Seen and not heard: symbolic uses of notation in the early *ars nova*

This essay explores the ways in which medieval notation of the early *ars nova* period communicates to the eye, as well as to the ear. It will consider how notation can be simultaneously both descriptive and prescriptive: a double system operating at once in the medium of sight and sound.¹ This binary function is innate to systems of Western notation from their earliest incarnation in the neumatic signs of ninth-century chant to the present day. While in one sense they are partial, serving as a prompt for performance, early notations nonetheless are far from incomplete and they work, too, as descriptive signs of vocal presence.² Moreover, even as notation’s prescriptive imperative has ascended, its potential to communicate graphically, as well as aurally, has continued to inspire musicians. Thus, some scores by contemporary composers and


sound artists might be perceived as being ‘medieval’ in the sense that they embrace music’s graphic potentials.³

The variety of ways in which medieval notation communicates, and the variety, too, of the meanings it conveys, have been the subject of investigation from multiple perspectives. Music’s visual dimension features in accounts of compositional process, performance practice, music theory, theology, intellectual and social history, and pictorial design. Anna Maria Busse Berger’s work has been particularly important in establishing new contexts for the meaning and genealogy of early modal and mensural systems.⁴ Connecting notation associated with the Notre Dame repertories to a larger context of medieval mnemonics, Busse Berger suggests how it could function as an image, designed to impress itself on the memory, as well as serve as a map for performance. In her account of later mensural systems, she demonstrates how certain signs developed from non-musical systems of measurement, linking notation to worlds of mathematics and commercial economics, and to the graphic symbols associated with them.⁵ In scrutinising why signs of mensuration evolved to look the way they did, Busse Berger argues that we need ‘to gain access to at least a part of the conceptual world of the musicians who used it’.⁶ In a similar vein, Dorit Tanay’s study of rhythmic notation and theory from 1250-1400 situates the theory of musical signs in a wider


⁶ BUSSE BERGER, Mensuration and Proportion Signs cit., pp. 2-3.
intellectual history, and in a history of science and theology. Her work thus restores to notation a sense of its cultural significance in the ‘age of the sign’.  

Music’s visual potential remained a vital currency in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century repertories. Recent work by Emily Zazulia demonstrates that the visual field of notation was a meaningful element in the compositional act. Indeed, among the repertories associated with *ars subtilior*, experimentation with mensural signs and graphic shapes and colours were often a feature of musical design – for the sake of visual, rather than necessarily audible effect. Meanwhile, studies by Jesse Ann Owens, Cristle Collins Judd and others attest to the importance of the visuality of music for composers, theorists, scribes, and printers of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Finally, from the cheironomic hand that ‘painted’ melodies, to the sometimes extreme examples of the *ars subtilior*, where notation was disposed in the form of hearts or circles on the folio, the graphic equivalent to the meaning of the lyrics contained in it, notation’s iconographic possibilities have long been understood to be


part of music’s graphic lexicon.\textsuperscript{12} Beyond musicology, art historians and historians of the senses have considered visual representations of music – notation included – in the context of the medieval conception of the inner senses. Their work suggests that the sight of sound could serve as a prompt to interior sensory recollection, and that it could be as affecting as its sonic correlate.\textsuperscript{13} All this encourages us to consider the visual text of music as being just one among many aspects of musical experience, taking its place alongside performance, composition and audition.

Building on this scholarship, the present essay offers fresh perspective on the visuality of music in the early \textit{ars nova} period, with particular focus the semantic possibilities of musical notation. The decades around the turn of the fourteenth century coincided with a transformation of notational scripts, in practice as in theory. Music consequently looked different. Those graphic transformations, which included experimentation with new signs and reconfiguration of the use of old ones to signal a broader range of temporal possibilities, within theoretical discourse were the outcome of profound shifts in intellectual thought about the nature of duration and its representation. While the story of these changing practices is well known and documented, the goal of the present essay is to contextualize music’s notated presence

\begin{itemize}
  \item Among the best-known examples of these are the rondeaux \textit{Tout par compas} and \textit{Belle, bonne, sage}, attributed to Baude Cordier and copied in Chantilly Codex, Musée Condé, MS 564. One is represented in the round, the other in the shape of a heart, representing the subject of the respective texts. Discussed in TREITLER, \textit{Reflections on Musical Meaning} cit., pp. 131-135, where he draws on J. HAAR, \textit{Music as Visual Language}, in \textit{Meaning in the Visual Arts: Views from the Outside – A Centennial Commemoration of Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968)}, ed. I. LAVIN, Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study, 2005, pp. 265–284. For important new contributions to scholarship on Chantilly and the \textit{ars subtilior} more generally, see \textit{Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564: Facsimilé}, ed. Y. PLUMLEY and A. STONE, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008 and \textit{A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context}, ed. PLUMLEY and STONE cit..
\end{itemize}
within another, perhaps more fundamental, transformation in the modes of music’s material transmission in this period. Notation was just one participant in a move to make a greater variety of music visible and durable in the medium of the codex, and as theorists grappled with ways to resolve sound into signs so, too, were scribes and compilers developing new systems for the codification and copying of traditions of vernacular song and sacred polyphony, the earliest of which date from the mid-thirteenth century. Music’s graphic turn may fruitfully be situated in the wider context of medieval book-making, which likewise underwent significant transformation in this period, notably with the rise of a commercial book trade, itself a response to the demands of new markets of scholars and literate aristocratic and bourgeois readers.\footnote{The classic work on this topic as it relates to Parisian bookmaking remains R. ROUSE AND M. ROUSE, Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500, Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000.}

Resituating the debates and practice of the early *ars nova* within a broader material environment, in which texts’ graphic forms were imbued with expressive meaning, my essay seeks to scrutinize the multiple ways in which the visual encounter with notation could contribute to the experience and meaning of music. As new graphic conventions of textual organization, design, layout, and decoration were established, so music assumed an identity that was visible as well as audible, shaped by the forms of the books, and thus determined by its scribes, as well as by its composers and performers. This essay is thus concerned not only with the look of notation, but also with its contribution as one visible element among many others in the medium of the codex. By locating the notated text within a broader material environment, one concerned with fashioning meanings through physical forms of texts, we shall see not only how music notation communicates in the realm of sight, but also what it has to say.

