



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Advancing Knowledge, Driving Change

The Emergence of ars nova

Author(s): Daniel Leech-Wilkinson

Source: *The Journal of Musicology*, Summer, 1995, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Summer, 1995), pp. 285-317

Published by: University of California Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/764132>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

University of California Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of Musicology*

The Emergence of *ars nova**

DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON

Recent work on *ars nova* has left its nature far from clear. Sarah Fuller has shown that there never was a treatise with that title: the texts that used to be thought of as preserving an *Ars nova* declaration by Philippe de Vitry must now be seen as transmitting no more than distorted images of his teaching.¹ Edward Roesner has argued that Vitry's association with *Le Roman de Fauvel*—previously thought to contain his early works—cannot be proved: however much we know about his political career, the most that we can say with any certainty about Vitry the composer is that he wrote five, or perhaps seven motets,² one of which has lost its music. This leaves the emergence of *ars nova* in semi-darkness. We can see a new “manner of motets” in pieces from around 1320,³ and we can see motets that seem to be approaching it in *Fauvel*, but exactly how was it developed and by whom? Since the *Ars nova* texts now offer us so little, and the biography of Philippe de Vitry nothing, the only sensible way to attempt to answer this question is to go back to *Le Roman de Fauvel* to see what we can learn from its music.

285

Volume XIII • Number 3 • Summer 1995

The Journal of Musicology © 1995 by the Regents of the University of California

* An early version of this study was presented as a paper at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Chicago in November 1991 in a session devised to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the birth of Philippe de Vitry on 31 October 1291.

¹ Sarah Fuller, “A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? *The Ars Nova*,” *Journal of Musicology* IV (1986), 23–50.

² Edward H. Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Le Roman de Fauvel in the edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pestain: A reproduction in facsimile of the complete manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146* (New York, 1990), 40.

³ *Flos/Celsa* probably dates from the canonisation of St. Louis of Toulouse in 1317; Machaut's *Bone/Bone* seems to celebrate Guillaume de Trie's elevation to the archbishopric of Reims in 1324. These are the only reasonably certain dates for motets between *Fauvel* and Vitry's *Petre/Lugentium* which, as Andrew Wathey has shown, was composed for the visit to Pope Clement VI in Avignon of ambassadors from Rome at Christmas 1342. The quotation is from the anonymous author of *Les Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique*, ed. E. Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris, 1902), 12: “Aprez vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des motes. . . .”

There are dangers in this approach. Because *Fauvel* tantalizes us with a treasure-chest of pieces from exactly the period we most need to understand, there must be a temptation to read too much into its contents, to try to build hypotheses that are too far-reaching on its basis. Equally, because there is so little else from this crucial period, we have to consider it meticulously from every possible angle: we need every ounce of information we can get out of it. To this end the introduction to the recent facsimile is a contribution of great importance; if it can be supplemented by further insights into musical style and technique we shall at least be able to provide the younger Vitry with a context, and perhaps even with some compositions.

In taking this route I am inevitably redoing some of the work of **Leo Schrade**'s 1956 article.⁴ He set up a core of five *Fauvel* motets by Vitry and then attached to it four more, close enough in style to be by the same composer, and two further pieces that he thought might be attributed to "School of Vitry." Though one may wish to disagree with some of his groupings it was a brave attempt to achieve something with comparisons of style, and one that perhaps deserved more attention than was given it.

286

Table 1 is a list of the motets in *Fauvel* that are likely to have been relatively modern when the manuscript was assembled around 1316–18.⁵ It shows against the title of each piece (given as triplum opening/motetus opening) the date suggested by its text and attributions made by successive scholars—the latter eloquent testimony to decreasing confidence in the evidence. Assigning motets to this category ("the latest motets in *Fauvel*") is relatively straightforward: to a considerable extent the list compiles itself because of the dates assignable to the texts set. Other texts in *Fauvel* do reuse old music, but the possibilities for that in the pieces without thirteenth-century concordances are likely to be limited to the works in the supplementary list. Style is too consistent within the main list for there to be room for doubt that the dates of the datable texts provide a reasonable range for the rest.

There is an exceptional number of pieces here from the same few years: at least ten—perhaps many more—written between 1312 and 1318, and more than half—perhaps almost all—of those ten between 1314 and 1316. Yet they have been little studied as a group, partly, no doubt, because they are all anonymous. Schrade's attributions to Vitry did not find favor, and only those four works which Sanders adopted

⁴ Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," *Musical Quarterly* XLII (1956), 330–54.

⁵ For this dating see Roesner et al., 49.

TABLE 1
The latest motets in *Fauvel*

<i>Recent and progressive?</i>	Text date	Schrade MQ 1956	Sanders JAMS 1975	Roesner 1990
Aman/Heu	v.15-mid.17	Vitry		<i>Fauvel</i> music editor?
Desolata/Que	1312-14			
Detractor/Qui	af 29.xi.14?			
Facilius/Alieni				
Firmissime/Adesto				
Floret/Florens	bf 29.xi.14	Vitry	Vitry	
Garrit/In	bf 29.xi.14	Vitry?	Vitry	Imitator of G/I?
InflammatuS/Sicut		Vitry		
Inter/O livor		School of Vitry		
La mesnie/J'ai fait	1316-18			
Nulla/Plange	1314-15	Vitry?		
Orbis/Vos		Vitry		
Quasi/Trahunt/Ve				
Scariotis/Jure	af 24.viii.13	School of Vitry?		
Se cuers/Rex	29.xi.14-3.viii.15	Vitry?		
Servant/O Philippe	19.xi.16-6.i.17	Vitry?		
Super/Presidentes				
Tribum/Quoniam	af 30.iv.15	Vitry	Vitry	

TABLE 1 (*continued*)

	Text date	Schrade MQ 1956	Sanders JAMS 1975	Roesner 1990
<i>Recent but conservative?</i>				
Bonne/Se				
Celi/Maria				
Je voi/Fauvel	1316-18			
Quant/Bon				
Thalamus/Quomodo	1316-18			

in his 1975 article and in the *New Grove* have been paid much attention since (at least until the facsimile, several of whose intriguing hints are followed up below). Another reason for neglect of the other *Fauvel* motets may be the importance given by modern writers to the enigmatic figure of Petrus de Cruce. We have tended to see the development of the motet as passing from the mildly post-Franconian motets of Montpellier fascicles 7 and 8 through the multiple semibreves of Petrus straight into the *ars nova* of Philippe de Vitry.

But the early “Vitry” motets (by which I mean those adopted by Sanders) do not show the same stark contrast between triplum and motetus that we see in Petrus. On the contrary they share material to a considerable extent; they do not strike us as triplum and two-part accompaniment, but rather as two upper voices over a tenor, and unlike the Petronian motets⁶ they are already showing a notable degree of order in their phrase-structures. We can find immediate antecedents for these features not in those motets ascribed by fourteenth-century writers to Petrus de Cruce but in the other *Fauvel* motets. They in turn may well prove to have their origins not so much in the extreme Petronian works as in more conventional works of Montpellier 7 and 8 and perhaps also in those pieces attributed to Petrus by modern writers that go no further than groups of four semibreves to the breve.

Example 1 shows the beginning *Mo* 273 and the beginning of *Super/Presidentes*, which I have deliberately chosen as the example from *Fauvel* that most closely approximates the layered Petronian style. But *Mo* 273 surely offers a better model. It has a modern isorhythmic structure in its tenor—the *talea* is more than a modal pattern and there are several statements of it in each *color*—and a similar rhythmic pattern to that of *Super/Presidentes*, and the upper voices have similar rhythmic profiles in the two motets. The pieces do not sound the same, but that is mainly to do with their different *colores* and their composers’ different contrapuntal habits in elaborating them.⁷ This implies that the multiple semibreve groups found in those motets ascribed to Petrus by contemporary writers represent an extreme position, one that goes beyond what his immediate followers found useful and which, in retrospect, they appear to have bypassed.

