

1 | Introduction

And there are many other novelties hidden in music, which will be revealed clearly to future generations of sceptics. (*Sunt autem multae aliae novitates in musica latentes, quae posteris bene dubitantibus apparebunt.*)

*Jean des Murs, Notitia artis musicae, book 2, c. 1320*¹

Bernard of Cluny, a man otherwise lost to history, around the year 1350 set down a motet as testament to his expertise in the discipline of music.² This motet, *Apollinis/Zodiacum*, Bernard's only known work, singles out a generation of singers, composers, and music theorists. Favouring dramatic similes, Bernard likened the harmonic skill (*ars armonica*) of the twelve musicians he listed in the motet's poem to the light of Apollo. Like the sun-god's light, he says, their skill in music would never be eclipsed. He chose a music theorist, Jean des Murs (fl. 1312–1347), to head his list; second was Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361), heralded as a composer of many complex works. Bernard presented himself to this collegueship as a musician also 'shining with the active power of the practical art joined with theory'

¹ Jean des Murs, *Notitia artis musicae*, in *Johannis de Muris Notitia artis musicae et Compendium musicae practicae; Petrus de Sancto Dionysio Tractatus de musica*, ed. Ulrich Michels, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 17 (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 84. All subsequent references to *Notitia* refer to this edition. The treatise was also recently edited and translated into French in Christian Meyer, *Jean de Murs: Écrits sur la musique*, Sciences de la musique (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), 2000). Oliver Strunk translated selected passages from *Notitia*, which James McKinnon revised for the revised edition. The footnotes indicate when a translation is taken from McKinnon. James McKinnon, ed., *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: vol. II, The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, rev. edn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 128 (slightly modified).

² On the motet see in particular Margaret Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music* (North Harton: Antico Edition, c. 1977); Maria Carmen Gómez, 'Une version a cinq voix du motet *Apollinis Eclipsatur/Zodiacum Signis* dans le Manuscrit E-BCEN 853', *Musica Disciplina*, 39 (1985), 5–44; Frank Ll. Harrison, *Musorum Collegio: Fourteenth-Century Musicians' Motets* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986); and David Howlett, 'Apollinis eclipsatur: Foundation of the "collegium musicorum"', in Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 152–9.

(*nitens energia artis practice cum theoria*). These are the texts of Bernard's three-voice motet:³

Triplum

Apollinis eclipsatur
 nunquam **lux** cum peragatur
 Signorum ministerio
 bis sex, quibus armonica
fulget arte basilica
 musicorum collegio
multiformibus figuris
 e quo **nitet** J. de Muris
 modo **colorum uario**
 Philippus de Vitriaco
 acta plura uernant a quo
 ordine multiphario
 noscit Henricus Helene
 tonorum tenorem bene
 Magno cum Dionisio
 Regaudus de Tiramonte
 Orpheico potus fonte
 Robertus de Palacio
 actubus petulancia
 fungens gaudet poetria
 Guilhermus de Mascaudio
 Egidius de Morino
 baritonans cum Guarino
 quem cognoscat Suessio
 Arnaldus Martini iugis
 philomena P. de Brugis
 Gaufridus de Barilio
 uox quorum mundi climata
penetrat ad agalmata
 Doxe fruantur brauio!

Motetus

Zodiacum signis **lustrantibus**
 armonia Phebi **fulgentibus**

³ The edition of the text and the translation (slightly modified) are by Howlett (*ibid.*, 153–4). On the words emphasised in bold see p. 16.

musicali palam sinergia
 Pictagore numerus ter quibus
 adequatur **preradiantibus**
 Boecii basis solercia
 B. de Cluni **nitens** energia
 artis practice cum theoria
 recommendans se subdit omnibus
 presencia per salutaria
 Musicorum tripli materia
 noticiam dat de nominibus

Tenor

In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum
 et in fines orbis terre uerba eorum.