I take here as case study a source famous both as a record for notational innovation, and also for its challenge to the prevailing conventions of book design. Indeed, there is perhaps no better example of a musical text designed to speak to the eye, as well as to the ear, than the early fourteenth-century *Roman de Fauvel*, in the version extant in Paris, BN fr. 146.\(^{16}\) Dating from c. 1316, the book contains a rich

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compilation of political poems, a chronicle, and songs, many of which allude to unsettling events in the household of the last Capetians, most notably under the rule of Philip IV, le Bel, and his sons. It is known to musicology for its version of the Old French satire on Capetian politics, the Roman de Fauvel, infamous for its horse-hero, Fauvel, whose very name epitomizes his evil nature (‘fau-vel’ – ‘false veil’). The text in fr. 146 is a reworked version of an earlier roman by chancery clerk, Gervais du Bus, the reworkings attributed in a rubric to one Chaillou de Pesstain. Gervais’s original tale recounted the evil horse’s ascent to rule as king, his egomaniacal quest to wed Dame Fortune, and his second-best marriage to the Vice Vain Glory, the whole a thinly veiled attack on events in the years leading up to the coronation of Philip V in 1317. At the hands of Chaillou, the original narrative was greatly expanded with the inclusion of new literary episodes, the addition of illuminations, and over 169 musical items, ranging from chant, to thirteenth-century conductus, to state of the art motets.

The book constructs its messages through a unique collaboration of its different elements: poetic, musical, visual, and codicological. Music’s role is crucial here in amplifying a political message of complaint about the past, and concern for the future. It does so in ways that are eminently audible, but also silently communicative, operating within the conceptual framework of graphic notational systems. Fr. 146 clearly had a prescriptive imperative: the notation of the music was comprehensive and undertaken with a high degree of accuracy and detail. Thus, the scribe of fr. 146 endeavoured to make a musical text that was in one sense performable. Performance,

however, was evidently not the sole, nor indeed primary goal of the manuscript. There are many cues and clues to suggest how the graphic, non-sounding aspects of the musical text are brought into the semantic campaigns determined by the physical forms of the codex, and by the literary and political agendas of its texts. While there are numerous examples of how the book itself is the performance, surprisingly little work has attended to the ways in which its systems of musical graphics communicate. In what follows, three examples of music’s visuality will illustrate the possibilities that result from endowing sound with material form.

Notation as Iconography

The first example is one which is not notated, and which indeed does not involve an obvious visible script of any kind. It is, instead, a vivid verbal description of an act of musical looking: in this case, at songs notated as part of an elaborate series of wall paintings. The passage in question occurs early in Book II of the roman, and describes the wall decorations in Fauvel’s royal palace in intricate detail. Among the painted scenes are a collection of notated songs, ‘bien escriptez et bien noteez’:

Dedens estoit paint richement
Le dit palais et cointement
De singes et de renardiaus
Contrefaiz a petiz hardiaus,
A trichierres, a bouleurs,
A avocas, a plaideeurs,
A faux juges, faux conseilleurs,

17 See above footnote 16.
Faux tesmoigns, faux rapporteurs,
Faux hosteliers, faux compteeurs,
Faux seigneurs et faux flateurs;
Toute maniere de baraz
Y estoit painte a grant haraz.
Et tout entour y avoit paintes
Chançons, lais et balades mainte,
Hoquez, motez et chançonnetes
Qui n’estoient pas d’amouretes
Mais de fraude bien esprouvees,
Que mestre Barat ot ditees;
La furent ou palais signees,
Bien escriptez et bien noteez
Par bemoulz et fausses musiques.
Aussi i furent les crosniques
De fausseté, la et en ça,
Puis que le monde commença,
Et de Renart toute l’istoire
Y estoit painte a grante memoire.¹⁸

Inside, the aforementioned palace is richly and elegantly decorated with
monkeys and foxes in disguise, as little herds, as tricksters and as gamesters, as
lawyers and as litigants, as false judges and false counselors, as false witnesses

¹⁸ “Le Roman de Fauvel”, vv. 1370-1394.
and false advocates, as false inn-keepers and false story-tellers, as false lords
and false flatterers; all the currency of trickery was painted there in grand form,
and all around there were painted songs, lays and ballades, hockets, motets and
ditties, not about love, but of well-proven frauds, that Master Trickery invented,
which he had signed in the palace, well inscribed and well notated with deviant
and false music; there were also the chronicles of Falsity here and there, from
when the world began, and all the story of Renart was painted there in full.