If the other *Fauvel* motets provide the immediate context for the earliest “Vitry” motets, what are these pieces like and can we see *ars*

⁶ Ernest H. Sanders, “The Medieval Motet,” ed. Wulf Arlt, *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade* (Bern, 1973), 551.

⁷ Partly for this reason I cannot find Mary Wolinski’s redating of Montpellier fascicle 7 to the third quarter of the thirteenth century convincing. (Mary Wolinski, *The Montpellier Codex: its compilation, notation, and implications for the chronology of the thirteenth-century motet* (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University 1988, UMI-8819781), 74.)

EXAMPLE 1. Beginning of Mo 273 and *Super/Presidentes*.

Or voi je bien que il mi cou-vient des-cou-vrir a ce-li qui lonc - tans

E - xi - mi - um de-cus vir - gi - num re-o-rum-que

Virgo
I

m'a te-nu en jo-ie con fins a - mans Doit es - tre

con - so - la - ti - o mes - etc.

II

Su-per ca - the-dram mo-y-si La-ti-tat sub y-po-cri-si grex mo-der - nus

Pre - si - den - tes in thro - nis

Ruina
I

pre - la - to - rum quid ve-ri-or te - stis ni-si rex e - ter-nus pa-ra-di - si

se - cu - li sunt ho-di - e etc.

II

nova developing through them? We need first to know what we are looking for. Sanders has established the essential features of the *ars nova motet*: “a superstructure of two voices moving prominently in semibreves and minims over a slow tenor,” itself rigidly patterned,⁸ and related phrase structures in the upper voices overlapping the tenor *talea*, phrase structures within which lines of text tend to be regularly laid out.⁹ (Figure 4, below, *Garrit/In nova*, shows an example of this “classic” state.) An earlier study showed how the compositional procedure that produced and elaborated such an arrangement may be reconstructed in each motet.¹⁰ We need to see how much of this is present in the other *Fauvel* motets and to what extent their composition proceeds in the same way.¹¹

Scariotis/Jure deals with the murder of the Emperor Henry VII on 24 August 1313, and has no regular phrase structure and no periodic isorhythm at any level above that of color. The controlling principle of text-setting seems to be that each stanza of triplum text should be marked off by a clear phrase-end in the music (a long followed by a long rest). The distribution of the stanzas over the three-color tenor pushes more than an average amount of text into the first half of the piece, so that the composer spreads syllables more thinly in the second half, suggesting that he was working empirically rather than mathematically.

Facilius/Aieni, because of its incompetent counterpoint, may have been an exercise—perhaps a student exercise—in duple mensurations, hence perhaps its tenor label “Imperfecte canite.” But like *Scariotis/Jure* it is meticulous in setting each couplet in triplum and motetus as a separate phrase followed by a rest. And as the triplum has two lines more than the motetus the composer sets five triplum lines against the first three of the motetus and thereafter runs them in parallel, the triplum line-ends always coming between one and two longs after the end of the corresponding motetus line. Most phrases are about four to five longs in length, so that although there is no patterned phrase structure in relation to the tenor there is a logical and regularly followed plan. (*Bonne/Se mes desirs* works in a similar way, this time to a measure of seven longs per triplum line, with some give-and-take according to

⁸ Sanders, “The Medieval Motet,” 556; “The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVIII (1975), 26.

⁹ Sanders, “The Medieval Motet,” 557–58 and 560.

¹⁰ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe de Vitry and his Contemporaries* (New York, 1989).

¹¹ Although in preparing this study it has obviously been necessary to go through every piece in great detail, it would be impossibly tiresome to do it again here. In what follows I simply take identifiable stages in the development that these motets seem to document.

the needs of counterpoint and rests in the other voices.) Likewise *Inflammatus/Sicut* marks off each half-stanza in the triplum with a rest; and, although it does not yet attempt to coordinate those phrases with the repetitions of the tenor, a map of its text layout (Figure 1) shows that the composer does relate the triplum and motetus line-ends logically, coordinating them at the beginning, then moving the motetus ahead to dispose of the two lines that it has more than the triplum, then bringing the layout back into a parallel relationship (with overlap) from the end of the second *color*.¹² (If *Facilius/Aieni* is a student work it might, on this account, be by a student of this composer.)

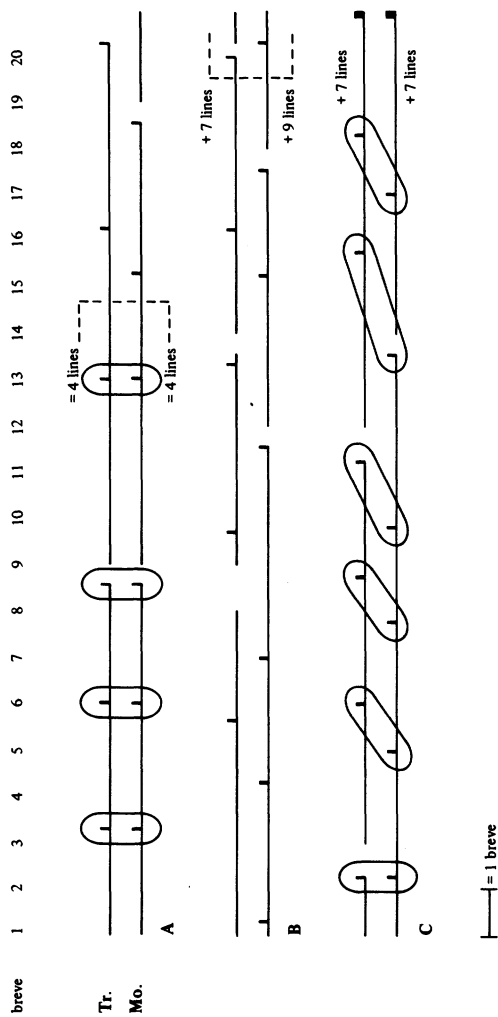
Working with similar priorities but with a taste for rests in two voices at once, the composer of *La mesnie/J'ai fait* juggles triplum and motetus so as to bring together half way through the piece, and perhaps with symbolism intended, two lines that seem to embody the essence of the texts: the triplum *vous servant sanz contredit* ("serving you without objection," i.e. one phrase fitting in exactly with the other?) and the motetus *nequetant tout sanz delay* ("notwithstanding all, without delay," i.e. without overlap?); and once that has been achieved the composer continues to the end with more regularly coordinated phrasing. Similarly the composer of *Trahunt/Ve* (or *Trahunt/An diex*¹³—this is true of both versions) starts with a regular layout of motetus, with five *talea* statements to each couplet, and then moves the text back by one syllable per *talea* until the mid-point of the text arrives at exactly the mid-point of the color structure, while each triplum couplet is set to either three or four complete *taleae*. None of these schemes is isoperiodic, but they offer perfectly reasonable ways of arranging a motet in a fundamentally regular fashion.

A phrase chart of *Nulla/Plange* of 1314–15 (Figure 2) shows isoperiodicity beginning to appear, in the triplum mainly at the level of *color* (indicated in the chart by circled line-ends) but in the motetus more by *talea* (boxed line-ends), with a slightly different placing of phrase-ends in the second *color*; and this is matched by emergent isorhythm in the upper voices, again sometimes at *color* and sometimes at *talea* level, suggesting that the composer was looking at both levels during composition of the upper voices. Likewise *Detractor/Qui*—which the facsimile editors suggest should be read as another Marigny motet

¹² This and the following diagrams show the disposition of phrases and text lines within each *talea*. A line represents sounding music, a vertical stroke a text line end, and a gap a rest. Roman numerals number successive *taleae*, upper case letters indicate successive *colores*.

