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Gilles Carlier's Tribute to Fulbert of Chartres¹

Barbara Hagg-Huglo

In medieval Europe, every day churches and monasteries were filled with the singing or reading of the office, mass, and votive chant. The clergy were surely aware that much of what they were singing was old, and knew the texts from the psalms or the Bible, but how much would they have known about the chronological layers of chant in the *Sanctorale*? Did they know the composers, churches of origin, or historical contexts of those chants? Did that matter to them, especially if this history was not local in some way? This brief study demonstrates that one fifteenth-century theologian, Gilles Carlier (d. 1472), selectively mined the chant repertory of his church to recognize an important predecessor, Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028), when he created a new liturgical office for a new Marian feast. The contexts for this borrowing of Fulbert by Carlier, that is, his activities at the Council of Basel and the theological disputations for and against the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, notably the writings of John of Segovia, contribute to a better understanding of the borrowed texts, but go beyond the limits imposed by article format and are treated in a forthcoming book.²

This was Gilles Carlier, a leading theologian of the fifteenth century and one whose career and writings have yet to receive substantive scholarly attention.³ He is best known as the individual who drafted the Compacts, an agreement between the Council of Basel and the Hussites,⁴ as Dean of Cambrai Cathedral from 1436 to 1472, during the years of its musical glory,⁵ and from my own research, as author of the texts of the Marian feast of the *Recollectio festorum beate Marie Virginis*, an entirely new Marian feast which was introduced at Cambrai Cathedral in 1457 and eventually celebrated by more than twenty different religious communities.⁶ He also wrote a treatise defending the singing of chant and

¹ This text is expanded from a paper presented at a session in honor of Margot Fassler, author of *The Virgin at Chartres*, at the 49th International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, on May 8, 2014. RISM sigla for manuscripts and early printed books are used here.

² Barbara Hagg-Huglo, *Recollectio festorum Marie: Its Chant and History*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). Vol. 2, Edition I, is a critical edition of the pre-Tridentine *Recollectio* from Cambrai that is discussed here.

³ See Zenon Kałuza, "Matériaux et remarques sur le catalogue des oeuvres de Gilles Charlier," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 36 (1969): 169-187; *idem*, "Nouvelles remarques sur les oeuvres de Gilles Carlier," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 38 (1971): 149-191; Victorin Doucet, "Magister Aegidius Carlerii (1972) eiusque Quaestio de Immaculata Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis," *Antonianum* 5 (1930): 405-442; also Hans Joachim Oesterle, "Aegidius Carlerii," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich: Artemis, 1977), col. 175, as well as the articles in the standard musicological dictionaries.

⁴ A relatively concise history of the Council of Basel including a chapter on the Hussite debates is Joseph Gill, *Constance et Bâle-Florence* (Paris: Edition de l'Orante, 1965).

⁵ Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 17: *Cambrai* (Paris: Plon, 1891), p. iv.

⁶ Hagg-Huglo, *Recollectio festorum Marie*.

polyphony in the divine service,⁷ but is not known to have had ability in musical performance or the technical knowledge of the *musicus*.

In composing and compiling the texts of the *Recollectio officium*, Carlier borrowed an antiphon, a responsory and verse, hymn verses, and phrases from works attributed, correctly and incorrectly, to Fulbert of Chartres, who is credited with composing offices for saints, seems to have been informed about music, and in any case had students and contemporaries who understood music. We shall demonstrate that Carlier chose Fulbert's texts knowingly and used them meaningfully, and will explore where Carlier would have come across Fulbert's compositions and why he would have chosen to use them.

The two texts that are the most securely attributed to Fulbert among those borrowed by Carlier are two of the three Matins responsories composed for the feast of the Nativity at Chartres Cathedral. These responsories, *Solem iusticie*, *Styrps Jesse*, and *Ad nutum Domini*, are thought to have ended each nocturn of Matins for the feast of the Nativity at Chartres Cathedral originally, and are in modes 1, 2 and 3 respectively.⁸ The earliest source for all three is F-Pn lat. 14167, a manuscript compiled by Fulbert's students, Sigo and Hildegard, which is filled with letters and poetry by Fulbert.⁹ The two texts with their translations by Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Margot Fassler, respectively, are given here:

Carlier, *Recollectio festorum BVM*, First Vespers, Antiphon 2
Solem iusticie regem paritura supremum,
Virgo Dei Genitrix gaudens procedit ad ortum.

The Virgin Mother of God, who is about to bear
the Sun of righteousness, the supreme King, proceeds to [her own] birth in joy.

Fulbert, *Nativitas BVM*, Matins, Responsory 6
R. without Rv.: Solem iusticie regem paritura supremum,

⁷ Aegidius Carlierius, *Johannes Tinctoris, Carlo Valgulio, "That Liberal and Virtuous Art": Three Humanist Treatises on Music*, trans., annotated and edited by J. Donald Cullington with an introduction by Reinhard Strohm and the editor (Ulster: University of Ulster, 2001).

⁸ The responsories are attributed to Fulbert in two twelfth-century sources of entirely different origin, a chronicle of St. Martial and a manuscript from Boulogne-sur-Mer. See R. de Sainte-Beuve, "Les répons de saint Fulbert de Chartres pour la Nativité de la sainte Vierge," *Revue grégorienne* 13/4 (July-August 1928): 121-128, and 13/5 (Sept.-Oct. 1928): 168-174, here p. 124. The responsory texts with translations and transcriptions of the chant are in Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 414-417; she discusses them and the attribution to Fulbert on pp. 122-128. Also see Yves Delaporte, « Fulbert de Chartres et l'École chartraine de chant liturgique au XI^e siècle, » *Études grégoriennes* 21 (1957): 51-81; and Philippe Bernard, "Les répons chartrains pour la Fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie à l'époque de l'Evêque Fulbert," *Monde médiéval et société chartraine*, ed. Jean-Robert Armogathe, pp. 137-150 (Paris: Picard, 1997). On the authenticity of the entire corpus of Fulbert's work, see Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. xxii-xxv, especially, and Juliette Clément, "Fulbert de Chartres, Oeuvres, correspondance, controverse, poésie," *Fulbert de Chartres, précurseur de l'Europe médiévale?*, ed. Michel Rouche, pp. 121-128 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008).

⁹ On Sigo, cantor, and Adelman of Liège, who both wanted "to perpetuate Fulbert's memory as a master of the liberal arts," and on F-Pn lat. 14167, see Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*, pp. 96-102, 108, and 122-124, and Behrends, *The Letters*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi. On Hildegard, see Behrends, *The Letters*, pp. xxi, xxxiv-xxxv; on F-Pn lat. 14167, see *ibid.*, pp. xlii-xliv.

stella Maria maris hodie processit ad ortum.