This example has not surprisingly drawn commentary, particularly for its
references to specific facets of musical theory and notation (notably, reference to
‘bemoulz et fausses musiques’), which instil the account with a reality-effect, evocative
of contemporary musical practice. Here, however, I am interested in contextualizing
musical writing in the broader visual environment of wall decoration: to see what
purpose such decorations served, and, by extension, what role notation might play
within those conventions. In fact, examples of music’s use as decoration are relatively
rare in the Middle Ages. In attempting to decipher meaning here, we may take a cue
from later examples of musical iconography in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As
James Haar has argued in his study of musical visuality in Renaissance art, notation
was ‘not illustrative of musical performance, nor even necessarily concerned with
music as we understand it’. In these contexts, examples of ‘unheard music’
communicated within the broader iconographic logic of the given context. We may go

19 See M. LECCO, Ricerche sul “Roman de Fauvel”, Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1993, pp. 66-81
and J. DAUPHINE, Objets et réalité dans “Le Roman de Fauvel”, «Razo», II = L’Image du corps
humain dans la littérature et l’histoire médiévales, 1981, pp. 101-104, and my Medieval Music-
20 HAAR, Music as Visual Language cit., p. 267.
further in the case of Fauvel, and situate this scene both in literal contexts of wall-painting, and also within a long-standing literary tradition of describing such spaces.

The wall decorations are part of a longer description of the palace scenery, replete with visual detail. In toto, it may be understood in a tradition of ekphrastic episodes, common in romance narratives. These are vivid descriptions of objects or actions, in which words conjure their fullest sensation to the mind’s eye: a ‘hyper-conscious creation of art within art’.21 It is also what Roland Barthes refers to as an ‘effet de réel’, a jolt of the literal in the literary environment, as the thing described appears to manifest as a tangible object within the fabric of the text.22 A classic example is the description of a saddle, decorated with the story of Dido and Aeneas, belonging to the heroine of Chrétien de Troyes’s Erec et Enide. As well as offering a pleasurable hiatus in the narrative, such scenes also, as Renata Blumenfeld-Kosinski argues, ‘call upon the readers to engage in interpretation’.23 How, then, do the walls compel the reader to see the music? And in turn, what does such a sight mean?

For early readers of the text, the fantastical scenery of Fauvel’s palace would have sparked connection not only to literary models, but also to real environments and perhaps also to contexts where literary sources were the inspiration for their decorative schema. Among the most famous examples of ekphrastic description of painted walls is that of the Prose Lancelot. In the scene in question, the hero Lancelot paints the walls

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of his prison with the story of his relationship with Guenevere. Lancelot is thus ‘a type of chronicler, who produces the visual story of his own life’. Indeed, so powerful are the images Lancelot produces of his lady, that he touches and kisses her image. While, in this case, Lancelot’s art imitates his life, the wider context of the scene illustrates how literary art was itself also often the subject of wall paintings. Lancelot’s impetus to paint comes from having witnessed an artist at work in the apartments of King Arthur’s sister, Morgan, painting scenes of Aeneas’s escape from Troy. It will be useful to cite the passage in some detail:

Apré Noël, quant la froidor fu passee, si avint .l. jor a Lancelot qu’il fu alez a une fenestre de fer apoer, dont l’an veoit bien el palais. Il oevre la fenestre et voit leanz .l. home qui poignnoit .l. ancienne estoire et desus chacunne ymage avoit letres, si connoist que c’est l’estoire d’Eneas, coment il s’anfoui de Troie. Lors se porpense que se la chamber ou il gisoit estoit portraite de ses faiz et de ses diz, moult li plairoit a veoir les beaux contenemenz de sa dame et moult li seroit grant alegement de ses maux.

Lors dist au prodome qui poingnoit qu’il li donnast de ses colors a faire .l. ymage an la chamber ou il gist et cil dist que si feroit il volentiers. Il l’ambaille et les estrumenz qui aferoient a cel mestier. Il prant ce que il li baille et referme


25 MEUWSES, Crossing Borders cit., p. 158.

l’uis sor lui, que nus ne voie comment il fera. Lors conmance a poindre
premierement comment sa dame del Lac l’anvoia a cort por estre chevalier
nouvel et comment il vint a Kamaalot et comment il fu esbahiz de la grant biauté
sa dame, quant il la vit premierement et comment il ala fere secors a la
damoisele de Noant. Itex fu la jornee Lancelot; si i furent les ymages si bien
faites et si soltivement com s’il eust touz les jorz de sa vie fait cest mestier.
…
Au matin, quant Lanceloz fu levez et il ot les fenestres ouvertes par devers le
jardin et il vint en la chamber painte, si vit l’ymage de sa dame, si l’ancline et la
salue et vait prés et l’ambrace et la baise en la bouche, si se delite assez plus
qu’il ne feist en nule autre fame fors en sa dame.27

After the cold of the Christmas season was passed, it happened that one day
Lancelot went to rest against one of the iron windows, from which one could
easily see into the palace. He opened the window and saw a man there painting
a mural depicting an ancient legend, and over each picture was writing, and he
recognized the story of Aeneas and how he had fled from Troy. Then he thought
that if a room he was in were decorated with his own feats and words, he would
be most pleased to behold the fair deeds of his lady, and this would be a great
comfort in his sufferings.
So Lancelot asked the man who was painting to give him some of his paint to
make a picture in the room where he slept, and he said he would be glad to. He
offered him some paint and the necessary implements of the trade. Lancelot

took what the man gave him and closed the door so that no one could see what he was going. Then he began to paint first how his Lady of the Lake sent him court to become a knight, and how he came to Camelot and was overwhelmed by the great beauty of his lady, when he first saw her, and how he went to rescue the lady of Nohaut. This took all Lancelot’s day, and the paintings were as skillfully and well done as if he had practiced this trade all the days of his life.

…

In the morning after Lancelot had risen and opened the windows into the garden, he came into the painted room. When he saw the image of his lady, he bowed in front of it, saluted it, came over and kissed it on the mouth, and took much more pleasure in that image than in any other woman except his lady.

…\textsuperscript{28}

It is in such a context that we may read references to \textit{Renart} in Gervais’s account. And indeed, there are several surviving traces of that text’s survival in wall paintings and other decorative arts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which the wicked fox appears to serve as a moral exemplum.\textsuperscript{29} The tradition translating medieval French narrative into wall decorations continued on into the fifteenth century.

