

RMA MONOGRAPHS

28

**MAGISTER JACOBUS
DE ISPANIA, AUTHOR OF
THE *SPECULUM MUSICAE***

MARGARET BENT

Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the *Speculum musicae*

The *Speculum musicae* of the early fourteenth century, with nearly half a million words, is by a long way the largest medieval treatise on music, and probably the most learned. Only the final two books are about music as commonly understood: the other five invite further work by students of scholastic philosophy, theology and mathematics. For nearly a century, its author has been known as Jacques de Liège or Jacobus Leodiensis. 'Jacobus' is certain, fixed by an acrostic declared within the text; Liège is hypothetical, based on evidence shown here to be less than secure. The one complete manuscript, Paris BnF lat. 7207, thought by its editor to be Florentine, can now be shown on the basis of its miniatures by Cristoforo Cortese to be from the Veneto, datable c. 1434–40. New documentary evidence in an Italian inventory, also from the Veneto, describes a lost copy of the treatise dating from before 1419, older than the surviving manuscript, and identifies its author as 'Magister Jacobus de Ispania'. If this had been known eighty years ago, the Liège hypothesis would never have taken root. It invites a new look at the geography and influences that played into this central document of medieval music theory. The two new attributes of 'Magister' and 'de Ispania' (i.e. a foreigner) prompted an extensive search in published indexes for possible identities. Surprisingly few candidates of this name emerged, and only one in the right date range. It is here suggested that the author of the *Speculum* is either someone who left no paper trail or James of Spain, a nephew of Eleanor of Castile, wife of King Edward I, whose career is documented mostly in England. He was an illegitimate son of Eleanor's older half-brother, the Infante Enrique of Castile. Documentary evidence shows that he was a wealthy and well-travelled royal prince who was also an Oxford magister. The book traces his career and the likelihood of his authorship of the *Speculum musicae*.

ROYAL MUSICAL ASSOCIATION MONOGRAPHS

General Editor: Simon P. Keefe

This series is supported by funds made available to the Royal Musical Association from the estate of Thurston Dart, former King Edward Professor of Music at the University of London. The editorial board is the Publications Committee of the Association.

Recent monographs in the series (for a full list, see the end of this book):

The 'Ars musica' Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles
Christian Meyer, editor and Karen Desmond, translator

Singing Dante: The Literary Origins of Cinquecento Monody
Elena Abramov-van Rijk

Johann Mattheson's Pièces de clavecin and Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre
Margaret Seares

The Politics of Verdi's Cantica
Roberta Montemorra Marvin

Heinrich Schenker and Beethoven's 'Hammerklavier' Sonata
Nicholas Marston

ROYAL MUSICAL ASSOCIATION
MONOGRAPHS
28

Magister Jacobus
de Ispania,
Author of the
Speculum musicae

MARGARET BENT



 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2015 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Margaret Bent 2015

Margaret Bent has asserted her right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

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

The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:

Bent, Margaret, author.

Magister Jacobus de Ispania, author of the *Speculum musicae* / by Margaret Bent.

pages cm. – (Royal Musical Association monographs ; 28)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4724-6094-3 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Jacques, de Liège, approximately

1260–approximately 1330. *Speculum musicae*. 2. Jacobus, de Ispania. 3. Music theory–History–500–1400. I. Title.

ML423.J119B46 2015

780.92–dc23

[B]

2015007929

ISBN: 9781472460943 (hbk)

ISBN: 9781315593203 (ebk)

Contents

List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	ix
Preface and Acknowledgements	xi
Manuscript Sigla and Abbreviations	xv
Editorial Note	xvii
1 In Search of Jacobus	1
2 Motet Citations in the <i>Speculum</i> , and Petrus de Cruce	21
3 Hitherto Proposed Authorial Candidates, and Dating the <i>Speculum</i>	45
4 A New Candidate for Authorship of the <i>Speculum</i>	63
5 Ispania: Other Theorists	69
6 Another Magister Jacobus de Ispania: James of Spain	81
7 The Infante Enrique of Castile, Father of Jacobus	93
8 James of Spain, Prince and Pluralist	109
9 The Author of the <i>Speculum</i>	139
Appendix of Poetic Texts	157
Bibliography	189
Index	205