Today the star of the sea, she who will bear the Sun of Justice, the supreme King, processes to her rising.

At question is whether Fulbert also composed the responsory chant. Margot Fassler and others before her have considered this at length, but Fulbert's own musicianship is mainly deduced from his students, associations with musicians, and corresponding style in offices attributed to him, in short, suggestive but not definitive evidence, all of it in need of a thorough reappraisal in light of the increasing accessibility of medieval manuscripts and texts, and the recent scholarship on saints' *historie* and their chant.¹⁰ Writings of Fulbert's time do show that his students were learned in music,¹¹ though no texts attribute the responsories to them. Fulbert's circle was also filled with other musicians, notably Odorannus of Sens, a cantor,¹² Gerbert of Aurillac,¹³ the cantor Helgaud of Fleury, and Abbo of Fleury.¹⁴ Jean-François Goudesenne has argued, as had others before him, that glosses to Boethius's *De institutione musica* in D-Mb Clm 14272 were copied from a Chartrain exemplar and are by Fulbert and a student of his, Bernard of Chartres, and that the tonary in the same manuscript is from Chartres or its region, but this is discounted by Fassler and Michael Bernhard.¹⁵ Thus, we cannot yet draw any secure conclusions, either about the extent of Fulbert's musicianship or his possible composition of the responsory melodies. Fulbert does evoke music once in his famous sermon for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, *Approbate*

¹⁰ On Fulbert's learning and his knowledge of the quadrivium, see Behrends, *The Letters*, pp. xxii-xxviii and xxxii-xxxiii. Delaporte, "Fulbert de Chartres," discusses the evidence for his knowledge of music.

¹¹ On Fulbert's musician-pupils, see Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 122-124, and Behrends, *The Letters*, pp. xxxiii-xxxix. On the student Adelman of Liège as a witness to the singing of organum (polyphony) see Jean-François Goudesenne, "Fulbert et son école dans l'histoire du chant liturgique," *Fulbert de Chartres*, pp. 301-317, here pp. 316-317; on his neumed *rythmus alphabeticus*, see Hans Geubels, *Adelmann of Liège and the Eucharistic Controversy*, with a musicological study of the *Rythmus alphabeticus* by Pieter Mannaerts (Leuven: Peeters, 2013). Also on Fulbert's students, see Pierre Riché, "Les disciples de Fulbert," *Fulbert de Chartres*, pp. 9-10, and Margot Fassler, "Fulbert après Fulbert: le mythe d'un évêque de Chartres," *Fulbert de Chartres*, pp. 103-120, here pp. 104-107.

¹² See Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 69-71 and 80, and *Odorannus de Sens. Opera omnia*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, Marie-Elisabeth Duchez, and Michel Huglo, *Sources d'histoire médiévale*, 4 (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1972).

¹³ On Gerbert, see Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 45-50, and Michel Huglo, "Gerbert, théoricien de la musique vu de l'an 2000," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000): 143-160, and idem, "Gerberto teorico musicale visto dall'anno 2000," *Gerberto d'Aurillac da Abate di Bobbio a Papa dell'Anno 1000: Atti del Congresso internazionale, Bobbio, 28-30 settembre 2000*, ed. (and article translated by) Flavio Nuvolone, pp. 217-243, *Archivum Bobiense, Studia*, IV (Bobbio: Rivista Archivum Bobiense, 2000).

¹⁴ See Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 47 and 80, on Helgaud. Abbo corresponded with Fulbert (see Behrends, *The Letters*, p. xvii). On Abbo as musician, see Michel Huglo, "Le traité de musique d'Abbon de Fleury: Identification et analyse," *Abbon, un abbé de l'an mil*, ed. Annie Dufour and Gillette Labory, pp. 225-239, *Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du moyen âge*, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

¹⁵ Goudesenne, "Fulbert et son école," pp. 310-315; Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 124 and 499; Riché, "Les disciples." The source of Riché's is a text of his that is available online, at <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/actualites/celebrations2006/fulbert.htm> (consulted May 24, 2014).

consuetudinis, here as translated by Margot Fassler: “The virtues in her (Mary’s) thought and in the disposition of her heart drew forth an ineffable harmony (*harmoniam*) [...]”¹⁶

It was suggested that Fulbert could have studied with Hucbald or Gerbert of Aurillac in Reims, with the latter along with the Frankish king, Robert II, “the Pious” (970-1031), but Pierre Riché thinks this unlikely.¹⁷ Chronicles do attribute the chant for the Nativity responsories to Robert the Pious, along with an astonishing litany of other chant (see Table 1).¹⁸

Table 1: Attributions of Chant to King Robert the Pious

William of Malmesbury (ca. 1125): sequence <i>Sancti Spiritus assit</i> , responsory <i>O Juda et Jerusalem</i> Aubry of Trois-Fontaines (ca. 1241): Alleluia verse <i>Eripe me</i> , Antiphon <i>Pro fidei meritis</i> , <i>Kyrie Cunctipotens genitor</i> , responsory <i>Cornelius centurio</i> Jean d’Ypres, Chronicle of St. Bertin (1293): in addition to other works already mentioned, the responsory <i>Concede nobis quesumus</i> Chronicle of Tours (13th c.): the above, and sequence <i>Rex omnipotens</i> , responsory for St. Martin <i>O quam admirabilis</i> ; responsory for St. Denis <i>O contantia martyrum</i> Durand de Mende (late 13th c.): sequence <i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i> , hymn <i>Chorus novus Jerusalem</i> Trithemius (c. 1516): sequence <i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i> André Favyn, <i>Histoire de Navarre</i> (1612) and later Abbé Lebeuf, <i>Traité historique et pratique sur le chant ecclésiastique</i> (Paris: Hérissant, 1741), p. 16: chant for the three responsories of the Nativity
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Yet given that the tenth and eleventh centuries, which followed the devastating Norman invasions, were marked by the invention of history through the falsification of charters, relics, and even saints, these attributions of chant to the King may have served as a rhetorical gesture to make him more humane by elevating him above the prevalent concerns of the wars of his day. Once again, we cannot presume that these attributions are correct.

The question of Fulbert’s musicianship is also pertinent, because hymn texts are attributed to him. Many are found along with his letters in F-Pn lat. 2872 and 14167, and most of their attributions are considered secure, that is, of the texts, but some have the rubrics *rithmus* or *versus*, some do not survive with notation, and some have texts on computus-related or astronomical subjects that would have been appropriate for teaching, but not the liturgy.¹⁹ Of those that entered the liturgy, two were known to Carlier, as we shall see.