¹³ The three-voice form in which it survives in B-Br19606. The variants between the versions indicate that the three-part state is original and the quadruplum added (for *Fauvel*?—see Roesner et al., 28).

FIGURE 1. *Inflammatus/Sicut*

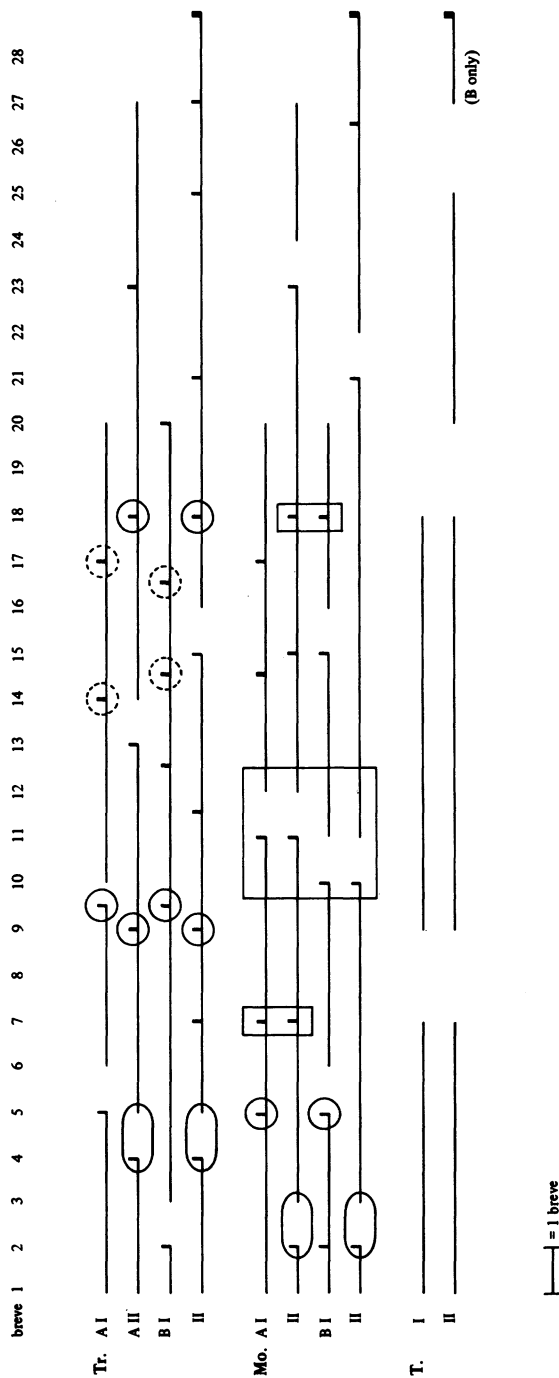


dating from before (soon before?) his fall in November 1314¹⁴— shows a very carefully calculated relationship between triplum and motetus phrases where the motetus pattern often follows that of the triplum one *talea* later, a “phrase canon” (with exceptions forced by the need to fit together incompatible quantities of text). In these two pieces we see composers very deliberately playing with different ways

¹⁴ Roesner et al., 20–21.

FIGURE 2. *Nulla/Plange*

294



of relating and ordering phrase lengths. In the context of contemporary developments they seem very likely to have been experimenting, aiming for a logical integrative procedure but not yet agreed about what it might be.

Super/Presidentes, although conservative in its rhythmic language, comes even closer to isoperiodicity, as Figure 3 shows. In the motetus (as with most *ars nova* motets, the more regular of the upper voices) long rests coincide in breves 4–6 of each *talea* in *taleae* AIII–BI and in breves 10–12 in *taleae* BII–IV: only the first and last *taleae* are irregular. In the triplum two-breve rests coincide in *taleae* AII–IV and BII–III (breves 14–15), in BI, II & V (breves 2–3) and in AI & BIV (breves 20–1). The motetus is also isorhythmic in every other long, although that may be just a consequence of its restricted rhythmic vocabulary.

It is not far from that example to Figure 4, the phrase chart for *Garrit/In nova*, which shows the classic *ars nova* motet in a fully-developed state. And yet the attitude that produced them is crucially different. In the “other” motets—those not attributed by Sanders—we can see composers aware of the desirability of an underlying scheme. They are not always agreed about what it should be, but they do agree that it is only a framework and that modifications are necessary for the sake of better text setting. It is a pragmatic approach: the composer starts from a scheme, but the needs of the text encourage modifications to it as he composes. Its regularity is in relation to the text structure, not the abstract layout of the tenor. By contrast, in isoperiodic and emergently isorhythmic motets previously attributed to Vitry we see the scheme taking precedence: isoperiodicity is maintained rigidly and the text fitted into it. If the other motets are fundamentally pragmatic in their arrangement these are schematic, the work of a composer putting order before all.

295

So far I have examined these pieces only in terms of Sanders’ approach to the development of the *ars nova* motet supplemented by techniques for identifying compositional procedures.¹⁵ Two caveats are in order before continuing. The first is that attitude to text layout is not always indicative of chronology or even authorship. Different composers may be at different stages or the same composer may make different selections from a pool of techniques some of which may have been more recently developed than others

¹⁵ For a more formal statement of these see Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques*.

FIGURE 3. *Super/Presidentes*

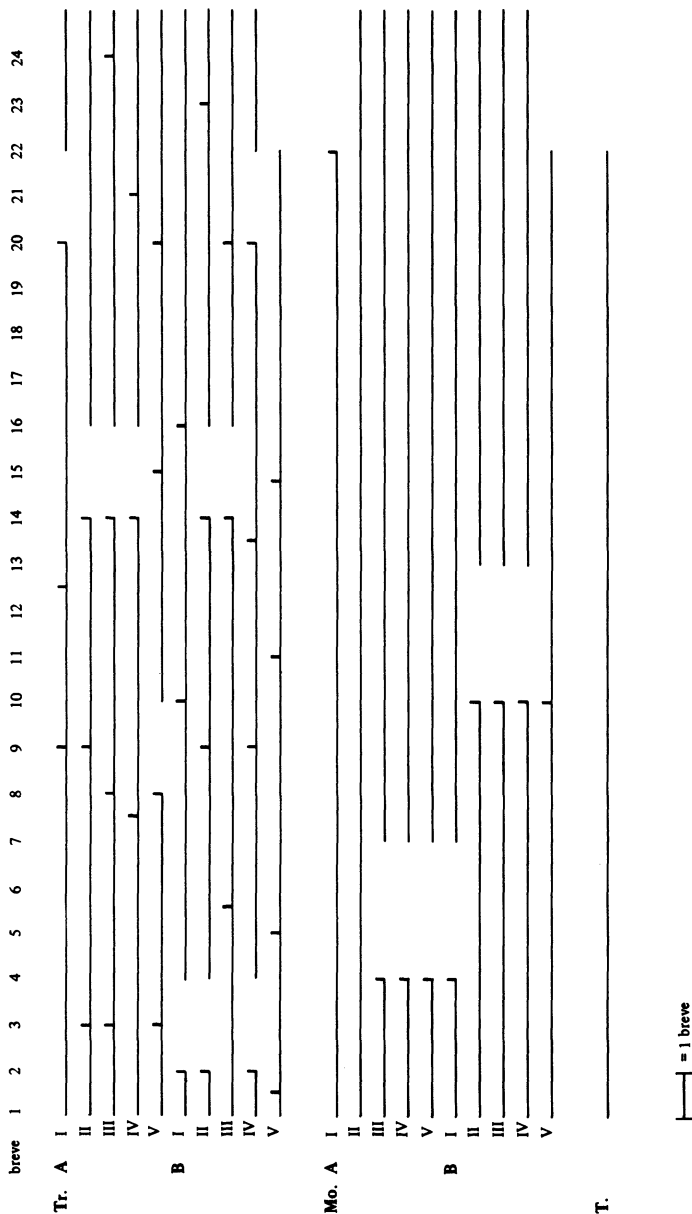
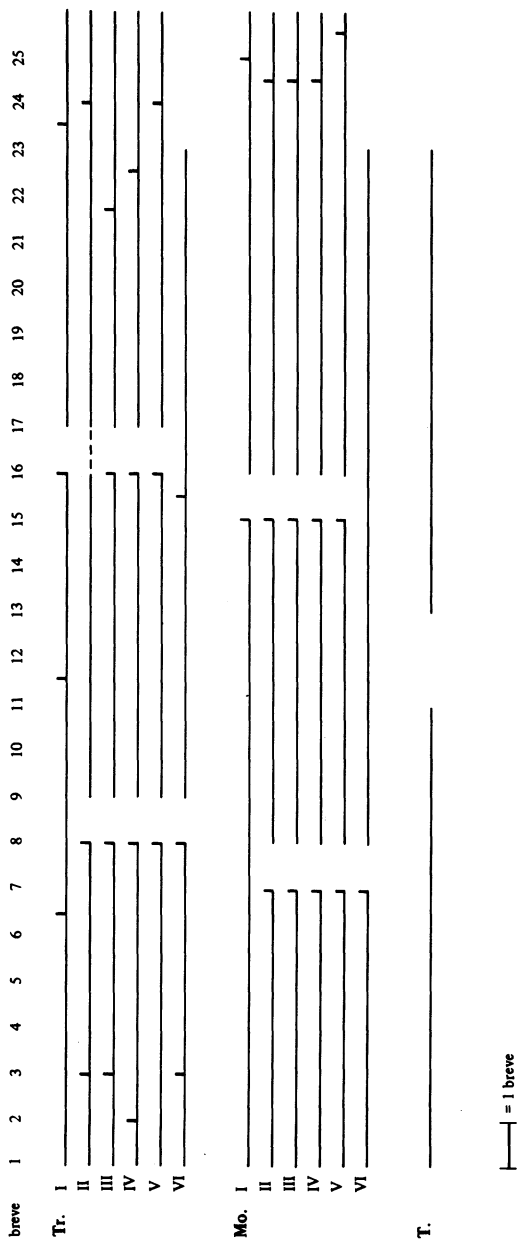