This page has been left blank intentionally

List of Figures

2.1	Paris, BnF lat. 7207, f. 281, with Jacobus's examples from motet tripla. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France	22
2.2	Beginning of <i>Aucun ont trouvé</i> , Mo, f. 273r. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier. BU médecine	28
2.3	Continuation of <i>Aucun ont trouvé</i> , Mo, f. 273v. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier. BU médecine	28
2.4	Incipits of <i>Aucun ont trouvé</i> in musical and theoretical sources	31
4.1	Excerpt from the Will of Matteo da Brescia bequeathing his <i>musica</i> and music book. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Archivio di Stato di Vicenza, protocol no. 3041	63
4.2	Excerpt from Vicenza Inventory of 1457 listing the <i>musica</i> by Magister Jacobus de Ispania. Reproduced with permission of the Archivio storico diocesano di Vicenza	64
5.1	Excerpt from Handlo's <i>Regule</i> on Jacobus de Navernia. London, British Library, Add. MS 4909, f. 9v. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board	73
5.2	Excerpt from Handlo's <i>Regule</i> on the singers of Navarre. London, British Library, Add. MS 4909, f. 8r. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board	74
6.1	Oriel College, Oxford, deed G.3. Reproduced by kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford	88
6.2	James's seal on Oriel College, Oxford, deed G.3. Reproduced by kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford	90
7.1	Genealogical table showing James's family connections	94
7.2	Enrique's seal	98
A.1	Jacobus's hocket, Paris, BnF, lat. 7207, f. 287r–v. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France	158

This page has been left blank intentionally

List of Tables

3.1	Comparison of relevant passages in the <i>Speculum</i> and Berkeley Treatise 4	50
8.1	Summary of likely periods of possible foreign travel by James	137
8.2	Fixed points of James’s biography	138

This page has been left blank intentionally

Preface and Acknowledgements

As the largest and most learned medieval treatise on music, with nearly half a million words, the fourteenth-century *Speculum musicae* has been the elephant in the room of medieval music theory. Book VI has been studied to some extent for its tonary but, with few exceptions, almost everything that has been written about the *Speculum* has concerned Book VII, the only part to deal with mensural practices current in the author's time, and the most important testimony for comparisons between what have come to be known as the *ars antiqua* and the *ars nova*. That book differs from all the others in that it does not undertake a rigorous, systematic and exhaustive exposition of a specific set of related topics. It is not a treatise on mensural theory and notation, but rather takes up a variety of issues addressing the old and new ways of imagining, notating and naming features of rhythm and mensuration, without championing or setting out a system of its own. It has been extensively mined for its colourful criticisms, mainly of new notational practices, usually presenting Jacobus's polemical comments outside the context of the learned, thoughtful and deeply argued material of the preceding books. But Book VII constitutes only one-sixteenth of the *Speculum*. Whether or not the new hypothesis about its authorship presented here finds favour, I hope that it will stimulate medievalists outside musicology qualified in mathematics, theology and philosophy to undertake a full examination of the content, context and intellectual orientation of the work as a whole.

In a preface, the author, identifiable only as Jacobus through an acrostic, sets out the plan of his work and defends its scope by defining music to include all heavenly and human enterprises, theoretical and practical.¹ The first five books treat speculative music theory with a strong but not exclusively Boethian orientation. Much of the wide-ranging scholastic background remains to be explored. Book I deals with the invention, definition and division of music, definitions of musical terms (sound, time, etc.), number and proportions. Book II treats intervals, Book III presents a more detailed numerical demonstration of

¹ The complete critical edition is *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*, ed. Roger Bragard, 7 vols., CSM 3 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1955–73); the text is available on TML. Books VI and VII only were published in Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, vol. 2, pp. 193–433. Good summaries of the content of the treatise are given by Frank Hentschel, 'Jacobus von Lüttich', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel and London: Bärenreiter, 2003), vol. 9, cols. 823–27, and Frederick Hammond and Oliver B. Ellsworth in *New Grove II*, s.v. Jacobus of Liège. For an older survey of the purpose and division of the treatise see F. Joseph Smith, *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae: A Commentary* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966).

intervals, Book IV discusses consonances and dissonances. Book V deals with the genera of the tetrachord, the ancient systems, and the division of the monochord. Book VI moves away from speculative theory to deal with the ecclesiastical modes, and Book VII, which has received the most sustained modern attention, deals with contemporary mensural practice and a defence of the ancients against the moderns.