Why did Carlier borrow Fulbert’s texts at all? We know very well that borrowing was common in the Middle Ages – think of the tenors of polyphonic music and of sequence and hymn *contrafacta* – but borrowing entire chants with their texts and music was another

¹⁶ A translation of the sermon is Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 426-429, here p. 428; she discusses it on pp. 81-89. It is in Paris, BnF, latin 14167, ff. 56v-57v; ed. PL 141, 320-324A. Also see Jean-Paul Deremble, “Fulbert et Théophile, l’art de la prédication. Le IV^e sermon de la fête de la nativité de Marie,” *Fulbert de Chartres*, pp. 79-90.

¹⁷ Delaporte, “Fulbert de Chartres,” p. 62; Behrends, *The Letters*, p. xvii.

¹⁸ Michel Huglo pointed me to the list of attributions assembled by Gabriel Beyssac in his introduction to *Antiphonale missarum sancti Gregorii, IX^e-X^e siècle: Codex 239 de la Bibliothèque de Laon*, Paléographie musicale, 10 (Solesmes: Abbaye St.-Pierre, 1909), pp. 25-26. Also see Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* 1 (1860), p. 295; 2 (1861), p. 520.

¹⁹ On Fulbert’s mastery of language, see Behrends, *The Letters*, p. xxv. A poem of Fulbert’s is included in the Cambridge Songs (idem, pp. xxv and 266 in the notes).

matter. This happened, of course, each time a new saints' office was pieced together from the *Commune sanctorum* or an office of relics was compiled from the chant of different proper liturgies. But in the later Middle Ages, earlier *proper* chants were taken over to become part of later *proper* offices, and this practice became especially frequent after the reforms of Trent.²⁰ Then the Marian liturgy, in particular, became a new *Commune* from which later or reformed offices could be created without censure from Rome.²¹

By Carlier's day, the practice of borrowing the Nativity responsories by Fulbert in this way had precedents.²² Searches for the three Nativity responsories in the CANTUS database (www.cantusdatabase.org) on May 1, 2014, show that *Styrps Jesse* was the most used of the three texts – it got 83 hits there; *Solem justitiae* only 68 hits, and *Ad nutum* 64 hits.

From the CANTUS data, we see that these three chants, overwhelmingly sung during the feast of the Nativity, became part of the liturgy of the not universally celebrated Octave of the Nativity in some locations,²³ and of feasts other than the Nativity.²⁴ *Styrps Jesse*,²⁵ for example, was taken for several Marian feasts, the feast of All Saints, and in Paris even the feast of St. Denis (see Table 2):

Table 2: The Responsory *Styrps Jesse* in the Liturgies of Other Feasts

<p>BMV general: B-TO olv 63 & 64, D-AAM G 20, F-AS 893 (suffrage), F-CA 38 (suffrage), F-CA Impr. XVI C 4 (suffrage) Anne: D-MZb C Mary of Snows: D-MZb C Conceptio BVM: D-MZb E, F-AS 893, F-Pn lat. 15181, MA Impr. 1537, NL-Uu 406, PL-Kkar 2 (Rkp 14) & 5 (Rkp 13) Assumptio BVM: E-Tc 44.1, F-AS 893 (Vigil), F-Pn lat. 12044 & 15182 (also 8ve), TR-ltks 42 (8ve) Purificatio BVM: F-Pn lat. 12044 Denis: F-Pn lat. 15182 All Saints: F-Pn n.a.lat. 1536, F-VAL 114, I-AO 6, Annuntiatio: GB-WO.F.160 Presentatio: MA-Impr. 1537</p>

²⁰ This occurred in the Post-Tridentine *Recollectio* that was reformed in Leuven. See Barbara Haggh, "The *Officium* of the *Recollectio festorum beate Marie virginis* by Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay: Its Celebration and Reform in Leuven," "Recevez ce mien petit labeur." *Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, ed. Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé, pp. 93-105 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008).

²¹ An example of a book filled with more than thirty late proper offices of this kind is Ghent, Augustijns Historisch Instituut, G. HB 273(a): *Officia nova in Breviario Romano ex mandato Rom. Pontif. Alexandri VII, Clementis IX et X, Innocentii XI, Alexandri VIII, Innocentii II XII nec non S.D.N. Clementis Papae XI. Apposita* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1714).

²² Cf. Goudesenne, "Fulbert et son école."

²³ *Styrps Jesse* is assigned to the Octave of the Nativity in A-KN 1012 (1100s) and 1018 (1300s; only for the Octave, not the feast), A-KN 589 (1300s; only for the Octave), F-CA 38 and F-CA Impr. XVI C 4, F-Pn lat. 15182 (circa 1300), the Penpoint Antiphoner in Wales (circa 1320), and in GB-Cu Mm.ii.9 (1200s).

²⁴ R. de Sainte-Beuve, "Les répons," (Sept.-Oct. 1928): 173-174, discusses borrowings of the responsories and their themes in other chant, other than those listed here.

²⁵ Fassler, *The Virgin*, p. 125 (on *Styrps Jesse*), p. 113 (on the third Nativity sermon taking up themes of this responsory), and, in particular, *eadem*, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the *Styrps Jesse*: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75 (2000): 389-434.

Styrps Jesse also generated related chants filled with Chartrain imagery that are found in later manuscripts: the responsory *Inclyta stirps Jesse produxit celitus ex se virgam virtutis florem fructumque salutis* for *Annuntiatio BVM* in A-KN 1010, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017; the antiphon *Inclyta stirps Jesse virgam produxit ex quam processit flos miro plenus odore hec est virga Dei mater flos ortus ab illa* for St. Anne in D-MZb C, D-W 28 Helmst, F-Pn lat. 15182, and St-Lna 19 (olim 18); and the responsory *Inclyta stirps Jesse virgam produxit amoenam de qua processit flos miro plenus odore* for St. Anne in F-Pn lat. 15182.²⁶ All of these borrowings and variant texts are the exception rather than the rule, which was the vast diffusion of the responsory in its home Nativity office.