FIGURE 4. *Garrit/In nova*



(although it happens to be the case that the earliest closely datable motet in *Fauvel*, *Scariotis/Jure*, provides a good example of conservative habits). This proposal is substantiated by the contrast between the highly ordered *Tribum/Quoniam* and the more pragmatically arranged *Firmissime/Adesto*, for in every other respect they are so similar that they must (surely?) be the work of the same composer. But equally there can be no doubt that a development from pragmatism as the dominant attitude to schematization gaining the upper hand took place and that in this respect, at least, **a schematic piece reflects a more modern attitude, a pragmatic piece a more conservative one.** This development surely did not happen wholly through these motets, but it is well-illustrated by the cross section of recent work that they seem to represent.

The second caveat follows from this, namely that text-handling and form are only half the story. If we want to know who composed each of these pieces, or at any rate which were the work of the same man, we are going to have to look not at their formal structures—which anyone could reproduce and at any time (at least within these four or five years)—but at aspects of composition in which personal habit is more difficult to override (and in which there is less reason to do so); above all we are going to have to examine their note-to-note progressions. Let us start from the pieces accepted as Vitry's by Sanders, since they are the best known, and then work outward. I stress that the argument requires no assumptions about their authorship.

The striking stylistic similarity between *Tribum/Quoniam* and *Firmissime/Adesto* has already been mentioned. To assess the significance of this we must discount obvious fundamentals like mensuration and final since anyone could have chosen them. Nor should we put too much value on similarities of rhythmic language, particularly on the relative quantities of the various available durations, since they are determined to some extent by the number of syllables to be set within a given number of beats. There is a certain flexibility in a composer's decisions about mensuration and *talea/color* structure that does allow him to opt for a preferred rhythmic profile, however, and to that extent rhythmic language may be relevant in grouping or separating pieces. It is an extent that is very difficult to measure, though. More weight should be given to texture, voice-leading, decorations of sustained sonorities and chord progression (making due allowance for mensural and rhythmic constraints) and to any unusual habits of composition at a local level (beats rather than *taleae*): for example, passages repeating other than at the same *color* position, or "connecting" passages in which the tenor rests. These are going to be relatively difficult to imitate, at any rate in combination, and are likely to change only gradually within the work of a composer. For these reasons they

make rather good indicators of the identity or non-identity of the composers of different pieces.

Measured by these criteria *Tribum/Quoniam* and *Firmissime/Adesto* must be the work of the same man. They share decorative figures, an “open” texture which prefers octaves and fifths (even in tenorless connecting passages), and similar treatment of their unusually few passing dissonances, all of which give these two pieces a distinctive surface style noticeably different from that of any other *Fauvel* piece. They also share a very unusual interest in reusing a few substantial progressions many times. These are laid out in Examples 2a and b.¹⁶ In both pieces, but outstandingly in *Tribum/Quoniam*, the composer has engineered a tenor whose internal pitch repetitions, inherent in the chant, fall at the same point in several statements of the repeating rhythmic *talea*, and he takes advantage of this to reuse substantial passages of music in all voices.¹⁷

Tribum/Quoniam has a strict isoperiodic structure while *Firmissime/Adesto* is notably irregular, which might suggest that they were written some years apart. But I think we must assume not only that *Tribum* and *Firmissime* come from the same pen but also that they were written at much the same time. It seems highly unlikely—and work with datable Machaut pieces seems to bear this out—that a composer’s style remained steady for very long, and if that is true later in the century it should certainly be true at such a time of change as this. It seems to follow that the same composer can use different approaches in the “architectural” stages of work on two motets and yet fill them with very similar music. Indeed, in view of the other obvious structural differences between these motets, the middle-voice tenor of *Tribum* and the final color in (modified) diminution of *Firmissime*, it may be that their composer was making precisely this point. All these aspects can change without greatly affecting a composer’s surface style.

Sanders attributed to the same composer two other pieces, *Garrit/In nova* and *Floret/Florens*. *Garrit* is certainly closer than anything else in *Fauvel* to *Tribum* and *Firmissime*, but it is by no means as close as they are to each other. Although it shows some similar decorations and similar connecting passages the parts tend to be closer together, and

¹⁶ The barring in this example follows Schrade’s for ease of comparison; the numbers beneath each staff show the position of each bar within the *talea*.

¹⁷ Example 2 deserves a paper to itself on account of the skill involved in laying out the tenor so that its potential for allowing this much repetition is fully realized. It may be that the approach identified by Sarah Fuller in Machaut’s motets had its origin here (“Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut,” *Current Musicology* (Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest Sanders) XLV–XLVII [1990], 199–245), especially if Machaut studied (with?) Vitry in his early years. (For this possibility see Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques*, 104.)

