompleteness may also be a result of the intended owner's sudden lack of interest. In either case, a scenario in which the book lay on the shelf for a long time is certainly not unthinkable.

There is, however, sufficient evidence that shows that it was taken up and used eventually: wormholes show that the current binding is not its first one, deleted later additions on the final folio of the collation show that someone had access to the manuscript not very long after its production, and many other users' traces throughout the book prove that it was used for many centuries, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. The most recent rebinding probably took place in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where fr. 12786 still resides today. The order of the units was already the same as it currently is, indicated by the foliation which must predate the last rebinding. Presumably during this rebinding, paper flyleaves were attached, as well as a parchment sheet that appears to have been part of the manuscript's history before this time. The sheet, now f. 100, was either used as a flyleaf at the front of the manuscript collation or glued to a previous, presumably wooden binding, and must have come to the manuscript during a rebinding or even during the very first binding. Regardless of when the amalgamation of the manuscript and this leaf with administrative texts took place, they are now inextricably connected.

Chapter 2. Under Construction

Perhaps the most interesting aspect about fr. 12786 is that it has apparently been left unfinished: blank spaces of various shapes and sizes were left by the scribe in places where one would expect miniatures, initials, and musical notation. It is evident that there was an intention for these spaces to be filled in, but this never happened for reasons that remain unknown. Nevertheless, careful consideration and analysis of these various kinds of blank spaces can lead to some interesting conclusions about what is missing here, and what this may have meant for the intended readers of the book.

The quantity, sizes, shapes, and placement of the blank spaces, combined with a comparison with other manuscripts which transmit the same texts or similar collections of texts, provide an insight into what sort of manuscript fr. 12786 was intended to be and provide information about what may have been meant for the spaces: what miniatures could have been expected, what sort of initials may have been meant, and what was envisioned by the manuscript makers for the musical notation. Finally, an assessment of other manuscripts that have been left unfinished provides some insights into why fr. 12786 has been left in this apparently uncompleted state. The focus point throughout the chapter will be that of the hypothetical or intended reader and considerable attention will be paid to readers' experiences of unfinished manuscripts.[68] The aim is to find out more about what the readers of fr. 12786 missed out on because the manuscript makers decided to abandon their work on this book.

> An illuminated manuscript presents a multi-layered text that invites disparate kinds of reading. Its textual contents, page layout, and pictorial decoration together call for a reading that can be simultaneously narrative, non-linear, pictorial, and thematic. If the manuscript also contains musical notation, the complex act of apprehending polyphony is added into the reading experience. Indeed, polyphony itself can be seen as a metaphor for this complex experience.[69]

Without the illustration, decoration, and musical notation, the reading experiences of the first and later users of fr. 12786 have been altogether different from and presumably much more shallow than the multi-layered experience which Jane Alden describes above.

Because what was intended for the three different kinds of blank spaces, those left to receive miniatures, those intended for initials, and those meant to be filled with staves and

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[68] The actual or real readers of fr. 12786 will be discussed in Chapter 5. There is an important difference between the hypothetical audience, consisting of those readers the manuscript makers had in mind when they produced the book, and the actual audience, the historical readers who used and owned the manuscript throughout the centuries. Their respective reading experiences also differ, and as the intended audience is merely hypothetical, their reading experience is theoretical. All that is known about the reading experiences of the real readers is based on evidence left behind on the parchment in the form of users' traces.

[69] Alden, 2005: p. 17.

musical notation, differs much in function, and their absence thus influences the reading experiences each in their own way, they require different approaches and analytical methods, and will therefore be examined separately.

2.1.   Missing Miniatures

A total of one hundred and fourteen spaces for miniatures were left by the scribe, all of which are found in the two large texts in what is now the middle codicological unit, the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose*. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is one of several features in which this unit differs from the other two, a reason to believe that this second unit was produced individually, perhaps for commercial purposes. As mentioned, the scribe added rubrics to this codicological unit, while no red ink is used in the other two. The rubrication and the spaces for miniatures are closely related to each other, for, with the exception of one, each rubric is coupled with a miniature-to-be. This feature presents some interesting lines of enquire concerning the collaboration between various craftsmen that will be addressed below.

The rubrics in the many concordances for the two texts, almost twenty-five for the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and over three hundred for the *Roman de la Rose*, are very similar to those in fr. 12786, and even though in the *Rose*, a verse text, they are not part of the rhyme scheme and metre and therefore are not part of the poem itself, they can in both cases be seen as an essential part of that text, indicating that the miniatures to which they refer would also have been fully integral to the meaning of the texts.[70] In these other witnesses, the text and the miniatures are closely related: the images are not merely decorative, but are there to illustrate and even further explain the texts.

The *Bestiaire d'Amours* is a love letter, disguised as a bestiary. Its author, Richard de Fournival, describes the peculiarities of a number of animals to express his love for his lady, to whom he meant to send the text in an illuminated version, as he believed that the words and the pictures combined would bring him to her memory. In the prologue of this text, Richard proclaims that memory is "une vertu de force d'ame" (a faculty of the soul) that has two gates, the gate of hearing and the gate of seeing, the first of which is reached by the path of *parole*

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[70] See: Langlois 1910. Although this study is over a hundred years old, it is still considered to be the most important source: As Jonathan Morton Writes: "Ernest Langlois dedicated almost his entire working life to cataloguing the sources and the manuscripts of the *Rose*, as well as producing a monumental five-volume edition, which is still indispensable today." Morton 2015: p. 79. Also see: Pratt 2015. Many manuscripts that transmit the *Bestiaire d'Amours* do not have these rubrics coupled with the miniatures, but those that do, have very similar and indeed often the exact same rubrics.

(words), and the second by that of *painture* (pictures or illustations).[71] This stresses how important the illustrations were to Richard himself, but miniatures do much more for the reader than simply lead to memory: they provide a critical interpretation, that of the miniature artist, which often includes extra-textual connotations, symbolism, and allegory parallel with but not identical to that found in the text.

In his study of the iconography of the *Roman de la Rose*, John Fleming states that "[t]he illustrations […] invite our attention to the figurative, rather than the literal, meaning of the poem", and that the miniatures can thus be seen as a gloss to the poem that makes the reader understand the story differently.[72] Certain miniatures in *Rose* manuscripts depict the allegorical meaning of the text, rather than representing what is said in the words, helping the reader see this additional layer of meaning. The miniature artists used emblematic and symbolic elements that would have been easily recognisable for the contemporary medieval audience, such as the *fleur-de-lys* representing the kingdom of France, the fox as a representation of friars, or the pelican signifying the passion of Christ.[73] Interpretations of the text expressed in the miniatures depend firstly on the images themselves and therefore on the artist, this person's understanding (or misunderstanding) of the text, the cultural and stylistic context which reflects the illuminator's technical skills as well as the symbolical implications used. Secondly, interpretations depend on those doing the interpreting, and the cultural context and understanding of the reader are equally important to the correspondence of such underlaying meanings. In the thirteenth century, these additional meanings expressed in the iconographical presentation of the *Roman de la Rose* were often religious in nature, but this decreased somewhat in the fourteenth century when miniature artists' glosses to this text more often conveyed secular messages.[74] If the reader and the miniature artist find themselves in the same context, or if the reader understands the context in which the miniatures were painted, the illuminator's interpretation of the text can be understood by the audience, in which case the images can, as Fleming says, indeed be understood as a gloss to the text, providing another layer of meaning and connecting the *Rose* to other texts and other arts outside of its direct context in a way in which the text itself does not.

Without having had access to the intended illuminations, the readers of fr. 12786 thus missed out on this layer of meaning. They may very well have been able to understand the literal story of the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, they may have discovered

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[71] See: Sears 1993. The word *painture* can also be translated as *colour*, but it in this context it makes more sense to interpret it as images, pictures, or illustrations. In fr. 12786 (f. 31r): "[C]este memoire sia .ij. portes veoir et oir. et a chascune de ces .ij. portes. sia .i. chemin par on en puet aler. ce sont pointures et paroles." (This memory has two gates: seeing and hearing, and for each of the two gates there is one path on which one must go, they are images and words.)
[72] Fleming 1969: p. 20.
[73] See: Fleming 1969: pp. 20-27; 247-49.
[74] Fleming 1969: pp. 37-42.

several layers of symbolism and meaning in the words of the text, reflected through extra-textual references, irony, allegory, and many other narrative techniques employed by the authors of both texts, but they will not have been able to grasp the full sense that they would have, had the miniatures been there for them to look at. The absence of the images in fr. 12786, therefore, had a strong influence on the reading experiences of the first and of later audiences of the manuscript, who now had to miss out on a critical interpretation and annotation through the eyes of the miniature artist.

Perhaps even more importantly, the readers thereby also lose out on a layer of their own interpretation, one that comes into existence not through the text, through hearing the story as many would have done, but through the pictures in which they could see and even experience the story. Sylvia Huot explains this nicely: "As the visual representation of an essentially oral text, the medieval illuminated manuscript has a certain theatrical – at the risk of anachronism, one might even say cinematic – quality; it does not merely describe events but, rather, stages them."[75] This idea was not strange to Richard de Fournival; we read in his introduction of the *Bestiaire d'Amours*:

> "[P]ointure sert a oeil, et parole a oreille et comment on puisse repairier a l'ame son memoire par pointure et par parole; Si est aparant par ce que quant on uoit pointe une pointure, estoire de troies ou autre, on les uoit fez des pointures touz les fez des prodomes qui ca en arrier es furent, ausis com sil fussent presant"

> (Painting appeals to the eye, words to the ear, and how one one may restore a memory to one's mind through painting and through words; this is apparent because when one sees a painting painted, the story of Troy or something else, one sees the painting that has been made, [one sees] all the actions of the noblemen who lived in those times, just as if they were present).[76]

Fr. 12786 is not the only manuscript that was left unfinished and in which the miniatures were never painted, and two other examples of such books serve as useful points of comparison. F-Pn fr. 20046, a manuscript contemporary with fr. 12786, contains the *Bestiaire divin*, an allegorical and moralistic bestiary by Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie that has much in common with the *Besitiaire d'Amours*: both texts mimic the more scientific bestiary whilst conveying an additional layer of meaning through allegory and other such narrative techniques that is supposed to be understood by the contemporary audience. Particularly in such a multi-layered

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[75] Huot 1987: p. 3.
[76] Fr. 12786, f. 31v; own translation. There is a scribal error here, presumably the result of eyeskip or something confusing in the exemplar. The phrase "on les uoit fez des pointures touz les fez des prodomes" would translate roughly as "one sees them made from the paintings all the deeds of the noblemen" and is clearly incorrect. The mistake is not found in other surviving witnesses where the wording is slightly different: "Car quant on voit painte une estoire, ou de Troie ou d'autre, on voit les fais des preudhommes ke cha en ariere furent, ausi com s'il fussent present" ("for when one sees a story illuminated, whether of Troy or of something else, he sees the action of the worthy men that lived in those times, just as though they were present"). Huot 1987: p. 3.

text, miniatures are helpful tools to increase this understanding. Seven spaces were left by the scribe of fr. 20046 in order to receive miniatures, but, like in fr. 12786, these were initially not added. However, a later user of the book must have recignised just how important such illustrations are to the understanding of the text, and drawings were made in the blank spaces, an example of which can be seen in Image 2.1 below. One could argue that the artist added the illustrations not to increase the understanding of the text but for purely aesthetic reasons – blank spaces are not seen as visually appealing by most – but the drawings themselves, presumably not as technically skilful or indeed colourful as the manuscript makers must have intended, seem to suggest that they serve a purpose besides that mere decoration; if illustration had been the only aim, the drawings would presumably have been painted with colours and been made to be aesthetically more appealing.

Image 2.1: F-Pn fr. 20046, f. 3r
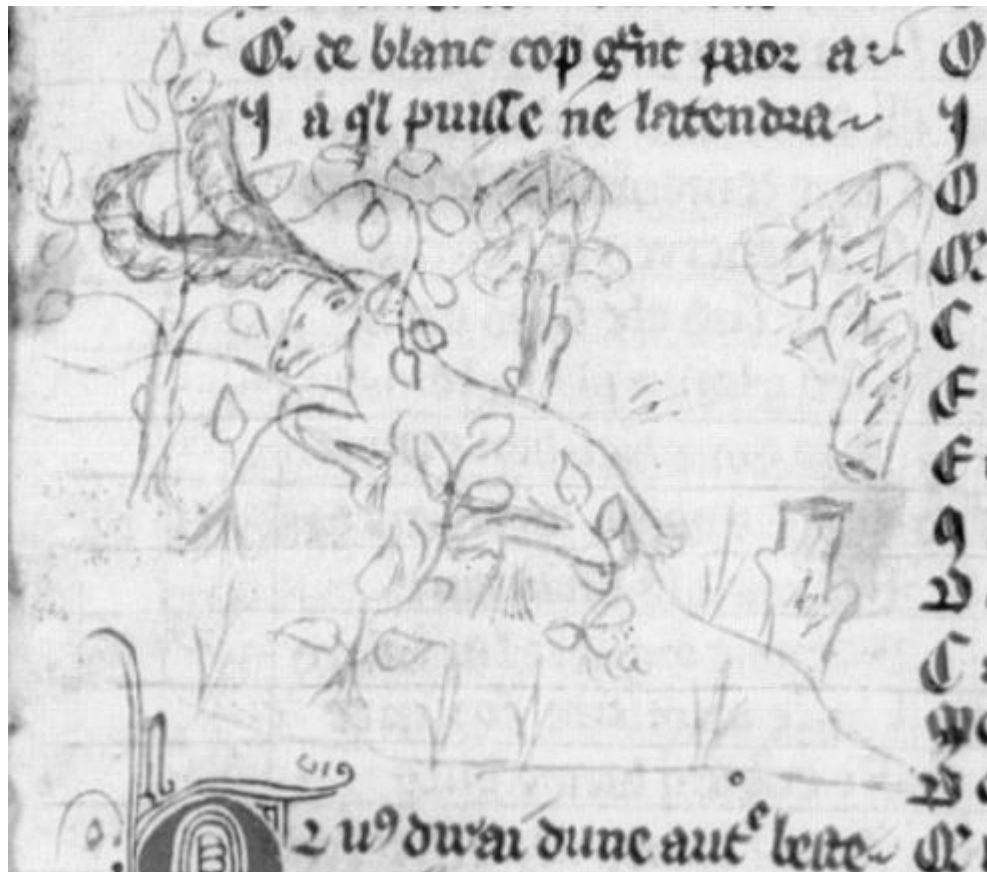
F-Pn fr. 24406, better known as Trouvère V or the *Vallière Chansonnier* was made in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Containing over three hundred *chansons* organised by author, fr. 24406 is considered to be one of the most important sources for trouvère song. The book consists of three clearly divided codicological units, the first of which was made earlier than the other two. The second and third unit, again contemporary with fr. 12786, are of interest

here. The middle unit contains the *Traité des quatres nècessaires* and the third transmits the *Bestiaire d'Amours* as well as lyrics.[77] While the first codicological unit, also transmitting song, is completed, the final two did not originally receive their intended initials and their miniatures, for which spaces were left blank. Eight initials were added by a later user in a somewhat lighter ink than that in which the text was copied. Unlike in fr. 12786, the musical notation was added by someone who may have been contemporary with but not the same person as the main scribe, though this job was not completed and the final twelve songs never received notation.[78] The fact that the final twelve *chansons* are missing their melodies may suggest that the music scribe worked in the order in which the song texts were already presented, and stopped partway through this job. The presence of musical notation in combination with the missing miniatures and the initials that were not added until much later tells us something about the production process in the case of fr. 24406: the text was copied first, the staves were then drawn, the music was notated, and the miniatures and initials must have been intended to be added later.

Image 2.2: F-Pn fr. 24406, f. 145v
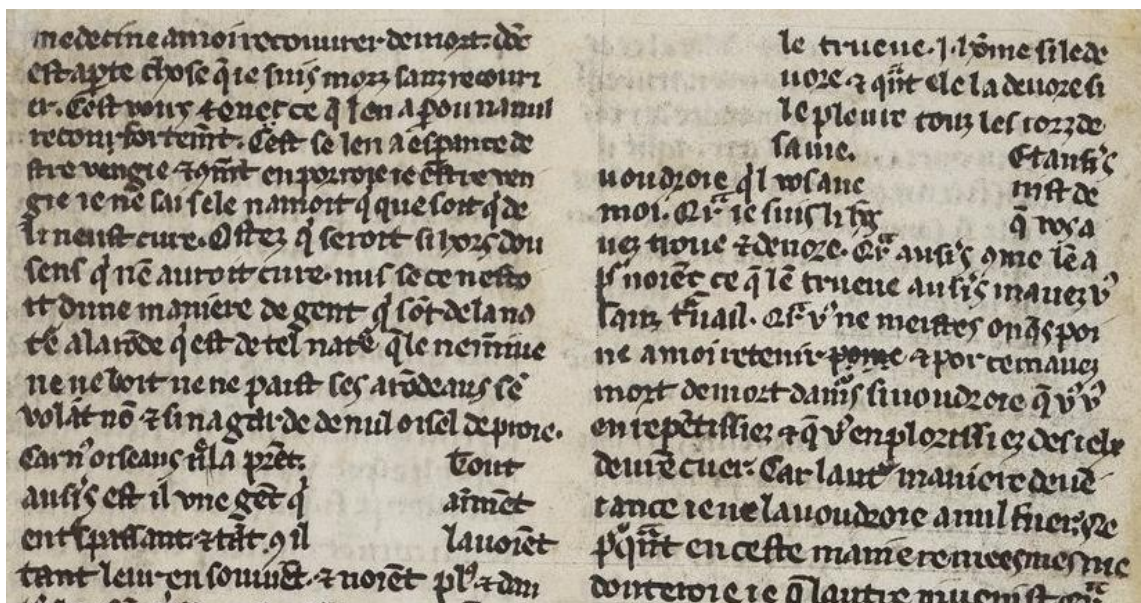
Of interest here are the shapes and sizes of the fifty-four spaces left for miniatures, all in the allegorical and multi-layered *Bestiaire d'Amours*. As can be seen in Image 2.2 above, the spaces

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[77] See: Jeanroy 1918: pp. 11-12.

[78] On f. 148r, at the start of the second chansonnier section of the book, the scribe left a space for an opening initial as well as for staves for musical notation, indicated by the position of the first two lines of text, but this space was used by the music specialist for staves and clefs, but no notes, since there is no text there. This shows a slight miscommunication between the main scribe and the music scribe and proves that the staves were not drawn by the scribe, but presumably shortly before the musical notation was added. This is in line with what is seen in fr. 12786 where spaces for staves are left but the staves themselves have not been drawn. There are, however, numerous examples of manuscripts with blank staves, indicating that this was not necessarily common practice.

are very small compared to those in many other manuscripts, including fr. 12786, and, perhaps more importantly, they are not always right-angled.[79] If a miniature artist ever encountered the manuscript, it might be imagined that these factors may have triggered the decision not to paint the intended images.

Almost all of the sixty-four spaces left blank for miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in fr. 12786 are much larger than those in fr. 24406: they are five to seven text lines in height, with the exception of one of ten lines, one of eleven, and one smaller one of four lines high.[80] They are of variable width. All spaces are rectangular in shape, and all are situated on the left-hand side of the single-column text block, touching the margin. Comparison with other surviving witnesses to this text with attention to the spacing and sizes of the miniatures may give an insight into the manuscript makers' intentions for fr. 12786, and four concordant manuscripts have been selected for this purpose: F-Pn fr. 25566, fr. 412, fr. 12469, and the already discussed fr. 24406.

F-Pn fr. 25566, known as Trouvère W or the *Adam de la Halle Manuscript*, predates fr. 12786 by several decades at the most. The book is a witness not only to the *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 83r-98r), but also to six other texts that are found in fr. 12786, all six in the song collection. They are the four texts in that collection that have been attributed to Adam de la Halle, as well as two texts are *refrain* insertions in *Renart le Nouvel*, a romance attributed to Jacquemart Gieliée that contains a number of such *refrains* which are not the same ones in the various witnesses.[81] All six of these are copied as whole songs in the collection in fr. 12786. Importantly, the collection of texts assembled in fr. 25566 is somewhat similar to that in fr. 12786 as it contains texts on various topics and of various genres in prose, verse, and song. Additionally, the *Adam de la Halle Manuscript* is, as said in the Introduction, the most important source for polyphonic *rondeaux*. These similarities, combined with the two books's origins at roughly the same time and in roughly the same region, are the reasons why fr. 25566 will be discussed several more times in this thesis.[82] The *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 83r-98r) is

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[79] There are blank spaces in the *Traité des quatres nècessaires* that may appear to be spaces for miniatures, oddly-shaped spaces not suitable for ordinary miniatures, but in fact these are the result of a deliberate shortening of the lines by the scribe at the beginning of each new paragraph that opens with an (intended) initial. This must be either for aesthetic reasons, or to visualise the structure of the text more clearly.

[80] The most common and also the average height for a miniature in this text is six lines. There is an average of 2⅔ miniatures per page.

[81] The four Adam de la Halle text that are copied both in fr. 25566 and in fr. 12786 are: *Bonne amourete*, *Amours et ma dame aussi*, *Diex commant porroie*, and *Dame or sui traiz par l'ochoison*. Those *refrains* that are inserted as *refrains* in *Renart le Nouvel* and are also found as part of the songs in the song collection in fr. 12786 are: *Vous arez la druerie amis*, *Amours et ma dame aussi*, *Vos nalez pas si com je faz*. And *Dame or sui traiz par l'ochoison*. The attribution to Jacquemart Gieliée is debated and the work was probably composed over a period of time. See: Haines 2010.

[82] Fr. 25566 is usually considered to have been made in the late thirteenth century. However, based on palaeographic evidence, I would be more comfortable dating this manuscript to the very end of the

copied in two columns, starting in the right one, and has an opening miniature, something that was never intended in fr. 12786, as well as a four-line-high opening initial. With fifty-six column-wide miniatures of nine text lines in height on average and approximately the same width, the text in this manuscript contains an average of fewer than two miniatures per page, only about seventy-five per cent of what is encountered in fr. 12786, though they are of a larger relative size in fr. 25566. As in fr. 12786, each miniature is coupled with a rubric describing what exactly is depicted in each image, and these short lines of text are of the same kind and style in both manuscripts, as will be discussed in more detail below.

F-Pn fr. 412 is a manuscript dated to 1285 which contains the *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 228r-236r) as well as other romances and hagiographies. It is one of the two surviving volumes in which the *Bestiaire* is followed by a motet *refrain* before the response to the main text, an interesting phenomenon that will be discussed in Chapter 4. The *Bestiaire* is copied in two columns and preceded by a twelve-line-high opening initial depicting the two gates to memory, seeing and hearing, which are indicated by a depiction of an eye on one door and an ear on the other. The fifty-one miniatures – nearly three-and-a-half per page on average, much more numerous than in fr. 12786 – are rectangular in shape, six to nine lines in height, and positioned on the left-hand side of the columns (although some are column-wide), similar to the shapes and positioning of the blank spaces in fr. 12786. An important difference is that there are no rubrics coupled with the miniatures in fr. 412. This difference may provide an insight into the character of the communication between the scribe and the miniature artist: without the rubrics, the painter did not have clear written instructions on the folios. This may suggest that the artist received the instructions elsewhere, either verbally or in writing, that he or she read the text very carefully and was given considerable creative freedom, or that the miniatures were copied from an exemplar so directly that there was no need for further instruction about what the miniature was to depict.

F-Pn fr. 12469, a manuscript contemporary with fr. 12786, opens with the *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 1r-19v) and also transmits *Image du Monde* (Goussin de Metz) and *Tourneiment Antecrit* (Huon de Méry). The opening initial is eleven lines high and shows the same two gates seen in that in fr. 412, though here not illustrated with the eye and the ear. In contrast to fr. 25566, fr. 412, fr. 24406, and fr. 12786, the internal initials in the *Bestiaire* in fr. 12469 are three lines high rather than one or two in the others, and they are in red, blue, white, and gold, attracting much more attention to themselves than the internal initials in the other surviving and completed witnesses. Although such larger and more colourful initials might make the structure of a text more visible, the combination of the initials and the miniatures in the same and other

thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and therefore believe that this book and fr. 12786 are closer in their time of production.

colours in fact means that there is so much to see that the reader is more likely to be confused, something that might explain why the internal initials in the other manuscripts are smaller and often consist of single plain colours. The fifty-eight miniatures in the *Bestiaire* in fr. 12469 (just over one and a half on average per page) either touch the left margin, just as they do in fr. 12786, or the right margin, but are never in the middle, and they vary in both shape and size, from four to sixteen lines high.

The final manuscript that will here be used for comparison is the already discussed fr. 24406. The *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 141r-148r) is copied in two columns on the large folios, with spaces left by the scribe for a six-line-high opening initial as well as the fifty-four small miniatures (over three-and-a-half on average per page), most of which would not have exceeded a height of four text lines. As shown above, the spaces are somewhat irregular in shape, and they are found at the left, the right, and the middle of the columns, resulting in an untidy appearance overall. There are no rubrics in this manuscript, in fact, no red ink was used at all.

These four examples of books that transmit the *Bestiaire d'Amours* show that although there are many similarities between the witnesses in the way the text is presented on the parchment and in the way the miniatures are situated and shaped, there are also many remarkable differences, and each scribe seems to have followed a somewhat different system of planning the spaces for miniatures, something they may have copied from their exemplars.[83]

Table 2.1 below summarises the descriptions above. As can be seen, fr. 12786 shares the level of detail in its rubrication of the *Bestiaire* with fr. 25566 and the placing of the (intended) miniatures with fr. 412. The sizes of the spaces left by the scribe of fr. 12786 are not extraordinary, and the book even shares its unfinished nature with fr. 412. The average number of miniatures on each page of text almost exactly the average of that in the other four manuscripts, and based on these factors in these four sources for comparison, fr. 12786 fits well in this group of manuscripts when it comes to the miniature tradition of the *Bestiaire d'Amours*. The only thing that stands out in fr. 12786 is the use of a single column rather than two columns per page. It is interesting that the *Bestiaire* in fr. 12786 differs from the other witnesses in this respect, as it also differs in this feature from all other texts in the manuscript. The single-columned layout does not seem to have been common for the *Bestiaire*.

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[83] It is unclear how widespread the text was exactly and what percentage survives. Editions do not elaborate on this matter. See for example: Segre 1957.

Table 2.1: The miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in five manuscripts

Manuscript	Columns	Size of (spaces for) (most) miniatures	Place of (spaces for) miniatures in the column	Average number of miniatures per page	Rubrics
fr. 12786	1	5-7 lines	Left	2.7	Yes
fr. 25566	2	c. 9 lines	Column-wide	< 2	Yes
fr. 412	2	6-9 lines	Left	3.5	No
fr. 12469	2	4-16 lines	Left or right	1.5	No
fr. 24406	2	< 4 lines	Left, right, or middle	3.5	No

The large number of surviving witnesses to the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose*, almost all illustrated, give an idea of what was meant to be depicted in the intended miniatures in fr. 12786. Moreover, the rubrics in both texts in fr. 12786 give a description of the image-to-be with which they are coupled, and therefore *what* would have been depicted it is relatively certain, yet *how* this would have been painted will remain a mystery. Even the manuscript makers, compilers, or planners, would not necessarily have had a clear vision of this.

Table 2.2 below sets out the rubrics for the miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in fr. 12786 as well as those in the same text in fr. 25566, the manuscript which is most closely related to fr. 12786 among all witnesses to the *Bestiaire*. A comparison of the two reveals striking similarities in the rubric titles and their order, but also some differences: fr. 25566 contains fewer miniatures in this text than were meant in fr. 12786, and it is therefore not remarkable that certain depictions which would have been painted in fr. 12786 are missing in the other manuscript, yet there are also images in fr. 25566 that were never intended for fr. 12786. This discrepancy suggests that the manuscript makers may have had some freedom in their choice of which images should and which should not be added, though it may also point to variations in exemplars.

Table 2.2: The rubrics in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in fr. 12786 and fr. 25566 respectively

Rubrics *Bestiaire d'Amours* fr. 12786	Rubrics *Bestiaire d'Amours* fr. 25566
Initial (T): Ceste damoisele est memoire	
1. Ce sont li dui amant.	1. None (depicts cupid and the lovers)
2. Cest li arrierebans.	2. Cest li arrierebans.
3. Cest li cois	3. Li nature du coc
4. Cest li asnes seuuages	4. Li Asnes sauuaiges
5. Cest li lous qui fiut deua*n*t lo | me	5. Li leus qui a peur del home nir.
6. Li gresillons qui ist do for	6. Cest li crisuons.
7. Li cigues acordanz ala harpe	7. Li cysnes q*ui* sacorde ale harpe.
8. Li chiens qui uomist	8. Cest li nautire du chien,
9. Li lyons au col tort	9. Les .iij. natuire du leu.
10. Cest li lous qui mort son pie.	

11. Cest la huiure qui a poor de lome nu.	10. Li wiure qui ceuit (?) sus lomme uestu Et le slu (?) homme fuit.
12. Cest li singes *qui* se chauce.	11. Cest li singes cauchies et li ueneires.
13. Cest li singes chauciez pris.	
	12. Li corbaus qui het ses nus corbillos.
14. Cest li corbiau sa*nz* plume	
	13. Li cor[baus] [...] mengue lo*m*me les iex
15. Cest li lyons qui cort lome sus.	14. Li lions q*ui* ceurt sus lome qui le resgarde
16. La moutele qui concort par loreille.	15. *Com*ment li moustoile *con*ehoit et fao*n*ne
17. La moutele q*ui* p*or*te ses faons	16. Co*m*ment le moustoile emporte ses moustelos
18. La kalandre en geiole quen p*or*te deva*nt* le malade	17. Li calendre deuant le malade.
19. Cest les serianes moiti fames et moitie peassa*m*	18. Les iij manieres de seraines.
20. Les sereines q*ui* endorme*nt* les homes	19. Comment li seraine ochist lomme.
21. Cest uns serpe*nz* qui a non aspis.	20. Li serpens qui warde le basine.
22. Li merles q*ui* chante en geiole	21. Cest le merle en gaiole.
23. Cest la taupe.	
24. Li luix qui uoit parles paroiz	
25. Ce sont li quatre clement.	
26. Cest des ees	
27. Cest li tygres.	22. Li tigre qui areste au miroir.
28. Cest la pentere q*ui* les bestes liuent	23. Cest li pantiere.
29. Cest la u*ir*gine pucele q*ui* tient lunicorne en s*on* giron	24. Li vnicorne q*ui* sen dort ou *gir*on de le puchele.
30. Cest si *con* li uanerres emporte lunicorne et la pucele e*n*fait duel.	
31. Cest une pucele et uns horn	
32. Cest la grue ? les autres gaite	25. Si que une grue ueille les autres grues.
33. Cest la paonos sanz queue.	26. Cest li paons.
34. Cest li lyons qui traine sa queue.	27. Cest li lions qui neure (?) le trache de se keue q*ua*nt on le cathe.
35. Cest li paons qui fet la roue.	
36. Cest argus qui sandort en chantant	28. Cest argus que on endort.
37. Ce sont les arondes cui encrieue les iauz	29. Li aronde qui [...]t neue a ses arondiaus.
38. Cest la moutele qui suscite ses faons.	30. De le moustoile qui resuscite ses faons.
	31. Cest li lions qui naist mors.
39. Cest li pellicans qui tue ses poucins.	
40. Li pellicans qui suscite ses poucins.	32. Cest li pellicans.
41. Cest li castoires qui arache ses coilles.	33. Cest li castoires.
42. Cest li espes.	34. Li espes ki <fait> saillir le keuillehor<s>
43. Cest la roude qui maniue et boit enuolant	35. Li aronde ki m*an*gne en volant.
44. Cest li hericons au pomes	36. Li hirecons q*ui* se met e*n* roe e<s> prime<s>
45. Cest li quoquadrilles qui deueure lome.	37. Li cocatris q*ui* tue lo*m*me et le pleure

	38. del ydre con t*en*nce le teste. se*n* vient .iij.
46. Cest li qoucadrilles qui anglout lydre sanz trieue	39. Q*ui* li cocatris englout lydre. et p' sen ist li ydre.
47. Cest la huiure qui ampreint dela reste au male.	40. Q*ui* li Wiure tue pere et mere.
48. Li singesse qui senfuit a tout ses faons pource que en la chace	41. Q*ui* li singesse fuit a tout ses .ij. faons.
49. Cest la serre qui fuit la nef.	42. Li serre ki fuit le nef.
50. Cest la turterele	43. Li tourterele.
51. Cest la perdriz cui enemble ses oes	44. Q*ui* piertris laist ses oeus. et vne autre piertris les keuue.
52. Cest lo truce.	45. Li oeus de lostrice et li soula' keuue.
53. Cest la ceoingne et si poucin	46. Li chuignont qui nourissent lor mere.
54. La hupe et li hupat.	47. Li hirpelot ki keuue*n*t lor mere
55. Cest laigle qui brise son bee et raguisse.	48. Li aigles ki brise son bee.
56. La quocadrille qui maniue ala io e de seur.	49. Li cocodrilles ki m*an*gne a rebours.
57. Li dragons qui enuenime lome.	50. Q*ui* li dragons enuenime.
58. Li olifanz qui faont en lyaue pour pa eur dou dragon.	51. Q*ui* li olifans enfante en liaue pour le dragon.
59. Li colons seur ly aue qui doute lo stour.	52. Q*ui* li coulons se tient sur li aue.
60. La baleine qui noie ceulz qui font le feu sor lui	53. Cest ci li balaine.
61. Li nulpis qui de coit les pies.	54. de .?. ki decort les pies.
62. Cest li uoutors qui suit les oz.	55. del ostoir ki fuit les os.
	56. Q*ui* maistres prie merci.
63. Li diex diex damours.	

There are no two surviving witnesses in which the rubrics to the *Bestiaire* are the same, or in which the miniatures depict precisely the same content. However, some of them are textually more closely related than others, and several scholars have created *stemmae* in which family relations are made apparent. The *Bestiaire* in fr. 12786 is considered to be textually most similar to that in the late-thirteenth-century manuscript F-Dm 525 and especially also that in fr. 25566.[84] It is important here to keep in mind that text and image do not necessarily originate from the same exemplar, and therefore these established textual family relations do not apply to miniatures and rubrics per se. In fact, Cesare Segre compares the textual families with those based on the miniatures – in which *stemma* fr. 12786 is not included due to its unfinished nature – and the differences are remarkable: certain manuscripts that are not closely related in their text, share much more common ground in their miniatures.[85] Perhaps even more important is that the modes of copying text and illustration may not have been the same: where a copied text

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[84] See for example Holmberg 1929; Segre 1957: pp. lxxix-civ. Sometimes also GB-Lbl Harley 273. E.g.: Vitte 1929. See: Segre 1957: pp. lxviii-lxx.
[85] Segre 1957: pp. clvi-clviii.

was supposed to be an exact (although corrected where necessary) reproduction of that in the exemplar, miniature artists may have had more freedom.

The rubrics in fr. 12786 are often more detailed and present more information about the precise actions of the animal in the image, both for the reader and for the miniature artist, than those in fr. 25566, and offer a relatively clear idea of what the miniatures would have looked like. Because the miniatures in fr. 25566 have been painted, they can be compared not only to the rubrics with which they are coupled, but also to the rubrics in fr. 12786. Interestingly, even though the miniature artist of fr. 25566 had more limited information about the precise contents of the paintings, the more detailed descriptions presented in the rubrics in fr. 12786 often also apply to the miniatures in fr. 25566. For example, the rubric of the eighth miniature in fr. 25566 describes this image as "the nature of the dog", but the dog painted here does what is specified in the rubric for the same miniature in fr. 12786: "the dog that vomits". This implies that the miniature artist either read the text, in which the dog does indeed vomit, carefully, or that the images were copied from an exemplar in the same way the scribe copied the text.

A similar analysis of the miniatures in surviving witnesses to the *Roman de la Rose* requires a more careful selection of the manuscripts used for comparison, because of the extraordinarily large number of over three hundred surviving manuscripts transmitting this text. It is not, however, straightforward to establish which sources are most closely related to fr. 12786. The anonymous continuation to the text by Guillaume de Lorris survives in seven other manuscripts, suggesting that they are at least somehow related.[86] However, all of these witnesses to the anonymous continuation also transmit the famous continuation by Jean de Meun and thus differ from fr. 12786 in this respect.

Ernest Langlois listed all witnesses to the *Roman de la Rose* that were known to him at the time in his still valuable *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: Description et Classement*, published in 1910.[87] Apart from providing relatively detailed descriptions of all manuscripts, Langlois established family relations between the witnesses and formed groups based on textual and linguistic features. These family relations provide useful information about which manuscripts are more closely related and similar in the textual aspects of this text, and which are much further apart, and they therefore suggest something about which ones may have been copied in temporal or geographical proximity or which are part of a more similar textual tradition. Langlois placed fr. 12786 in a group consisting of fifteen manuscripts.[88] The ones that

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[86] As said in Chapter 1, these manuscripts are: F-AM 437, US-CA A Rg. 3.40, GB-Mr fr. 66, F-Pn Rothschild 2800 (IV.2.24), B-Tm 101, the Rouard Manuscript (current whereabouts unknown) and the Tersan Manuscript (now lost). Brownlee, Huot 2016: pp. 370-72.

[87] Langlois 1910.

[88] These manuscripts are: *Be*: I-Tn L. III. 22; *Ca*: F-Dm 526; *Ce*: F-AM 437.; *Da*: F-Pn fr. 12786; *De*: GB-Ob Rawl. A. 446; *Lu*: F-DRAm 17; *Ls*: CH-LAac M454; *ɤω*: GB-Lbl Egert. 881; *λα*: F-Pn fr. 12587;

are closest to fr. 12786 are GB-Ob Rawl. A. 466, which, according to Langlois, is textually more closely related to fr. 12786 than any other manuscript is and which was also made around the same time, and F-AM 437, which is not only textually close to fr. 12786, but also contains the anonymous continuation, therefore linking the two witnesses even closer together. Unfortunately, A. 466 only consists of two folios, a fragment of what it once was, and this manuscript will therefore not make for a good source for comparison of the text's visual presentation and decoration.

F-AM 437 can likewise not be used for comparison here: there are two illuminated initials in the *Roman de la Rose* in this manuscript, but it happens to be one of the few surviving witnesses to this text without any miniatures (or the intention thereof) at all. Interestingly, GB-Mr fr. 66, another witness to the anonymous continuation, only contains one historiated initial and three miniatures, very few compared to other manuscripts transmitting the *Rose*. This is important in light of the missing miniatures in fr. 12786: the textual similarity between and the presence of the anonymous continuation in the manuscript without even the intention for miniatures, F-AM 437, the manuscript containing only three, GB-Mr fr. 66, and the manuscript in which the illustrations were not added, fr. 12786, might suggest that all three scribes used an exemplar that was part of a circulation of copies of this text in which no miniatures existed. Other witnesses to the anonymous continuation, such as Rothschild 2800, do contain many miniatures, in this case numerous eye-catching ones on gold leaf backgrounds, possibly suggesting that there were two strands in the circulation of the *Roman de la Rose* with the short anonymous continuation: one with and one without miniatures. Though the spaces left blank for the illustrations in the *Rose* in fr. 12786 might suggest that this was not copied from an exemplar with the continuation but without miniatures, the intention for illumination of this text may well be the result of a familiarity of the manuscript makers with other circulating *Rose* texts that did contain miniatures, after all, a text so widespread is likely to have been witnessed by compilers in several forms. It may be plausible, then, that the scribe of fr. 12786 copied the text of the *Roman de la Rose* from an exemplar without illustrations, something which might explain the absence of miniatures in this text, but that spaces were left because the scribe or the person who had ordered the manuscript to be made had seen other manuscripts in which the text contained many. The scribe or the intended owner may have hoped to find another exemplar that could provide miniatures for fr. 12786.[89]

ζα: F-Pn fr. 12594 (?); *Coc*: US-Cu Coll. Sydney-Cockerell U.C. 1380 as well as four others that no longer seem to be correct: *Ga*: Gand. Bib. de l'Université, *Ha*: F-Pn fr. 1673, *He*: DK-Kk fr. LV; and *Za*: F-Pn fr. 23523. Langlois 1910: p. 243.

[89] The absence of the intended miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in the same codicological unit in fr. 12786 suggests that other factors must also have played a part in the decision of the manuscript makers to abandon their work on the booklet. This matter will be returned to below.

If the miniatures were indeed intended to be copied from a different exemplar than that which was used for the text, Langlois' established family relations will not provide any additional information about what could be expected for the images in the *Roman de la Rose* in fr. 12786. Therefore, it might be more useful to compare the blank spaces to miniatures in a manuscript that was made around the same time and in approximately the same region. F-Pn fr. 19156 is copied in a hand that closely resembles that of fr. 12786, suggesting that the two books were copied at approximately the same time and in roughly the same region. It transmits the *Roman de la Rose* only and contains an opening miniature over the width of the page as well as twenty-seven column-wide ones like those intended in fr. 12786, twenty-two of which are in the part of the text attributed to Guillaume de Lorris (ff. 1r-27v) – less than half of what was intended for fr. 12786 – all in vibrant colours and gold leaf, and all coupled to a rubric. F-Pn fr. 12593 was made in the fourteenth century, but probably somewhat later than fr. 12786 and fr. 19156. It too contains the *Roman de la Rose* only and opens with a large miniature over the width of the page that takes up half of all the used space on the recto side of the first folio. Seventeen column-wide miniatures are painted in Guillaume de Lorris's part of the book (ff. 1r-30v), again in bright colours and often containing gold. Rubrics are used not necessarily to introduce or describe the miniatures, but rather they are there to indicate who is speaking in the text: whenever one of the characters addresses another in the first person, this is signposted with the use of red ink. The rubrics, then, are more closely related to the 'performance' than to the illustration of the text. In fr. 19156, fr. 12786, and most other manuscripts in which the rubrics and the (intended) miniatures are more closely related, the rubrics also fulfil this function, as a character is frequently depicted at the point where s/he starts speaking.

Table 2.3 below sets out all rubrics that are coupled with (intended) miniatures in Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose* in fr. 12786, fr. 19156, and 12593. As shown, six depictions painted in fr. 19156 are not found in fr. 12593, and one that is painted in fr. 12593 is not included in fr. 19156. But overall, the correspondence between the two manuscripts in this respect is striking. The rubrics in all three manuscripts coincide much more at the beginning, both in what is (intended to be) depicted and in how this is described, unsurprisingly since most of these miniatures portray a character that is introduced at that point in the text. As the scenes in the illustrations become more complex, and the rubrics in fr. 19156 and fr. 12593 increase in length, more variety occurs.

What is remarkable, however, is that the rubrics in fr. 12786 remain short throughout the text, and only describe who is depicted rather than what this character does in the image. The Roman de la Rose Digital Library (www.romandelarose.org) provides a list of miniatures in many of the known manuscripts that transmit the *Roman de la Rose*, though the project is still

incomplete and being updated frequently.[90] Even though the rubrics in fr. 12786 give limited information about what would have been painted in the illustrations, they can be compared with the list of known miniatures on this website. The list provides information about how frequent the images are, and even though it is incomplete, it is easy to pick out those that appear in many sources, and to see which ones are much more obscure. In line with the information given in Table 2.3 below, the depictions of the miniatures-to-be at the beginning of the text in fr. 12786 are those which are painted in many witnesses, but the ones nearer the end of Guillaume de Lorris's romance in this manuscript appear to be much less common, and some do not seem to be included in the list provided on the website.[91] The apparent discrepancy in fr. 12786's rubrics towards the end of the text compared to other witnesses and their short style, describing only *who* but not *what* is meant to be depicted may be related firstly with the suggestion made above that the exemplar of fr. 12786 did not contain any miniatures: the scribe could simply have left a blank space each time someone was introduced in the text. Secondly, it may be related to the other function of the rubrics: to introduce direct speech. If the exemplar used for fr. 12786 contained such rubrics, the scribe may have decided to use these points for inserting spaces intended for miniatures. This would explain the variation between fr. 12786 and the much more similar fr. 19156 and fr. 12593 as well as the absence of any additional information in the rubrics about the actions of the characters.

Table 2.3: The rubrics in the *Roman de la Rose* in fr. 12786, fr. 19156, and fr. 12593

Rubrics *Rose* fr. 12786	Rubrics *Rose* fr. 19156	Rubrics *Rose* fr. 12593
Initial (M): None		
	1. Opening miniature: None	1. Opening miniature (consisting of four): None
1. None		
2. None		
3. None		
4. haine	2. hayne	2. None (haine?)
5. felonie		
6. vilonie	3. vilanie	3. None (vilonnie?)
7. Couoitisse	4. Couuoitise	4. Coiuiortise
8. auarice	5. Auarice	5. Auarice
9. anuie.	6. Envie	6. Enuie
10. Tristece	7. Tristreice	7. Tristecce
11. Vieillesce	8. vielleice	8. Viellece
12. papelar die	9. pape lardie	9. None (??)
13. pourete.	10. pourete	10. Pourete
14. oisseuse	11. Oiseuse parole al ama*nt*	11. Comment oiseuse parle al amant
15. oisseuse		

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[90] "Roman de la Rose Digital Library". <www.romandelarose.org> (Accessed April 2016 onwards).
[91] This is, however, difficult to establish with so little information in the rubrics: many images would fit a description that only provides information about *who* is depicted rather than *what* is going on there.

	12. la karole	12. La karole au dieu damours
	13. 2 damoiseles bala*n*s	
16. verg'		
17. leesce		
18. deduiz	14. Deduit	
19. Cortoisie		
20. deduiz et leesce		
21. douz regarz	15. (?) li diex dam*or*s at Dox reg*a*rt	
22. Biautez		
23. richesce		
24. Largesoe		
25. valeur		
26. franchise		
	16. Ci deuise de la fontaine nar[-]cisus	13. Comment narchisus se mire a la fontaine
	17. *Com*me lamant se mire en la fontai*nne* et *com*me il uit. Rosiers charchies de rozes[92]	
	18. *Com*me amours trait al ama*nt*	14. Comm*en*t li diex dam*or*s tret al amant
	19. (?) lamant	
27. cortoisie		
28. ioe nesce		
29. douz regart		
30. diex damors	20. (?) Co*m*me lama*n*t fet ho*m*mage au dieu damours	
31. amors		
32. homage		
33. bel acueil		
34. ressons	21. Raison	15. Ci deuise de rinson et de sa tres belle facon Et Comment elle vient pour chastoier lamant et retrere de sa folie
35. dongiers		
36. dongiers		
37. Raiso*n*s		
38. Dongiers.		
39. Franchise		
40. Bel acueil		
41. bel a[-]cueil		17.Comme*n*t Jalousie fist faire la tour on bel acueil Flimis (?) en prison
42. Jalousie		
43. Lynte. (?)		

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[92] This rubric is written in the column of text rather than next to the text like the other rubrics. This may have to do with its length.

44. Honte et pa[-]or	22. paor et ho*n*te esueille*nt* da*ngier*	16. Comme*nt* paour et homte vienn*ent* a dan-gier qui se dormoit ou bergier
45. Dong*iers*		
46. dong*iers*		
47. les cors et les m's (?) q*ui* cloent		
48. La garniso*n* ialousie		
49. pitiez		
50. Biaute/bel acueil		

In contrast to what what can be observed in the *Besitiaire d'Amours*, the scribe of fr. 12786 did not provide detailed information for the miniature artist about what to paint exactly, leaving the painter much more freedom here. To judge from the data compiled so far on the Roman de la Rose Digital Library, an exemplar with miniatures would probably not match the rubrics in this manuscript, so in order for the illustrations to follow the descriptions in red ink, the artist would have had to invent many of the depictions.

In contrast, the scribe of fr. 19156 knew exactly what the miniatures in the *Roman de la Rose* would look like: the rubrics, written in the same hand, sometimes cover the outer edges of the illustrations, proving that they were added after the miniature artist had finished the work.[93] Providing detailed descriptions must have been easy for this scribe; the miniatures, after all, were already there to be described. This does not mean that the artist invented the contents of the miniatures in the case of fr. 19156; the resemblance in what is depicted in the miniatures and the way these depictions are illustrated between this manuscript and others is too close for this to be plausible, a resemblance that is made even less likely to be coincidental by the absence of the descriptions at the point at which the miniaiture artist painted the images. However, it does prove that rubrics were not necessarily there to aid the artist, indicating that their presence is either related to aesthetic values or, more likely, to guide the reader.

2.2.   Intended Initials

Spaces have been left blank in fr. 12786 for just over forty large initials of three text lines in height or more, and nearly six hundred for small initials of one or two lines in height. [94] The section of the manuscript that comprises spaces for miniatures, the middle codicological unit,

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[93] The same happened in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in fr. 25566: the scribe must have copied the main text first, the miniature artist then painted the miniatures, and the scribe came back to include the rubrication. This will be discussed later, as some interesting conclusions about collaboration can be drawn.
[94] The song collection is excluded here, as it not directly evident how large and of what shape the initials were intended to be.

only contains two spaces for large initials, namely at the beginning of each of the two texts. These texts were meant to include a large number of miniatures, and the absence of more large initials in these same texts suggests that the larger initials in the other texts were meant to be illustrative and embellished, and possibly historiated, rather than made of a single plain colour. Moreover, the opening initial of the *Bestiaire d'Amours* is coupled with a rubric describing the depiction: "Ceste damoisele est memoire" (this lady is memory), which indeed indicates that an historiated initial was intended here.

As is commonly known, initials are not merely decorative; there is a hierarchy of initials in a manuscript based on aspects such as the size, colour, and type, resulting in a clear visually structured textual organisation, particularly towards the later Middle Ages. As Keith Busby explains clearly, initials structure "the text formally into recognizable units which [they] endow with equal wight and emphasis by virtue of uniform size and manner of execution."[95] He adds that initials are important for the delivery of a text, creating the reader to pause or stress, and that they can, in this sense, be seen as punctuation, "albeit on a narrative rather than a purely grammatical or prosodic level."[96] As a rule, the first initial in a text is larger than the others and of the highest rank in this hierarchy, because it indicates the start of a new text, as opposed to that of a new paragraph, but like many other things this rule was flexible and initials in which much detail was required may have been larger than the opening initial of a text, even though this would disturb the textual structure. While the initials in fr. 12786 have never been added, their intended sizes can be perceived through the spaces that were left for them, and from this the hierarchy is already very clear and matches the contents of each text.

With the exception of those in the *Roman de la Poire*, which will be discussed in detail below, the sizes of the blank spaces are consistent per text, but the same consistency is not found throughout the manuscript when texts are compared to each other, as the internal initials that mark the beginning of a new paragraph are one text line in height in some texts, and two in others. The spaces for initials of four texts in fr. 12786 will be compared, to give a clear idea of how substantial the similarities and differences are, both within the texts, and, more importantly, between them. The *Roman de la Poire* will receive most attention because the use of initials is much more complex here than it is in the other texts. Afterwards, a text from each of the three codicological units will be examined.

The *Roman de la Poire* is the opening text of the manuscript in its present collation. The long text comprises almost twenty-four folios and contains precisely two hundred spaces for initials in various sizes, averaging more than four on each page. Graph 2.1 below illustrates the sizes of the blank spaces in this text. The graph can be 'read' from top to bottom, and each bar

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[95] Busby 2002: p. 185.
[96] Busby 2002: p. 185.

represents an intended initial. The length of the bar is equivalent to the size of the blank space in the manuscript: the two longest ones, both black, are eleven text lines in height, most red ones at the bottom of the graph as well as two blue ones are nine text lines high, most blue ones at the top are eight, and the smaller initials are mostly one at the beginning and two nearer the end. The colours of the bars represent the different amounts of text the intended initial indicates: a black bar is used for an initial indicating the start of the entire text or signifying a major textual division; a blue bar represents an initial indicating the start of a new paragraph, which is here understood to be a section in the text that is larger than four lines regardless of narrative structure, content, or even sentence, though they always automatically fit in the rhyme structure;[97] a green bar is used for those initials marking the start of a group of four lines; a light green or lime bar represents an initial even lower in the hierarchy opening a mere one, two, or three lines of text;[98] and finally, a red bar shows where an initial is the start of a *refrain* for which musical notation was intended.
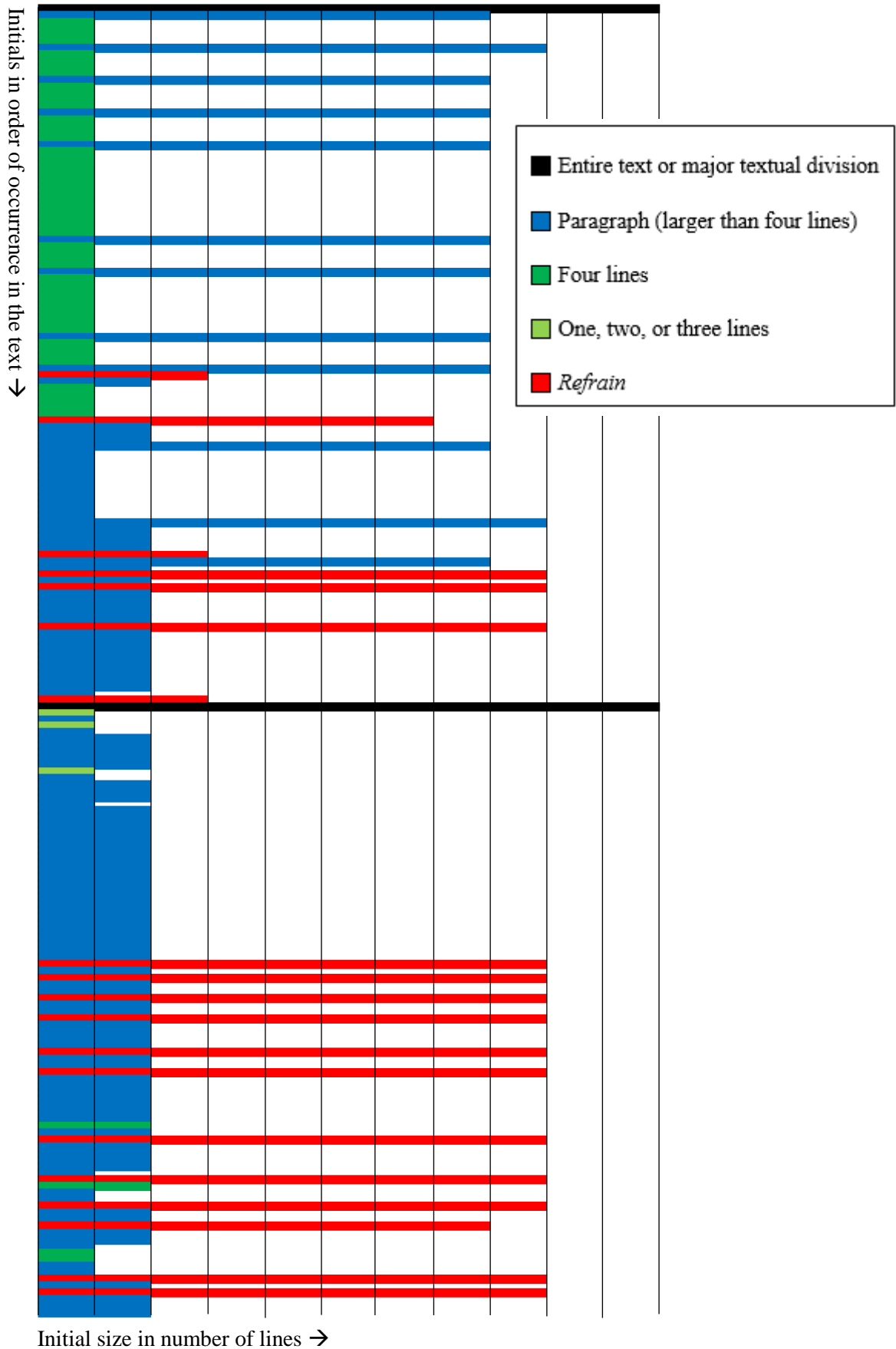
As the graph clearly shows, there is a relative consistency in the sizes and functions of the intended initials at the beginning of the text; the opening initial is the largest, and up until the first *refrain* eight-line-high spaces indicate the start of a new paragraph while spaces of a single line in height open each group of four lines. Their appearance in the text is almost rhythmical: the large paragraph initial space is followed by four small ones, with the exception of only two longer sequences of single-line-high spaces, the first of fourteen and the second of nine intended initials. However, from the first *refrain* (f. 3r) or red bar onwards, the functions of the initials change, and their appearance is much less regular and much less consistent. From this point onwards, the spaces for initials indicating the start of a new paragraph – the blue ones in the Graph 2.1 – are mostly reduced to two lines in height, though some eight-or nine-line high ones as well as some single-line-high ones are found. Other small initials, those of one or two lines, indicate the start of a group of four text lines or even smaller textual divisions, so the hierarchy no longer strictly applies here. A major textual division approximately in the middle of the text is as large as the opening initial, which is more or less conform expectations; this initial would have broken up the text into two equal halves.

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[97] Rhyme in couplets. The initials marking the beginning of every four lines seem to be more arbitrary when it comes to textual content or division within the text itself, and therefore appear to have a more significant aesthetic than structural function. Paragraphs vary in length from only five or six lines up to two columns of text.

[98] One intended initial in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 marks the beginning of three lines of text, which is a surprising division considering the rhyme scheme (aabbccdd), and this may well have been a scribal error, either made by the scribe of fr. 12786 or by the one who copied the used exemplar.

Graph 2.1: Relative sizes of the initials in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786

Initials in order of occurrence in the text →

Legend:
- ■ Entire text or major textual division
- ■ Paragraph (larger than four lines)
- ■ Four lines
- ■ One, two, or three lines
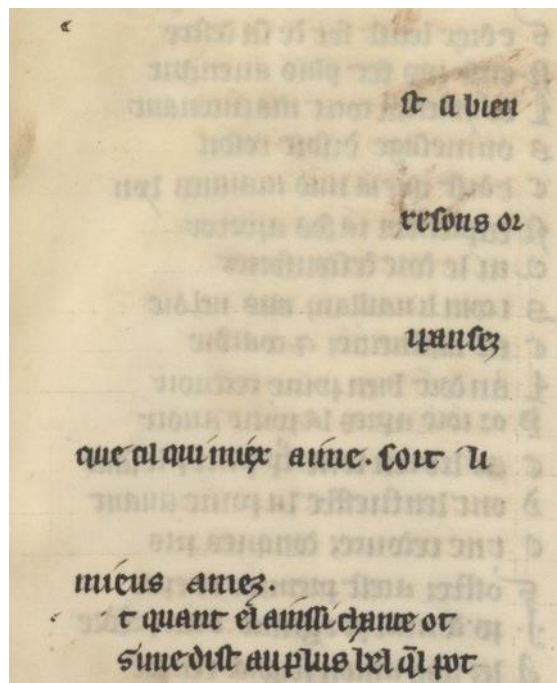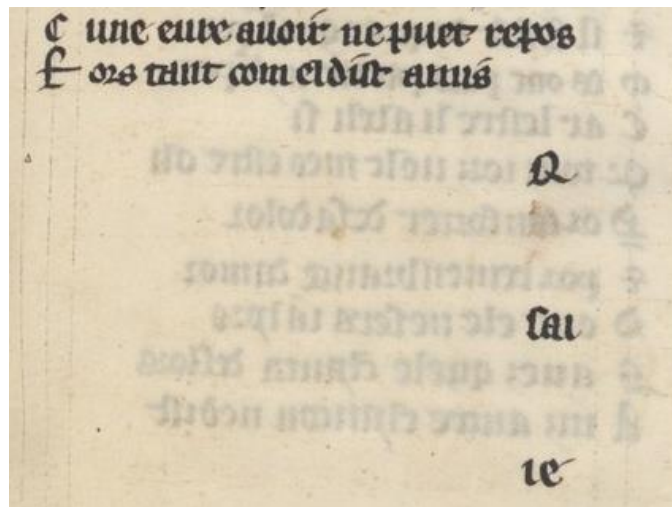- ■ *Refrain*

Initial size in number of lines →

One of the most striking features to emerge from this analysis is the at first sight surprisingly large size of the intended initials for the refrains, most of them nine lines in height. The blank spaces for the intials for the refrains are slightly less clear than those for the other initials, as they are combined with those left for the music. The spaces of the cue initial and the text of the refrain usually indicate that the initial would have been painted above the bottom stave with musical notation, although there are some minor scribal errors that seem to obscure this. However, it can be assumed that all initials would have been the height of the blank space minus the two lines for the monophonic musical notation. Image 2.3 below provides an example of such a combined blank space for an initial and musical notation, and shows the space left for a two-line-high initial below.

Image 2.3: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 8r

The initial indicating the start of the second-to-last *refrain* is eight lines in height, but this is a scribal error. As can be seen in Image 2.4 below, the top space left blank for musical notation is too small as it is only a single line in height. The initial, therefore, is eight rather than nine lines high. The other initial indicating the start of a *refrain* that is of a height that cannot be divided by three lines (one line of text and a stave for music are three lines high together), is seven lines in height. This, again, seems to be a scribal error: no space was left for a stave for music above the bottom line of the *refrain* on f. 3r.

Image 2.4: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 23r

The reason the initials for the *refrains* are so important and presumably why the decision was made to make them so large, is because the first letters of the *refrains* form an acrostic (*Annes Tibaut Amors*).[99] These short musical insertions are relatively far apart, and a reader might not notice the acrostic unless the initials drew additional attention to these first letters. Thus, the acrostic would have been much more easily perceived by a reader of fr. 12786 had the initials been added; an observer would then pay more attention to these letters, and might be more likely to notice their dual meaning. As will be discussed further below, the acrostic in this manuscript is corrupted. It is therefore likely that the scribe was not aware of its existence, and may not have realised why these initials had to be this large. This suggests that the spaces for initials were copied from the exemplar without any intervention or alteration, except perhaps when the sizes are accidentally one line higher or lower than the others with the same function, which may well be scribal errors.[100] The larger *refrain* initials may offer an explanation for the change in the sizes of the initials with other functions: spaces for initials indicating the start of a paragraph have to be much smaller in order to differentiate them from those indicating a *refrain*, and to avoid confusion between initials signifying the start of a paragraph and those opening a group of four lines, the latter kind is no longer used.
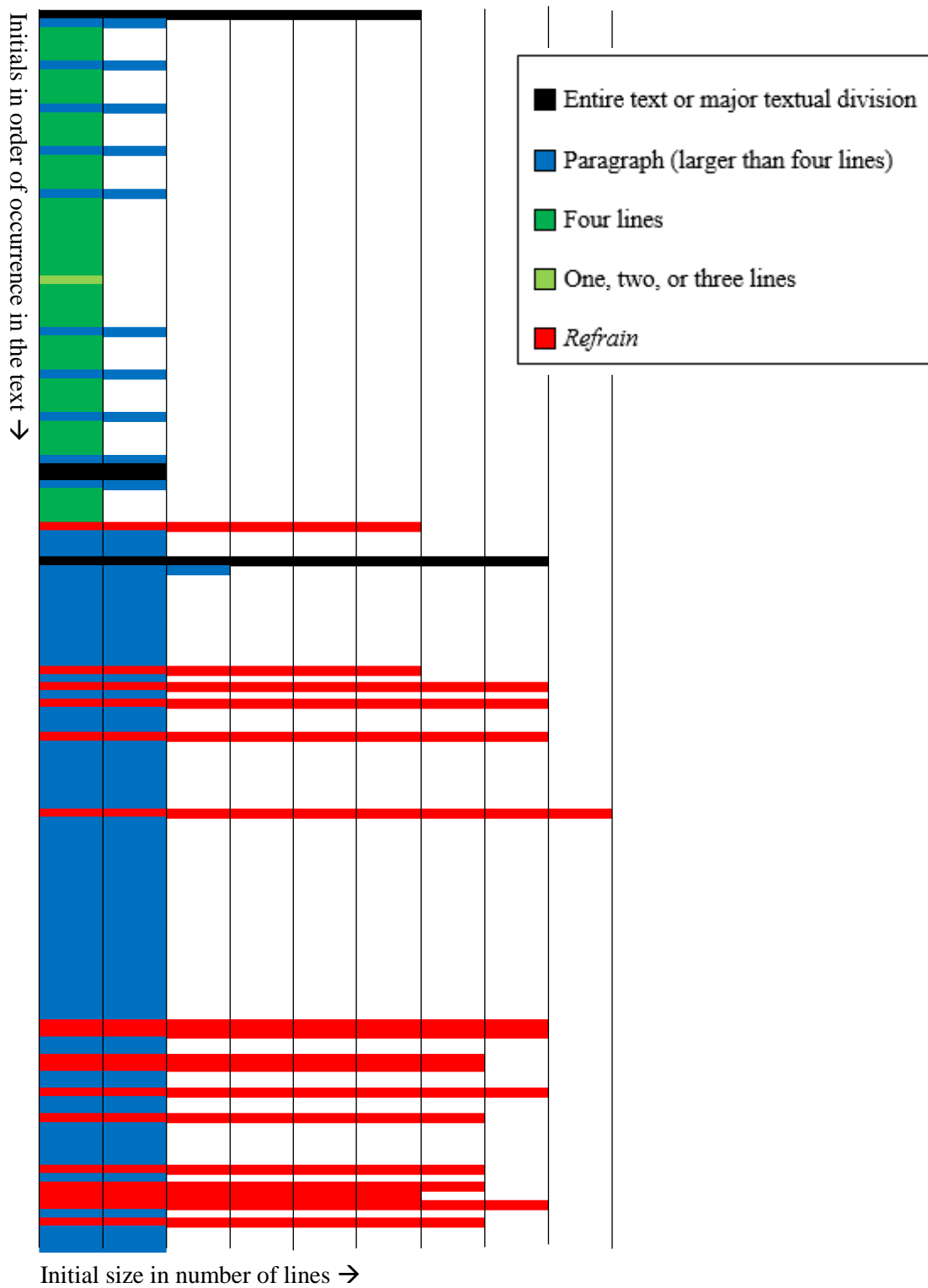
In short, the intended initials in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 indicate a textual structure and show where large textual divisions, paragraphs, groups of four lines, and even smaller groups begin. Although there are some exceptions, each initial size signifies one such

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[99] This will be discussed in more detail below.