The transmission of *Solem iusticie regem* is mainly restricted to the feast of the Nativity or its Octave, but it also appears as a general Marian chant in B-TO olv 63 & 64, D-AAm G 20, and on the feast of the *Conceptio BVM* in F-Pn lat. 15181, NL-Uu 406, and PL-Kkar 2 (Rkp 14). A variant text, *Solem iusticie concludunt* was assigned only to the Conception of the Virgin and this first in the twelfth-century Zwiefalten antiphoner, D-KA Aug. LX, and in the thirteenth-century AAm G 20. It found its way into the late thirteenth-century F-CA 38. As before, the manuscripts from Klosterneuburg do not use the Chartrain text for the Nativity of the Virgin, but only for the Conception. A further variant text became a responsory for St. Anne in D-W 28 Helmstedt.²⁷ We should note that the phrase “solem iusticie” also appears in a responsory of the office of Julian of Le Mans for 27 January: “Splendens Lucifer velut solem post anxie noctis nuntiat umbram, sic Julianus post errorum tenebras exortum solem iustitie Cenomanensibus nunciavit.”²⁸

Against this background is Gilles Carlier’s appropriation of the text *Solem iusticie*, because *only* in his *Recollectio* office was this responsory text transformed into that of an *antiphon*. Necessarily, the original Chartain melody had to disappear, making composition of a new melody necessary, and indeed there are no borrowed antiphon melodies in the *Recollectio* – all are by Guillaume Du Fay and in a consistent style.²⁹

The third of Fulbert’s three responsories, *Ad nutum Domini*, with its melody punctuated by melismas, was mostly kept for the Nativity, but it is found in a few manuscripts assigned to the Conception, Purification, Assumption, All Saints, St. Anne, or as a general Marian chant (see Table 3).

²⁶ St. Anne was also highly venerated at Chartres Cathedral. See Fassler, *The Virgin*, p. 111, on Anne, and *ibid.*, “Appendix D: Sequences [...] with Themes Related to ‘Styrps Jesse’ and ‘Paritura’ Motives,” pp. 387-419, for a list and discussion of sequences derived from *Styrps Jesse*. Searches in *Analecta hymnica* would surely bring up other chant using themes in the three Chartrain Nativity responsories.

²⁷ R. de Sainte-Beuve, “Les répons,” discusses a range of chants whose texts are derived from those of the Nativity responsories.

²⁸ See Yossi Maurey, *Historia Sancti Gatiani Episcopi Turonensis*, *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/ Musicological Studies* 65/23 (Lions Bay, CA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2014), p. 10. Maurey claims that Gatian’s office was modelled in part on Julian’s.

²⁹ On the tonal clarity of Du Fay’s chants, see Barbara Haggh, “Mode in Late Medieval Plainchant from Cambrai.” *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, pp. 129-147 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler Verlag, 1996), and *eadem*, “Guillaume Du Fay, Teacher and Theorist, and his Chant for Cambrai Cathedral,” *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group ‘Cantus Planus’*, Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23-28, ed. László Dobszay, pp. 817-844 (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 2006).

Table 3: Uses of the Responsory *Ad nutum Domini* for Other Feasts

BVM general: B-TO olv 63 & 64, F-AS 893
Assumptio BVM: E-Tc 44.1, F-Pn lat. 12044, TR-ltks 42 (8ve)
Conceptio BVM: F-AS 893, F-Pn lat. 15181, NL-Uu 406
All Saints': F-CA 38, F-CA Impr. XVI C 4
Purificatio BVM: F-Pn lat. 12044
Anna: F-Pn lat. 15182

Carlier borrowed it as a Matins responsory in the *Recollectio*, but kept its melody. Hearing it, one understands why this responsory text and its chant were left untouched. Of special interest is the way the composer set this text to music. Throughout the responsory, accented syllables receive musical emphasis with melismas and higher notes, but at “spina,” the thorn is emphasized by giving musical priority to the *unaccented* syllable (see Example 1). This text treatment differs from Guillaume Du Fay’s, which is more varied and flexible – a lapse of accent emphasis would not have been noticed.

Example 1: The Responsory *Ad nutum Domini* in the Nativity Office of Cambrai Cathedral. F-CA Impr. XVI C 4, f. 171v



What we have seen thus far is that appropriating proper chant for new proper offices was rare, but did occur. To understand the issues involved in *recontextualizing* such borrowed chant, let us look now at what Gilles Carlier did in the *Recollectio officium*. Carlier’s office recollects six Marian feasts in the order of Mary’s life rather than following the calendric order of the feasts, and thus begins with five antiphons successively representing the feasts of the Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Visitation, and Purification.

Having introduced Mary as the morning star in the first antiphon of First Vespers – “Tenebre diffugiunt; mundo color redit. Maria concipitur; lucifer exurgit.” – “The shadows flee; color returns to the world. Mary is conceived; the Morning Star comes forth.” – it made sense to continue with a second astronomical metaphor by borrowing Fulbert’s Christ as Sun of justice (see Table 1 above), the *Solem iusticie*. But then Carlier could not call Mary the “star of the sea,” since she had just appeared as the morning star, so he changed Fulbert’s text to emphasize Mary as Mother of God (not Mother of Christ), proceeding to (Mary’s own) birth, almost returning to the end of Fulbert’s antiphon text, but using a different verb. Mary’s state of being about to bear (Christ), represented by the verb “paritura,” was emphasized at Chartres throughout its liturgy, as Margot Fassler has shown.³⁰

Fulbert’s text is quite remarkable, however, for in it the Virgin Mary, even still in her mother Anne’s womb, is already the mother of the Sun of Justice, as she proceeds to her own birth. Carlier changed Fulbert’s complex language in a highly significant way. Fulbert’s slow-moving and stately “processit” becomes Carlier’s sprightly and deliberate “procedit.” Carlier chose “procedit,” because this was a verb rich in meaning. It was sung in the Credo to describe how the Holy Spirit came into being out of both the Father and the Son. This is the *Filioque* clause that today has been disputed between the Eastern and Western Church for over a millennium.³¹ Carlier may well have wished to create a parallelism between these two ineffable states of becoming to further purify Mary’s own birth, thereby outdoing Fulbert on his own turf. But in I-AObc 18 and in F-CA 118, the *Recollectio* scribes did not understand what was at stake and kept Fulbert’s “processit.” The Aostan printed breviaries of 1533, 1618, 1684, and 1732 also have “processit,” whereas most sources from Cambrai keep Carlier’s “procedit.”

Solem iusticie is exceptional among the *Recollectio* antiphons, because its two halves do not constitute independent syntactic units, and this shows the subtlety of Fulbert the poet and theologian.³² The Latin text begins with Christ, the grammatical object. Mary, the subject, and the verb are in the second hexameter. So even though Christ is yet unborn, he precedes Mary. Carlier explains this by calling Mary “Mother of God,” so that God can precede Mary’s birth.

Carlier does not borrow the responsory text, *Styrps Jesse*, probably because it evoked Mary’s lineage more than her life,³³ but he opens the first nocturn of Matins with two antiphons with references to the biblical rods which Fulbert had linked in his writings.³⁴ In M-A1, the rod of Aaron flowering in the desert is likened to the fertility of Anne, who had been infertile. Here, Anne is “paritura,” that is, about to bear Mary. In M-A2, Mary is the rod of Jesse, leading the world with her genealogy as her scepter.

M-A1: *Virga* florem paritura de sterili formatur, ut humana genitura rite reparetur.
The branch (rod) that will produce a flower is fashioned from a barren woman,
so that human birth may rightly be restored.

