

Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin

St. Martin of Tours was a protector saint of numerous French kings. His was one of the most successful saintly cults in medieval Europe and the city of Tours functioned as a religious metropolis, drawing pilgrims from all over the Continent. Until now, little has been known about how St. Martin came to inspire such a lively folkloric tradition, numerous works of art, and the establishment of thousands of churches and numerous confraternities. In this book, Yossi Maurey addresses these questions by focusing on the church dedicated to the Saint in Tours, which acted as the crucible for Martin's cult. Maurey explores the music and liturgy of the cult – the most effective means of its dissemination – to reveal its enormous diffusion and impact. Building a more concrete picture of how saints' cults operated and shaped medieval realities, this book also provides new insights into the interactions between contemporary religion, art, and politics.

YOSSI MAUREY has served as Lecturer in the Department of Musicology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem since 2008. He holds a Ph.D. (2005) in musicology from the University of Chicago.





# Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin

The Local Foundations of a Universal Saint

YOSSI MAUREY





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107060951

© Yossi Maurey 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon CR0 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Maurey, Yossi, author.

Medieval music, legend, and the cult of St. Martin: the local foundations of a universal saint / Yossi Maurey.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-06095-1 (hardback)

1. Church music – France – 500–1400. 2. Catholic Church – France – Liturgy – History –

To 1500. 3. Martin, Saint, Bishop of Tours, approximately 316–397 – Cult – France –

Tours. 4. Martin, Saint, Bishop of Tours, approximately 316–397 - Cult. I. Title.

ML3027.2M38 2014

781.71'2009440902-dc23

2014011955

ISBN 978-1-107-06095-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



לעמיר, אהבת חיי





#### Contents

List of figures [viii]
List of music examples [ix]
List of tables [xi]
Acknowledgments [xii]
List of abbreviations [xv]

#### Introduction [1]

- 1 The focal point of the cult: St. Martin's church in Tours [21]
- 2 Universal and local foundations of Martin's cult [74]
- 3 The musical articulation of St. Martin in Tours [131]
- 4 Competing with success: sharing the aura of St. Martin in Tours [172]
- 5 From pacifist to knight: late medieval appropriations of St. Martin [206]

Afterword [247]
Appendices [249]
Bibliography [268]
Index of chants [290]
General index [293]

vii



### **Figures**

- 0.1 The city of Tours in the sixteenth century. *Civitates orbis terrarum*(Cologne, 1572). © Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, LA Tours, Est.
  9, Ic Auv. 114. [8]
- 0.2 The capture of Tours by Philip Augustus in 1189. Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 6465, fo. 223. Used by permission. [10]
- 2.1 St. Martin and the beggar. © Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, MS 1023, fo. 1. [77]
- 2.2 Sulpicius Severus, Epistle 3. © Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, MS 1021, fo. 19. [93]
- 3.1 The responsory *Cum videret* and its melisma *ad repetendum* over "non recuso laborem." © Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, MS 159, fo. 284v. [137]
- 3.2 The responsory *O quantus erat luctus* (end of verse) and melisma *ad repetendum* over "Flere Martinum." © Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, MS 159, fo. 286v. [138]
- 4.1 St. Gatien's new office, First Vespers. © Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, MS 212, fo. 2. [193]
- 5.1 St. Martin and the beggar. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lit 1, fo. 170 (Fulda, early eleventh century). Photo: Gerald Raab. Used by permission. [208]
- 5.2 The charity of St. Martin. Saint-Martin d'Ix, second quarter of twelfth century (MNAC 15802; altar frontal from Ix, detail). © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. Photo: Calveras/Mérida/Sagristà. Used by permission. [210]
- 5.3 St. Martin and the beggar. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France nouv. acq. fr. 16251, fo. 89; from the so-called "livre d'images de Madame Marie," late thirteenth century. Used by permission. [212]
- 5.4 Simone Martini, *Investiture of St. Martin*. © 2013. Photo: SCALA, Florence. Used by permission. [217]