The medieval French romance, the \textit{Chastelain de Vergi} enjoyed a graphic transmission


in a series of fifteenth-century frescos of the Florentine Palazzo Davanzati, just one example of many literary histories translated to graphic design.\textsuperscript{30}

It is also possible there were precedents for notated walls. John Haines’s study of the reception of the troubadours and trouvères considers a passage from the early fourteenth-century \textit{Chroniques de France} which describes how the troubère, Thibaut de Champagne, had his songs ‘written in his hall at Provins and in that of Troyes’.\textsuperscript{31} While this may mean that he had copies of his songs inscribed into \textit{chansonniers} in these venues, Haines notes that it is also possible that the lines refer to wall paintings. Support for that reading comes from Claude Fauchet, a sixteenth-century scholar of the trouvères, who offered intriguing commentary to the chronicle, noting that he had seen remnants of the notated walls at the castle of Provins.\textsuperscript{32}

These examples lend to Gervais’s account an element of realism, and, more importantly, a practice for reading music as a visual sign. They point to practices of wall painting in which decorations served as emblems of pleasure, memory, history-making, or moral guidance. Lancelot’s walls are so realistic as to become the object of his affections. In the case of Thibaut’s halls, songs serve as a form of self-identification or heraldry. Fauvel’s palace walls may moreover have had a very specific model in

\textsuperscript{30} For further examples and illustration of the translation of romance narratives into wall painting and other decorative arts, see for example M. CAMILLE, \textit{The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire}, London, Laurence King, 1998.

\textsuperscript{31} J. HAINES, \textit{Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music}, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 35, quoting from “\textit{Les Grandes Chroniques de France}”, ed. J. VIARD, Paris, Société de l’Histoire de France, 1920, pp. 67-68. The passage reads: ‘Ai fist entre luy et Gace Brulé les plus belles chançons et les plus déliables et mélodieues qui onques fussent oies en chançon né en vielle. Et les fist escrire en la sale a Provins et en celle de Troyes et sont appellees Les Chansons au Roy de Navarre […].’ ‘He and Gace Brulé made the most beautiful and delightful songs which were ever heard in song or on the vielle. And he had them written in his hall at Provins and in that of Troyes, and they are called ‘The Songs of the King of Navarre’[…]’. (Translation by Haines).

\textsuperscript{32} HAINES, \textit{Eight Centuries} cit., pp. 55-56.
mind. They may be a parody of decorations of the *grande salle* of the Capetian *palais royal* on the Île-de-la-Cité, which architectural and art historians have discovered were likewise decorated. In the case of the royal palace, these took the form of images of kingship – scenes designed to instruct the present monarch, and to reflect his power and authority. Fauvel’s palace walls have a similar function, but invert the moral rectitude of his royal counterpart. The walls depict genealogies of deceit, fraud, and ‘falsity’ – the repetitions of ‘faux’ connecting to the name of Fauvel (‘fau’-’vel’). Songs, ‘bien escriptez et bien noteez’, covering a range of genres, are likewise agents of meaning. And the message is clear: music can be a visual script; and in its material incarnation, it can participate in the construction of an exemplary message – or in this case, a message reflecting the perverse ‘glory’ of the horse-king.

Read *in situ* of fr. 146, the palace description also takes on a reflexive meaning. While ekphrasis is a kind of ‘word painting’, using words to conjure a visual effect in the imagination, the manuscript itself serves as an uncanny materialization of the object described. The book – which folio after folio contains images, texts, and music – becomes *like* the palace walls described. Reading fr. 146 is thus being within the space of Fauvel’s *grande salle*, and, as such, the visual text takes on the symbolic values of the wall paintings. This in turn encourages the reader to engage with the book as if with a decorated space, and to take in the totality of its notated surfaces in the immense context of the compilation as a whole.

*Notation as “Variété”*

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34 BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI, *Ekphrasis and Memory* cit., p. 194.
The description of Fauvel’s palace walls points to ways in which musical notation can serve a general iconographic function, generating meanings that may require little musical literacy to decipher. What, though, of notation’s more precisely functional aspects, and specifically its facility to prescribe temporal values? To what extent do literacy-dependent facets of notation participate in the non-sounding experience of the musical text?

Fr. 146 holds an important place in the history of mensural notation.35 Because of the variety of musical genres represented, and because of the broad timeframe from which they were drawn (from chant, to Notre Dame conductus, *ars antiqua* motets to modern *ars nova* motets), the notation covers a wide spectrum of rhythmic styles. These range from examples of unrhythmicised chant, to the modal dialect of Notre Dame conductus, to complex temporal innovations associated with the *ars nova* repertory. Thus, as Edward Roesner observes, the manuscript offers insights not only into the emerging visual language of *ars nova*, but also into the ways musicians related to older repertories and their notational practices.36

A great deal remains to be said about the notational nuance of *Fauvel*, and particularly its relationship to recent and contemporary theory, and indeed its role, potentially, in defining that theory. For now, the focus is on the visual consequences of the book’s encyclopedic scope, and, in particular, on aspects of musical meaning that arise from the readers’ position of scopic control over the totality of the manuscript’s


36 ROESNER ET AL., “*Le Roman de Fauvel*” cit., p. 30.
contents. The invitation to grapple with the music as a collection – a sum of its parts – is issued by the presence of an opening index (folio Ar), which permits the reader to see in one folio shot the summary of the music in its entirety. The medium of the book in turn permits an experience of music’s visuality that can be both local (operating at the level of a single piece), and also lateral (arising from the facility to look across the codex). The latter – a scopic overview – not only enables a more global engagement with the songs as a collection; it also situates musical texts in and among other non-notated texts with which it shares parchment space. What, then is there to see?