³⁰ On the “paritura” motive at Chartres, see Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 26, 87, 112, and *passim* in 387-419, “Appendix D: Sequences [...] with Themes Related to ‘Styrps Jesse’ and ‘Paritura’ Motives.”

³¹ Described in Edward A. Sicienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). John of Segovia wrote a now-lost treatise on this subject during the Council of Basel.

³² Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 126-127, on the light imagery in *Solem*.

³³ See note 24 above.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86, on the rods of Aaron and Joseph.

M-A2: Anna parit Ioachim *virgam* que dirigit orbem.
Anne gives birth for Joachim to the staff (rod) that leads the world.

Carlier's lesson 3 includes a list of attributes of the Virgin, several using themes taken from texts in the liturgy as well as the Bible (e.g. the antiphon *Hortus conclusus*). Carlier's list includes the phrase "*Hec est regina.*"³⁵ This is *not* the text of the first of a series of antiphons sung at Chartres on all Marian feast days, but it leads into a paraphrase of "*Styrps Jesse,*" at "*virga de radice Yesse*" [...] (translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens):

Iuxta promissum angelicum Anna concepit et peperit Mariam, singulari prerogatiua benedictam quia ab originali peccato preseruata[m] sanctam uniuersali synodo hoc attestante: que nec primam similem habuit, nec habebit sequentem. Hec est enim quam splendor glorie, et figura substantie Patris, Filius eternus elegit in Matrem; ipsa est rubus Moysi qui ardebat caritate, et non comburebatur estu viciorum. *Hec est regina* Saba clamans pro peccatoribus ad Deum, qui venit audire sapientiam Salomonis, regis utique pacifici. Hec est *virga de radice Yesse* egressa, spirans florem super quem requiescit Spiritus Domini. Ipsa est denique porta semper clausa, quam nemo ingrediatur, et princeps sedebit in ea. Nam ipsa est ortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquarum uiuentium, quod fluunt impetu de Libano, quam de candore virginitatis eius aque virtutum fluunt cum impetu, in conuallibus humilium.

In accordance with the angelic announcement Anna conceived and gave birth to Mary, who was blessed in her being chosen as exceptional and kept holy from original sin, as this universal synod bears witness: she did not have anyone like her in previous times, nor will she in the future. For she is the one whom the splendor of glory, the form of the Father's substance, the eternal Son chose as His Mother; she is the bush of Moses, which burned with love, and was not consumed by the stream of evils. *She is the queen* of Saba crying for the sinners to God, who comes to hear the wisdom of King Solomon, as do the peacemakers. She is a branch growing from the root of Jesse, breathing a flower upon which rests the Spirit of the Lord. Finally she is a door, which is always closed, that no one will enter, and the Prince will reside in it. For she is an enclosed garden, a designated spring, a well of living waters, which flow together by force from Lebanon, just as, from the purity of her virginity, the waters of the virtues flow with force, along the valleys of the humble.

The main issue that Carlier explores in this lesson is neither the Mary's Nativity nor her Annunciation, even though this is the third lesson, but rather her Conception. An important theological argument presented by John of Segovia at the Council of Basel in favor of her Immaculate Conception was that Mary was absolutely unique in all time.³⁶ No one before her was like her, nor would anyone afterwards be like her. This was a necessary argument, because to the Dominicans, who were against this doctrine, Mary could *not* have been immaculately conceived, because then her lack of sin would nullify Christ's status as Redeemer of *all* mankind. By making the Virgin not like all mankind, but exceptional, the meaning of Christ's sacrifice was left unchanged. Carlier's well-known Marian metaphors describe her exceptional nature: a burning bush not consumed, a door no one can enter, an

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 251-253, 438-440, on the antiphon *Hec est regina*.

³⁶ Discussed many times in John of Segovia's *Septem allegationes* [...], ed. Pedro de Alva y Astorga (1664, repr. Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1965). A useful summary of this lengthy work of more than 500 pages is Hyacinthus Ameri, *Doctrina theologorum de immaculate B.V. Mariae Conceptione tempore Concilii Basileensis* (Rome: Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1954) [in Latin].

enclosed garden with water flowing by force.

The Fulbertian responsory *Ad nutum Domini* necessarily had to serve as the second responsory of Matins in Carlier's *Recollectio*, for only there could a responsory fit the *Recollectio*'s scheme of reflections on successive Marian offices. But by putting *Ad nutum* in second place, Carlier disrupted the tonal scheme of the nocturn, because *Ad nutum* takes the third tone. *Ad nutum* is also exceptional in its new context in two other ways. One we already noted – its clever emphasis of the “thorn” with the chant ignoring the accentuation.

The other is *Ad nutum*'s composer's solution to the problem of responsory performance. As early as the ninth century, Abbot Helisachar expressed concern about the transition to the *repetendum* after the responsory verse was sung.³⁷ This is awkward in Carlier's *Recollectio* responsory no. 5, whose text consists of successive verses of Luke 1: 43-44, resulting in the *repetendum* going back to an earlier time than the verse. In the verse, the child leaps in the womb, but in the repeated *repetendum* it had not yet done so.

Carlier:

M-R5 Ut audiuit Precursoris mater salutationem Marie,
cernens diuinum in ea misterium, exclamauit:

“Ut quid venit Mater Domini mei ad me?”

M-Rv5 “Cum facta est vox salutationis tue in auribus meis,
exultaui infans in utero meo.”

Repetendum repeated: “Ut quid venit Mater Domini mei ad me?”

R. When the mother of the Precursor heard Mary's greeting, noticing the divine mystery within her, she exclaimed [to Mary], “For what reason should the mother of my Lord come to me?”

V. “For the moment your greeting reached my ears, the child in my womb leapt for joy.”

Repetendum repeated: “For what reason should the mother of my Lord come to me?”

In Matins responsory three and its verse, Carlier is more successful. He enlivens the Annunciation theme by giving voice to Mary. We hear a non-Biblical text representing God's words or Mary's thoughts in the *repetendum*. Then in the verse, Mary speaks to the angel Gabriel, the famous quote from the Bible. Thus, Mary's crucial words are framed by the repeated reminder, which, not being a quote but a thought, could be mentally repeated.

Carlier:

R. Suscipe verbum quod ab angelo tibi transmissum est.

Non es dubia de exemplo, nec incredula de oraculo, nec incerta de nuncio.

V. “Ecce, ancilla Domini. Fiat michi secundum verbum tuum.”

Non es dubia de exemplo, nec incredula de oraculo, nec incerta de nuncio.

R. Accept the word that was sent to you by the angel.

Neither doubt the example, nor disbelieve the prophecy, nor be uncertain about the message.