But this is not a book about the content of the *Speculum musicae*. Had I set out to write one, I would probably still have attributed the treatise to Jacobus Leodiensis, long thought to be the author, or to Jacobus de Montibus, as suggested more recently. My starting point, rather, was the chance discovery of authoritative testimony from fifteenth-century Veneto archival sources that unseated Jacobus's presumed origins in Liège and relocated him as a Spaniard. Because of the tenacity and ubiquity of the Liège hypothesis, my first reaction to finding the 'de Ispania' reference was that it must be a mistake. But when I began to probe the Liège attachment I was surprised to discover how fragile this hypothesis is. I intended to write a journal article, but the documentation proved so rich that it exceeded that format. This book is the result, an overgrown article reviewing the existing state of scholarship about Jacobus's origins, and presenting a candidate for his identity in the light of the new evidence. If nothing else, the proposed identity should issue a challenge to others to look elsewhere for corroboration, contrary evidence, or competing candidates. At the same time, working on this book has proved an object lesson in how flawed historical assumptions are hard to shift once they have become established. The *Speculum* has suffered particularly, first from its misattribution until the 1920s to Jean de Muris, then from the too-firm grip of the flimsily-founded Liège hypothesis. And as we shall see, the candidate I now propose as its author has also suffered from mistaken identity.

What follows, therefore, in no way pretends to be a rounded study of the *Speculum musicae*. Aspects of the content of the treatise are addressed where they provide hints about the author's biography with respect to place, date and sources, in particular with reference to Petrus de Cruce; and where they relate to possible identities – mostly rejected here – with other theorists.

Prompted by a single new document, the preparation of this study has been a voyage of discovery, following the leads, as they emerged, into largely unfamiliar territory. It has been made possible in the most pleasurable way by collaborative help from many scholars and colleagues, my debts to whom for guidance on specific points are acknowledged in the appropriate places. Some of the generous and wide-ranging support I have received has been on issues which became irrelevant as the enquiry progressed; while some no longer have a place in this study, they were crucial in its evolution.

Christopher Page first reminded me of the Occitan elements in Jacobus's hoquet in such a way that I began to take the 'de Ispania'

reference seriously; David Catalunya and Carmen Julia Gutiérrez engaged in intensive correspondence about Ispania and Navarre; Julian Gardner alerted me to the papal documents cited here, thus initiating the identification now proposed, and has proved an invaluable source of information and encouragement while injecting scepticism at appropriate moments; Paul Brand directed me to the 'English' Jacobus as documented by Emden, and has provided generous advice and legal interpretations; Peter Linehan and Francisco Hernández generously shared their deep knowledge of the Castilian connections, well beyond the call of collegial courtesy; Karen Desmond and Rob Wegman have been knowledgeable and ready correspondents on Jacobus and other theorists; Alejandro Enrique Planchart was ever willing to advise on Vatican documents; Leo Franc Holford-Strevens has provided or improved several translations; and Vittorio Bolcato shared his rediscovery of the long-mislaid Vicenza inventories in the context of our ongoing exchanges of Vicenza material. Crucial art-historical testimony about the date and provenance of Paris, BnF lat. 7207 was provided by Silvia Fumian. I am especially grateful to those colleagues who have read all or part of the manuscript in draft and made important comments and suggestions. They include Karen Desmond, Paul Brand and, for especially helpful close readings, Sean Curran and Christian Leitmeir, and my perceptive readers for the Press, Peter Lefferts, Alejandro Enrique Planchart and Mark Everist. I am also grateful for useful exchanges on specific aspects to Elena Abramov-van Rijk, D'Arcy Jonathan Boulton, Calvin Bower, Charles Burnett, John Cherry, Gabriela Currie, Jean Dunbabin, Manuel Pedro Ferreira, Antonia Fitzpatrick, Maria del Carmen Gómez, Diana Greenway, Max Haas, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, Barbara Harvey, Frank Hentschel, Jan Herlinger, Michel Huglo[†], Jonathan Katz, Kirstin Kennedy, Paul Kolb, Henrietta Leyser, Martin Maiden, Helen Moore, Giorgio Pini, Gilles Rico, Edward Roesner, Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, Elizabeth Sears, Eric Southworth, Alison Stones, Konstantin Voigt, Peter Walter, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Mary Wolinski, Travis Yeager, and Susana Zapke; and to the *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*, from which I have taken most of the music-theoretical citations displayed here. To my dear and learned friends and colleagues, Bonnie J. Blackburn and Leo Franc Holford-Strevens, go my warmest thanks and praise for their many suggestions, observations and improvements that went well beyond the brief of their formal work as copy-editors; it was my additional good fortune that Bonnie Blackburn was able to prepare the index. That work was kindly funded by All Souls College, to which I am continually grateful for general support. I would also like to thank Laura Macy, Senior Commissioning Editor for Ashgate, for ensuring a smooth passage at all stages, and Emma Gallon and Barbara Pretty for their editorial vigilance.