Triplum

The **light** of Apollo is never eclipsed while it is brought through its course in the service of the twice six signs, by which light the church **shines** with harmonic art from the colleagueship of musicians. From which [colleagueship]: Jean des Murs is **brilliant** in the **varied** manner of **colores** through **multiform figures** [of notation], from Philippe de Vitry spring many accomplished works with a manifold structure, Henri d'Helène knows well the tenor of tones with Denis le Grant, Regnaud de Tirlémont, drunk from the Orphic fountain, Robert du Palais, executing his works with boldness, Guillaume de Machaut rejoicing in poetry, Egidius de Murino singing below with Guarin, whom Soissons ought to know, Arnaud de Saint-Martin-du-Ré, the ever-singing nightingale Pierre de Bruges, Godefroy de Baralle. The voice of these men **penetrates** to the cardinal points of the world, to their honour. May they enjoy the prize of glory!

Motetus

With the signs **illuminating** the zodiac, **shining** with the harmony of Phoebus, manifestly in musical cooperation, by which, **radiating out**, the number of Pythagoras three times [i.e. $3 \times 10 = 30$] is made equal with ingenuity to the basis of Boethius [i.e. 12]. Bernard de Cluni, **shining** with the active power of the practical art joined with theory, recommending himself is introduced to all by these present greetings. The subject matter of the triplum gives notice of the names of musicians.

Tenor

Into every land their sound has gone forth and their words to the limits of the land of the world.

Only the odd enticing detail of biographical overlap of the ten other musicians listed in the triplum of *Apollinis/Zodiacum* is known today. The

composer Denis le Grant (d. 1352), who is documented as a master of the French royal chapel in 1349 and later as Bishop of Senlis, was an acquaintance of Vitry and borrowed books on music and astronomy from Des Murs;⁴ like Des Murs, Henri d'Helène (fl. 1335), a canon of Sens, and Egidius de Murino (fl. mid-fourteenth century) were music theorists; the famed poet and composer Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377) knew some of Vitry's (and possibly even le Grant's) compositions.⁵ Perhaps 'philomena P. de Brugis' (P. 'the nightingale' of Bruges) is identical with the astronomer and mathematician Peter of Dacia, aka Peter the Nightingale.⁶ If so, along with their musical expertise, in both theory and practice, four of these seven have a demonstrated interest in astronomy, the imagery of which permeates Bernard's motet. Of the remaining five names – Regnaud de Tirlémont, Robert du Palais, Guarin of Soissons, Arnaud of Saint-Martin-du-Ré, Godefroy de Baralle – nothing certain is known (beyond that their names favour a geographical orbit of northern France), exemplifying the paradox of this and other similar motets written in the wake of Bernard's work that 'praise major "masters" who are now otherwise unknown'.⁷ Over seven centuries later, the tributes in this motet are frustratingly vague. We are left with little sense of what exactly Des Murs, Vitry, and their colleagues contributed to the 'science of music', beyond brilliance and light.

Identifying the contributions is the topic of this book. It investigates the new approach to the musical art theorised and practised by Des Murs,

⁴ On Des Murs's book loans see Lawrence Gushee, 'New Sources for the Biography of Johannes de Muris', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22 (1969), 3–26, at 12–13.

⁵ On Machaut's knowledge of Vitry's works see for example Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 109 (1982), 1–22; Alice V. Clark, 'Concordare cum materia: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet', PhD diss., Princeton University (1996), 29, 84. On Machaut's knowledge of Denis le Grant's *Se je chante* see Karl Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 69 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 156–62.

⁶ Peter of Dacia was a highly prolific astronomer active in Paris c. 1300. Pedersen indicates that three works of a 'Peter of St-Omer' may also be by Peter of Dacia, although the connections of Peter of Dacia to St-Omer are not yet known. St-Omer is about 100 km west of Bruges. A Peter of Dacia was rector of the University of Paris in 1327, although Pedersen believes this was not the same man as the astronomer Peter of Dacia. If Pedersen is correct, it is still possible that Bernard has confused or conflated the two Peters. Olaf Pedersen, 'Peter Philomena of Dacia, also known as Petrus Dacus, Petrus Danus, Peter Nightingale', in *DSB* 10, 540–2.

⁷ John L. Nádas and Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'Introduction', in *Ars nova: French and Italian Music in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nádas and Cuthbert (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), xiii. If all twelve were alive at the time of the motet's composition – a possibility given the poem's present tense – though it is undated in all of its manuscript sources (as is true of most fourteenth-century music), a compositional *terminus ante quem* of c. 1350 for *Apollinis/Zodiacum* seems reasonable.