V. “Behold, the handmaid of the Lord. Let it be unto me according to your word.”

Repetendum repeated: Neither doubt the example, nor disbelieve the prophecy, nor be uncertain about the message.

³⁷ Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, chapter 7 on “Abbot Helisachar's Antiphoner,” especially pp. 179-180. Fassler recognizes Fulbert's attention to the *repetendum* and verse texts in the Nativity responsories in *The Virgin*, pp. 126-127.

In Fulbert's *Ad nutum Domini*, he cleverly juxtaposes the two phrases of the *repetendum* and the verse: both describe a relationship between 'bad' and 'good'. In the *repetendum* 'bad' begets 'good': the thorny stem, Judea, produces Mary, the rose. In the verse, 'good' overcomes 'bad': virtue covers vice, and thanksgiving our guilt. There is no chronological succession, and the power of 'good' over 'bad' is further emphasized, because it is heard three times, since this is only the second and not the third responsory of Matins.

Fulbert, translated by Margot Fassler:

M-R2 Ad nutum Domini nostrum ditantis honorem,
sicut spina rosam, genuit Iudea Mariam,
M-Rv2 ut vicium virtus operiret, gracia culpam. Sicut.
Repetendum repeated: sicut spina rosam, genuit Iudea Mariam

R. At the command of our Lord, enriching our dignity:

Just as the thorn bore the rose and Judea bore Mary.

V. So that virtue might cover vice and thanksgiving our guilt.

Repetendum repeated: Just as the thorn bore the rose and Judea bore Mary.

Carlier's eighth lesson ends with a topic dear to Fulbert. A Life of Fulbert recounts that he was cured of illness by the Virgin Mary's milk, which was later kept in Chartres Cathedral in a vase.³⁸ Carlier's lesson closes with a long description of Mary's womb, ending with the Virgin's breasts giving milk to nourish Christ (translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens):

O Virgo, O mater misericordie, O refugium miserorum, O venter diffusior celis, terris amplior, capacior elementis, qui totum claudit omnia claudentem, in quo rex gloriose reclinatur, sis nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis nostre, pia aduocatrix apud Iesum Christum Filium tuum quem lactauerunt beatissima ubera tua.

O Virgin, O Mother of mercy, O refuge for the wretched, O belly wider than the sky, greater than the lands, more encompassing than the elements, you who enclose the all-enclosing and in whom the King of glory rests, before us, sinners, now and at the hour of our death, a devoted advocate to Jesus Christ, Your Son, to whom *your most blessed breasts gave milk*.

Carlier also shares ideas of Fulbert's in First Vespers. While there are other influences on the opening antiphon of the *Recollectio*, compare its text here with that taken from Sermon VI *in ortu alme virginis Marie inviolate*, which is attributed to Fulbert in PL.³⁹ This is a sermon Carlier would very likely have known, given the importance of this topic in Cambrai and at the Council of Basel (translations by Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Barbara Hagg-Huglo respectively).

Carlier: 1V-A1: Tenebre diffugiunt; mundo color redit. Maria concipitur; Lucifer exurgit.

The shadows flee; color returns to the world. Mary is conceived; the Morning Star comes forth.

³⁸ Fassler, *Speculum*, p. 434 translates and discusses the text.

³⁹ PL 141, col. 328B.

Fulbert: *Ista est enim praecipua festivitas in qua omnis angelorum militia exultat [...] in qua oritur sponsa sine exemplo Deo conjuncta, de cujus casta corporis materia oritur lumen in tenebris ad exturbandas veterum piaculorum nebulas.*

This is truly the principal festival in which the clergy rejoice with all of the angels [...] in which the Bride joined to God without punishment [for sin] is born, from whose chaste essence of body is born the light in the shadows to extirpate the clouds of the old sins.

Both texts no doubt derive their ideas in part from the widely sung ferial hymn, *Nox et tenebre*, from Prudentius's *Cathemerinon*, a hymn about the Nativity of Christ and not Mary, however:

“Nox et tenebre et nubila, confusa mundi et turbida,
lux intrat, albescit polus: Christus venit; discedite.

Caligo terrae scinditur percussa solis spiculo,
rebusque iam color redit vultu nitentis sideris.”

An eleventh-century gloss on this hymn discusses the meaning of color coming to the world.⁴⁰

Finally, Carlier begins the last strophe of his hymn for first Vespers, *Gaude redempta*, with a praise of the Trinity, “*Gloriam trine monadi canamus*,” which also begins the last strophes of two hymns attributed to Fulbert. The hymn *Nuntium vobis* for Epiphany circulated widely and is found in six collections of hymns from Cambrai Cathedral, so Carlier surely sang it⁴¹; the hymn *Organum mentis* for the Holy Spirit is less common and not in any manuscripts from Cambrai. Both hymns appear in the Chartrain F-Pn lat. 2872,⁴² the compilation of letters and poetry attributed to Fulbert, but in the section that is a late sixteenth-century copy of I-Rvat Reg. lat. 278 (Behrends's “R”), the latter a source directly descended from the lost original in Behrends stemma.⁴³ Nevertheless, Behrends does not edit these hymns, which are edited in PL and AH.⁴⁴

The word “monad” (unity) appropriately refers to the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, a typical *topos* for ending hymns. Whether this invention of Christian Platonists is Chartrain is not clear: in F-Pn lat. 2872 the hymn *Organum mentis* on f. 122v clearly reads “*monachi canamus*”; then *Nuntium vobis* follows on f. 122v-123r with “*gloriam trine*” and an addition in darker ink just afterwards: “N/supra.” The reading “*monachi*,” which would make the translation, “*Monks, let us sing glory to the Threefold one*,” is not given by any of

⁴⁰ I thank Susan Boynton for pointing this out to me. See Boynton, “Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1997), pp. 136, 148-149, and 167-170 on *Nox et tenebre* and the gloss on color.

⁴¹ F-CA 193, f. 90v; F-CA 37, f. 63v; F-CA 27, f. 168r; F-CA 32, f. 53r; F-CA 29, 193r; F-CA 30, f. 106v. I thank Christian Meyer for this information and for the manuscript concordances for other hymns from Cambrai cited here.

⁴² On this manuscript, see Behrends, *The Letters*, pp. xlv-xlv.

⁴³ See *The Letters*, p. 1 [=Roman numeral 50].