Librarians and archivists in many places have facilitated this work. They include Don Antonio Marangoni of the Archivio Capitolare,

Vicenza; Maria Luigia De Gregorio at the Archivio di Stato, Vicenza; Rob Petre at Oriel College, Oxford; Norma Aubertin-Potter and Gaye Morgan in the Codrington Library at All Souls College; Nicolas Bell in the British Library.

The appendix depends on the kindness of several experts in providing commentary and translations of the poetic texts in Occitan, Occitan-Old French, Italo-Romance, and Galician-Portuguese: Margaret Switten for the Old French and Occitan text of Jacobus's hocket, Peter Hainsworth for Enrique's *canzone*, Stephen Parkinson for the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas*, and Huw Grange and Linda Paterson for the Occitan *sirventes*. Leo Franc Holford-Strevens has been unfailingly helpful with texts; and in translating passages from Jacobus I have often used the versions of Karen Desmond and Rob Wegman as a starting point but made my own modifications. Wegman kindly allowed me to reproduce his music examples from *Speculum* VII.17 within the long quotation in Chapter 2. Elizabeth Nyikos took the photographs reproduced as Figures 6.1 and 6.2, and Jeffrey Dean expertly set Figures 2.4 and 7.1.

A preliminary announcement of the new document which gave rise to this study was given at a conference in Giessen in September 2011, and has now been published.² This was extended in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in New Orleans, November 2012. Further results were reported at the *ars nova* seminar in Novacella in June 2013, and to the Oxford medieval history seminar in March 2014.

Margaret Bent
All Souls College, Oxford

in die Sancti Jacobi, 25 July 2014

² Margaret Bent, 'Jacobus de Ispania? – Ein Zwischenbericht', in *Nationes, Gentes und die Musik im Mittelalter*, ed. Frank Hentschel and Marie Winkelmüller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 407–22.

Manuscript Sigla and Abbreviations

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Barcelona	Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral, miscelànea 23–4
Darmstadt 3471	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 3471
Faenza	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 117
Fauvel	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 146
Florence Plut. XXIX. 16	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XXIX. 16
Harley 281	London, British Library, Harley MS 281
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, BU Médecine, MS H 196
Paris 7207	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7207
Paris 11266	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11266
Tu	Turin, Biblioteca Reale, MS Vari 42

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BDT</i>	Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, <i>Bibliographie der Troubadours</i> , Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft: Sonderreihe, vol. 3 (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933)
<i>BEdT</i>	<i>Bibliografia elettronica dei trovatori</i> , ed. Stefano Asperti and Luca De Nigro, version 2.5 (updated 26 September 2012), available at http://w3.uniroma1.it/bedt/BEdT_04_25/index.aspx (consulted 29.9.2014)

BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BRUO	A. B. Emden, <i>Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–59, repr. 1989)
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
Coussemaker, Scriptores	Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, ed., <i>Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera</i> , 4 vols. (Paris: A. Durand, 1864–76; repr. Hildesheim, 1963)
CPL	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i>
CSM	Corpus scriptorum de musica
Grove Music Online	Oxford University Press, www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Rialto	<i>Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura trobadorica e occitana</i> , www.rialto.unina.it/
TML	Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/

Editorial Note

Citations from the *Speculum* are given as book number in roman, followed by chapter number, e.g. VII. 17, not always specified as from the *Speculum* where the context makes this clear.