viii



# Music examples

- 3.1 The responsory *Cum videret*. BmT 159, fo. 284v. [139]
- 3.2 The melisma *ad repetendum* over "Non recuso laborem." BmT 159, fo. 284v. [142]
- 3.3 The melisma *ad repetendum* over "Flere Martinum." BmT 159, fo. 286v. [142]
- 3.4 The melisma over "honoratur" in BnF lat. 1028, fo. 263. [143]
- 3.5 Responsorial neuma for modes 1, 2, and 4. Source: Kelly, "Modal Neumes at Sens," 430. [143]
- 3.6 Longer version of the responsorial neuma for modes 1, 2, and 4. Source: Kelly, "Modal Neumes at Sens," 430. [144]
- 3.7 The responsory *O quantus erat luctus*. BmT 159, fo. 286r-v. [146]
- 3.8 The prosa *Qui calcavit*. BnF lat. 1266, fo. 395v. [147]
- 3.9 Melismas used in the *neuma triplex*. [150]
- 3.10 The prosa *Post derelicta* compared to likely precedents. [154]
- 3.11 The prosa Ad patriam redit compared to likely models. [156
- 3.12 The prosa Octogenus agens compared to likely models. [157]
- 3.13 The responsory *Martinus Abrahe* compared to the responsory *Descendit de celis.* [160]
- 3.14 The prosa *Euphonias videns*. Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 408, fo. 240r–v. [163]
- 4.1 The responsory *Beatus antistes*. BmT 212, fos. 10v–11. [196]
- 5.1 The sequence *Miles mire probitatis*. BmT 1023, fos. 123v–124. [221]
- 5.2 The antiphon Dixerunt discipuli. BmT 159, fos. 288v-289. [224]
- 5.3 Melodic comparison of readings of the antiphon *Dixerunt discipuli* (opening) with the superius of *Il sera par vous/L'Homme armé*. [228]
- 5.4 (a) Du Fay, Missa L'homme armé, opening of the Christe (cantus);
  (b) Josquin, Missa L'Homme armé super voces musicales, opening of the Kyrie II (cantus);
  (c) Josquin, Missa L'Homme armé sexti toni, opening of the "Et in terra" (cantus);
  (d) Palestrina, Missa L'Homme armé (five-voice setting), from Kyrie I. [233]

ix



#### x List of music examples

- 5.5 The tenor of M5, *Fiat voluntas tua*, and the melody of the antiphon *Domine, si adhuc.* [238]
- 5.6 Retrograde rhythmic relationship of the tenor and contratenor in Machaut's M5. Source: Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, 171. [243]



#### **Tables**

- 1.1 The calendar of Saint-Martin in its development: twelfth to early sixteenth centuries [43]
- 1.2 Neumatizing in Saint-Martin [53]
- 1.3 The prosas known in Saint-Martin [70]
- 2.1 Text of Martin's November 11 office [95]
- 2.2 The responsories sung during the Martinian feasts (excluding November 11) in Saint-Martin [105]
- 2.3 Sequence of responsories according to earliest office sources [125]
- 2.4 Sequence of responsories in manuscripts outside Tours [126]
- 2.5 Sequence of responsories in sources from Tours and its environs [130]
- 3.1 The Martinian prosas for November 11 known in Saint-Martin [132]
- 3.2 The Martinian prosas for November 11 known outside Saint-Martin [134]
- 4.1 Processions to and from Saint-Martin [178]