⁴⁴ *Nuncium* edited in PL 141, col. 350, no. XXIV (rubric “Hymnus”), and AH 50, pp. 283-284, no. 213, and AH 2, p. 79 (from the Moissac Hymnary with rubric “De Epiphania Domini – Alius Hymnus”); *Organum mentis* edited in PL 141, cols. 351-352, no. XXVI (rubric “Hymnus”), and AH, pp. 285-286, no. 216 (attributed to Fulbert here, rubric “De Spiritu Sancto”).

the editors of these hymns! This reading could suggest an origin of the hymns at a monastery, and not at Chartres cathedral.⁴⁵

The word “monad” was not surprisingly found in twelfth-century poems. The phrase “*Laus trine monadi summaque Gloria*” ends a twelfth-century hymn for St. Géry, a *Salve festa dies*, in twelfth-century manuscripts from the Benedictine abbey of St. Sépulcre in Cambrai, F-CA 31 and 48,⁴⁶ as well as later hymnals from the Cathedral (F-CA 32, f. 57v; F-CA 37, f. 72v; F-CA 28, f. 69r; F-CA 29, f. 209v; F-CA 30, f. 125v). The term was later taken up in fourteenth and fifteenth-century hymns from Vienna, Angers, Paris, Ghent, and Arles.⁴⁷

According to the editors of *Analecta hymnica*, the hymn *Nuntium vobis* may not be by Fulbert, because it is found in what they considered a tenth-century hymnary from Moissac, I-Rvat Rossi 205 (*olim* VIII 144), on f. 60r, a bit too early for Fulbert, though they do not exclude the possibility of his authorship entirely. Susan Boynton has studied this hymnary thoroughly, however, which she dates from the third quarter of the eleventh century.⁴⁸ Thus, there is no reason to discount the attribution to Fulbert of either *Nuntium vobis* or *Organum meritis*.

Carlier likely learned of the hymn *Nuntium vobis* for the feast of the Epiphany by singing it in Cambrai Cathedral, and the three Nativity responsories are also in manuscripts from Cambrai Cathedral, but there is a slight possibility that Carlier could have seen F-Pn lat. 14167, their earliest source, at the College de Navarre in Paris, where he studied and later taught theology.⁴⁹ Before he came to Cambrai Cathedral, Paris was his intellectual home, as it had been for his eminent predecessor, the bishop of Cambrai, Pierre d’Ailly. Even earlier bishops of Cambrai were active and known in Paris, including Guiard of Laon, the direct successor to Philip the Chancellor at Notre Dame of Paris. I have shown elsewhere that the close ties between Cambrai and Paris continued all the way until the French Revolution.⁵⁰ In any case, we know that when Carlier died, he left many of his books to the College de Navarre – his signature survives in books from that college. F-Pn lat. 14167, which had been at the monastery of St. Père just outside the wall of Chartres in the fourteenth century, was consulted at the College de Navarre in 1608, and a seventeenth-century history of St. Père tells us that a clergyman had at an unspecified time borrowed the book from St. Père and refused to return it.⁵¹ Concerns about borrowing books are not often voiced in the sixteenth century, when there were more of them around, but are distinctly

⁴⁵ I have not been able to consult I-Rvat Reg. lat. 278 from which the copy in F-Pn lat. 2872 was made to determine if this was a scribal error in the later manuscript or not. Fulbert was buried at the Benedictine abbey of St. Père in Chartres (Fassler, *The Virgin*, p. 108).

⁴⁶ Without notation and according to *Analecta hymnica*, which does not provide folio numbers.

⁴⁷ Ed. AH 11, pp. 139-140, no. 244.

⁴⁸ Susan Boynton, “Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries Containing Latin Glosses,” *Scriptorium* 53 (1999): 200-251, with pp. 222-228 on I-Rvat Rossi 205, which she dates from 1064-1080, so after Fulbert’s death; *eadem*, “Glosses on the Office Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001): 1-26; and “Glossed Hymnaries,” pp. 132 and 371-372.

⁴⁹ Nathalie Gorochoy, *Le Collège de Navarre: de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV^e siècle (1418): histoire de l’institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), pp. 609-610, on Carlier (under “Charlier”).

⁵⁰ Barbara Haggh, “Simon of St. Victor and the Sequence Repertory at Cambrai Cathedral [Study of Paris BNF Musiques Rés. Vma. Mss. 1376-1377],” *Hortus troporum. Florilegium in honorem Gunilla Iversen*, ed. Alexander Andrée and Erika Kihlman, pp. 85-98, *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 54 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2008).

⁵¹ Behrends, *The Letters*, pp. xlii-xliv.

medieval and monastic. If the manuscript was taken to Paris in the fourteenth century, it would have been at the College de Navarre when Carlier was studying there. Unfortunately, the manuscript has no marginalia or writing to clarify this.

There is another intriguing possibility – that Carlier learned about Fulbert and his works from a canon from Chartres. Kałuza claims that historians knew of the correspondence Carlier maintained with Gerard Machet, who was not bishop of Chartres as Kałuza writes, but nevertheless a canon of Chartres as well as of Notre Dame of Paris.⁵² Machet, as rector, vice chancellor and then chancellor of the University of Paris, also confessor to the dauphin who would later become Charles VII, once wrote to Gilles Carlier to offer him the position as Chancellor of Paris. The two may well have known each other at the Council of Basel, where Antipope Felix V made Gerard Machet a cardinal in 1440.

In short, Carlier may have learned of Fulbert’s works in Paris. We do not actually know where Carlier was when he composed the *Recollectio* texts, but he was teaching at the College de Navarre in the years preceding its first celebration in Cambrai.

Carlier might also have seen some Fulbert texts in manuscripts that had been copied at the abbey of St. Sépulcre in Cambrai by this abbey’s most prolific scribe, named Fulbert, in the twelfth century.⁵³ One example of this scribe’s work is in F-CA 216 (part of the compilation F-CA 215-220), on 152v, the “sermo domni Fulberti” that is *Approbate*, written in the twelfth century.⁵⁴ There is another twelfth-century text by an unidentified scribe written into the Cathedral psalter-hymnal, F-CA 27, ff. 182v-186r, with the incipit “Multimode sanctitatis et reverencie viro donno .G. Carnotensi episcopo sedis apostolice legato frater [...],” addressed to Geoffrey de Lèves, papal legate from 1132 to at least 1143, on adversity in the Church in general and in that of Chartres, in particular.⁵⁵ A Fulbert, presumably from the region of Cambrai, was the author of the Life of St. Aubert, the patron saint of the Augustinian abbey with that name in Cambrai.⁵⁶

If it seems most likely and even inescapable that Carlier, to create an office recalling the feasts of Mary, would think of Fulbert and Chartres in recalling Mary’s Nativity, there is another compelling reason why Fulbertian texts would have appealed to Carlier. Among the many works credited to Fulbert are a *Transitus* of St. Giles, in French Gilles, in Latin, Egidius, as well as an office for this saint.⁵⁷ This saint was not so widely recognized, so it is notable that a substantial number of chants for him appear in some manuscripts that also have a concentration of Fulbert’s Nativity chant, including F-CA 38 (see Table 4).