Inconsistencies between medieval and classicised Latin spellings, and between the editorial policies of the Occitan texts in the appendix, are due to the different policies of the printed sources used.

Translations are not consistently given; I have provided some Latin documents and vernacular texts in full or nearly full form, but most original texts are given in footnotes where they are not fully translated. Where published English-language translations or digests are available I have used these, or in some cases simply given the gist of the document. I have sometimes adjusted translations attributed to others; and nearly all have been further improved by Leofranc Holford-Strevens.

This page has been left blank intentionally

In Search of Jacobus

Although hitherto known as Jacobus Leodiensis, Jacques de Liège, Jacobus de Montibus, the identity of the author of the longest, most systematically organised, and most learned music treatise of the Middle Ages is still unresolved. Some earlier hypotheses acquired the status of fact simply from the absence of competing evidence. The only thing we knew with any certainty about the author of the *Speculum musicae* was that, as he tells us at the end of the proemium, the initial letters of the seven books spell his name:

Si cui autem huius operis compilatoris
nomen scire placet, librorum septem
partialium litteras simul iungat
capitales. [J A C O B U S]

Explicit proemium in libro, qui
intitulatur speculum musicae.

If, however, anyone wishes to know
the name of the compiler of this
work, let him take together the initial
letters of the seven component books.
[JACOBUS]

Here ends the prologue to the
book called *Speculum musicae*.¹

JACOBUS. Nothing more, no colophons, no physical clues in the surviving manuscripts. In his 1924 Freiburg dissertation Walter Grossmann noted the acrostic but did not solve it; he evidently worked only from a partial photographic copy and did not have access to the entire manuscript.² Heinrich Bessler was the first to report, in 1925, his teacher Willibald Gurlitt's solution of that authorial acrostic.³ This overturned its unwittingly ironic misattribution since the sixteenth century to another

¹ Jacobi Leodiensis *Speculum musicae*, vol. 1, ch. 1 (proemium), p. 13.

² 'Eine versteckte Angabe des Namens des Kompilator, die aber vor der Veröffentlichung der übrigen Bücher nicht verständlich ist, beschließt das Proömium.' Walter Grossmann published the first eighteen chapters of Book I in *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum musicae von Johannes de Muris: Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters*, Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1924), p. 5. Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, had only published the last two books, and chapter titles for the others.

³ Gurlitt reported the acrostic to Bessler, who announced it thus: 'Die Verfasserschaft des Jacobus ergibt sich aus dem Akrostichon (nach freundl. Mitteilung von Herrn Professor Gurlitt), dessen Vorhandensein W. Großmann ... leider nur anführt', and 'Es stammt von einem sonst unbekannten Verfasser namens Jacobus' [who] 'im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts in Paris studierte, dort entscheidende Eindrücke von der Kunst des Petrus de Cruce empfang'. See Heinrich Bessler, 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7/2 (1925), pp. 167–252, at pp. 180–81.

polymath, Johannes de Muris, famed as a mathematician and astronomer as well, a primary but unnamed object of the author's attacks;⁴ the attribution of this enormous work augmented his reputation. This is ironical, as the *Speculum* is the only extant treatise to set out clear differences between the *ars antiqua* and the *ars nova*, and in favour of the former. The error derived from an original attribution at the end of the only complete source of the *Speculum*, the fifteenth-century manuscript Paris, BnF lat. 7207 ('Explicit tractatus Musice Magistri Johannis de Muris'). This attribution, in the same hand as the entire volume, was taken to apply to the whole contents and not just the final five folios (ff. 294r–299v) containing the 'B' version of Muris's digest of Boethius's *De institutione musica*, the so-called *Musica speculativa* ('Quoniam musica est de sono relato ad numeros'). Muris's text follows the earlier and less conspicuous anonymous *explicit* of the *Speculum* (on f. 293r).⁵