[100] This suggestion is in contrast with what Keith Busby has observed: "Even manuscripts of the same text copied by the same scribe, either one from the other or both from a common model, show considerable divergence in the placement of pen-flourished initials." Busby 2002: p. 184.

textual partition. However, the significance of the acrostic in the *refrains* means that these sizes and functions are adjusted as soon as the first of these is introduced in the text.

Graph 2.2: The sizes of the initials in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 1286

Initials in order of occurrence in the text →

Entire text or major textual division

Paragraph (larger than four lines)

Four lines

One, two, or three lines

Refrain

Initial size in number of lines →

Because the initial sizes in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 show such variety, it will be interesting to compare this aspect with those in the same text in another surviving witness. Only three other manuscripts survive in which the *Poire* is transmitted.[101] Of these, one is incomplete and another, only a fragment, is in a private collection. There is, therefore, only one manuscript suitable for comparison, the thirteenth-century F-Pn fr. 2186, which is the earliest surviving source for this text, and which transmits the *Poire* only.[102] Graph 2.2 above represents the sizes of the initials and their functions in the same way the spaces in fr. 12786 are visualised in Graph 2.1 further above.

The two graphs reveal striking similarities: as in fr. 12786, the initials in fr. 2186 show the same textual divisions and are relatively consistent up until the appearance of the first *refrain*, after which the functions of the sizes change, and a new pattern emerges. Again, the initials in the first part of the text consist of those indicating the start of a paragraph, and those signifying the beginning of a group of four lines of text, and the latter kind is smaller than the first. The second part of the text, in which the *refrains* are found, mainly contains initials for paragraphs, which, in contrast to fr. 12786, are of the same size as they were in the first half, and large initials indicating the beginning of a *refrain*, which are up to eight and in one case even nine lines in height, and which reveal the acrostic, in this manuscript not (as) corrupted.[103] The two graphs are presented side by side in Graph 2.3.

Fr. 2186 is much smaller than fr. 12786: it is only twenty centimetres high and fourteen wide, as opposed to the nearly twenty-eight by eighteen-and-a-half centimetres of fr. 12786, and there are only twenty lines of text on each folio in fr. 2186 compared to thirty-five in fr. 12786. The largest initials in fr. 12786, then, would have filled more than half a page in fr. 2186. Importantly, it also contains nine page-sized miniatures, all before the first *refrain*, so in the part of the text where only very small initials are found. This may well be for the same reason as why there are no spaces left for larger initials in the two texts in fr. 12786 that were intended to contain miniatures, the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose*: illuminations that are too densely packed might look messy and cause confusion rather than provide structural guidance for the reader. Additionally, the miniatures themselves often visualise the structure of a text, and there would be less need for such larger initials in that sense.

An interesting difference that stands out when the two graphs are compared, is that the major textual division in the middle of the text is not found at the same place in the two

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[101] F-Pn fr. 2186, F-Pn fr. 24431, and a fragment that is in a private collection.
[102] See: Marchello-Nizia 1984.
[103] The initials for the *refrains* that are eight lines in height are the combined height of three staves of music and only two lines of text, while the third text line is copied underneath the initial and the bottom stave. The result of this decision is that the melody for the bottom line is not complete and does not match the text for which it is notated. In two instances, however, the eight-line-high initials were meant to have been nine lines high, but too little space was left, resulting in the top stave to be too low. No notation was added.

manuscripts. Someone's different interpretation of the configuration of the text must have caused one branch of exemplars to deviate from another in this respect. Moreover, although the two graphs are very similar in shape, the sizes of the initials in fr. 2186 do not follow as strict a hierarchy to support the structure of the text, most clearly shown by the opening initial that is nowhere near the largest in the book, and by two very small initials at the point of the major division in the middle; these two initials are merely the size of the initials which introduce the start of a new paragraph, two lines high. The major division of the text is indicated palaeographically: there are whitespaces surrounding these initials and these lines of text, and the scribe marked the structure of the text clearly in this way.

Graph 2.3: The initials in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 (left) and fr. 2186 (right)
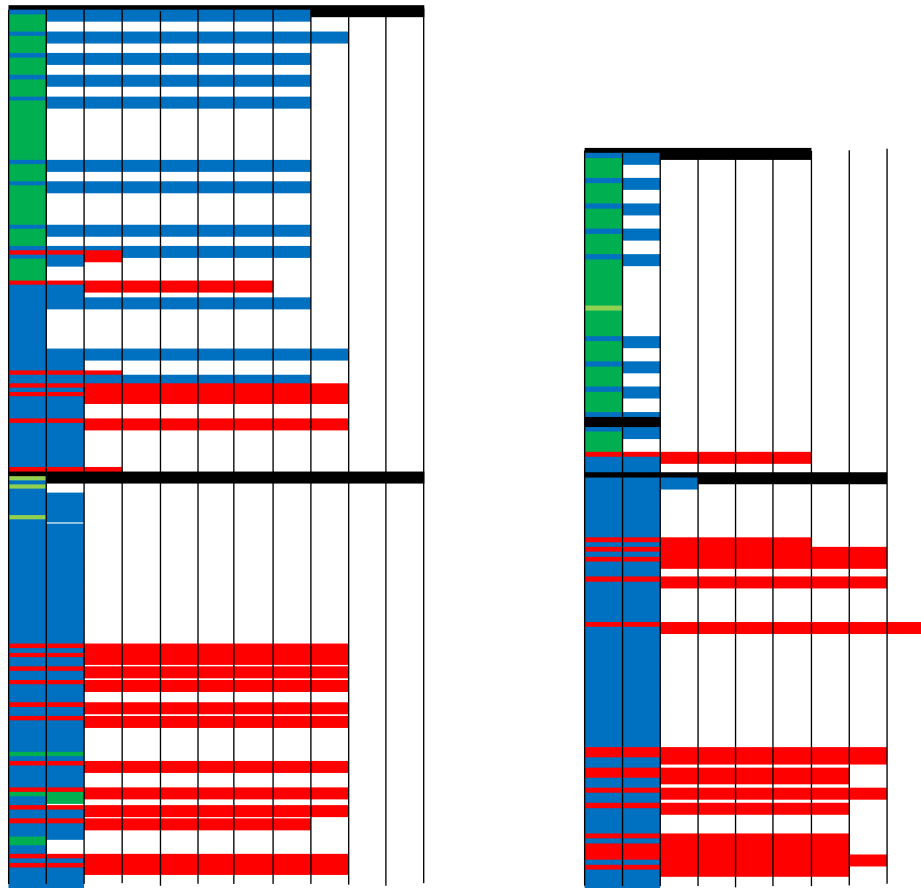
Although there are many important similarities, the analysis of the initial sizes in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 and in fr. 2186 suggests that the two manuscripts are themselves not closely related, which confirms the *stemma codicum* by Christiane Marchello-Nizia in the introduction to her edition of the *Poire*.[104] It does, however, suggest that there may have been a scribal tradition surrounding this text in which experimentation with initials of different sizes

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[104] Marchello-Nizia 1984: lxx-lxxii.

and their function was common, and in which initials provided illumination as well as structure, albeit perhaps somewhat inconsistently at times. Additionally, the hidden message of the acrostic is brought to the attention by an adjustment of the initials: they are themselves larger, while all others are smaller, so that they stand out and so that the acrostic may be observed. Because fr. 2186 contains the *Poire* only, there are no other texts in the manuscript to which to compare this relatively complex use of initials, but, as will be shown below, there is a striking difference between the variety of initials offered in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 and the lack thereof in the other texts in this manuscript, something that further implies that the scribe copied the initial sizes from the used exemplars. It also suggests that the exemplar used for the *Roman de la Poire* may have originated from the same scribal tradition or even scribal environment as fr. 2186. Even the other text in the same codicological unit as the *Poire*, *Le Livre des Pierres* (ff. 24v-30v), only offers three different initial sizes; one for the opening of the text, one preceding each paragraph, and one indicating each different precious stone in a list, as can be seen in Table 2.4 below. This is the same as or very similar to other manuscripts that transmit this text.

Table 2.4: The initials in the *Le Livre de Pierres*

Height of the initial in text lines	Indicating the start of	Number of initials
8	The entire text	1
1	Stone	23
2	Paragraph	27

The textual structure of the lapidary is made very clear by the layout of the text and by the initials. The opening initial is, according to custom, much larger than the others, each paragraph of this prose text starts on a new text line and opens with a two-line-high initial, while the first mention of each stone received a single-line-high initial, within the text block rather than on a new line, which makes it very easy for the reader to navigate through the text and to find a certain stone. Initials in the middle of a text block cannot be more than line-high, as they would otherwise cross through a text line. Those at the start of a new paragraph that starts on a new text line can be of any size, as they can be situated in the margin and would not be in the way of other text. This is important to keep in mind particularly with prose texts that are copied on continuous text lines and for which, therefore, the possibilities when it comes to initial sizes, are fewer. This will be discussed further below.

Like the *Roman de la Poire*, the *Roman de la Rose*, the example here chosen to represent the middle codicological unit, is copied in the manuscript as verse, that is, each line starts on a new line on the page. Initials are therefore always located at the beginning of the text line. The *Poire* and the *Rose* are closely related to each other in textual tradition; in fact, the *Poire* was strongly inspired by the *Rose*: "[L]e déroulement du *Roman de la Poire* suit de très

près celui de la première partie du *Roman de la Rose*. (...) [N]ous retrouvons la même quête, celle de la satisfaction du désir amoureux; la même présence de personnifications." (The story of the *Roman de la Poire* closely follows that of the first part of the *Roman de la Rose*. We find the same quest, that of the satisfaction of amorous desire; the same presence of personifications.).[105] However, the contrast between the use of initials in both texts could hardly be stronger: where the sizes of the initials in the *Roman de la Poire* exist in various forms indicating large as well as subtle textual divisions, directing the attention to a hidden message, and, had they been painted, decorating the text, all one hundred and twenty-six internal initials in the *Roman de la Rose* (seventy-three initials fewer than found in the *Poire*) are of the same kind: all are two lines in height, as shown in Table 2.5 below.[106] If they had been anything like small initials in other manuscripts that were made at approximately the same time and in the same region, they would presumably have been of a plain colour. As argued above, the miniatures in the *Rose* would have provided decoration, and the initials would not need to fulfil this function. By indicating the start of each new paragraph, they would have worked together with the miniatures and the rubrics to provide a visual structure for the reader. There is no variation in textual subdivision, and all paragraphs are equal in weight, but there is a hierarchy in initial sizes, which is found in the difference between the nine-line-high opening initial – two lines smaller than the opening initial of the *Roman de la Poire* but one larger than that of the lapidary – and all others.

Table 2.5: The initials in the *Roman de la Rose*

Height of the initial in text lines	Indicating the start of	Number of initials
9	The entire text	1
2	Paragraph	126

The kind of consistency and regularity that is found in the *Roman de la Rose* is used throughout the third codicological unit. The dream treatise (ff. 83r-84v) is here used as an example, and the sizes of the spaces left for initials in this short text are presented in Table 2.6 below, but a summary of the initial sizes of any other text in this unit would result in a similar-looking table. The *Explication des Songes* is less than two folios long and nine spaces for initials were left. Relatively speaking, this is approximately the same 'density' of initials as in the *Roman de la Rose*. All spaces indicating the start of a new paragraph are two lines in height, while the opening initial would have been eight lines high. This is almost the same as what is seen in the

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[105] Marchello-Nizia 1984: lix
[106] There is an average of just over eight initial spaces per folio in the *Roman de la Poire* (twenty-four folios and two hundred intended initials) and just under four per folio in the *Roman de la Rose* (thirty-two folios and one hundred and twenty-six intended initials, so almost precisely half.

Rose and also in the lapidary, if the additional initials for individual stones are taken out of consideration.

Table 2.6: The initials in the *Explication des Songes*

Height of the initial in text lines	Indicating the start of	Number of initials
8	The entire text	1
2	Paragraph	8

In contrast to the *Roman de la Poire* and the *Roman de la Rose* but in common with the lapidary, the dream treatise is a prose text, but because each paragraph starts on a new line, and because the intended initials are situated at those points, all spaces for initials start at the beginning of a line, and there is a possibility for them to be two lines high, or, theoretically, more than two. This is not the case for the *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 31r-42v), also a prose text, but one in which single-line-high initials, an inevitable height in this case, would have been painted in the middle of the text block. They mark the beginning of short paragraphs that, in this case, do not necessarily start on a new line each time; instead, the scribe chose to make more efficient use of the available parchment for this, much longer text, and filled up the text block with continuous lines. This decision may well have had to do with the choice of layout: the single-columned *mise en page* in which the *Bestiaire* was copied would have led to much larger blank spaces if each paragraph had started on a new line, whereas in the two-columned layout of the other prose texts, *Le Livre des Pierres* and *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist*, starting on a new line would never result in unused parchment wider than the width of the column. The initials in the *Bestiaire* then, must have been of greater importance for the reader compared to those in the dream treatise, as they would have made clear a textual structure that is not as easily seen without them.

Even though all verse texts in fr. 12786 are presented in the manuscript with each new line of text on a new line on the page, and therefore provide the opportunity for the internal initials to be two (or more) lines high, an opportunity that the continuous lines of the *Bestiaire d'Amours* do not provide, there are texts in which this option is not used. For example, the twenty-two internal initials in *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* are all one line in height. They indicate the same structural divisions in the text as the two-line high internal initials do in the others.

The inconsistency in intended initial sizes and the variety in the initials' hierarchical function between texts in the manuscript suggests that the scribe reproduced the initial sizes from the exemplars, without aiming for a stronger sense of unity in fr. 12786. This might imply that the exemplars used for the production of this manuscript may each have contained only one or a small group of texts that were copied by the scribe (unless they were themselves also inconsistent in their initial sizes and -functions between texts), which would in turn indicate that

the compilation of the manuscript was done in a careful and particular manner and these texts were thus collected together for a well thought-through reason. If the scribe used an exemplar that contained all the texts, perhaps even in the same order, and kept the sizes of the intended initials the same as in that source, the same suggestion can still be made for that manuscript, based on the same argument. This indicates a careful and conscious assembling of texts.[107]

The smaller initials, those of one or two text lines in height, used in all texts in fr. 12786 to mark the beginning of paragraphs or yet smaller textual divisions, would, as mentioned, presumably have been painted in a single colour, probably alternately red and blue, as can be witnessed in so many contemporary manuscripts from the same region, and they would most likely have been shaped similarly to other capitals in the script of the main text, albeit slightly larger. They may also have been intended to have been flourished with ink embellishments or penwork, presumably in alternately black or blue and red ink to contrast the colour of the initial itself.[108] An example, taken from fr. 25566, a manuscript that is demonstrably related to fr. 12786 in several ways, is shown in Image 2.5 below.

The fact that they have never been added might be a reason to believe that perhaps something more elaborate was meant even for the smaller initials. It is clear that the scribe who copied the texts had access to red ink at least, as this was used for the rubrics in the middle codicological unit, and the scribe was of course perfectly capable of writing capitals, so had all necessary tools and skills to create initials of a single colour. The fact that these were not added, might suggest that the scribe could not paint them, either because the desired colours were not available, or because the initials were meant to be made of gold leaf or highly embellished, thereby requiring a set of skills the scribe might not have had, unless, of course, work on the manuscript was already abandoned altogether for an external reason before the initials were added. However, it is more likely that all initials, large and small, were meant to be painted by someone other than the scribe. It is unclear whether this was common practice, and it is frequently difficult to compare the hand of a manuscript's main text to that of the initial painter, particularly because different tools were used for the shaping of these letters, and because these minor initials also took on stylised letter forms rather than reflecting the 'natural' characteristics of a scribe's hand.

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[107] In contrast, the internal initials marking the start of each paragraph in fr. 25566 are all of the same height: two lines, even those in the prose *Bestiaire d'Amours*. The first part of the manuscript transmitting Adam de la Halle's *opera omnia* is here not taken into account, as the sizes of the initials vary much more there and are dependent on the *mise-en-page* of the music. Likewise, all internal initials in fr. 837 are two lines in height. All texts in this manuscript are verse texts. The consistency in the sizes of the initials in these two books may point to the wholesale copying of already-compiled exemplars, but may equally be the result of a deliberate attempt on the part of the manuscript makers to create as consistent an appearance in the books as possible.

[108] See: Derolez 2003: p. 41.

Image 2.5: F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 17v
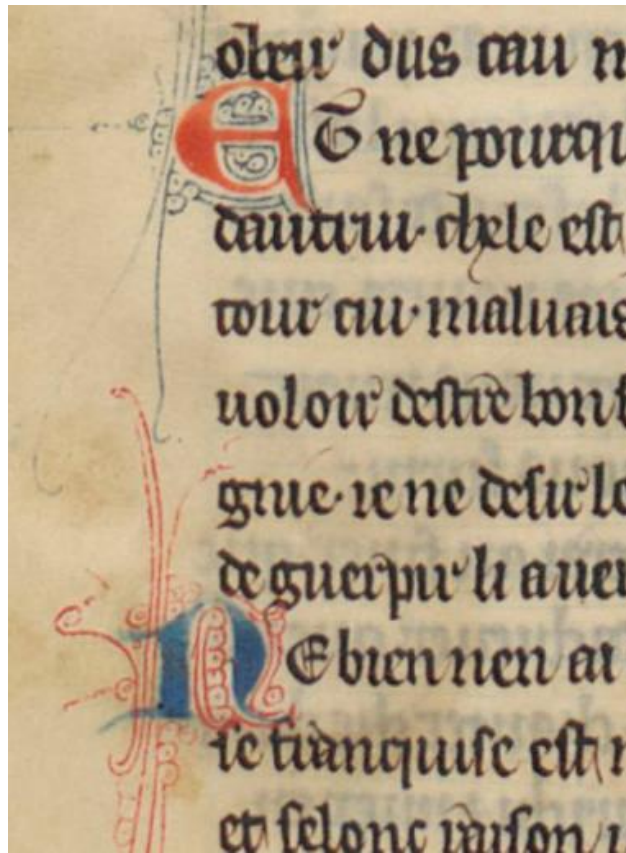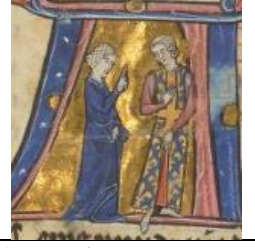
A clue to the division of labour in the production process of a manuscript is found in F-Pn fr. 12464, copied in a late fourteenth-century bastard script: this book is completely finished and embellished with a very large number of coloured initials, except for the spaces where miniatures were intended, left blank for this purpose but never filled in. This suggests two things: firstly, that in this manuscript's production, the initials were painted before the miniatures would have been, and secondly, that the person painting the initials was presumably someone other than the intended miniature artist, unless the reason for these paintings not having been added is an absence of available materials or exemplars rather than the absence of the artist. The painter of the initials may have been the scribe, a craftsman who may not have possessed the special skills required for the application of the miniatures.

This manuscript is especially interesting in that not only the miniatures, but also the opening initials of the texts have not been painted. The opening initials would have been much larger than the other initials in the manuscript, and the fact that they have been left blank suggests that something more elaborate was intended for them: they may have been meant to be highly decorated or possibly even historiated, and the required skills of the craftsman painting them would thus resemble those of the miniature artist much more closely than the skills necessary for painting the plain smaller initials. Although direct comparisons such as this one

cannot be considered conclusive evidence, as manuscript production did not necessarily always happen in the same way and did not follow any general rules, the absence of any initials in fr. 12786 may suggest that even the small ones were indeed meant to be more special than plain-coloured ones found in so many comparable manuscripts, and that all were intended to be painted by a skilled craftsman, perhaps the miniature artist.

Table 2.7: The larger initials in the *Roman de la Poire* in Paris, BnF, fr. 2186

f. 1r: (a)	f. 12r: **A**	f. 15r: (c)	f. 26r: **A**
f. 27v: **N**	f. 29r: **N**	f. 34v: **E**	f. 41v: **S**
f. 66v: **T**	f. 67r: **I**	f. 68v: **B**	f. 69r: **A**
f. 71r: **V**	f. 72r: **T**	f. 77r: **A**	f. 77v: **M**
f. 78r: **O**	f. 79r: **R**	f.79v: **S**	

Whereas the blank spaces for the small initials as well as those intended for miniatures are, at times, relatively easy to 'fill in' using nothing more than other manuscripts for comparison and the imagination, it is more difficult to get a sense of what the larger initials could have looked like had the manuscript been finished, as the variation in those is usually much greater than in the smaller ones, and they also vary much more from one manuscript to the next. However, other comparable manuscripts and previous studies may offer some insights.

The biggest spaces left for initials in fr. 12786 are up to eleven lines in height and this amount of space suggests that they would probably have been highly decorated and possibly historiated, related to the contents of the texts, and they would certainly have been large enough to contain much detail. The use of historiated initials is closely related to the script that is used: "given the necessarily reduced dimensions of the eye (or counter) of the letter in the narrower proportions of Gothic script [...], one can easily understand why historiated initials during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries became less frequent."[109] Indeed the eyes and counters of the capitals used by the scribe of fr. 12786 are very small, and would not directly allow for an elaborated scene to take place within them, but because the initials would have been painted by someone other than the scribe, the letter shapes could have been altogether different. Historiated or not, the large initials would have been eye-catching, if only because of their sheer size.

The nineteen larger initials in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 2186, almost all of which indicate the start of a *refrain*, are historiated, and when seen in succession the depictions tell a narrative about the two lovers that is parallel to the narrative in the text, as can be seen in Table 2.7 above, and they show the main characters in the text. Because they mark the first letters of the *refrains*, they also depict and embody the acrostic *A(a)nnes Tibaut Amors*.[110] There are references in the text itself to these names and to the acrostic; for example, Tibaut points out that both his name and that of his lady (An[g]nes) consist of six letters. He also mentions in the text that both names have two syllables, and that the name of his lady and the word *Amors* both start with an *a* and end with an *s*.[111] These references "ensur[e] that the acrostic exists both

[109] Derolez 2003: p. 42.
[110] Marchello-Nizia 1984: liii-lv. The first initial is the opening initial of the text and is not part of the acrostic, and the third one, a *c*, is also not part of it and does not indicate the start of a *refrain*. However, both are part of the extratextual narrative told through the iconography of the initials.
[111] Butterfield 2002: p. 246; Marchello-Nizia 1984: p. 77. These references are: "Vos qui les letres connoissiez,/onques nus nons mielz deboissiez/ne fu en nule dame assis;/et si a letres jusqu'a .VI." (You who are well-lettered (educated, lit. who knows the letters well), never was any better-fashioned name given to any woman, and it has as many as six letters.); "Por Dieu, or le me devisez!/Volentiers voir; or i entent:/quant j'a lui pens plus soutilment,/Amors qui sage de ceste uevre/me fet, par .II. reisons reprieve:/l'une est qu'en son non a assis/ausin cum el mien letres .VI.,/et si n'i a que .II. sillabes:/tant est il plus au mien semblable./Plus soutive est l'autre reson,/car el par retrogration/del non celi a cui ge bé/si que ce desoz soit deseure,/adonques enz en icele eure/me monstre Amors et li otroie/en latin que ge seue soie." (For God's sake, now explain it to me! Indeed, willingly, now I understand it when I think about it more deeply: I reproach Love, who makes me wise in this work, for two reasons: one is because he has placed in her name six letters, just like in mine, and there are two syllables in it; in this respect it resembles my own; the other reason is more subtle, for by retrogradation of the name of the one whom I

horizontally and vertically."[112] Acrostics such as the one in the *Roman de la Poire* were common enough at the time to assume that a contemporary audience would have noticed them, particularly when the text itself refers to them.[113]

The *Roman de la Poire* is the only text in fr. 12786 in which spaces have been left blank to receive larger internal initials; all other texts would have been embellished by many smaller initials within the text and one large initial at the beginning. Because fr. 2186 and fr. 12786 are part of the same textual tradition in which initials may have resembled those in the exemplars, and because the spaces for initials left by the scribe of fr. 12786 are comparable in size to those in fr. 2186, the historiated letters we find in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 2186 give a relatively clear idea about what could be expected for the initials in this same text in fr. 12786. Since the historiated initials and the text are so closely intertwined, it may have been intended for them to be copied from the exemplar, exactly as may have been the case for the miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose*; the functions of these two kinds of illustrations barely differ in this respect: they illustrate, explain, and further illuminate the text by the use of extratextual connotations, symbolism, and allegory.

Image 2.6: Opening initial of the *Roman de la Rose* in fr. 19156, f. 1r; and in fr. 12593, f. 1r

Because the functions of these historiated initials and those of miniatures are so closely related, it may be suggested that the larger initials opening the two texts that contain miniatures would not have been historiated, but would have been decorated, such as the opening initials in the

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desire, so that what is at the bottom is on top (?), then within that moment, Love shows me and assures her in speech that I am hers). Marchello-Nizia 1984: pp 116-17.

[112] Butterfield 2002: p. 246.

[113] See for example: Wilkins 1989: p. 241.

Roman de la Rose in fr. 19156 and the only four-line-high one fr. 12593, both shown in image 2.6 above.

Such initials may likewise have been intended for the other, shorter texts in fr. 12786. As said above, the *Explication des Songes* contains nine spaces for initials, the first of which is for an opening initial of eight lines in height. A very similar dream treatise in the contemporary or perhaps slightly later manuscript F-Pn fr. 24432 is preceded by an initial that is larger than the others in the text in that book, although much smaller than the opening initial for the dream treatise in fr. 12786, and it is, like all other opening initials in fr. 24432, made of both red and blue ink, and decorated with penwork.[114] The internal initials are alternately red and blue, all likewise decorated with penwork in alternating blue and red, contrasting the colours of the initial. As mentioned, this style of initials is very common at the time in Northern France, and it is something we can expect to have been intended for the smaller initials in fr. 12786. What the larger initials would have looked like, can not be known: even in texts for which miniatures were never intended, the opening initials may have been decorated rather than historiated, and this was not necessarily intended to be the same for each text.

2.3.   Needing Notes

The existence of many chansonniers for which musical notation was never even intended suggests that this was not a necessity for medieval audiences in order to enjoy or be able to sing the songs in a manuscript. A well-known example of such a chansonnier is GB-Ob Douce 308, which contains over five hundred lyrics and is therefore an important witness to *trouvère* culture, even without the presence of musical notation. In a chapter about this manuscript, Elizabeth Eva Leach writes: "I argue that staves or separate notation for musical melodies would be superfluous for the readers of this book because the music is already effectively notated for the purposes of its (musically informed) readers by means of its 'notation' of the songs' verbal texts."[115]

Leach's argument is important in light of the unfinished song collection in fr. 12786, as it shows that even without the intended notation, the song collection could have had value for a medieval audience, and it could arguably offer all information this audience required. The most significant difference between the current unfinished and the hypothetical finished state of the music in the manuscript would thus be a difference in appearance rather than a difference in function. However, unlike in Douce 308, musical notation was intended in fr. 12786, and this

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[114] This text will receive more attention in the next chapter.
[115] Deeming, Leach 2015: p. 230.

suggests that the intended audience of this manuscript desired the notation, whether as a necessity in order to know the melodies, or perhaps merely for aesthetic reasons. This latter suggestion is not as unlikely as one might expect. F-Pn fr. 2193 is a thirteenth-century collection containing, amongst other texts, both secular and religious (devotional) lyrics. These are accompanied by staves with musical notation, but the notation is meaningless and fictional: there are two stave lines with arhythmical square notes, placed more or less syllabically above the text, but at arbitrary heights, not adequately representing the pitches of a melody. This manuscript offers a wonderful example in which musical notation is used as an aesthetic feature: it was added not to provide the readers with melodic information about the songs and would not help them in a performance, but rather it enhances the overall value and appearance of the book. It is unclear whether the fictional music was added by the scribe already or by someone later. The spaces initially left for staves are two text lines high, the same height as other staves for monophonic notation. Whether it was the scribe or a later user who added the mysterious notation, this person evidently decided that fictional musical notation was preferred over blank spaces.

In two sections of fr. 12786 spaces have been left blank to receive musical notation: the *Roman de la Poire* (ff. 1r-24v) and the song collection (ff. 76r-82r). The *Poire* contains nineteen short *refrains* that were meant to receive monophonic notation; the blank spaces above those lines of text are about two text lines in height. Though one of the three other witnesses to the romance contains staves, none of the four manuscripts includes musical notation.[116] Most of the melodies for the *refrains* that are unique to the *Poire*, therefore, are lost forever, unless another source containing this text or another text containing the same *refrains* should be discovered in the future.[117]

According to Jane Alden "it is hard to know how a scribe might have gone about finding [...] enough songs beginning with the appropriate letters to spell out the acrostic [...]" "[w]ithout the existence of a central 'storehouse' of exemplars."[118] Alden here writes about a later tradition than the one in which fr. 12786 is situated, and much later than the one from which the *Roman de la Poire* originates, a time when there may have been even less organisation in the circulation of *refrains* and songs. However, *refrains* were sometimes adjusted to fit better into a text, and could easily be modified to start with the correct letter. For example, *Amors ai a ma uolanté teles com ie les uueil*, the *refrain* that is responsible for the first

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[116] No notation, but blank staves are found in F-Pn fr. 2186. Three *refrains* are notated in the fragmented F-Pn fr. 24431. The fragment is part of a private collection. See e.g. Everist 1996: p. 75; Butterfield 1991: p. 6.
[117] Just over half of the *refrains*, ten out of nineteen, survive uniquely in the *Roman de la Poire*. The concordant witnesses for the others will be presented in Chapter 4.
[118] Alden 2010: p. 147.

letter of the word *Amors* in the acrostic in the *Roman de la Poire*, is transmitted in I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1725 and F-MO H 196 as *J'ai amors a ma volenté teles com ue voiel*, so the swapping of two words at the beginning was sufficient to change this *refrain* into one starting with the correct letter.

In the two surviving manuscripts transmitting the *Poire* in which musical notation was intended but not added, fr. 12786, and fr. 2186, the hidden message can be picked out relatively easily from the surrounding text, as the blank spaces and the blank staves provide a visual contrast between the *refrains* and the rest of the text, but because the *refrains* are spread out over the long text, the acrostic will not reveal itself if it is not searched for. The seventeen *refrains* in fr. 2186 give us *Aannes Tibavt Amors*, but the first letters of the nineteen *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire* fr. 12786 form the corrupted acrostic *O Aaenes Tibavt E Amors*. The first *e* in Aaenes in the acrostic in fr. 12786 is derived from the same text that produces the first *n* in the acrostic in fr. 2186: rather than "N'est il bien reson or i pensez que cil qui mielz aime", as is found in fr. 2186, the scribe of fr. 12786 wrote "Est il bien reson", therewith corrupting the acrostic and reversing the meaning of the inserted *refrain*. Interestingly, it seems that the version of the *refrain* as found in fr. 12786 is more common, as another witness to the *Poire*, F-Pn fr. 24431, also transmits the *refrain* as "Est il bien raisons".[119] This suggests that the *refrain* circulated and was known as it survives in fr. 12786 and fr. 24431, and that it was adjusted for the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 2186 in order to fit the acrostic. The scribes of fr. 12786 and fr. 24431 may have been familiar with the *refrain*, and copied what they knew by heart rather than what they saw in their exemplar. The *refrains* responsible for the *O* at the beginning of the acrostic in fr. 12786, and the *E* between *Tibavt* and *Amors* which are not found in fr. 2186 and which cause further distortion of the acrostic must have been included in this philological branch of the textual history of the *Poire* presumably by someone who was not aware of the existence of the acrostic (unless the corruption was deliberate) and who may therefore not have read the text carefully; after all, there are several hints to the existence of the acrostic within the text that we might presume would be perceived by an attentive reader. The scribe of fr. 12786 may have been the one who added these two additional *refrains* to the text, but it is more likely that they were copied from the exemplar. The editor may have been the scribe of fr. 12786, or someone earlier, who included the *refrains* unaware of the presence of the hidden message.

The spaces left by the scribe for musical notation in the *Roman de la Poire* are relatively small, and the words and syllables of the *refrains* are not separated any more than the rest of the text, implying that there would be just enough space for syllabic notation. Indeed, the three *refrains* that do survive with musical notation in fr. 24431 are syllabic; it can be assumed that these *refrains* would have been very similar in fr. 12786, had they been notated, and it can

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[119] The *refrain* survives nowhere else.

be presupposed that all *refrains* in the text would have been of a similar type and style, and therefore that all would have been syllabic. The monophonic music would have been copied on staves that were two text lines in height.

The song collection is the most musical section in fr. 12786. Four *chansons* have blank spaces above their texts that were likewise intended for monophonic musical notation, spaces that are of the same height as those in the *Roman de la Poire*, one text was never meant to receive music at all and is copied in continuous lines as if it were a prose text, and thirty-six *chansons* were meant to be accompanied by three-part polyphonic music, for which spaces were left blank by the scribe exactly three times as high as those for monophonic music. The thin ink ruling between where the three separate staves were meant to be can be observed in all polyphonic songs in fr. 12786, confirming the assumption that these blank spaces were left to receive three-part notation.[120] The monophonic *chansons* and notationless song are the first five of the collection.[121] The vast majority, thirty-four *chansons*, are polyphonic *rondeaux*.

The polyphonic *rondeau* was one of several polyphonic genres arising in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, around the time in which fr. 12786 was made. By this time, the *formes fixes* had not yet attained the level of standardisation that was to become characteristic of them later in the fourteenth century. It might therefore be better to speak of them as "proto-*rondeaux*" and "proto-*formes fixes*" but because the *rondeau* form (ABaAabAB) is already very clearly recognisable and is used structurally and regularly in the songs in this collection, I will here simply refer to them as *rondeaux*. It is, however, important to keep in mind that the genre was still developing. This matter will receive more attention in Chapter 4.

Of the entire surviving repertoire of fifty polyphonic *rondeaux*, sixteen *chansons* are attributed to Adam de la Halle, while nearly all others remain anonymous.[122] Adam's *rondeaux* are copied and musically notated in the so-called *Adam de la Halle manuscript*, fr. 25566, which presumably contains Adam's *opera omnia*. "This immaculate presentation of Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux* is at once fortunate and problematic," explains Mark Everist, "fortunate because we have apparently the complete works in the genre by one of the few named composers from the end of the thirteenth century, and possibly in a format that could have been authorised by the composer himself; problematic because the works of Adam not only dominate our view of the polyphonic *rondeau* of this period but are almost the only representatives of the genre."[123] Fr. 12786 contains more than twice as many polyphonic *rondeaux* as fr. 25566, and

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[120] This can be seen in the example of *Diex commant porroie* in Image 2.6 below.
[121] This raises interesting questions about the organisational structure of the song collection, a matter which will receive much attention in Chapter 4.
[122] The surviving repertoire at the time consisting of fifty polyphonic *rondeaux* include: the sixteen Adam de la Halle *chansons* that are found in fr. 25566 (ff. 32v-34v); twenty-nine others that appear in fr. 12786; two anonymous *chansons* in F-Pn, Collection de Picardie 67 (f. 68r), and one *rondeau* by Jehannot de l'Escurel that survives in F-Pn fr. 146 (f. 57r). See Everist 1996.
[123] Everist: pp. 59-60.

transmits well over half of the entire surviving repertoire, including thirty which are here preserved uniquely as polyphonic *rondeaux*.[124] A claim that fr. 12786 is the most important source for and main representative of this genre can therefore easily be defended. The fact that the music has never been added is unfortunate, but it does not necessarily change the significance of fr. 12786 for the study of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century polyphonic *rondeaux*.

Though eighteen of the forty-one songs of the song collection in fr. 12786 – almost half – are entirely unique and survive nowhere else, twelve have full concordances and are transmitted in other manuscripts in the same or a similar form as they are in fr. 12786. Additionally, the *refrains* of nineteen of the songs are copied in other witnesses in various contexts, often inserted into romances just like the *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire*. One of the main concordant manuscripts to the songs in the collection, is I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century chansonnier and important source for trouvère songs, consisting of more than one hundred and eighty folios, which includes four *chansons* that are also found in fr. 12786, and an additional two that are found as *refrain* insertions in this manuscript.[125] *Brunete cui j'ai mon cuer doné* shares its text with one of the three voices of a motet that is found in Reg. lat. 1490, as well as in D-BAs Lit. 115 and F-MO H 196, complete with all three voices.[126] H 196 also transmits another motet which shares one of its texts with part of the text of one of the *chansons* in the song collection in fr. 12786. The other five concordances between fr. 12786 and Reg. lat. 1490 are polyphonic *rondeaux* in the first, but are given as monophonic onesin the latter, which means that it is not possible reconstruct the music intended for fr. 12786 based on this witness. GB-Ob Douce 308 also transmits three concordances, but because there is no musical notation in this chansonnier, this manuscript cannot provide any musical material either.

The most important manuscript sharing songs with fr. 12786 is the already mentioned fr. 25566, which transmits the only four texts in the song collection in fr. 12786 whose authorship is known, because they are attributed to Adam de la Halle. In fr. 25566 they survive with polyphonic notation, and not only does this provide more musical material than the manuscripts in which the polyphonic *chansons* are given as monophonic ones, it also provides the opportunity to compare how the *rondeaux* are laid out in both manuscripts.

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[124] Of these, four have a single concordance in which they are transmitted either monophonically (I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490) or without notation (GB-Ob Douce 308). The *rondeaux* may well be polyphonic in the latter, but there is no direct evidence to support this.

[125] Peraino 2011: p. xix.

[126] It cannot be ascertained that the text was first one of three motet texts and later used on its own, either as a polyphonic *rondeau* or in any other form; or vice versa. Though there are examples in which such an argument can be made, this is neither the case for *Brunete cui j'ai mon cuer done* nor for any other *chanson* in fr. 12786.

Polyphonic *rondeaux*, as said above, were a relatively new genre at the time in which fr. 12786 was made, which means that not only poets and composers, but also scribes could experiment with its form. In devising a suitable layout for this unfamiliar genre, scribes needed to consider firstly how to arrange the different musical voices on the page in relation to one another, and secondly how to represent the musical-poetic structure in a way that was both clear and economical. Motets, genres in which each musical voice has its own text, are usually presented in their manuscripts with each voice and its associated text separately, but in genres such as the polyphonic *rondeau* in which there are three (or more) musical voices but only one text for all of them, it is not necessary to separate the staves, and therefore a system or 'stack' of staves can be used to present the song on the parchment in a more efficient manner. In the structure of a *rondeau* (ABaAabAB) the musical material is repeated often, and there is no need for all music to be written out as the first two lines (A and B) present all musical material that is needed to sing the entire *chanson*. The music, therefore, would have been notated above the refrain text only.[127]

The scribes of fr. 12786 and fr. 25566 came up with very similar solutions for the notation of the *rondeaux* in which it is clear which notes go with which syllables, in which the whole *chanson* can be seen at a glance, and in which the entire text can easily be read, even when one eye is kept on the music. There are, however, some important differences. There are two columns in fr. 25566 whereas in fr. 12786 the polyphonic *rondeaux* are given in one, which is the reason why the scribe of fr. 12786 had space left over on the right-hand side of the folio in which the remainder of the *rondeau* text could fit after the first two lines which were underlaid to the music. The scribe of fr. 25566 had a narrower space and was therefore forced to write the remainder of the text underneath the first two lines and the music. An example of each is shown in Images 2.7 and 2.8 below. Another important difference is that the scribe of fr. 25566 spelt out much more of the text, while the one of fr. 12786 chose to abbreviate the repeated text heavily, particularly in longer texts. This means that while the scribe of fr. 12786 uses the space more economically, the layout also assumes a greater level of understanding of the repeating *rondeau* form. This may reveal something about the intended audience, who would have to be more skilled in music in order to understand the form of the *rondeaux*. Both layouts of the polyphonic *rondeau* have a similar effect and are practical, but the one in fr. 12786 looks untidy compared to that in fr. 25566, because the narrow columns on the right-hand side of the folio are not all of the same width, but are adjusted to the length of the text; furthermore, these jagged-edged narrow columns are outlined with thin ink lines drawn without the aid of a ruler. It

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[127] This is not always the case in the shorter texts. Some *refrains* only take up half a line in the manuscript, and in those instances part of the verse text also has blank space above it. According to the structure of the *rondeaux*, their music would have been the same as that of the *refrain*, so there would be a repetition in the musical notation.

must be said, however, that the unfinished nature of fr. 12786 may contribute to the sloppier appearance; the song collection would have looked very different had the musical notation and the initials been added to the folios. The comparison between the two manuscripts is important, as they mark the beginning of a new tradition on which future scribes would draw when they notated polyphonic *rondeau*.[128]

Image 2.7: F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 34r, *Diex comment porroie*

Image 2.8: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 78v, *Diex comant porroie*

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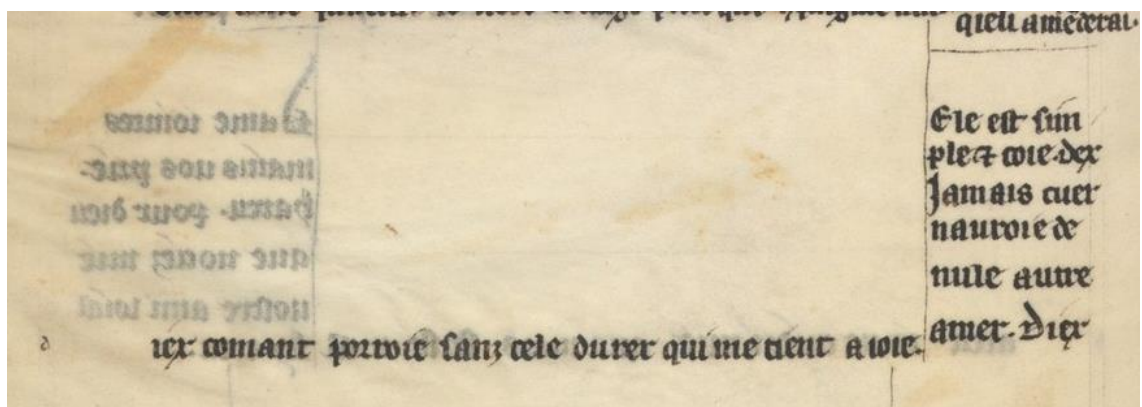
[128] I have not been able to find any other examples of notated polyphonic *rondeaux* or of other polyphonic genres with relatively short, repetitive forms for which similar layouts may be used.

The text at the bottom of the right-hand column on f. 76r is the only one in the entire song collection that was never meant to receive musical notation at all. It is a *chanson* with three strophes and a refrain that appears after each strophe. Apart from three probably coloured initials with which this text was intended to be embellished, nothing is missing here, and this song is therefore the most complete one and the closest to how it was meant to be visualised. The layout of this first folio differs from all the others in the collection, as it is the only one that has two columns rather than one. This may be related to the difference in genre between the texts that are found on this first page and those in the rest of the collection: all songs on f. 76r are monophonic, while all other pages contain polyphonic ones. There are, however, other possible explanations for this discrepancy, and they will be discussed in Chapter 4 in which the song collection is studied more closely.

2.4. Planned Production

According to Keith Busby, "[c]ollaboration seems to have been the hallmark of vernacular manuscript production generally starting in the thirteenth century."[129] Although some of the craftsmen who were supposed to collaborate with each other in the production of fr. 12786 never did so, there is much to be said about those who were involved in the process, and perhaps even more about those who were not. It is interesting to consider why they did not apply their skills to the folios of this book, and how the collaboration would have happened, had the manuscript been finished.

The first craftsman to be involved in the process of any manuscript is a parchment maker. It is often difficult to say anything specific about the parchment, and in most studies of manuscripts, including those of fr. 12786, little attention is paid to this important material aspect. Although it is unknown where the parchment of this manuscript was made, its overall quality can be compared to the material used in other manuscripts, and its consistency can be studied. A conclusion based on these two methods is that the parchment is of good quality: the close similarity between flesh- and hair side, the smooth surface, the small number of holes and stitches, and the thinness of the folios result from the work of a skilled parchment maker, and the probably relatively expensive material that was purchased for this manuscript must have been meant for what was to be an expensive book.[130]

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[129] Busby 2002: p. 38.
[130] See for example: Fuchs, Meinert, and Schrempf 2001; Da Rold 2011. It is difficult to establish the quality of parchment, because this is always based on comparison with other manuscripts one has seen before. In my opinion, however, when paying attention to such aspects as thickness, flexibility, the

After the bifolios were cut to shape, the quires were folded and prepared with prickings. As argued in the previous chapter, the assembled gatherings would probably have been put aside until they were required, after which the scribe or someone else added the ruling one page at a time. The scribe then copied the texts in fr. 12786 beginning with the text in black ink, and adding the rubrics in red ink afterwards. Some rubrics are slightly longer and others slightly shorter than the space left blank for them, the former leaving some blank space between the rubric and the rest of the text, and the latter resulting in lettering that is noticebly compressed to fit into the space, which proves that the text in black ink was written first, and it shows that the scribe made some small miscalculations.

The rubrics not only provide a visual structure in the text to help the reader and explain what is seen in each miniature, as discussed above; but in some cases they can also be seen as a message left by the scribe for the miniature artist, who now only needed to look at the words in red to see what was supposed to be painted where. Thus, even though the one who was to paint the miniatures may never have laid eyes on fr. 12786, we can witness some communication between this artist and the scribe. The opening initial of the *Bestiaire d'Amours* also has a rubric coupled with it, indicating that this initial was meant to be historiated; the depiction was communicated by the scribe to the artist, who may well have been meant to be the same artist as the miniature artist.

Rubrication cannot always be seen as a means of communication between the craftsmen working on a manuscript. As mentioned above, there is evidence in fr. 19156 and fr. 25566 that the rubrication was added later than the miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours*: red ink is found on the paintings, or the rubric is copied around the miniature in such a way that it is clear that this was already there when the scribe added this short title. In these manuscripts then, the collaboration between the scribe and the painter was closer than it would have been in fr. 12786; the book went from the scribe to the miniature artist and back to the scribe, whereas the scribe of fr. 12786 would not have required to see this manuscript again, and it may therefore have been possible for the manuscript to be moved to a different workshop in which these illustrations were to be painted.

A similar situation pertains in F-Pn fr. 1580, an early fourteenth-century Parisian manuscript.[131] Initials and miniatures are painted, and the text was copied by five different scribes. The only things missing are the miniature titles, which were presumably meant to be added in red ink. The scribes did not leave information for the miniature artist on the folios of the manuscript – unless this is now painted over or erased and no longer visible – on the folios

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number of natural holes, stitches, colour, and smoothness, it is possible to make a relatively objective judgement.
[131] Copied between 1310 and 1315, according to Gallica:
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90607167/f1.planchecontact.r=blanc> (Accessed: April 2016).

of the manuscript, but rather the miniature artist seemingly had considerable freedom, so much that the scribes may not have known in advance what the miniatures were to depict. There are examples of notes left by the scribe to the miniature artist that were intended to be erased but never were, such as in *Troubadour A* or I-Rvat lat. 5232. Titles that were to be added later imply that the exemplar may not have contained the same miniatures that were intended here, or that it contained none at all. Titles that were added later, such as those in fr. 19156 and fr. 25566 show that these rubrics also had a different function, to inform and guide the reader, and the notes still to be observed in lat. 5232 suggest that there were other means of written communication between the scribe and the colleague who painted the miniatures. Presumably, when possible, these means of communication existed alongside verbal communication, which could only happen when the miniature artist and the scribe worked in the same geographical location. This is not considered to be the norm: manuscripts are believed to have travelled often during their production process. According to Keith Busby "it is important to note that we are often no longer dealing with monastic *scriptoria* where scribe and illustrator worked alongside each other", which means that non-verbal communication between the various craftsmen was essential.[132]

Fr. 1580, containing miniatures and initials but no rubrics, has been left in an almost opposite state compared to fr. 12786, in which the miniature titles are present, but the miniatures and initials themselves are still missing. As in fr. 19156 and fr. 25566, these rubrics were intended to be added after the illustrations, a very different process than that of the production of fr. 12786. This proves that even when manuscripts were produced in temporal and geographical proximity, this does not mean that the production process was the same or indeed similar, and no general conclusions can therefore be drawn. Comparison with other manuscripts which also contain clues about the order of the application of different features of the book is interesting and important, but it will not reveal anything about fr. 12786. Fortunately, this unfinished manuscript is riddled with small pieces of evidence that provide an insight into how this book was made and what else was intended and how.

Small messages from the scribe to the artist who was to paint the initials can be witnessed in the form of cue initials, very small letters to show the illuminator which letter was meant where, which, like the rubrication for the miniature artist, would have saved the painter time and reduced opportunities for error. In contrast to the rubrics, the cue initials would be obscured once the initials had been painted, and thus were never intended to be seen by the reader. They are therefore evidence of the normally hidden communication from scribe to

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[132] Busby 2002: p. 51.

painter, rendered visible to readers of the manuscript because their collaboration never took place.[133]

There are examples in which much more information was provided by the scribe to the artist who was to paint the initials. F-Pn fr. 411 is a fourteenth-century hagiography, nearly three-hundred folios long, containing a very large number of blank spaces for initials and miniatures that have never been filled in, except for those on ff. 17-25, on which highly elaborate initials are painted, as well as three depictions of the saints described. Interestingly, the first folio does contain initials and even border decoration, but both in a pen outline rather than vibrant painted colours as could be expected, which is shown in Image 2.9 below. The outline was either made by the scribe, or by someone later, perhaps to give the artist who was to paint the initials and decorations an idea of what was intended for them. The folio also contains a large blank space that was meant for an opening miniature, in which no such information is given.

If it was indeed the scribe who added the pen outlines in order for the artist to know what the initials and border decoration were meant to look like, we witness here an overt form of communication between the different craftsmen, not dissimilar to what we see in the rubrication and cue initials in fr. 12786, but much more detailed. This scribe then had a very clear vision of the end result in mind. However, the sketch of the initial and the border decoration may also be the work of the artist, the first stage of a job that was never finished.

It is unclear why the decorations on ff. 17-25 were added and all others were not. Someone apparently started this work, which would never be completed, but this person did not start at the beginning. There was either an intention for different miniature and initial artists to work on this manuscript, and only one of them did this intended work, or there was only an available exemplar for these specific miniatures. This latter theory problematizes the unfinished initials; were they copied from the exemplar as well, or were they added only where miniatures were painted? The first theory also brings problems; the manuscript would not have been consistent in style had every group of biographies been decorated by a different artist, and consistency is something that seems very important in fr. 411, as all folios look very much alike: the script is very regular throughout the entire volume, and the *mise-en-page* never changes.

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[133] If the scribe intended to paint the smaller initials, the message is a personal *aide-mémoire* which would save time later. There are cue initials in almost all spaces left for initials in fr. 12786, though there are exceptions in which the scribe appears to have forgotten.

Image 2.9 : F-Pn fr. 411, f. 1r: Pen initials and border decoration
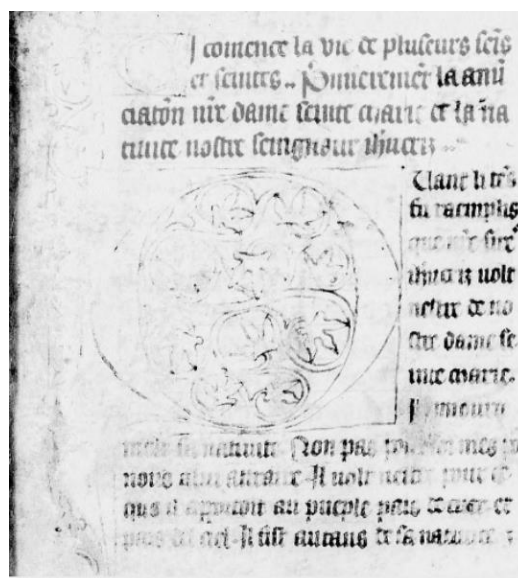
Fr. 411 does contain a large number of rubrics, which is perhaps difficult to see in the black-and-white Image 2.7, although it is evident that different colours of ink are used. This is yet another example of the rubrication having been added before (most of) the intended miniatures, initials, and border decoration. The evidence presented by these other unfinished manuscripts, then, may suggest that most manuscripts were made according to a different process to the one in fr. 12786. The rubrication in the middle codicological unit was added at a much earlier stage than would be expected based on this analysis of other uncompleted books. Crucially, the rubrics are only found in the middle codicological unit in fr. 12786. The production of this possibly commercially pre-produced unit may have differed from the common book making process in the workplace in which the manuscript was produced.

The most important question that can, and should be asked about any unfinished manuscript, is why it has been left in this uncompleted state, and what happened that made the manuscript makers decide to abandon their work on the book. Unfortunately, it is almost always impossible to find the answer to this question, though numerous hypothetical scenarios may spring to mind. Besides unforeseen personal factors either on the part of the manuscript makers or of the patron of the book who had ordered it to be made, the most likely hypotheses are those in which the right exemplars were not available. Some of the texts in fr. 12786, particularly those in the third codicological unit, are obscure or even unique, and may have taken the compilers a long time to find. Concordances for a large number of the texts in the song collection have likewise disappeared altogether, suggesting that, even in a large and scribally busy centre, musically notated exemplars of these texts may have been scarce. If the texts in the song collection were copied from an exemplar without notation, the scribe of fr. 12786 may

well have invented the visual representation of the polyphonic *rondeaux* from scratch, which suggests that this scribe must have been familiar with the general conventions of musical layout; there was an awareness of the distinction between monophonic and polyphonic music, as is shown by the differences in height of the spaces he left blank. It might therefore also be suggested that the scribe knew that non-syllabic music would have required leaving more space between the syllables of the text, and the fact that the syllables and words in the songs are not spaced out in turn suggests that all music in fr. 12786 would have been syllabic. Similarly, the *Roman de la Poire* may have been copied from an exemplar without musical notation, and the *refrains* may have been intended to be copied later from a different exemplar. The near-total absence of notation in the four surviving witnesses to this text makes such a hypothesis plausible.

However, it remains unclear why the middle unit was not provided with miniatures. Though the illustrations in the *Roman de la Rose* may have differed from those in other manuscripts, as is argued above, and the exemplar used for this text may not have included any illustrations, the miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, surely, could have been painted, and in the blossoming culture of manuscript making it must have been possible to find an illuminated exemplar of either of these popular and widely-transmitted texts. The fact that even this second unit is not finished may provide an insight into the production of the book: a commercially pre-produced booklet that was intended to be bound in with other booklets to form a full book may not be completed until the units are united, perhaps in order to achieve a higher sense of unity.

Importantly, however, a lack of correct exemplars does not explain why the initials throughout fr. 12786 have not been painted. It seems that there was either an external factor at play, or that the absence of one or two important exemplars, perhaps those containing the melodies of some of the songs in the manuscript, or examples for the miniatures, resulted in a 'giving up' on the part of the manuscript makers: incompletion in one aspect may have prompted the abandonment of the whole.

2.5.   Conclusion

Fr. 12786 is riddled with spaces left blank by the scribe to be filled in with miniatures, initials, and musical notation. This chapter has examined what the manuscript's audience missed out on without these features. The missing miniatures rob the reader of a layer of meaning of the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose* in which these images would have explained the stories and have offered a sense of experience that is now missing. Rubrics coupled with the miniatures-to-be provide an insight into what was intended to be depicted in each of them.

While the rubrics in the *Bestiaire* appear to be very similar to those copied in the closest concordance, those in the *Rose* differ much and they may even be invented by the scribe or copied from an exemplar without miniatures. The rubrics in this latter text are linked not only to the (intended) miniatures, but also to direct speech, and it appears as if the scribe copied out rubrics only functioning as an indication for who is speaking and used them as miniature titles in the way this happens in the same text in other manuscripts as well as in the *Bestiaire*.

The initials would have provided a clearer structure in the texts, and particularly in the *Roman de la Poire*, the text in which there would have been the largest variation of initials, they would have been additionally helpful as they would have drawn more attention to the acrostic. Comparison with the most important concordance for the *Poire* shows that the initials play a large role in the textual tradition surrounding this romance, and they have a much more refined and subtle function in this text than in all others in fr. 12786.

Even though musical notation may not have been necessary for a medieval audience in order to sing the *chansons*, the fact that there was an intention to notate may imply that the intended audience of fr. 12786 would have required this. Additionally, the music would have provided extra illumination and, therefore, value to the book. In the early fourteenth century, no standardised way for visualising polyphonic *rondeaux* on the page existed. The scribe of fr. 12786 is fairly consistent in the presentation of the genre, but does not seem to follow any widespread conventions, as no other examples have been found in which *rondeaux* are laid out on the page in precisely the same way. The scribe might have experimented with a layout for a relatively new genre at the time.

Although various theories can be imagined, it will probably never be known why fr. 12786 was left in its uncompleted state, but it is precisely this state that provides insights in manuscript production and collaboration we would not otherwise have had: we can tell in what order different craftsmen would have applied their skills to the parchment, and we can even witness direct communication between the scribe and the intended colleagues.

Chapter 3. Compiling a Collection

The contents of fr. 12786 are diverse and the twelve texts and the song collection may at first sight seem to have little in common: texts in the collection show a wide variation in theme, topic, form, textual quality, popularity, possible use, and other aspects, but are nevertheless copied by the same hand and bound together in one volume. Though its particular combination of contents is unique, fr. 12786 can be studied in the context of other miscellanies and anthologies, which were produced in large numbers during this period, to judge from the surviving manuscripts containing such collections. Some of these volumes show clear thematic unity while others appear to have been randomly assembled together. In this chapter, the texts in fr. 12786 will be studied both in relation to each other and in relation to other witnesses to the same or, in the case of the *unica*, very similar texts in order to get a sense of the compilation tradition of these texts and of such collections as well as of the intentions of the compilers of fr. 12786.

3.1.   Miscellaneous Anthologies and Anthological Miscellanies

Because so many manuscripts with collections of different texts survive – not only French ones but also books from the rest of Europe – it may not be surprising that there has been considerable discussion about how such collections may have been compiled, and to what extent the compilers had organisational principles in mind. Scholars from various fields have attempted to find structure in seemingly unstructured volumes, and to find organisation in apparent chaos, sometimes successfully, sometimes less so. The longer this discussion advanced, the more it became clear that the terms 'miscellany', indicating an arbitrarily combined collection of texts, and 'anthology' and suggesting a purposefully compiled and arranged collection, are no longer sufficient in the description and analysis of such books.[134] In his chapter "The Whole Book", Derek Pearsall notes that

> (…) the term 'miscellany' was thought to be unsatisfactory for manuscripts of apparently diverse content, and even misleading – "suggesting, as it does", say the editors [of the conference and the book *The Whole Book* in 1993] (Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel), "an arbitrary principle of organization for manuscripts in which there may be a perfectly clear organizing principle".[135]

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[134] The term 'miscellany' is also often applied to books which are codicologically miscellaneous, i.e. composite manuscripts. However, the word is here only used to describe a collection of diverse contents that appear to have been arbitrarily gathered together.

[135] Pearsall 2005: p. 19.

Or, as Jason O'Rourke says, the term "implies that the collection in question was compiled in a chaotic and disordered fashion."[136] The idea of a miscellany in the arbitrary, chaotic sense is believed by some to be an anachronism, such as by Arthur Bahr, who writes in his recent chapter "Miscellaneity and Variance in the Medieval Book": "A manuscript whose contents and organization appear miscellaneous today may have appeared coherent or at least unproblematic to its original audience."[137]

However, the opposite is equally misleading: finding organisational structures and principles in a manuscript which may not have been either intended or apparent to its first readers can likewise lead to very different interpretations of the book as a whole as well as of the texts in it. Most collections are not either fully 'miscellaneous' or fully 'anthological', but almost always find themselves somewhere in between. In order to be able to talk about this spectrum of organisedness or miscellaneity, Derek Pearsall has suggested a number of different types "in a taxonomy numbered in descending order of unity of contents from anthology, Type 1", to Type 4, which is the commonplace book, or what Boffey and Thompson refer to as 'household miscellanies', a volume compiled by a single person purely for his or her own interest and use.[138] Pearsall introduces self-invented acronyms to describe what Types 2 and 3 are, respectively: UMWELA (Unorganised Manuscripts With an Element of Local Anthologising) and UMRISC (Unorganised Manuscripts Reflecting the Interest of a Single Compiler).[139] His intentionally facetious acronyms make clear how large and blurred the grey area between miscellany and anthology is. O'Rourke suggests using the term 'collection' to describe manuscripts that are neither fully miscellaneous nor completely anthological, "since it describes one basic undeniable organizing principle behind the compilation of [such] manuscripts (…) without carrying the baggage that the terms 'anthology' and 'miscellany' have picked up on their recent travels."[140] While Pearsall's four types offer some specificity for the classification of manuscript collections, the term 'collection' offers too little, if any at all, and, moreover, may confuse a reader because of its ambiguous meaning and its common use.