EXAMPLE 2. a) *Firmissime/Adesio*;

II -1 -2 -3 -4 -5 -6 -7

III -4 -5 -6 -7 -8 -9

V -1 -2 -3 -4

VI -1 -2 -3 -4 -5 -6 -7 -8 -9

VIII -5 -6 -7 -8 -9

EXAMPLE 2. b) *Tribum/Quoniam.*

The musical score for Example 2. b) *Tribum/Quoniam.* is presented in a single system with 11 staves. Each staff contains musical notation with specific fingering instructions. The staves are labeled with Roman numerals and numbers indicating fingerings: AI -1, -2, -3, -4, -5, -6; II -1, -2; III -4, -5, -6; IV -1, -2; V -2, -3, -4, -5, -6; VI -1, -2, -3; VII -1, -2, -3; VIII -1, -2, -3; IX -1, -2, -3; X -1, -2, -3; and XI -1, -2, -3. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

this is not just because the tenor is often higher: the composer uses crossing of, and thirds between, the upper voices—even when the tenor is low or absent—to a greater degree than in *Firmissime*. On the whole, though, *Garrit/In nova* appears closer in style to *Firmissime* and *Tribum* than to any of the other *Fauvel* motets and the balance of probability favors its being by the same composer, particularly if it is earlier. Margaret Bent has shown, in a study yet to be published, that *Garrit* is indeed earlier, for it is quoted in *Tribum* and in a fashion that can only be deliberate and calculated.¹⁸ Whether or not it is by the same composer this order of composition has some interesting implications. The complex *talea* pattern of *Garrit* with its coloration and resulting meter-changes is earlier than the simpler and much simpler patterns of *Firmissime* and *Tribum*; this again warns us that the structural plan of a motet is not a safe guide to chronology. The muddier texture and extensive part-exchanges of *Garrit* are earlier, and the clearer and more stratified part disposition of *Tribum* and *Firmissime* are later (not a direct development from the Petronian motet). The diminishing form of *Firmissime*, and the *introiti* there and (more clearly) in *Tribum*, could be later developments. And the internal repetition characteristic of *Tribum* and *Firmissime* may be seen developing in *Garrit* and thus could be another indication of shared authorship. Finally, the order of composition corresponds to the narrative order of their texts, supporting (though not proving) the assigning of texts' dates to their musical settings.

I cannot share Sanders' view that *Floret/Florens* is by the composer of *Garrit/In nova*,¹⁹ still less that of *Tribum* and *Firmissime*. It may share with *Garrit* its subject and its tenor melody, and therefore to some extent its harmonic structure, and it may share also its broad rhythmic language, but its counterpoint is far more crude with ugly upper-voice clashes,²⁰ monotonous decorations of lengthy sonorities (often by leaping up and down over a fourth²¹—the last resort of a composer lacking voice-leading skills²²) and inconsequential progressions.²³ Its composer knows what new style motets look like but he does not have the skill to make *Floret* sound like one. He is much more likely to be an imitator or a pupil of the *Garrit* composer than

¹⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Bent for allowing me to refer to this observation. This may shed some light on other passages common to the two motets: cf T/Q 22–25 (& 46–49) with G/I 37–39i, and T/Q (18ii)–20 with G/I 27–29i.

¹⁹ Sanders, "The Early Motets," 30–31.

²⁰ Ed. Sanders in "The Early Motets," 37–42, bars 17, 33, 53, 67, 86.

²¹ Bars 41, 69–71, 80, 82–3, 85, 100–1, 104, 114.

²² Cf. *Facilius/Alieni*, *passim*.

²³ Bars 38–40, 122–23, 129–30.

the man himself, for it is hard to imagine that a composer with such a rudimentary grasp of counterpoint had the imagination to invent everything that is modern about *Floret/Florens*. It could therefore hardly be an earlier work of the *Garrit* composer.²⁴

Are there any other *Fauvel* motets that might plausibly be the work of the Master of *Garrit/In nova*? I can only find one, and on the face of it it may seem an unlikely candidate. This is *Scariotis/Jure*, already mentioned as the earliest closely datable motet in *Fauvel* with a text from later 1313. The early date is necessary for the identification, for it does not look like the work of a highly experienced composer. Its sometimes poorly directed progressions and leaping triplum point to inexpertise;²⁵ but there are enough anticipations of *Garrit*, *Firmissime* and *Tribum*²⁶ that, taking into account the old-fashioned structure and rhythmic style together with the date, *Scariotis/Jure* could be an early work of the same composer. Of course, he would have had to be a relatively young man in 1313, born perhaps in the 1290s, and he would have had to be imaginative and daring enough to be creating something very significantly new only a year or so later in *Garrit/In nova*. But that is not impossible: only the tenor and isoperiodic schemes seem entirely new in *Garrit*, and those are exactly the sort of “mechanical” innovations that could have been made by an imaginative and ambitious young composer impatient of tradition without having to have models to rely upon and without very much development in his contrapuntal language. That simpler tenors continue to be produced, probably by the same composer, and that strict isoperiodicity is anyway an entirely logical development of recent trends, increase the possibility that *Garrit/In nova* was a sudden leap forward rather than the next cautious step in a gradual development. And its surprising arrangement of parts at its opening, leaving the motetus high above the rest of the texture for the first six longs, exposing its text “*In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas*” (the mind inclines to speak of forms changed into *new* things), does suggest that we should see this motet as a statement of intent, an advertisement for a new way of doing things. It is not hard to suggest an identity for this composer, but for the moment let us call him A.

²⁴ It was encouraging to find, when the facsimile appeared, that Roesner also attributes *Floret/Florens* to an imitator of *Garrit/In nova*. Roesner et al, 42.

²⁵ Bars 21–2, 37–38, 43–45, 58–61. (Unless otherwise cited, all bar numbers refer to the edition of Leo Schrade, *The Roman de Fauvel*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century I (Monaco, 1956), reprinted as *Le Roman de Fauvel* (Monaco, 1984).)

²⁶ Extended parallel fifths, simultaneous rests in two voices, semibreve-semibreve-figs (e.g. *S/J* 49, *F/A* 4, *G/I* 55; *S/J* 5–6, *F/A* 57–8, *G/I* 56–7), decorations (e.g. *S/J* 54, *G/I* 44, *F/A* 68), connections (*S/J* 59, *F/A* 54).

The two pieces that Schrade thought were certainly by “Vitry” but which Sanders rejected are *Aman/Heu* and *Orbis/Vos*. Like *Floret*, *Garrit* and *Tribum*, *Aman/Heu* is another text dealing with Enguerran de Marigny, dating it after his execution in April 1315; but Roesner has pointed out that its references to his body “washed *often* by the rain, is dried by the blowing wind” suggest a later date during the more than two years his body hung.²⁷ In that case it could have been written up until mid-1317. This is helpful, because it looks more like an imitation of an *ars nova* motet than the genuine article. **Its lack of any kind of tenor pattern or formal structure and its frenetic semi-breve/minim-obsessed upper voices could have been produced by someone who had heard new style motets but not studied them.** Or it could be a parody in the modern sense.²⁸ Roesner has hinted that it could be the work of *Fauvel’s* apparently conservative music editor.²⁹

Schrade grouped *Orbis/Vos* with *Nulla/Plange* and *Servant/O Philippe* as belonging together stylistically “so closely in fact that they appear to be the work of the same composer,” and he thought that of these three *Orbis* and *Nulla* were the closer harmonically.³⁰ I cannot see this; in fact I wonder if it was a clerical error in his notes. *Nulla/Plange* is quite unlike the other two; at the most it could be ascribed to a poor follower of the new style, hardly closer (and a less competent contrapuntist) than the *Aman/Heu* author.³¹

On the other hand *Servant* and *Orbis* do seem close, and though *Servant* seems marginally more expert,³² they could well be the work of the same man. He is unlikely to be composer A: their styles are not wholly different—this man is not so fond of strongly directed progressions or of recurring rhythmic, melodic and harmonic figures. He is more fond of unison-second-fourth progressions (usually) between the upper voices, and of sixths and thirds anywhere in the texture, but these are differences apparent only with close study. Just as important a reason for separating these two figures is the date of

²⁷ Roesner et al., 52.

²⁸ Which might explain exaggerated gestures in (on paper) a screamingly high range (bars 24–26, 46–48, 52–53).