Even more visible than these explicits are sixteenth-century annotations in the front flyleaves ('Index Magistri Ioannis de Muris Tractatus de Musica Theorica et practica in septem libros divisus qui inscribitur speculi musices', f. o⁵ recto) and at the end on f. 302r ('Magistri Johannis de Muris Musicae libri sex, eiusdem explanatio tractatarum descriptionum'); these evidently served to perpetuate the misattribution, taken up by Marin Mersenne, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Charles Burney and subsequent historians, including Coussemaker

⁴ Jacobi Leodiensis *Speculum musicae*, vol. 1, p. vii.

⁵ Roger Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège I', *Musica disciplina* 7 (1953), pp. 59–104, reports (p. 86) that Robert Hirschfeld, *Johann de Muris* (Leipzig, 1884), was the first to show that the two treatises could not be by the same author. Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.–XIX. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: M. Hesse, 1898), p. 235, posited two men named Jean de Muris, one a Norman who lived and taught at Oxford, the author of what we know as the *Speculum* of Jacobus, the other in Paris, author of the other known works by de Muris, especially the *Summa musicae*, and 'friend' of Philippe de Vitry (pp. 227 f., p. 236: 'vermutlich hat der Normannus Muris zu Oxford gelebt und gelehrt und Paris nur vorübergehend Studien halber besucht'). Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel*, follows Riemann in upholding different authorship. Peter Wagner's review of Grossmann in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 235, accepts his argument that because of the author's neglect of Aquinas he must have studied not in Paris, but in Oxford, where Kilwardby had criticised some teachings of Aquinas, and endorses the view of two men called de Muris, the author of the *Speculum* in Oxford, the other at the Sorbonne. Grossmann dates the *Speculum* before the famous papal bull *Docta sanctorum*, which he believed to date from 1321 (for more on this, and the Oxford connection, see below, Chs. 3, 9). But, says Wagner, there were also anti-Thomists in Paris, the adherents of Scotus, and Averroists. Besseler, 'Studien', p. 181 n. 3: 'Grossmann's Ausführungen a. a. O. gelten mutatis mutandis natürlich auch für Jacobus. Daß er in Oxford oder überhaupt in England gelebt hatte, ist nicht erwiesen ..., eine persönliche Beziehung zu Robert Kilwardby chronologisch unwahrscheinlich'. For editions and texts see Johannes de Muris, *Musica <speculativa>*, ed. Susan Fast (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1994), and *Die Musica speculativa des Johannes de Muris*, ed. Christoph Falkenroth, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 34 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992). For some correctives and a challenge to this title, see the review of Falkenroth by Lawrence Gushee in *Music & Letters* 76 (1995), pp. 275–80.

and Friedrich Ludwig.⁶ Suzanne Clercx was the first to identify an extended passage where the *Speculum* (VII. 6) cites critically and more compactly from the *Musica speculativa*, attributing the contents to a ‘doctor modernus’.⁷

The ambition of the work is clear in its choice of title. Precedents in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries include Roger Bacon, *Speculum alchimiae*; ‘Saint’ Edmund Rich, *Speculum ecclesiae*; Albertus Magnus, *Speculum astronomiae*; Guillaume Durand, *Speculum judiciale* (or *Speculum iuris*), and above all, the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais, which includes the *Speculum historiale*, and a substantial (and Boethian) section on music in his *Speculum doctrinale*.⁸

Jacobus is clearly bidding – worthily – to claim a major place, and fill a gap, in the encyclopedic *Speculum* literature. He says as much:

In ceteris scientiis libri multi sunt et inter illos aliqui magni. In musica, etsi multi tractatus sunt, illi tamen sunt modici et specialiter de ipsius theoria breviter se expediunt tractatores, cum tamen magnitudini scientiae magni possint vel debeant respondere libri. (II. 126)

In other disciplines there are many books, and among those some great ones. In music, although there are many treatises, they are nevertheless modest, and in particular the authors deal briefly with its theory, even though great books could or should respond to the magnitude of this subject.