Regardless of terminology, it is difficult to establish to what extent one should look for anthological tendencies in a seemingly miscellaneous collection, and when it is reasonable to state that a collection really is arbitrary in its contents and organisation. Scholars often attempt to find organisation in a seemingly randomly arranged collection, such as Keith Busby, who writes that "manuscripts so often described as 'miscellanies' can be seen as structured according to principles of similitude and contrast, generating meaning, reflecting the tension and

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[136] O'Rourke 2005: p. 45.
[137] Bahr 2015: p. 181.
[138] Pearsall 2005: p. 25.
[139] See: Pearsall 2005: p. 25.
[140] O'Rourke 2005: p. 60.

equilibrium between types of poem and their levels of discourse."[141] Problematically, it is easy to find commonalities and similarities on some level between a number of texts, particularly because organising principles can be sought in any aspect – such as genre, topical unity, a relation to a certain location or region, the presence in the texts of things related to the intended owner of the book, a common origin of the texts, contradicting themes, a political point of view, related historical facts, recurring characters or authors, a similar expected performance of the texts, the use of certain narrative techniques, a chronological or geographical sequence throughout the texts, and so on.[142] Therefore, it is equally easy to argue for the anthological intentions of the compilers, while these intentions may not have been there at all. Pearsall explains this clearly:

> Against the very natural desire to find something rational or at least classifiable in the organization of these collections, and therefore some reason for talking about them rationally, and to make theses and arguments about them, we have to put the circumstances of production. The people who put these collections together were not making unconstrained choices, and sometimes not making choices at all.[143]

Anthological unity may not have been of great significance to the compilers of a manuscript, and to search for organising principles and thought-through assemblage in every collection may therefore be anachronistic. Texts may be included in a manuscript because they lie to hand and are available for copying, because they are used as space fillers, because an exemplar is only accessible for a limited amount of time, or because of any other reason unknown to modern researchers but perfectly logical to contemporary compilers.[144] Busby writes: "While many reasons may determine the choice of texts for inclusion in a manuscript and their order of presentation, the contents are usually not random. It is consequently illogical to suppose that texts appear in each other's company as a result of hazard and happenstance (…)."[145] However, Busby's reasoning seems to be circular: the assumption that the choice of a manuscript's contents was not arbitrary is based on analysis of books in which anthological structures were searched for and, unsurprisingly, found, while this search itself was based on the same assumption. The search for a unifying or organising structure, then, raises problems. Two of the most important and influential recent scholarly works in which a search for anthological principles in manuscripts containing various kinds of collections is central, are Sylvia Huot's *From Song to Book* (1987) and Keith Busby's *Codex and Context* (2002).[146] Some examples

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[141] Busby 2002: p. 463.
[142] See for example Busby 2002.
[143] Pearsall 2005: p. 25.
[144] This may explain why Latin manuscripts are less often of an apparently miscellaneous nature than vernacular ones: there were more available exemplars for the texts copied in those. Because of this, "miscellaneity (…) is to some extent a condition of vernacularity." Pearsall 2005: p. 26.
[145] Busby 2002: p. 367.
[146] Huot 1987; Busby 2002, esp. Chapter 5: "Readings in Context", pp. 367-484.

from both studies will here be discussed to show how thin the line can be between discovering anthological and organisational unity in a collection and trying perhaps too hard to find order in something that really is more chaotic than its interpreters want to believe.

In *From Song to Book*, Huot discusses several types of organisational principles in manuscript collections containing a number of different texts, such as thematic unity, narrative organisation, "compilatio and conjointure", and books in which one author is centralised. Many of her case studies are very convincing examples of the type of anthological structure they exemplify. "Compilatio and conjointure" manuscripts are those in which parts of the texts have been re-written or adjusted resulting in a smoother transition from one text to the next. One of the case studies Huot uses to illustrate this type of organising is F-Pn fr. 1450, a thirteenth-century manuscript containing *Le Roman de Troie*, *Le Roman d'Eneas*, *Le Roman de Brut*, and *Le Roman de Dolopathos* (which is a short version of the *Sept Sages de Rome*). In the *Roman de Brut* are inserted all five of Chrétien de Troye's romances: *Erec*, *Parceval*, *Cligès*, *Yvain*, and the *Charrete*. Certain texts, such as *Parceval*, contain an additional section, in this case an anonymous continuation, that make for an easy transition between that text and the one that follows, and in other examples the end of a text is missing in order to create a seamless flow into the next text.[147] There are other examples of manuscripts in which similar things are found, such as F-Pn fr. 12603, in which the prologue of Wace's *Brut* is omitted so that the text fits seamlessly onto the previous one, the *Eneas*, "as if it were a continuation."[148] The use of such techniques convincingly implies that the compilers did indeed intend to create textual unity and to convey an additional layer of meaning through the combining of the texts.

Together, the texts in fr. 1450 show the cultural continuity from Troy to Rome to Britain, Huot argues, which is something that can be found in many other (English) manuscripts. Busby describes the late-thirteenth-century manuscript GB-NO Mi LM 6, which contains *Le Roman de Troie*, *Ille et Galeron* (Gautier d'Arras), *Le Roman de Silence* (Heldris de Cornuaille, part of the *Roman d'Alexandre*), *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, *La Vengeance Raguidel*, and a number of *fabliaux*. Although there is no straightforward chronological sequence, Busby argues that this book, too, demonstrates a political and cultural link between Ancient Greece and the British Isles. Each text contributes to the establishing of this link in its own way. The *Roman de Troie* is often found at the beginning of such anthologies, "where its general function is to anchor all texts which follow in a cultural tradition which begins with the Greeks", Busby explains.[149]

Other manuscripts show a thematic narrative through the collection of texts. F-Pn fr. 1447 was made in the first half of the fourteenth century. It contains three long texts: *Floire et*

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[147] See: Huot 1987.
[148] Busby 2002: p. 435.
[149] Busby 2002: p. 415.

Blanchefleur, *Berthe aus Grans Pies* (Adenet le Roi), and *Claris et Laris*. The first two in particular are widespread texts and were copied in a large number of miscellaneous and anthological collections. Huot convincingly argues that their sequence in fr. 1447 results in a narrative that exists outside of the individual ones: Floire and Blanchefleur are the parents of Bertha, who is Charlemagne's mother; the link between the texts and the chronological and genealogical sequence is clear. *Claris et Laris* is a substantial compilation of Arthuriana, centring around numerous figures from Arthurian romance tradition, most importantly Arthur himself. The romance is here set in Central Europe, where the legendary king holds a vast kingdom extending from modern-day France to what is now Germany and fights off threats from Spain and from the East. This setting associates him with Charlemagne, who, in light of the first two texts in the manuscript, becomes the central theme of the book without being present in any of its texts.[150] Charlemagne is also a dominant theme in the thirteenth-century manuscript F-Pn fr. 860 which transmits the *Chanson de Roland*, *Gaydon*, *Ami et Amile*, *Jourdain de Blaye*, and *Auberi le Bourguignon*, all of which have links to the great emperor in their own way. It is worth remarking that the collection would have been chronological if *Auberi le Bourguignon* had been copied at the beginning rather than at the end of the volume. For this reason, it has been suggested that this text originally opened the collection and that the texts were compiled as a cycle, but that the order was changed later in the book's history.[151] But if this 'cycle' is seen in a more literally 'cyclical' or circular way, the collection as it stands today may represent the same thing, in which the end is literally the beginning and the beginning the end.

The anthological nature of the case studies described above is convincingly argued by Huot and Busby; all are manuscripts in which the texts are apparently assembled for a well thought-through reason and organised in such a fashion to create overarching thematic narratives or sequences that tell a story larger than the individual texts. However, not all manuscripts allow for such a reading, and even Huot and Busby sometimes try so hard to explain the logic behind the contents and organisation of a collection of texts, that it might seem somewhat forced. The late-thirteenth-century manuscript F-CH 472 is known to contain the largest surviving collection of epigonal romances and also transmits fragments of the prose *Perlesvaus*, which lacks its ending in this book, and several branches of the *Roman de Renart*. Its precise contents are as follows: *Les Merveilles de Rigomer* (Jehan), *L'Âtre Périlleux*, *Erec et Enide* (Chrétien de Troyes), *Fergus* (Guillaume le Clerc), *Hunbaut*, *Le Bel Inconnu* (Renaut de Beaujeu), *Le Vengeance Raguidel* (Raoul), *Yvain* (Chrétien de Troyes), *Lancelot* (Chrétien de Troyes), *Perlesvaus*, and parts of the *Roman de Renart*. Lori Walters, an important critic of CH

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[150] Huot 1987.
[151] Busby 2002.

472, believes that the collection is intended to be a cycle centred around and intended to enhance the image of the Arthurian character Gauvain (Gawain), and each text shows a different side of this Knight of the Round Table.[152] The most dubious may be *Renart*, who Walters believes to symbolise the "animal Gauvain". Busby persuasively shows how the Arthurian romances work together, how certain themes and tropes recur, and how "the adventures from text to text constitute an attempt to restore through the actions of individual knights the collective reputation of Arthur's court, an attempt that is ultimately destined to remain unresolved".[153] Many of these romances are incomplete at their beginning and their ending, which creates smoother transitions between the texts, and one text can serve as a prologue for the next. This fine example of "compilatio and conjointure" suggests that the texts are meant to be read in sequence, and that they are compiled together purposefully in order to create a bigger narrative. However, Busby struggles to explain the presence of the *Roman de Renart*. In a perhaps stubborn attempt to justify the inclusion of this allegorical satire, he writes: "*Le Roman de Renart* provides both a complement and contrast, a counter-cycle, to the Gauvain material."[154] CH 472 is arguably homogeneous in its contents, with the exception of *Renart* which appears to stand out. Had Busby restricted his argument to all other texts in the manuscript without trying so hard to include *all* texts, he may have been more convincing. With so much evidence of intentional organisational principles in the contents and the "compilatio and conjointure" of the texts, it is clear that CH 472 is not and was never meant to be a miscellany, but this does not necessarily imply that *every* text is there for the same reason, and it seems to me that although the manuscript has a largely anthological character, the *Roman de Renart* may well have been included outside the central theme or overarching narrative and without the intention of it being part of the anthological *raison d'être* of the book.

As stated in the Introduction, Sylvia Huot is one of the few scholars to have taken into account all of fr. 12786 rather than merely considering a single text. This manuscript is one of two case studies she uses to illustrate two different kinds of thematic unity: Huot argues that fr. 12786's collection is centred around a single text, while F-Pn fr. 24428 serves to exemplify linear progression. This latter manuscript, made in the thirteenth century, contains the following texts: *Image du Monde*, *Li Volucraires*, *Li Bestiaire Divin* (Guillaume le Clerc), an allegorical lapidary, *Fables d'Ysopet* (Marie de France), and finally a treatise on sin and penance. Huot's explanation of the combination and order of these texts is convincing: *Image du Monde* describes the world; the three allegorical texts that follow present the "hidden reasons" for what is described in the first text (the first of birds and trees, the second of the animals, and the third

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[152] Walters 1994-1.
[153] Busby 2002: p. 410.
[154] Busby 2002: p. 406.

of stones); the birds and animals then come to life in the fables, which are also moralistic; and the volume closes with the treatise that makes the reader think about his or her own life.[155]

The collection of fr. 12786 is not linear like the one in fr. 24428, but Huot argues that it has a central text, the *Roman de la Rose*, and that the others are there to support it. The centrality of the book's most famous text both in place, and, according to Huot, in meaning, is a reason for her to believe that the present codicological ordering of the three units is the one that was intended by the manuscript makers. Many texts in fr. 12786 are related to the *Rose* in a number of different ways: the *Roman de la Poire* is modelled on and overtly inspired by the *Rose*, uses the same themes and characters, and the same narrative techniques; the *Bestiaire d'Amours* likewise shares the theme of love and the use of allegory with the text which follows it in the manuscript, and, according to Huot, this text is "a similar example of the conflation with a literary form normally associated with a more learned tradition".[156] An argument can also be made for the inclusion of the dream treatise in order to increase understanding of one of the *Rose*'s main themes – this romance takes place within a dream in its entirety – and the *Ordre d'Amours* which explains the great theme of the *art d'amors*. Had Huot left her analysis here, she would have been very convincing, but, much like Busby's reading of CH 472, Huot attempts to fit *all* texts into her interpretation of the collection, and finds explanations for the inclusion of the other texts in the presence of the *Roman de la Rose* that may seem somewhat farfetched: the *son poitevin* and the "motets" (sic) expand on the lyrical quality of the *Rose*, the *Bestiaire*, and the *Poire*, and resonate with the *refrains* in the latter romance, an explanation which seems to place the *Poire*, rather than the *Rose*, in the centre of the collection; the lapidary shares the narrative technique of allegory with the *Rose*, which justification implies that this text could equally have been any other allegorical text; *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist*, an almanac predicting the future, and *Le Lunaire de Salomon* share the theme of prophecy, arguably mainly with each other but less so with the *Rose*; the two religious poems describe spiritual rather than secular love, and honour the "rose without thorns"; and the figures of Aristotle in *Le Dit d'Aristote* and Salomon in the lunary are, according to Huot, the "lyrico-didactic tenor of the collection".

Apart from the central location of the *Roman de la Rose* in the current collation of fr. 12786, there is no evidence within the manuscript to suggest that the compilers had in mind such a significant position for this text, and based on the intertextual connections presented by

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[155] Huot 1987: pp. 15-16.

[156] Huot 1987: p. 16-18. Also see: Marchello-Nizia 1984: pp. lix-lxiv. In his linguistic study of the *Roman de la Rose* of 1891 Ernest Langlois says that the author of the *Roman de la Poire* "a donc connu la première partie du *Roman de la Rose*, mais pas la seconde" (knew the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* but not the second). This is particularly interesting in the case of fr. 12786 that not only transmits these two texts, but indeed only contains the part of the *Rose* that Langlois believes was the inspiration for the *Poire*. Langlois 1914: p. 8.

Huot, the *Roman de la Poire* may be an even better candidate for such a function than the text on which it was modelled. Equally, if links between texts may be as broad as 'the use of allegory' that is found in both or a contrast between secular and spiritual love, any other text in fr. 12786 may serve as the central point in a similar argument. Of course, the texts are related to each other through these narrative techniques and central themes, but because such connections can be found easily in any collection, we should be wary of forming conclusions based on them. Scholars have offered very diverse interpretations of certain manuscripts, each of them arguing why a book is an anthology rather than a miscellany and each attempting to explain the compilers' choices. The fact that there are so many different 'solutions' for many manuscripts, shows that "order is being found in diversity", as Jason O'Rourke notes.[157] By connecting all texts to the *Rose* and not to each other, Huot places this famous text too much and unduly in the centre of the collection. Rather, it will be more fruitful to see how certain texts in fr. 12786 work together, but without attempting too hard to force everthing in one all-encompassing interpretation.

Thus, while it is important to look for a structure in the combination of texts in a collection, it is crucial to keep in mind that not all manuscripts are anthological, more or less organised, or even "somehow the product of unifying controlling intelligences working so subtly that their latest strategies have hitherto escaped notice", but some are simply miscellaneous.[158] It requires some care not to fall into the trap that is the human desire to find structure in chaos that might provoke the discovery of anthological unity where this was never intended. As Pearsall writes about a paper presented by Stephen Nichols in the conference *The Whole Book* in 1993, for example: "He declared himself to be 'looking for principles of order' in a French lyric compilation (US-NYpm MS 819), and not surprisingly he found them, though in the process he comes close to overstraining one's credulity."[159] Perhaps miscellaneity should be considered a more positive term; "there is much pleasure and reward to be found in examining collections that are brought together by choice and chance unpredictably mixed."[160]

3.2. "Spasms of Planning"

As said above, collections of diverse texts which are neither miscellaneous nor anthological, but rather are something in between, are common. Often, there are partial anthological tendencies in groups of texts while the collection as a whole can more easily be seen as miscellaneous.

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[157] O'Rourke 2005: p. 59.
[158] Pearsall 2005: p. 17.
[159] Pearsall 2005: p. 20.
[160] Pearsall 2005: p. 29.

Sequences of texts can be 'anthological units', in which the first text may introduce a theme that is troped in later texts, while later ones may offer a particular interpretation of earlier ones, and in this way such groups work together to cast a different light on the others within the sequence. Keith Busby refers to such sequences as "reading segments".[161] Although this kind of analysis is much less problematic than the search for overall anthological structures that include all texts within a book, it is not without its issues, as it implies that texts were read in the order in which they are copied in the manuscript, or at least that these groups of texts were read in their sequence, which, as argued in detail in Chapter 1, may not have been common practice. However, many manuscripts, including fr. 12786, show such groups or sequences, and looking into these may reveal more about the compilers' intentions.[162] Derek Pearsall wittily refers to such books as "largely unplanned collections with spasms of planning" and depending on their degree of organisation, they could likewise be classified as a Type 2 miscellany or an UMWELA (unorganised manuscript with an element of local anthologising).[163]

In his book, Busby describes a number of manuscripts which transmit groups of texts that could be interpreted as "reading segments", several of which are *manuscrits de jongleur* in which Busby calls these sequences "performance units".[164] F-Pn fr. 837, which was made in the second half of the thirteenth century, contains a larger number of *fabliaux* than any other surviving manuscript, as well as poems in praise of bakers, smiths, and merchants, *Le Chavalier au Barisel*, *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, and several "reading segments".[165] A clear example is a sequence consisting of *La Chastelaine de St Gilles*, *Jouglet*, *Les Trois Dames qui Troverent l'Anel*, and *L'Oustillement del Villain* which, as a group of texts, explores the theme of marriage. A sequence can consist of any number of texts, and those in this manuscript often combine at least one comic with at least one serious text around a certain theme or topic in order to shed light on both sides of the matter and to offer the possibility of a moral reading.[166] Finding such sequences in manuscripts of diverse content is often a much more useful way of looking at collections of texts, and may in many cases be much less anachronistic an activity than looking for overall structures and anthological organisations, and such an understanding of collections is much less disturbed by alterations to a book, as Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz

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[161] See: Busby 2002: p. 367.
[162] Busby focuses on manuscripts transmitting *chansons de geste*, epigonal Arthurian romances, and *fabliaux*, but his methodology can also be applied to manuscripts with other kinds of texts, such as those copied in fr. 12786.
[163] Pearsall 2005: p. 25.
[164] For example: F-Pn fr. 837 and CH-BEb 354. In such manuscripts, it is more plausible that texts were read and performed in sequences than it is in others which were read and used in more private circumstances.
[165] This manuscript will be discussed below in relation to fr. 12786.
[166] Busby 2002: pp. 439-43.

argue; "[t]he sequence of texts in a book is what it is, even in cases of composite manuscripts bound and perhaps misbound over the years to form a new 'recueil' or miscellany."[167]

A very different example of a manuscript with groups of texts is F-Pa 3516, made around the same time as fr. 837 or perhaps slightly earlier. It contains a large number of texts in sometimes two or three but usually four columns, clearly organised in broad categories: Biblical texts, hagiographies, and miracles; scientific texts; romances; didactic texts related to chivalry; chronicles and other historical texts; *Cristal et Clarie* (another romance); a group of *lais*; and finally a collection of *dits*.[168] The volume contains an index of its contents that was added not long after the production of the manuscript – probably in the fourteenth century – and this reference tool might have the same intended function as the clear organisation of the book's contents: to make it easier for a user to find a certain text.[169] Unlike the sequences in fr. 837, in which the texts work together to generate meaning and to clarify, explain, and illuminate each other, the groups in Pa 3516 are merely based on content and genre, and presented in a logical order. The function of these two kinds of textual grouping is, therefore, very different. It is important to keep in mind that the kind of grouping based on contentual similarity between two or more texts may be the result of a deliberate anthological decision on the part of the compilers of the manuscript, but may equally be the unconscious result of copying texts in blocks that come from one and the same exemplar.

A tendency towards a similar kind of organisation to that in Pa 3516 can also be observed in fr. 12786. Table 3.1 below sets out the contents of the manuscript again in the order in which they are currently bound. The thirteen textual units (the song collection will here be considered as one unit) can be roughly divided into five broad categories: romances (the *Roman de la Poire*, the *Besitiare d'Amours*, and the *Roman de la Rose*); scientific texts (the lapidary, the lunary, the dream treatise, and the almanac); musical (the *son poitevin*, the song collection, and the *Roman de la Poire* with its *refrain* insertions); moralising (most importantly the *Ordre d'Amours* and *Le Dit d'Aristote*); and devotional (*La Trinitiez* and *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame*).[170] A short introduction to each of these texts will explain these rough categories.

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[167] Busby, Kleinhenz 2015: p. 223.

[168] Busby 2002: p. 465.

[169] When a manuscript contains an index that was added by the scribe of the book, rather than by someone later as is the case for Pa 3516, it could be argued that this speaks against the idea of reading sequences discussed above, as this tool would enable and perhaps even encourage the readers of the manuscript to seek out individual texts in isolation, and texts are less likely to be read as a group in the order in which they are presented in the collection.

[170] Other studies, most notably the *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, have placed some of these texts in different categories or genres. For example, dream treatises and almanacs are not considered to be as scientific as lunaries and lapidaries but are treated as astrological texts instead. Vol. VI/I, pp. 127-29. Of course, each text can easily be classified in different ways. However, I believe that for this purpose the categories given work best.

The two devotional texts are both invocations of the Blessed Virgin and are highly similar in content. *La Trinitiez Nostre Dame* (ff. 87v-90v) is a three-part octosyllabic poem consisting of prayers, and *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* (ff. 90v-92r), which used to be attributed to Rutebeuf but is now considered to be of too superior a quality, describes important moments in the Virgin Mary's life.[171] Marian devotion was very widespread at the time in which fr. 12786 was produced, and texts such as these two are found in a very high portion of manuscripts with diverse contents.

Le Dit d'Aristote and the *Ordre d'Amours* are here considered to be primarily moralising texts, as both guide the reader on living a better life.[172] They do so in different ways. In *Le Dit d'Aristote* (ff. 92r-92v), Rutebeuf claims to have translated Aristotle's teachings to Alexander and gives moral advice on everyday life, teaching his readers that merit is of greater importance than birth, that nobility is not a matter of birth but of character, and shows the significance of generosity. These teachings are directed to an unnamed prince, presumably the future King Philip III the Bold.[173] The *Ordre d'Amours* (ff. 84v-87v) is a *unicum* which likewise teaches its readers how to behave in life, and especially in love, but it presents its lessons allegorically as if they were a set of monastic rules for the fictional Order of Love. The narrator refers to himself as Nichole, who is therefore considered to be the author, though who he was remains unknown.[174] The abbess who is the head of the abbey is told to be sweet and ladylike, to be a good and faithful lover, and to be a role model for everyone in the abbey. These people are told not to gossip, slander, boast, or lie, and they should be graceful, charming, generous to the poor, kind to strangers, and, above all, faithful. Faithful can be interpreted in two ways: a faithful lover – someone who does not deceive their loved one(s) – or someone having faith in God.

Le Lunaire de Salomon (ff. 92c-98v) and *Le Livre des Pierres* (ff. 24v-30v) are scientific texts; they provide information about the different stages of the moon, and about the qualities and peculiarities of particular precious stones respectively, and thus explain how the natural world works. *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes Fist* (ff. 82v-83r) and the *Explication des Songes* (ff. 83r-84v) are here likewise treated as scientific texts. Both are predictive texts, the first being an almanac setting out for the reader what will happen in each year, and the second a dream treatise which explains the meaning of each dream vision and

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[171] See: Zink 1989, Vol II: pp. 461-77.
[172] Adler 1970: p. 407. *Le Dit d'Aristote* is categorised as a political satire in the *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, but in this context, it is more helpful to see it as a moralising text, as much like the *Ordre d'Amours* it advises on how to live a good life. The two texts are, however different, very similar in this respect, and therefore form a discrete category that sets them apart from the other texts in fr. 12786.
[173] See: Zink 1989, Vol. II: pp. 405-11.
[174] It has been suggested that Nichole might be Nicole de Margival, but this identification is problematic: it seems that the only piece of evidence for this suggestion is the personal name given in the text. See Segre 1970: p. 165.

describes what will happen in the life of the dreamer. The two have, therefore, much in common. Both texts are *unica*.

The *Roman de la Poire* (ff. 1r-24v), the *Roman de la Rose* (ff. 43r-75v), and the *Bestiaire d'Amours* (ff. 31-42) are romances and in contrast to all other texts in fr. 12786 with the exception of the song collection and the *son poitevin* they are not primarily didactic. The allegorical contents, however, have a semi-didactic quality. These three texts are considerably longer than the others in the manuscript, which is another significant disparity between this category and the others. The less-didactic function of these romances and their length are the most important reasons for this category to stand out most: this group differs much more from the other texts than they do from each other.

Table 3.1: Contents of fr. 12786

Folios	Text	Main edition(s)
First unit:		
ff. 1r-24v	*Le Roman de la Poire* (Messire Thibaut)	Marchello-Nizia 1984
ff. 24v-30v	*Le Livre des Pierres* (anonymous)	Hue 1975; Pannier 1882
Second unit:		
ff. 31r-42v	*Li Bestiaire d'Amours* (Richard de Fournival)	Segre 1957
f. 42v	*Son poitevin* (anonymous)	Raynaud 1955
ff. 43r-75r	*Le Roman de la Rose* (Guillaume de Lorris; anonymous continuation)	E.g. Strubel 1992 (after fr. 12786 and fr. 378)
f. 75v		
Third unit:		
ff. 76r-82r	Song collection (Adam de la Halle; anonymous)	Genrich 1964; Van den Boogaard 1969
ff. 82v-83r	*Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist* (anonymous)	Camus 1891
ff. 83r-84v	*Explication des Songes* (anonymous)	Camus 1893-1895
ff. 84v-87v	*L'Ordre d'Amours* (Nichole)	Iburg 1912
ff. 87v-90v	*La Trinitiez Nostre Dame* (anonymous)	Levy 1887; Sonet 1956
ff. 90v-92r	*Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* (anonymous)	Zink 1990; Mustanoja 1952
ff. 92r-92v	*Le Dit d'Aristote* (Rutebeuf)	Zink 1990
ff. 92v-98v	*Le Lunaire de Salomon* (anonymous)	Méon 1823 (reprinted in 1976) (after fr. 12786)

As can be seen in Table 3.1, some of these categories are indeed grouped together in the manuscript, most notably the two devotional texts and the two predictive scientific ones. Moreover, the three romances are interrupted only by the lapidary and the very short *son poitevin* – which may have been a mere space filler – and if the first two units had been in reversed order, the three texts would have been grouped together: the volume would have opened with the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, followed by the famous *Roman de la Rose* and the *Roman de la Poire* which was modelled on the romance it would have followed. The lapidary would be much closer to the other didactic texts in the manuscript. This is a reason to believe that perhaps

the manuscript makers intended the now middle unit to be at the beginning of the volume.[175] In this hypothetical order of the units, the collection would start with the romances and end with the didactic texts, which is the same arrangement as the collection of Pa 3516, as well as many other manuscripts transmitting a collection of diverse content.

Most of the didactic texts are anonymous, yet the name Rutebeuf is linked to two of them: *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* and *Le Dit d'Aristote*. Although the attribution to this poet of *Les IX Joies* is no longer accepted by literary scholars, it was believed for a long time that he was the composer of this work.[176] Importantly, the poem is included in the late thirteenth-century F-Pn fr. 1635, whose first codicological half (ff. 1r-84v) transmits just over fifty of the total of fifty-six poems that are attributed to Rutebeuf, and may have been intended to be an *opera omnia* as nothing else is copied in this part of the book, a fact which implies that people at the time at least did believe that *Les IX Joies* was one of Rutebeuf's poems.[177] Rutebeuf was born in Champagne probably in the mid-thirteenth century and he was active between c. 1270 and c. 1285. It is likely that he had been trained as a clerk, and it is believed that he lived and worked in Paris, whose scribally active culture may have contributed to the fame and reputation of the poet. His works were copied frequently and no fewer than thirty-six manuscripts survive transmitting his poems.[178] Rutebeuf is known for his somewhat theatrical religious, moralistic, and political-satirist poetry in which he is often himself the central topic and in which he even refers to his own name from time to time.[179] Almost everything that is known about his life is based on the contents of his poems: he tells about his marriage to an old, ugly, poor woman, about losing an eye, about having a child, and about struggling to make enough money. Such themes fit well within the tradition in which Rutebeuf worked:

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[175] As discussed in Chapter 1, the palaeographical difference at the beginning of what is now the second codicological unit (the lighter ink and more carefully written script) would not stand out as much if that unit had opened the collection.

[176] The important edition of Rutebeuf's complete works by Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, for example, still includes this poem. See: Faral, Bastin 1959-60. Also see Tauno F. Mustanoja's article about this work: Mustanoja 1952. Zink 1989, Vol II: pp. 461-77. Interestingly, a post-medieval user of fr. 12786 added Rutebeuf's name to *Le Dit d'Aristote* but not to *Les IX Joies*, which might suggest that this person already doubted the attribution, although many other possible explanations can be made. *Les IX Joies* has previously been attributed to Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Nicholas Bozon. See: Mustanoja 1952: pp. 5-6; 35-40.

[177] The second codicological half (ff. 85r-181v) transmits the *Roman d'Alexandre*, which is here incomplete. It is plausible that the manuscript is composite and also likely that the very homogeneous Rutebeuf section was intended to stant on its own.

[178] US-BEb 106, t. 1 (f. 105r-105v); B-Br 9106; B-Br 9411-9426; GB-Ccc 63; GB-Ce I.4.31 (ff. 28v-30r); GB-Cu Dd. 11.78 (ff. 45-46b); F-CHch 475 (1578); F-CV 271 (ff. 1v-2r); GB-CHEp 3643 (now in private possession); GB-Lbl Addit. 16975; GB-Lbl Addit. 44949; GB-Lbl Addit. 46919; GB-Lbl Harley 4333; GB-Mr fr. 3; GB-Ob Mus.d. 143; F-Pa 2766; F-PA 3123; F-Pa 3124; F-Pa 3142; F-Pa 5201; F-Pn fr. 371; F-Pn fr. 837; F-Pn fr. 1553; F-Pn fr. 1593; F-Pn fr. 1634; F-Pn fr. 1635; F-Pn fr. 12467; F-Pn fr. 12483; F-Pn fr. 24432; F-Pn fr. 25545; F-Pn lat. 16537; F-Pn Moreau 1727; F-Psg 1131; F-RS 1275; and I-Tn L.V. 32 (burnt). See Zink 1989 : pp. 1-19.

[179] For example: "Rutebeuf qui est dit de 'rude' et de bœuf" (Rutebeuf is pronounced as 'rude', rough, and 'bœuf', cow or beef); "Rutebeuf, qui travaille beaucoup" (Rutebeuf who works much). See: Zink 1989, p. 3.

> A cette époque, la poésie des goliards mêle les considérations morales, les traits satiriques et les prétendues confidences de la misère et du désir, tandis que la vérité dont est porteuse la fiction allégorique prétend se révéler par le truchement de l'expérience intime du poète (...) (At that time, the poetry of the goliards mixed moral considerations with satirical traits and the alledged secrets of misery and desire, while the truth, carried by allegorical fiction, pretends to reveal itself through the interpretation of the personal experiences of the poet.).[180]

This tradition developed into the allegorical romance tradition in which the *Roman de la Rose* originated, a historical development which links Rutebeuf to the three romances in fr. 12786.[181] An interesting fact is that Rutebeuf himself never composed any love poems, which may have been entirely unique for a French poet of his time.[182]

Les IX Joies Nostre Dame and *Le Dit d'Aristote* are copied together in fr. 12786. One explanation for this is that the two texts were copied from the same exemplar, possibly one containing Rutebeuf's poems only. The survival of fr. 1635 does suggest that such collections may have existed and circulated, making this theory altogether plausible.[183] However, more interesting is the idea that the compilers had in mind a "reading segment" in which texts work together, such as those in fr. 837. The two devotional poems are embraced by the two moralising texts, and this may not be coincidental. *L'Ordre d'Amours* is, in essence, an *enseignement* teaching its readers how to behave in their love life. The moral advice is however set in an allegorical and metaphorical context, that of the fictional monastic Order of Love. Although the underlying message containing the guidance for the reader's love life is clear to any reader both nowadays and at the time in which the text was made, this setting creates an additional layer of meaning and introduces through the combination of the main topic, love, and the monastic background the theme of spiritual love. This is then developed in the two texts praising the Blessed Virgin, herself often seen as a symbol of spiritual love. *Le Dit d'Aristote* brings its meaning back to earth and teaches about living a good life. However, in light of the religious material which it follows, this message is more spiritual than it would have been when read on its own. The four texts, then, work together to form a spiritual-moralistic sequence guiding the reader towards living well in every way.

Many texts in fr. 12786 make use of allegory. Allegory is a narrative technique which uses metaphorical personifications in order to explore often weighty themes, such as life and death. The written word is therefore symbolic and expresses a more or less hidden layer of meaning, or in Quintilian's definition in his *Institutio Oratoria*, a large work on the theory of

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[180] Zink 1989: p. 20.
[181] See: Zink 1989: pp. 19-20.
[182] See: Zink 1989: pp. 1-2.
[183] The two poems are not next to each other in fr. 1635: *Le Dit d'Aristote* starts on f. 3 and *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* on f. 43.

rhetoric composed in the first century, allegory is something that "means one thing in the words, another in sense."[184] The *Roman de la Rose* and the *Roman de la Poire* contain a large number of allegorical personifications of vices and virtues, of love, of virginity, and many other matters of comparable nature. Allegory is also used in some of the texts in the song collection. The *Bestiaire d'Amours* is presented as a bestiary, a scientific text in which the qualities and peculiarities of animals are described, but here each animal becomes itself an allegory of love. In a less direct manner, the descriptions of the stones in the lapidary can likewise be interpreted as allegorical.[185] In this sense, the two texts are very similar: both are lists of descriptions of things in the natural world, and both have an underlying layer of meaning about larger matters in life, but because one quality is more important in the first and the other in the second text, the two often fall into different categories or genres. Perhaps the compilers of fr. 12786 noticed their similarities and deliberately grouped them. The presence of *Le Livre des Pierres* in the first part of the manuscript consisting of the two units primarily transmitting romances might be explained in this way: when approached as a "reading segment", the three romances highlight the allegorical qualities in the lapidary, qualities which may have remained more obscured had the text been situated in between other primarily didactic texts.

The *Ordre d'Amours* is, as mentioned above, likewise an allegorical text, but it shares something more important with the *Bestiaire*: both are texts that pretend to be one thing, a scientific bestiary and a set of monastic rules respectively, but are really something else, a love letter, and a moral teaching, in a transparent manner. In this sense, aside from using allegory as a narrative technique, they are themselves a form of allegory: what is said is clearly not what is meant. These disguises are playing with the idea of reality, something that is explored through the dream theme in *l'Explication des Songes* and the *Roman de la Rose*. The first literally sets dream and reality side by side by presenting the dream vision and giving an interpretation for each, but even this interpretation was, presumably, not meant to be taken word for word, and was to be understood as symbolic for something else, a more real reality. Readers could find in the text different ways in which realities are represented. The story in the *Rose* takes place inside a dream, which means that it is even further removed from reality than any other romance or other fictional work, but at the same time it represents a moral truth that can be read precisely because of the dream scenario and the use of allegory.

On the same spectrum between dream or metaphor and reality or truth are wisdom texts.[186] Such texts, which mean to convey a "truth" or wisdom often combined with moral lessons, heavily rely on a credibility which is attained through claims always made within the texts themselves, sometimes overtly, sometimes in more implicit ways, but regardless of how,

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[184] Quoted in: Finke 1987: p. 51. The medieval use of allegory copies the classical tradition.
[185] See: Everist 1996: p. 74.
[186] In the broad rather than the biblical sense of the word. See Weeks 2010: pp. 1-7.

the text requires an authority to convince its readers of its reliability. One explicit way of claiming authority is based "on the credentials of an individual with whom the advice is associated", so-called *sages hommes*.[187] By the time fr. 12786 was made, however, this had become a cliché that would have been expected in any such text. There are three texts in fr. 12786 which use this technique: *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophet Fist*, *Le Dit d'Aristote*, and *Le Lunaire de Salomon*. Ezechiel, Aristotle, and Salomon act as authoritative experts who provide the teachings with credibility. *Le Livre des Pierres* relies on the authority of the Bible. The introduction of the text explains which stones are named by God as told by Him to Moses (*Sarde*, *Topace*, *Esmeraude*, *Rubi*, *Saphir*, *Jaspe*, *Ligure*, *Achate*, *Amatiste*, *Grisolite*, *Oniche*, and *Beri*), which stones God spoke of to Saint John (*Jaspe*, *Saphir*, *Calcedoine*, *Esmeraude*, *Sardoine*, *Sarde*, *Crisolite*, *Beril*, *Topace*, *Crisophas*, *Jagonce*, and *Ametiste*), and which are found in the breastplate of Aaron. Even though the stones are chosen because of their functions in the Bible, the text describes them in a mostly scientific way, providing information about what they look like, where they are found, what their symbolic meaning is, and what the Bible says about them.[188]

Additionally, there are thematic connections between certain texts in fr. 12786, such as that of prophecy, pointed out by Sylvia Huot, which connects the almanac and the dream treatise to the lunary and, in a different way, to the *Roman de la Rose*. Parts of the natural world are central in the lapidary and the lunary but also in the *Roman de la Poire*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, while the song collection, the *son poitevin*, and the *Poire* are musical texts. These are examples of a very extensive list of intertextual relations that can be found in fr. 12786, and some of them may have been on the minds of the manuscript makers during the compilation of the collection. In particular the "reading segments" and the large thematic relations between certain texts may well be the result of deliberate decisions. However, not all of the texts can be forced into an organisational explanation and justification of the collection, and not all are as strongly related or linked to the other texts in the volume as others are. Fr. 12786, therefore, is not a miscellany, but neither is it an anthology. The analysis above shows that "spasms of planning" or local anthologising tendencies can indeed be observed.

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[187] Weeks 2010: p. 4.
[188] Pannier 1882: pp. 291-97. This edition takes fr. 12786 as its base text, while fr. 2008 and fr. 2009 are also taken into account.

3.3.   Other Witnesses

The analysis of the organisation of the collection in fr. 12786 casts light on the intentions of the manuscript makers. Such books with diverse contents but local anthological sequences and intertextual connections were very common at the time in which fr. 12786 was made. They often contain a combination of a small number of romances and a large number of shorter, didactic texts, exactly as is seen in fr. 12786. "The more didactic a work, the less likely it is to have any literary merit or interest, or so it is often thought", Keith Busby writes, "Yet in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, such literature was in the mainstream and not on the periphery of the cultural enterprise."[189] The rest of this chapter will focus on a number of such collections by comparing fr. 12786 to manuscripts transmitting a concordance. This will cast light onto how these texts have been preserved and come down to us. The textual dissemination and circulation of these, or, in the case of *unica*, very similar texts in manuscripts that show important parallels to fr. 12786 as well as in those that transmit very different sorts of collections gives an insight into the texts themselves as well as into the scribal traditions of which these texts were part. The texts will be discussed individually in the four broad categories outlined above: devotional, moralising, scientific, and romance.[190] The circulation of the texts in the song collection and the *son poitevin* will receive more attention in the next chapter, and will for that reason not be discussed in the final part of the current chapter.

La Trinitiez Nostre Dame survives in at least twenty-four other manuscripts. Jean Sonet lists twelve of these in his 1956 book *Répertoire d'Incipit de Prières en Ancien Français*, but the number of known witnesses has doubled since then.[191] Most concordant manuscripts are fifteenth-century Books of Hours, first belonging to dukes or noblewomen in different parts of

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[189] Busby 2002: p. 195.

[190] Because the romances are those texts which have been studied most often it may be expected that they are treated first. However, because the more obscure texts may cast more light on collections such as the one transmitted in fr. 12786, the didactic texts will be considered first.

[191] See: Långfors 1977: p. 7; Sonet 1956: p. 85. Sonet lists twelve concordant sources that are said to contain the second part of *La Trinitiez Nostre Dame*: F-CHRm 546 (Book of Hours); F-E 96 (230) (Book of Hours); F-Pi 547 (Book of Hours); F-Pn fr. 837; F-Pn lat. 1159 (Book of Hours); F-Pn lat. 1362 (Book of Hours); F-Pn lat. 1425 (Book of Hours); F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 4510; F-Pn n.a.lat. 1013; F-Psg 2702 (Book of Hours); F-T 1971; and D-W Extravag. 268. See: *Catalogue et ouvrages généraux sur les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres*: <http://www.manuscrits-de-chartres.fr/sites/default/files/fileviewer/documents/bibliographie/chartres-bibliographie-par-ms-2015-12-18.pdf> (Accessed: September 2016); Anonymous (2) 1840: p. 107; Anonymous (4) 1861, Vol 3: pp. 437-38; Anonymous (9) 1939, Tome 1: pp. 424-25; pp. 511-12; 537-38; *Catalogue en ligne des archives et des manuscrits de l'enseignement supérieur*: <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/bsg.aspx#details?id=BSGC10370> (Accessed: September 2016). Other manuscripts also containing *La Trinitiez* are: GB-Cfm 63, F-CV 58, NL-DHk 78 J 49, DK-Kk Thott 543, F-MEL 12, F-ME 600 (Book of Hours), F-NAm 35 (245) (Book of Hours), F-Pn n.a.f. 10044, F-Psg 2688, F-TOm 231, A-Wn 1855, and A-Wn 2026 (Book of Hours).

France. These books do not tell us much more about fr. 12786; they are a different kind of collection, were made at least a century later, and will therefore not be discussed here.

By far the most interesting source for comparison not only for this text, but for fr. 12786 as a whole, is the already-discussed F-Pn fr. 837, a collection as diverse in content as fr. 12786.[192] This thirteenth-century manuscript was one of Keith Busby's clearest examples of collections containing "reading segments". Its almost two-hundred-and-fifty texts, copied onto three-hundred-and-sixty-two folios, will not be listed here; they are so many that such a list would prevent rather than permit clarity. It is however important to note that the book contains the second part of *La Trinitiez Nostre Dame* (f. 141r-144v) as well as *Le Lunaire que Salemons fist* (f. 100), and *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* (f. 179r-180r), and thus shares three texts with fr. 12786. The collection in fr. 837 consists of practical or scientific, didactic or moralising, and religious or devotional texts (most of which are of the same kind as *La Trinitiez* and *Les IX Joies*), *dits*, *lais*, romances, texts about dreams, about love, about animals, wisdom texts allegedly by *sages hommes* such as Aristotle, Solomon, and Ezechiel, and it even contains a song, *Petit t'est de mes maus* (f. 357) for which spaces were left blank for musical notation.

The number of parallels with fr. 12786 is remarkable: the collections contain similar texts and even three concordances; both volumes were copied by a single scribe; neither manuscript has been completely finished; and in spite of the impressive length of fr. 837, neither has an index. Fr. 837 transmits thirty-three poems by Rutebeuf, of which thirty-one are grouped, an interesting parallel with the two grouped texts by this author in fr. 12786.[193] However, fr. 837 is not a highly-illuminated manuscript, and apart from decorated opening initials for the texts, there are no embellishments to be found. Fr. 12786 would have been a more luxurious product once finished, and this possibly points to a difference in audience – as the highly-decorated book would have been more expensive – as well as a difference in use: Busby convincingly argues that fr. 837 is a *manuscript de jongleur*, a book used by a *jongleur* in his performances. He bases his argument on certain texts about and presumably intended for the ears of bakers, smiths, merchants, and other crafts- and tradesmen, as well as on the "reading segments" or "performance sequences" which would have the desired effect when performed by a *jongleur*. Additionally, several *fabliaux* and *dits* are themselves about *jongleurs*.[194] Nevertheless, it is striking how similar the two collections are when it comes to their content. Moreover, the comparison between fr. 837 and fr. 12786 shows that such collections of diverse content, especially Types 2 and 3 miscellanies, are not an unusual sort of home for texts such as *La Trinitiez* and *Les IX Joies*.

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[192] Unless stated otherwise, all information about this manuscript and about other manuscripts kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris has been taken from the Gallica website on which they have been digitised, if available. <http://gallica.bnf.fr>
[193] Zink 1989: p. 32.
[194] See: Busby 2002: pp. 439-43.

Les IX Joies Nostre Dame survives in no fewer than twenty-one other collections.[195] Based on the dating of the oldest surviving copies of the text, it is believed to have been composed between 1250 and 1270. The poem consists of twenty-six verses of eight lines each, but the scribe of fr. 12786 only copied twenty-five, of which three are incomplete, and apart from this, there are other scribal errors that could easily have been avoided, of which some are corrected by the scribe. Because the other texts in fr. 12786 are copied with many fewer errors, the mistakes in *Les IX Joies* were probably already present in the used exemplar. Because fr. 12786 seems to have been made in a large scribal centre, which will be argued in the next chapter, and because the text must have been reasonably widespread at the time, something that is implied by the relatively large number of surviving witnesses, it seems that the compilers did not put much care in the choosing of the exemplar for this text, and it suggests that perhaps this was a hasty decision. This raises questions about the intentions of the manuscript makers: did they have in mind a specific collection of texts and a precise organisation, or did they merely mean to include "some texts devoted to the Virgin Mary" at this point in the collection, regardless of which specific ones they were? The little evidence that is available seems to point towards the latter hypothesis.

Four other witnesses to *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* will here be discussed, the first two in detail, the second two in broader sense, as all four provide different examples of collections of diverse content in which combinations of various kinds of texts are copied alongside each other. These manuscripts are the late thirteenth-century F-Pa 3142, the perhaps slightly earlier F-Pn fr. 12467, GB-Lbl Add. 46919, which was made in the first half of the fourteenth century, and I-Tn L.V. 32, which was likewise produced in the late thirteenth century, and unfortunately destroyed by the fire in the Turin University Library in 1904, along with many other beautiful and unique books.

Pa 3142 was made in the final quarter of the thirteenth century and is decorated with initials in gold leaf and colour as well as with twelve small miniatures. This is not as many as the manuscript makers intended for fr. 12786, but it does imply that the manuscript is of a similar kind, especially when the contents are taken into account. Table 3.2 below sets out all the contents of the manuscript. The collection is a large one, comprising fifty texts. The opening text, *Cleomades* by Adenet le Roi, is a long romance that contains *refrain* insertions which were intended to be accompanied by musical notation that was never added, exactly like the opening romance in fr. 12786. As in fr. 12786, the longer texts are at the beginning of the collection, *Cleomades* with its seventy-two folios being the longest of all, and the shorter ones, some less

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[195] The other manuscripts transmitting *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* are: US-BEb 106, t. 1 (f. 105r-105v); GB-Ccc 63; GB-Ce I.4.31 (ff. 28v-30r); GB-Cu Dd. 11.78 (ff. 45-46b); F-CV 271 (ff. 1v-2r); GB-CHEp 3643 (now in private possession); GB-Lbl Addit. 16975; GB-Lbl Addit. 44949; GB-Lbl Addit. 46919; GB-Mr Fr. 3; GB-Ob Mus.d. 143; F-Pa 3142; F-Pa 5201; F-Pn fr. 837; F-Pn fr. 1635; F-Pn fr. 12467; F-Pn fr. 12483; F-Pn lat. 16537; F-Psg 1131; and I-Tn L.V. 32 (burnt).

than half a page, towards the end. This seems to be a tendency in many such manuscripts transmitting a collection of diverse content, and this scribal practice may have been a more significant reason for the compilers of fr. 12786, Pa 3142, and many other manuscripts, to open with the usually much longer romances and close with the shorter didactic texts than an anthological consideration. However, the devotional texts are grouped together between folios 285r-301r. Another clear organisational principle in Pa 3142 is the grouping of authors. It is remarkable that this interferes neither with the abovementioned principle of placing the long texts at the beginning and the short ones at the end, nor with the grouping of devotional texts. Adenet le Roi's texts are interrupted by two others, but the juxtaposition of the two by Reclus de Molliens, the two by Jean Bodel, and, most importantly, the large group of twenty texts by Baudouin de Condé near the very end of the collection, most of which are *dits*, is striking. It should be noted here that this may be the result of copying texts from single-author collections, or, in the case of the grouping of the devotional texts, from collections with a clear anthological theme. Intentional or not, there are several levels of organisation in Pa 3142, all of which can likewise be observed in fr. 12786, albeit on a smaller scale. The two manuscripts also share the interesting aspect of unfinishedness.

Table 3.2 : The contents of F-Pa 3142

Folios	Text	Author
1r-72v	*Cleomades*	Adenet le Roi
73r-120r	*Enfances Ogier*	Adenet le Roi
120v-141r	*Berte Aus Grans Piés*	Adenet le Roi
141r-166r	*Moralités des Philosophes*	Alars de Cambrai
166r-178v	Book of Job in verse	anonymous
179r-202v	*Bueves de Comarchis*	Adenet le Roi
203r-216v	*Miserere*	Reclus de Molliens
216v-227r	*Carité*	Reclus de Molliens
227r-229r	*Congés*	Jean Bodel
229r-255v	*Chanson des Saisnes*	Jean Bodel
256r-273r	Fables	Marie de France
273r-279v	*Proverbes au Villain*	anonymous
280r-281v	*Image du Monde*	Gossuin de Metz
281v-284v	*Quatre Soeurs*	Richard
284v-285r	*Moralité sur une Chanson de Carole*	anonymous
285r-285v	*Ave Maris Stella*	anonymous
286r-286v	*Dit d'Avarice*	anonymous
286v-287r	Prayers to the Virgin Mary	anonymous
287r-287v	*Salut à Notre Dame*	anonymous
287v-291v	Paternostre	anonymous
291v-292r	*ABC Plantefolie*	Plantefolie
292r-293r	*Mariage des Neuf Filles du Diable*	anonymous
293r-296r	*Dit de la Vigne*	Jean de Douai
296r-296v	*Les IX Joies Nostre Dame*	anonymous
296v-297v	*ABC Nostre Dame*	Ferrant
297v-299v	*Bible Nostre Dame*	anonymous

299v-300r	*Ave Maria*	anonymous
300r	Prayer	anonymous
300r	*Prière de Théophile*	Gautier de Coinci
300v-301r	*Ave Maria*	Baudouin de Condé
301r-302r	*Dit d'Envie*	Baudouin de Condé
302r-304r	*Conte du Bachelier*	Baudouin de Condé
304r-305r	*Dit du Garde-Corps*	Baudouin de Condé
305r-306v	*Manteau d'Honneur*	Baudouin de Condé
306v-307r	*Dit du Prud'homme*	Baudouin de Condé
307r-307v	*Dit de Gentilesse*	Baudouin de Condé
307v-309v	*Dit du Dragon*	Baudouin de Condé
309v-311r	*Dit du Pel*	Baudouin de Condé
311r	*Dit de la Pomme*	Baudouin de Condé
311r	*Dit du Fût*	Baudouin de Condé
311v-312r	*Dit des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs*	Baudouin de Condé
312r-313r	*Dit du Pélican*	Baudouin de Condé
313r-314v	*Dit d'Amour*	Baudouin de Condé
314v-316r	*Dit de la Rose*	Baudouin de Condé
316v	*Dit d'Amour Fine*	Baudouin de Condé
316v	*Dit du Monde et des Mondés*	Baudouin de Condé
316v-319r	*Dit des Hérauts*	Baudouin de Condé
319r	*Dit de la Chair*	Baudouin de Condé
319r-320r	*Dit de l'Avare*	Baudouin de Condé
320r-321v	*Proverbes de Sénèque*	anonymous

An interesting source for comparison with Pa 3142 is F-Pn fr. 12467, a volume with less than a third of the number of folios of Pa 3142 – which transmits twice as many texts – and consisting of as many pages as fr. 12786. It does, however, transmit many more texts than this manuscript. Its contents are set out in Table 3.3 below.[196] Not a single text in the beautifully decorated fr. 12467 is not also copied in Pa 3142, but the organisation of the collection is very different. Although the first text is still the longest one, the second longest is the closing text, *Berte aus Grans Piés*. Because there is only one codicological unit, this order cannot originally have been different; all texts are inextricably bound in their current order. There is no thematic organisation, and the devotional texts, *dits*, romances, and other genres, are mixed. Texts by the same author are not necessarily grouped together, although a cluster of five *dits* by Baudouin de Condé is found more or less in the centre of the collection. However, Pa 3142 and fr. 12467 contain a sequence of six texts that is exactly the same in both volumes: *Dit de la Vigne*, *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame*, *ABC Nostre Dame*, *Bible Nostre Dame*, *Ave Maria*, and Gautier de Coinci's prayer. Though the two manuscripts share twenty-seven concordances, the number of texts transmitted in fr. 12467, the differences in the organisation of the collections might at first sight make it unlikely that the two books are immediately related. However, because fr. 12467

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[196] The much later (after 1440) manuscript F-Psg 1131 transmits a similar collection to that in fr. 12467, though the devotional texts here focus on Saint Geneviève rather than on the Blessed Virgin. See: *Catalogue en ligne des archives et des manuscrits de l'enseignement supérieur*: <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/bsg.aspx#details?id=BSGC10370> (Accessed: September 2016).

predates Pa 3142 somewhat, it may be suggested that the compilers of the latter book did indeed use fr. 12467 as a source for just over half of its texts, while carefully adjusting their order where necessary in the interest of the more anthological organisation of the book's contents. Another plausible explanation for the corresponding sequence of six texts is that exemplars circulated transmitting this group in this order.

Table 3.3 : The contents of F-Pn fr. 12467

Folios	Text	Author
1r-48v	*Enfances Ogier*	Adenet le Roi
49r-50v	*Image du Monde*	Gossuin de Metz
50v-53v	*Quatre Soeurs*	Richard
53v-54r	*Moralité sur une Chanson de Carole*	anonymous
54v	*Ave Maria*	Baudouin de Condé
54v-55r	*Ave Maris Stella*	anonymous
55r-55v	*Salve Regina*	anonymous
55v	*Dit d'Avarice*	anonymous
55v-57v	*Conte du bachelier*	Baudouin de Condé
57v-58v	*Dit d'Envie*	Baudouin de Condé
58v-59r	Prayers to the Virgin Mary	anonymous
59r-59v	*Salut à Notre Dame*	anonymous
59v-61r	*Dit du Grade-Corps*	Baudouin de Condé
61r-62v	*Manteau d'Honneur*	Baudouin de Condé
62v-63r	*Dit du Prud'homme*	Baudouin de Condé
63r-63v	*Dit de Gentillesse*	Baudouin de Condé
63v-64v	*ABC Plantefolie*	Plantefolie
64v-65v	*Mariage des Neuf Filles du Diable*	anonymous
65v-67r	*Dit du Dragon*	Baudouin de Condé
67r-71r	*Pater*	Silvestre
71r-74r	*Dit de la Vigne*	Jean de Douai
74r-74v	*Les IX Joies Nostre Dame*	anonymous
74v-75v	*ABC Nostre Dame*	Ferrant
75v-77v	*Bible Nostre Dame*	anonymous
77v	*Ave Maria*	anonymous
78r-78v	*Prière de Théophile*	Gautier de Coinci
78v-98v	*Berte aus Grans Piés*	Adenet le Roi

A third manuscript transmitting *Les IX Joies* that contains a collection of apparently miscellaneous content, is GB-Lbl Add. 46919. It transmits a collection of treatises on topics varying from linguistics to falconry and knights' equipment, a group of what the British Library catalogue describes as "poems, prayers, and moral tales", sermons, songs devoted to the Virgin Mary, and recipes, all of which are in Anglo-Norman French, continental French, Latin, and Middle English. The manuscript was made in the first half of the fourteenth century, thus it is contemporary with fr. 12786.[197] *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* is part of "poems, prayers, and moral

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[197] See: "Detailed record for Additional 46919":
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19356> (Accessed: October 2016).

tales" which are indeed more or less grouped. The more practical texts in the book in particular, such as the recipes and the treatises, and also the appearance of what the catalogue describes as "a debate between mother and daughter on the choice of husband" give an insight into the character of the intended original audience: the treatises on specific topics, such as those on falconry and knights' equipment, point to the individual interests of the intended readers, or at least to the interests they wanted to appear to have, while the moralising texts provide information about the way they lived, the qualities they valued, and therefore also the socio-economic status to which they aspired. Manuscripts and the texts they transmit can give an insight into the personal tastes and interests of their intended owner.[198] Where this is the case, they say at least as much about the sort of person the owner wanted to seem to be as they do about the sort of person he or she actually was, particularly when it concerns such devotional or moralistic poetry as the kind we are dealing with here copied side by side with practical texts. Add. 46919, therefore, may be a very personal collection on the one hand, but shows remarkable parallels with a large number of other manuscripts with diverse contents on the other, implying that it is simultaneously part of a scribal tradition and following the eccentricities of an individual.

Even though the contents of Add. 46919 are similar to those of fr. 12786, the two manuscripts may not be compared easily: the multilingual collection was meant for an English audience that was not completely comfortable with reading in French, as is indicated by the presence of the French language treatise by Walter de Bibbesworth in this manuscript, and this shows that there is a difference in textual culture between the intended readers of both collections. However, "[m]anuscripts copied on one side of the Channel could circulate on the other, and scribes born and raised on one side of the Channel must have lived and worked on the other", indicating that the two cultures at least overlapped.[199]

The final witness to *Les IX Joies* discussed here is the Turin Manuscript. The collection consisted of mainly devotional texts, *dits*, as well as some primarily moralising texts, and contained a number of concordances with Pa 3142 and fr. 12467, such as the *Dit de la Vigne* (Jean de Douai), the *Dit d'Envie* (Baudouin de Condé), and of course also *Les IX Joies* (f. 111). The late thirteenth-century manuscript did not show any clear organisation, but rather the texts seemed to be arranged more arbitrarily, as are those in fr. 12467. It is striking that the same texts appear in all of these manuscripts, and that *Les IX Joies* is so often copied alongside the same *dits*, the same romances, and texts by the same authors. This implies that there is a more or less defined corpus of authors and specific texts that were copied in very similar manuscript collections with presumably very similar functions and audiences. Most of these collections are

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[198] This is not always the case. See for example Andrew Taylor's *Textual Situations* on the case of GB-Lbl Harley 978: Taylor 2002: pp. 76-136.
[199] Busby 2002: p. 23.

of diverse but not completely miscellaneous content in which the same texts are found alongside texts that are likely to have been chosen specifically to match the idiosyncracies of the intended owners. Most of these manuscripts were copied somewhat earlier than or at approximately the same time as fr. 12786 and thus appear to be part of a common tradition of compilation.

The two moralising texts in fr. 12786, *Le Dit d'Aristote* and the *Ordre d'Amours*, have very few concordances: the first survives in a single other witness, F-Pn fr. 1635, and the second is a *unicum*. Fr. 1635 will be discussed in some detail and compared to fr. 25566. Both manuscripts have already been introduced above: fr. 1635 transmits almost all texts attributed to Rutebeuf, while the parallels between fr. 12786 and fr. 25566 are so numerous that this manuscript is often used as a source for comparison in the present study. One of the two manuscripts transmitting a text that is related to the *Ordre d'Amours* will be discussed thereafter: F-CHRm 1036.

Fr. 1635 was made in the late thirteenth century and transmits fifty-one poems by Rutebeuf out of the fifty-six that are or were attributed to this poet, making it almost an *opera omnia*. It contains *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* and *Le Dit d'Aristote* (ff. 9r-9v). Apart from the Rutebeuf texts, the volume also transmits *L'Estoire du Roi Alixandre* by Lambert li Tort, a long text which takes up more than half of the manuscript. The two parts of the codex, the Rutebeuf collection and the Alexander story, were copied by different scribes, and in fact, there seems to be a codicological break between the two sections, which might very well imply that the Rutebeuf poems were supposed to stand on their own as a single-author volume.[200] This section is the reason why a comparison with fr. 25566 is interesting: the *Adam de la Halle Manuscript* after all, contains a famous single-author section that is Adam de la Halle's *opera omnia*.[201] The manuscript dates from the same time as fr. 1635, was made in Adam's home town Arras, and is

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[200] This observation is based on the digitised facsimile, in which such codicological matters are often difficult to discern. The differentiation between the two hands is in contradiction with what is written by García and Redoli, who do not distinguish between these two hands. "París, BnF, fr. 1635 (antiguo 7633); es un manuscrito formado de la unión del ya citado A y de otro B (que contiene veintiséis poemas del autor). Comprende cincuenta poemas de los cincuenta y seis que se atribuyen al escritor; las obras han sido copiadas a finales del XIII por dos escribas, aunque el primero sólo escribió la primera página y el segundo el resto." (Paris, BnF fr. 1635 (formerly 7633); is a manuscript formed from the union of the already mentioned A and the other B (which contains twenty-six poems by the author). It comprises fifty poems of the fifty-six attributed to the writer; the works were copied by two scribes at the end of the thirteenth century, although the first only copied the first page and the second the rest.) García, Redoli: p. 31. The difference in hands between the first folio and the rest of the single-author section of the manuscript, as well as that between this section and the Alexander history, the latter of which was overlooked by García and Redoli, can, however, clearly be seen even in the digitised facsimile.

[201] A quire containing Adam's songs copied in a different hand has been bound in with the manuscript and has been added to the beginning of the *opera omnia*, and all folios now have double foliation: the (inconsistent) original folio numbers start on 1 both within the separate quire and after it; and the later foliation in red ink which numbered the first folio of that quire f. 2, and the beginning of the original compilation f. 10.

known as "the earliest surviving single-author collection" of trouvère music.[202] The Adam collection consists of both lyric and narrative poetry by this author, which is an unusual combination that points out the determination to assemble an *opera omnia* by the compilers of the manuscript.[203] The *opera omnia* is interrupted precisely in the middle by the *Jeu de pelerin*, a poem not by, but about the author. This makes the collection itself more than a compilation of all the works by Adam, it becomes the story of Adam himself. The final poem is one about death, symbolising the end of the corpus section as well as the death of the author. This is, therefore, a fine example of how texts are deliberately placed in a certain sequence in order to convey another narrative, that of the life of the poet.

The compilers of fr. 1635 may have envisioned something similar, although it is less clear here. The more devotional texts are copied towards the end of the collection, perhaps intending to reflect the poet's increasing relationship with faith later in his life. Rutebeuf's oeuvre contains a number of seemingly autobiographic texts that would be ideal for making a collection such as this simultaneously by and about the author. These texts, *Repentance Rutebeuf* (ff. 2v-3r), *Povrete Rutebeuf* (f. 45r), *Mariage Rutebeuf* (f. 47r-47v), *Complainte Rutebeuf* (ff. 48r-49r), and the *Prière Rutebeuf* (f. 82r-82v) are indeed found in an order that is in line with a possible order of events in the author's life, with the important exception of the *Repentance*, which is about the poet's death, and would thus be expected to appear later in the collection, but instead is copied near the beginning. It may be an introduction to the *raison d'être* of the collection, and there are other possible explanations for this text to be copied so early in the book, but it certainly makes the idea of the collection being *about* Rutebeuf in the way that the *opera omnia* section in fr. 25566 is about Adam de la Halle less likely.

The main difference between fr. 25566 and fr. 1635 is that although both start with a single-author collection, and both collections are followed by something else, these two parts are very separate in fr. 1635, whereas Adam de la Halle's *opera omnia* is inextricably linked to the rest of fr. 25566: the opening text of the rest of this volume, *Li jus de saint Nicholai*, is copied in the same hand as the famous author's corpus, and it even starts in the same column. Adam's works are, through this manuscript, connected to the rest of the texts found in the volume, making it an entirely different sort of book.

The 'rest' of fr. 25566 transmits some familiar texts. That the *Besitiaire d'Amours* is copied in this manuscript was already mentioned in the first chapter; this text opens the second half of the collection, and is followed by, amongst other texts, *Le Renart le Nouvel* by Jacquemars Giéliée, a satirical romance with a large number of *refrain* insertions, several *dits* and other didactic texts by Baudouin de Condé, Nicole de Margival, and a number of poets who

[202] See: Huot 1987: p. 64. There is some evidence that there were earlier single-author collections of trouvère music, but they have not survived.
[203] Huot 1987: pp. 68-69.

have strong links to Arras, the city in which Adam de la Halle lived and worked. The presence of the same texts and texts by the same authors as those copied in other collections that share concordances with fr. 12786 suggests that these books are part of the same broad tradition of compilation. Important differences, however, are the single-author corpus at the beginning of fr. 25566, making this book of an altogether different nature, and an index that is present in this manuscript but not in fr. 12786, which makes it much easier to navigate through fr. 25566 not only by the intended owner who may have specifically ordered the manuscript to be made, but also by others, and which therefore adds a certain commercial and intellectual value to the book that is lacking in fr. 12786.