Vitry, and their contemporaries in northern France during the first half of the fourteenth century – the so-called *ars nova*. What exactly were the developments of the *ars nova* that caused such a stir in the musical world? In answering this question, the witness of the fourteenth-century theorist Jacobus in his *Speculum musicae* is invaluable. Jacobus famously had a low opinion of the modern teachers and their newfangled music. Nonetheless, in true scholastic fashion, he described in detail the theories and arguments of those he opposed.⁸ By piecing together evidence from the writings of Jacobus and other contemporaneous theorists, this book evaluates the technical innovations of the *ars nova* and the occurrence of these innovations in the music repertory of the first half of the fourteenth century. The development of this new body of theory is also interrogated, in an effort to contextualise the *ars nova* theory and practice within the northern French intellectual and musical milieu.

The Carthusian mystic Heinrich Eger von Kalkar (1328–1408) added some specificity to Bernard's laudatory texts, indicating that it was the developments in music notation pursued by this particular generation that were consequential for the history of music.⁹ Von Kalkar, who had studied and taught at the University of Paris and the Collège de Sorbonne from 1355 to 1362, later in life penned a work of music theory titled *Cantuagium* (1380). In it he wrote that it was in Paris 'around the year 1330' when certain highly esteemed students and/or masters of the university's Faculty of Arts (he calls them 'quidam magni artistae'), whose names were listed in the motet *Apollinis/Zodiacum* (including one who became a bishop; presumably the reference is to Vitry), devised a set of notational rules applied to note shapes and rests that could signify the exact measurement of their duration:¹⁰

⁸ *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*, ed. R. Bragard, Corpus scriptorum de musica 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955–73). The topic of my dissertation was Jacobus's *Speculum musicae*: Karen Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror: Revealing the Contexts of Jacobus's *Speculum musicae*', PhD diss., New York University (2009). The seminal studies of *Speculum musicae* are the two articles by Roger Bragard: 'Le *Speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège I', *Musica Disciplina*, 7 (1953), 59–104, and 'Le *Speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège II', *Musica Disciplina*, 8 (1954), 1–17. An English translation of book 7 is now available: Jacobus de Ispania, *The Mirror of Music: Book the Seventh*, trans. Rob C. Wegman (Lexington, KY: Lamotte, 2017).

⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, 'Heinrich Eger (Egher) von Kalkar', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 11 (Hamm: Bautz, 1990), cols. 678–9.

¹⁰ Heinrich Hüschen, ed., *Das Cantuagium des Heinrich Eger von Kalkar*, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 2 (Köln: Staufien, 1952), 44–5. The passage is translated by Gilles Rico, 'Music in the Arts Faculty of Paris in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', D.Phil. diss., Oxford University (2005), 232, n. 147 (here slightly modified). It is also most recently discussed and translated into German in Karl Kügle, 'Die Fragmente Oxford, All Souls

Sed quia ex notulis his non redactis ad mensuram cantari contigit olim satis discorditer, ideo quidam magni artistae Parisius, quorum nomina in quodam discantu ponuntur, qui incipit ‘Zodiacus’, si bene recolo et (quorum) unum vidi episcopum, ante annos circiter quinquaginta, circa annum videlicet Domini millesimum trecentiesimum tricesimum, specialiter dederunt se musicae certis mensuris temporum ipsam regulantes sub notis quadratis et quadrangulis, simplicibus et colligatis punctis etiam et pausis . . .

But since at one time it was only possible to sing quite discordantly from notes not reduced to measure, about fifty years before, [that is] around the year 1330, certain great students [and/or masters] of the arts in Paris, whose names are placed in a certain song that begins ‘Zodiacus’ – and if I recall well, I saw one of them as bishop – specifically dedicated themselves to the exact measurements of music’s *tempora* [and] regulating it under square and quadrangular notes, single and ligated note shapes and rests . . .

Those years prominent in von Kalkar’s narrative – around 1330 – marked an important transitional moment in the social, political, and intellectual life of Paris. The three-century rule of the House of Capet had come to an end in 1328.¹¹ The Valois were asserting their power through the political networks of the Parisian court and beyond, and closely related courts (Burgundy, Bourbon, Évreux, Artois) under the strictures of the bureaucratic centralisation of the French Crown were reconsidering their allegiances in the years before the outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337.