This might suggest that Jacobus did not know the very substantial and comprehensive treatise of Hieronymus de Moravia (c. 1290). At the end of the treatise, he further justifies his title:

Malui autem in hoc opere clarus quam obscurus esse; speculum

I have, however, preferred to be clear rather than obscure in this work, for a

⁶ Bessler reported that the error goes back to Mersenne and Burney: ‘Daß man seit Mersenne als Verfasser des “Speculum” Joh. de Muris betrachtete, erklärt sich folgendermaßen: In der einzigen vollständigen Handschrift (B. Nat. lat. 7207) steht unmittelbar nach dem anonymen “Speculum” die “Musica speculativa”, deren Explicit (Ch. Burney, A gen. hist. 2, 1782, 388) irrig für das der ganzen Handschrift genommen wurde. Coussemaker (Scriptores 2, XIII A 5) bezeichnet sogar unter Umkehrung der Tatsachen diesen Schlußtraktat als anonym’ (Bessler, ‘Studien’, pp. 180–81, at p. 181 n. 2). See also Bragard, ‘Le *Speculum*’ I, pp. 59–62.

⁷ Suzanne Clercx, ‘Jacques d’Audenaerde ou Jacques de Liège?’, *Revue belge de musicologie* 7 (1953), pp. 95–101.

⁸ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale*, Liber XVII, chs. 10–35, ed. Gottfried Göller in *Vinzenz von Beauvais O.P. (um 1194–1264) und sein Musiktraktat im Speculum doctrinale*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 15 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1959), pp. 86–118. Jacobus does not cite Vincent directly; indeed, he does not seem to refer to any of these precedents. Admonitory ‘mirrors for princes’ are mostly later. Christian Leitmeir comments (email exchanges of September 2014) that the title is frequently encountered in a monastic context, such as Aelred of Rievaulx, *Speculum caritatis*. A lost treatise by the prolific late-15th-century music theorist Johannes Tinctoris was called *Speculum musices*, referred to in his *Expositio manus*.

namque debet esse clarum, non
obscurum. Optavi enim ut non
indigeret expositore. Nonne stilo
simplici, admodum plano rudique
sum usus? (VII. 49)

mirror ought to be clear, not obscure.
I wished that it should not need an
expositor. Have I not used a simple
style, very plain and bare?

EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

The extant manuscripts are:

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7207, hereafter Paris 7207 (the only complete manuscript); parchment, in quinternions, dated by Bragard c. 1430–60, as Tuscan; now newly dated c. 1434–40 in the Veneto, on art-historical evidence, as reported below. The *Speculum* and the *Musica speculativa* are copied in a single hand throughout.⁹

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7207A (what may have been a complete manuscript now contains only Books I–V, and fragments of the table of contents of Book VI; paper, initials with filigree penwork decoration only, dated by Bragard c. 1480–90, as Tuscan, but reporting north Italian watermarks).

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana, Plut. XXIX. 16 (excerpts: Book I, 8 chapters; Book II, 59 chapters; Book V, 1 chapter; Book VI, 14 chapters; Book VII, chapters 2–4; paper dated by Bragard c. 1430–60, Tuscan).

The *Speculum* thus comes to us on the slim thread of a single, complete source, one incomplete copy now lacking Books VI and VII, and some excerpts in a further manuscript, all Italian, and all at least a century later than its compilation.¹⁰ This meagre haul, though not atypical for important treatises,¹¹ stands in striking contrast to the numerous manuscripts transmitting the musical treatises of Jean de Muris, or digests of his work (especially the so-called *Libellus*) and supports the idea that those, unlike the *Speculum*, were used as university texts, and

⁹ Bragard presumably based his datings on script, and for the paper manuscripts also on watermarks, but he does not elaborate, and did not take art-historical evidence into account. He reports an incomplete 19th-century copy of Paris 7207, 'Le *Speculum*' I, p. 59 n. 2. Only the text of the hocket on f. 287r–v is in a more formal hand, perhaps of the same scribe.