The *Ordre d'Amours* survives, as noted above, uniquely in fr. 12786. It was the inspiration for a fourteenth-century short poem also called the *Ordre d'Amours*, which begins "Nous qui desirons Dieu avoir; [Nous] devons par moult grant savoir."[204] This poem is found in at least two manuscripts: F-AI Rochegude 6, and F-CHRm 1036. The first of these books contains a large chansonnier with Provençal songs, the *Roman de la Poire*, a short didactic text (*Du verger et de l'arbre d'amour*), and the *Ordre d'Amours*. This collection, however, will not be taken into account here, as it was compiled in the nineteenth century and will therefore not be able to cast light on the contemporary textual tradition of the sort of text here discussed. In contrast, F-CHRm 1036 is a contemporary manuscript: it was made in the later fourteenth century. It contains an interesting variety of topics and genres, and proves to be a clear example of a collection of diverse contents containing didactic, moralising, scientific, and devotional texts, much like the third codicological unit of fr. 12786: besides the *Ordre d'Amours* it transmits a 'spiritual bestiary,' an astronomical text, a lapidary, several *dits*, a letter from a father to his son, which is a moralising text, *Joies de Nostre Dame*, several sermons, an *Ave Maria*, a Pater Noster, and a number of other devotional texts in prose and verse. There is no clear anthological organisation in this manuscript. Thus, even though the *Ordre d'Amours* is not a direct concordance, F-CHRm 1036 is a useful point of comparison for fr. 12786.

The four scientific texts in fr. 12786 can be divided into two smaller groups: those texts that provide information about a specific part of the natural world, in this case the moon and certain stones respectively, and two astrological texts that predict what will happen in the future, albeit in different ways. The nature and the contents of the collections in the manuscripts in which these same or very similar texts are transmitted are more or less the same for the natural-scientific as for the predictive texts that would nowadays be considered unscientific, suggests that these four texts may well have been considered equally scientific by a medieval audience. Of course, the term scientific is in itself anachronistic, but this is not very relevant in this

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[204] Långfors 1977: p. 234.

discussion; more important is that the four texts would have been read and perceived in very similar ways, and are therefore here considered to be one category. 'Scientific' then, should here be defined very broadly as 'conveying knowledge or wisdom', related to the etymology of the word.

Le Lunaire de Salomon is found at least eight other manuscripts, of which one is fr. 837, the very interesting collection that has already been discussed.[205] The other manuscripts provide an insight into how this text may have been used by its contemporary audience. They are collections of different kinds: some are manuscripts containing religious and moralistic texts as well as scientific texts, while others contain purely scientific collections. An example of the first type, GB-Ob Rawlinson F 241, will here be discussed. The clearest example of the second category is F-Pn fr. 2043, which will likewise be studied in some detail. F-RE 593 finds itself somewhere in between the two when it comes to its collection.

The Anglo-Norman manuscript Rawlinson F 241 was made at approximately the same time as fr. 12786 or somewhat earlier. It contains a number of texts of various kinds in Latin and French, described by the Bodleian Library catalogue as "theological notes and treatises" and "religious, moral and astronomical poems".[206] Devotional(-moralistic) texts in this collection include a sermon, *Miracles de la Vierge* (Evrard de Gately), the *Miroir de Sainte Eglise* (Edmond d'Abingdon), and the *Dialogue de l'Évêque Saint Julien et de son Disciple* (anonymous); and mainly moralistic texts in this collection are, for example, the *Proverbes de Bon Enseignement* (Nicole Bozon), the *Petite Philosophie* (anonymous), the *Manuel des Péchés* (William of Waddington) and the *Lettre d'Aristote à Alexandre* (anonymous). The manuscript also transmits more practical texts, such as notes "on the characters of each month and the proper diet for each" and a poem on the astrological character of the month June.[207] *Le Lunaire de Salomon* (ff. 246-257) is one of the few texts in the book which would still be considered scientific today, but matches well with the astrological texts, which were likewise scientific to a medieval readership, as argued above. Other texts with an authoritative *sage homme*, such as Aristotle, also provide a connection creating a comfortable context for the *Lunaire*. The closing text is a poem about the end of the world, suggesting that perhaps the compilers had in mind a broad anthological structure.

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[205] They are: A-Iu 478; GB-Ob Rawlinson F 241; F-Pn fr. 837; F-Pn fr. 2043; F-Pn fr. 15219; F-Pn lat. 15125, F-RE 593; and I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1420. There are other texts also called *Le Lunaire de Salomon*, but they are not the same text. For example, the three Anglo-Norman manuscripts GB-Lbl Royal 12.C.XII (ff. 77-81), GB-Ct O. 5.32 (ff. 25-28), and GB-WO Q. 61 (ff. 42-45) transmit a *Lunaire de Salomon*, a different text than the one in fr. 12786, though of similar content.

[206] See: "Rawlinson manuscripts (MSS Rawl. poet.)":
<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/rawlinson/rawlinson-poet.html>
(Accessed: October 2016).

[207] "Rawlinson manuscripts (MSS Rawl. poet.)":
<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/rawlinson/rawlinson-poet.html>
(Accessed: October 2016)

In contrast, RE 593 contains a collection of texts of a mainly encyclopaedic or scientific nature, as well as some texts that are somewhat less scientific. The book was made in 1303 or 1304.[208] The manuscript opens with a (religious) calendar and an astronomical table, and the majority of its other contents are presented in Table 3.4 below.[209] Several texts stand out: the *Regret Notre Dame* and the *Lucidaire* are of a devotional and theological nature respectively; such religious texts make the collection more diverse in its contents. The *Image du Monde* is a text which has already been mentioned above in manuscript collections of similar contents. The almanac, the *Prophéties de Merlin*, and the *Prophétie de la Sibylle* are reminiscent of the *Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophet Fist* and *l'Explication des Songes* in fr. 12786 because of their prophetic and predictive nature and their astrological genre. It is important to see that in other manuscripts, too, such texts are found alongside texts like the *Lunaire*. Most other texts in RE 593 are moralistic, and many are relatively widespread.

Table 3.4 : Contents of F-RE 593

Folios	Text	Author
9r-42v	Almanac	anonymous
43r-80v	*Image du Monde*	Gossuin de Metz
80v-82v	*Doctrinal Sauvage*	Sauvage
82v-86v	*Mappemonde*	Pierre de Bauvais
86r-89v	*Roman de Saint Fanuel*	anonymous
92v-93v	*Regret Notre Dame*	Huon le Roi
104r-163r	*Prophéties de Merlin*	anonymous
163r-165v	*Prophétie de la Sibylle*	anonymous
165v-167v	*Milliaire*	anonymous
167v-170r	*Lunaire de Salomon*	anonymous
170r-284r	*Tresor*	Brunetto Latini
299r-319v	*Lucidaire*	anonymous
320r-471v	*Sidrac*	anonymous
471v-510r	*Consolation de Philosophie*	Jean de Meun
510r-538v	*Placides et Timeo*(incomplete)	anonymous

The final manuscript to be discussed in relation to *Le Lunaire de Salomon* is fr. 2043, a manuscript made in the third quarter of the fifteenth century in which hardly any texts of a religious nature are found. This collection opens with a letter from Hippocrates to Caesar,[210] there to give more authority to the manuscript as a whole – in the same way *sages hommes* are used to provide more credibility to wisdom texts – which contains a number of medical texts, one of which has been attributed to Richard de Fournival (*Recette Médicale*), an almanac, and a

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[208] Dabae 1995: p. 361.
[209] See: "Bibliothèque municipale (Rennes) Manuscrit. Ms. 593":
<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb145592172> (Accessed: October 2016).
[210] This text is found in a large number of purely scientific collections, including F-Psg 2261, which is a concordance for the lapidary which will be discussed hereafter.

treatise on balm. Even though this manuscript was made somewhat later than the other examples, it shows even more clearly how the *Lunaire* was read and used by its contemporary audience, as it finds itself surrounded by texts that are of a very practical nature, texts that could be used in everyday life, suggesting that the *Lunaire* itself was read or meant to be read in such a way as well. Fr. 12786 and fr. 837 stand out from the group of manuscripts transmitting the *Lunaire* by the fact that they also contain romances and didactic and moralising texts of which none or hardly any are found in the other seven manuscripts. However, RE 593 and especially Rawlinson F 241 show that it was common for the text to be transmitted in manuscripts of at least somewhat diverse content.

The other apparently natural scientific text in fr. 12786 is the lapidary (ff. 24v-30v), which is the text that seems most remarkable because of its location in the manuscript: the first two codicological units contain the *Roman de la Poire*, the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and this much more scientific text about precious stones rather than about love like the other three, is much more in line with the third codicological unit in which we find didactic and informative texts.

The lapidary, which is dedicated to King Philip – presumably King Philip IV the Fair – survives in ten other manuscripts.[211] Most of these were made much later than fr. 12786: eight of the ten books were produced in the fifteenth century, and where a more precise dating is available, in the second half of that century.[212] One of these is fr. 2043, just discussed, which contains *Le Lunaire de Salomon* as well as this lapidary. F-Pa 2805 was likewise made in the fifteenth century and transmits a calendar, a treatise on the influence of the moon, a treatise on the weather, and another text about "la vertu de pierres gravées."[213] These later manuscripts are more homogeneous in their contents, which is a tendency that is found in other witnesses to the texts in fr. 12786. An exception is fr. 2008, a late-fifteenth-century manuscript transmitting, amongst other texts, *Le Livre des Pierres*, another lapidary, a text about the seven planets, an anonymous fifteenth-century political text about the poor and the rich, *Lamentations de Charles VII* by Simon Greban (after 1460), and a *rondeau*, and thus containing an eclectic collection.[214] The problem with these sources for comparison, however, is their age. These books were made

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[211] See: Glick, Livesy, Walles 2005: pp. 306-07. These manuscripts are: D-Bkk Hamilton 391 (ff. 1-34); CH-Beb 646 (ff. 73-79); B-Br 11004-11017 (ff. 87-89); GB-Lbl Additional 32085 (ff. 15-17); F-Pa 2805 (ff. 15-71); F-Pn fr. 2008 (ff. 1-20); F-Pn fr. 2009 (ff. 1-11); F-Pn fr. 2043 (ff. 120-259); F-Pn lat. 11210 (ff. 64-83); and F-Psg 2261 (ff. 30-34). It is unclear whether Philip IV was a patron of the arts of some sort, but Jean de Meun's translation of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* was dedicated to the same king as well.

[212] Fr. 2009 has been dated on the Gallica website to the second half of the fifteenth century, but one of the hands in the manuscript appears to be older and may well have worked in the early fifteenth or even the fourteenth century, based on palaeographic observations only. The text may have been translated into French by Hugues Ragot, as is suggested on Gallica in the descriptions of both fr. 2008 and 2009.

[213] Martin 1887: pp. 112-13.

[214] According to the manuscript description the rondeau is found on f. 92, but this is erroneous. I have, however, not been able to find on which folio the rondeau was copied.

about a century and a half later than fr. 12786, and the function of the texts had changed over time. The concept of a book would have changed drastically in the age of printing.[215] The only more or less contemporary witness to the lapidary is GB-LBl Add. 32085, which was compiled between 1272 and 1307. This collection contains English legal documents only besides a fragment of *Le Livre des Pierres*. The scientific text seems out of place in this otherwise very homogeneous collection, and parallels with fr. 12786 are few.

Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist is a uniquely surviving almanac predicting what will happen in each given year, according to the day of the week upon which Christmas falls. There are other manuscripts containing texts that are referred to as *Les Prophecies de Ezechiel* or *Les Pronostics de Ezechiel* but to my knowledge fr. 12786 is the only manuscript containing this precise text.[216] Such almanacs were copied often and are flexible in their content, as they were easily adjusted to the intended audience's everyday life, and therefore there may be many examples, all of them varying to a smaller or larger extent. Because of this flexibility, there are fewer concordances than there would be for a more stable text, in this sense. Even the almanacs that are connected to the *sage homme* Ezechiel are not necessarily of the same kind: as is the case for all other almanacs, some are based on the calendar of January, some on the days of the lunar month, and yet others on the weather, and it will therefore be much more fruitful to make a comparison with those almanacs that are structured in the same way, that is, those that are based on the day of the week on which Christmas falls, rather than to focus on those that draw their credibility from Ezechiel.[217]

These Christmas-based almanacs all provide information about the weather in each season, about the harvest, about diseases, and war. Some of the texts are in prose, some in verse, and many are attributed to Ezechiel.[218] Two examples of collections containing such texts will here be discussed as they may help to give an idea of the transmission context of such almanacs, the first of which is found in GB-Cu Ee. 1.1, and the other in F-Pn fr. 25408.

The most dateable part of Ee. 1.1., consisting of legal texts, was made in the 1280s and thus predates fr. 12786 by several decades, but the book as a whole, which was copied by several different hands, is dated to the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century, which makes it almost contemporary with fr. 12786. It is described in the catalogues as containing "legal and historical treatises, collected for the use of the monastery of Luffield," and contains the almanac, which is here named *Les diuinemenz de le jur de Nouel*, and which

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[215] However, the desired appearance of a printed book and also the organisation of its contents would have been the same to that of a manuscript in the the early age of printing. See: Biemans 2008: pp. 88-90.
[216] Examples of manuscripts transmitting an almanac by a name such as *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist* are B-Br 10574-10585, F-Pn fr. 15210, and F-R A. 454.
[217] Charmasson 1988: pp. 332-33.
[218] Charmasson 1988: p. 333.

consists of predictions ascribed to Esdras (Ezra) rather than Ezechiel. This is followed by a dream treatise, several texts about English kings, a large number of texts on law – some of which are directly connected with Luffield or other specific places, while others (such as *Magna Carta*) are more general statutes – an extract from the *Domesday Book*, and, towards the end, a very practical text about husbandry with the incipit "Coe est le dite de hosebondrie ke vn sage hom*me* fist iadis ke auoyt anon syre Walt*er* de Heule."[219] Most interesting is the combination of these legal texts and treatises on the one hand, with the husbandry text near the end and the almanac and the dream treatise at the very beginning of the collection, on the other. The almanac and the dream treatise were copied in the same hand as the legal text that follows it, which proves that the two texts were not added later, but rather that they were always intended to be alongside each other in this collection.

Apparently the same almanac, claiming its authority from the wisdom of Esdras, is copied at the end of fr. 25408 (f. 121v), a manuscript produced in England, partly in 1267, and partly later in the thirteenth century.[220] Its contents are diverse and are described by Helen Deeming as a "compilation of Anglo-Norman French and Latin prose and verse texts, mostly moral and doctrinal, and including some saints' Lives and a number of songs, some of which have musical notation".[221] An index was added later.[222] The collection opens with moralising texts about living a 'wise life' or a courteous one, continues with a saint's life, a dialogue between father and son, several other didactic texts, a bestiary, and a collection of monophonic and polyphonic songs in Latin and in French, which have been notated. The almanac is not listed on Gallica, and is found on the verso side of the final folio of the volume, which also transmits medical texts, a folio that has unfortunately been cut in half vertically and of which half is now missing. Marius Sepet describes the folio on which the almanac is copied as follows: "Fragment latin (…) A la suite de ce fragment viennent des recettes médicales et le manuscript se termine (…) par des notes météorologiques agricoles et astrologiques, par une sorte d'*almanach* en latin et en français. (…)" (Fragment in Latin. Following this fragment are medical recipes, and the manuscript ends with meteorological, agricultural, and astrological notes, with some sort of almanac in Latin and in French).[223] The almanac's direct context, thus, consists of texts of the same kind: practical scientific texts that provide information which can be used in everyday life. The folio alone contains three different hands and the collation of the

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[219] Anonymous (3) 1857, Vol. II: pp.1-4. "Heule" must be a mistranscription on the part of the catalogue compiler. The u and the n have a very similar appearance in a gothic bookhand, so the mistake is understandable. Walter of Henle(y) is a well-known thirteenth-century English author of French poems and *dits* and is best-known for this husbandry text. See: Oschinsky 1971.

[220] The dating is found on f. 106v and applies to the main section of the manuscript, but not to the part that contains the almanac.

[221] Deeming: 2013: p. 192.

[222] Sepet 1875: p. 139.

[223] Sepet 1875: p. 143.

manuscript seems complicated.[224] Because of this, conclusions about the compilation tradition of the almanac based on this witness need to be taken with a grain of salt, as these texts may not necessarily have been originally meant to be assembled together. However, the fact that they are now bound together does imply that someone thought of the texts as a collection, and this gives an insight into the thought process of an audience, albeit perhaps a somewhat later one than the one the scribes and compilers had in mind: these (later) compilers must have believed that these texts worked well together or could complement each other in some sense. It is interesting to see the almanac alongside a collection of songs in both fr. 25408 and fr. 12786.

The final text in the scientific category is the *Explication des Songes*, the uniquely transmitted dream treatise. Because scholars have paid little attention to this genre which is perhaps less familiar than others, dream treatises will first be discussed generally, before moving on to an analysis of other witnesses. Though the text in fr. 12786 is a *unicum*, there are other dream treatises of a very similar nature to which it can and will be compared.[225]

According to Walther Suchier in his 1956/57 article "Altfranzösische Traumbücher," in which he discusses this genre of texts, such dream treatises can be divided into three "streng zu scheidene" categories: "Das Achmetsche Traumbuch," in which the dream visions are organised by subject matter with long interpretations for each dream; "Das Pseudo-Danielsche Traumbuch," in which the dreams are (at least in their original Latin version) presented alphabetically, and accompanied by very short interpretations; and "Traumalphabete," in which each letter of the alphabet signifies something in the future, a type belonging to the broader genre of *Losbücher*, a more magical and divinatory category that deals with dreams but also with many other themes, and which are meant to predict the future.[226] There are three manuscripts containing dream treatises of the first category, all from the fourteenth century, and three from the third.

The *Explication des Songes* from fr. 12786 falls in the second of these categories. The five other manuscripts containing a dream treatise of this kind are B-Br 10574-85, F-Pn fr. 1553, I-Tn M.IV. 11 (which was destroyed in the fire of 1904), F-Psg 2255, and F-Pn lat.7486,

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[224] Indeed, Helen Deeming, who has studied the manuscript, says that it is likely that the final section of fr. 25408 may not have originally belonged to the main collection, though this is difficult to confirm or disprove because the binding is very tight. Information based on private correspondence with Dr Deeming.

[225] Focus will here only be on those dream treatises in French that are of the same kind as the one in fr. 12786, and those that are of a different subgenre, which I will describe below, will receive much less ateention because they are different kinds of texts and quite possibly aimed at a different kind of audience. Those treatieses that were copied in Arabic, Greek, Latin, or any of the vernaculars in Europe other than French will here not be considered because cultural differences would muddle the comparison.

[226] Suchier 1956/57.

the latter of which was overlooked by Suchier, but contains a direct concordance for the Brussels manuscript.[227]

These French texts are translations from older sources in Latin, of which several still survive, and which are in turn often translations from Greek. At least in the Latin texts and presumably also in earlier versions, the dream visions were organised alphabetically, but the visions themselves and particularly also the interpretations differ from one version to the next. The visions are based on everyday life: one dreams of things such as riding a horse, hearing a bird sing, growing a beard, or less probable things such as eating bees, or seeing the sky burn, and because they are things anyone would recognise, and things people might actually dream, these visions are often the same or very similar ones. The interpretations may have been invented anew each time, and sometimes vary greatly. However, despite the flexible interpretations of the dreams, some conventions developed over time. The prediction of the future is almost always related to the content matter of the dream vision, often in a direct way not unlike sympathetic magic, although there are also some examples of seemingly arbitrary interpretations of dream visions.[228] For example, the climbing of a tree is literally a way of going up, and therefore this dream often signifies something positive: "Qui songe seur arbres monter, si puie en grant dignité" (fr. 12786); "Arbre monter nous senefie honneur et grande signourie; Arbre monter, c'est bons messages, et qui le songe, il fait que sages." (Br 10574-85); "Arbres grans veir ou monter senefie waing esprouver ou honour" (fr. 1553). In all these examples someone who dreams of climbing a tree will rise to great status, or will know great honour.[229]

B-Br 10574-85 was made in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and contains a collection of diverse contents of mainly didactic texts, including a calendar, prayers, several *dits*, dialogues, a treatise about confession, the famous *Image du Monde*, the *Pronostics d'Ezechiel*, and the anonymous dream treatise which is called *Clé des songes*.[230]

As said above, lat. 7486 transmits this same treatise. This manuscript was copied somewhat later than Br 10574-85, in the fourteenth century, and contains William of Aragon's book of prognostic dreams, *Physionomia Aristotelis*, a text with rules for the interpretation of dreams, a religious text, a treatise about the Golden Ratio, one on marriage, several astrological texts, some other scientific treatises, and a text about Ptolemy, King of Egypt. The dream treatise finds itself in the centre of this mostly practical collection with a strong emphasis on the

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[227] Additionally, there are three early prints, all entitled *Les Songes Daniel Prophete Translatez de Latin en Francoys* (1500, 1510, and early sixteenth century), which I will for this purpose not take into account.
[228] Suchier 1956/57: pp. 135-36; 138-40.
[229] Suchier 1956/57: pp. 140, 154, 142.
[230] The first two codicological units date from the thirteenth century, and the third from the fourteenth. The dream treatise is copied in the first. See: "Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 10574-10585": <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/10452> (Accessed September 2016).

theme of dreams. Lat. 7486 is a practical manuscript in its appearance as well as in its texts: all illustrations have a direct explicatory function, the margins are very small, and there are many diagrams, tables, and helpful astronomical drawings to be found. The book is of an altogether different kind than fr. 12786, and it is interesting to see how the dream treatise is related to many other texts in both manuscripts.

The latest medieval manuscript in which a dream treatise of the "Pseudo-Danielsche Traumbuch"-category is found is F-Psg 2255. The treatise is here also named the *Clef des songes*, but this is not the same version of the text as in the two manuscripts described above; in fact, this dream treatise is most closely related to that in fr. 12786: its first seventy dreams correspond to dreams sixteen to one hundred and three in fr. 12786, with the exception of eighteen visions that are not transmitted in Psg 2255. The two texts are also related in their form: all sentences start with the same words "Qui songe." Suchier refers to this as "beziehungslosen Relativsatzes" (relative clause without an antecedent). The Latin form *si quis* is a classic form common to didactic instructional kinds of literature, such as the dream treatises, which were themselves translated from a Latin original. A translation of those words could be "[He] who dreams" or "If anyone dreams." The other examples in the alphabetical type of dream treatise, including the ones in Latin, start with the dream vision itself, the subject matter on which the alphabetic organisation is based, therewith making the consecutive order clearer. The *Qui songe*-construction, then, was not taken from the Latin originals, but included in the translations presumably because they were so common in this type of didactic text. According to Suchier, Psg 2255 and fr. 12786 are not directly related to each other, but may very well have a common original text on which both were based.[231]

Apart from the dream treatise, which is found at the beginning of Psg 2255 (which, incidentally, is the same place in the collection as in the Brussels manuscript), the collection contains recipes, information about the treatment of diseases, and texts providing information about the human body.[232] Perhaps even more so than the previously described collections, F-Psg 2255 is a practical book. It is interesting to find the dream treatise among these very natural-scientific texts. The medieval audience would presumably have taken this kind of predictive text very seriously, and may very well have believed in its everyday use, which makes the text of a similar kind to the medical ones in the collection, and which means that the collection is quite homogeneous.

The earliest manuscript containing a dream treatise of the same alphabetical type in French is fr. 1553, which also shows an interesting similarity with fr. 12786 in this text, as the first two dream visions are the same. While this is in itself not remarkable considering the

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[231] Suchier 1956/57: p. 137.
[232] See: "Recueil de prognostics et recettes":
<http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/bsg.aspx#details?id=BSGB12359> (Accessed: January 2017).

alphabetical order and the similar subject matter the texts have in common, but the interpretations are also the same. The ones that follow, however, differ considerably. Suchier believes that the two treatises do not have a common Old French 'ancestor', but are based on two different Latin sources, which is perhaps based on the fact that the interpretations are much more detailed in fr. 12786 than they are in fr. 1553, where they are as short as they can be whilst still being grammatically complete sentences.[233]

Fr. 1553 is a collection of diverse content copied in the thirteenth century, containing many romances, *complaintes*, saints' lives, the dream treatise (f. 285v, modern foliation), which is preceded by a rubric that introduces the text as "Des soi*n*ges et de sesperime*n*s des soi*n*ges"[234], and many other mainly didactic texts. The manuscript's contents are presented in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5 : Contents of F-Pn fr. 1553

Folios	Text	Author
1v-161v	*Troie*	Benoît de Sainte-Maure
161v-162r	*Complainte sur la Mort d'Enguerran de Créqui*	anonymous
162r-163r	*Complainte des Jacobins et des Cordeliers*	Rutebeuf
163r-197v	*Image du Monde*	Gossuin de Metz
198r-254v	*Barlaam et Josaphat*	Gui de Cambrai
254v	*De Pierre de la Broce*	anonymous
254v-266v	*Vie de Saint Brendan*	anonymous
269v-271v	*Vie des Saintes Marie et Marthe*	anonymous
271v-285v	*Evangile de l'Enfance*	anonymous
285v-286v	Dream treatise	anonymous
286v-287r	*Adam et Eve*	anonymous
287r-287v	*Comment Dieu forma Adam*	anonymous
287v	*Vie de Sainte Anne*	anonymous
288r-324v	*Roman de la Violette*	Gerbert de Montreuil
325r-338r	*Wistasse le Moine*	anonymous
338v-367r	*Sept Sages de Rome*	anonymous
367v-379r	*Mahomet*	Alexandre du Pont
379r-393v	*Vengeance Nostre Seigneur*	anonymous
393v-400v	*Chanson de Saint Alexis*	anonymous
400v-406r	*Vie de Sainte Agnès*	anonymous
406r-408v	*Vie de Pilate*	anonymous
408v-409r	*Vies de Saint Pierre et Saint Paul*	anonymous
409r-410v	*Vie de Saint Second*	anonymous
410v-413r	*Ordre de Chevalerie*	anonymous
413r-419r	*Chevalier au Barisel*	anonymous
419r-421r	*Regret Notre Dame*	Huon le Roi
421r-432v	*Vie de Saint Jean Paulus*	anonymous

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[233] Suchier 1956/57: p. 137.

[234] There is a copying error here, and this should have read "Des soinges et des esperimens des songes," "concerning dreams and concerning *esperimens*." *Esperiment* can mean an empirical kind of science, or something more magical than that based on enchantment rather than experience. See: Godefroy, III 1880-1902: p. 522.

432v-435r	*Dit de l'Unicorne*	anonymous
435r-437r	*Lettre du Prêtre Jean*	anonymous
437r-480v	*Fergus*	Guillaume le Clerc
481r-483r	*Espine*	anonymous
483r-485r	*Fleur d'Amours*	anonymous
485r-488r	*Ignaure*	Renaut
488v-493r	*Constant du Hamel*	anonymous
493r-498v	*Lai de l'Ombre*	Jean Renart
498v-501r	*Courtois d'Arras*	anonymous
501r-504r	*Auberee*	anonymous
504r	*Lettre des Femmes*	anonymous
504r-505r	*Chapel des Sept Fleurs*	anonymous
505r-506r	*Villain au Buffet*	anonymous
506r-508r	*Meunier d'Arleux*	Enguerrand d'Oisy
508r-514r	*Prêtre Comporté*	anonymous
514r-515r	*Vingt-trois Manières de Vilains*	anonymous
515r-518r	*Vrai Ciment d'Amour*	anonymous
518r-519v	*Riote du Monde*	anonymous
519v-520r	*Evangile aux Femmes*	anonymous
520r	*Ave Maria*	anonymous
520r-523v	*Fabliau du Dieu d'Amour*	anonymous
523v-524v	*Complainte de Sainte Eglise*	Rutebeuf
524v	*Quinze Joies Nostre Dame*	anonymous

Although the first text is considerably longer than the others in the book, the collection is not organised based on the length of the texts; neither is there a clear grouping of texts of the same sort: the hagiographies are spread out over the collection, as are the devotional texts, the romances, and the many texts of a moralising nature.[235] These latter may be key in understanding the arrangement of the texts in this volume: the texts offer an insight into each other and some texts found in sequence may elucidate each other or emphasise certain themes. For example, the *Roman de la Violette*, a famous romance in which the lady is unjustly accused of adultery but found to be innocent, stresses the virtues of Saint Anne, the Virgin Mary's mother, whose hagiography precedes this text. The hagiography, in turn, predicts the guiltlessness of the lady in the romance. Other such sequences can be found in this collection and some may well have been intentional. The dream treatise is situated in between the gospel of childhood and a text about Adam and Eve. Although many relations and connections between these texts may be found, it remains unclear whether the compilers had in mind a specific reason for placing the treatise at this point in the collection, whether they had a certain reason for including it in the collection in the first place, and what these reasons may have been. However, it is interesting to see the different contexts in which such dream treatises were compiled, and the different functions these texts may therefore have had.

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[235] It is important to note here that this collection is one of many examples in which the first text is one about Troy, explained by Keith Busby to show the cultural and sometimes also political continuity from the ancient civilisations to the contemporary world, as was discussed above.

In the final part of this chapter, the romances will be discussed. The three romances in fr. 12786, the *Roman de la Poire*, the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, and the *Roman de la Rose*, are closely related and, as said, the *Poire* was probably modelled on the *Rose*.[236] Of the three texts, the *Rose* and the *Poire* are verse texts, while the *Bestiaire* is prose. As mentioned in previous chapters, three other known contemporary manuscripts that transmit the *Roman de la Poire* survive.[237] Fr. 2186 transmits the *Poire* only. It will be worthwhile to take a closer look at the other witness, F-Pn fr. 24431, as it contains a rather interesting collection. This book was made in the final quarter of the thirteenth century and thus predates fr. 12786 somewhat. The manuscript transmits moralising and didactic texts, *dits*, proverbs, treatises, an explanation of the ceremonies of the mass, and some other religious texts, all in either French or Latin. The *Roman de la Poire* is found near the end of the volume (ff. 180r-189r).[238] The book's contents are set out in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6 : Contents of F-Pn fr. 24431

Folios	Text	Author
1r-1v	Poem	Jean de Garencières
2r-25v	*Moralités des Philosophes*	Alart de Cambrai
26r-27r	Chronicles of the kings of France 1180 to 1254	anonymous
27r-29r	"Petite chronique" 1249-1270	anonymous
29r-38v	Chronicles of French kings until 1215	anonymous
39v-53v	Chronicle of Turpin	anonymous
54r-54v	*Histoire de Tancrède de Hauteville*	anonymous
54v-71r	Chronicles of the dukes of Normandy	anonymous
71r-74r	Treatise on the ceremonies of the mass	anonymous
74r-92v	*Sept Sages de Rome*	anonymous
93r-146v	*Marqués de Rome*	anonymous
147r-157r	Miracles	anonymous
157r-159r	*Moralités*	anonymous
159r-160v	Moral poem	anonymous
160v	Proverbs	anonymous
161r-167r	*Quatre Tems d'Âges d'Homme*	Philippe de Novare
167v-169r	*Lettre du Prêtre Jean*	anonymous
169r-179v	*Doctrine de l'Eglise*	anonymous
180r-189r	*Roman de la Poire*	Thibaut
189v	Poem	anonymous

Though the collection has a strong historical character, particularly near the beginning, there are some parallels with fr. 12786. Most importantly, there seems to be a grouping of genres, but not

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[236] See: Marchello-Nizia 1984: pp. lix-lxiv.
[237] F-AI Rochegude 6 also transmits this text, but this nineteenth-century manuscript will not be taken into account here, as although it shows that there was still interest in this *romance* so many centuries after its composition, it will not help us establish the medieval transmission history of the text. I have no information about the fragment of the *Roman de la Poire* that is now in a private collection.
[238] Anonymous (8) 1902, Vol. II: pp. 358-360. Only part of the text survives. There are only nine folios with the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 24431, while there are twenty-four in fr. 12786.

very strictly. The chronicles are found in a sequence, and they are followed by the two longer historical romances, both about Ancient Rome, interrupted only by the religious treatise. These texts link the preceding ones, all dealing with recent history, to classical times in a cultural-political way in the manner of *Troyes* as an opening text to a number of manuscripts, as discussed above. The (religious-)moralistic texts build up to the *Roman de la Poire* and ensure that its readers do not miss the allegorical meaning behind the literal story. The locations of the two poems, at the beginning and at the end, result in a cyclical collection. Whether the manuscript makers had this anthological organisation in mind while compiling the collection or whether the groupings are a result of the copying from themed exemplars, there are many anthological tendencies to be observed in fr. 24431.

As argued in the previous chapters, the vast number of surviving witnesses to the *Roman de la Rose* requires careful selection of sources for comparison. The following manuscripts are here considered to be the nearest relations to fr. 12786 in different ways and therefore the most important manuscripts for comparison: F-AM 437, which is part of the group of *Roman de la Rose* texts that belong to the same textual 'family' according to Ernest Langlois and also transmits the anonymous continuation that is copied in fr. 12786; US-CA A Rg. 3.40, which likewise contains this same continuation, was made in the first half of the fourteenth century and is therefore most contemporary with fr. 12786; GB-Ob Rawlinson A 446, which Langlois considered to be textually most closely related to fr. 12786 of all manuscripts he knew, and F-Pn fr. 19156, which was copied in a similar hand to that in fr. 12786 and therefore presumably close in time and space.[239]

Interestingly, three of these manuscripts transmit the *Roman de la Rose* only, and therefore do not provide any information about the manuscript compilation traditions of witnesses in the temporal or geographical proximity, or textual environs of fr. 12786. Moreover, Rawl. A 446, a thirteenth-century collection which was copied by a number of different hands, and which is the only one that also transmits other texts – all of them of a devotional nature – did not seem to have originally contained the *Rose*: the folios on which this romance was copied seemingly function as flyleaves here, indicating that the text was not meant to be part of the collection.[240] Thus, even Rawl. A 446, the witness to the *Roman de la Rose* that is most closely related to the *Rose* as it is copied in fr. 12786 according to Langlois, does not provide any more insight into how this text was compiled alongside others in collections such as the one of fr. 12786. However, the fact that at least three and perhaps originally four of the four witnesses here selected for comparison transmit the *Roman de la Rose* only, shows that there was a

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[239] See: Langlois 1910: p. 243.
[240] Anonymous (5) 1862, Part V, Fasc. I: columns 419-20.

tradition for this text to stand by itself, and therefore fr. 12786 proves its uniqueness and stands out from all witnesses to the *Rose* that are most closely related to it.

Twenty-two manuscripts survive transmitting the *Bestiaire d'Amours*.[241] Several of these transmit the *Bestiaire d'Amours* as well as another text that can be considered to be of the same genre, such as the *Roman de la Rose*.[242] It is interesting to see that these texts are found together on several occasions with hardly anything else to accompany them, because this sheds light on the second codicological unit of fr. 12786, and it makes the hypothesis offered in Chapter 1 – in which the unit is suggested to have been commercially pre-produced – more plausible.

Some of the witnesses are especially interesting for the current discussion, and five of them will therefore briefly be discussed below. F-Pn fr. 412, which appears to have been made in the late thirteenth century, contains only hagiographies and the *Bestiaire d'Amours*. The book is richly decorated with historiated initials at the beginning of each saint's life, and it is very easy to navigate through, even for someone who is not yet familiar with the volume: there is an index at the end of this section of the manuscript and on top of all the folios the title of the chapter has been copied in large letters. This is in strong contrast to fr. 12786, which has no index, no known original foliation, and no easy way for a new user to find her/his way around: it was clearly designed to be used by someone who would know the book well. The *Bestiaire* may at first not seem to be part of the collection transmitted in fr. 412, as it does not match the contents of the otherwise thematically coherent and altogether very homogeneous volume at all, and it is found after the index of the book, but it has been copied in the same hand, which may suggest that the two sections were meant to be bound together.

The fourteenth-century manuscript F-Dm 526, transmits the *Bestiaire*, other texts by Richard de Fournival, the *Roman de la Rose*, Baudouin de Condé's *Prison d'Amour* and *Dit de la Rose*, as well as a prayer to the Virgin Mary by Thibaut d'Amiens.[243] This prayer in particular transforms the volume into a devotional-moralistic collection with romances alongside didactic texts, and is, in this sense, reminiscent of that in fr. 12786. A similar collection of texts is

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[241] F-AS 139 (657) (Trouvère A); B-Br 10394-10414; F-Dm 526; I-Fl Ashb., 123 Fondo Libri 50; I-Fl Plut. LXXVI 79; CH-Gpu Comites latentes 179; GB-Lbl Harley 273; I-Ma sup. I. 78; I-Mb AC.X.10; US-NYpm 459; GB-Ob Douce 308; F-Pn fr. 412; F-Pn fr. 1444; F-Pn fr. 12469; F-Pn fr. 15213; F-Pn fr. 24406 (Trouvère V); F-Pn fr. 25566; F-Psg 2200; I-Tn L.III. 22 (1660) (burnt); A-Wn 2609; and two manuscripts of which the current location is unknown. Additionally, F-Pn fr. 25545 contains the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in vers.

[242] For example: I-Ma sup. I.78 (14th century) contains the *Bestiaire* and the *Roman de la Rose*; CH-Gpu Com. Lat. 179 (1310-1330, possibly made in Paris) contains the *Bestiaire* and *Tresor* by Brunetto Latini; I-Mb AC.X.10 (14th century, made in Italy) contains the *Bestiare* and the anonymous *Tristan*; F-Pn fr. 15213 (1330-1350, probably made in Paris) contains the *Bestiaire* and *Isopet II de Paris*.

[243] Based on language the manuscript has been thought to have been made in Picardy, though the iconography suggests that at least the miniatures were painted in Arras. See: "Dijon, Bibliothèque municipal, 0526." See: "Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 0526": <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/manuscrit/detail_manuscrit.php?projet=18074> (Accessed: February 2017).

transmitted in B-Br 10394-10414, a manuscript made in Tournai which contains moralising texts, such as *miroirs*, a text with rules for living a spiritual life, a text about how to die well; religious texts, such as prayers, and the meditations of saint Bernard; *dits*, and even chronicles. This, too, is a collection that resembles that in fr. 12786 in transmitting a combination of moralising and devotional texts as well as texts of other contents. Another interesting example is F-Psg 2200, which was made in 1276-77 and contains texts in both Latin and French. This collection transmits moralising texts, scientific texts, devotional texts, the *Image du Monde* by Gossuin de Metz, and even a lapidary, which underlines the parallels with the collection in fr. 12786 in all three of its units.

Perhaps the most interesting manuscript in this list in light of parallels with fr. 12786 is F-AS 139, better known as *Trouvère A*. This late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century book transmits a collection of diverse content consisting of a large number of religious texts, mainly saints' lives and invocations of the Blessed Virgin; a number of moralising texts; two historical texts about Rome, and, most importantly, a chansonnier. The genre of romance in which the *Bestiaire d'Amours* is situated is here likewise combined with religious, moralising, informative, didactic, and with musical texts. Elizabeth Eva Leach has argued that the *Bestiaire* is, in essence, a very musical text because of a large number of references to music and singing in both the text and the miniatures.[244] Perhaps the compilers of these manuscripts noticed the musical qualities of this romance.

These five witnesses show that it was common for the *Bestiaire d'Amours* to be copied alongside texts of very different genres and kinds: many of these collections transmit romances, didactic and moralising texts, historical texts, practical and scientific texts, devotional texts, and even music. This indicates that fr. 12786 does not stand out when compared to other witnesses to the *Bestiaire* and that its compilers stayed within the boundaries of the compilation practices for this particular romance.

3.4.   Conclusion

Fr. 12786 is neither a miscellany nor an anthology: it is a collection of diverse contents with anthological tendencies, shown by thematic and other intertextual connections, and "spasms of planning", sequences of texts working together to convey a larger meaning. The manuscripts transmitting a concordance of one of the texts in fr. 12786, or transmitting a very similar text to one of the *unica* in fr. 12786, can be placed on different points on the spectrum between miscellany and anthology: some, such as F-Psg 2255, are homogeneous collections that could

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[244] See: Leach and Morton 2017.

be classified as anthological books, while others are seemingly much more arbitrarily arranged. Sylvia Huot, Keith Busby, and many other scholars have shown that organisation can be found in many such collections, and especially the discovery of "reading segments" or small sequences of texts which cast a different light on each other, is here considered helpful in attempting to understand the decisions by the compilers of a manuscript.

The large number of manuscripts transmitting very similar and often the same texts or texts by the same authors and containing collections of similar genres and kinds of texts always including devotional texts, often invocations of the Blessed Virgin Mary, moralising texts, such as *dits* and *miroirs*, and other didactic texts; often also a small number of romances, a group of historical texts or chronicles, or scientific texts of various kinds; and sometimes also including music. These texts are sometimes organised distinctly, either in groups of texts of the same kind, of which fr. 837 is a clear example, or organised by the length of the texts, such as in Pa 3142. The latter manuscript is also an example of a collection in which texts by each (known) author are grouped together. All of these organisational types are, to a certain extent, recognisable in fr. 12786: the two texts which would presumably have been believed to be composed by Rutebeuf are copied together, the longer texts are copied in the first two codicological units while the shorter ones are found nearer the end, and the romances, the devotional texts, and the two astrological texts, are grouped. Fr. 12786, thus, fits comfortably in this scribal tradition. Its song collection is the most remarkable feature: musical texts are not very common in such collections, and polyphonic music in particular is something that seems to have been rarely copied outside of dedicated polyphonic collections. The next chapter will focus on the music in fr. 12786.

Chapter 4. Comparing Notes

As concluded in the previous chapter, the music in fr. 12786 is the most exceptional feature of the manuscript compared to other collections of diverse content.[245] While other such volumes occasionally also transmit songs, only fr. 12786 and fr. 25566 contain polyphony, but the *opera omnia* section in the *Adam de la Halle Manuscript* in which this music is found is not the same kind of collection, and therefore, the polyphonic music in fr. 12786 is unique in such a context. This chapter is concerned with all the music in the manuscript. The song collection, unquestionably the most musical section of the book, will receive most attention, but the *Roman de la Poire* and the *son poitevin* will also be discussed.

The song collection is unique and eighteen songs found in it survive nowhere else. There are, however, many books in which we either find *chansons* that were copied in fr. 12786, transmitted in those manuscripts as full songs standing on their own in a similar context of a song collection or chansonnier, or books which transmit *refrain* insertions in a prose, verse, or musical context that share their text with parts of the songs in the collection in fr. 12786. The concordant manuscripts will be looked into in order to get a sense of the compilation tendencies in other manuscripts of the texts in the song collection, of how they may have been assembled in fr. 12786, and to gain an insight into the compilers' methods. The assembling of a collection such as this one is based on numerous decisions by the manuscript makers: the choice of which *chansons* to include is only a first step.[246] Attention will also be paid to the organisation of the texts in the collection, which will be argued to be of a remarkable kind. Analysis of the songs – inevitably limited by the lack of musical notation – can provide an insight into how the collection is organised, which may explain why the songs were copied the way they were. These palaeographical features give some clues about how this song collection may have been intended to be used by its original audience.

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[245] Throughout this chapter, I will be referring to the 'music' in fr. 12786 even though notation has never been added. The intention for notation makes it clear what was envisioned by the manuscript makers. Moreover, the absence of notation arguably has little effect on the 'musicness' of the music. If a text was sung or possibly intended to be sung, this should be considered music, regardless of the presence or absence of musical notation. No notation was ever intended for the *son poitevin*, but this is likewise considered to be 'music' in this context.

[246] This choice was not always without its constrains, and exemplar poverty may have had a significant effect on the selection of texts. See for example Hanna 1996: p. 31: "Especially in the case of vernacular texts, one can scarcely underestimate the exemplar poverty of late-medieval England, the difficulty book producers experienced in gathering copy." This problem was equally present in large parts of the continent. However, because, as will be shown below, the songs in the collection in fr. 12786 are part of a dense network of text circulation, this problem may therefore not have affected the compilers of fr. 12786 to a great extent.

The *Roman de la Poire* survives in three other manuscripts, none of them complete. Other sources in which some of the *refrains* are transmitted and often also notated in different contexts shed light onto the scribal traditions around these specific texts. A comparison with other collections in which the same *refrains* were copied, either in a similar context in which the songs are part of a larger text, or in a context that is more like that of the song collection, provides information about the circulation of this music.

The *son poitevin* is copied on f. 42v, directly after the *Bestiaire d'Amours*. Musical notation was never intended for this song; no spaces were left blank above the text. The *chanson* seems to be a 'space-filler' at first sight, but more might be discovered about the strange text that is squeezed between the two most famous and widespread romances in fr. 12786, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

4.1.   The Network of Songs and *Refrains*

The song collection contains forty-one songs. Four of them have spaces left blank for monophonic notation, and thirty-six for three-part polyphonic notation. One was never meant to receive musical notation at all and is notated as if it were prose. Eighteen songs in the collection survive nowhere else, and this is one of the key contributors to the importance of the manuscript: fr. 12786 transmits texts otherwise unknown. Additionally, sixteen of these are polyphonic *rondeaux*, a genre in its infancy at the time, and of which only fifty survive in total.

Table 4.1 below shows all forty-one songs, the manuscripts in which they survive as full songs, the *refrain* or *refrains* of each song, that is, the text of which *refrain* is part of the song, and the manuscripts in which these *refrains* are transmitted, organised by the context of the *refrain*.[247] The table presents the texts in the order in which they appear in fr. 12786 and the songs are numbered texts 1 to 41. Mark Everist gives sixteen full concordances for these songs in his 1996 article "The Polyphonic *Rondeau* c. 1300", but since manuscripts and particularly databases have been digitised it has become increasingly easy to find more sources containing these same songs, and six others may now be added to this list. They are included in Table 4.1. Everist does not consider the *refrain* insertions since his article concerns the polyphonic

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[247] The concordant manuscripts to the song and the sources transmitting the *refrains* are all I have been able to find, but there may well be more. When the text in fr. 12786 survives as one of three motet texts in other manuscripts, only those sources in which either the entire motet or the same motet text is copied, will be considered; those in which the other texts of the same motet are copied either on their own, or combined with another text in a different, yet related motet, will for this purpose not be taken into account, as they are not direct concordances for the texts in fr. 12786. For each song that is not a *rondeau*, the L- or RS-number is given, after Ludwig 1910 and Raynaud and Spanke 1955; each *rondeau* has received a vdBr-number and each *refrain* a vdB-number after Van den Boogaard 1969.

rondeau as a genre and these *refrains* that are often not recognisable as *rondeaux*, as they usually consist of a single or two lines, are not relevant to him, whereas they are of much more interest for the current discussion, and therefore it is very useful here to see how many concordances there are that transmit the full song, and how many manuscripts survive in which the *refrains* are copied. The *refrains* are no direct concordances for the songs in the collection, but they are nevertheless important in this discussion because they share their text with the *chansons* in fr. 12786 and it will therefore be fruitful to see in which manuscripts and in which contexts these *refrains* are transmitted.

Refrains, in this meaning of the word, are parts of songs, usually consisting of one or a few lines, that are inserted in *chansons à refrains* or in prose or verse texts, often romances. Jennifer Saltzstein describes them as "agents of intertextuality".[248] When these *refrains* are inserted into larger texts, this gives an insight into how widespread they were: for the *refrains* to have a function in those texts, they must have been recognised by their (intended) audiences, indicating that they were part of a common repertoire. It is unclear where these *refrains* come from, and because they were part of both a written and an oral tradition it is often impossible to establish whether they were parts of full songs first, in the way in which they are found in fr. 12786, and taken out of this original context to be used in another, or whether these songs were composed around an already existing *refrain*.[249] What is clear is that they were transmitted in many different contexts, and Richard Taruskin even states that "they circulated like proverbs".[250]

Several scholars have argued that there are strong connections between *refrains* and *rondeaux*, the genre which is most prominent in the song collection in fr. 12786.[251] If this is indeed the case, it might explain why the majority of concordances for this song collection, over two thirds, are the concordances for the *refrain* which are part of the *chansons*. Crucially, this is not common: in other manuscripts that transmit *rondeaux*, only a small percentage of the *refrains* of these songs is also found in other manuscripts inserted in romances and other such contexts. In Douce 308 for example, only five of thirty-nine *refrains* of the *rondeau* texts survive in such a way.[252] This is one of the reasons for Saltzstein and Everist to believe that the

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[248] Saltzstein 2010: p. 245. I here differentiate between a *refrain* (in italics) in this meaning of the word, and a refrain (in roman), which is the part of a song that is repeated after each strophe and which is both textually and musically the same each time it occurs. Note that a *chanson à refrains* is called thus based on the second definition here given, but is italicised because the term is French.
[249] Most *refrains* inserted in romances and other texts survive in manuscripts that are usually older than those in which they survive as *rondeaux*, seemingly contradicting the idea that the *refrains* in romances had a long tradition before they were used as such. However, because only a small percentage of all witnesses survive, and, perhaps more importantly, because many songs were also orally transmitted at the time, no conclusions can be drawn from this. See: Saltzstein 2010: 251.
[250] Taruskin 2005: p. 120.
[251] E.g. Jeanroy 1899, Van den Boogaard 1969.
[252] Saltzstein 2010: 251.

links between *refrains* and *rondeaux* may not be as strong as previously believed.[253] Fr. 12786 appears to be an exception in this respect. Table 4.2 further below presents some general information about the manuscripts in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Other witnesses to the texts in the song collection in fr. 12786

No.	Incipit	RS/L/vdB	Other sources	*Refrain(s)*	Other sources *refrain(s)*	
1.	Pour escouter le chant du roussignol	L779	As the triplum of the motet: (779) *Pour escouter le chant du rossignol* / (780) *L'autrier joer m'en alai* / *Seculorum Amen* (O49) in: F-MO G 196, ff. 154v-155r	-	-	The first four lines are erased in fr. 12786. This motet is also transmitted in F-Pn n.a.f. 13521 (f. 390v), but the triplum is a different text. This source is, therefore, not a textual concordance for the text in fr. 12786. It may, however be a melodic concordance with a contrafact text, but without the music notated in fr. 12786, this cannot be said for certain.
2.	Brunete cui j'ai mon cuer doné	L173	As motetus in (174) *Trop souvent me duel* / (173) *Brunete a cui j'ai mon cuer doné* / *In seculum* (M13): D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 9vb; F-MO H 196, f. 125r; I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 115va (no tenor)	vdB295; vdB468; vdB662; vdB1505	vdB468 in L'*art d'amour*: B-Br 10988, f. 66v; F-Pa 2741, f. 42ra; I-MOe γ G.3.20, 48r vdB468 in *Salut d'amour*: F-Pn fr. 837, f. 271vb; F-Pn fr. 1588, f. 114va vdB468 in *Quant je voi esté* (RS459): F-Pa 5198, p. 353b; F-Pn fr. 845, f. 171vb; F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1050, f. 230rb	The melody of the motetus L173 in the three concordant manuscripts is the same as that of the motetus of the motet *Salus virgini per quam hominum/Hodie natus in Israhel/In Seculum* (L175), which survives in D-Mbs Clm. 5539. VdB468, *De debounereté vient amour*, is the line at the end of L173. Because only the first four syllables of this *refrain* are copied in fr. 12786, it is of course debatable whether or not it is in fact this *refrain* that we see in this manuscript; however, because all three

[253] Saltzstein 2010, Everist 2004.

						manuscripts that give the full texts of *Brunete cui j'ai mon cure done* do also include this *refrain*, which is transmitted separately in other manuscripts and in other texts, we can assume that this text was originally intended or even copied (as the top lines of the next column have been erased), and this concordance is included it here. RS459 is also transmitted in F-Pn fr. 22543 (f. 29rb), but the *refrain* vdB468 is not included there.
3.	Vien avant biaus dous amis	L1102	As motet text: F-CA A 410, final flyleaf; GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 245ra	vdB1837		The first lines of the text are missing in fr. 12786.
4.	Pour vos douz viaire cler	RS838a	-	vdB416	vdB416 in the *ballette-à-refrain Je ne chantai onques mais* (RS195): GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 217ra	
5.	Joliement vueil mon chant retraire	L1141	F-CV 78, glued on backboard	-	-	The first words have been deleted in fr. 12786.
6.	Si ait diex m'ame	L1142	-	vdBR165 (rondet); vdB203	-	
7.	Je ne deffendrai mie	vdBR166	-	vdB1081	-	
8.	Amours sont perdues	vdBR167	-	vdB179	-	
9.	Ainssi doit on aler a son ami	vdBR168	-	vdB65	vdB65 in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*: B-Mbu 330-215, f. 99va; GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 128ra vdB65 in *La Court de Paradis*:	The motetus L1143a is attributed to Richard de Fournival in I-Rvat 1490. The motet is copied in several other manuscripts, but without the *refrain* vdB65.

					F-Pn fr. 837, f. 59ra; F-Pn fr. 1802, f. 101r; F-Pn fr. 25532, f. 333va* vdB65 as part of the motetus L1143a/L435 in the (435) *Renvoisiement i vois a mon ami / Hodie*: F-Pn fr. 844, f. 209vb*; F-Pn fr. 12615, f. 191v*; I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 99vb vdB65 in the *chanson-à-refrain Quant se resiossent oixel* (RS584): CH-BEb 389, f. 117v; F-Pn fr. 20050, f. 72v; I-MOe α R.4.4 (est. 45), f. 229ra	
10.	Bonne amourete	vdBR82	F-Pn fr. 844, f. 3v (monophonic); F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 34rb (polyphonic)	vdB289	vdB289 in *Renart le Nouvel*: F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 19ra* vdB289 in *chanson-à-refrain*: *Quant ie uoi l'erbe amatir* (RS1390) attributed to Perrin d'Angicourt: F-Pa 5198, p.163b; F-Pn fr. 845, f. 52va F-Pn fr. 846, f. 119ra F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1050, f.110ra	RS1390 is also transmitted in F-Pn fr. 24406, but the *refrain* vdB289 is missing there.
11.	Or ni serai plus amiete	vdBR169	-	vdB1454	vdB1454 in L1129: Douce 308, f. 247ra: motet 57	

12.	Or ai ge trop dormi	vdBR170	-	vdB1433	-	VdB1433 is copied in [F-B I 716], n° 34
13.	Vouz arez la druerie amis	vdBR171	-	vdB1853	vdB1853 in *Roman de la Poire*: F-Pn fr. 12786, ff. 77v-78r; F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 71r vdB1853 in *Renart le Nouvel*: F-Pn fr. 372, f. 51ra *; F-Pn fr. 1581, f. 48va*; F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 50rb *; F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 165vb * vdB1853 in the *chanson-à-refrain*: *Amors me tient en Esperance* (RS227): F-Pa 5198, p. 312b; F-Pn fr. 845, f. 149ra; F-Pn fr. 847, f. 163vb; F-Pn nouv. aqc. fr. 1050, f. 198ra	
14.	Amours et ma dame aussi	vdBR76	F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 33va (polyphonic)	vdB156	vdB in *Renart le Nouvel*: F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 165va*; F-Pn fr. 372, f. 50vb *; F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 50ra *	
15.	J'ai un panse amorous	vdBR172	-	vdB989	-	
16.	Hareu je ne cuidai mie	vdBR173	-	vdB782	-	
17.	He mesdisanz diex	vdBR131	GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 248vb	vdB863	-	
18.	He biaus cuers	vdBR174	-	vdB799	vdB799 in the *chanson-à-refrain Encontre esté qui nos argue* (RS2064):	

					F-Pa 5198, p. 356b; F-Pn fr. 845, f. 173rb; F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1050, f. 232ra	
19.	Toute seule passerai	vdBR175	-	vdB1789	vdB1798 as part of the motetus L846 in the motet (845) *Amours qui vient par message* / (846) *Toute seule passerai* / *Notum*: D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 58rb; I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1543, n°3*	
20.	Diex comant porroie	vdBR80	F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 34ra (polyphonic)	vdB496	vdB496 in *Renart le Nouvel*: F-Pn fr. 372, f. 34va and f. 51va*; F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 34v* vdB496 as part of the motetus L34 in the motet (33) *De ma dame vient* / (34) *Dieus! Comment porroie* / *Omnes*: F-MO H 196, f. 313rb; F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 35vb	
21.	Je chanterai faire ledoi	vdBR88	I-Rvat Reg lat. 1490, f. 188va (monophonic)	vdB1030	-	
22.	J'ai donné mon cuer joli	vdBR176	-	vdB292	-	
23.	Amours ne m'ont pas guerpi	vdBR134	GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 248vb	vdB172	vdB172 in *Renart le Nouvel*: F-Pn fr. 372, f. 51va; F-Pn fr. 1581, f. 45ra and f. 48vb	
24.	Se li max d'amer massaut	vdBR177	-	vdB1695	-	

25.	Jolemant me tien li maus	vdBR178	-	vdB1163	-	
26.	J'aim par amours	vdBR179	-	vdB964	-	
27.	Diex vez les ci	vdBR180	-	vdB579	-	
28.	Nus n'iert ia jolis	vdBR181	-	vdB1407	vdB1407 in *La Court d'Amours II*: F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1731, f. 60va vdB1407 as the tenor L872T in the motet (872) *Dame bel et avenant* / (873) *Fi, mari, de vostre amour / Nus n'iert ja jolis s'il n'aime*: F-MO H 196, f. 301ra*; I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1543, n°5*	The motetus of the motet with tenor L827T is transmitted as another polyphonic *rondeau* in fr. 25566, attributed to Adam de la Halle. Interesting here is that this provides the possibility to compare the musical notation in H 196 and fr. 25566. The polyphonic *rondeau* consists of (almost) the same musical material as the three-voiced motet, but is monotextual. See: Everist 1996: pp. 83-92.
29.	He diex j'ai troué	vdBR182	-	vdB816		
30.	Est il paradis	vdBR183	-	vdB705	-	
31.	He diex quant vandra	vdBR184	-	vdB822	vdB822 in the *refrain-à-chanson A la fontenele* (RS593): F-Pa 5198, p. 358a*; F-Pn fr. 845, f. 174ra*; F-Pn nouv.acq. fr. 1050 f. 223ra*	VdB822 is copied in [F-B I 716], n° 35
32.	Qu'ai je forfet a bone amor	L1143	-	vdB1547	-	
33.	Vos nalez pas si com je faz	vdBR185	-	vdB1862	vdB1862 in *Renart le Nouvel*: F-Pn fr. 1581, f. 18vb; F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 19ra*; F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 128vb*	
34.	Dame or sui traiz par l'ochoison	vdBR75	F-Pn fr. 25566, f. and f. 33va (polyphonic);	vdB430	vdB430 in *Renart le Nouvel*:	

			I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 55vb (monophonic)		F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 166vb*	
35.	Hareu commant mi maintendrai	vdBR89	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, 118 vb (monophonic)	vdB777	vdB777 in *La Court d'Amours II*: F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1731, f. 60vb vdB777 in *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*: B-Mbu 330-215, f. 100rb GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 129rb vdB777 in the *chanson-à-refrain Ma dame me fait chanter* (RS816): F-Pn fr. 846, f. 85rb*	
36.	En ma dame ai mis	vdBR186	-	vdB662	vdB662 as part of the triplum L174 in the motet (174) *Trop souvent me duel* / (173) *Brunete a cui j'ai mon cuer doné* / *In seculum* (M13): D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 9va*; F-MO H 196, f124v*; I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 115vb vdB662 as part of the triplum L787 of the motet (787) *Grant solas me fait Amours* / (788) *Pleüst Dieu qu'ele seüst* / *Neuma*: F-MO H 196, f161v* vdB662 as part of the motetus L166 in the motet (166) *La bele m'ocit* / *In seculum* (M13):	

					F-MO H 196, f231v*	
					vdB662 in the *chanson-à-refrain Chanter vueil pour fine amour* (RS1957): CH-BEb 389, f. 40r	
					vdB662 in the *balette avec des refrains En espoir d'avois aïe* (RS1099): GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 229vb	
37.	Aymi dieus aymi	vdBR187	-	vdB38a	vdB38a in the *dit Le Sort des Dames*: F-Pn fr. 837, f. 218rb	
38.	Trop mi resgardez	vdBR188	-	vdB1816	-	
39.	Ouvrez moi luis bele tres douce amie	vdBR189	-	vdB1469	-	
40.	Li jorz m'a trové	vdBR190	-	vdB1232	-	
41.	He que me demande	vdBR191	-	vdB868	-	

Table 4.2: Other witnesses to the texts in the song collection in fr. 12786: the manuscripts

Manuscript	Number of concor-dances	Number of *refrain* concor-dances	Dating	Place of origin	
B-Br 10988	0	1	15th-c.	France	
B-Mbu 330-215	0	2	1285[254]	France	
CH-BEb 389	0	2	1290-1300	Metz?[255]	Trouvère chansonnier C
D-BAs Lit. 115	1	2	1286-1315	Southern France?[256]	"Bamberg Codex"
F-CA A 410	1	0	Mainly 13th-c. Several codicological	Flanders?	

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[254] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 52.
[255] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 71; Part 2, vol. 1: p. 55. Localisation based on the illumination.
[256] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 51. According to DIAMM this manuscript originates from Eastern France: "D-BAs Lit. 115 (Bamberg Codex)": <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/863/#/> (Accessed July 2018).

			units may date from from the 12th-c. and a flyleaf dates from the 11th-c.		
F-CV 78	1	0	Late 13th-c.? The main book appears to be made in the 14th-c. and has 15th-c. additions.	North(east)ern France	Fragment pasted on the back board of the binding of a Book of Hours.
F-MO H 196	1	5	c. 1270-95 and later additions	Paris[257]	"Montpellier Codex"
F-Pa 2741	0	1	c. 1400-1433?	Northern France	
F-Pa 5198	0	5	c. 1300-1325?	Paris?[258]	Trouvère chansonnier K or the "Chansonnier de Navarre"
F-Pn fr. 372	0	4	After 1292	Amiens[259]	
F-Pn fr. 837	0	3	c. 1275-95[260]	Northern France	
F-Pn fr. 844	1	1	Late 13th-c.	Amiens or Arras; possibly completed in Morea and Naples[261]	Trouvère chansonnier M or the "Chansonnier du Roi"
F-Pn fr. 845	0	5	13th-c.	Paris?[262]	Trouvère chansonnier N
F-Pn fr. 846	0	2	1297?	Lyon/ Besançon/ Tarantaise/Vienne[263]	Trouvère chansonnier O or the "Chansonnier Cangé"
F-Pn fr. 847	0	1	13th-c.	Paris?[264]	Trouvère chansonnier P
F-Pn fr. 1581	0	3	13th-c.	Northern France	
F-Pn fr. 1588	0	1	c. 1310-1330?	Arras[265]	
F-Pn fr. 1593	0	5	Late 13th-c.	Northern France	

[257] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: pp. 54-56. Dating based on the illumination. For the localisation: p. 28. Also see: "Manuscrit H196": <https://manuscrits.biu-montpellier.fr/vignettem.php?GENRE%5B%5D=MP&ETG=OR&ETT=OR&ETM=OR&BASE=manuf> (Accessed October 2016): this gives a dating between 1260 and 1280. According to DIAMM the manuscript may have been produced in Dijon c. 1280 "and later": "F-MO H 196": <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/888/#/> (Accessed July 2018).

[258] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 160.

[259] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 61. Localisation based on the illumination. For dating: p. 84; Part 1, vol. 2: p. 172.

[260] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 54. Dating based on the illumination.

[261] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 61; Part 1, vol. 2: p. 160. Localisation based on the illumination.

[262] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 160.

[263] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 73. Localisation based on the illumination.For the dating: : p. 85.

[264] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 160.

[265] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 59; Part 1, vol. 2: p. 166. Localisation and dating based on the illumination.

F-Pn fr. 1802	0	1	Early 14th-c.[266]	France	
F-Pn fr. 2186	0	1	c. 1270-80[267]	Paris	
F-Pn fr. 12615	0	1	1316	Amiens or Arras[268]	Trouvère chansonnier T or the "Noailles Chansonnier"
F-Pn fr. 20050	0	1	1231	Lorraine	
F-Pn fr. 25532	0	1	13th-c.	Noyon or Laon[269]	
F-Pn fr. 25566	4	5	c. 1300	Arras[270]	Trouvère chansonnier W
F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1050	0	3	13th-c.	Paris?[271]	Trouvère chansonnier X
F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1731	0	2	13th-c.?	Northern France	
GB-Ob Douce 308	3	4	After 1309	Verdun or Metz[272]	
I-MOe α R.4.4	0	1	13th- and 14th-c.	France	Troubadour chansonnier K
I-MOe γ G.3.20	0	1	15th-c.	France	
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490	3	2	c. 1275-80	Arras[273]	Trouvère chansonnier a or the "Vatican Chansonnier"
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1543	0	2	Late 13th-c. The main book dates from the 12th-c.	France	Fragment used as a flyleaf in a 12th-c. book in a 19th-c. binding.