²⁹ Roesner et al., 26. Margaret Bent and David Howlett have proposed, in unpublished research, that *Aman/Heu* does in certain symbolic strategies behave enough like *Garrit/In nova* for it to be necessarily considered as the work of the same author. But while they remain partially presented and unpublished these are criteria that cannot properly be considered in this study, and for the sake of methodological consistency I think it is right for the moment to separate it as a motet that in important ways behaves differently.

³⁰ Schrade, “Philippe de Vitry,” 347.

³¹ See especially bars 4–6, 65–70, 79 & 83–84. Note that neither piece has any concordances.

³² E.g. *O/V* bb. 20–23.

Servant/O Philippe. Although it has been thought of as a retexted motet for Louis X (thus December 1314–July 1315), because it appears in Pn571 beginning “Ludovice” instead of “O Philippe,” Andrew Wathey has shown that the Louis intended there is in fact Saint Louis;³³ and while the piece still could have been conceived for Louis X there is no compelling reason to assume it. The “O Philippe” text is therefore more likely to be original, and we may date the piece late 1316 or early 1317,³⁴ making it the latest datable piece in *Fauvel*. However hard one tries to integrate it into the output of A, the 1316–17 of *Servant/O Philippe* as against the 1314 of *Garrit/In nova* fails to explain *Servant/O Philippe*’s more conservative style (and, for what it is worth, its more conservative structure). We seem to have here a different, highly skilled but less progressive composer. For the moment let us call him B. And these are not his only works.

Schrade also thought that the *Servant* composer was responsible for the other royal motet, *Se cuers/Rex beatus*. Here again he seems to be right. As well as the rhythmic grounds cited by Schrade,³⁵ there are some similarly decorated progressions, tying in also with *Orbis/Vos*,³⁶ and a similar taste for *sb-a’ sb-c’ m-b sb-a* figures. And the points about harmony made in connection with *Orbis/Vos* apply here too. *Se cuers/Rex* is clearly a simpler work in rhythm and structure, and plausibly so in view of the time—anything from five months to three years or so³⁷—which separates them. Although he thought the composer was Vitry, Schrade brought into this group *Inflammatu/Sicut* on grounds of “structural elements . . . rhythmic figuration . . . the concept of harmony . . . the treatment of the two upper parts as a unified duet.” Here again I agree, though of course relating the piece to composer B’s works and not to “Vitry.” Now that he has been given four pieces it is becoming difficult to be certain about chronology among B’s work, but *Inflammatu/Sicut* looks and sounds as if it originated at much the same time as *Se cuers/Rex*.

Probably somewhat later, but still I think by the same composer, is *Trahunt/An diex*, the original three-part form of *Quasi/Trahunt/Ve*.

³³ Andrew Wathey, “The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XLV (1992), 18–19.

³⁴ The period between Philippe VI’s accession and his coronation. If it is not a coronation motet this could be extended beyond 6.i.17, but not much beyond for it obviously predates the completion of F-Pn 146.

³⁵ Schrade, “Philippe de Vitry,” 347–48.

³⁶ *S/R* 22–24, *S/O* 12–13; *S/R* 43, *S/O* 42; *S/R* 12–13, *O/V* 3–4.

³⁷ The smallest period is between the death of Louis X, *terminus ante quem* for *Se/Rex*, and the accession of Philippe VI; the longest is between the accession of Louis and the completion of F-Pn 146.

There are several similarities to *Servant/O Philippe*,³⁸ and some habits shared with *Inflammatu/Sicut*,³⁹ which add some more specific points of contact to the close similarity of general style. There are more such connections with *Super/Presidentes* linking it firmly to this group.⁴⁰ Its general style is a little simpler, and although its structure is more consistently isoperiodic than the rest, the criteria outlined just now lead to the conclusion that it is earlier. A still earlier work of B might be *Desolata/Que*, whose text places it somewhere within 1312–14. This is less certain, though, for the piece does seem markedly simpler than anything else in this list. Finally, it was suggested above that *Faci-lius/Alien*i takes *Inflammatu/Sicut* as a model, although it is certainly by a far less expert composer.

Table 2 shows the results of these comparisons. Vertical lines indicate uncertainty about the order of composition. Beside the A and B columns are placed pieces that in one way or another “follow” them while being the work of other composers. The works from Table 1 not included in Table 2 I can find no compelling reason to relate to either main “school.”

What can we learn about these two men? Composer B must have a past. His works all come into the pragmatic category identified earlier, pieces whose layout of text and music phrases is determined by a plan subject to pragmatic modification during the composition of the upper voices. They are rooted in older practices in that sense and in their rhythmic and contrapuntal languages; and he continues to compose in this fashion well after we might expect him to have been exposed to the innovations represented by composer A. His works are all thoroughly competent. Together this suggests that we are dealing with an experienced, perhaps quite senior composer, the sort of figure from whom motets celebrating new kings might be commissioned. It seems quite likely, therefore, that we have earlier works of his elsewhere, and it is possible that a careful search of the late *ars antiqua* collections might reveal some. There may also be later works in *ars nova* sources, though it is also possible that the onward rush of *ars nova* developments left him behind.

Composer A is unlike B in almost every respect. He has the only strictly schematic works in *Fauvel* (*Garrit* and *Tribum*). The earliest piece I can attribute to him is traditional and suggests inexperience.

³⁸ 6–7–8 progression *T/A* 24–25, *S/O* 53–54?; tritone triplum figure *T/A* 59, *S/O* 18–19 & 32; tr/mo 2–2–4 *T/A* 61–62, *S/O* 12–13.

³⁹ Imitation *T/A* 8–9, *I/S* 13–14; slow descent *T/A* 56–57, *I/S* 52.

⁴⁰ *S/P* 50–53 cf. *T/A* 28–30, *S/P* 66–67 cf. *T/A* 69–70; *S/P* 76, *I/S* 4?; *S/P* 69, *S/R* 49 etc.; cf the 8–7–6 conclusions to *S/P*, *S/R*, *T/A* and *S/O*.

TABLE 2

The emergence of *ars nova*

A		B	
Floret/Florens	Scariotis/Jure	c 1312–14	Desolta/Que
	Garrit/In nova	af 24.viii.13	
		bf 29.xi.14	
Nulla/Plange		bf 29.xi.14	
		af 29.xi.14	Super/Presidentes
			Inflammatu/Sicut
Aman/Heu		29.xi.14–3.viii.15	Se cuers/Rex
		c 1314–15	
	Firmissime/Adesto		
	Tribum/Quoniam	af 30.iv.15	
			Trahunt/An diex
		v.15–mid.17	Orbis/Vos
	[]/Per grama	af 7.viii.16?	
		19.xi.16–6.i.17	Servant/O Philippe
	Flos/Celsa	af 7.iv.17	
	Cum/Hugo	?c 1317–	
	Tuba/In		
	etc.		

It could of course be by somebody else, in which case the development towards *Garrit* could have been more gradual, but I have explained already why I think the appearance of *Garrit* from the same composer only a year or so later is not impossible. By the end of 1314 he was already working with significantly new ingredients and techniques; and six months or so later his contrapuntal language had changed markedly too. His relatively few works in *Fauvel* perhaps reflect the conservatism identified by Roesner in the *Fauvel* music editor. His latest style here, that of *Tribum* and *Firmissime*, develops significantly though not so quickly over the next two years, reappearing in *Flos/Celsa*, the Ivrea motet written to celebrate St. Louis of Toulouse, presumably on his canonization in 1317. I have elsewhere suggested that *Flos/Celsa* is by the same composer as *Tuba/In arboris*. And even if it were not, A's later *Fauvel* style reappears—surely soon after—in *Colla/Bona* and *Cum/Hugo*. A, in other words, is Philippe de Vitry.