One consequence of the scopic control is the revelation of a paradox: the limited nature of the graphic signs, or *figurae*, for sound, and, by the same token, the sheer variety of temporal values those signs could express. To begin, then, it will be useful to look more closely at notation’s facility to use the same graphic signs to represent different temporal relationships: what Emily Zazulia designates as notation’s facility to be ‘the same but different’. While Zazulia’s work emphasizes the importance of visual sameness in later fifteenth-century notation, she observes precedents in the earlier repertories. Indeed, the possibility for a single sign to mean multiple things is at the very heart of notational innovation at the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and was key to debates about notational ontology and the semantics of signs. As Dorit Tanay has observed, theorists such as Johannes de Muris struggled with the paradox of the unchanging look of a physical sign that could stand

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38 For a discussion of earlier attitudes to notational ‘sameness’, and particularly theoretical attitudes to the meaning of *figurae*, see ZAZULIA, *Verbal Canons* cit., pp. 92-102.

for so varied a palate of res musicalis. The Fauvel repertory exaggerates the principle of temporal variety inherent in a single notational sign or figura. That is because notwithstanding the stylistic and historical range of the musical repertories, with a few notable exceptions, the notation follows the mensural principles of a Franconian system. Thus, with the exception of chant, the oldest and newest repertories share the same ‘rhythmic and orthographic practice’, as Edward Roesner puts it. In cases such as the older conductus repertory or monophonic love lyrics, this involves a translation of modal or non-rhythmic notation into the newer mensural system: and it is probable that these transformations were made expressly for the manuscript. While the flattening out of the notational languages into one system may reflect scribal taste and training, the visual effects of this overarching ‘sameness’ has interesting implications within larger discourses about sameness and variety in the roman.

One effect of the encyclopaedic encounter is that it exaggerates the point that a single sign can be so multiple in its aural realisation. Thus, the proximity of genres which are more usually kept codicologically distinct from one another, underscores the principal of ‘same but different.’ The book’s radical move to position the chant and pseudo-chant repertories -- repertories that are rhythmically neutral – alongside examples of the ars nova repertories, which test new temporal possibilities of notation – serves as a practicum of how a single sign may be realised as different durations. The fact that chant deploys the same signs and ligature groups found elsewhere, charged

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40 TANAY, Noting Culture cit., p. 57. The passage discussed is from JOHANNES DE MURIS, Notitia artis musicae, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 17, ed. U. MICHELS, p. 71.


with temporal significance, thus brings into one codicological space the paradox of the sign’s variety.

That the same signs signify different temporalities is unsurprising: it was the cornerstone of theoretical reasoning in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. However, the manuscript, understood as an environment of looking, as well as of listening, forces contemplation, folio turn by folio turn, of how things that are so different, sonically, can look the same.\(^{44}\) This principle operates not only at the micro-level of a particular symbol or ligature group, but also at the macro level, whereby pieces of entirely different styles and eras share a notational language and look. Read as a collection, then, the *Fauvel* notation brings into one, largely homogeneous system, music of considerable generic and historical variety.

In one sense, the book is an illustration of the very arguments debated in theory: what could a sign be, what kind of variety could it express? But at the same time, this inherent variety of the sign resonates with another expression of variety in the manuscript. The conception of a single form or object capable of representing multiple meanings is not limited to musical notation, and is a central facet of the character of Fauvel. He is the epitome of ‘variété’, which forms one of the words in the acrostic of his name. Master of disguise and deceit – of looking like one thing, but being another – the very physical form of the horse becomes a key organizing principle in the moral lesson of the story. Further, in fr. 146 this topos of *variété* is the inspiration for artistic commentary.\(^ {45}\) Fauvel appears as a horse, but also in human form, and sometimes as a hybrid man-horse. This variety is uniquely visual – that is, it is not described as such in

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\(^{44}\) This was of course a later source of fascination for composers, who enjoyed the possibilities of mensural manipulations through verbal canons of a fixed set of note shapes.

the text at all: like notation, then, it exists in a visual system apart from the verbal text. Seeing notation intermingled with these images of Fauvel, the reader thus encounters two graphic species which demonstrate how a single entity can be multiple or hybrid. Together, music and image are mutually informing on the nature of signs and of the paradox of variety within sameness.

Notation as Historical Time

The final example requires a shift of perspective, from the position of scopic overview, to an exegetical engagement with notation at the localized level of a single folio. Its focus is on two cases where notation takes on the role of temporal commentary and interacts with a larger preoccupation with time, history and prophecy in the *roman*. In these examples, notation serves as a tool for what I term ‘typological reading’.

The examples under review are ones of notational anomaly: that is, where the scribes include a sign or procedure out of the norm of the notional language of the rest of the book. The first, *Quare fremuerunt/T*, occurs on the right-hand column of folio 1r, the opening of the *roman*, and, which, together with two other two-part motets on that folio, has ancestry stretching back to the conductus repertory of Notre Dame.46 The second, *Garrit gallus/In nova fert/N[euma]*, the most modern of the *ars nova* motets in the collection and final large-scale work of the *roman*, falls on the penultimate folio, 44v.47 While both are independently interesting as witnesses to the notational

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46 A digital reproduction of the complete manuscript, in colour, is available on open access through the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France at [http://gallica.bnf.fr](http://gallica.bnf.fr). For colour reproduction of folio 1r see [http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g/f13.image.r=francais%20146.langEN](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g/f13.image.r=francais%20146.langEN)

47 Colour reproduction of the folio may be accessed at [http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g/f104.image.r=francais%20146.langEN](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g/f104.image.r=francais%20146.langEN)
innovations of fr. 146, their positioning, at the beginning and end of the story, forges a connection between them: as preface and conclusion to the roman. So, too, does their notation, as we shall see. In broadest terms, they articulate a historical narrative: namely, the book begins with music that is stylistically associated with the oldest composed repertories dating from the thirteenth century, and ends with the most current genre of ars nova motet. This distinction is audible, too: the effects of conductus-like coordination of voices, and the repetitive modal rhythmic patterns of the music on folio 1r contrasts with the rhythmic complexities and polytextual effect of the later motet. There is much to say about the meaning and content of these pieces. Here, though, it the non-audible effect of their notation that warrants closer attention.