There has been much debate about where scribes gathered their material and how they acquired the exemplars from which to copy their songs. Jane Alden offers a specific hypothesis in her *Songs, Scribes, and Society* in which she discusses the fifteenth-century *Loire Valley Manuscripts*. "[S]cribes [of these chansonniers] probably adopted certain aspects of the *pecia* system",[274] Alden argues. The exemplars used for such chansonniers would probably have been shorter than the four-leaved *peciae* used by academic scribes, as the repertoire consisted of

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[266] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 62. Manuscript made for Marie de Maci, "otherwise unknown". See: Stones 2014, Part 1, vol. 1: p. 120.
[267] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 53; Part 1, vol. 2: p. 17. Dating 1260-1275 based on the illumination.
[268] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 62. Localisation to Amiens based on the illumination. Dating based on internal evidence: p. 86. Also see: Saint-Cricq and Rosenberg 2017.
[269] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 68. Localisation based on the illumination.
[270] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 59; Part 1, vol. 2: p. 167.
[271] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 160.
[272] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 71. Localisation based on the illumination. Dating based on internal evidence: p. 87.
[273] Stones 2014: Part 1, vol. 1: p. 60. Localisation based on the illumination. Dating: Part 1, vol. 2: p. 161.
[274] Alden 2010: p. 153.

many more independent texts whose collection, organisation, and presentation varied much more from one manuscript to the next. The system would however have been similar: according to Alden, scribes would borrow an exemplar with some – but not too many – songs, copy them, return the exemplar, and get a new one. This way, several scribes could copy the same repertoire of songs more or less simultaneously.[275] However, the only examples of such collections, to which Alden refers as "working manuscripts" date from the early sixteenth century, and they are so few that perhaps this was not as common a procedure as Alden suggests; after all, there is little evidence to support her hypothesis.[276]

Sylvia Huot has studied the compilation of F-Pn fr. 25566, the *Adam de la Halle* manuscript that contains Adam's *opera omnia*. At the beginning of this codex an additional quire of eight folios transmitting Adam's songs has been bound in. The folios are of a different size and shape and in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript. Someone in a sixteenth-century (?) hand remarked that "[t]outes les chansons qui precedent recomencent cy apres auec quelques differences dans celle derniere" (all the preceding songs start again here with some differences in the last one) and that "Les 8. premiers feuillets de ce MSS. sont doubles" (the first eight folios of the manuscript are doubles). Evidently, this quire was not produced with the purpose of being bound in this volume.

Additionally, F-Pn fr. 847 and fr. 12615, both made in the thirteenth century, contain similar booklets bound in the backs of both books transmitting songs by Adam, of eighteen and eleven folios respectively, and F-Pn fr. 1109 also contains songs by the same author that were copied in later.[277] According to Huot, "[t]his plethora of compilations suggests that Adam's songs may have circulated as a collection independently of the chansonniers."[278] The order of the songs is similar in all sources. Such circulations of booklets containing groups of *chansons* by a single author provide an alternative hypothesis to Alden's *pecia*-suggestion, and it seems that indeed this is a likely scenario in the case of the works attributed to Adam de la Halle. In contrast to "working manuscripts", the booklets bound in in fr. 25566, fr. 847, and fr. 12615 are highly decorated: they all contain coloured initials illuminated with penwork, and are copied in attractive bookhands. Rather than being mere exemplars then, they must have been meant to be

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[275] Alden 2010: p. 153.

[276] Alden does present some convincing evidence in the form of groups of songs that were copied together frequently, and combined with the surviving "working manuscripts" this does indeed suggest that certain compilers would have worked with such systems, but there is no reason to believe that this practice was widespread and no evidence that any such method was used for the compilation of fr. 12786.

[277] Interestingly, two of the Adam de la Halle booklets are even more closely related than Huot realised. There are fourteen *chansons* in the quire in the front of fr. 25566, and those same songs are the first fourteen in the booklet at the back of fr. 847, which are there followed by twenty others that have been copied by the same hand who copied the quire that is now in fr. 25566: the first quire of the booklet in fr. 847 would originally have been the very one that is now bound in the *Adam de la Halle Manuscript*, but this was detached and replaced by a quire containing the exact same songs in the same order, but in a different hand.

[278] Huot 1987: p. 67.

bound either on their own, or in larger collections. According to Federico Saviotti, these booklets were not required to be bound at all: "dei singoli quaderni o degli agglomerati di pochi fascicoli, insomma, sprovvisti di una solida rilegatura perché destinati al consumo presso un pubblico vicino nel tempo e nello spazio, che segnerebbero il grande successo di una vera *star*" (in short, single quires or groups of fascicles lacked a solid binding because they were intended for consumption by an audience close in time and space, which might indicate the great success of a true star).[279] Thus, the high demand for Adam's songs may have triggered the copying of such booklets in scribal centres, much like the way in which the middle unit of fr. 12786 may have been produced, as was discussed in Chapter 1. This hypothesis is important for the current discussion of fr. 12786, as there are four Adam songs in the song collection in this manuscript, songs which may have been copied from such booklets as those we find in the abovementioned manuscripts.

Elizabeth Eva Leach has argued that the compilation of GB-Ob Douce 308, a manuscript which contains no fewer than eight concordances for the song collection in fr. 12786, may have happened with the use of circulating sheets with songs. Her argument is based on comparison with other manuscripts in which two songs from Douce 308 are found in the same order, and still other books in which the same two are found together but the other way around, suggesting that they may have been copied from a single sheet with the two songs on either side.[280] If Leach's hypothesis is correct, this method of assembling songs may have been used for other similar manuscripts, that is, manuscripts that are not, as far as we know, part of a 'group' of collections made in the same place at the same time and sharing content – such as the *Loire Valley Manuscripts* on which Alden based her theory – and manuscripts that were made in Northern France in the early fourteenth century, such as fr. 12786.

There are indeed cases in the concordant manuscripts for the songs in the collection in fr. 12786 that contain more than one concordance, in which these texts are found very close to each other in that manuscript. B-Mbu 330-215, for example, contains the *refrains* of songs 9 and 35 on adjacent folios (99v and 100r), but they do not follow each other directly in that manuscript, nor are they grouped in fr. 12786. Moreover, because the only the *refrain* texts of those songs are copied in Mbu 330-215, where they are inserted into *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, the could not be a direct relation between the two texts in this manuscript and the song collection in fr. 12786. D-BAs Lit. 115 transmits three texts that are found in the collection in fr. 12786, and two of those, 36 and 2, are immediately related in Lit. 115: the text of song 2, *Brunete cui j'ai mon cuer done* (L173) is used as the motetus of a motet, and the *refrain* of song 36 (vdB 662) is part of the triplum (L174) of the same motet. There is, however, no grouping of

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[279] Saviotti 2015: p. 239.
[280] Leach 2016, Wordpress.

these texts in the collection in fr. 12786, in which the *refrain* of song 36 is part of a *rondeau*. F-Pn fr. 372, fr. 1593, and fr. 25566 transmit two *refrains* that are part of adjacent songs from the song collection in fr. 12786, songs 13 and 14, in each of these manuscripts on neighbouring folios or even together on one folio (fr. 372: ff. 51r and 50v; fr. 1593: f. 50r; fr. 25566: 165v), although they do not directly follow each other, as two other *refrains* are copied in between. These *refrains*, musically notated in all three books, are inserted in *Renart le Nouvel*. *Renart le Nouvel* survives in at least two other manuscripts, but one of these, F-Pn fr. 1581 only contains the second *refrain* and the first has been replaced with a different text, and fr. 371 does not contain any *refrains*.[281] At first glance, the notated music of *Amours et ma dame aussi* (vdB156), the *refrain* of song 14 in the collection in fr. 12786 (vdBR76), appears to differ greatly between these surviving witnesses to *Renart*, but in fact they are related directly to the polyphonic *rondeau* (vdBR76) which survives with notation in fr. 25566: the *refrain* copied in *Renart* in fr. 25566 uses the music of the motetus of the *rondeau*, whereas fr. 1593 transmits music that is very similar to the tenor of this same *rondeau*. This shows that the *refrains* are not only textually, but also musically related to the polyphonic *rondeau* which survives without notation in fr. 12786. There is no evidence for individually circulating sheets containing songs 13 and 14 from the collection in fr. 12786, as Leach argues may have been the case for the songs in Douce 308 she compared with other manuscripts. *Renart le Nouvel* did circulate on its own.

It is important to keep in mind that an extensive oral tradition underpinned the transmission of poetry and music in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries: "Poets may have composed the texts in writing, and performers may sometimes have kept written copies of their repertory, but there is no evidence that systematic chansonnier compilation began before the mid-thirteenth century."[282] According to Sylvia Huot, oral tradition in which songs were constantly modified and adjusted by performers still played a vital role in the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and, crucially, scribes would have been familiar with the songs they copied: "a given scribe would have written down the version that he knew or liked best".[283] This argument would explain inconsistencies in both the text and the music of a song transmitted in different manuscripts, and it would explain why stemmas for individual songs often do not match those for manuscripts transmitting them, but the hypothesis in which scribes copied from memory does not shed any light on those manuscripts in which songs are copied in various dialects, regional spellings, or styles, as such features would be more uniform if the scribe copied by heart rather than from an exemplar. In most cases, there must have been a combination of both procedures, and a scribe would often have had an exemplar whilst

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[281] F-Pn fr. 371 is neither a contemporary nor a complete witness to *Renart le Nouvel*.
[282] Huot 1987: p. 50.
[283] Huot 1987: p. 50.

simultaneously copying in variants based on the memory of the sounding song, albeit in an increasingly written tradition. As Huot argues, "[i]f songs continued to be transmitted orally throughout the thirteenth century, the compilation of chansonniers did, nonetheless, contribute in the long run to a stabilization of the lyric tradition, as the written tradition came to assume a greater importance."[284]

In addition to the scribe's familiarity with the songs that were to be copied, Huot writes, the scribe "may [...] have had access to multiple written repertoires, perhaps belonging to performers, and put together a collection of songs drawn from more than one source."[285] Theoretically, every collection must have started out either in this way, or in the abovementioned manner in which the scribe copied the songs which were known by heart. Even though another source containing the same collection of songs as the one we find in fr. 12786 does not survive, this does not necessarily mean that it never existed, and that the scribe did not copy the collection as a whole from an exemplar. However, even if this were the case, that collection must have been copied from another exemplar, or from memory, and unless the songs were 'composed' together, which cannot be assumed to have happened in any case, they must originally have been taken from multiple sources. This implies that there must have been a network of written sources with songs to which the scribes had access.[286]

It should be questioned to what extent the scribe knew exactly which songs were intended to be in the song collection. Because there seems to be a thought-through organisational structure to the collection of fr. 12786, as will be discussed in detail below, there must have been planning involved, and the scribe cannot simply have accessed an exemplar, copied some *chansons*, and moved on to the next exemplar to copy the next group, unless the exemplars were, for example, single-genre collections acquired and used deliberately in the correct order, or unless the scribe did not copy the songs in the order in which they are found in the manuscript, but left carefully planned blank spaces for the other songs to be copied in later, a hypothesis that is not supported by the palaeography which shows that some texts were longer, and others shorter than would have been preferred for the particular lay-out. In other words, the scribe must have known in advance what the collection was going to look like, at least to a certain extent. The *chansons* must deliberately have been chosen for their genre and perhaps their complexity, although perhaps the choice of which precise individual texts were copied was dependant on the available exemplars rather than decided on in advance by the manuscript compilers or the patron who ordered the manuscript to be made. Assuming that the collection was carefully planned and the songs were carefully chosen, then there must have been

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[284] Huot 1987: p. 52.
[285] Huot 1987: p. 50.
[286] It is also possible that painstaking searches were carried out on behalf of the commissioners of the manuscript, but, as will be shown below, this does not seem to be the case for fr. 12786.

a wide selection available. This can only imply that the scribe either copied from memory, as Huot described, or had a range of sources available to access.

The copying from memory is problematised in the case of fr. 12786, because its song collection transmits polyphonic music rather than monophonic song. Although the scribe only copied the texts and left space for musical notation blank, which makes this issue very debatable, copying from memory means copying from the memory of sound, and the sound was, for most of these songs, three-voiced, and therefore already musically relatively complex. Writing down three-part polyphony from memory is unlikely, and it is, therefore, much more probable that the scribe had multiple written exemplars available to copy from, which means that there must have been a network of sources with vernacular song, with or without musical notation, which in turn implies that the scribe was working in a large and scribally busy centre, such as Arras, or Paris.[287]

The surviving network surrounding the songs transmitted in fr. 12786 is illustrated by Graph 4.1 below (and a zoomable version online at http://songnetwork.fvdheijden.eu).[288] The graph shows the thirty-one manuscripts which transmit the songs in the collection in fr. 12786 or the *refrains* of those songs in other contexts, such as romances. The manuscripts are represented by the largest nodes (dots) to which the siglum has been added; just over eight hundred smaller nodes representing the individual texts which are transmitted in more than one of these manuscripts, either songs or *refrains*; and nearly three thousand edges (lines) connecting the nodes and showing which text is copied in which manuscripts. The placing of the nodes show which books and which songs and *refrains* are most closely related when it comes to the transmission of texts from this corpus: if two manuscripts share a large number of texts, they will be closer together in space, and if two songs or *refrains* are found in a number of the same collections, they, too, will be in closer proximity in the graph. The colours in the graph highlight these relations further: manuscripts and texts of the same colour are more closely related in this same way.

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[287] Of course, the song texts could have been copied from memory, and the lack of musical notation makes this argument perhaps debatable. Additionally, the scribe could have used text-only exemplars or exemplars with monophonic musical notation from which these texts were copied, with the intention of returning to the texts later when an exemplar for the polyphonic music had been sourced.

[288] Software used to produce this graph: SocNetV-2.12, which is a programme with which sociagrams can be created; and Gephi 0.9.1, which can be used to stylise graphs. Apart from the information about the concordances between fr. 12786 and the other manuscripts, which is presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 above, all information about the songs transmitted in these manuscripts and about which texts are found in more than one of them, is taken from <http://refrain.ac.uk>. I acknowledge that the information on this website is probably not complete, and that there may be more relations between the manuscripts in the graph – and even other manuscripts that are part of the same network – than is currently known. The graph can be seen on http://songnetwork.fvdheijden.eu where can be zoomed in to see the smallest details and in which each node can be clicked on in order to see the incipits of the songs and basic information of the manuscripts, including a link to the digitised facsimile where possible. The online graph including the pointers was made with Leaflet, a programme designed to create interactive maps.

Graph 4.1: The network of song transmission surrounding fr. 12786
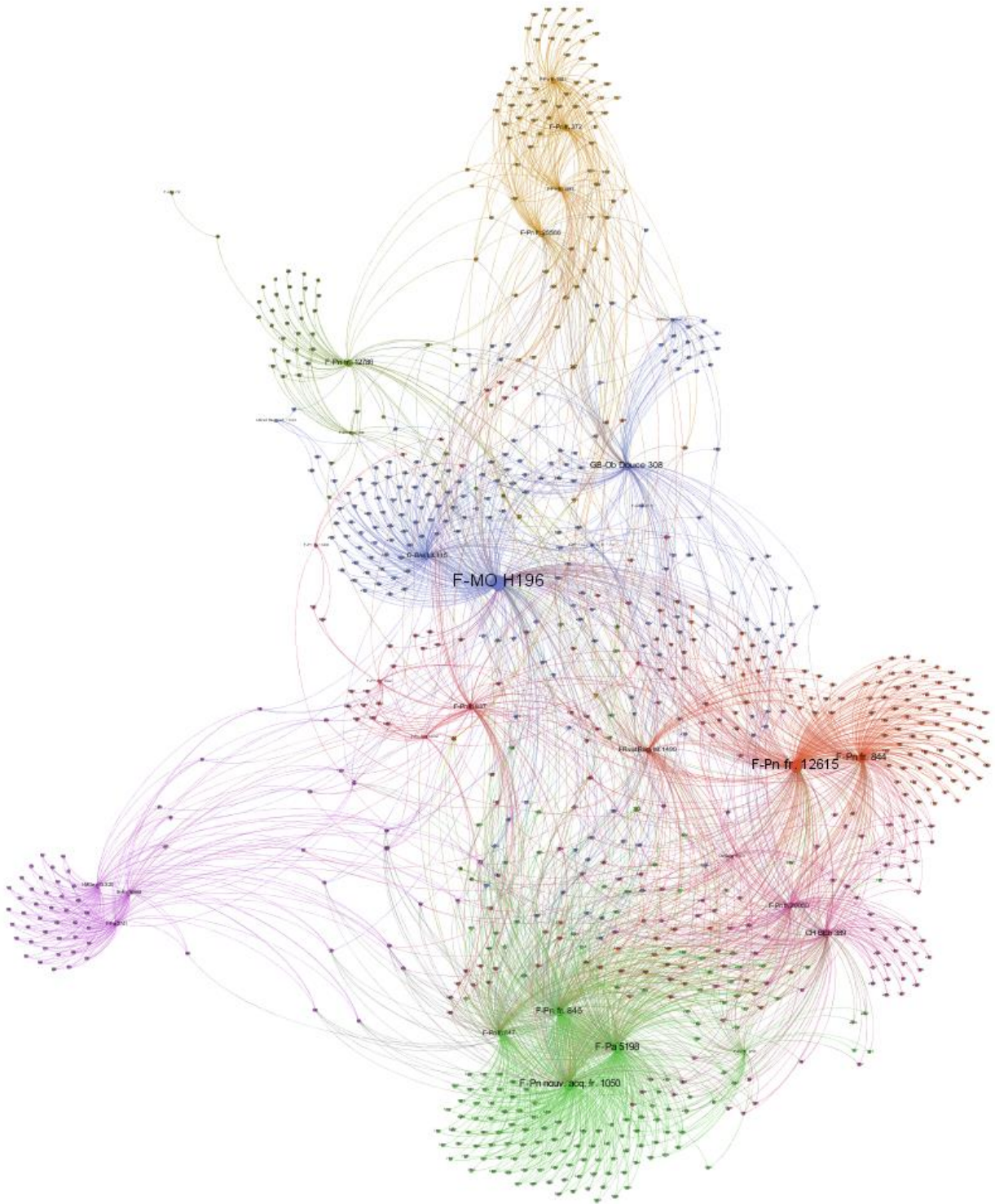
The graph does not differentiate between songs and *refrains*. Although this gives a somewhat distorted image of the network in certain places, as it creates groups of texts which are connected by certain romances, as will be shown below, and moreover because the *refrains* cannot be seen as full concordances to the songs but merely share one or several lines of texts with them, the graph shows direct and indirect relations between the group of manuscripts which it presents and visualises the network of texts and sources. For the sake of clarity, *unica* are not included apart from those transmitted in fr. 12786, the starting point of the graph, and neither are the songs and the *refrains* which are copied in one of these manuscripts as well as in other sources outside of this network represented in the graph. The main reason for this decision is that the graph is made to illustrate the network surrounding fr. 12786 rather than the full network of *chanson* and *refrain* transmission of which fr. 12786 is part. It is, however, important to keep in mind that this graph does not represent a closed-off network, and that it is part of a much larger web of concordances and transmission which includes other manuscripts and many more songs and *refrains*, not to mention those manuscripts which have not survived.

Fr. 12786 is situated towards the top left of the graph in dark green. A close-up is shown in Image 4.1 below. The *unica* can be observed in this close-up: they are the eighteen nodes which are connected by a single edge to the larger node representing fr. 12786. The single node that appears to 'jump out' of the graph on the top left side is *Joliement vueil mon chant retraire*, a song for which only one concordance is known: a fragment pasted on the back board of the cover of a manuscript in Charleville-Mézières. Because this piece of parchment is no longer found in its original context, it may not be surprising that there are no other songs or *refrains* in this book that are related to any of the other manuscripts in the graph.

The manuscript which appears to be most closely related to fr. 12786 when it comes to the transmission of these texts, is fr. 2186, situated in the graph immediately below fr. 12786 and also in the same dark green. The reason for this close relation is the *Roman de la Poire*, copied in both books, and supplying seventeen *refrain* concordances. Though the starting point of the graph is the song collection in fr. 12786 rather than all songs copied in this manuscript, the *Roman de la Poire* is inevitably included in the network because one *refrain* that is inserted in this romance, *Vouz arez la druerie amis* (vdB1853), is the *refrain* of the thirteenth song in the song collection (vdBR171). Eleven *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire* are unique to this text and survive nowhere else. They can be recognised in the graph as the group of nodes to the left of the node representing fr. 12786, all connected to both manuscripts, and located on the graph's margins rather than being 'pulled in' towards the centre as is the case for those *refrains* which are also copied in other manuscripts within the network.

Image 4.1: Close-up of Graph 4.1: fr. 12786 and its immediate surroundings
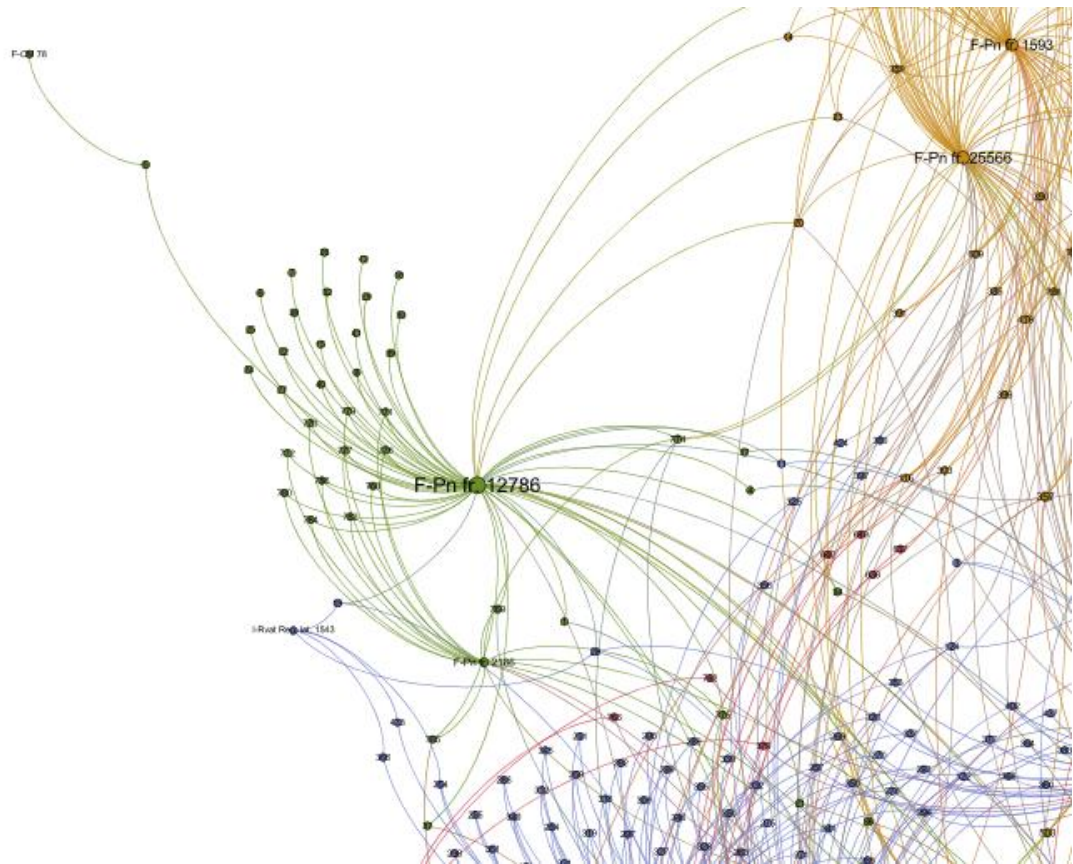
As said above, the inclusion of *refrains* in the graph as well of songs results in clusters. Two such groups will be briefly discussed, and an example of another cluster will be shown. Possibly the clearest cluster is the violet-coloured one at the bottom-left of the graph, shown in close-up in Image 4.2. The three manuscripts in this group, I-MOe γ G.3.20, B-Br 10988, and F-Pa 2741 transmit the *Art d'Amours*. This text, an anoymous "vernacular translation of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* interpreted through lengthy glosses that quote intertextual refrains", is a didactic work, an uncommon place in which to find *refrain* insertions.[289] The *refrains* are used in this text "as evidence of the moral implications of Ovid's text" but also have other functions, such as, arguably, the overpowering of Ovid's authorial voice, and livening up the text somewhat.[290] Nineteen *refrains* have concordances in other manuscripts. Most of these are found in motets, others as parts of songs, including one in fr. 12786, *Brunete cui j'ai mon cuer done* (L173), of which the *refrain* text (vdB468) happens to survive in a large number of other manuscripts.[291] It is interesting that only a few of the *refrains* in the *Art d'Amours* are copied in other manuscripts in the network represented by Graph 4.1: the violet cluster is further removed from the centre of

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[289] Saltzstein 2013: p. 36; p. 43.
[290] Saltzstein 2013: p. 44.
[291] Saltzstein 2013: pp. 45-46.

the graph than any other group, and the relative emptiness of the space in between this cluster and the rest of the graph indicates that there are not as many connections between these three manuscripts and the rest of the network as there are between the others. The compilers of the *refrains* in this vernacular translation, therefore, must have taken their musical material from a network that is connected to but not the same as the network illustrated by Graph 4.1.

Image 4.2: Close-up of Graph 4.1: The *Art d'Amours* group
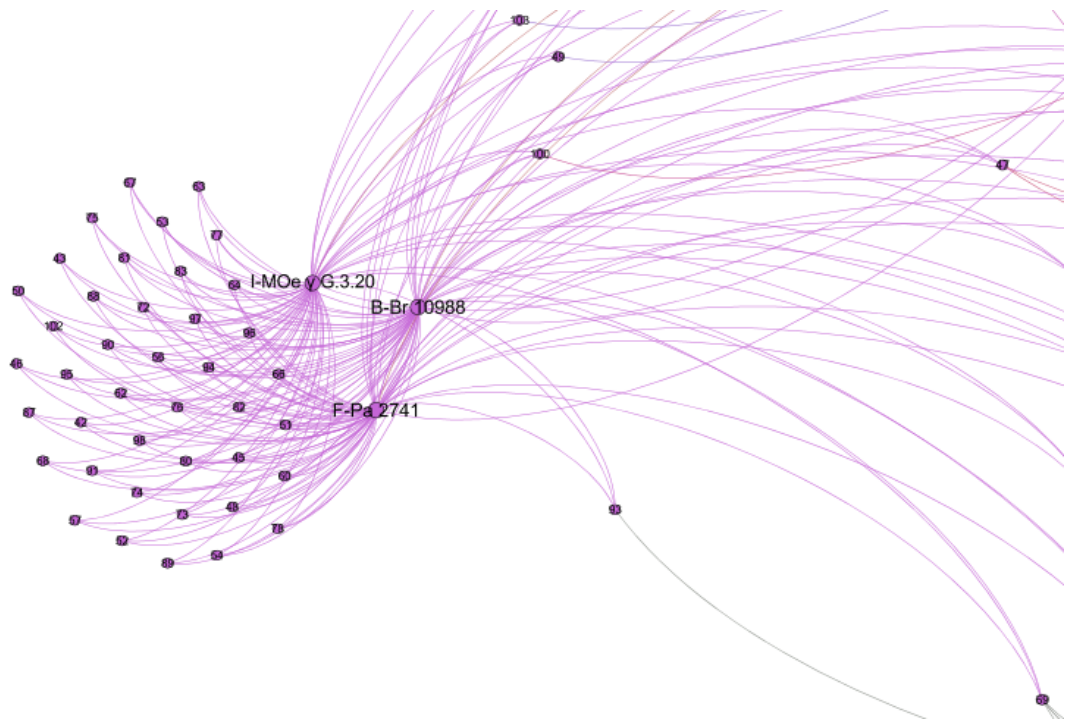
Image 4.3 shows another close-up, now the golden-coloured flame-shaped group at the top of the graph. The colour and the close proximity of the four nodes representing, from top to bottom, F-Pn fr. 1581, fr. 372, fr. 1593, and fr. 25566 indicate that the four books have something in common: all transmit *Renart le Nouvel*. This late thirteenth-century political satire attributed to Jacquemart Gieliée, very critical of contemporary society and especially the church, contains no fewer than seventy-one *refrain* insertions, though in none of the five surviving witnesses are these texts precisely the same ones at the same places, nor are they found in the exact same order. The same *refrains* are but rarely sung by the same animal in the story, and some texts appear more than once in a single witness. Even when the same text is found in two manuscripts, the melody varies drastically.[292] Even though the four manuscripts transmit the same text, one would not expect them to necessarily be closely related in their *refrains* based on this information. However, as the graph shows, the *refrains*transmitted in

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[292] Haines 2010: pp. 51-55.

Renart le Nouvel in these manuscripts are often the same ones. The graph does not provide any information concerning the presence or absence of musical notation, nor does it indicate the location of the text within the manuscript, and therefore many of the differences between the *refrains* in these four surviving witnesses cannot be observed here.

Image 4.3: Close-up of Graph 4.1: The *Renart le Nouvel* group
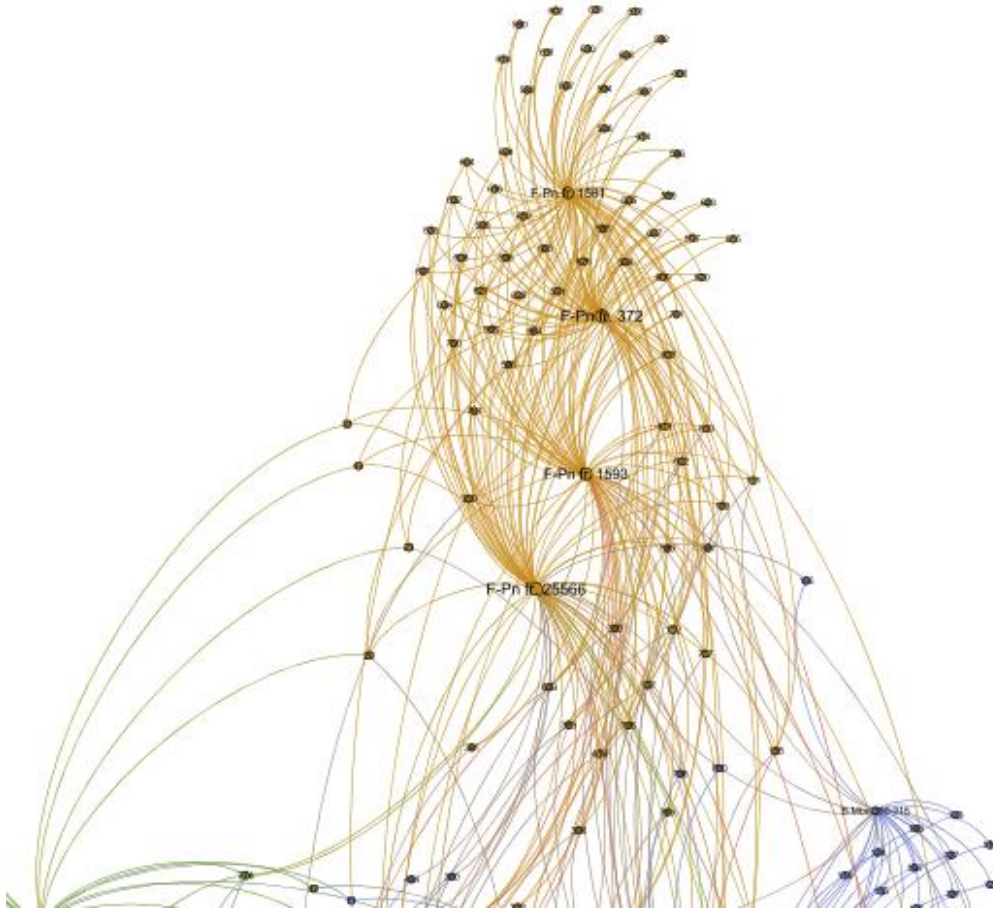
John Haines has studied *Renart le Nouvel* extensively and paid particular attention to the *refrains* in his *Satire in the Songs of* Renart le Nouvel, published in 2010.[293] The *refrains* are especially interesting in this text because "*Renart le Nouvel* is the only medieval romance with musical notation to feature singing animals".[294] No space for musical notation is left by the scribe in the only surviving witness to *Guillaume de Dole*, I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1725, "even though the author specifies that the songs in this story had musical notation", but other manuscripts transmitting this romance which have not survived may have included notation for the

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[293] Haines 2010.
[294] Haines 2010: p. 41.

refrains.[295] Haines states that the *refrains* in *Renart le Nouvel* are found in chansonniers and motet books, and were inserted into the narrative to "evoke courtly love only to swipe it with a deep and foreboding pessimism that forecasts the end of courtliness" and "to recall and parody those songs found in the trouvère chansonniers or lyric song collections that were standard by the late thirteenth century when *Renart le Nouvel*'s four (sic) extant manuscripts were compiled."[296] According to this reasoning, which precise texts they were, was not relevant; any *refrain* could serve to remind the audience of trouvère culture, a culture which was then criticised within the satirical romance. It is interesting, then, that the four manuscripts share so many texts. This suggests that there was a network of *refrains* from which these scribes or editors collected freely, but this network is not exactly the same network as that illustrated by Graph 4.1, as the four books form a distinct cluster which is situated on the margins of the graph.

Image 4.4: Close-up of Graph 4.1: The KNPX-group
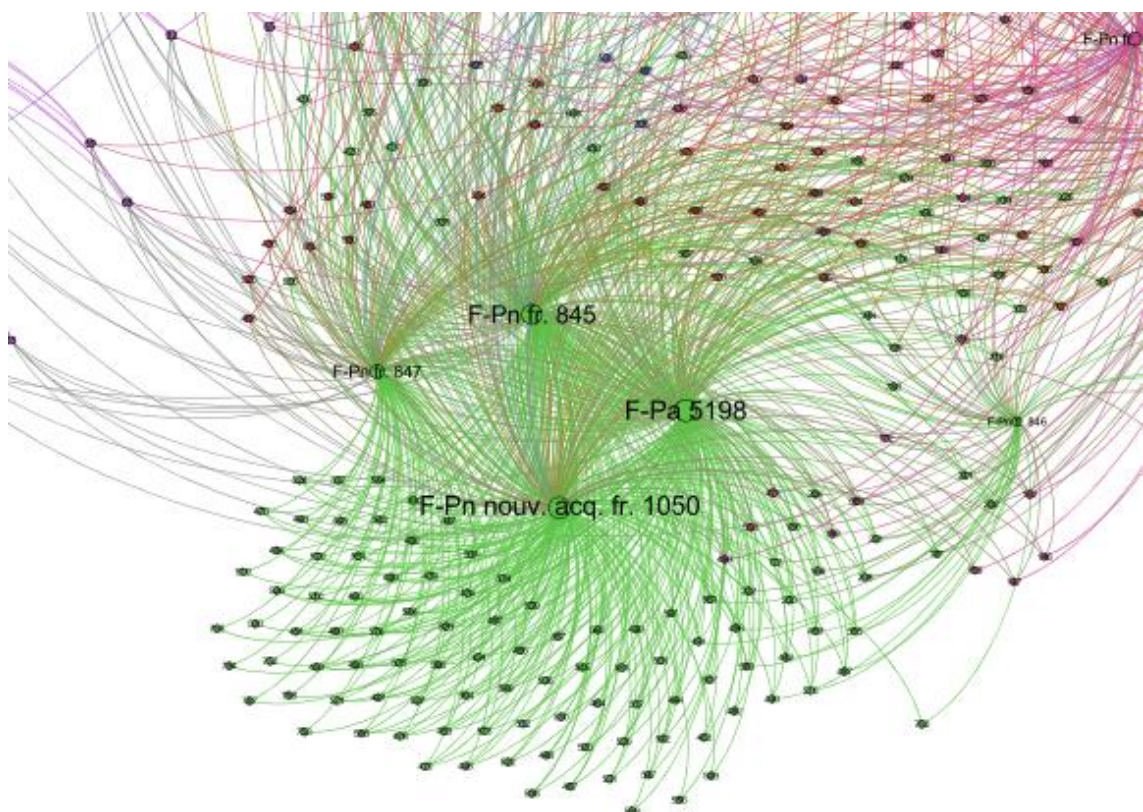
The final very clear cluster in the graph is the bright green group at the bottom, seen in close-up in Image 4.4 above. At first sight, this appears to be a similar group of manuscripts transmitting the same romance with *refrain* insertions, but in fact these are the four highly related

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[295] Haines 2010: p. 88.
[296] Haines 2010: p. 91.

chansonniers F-Pa 5198 (*Trouvère K* or the *Arsenal Chansonnier*), F-Pn fr. 845 (*Trouvère N*), fr. 847 (*Trouvère P*), and n.a.f. 1050 (*Trouvère X* or the *Chansonnier de Clairambault*), together famously known as the KNPX-group.[297] It is significant that this group is situated much more in the centre of Graph 4.1 than the two clusters discussed above which result from a sharing of texts with *refrain* insertions. This location within the graph signifies that KNPX-group shares many texts with the other manuscripts in the network and is much more central to the network of song transmission around fr. 12786.

The largest junctions of edges in Graph 4.1 are those nodes respresenting the two largest collections: F-MO H 196 (the *Montpellier Codex*), which is situated near the centre of the graph and is coloured blue, and F-Pn fr. 12615 (the *Noailles Chansonnier*), found towards the right-hand side in red. One of the most central manuscripts in this network appears to be I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490 (the *Vatican Chansonnier*), perhaps surprisingly because with just over a hundred individual texts it is not among the largest collections. However, it shares its texts with many different books in the network, and this results in its central position. It is surrounded by single nodes 'floating' in the centre of the graph, signifying those songs and *refrains* that are copied in many collections but are not part of groups of closely-connected texts, such as those *refrains* in romances or other texts. F-Pn fr. 837, a manuscript which has already been discussed several times in the previous chapters, is likewise located at a very central position within the graph. Interestingly, this book is not a chansonnier like most of the others, but a manuscript transmitting a collection of diverse contents, not unlike fr. 12786, including several texts into which *refrains* have been inserted. The fact that this manuscript is so much in the middle of this network which includes a large number of famous chansonniers, shows that the *refrains* are part of the same network of transmission as the songs.

The nearly eight-hundred-and-fifty nodes and three thousand edges in Graph 4.1 congregate as a dense web of lines and dots which illustrates the density of this network of song and *refrain* transmission and shows that this is highly concentrated. That fact that the relatively small group of manuscripts transmits so many songs that are copied in more that one of them, indicates the close relations. Fr. 12786 may be the starting point of the graph – all manuscripts are included solely because they share a direct or, in the case of the *refrains*, an indirect concordance with this book – but it is not in the centre. Although connected to every single other collection within the group of twelve manuscripts, fr. 12786 finds itself somewhat on the

[297] See: Spanke 1925. Of the four manuscripts, fr. 847 is the least similar. The other three volumes transmit a combined collection of two-hundred-and-seventy individual songs; Pa 5198 transmits two-hundred-and-forty-three of which only twelve are not found in fr. 845 and n.a.f. 1050; n.a.f. 1050 transmits two-hundred-and-forty-two of which only ten are not copied in Pa 5198 and fr. 845; and fr. 845 transmits one-hundred-and-sixty-five songs of which only nine are not also found in n.a.f. 1050 and Pa 5198. The texts are also copied in more or less the same order in these manuscripts.

periphery. This is partially the result of its small number of songs, small at least compared to most of the other books, and partially due to the relatively large number of unica it transmits. Fr. 12786 shares twenty-three texts of its song collection with other manuscripts or with *refrains* transmitted in other books, as well as nine *refrains* of the *Roman de la Poire* (of which *Vouz arez la druerie amis* (vdB1853) overlaps), which is many fewer than most of the others. Considering its size, then, fr. 12786 is closely connected to these manuscripts and to the rest of the network of song transmission. It is interesting to see how dense the network is and how concentrated the transmission. This tends to reinforce the suggestion of a large scribal centre in which scribes had easy access to the same texts in various forms and contexts.

4.2.   The Organisation of the Song Collection

The song collection might have been arbitrarily arranged, but there are reasons to believe that more thought was put into the internal organisation of the song collection in fr. 12786. Several types of organisation of such collections and of chansonniers will first be discussed before the songs in the collection in fr. 12786 will be studied in more detail.

Although there are many possible ways in which to organise a collection of songs,[298] the most common types of organising song collections are based on author, such as I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, or on genre, of which GB-Ob Douce 308 and F-Pn fr. 25566 are well-known examples.[299]

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[298] For example, some, believe that the *Mellon Chansonnier*, US-NHub 91, is a chansonnier with an organisation based on numerology, such as Vivian S. Ramalingam, who discussed this in her paper "A *Hymenaeus* for Beatrice" at the meeting of the American Musicological Society in Philadelphia in 1984. See: Slavin 1989: p. 115. This is, however, not generally agreed upon. Additionally, there are examples of manuscripts in which the songs are copied in alphabetical order, such as CH-Beb 389 (*Trouvère C*) and F-Pn fr. 846 (*Trouvère O* or the *Cangé Chansonnier*), both of which transmit two concordances for the song collection in fr. 12786. On alphabetical organisations, see: Huot 1987: p. 47; 74-80. Another organisational type is found in D-Mbs Galloram monacensis 902, a fragmentary fifteenth-century manuscript in which the songs are arranged firstly by genre, an organisational style which is no longer very common at the time, and contains *rondeaux*, a *virelai*, and *ballades*. Within the group of *rondeaux*, the largest group in this manuscript as well as in fr. 12786, the songs are arranged firstly according to their final, and secondly to the range of the tenor. See: Slavin 1989: p. 116; pp. 125-28. A completely different way of organising songs in a collection such as the one in fr. 12786 that is likewise rather uncommon, is one based on the contents of the texts, and in which the texts tell one story together. There are examples of whole manuscripts that are organised in such a way, such as, according to Sylvia Huot, F-Pn fr. 1447 and fr. 375. Huot 1987: pp. 19-27. The narrative organisation of particularly fr. 375 is debatable, but Huot's arguments do present a clear example here, and especially fr. 1447 shows a way in which such manuscripts were sometimes organised, in which the texts combined together "map out a [narrative] progression from antiquity to the medieval world." p. 20.

[299] Even though there are no contemporary examples, the absence of musical notation in fr. 12786 means that there cannot be any certainty that an organisation based on musical aspects, such as the final, was not planned for the song collection in this manuscript. However, based on the finals of the concordant versions of the same songs that do survive with notation, no such structure can be observed. The idea of the song collection in fr. 12786 being organised as a narrative is supported by the presence of several narrative aspects within the texts themselves. There are references to extra-musical genres, such as plays, or comedy, and throughout the collection there are several examples of the use of proper names: Robin,

Organisations based on genre are often found in manuscripts containing polyphony.[300] All three manuscripts, Reg. lat. 1490, Douce 308, and fr. 25566, transmit six or more songs that are also copied in fr. 12786, as can be seen in Table 4.1 above; they are in fact the most important concordances to the songs in the collection in fr. 12786, and, therefore, the chansonniers which are most closely linked to fr. 12786 are arranged according to these two organisational types.

Reg. lat. 1490 is a thirteenth-century manuscript with a chansonnier section in which the works by poet of highest social status, the King of Navarre, are copied at the beginning, and those by the poets of lowest social ranks at the end, followed by a section of anonymous songs which are organised by genre, in which section we find songs 2, 21, 34, and 35, as well as the *refrains* of songs 9 and 36, all in the category 'motet et roondel'.[301] It is interesting that these two genres are grouped here – as well as in several other manuscripts – because they are the two main genres found in the song collection in fr. 12786; while no polytextual motets are transmitted in the collection in fr. 12786, monophonic motet texts are copied at the beginning of the collection. It is important to observe that motets are often found with *rondeaux*, and this may shed some light on the sort of exemplar(s) the scribe may have used; there may have been a collection of 'motets et roondels' available to copy from. The same organisation based on author is found in the *Noailles Chansonnier* (F-Pn fr. 12615), which transmits the *refrain* of song 9 of the collection in fr. 12786, and which was made at approximately the same time. This type of organisation is the most common of all in Old French chansonniers.[302]

The early fourteenth-century Douce 308 transmits songs 3, 17, and 23, and the *refrains* of songs 4, 9, 11, 35, and 36 of fr. 12786's song collection.[303] As mentioned in Chapter 2, Douce 308 is, in part, a chansonnier, but does not contain any musical notation, nor was notation ever intended. Whether the six concordances that are polyphonic *chansons* in fr. 12786, should be seen as monophonic or polyphonic in Douce 308 is therefore debatable, although the *refrains* of songs 9, 35, and 36 were presumably not meant to be performed polyphonically (if at all), as they are *refrain* insertions in romances rather than songs standing on their own, and those *refrains* that have been notated are always notated monophonically. The *refrains* of songs 4 and 11 are part of a *ballette à refrains* and a motet voice respectively. Songs 11, 17, and 23 of the collection in fr. 12786 do not survive as songs in any other manuscript that fr. 12786 and Douce 308, and therefore do not survive with musical notation. However, song 3, *Vien avant*

Marion, Aliz, and Emmelot. Proper names were very common in the typically narrative *popularisant* genres, as well as in *pastourelles*. Although neither of these organisational types should be dismissed entirely in the case of fr. 12786, it is not likely that they are what the compilers had in mind.

[300] Slavin 1989: p. 124. Fr. 25566 is a single-author corpus, and in such collections an organisation based on genre is also most common. Slavin 1989: p. 124-25.

[301] On ff. 115va, 99vb, 188va, 55vb, 118vb, and 115vb respectively.

[302] See: Huot 1987: p. 47.

[303] On ff. 245ra, 217ra, 128ra, 247ra, 248vb, 248vb, 129rb, and 229vb respectively. The manuscript also contains the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and therefore has no fewer than nine concordant texts.

biaus dous amis (L1102), also survives on the final folio of F-CA A 410, a twelfth-century Flemish manuscript to which was added a small gathering with thirteenth-century motets.

F-Pn fr. 25566, considered to contain Adam de la Halle's *opera omnia*, transmits songs 10, 14, 20, and 34 of fr. 12786's song collection as well as the *refrains* of songs 13, 14, 20, 33, and 34, of which four are inserted in *Renart le Nouvel*. The four song concordances and the *refrain* of song 20 (here used as part of a motetus) are found in the part of the manuscript attributed to Adam.[304] If this section of the manuscript does indeed contain all works by this poet, the other thirty-seven songs in fr. 12786, now anonymous, must have been made by others, as they are not found in fr. 25566. Mark Everist writes in his "The Polyphonic *rondeau* c. 1300": "[T]he context in which these compositions [the *rondeaux* in fr. 12786] are found – as part of an anonymous anthology – at least leaves open the possibility that other composers might have been involved in composing these works."[305] Because these four Adam texts are found so far apart in the song collection in fr. 12786, an organisation based on author cannot be considered likely here. However, without any further evidence the hypothesis that the collection in this manuscript is likewise a single-author one, as in fr. 25566, and for unknown reason an attribution was missed out – a hypothesis which would increase Adam's oeuvre by thirty-seven texts – should not be eliminated entirely. The late-thirteenth-century fr. 25566 would, then, not be an *opera omnia*, as at least thirty-seven Adam texts would not have been included.

Single-author song collections are often organised based on genre, which is the case for fr. 25566, and, as will be discussed below, is also the case in fr. 12786, at least to a certain extent.[306] The main genre in fr. 12786 is the polyphonic *rondeau*, which – with thirty-three songs – takes up over eighty percent of the collection.

As said in Chapter 2, fifty polyphonic *rondeaux* from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century survive, of which no fewer than sixteen have been attributed to Adam de la Halle. With the exception of one *chanson*, all other thirty-four are anonymous.[307] Having composed a third of the surviving corpus, Adam can certainly be considered the main author of the genre at the time, which makes it plausible that at least some of the now unattributed songs were also composed by this poet, and perhaps even all twenty-seven now anonymous polyphonic *rondeaux* in the collection in fr. 12786. However, fr. 12786 offers no further evidence regarding the authorship of these *rondeaux*, and it is therefore also possible that fr. 25566 represents the full extent of Adam's works in the genre, and other, now anonymous poet-musicians contributed the remaining two thirds of the repertory.

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[304] On ff. 34rb, 165vb, 33va and 165va, 34ra and 35vb, 128vb, and 33va and 166vb respectively.
[305] Everist 1996: p. 66.
[306] Slavin 1989: p. 124-25.
[307] There is one *rondeau* by Jehannot de l'Escurel surviving in F-Pn fr.146, f. 57r.

In the song collection in fr. 12786, four texts are copied with blank spaces above them meant for monophonic musical notation. Most of these are texts that are found as motet voices in other sources. As Mark Everist, Judith Peraino, and many others have shown, the word *motet* is rather problematic: the genre ranges from liturgical to secular texts, from two-, three- or more-part polyphonic settings to monophonic songs, and can be found in a variety shapes and forms as well as contexts, making it difficult to decide whether or not a song is a motet.[308] To avoid ambiguity I will therefore here speak of these songs as 'monophonic motets,' after Peraino's example in her 2001 article "Monophonic Motets: Sampling and Grafting in the Middle Ages".[309] The fact that they are monophonic does not mean that these motets are incomplete; part of the motetus of *Trop souvent me duel/Brunete, a cui j'ai mon cuer done/In seculum* for example, which is found on its own in fr. 12786, also circulates as a *refrain* in *l'Art d'Amour*, *le Salut d'Amour* and a *chanson àrefrain* in more manuscripts than it does as a motetus voice. More problematic are the cases of songs 5 and 6, the first only surviving on a fragment whose context is unknown, the latter not surviving anywhere else at all, and therefore it is unknown whether these were indeed also actual motet texts like the others are, or only free-formed monophonic motettish *chansons*. However, because they are songs of the same kind as the 'monophonic motets', monophonic – or in the case of song 6, polyphonic – songs not following any *forme fixe* or indeed any clear poetic structure, they will for this purpose be considered to be provisionally of the same genre.

A problem for those monophonic monotextual motets in fr. 12786 that do survive in other witnesses as one of three texts of a polyphonic polytextual motet (a problem which is the result of the simultaneous written and oral transmission), is our inability to establish whether these 'motet texts' were added to other texts to form the motet in which they are transmitted in other manuscripts, or whether transmission happened the other way around and the texts were extracted from those motets and copied separately. *Si ait diex m'ame* (L1142), the sixth song in the song collection, is the only text in this group that is in fact polyphonically laid out, but nevertheless only has one text. This will therefore be called a 'polyphonic monotextual motet', in this collection functioning as an in-between form between the monophonic motets and the polyphonic (and likewise monotextual) *rondeaux*. Such polyphonic monotextual motets seem rare, but there are other examples to be found, such as *Mellis stilla maris stella* in GB-Ob Rawlinson G. 18, and *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris* in GB-Lbl Harley 978.[310] Again, it is unclear whether such songs were first transmitted – orally or in writing – as polytextual motets from which two of the three texts were removed, or whether they existed first as monophonic or at least monotextual motets and two voices or two texts were added later. In the case of the two

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[308] See e.g.: Everist 1994, Peraino 2001.
[309] Peraino 2001.
[310] Deeming 2013: pp. 152, 118-19.

examples in English manuscripts here mentioned, the music of the polyphonic monotextual motets is essentially the same as that of their motet 'concordances', but with a slightly different rhythmical structure that matches the single text. Of course, without the notated music in fr. 12786, it is unknown whether this would likewise have been the case for song 6, *Si ait diex m'ame*. However, in similar cases, concordant witnesses do help. For example, the *refrain* of *Nus n'iert ia jolis* (vdB 1407; song 28 in the collection in fr. 12786) survives in F-MO H 196 as the tenor (L872T) of the motet *Dame bele et avenant – Fi, mari de vostre amour – Nus n'iert ja jolis* of which the motetus is transmitted in F-Pn fr. 25566 as a polyphonic *rondeau*. Again, the musical material of the two notated polyphonic works, the motet in H 196 and Adam de la Halle's *rondeau* in fr. 25566, is almost exactly the same, and the only difference is that there is only one text for this song in fr. 25566 and three in H 196.[311] Additionally, *Dame or sui traiz par l'ochoison* (vdBR75; song 34 in the collection in fr. 12786) survives in fr. 25566 as a polyphonic *rondeau* and in I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490 in monophonic form. Notwithstanding some minor differences, it is clear that the melody of the monophonic *rondeau* in Reg. lat. 1490 matches the middle voice of the polyphonic song in fr. 25566. Everist suggests that "the two *rondeaux* in F-Pn fr. 12786 that have concordances in I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490 would also have shared their middle voice with the Vatican version."[312] In other examples, likewise, the music of monophonic *chansons* of which the text is the same as that of a polyphonic *rondeau*, corresponds to the melody of the middle voice of the three-part polyphonic work. Based on this observation, Everist argues that the melody of the tenor in the motet *Dame bele et avenant – Fi, mari de vostre amour – Nus n'iert ja jolis* preserved in H 196 would be the same as that of the middle voice of song 28 in the collection in fr. 12786 rather than to the lowest voice which is its position in the polyphonic context of the motet in H 196.[313] The musical material, then, would not be the same as that of the polyphonic *rondeau Fi, mari de vostre amour* transmitted in fr. 25566 which shares its text with the motet's middle voice; neither would it be the same as that of the motet as was the case for the two examples in English manuscripts mentioned above.

As said, *Pour vos douz viaire cler* (RS838a, song 4 in the collection in fr. 12786), was never meant to receive musical notation, and is copied in continuous lines. It is unclear why this is the case. It might be considered that this song was copied later than the others, and that the scribe only had limited space left, in which case copying the text as if it were prose and without space for staves was an efficient enough solution to fit the text in the space left on this folio, but a more interesting hypothesis is that the lay-out is deliberately different to show the difference in genre: this is the only *chanson àrefrain* in the collection, a song with three stanzas (aaab) and

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[311] See Everist 1996: pp. 83-86.
[312] Everist 1996: p. 83. Everist adds that "further analogy – and especially reconstruction – would be a perilous endeavour."
[313] See: Everist 1996: pp. 83-84.

a refrain (BB) after each one. The *chanson àrefrain* can be seen as a proto-*forme fixe* that shows similarities with *rondeaux* and other genres in which stanzas are followed by refrains, but without the strict form. Thirty-six songs were laid out for three-part polyphonic musical notation. It is interesting to note that all monophonic songs and the one notation-free text are copied at the beginning of the collection, and this fact may start to point towards an organisation based on genre.

But the collection in fr. 12786 shows signs of an additional organisational structure: one based on the complexity or difficulty of the songs. Difficulty is a complex and highly subjective concept, but is here assumed to be related to the complexities in rhyme scheme, poetic form, length, and the presence or absence of the intention for polyphony, indicated by the sizes of the blank spaces above the texts. Without the music notated, nothing can be said about the complexity of the music, except when the music surviving in concordant witnesses is compared. This is, however, problematic because in almost all concordances, the songs are found in a different form: monophonic motets are copied in other manuscripts as one of three motet voices, polyphonic *rondeaux* as free-formed *chansons* or monophonic songs, making such a comparison complicated and uncertain at best. Moreover, the music of a *refrain*, which is often not notated, is not necessarily related to the musical material of the song with which it shares its text. The scribe did not space out the words to leave space for melismatic music, suggesting that there was an intention for syllabic notation.[314] However, because this is the case for all *chansons* in the song collection, this does not differentiate between songs and therefore will not have an effect on the current argument: that the songs are arranged in an order of ascending difficulty.

Sylvia Huot argues that the lyric corpus of Adam de la Halle's texts in fr. 25566 is likewise organised in such a way: "traditional songs and *jeux-partis* are followed by the polyphonic compositions, culminating in the motets."[315] She is, however, only talking about complexities of the genres in general, and does not take into account the differences between the songs within a genre. I am arguing here that the ascending order of difficulty in fr. 12786 is based on more than genre alone, and is continued within these larger groups.

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[314] The absence of larger spaces between words and syllables may also be an unintentional choice on the part of the scribe, who may have copied the text in the same way as any other text.
[315] Huot 1987: p. 68

Table 4.3: The songs in the song collection, their genre, and their rhyme scheme

	Incipit	Genre	Rhyme Scheme
1. f. 76r	Pour escouter le chant du roussignol	Monophonic motet	[a10 b10 b8 c10] b13 c13 b10[316]
2. f. 76r	Brunete cui j'ai mon cuer doné	Monophonic motet	a8' a8' a8' b9 [=b15][317]
3. f. 76r	Vien avant biaus dous amis	Monophonic motet (?)	[a9' b7 c6 a6 a9' d7] e6 a6'
4. f. 76r	Pour vos douz viaire cler	*Chanson àrefrain*	a7 a7 a7 b7 [B5 B7] a7 a7 a7 b7 [B5 B7] a7 a7 a8 b7 B5 B7
5. f. 76v	Joliement vueil mon chant retraire	Monophonic motet (?)	[a8'] b6' a6' b6' a8' b6' a6' b6'
6. ff. 76v-77r	Si ait diex m'ame	Polyphonic monotextual motet	a4 a5 b4 c5 c6 b6 d10 d10 d10 e4 e5 b4[318]
7. f. 77r	Je ne deffendrai mie	*Rondeau tercet* (polyphonic)	A7 B3 A8 a7 b3 [A7 B3] a8 a6 [A7 B3 A8]
8. f. 77r	Amours sont perdues	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A6 B5 a6 [A6] a6 b5 [A6 B5]
9. f. 77r	Ainssi doit on aler a son ami	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A6 B4 a5 [A6] a6 b4 [A6 B4]
10. f. 77v	Bonne amourete	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A5 B3 a5 [A5] a5 b3 [A5 B3]
11. f. 77v	Or ni serai plus amiete	(*) *Rondeau simple*[319] (polyphonic)	A8' B6' a8'+ c2 (or c11) [A8'] d5' + e6 + f3' (or d15') [A8' B6]
12. f. 77v	Or ai ge trop dormi	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A6 B6' a6 [A6] a6 b6' [A6 B6']
13. ff. 77v-78r	Vouz arez la druerie amis	*Rondeau simple*[320] (polyphonic)	A12 B7' a12 [A12] a12 b 7' [A12 B7']
14. f. 78r	Amours et ma dame aussi	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B7 a7 [A7] a7 b7 [A7 B7]
15. f. 78r	J'ai un panse amorous	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B5 a7 [A7] a7 b5 [A7 B5]

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[316] Square brackets indicate the deleted text in fr. 12786. The information between the brackets is based on surviving concordances.

[317] The text is unfinished in fr. 12786: "Brunete cui iai mon cuer done; por uos ai maint grief mal endure; por dieu preigne uos de moi pitie; fins cuers sauoreus douz de debone(…)". In F-MO H 196 the text is copied as: "Brunete a qui iai mon cuer done; por voz ai maint grief mal endure; por deu pregne vos de moi pite; fins cuers amorous de debonairete vient amors" and the rhyme scheme there is therefore more complete. The final words, "de debonairete vient amors" are also found as a *refrain*, inserted in several texts in various manuscripts. See Table 4.1. It is unclear whether the text was complete in fr. 12786, or whether it always remained unfinished. The final word of the fourth line as it currently stands results in an eye rhyme (done, endure, pitie, debone) which may have caused the scribe to believe that the text finished there. However, the line does not work well grammatically.

[318] See Everist 1996: p. 77. The rhyme scheme can also be interpreted as: a7 b6 a9 b9 c11 c11 c11 b15, depending on the line breaks.

[319] This text has the basic structure of a *rondeau*, which is why it is classified as such. However, it is not regular in its rhyme scheme and its internal structure. The same applies to the other texts marked with an asterisk.

[320] Mark Everist considers this a *rondeau tercet*. See: Everist 1996: p. 68.

16. f. 78r	Hareu je ne cuidai mie	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7' B5 a7' [A7'] a7' b5 [A7' B5]
17. f. 78r	He mesdisanz diex	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A10 B5' a10 [A10] a10 b5' [A10 B5']
18. f. 78v	He biaus cuers	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A4 B6 a4 [A4] a4 b6 [A4 B6]
19. f. 78v	Toute seule passerai	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A11' B7 a11' [A11'] a11' b7 [A11' B7]
20. f. 78v	Diex comant porroie	*Rondeau tercet* (polyphonic)	A5' B5 A5' a5' [A5'] a5' b5 [A5' B5 A5']³²¹
21. f. 78v	Je chanterai faire ledoi	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A8³²² B7' a7 [A8] a8 b7' [A8 B7']
22. f. 79r	J'ai donné mon cuer joli	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B7' a7 [A7] a7 b7' [A7 B7']
23. f. 79r	Amours ne m'ont pas	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B7 a7 [A7] a7 b6 [A7 B7]
24. f. 79r	Se li max d'amer massaut	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B7' a7 [A7] a7 b7' [A7 B7']
25. f. 79r	Jolemant metien li maus	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A3³²³ B4 a4 [A4] a4 b4 [A4 B4]
26. f. 79v	J'aim par amours	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A8 B4 a8 [A8] a8 b4 [A8 B4]
27. v. 79v	Diex vez les ci	(*) *Rondeau simple*³²⁴ (polyphonic)	A7 B9 c9' [A7] d9' e9' [A7 B9]
28. f. 79v	Nus n'iert ia jolis	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A5 B2' a5 [A5] a5 b2' [A5 B2']
29. f. 79v	He diex j'ai troué	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A5 B5 a5 [A5] a5 b5 [A5 B5]
30. f. 80r	Est il paradis	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7' B7 a7' [A7'] a7' b7 [A7' B7]
31. f. 80r	He diex quant vandra	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A5 B5 a5 [A5] a4 b5 [A5 B5]
32. f. 80r	Qu'ai je forfet a bone amor	Free form (polyphonic)	A4 B4 C4 a5 a5 a5 c4 c4 c4 A4 B4 C4

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³²¹ The second strophe does not appear to be complete in fr. 12786, as it only consists of an a5' and a b5 line part: "Diex comant porroie (A); sanz cele durer (B); quie me tient a ioie (A); ele est simple et coie (a); Dex (A); iamais cuer nauroie (a); de nule autre amer (b); Diex (A+B)". The same text in fr. 25566 is somewhat longer: "Diex comment porroie (A); sans cheli durer (B); qui me tient en ioie (B); Ele est simple et coie (a); Diex comment porroie (A); Nen men partudie (a) por les iex creuer (b); Se Samour nauoie (b); Diex comment porroie (A); sans cheli durer (B); qui me tient en ioie (A)". Because the repetitions of the refrain are not spelt out in fr. 12786, the *rondeau tercet* structure does not become entirely clear, but it does fit best, and particularly because the same text in fr. 25566 is an uncorrupted *rondeau tercet*, it can be assumed that the text in fr. 12786 was intended to be the same.

³²² The A8 line can also be read as an A7: "Ie chanterai faire ledoi" could be "Chanterai faire ledoi" which would make the first strophe *rondeau* very regular, but the second less so. The music may have followed either; there may or may not have been a note above 'je'.

³²³ The A4 line is a three-syllabled one in fr. 12786 due to a scribal error: the scribe copied "Jolement" which should have been "Joliement". The first repetition of the refrain is indicated and the word is spelt correctly here.

³²⁴ Mark Everist considers this a free form, probably due to the inconsistencies in the strophes. See: Everist 1996: p. 68. Although both can easily be defended, the general structure of this text matches that of a *rondeau* and therefore it is here considered to be thus. Keeping in mind that the *formes fixes* were not always very regular at the time, the compilers of the song collection may well have considered *Diex vez les ci* a *rondeau*.