All five motets in Table 2 outside the A and B columns reflect the developing language of *Garrit/In nova*, though *Detractor/Qui* has more in common with works by B, in particular with *Servant/O Philippe*⁴¹ which has led me to question the date implied by Roesner's tentative proposal that the text concerns the fall of Marigny. Even if it does, the fact that *Fauvel* uses Marigny as its chief *exemplum*⁴² increases the possibility that at least some of the Marigny motets could have been newly composed for *Fauvel*. We have seen that the order of composition of *Garrit* and *Tribum* matches the order of their subject matter, and that the development of style in both A and B corresponds with the dates of their datable pieces, so we need not lose faith in the relation of dates and music through most of this list. The other Marigny motet that could be later than its subject is *Floret/Florens* since as well as imitating *Garrit/In nova* it contains some features that could have come from knowledge of *Firmissime*.⁴³

The three motets on the left of the chart do not quite constitute a School of Vitry, but they do suggest that the new style was copied very early on by composers who may not have been highly experienced. There may well have been many other such pieces, for there seems no reason why the *Fauvel* music editor should wish to include them unless their texts were suitable to his purpose. And it may be more than coincidence that two of them, *Floret/Florens* and *Aman/Heu*, give the same prominence near their openings as we saw in *Garrit/In*

⁴¹ D/Q 1–3, S/O 2–4; D/Q 10–11, S/O 23–24; D/Q 19–20, S/O 17–18; D/Q 24, S/O 37; D/Q 31, S/O 8; also D/Q 32, S/P 44–45; D/Q 34, F/F 13; D/Q 30 cf. G/I 20; D/Q 22 cf. G/I 25 etc.

⁴² Roesner et al., 20–21.

⁴³ E.g. an increasing taste for triplum/motetus fourths; cf. the unusual F/F 23 with F/A 20–21.

nova to images of newness: “novitatum” in *Floret/Florens*, leapt up to by the triplum, and “novi” at the start of *Aman/Heu*. We know nothing more about these young followers of Vitry, but it is reasonable to assume that some would have matured into successful composers of “classic” *ars nova* motets of the sort we see in *Ivrea*. If their relations with Vitry and with each other went back as far as the *Fauvel* period that may help to explain the close similarities that I have elsewhere pointed out between many of the *Ivrea* pieces.⁴⁴

The connecting of Vitry’s *Fauvel* work with later motets encourages one further modification to our view of the emergence of *ars nova*. *Flos/Celsa* takes one step beyond the language of *Tribum* and *Firmissime* to introduce in its diminished section hoquet figures at the level of semibreve and minim, and these can only be notated once the *semibrevis minima* has acquired a tail. If, as its texts seem to indicate, *Flos/Celsa* was indeed written soon after St. Louis’s canonization on 7 April 1317⁴⁵ it follows that the minim was already graphically differentiated before the completion of *Fauvel*, which only makes the attribution of the piece to Vitry surer; and if the *Ars nova* texts do originate in teaching of Vitry he must have been engaged in that teaching before then, since they do not use the minim and their teaching on the reading of semibreves does not allow for the *Flos/Celsa* rhythms.

309

Depending on its date, which has yet to be agreed, this may be confirmed by another non-*Fauvel* motet, one that has been largely overlooked. The McVeagh fragment, GB-Lbl Add. 41667, contains (immediately before *Se cuers/Rex*) two voices of an isoperiodic motet possibly celebrating the election of Pope John XXII and in that case dating from soon after 7 August 1316.⁴⁶ The surviving voices are an

⁴⁴ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, “Related motets from fourteenth-century France,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* CIX (1982–83), 20.

⁴⁵ The public consistory was held on 6 April 1317 (in the courtyard below the episcopal palace at Avignon), the Bull of canonization was promulgated in a ceremony the following day—7 April—and set 19 August as the feast day of St. Louis. Either of the latter two occasions would have been appropriate for the motet whose text speaks of “one triumphing at the new celestial realms” and “one departing for various rewards.” As the text makes clear, the “wars he incites” are purely spiritual. On St. Louis’s life and canonization see Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929). I am most grateful to Dr. David Abulafia for his view of this text.

⁴⁶ The text runs as follows:

PER grama protho paret	Through the first letter is revealed
Onema constancie.	the name of constancy, ^a
Romanorum quo claret	whereby the glory of the Romans’ Church
Iam decus ecclesie.	now has lustre.

Tellus ouans satorem	Let the cheering earth exalt
Tollat sapientie.	the sower of wisdom,
Catholicorum florem	the flower born
Genitum progenie.	of Catholics’ lineage.

upper part, *Per grama protho paret* (which judging by the layout was the motetus), and the tenor *Valde honorandus est beatus iohannes*.⁴⁷ At the top of the page is a word now almost illegible that Bessler, apparently working from a copy made by Johannes Wolf, suggested might be an ascription to Johannes de Muris.⁴⁸ In fact the word appears to be “Invidie”; and a comparison with Vitry’s motet *Cum statua/Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie/Magister invidie* is revealing. Example 3 transcribes what survives of *Per grama* and adds the opening of *Cum/Hugo*. Both tenors begin unusually with a breve rest followed by long–breve rest–breve–long, and like the triplum of *Cum/Hugo* the surviving upper voice of *Per grama* begins unusually with two short phrases followed by breve rests. The motetus of *Cum/Hugo* provides the longs spanning triplum and tenor rests which the lost voice of *Per grama* must also have had. The hocket passages of *Per grama* are much like those of *Cum/Hugo*, and also those of *Flos/Celsa*, *Tuba/In aboris*, *Vos/Gratissima* and *O canenda/Rex*, all Vitry motets previously dated 1320s and 30s.

Regi nato Maria
Placuit sic mittere
Largitione dya
Radium phox supere.

It pleased the King
born of Mary thus to send,
by divine bounty,
the ray of light from above.

Vere manet electus
Non a kari nomine
Omni bonoque tectus
Propinanti numine.

Truly he remains the elect,
not apart from the name of the dear one,^b
and secure in all things
by God’s gift.

Summe uiuens benignus
Christo sic opifice
Pontificali dignus
Sublimatur apice.

Living with supreme good will,
Christ thus being his maker,
worthy of the papal summit,
he is raised on high.

^a Onema = onoma = ὄνομα; not Enema = aenigma = ἀνίγμα, as mistranscribed in Heinrich Bessler, “Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II: Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 218. The name is revealed by the initial letters of the stanzas, the P being read as the full syllable *pē*: it is PETRUS, the rock on which the Church is built.

^b i.e. the name of the Beloved Disciple (John).

I am most grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for this translation and commentary. It will be noted that the text is insufficiently precise for us to be able to say whether at the time it was written John XXII was already crowned (5 September 1316) or simply elected (7 August).

⁴⁷ The tenor melody in fact uses only the beginning of the chant, “Valde honorandus est” (cf. ed. Walter Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* [London, 1902–20], 62), perhaps because it can therefore refer to Pope John without the blasphemy which might be implied by calling him “blessed John.” That the longer text is nevertheless transmitted indicates that some importance was attached to making clear the identification.

⁴⁸ Heinrich Bessler, “Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I: Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 196, with a note that “this reading of a heading is uncertain (*de muris?*).” His proposal is repeated with similar reservations in his article “Johannes de Muris” in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* VII (Kassel, 1958), 23.

EXAMPLE 3. *Per grama*/T:*Valde honorandus* (GB-Lbl 41667 I,26r).
compared with *Cum/Hugo/Magister invidie*, opening.

The image displays a musical score for a comparison between two pieces. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system includes a circled 'A' under the lute line. The second system has a circled 'A' under the lute line. The third system has a circled 'A' under the lute line. The fourth system has a circled 'A' under the lute line. The fifth system has a circled 'A' under the lute line. The score is divided into two parts by a double bar line. The first part ends with the word 'est' and the second part begins with the word 'II'.