The three-part ars nova motet, Garrit gallus/In nova fert/N[eu]ma], attributed to Philippe de Vitry and likely to have been composed for the manuscript, is one of the most modern of the entire collection. According to Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, in compositional terms it is ‘a statement of intent, and advertisement of a new way of doing things’.

It is also revolutionary for the way it notates its chant tenor: it is a landmark in studies of the ars nova as one of the earliest examples of the use of red notation to signify change of mensuration, as later recorded and described in ars nova theory. Thus the note shapes stay the same, while the colour signals temporal

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49 The three-part motet Thalamus puerpere/Quomodo cantabimus/A, on folio 32r, makes fleeting use of red notation in three red longs at the end of the tenor voice. Fr. 146 pre-dates the earliest sources of Philippe de Vitry’s Ars nova treatise (c. 1322), which is the first documented case to deal with the topic of red notation in Chapter XIX. There, the motet Garrit gallus/In nova fert/N[eu]ma] is listed along with two other motets attributed to Vitry as exemplary of the uses of red notation. For the classic account of the treatise, see S. FULLER, A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century: The “Ars Nova”, «Journal of Musicology», IV, 1985, pp. 23-50. For an edition, see “Ars Nova”, ed. G. REANEY, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, VIII, Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1964. Other sources for the notational theory codified in the treatise, and reference to a ‘new art’ associated with its repertories similarly postdate Faust by several years. These include Johannes de Muris’s “Ars novae musicae” (c. 1320) Jacobus’s “Speculum musice” (from the 1320s), and the famous invective against the new arts in
mutation, from imperfect to perfect. Adding to the communicative nature of the script, the tenor is also a visual palindrome, a facet that is apparent to the eye, if not to the ear. These features, wrought through graphic systems, embody the citation, from the opening of Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, at the opening of the motet’s duplum: ‘In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas’. While apt as reference to the Fauvelian traits of morphing seen in the book’s representations of the horse, it is also self-reflexive, perfectly describing the process of seamless mensural adjustment as the notational forms, or *figurae*, remain the same.

However, at the same time that the innovations speak internally, of transformation described in the text, the notation has an added function in the wider visual scheme of the book. It would have stood out as starkly contemporary – a technology unlikely to have been seen before. As noted above, there are no extant witnesses of red notation prior to fr. 146; and indeed, it also precedes theoretical exposition of the use of red notation in the *Ars nova* treatise attributed to Philippe de Vitry. One effect of the notation for the scribe and early readers, then, is to bring the motet into the present time of the book’s manufacture. That is, as well as signaling transformations of musical time, its sheer novelty forces it to be read in terms of the historicity of the manuscript itself: here, it is a raw mark of the contemporary.

On folio 1r, an equally novel visual sign intrudes into the graphic system, but by contrast to *Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma*, it radicalizes an environment that ostentatiously evokes an historical past. This folio is the location of another frequently

cited example of nascent *ars nova* notation, albeit one less eye-catching than the red ink of folio 44v. It occurs in the two-part motet, *Quare fremuerunt*/*T*, and takes the form of stubby stems rising from certain semibreves – a sign for *semibrevis minima* or minims – and a feature of considerable novelty at the time that fr. 146 was copied. This flash of modernity occurs, however, in a piece multiply engaged with older repertories. *Quare fremuerunt*/*T* is based on the text of a Notre Dame conductus, with elements of its original musical setting recast to form a two-part motet, albeit one conductus-like in style.\(^{50}\) Further, it is embedded in a folio context steeped in historical and temporal signals. Reference to the conductus repertory is echoed in the style, music, and poetry of the other two motets on the folio: *Mundus a munditia*/*T* and *Favellandi vicium*/*T*.\(^{51}\) The relation to the Notre Dame repertory is most evident in the case of *Mundus a munditia*/*T*, whose upper voice is extracted from the lowest voice of a three-part conductus: a case of musical inversion, then, mimicking the inversion of power described in the *roman*.\(^{52}\) *Favellandi vicium*/*T* similarly has a prior model: it survives as a three-part motet, however, as Lorenz Welker suggests, the triplum of that work (and basis for the duplum of the *Fauvel* motet) may have been conceived as a monophonic Latin song, similar in style to *Mundus a munditia*/*T* and *Quare fremuerunt*/*T*.\(^{53}\) Notwithstanding these traces of ancestry, though classified as motets,

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\(^{50}\) The texts come from a three-part conductus preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Plut. 29.1, folio 244v.


\(^{52}\) *Mundus a munditia* is extant in several sources, including a three-part setting in Florence, Medicea-Laurenziana Plut. 29.1, folio 240v. For discussion of the recasting for *Fauvel*, see WELKER, *Polyphonic Reworkings* cit., pp. 620-622.

the three pieces are stylistically conductus-like in their rhythmic alignment of upper and lower voices. Together, then, the trio imbues the opening folio of the *roman* with a blast of musical antiquity.