¹⁰ The manuscripts, their relationships, Italian provenance and ownerships are described in Bragard, 'Le *Speculum*' I, and *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xx; the incomplete paper manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 7207A has north Italian watermarks. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XXIX. 16 contains excerpts, detailed in *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*, vol. 1, pp. v and xvi–xviii, including chs. 2–4 of Book VII. This manuscript carries the number 4 of a series of which Florence, Plut. XXIX. 48 was number 1. See Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri: Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2001), p. 120, who reports short proportional treatises based on Jacobus and Marchettus in the latter manuscript (p. 104) and also in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B.83 (p. 184).

¹¹ Franco's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* survives in only four copies before 1400, Johannes de Garlandia only one and a half.

indeed created as such by someone who, presumably unlike Jacobus, was teaching at Paris. All three sources are – surprisingly – apparently of Italian origin, and Bragard thought they were Tuscan.

PARIS, BNF LAT. 7207

Neither Bragard nor subsequent musicologists took account of the miniatures in Paris 7207, but art historians are now agreed that they are from the Veneto, which must be regarded as the place of origin of the manuscript.¹² I am most grateful to Silvia Fumian, the most recent scholar of Cristoforo Cortese (d. 1445), for alerting me to the important identification of this artist's participation, and the relevant bibliography.¹³ Carl Huter identified the use of white vine-stems as typical of Cortese's late style, but he did not adduce Paris 7207. Simona Cohen was the first to notice the miniatures in that manuscript, attributing the first one (which heads the *proemium*, on f. 1v) to a collaborator of Cortese, on the basis of its humanistic decoration with white vine-stems, citing as comparands the initials of two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Antoniana, Padua: St Jerome's *Opera varia* (MS 86), datable to the late 1430s, and the *Vita Sancti Antonii* of Sicco Polenton (MS 559), dated 1439. Giordana Mariani Canova and subsequent art historians have attributed the two Antoniana manuscripts and Paris 7207, f. 1v to Cortese himself, narrowing the date of the *Speculum* manuscript to c. 1435–45 and placing it firmly in the Veneto. In Silvia Fumian's opinion, it is not only the anthropo-zoomorphic hybrid in the initial on f. 1v that is strongly characteristic of Cortese, but also the initials at the head of each of the seven books, which show strong links with his work of the late 1430s.¹⁴ She judges that the initials she has

¹² The miniatures occur on the following folios: L[iber] (proemium, f. 1v), then the seven forming the acrostic: I (Book I, f. 2v), A (Book II, f. 37r), C (Book III, f. 110r), O (Book IV, f. 141r), C (Book V, f. 166v), V (Book VI, f. 206r), S (Book VII, f. 275r).

¹³ In chronological order: Carl Huter, 'Cristoforo Cortese at the Bodleian Library', *Apollo* 111, no. 215 (1980), pp. 10–17; Simona Cohen, 'Cristoforo Cortese Reconsidered', *Arte veneta*, 39 (1985), pp. 22–31, at p. 30, p. 31 n. 27 and fig. 12; Giordana Mariani Canova, 'Miniatura e pittura in età tardogotica (1400–1440)', in *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Quattrocento*, ed. Mauro Lucco, 2 vols. (Milan: Electa, 1989–90), vol. 1, pp. 193–222, at p. 216; Giordana Mariani Canova, 'La miniatura a Venezia dal Medioevo al Rinascimento', in *Storia di Venezia: Temi. L'arte*, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 769–843, at p. 798; Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt, 'Cortese (Cortesi; Cortesio), Cristoforo (de')', in *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 21 (Munich: Saur, 1999), pp. 362–64, at p. 363; Susy Marcon, 'Cortese Cristoforo', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli IX–XVI*, ed. Milvia Bollati (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), pp. 176–80, at p. 179; Silvia Fumian, 'Cristoforo Cortese miniatore veneziano' (Dottorato di Ricerca, University of Padua, 2007), p. 222, cat. 118.

¹⁴ Pietro Tommasi, *Consilium de universalis preservatione contra venena*, post 1437 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. Lat. 1425), Fumian, 'Cristoforo Cortese', p. 217, cat. 110; Ludovico di Strassoldo, *Dialogus de regia ac papali potestate*, 1434 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chig. D.VI.97), Fumian, 'Cristoforo Cortese', pp. 215–216, cat. 108, newly cited as a comparand p. 222; Tito Livio Frulovisi, *De re publica libri tres*,