33. f. 80v	Vos nalez pas si com je faz	*Rondeau tercet* (polyphonic)	A8 B8 B7 a8 [A8] a8 b9 b7 [A8 B8 B7][325]
34. f. 80v	Dame or sui traiz par l'ochoison	*Rondeau tercet* (polyphonic)	A5 B4 C9 a5 [A5] a5 b4 c9 [A5 B4 C9]
35. f. 80v	Hareu commant mi maintendrai	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A8 B8 a8 [A8] a8 b8 [A8 B8]
36. f. 81r	En ma dame ai mis	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B4 a7 [A7] c7 b4 [A7 B4]
37. f. 81r	Aymi dieus aymi	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A7 B4 a7 [A7] a7 b3 [A7 B4]
38. f. 81r	Trop mi resgardez	*Rondeau quatrain*[326] (polyphonic)	A5 B5 C5 B4 a5 A5 a5 b5 a5 b5 [A5 B5 C5 B4]
39. f. 81v	Ouvrez moi luis bele tres douce amie	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A9' B9 a9' [A9'] a9' b9 [A9' B9]
40. f. 81v	Li jorz m'a trové	*Rondeau tercet*[327] (polyphonic)	A5 B7' A8 a5 b6'[328] A5*[329] [B7'] a5 b6' a8 A5 [B7' A8]
41. f. 82r	He que me demande	*Rondeau simple* (polyphonic)	A10 B7 a10 [A10] a10 b7 [A10 B7]

Table 4.3 above sets out the genres of the songs in the collection in the order in which they appear in the manuscript, and gives the rhyme scheme for each of the texts. As can be seen, the five 'motettish' texts are of a very different form and of various degrees of regularity; *Pour escouter le chant du roussignol*, for example, is not very regular, though it has only three different rhyme sounds while *Vien avant biaus dous amis* has five; and *Joliement vueil mon chant retraire* is much more regular with only two rhyme sounds, a solid abab form of which only the first line is longer and which is repeated. Within the large group of polyphonic *rondeaux*, there is one text which does not fit this *forme fixe*: song 32, *Qu'ai je forfet a bone amor* (L1143), is a free form. Its rhyme scheme is given in Table 4.3 and can be read as ABCaaacccABC or simplified as AbcA. The transcription of the text as transmitted in fr. 12786 is as follows:[330]

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[325] There appear to be several scribal errors in this text, most of which easy to explain by eye skip. The text as transmitted in fr. 12786 is as follows: "Vos nalez pas si com ie faz; ne uos ne uos sauez aler; ne uos ni sauez al*er*; Bele aliz per main seleua; v*os* nalez; biau se uesti miex se para; bon ior ait cele q*ue* nos nomer; soua*n*t mi fait soupirer; Vos".

[326] Mark Everist considers this text a free form, but the *rondeau quatrain* form is very regular and of significant importance for the current argument concerning the organisation of the song collection in fr. 12786. See: Everist 1996: p. 69.

[327] The inconsistencies in the rhyme scheme of this text may be why Mark Everist considers this to be another free form. See: Everist 1996: p. 69.

[328] There is a word missing from this line: "he mot de uilenie" should be "he nul mot de uilenie" and this would fit the rhyme scheme better.

[329] The first line of the second refrain, given as an indication for the repeating of the first two lines of the refrain in fr. 12786, differs from the first instance and no longer matches rhyme sound A: "Li iorz ma troue (A); he es iolis braz mamie (B) ; il si fait bon entroblier (A); Il ni ot parle (a); he [nul] mot de uilenie (b); li iorz ma seur pris (A*) (B); fors de bien amer (a); he et de cortoisie (b) et de baisier et dacoler (a); Li iorz ma troue (A); he el iolis [braz mamie (B) il si fait bon entroblier (A)".

[330] The final "Quai" is a cue for the repetition of the refrain "Quai ie forfet a bon amor qui trai ma".

Quai ie forfet (A)
a bone amor (B)
qui trai ma. (C)
Dame mort mauez (a)
se uos ne mamez (a)
au cuer mis mauez (a)
un mal qui ia (c)
nemi laira (c)
ainz mocirra. (c)
Quai. (ABC)

The structure of this text is similar to that of a *virelai*, which typically has the form AbbaA. The *virelai* refrain (A) is often three lines long, as it is in L1143, or four, but may be any number of lines. If the first two strophes (b and b), which are usually shorter than and sometimes even half the length of the third strophe (a), which in turn is the same length of the refrain with which it also shares its rhyme sound(s), are seen as one strophe together, the structure can be read as AbaA, and this does indeed resemble the simplified structure of L1143 as given above.[331] *Virelais*, however, are usually much longer than the song transmitted in fr. 12786 and may be structured AbbaAbbaAbbaA. Another important difference between the *virelai* and the structure of L1143, is that the refrain in the latter consists of three different rhyme sounds, something which does not normally occur in *virelais*, and each strophe is also three lines long. In this sense, the song may perhaps be called a "*virelais tercet*", a form for which there is, as far as I have been able to find, no other surviving example and which has never been referred to as such by any scholar. Because the rhyme sounds do not match the expected rhyme sounds in even a "*virelais tercet*", which would, theoretically, be ABCdef(def)abcABC, this classification seems somewhat farfetched and I will therefore here consider L1143 to be a free form. It is, however, important to note that the free form is a relatively regular one.

The refrain at the beginning and the end of the song is reminiscent of the *rondeau* form and this may explain why this free form is copied within the *rondeau* group. The form also shows similarities to the *chanson àrefrain*, *Pour vos douz viaire cler*, which, likewise, contains refrains. Because the free form and the *chanson àrefrain* are each situated within an otherwise relatively homogeneous group of texts when it comes to genre, it appears that the compilers either considered these songs to belong to the same general category or genre, or did not consider genre or form to be the feature according to which to organise the songs. Rather, the monophonic and the polyphonic groups are not interrupted, and this may point to an ascending order of difficulty.

An increase in complexity can also be observed within the group of polyphonic *rondeaux*. The five *rondeaux tercets* (songs 7, 20, 33, 34, and 40) are, as it were, gradually

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[331] See: Wilkins 2001.

introduced into the collection: while the first polyphonic *rondeau* is a *tercet*, there are twelve in between this and the next instance, and another twelve between that one and the one after that, but they become more frequent from this point onwards, and of the final nine texts, one third are *rondeaux tercets*. Moreover, the free form and the most complex *rondeau quatrain* are both also found within the final ten texts, of which only five are *rondeaux simples*. The two *rondeaux simples* with more complicated rhyme schemes that do not follow the *forme fixe* strictly, songs 11 and 27, find themselves in between the first three *rondeaux tercets* which are furthest apart, as if to break the monotony of ordinary *rondeaux simples*.

Graph 4.2: Graphic representation of the genres in the song collection
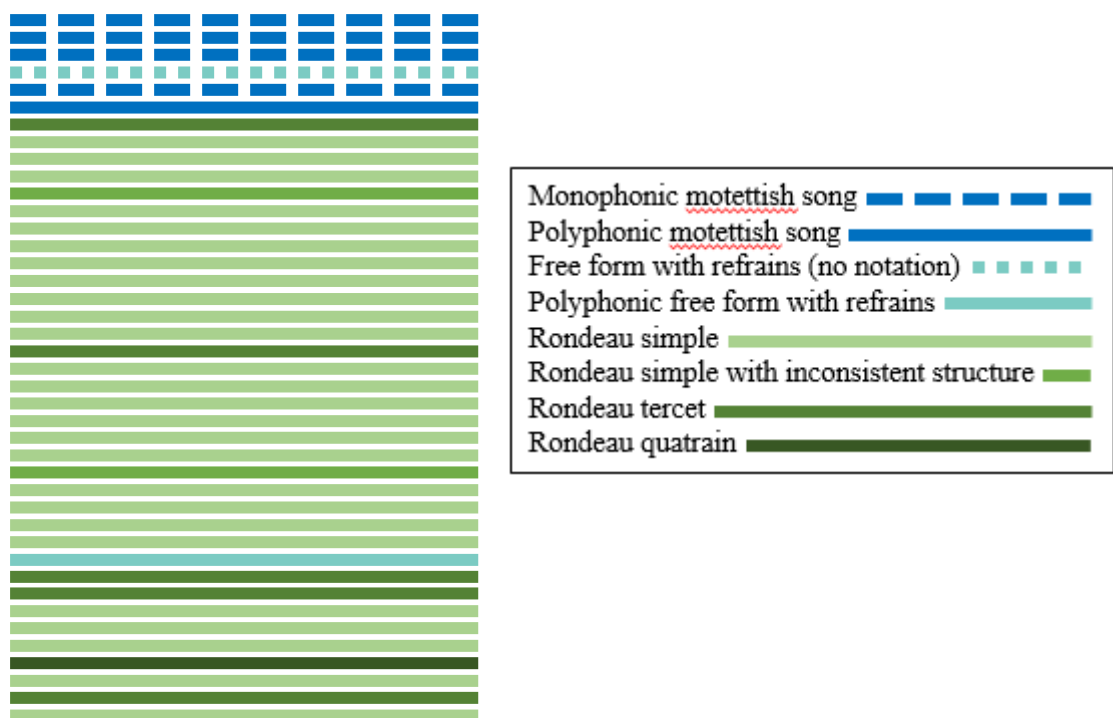
The graphic representation of the information in Table 4.3 that is Graph 4.2 above shows more clearly what is summarised above. In this graph, each horizontal line represents a text in the song collection, from top to bottom in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. The 'motettish' songs are blue, the *rondeaux* are green, and the *chanson àrefrain* and the polyphonic free form are a colour (and a form) somewhere in between the two. Monophonic songs are signified by interrupted lines, the notationless song that is the *chanson àrefrain* is represented by a dotted line, and the texts for which space for three-part polyphonic music was left are the continuous lines in the graph. The more complicated the *rondeau*, the darker the green. The graph clearly shows the grouping of the monophonic songs at the beginning of the collection, the near grouping of the motettish songs at the beginning, and the increase of complex polyphonic *rondeaux* towards the end.

Fr. 25566 transmits fourteen polyphonic *rondeaux*, which are interrupted by two free forms, just like song 32 in the collection in fr. 12786, and of which two are *rondeaux tercets* and two are *rondeaux quatrains*. In contrast to what can be observed in the collection in fr. 12786, these more complex forms are spread out evenly over the group of polyphonic *rondeaux* in fr. 25566, that contains, in this order, a *quatrain*, two *simples*, a free form, two *simples*, a *tercet*, a *simple*, a *quatrain*, two *simples*, a *tercet*, three *simples*, and the other free form.[332] The contrast between the internal organisations of these two groups of songs underlines the possible intention of an order of ascending complexity in the song collection in fr. 12786.

The manner in which the songs are laid out on the folios may provide insights into how the manuscript makers thought of the differences between the texts, the styles, and the genres presented. The first folio of the song collection, f. 76r, is copied in two columns, as can be seen in Image 4.5 below. It contains the first four texts, of which the first three, all of which are monophonic motets, are represented in a different way than the *chanson àrefrain* that was not laid out to receive any notation. It is unclear why this is the case, and while many hypotheses might spring to mind, such as that because the *chanson àrefrain* is musically more memorable than the irregularly structured motettish pieces and the polyphonic songs, notation would not be as necessary in this case, most interesting is the idea that the scribe deliberately laid out this song, unique of its kind in this collection, in a different way from all the others in order to emphasise this difference in genre. With the exception of this first folio, the entire song collection is laid out in a single column over the width of the page. This may have been unintentional: the scribe could have been copying a text in two columns before starting the song collection, and erroneously and without a conscious plan continuing in the same layout; or perhaps absent-mindedly copying the layout of the exemplar even though something else may have been intended.[333] This latter hypothesis is made more plausible by comparison with other chansonniers and motet books, as almost all contemporary surviving examples are copied in two columns, and it may therefore be reasonable to believe that most exemplars would have been copied in two columns as well.

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[332] See Everist 1996: pp. 68-69. The two polyphonic *rondeaux* in F-Pn Coll. De Pic. 67 are *rondeaux simples*, and the one by Jehannot de l'Escurel in F-Pn fr. 146 is a *rondeau tercet*.

[333] The scribe may also have intentionally started in two columns, but reconsidered this layout after finding that this was not working well, and the layout was causing trouble. Helen Deeming argues that this may have been what caused the scribe of GB-Lbl Arundel 248 to have changed that layout from two columns to one after the first few songs. See: Deeming 2014: pp. 143-44. There are, however, no indications that the scribe of fr. 12786 had any problems with the two columns on the first folio of the collection: the script is not compressed in any way, and the songs seem to fit well in the space in which they were copied. However, because a relatively large amount of text has been deleted on this folio, and because the final text is presented on the page without space for musical notation, the latter assumption is more difficult to prove.

Image 4.5: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 76r, the first folio of the song collection
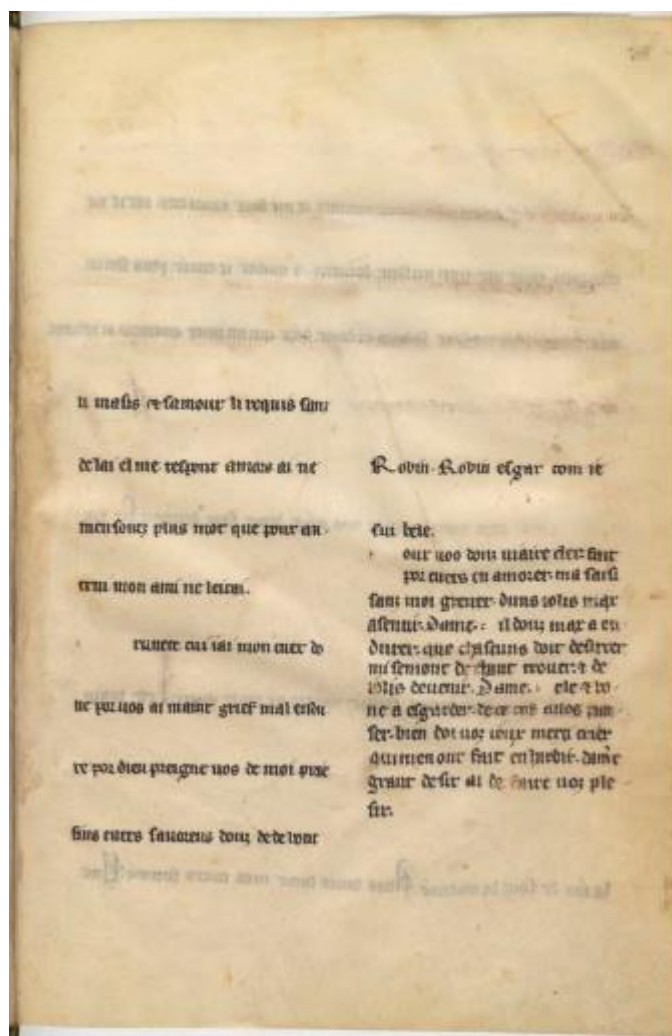
However, almost all of these manuscripts transmit monophonic music or motets, a genre in which each voice has its own text and therefore each line of text is necessarily accompanied by a single stave. The scribe of US-NHub 712.59, a late thirteenth-century manuscript fragment containing Latin polyphonic music of the kind in which the staves are 'stacked' as they would have been in fr. 12786, chose to lay out the staves, which have remained blank, over the width of the column, as can be seen in Image 4.6 below. This shows that the scribe of fr. 12786 was not alone in this approach. In contrast, the scribe of fr. 25566 laid out the polyphonic monotextual music in this manuscript in two columns. With so very few contemporary surviving sources for vernacular polyphonic music outside of the vast motet corpus it is impossible to establish what was more conventional for such music, but these examples show

that various methods and styles were in use.[334] Both NHub 712.59 and fr. 25566 are of approximately the same size as fr. 12786.

Image 4.6: US-NHub 712.59, r.
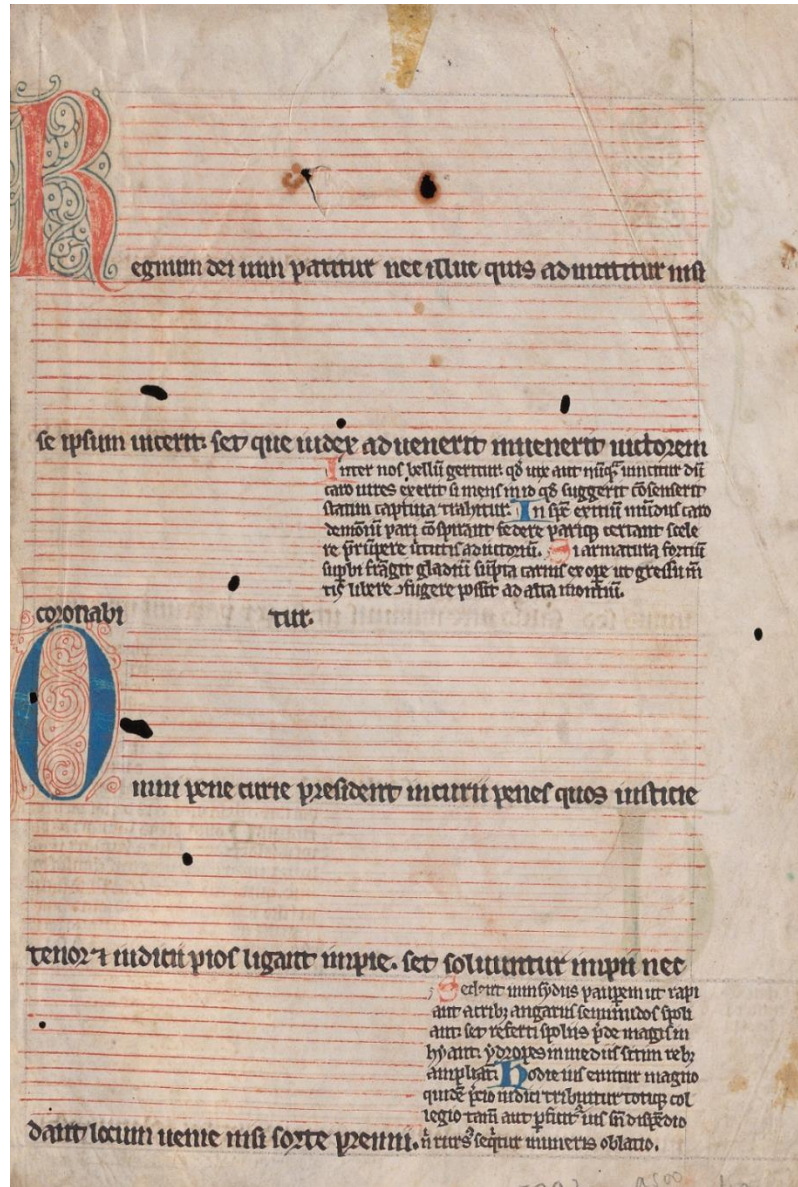
The scribe of fr. 25566 may have decided to copy both the monophonic and the polyphonic songs in as similar a way as possible in order to establish uniformity in appearance. Because the three staves are copied on top of each other, each one applying to the same text, this stack of staves easily becomes higher than wide and vertically very stretched in a double-columned layout, which may have been an aesthetically displeasing idea to the scribes of fr. 12786 and

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[334] The best comparitive would be the polyphonic conductus as this is likewise monotextual and polyphonic. See: <http://conductus.ac.uk>. Some polyphonic *virelais* and other polyphonic songs of genres with refrains survive, but as far as I have been able to find, none of them are notated as such.

NHub 712.59. The spaces for staves above the first two lines of the *rondeau* texts in fr. 12786 now take up more than half of the width of the column in which they are copied, which means that – in a hypothetical two-column layout – twice the vertical space would have been needed for the music alone, and more so additionally for the residuum text, for which the melody is repeated. The residuum text is now copied in narrow columns on the right-hand side of the folios in fr. 12786, and every song that is now small enough to fit over the width of the column and the height of three staves plus a line of text, would have taken up half the width in a single column, but at least three times the height, and therefore taking up fifty percent more parchment than is currently the case. The polyphonic *rondeaux* in fr. 25566, are indeed often copied over two lines of text plus three-stave stacks, and with the residuum text underneath. Because a second column-wide stack of staves was required in these cases, some of the repeated music is copied out again to fill up the second stack. For these songs, then, the layout in fr. 25566 is less efficient.[335]

By laying out most of the monophonic songs in two columns and the polyphonic bulk of the collection over the width of the page, the scribe, deliberately or not, differentiates between monophonic and polyphonic songs and through this emphasises the organisational structure of the collection.[336]

Image 4.7 below shows two of the polyphonic *rondeaux*, songs 30 and 31 in the song collection in fr. 12786. They illustrate clearly how the scribe had in mind the layout of the *rondeaux*. Both songs in this example are of an ideal length for the scribe: they are short enough for the first two lines (A and B) to fit easily on a space some three quarters of the width of the column while leaving plenty of space in the narrow column on the right-hand side of the folio for the residuum text, and they are long enough to fill this space. The scribe gives cues for each repetition of the refrain in these two songs. Song 30, for example, is presented as follows: "Est il paradis amie [A] est il paradis quamer. [B]" is laid out to receive three-part polyphonic music, and "Nenil uoir ma douce amie. [a] Et il para. [A] Cil qui dort es braz samie [a] a bien p*ar*adis

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[335] However, because the scribe of this manuscript copied the songs in a somewhat smaller hand than the one in fr. 12786, some of the songs were short enough to fit on one column-wide line of text plus stack of staves and with the residuum text below. In these cases, both scribes used up the same amount of parchment. The two manuscripts are of approximately the same size. See: Everist 1996: p. 63.
[336] The fourth monophonic motet is copied on the verso side of f. 76 in a single-columned layout. This may easily be explained by the presence of the first polyphonic song on the same page: alternating between one and two columns on a single page would result in what the scribe may well have considered to be an aesthetically unpleasing solution, as, indeed, such phenomena are not found frequently and do not appear to have been common practice. The scribe may have considered aesthetics of greater importance than preservation of the scribal representation of the genres. There are, however, examples of such alternating, such as in GB-Lbl Harley 2253, a manuscript introduced in the Chapter 1.1. In this case, however, the scribe copied poetry without any intention for musical notation.

troue. [b] Est il paradis [A + B]" is copied in the column on the right-hand side. The exact same applies to other *rondeaux* of an average length.[337]

Image 4.7: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 80r, songs 30 and 31
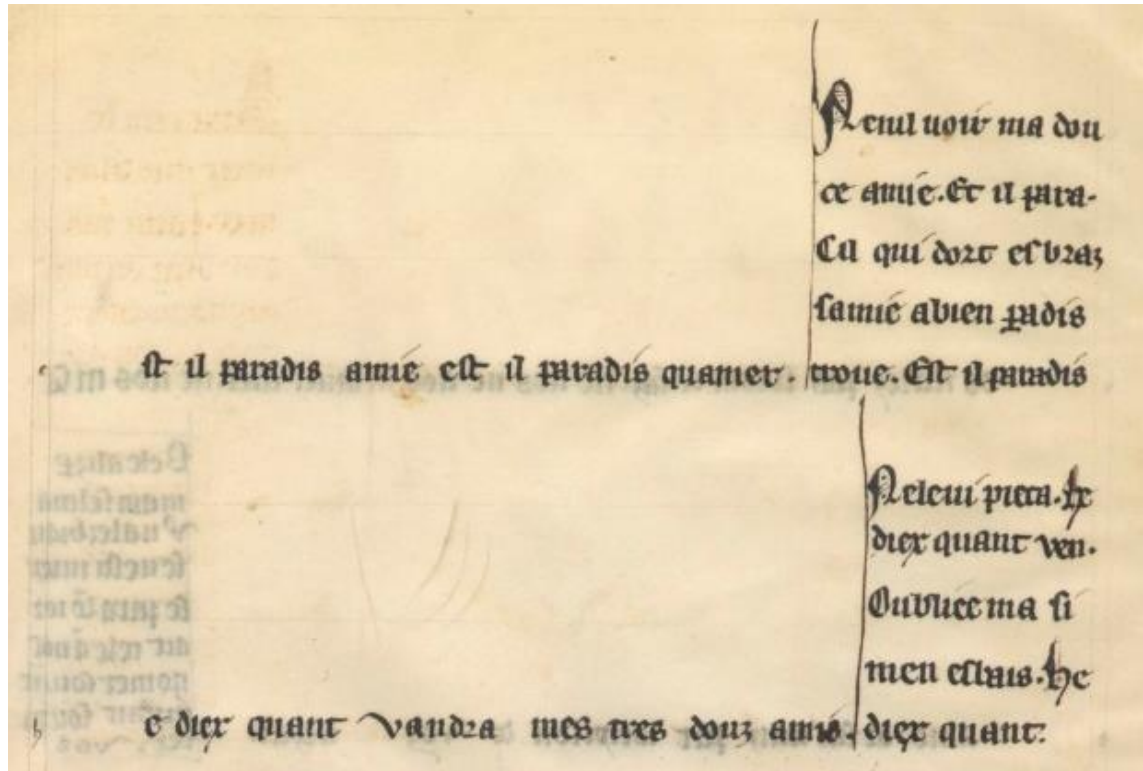
However, where texts are much longer than this, the same layout is not possible, and when texts are much shorter this layout is not aesthetically pleasing as the width of the column would not be used in its entirety, resulting in an inconsistent appearance, unless the words of the song and the lines of the residuum text were spread out much more than in the other texts. The latter is the case for song 9, *Ainssi doit on aler*, which is shown in Image 4.8: the lines of the residuum text are so far apart that it almost seems as if space was left for monophonic notation for these lines. Another very short text. *Bonne amourete* (song 10), is laid out on the page slightly differently: the indication for the first repetition of the refrain, "Bone amor'." is here likewise laid out to receive musical notation, even though the music for these words is already given. As can be seen in Image 4.9 below, the narrow column on the side of the folio is also very small for this text and much narrower than for other texts. This prevents an extreme spacing out of the lines such as in the residuum text of song 9. Song 28, *Nus n'iert ja jolis*, is even shorter than

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[337] Twenty-three out of thirty-four *rondeaux* are copied with the first two lines laid out to receive musical notation and with only the text for which music would be repeated in the narrow column on the right-hand side of the folio. Some of these fit as easily as those in Image 4.7, but in some cases the scribe had to compress the lettering when noticing that there was a lack of sufficient space, or when there was a very narrow column left on the side of the folio.

Bonne amourete, and only the b-part of the second strophe is not laid out to receive musical notation; had the song been notated as implied, therefore, many of the music's repetitions would have been written out in full. As can be seen in Image 4.10 below, rather than being placed in a narrow column, these three syllables are copied underneath the rest of the text on the right-hand side, taking up space of the residuum text of the next song. The next song in the collection, *He diex j'ai trové*, is likewise a short text, short enough for the cue for the first repetition of the refrain to be laid out for musical notation (although this cue is somewhat compressed by the scribe), and the residuum text fits easily in the remainder of the space on the right-hand side of the folio.

Image 4.8: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 77r, song 9
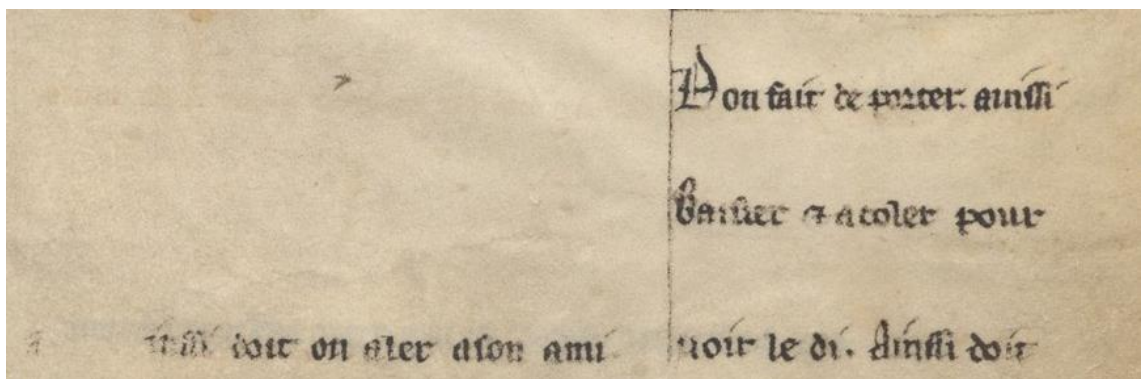
Image 4.9: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 77v, song 10
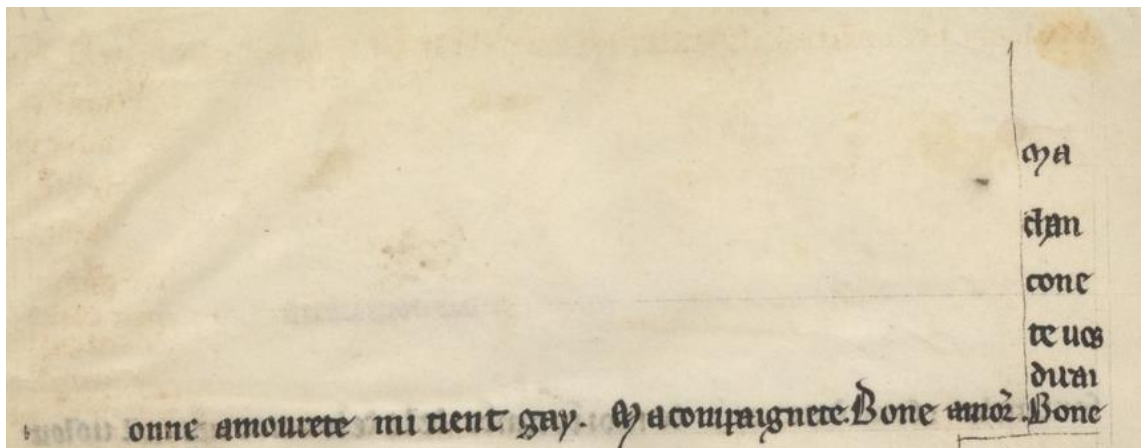
Image 4.10: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 79v, songs 28 and 29
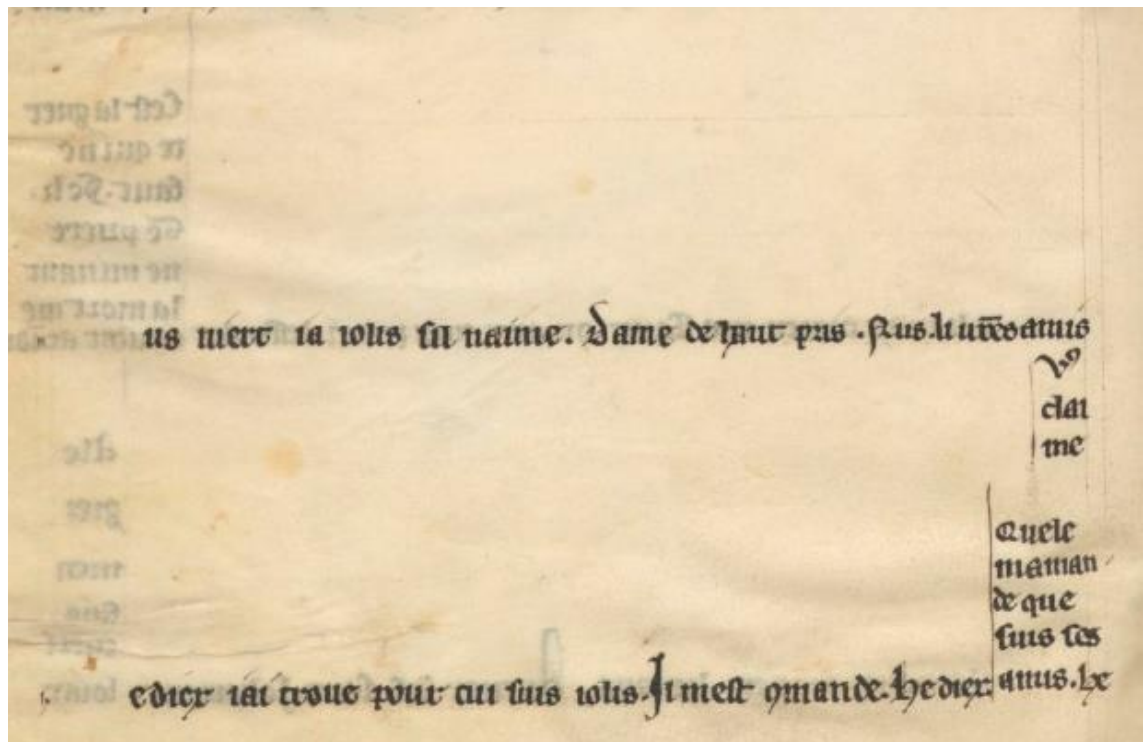
While very short texts, such as the ones discussed above, present some minor problems for the scribe, the longer texts may present much more serious difficulties when it comes to laying out the texts on the page. A similar layout to that for song 28 is used for song 33, *Vos nalez pas*, shown in Image 4.11 below, as here, likewise, the text has a column-wide line of text and music and the residuum text is given underneath rather than at the side. This time, however, it is for the opposite reason: this *rondeau tercet* requires so much musical notation for the first three lines that there was no space left on the right-hand side of the folio for the scribe to include a narrow column with the residuum text. In fact, even the refrain text does not fit on this line, and the scribe, rather than finishing this text for which musical notation was required on the left-hand side of the next line, and finishing this line with residuum text for which a repeated melody would then be notated, placed the final two syllables of the refrain on the right-hand side of the folio, leaving just enough space for a narrow column in which the residuum text is copied in a very compressed manner. The text as copied in the manuscript is: "Vos nalez pas si com ie faz. [A] ne uos ne uos [deletion] sauez aler. [B] ne uos ni sauez al*er*. [A]" laid out for musical notation, and "Bele aliz p*er* main seleua [a] v*os* nalez [A] biau se uesti miex se para [a] bo*n* ior ait cele q*ue* nos nomer [b] soua*nt* mi fait soupirer. [a] Vos" in the narrow column. The heavily abbreviated text would have fit much more comfortably in two full lines of text and three-stave stacks. Moreover, the next text, *Dame or sui*, also a *rondeau tercet*, now has a confusing layout consisting of two thirds of the width of the column for its first line containing

text and space for music – separated from the two final syllables of the refrain of the previous text only with an unclear thin ink line – and about half of the width of the column of the next line of text and space for music, where the other half functions as the space for the residuum text, too much space for this text, even though it is not abbreviated and the cues for the repetitions of the refrain are spelt out much more fully than in most other texts. Even so, the scribe struggled to fill up the space.

The confusing layout on this folio resulting in an apparent scrambling up of the texts may be explained by two individual considerations the scribe may have made. The first is most obvious: the two texts now take up three lines with text and space for music, whereas if they had been notated in a more spacious manner and if each song had started on a new line altogether, these *rondeaux tercets* would have taken up two lines each, and, thus, four rather than three lines. The decision, then, saved parchment. Secondly, in both these texts, the scribe has only laid out the refrain text for music, and placed only the residuum text in the column on the right-hand side. This distinct differentiation is not found in many of the *rondeaux simples* of other-than-average length, as is shown above, but the scribe may have considered it important to indicate the structure of the more complex *tercets* more clearly, even though this complicates the layout both in terms of copying and for the book's intended users. This suggests that the intended audience was familiar with the *rondeau* form and would recognise this without the musical notation above all text and without the repetitions of the refrains spelt out fully, but that the *rondeau tercet* required a little more care from the scribe in order to be easily understood by the intended users of fr. 12786.

The compressed text in the column of *Vos nalez pas* as well as the relatively large number of abbreviations suggests that the scribe may have made miscalculated how much space was needed for the longer *rondeau tercet*. For *Dame or sui*, then, preliminary precautions were taken not to risk being short of parchment and the scribe spaced out this text much wider. It is clear that there were issues in the copying of *Vos nalez pas*: the cue initial is already placed too high, not leaving enough space for the stack of staves for musical notation; and there are two instances of erroneuous copying in a row: the repetition of 'ne vos' and the word 'ni' in front of 'savez' that was deleted again. The text as it stands seems to contain some erroneous repetitions, but follows the rhyme scheme and *rondeau tercet* form as expected. This may point to either a lack of concentration or a problem with the exemplar, in which the text may not have been presented clearly. Importantly, *Bele Aliz main se leva* is a *refrain* circulating individually, and survives as such, for example, in GB-Lbl Arundel 292, in which it is part of a sermon.[338] It is possible that the scribe had a different exemplar for this part of the text, or that the *refrain* was

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[338] See: Deeming 2018. Also see: Taylor, Pfeffer, Rosenfeld, Weiss 2007: p. 183; Stevens 1986: pp. 177-78. The text was, however, not included in the catalogue of refrains by Nico H.J. van den Boogaard. See: Boogaard 1969.

separated from the rest in the exemplar which was used. Even if the *rondeau* text were complete in the exemplar, the scribe may have recognised this part of the song as something that could stand on its own, and may have meant to demonstrate this by the choice of layout.

Image 4.11: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 80v, songs 33 and 34
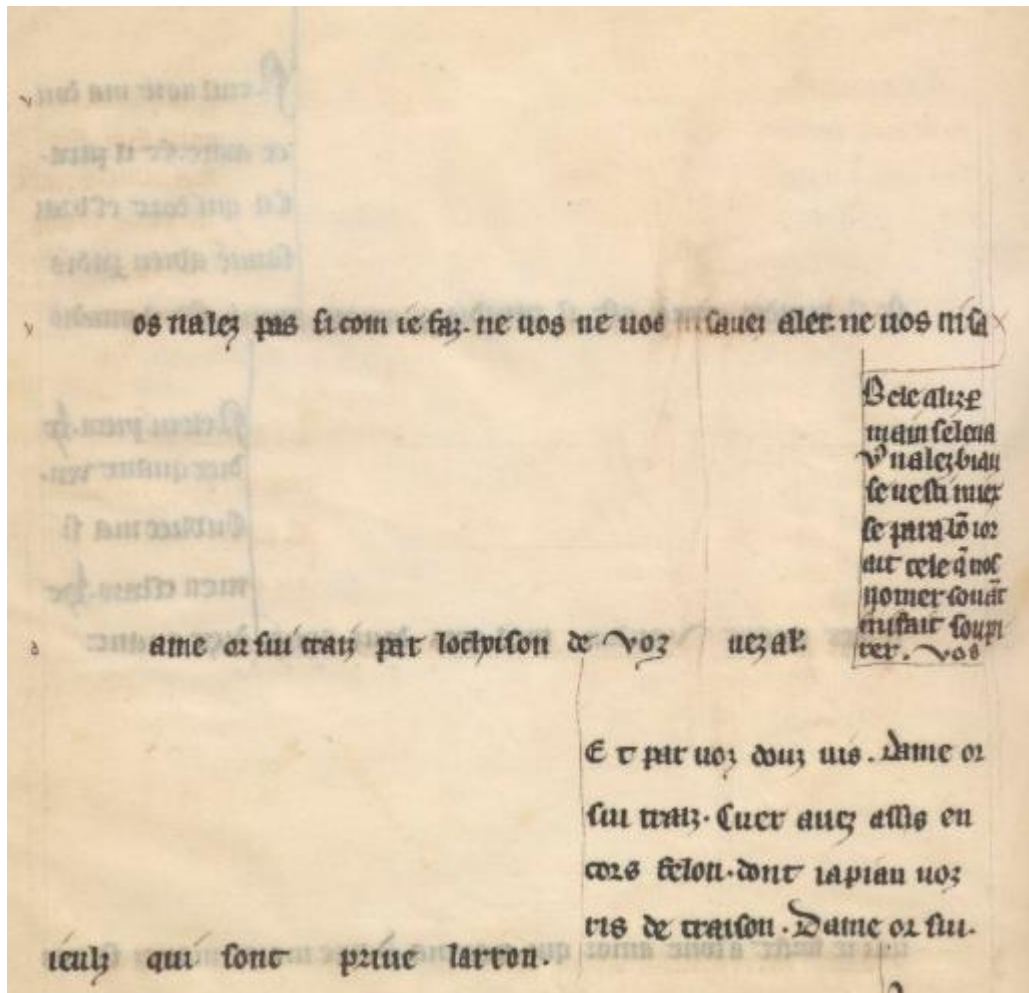
The *rondeau quatrain*, *Trop mi regardez* (song 38, f. 81r) also starts off with a full line of text and music-to-be over the width of the folio. This is a necessity: because of the form of the text and the music, the first four lines of the text would require notation, and together they take up more than one full line and a half in the manuscript. The cue for the first repetition of the refrain is likewise laid out for musical notation, something that is in stark contrast with what is described above for the *rondeaux tercets*, and which might argue against the explanation in which the scribe presented the more complex structures in such a way that the *rondeau* form becomes clearer, although the text of both strophes is still copied in the column on the right-hand side of the second line of the song. This suggests that the scribe may have worked out the layout during the copying of the song collection, which process was inevitably accompanied by

a conflict between efficiency, aesthetical preferences, and the desire to indicate the poetic structure clearly.

The double-lined layout does not differentiate the *rondeaux tercets* and *quatrains* from the *simples*,[339] but rather the longer texts from the short ones: two of the longer *simples*, songs 13 and 39 are likewise laid out in a similar way. These are, however, not as long as the *tercets* and the *quatrain*, and there would have been much more repetition in the musical notation, had it been added. For example, the following text in song 39 is laid out to receive notation: "Ourez moi luis bele tres douce amie [A] ourez moi luis dou petit praelet. [B] Si maist diex ce nest pas cortoisie. [a] Ourez moi luis bele. [A]" while only the second strophe and the repetition of the refrain ("Ralez uos en uos ni en terroiz mie. [a] car me\s/ mariz li ialous couz [b] Ourez [A + B]") are copied in the column on the right-hand side of the second line. There is no need for abbreviation and the cue for the first repetition of the refrain is very long. In contrast to what is observed in the *rondeaux tercets* described above and to a certain extent also in the *rondeau quatrain*, the *rondeau* form is not made clearer by the manner in which *Ouvrez moi* is laid out, something which was presumably not required.

The one free form, song 32, does not have a column on the right-hand side of the folio. This would not have been possible, as there is no repetitive structure in the poem and presumably therefore in the intended music. This text and the polyphonic monotextual motet, song 6, are laid out in the same way: with long lines of text over the width of the page with space for three-part notation above all of it. The final text in the collection is a *rondeau simple* but has been represented on the page in the same way; there is space for three staves of music above all the text and the residuum text is not visually distinct from the refrain of the song. Even though there are possible explanations for this phenomenon in which the scribe misunderstood the form of this text – unlikely because there are so many in this collection that are the same – or in which the music of this particular song was not itself *rondeau*-formed and thus had to be notated in its entirety, the scribe's decision here is probably aesthetic: the song collection now finishes at the bottom of the folio, rather than halfway down the page, which would have been the case if the scribe had laid out this *rondeau* like the others in the same genre. The decision to extend the space this song takes up to the bottom of the folio strongly suggests that the song collection is indeed complete and was not intended to contain any more songs.

Thus, though in many cases the layout of the songs is based on necessity, on the amount of repetition in the music, and on other very practical matters, each genre is presented on the page in a different way: (most of) the monophonic motets are copied in two columns and with space for a single stave above each text; the *chanson àrefrain* is not accompanied by any space for musical notation and is copied as if it were prose; the polyphonic monotextual motet and the

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[339] This differentiation is presumably anachronistic and would not have influenced the scribe's decisions.

free form, very similar in nature, are copied in lines over the width of the page with space for a stack of staves above all of the text; and the *rondeaux* are laid out with space for music above the refrain and with the residuum text in a narrow column on the right-hand side of the page, while those *rondeaux* which are more complex or which are longer visually stand out by taking up two lines of text and music with a narrow column only at the side of the second of these. Intentionally or not, the scribe visualised the complexity and the difficulty of the songs even without the musical notation and the various layouts express the organisational structure of the song collection.

4.3.   The Music in the *Roman de la Poire*

The song collection is not the only place in fr. 12786 in which space was left for the purpose of receiving musical notation. As said in Chapter 2, the *Roman de la Poire* contains nineteen short *refrains* that were meant to receive monophonic notation; the spaces above those lines of text are about two text lines in height.[340] The *Poire* survives in three other sources: F-Pn fr. 2186, which has staves but never received any musical notation; one mere fragment of the text without any music that is part of a private collection; and F-Pn fr. 24431, which contains notation for three of the *refrains*.[341] Most of the musical material of the *refrains*, therefore, is lost, unless another source containing these texts with notation should be discovered in the future.[342]

Songs accompanied by musical notation are embedded in numerous similar romances and other narratives, many of which are in the same literary tradition as the *Poire* – the Northern-French lyrical romance tradition centred around the *Roman de la Rose* – and survive in manuscripts "dating from as early as the tenth century".[343] At least nine such romances in the French vernacular with *refrain* insertions survive.[344] The earliest known romance in Old French with *refrains* is Jean Renart's *Roman de la Rose* (*Guillaume de Dole*) which was composed in the second or third decade of the thirteenth century.[345] Another very famous romance with such

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[340] As discussed in Chapter 2, the first letters of all the *refrains* together form an acrostic, 'Annes Tibavt Amors,' Annes is the name of the lady spoken of in the *Roman de la Poire*, Thibaut is the name of the author, and Amors is both the main character in and the main topic of the text. Marchello-Nizia 1984: p. xxvi. See Chapter 2.1.3 for more information about the acrostic.
[341] See for example Everist: p. 75; Butterfield 1991: p. 6.
[342] Many *refrains* do also survive as *refrain* insertions in other texts, and some of those are notated, and for those, therefore, a melody is known. However, this is not necessarily the same melody as that which was intended in the *Roman de la Poire*; *refrains* are adjusted frequently to fit well into their context.
[343] Haines 2010: p. 87. The earliest texts to which Haines refers are Latin ones.
[344] *Roman de la Rose* (*Guillaume de Dole*), *Renart le Nouvel*, the *Salut d'Amour*, the *Flours d'Amours*, the *Livre d'Amoretes*, the *Court d'Amours*, the *Prison d'Amour*, the *Roman de la Violette*, and the *Roman de la Poire*.
[345] *Guillaume de Dole* was originally also called the *Roman de la Rose* but received its new title in order to differentiate it from the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris which is transmitted in fr. 12786 and

refrains is *Renard le Nouvel*, which was discussed above in the context of the concordant

witnesses to the songs in fr. 12786. Such *refrains* were almost always pre-existing texts with a

first-person protagonist from various oeuvres that were not composed by the poet of the text in

which they were inserted, although they were frequently adapted so that they would fit in the

context.[346] These œuvres do overlap considerably, which is illustrated by Table 4.4 below,

which presents the *refrain* texts in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 in full with their folio

numbers, all known concordances for each of the *refrains* and the various contexts in which

they are transmitted. An asterisk points out that the *refrains* are musically notated in that

manuscript.

Table 4.4: The *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786 with their concordances

N°	*Refrain*	Context	Concordant witnesses
1.	Onques n'amai tant com ie fui amee. cuers descloiaus a tart uos ai ueincu (f. 3r) (vdB1427)	As part of the motetus (L820) of the motet *Onques n'amai tant com je fui amee/Sancte germane*, attributed to Richard de Fournival.	B-LEu, n°6* D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., f. 219av* F-Pn fr. 844, f. 205ra* F-Pn fr. 12615*
		As part of the song *Onques n'amai tant com je fui amee* (RS498), attributed in I-Rvat Reg. Lat. 1490 to Richard de Fournival.	F-Pn fr. 20050, f. 137v I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 68(76)va*
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 11r
		Refrain in *La Court d'Amours II*	F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1731, f. 61vb
		Refrain in *Flours d'Amours*	F-Pn fr. 1553, f. 483va
		Refrain in *Le Livre d'Amoretes*	F-Pn lat. 13091, f. 159va
		Refrain in *Salut d'Amour*	F-Pn fr. 837, f. 269va
2.	Ay dex li max d'amer m'ocist[347] (f. 3r) (vdB784)	As part of the triplum (L569) of motet *Que ferai, biaus sire Dieus/Ne peut faillir/Descendentibus*	D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 45ra* F-MO H 196, ff. 115v; 194v*
		As part of the motetus (L510) of motet *Ne sai ou confort trouver/Que pour moi reconforter/Et speravit*	F-MO H 196, f. 123r* F-Pn lat. 15139, f. 292r* (no triplum)
		As the first line of a *rondeau* (vdBR72)	F-CA B 1328, f. 19(3)ra* F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 32vb*
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, ff. 12r; 79v (blank staves)

in order to avoid confusion. The original title, however, stresses the connections between the two famous
romances.
[346] An exeption is Guillaume de Machaut. Marchello-Nizia 1984: p. xxii. See Marchello-Nizia 1984:
pp.xxi-xxiv.
[347] The final *refrain* in the *Roman de la Poire* is the same text, but adjusted to start with an 'S' as this is
adjusted to start with an 'A.' The text as transmitted in all other manuscripts, and presumably the original
text, is *Hareu, li maus d'amer m'ochist*, and the first word(s) is/are simply replaced by (an)other(s) in
both occurances for the *refrain* to start with the correct letter for the acrostic to be correct.

		Refrain in *Renart le Nouvel*	F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 48(49)vb* F-Pn fr. 25566, ff. 165rb; 167ra*; 32vb*
3.	A mon uoloir ont choisi mi oeil (f. 7v) (vdB138)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 26r (blank staves)
4.	Est a bien resons or i pansez que cil qui miex aime. soit li mieus amez[348] (f. 8r) (vdB1367)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 27v (blank staves) F-Pn fr. 24431, f. 181rb*
5.	Nus n'atouche a moi s'il n'aime par amours (f. 8v) (vdB1392)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 29r (blank staves) F-Pn fr. 24431, f. 181vb*
6.	Einssi nous moine li maus d'amours. einssi nous moine (f. 10r) (vdB70)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 34v (blank staves) F-Pn fr. 24431, f. 189rb*
7.	Se ie n'ai s'amor la mort m'a donee. ie n'i puis faillir (f. 12r) (vdB1685)	As part of the motetus (L78) in the motet *En douce dolour/Manere*.	D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4775, n° A17, f. (6r;) 8r* F-Pn lat. 15139, f. 288r*
		The end of the motetus (L46) in the motet *Tout leis enmi les prés/Do*[349]	D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., f. 248r*
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 41v (blank staves)
		Refrain in *La Prison d'Amour*	A-Wn 2621, f. 43ra I-Tn L.V. 32
		Refrain in *Salut d'Amour*	F-Pn fr. 837, f. 270va
		Refrain in the Latin proverb *Proverbia Vulgaria*	GB-H P.3.III, f. 166ra
8.	Tant ai loial amor a quise. Qu'or les ai a ma deuise	Refrain in a c*hanson à refrain* (RS13)	F-Pn fr. 20050, f. 56r I-MOe α R.4.4, f. 218ra
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 66v (blank staves)

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[348] Rather than "N'est il bien reson," the scribe copied "Est il bien reson," whereby not only the semantic meaning of the *refrain* was inversed, but the acrostic corrupted. Because the scribe of fr. 12786 copied the same text as the one in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 24431 did, it might be argued that both of them may have been familiar with the *refrain* and copied what they knew by heart rather than what they saw in their exemplar. The fact that the same *refrain* with the same error is copied in both manuscripts may also suggest that one was derived from the other and the two manuscripts are somehow related.

[349] The beginning of this same motetus is the first half of *Amors ai a ma uolante teles com ie les uueil*, the fifteenth *refrain* in the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786.

	(f. 19r) (vdB1315)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Violette*	F-Pn fr. 1374, f. 145va F-Pn fr. 1553, f. 297va RUS-SPsc fr. 4° v.XIV.3, f. 15va US-NYpm 36, f. 39r
9.	Ie noi onques d'amors ioie or croi bien que ie l'aure (f. 19v) (vdB1113)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	P-Fn fr. 2186, f. 67r (blank staves)
10.	[B]ien doi en durer le mal puis que i'ai ami loial (f. 19v) (vdB259)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	P-Fn fr. 2186, f. 68v (blank staves)
11.	A li men uois ne m'entendroie mie dex ie l'ain tant (f. 20r) (vdB101)	As part of the motetus (L794) of the motet *Fines amouretes/Fiat*	D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., f. 231r* F-MO H 196, f. 238r*
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	P-Fn fr. 2186, f. 69r (blank staves)
12.	Vous auroiz la seignorie amis de moi ce que mes mariz n'a mie[350] (f. 20v) (vdB1853)	Refrain in a *chanson à refrain* (RS227)	F-Pa 5198, p. 312b F-Pn fr. 845, f. 149ra F-Pn fr. 847, f. 163vb F-Pn nouv. acq. fr.1050, f. 198ra
		As part of a polyphonic *rondeau* (vdBR171)	F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 77v (notation intended but no staves have been drawn)
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 71r (blank staves)
		Refrain in *Renart le Nouvel*	F-Pn fr. 372, f. 51ra* F-Pn fr. 1518, f. 48va* F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 49(50)rb* F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 165vb*
13.	Tieus dist quil se muert damour. quil nen sent mal ne doulour (f. 21r) (vdB1768)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 72r (blank staves)
14.	Et cil qui d'amer se repant. s'est bien trauailliez pour noiant (f. 21v) (vdB706)	At the end of a strophe in a *chanson* (RS643) attributed to Gace Brulé	CH-BEb 389, f. 55v (blank staves) F-Pa 5198, p. 59a* F-Pn fr. 765, f. 49v* F-Pn fr. 844, f. 25rb* F-Pn fr. 845, f. 18rb* F-Pn fr. 846, f. 40ra* F-Pn fr. 847, f. 3ra* F-Pn fr. 12616, f. 161r* F-Pn fr. 20050, f. 14r*

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[350] This text is also found in the song collection, in which the text differs. It is the same as found in fr. 1593.

			F-Pn fr. 24406, f. 29va* F-Pn nouv. acq. fr. 1050, f. 46va* GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 152va
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 74v (blank staves)
15.	Amors ai a ma uolante teles com ie les uueil (f. 22v) (vdB912)	As part of the motetus (L46) of the motet *Tout leis enmi les prés/Do*	D-Mbs Mus. ms. 4775, n° A17, f. 6r D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., f 247v*
		As part of the motetus (L153) of the motet *Tout adés me trouveroiz/In seculum*	D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., f. 222r* F-MO H 196, f. 259v*
		As part of the motetus (L153) of the motet *Tout adés mi trouerés*	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490, f. 74vb (only the *triplum* is copied here)
		Refrain in the *rondet C'est la gieus, en mi les prez* (vdBR16) attributed to Jean Renart	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1725, f. 97va
		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 77r (blank staves)
16.	Ma dame a droit qui m'envoie son cuer a garder (f. 22v) (vdB1248)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 77v (blank staves)
17.	Or sai ie bien qu'est maus d'amours bien l'ai apris (f. 23r) (vdB1457)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 78r (blank staves)
18.	Rosignol ia se muert ma dame. alons i recoumandons l'ame (f. 23v) (vdB1637)	*Refrain* in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, f. 79r (blank staves)
19.	Soutenez moi li maus damer mocit[351] (f. 24r) (vdB784)	As part of the triplum (L569) of motet *Que ferai, biaus sire Dieus/Ne peut faillir/Descendentibus*	D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 45ra* F-MO H 196, ff. 115v; 194v*
		As part of the motetus (L510) of motet *Ne sai ou confort trouver/Que pour moi reconforter/Et speravit*	F-MO H 196, f. 123r* F-Pn lat. 15139, f. 292r* (no triplum)
		As the first line of a *rondeau* (vdBR72)	F-CA B 1328, f. 19(3)ra* F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 32vb*

[351] This text is the same as the second *refrain* in the *Roman de la Poire*, but adjusted. The text in all other manuscripts is *Hareu, li maus d'amer m'ochist*, but both *refrains* in the *Poire* are adapted such that they start with the correct letter.

		Refrain in *Roman de la Poire*	F-Pn fr. 2186, ff. 12r; 79v (blank staves)
		Refrain in *Renart le Nouvel*	F-Pn fr. 1593, f. 48(49)vb* F-Pn fr. 25566, ff. 165rb; 167ra*

An interesting comparison can now be made between the concordant witnesses to the *refrains* of the *Roman de la Poire* in fr.12786 and those of the song collection in this manuscript. Of the thirty-eight sources in which the *Poire refrains* survive in their various contexts, twenty-two (58%) also contain one or more *refrains* of the songs that are found in the song collection in fr. 12786 or transmit full songs transmitted here, or, from the other perspective: of the thirty-five individual manuscripts which each transmit one or more texts (*refrains* of the songs or full song concordances) in the song collection, twenty-one (63%) also contain one or more of the *refrains* inserted into the *Roman de la Poire* in fr. 12786.[352] This remarkably high correlation indicates that the *Roman de la Poire* and the song collection are part of the same tradition and the same network, illustrated by Graph 4.1 above, thus connecting the first and third codicological units of fr. 12786 and reinforcing the relationship between the two most musical sections of the manuscript.

The question remains, however, just how musical the *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire* really are. Whether they were intended to be sung or read will be discussed in section 4.5 below. As indicated by the asterisks in Table 4.4, of the ninety-six instances in which these *refrain* texts appear, excluding those in fr. 12786, fifty-two (54%) were copied with musical notation, and in some others in which they were not, notation was intended, such as in the unfinished fr. 2186 where staves were left blank in the *Poire*. Approximately a quarter of all instances (twenty-five) was never meant to receive musical notation. The large number of surviving witnesses of approximately half of these *refrains* also indicates that they were common and probably well-known *chansons*, suggesting that the other half may likewise have been widespread, a hypothesis which cannot be confirmed due to their limited survival. A contemporary audience may well have been familiar with the texts and the melodies and have been able to sing or perform them. If the first users of fr. 12786 knew the *refrains* well enough, the absence of musical notation would not have been a problem for them.

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[352] This includes both full texts and *refrains*.

4.4.   The *Son Poitevin*

On f. 42v, where the *Bestiaire d'Amours* finishes, the scribe copied the first strophe of a song *Puis qu'en moi a recovree seignorie*, to which is referred as in a rubric as a *son poitevin* (see Image 4.12 below). This song, which is attributed to Gautier d'Épinal in CH-BEb 389 and in F-Pn fr. 846, albeit indirectly in the latter, has not been laid out with blank spaces to receive musical notation, such as those in the *Roman de la Poire* and the song collection, and fills up the space left at the bottom of the folio so that the *Roman de la Rose* starts on a fresh one.[353] It could be argued that the blank space at the bottom of the folio was filled up with something that was simply to hand and that the length of the text rather than its contents, style, or meaning was the feature by which it was selected; the opening initial of the *Roman de la Rose* would not have fitted in this space, and therefore the insertion of a short text would make sure that no parchment was wasted. Medieval book producers had a strong urge to fill blank space with anything: text, miniatures, drawings, border decoration, etc, and such space at the end of a quire or a folio was sometimes even filled in by the manuscript's consumers: they would add prayers, short texts, or other 'space fillers'.[354] This would also explain the lack of musical notation; there simply was not enough space.

However, the "*son poitevin*" is much more than just the ink in which it is copied. Any *son poitevin*, in definition a song from the South of France, though not necessarily from Poitou, would raise the prestige of the manuscript, as it links the texts that are copied there to the aristocratic tradition of the troubadours, perceived as highest in status among repertoires of vernacular poetry. The Southern-French songs are, however, likewise found in Northern-French culture: "Ora se il Poitou ha esercitato una larga influenza nel Sud (…), è probabile che la stessa influenza abbia avuto anche nel Nord" (Now if the *poitevin* has exerted a large influence in the South, it is likely that the same influence is also found in the North); the songs travelled along with travelling singers.[355] Crucially, the text in fr. 12786 is in French and does not originate in troubadour culture, but the prestige comes with the name and this may explain why the scribe copied the words "Son poitevin" in red ink and made them stand out on the page: according to Lori Walters, the prominent rubric and indeed the "*son poitevin*" itself function as a reminder of the influence by the great Southern tradition on the type of French literature and particularly the musical texts copied in fr. 12786.[356]

Puis qu'en moi is not exactly a *son poitevin* merely because of its language and its Northern-French origins, but the rubric is a reference to a particular musical type and musically

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[353] See: Carapezza 2012. Also see: Raynaud 1955: p. 179.
[354] See: Rudy 2016.
[355] Avalle 2002: p. 483. See Carapezza 2012: pp. 390-91.
[356] Walters 1994-2: pp. 13-14.

classifies the text as a Southern song: while the text is a relatively regular a10' b10 b10 c10 a10'c10 c10, the music for this song is through-composed and non-repetitive, which is characteristic for the troubadour style.[357] Regardless of its French text then, the "*son poitevin*" in fr. 12786 can be seen as a direct reference to the great style of the Southern tradition, raising the status of the collection. But rather than merely adding literary esteem and a sense of authority, the "*son poitevin*" can be connected to the text on which it follows, the *Bestiaire d'Amours*.

Image 4.12: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 42v, the s*on poitevin*
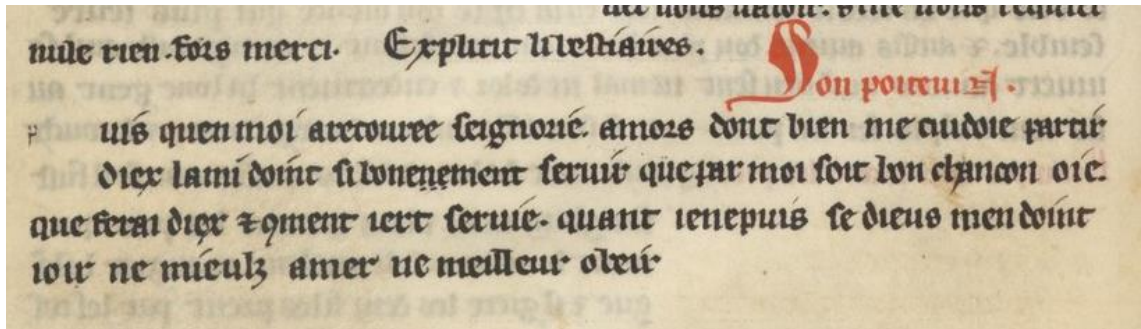
Chapter 2.1 set out the importance of the miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* to the author of the text and to its potential readers. Richard de Fournival explained in his introduction to the *Bestiaire* that there are two gates that lead to memory: hearing and seeing. In the context of the (absent) miniatures I focussed mainly on the second of these gates, but here the significance lies in the hearing. The miniatures depict that which cannot be put into words, which includes sound. According to Elizabeth Eva Leach they represent sound "by picturing the agent of the production in the act of producing the sound, specifically the kinds of sounds that cannot be written in letters", such as noises, and also music.[358] The words themselves, likewise, are sound, and even the written letter shapes symbolise the sound produced by the mouth which pronounced the words, or which will pronounce the words; "the *words* of the book are themselves a picture of, and instruction for, the production of sound".[359] If one assumes that texts were read out loud in the Middle Ages, a common belief, all text would sound. Following these explanations, it is easy to argue that all medieval texts, even those which were composed entirely in a written tradition, *are* sound. Henry Hope states that "music is always conceived orally, and orality is understood as a crucial facet of music. Any reference to orality, therefore, may be understood, by its very nature, as a potential reference to music".[360]

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[357] Carapezza 2012, esp. pp. 401-405.
[358] Leach and Morton 2017: p. 8 [page numbers from pre-print typescript].
[359] Leach and Morton 2017: p. 7 [page numbers from pre-print typescript].
[360] Hope 2015: p. 179.

Leach takes it a step further, and argues in her "Resonances in Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amours*" that the *Bestiaire* is not merely sound, it has a "significant sung subtext",[361] and has many musical resonances. Some of the animals, such as the cricket, the blackbird, and the swan, sing songs, and others, such as the hybrid sirens, even play musical instruments in the text and the (here lacking) illustrations in the text, according to Leach, "[t]he image of sound, the picture of a singer, or the narrative of that singer can provoke a mental image or a mental sound of a singer (human or non-human) or song".[362] The famous love letter also contains a (slightly adjusted) *refrain*-insertion not dissimilar to those in the *Roman de la Poire* and the other texts as mentioned above: a *son poitevin* attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn.[363] This *refrain* is used in the *Bestiaire* to stress the importance of equality in love, but it is also an extra-textual reference that alludes to the troubadour culture of the high aristocratic *grand chant cortois*, and, possibly even more importantly, it adds another musical value to the text. While the miniatures depict that which cannot be put into words, the *son poitevin* is put in words, and in that respect is perhaps less musical than the songs of the swan and the cricket – unless the *refrain* was sung during the performance of the *Bestiaire*. However, the reading of the musical text would provoke music in the minds of the reader, whether this music was put into sound or not, at least as long as the reader was familiar with the song.[364]

Twenty-two manuscripts survive in which the *Bestiaire d'Amours* is transmitted.[365] In two of these, F-Pn fr. 412, and GB-Ob Douce 308, the text is followed by the first three lines of a the motetus of a motet in which the protagonist addresses Mercy. These first three lines that appear in the two manuscripts may well have triggered the audience to sing the entire motet, which survives in four other manuscripts besides the two here-mentioned and must have been well-known, and which is linked in content to the end of the *Bestiaire*.[366] The *son poitevin* in fr. 12786 is copied in the same place, immediately after the romance, and its text is as follows:

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[361] Leach and Morton 2017: p. 41 [page numbers from pre-print typescript].