How these pieces *look*, however, introduces another vital layer of commentary. The folio visualizes a message – through notation – concerned with both genealogy (a relationship to pre-existent models) and historicity (a self-consciousness regarding their antiquity, and their relationship to time of their copying in fr. 146). *Mundus a munditia*/*T* and *Favellandi vicium*/T are modal in rhythmic design, adhering to an old-world, thirteenth-century temporal authority. Their notation in fr. 146 represents another example of transformation, as the older notational language (evident in earlier sources of *Mundus a munditia*) is now rendered in a more recent mensural system. This translation brings the pieces into the language of the book’s notational system. However, viewed within that wider notational scheme, the two motets retain the accent of their upbringing: they operate within the temporal register of long and breve combinations, and with almost no deployment of the distinctive semibreve sign. Their visual vocabulary is in striking contrast to the visual impression of *Quare fremuerunt*/T. This piece occupies a different temporal register, populated exclusively by breve and semibreve signs, and void of longs altogether. It is in the context of these contrasts that we may situate the minim stems, as a signal of radical modernity.

To understand the significance of these competing registers requires understanding of just how novel the minim stems would have been to the makers and first readers of the manuscript. As with the red notation of *Garrit gallus*/In nova

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University, 1992, pp. 325-344. Based on the presence of spaces for melismas in the duplum of the *Fauvel* text, Welker proposes that the *Fauvel* editor was working from a monophonic version of the triplum (embellished with a *cauda*), perhaps emanating from the Notre Dame repertory, see p. 632.
fert/N[euma], they represent a rarity for their time, and for the manuscript context. The minim is nowhere else seen in this graphic form in the book, which makes the visual effect here all the more extraordinary. So much so that Willi Apel suggested that the stems were later additions, ‘timidly and furtively drawn’, by a scribe who regretted the decision to ‘correct’ or ‘update’ semibreve groups to signal minims, and stopped instantly.\(^{54}\) But as Roesner has observed, the stems’ proportions are entirely in keeping with the orthographic features of stems used elsewhere in the notation. Instead, the use of the upward stems here to signal semibrevis minimae is more likely to reflect the rarity of the five semibreve groups in which they occur.\(^{55}\) In the context of fr. 146, the grouping appears just twice in Quare fremuerunt/T, and once more (unstemmed) in a later ars nova motet.\(^{56}\) A possible scenario to explain the inclusion of this rhythmic unit and its novel notation is that the piece was written expressly for the manuscript, reflecting a musical and notational tradition closer to doctrine described by Philippe de Vitry’s treatise.\(^{57}\) Indeed, the stems may have been the first experiment in the use of the sign: there are no earlier sources extant making use of the minim stem, with the next earliest dating several years after the creation of fr. 146.\(^{58}\) Like the red notation of Garrit gallus/In nova fert/N[euma], then, the stems are a signal mark of modernity, contemporary to the time of the book’s creation.

While the literary and musical context may have guided the decision to include Quare fremuerunt/T in poll position as the opening of the roman, the visual effect of

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\(^{54}\) Discussed in APEL, Notation of Polyphonic Music cit., pp. 325-326 and pp. 332-333.


\(^{56}\) In the motet Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum, on folios 10v-11r.


notation may also have been a priority. How this folio looks is a vital part of the messages it conveys. Many other aspects of folio 1r are temporally hyper-aware. The texts of *Favellandi vicium*/*T* and *Mundus a munditia*/T are agonized complaints at the state of the world, corruption, and the reversal of ecclesiastical law. They speak with present-tense immediacy, and in the case of *Favellandi vicium/ T*, deploy temporal cues to situate themselves in a present time:

Favellandi vicium

Et fex avaricie

Optinent nunc solium

Summumque locum curie. 59

(The vice of the Fauvelites and the dregs of avarice now occupy the throne and the highest place of the curia.)

Meanwhile, the authorial voice of the *roman* announces himself in a timeframe, too, as the text opens with entry into an epoch of melancholy, linked with the fourth and final age of man: ‘De Fauvel que tant voi torcher/Doucement, sanz lui eschorcher,/Sui entrez en merencoli’ (‘Because of Fauvel who so many come to groom, softly, without scorching him, I am sunk into melancholy’). 60 *Quare fremuerunt*/T joins the chorus of discontent, and the old conductus text likewise rages from a perspective of a present time, though with an eye to the future: it is also a premonition of a time when the eyes

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of the world, now blind, will finally open to see the source of the turbulence ‘Quia non viderunt/Monstra tot oculi’ (‘For the eyes have not seen the monstrous portents’).\textsuperscript{61}

While the verbal cues here beg the question of when this present time is, the musical notation offers clues to negotiate an answer. From the visual perspective of notation, time is not static on this folio and is rather simultaneously antique and contemporary. The folio’s layout permits all three motets to be seen simultaneously and read together, such that the differences in their temporal registers interject a commentary into the temporal concerns of the lyrics. As noted above, Mundus a munditia/T and Favellandi vicium/T operate in a register of long and breve divisions, while breves and semibreves are the currency of Quare fremuerunt/T. The former roots the music in an historical past: the present tense perspective of the lyrics is uttered from within a visual context that retains a sense of the thirteenth-century ancestry of the music. It thus represents a present that is past: a present-past. Quare fremuerunt/T, though also speaking through a literary and stylistic medium of the thirteenth century, locates itself in a more current time on account of its notation. First, it is a different time to its musical counterparts on the folio: it occupies the temporality of breve and semibreve, by contrast to their long and breve temporalities. Second, the minim stems intensify the impression that this piece speaks from the present tense perspective of the makers and readers of Fauvel: it is a sign of their current time. In this case, the world of thirteenth-century musical antiquity represented on this folio is brought into a new present of the book’s construction.