Located in close proximity to the royal court and the Parlement (employer of a burgeoning class of bureaucrats who counted Vitry among their ranks), the university during the first three decades of the fourteenth century saw one of the most active periods of college foundation and building.¹² Hand in hand with the new buildings, those who taught in

56 und die mensural notierte Mehrstimmigkeit in Köln um 1400: Ein Zwischenbericht’, in *Musik der mittelalterlichen Metropole: Räume, Identitäten und Kontexte der Musik in Köln und Mainz, ca. 900–1400*, Tagungsbericht Mainz/Köln, Oktober 2014, 301–24, ed. Fabian Kolb, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 179 (Berlin, Kassel: Merseburger, 2016), 316–20. Kügle offers the additional possibility that the ‘bishop’ might refer to Denis le Grant, also a bishop (ibid., 320). My translation above of ‘artistae’ follows the use in charters of the university, where the term indicates either students or graduates of the liberal arts. See for example *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Henricus Denifle and E. Chatelain, 4 vols. (Paris: ex typis fratrum Delalain, 1889–94), 1:137, 178.

¹¹ For an evocative description of France in 1328 see ch. 1 of Jonathon Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 1–37.

¹² William J. Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5. On the conflict between the *antiqui* and *moderni* also see Courtenay, ‘*Antiqui and Moderni* in Late Medieval Thought’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 48 (1987), 3–10.

them cast themselves as new men; 1329–30 was a watershed moment in intellectual pursuits, as William Courtenay describes, between ‘the last figures of “high scholasticism” at Paris and the beginnings of the *via moderna*’.¹³ Challenging older frameworks of logic and philosophy (the *via antiqua* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) were ‘modern’ Parisian university masters such as Jean Buridan (c. 1300–c. 1360), influenced by the controversial and groundbreaking writings of the English philosopher and theologian William of Ockham (c. 1280–1350), whose works had become known in Paris by the late 1320s.¹⁴

In this environment of political, social, and intellectual upheaval the world of music too forged a modern path within the environs of Paris. Jacobus labelled the teachers and practitioners of the new art as the ‘moderns’ (*moderni*) and compared them in negative terms to the old masters (*antiqui*) of the turn-of-the-century style (the *ars antiqua*).¹⁵ The two *moderni* who headed *Apollinis/Zodiacum*’s list – Jean des Murs and Philippe de Vitry – appear to be the primary targets of Jacobus’s ire. They are associated with the two most influential music theory treatises that outlined the theoretical underpinnings of this new art of music, one written c. 1320 and the other of uncertain date.¹⁶ In reaction to these developments, in the seventh book of his *Speculum musicae* (which was probably completed in the 1330s), Jacobus rose to the defence of the *ars antiqua*, critiquing the new art and its modern teachers, and dissecting in particular the two aforementioned *ars nova* treatises.

But what exactly was new about the *ars nova* as articulated by Des Murs, Vitry, Jacobus, and their contemporaries? Were the *moderni* ‘greedy for new things’ (*cupidi rerum novarum*), as that phrase was famously used by Caesar and Tacitus? That is to say, did they seek novelty and change in a

¹³ Ibid., 6.

¹⁴ On the reception of Ockham’s work in Paris, see the collection of Courtenay’s articles published as a series of essays in *Ockham and Ockhamism: Studies in the Dissemination and Impact of his Thought* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008); see esp. ch. 8, ‘Reception of Ockham’s Thought at Paris’, at 127–53.

¹⁵ According to Courtenay, *moderni* was a term used for one’s contemporaries, and might be used in a somewhat pejorative way: ‘inasmuch as a writer rarely mentioned contemporary opinion except to attack it, the term had a slightly negative connotation’ (*Antiqui and Moderni*, 4). Courtenay also observes that ‘for these authors who viewed positively many of the scholastic achievements of their age, particularly in the areas of logic, physics, and theology, “modern” tended to be used positively. For those who viewed most contemporary scholastic innovations as dangerous or erroneous, as did Wyclif, the negative tone of “modern” remained’ (ibid., 5–6).

¹⁶ The two treatises are the *Notitia artis musicae* by Des Murs and the treatise titled *Ars nova* by its modern editors, attributed to Vitry by some scribes, and thought at least to be based on his teachings. On the attributions of the Vitriacan treatise, and datings of it and Des Murs’s *Notitia*, see pp. 27–31 below.

revolutionary sense, as an explicit rejection of the past? Did their new art arise *sui generis*, or can aspects of it be related to contemporaneous articulations of innovation in other fields? Was it a self-conscious fashioning of modernity, or can it simply be viewed as an inevitable response to (or even an outgrowth of) aspects of the older music notation system that had grown increasingly inadequate, particularly in their capacity to notate a variety of note durations with precision?

In favour of the last hypothesis, it is true that the treatises on the *ars nova* are primarily concerned with methods for notating rhythmic notation and say little about other aspects of music composition. They are within the tradition of *musica mensurabilis* (literally ‘measurable’ music), a body of theory that dates back to the thirteenth century, and which had codified a set of rules for how to represent duration in music. With the treatises that outlined music’s *ars nova*, the theory and practice of *musica mensurabilis* became significantly more complex. New note shapes were added, and new understandings of pre-existent note shapes were formulated, allowing for longer and shorter rhythmic durations than had been possible previously. Different responses to anomalies that had accreted in the thirteenth-century notation system were pursued by theorists in England and Italy, as documented primarily in the writings of Robertus de Handlo (1326) and Marchetto da Padova (c. 1318–24) respectively. The focus in this book is on French developments (including in lands that are now in modern Belgium); a full accounting of the intersections and divergences between French, English, and Italian theory and practice in the years 1300–50, while sorely needed, is beyond the current scope.¹⁷

The expanded set of rules for *musica mensurabilis* developed in the fourteenth century allowed for greater flexibility in the notation of

¹⁷ See Margaret Bent, ‘A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations’, in *L’Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento IV*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull’Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1978), 65–82. On Italian post-Franconian notation see esp. F. Alberto Gallo, ‘La teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del XIII all’inizio del XV secolo’, *Antiquae Musicae Italicae Subsidia Theoretica* (Bologna: Tamari, 1966), and his ‘Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert’, in *Die Mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* 5 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 257–356, at 304–31; Marco Gozzi, ‘New Light on Italian Trecento Notation: Part 1: Sections I–IV.1’, *Recercare*, 13 (2001), 5–78. On English fourteenth-century notations the work of Peter Lefferts is important – see esp. the chapter ‘Motet Notations’ in Peter M. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, *Studies in Musicology* 94 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983), 93–154, and his ‘An Anonymous Treatise of the Theory of Frater Robertus de Brunham’, in *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, ed. M. Bernhard (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001), 217–51.

rhythmic duration, but also greater precision in the measurement of relative durations. Unfortunately, since most *ars nova* treatises and compositions are of uncertain date, it is difficult to say whether the notation system described in the treatises was devised first as a theoretical exercise and subsequently applied in the composition of music, or if the treatises represent attempts to systematise, codify, and describe new rhythmic possibilities already being explored in the music repertory. But, as will be explored here, it does seem likely – and this is rare in the history of Western music – that at least some aspects of the *ars nova* were worked out in theory before they were applied in practice. As Richard Taruskin succinctly puts it: ‘Never before nor since has theory ever so clearly – or so fruitfully – outrun and conditioned practice’.¹⁸

Von Kalkar claimed that it was arts students and/or graduates (*artista*) at the University of Paris who developed this new body of theory around 1330. But though *musica* was taught within the university’s large arts faculty as part of the *quadrivium* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *musica mensurabilis* was not part of the official curriculum. Music was a short course of study, and focused on speculative music theory, with Boethius’s *De institutione musica* books 1 and 2 as the official textbook.¹⁹ While it probably was never part of the formal curriculum of study, several clues suggest that the university was an important centre in the development and dissemination of mensural theory. *Musica mensurabilis* might have served as a topic for extracurricular disputations, and Gilles Rico has analysed a series of disputations on music authored by Parisian masters that are not directly linked to any curricular textbook.²⁰ Several theorists who wrote on *musica mensurabilis* – including Jacobus and Des Murs (though not, as far as we know, Vitry), and other masters such as the *ars antiqua* theorist Hieronymus of Moravia and the *ars nova* theorist Petrus de Sancto Dionysio – did study and/or teach in Paris (though not necessarily the subject of music). In addition, some of the earliest manuscript sources of *musica mensurabilis* theory (both *antiqua* and *nova*) were copied by university students or masters.²¹

¹⁸ Richard Taruskin, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*, The Oxford History of Western Music, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 248.

¹⁹ See esp. ch. 1 of Gilles Rico, ‘Music in the Arts Faculty of Paris’, 14–75; Joseph Dyer, ‘Speculative “Musica” and the Medieval University of Paris’, *Music and Letters*, 90 (2009), 177–204.

²⁰ See ch. 4 of Rico, *ibid.*, 230–1.

²¹ For example, the following manuscripts that contain *ars nova* treatises have Parisian provenances: BnF lat. 7378A, BnF lat. 14741 and BnF lat. 15128. The manuscript containing Hieronymus of Moravia’s compilation of *musica mensurabilis* treatises (BnF lat. 16663) also had a Parisian provenance (see pp. 82–3 below). On the music books of the Collège de

Jacobus explicitly highlighted his studies at Paris: he mentions Paris five times in the seven books of *Speculum musicae*, more often than any other location.²² Beyond these references, and his demonstrated connections to the city of Liège, not much more is known of his life, other than his first name ‘IACOBUS’, which he signed as an acrostic across the initials of the seven books of *Speculum musicae*.²³ Several clues in his treatise point to a general timeframe for his activity: he finished writing the *Speculum musicae* as an old man, and enjoyed the music of the *ars antiqua* in his youth; he refers to the modern teachers as youths (*iuvenes*), while the *ars antiqua* masters he defends are deceased. A birth date in the 1260s or 1270s or even the 1280s would fit with these criteria, depending on how much older than the moderns one judges Jacobus to be, and, crucially, on what date is hypothesised for the completion of *Speculum musicae*.²⁴

While modern scholarship consistently referred to Jacobus as ‘Jacques de Liège’, this name is a twentieth-century invention of the *Speculum musicae*’s modern editor, Roger Bragard. Previously, I corroborated his identification as ‘Jacobus de Montibus’ (a theorist’s name cited in a later *ars nova* music treatise), suggesting the author of *Speculum musicae* may be identical with a man of that name, from the province of Hainaut, who, according to the Liège archives, was a canon at the collegiate church of St Paul in Liège, identified there as a ‘magister’.²⁵ This hypothesis added some biographical details to the life of the theorist: that he was born in Mons, was granted the expectative prebend at St Paul in 1316 (which he took up in 1322), owned land in nearby Wonck, and died c. 1340.²⁶ The St Paul Jacobus de Montibus was listed in a supplication written by the Parisian university masters of 1316, probably shortly after having received his

Sorbonne see Frank Hentschel, *Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft in der mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie: Strategien der Konsonanzwertung und der Gegenstand der musica sonora um 1300*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 47 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2000), 271–8, and Richard Rouse, ‘The Early Library of the Sorbonne’, *Scriptorium*, 21 (1967), 60–9. Also see Michel Huglo, ‘La place du Tractatus de Musica dans l’histoire de la théorie musicale du XIIIe siècle: étude codicologique’, in *Jérôme de Moravie: un théoricien de la musique dans le milieu intellectuel parisien du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Christian Meyer (Paris: Créaphis, 1992), 23–42.

²² Karen Desmond, ‘New Light on Jacobus, Author of *Speculum musicae*’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9 (2000), 19–40, at 20–2.

²³ For a summary of Jacobus’s Liégeois connections see Desmond, ‘Behind the Mirror’, 23–67, and Desmond, ‘New Light’, and more recently Margaret Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the Speculum musicae* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 12–19, and Rob C. Wegman, ‘Jacobus de Ispania and Liège’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8 (2016), 253–74.

²⁴ I suggested a birth date of the 1270s or 1280s in my article ‘New Light’, 34; Bent has proposed pushing this back to the 1260s (*Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 61).

²⁵ Desmond, ‘New Light’, 27–36.

²⁶ For a summary of the relevant archival records see Desmond, *ibid.*, 34–5.