[362] Leach and Morton 2017: p. 31 [page numbers from pre-print typescript].

[363] *Quan' vei la flor, l'erba vert e la foilha*. See Leach and Morton 2017: pp. 35-36 [page numbers from pre-print typescript]; Kay 2011: pp. 461-85.

[364] Because the lines of the *refrain* have the right number of syllables to match the melody, this may well have triggered the performer to sing the song if s/he was familiar with it, and s/he may even have included the other stanzas that follow the cited one in the original *son poitevin*, whose entire text would have fitted perfectly in the context of the *Bestiaire d'Amours*. See: Leach and Morton 2017: p. 40 [page numbers from pre-print typescript].

[365] F-AS 139 (657) (Trouvère A); B-Br 10394-10414; F-Dm 526; I-Fl Ashb., 123 Fondo Libri 50; I-Fl Plut. LXXVI 79; CH-Gpu Comites latentes 179; GB-Lbl Harley 273; I-Ma sup. I. 78; I-Mb AC.X.10; US-NYpm 459; GB-Ob Douce 308; F-Pn fr. 412; F-Pn fr. 1444; F-Pn fr. 12469**;** F-Pn fr. 15213; F-Pn fr. 24406 (Trouvère V); F-Pn fr. 25566; F-Psg 2200; I-Tn L.III. 22 (1660) (burnt); A-Wn 2609; and two manuscripts of which the current location is unknown. Additionally, F-Pn fr. 25545 contains the *Bestiaire d'Amours* in vers.

[366] D-W Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstadt, F-MO H 196, F-Pn fr. 12615, and F-Pn fr. 15139.

> Puis qu'en moi a recouree seignorie,
> Amors dont bien me cuidoie partir
> diex l'ami doint si bonement seruir
> Que par moi soit bon chancon oie,
> Que ferai diex et *com*ment iert seruie,
> Quant ie ne puis se dieus m'en doint ioir
> Ne mieulz amer ne meilleur obeir

> (Since Love, from whom I imagined I had parted, has recovered its lordship over me, may God grant that the lover serve so well that a good song be heard by me. What shall I do, God, and how will she be served? For – may God grant me joy of it – I can neither love better nor obey best.)

The function of this text is similar to that of the motetus text found in fr. 412 and Douce 308: it adds something to the *Bestiaire d'Amours* that is related in content and gives it additional meaning, and underscores the musicality of the *Bestiaire*. The compilers of fr. 12786 may well have chosen this text specifically, as it is not found in any of the surviving concordances containing the *Bestiaire*. The thematic material in the text of the song fits seamlessly onto the end of the *Bestiaire*; the lover's fate is in the hands of God, which is a very appropriate way of ending the romance. Additionally, the references to music in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* as discussed above make it very suitable for the text to be closed with a song, as the manuscript compilers of fr. 412 and Douce 308 also thought. The lack of (space for) staves with musical notation does not mean that we are not dealing with music here. The *son poitevin* is a *chanson* that may very well have been recognised, and, in which case, sung by the users of the manuscript. The *Bestiaire* would then end in this way: with a sung song, making it an altogether rather musical text.

4.5. Singing Songs?

As discussed in chapter 2, the absence of musical notation may not have had as much effect on the original (and the) intended audience of a manuscript as one might assume; the existence of many chansonniers without any (intention for) musical notation shows that it was not uncommon for a user of a manuscript not to require musical notation copied in the book. This may be firstly because these readers were familiar with the music and an *aide mémoire* in the form of texts alone would have been sufficient, or that they had other sources, no longer surviving, containing the melodies. Elizabeth Eva Leach states that "it might (…) be the case that these songs were well enough 'notated' for the purpose of singing simply by having their texts copied. Their audience would have known the tunes (…), or they would easily have learnt

them aurally from those who already knew them"[367] and similarly,"(…) [s]taves or separate notation for musical melodies would be superfluous for the readers of [such a] book because the music is already effectively notated for the purposes of its (musically informed) readers by means of its 'notation' of the songs' verbal texts".[368] This idea is however somewhat complicated in the case of fr. 12786 by the fact that the songs are polyphonic, something which is much more difficult to memorise or simply 'know' than a monophonic *chanson*.

Douce 308 and other manuscripts for which musical notation was never even intended often contain other features that show the book's user that they are reading songs there, such as iconographic indications, or, in the case of Douce 308, a narrative description of how the music that follows it was to be performed.[369] This suggests that, if there is something that replaces the musical notation in its apparent function of pointing out the musicality of the texts, there is not always a need for the melodies to be notated.[370] Apart from some minor references in the texts, there are no such direct references to music in fr. 12786; because of its unfinished nature, it contains no miniatures or initials depicting singers or musicians. However, the large blank spaces left by the scribe where musical notation was intended do imply musicality, and they already show that these texts are songs, even without the notation added.

Alternatively, the absence of musical notation may imply that the songs were not meant to be sung. There is no evidence that people sang from such manuscripts at all, and even the presence of notation does not necessarily imply that the songs were intended to be sung, and its function may well have been something other than the indication of the melody; it could have been a mere clue indicating the presence of songs, as suggested above, it could have served aesthetic purposes, as was argued in Chapter 2, or it could have increased the overall status of the manuscript. Writing about a time not long before fr. 12786 was produced, Elizabeth Aubry says: "Singers continued to sing from memory. Writing during that period served the function mainly of collecting and preserving the songs."[371] In fact, Aubrey continues, "[o]utside of the church, the ability to read music lagged behind general literacy, and most patrons cannot be assumed to have been able to read music", as is suggested by the occurrence of music treatises in some chansonniers that explain to the user how to read the notated music. Examples are D-BAs Lit. 115, a manuscript transmitting a motet with the text of song 2, as well as the *refrains* of songs 19, and 36 of fr. 12786's song collection; and F-Dm 517, in which the treatise is in the vernacular.[372] Such treatises imply that the music in these chansonniers was meant to be

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[367] Leach 2006: p. 417.
[368] Leach 2015: p. 230.
[369] Deeming, Leach 2015: pp. 272-73.
[370] Melodies would also not (need to) be notated if they were to be improvised on the texts that were copied in the manuscript.
[371] Aubrey 1993: p. 2365.
[372] See: Alden 2007: p. 9. Lit. 115 is contemporary with fr. 12786, whereas F-Dm 517 is a late fifteenth-century source.

performed, but in other chansonniers this is not always the case per se. Though we do not find such a treatise in fr. 12786, we do not know whether the (intended) owner had another manuscript that did contain one, and there is no way to tell whether or not he or she would have been able to read the musical notation, had it been added. However, the relative complexity of the intended music, particularly of the three-part polyphonic *rondeaux* and the free form, suggests that the intended audience must have been music specialists to a certain extent in order to enjoy the collection, and that he or she was presumably able to read music, or that he or she intended that other music specialists would perform the songs from the book.

If a manuscript's users were not able themselves to perform a song from the notated music, they may have been able to 'read along' when a song was performed, and recognise the melodic contours in the notes on the staves. Even evidence for the reader having been able to understand the musical notation would not directly prove that the songs were meant to be sung. As Jane Alden writes, "[t]hough chansonniers could be read in the privacy of an owner's chamber, they needed a live musical event for the songs to be realized audibly. These books mediate between exterior, spoken, or sung performances, and ones that are interior, silent, or imagined."[373] Interior reading, and indeed private reading, were not common in the Middle Ages, particularly when it concerned a noble or higher-class readership, generally assumed to be the main audience for chansonniers, and "their books were mostly read, or performed, in the company of courtiers".[374] Jane Alden argues that in spite of this, "performing a chansonnier was a private activity" as it still only involved a select and exclusive group of people.[375] In any case,

> [r]eaders of chansonniers would (...) have associated these books with a broader participatory activity – namely, musical performance. The songs here were transferred from the chamber to the book – from an exterior to an interior realm – making a shared occasion into a private recollection. Irrespective of the extent to which they supported actual performances, chansonniers represented a performative ideal – a space in which music was enacted on the page.[376]

The *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire* are of a different category, simply because they are part of a narrative.[377] They may not have been intended to be sung, as they are part of a story. However, the spaces left blank to receive musical notation, and indeed the presence of notation in many romances much like the *Poire* might suggest otherwise, as they show the musical nature of the lyrics. Below is given a fragment of the beginning of *Guillaume de Dole* (lines 8-

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[373] Alden 2007: p. 5.
[374] Alden 2007: p. 5. Also see: Saenger 1997. A particularly interesting anecdote is that in which Augustine is surprised by the silent reading practices of Ambrose, something he can explain only by Augustine intending to "seek privacy by concealing the content of his book or to rest his voice." Saenger 1997: p. 8. On interior reading, see for example: Arn 1994: especially pp. 165-66; Ong 1984.
[375] Alden 2007: p. 6.
[376] Alden 2007: p. 10.
[377] See: Taylor 1990.

15), which is, as mentioned above, a romance in which *refrains* were inserted in a similar way as in the *Roman de la Poire*.

> Car aussi com l'en met la graine
> Es dras por avoir los et pris
> Einsi a il chans et sons mis
> En cestui Romans de la Rose,
> Qui est une novele chose
> Et s'est des autres si divers
> Et brodez, par lieus de biaux vers
> Que vilains nel porroit savoir
>
> (For as one soaks clothing with red dye so that they are admired and covered, in such a way he has inserted songs and their melody in this *Roman de la Rose*. This is a new thing, so different from the others, so well embroidered, beautiful verse here and there, that a boor would not know how to appreciate it.)[378]

Guillaume de Dole has been attributed to Jean Renart. Jean explains the *raison d'être* of the *refrain* insertions here; they serve as embellishment and ornament the text to make it more beautiful and valuable. This does, however, not mean that they were meant to be sung; Jean could equally have had in mind the appearance of the notated songs in the manuscript, which would, if they were not meant to be sung, indeed function as embellishment and ornamentation. He also says that nobody will be tired of listening to it, which may mean the listening to the romance as a whole rather than to the sung *refrains*. However, the fragment does suggest that Jean intended for the *refrains* to be heard in musical form, and this may likewise apply to the author of the *Roman de la Poire*, and perhaps also to the compilers of fr. 12786.

4.6.   Conclusion

The song collection of fr. 12786 is significant firstly because it contains eighteen *unica*, and secondly because it is the largest surviving collection of polyphonic *rondeaux*, a genre that was emerging in the early fourteenth century when the manuscript was produced. The collection is roughly organised by genre, but there appears to be an additional organisational structure, one that is, as far as I know, not shared with any other surviving song collection, chansonnier, or motet book: the genres, the presence or absence of the intention for polyphonic musical notation, the rhyme schemes and poetic structures, and the palaeography of the song collection suggest that the songs are arranged in an order of ascending difficulty or complexity.

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[378] Translation by Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet (2011).

Over a quarter of the songs in this collection survives in other manuscripts in various different contexts and forms, and, additionally, the *refrains* of almost half of the songs are inserted into romances, *chansons à refrains*, or other texts, in other collections, and many of these surviving witnesses are likewise related to each other by shared (musical) material. A dense network of song and *refrain* tradition is revealed and fr. 12786 is situated in this web, albeit not in its very centre. This is partly due to the *refrains* which are inserted in the *Roman de la Poire*, for which there are even more concordant manuscripts than for those *refrains* of songs in the song collection. These witnesses are often the same ones, implying that it is the same network in which the two most musical sections of fr. 12786 are situated. The presence of fr. 12786 within such a dense network in which many songs and *refrains* circulated widely, suggests that the manuscript was produced in a scribally busy centre, such as Arras, or Paris.

It is unclear whether the songs were ever meant to be sung from the book: the presence or absence of musical notation in a manuscript is not in itself an indication for the intention of such use, as notation may have various other functions and a user may sing the songs without the notation present. Because of the collection of texts it transmits, fr. 12786 is unlikely to have been a performer's copy, and therefore the notation, had it been added, may have served various additional purposes, such as archival ones, preserving the songs, didactic ones, educating its users about music, or enhancing the appreciation of the music for those audiences who listened to a performance whilst following this in the notation. Additionally, musical notation would have been aesthetically pleasing and enriched the visual appearance of the book.

Chapter 5. The Real Readers

The previous chapters have dealt only with the production of fr. 12786, with the manuscript makers' and the compilers' choices, and with the possible context of the creation of the manuscript, but like any other book, fr. 12786's *raison d'être* it its use. This final chapter is concerned with what happened to the manuscript after it was 'finished', that is, after the manuscript makers finished working on the book. Some insight will be given into who the first owners may have been, what happened to the book after that, whether it travelled, where it went, and, perhaps most interestingly, how it was used in later centuries.

5.1. Intended Users

Throughout most of the Middle Ages, the majority of manuscripts was produced especially for the patron who had ordered them, rather than manufactured commercially with the intention of selling them to anyone who may be interested.[379] Though certain texts may have been popular and suitable for commercial pre-production, such as the *Roman de la Rose*, the presence of more obscure texts in a collection often suggests that the manuscript was made for a specific intended audience. Manuscripts transmitting collections of diverse contents with various degrees of miscellaneity, were, as was established in Chapter 3, a very common type of book and many such manuscripts were produced during the late thirteenth- and the early fourteenth centuries. However, this is no reason to believe that they were produced commercially. Fr. 12786 belongs to this broader tradition of compilation, but there is no evidence that the manuscript makers' intentions were commercial and that the book was made before the intended owner was known. The patron who ordered fr. 12786 to be made, then, must have had a significant influence on how the book turned out, and, therefore, the manuscript provides information about who this intended owner may have been.

The contents of the text imply that the individual for whom fr. 12786 was produced must have had a range of interests, reflected by the variety of topics in the manuscripts; he or she must have been able to read in French, and in order to appreciate the texts fully, he or she must have been familiar with other texts not copied in fr. 12786 but to which are referred directly or indirectly in this manuscript. The texts in the collection are not only very different in thematic and stylistic aspects; they also vary in quality. It may not be any surprise that the more

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[379] There are, however, examples of commercial book production at various times in the Middle Ages and in various places across Europe, such as, famously, in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris (See for example: Rouse, Rouse 2000; Rouse, Rouse 1990: pp. 103-15), but such production was not the norm.

famous texts are linguistically more complex than some of the more obscure ones; they contain several layers of meaning, they include extratextual references that alter the meaning of the text, and so forth. The three *unica* outside the song collection, *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist*, the *Ordre d'Amours*, and the dream treatise, provide a striking contrast to, for example, the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose*; they are very repetitive, not extremely insightful, contain phrases in which metre is favoured over grammatical correctness, and show other aspects that demonstrate that their authors were not the greatest of poets or thinkers.[380] Nevertheless, they are interesting texts that give an insight into the time in which they were first produced and the times in which they were used: they provide information about what was part of the everyday life of the intended reader, they show us what was important to him or her, and demonstrate the morals and values this reader considered important. The intended audience of fr. 12786 must have appreciated both the complex and texts and the simpler ones, suggesting that he or she was either highly educated, fully understanding the first kind and all its symbolism and references, and appreciating the second for reasons other than its textual quality, such as entertainment or a bibliophilic interest; or that he or she was less educated, enjoying all texts, but perhaps not fully grasping all layers of meaning in the more complex ones.

The high quality of the parchment, coupled with the large and copious blank spaces for initials and miniatures – not to mention possible border decorations, for which no clues are left behind – imply that fr. 12786 would have been an expensive manuscript. Such a highly-decorated book would have been a product of great luxury, and the intended owner must therefore have been relatively rich.[381]

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[380] These more obscure texts cover topics on which perhaps fewer texts were written, in particular the lapidary and the dream treatise, and there may therefore have been fewer options the compilers could choose from after the patron had informed them that he or she wanted texts on these topics in the manuscript.

[381] The price of an average manuscript would have been five Parisian pounds (approximately the same as livres tournois) and seven sous in the fourteenth century in France. See the quantitative study in: Bozzolo, Ornato 1980: pp. 25-26. The wage of a quarry mason in the mid-thirteenth century would have between twenty-four and thirty deniers a week, plus food and lodging. See: Gies; Gies 1969. It would take this mason between forty-three weeks and over a year to earn enough money to buy an average book. Also see: Spufford 1986. Steven Proctor on his "Money and Prices" says that a duke or a count could make up to 10.000 livres a year, which would be the equivalent of almost two thousand books, a minor lord would make anything between sixty to five hundred livres per annum, which would represent between eleven and almost one hundred books, if he would spend his entire income on this. See: Proctor, "Money and Prices": <http://www.maisonstclaire.org/resources/pricelist/pricelist.html> (Accessed January 2017). He based this information on, among other sources, Barbara Tuchman's *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*, a narrative history book (1978). This might well be the type of audience for which fr. 12786 was made. The price of a book before the Black Death is difficult to compare with that after the disease raged through Europe. Also, prices varied much from one region to the next, and could be very different in a period of several decades as well; the different currencies used throughout Europe make this more difficult to compare. The above therefore only serves as a rough indication of how valuable a book was at the time, but cannot be taken literally. See: De Hamel 1986.

Somewhat more complicated are hypothetical scenarios in which the manuscript was not ordered by the intended user but was meant to be a gift from one person to another, or in which the book was intended for communal use. Such communal manuscripts were most frequently large volumes transmitting liturgical collections often intended to be used in monasteries, but there are examples of compilations of more diverse contents that may likewise have been made in order to be used by a group of people. In a manuscript with a variety of topics, styles, purposes, and complexities, there may be something in the collection for everyone, and such a book, therefore, may be particularly suitable to be used by a company of people. GB-Lbl Harley 2253 is one of the very few examples of such communal manuscripts with diverse contents.[382] The book was produced in England at approximately the same time as fr. 12786. It consists of two codicologically independent parts, one with hagiographies in a gothic hand, and one with diverse contents but with an emphasis on devotional texts copied in an *Anglicana*; the two codicological units do not appear to have been intended to be compiled together.[383] The first unit is similar in script and margin size to fr. 12786, but the second differs considerably: the *Anglicana* is a quicker and more cursive script, and despite the presence of ruling, the lines look sloppy. Moreover, several hands have worked on this part of Harley 2253 and they do not appear to have made any attempt at consistency in their script. There are no illuminations. With so few examples of communal manuscripts transmitting collections of diverse contents, there is no way of knowing what the norm was for such books, but if Harley 2253 is anywhere near that norm, this would suggest that fr. 12786 is not such a manuscript.

The middle unit of this manuscript, transmitting the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, and the *son poitevin*, can point to a very large group of possible readers, as both of these texts were read in different ways by audiences of various literary backgrounds. The text can be read as a comical text, a moralistic one, and even a clerical or a political text. The *Rose* may have been entertaining, but there are numerous references to historical and artistic matters outside of the text which would have been recognised by an educated audience.[384] The final codicological unit, consisting of the song collection, *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist*, *L'Explication des Songes*, *L'Ordre d'Amours*, *La Trinitiez Nostre Dame*, *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame*, *Le Dit d'Aristote*, and *Le Lunaire de Salomon* is of almost as miscellaneous a character as fr. 12786 as a whole is, although many of its texts are of a more practical nature than most of the others in the manuscript, and thereby suggest, albeit imprecisely, a somewhat different type of readership. This does not necessarily also imply a different audience, as one

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[382] See: Fein 2015. Also see: Kren, Teviotdale, Cohen, Barstow 1997: p. 27; Hobbs 1992: p. 13; Fein 2000.
[383] See the description on the British Library website. "Harley 2253": <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_2253> (Accessed January 2017).
[384] See: Sylvia Huot. *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): e.g. pp. 63-75, 330-32, 336.

person would enjoy a variety of texts at different moments, and people often have eclectic tastes.

Fr. 12786's unfinishedness indicates that something must have happened near the end of the manuscript's production process that was unforeseen – it is clear that the manuscript makers had more in mind for the book. Fr. 12786 may even have been left unbound, and may have never reached its intended first owner. This will remain unknown, but what is known is that the manuscript has been used throughout the centuries, as users' traces surviving in their various forms indicate this. The rest of this chapter will look into the book's use and provenance in order to identify as far as possible where it may have been between the time of production and the present day, to find out how the book was used, and to learn more about fr. 12786's real readers.

5.2.   Real Users

Small and seemingly insignificant users' traces in the margins of the texts show that fr. 12786 was read and used for many centuries. To find out what happened to the manuscript and to get a sense of how it was used, it is important to study these traces, "[f]or here is the reader, the 'real' reader that recent work in the field has placed center stage."[385] Apart from those traces that may have come to the manuscript during a rebinding and are not necessarily related to fr. 12786 directly, (that is, they may have been applied to these pages before those pages were part of the manuscript) which have been discussed in Chapter 1, the additions are very short, and usually consist of corrections, or the addition of titles of the texts. Where a language is used this is either Latin, pointing to an educated readership, or French.

It is interesting to consider why users made corrections, or wrote in the margins of books. Of course, the reasons for doing so varied from person to person and from instance to instance, so each individual case should be examined individually. There are, however, some general observations to be made. Firstly, when a user made corrections in the text, this person wanted the manuscript to present this text (more) correctly, implying that there was an intention to read it again, or an anticipation that someone would read it later. Not all traces are corrections, and marks such as 'pen trials' or drawings in the margins, found in many medieval and early-modern books, seem perhaps more difficult to explain. Jason Scott-Warren compares users' traces in manuscripts to graffiti. When graffiti artists 'tag' they let others know that they were there; the act is a combination of celebrating the self and creating a sense of belonging to the place, a permanent connection between that place and that individual. "A person, a place,

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[385] Scott-Warren 2010: p. 365.

and the documentation of a relationship between them: this is the fundamental scenario."[386] Book users writing their name on the pages, drawing an image, or leaving behind a group of words that is not related to the text, such as a motto, can be considered a similar act, which shows that this person was 'there', that this person owned the book. This tells us that this place, the book itself, was valuable to these owners, and that they made an effort to make clear that they were connected to it, even when they remain anonymous.

Those users' marks that do not provide any information about the user who applied them, but consist of, for example, a common Latin phrase which is itself not related to the text, might perhaps best be compared to the famous graffito "Kilroy was here," which (arguably) started in WWII and was used by a large number of (mainly) soldiers, who would not personally be identified through the graffito. It did not, therefore, express their individuality, but it expressed and represented an entire group of people to which the graffiti artist claims to belong by the very act of creating the graffito itself.[387] Such a user's trace in a book, then, both connects the individual user to the book in which it is found, as well as to a larger group to which the user belonged or wanted to give the impression of belonging by the words written in the margin or the face drawn on the page.

This is strongly linked to the expression of literacy. Some users may have deliberately written their graffito in a flourished or very neat hand, showing off their penmanship. This shows all who encountered the book, their friends as well as later owners, how skilled they were. It also places them firmly in the literate part of society.[388] This is something that should be kept in mind when studying even the smallest of users' traces: they express the users' individuality (*I* was here), their connection with the book (I was *here*), their sense of the community to which they belonged (*we* were here), and show off their literacy.

The above applies to those traces that are related to the book itself but not to the texts within it. The study of traces that have more to do with the texts, such as corrections and deletions, may shed light on how people read. As John Dagenais writes:

> We cannot know (...) how often medieval readers mentally corrected their texts as they read, in what places they chose to do so, in what places not. The millions of written corrections made by medieval correctors and readers may give us some clues. (...) Once we carry out such work [of surveying readers' marks], we will be in a far better position to understand the peculiar texture of sense and error that greeted medieval readers as they worked through their scripta.[389]

Thus, all users' marks can provide information about how the book was used and seen by its historical owners.

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[386] Scott-Warren 2010: p. 366.
[387] For more information on Kilroy, see, for example: Sickels 2004: p. 113; Partridge 2006: p. 646.
[388] See: Scott-Warren 2010: pp. 368-71.
[389] Dagenais 1994: p. 151.

Throughout the manuscript's history, several people wrote on the folios of fr. 12786, corrected words, or marked passages they must have considered to be of importance.[390] Most of these users' traces cannot tell us who the users were, as they do not include these individuals' proper names, but they do show what these readers found important and, to some extent, illustrate how they read the texts provided by the scribe. "When the book as visual object is seen in terms of corrections we draw closer to readers, (...) such corrections are explicitly linked with readers."[391]

Because the traces are so small, and because the ink is often very light, it can be difficult to differentiate between the various users. Five users will here be discussed individually because they are distinct enough to be recognised and because there are some interesting conclusions to be drawn from their additions to the folios of fr. 12786. These and other users' additions will be described more or less chronologically, inasmuch it is possible to establish such a sequence, in order to give an idea of how the book was used over time. The final folio of the manuscript (apart from the flyleaves), f. 99, will be discussed thereafter, as the marks on this leaf are related to the provenance rather than to the use of the book.

One of the earliest users to have left traces, here called "User A", was more or less contemporary with the scribe; their hands are very similar in style, which might also indicate that the book was used in roughly the same region as the one in which it was copied. "User A" used a light brown ink in which he made corrections in the *Roman de la Poire*;[392] letters and abbreviation signs were added, some of which actually rectified scribal errors, while others are more difficult to explain. There are at least thirteen such corrections by this user, an example of which is shown in Image 5.1 below; both of the 'corrections' in this image are of the kind that are more difficult to explain than some of the others.[393] They appear to be clarifications of the cue initials rather than corrections of something that was incorrect, but this cannot be said with certainty. In other cases, this user's additions are easier to understand, such as where an added abbreviation sign changes 'mostre' into 'monstre' (f. 10v and 16r) or 'auie' in 'anuie' in the line "Na autel a\n/uie delui" (f. 16v). In at least three other instances "User A" added letters the scribe had skipped over, such as the final letter in "Com sen eust touz iorz our\e/" (f. 18v). It is

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[390] Dating cannot be precise for this purpose because of the small size, the light colour, and the sometimes sketchy nature of the traces; additionally, post-medieval hands are more difficult to date because they show more variation from one person to the next than most medieval scripts do. Rough datings serve as an indication about when the manuscript was used in which way.

[391] Green 1994: p. 180.

[392] And possibly one correction in the *Roman de la Rose*. If the correction in the *Rose* was made by the same person, this would prove that these two units were certainly together in the time in which this user lived. The correction in the *Rose*, however, is very small, and it is unclear whether or not this was done by the same hand. For this reason, I will assume, for this purpose, that this user only corrected the *Poire*.

[393] It is very probable that there are more corrections by this user and those that will be discussed below that I have overlooked: their small size and often tidy execution makes them easy to miss.

clear that this user read the text very carefully, word for word and letter for letter, and the fact that this person made these corrections means that he or she deemed it important that the text was accurate, implying that the user intended to read it again, or that there was an intention for someone else to read it at a later time.

Image 5.1: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 14r, "User A"
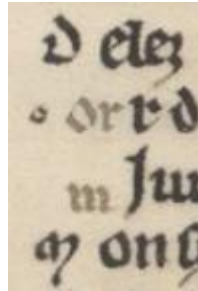
There are no traces of "User A" elsewhere in the manuscript, and scribal errors in the other texts seem to have remained unnoticed by this user. This might suggest that this person had a preference for the *Poire*, or, because this text is the first one in fr. 12786 – at least in its current order – it may be that the user meant to correct the other texts as well, but never did so; it would be ironically appropriate perhaps that even this person's use of the uncompleted book was left unfinished. The idea that the corrections by "User A" are only made here and not elsewhere in the manuscript because the three codicological units were not yet together at the time - a scenario that is plausible because of the firm codicological breaks and the unfinished and perhaps even unbound state of the manuscript during the first period of its existence - is made less likely by the absence of this hand in the lapidary, with which the *Roman de la Poire* shares the first unit.[394] A more plausible explanation for this user only correcting the *Poire* is that he or she had an exemplar containing this text but not the others.

The similarities between the hand of "User A" and that of the scribe of fr. 12786 shows that the book was already used shortly after it was made. This user may have been the original intended owner, the one who had commissioned the manuscript to be made. If this is the case, this patron had probably selected all texts in the book, and must have been interested in each of them. However, the absence of this hand in texts other than the *Roman de la Poire* suggests that this may not have been the case. The unfinished state in which fr. 12786 is left still today would probably not have been satisfying for the person for whom the manuscript was made, and the first audience then may well have been someone other than the one for whom it was originally

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[394] As explained in Chapter 1, the lapidary not only lacks its ending, but also contains a number of dublicated stones which are described in slightly different wording. This text, then, would in this respect certainly be in need of correction. However, such corrections are of a very different kind than those made by "User A".

envisioned, someone who had perhaps purchased the manuscript in this uncompleted state, and who may or may not have intended to have the book finished later. If the corrections described above were made by this person, the interest in the *Roman de la Poire* is easy to explain, and it may even have been the presence of this text that made the first owner decide to buy fr. 12786, even without its miniatures, initials, and musical notation.

"User B", a second interesting user to have left sometraces must have lived some time after the scribe and "User A", probably in the fourteenth century; this hand is slightly more recent.[395] In dark brown ink seven cue initials were copied next to the ones the scribe had already given, writing capitals where the scribe had left a minuscule. Interestingly, "User B" did so only on two folios, f. 97v and f. 98r, towards the end of the final text in the manuscript, *Le Lunaire de Salomon*, but not on the final folio, 98v.[396] It is unclear why this person did so, but an interesting hypothesis would be that "User B" was intending to paint initials (or for someone else to paint them). Because this user's letter shapes and those by the main scribe differ, it may have been easier for this person to rewrite all cue initials to avoid making any mistakes later on, and the initials would have more closely resembled the added capitals. The fact that his cue initials are only found on the final three folios might imply that "User B" started at the back of the manuscript, which makes as much sense as starting from the beginning when there is no need for reading the texts, and that there was an intention to add these capitals to all spaces left blank for initials throughout the manuscript. "User B" never finished this job, which suggests that he or she must have realised very soon after starteding that there was no need to do this, perhaps because it had by that time become clear that there were not going to be any initials in this book, at least not painted by at that time.

The most interesting aspect of the additions by "User B" is that they are related to the manuscript's unfinished nature: the cue initials would not have been visible to this person had the book been finished before it came to this user's library; and, assuming that the new cue initials were added with the intention for initials to be painted, this means that the initials would have been of importance to "User B", and that the lack of initials was something he or she was unhappy about.

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[395] This rough dating is based on the shapes of the capitals 'L' and 'S' and in particular also the distinct shape of the capital 'E', which can be seen in Image 5.2.
[396] There is another similar instance on f. 1r in which two different hands have added a cue initial that the scribe had not given, and one of these resembles the hand and colour of the ink by "User B". However, because it is not clear whether this was added by the same user here, I will for this purpose only consider those traces on ff. 97v and 98r to be by the hand of "User B". The two cue initials on f. 98v are an 'L' and an 'O,' the first of which is already shaped like a capital letter, and the second would have the same shape in the capital form as it does as a miniscule, and this may explain why "User B" did not feel the need to add these capitalised cue initials on this folio. However, the user did copy two other 'L's and their shape in this person's hand is very different from that in the hand of the scribe.

Image 5.2: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 98r, "User B"
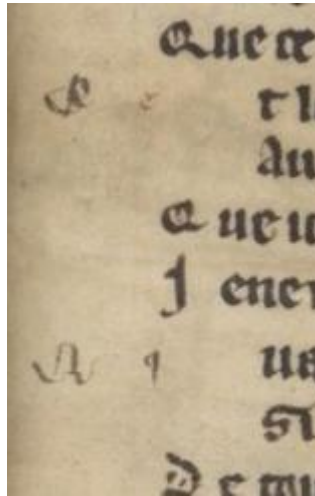
Of all the things missing in the manuscript, the initials may seem to be of least importance: they add structure and embellish, but their function is, arguably, not as obvious as that of the musical notation or of the miniatures that explain the texts further. *Le Lunaire de Salomon* is a verse text, and the way it has been laid out on the page already clearly shows where one line ends and the next begins. Paragraphs would have been opened by an initial if the manuscript had been completed, or if this user had finished the apparently started work of adding initials, but the blank spaces left by the scribe provide a visual contrast and indicate the same structure already: even without having been painted, the initials provide structural guidance, sufficient even if this text was meant to be performed, a situation in which the importance of the visualisation of the structure in a text can perhaps more easily be understood. This suggests that this "User B"'s desire for initials was based on their decorative function rather than their structural one. Embellishment of a manuscript increases its value, and this owner may well have wanted the book to be more pleasing to the eye.

At least three and probably more than four users made corrections in the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, all of them using a brown ink of various shades, some so light that they can hardly be read. Three very short Latin glosses were applied to the margins of the *Roman de la Poire* and the *Roman de la Rose* probably in the later fourteenth century, but these glosses do not appear to be related to the texts.[397] On f. 22r the words "donatum deum" (God granted) are written in a small hand immediately next to the text at the top of the right column, so close to

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[397] One of these is unclear mainly because the ink is so light here it can barely be seen, but looks like "nemenin" (f. 57r). Because this is, as far as I have been able to find, not a word in any language this user could know, it is probably an incorrect transcription but could, theoretically, likewise be a pen trial or a practising of letter shapes in a word without meaning, or, more specifically, it could be a minim trial.

the text of the *Poire* that they are easily situated within the width of the column. Their position so close to the lines "Ma ele escrite et saelee/Une charter quell ma liuree" (But she writes and seals a charter which she gave me) seem to suggest that they are, at least to this user, somehow related, but their connection is unclear. Presumably the same short phrase but abbreviated, "Do deum", is written in the top margin of f. 48r above the line "Encor oran droit et sanz doute" (Still sometimes right and without doubt). The apparently already lightly-coloured ink appears to have been wiped immediately after it was applied, suggesting that this is more likely to be a pen trial than a message the user left either as a personal reminder or intended for someone else that would explain the text or meditate on its meaning. The first of these short phrases is written in an ink darker than that of the other and both 'd's are cursive in an otherwise non-remarkable gothic bookhand, while the second is written in a hand which closely resembles that in which the third Latin phrase (on f. 57r), whose content and meaning unfortunately remain unclear, and the two may well have been added by the same user.

The use of the Latin language suggests that these were learned and educated audiences familiar with a classical language as well as French. If the conclusion that the short phrases are not related to the texts in whose margins they were written is indeed correct, these additions are examples of the kind of "graffiti" that place the individual who made them in a certain community, like the "Kilroy was here" graffiti in WWII. This community is a literary one: the use of the Latin language and the fine and neat hand show off the skills of this user.

Another hand, that of a reader who may have encountered fr. 12786 several decades after the users described above, and who wrote in a less formal and more cursive script, made a correction in the *Roman de la Rose* in a similar way to the one in which "User A" made corrections in the *Poire*, indicating that the text was read carefully and that this user felt the need for it to be correct. Someone else made a somewhat more invasive correction in the same text when the word 'consoil' was changed into 'son oeil', as can be seen in Image 5.3 below, showing that this person was not only a careful reader, but also very familiar with the text and would probably have compared the text as transmitted in fr. 12786 with an available exemplar.[398] This way of reading is very different from reading a text for entertainment purposes: when this user collated the text with another surviving version of the text, the main goal must have been to correct the *Rose* in fr. 12786 so that it was, in this person's eyes, correct.

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[398] On f. 70r. This is line 3477 in fr. 12786 ("Male bouche deslors enca/A encuser men *com*menca/Et dist qu'il imetroit consoil (son oeil)/Que entre li et bel acueil/Auoit mauues acointement/Tant parla li gloz folement/Quil fist esueillier ialousie/De moi et dou fil cortoisie") It is line 3651 in the edition by Jules Croissandeau ("Et dit qu'il gage bien un oeil/Qu'entre moi et puis Bel-Accueil"). Croissandeau 1878: p. 235. Douglas Kelly gives this text as "Et dit que il metroit son oil/Que entre moi et Bel Acueil/A un mauves acointement/Tant parla li gloz folement." Kelly 1995: p. 109. I have not been able to find any of the surviving witnesses to the *Roman de la Rose* which include the exact same textual variation, but after this user's correction the text has become more similar to both Croissandeau's edition and Kelly's than it was before, which is striking. Also see: Strubel 1992 for a recent edition which uses fr. 12786 as a base manuscript.

It is remarkable though, that this is the only correction made in this hand. This might imply that the used exemplar for comparison was textually very similar to fr. 12786.[399]

Image 5.3: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 70r, a correction in the *Roman de la Poire*
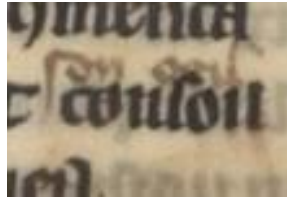
In the narrow space betweel *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* and *Le Dit d'Aristote* someone wrote the word "Enseigneme*n*t" in a sloppy manner in pencil, probably in the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century.[400] The word, which means 'a teaching', indicated the genre of the text which follows; the didactic text teaches its reader moral lessons. Someone else must have added "par Rutebeuf" later between the two columns, providing more accurate information about the author of this 'enseignement'. As can be seen in Image 5.4 below, the black-inked letters are small and, like the pencil word on the left, not very neat. This shows that these users did not add their texts to show off their penmanship such as those who wrote the Latin phrases in very tidy hands, but that their goal was to provide information about the text. The same user who wrote "enseignement" also added the words "La resons que fist li bons rois S," the 'S' functioning as the first letter of *Le Lunaire de Salomon*, on the verso side of the same folio where this text begins. In this instance, the addition can be seen as a title. It seems by the traces left on the parchment, that this user was most interested in the didactic texts in fr. 12786, which is in contrast to most of the users discussed above.

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[399] Other users' traces that were probably applied during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the addition of "Li" before "es ymages" (f. 47r) in a place where the scribe had accidentally omitted the cue initial 'L' and where the word was, therefore, incomplete; the word 'passez' in the inner margin of the *Roman de la Rose*, whose function is unclear (the same word is found two lines up) (f. 71r); a sole 'p' in the bottom margin of f. 88r that appears to be a pen trial; a similar pen trial on f. 98v, and two barely legible words on the otherwise mostly blank parchment of the same folio.

[400] This addition on f. 92r is certainly post-medieval but can by itself not easily be dated more accurately. It is likely that it was added before the other one on this folio, which may be as late as the nineteenth century. More importantly, the user added another phrase, which will be discussed shortly, and which offers grammatical information: the case system was still in use at the time this user wrote this line, which suggests that he or she may have lived in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the shape of the letter 'b' and particularly also that of the letter 'r' (shaped like a mirrored short 's') are those which were used in the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. The hand does not match that of a known historical owner of the book who added his *ex libris* to the final folio and who owned fr. 12786 c. 1500. This will be discussed in detail below.

Image 5.4: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 92r, information about *Le Dit d'Aristote* added by later users
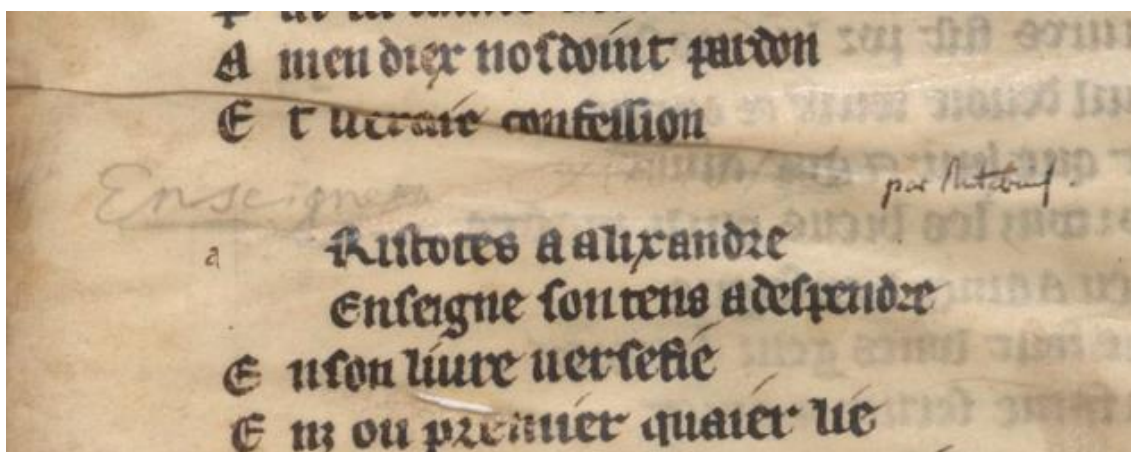
A later hand in pencil did something similar to the *Roman de la Poire*, but rather than the genre or the author's name, wrote the text's title in the large blank space that was left blank by the scribe for the opening initial.[401] This is an interesting example of how the unfinished nature of fr. 12786 was used to someone's advantage: the space that would have been taken up by a large and presumably decorated initial turned out to be the perfect empty spot for the title of this text. On f. 4r someone else likewise wrote "Li roman de poire" in pencil, probably several centuries before the other, and like this user's successor, this person, too, used the blank space left for a large initial, but the fact that this title is found several folios into the text may have triggered someone else to provide this information again, this time at the beginning.

Other post-medieval users have added an illegible text of three or four words on f. 3r; a short text in the margins of f. 57r; two short additions, both deleted, on f. 62v; a short text of three words on f. 68r, mostly scratched off; short words and amounts of money (?) ("6iiij", "p6iiij", and "Joli") in the top margin of f. 88v, and some completely illegible marks which are possibly pen trials here and there. Pen trials are frequently explained by the relatively unreliable nature of medieval and early-modern pens and ink, that were usually hand-made and required to be tested on whatever the nearest piece of parchment or paper was, which would often have been a book. More interesting, however, is to link pen trials not to the used material, but to literacy. There are countless examples of people practising their letter shapes in margins and on flyleaves that show the process of learning to write.[402]

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[401] This later addition actually reads "Roman de la Toire," but because the title of the text is well-known, it is easy to read this instead. The very cursive hand appears to be an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century one, but this is difficult to establish.
[402] See: Scott-Warren 2010: p. 368.

An interesting user is here called "User C", who cannot be dated, and who highlighted capitals on three folios: ff. 25v, 26r, and 26v, shortly after the beginning of *Le Livre de Pierres*. These small marks now appear yellow, but this may well be a result of red ink of a bad quality having changed colour over the years and faded.[403] All capitals on these three folios have been highlighted, with the exception of the final one on f. 26v, at the very bottom of the right column; in front of this word there is a small mark in the margin, that may be related to the highlighting of the capitals.

The reason why someone would apply the coloured ink, or why many manuscript makers apply rubrication or other highlighting of capitals in such a way themselves, is to visually outline the structure of the text in a way that is more detailed than the structure provided by other visual aids such as paragraphs and initials. It must be remarked here that the lapidary is a prose text, the kind in which these highlights are of much more significant importance than they are in a text that has been copied as verse with each line starting on a new line in the manuscript. These highlighted capitals, thus, help a reader understand the text better, and are especially useful to someone who would perform the text to an audience. In such cases, it is important to stress the correct words and to know where one sentence ends and the next begins. Because in a performance these decisions need to be made quickly, that is, whilst performing, the highlighted capitals and other structural aids are a fundamental support to the performer.

The three folios contain only a section of the text, one that begins and ends in the middle of a paragraph. The mark in front of the first capital after this section might indicate that "User C" meant to stop reading, or indeed performing the text at that point. The beginning of this section is also marked, but this time in pencil rather than ink, so these two marks do not seem to have been made by the same person, at least not at the same time. The pencil mark is not found in the margin like the second mark, but within a text line. In its margin, there is a thin pencil line that may indicate the same point and may function as emphasis of the pencil mark in the text block. Both instances can be seen in Images 5.5 and 5.6 below.[404]

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[403] There are, however, other cases of such yellow highlighting. In his description of I-Rvat Pal. Lat. 1972, for example, Keith Busby says that "all initial letters are "yellow-lined." Busby 2002.

[404] The section of the text that is marked in this way, however, starts abruptly in the middle of the description of a stone, the opal, then includes the emerald, the ruby, and the sapphire, and the section ends when the description of this last stone is finished.

Image 5.5: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 25v, pencil marks, underlined word, first highlighted capital
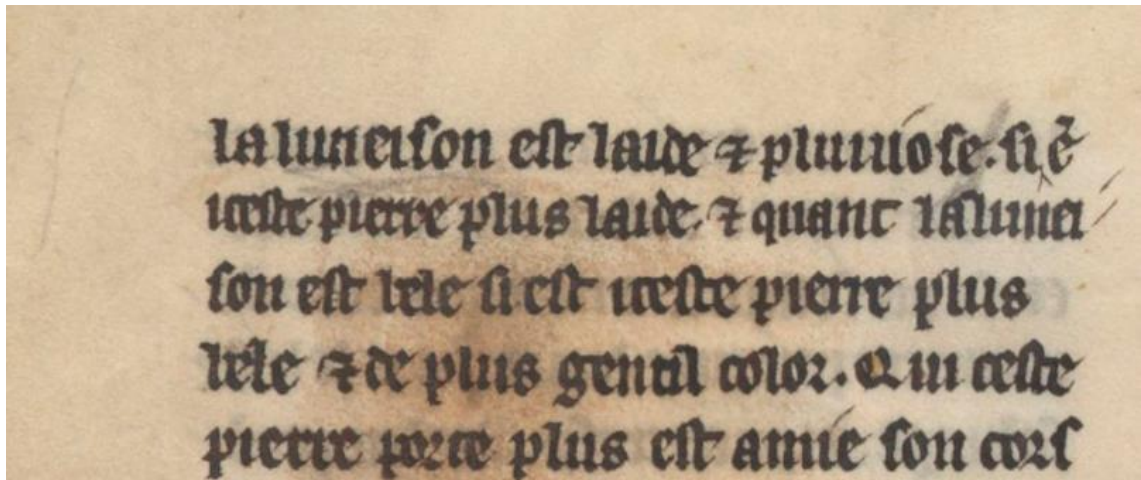
Image 5.6: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 26v, final highlighted capital, ink mark in the margin
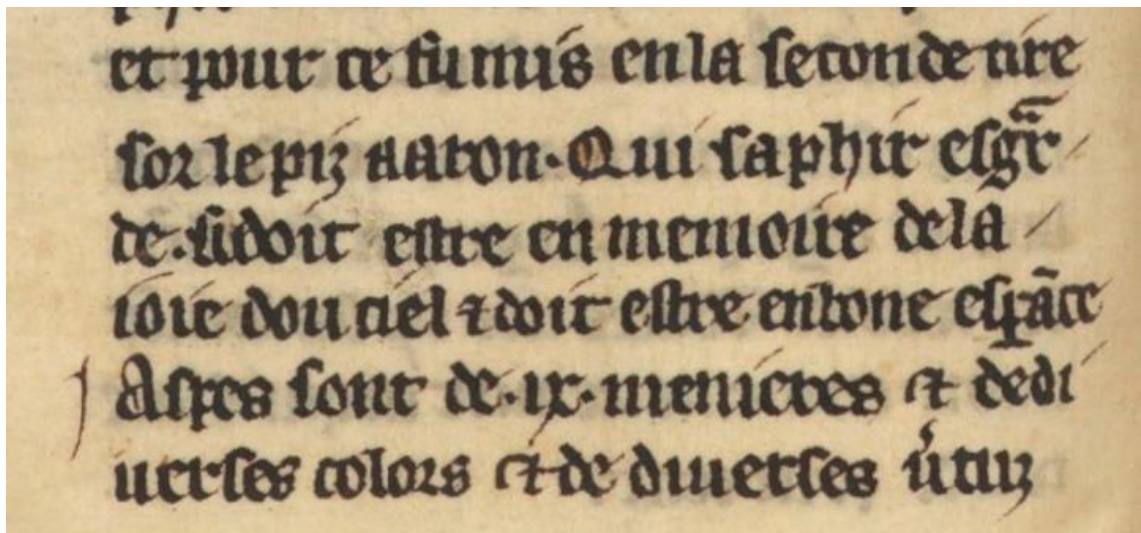
Assuming that this hypothesis is correct and there was indeed someone who performed part of *Le Livre de Pierres*, for which he or she prepared by applying a mark at the beginning and at the end of the section of the selected text, and by highlighting all capitals to improve the performance, this may shed some light on how fr. 12786 was used.[405] Firstly, the lapidary is not the first text in the manuscript one would expect someone to read out in a public scenario, rather, it is the kind of text that, given its scientific nature, is more likely to be a reference work, though there are scenarios imaginable in which a group of people would like to hear such a text being read aloud, either in a context with people who are interested in stones, or in a bibliophilic

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[405] There is no evidence that such a preparation for performance was at all common, but this may be because such small users' additions are underresearched and scholars do not usually pay much attention to pencil lines or very small marks in the margins.

context with people who are interested in the language used in fr. 12786. In the latter case, "User C" may have also read out other texts from the book, but, as argued above, would not have needed to highlight capitals in verse texts.

It is unknown whether or not the manuscript makers ever intended to apply rubrication of capitals, but because this was not uncommon at the time and in this region, it might be considered that this would have happened, had the manuscript been finished. There is no highlighting of capitals anywhere in the manuscript apart from on these folios, but the scribe did have access to red ink, which was used for rubrics in the middle codicological unit, all coupled with miniatures-to-be, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Similar to the additions by "User B" who clarified the cue initials on the manuscript's final folios, those made by "User C" have to do with the unfinished nature of fr. 12786: something was lacking and this user felt that it was needed, and thus applied it.

Unfortunately entirely undateable, are underlined words in pencil, such as 'escharnisserres', 'trisophas', 'ventex', 'enbourdent', 'luneison' (see Image 5.5 above), and many more.[406] These words are not necessarily the key words of the sentence each time, which makes it less likely that the one who did this, here called "User D", did so in order to find the structure in the text more quickly later on, which can be seen as possible reasons to underline. Most underlined words are uncommon ones, or long ones, and the word 'atrempable(e)' has been underlined both on f. 25v and on f. 82v, suggesting that the underliner's interest was in the words themselves more than in the texts.

"User D" underlined words, at least twenty-five in total, in *Le Livre des Pierres*, the *Bestiaire d'Amours*, the *Roman de la Rose*, the song collection, *Les Prophecies que Ezechiel li Prophetes fist*, the dream treatise, *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* and *Le Lunaire de Salomon*, and it seems that the more obscure texts were used more intensively in this way than the very popular ones. The fact that this user went through so many texts in the same way could suggest that he or she was not necessarily reading these texts very closely, but perhaps was practising the French language and learning such complicated and technical vocabulary. The words marked in this way in fr. 12786 may have been thosewith which this person struggled, as indeed many of

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[406] These words are found on the following folios: 95r, 25r, 82v, 41r, and 25v. There are others who have underlined words and particularly titles of texts ("ordre d'amors," "la trinitiez nostre dame," "les.ix. ioies nostre dame") and sometimes key words within the texts, but "User D"'s style of underlining stands out from the others by a consistent going back and forth twice with the pencil underneath the word, and therefore, even though there is no script here, "User D" is recognisable as such. Words underlined by "User D" are: '[a]haion', 'atrempable', 'atrampablee', 'chaufeisson', 'descours', 'desfumee', 'doucetes', 'embourdent', 'enniches', 'entroblier', 'escharnisserres', 'esleueures', 'hupat', 'incipit', 'luneison', 'oniches', 'pointure', 'retrait', 'rilaudiaus', 'rouior', 'terminer', 'tire', trisophas', 'údelete', and 'uentex'. There may, however, be more underlined words which I have overlooked.

them are technical terms or bastard words borrowed from other languages, such as Greek. These texts may have served as practice material for "User D".

Not only does fr. 12786 contain many traces that were added to the manuscript by its users, there are also many deletions and erasures to be found. The scribe deleted words and lines in several different ways, depending on when the error was noticed, how much text was incorrect, and whether or not it was necessary to rewrite it in the same space, which was discussed in Chapter 1, but there are also instances in which the ink was scratched off the parchment in a different manner than in other cases, implying at least that the scribe was not the only one who removed text. These erasures cannot be traced back to any time or region, let alone to an individual user, but they again imply that someone must have read the book very carefully and felt the need for it to be correct. Two deletions in the song collection are most interesting and will therefore be discussed here.

Image 5.7: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 76r, deleted lines at the beginning of the song collection
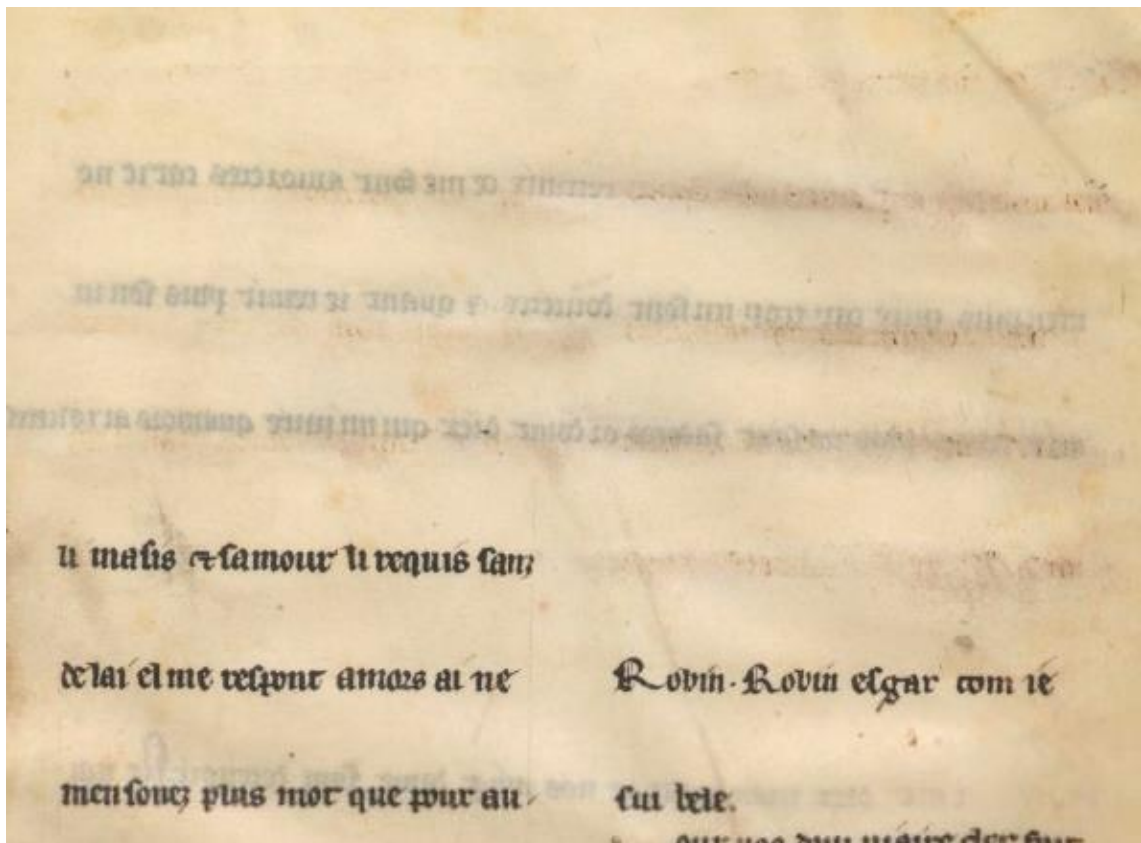
The first deletions in this section are found on f. 76r, at the very beginning of the song collection; the top lines of this folio have been scratched off. This is shown in Image 5.7 above. It can clearly be seen that someone made diagonal scratches first, and horizontal ones later, to ensure that the ink was completely gone. In the left column there used to be four more lines and

in the right column five. Interestingly, the space in between the two columns is also scratched, as if the lines were continuous rather than in two columns. If this were the case, the scribe might have reconsideredthe layout of the folio, and could have been the very one who deleted the lines, but although the rest of the song collection is written in a single column, and this idea is therefore not very far-fetched, there do not seem to have been full-width lines on this folio. The two half texts at the top of the folio and the lay-out of the entire page argue against this; moreover, there are no traces of ink in the middle of what would have been these continuous lines, but only in the columns where this might be expected. Thus, someone must have scratched off the top layer of the parchment between the two columns while there was no text there to delete. Perhaps this was done to make the surface more even and smooth than it otherwise would have been.

It is unclear why these lines were removed. Both texts that now have a missing beginning have concordances in other manuscripts, as was discussed in the precious chapter. If the texts had been the same as in those concordant manuscripts, and if each line had had blank spaces above them for monophonic notation, each of two text lines in height, which appears to have been the case, as the scratched-off lines can still be observed, the texts would be a little too long to fit in the space created by the deletions. The first of these texts is *Pour escouter le chant du rossignol*, which is as follows in one of its concordant witnesses:

> Pour escouter le chant du roussignol
> et pur desduire un matin me levai
> en .i. uergier men antrai
> chapiau faisant ai trouee e*m*melot
> les li massis, et samor li requis ans delai.
> el me respont amors ai ne men sounes plus mot
> que pour autrui mon ami ne lairai[407]

All that is left in fr. 12786 is: "li masis et samour li requis sanz de lai/el me respont amors ai ne men sonez plus mot/que pour autrui mon ami ne leirai". As can be seen in Image 5.7 above, the rest of the text would not have fitted in the space that is now empty, which means that the text was not complete to begin with. The same can be argued for the text at the top of the right column, *C'est la jus con dist en la praelle*. The full text as found in one of the concordant manuscripts is:

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[407] F-MO H 196, ff. 154v-155r.

> Cest la ius con dist an lai praielle.
> Marian et robeson.
> moinne ioie et baudor.
> dou tans qui renouelle.
> marions de ioste li lapelle.
> uien auan biaus dous amis.
> robin. robin. robin.
> esgair con ie suix belle.[408]

Fr. 12786 now only transmits the final words: "Robin Robin esgar com ie sui bele". Both texts, thus, cannot originally have been the same as in those concordant versions, and can never have been complete in that sense. It is plausible that this was the reason for a user to delete the beginning of the text that was not correct, perhaps with the intention to include the other lines in the space that is now blank, only to realise that this space was not large enough for this purpose.

Because there is a codicological break immediately before the song collection, the possibility that there was another quire before this one that was also (in part) part of the song collection should be briefly considered. The first text could then have been longer, but the one in the right column would still be in the same situation and cannot have been the same length as its concordance. Crucially, the cue initial 'p' at the top of the left column has not been deleted and can still be seen, and its presence indicates that this first text would have started at the top of this folio. This does not prove that there were no songs before this one, but nor does it explain the deletion.

An explanation offered by Mark Everist is that someone might have meant to insert a large miniature in this space. Because the song collection is found at the beginning of a codicological unit, it might have been meant to be at the very beginning of the manuscript, in which case a large miniature would be a nice opening and would be similar to many comparable sources. Everist adds that "the fact that such a procedure damaged the first two pieces might well have triggered the decision to abandon work on the book."[409] The hypothesis that someone meant to insert a miniature here is plausible because of the abovementioned reason, and it would explain why the top lines of both columns have been deleted, rather than just one. It may even offer an explanation for the scraping off of the top layer of parchment in between the two columns: the smooth and even surface might be a comfortable background for a painting. I do not, however, believe that this would have had anything to do with the decision never to finish the manuscript: someone could have very easily re-copied the same lines, and before removing them, they were of course well aware that that action would damage the texts.

Another possible motivation behind the deletion is censorship, something for which there is evidence in other manuscripts with songs in which certain lines were seen as offensive

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[408] GB-Ob Douce 308, f. 245ra. See: Atchison 2005: p. 546.
[409] Everist 1996: p. 78, footnote 39.

or heretical, or in which other texts or miniatures were insulting or distasteful in the eyes of the censorer. However, if the first and third text of the song collection in fr. 12786 were the same as or similar to the texts as found in the concordances, there was nothing in these lines that can be seen as offensive in any way. The first text translates loosely as: "To listen to the song of the nightingale, and to have a good time one morning I got up; I went into an orchard, I saw a lady, sat beside her and requested her love; she replied: 'Love, ai! Don't say another word about it, I will not leave my lover for another person'." The deleted lines are those about the song of the nightingale and the orchard. The text in the right column of which the first lines have been deleted, translates roughly as: "It is down in the meadow, as it is said, where Marion and Robin are happy and joyful, because of the season, which is renewing itself. Marion calls him: Come forward, dear sweet friend! Robin, Robin, Robin, look how pretty I am!" All that remains of this text in fr. 12786 is "Robin, Robin, look how pretty I am." Even though there are some covert suggestions of sexual relations here, these lines would not have been the most offensive ones in the song collection, which contains a number of texts that are much more open and direct about similar topics.

It is most likely that because the deleted lines of these two texts cannot originally have been the same as the same texts as found in other sources, someone may have seen them as incorrect or unnecessary and deleted those lines that differed from the version of the song he or she was familiar with or of which another exemplar was available. The scratching off of these lines was very nicely done and the parchment is now blank enough to receive new lines. Overwriting was not an option, however, on the verso side of the same folio, where the first few words of the folio were scratched off much more roughly, as can be seen in Image 5.8 below.

Image 5.8: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 76v, deleted words at the beginning of song 5
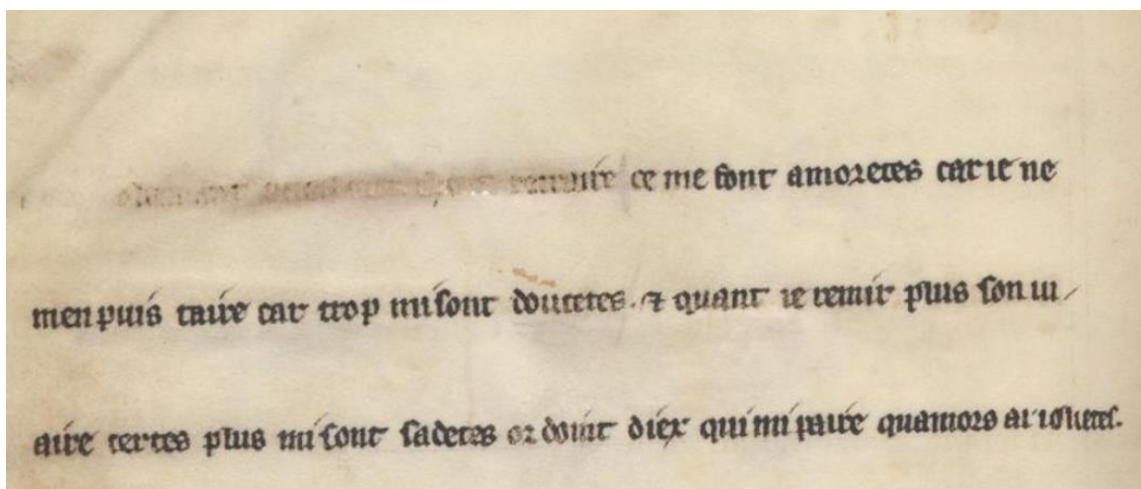
This text also has a concordant version, which was discovered in a manuscript fragment in Charlesville-Mézières in France only a few years ago by Mark Everist.[410] The missing words are *Joliement vueil mon chant retraire*, which can still be read, albeit not very clearly and with the use of some imagination. The fragment has been glued to the inside of the backboard of a book containing devotional texts and has been damaged in the process, which makes it very difficult to read, especially, ironically, the first few words. The fragment, which is very important as it is the only known surviving source that transmits this texts with musical notation, can be seen in Image 5.9 below. The text of the song is as follows:

> Joliement vueil mon chant retraire
> ce me font amoretes
> car ie ne men puis taire
> car trop mi sont doucetes.
> Et quant ie remir plus son uiaire
> certes plus mi sont sadetes
> or doint diex qui mi paire
> quamors ai iolietes.