Table 4: Manuscripts in CANTUS with more than Five Chants for Egidius

Manuscript	Number of Chants
A-KN 1012	39

⁵² Kałuza, “Matériaux et remarques,” p. 181.

⁵³ This may be the “Fulbertis peccator” scribe of F-CA 864 (Molinier, *Catalogue*, p. 348).

⁵⁴ On this manuscript see Molinier, *Catalogue*, p. 71; on this scribe see Denis Muzerelle, *Manuscripts datés des bibliothèques de France*, vol. 1: *Cambrai* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2000), pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁵⁵ Bishop Geoffrey, according to Fassler, was “one of the most powerful figures in the mid-twelfth-century European church, renowned for his preaching and diplomatic skills,” (p. 183). On Geoffrey and his family’s important role in the history of the Cathedral, see Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 183-187.

⁵⁶ This Life is edited in the *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium* i.78 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, vol. 7, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, repr. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1995, p. 430).

⁵⁷ On the attribution of the office to Fulbert, see Goudesenne, “Fulbert et son école,” pp. 302-303. The *Transitus* is part of BHL 93.

A-KN 1018	43
A-KN 589	43
A-Wda D-4	26
CH-SGs 388	15
D-AAm G 20	
F-AS 893	45
F-CA 38	54
F-Pn lat. 15182	21
GB-Ob Laud Misc. 284	53
SI-Lna 19 (olim 18)	40
	44

Like many other canons at Cambrai Cathedral, Gilles Carlier founded the feast of his namesake at the Cathedral, increasing its rank to greater duplex.⁵⁸ That would have also pleased his successor as dean of the Cathedral, Gilles Nettelet. The success of the feast of Egidius was shortlived though, since there is no chant for him in the printed antiphoner of Cambrai dated ca. 1508-1515, F-CA Impr. XVI C 4.

Two monastic nocturns of six antiphons and six responsories each for St. Giles were copied into a beautifully neumed office at the end of F-CHRm nouvelles acquisitions 4, ff. 96r-98v, a copy dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century since the neumes are heightened but still *in campo aperto*.⁵⁹ This date corresponds closely to the year of introduction of the feast in Annecy, 1096, given in the *Acta sanctorum*.⁶⁰ Exactly these chants for St. Giles are found in a thirteenth-century manuscript from the abbey of St. Vedast, F-AS 465.⁶¹ The two sets of chant for St. Giles in manuscripts from Cambrai do not include the Chartrain chants, however, but fill the parts of the liturgy not covered by the Chartrain chant. Additions made in the early fifteenth century to the antiphoner from Cambrai Cathedral of the second third of the thirteenth century, F-CA 38, ff. 432r-433r, provide chant for a secular third nocturn of Matins and antiphons for Lauds for St. Giles. F-CA 64 (65) from the abbey of St. S epulcre in Cambrai and the second half of the fifteenth century has canticle antiphons and a mass for the saint on ff. 1r-5v. This manuscript, which postdates Carlier's foundation, also includes the hymn for first Vespers of the *Recollectio*, and the chant for the

⁵⁸ Carlier's foundation is recorded in the obituary F-CA 39, f. 35v: foundation of the feast of St. Egidius, abbot, at greater duplex rank; cf. Barbara Hagg, "Guillaume Du Fay and the Evolution of the Liturgy of Cambrai Cathedral in the Fifteenth Century," *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers read at the Fourth Meeting, P ecs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990*, ed. L aszl  Dobszay and others, pp. 549-569 (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), p. 558. An office for St. Egidius is in CA 38, ff. 432r-433r, but has no chant in common with that in CA 64, ff. 1r-5v.

⁵⁹ A facsimile of the beginning of this office, f. 97r, is in Goudesenne, "Fulbert et son  cole," p. 304; he lists the contents of the office, showing its ordering by tone, on pp. 306-307, and discusses the chant. I found no notation or liturgical material for Egidius in the downloaded copies from Gallica of F-Pn lat. 2872 and lat. 14167. Cf. Fassler, *The Virgin*, pp. 124 and 500, note 58.

⁶⁰ Joannes Bollandus, *Acta sanctorum: Septembris, Tomus Primus* (Paris: V. Palme, 1868), pp. 284-304 on St. Egidius, abbot, here p. 286. There is no mention of Chartres or of Fulbert here.

⁶¹ This manuscript and others from Arras as well as those from Cambrai are among those repertoried in Christian Meyer (with the collaboration of Barbara Hagg-Huglo), *Catalogue des manuscrits not s du Moyen Age conserv s dans les biblioth ques publiques de France*, vol. 4: *Manuscrits du Nord-Pas de Calais et Picardie*, I. Abbeville, Amiens, Arras, Bergues, Cambrai (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

ceremony of the Dedication of the Church, clearly material from the Cathedral, so this may be the chant for Egidius that Carlier introduced. The canticle antiphons, in particular, are in a style that certainly postdates that of the eleventh-century office. It is likely that the devotion to St. Giles at that abbey is earlier, though, since it had possessed an arm of the saint.⁶² The lack of concordances with the Chartrain chant for St. Giles in the Cambrai manuscripts leads us to conclude that Carlier may not have known the chant for this saint from Chartres.

As has been shown here, the evidence to explain why Gilles Carlier borrowed from Fulbert of Chartres is suggestive, but slim indeed. The manuscripts from Cambrai open the possibility that Carlier borrowed texts he had sung, not more. Yet scattered details suggest that it could have been otherwise: he might have seen texts at the College de Navarre or at the Abbey of St. S  pulcre in Cambrai, or he might have been more familiar than we are with the extent of Fulbert's writings. It would seem likely that he knew of those for his own personal saint and the Chartrain Nativity responsories sung throughout Europe. Furthermore, interest in Fulbert by the clergy at Cambrai Cathedral and by Carlier in particular was appropriate, because, with its dedication to the Virgin Mary, there had always been an interest in preserving the doctrines affirming Mary's purity from her own conception through her bearing of Christ.

But most interesting here is the way the use in the *Recollectio* of Fulbert's work allows us to see the careful thought of the two theologians. Far from merely borrowing or even glossing, Carlier wove Fulbert's ideas into his new fabric, a procedure more analagous to that in music of composing a parody mass than a *cantus firmus* mass. By including Fulbert's ideas about the Virgin Mary in the *Recollectio* office, Carlier was effectively recollecting the Chartrain feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, and also remembering and paying tribute to a great theologian, one who, perhaps unbeknownst to him, helped Carlier find intercession, not just from the Virgin Mary, but from St. Giles as well.

⁶² Bollandus, *Acta sanctorum, Septembris, Primus Tomus*, p. 289.