Music is not the only aspect of the codex concerned with time. Indeed, a fruitful way to interpret the graphic signals here is in the context of a much more widespread

\textsuperscript{61} E. DAHNK, L’Hérésie cit., p. 9, vv. 3-4.
topos concerned with history and prophecy in fr. 146. This manifests in many ways in the manuscript, not least owing to the presence of a historical chronicle as part of the confection of texts. Time is a particular concern within the *roman*, too. As noted above, the beginning and end of the *roman* are framed with music that is stylistically old (folio 1r) and new (folio 44v). Elsewhere, as Margaret Bent has shown, topical motets are organized in reverse chronological order, to suggest that the present time is no more than a reprise of the tumultuous recent past. Meanwhile, the entire *roman* is imbued with prophetic and portentous statements, anticipating despair to come. This is nowhere more evident than in the narrator’s opening lines: his state of melancholy locates him in fourth age of man – the end of time. All these contribute to a mode of typological thinking on the part of the book’s makers. Such a model of exegetical thinking, familiar in scriptural and liturgical commentary, would be entirely in keeping with the author’s ostentatious displays of scholastic credentials.

It serves here as a useful framework in which to understand the temporal signals conveyed at the level of text, image, and notational language. Indeed, it should hardly be a surprise that notation – the most overt emblem of time – should play a role in articulating the book’s temporal agendas. Read within a typological framework, the notation of folio 1r effects a clear commentary.

Accordingly, the present-past represented in *Mundus a munditia/T* and *Favellandi vicium/T* is rendered in the present – that is, current to the time of copying – in *Quare fremuerunt/T*, through the transformation of notational language from old to new, from past to current. What is foreshadowed and feared in the past, then, is fulfilled and reaffirmed in the present time. Past, present and future thus merge as one and the same.

These messages are reinforced on the next folio, 1v, in the first major motet of the book, *Super cathedram/Presidentes in thronis/Ruina*. This, too, forges a similar typological message through its notation. The lyrics are once again concerned with history and prophecy. They relate to historical events dating prior to the book’s construction: their present tense perspective, then, is once more present-past at the time of the book’s copying. The texts are furthermore prophetic and anticipate a future of danger and ruin: ‘Periculum est in mora!’ (‘Danger is imminent!’) proclaims the triplum’s last line, simultaneous with the portentous ‘Prope est ruina!’ (‘Ruin is soon!’) at the conclusion of the duplum, echoing ‘ruina’, the tenor tag. The notation and *mise-en-page* serve an exegetical function, and draw new meaning from these temporal markers. The motet enjoys an idiosyncratic layout. While much of the music in *Fauvel*, polyphony included, is copied to work within the regular three-column layout of the folios, the layout of folio 1v adapts the standard design by ruling staves across the folio space. Thus, the triplum voice beginning at the bottom of the left-hand column, and spreading across the two adjacent columns. The effect, though, is to line up the duplum (beginning on the right-hand column) adjacent to its upper voice. This exaggerates a difference in their notation: like folio 1r, the song space parallels two time frames, but

65 E. DAHNK, *L’Hérésie* cit., pp. 10-12. Colour reproduction of this folio may be accessed at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g/f14.image.r=francais%20146.langEN.
66 E. DAHNK, *L’Hérésie* cit., p. 12 notes allusion to a papal bull of 1300, issued under Boniface VIII.
now deployed in the simultaneity of a single motet. The triplum voice deploys is busy with breves and semibreves, while the duplum is rooted in a temporality of longs and breves. This in itself is not an unusual feature of motets of this era – the faster-moving triplum is a feature of their style, and similar temporal hybridities can be seen in motets from the later layer of the Montpellier codex, among the so-called Petronian motets. However, in the context of the temporal cues of the texts, and in the broader environment of the codex, notation offers graphic equivalence to the two timeframes foregrounded in the texts (past and future premonition). Notation is the typological equivalent, allowing two times to reside together. These simultaneous temporalities are key to the book’s messages of admonition: the anxiety about the present expresses itself as a fear about the repetition of the past. Here, though, the stakes are more fearful, as the future foreshadowed in the present-past of these pieces promises an era of despair and anguish that is signaled as the present time. Crucially, though, it is music’s visual texts that effect that typological exegesis, and do so more effectively than any other medium in the manuscript.

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The cases examined in this essay hope to enrich the understanding of a major witness to music in the era of *ars nova*, and invite further study of the notational nuance of fr. 146. At the same time, they also shed light on some more widespread facets of musical visuality in this period. The examples point to the fluidity of the boundaries between theory and practice: the notational novelties of *Garrit Gallus/In nova fert/N[euma]* and *Quare fremuerunt/T* are not simply the product of theoretical innovation, but themselves serve as a kind of *practicum* of theory, and perhaps even played a role in directing contemporary discourse. If the theory of signs was determined through
compositional acts, it is also the case that the hands that marked these texts were active agents in determining their meaning. How the music on folio 1r looked was no less an agent of its meaning than were its audible and literary texts; and where the music was situated within the codicological design of the book and folio was also part of its text. Decisions about layout and disposition, and about the unifying and breaking of an overarching notational language in the book, were the remit of the scribes. Indeed, it is telling that folio 1r underwent an unusually large number of erasures and corrections, pointing to decisions and changes being made at the very level of parchment at the time of copying. In an era of increasing visibility of music, then, scribes may be seen to play an active and creative role in constructing meanings intended for eyes as well as ears. Finally, looking beyond Fauvel, the cases explored here may invite us to remember to heed the look of music in an era in which it was evermore parchment reliant. The graphic innovations of the Machaut manuscripts, the Chantilly codex, or Squarcialupi Codex, bear vivid witness to the long-lasting significance of music’s visual potential.