This deletion in fr. 12786 has damaged the parchment more than it has the ink and cannot be seen as very successful. We know that the erasure was not done by the scribe, but by someone who encountered fr. 12786 later in its history, based on two pieces of evidence: the opposing folio, 77r, shows an imprint of the text that was made before these words were removed, and they can still be read there, albeit with difficulty, and mirrored; and someone, potentially the same person who deleted the first line, made a mark in pencil after the erased words, seemingly signalling that the song was to start there, at 'ce', the beginning of the second poetic line. This is remarkable, as this adjustment corrupts the structure of the poem. The meaning is still more or less the same though, as the first line is really semantically very empty.

These deletions and the many other readers' traces discussed above show that the manuscript was used for many centuries and that different readers read the texts each in their own way. Some were attentive enough to make corrections, implying that they valued the correctness of the texts, while others may have had their own reasons for adding their marks to the parchment. There is no requirement for marking words in or adding corrections to any text that one does not expect to read or to be read in the future, which implies that each and every one of these users must have believed that the manuscript would be of use again, and rightly so.

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[410] F-CV 78. See: Everist 2016.

Image 5.9: F-CV 78, fragment on back board transmitting *Joliement vueil mon chant retraire*

As introduced in Chapter 1, the final folio of the manuscript contains a text which someone attempted to delete: the entire folio has been washed and the ink is very light, though still somewhat visible. The folio is the final one in the thirteenth quire, and forms a bifolio with f. 92.[411] Its parchment is of the same quality as the rest of the manuscript, and the folio can be

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[411] This is shown in Diagram 1.1.

assumed to always have been part of f. 12786. It is therefore, worthwhile to look at what is written on this sheet. The verso side of f. 99 is more or less blank, although it too seems to have been washed, as traces of a short text can still be seen on the bottom half of the folio.[412]

F. 99r, however, contains much more. The top half of this page is taken up by a relatively long text of ten lines over the width of the single column, which has been washed along with the rest of the folio, and is therefore very difficult to read. However, it can be made out that this text is in French rather than Latin, and the hand in which it is copied is contemporary with, but not the same as the one of the main scribe of fr. 12786. It is important to keep in mind that because f. 99 is part of the collation, it is unlikely that this text was already there when the scribe copied all the texts of fr. 12786, which means that this empty final folio must have been written on by one of the first users of the manuscript, possibly the first owner, who may or may not have been the intended first owner.

Because the text is so poorly legible in its current state, it is difficult to get a sense of what it is about, but certain words that can be discerned, such as 'debonaire,' 'vilain,' 'plaisans,' 'prison,' 'noble,' and 'chaplain' seem to indicate a courtly style and register.[413] Unless this user or owner wrote the text on this folio only because he or she needed some empty parchment on which to jot down a note and found it here, which does not seem likely because of the formal bookhand and the relatively neat appearance of this text, there must have been a desire to add this short text to the collection that is fr. 12786. Someone later, however, decided that the text was not part of the collection, and had to go.

Directly underneath this text, three small groups of words have been written in three different hands and three different colours of ink, and they were likewise washed off, so that they have become very light and indeed barely visible.[414] It is unclear why and by whom this folio has been washed, but what can be known for certain is that it was washed long after it had had become f. 99, as some of the hands that have been erased in this way are centuries later than the earliest ones.[415] Thus, one of the owners of fr. 12786 after the latest of these marks must have decided that the final folio should be blank, possibly for aesthetic reasons, or perhaps because he or she wanted to remove the most obvious traces of the book's previous owners.

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[412] This text is so light that it can hardly be read, although there is a word that has not been removed as thoroughly as the rest, and this appears to be "amor." Other fragments of ink on this page seem to belong to pen trials and similar short notes, sometimes only consisting of one letter, and presumably with irrelevant contents.

[413] However, the text could be anything from a poem (but not copied as verse with each poetic line on a new text line) to a draft letter to a short romance or an obituary.

[414] These are only the three most obvious marks that can be seen in this image, all of which start on approximately the same vertical axis. 'Pen trials' which are also found on this page are not taken into account at all for this purpose. The bottom two can no longer be read, but the top one reads: "Rien ou cela". This phrase will be discussed below.

[415] One of the three short marks was probably added in the early sixteenth century. This will be discussed later. Another appears to be even later than this.

5.3. Bibliothèque Nationale

Presumably the latest of all users' traces were added to fr. 12786 in the library in which it now resides. Someone who must have worked in the Bibliothèque nationale provided the third flyleaf at the beginning of the volume with the shelf number of the manuscript, a title, "Recueil de Poèmes divers," as well as some basic information and a date, "Volume de 100 Feuillets Le Feuillet 99 est blanc/13 Juin 1889", as mentioned in Chapter 1. Someone later added a question mark after the word 'blanc,' as this folio is not blank at all. We know that this hand belonged to someone in the Bibliothèque nationale firstly because fr. 12786 had been there for several decades by the time this text was added, and also because the same hand is found in a large number of other manuscripts, for which it provided the same information. After having looked at the dates of a sample of almost forty of these manuscripts, the earliest being 1 December 1869, and the latest 14 April 1899, I can conclude that this person must have worked in the library in the final three decades of the nineteenth century, and perhaps longer.[416]

These manuscripts do not seem to have anything in common when it comes to content, dating, localisation, or, most importantly for the current discussion, provenance. The information was added to all of these manuscripts long after the library had acquired them, and therefore this does not provide new information on this matter. Interestingly, however, most of the manuscripts containing information on one of the first flyleaves in this particular hand, have a similar binding, all apparently of the nineteenth century.[417] This might suggest that the information on the flyleaves, and in many cases even the flyleaves themselves, were added to the manuscripts on the date that is given. It is plausible then, that fr. 12786 was rebound on the thirteenth of June 1889.

Image 5.10 below shows the familiar red-inked stamp of the manuscript collection of this library that was placed on the parchment flyleaf at the end of the book block; as said in Chapter 1, this flyleaf was foliated, even though it is not part of the manuscript's collation. This stamp is a Type 39 in the classification system of library stamps of the Bibliothèque nationale and the Bibliothèque royale by Pierre Josserand and Jean Bruno of 1960, which was added in the later nineteenth century in the Bibliothèque nationale.[418]

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[416] F-Pn lat. 17143 and n.a.f. 9252 respectively. Earlier or later examples may exist.
[417] Information about bindings is often lacking, and is particularly scarce when the binding is modern. Therefore, the dating here given is based solely on my own observations and comparison with books I have seen elsewhere.
[418] Josserand, Bruno 1960. This same stamp is also found in, for example, F-Pn n.a.l. 1651 and F-Pn n.a.f. 1409. Also see: Lugt 1921.

However, the manuscript contains other stamps. On both f. 1r and f. 98v, the first and final pages of the main manuscript block, we find a stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale (see Image 5.11 below). The library went through a series of name changes, convenient for tracing manuscripts' provenances. First simply known as "Librarie", the library, which contained the royal collection, was called Bibliothèque du Roi until the French Revolution, after which it was renamed the Bibliothèque de la Nation in 1790. Large numbers of books were added to the collection after 1792, amongst which were the collections formerly belonging to Marie Antoinette and Louis XIV. The library was then rebranded Bibliothèque Impériale, after which it was again referred to as Bibliothèque Royale during the Restoration period, and was renamed Bibliothèque Nationale in 1849. For a brief time after this, it was again called Bibliothèque Impériale, but finally changed back again into Bibliothèque Nationale in 1871 never to change its name again until today.[419] The stamp, which is a Type 20 in the Josserand-Bruno system, was in use between 1815 and 1830, and it suggests that fr. 12786 came to the library during this period, though it may have been there longer.[420] The manuscript contains a former shelfmark, "Supp*lement* f. n⁰ 319", which is written on f. 1r in what may well be an eighteenth-century hand. This shelfmark may have been given to the book in a different library where it resided

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[419] For information about the history of the Bibliothèque nationale, see: Oliver 2006: p. 10. Also see the library's website: "De la Librairie royale à la BNF":
<http://www.bnf.fr/fr/la_bnf/histoire_de_la_bnf/a.sept_siecles.html> (Accessed: March 2016).
[420] The type 20 stamp is described as follows: "La nouvelle estampille propre à la Restauration n'est pas belle. Elle comprend au centre les lis entourés d'un ecusson ovale que surmonte une couronne un peu étranglée à la base. L'inscription circulaire *Bibliothèque Royale* (avec un h cette fois) est faite de grandes lettres sur deux des trois spécimens conserves au Cabinet des Médailles (…), alors que sur le troisième les lettres sont un peu plus réduites. Ces trois estampilles ont un diameter de 28 millimètres qui sera désormais courant au XIXe siècle." (The new stamp of the Restoration is not pretty. It contains in the middle the lillies surrounded by an oval shield which is surmounted by a crown which is somewhat strangled at its base. The circular inscription *Bibliothèque Royale* (this time with an 'h') is made of large letters in two of the three specimens kept at the Cabinet des Médailles (…) while the letters are somewhat reduced on the third. These three stamps have a diameter of 28 millimeters which will be the common size in the nineteenth century." Josserand, Bruno 1960: p. 281. Also see for example F-Pn lat. 10910 and the information provided by Gallica: "Frédégaire, Chronique."
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10511002k.r=10910?rk=42918;4> (Accessed: April 2017).

before it came to the Bibliothèque Royale, but it may equally have reached what now appears to be its final destination in the eighteenth century already, and perhaps it received its new shelf mark, fr. 12786, after it was rebound in the nineteenth, and presumably during a reorganisation of the collection.[421] If an older stamp was placed on the flyleaves or even on the binding, it would have gotten lost during this transition, and no evidence now remains.

Image 5.11: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 1r and 98v: Stamps Bibliothèque Royale

The collection of the library in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seems rather chaotic, and its organisation is unclear, as is the provenance of many of the manuscripts and printed books of which it consists. There are several catalogues, all handwritten, some of which provide information about where the books came from, but these seem to be exceptions rather than the norm.[422] Before the royal library found its permanent accommodation in Paris in 1666, the collection moved around, increasing vastly as many books were added after the library's creation in 1544, which followed the Ordonnance de Montpellier, an act that "allowed for the legal deposit of published materials".[423] The collection consisted of an assemblage of private collections of, most prominently, Catherine de Médici, Nicolas Fouquet, and several former kings of France, as well as combined collections of already existing libraries, such as the library of the Château de Blois, where king Louis XII kept his own collection, and the collection of Fontainebleau.[424] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries several prestigious

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[421] I have not been able to find a description for the manuscript with shelfmark 319 which could possibly match the book now known as F-Pn fr. 12786 in any eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century catalogue of a library I considered to be a (relatively) plausible place for fr. 12786 to have been (Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, Ville de Paris, the Mazarin library, the Bibliothèque d'Arsenal, the libraties of Nimes, Toulouse, Firmin-Didot, Genève, Arras, Bourges, Gand, Lille, Chartres, Clermond-Ferrant, Rennes, and Cambrai, the Cabinet Historique, the Bibliothèque de Ducs de Bourgogne, and several others.

[422] See for example the *Anciens catalogues de la Bibliothèque du Roi et de différentes collections qui sont venues l'accroître aux XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Doubles, mis au net, des deux catalogues précédents de Versailles et des Tuileries* (F-Pn n.a.f. 5809). All manuscripts listed in this catalogue are said to have come from Versailles and Tuileries. Most other catalogues, however, do not provide such information in the title, or indeed anywhere else.

[423] Oliver 2006: p. 10.

[424] Oliver 2006: pp 7-20.

collections from scholars and noblemen throughout France were added, as well as vast quantities of books assembled on journeys to the Orient.[425]

Fr. 12786 is found in a catalogue that is entitled *Anciens catalogues de la Bibliothèque du Roi et de différentes collections qui sont venues l'accroître aux XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Catalogues des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale, in-4°. Tome XLVI: Suppl. fr., t. II. Nos 201-400* (See Image 5.12 below).[426] This catalogue provides no information about where these manuscripts came from, apart from the claim that they were acquired in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, only implied by the title that was given to it later. As described above, this was a time at which many books were assembled from all over France, and indeed all over the world, so we are none the wiser. The piece of information about when the manuscripts described in this catalogue were purchased suggests that this catalogue was made during the Restoration period, a time in which the library was again a royal library: a catalogue that was made in the eighteenth century does, after all, not contain any information about books that were acquired in the nineteenth century. This catalogue then, leaves no clues about the library's acquisition of the manuscript.

As can be seen in Image 5.12, the catalogue entry for fr. 12786 consists of no fewer than four different hands, or five if the foliation is considered as well. The first hand provided the contents of fr. 12786 (except for *Le Dit d'Aristote*) with all known authors of the texts (except for Rutebeuf), and wrote the word "Suppl." in the upper left corner. Another added a number to this *supplément*, 1157 in pencil,[427] and presented the catalogue number first erroneously and then correctly, 319, which was later re-written by someone else in black ink, perhaps to avoid ambiguity. A fourth hand later included the current catalogue number, 12786, in purple ink.

The attempt to trace back the provenance of fr. 12786 from its current location here reaches a dead end. There is, however, one more piece of evidence for the manuscript's whereabouts for a brief period almost precisely in the middle between the time of its production and its arrival at the Bibliothèque nationale. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with this matter.

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[425] See: "Collections du département des Manuscrits":
<http://www.bnf.fr/fr/la_bnf/dpt_mss/s.collections_manuscrits.html> (Accessed March 2016).
[426] F-Pn n.a.f. 5494, f. 165r. I have not been able to find fr. 12786 in any of the older catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale, even though this manuscript it is and always has been part of its collection.
[427] It is unclear to what this number refers. This may be another former shelf mark, but without any further information about the provenance of the manuscript, this can neither be verified nor disproven.
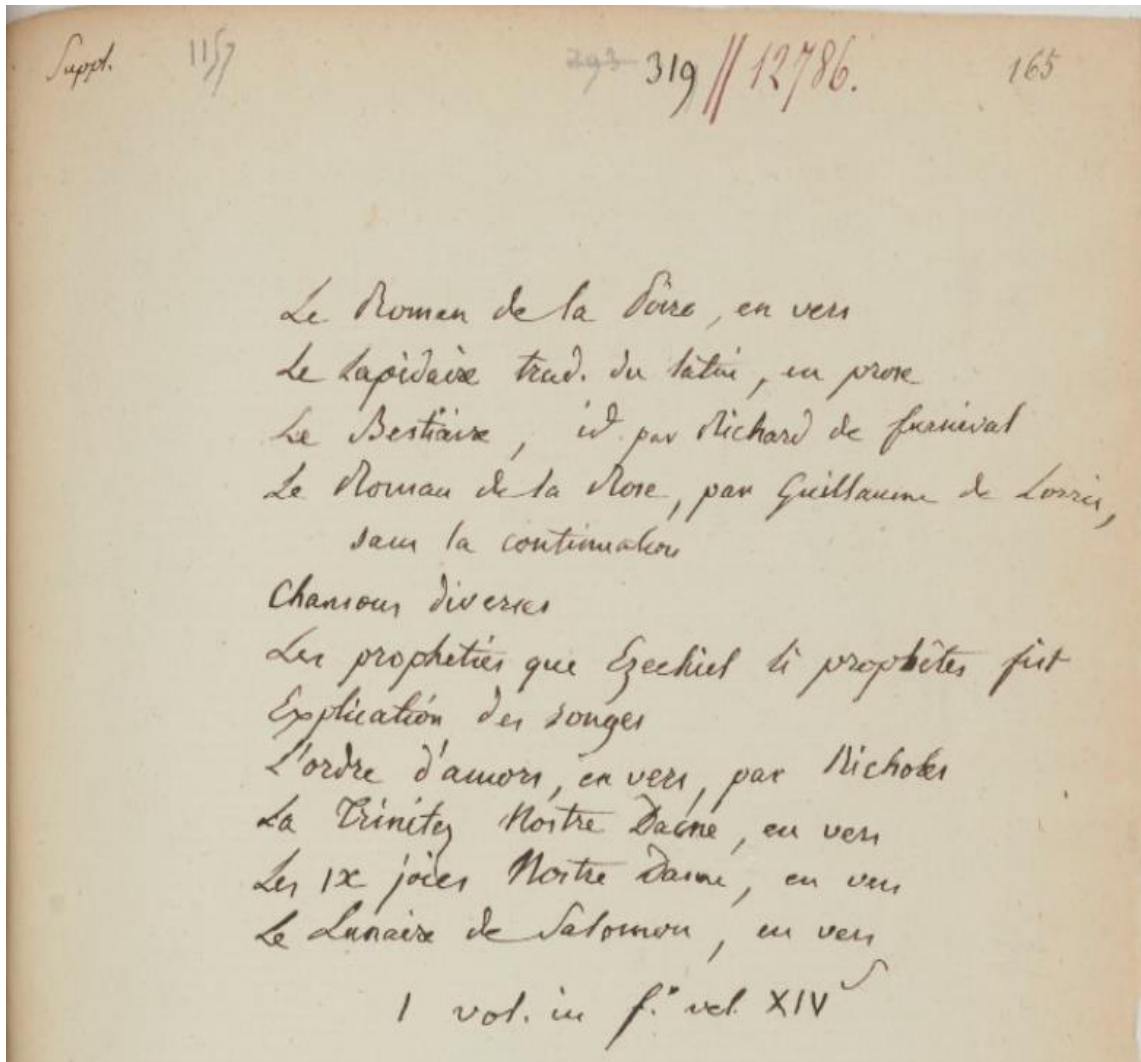
5.4. "Riens ou Cela"

Image 5.13 below shows the three short users' additions on f. 99r, written (as mentioned above) underneath the ten-lined text that is no longer fully legible. Likewise, two of these marks can no longer be read, but the top one can and proves to be an important piece of evidence. This user, who will shortly be identified, wrote the words "Riens ou cela".

Image 5.13: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 99r: Three short users' additions
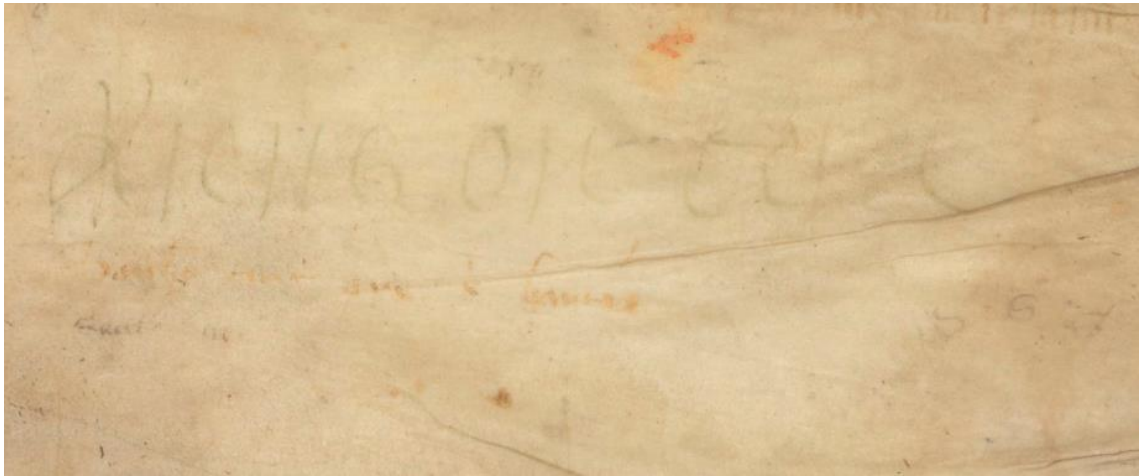
"Riens ou cela" is the motto of the Sala family, in particular the brothers Pierre and Jean, a punning use of the family name that means something like "It is either this or nothing" ("Riens ou cela"), or "It is either Sala or nothing" ("Riens ou Sala"). Such mottos were common at the time in which the Sala brothers lived and were used in books, as well as on coats of arms, or as part of the architecture of the family home.[428]

Pierre Sala (before 1457-1529) is the most well-known of the two brothers, famous for his collection of medieval manuscripts and perhaps even more so for the manuscripts he made himself and the texts he wrote. The bibliophile, who lived in Lyon, was in the service of the Dauphin of France who would become King Charles VIII during the 1480s. Pierre later became *valet de chambre* to Louis XII and, as he said himself, "mestre dotel de ches le roy". It is also known that he entertained King Francis I in his house in Lyon in 1522. It can be concluded, therefore, that Pierre had important contacts and moved in high social circles.[429]

Several texts composed by Pierre survive in at least four different manuscripts. All of these texts are modernisations of Arthurian romances, something in which he was apparently interested, as can be judged from his manuscript collection. Some of the manuscripts he made also survive, one of which is dedicated to King Francis I, one to a man called Jean de Paris, and one to his then future wife, whose name is unknown. Although these romances and these books are very interesting in their own right, and although there is much to say about the production of such essentially 'medieval' texts and books at a time in which they would no longer be of a

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[428] Based on private correspondence with Prof John O'Brien, Director of Studies in the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Durham, member of the Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, and Director of the Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

[429] The house is known as *L'Antiquaille* and still exists. Above the door, Pierre Sala's coat of arms is still visible. For more information about the life of Pierre Sala, see: Middleton 1993: pp. 166-67.

commercial interest, they will not be discussed further for this purpose as only the manuscripts collected by the Sala brothers are of concern here.[430]

Pierre's half-brother Jean (c. 1460-after 1535) likewise lived his entire life in Lyon, where he was *conseiller de la ville* and, more importantly, *capitaine* of Lyon, a prominent position. Jean's interest in manuscripts differed from that of his brother in the sense that he did not, as far as is known, produce books, or write texts inspired by medieval romances, but he did have a collection of medieval books himself. In fact, the known collection of manuscripts that belonged to Jean is larger than that which belonged to his older brother. Jean was also the owner of fr. 12786, an assumption based on the hand in which "Riens ou cela" was written, and based on an erased *ex libris* on the opposing folio. This *ex libris*, which reads "Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala" is shown in Image 5.14 below. It cannot clearly be seen in this image, though once the vertical lines, the 'C' at the beginning of the phrase, and the angles of lines and curves are compared to Images 5.15 and 5.16, the *ex libris* becomes clearer. Ultraviolet light brings back the washed off ink and leaves no doubt that this *ex libris* is, in fact, Jean Sala's.

This *ex libris* was probably identified by Marie-Hélène Tesnière, who works in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and would have had access to the manuscript at the time when she wrote a review of the edition of the *Roman de la Poire* by Christiane Marchello-Nizia for the journal *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. Tesnière does not provide any information about the *ex libris* or about the family motto, but simply mentions the historical owner: "(…) Paris Bibl. nat. fr. 12786, fin XIIIe-début XIVe siècle (…), a appartenu au XVIe siècle à Jean Sala" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 12786, late thirteenth- early fourteenth century (…), belonged in the sixteenth century to Jean Sala).[431] Nobody before or since has acknowledged this manuscript in relation to either of the Sala brothers, neither scholars looking at fr. 12786, nor those involved in the study of the Sala collections.

Image 5.14: F-Pn fr. 12786, f. 98v: Jean Sala's *ex libris* (washed)

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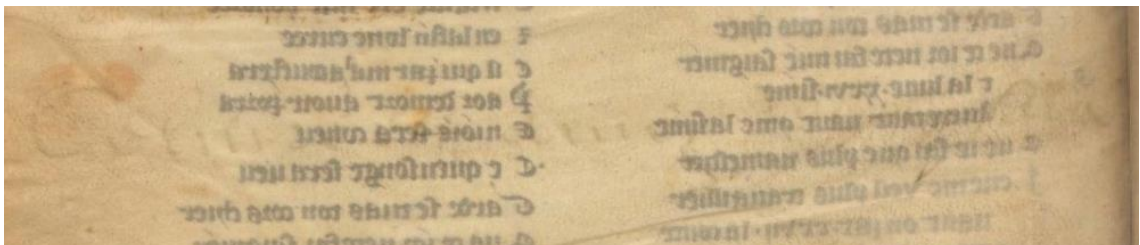
[430] Volume 156 of *Studi Francesi* (2008) is devoted entirely to Pierre Sala and many articles in it deal with these Arthurian romances and the manuscripts Pierre produced. There are many other scholarly sources in which these are discussed.

[431] Tesnière 1987: p. 453.

Even without the *ex libris* "Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala", exceptionally difficult to read without the aid of an ultraviolet lamp, an attribution to Jean can be made through comparison with other *ex libris* inscriptions by Pierre and Jean Sala. Firstly, Jean's *ex libris* are relatively consistent compared to those by his brother, and, as can be seen in Table 5.1 below, no fewer than ten manuscripts contain the exact same words written on f. 98v of fr. 12786, on five occasions accompanied by the family motto, "Riens ou cela", usually on the opposing folio. Moreover, the hand in which both this motto and the identification of the owner are written is relatively similar each time.[432] Compare, for example, the *ex libris* and the motto in F-Pn fr.14942 and the *ex libris* in F-Pn fr. 2188 shown in Images 5.15 and 5.16 respectively to those in fr. 12786 shown in Images 5.13 and 5.14. Although "Riens ou cela" is copied in a somewhat more flourished manner in fr. 14942 than in fr. 12786, the two *ex libris* below are remarkably similar, and both closely resemble that in fr. 12786: the shapes of the arches and the angles of the thicker strokes, those most visible in fr. 12786 with the naked eye, are almost identical, which implies that they have been written by the same hand: that of Jean Sala. These two manuscripts on whose folios Jean wrote his name show that his 'signature' was very regular, which makes the attribution of the *ex libris* in fr. 12786 to this hand more reliable. Pierre's hand is not as consistent as that of his younger brother, and neither are his *ex libris* inscriptions, as will be shown in Table 5.1 below.[433]

Image 5.15: F-Pn fr. 14942, ff. 15v-16r: Jean Sala's *ex libris* and family motto

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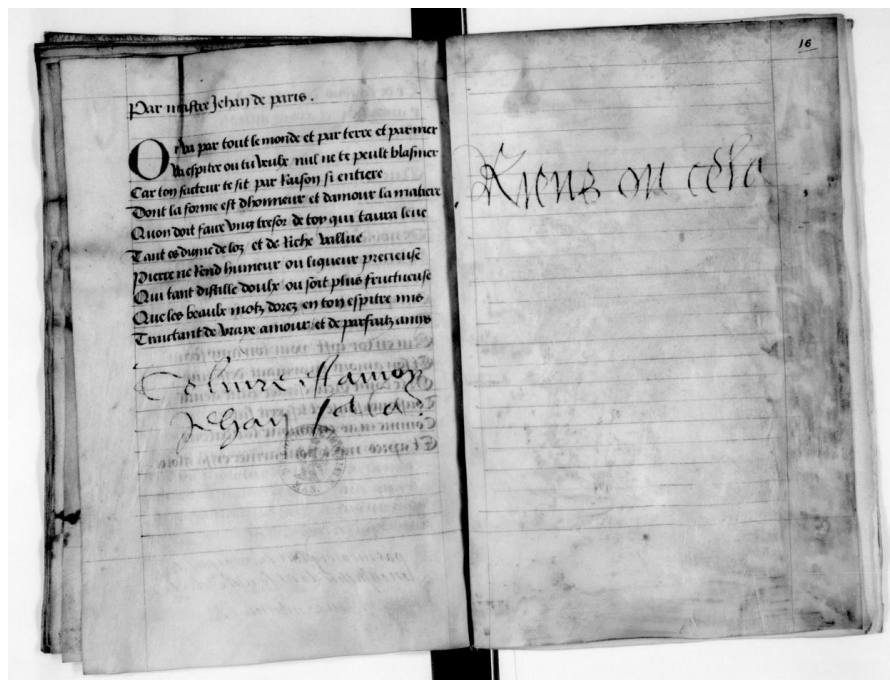
[432] The hand in which the same words are written in F-Pn fr. 2137(f. 198v) differs in style, but general features are the same. Particularly the name Jehan Sala looks very similar indeed, suggesting that it was written the same hand here, the hand belonging to the owner of this name.
[433] Also see: Palumbo 2008: pp. 530-32.

Image 5.16: F-Pn fr. 2188, f. 51r: Jean Sala's *ex libris*
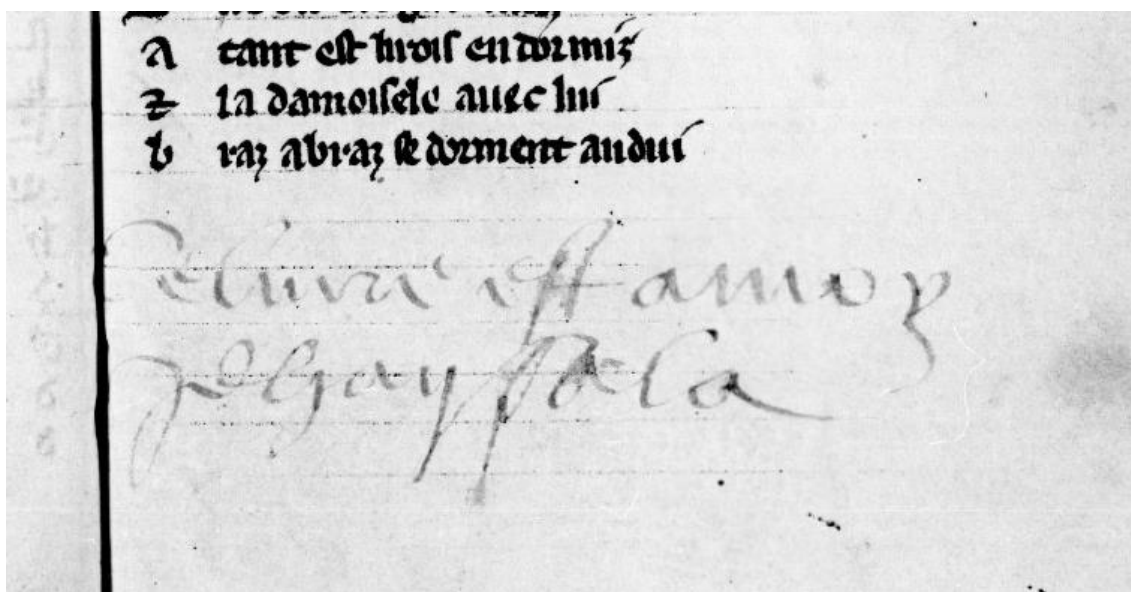
Even though we can distinguish, at least to a certain extent, between the *ex libris* inscriptions of the two brothers, their collections overlap, and it is not always clear to which of the brothers the book belonged. Moreover, some books may have been passed on from Pierre to Jean after Pierre died in 1529. It is said that Pierre left his property to his only daughter, Eléonore, who married a man called Hector Buatier, but it is sensible to imagine that he made an exception for his collection of manuscripts and left those to his younger half-brother who, after all, was a bibliophile and collector of medieval books himself. This would explain those volumes in which the *ex libris* of both brothers are found.

Now that Jean Sala can confidently be identified as one of the historical owners of fr. 12786, it will be worthwhile to examine what other manuscripts these brothers' collections contained, where they acquired them, and where they went afterwards, in hopes of shedding some further light on the provenance of fr. 12786.

Pierre Sala invited King Francis I to his house in Lyon in 1522, as mentioned above. In the letter containing this invitation, Pierre suggests a visit to his library: "S'il vous plaisoit ung jour me fairre honneur/A venir veoir la hault, en deduisant,/L'Anticaille, des livres verrez cent,/A vostre choiz, du grant jusqu'au mineur" (If you please one day to do me the honour of coming up there, for your entertainment, to see l'Antiquaille (Pierre's house), and you will see a hundred books, as you like, from large to small). Pierre boasts about his collection of a hundred volumes of various sizes, a number which was probably somewhat exaggerated, but which does give some idea of the size of this library. This was not necessarily of the same size as Jean's

collection, and presumably somewhat smaller than the combined collections.[434] The *ex libris* inscriptions of the brothers are found in at least twenty-seven manuscripts, including fr. 12786. Some manuscripts contain Pierre's *ex libris* only, others contain Jean's, and yet others contain both. As there are no catalogues or inventories of the brothers' collections, these marks of ownership provide all the information about the Sala brothers' libraries available, and only those manuscripts which survive and from which the *ex libris* has not been (successfully) erased can be identified. It is likely that more *ex libris* will be discovered and more manuscripts will be identified in future.

Table 5.1 below outlines all known manuscripts that were part of the collection of the Sala brothers, including the *ex libris* inscriptions and, where known, additional information about the provenance of that book, so owners either before or after the Sala brothers. Twenty-four of these manuscripts were identified by Giovanni Palumbo in 2008, and the information in the table is taken from his article "Des Livres Verrez Cent, A Vostre Choiz, Du Grant Jusqu'au Mineur: À Propos de la Bibliothèque de Pierre et Jean Sala," unless indicated otherwise in a footnote.

Table 5.1: The Sala brothers' manuscripts

Manuscript	Sala brother	Ex Libris	Other Owners
F-Lm 329[435]	Pierre	Contains Pierre Sala's coat of arms with a banner containing "RIENS OV CELA" (f. 75r)	
F-LYm Rés. 105187	Pierre	"A P S," f. 1	
F-LYm Rés. Inc. 25-290 (five volumes)	Pierre	"A pierre Salla," "Ce lyvre est a pierre Sala Varlet de chamber du Roy nostre Sire," "A Pierre Salla," and Pierre Sala's coat of arms.	
F-LYpa 26	Pierre	Includes Pierre's personal motto "Espoir en Dieu," with the letters M and P for his second wife Marguerite and himself.	Antoine de Toledo: "Le viii jour de décembre 1521 ledit sr ha donné ce present livre a moy Antoine de Toledo present sa femme et le sr Jehan Guillaime borgoys de Lyon."[436]

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[434] Palumbo 2008: p. 529.
[435] This manuscript is not listed by Palumbo, but I have been made aware of the presence of the coat of arms with the banner containing the Sala family motto in the book by Prof John O'Brien through private correspondence.
[436] The catalogue provides this same information, but also mentions that Antoine de Toledo was a doctor: "Il fut donné par ledit Sala au médecin Antoine de Toledo" (it was given by the same Sala (Pierre) to the doctor Antoine de Toledo). Anonymous (7) 1898, Vol. 31: p. 9 The manuscript, dated 1426, transmits a vernacular poem about the Black Death in 1348.

			Also: "Thome Stratensis Theurinatis atrium et medicine doctoris."[437]
F-Pn fr. 436	Pierre	"Ce lyvre est a pierre Sala,/Qui souvant le preste sa la;/Ne nul loyer Il nen demande,/Fors seullement quon le luy rende" (flyleaf). Also contains Pierre Sala's coat of arms (f. 1r).	Cardinal Tournon?[438]; Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661)[439]
F-Pn fr. 584 (book produced by Pierre Sala, dedicated to King Francis I)	Pierre	"Sala/Pierre" (f. 1v)	
F-Pn fr. 2267	Pierre[440]	"Riens ou cela"	
F-Pn fr. 5612	Pierre	"Pierre Sala" (ff. 3v and 138v); "P. Sala" (ff. 1r, 3r), Pierre Sala's coat of arms with "RIENS OU SELA" written on a banner (f. 3).	André Duchesne (a monk who lived from 1553 to 1610)[441]; Cardinal Mazarin[442]
US-NYpm M 277	Pierre	The coat of arms and signature of Pierre Sala are visible only under ultraviolet light.	
F-Ge 135[443]	Jean	"Ce brivyeyre est à moy. Jehan Sala – Riens ou cela"	
F-LYm 743	Jean[444]	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala" (f. 72r), only visible under ultraviolet light.	

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[437] It is unclear who this person was exactly, but because he was a doctor, he and Antoine de Toledo, by the catalogue likewise said to be a *médecin*, may have worked together, and he may have received this book from him. Anonymous (7) 1898, Vol. 31: p. 9.

[438] It has been suggested that Cardinal Mazarin acquired his manuscripts from Cardinal Tournon. See: Middleton 1993: pp. 166-69. This suggestion is, however, problematic, as will be discussed below. For this reason, Tournon's name will not appear again in this table for the other manuscripts which belonged to Cardinal Mazarin.

[439] Delisle 1868: p. 285.

[440] Palumbo lists this manuscript as one of Pierre's, based on palaeographical analysis; he identified Pierre's hand as having been the one to have written the family motto. See: Palumbo 2008: p. 533.

[441] According to the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale: "Français 5612." <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc58563k> (Accessed: March 2017).

[442] Delisle 1868: p. 285.

[443] This manuscript is not listed by Palumbo in his 2008 article, but I have been made aware of the Jean Sala's *ex libris* in this book by Prof John O'Brien in private correspondence. Also see: Leroquais 1934: pp. 122-23.

[444] Palumbo lists this manuscript under "cas douteux" (doubtful cases), because he bases this identification on the observations of André de Mandach, and presumably has not seen the *ex libris* himself; this is only visible under ultraviolet light. See: Palumbo 2008: pp. 535-36, after De Mandach 1961: pp. 338-41. Also see Kibler 2005: pp. 12-18.

F-Pa 5111	Jean	"L'origine et antiquité de la cite de Lion, compose en latin par maistre Simphorien Champier et translate de latin en nostre langaige françoys par maistre Guillaulme Rameze a l'instance de noble personne Jehan Salla, capitaine de Lion" (f. 2r).	
F-Pn fr. 214	Jean	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala" (f. 68v).	Antoine Guillem: "Guilleme de Sala," "Anthoine Guillame/A toy nul mal ne gi[st]" (No evil lies in you; thisline is copied in a different hand) (f. 1r); Cardinal Mazarin[445]
F-Pn fr. 2137	Jean	"Ce livre est a moi Jehan Sala" (f. 198v).	Cardinal Mazarin[446]
F-Pn fr. 5737	Jean	Does not contain Jean's own *ex libris*, but does contain: "Me dono dedit achriflamini Biturigum, d*omi*no reverendissimo, Johannes Salatus, eiusdem d*omi*ni servulus, suaq*ue* ad absequia p*ro*mptissim*us*" (f. 24r).	Was presented by Jean Sala to Guillaume de Cambrai, archbishop of Bourges.
F-Pn fr. 12786[447]	Jean	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala" (f. 99v); "Riens ou cela" (f. 100r).	
F-Pn fr. 15105	Jean	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala" (f. 39r).	
GB-Lbl Add. 29986	Jean	*Ex libris* on f. 174v.	Also belonged to Jean, Duke of Berry (of whose library we have an inventory) (1340-1416), his daughter Marie, Duchess of Bourbon and Auvergne (1375-1434), and, after it had belonged to Jean Sala, Françoys Regnard de Lyon (1587) (*ex libris* on f. 175r).[448]

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[445] Delisle 1868: p. 285.
[446] Delisle 1868: p. 285.
[447] Palumbo does not mention fr. 12786.
[448] Also see: Lespinasse 1882: pp. 424-25.

CH-Gpu fr. 179	Pierre (?) and Jean[449]	"Ce livre est à moy. Jehan Sala." (f. 13v or 14v); "Riens ou cela, j'atans l'eure" (back board).	
F-LYbl G. 54	Pierre and Jean[450]	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala;" "Riens ou cela."	
F-Pn fr. 2188	Pierre and Jean	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala" (f. 51r); "Pierre Sala" (f. 51v); "Riens ou cela (f. 52r).	Antoine Guillem[451]; Cardinal Mazarin[452]
F-Pn fr. 5447	Pierre and Jean	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala." (f. 71v) Surray (?) li m'a donné." (f. 72r, in Jean's hand) "Pierre La p ? iij (?)" (f. 72r, in a different hand); "Pierre Sala. Les Antiguites (?) de Lyon. Messire Arthur (?) de lorai du ?re seigneur. de Chamanieu (?) cher deloro (?) du Roy gentilhomme ordre de la Resuchre (?) 164 (?)" (f. 72v).[453]	Celanges: "monsieur Sala m'a donné ce livre le xi (?) may 1571. Celanges (?)" (f. 72v)[454]; Cardinal Mazarin[455]
F-Pn fr. 14942 (manuscript by Pierre Sala)	Pierre and Jean[456]	"Ce livre est à moy Jehan Sala" (f. 15v); "Riens ou cela" (f. 16r).	

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[449] The *ex libris* containing the name is Jean's, and Palumbo has identified Pierre's hand in the family motto. If Palumbo is right, the book must have belonged to both brothers even though Pierre's name is not found in this manuscript. See: Palumbo 2008: pp. 531-32; 533. Also identified by Hippolyte Aubert, who writes: "A la fin, au verso du fol. 14, cet ex-libris, d'une grande écriture du XVIᵉ siècle: 'Ce livre est à moy. Jehan Sala.' (…) Sur le feuillet de garde de parchemin collé contre la couverture, on lit cette devise, de la main du même: 'Riens ou cela,/J'atens l'eure'." (At the end, on the verso side of f. 14, this *ex libris*, a large writing of the sixteenth century: "Ce livre est à moy. Jehan Sala." (…) On the parchment flyleaf pasted against the back board, we read this devise in the same hand: "Riens ou cela,/J'atens l'eure.) Aubert 1911: pp. 151 (566). Unlike Palumbo, Aubert, thus, believes the *ex libris* and the motto on the back board to be by the same hand, Jean's. The two also disagree on the folio on which the *ex libris* is written, 13v (according to Palumbo), or 14v (according to Aubert). The book consists of fifteen folios. Aubert 1911: pp. 150-51 (565-66). CH-Gpu 179 is not (yet) digitised.

[450] Only Jean's name appears in the *ex libris*, but the hand who wrote the family motto was identified by Palumbo as Pierre's. See: Palumbo 2008: pp. 531-32; 534.

[451] Middleton 1993: pp. 166-69.

[452] Delisle 1868: p. 285.

[453] All four hands are very difficult to read.

[454] Pierre Sala died in 1529 and Jean in 1535. Jean's son François Sala died in 1575 and may be the Sala referred to here. Likewise, Antoine Guillem, Jean Sala's grandson, who died after 1575, sometimes called himself Sala, although this was his mother's maidenname.

[455] Delisle 1868: p. 285.

[456] This manuscript only contains Jean's *ex libris*, but was actually produced by Pierre.

GB-AB 443-D (manuscript by Pierre Sala)	Pierre and Jean[457]	"Ce livre est a moy Jehan Sala."	Antoine Guillem (Jean's son's nephew) (after 1530-after 1575): "Guillems Sala" (f. 3).
GB-Lbl Add. 17377 (by Pierre Sala)	Pierre and Jean	"A Pierre Sala" (f. 24v); "par moy jaques Salla" (f. 24v).[458]	
F-Pa 4976 (possibly by Pierre Sala)	Possibly owned by Pierre Sala, as he may have produced it, but this is not clear.		
F-Pn fr. 5946 (possibly by Pierre Sala and Jean Lemaire de Belges)	Possibly owned by Pierre Sala, as he may have co-produced this book, but the attribution is not clear, let alone the addition to the known collections.		

Hardly anything is known about where these manuscripts were before they came to the possession of the Sala brothers. The only owners who lived earlier are Jean, the Duke of Berry, whose inventory is very complete and relatively detailed, and his daughter Marie. Unfortunately, no manuscript description in this inventory list resembles a book that is like fr. 12786, so whether or not other volumes in the Sala collection came to the brothers via the same route as GB-Lbl Add. 29986, fr. 12786 must have taken a different path.[459]

The most prominent later owners of Sala manuscripts are Antoine Guillaume, Cardinal Tournon, and Cardinal Mazarin.[460] As argued above, it is plausible that Pierre Sala left his manuscript collection to his brother when he died. Jean had a son, François Sala (c. 1500-1575), who also became *capitaine* of Lyon as well as "seigneur de Montjustin," and who may well have inherited his father's possessions, including his book collection. François died childless

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[457] Jean's *ex libris* is the only one present, but this manuscript, likewise, was made by Pierre. See: Palumbo 2008: p. 533.

[458] Palumbo identified this *ex libris* as Jean's, but this is somewhat problematic, because Jean is fairly consistent in the spelling of his name: 'Jehan Sala'. See: Palumbo 2008: p. 533.

[459] See for the inventory of the collection of the Duke of Berry: Barrois 1830: pp. 89-100.

[460] Cardinal Tournon is in this list only because the books in the collection of Cardinal Mazarin are said to have come to him through Tournon. See: Middleton 1993: pp. 166-69. There are no *ex libris* or other pieces of direct evidence in any of the Sala manuscripts that these books were later owned by Cardinal Tournon.

and made his will in favour of his nephew (his sister Antoinette's son) Antoine Guillem (after 1530-after 1575), who also became "seigneur de Montjustin." Because we know that Antoine Guillem owned at least three manuscripts that used to belong to his grandfather Jean (or to both Jean and Pierre), it is plausible that at least a part of the collections of the Sala brothers ended up with him via François Sala.[461] Antoine owned several other manuscripts, as is recorded by Du Verdier during a very large-scale inventory of French texts.[462]

Cardinal François de Tournon (1489-1562) was a highly important political figure in France. During the final eleven years of his life, he was archbishop of Lyon, which links him geographically to the Sala family, and given the political influence of the family in Lyon, it is likely that Tournon met with François Sala and with Antoine Guillem. However, the cardinal died thirteen years or more before these two members of the family, making it unlikely that the collection as a whole was passed on to him, particularly considering Antoine's apparent interest in manuscripts. It would, however, not be surprising if the cardinal received one or two volumes as a (political) gift.[463] Moreover, Cardinal de Tournon would never have been able to pass on the manuscripts directly to Cardinal Mazarin, as the former died forty years before the other was born. If Tournon did indeed own the books before they came to Cardinal Mazarin, there must have been at least one owner in between.

Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661) was an Italian cardinal, and also a very important and powerful political figure who served as chief minister to King Louis XIII and Louis XIV of France, the latter of whom was a mere child when he became king, and Mazarin was the main advisor of the queen, who served as regent, in which capacity he practically functioned as co-ruler of France. The cardinal opened the Bibliothèque Mazarine, originally built to hold his very large personal book collection. Its librarian, Gabriel Naudé, travelled all over Europe, acquiring printed books and manuscripts alike, often groups of volumes or even entire libraries. Mazarin's collection became the largest in Europe and contained some forty thousand volumes, and was, although limitedly, open to the public, making it the oldest public library in France.[464]

While the Bibliothèque Mazarine still exists today, all six Sala manuscripts that are said to have belonged to this cardinal ended up in the Bibliothèque nationale. Most interesting about this is that the six volumes (possibly part of a larger group) remained together: all six Sala manuscripts which Delisle claims were moved to Cardinal Mazarin's impressive library contain

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[461] Middleton 1993: pp. 166-69.

[462] An eighteenth-century re-edition of the catalogues produced by Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine presents this information for a number of manuscripts, although it is not always clear which member of the Sala family is referred to. See: Juvigny 1772-73.

[463] See: Depuy 2007. Middleton does not explain why he believes that the Sala manuscripts that were later owned by Cardinal Mazarin first belonged to Cardinal Tournon: "The *Estrubert* manuscript bearing the signatures of Jean and Pierre was later owned by Cardinal Mazarin, who had several other Sala manuscripts that he had acquired, as it seems, from Cardinal Tournon." Middleton 1993: p. 169.

[464] See: Péligry 1995.

the same stamps of the Bibliothèque Royale, the Josserand-Bruno Type 1 that was in use in the seventeenth century.[465] This suggests then, that fr. 12786 followed a different route to the same library, as it contains stamps that are of a later date.

The six other manuscripts that belonged to either one or both of the brothers and that also ended up in the Bibliothèque nationale (F-Pn fr. 584, 2267, 5737, 5946, 14942, and 15105) but did not belong to Cardinal Mazarin all contain different library stamps from those in fr. 12786 as far as is known (Josserand-Bruno Types 1, unknown, unknown, 1, 31, and 17 respectively)[466], and all came to this place at a different time. This implies then, that fr. 12786 presumably did not stay with other Sala manuscripts to travel as a group or a small collection, but was one of the presumably many books that found their own way there. Judging by the number of different libraries (eleven) in which the Sala manuscripts, excluding the six Mazarin volumes, ended up, the collection must have been completely dispersed.

In the sixteenth century, book collections were not auctioned or sold to libraries as was common some centuries later, but ended up individually circulating on the second-hand book market. This market was flourishing at the time, and a manuscript could have gone anywhere, and may even have travelled some distance.[467] Fr. 12786 must have experienced this blooming second-hand book trade first-hand, but unfortunately its steps cannot now be retraced.

5.5.   Conclusion

Fr. 12786 was made in the early fourteenth century in Northern France. An *ex libris* and family motto both in the hand of Jean Sala show that the manuscript had travelled to Lyon in the early sixteenth century. It is likely that it was passed on to Jean's son François after his death, and later to his grandson Antoine Guillem, and thus remained in Lyon for some time. Where it went immediately afterwards is unknown, but the presence of two library stamps as well as a catalogue entry indicate that it came to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris in the time of the Restoration.

The obscurity about the intended order of the texts caused by the current collation of the manuscript and the uncertainty about whether or not the codicological units originally belonged together, particularly considering that the lapidary at the end of the first and the *Roman de la Rose* at the end of the second unit are missing their endings, raises more questions about the

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[465] F-Pn fr. 214, 436, 2137, 2188, 5447, and 5612. Josserand, Bruno 1960. F-Pn fr. 5612 has not (yet) been digitised, and this manuscript may contain a different stamp. However, it is likely that it also has a type 1 and that it remained together with the other five. Some of these manuscripts also contain later stamps.
[466] F-Pn fr. 2267 and 5737 have not (yet) been digitised.
[467] Based on a private correspondence with Prof John O'Brien.

intentions of the manuscript makers, but it is evident that they meant more things to be added to the book.

Their intentions probably corresponded to those of the intended audience, if we believe that the book was made for an individual according to his or her own taste and wishes, as was most common at the time, and therefore in the eyes of this patron things must have been missing from fr. 12786. Thus, if the person who ordered the manuscript to be made was the one who owned and used it first, which would mean that the originally intended and first actual audience were the same, this audience may well have considered the book to be unfinished, incomplete. However, he or she did not have the miniatures, initials, musical notation, and possible extra illumination added at any point, nor did any audience afterwards.

The users' traces throughout the book, consisting mainly of minor corrections, very brief glosses, obscure deletions, marking of certain words or short phrases, and expressions of the individual or collective identity of the user, demonstrate that it was used not (just) by this original intended audience, but by many others over the course of centuries. These users may not have chosen the same combination of texts had they had the opportunity to design the manuscript themselves, but they read the texts very carefully, most of them having one or two favourites or preferences, and they deemed it important that the texts were correct, each in their own way making minor improvements for future readers, themselves or others.[468] Hardly any of the readers' traces are in any way related to the manuscript's unfinished nature, and nobody in the manuscript's history has added musical notation,[469] miniatures, or initials, implying that they were not important enough to these users to go to the effort of adding these things to the blank spaces, or, of course, that they did not have the necessary skills or exemplars to do so. Perhaps to these readers then, the manuscript was finished, or at least finished enough.

The song collection may seem the most unfinished part of fr. 12786, lacking its initials and its intended musical notation. The spaces left blank with the intention of receiving polyphonic notation cover most of the parchment in this section of the manuscript, leaving much to the imagination. But even this collection could be of much use to readers, who would not need initials to understand the text, and who would not necessarily need notated music to know the melodies. There are many examples of chansonniers, after all, in which no musical notation was ever intended, books that transmit the song texts only, meant for those who knew the melodies by heart, or who had other sources to provide them with this specific information, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, the music may have been irrelevant to some users.

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[468] However, many of these "improvements" left the manuscript in a worse state; in particular the deletions at the beginning of the song collection have damaged the texts copied by the scribe as well as the physical appearance of those folios.
[469] This is something that occasionally happened in other manuscripts. An example is London, British Library, Egerton 274, in which music has been notated on blank staves several generations after the manuscript was made. See: Deeming, Leach 2015: pp. 156-58.

The lack of miniatures in the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose* does impoverish the reader's experience, but it does not render these texts unusable. There are likewise examples of manuscripts transmitting these texts without any miniatures having been intended.[470]

Regardless of what the original plan was, fr. 12786 now resides in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, firmly bound as one book, its modern foliation following the current order of the quires and showing no gaps. This chapter has argued that we should pay less attention to what is *not* there, and focus on what *is*, just as the book's users did throughout its history. Fr. 12786 may not have turned out exactly as the manuscript makers intended, but because finishedness and unfinishedness are flexible and subjective concepts with a large grey area between them, we could argue that at least to its later readers the book was finished, simply because it apparently contained everything they needed or wanted from it; that when the manuscript makers abandoned their work on the book, they must have considered it finished in a way, because no matter the state of the manuscript, their work *finished* there; and that after every later addition or after each rebinding the manuscript was finished again and again. The book may be uncompleted, but it is not incomplete.

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[470] See: Cesare Segre. *Li Bestiaires d'Amours: Di Maistre Richart de Fornival e Li Response du Bestiaire*, in: Documenti di Filologia, 2. (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1957); Langlois 1910; Langlois 1914.

Conclusion

Fr. 12786 is a window into the early fourteenth century, a witness to manuscript production and collaboration between various craftsmen as well as to textual transmission traditions; it is a personal testimony of an unknown individual's personality, and provides an insight into various reading practices and into sixteenth-century manuscript collecting manners. Although the conclusions drawn in this thesis only apply to this manuscript, they may likewise cast light on these broader matters and this single book may increase our understanding of the compilation, the production, and the use of other manuscripts.

Chapter 1 of this thesis explored the manuscript production contexts in which fr. 12786 may have been made, and considered various scenarios for how the book came together as it is currently constituted. The codicological structure of fr. 12786 is not straightforward: there are two firm codicological breaks which are supported by the collation of the manuscript and by the texts. Both texts that end immediately before a codicological break are unfinished: *Le Livre des Pierres* breaks off before the end and in, in fact, in the middle of a sentence, and the anonymous continuation to the *Roman de la Rose* is likewise incomplete. Moreover, the final folio of this middle codicological unit is almost completely blank, which appears strange in the middle of the volume. It is argued here that this codicological structure may be the result of an earlier production of this middle unit, that contains the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the strophe of a French *son poitevin* as well as the *Rose*: the scribe may have commercially produced several such booklets containing texts that were high in demand before receiving the assignment for the making of fr. 12786; this would have quickened the production process. This hypothesis would also explain the difference in the scribe's lettering and the different colour of the ink at the beginning of this unit, as well as the presence of red ink in this part of the manuscript while no other colour than black is used in the first and third units.

Other interesting codicological and palaeographic features that were discussed in this opening chapter include mirrored imprints of the ink in the song collection, a rare phenomenon of which I have not been able to find any comparable examples; a darkening and thickening of the parchment of the front recto of quires I and V (the first quires of the first and middle codicological units), suggesting that the individual units remained unbound for some time; a shift in the prickings at the bottoms of the folios within individual quires, indicating both a horizontal and vertical movement of the bifolios, and suggesting that these prickings were made very early in the production process; and the appearance of matching wormholes in f. 1 and what has been numbered 'f. 100', a flyleaf containing financial accounts in Latin and the name of a relatively obscure saint that is now bound in at the back of the collation, from which we can

deduce that this sheet was added to the manuscript before the latest rebinding, presumably during a previous rebinding or at the time when fr. 12786 received its first cover.

The second chapter centred around the spaces left blank by the scribe of fr. 12786 for miniatures, initials, and musical notation. These spaces are copious, implying that fr. 12786 would have been highly decorated when finished. Because the two texts in which miniatures were intended, the *Bestiaire d'Amours* and the *Roman de la Rose* survive in a large number of witnesses, a clear idea can be formed of what these paintings may have looked like, had they been painted; moreover, the rubrics in both texts are coupled with the miniatures-to-be and they describe what would have been depicted. It is more difficult to guess what the initials would have looked like had they ever been added, but their intended shapes and sizes are known because of the spaces left blank for them. Comparison with other manuscripts that were made in roughly the same geographical and temporal environment as fr. 12786 gives some sense of what they could have looked like.

The missing miniatures must have impoverished the reading experiences of the intended users of the book, as such illustrations would have increased their understanding and even their experience of the text; depending on how they meant to use the manuscript and on their prior knowledge of the songs it transmits, the absence of musical notation may have been of concern to them; but the initials provide a visual aid illustrating the structure in the texts even without having been painted. However, the blank spaces diminish the aesthetic appeal of the manuscript and reduce its value and status.

Additionally, the analysis of the blank spaces pursued in Chapter 2 allows us to reach conclusions concerning the order in which different craftsmen worked (or were supposed to work) on the book, and the methods they employed for communicating with one another; in this sense, fr. 12786 turns out to contain valuable testimony about book production processes that would be absent from or obscured in a manuscript that had been fully completed as originally intended.

Fr. 12786 transmits a collection of texts of diverse contents, consisting of romances as well as didactic texts, which can be divided into three broad and often overlapping categories: devotional, scientific, and moralistic. Most of these are transmitted in (sometimes large numbers of) other manuscripts, and, interestingly, those collections are often of the same kind: apparently miscellaneous collections with anthological tendencies containing devotional material (usually invoking the Blessed Virgin), moralistic texts, romances, and sometimes also scientific texts and music. There are three *unica* outside of the song collection and those could not, of course, be compared to concordant manuscripts, but collections containing texts that are very similar are equally useful sources for comparison, and they, too, were often of the same type. The *unica*

received more attention in Chapter 3 than the texts which have been studied more. Even the three romances in fr. 12786, the texts which stand out most in the collection because of their less didactic nature and their sheer length, sometimes appear in collections that are just like this one. Thus, there seems to be a compilation tradition in which fr. 12786 is situated. The collection, however, finds itself somewhat on the periphery of this tradition, as although some manuscripts discussed in Chapter 3 transmit songs, few of them contain a collection of songs like the one transmitted in this book. It is this that makes fr. 12786 most distinctive.

Music would have been notated in the *refrains* in the *Roman de la Poire* (monophonic), and in the song collection (both monophonic and polyphonic). Many *refrains* and *chansons* survive in other manuscripts, some notated, and some that only provide the texts, but the melodies of the *unica* remain lost because of the absence of notation in fr. 12786. The concordant manuscripts that transmit these songs show that they were used in very different contexts: a *refrain* could survive as part of a motet text in one collection, be inserted in a romance in another, and would have been part of a polyphonic *rondeau* in fr. 12786. There is a dense network in which these songs and *refrains* survive: not only do many manuscripts frequently transmit more than one of the songs or songs' *refrains* found in fr. 12786, they also share many concordances between each other. The research discussed in Chapter 4 examined in greater detail than has before been attempted the transmission of these songs both as complete entities and as shorter snippets that circulated as *refrains*. Fr. 12786 finds itself somewhat on the margins of this network, but is still very much part of it. This broad conclusion is supported by the graphic visualisation of the manuscripts and songs with which it shares relationships. This graph is able to show a large amount of data in an efficient way and to effectively visualise the network of the circulations of these texts not just as full songs, but also as *refrains*, and this method of analysis presents a different picture from the standard analysis of trouvère transmission: this picture derived from much earlier scholarship has begun to be questioned in various recent work, and the current research represents a new contribution to this effort. It is especially illuminating because it focuses on a manuscript that has been rather neglected by musicologists because of the absence of musical notation. The graph in Chapter 4 may be extended to illustrate further relations between the manuscripts, and such methods may likewise be used to support analyses of other networks of text circulation.

The song collection in the manuscript is unique and survives nowhere else. Its organisation is not as straightforward as the organisational structure found in many other contemporary chansonniers, but there is a certain arrangement to be observed. The collection opens with the monophonic songs, most of which are monophonic motets: monotextual and monophonic *chansons* without a clear internal structure that are often transmitted as one of three motet voices in chansonniers or motet books. The bulk of the song collection (thirty-five songs)

consists of polyphonic *rondeaux*, a genre that was just emerging at the time in which fr. 12786 was made, and of which only fifty individual songs survive, thirty-three of which are anonymous. Fr. 12786 is the main source for this genre, but the *Adam de la Halle Manuscript* (F-Pn fr. 25566), which transmits sixteen polyphonic *rondeaux*, has been studied more by musicologists interested in songs of this kind, because the ones that survive there are accompanied by musical notation. This may have resulted in a skewed perception of the genre and its authorship in the early fourteenth century: Adam de la Halle has therefore been considered the main contributer to the genre, but there is no way of knowing if the anonymous *rondeaux* in fr. 12786 also belong to his oeuvre, or whether they indicate the involvement of other poets whose names are now unknown.

Situated in between the monophonic songs and the polyphonic *rondeaux* in the song collection of fr. 12786 is a 'transitional form': this hybrid *chanson* that is essentially a monophonic motet, but laid out for polyphonic music, can best be classified as a polyphonic monotextual motet. Interestingly, the group of polyphonic *rondeaux* also shows a development: there are several *rondeaux* and also a free form that have more complex structures than the others, and they are, although introduced 'gradually', found more frequently towards the end of the collection. Therefore, even without any musical notation to provide information on how complex or difficult the musical settings would have been, an order of increasing complexity can be observed in the song collection in fr. 12786. I have not been able to find another example of such an organisation in a song collection or chansonnier containing *rondeaux* or any other genre, and therefore fr. 12786 appears to be unique in this respect. This suggests that the compilers may not have had many or indeed any models for organising the collection.

Because the polyphonic *rondeau* was such a new genre, the scribe, too, may have had more freedom in the presentation and layout than would have been the case had the songs been of a genre for which scribal conventions were pre-existent. The scribe chose to lay out the *rondeaux* (ABaAabAB) over the width of the column, with large blank spaces above the first two lines of text (AB), and with the residuum text, to which the same musical material applied, in narrow columns on the right-hand side of the folio. This is similar to the way the scribe of fr. 25566, the only manuscript in which polyphonic *rondeaux* survive with notation, laid out these *chansons*, although here the songs are copied in two columns, with the residuum text underneath rather than next to the first two lines. The layout used by the scribe of fr. 12786 caused some minor problems, as some of the texts were much shorter, and the full width of the column was not needed, or much longer, so that another line was required, again with spaces for musical notation. There are some examples of miscalculations by the scribe, which indeed implies that fr. 12786 is a witness to the invention of a new scribal solution for this newly-arising musical genre.

In the final chapter of this thesis, the manuscript's readers were considered. The collection of diverse contents that it transmits can point to a large group of intended audiences, but the unfinished state in which it has been left makes it uncertain that the book ever reached the person for whom it was made. The hypothetical readers would have missed out on many things because of this state: the miniatures would have provided additional layers of meaning, the initials would have shown them a clearer structure of the texts, and the musical notation would have offered melodies, all of which are now not offered by fr. 12786. However, hardly any of the actual readers seem to have been concerned by the absence of all that was intended: users' traces show that the manuscript was used for centuries, and in a variety of ways. One of the traces in particular reveals a historical owner: Jean Sala possessed the book in the sixteenth century and wrote his *ex libris* and family motto on the page. The networks of book-collecing surrounding the Sala brothers and their connections in sixteenth-century Lyon were explored to shed light on the kinds of bibliophile environments in which fr. 12786 circulated before disappearing from record again, until its arrival in the Bibliothèque nationale (then Bibliothèque Royale) between 1815 and 1830. Although a more precise date for the arrival of the book in its current location, or any more of the history of its post-medieval provenance, cannot be reconstructed, at least until further evidence should be discovered, a detailed study of the stamps and other markings in the book itself, and mention of it in early catalogues, establishes some broad parameters that have not been noted before.

Chapter 5 also explored the various users' traces, which show that people read the texts in fr. 12786 very precisely; they made corrections for themselves or (other) future readers, marked passages they found of interest, underlined certain words they seem to have found difficult, added information about the texts, and left marks on the folios that show off their literacy, that show their belonging to a group, and, most importantly, that show that they were, and forever will be, connected to this manuscript.

The manuscript makers clearly had more in mind for fr. 12786, and it is evident that they envisioned a highly-decorated book, but in some sense the manuscript was finished, simply because they finished working on it. None of the readers or owners added miniatures, initials, or musical notation at any point in the manuscript's history, implying that to them, too, the book was finished. Perhaps someone studying a manuscript like fr. 12786 might contemplate the famous words often (but doubtfully) attributed to Leonardo Da Vinci: "Art is never finished, only abandoned".

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