## Acknowledgments

It is an immense pleasure to thank friends, colleagues, and institutions who have sustained me intellectually, morally, and financially during the long gestation of this book. I would first like to thank the staff of the Fonds patrimoniaux at the Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, in which much of my research was conducted. I am particularly indebted to the Conservatrice, Michèle Prévost, who showed great flexibility in order to facilitate my frequent consultation of manuscripts and early prints. I am also grateful to Pierre Gasnault, honorary curator of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, for allowing me access to his unpublished work at the Bibliothèque municipale de Tours. It is while working in that library that I first met Hélène Noizet, who was at the time researching her doctoral thesis on Saint-Martin of Tours. She enthusiastically shared with me transcriptions and insights, for which I am most indebted. On my numerous visits to the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT) in Paris, the staff generously provided me with access to microfilms and various secondary sources. Over the years, Patricia Stirnemann went out of her way and beyond the call of duty to assist me with settling issues of dating and provenance of certain manuscripts. I owe special thanks to Atara Kotliar, the former music librarian at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for ordering dozens of titles for me through the Interlibrary Loan Office.

This book grew out of my 2005 University of Chicago dissertation, advised by Martha Feldman, Robert Kendrick, and Anne Walters Robertson. Their wisdom and generosity know no bounds. The extraordinary intellectual environment cultivated at the Department of Music at the University of Chicago provided me with numerous opportunities to learn and exchange ideas with faculty members and students alike, and I am grateful to all of them. I owe Anne Walters Robertson special gratitude. A true *vade mecum* and mentor, she read the entire book manuscript and made significant comments and suggestions; her trenchant criticism saved me from many errors. Her judicious reflections, depth of thought, and prudent suggestions have shaped my own scholarship in several fundamental ways, and they continue to stir my intellectual curiosity. Her teaching and erudition have provided me with a vital model; quite simply, this book could not have been

xii



Acknowledgments

xiii

written without her. Paul Gehl of the Newberry Library in Chicago has been a constant source of inspiration, support, and friendship. On countless occasions he offered help with obscure Latin texts, and his perceptive observations on a wide variety of topics enriched this book in more ways than I can enumerate. The hospitality he and his partner Rob showed me during my Chicago visits will always be cherished.

The late Father Pierre-Marie Gy held a unique place in this book's evolution, intellectually, personally, and practically. Numerous colleagues and friends have helped to sustain me during the book's evolution, some with unflagging enthusiasm, and some unwittingly, through a comment or question that has sparked a thought: Hyacinthe Belliot, Vincent Besson, Gregorio Bevilacqua, Caroline Bynum, Cristina Cassia, Camilla Cavicchi, Damien Colas, Marie-Noël Colette, Marie-Alexis Colin, Alessandro Di Profio, David Fiala, Jean-François Goudesenne, James Grier, Marco Guerrieri, Nicoletta Guidobaldi, Yuval Noah Harari, Marie-Hélène Jullien, Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, Grantley McDonald, Agostino Magro, Francesco Pezzi, Barbara Rosenwein, Benjamin Sass, Catherine Saucier, Dom Daniel Saulnier, Martin Walsh, and Vasco Zara.

A number of musicologists and historians provided numerous helpful corrections, advice, and suggestions. Paul Gehl and Yitzhak Hen read the entire book manuscript and offered extensive and constructive criticism that greatly nuanced my arguments. I am also very grateful to Ian Woods, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, and the late Michel Huglo for reading sections of this book and for providing invaluable feedback. I thank Bonnie Blackburn for carefully reading the final version of the book and catching many mistakes. I have been inspired and challenged by all of them.

Funding for my 2005 doctoral thesis was provided by the Annette Kade Fellowship in French or German Studies in the Middle Ages or Renaissance (Center for Renaissance Studies, The Newberry Library, Chicago), the Alvin H. Johnson American Musicological Society 50 Fellowship, the Medieval Academy of America, and the University of Chicago. This book was published with the support of the Israel Science Foundation (grant #103/09, and book subvention grant #2085/13), and Yad Hanadiv (The Rothschild Fund). Large portions of the book were drafted during the academic year 2009/10, while I was privileged to be a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies (Le Studium), in residence at the Université François Rabelais in Tours. I sincerely thank Paul Vigny, Michèle Scherer, Isabelle Ziegeldorf, and Christine Bousquet-Labouérie for their tremendous support and help, enabling me to conceive the overall shape of the project. For the leave of absence that allowed me to accept this fellowship I am indebted to my