Per gra - ma pro - tho pa - ret

I (A) Val

o - ne - ma con - stan - ci - e ro - ma - no - rum

-de ho no

15 quo cla - ret iam

ran dus

25 de - cus e - cle - si - e tel - lus

est II

30 o - vans sa - to - rem tol - lat sa - pi - en - ti -

EXAMPLE 3 (*continued*)

The musical score consists of six systems, each with a vocal staff (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment staff (bass clef). The lyrics are in Latin. Measure numbers 35, 40, 45, 50, 55, 60, 65, and 70 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The piano part includes various markings such as 'ms' (manuscript) and 'B|Val' (B-flat valve).

System 1 (Measures 35-40):
 e ca-tho - li - co-rum

System 2 (Measures 45-50):
 flo - rem gen -

System 3 (Measures 50-55):
 -ti - um pro - ge - ni - e re - gi -
 -de III ho

System 4 (Measures 55-60):
 na - to ma - ri - a pla - cu - it sic mit - te -
 -no ran

System 5 (Measures 60-65):
 re lar - gi - ti - o - ne
 - dus est

System 6 (Measures 65-70):
 dy - a - ra -

EXAMPLE 3 (continued)

di - um phox su - pe - re ve - re

ma - net e - lec - tus non a ka - ri no - mi -

-ne om - ni bo - no -

- que tec - tus pro -

ho - no

- pi - nan - ti nu - mi - ne sum - me

- V ran -

vi - vens be - nig - nus chri - sto sic o - pi - fi -

- dus est]

IV

(C) Val

V

EXAMPLE 3 (continued)

ce pon - ti - fi - ca - li dig-

This musical system contains measures 110 through 114. The vocal line (treble clef) features a melodic line with various note values and rests. The piano accompaniment (bass clef) provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

- nus sub - li - ma - tur a - pi - ce.

This musical system contains measures 115 through 120. The vocal line continues the melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment includes a prominent bass line. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

314

Cum sta - tu - a Na - bu - co - do - na - sor

Hu - go

'Magister invidie'

This musical system contains measures 121 through 125. It features three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment (bass clef), and a third staff (bass clef) with the lyrics 'Magister invidie'. The lyrics for the first two staves are 'Cum sta - tu - a Na - bu - co - do - na - sor' and 'Hu - go'.

But what is the basis for these much later dates? The *terminus post quem* was provided by the supposed *Ars nova* treatise which, because it seemed to build upon ideas formulated by Muris in 1321, was dated c. 1322–13.⁴⁹ But Fuller has shown that the treatise is nothing more than a group of loosely related compilations reflecting Vitry's teaching, so that references to recent theory could have been added at any time: there is no reason to suppose that the original layer of Vitriacan teaching originated that late. After the *Fauvel* motets no work associated with Vitry carries a date other than *Flos/Celsa* in 1317 and *Petre/Lugentium* in 1342, and there is no reason other than musicological tidy-mindedness to spread the other pieces out over the intervening years. Indeed, their stylistic similarity, and their marked dissimilarity from *Petre/Lugentium*, suggests exactly the opposite—that they are all quite early. Only if we think of Vitry as primarily a musician—which he surely was not—do we need to assume that he composed at all between his youth and that exceptional late work. Given the style achieved in the motets from around 1317, or in *Firmissime* and *Tribum* in 1315, there seems no reason why Vitry should not have completed all the motets we associate with him by the time he first appears in royal service in the 1320s.

315

Like *Flos/Celsa*, *Per grama* could never have been notated without minim tails, and therefore could not have appeared in *Fauvel*, but with *Flos/Celsa* of 1317 for comparison there is no compelling musical reason to doubt 1316 as a plausible date for it, in which case it is unlikely to be by anyone but Vitry. At this date it would be the earliest piece to require graphically differentiated minims (and it would be ironic that the note value condemned so thoroughly by John XXII in his bull of 1325 should first have been made visible in a motet written to celebrate his election). But whether or not *Per grama* is this early, *Flos/Celsa* suggests that the tailed minim was in use, probably by Vitry, before the completion of *Fauvel*. And if he is to be associated at all with the tail-less teaching reflected in the *Ars nova* texts, then that teaching must predate later 1316. Why, then, are there no tailed minims in *Fauvel*? Roesner has noted the music editor's conservatism, and this is surely reflected in his preference for the music of composer B over the more innovative Vitriacan works as in his preference for undifferentiated semibreves. *Fauvel* is, in fact, already behind the times.

⁴⁹ For a convenient summary see Ernest H Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* XX (London 1980), 23.

Against the background of a general trend towards isoperiodicity and isorhythm exemplified by most of the recent motets in *Fauvel*, we can see one composer, Philippe de Vitry, pushing the form a stage further to a state in which it was to form the basis for motet style through much of the rest of the fourteenth century. In addition, in a more speculative attempt to group other recent *Fauvel* motets by technique and style, I have proposed that many are the work of one older composer, identity unknown. I should like to give him a name, however, because without one he is all too likely to return to the invisibility from which he may just have been rescued. I suggest we call him the Master of the Royal Motets. I have also argued that the presence of *Fauvel* motets by less expert composers adopting some of Vitry's innovations, coupled with the necessity of placing his teaching in these years, offers us the faint outlines of a School of Vitry. Finally, I have tried to date more precisely than before the emergence of *ars nova*; and this can now be set out in dated stages. Taking the datable pieces in *Fauvel* as a guide, we can see: Stage 1—the Royal Master developing a style through 1312–17 (no doubt building upon work he had been doing for some time). In the *Ars Nova* texts we see echoes of a notation teaching from the same period—Stage 2—associated with Philippe de Vitry, which set out rules for the interpretation of semibreves without yet using a tail to indicate the shortest of them (the *semibrevis minima*). If this was Vitry's teaching it must date from before the summer of 1316 (*Per grama*) or summer 1317 (*Flos/Celsa*). From late 1314 into the spring of 1315—Stage 3—we see Vitry's compositions tending toward systematization in structure and rhythmic language (the same kind of systematization, incidentally, that we see in *Ars nova* notation teaching). By mid-1316 or -17 he had decided that for further development of rhythm a graphically differentiated minim was essential, and it duly appears—Stage 4—in *Per grama* and *Flos/Celsa*. In the meantime, around 1316–18—Stage 5—*Fauvel* was being compiled by a more conservative figure, preferring the Royal Master's style and using only those pieces by Vitry notatable without minim tails. Vitry in the meantime—Stage 6—continued to develop his own musical language through his remaining known motets (save *Petre/Lugentium*), all of which could have been complete by the early 1320s.

This history takes account of all the datable pieces without our having to assume that the music of any was written long after its text. That of course remains a possibility, but it is one that we should be very wary of invoking, since it is inherently unlikely. It also takes account of the details of the *Ars nova* texts, our current understand-

ing of the compilation of *Fauvel*, and the manifest structure and style of the motets of the earlier fourteenth century.⁵⁰

Except for the material on the Royal Master and the redating of Vitry's musical œuvre, there is surprisingly little here to contradict the traditional picture of Philippe de Vitry. But while the history books' view of him changing the course of music in a single bound now seems less fantastic than of late, I hope that some of the credit for *ars nova* may be redistributed in favor of the Royal Master and his contemporaries. Their work surely made something like *ars nova* inevitable during the next decade or so, but that it appeared so quickly does seem to point to the directing influence of a single powerful mind. The returning probability is that that mind was Vitry's.

University of Southampton

⁵⁰ The only body of evidence not treated here is the symbolic numerical approach currently under investigation by Bent and Howlett. That is not because the two approaches are incompatible—I suspect that with a few modifications the two views could be married quite happily—but because a proper evaluation of their work must await its publication.