#### xiv Acknowledgments

colleagues at the Department of Musicology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Roni Granot, Ruth HaCohen, Julia Kreinin, Edwin Seroussi, and Naphtali Wagner. During my Le Studium fellowship, mostly held at the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance (CESR), I was privileged to work in a world-class research environment and to meet many colleagues who made my residency an unforgettable experience. My association with the CESR in fact started in 2000, when I first arrived in Tours. Ever since, Philippe Vendrix, now Director of the CESR, has been a model of friend-ship and mentorship, and I thank him for being such a wonderful host. To Christine Bousquet-Labouérie, historian at the Université François Rabelais, I owe special thanks not only for being a wonderful friend, colleague, and collaborator, but also for teaching me so much about medieval art, French argot, and cuisine! I cannot thank her and Benoît enough for their warm hospitality and conviviality.

I am grateful to the copyright holders and providers of the illustrations used in this book for permission to reproduce images. Anna Gutgarts provided the research assistantship to help with the various stages of this book manuscript, and I sincerely thank Nir Cohen for his remarkable work on the music examples. His expertise with Finale saved me a lot of trouble. I owe special thanks to both of Cambridge University Press's anonymous reviewers for their invaluable suggestions. Vicki Cooper and Fleur Jones of the Press have been wonderfully supportive and patient in bringing this project to culmination. Robert Whitelock has been an exemplary copy-editor, steadfastly guiding the manuscript into final production, and saving me from many errors.

Last, but by no means least, I want to thank my family. My parents Benjamin and Marlene, and my sisters Lital and Tanya have witnessed this project develop from its inception, always wondering if the end was in sight. Joe and Jeanette Neubauer took a keen interest in my work ever since I began graduate school. Their genuine curiosity, love, and the confidence they had in what I could accomplish continue to inspire me. I am truly fortunate to have such a great, supportive family.

There is one person to whom I owe so much that "thank you" is not the right term. Amir Fink, my husband, has taught me about myself more than anyone else ever could. His sense of balance, his passion for life, his creativity, and his unconditional love have always helped keep everything in perspective, setting priorities right, and making it all worthwhile. I dedicate this book to him with love.



#### Abbreviations

Ah Analecta hymnica medii aevi, ed. Guido Maria Dreves

and Clemens Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig: R. Reisland,

1886-1922)

Ant. Antiphon

BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BnF Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Bm Bibliothèque municipale

BmT Bibliothèque municipale de Tours

BSAT Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Touraine

BVM Blessed Virgin Mary

CAO Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, ed. René-Jean Hesbert,

6 vols., Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series

maior (Rome: Fontes, 1963-79)

CCCM Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaeualis

(Turnhout: Brepols, 1971-)

Coll. Baluze Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection

Baluze

Comm. Communion

Du Cange Charles Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae

Latinitatis, ed. Leopold Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–87)

F Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1

Grad. Gradual

Grove Music Online Grove Music Online, available at

www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 7 May 2014)

IRHT Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes

JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

Mm Médiathèque municipale

MNAC Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona Niermeyer Jan Frederik Niermeyer, C. van de Kieft, and G. S.

M. M. Lake-Schoonebeek, eds., Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus, abbreviationes et index fontium (Leiden:

Brill, 1976)

Off. Offertory

XV



xvi List of abbreviations

PL J.-P. Migne, ed., Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina,

221 vols. (Paris: 1844-64)

Resp. Responsory

RH Ulysse Chevalier, Repertorium hymnologicum: Catalogue

de chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Subsidia hagiographica 4 (Louvain: Polleunis and Ceuterick, 1892–1912)

Rism 1504<sup>1</sup> Motetti C (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504)

Seq. Sequence

SRM Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum

Ver. Verse

W<sub>2</sub> Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmstad