

*New light on Jacobus, Author of Speculum musicae**

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Since the realization, at the beginning of this century, that the treatise *Speculum musicae* had been incorrectly attributed to Jehan des Murs by its first editor, Edmond de Coussemaker, the actual author of this voluminous work of music theory from the early fourteenth century has remained a shadowy figure.¹ The most certain detail of the author's identity is his name, contained within an acrostic spelled out over the initials that begin each of the seven books of the treatise, rendering the given name IACOBUS.² The provenances of the three surviving manuscript sources, all dating from approximately a century after the proposed date of *Speculum musicae*, suggest an Italian bias to the transmission of the work, but, as physical documents, the manuscripts have yet to yield any clues to the author's origins.³ The treatise itself is a bit more helpful. Besides

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¹ Edmond de Coussemaker, ed., *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1864–76; reprint edn, Hildesheim, 1963), 2: xiv. The misattribution was corrected by Heinrich Bessler, in his 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1925), 180–1. Roger Bragard outlines the confusion over the authorship of *Speculum musicae* in 'Le *speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège I', *Musica disciplina*, 7 (1953), 82–96. *Speculum musicae* has been edited in full in Jacobus Leodiensis, *Speculum musicae*, ed. Roger Bragard, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 3 (n.p., 1955–73) (hereafter *SM*).

² The acrostic was first recognized by Bessler ('Studien', 180–1, also see Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae*', 94). The first lines begin as follows: 'In principio huius operis ...' (*SM* 1.2); 'Actus activorum ...' (*SM* 2.1); 'Cum in superiori ...' (*SM* 3.1); 'Ordo poscit ...' (*SM* 4.1); 'Boecius musice doctor ...' (*SM* 5.1); 'Unumquodque opus ...' (*SM* 6.1); 'Simplicius in commento ...' (*SM* 7.1).

³ Tracing the origins of the manuscript sources merits further investigation; however, this is not the purpose of the present study. We know of only three manuscript sources for *Speculum musicae*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7207 is a parchment manuscript: its cursive script and illuminated initials suggest a mid-fifteenth-century date. The earliest-known owner of *P-Bn* lat. 7207 is Cardinal Niccoló Ridolfi of Florence (d. 1550), a nephew of Leo X. Pierre Strozzi, marshal of France, inherited Ridolfi's library, and after his death it passed to Catherine de Médicis, and then to the Bibliothèque du Roi. See Simone Balaye, 'La naissance de la Bibliothèque du Roi, 1490–1664', in *Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789*, ed. Claude Jolly (Paris, 1988), 80–

offering the author's name, clues within the text have allowed for the formulation of the following hypothesis concerning the career of Jacobus: that he was probably born in the diocese of Liège, that he was a student in Paris in the late thirteenth century, and that he returned to Liège to complete the final books of his treatise, Books 6 and 7 of *Speculum musicae*.⁴ In what follows, I will first briefly evaluate the evidence previously marshalled to support this hypothesis, and I will then discuss new information pertinent to the biography of the author.

Paris

Jacobus mentions Paris by name five times in *Speculum musicae*, the references suggesting that he spent some time there. The most detailed of these references concerns his study of Boethius's *De institutione musica*: 'And so, I began again . . . in earnest my study of Boethius's *Musica* . . . and so that I could recall it to my memory, and become more proficient in it, and so that I might use it more confidently, I began to excerpt many things from those which I had singled out, from the two first books, which I had heard while at Paris, and from elsewhere, and at the places in Boethius's text where I had only the plain text, to abbreviate without any extra text or glosses, but those sections which seemed more difficult to me, whenever this happened, to explain them with extra text and figures'.⁵

1, and Annie Charon-Parent, 'Les grandes collections du XVIe siècle', in *Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789* (Paris, 1988), 90. On the library of Catherine de Médicis and its catalogue, see Edmond Bonnaffé, *Inventaire des meubles de Catherine de Médicis en 1589. Mobilier. Tableaux. Objets d'art. Manuscrits* (Paris, 1874), 201, where *Musicae speculum* is listed as no. 15 of the mathematical texts in Latin. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7207A, a later fifteenth-century paper manuscript, has watermarks of north Italian origin. However, its earliest owner is only traceable to the seventeenth century: the volume is found in the catalogues for the library of Cardinal Mazarin (see Henri Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale* [Paris, 1908–21], 4: 299, where it is listed as no. 448 in the collection of Mazarin, and no. 5172 in the 1682 catalogue of the Bibliothèque du Roi). The manuscript was presumably acquired for the library by Gabriel Naudé, possibly on his Italian trip of 1645 (see Pierre Gasnault, 'De la bibliothèque de Mazarin à la Bibliothèque Mazarine', in *Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789*). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.16 is also a fifteenth-century paper manuscript, the watermarks are also Italian, and its earliest-known owner was a certain François de Cortes, who owned several musico-theoretical manuscripts now in the Florence collection (see Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae* I', 73–81).

⁴ This hypothesis was developed in Bessler, 'Studien', 180–1; Antoine Auda, *La musique et les musiciens de l'ancien pays de Liège* (Liège, 1930); Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musiekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen*, 2 vols. (Tillburg, 1938–42), 253–65; Smits van Waesberghe, 'Some Music Treatises and their Interrelation: A School of Liège c. 1050–1200?' *Musica disciplina*, 3 (1949), 25–32, 95–118; Suzanne Clercx, 'Jacques d'Audenaerde ou Jacques de Liège?', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 7 (1953), 95–101; Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae* I'; and 'Le *Speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège II', *Musica disciplina*, 8 (1954), 1–17.

⁵ 'Coepi rursus . . . ardentem in Musica studere Boethii . . . ut de ea memoriale <aliquid> mihi retinerem, ut amplius in ea proficerem, ut confidentius illa uti possem, qui de duobus primis libris, quos Parisius audieram, aliqua extraxeram, plura coepi et de illis et de aliis excerptere, in aliquibus locis textum Boethii quem habebam nudum, sine scriptis, sine glossis abbreviare, in aliquibus locis qui mihi difficiliore videbantur, ut occurrebat, exponere in textu et figuris' (*SM* 2.56, 136). The other places where Jacobus mentions Paris are: *SM* 1.25, 79; 4.22, 55; 6.62, 165; 7.17, 38. In Book 7 of *Speculum musicae*, Jacobus recalls having 'heard' (again 'audivisse') something

In its structure, content and style, *Speculum musicae* suggests the kind of learning one would have attained through a university education.⁶ The relatively frequent mentions of Paris in the text (St Denis and Liège are the only other places mentioned) and the fact that Jacobus specifically mentions having ‘heard’ Books 1 and 2 of Boethius’s *De institutione musica* while at Paris – presumably he heard lectures with commentary on Boethius’s text, the standard music text of the arts curriculum – suggest that in all likelihood Jacobus was a student at the University of Paris. If Jacobus completed his Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in the Faculty of Arts, he would have spent a total of approximately nine years at the university, probably beginning while in his mid-teens, and including two years of necessary regency, during which the newly incepted *magister* was obligated to teach at the university.⁷

On the basis of his probable activity in Paris, Jacobus has been identified with a certain ‘Jacobus de Audenaerde’.⁸ In an appeal protesting a tax against the scholars of the University of Paris (dated 6–11 May 1313) and preserved in the university’s cartulary, Joseph Smits van Waesberghe found the name of Jacobus de Audenaerde, canon of the cathedral of Liège, among the list of petitioners, and concluded that this Jacobus was the author of *Speculum musicae*, since he was the only Jacobus from Liège mentioned in the Paris cartulary.⁹ However, there are many problems with the reasoning behind this highly speculative hypothesis, most notably the obvious fact that of course not every student who

else in Paris: a triplum, or three-voice motet, by Magister Franco in which the breve was divided into more than three semibreves (*SM* 7.17, 38). Considering his use of the verb ‘to hear’ in connection with his exposure to Boethius, it seems reasonable to suppose that he is not recalling having actually heard a motet by Franco in performance, but rather an exposition of the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* that included a motet triplum among its examples. One copy of the *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, in the Italian manuscript, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 5 inf., does include an example of more than three semibreves to the breve (Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilles Reaney and André Gilles, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 18 [n.p., 1974], c. 5, 38), but it is equally possible that Jacobus was exposed to the Franconian doctrine through the presentation of one of the *abbreviations* or *compendia* devoted to Franco’s teaching, such as the Uppsala or Faenza treatises, both of which do include examples of the breve divided into large numbers of semibreves (for these treatises, see *Corpus scriptorum de musica* 15 [n.p., 1971]).

⁶ Michel Huglo, ‘L’enseignement de la musique dans les universités médiévales’, *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale de Musicologia*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin, 1990), 1: 30–7.

⁷ And there is also Gordon Anderson’s suggestion that the late thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 6755², was Jacobus’s source for Lambert (‘Magister Lambertus and Nine Rhythmic Modes’, *Acta musicologica*, 45 [1973], 57–73; also proposed earlier by Gilbert Reaney, ‘The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047’, *Musica disciplina*, 8 [1954], 73). In *Speculum musicae*, Book 7, Jacobus refers several times to a certain *doctor* ‘qui Aristotelis nominatur’. In *P-Bn lat. 6755*, Lambert’s treatise follows, without attribution, the treatise *Secreta secretorum*, which is ascribed here and elsewhere to ‘quidam Aristotelis’; Anderson’s and Reaney’s explanation of Jacobus’s misunderstanding is plausible, and further supports the hypothesis that Jacobus spent time in Paris.

⁸ This was proposed by Smits van Waesberghe (‘Some Music Treatises’, 107–8), and was reiterated in Frederick Hammond’s article on Jacobus in the *New Grove*, which he titled ‘Jacques de Liège [Jacobus Leodiensis, ?Jacobus de Oudenaerde]’ (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie [London, 1980], 9:453).

⁹ Henri Denifle, ed., *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis* (Paris, 1889), 2:164.

attended the University of Paris would have been mentioned in the documents included in the university's cartulary; in fact, few would have been. Jacobus de Audenaerde was certainly a canon of the cathedral of St Lambert in Liège – he is mentioned in the obituary of the cathedral – but the mere coincidence of the (relatively common) given name 'Jacobus' in documents from both cities, Paris and Liège, is certainly not strong enough evidence on which to base an identification of our theorist.¹⁰

Liège

Three of the five references to Paris in the treatise are in the pluperfect tense, suggesting that it had been some time since Jacobus had been there, and, at the time of writing these particular books, Jacobus was not then in Paris. There are several indications, particularly in Book 6, that Jacobus had ties with the diocese of Liège. Michel Huglo has asserted that the strongest evidence linking Jacobus to Liège is his choice of chants for the tonary that he appends to Book 6 of *Speculum musicae*.¹¹ This tonary, which Huglo considers one of the most important witnesses to the state of plainchant in the late Middle Ages, demonstrates Jacobus's familiarity with a variety of plainchant traditions: ancient practice, where Jacobus cites the tonaries of Johannes ('Cotton' or 'of Afflighem') and Berno; and modern practice, as found in the secular churches of Liège and in the churches of France and Rome, and also the traditions of the Cistercians and Dominicans.¹² Significantly, however, the only diocese that Jacobus makes pointed reference to in this discussion is the diocese of Liège: for example, in Chapter 41 of Book 6 Jacobus criticizes the corrupt chant transpositions of certain secular churches of Liège.¹³

Moreover, some of the theoretical sources that Jacobus used in Book 6 have significant connections to Liège. The twelfth-century manuscript, Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 1988, appears to have been Jacobus's source for the *Quaestiones de musica*, the *Diagolus* of Pseudo-Odo, given there under the name of Guido, Guido's *Micrologus*, *Prologus*, *Epistolam ad Michaellem*, Aribo's *De musica* and Berno's tonary.¹⁴ The provenance of this manuscript has

¹⁰ The *obit* for Jacobus de Audenaerde is in the obituary of St Lambert on 3 October, and indicates that he was a *concanonicus* (Alain Marchandisse, *L'obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège (XIe–XVe siècles)* [Brussels, 1991], 135). He was a canon of St Lambert in 1313, and died before 1361. See Christine Renardy, *Les maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège: Répertoire Biographique 1140–1350*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège (Paris, 1981), 315. Renardy also perpetuates the misidentification of Jacobus de Audenaerde with the author of *Speculum musicae*.

¹¹ Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, 1971), 430.

¹² See, Jacobus, *SM* 6.84–111, 237–306, for the tonary proper. The preceding four chapters, 6.80–3, 226–37), are also closely related to the tonary.

¹³ *SM* 6.41, 101–2.

¹⁴ Gabriela Ilnitich comments on Jacobus's use of this source in 'Aribo's *De Musica*: Music Theory in the Cross Current of Medieval Learning', Ph.D. diss., New York University, (1997), 76–81; see also Smits van Waesberghe, 'Some Music Treatises', 109. For a description and inventory of this manuscript, see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Pieter Fischer and Christian Maas, *The Theory of*

been traced to the library of the Benedictine abbey of St Jacques in Liège.¹⁵ Smits van Waesberghe's hypothesis that many of these authors and/or treatises originated in Liège, and constituted an important and influential 'school' of music theory in Liège, has been discounted, but it is certain that these treatises were known and studied in Liège during the high and later Middle Ages.¹⁶

A related source is Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10162/66, a fifteenth-century manuscript that was copied in the other major Benedictine house in Liège, the Abbey of St Laurent.¹⁷ Br 10162/66 is essentially a copy of the just-mentioned Darmstadt 1988, with the addition of some more modern treatises, including the *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus*, *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*, and the *Compendium de musica*.¹⁸ Jacobus quotes extensively from (and his opinions frequently concur with the precepts outlined in) these treatises, particularly the first two. The only extant source of these treatises is the Liège manuscript. For this reason, and because of the similarities between Jacobus's discussion of the major and minor semitones and that found in the *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus*, Bragard suggested that the *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus* and possibly the *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum* as well were early works of Jacobus, written while he was still a youth in Liège; Smits van Waesberghe subsequently added the *Compendium de musica* to this list.¹⁹ This hypothesis is surely weak. It is based solely on the rather slim evidence just mentioned, and, of course we must keep in mind that Br 10162/66 is a late fifteenth-century source, a later witness to the transmission history of these treatises than anything with which

Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400. Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts. Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Répertoire international des sources musicales BIII/1 (Munich and Duisburg, 1961), 39–40 (hereafter RISM BIII/1). The author of *Quaestiones*, was possibly either Rudolf, prior of the abbey of St Trond (1108–38), or Franco of Liège (1070–1132). The attribution of the *Diagolus* to Guido in Darmstadt 1988 is an error that Jacobus perpetuates. Aribo's treatise, dating from 1068–78, although not written in Liège, was known there very soon after its completion.

¹⁵ This manuscript appears in Bouxhoun's catalogue of 1667 (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 13993) as entry L.21. This volume also appears in Basile Ernotte's catalogue of 1731 and Jean-Noël Paquot's catalogue of 1788 (see Christine Mortiaux-Denoël, 'Le fonds des manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Jacques de Liège', *Revue bénédictine*, 101 [1991], 186).

¹⁶ Smits van Waesberghe, 'Some Music Treatises'. Chapter 7 of Huglo's *Les tonaires* concerns the tonaries of an area he terms a 'transitional zone', which includes the abbeys of Stavelot, Gembloux, St Jacques and St Laurent of Liège, St Trond and St Hubert. He includes in this group the tonaries of Berno, the *Quaestiones* and Johannes. According to Huglo, these tonaries borrowed at times from both the eastern and the western chant traditions – this may explain Jacobus's willingness to quote from many different traditions in the compilation of his own tonary. Hiley disputes Smits van Waesberghe's claim of centrality for this area, preferring to put the emphasis on the south German theorists of the eleventh century, and stressing that the true picture regarding the importance of Liège remains unclear (David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* [Oxford, 1993], 471).

¹⁷ The description of this manuscript is in RISM BIII/1, 58–62.

¹⁸ The scribe of Br 10162/66 indicates that he is copying from the St Jacques volume by writing on f.48v: 'Sic hic est defectus nescio quia in libro ex quo scripsi (de s. Jacobo) adhuc maius est spacium derelictum'. These three extra treatises are edited in Jacobus Leodiensis, *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus. Tractatus de intonatione tonorum. Compendium de musica*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Eddie Vetter and Erik Visser, *Divitiae musicae artis A.IXa* (Buren, 1988).

¹⁹ 'Le *Speculum musicae* II', 9–17.

Jacobus could have had contact. Until evidence to the contrary emerges, it is simplest to assume that Jacobus drew his material on the semitone from the ancestor of the Brussels manuscript rather than originating that ancestor himself. It is certainly possible that, in addition to Darmstadt 1988, the source(s) from which the scribe of *Br* 10162/66 copied these 'new' treatises was also in the library of the Abbey of St Jacques; if this were to have been the case, then it is conceivable that Jacobus also came across this source in the library of St Jacques, while he was perusing the contents of Darmstadt 1988. This would explain why in *Speculum musicae* he consistently introduces the concepts articulated in the Brussels treatises with the phrase, 'alii dicunt . . .' ('others say . . .'). Finally, there is the presence of motets cited by Jacobus in Book 7 in the so-called Turin manuscript (Turin, Biblioteca reale, Vari 42), a manuscript which also has a provenance in the Abbey of St Jacques.²⁰

Jacobus de Montibus

One of the most important findings relating to Jacobus's identity is the recently discovered reference to a certain 'Jacobus de Montibus', in the fourth treatise of the late fourteenth-century theory compilation known as the 'Berkeley manuscript'.²¹ The reference runs as follows: 'by means of a circular diagram, I shall depict theoretically (and insofar as it affects practice) the differentiations and species of the regular and irregular monochord; but, in interest of brevity, I refer you to Boethius, or to Jacobus de Montibus (if it is to be found), for the numberings and divisions of the chromatic (which is B rotunda), the enharmonic (which is natural song), and the diatonic (which is B quadrata)'.²² Both Richard Crocker and Oliver Ellsworth have suggested that this Jacobus de Montibus may be identified with the author of *Speculum musicae*, but neither has attempted to

²⁰ Jacobus, *SM* 7.34, 68–71. The provenance of this manuscript is discussed in Christine Denoël, 'La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liège', 2 vols. Mémoire de licence en histoire, Université de Liège (1971), 2: 223; see also Antoine Auda, ed., *Les 'Motets Wallons' du Manuscrit de Turin: Vari 42*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1953). The description of the polyphonic manuscript is in Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th to 14th Century* (Munich, 1966), 801. Turin, Biblioteca reale, Vari 42 is in fact the fourth part of a manuscript listed in the 1667 Bouxhon catalogue as number E. 73. E. 73 was split up into four parts after the sale of 1788 (now Turin, Vari 42–45). This fourth part itself consists of two distinct sections: the music is preceded by a fifteenth-century copy of Old Testament commentaries by Jerome, and also contains two ancient folios annotated by Philippe d'Othée (prior of St Jacques, 1403–26), noting that the volume containing these folios had been in the monastery since the time of Olbert, the first abbot of St Jacques (see Denoël, 'La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liège', 1: 15).

²¹ University of California Music Library, MS 744. Description in *The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to c1500. Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Great Britain and in the United States of America*, ed. Christian Meyer, Michel Huglo and Nancy Phillips, Répertoire international des sources musicales B III/4 (Munich, 1961–), 141–2.

²² 'Regularis et irregularis monocordi diferencias et species speculative quoad practicam circulariter depingam; numeraciones et divisiones, causa brevitatis, ad Boecium seu ad Jacobum de Montibus, si reperiat, remitto, scilicet, cromatis, quod est B rotunda, enarmonii, quod est cantus naturalis, dyatonici, quod est B quadratum' (I have modified the translation in Oliver B. Ellsworth, ed., *The Berkeley Manuscript*, Greek and Latin Music Theory 2 [Lincoln, Nebr., 1984], 226–7).

build a case supporting this identification, beyond merely alluding to the possibility.²³ To date, no other scholar has substantiated this claim, beyond Max Haas's throwaway – and, as we shall see presently, probably incorrect – comment that the derivation of Jacobus's surname may imply he was a teacher in Paris associated with the schools of Mont-Ste-Geneviève.²⁴ In fact, a strong case for the identification of these two authors *can* be made; there is evidence to suggest that Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*, is indeed the Jacobus de Montibus mentioned by the author of the Berkeley treatise.

The passage from the Berkeley treatise quoted above refers the reader to the treatises of Boethius or Jacobus de Montibus, if he should want additional information on the tetrachord *genera*. Ellsworth translates the phrase 'si reperiatur' as 'if it should be found *there*' (Ellsworth takes the verb to refer to the phrase 'numeraciones et divisiones'): this translation suggests that the author of the Berkeley text does not actually know if the numberings and divisions of the three *genera* of tetrachords are contained within the treatise of Jacobus de Montibus. I would prefer the more neutral translation of 'si reperiatur' as 'if it is to be found', i.e., if the reader can find the treatise of Jacobus de Montibus – in other words, if he has access to it – then he may refer there for the detailed mathematical calculations of the three tetrachord *genera* contained within the monochord. And, indeed, the second half of *Speculum musicae*'s Book 5 (chapters 29–52) contains extensive computations and analyses of the proportions of the three *genera*, and does so to a degree not found in any other medieval treatise on music theory, not even in Boethius himself. But beyond this, the content of the fourth treatise of the Berkeley manuscript, in both the selection and ordering of its subject matter, has close parallels with Book 5 of *Speculum musicae*. Table 1 shows, in summary fashion, the breakdown of topics in both of these treatises. Both texts rely heavily on Boethius, in particular, on *De institutione musica* 1.20–27, 4.4–12 and 5.13–19. They do not, however, observe the order found in Boethius, but instead follow a different path, paralleling each other in their linking of the topics of the history of stringed instruments, the divisions of the monochord, and the three *genera* of tetrachords.²⁵ Thus, although Ellsworth states that 'despite the wide diversity of subject matter in the fourth treatise, the author [of the Berkeley treatise] has achieved a somewhat contrived and superficial sense of unity', it would seem that this somewhat 'arbitrary' order of subject matter in

²³ Richard Crocker, 'A New Source for Medieval Music Theory', *Acta musicologica*, 39 (1967), 166; Ellsworth, *The Berkeley Manuscript*, 9.

²⁴ Max Haas, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I: Eine Übersicht über die Musiklehre im Kontext der Philosophie des 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts', *Forum musicologum*, 3 (1982), 394. Many teachers of the schools on Mont-Ste-Geneviève, known as *montani* or 'montanists', took the suffix 'de Montibus'.

²⁵ There may have been a gloss tradition that dealt with these particular sections of Boethius. However, this possibility is not explored here since the manuscript dissemination is quite diverse and the modern edition of the Boethius glosses is not yet complete (see Michael Bernhard and Calvin Bower, eds., *Glossa maior in Institutionem musicam Boethii I*, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 9 [Munich, 1993]; *Glossa maior in Institutionem musicam Boethii II*, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 10 [Munich, 1994]).

Table 1. *Correspondences between Speculum musicae, Book 5, and the Berkeley Manuscript*

Jacobus, <i>Speculum musicae</i> , Book 5	<i>The Berkeley Manuscript</i> , Treatise 4
The history of the finding of the first four strings, and the addition of further strings (c. 1–7)	The history of the finding of the first four strings, and the addition of further strings (c. 1–3)
The three genera of singing, how the strings of the monochord are ordered in each of the three genera (c. 8–15)	
The letters of the monochord, various methods of dividing the monochord (c. 16–28)	Various methods of dividing the monochord (c. 4)
The division of the monochord according to each of the three genera (c. 29–45)	The differentiations and species of the regular and irregular monochord according to the three genera; the divisions of the tetrachord in each of the three genera (c. 5)
The divisions of the tetrachord according to various authors (c. 46–52)	

the Berkeley treatise actually follows the order established in *Speculum musicae*, Book 5.²⁶

Excepting the elusive ‘Jacobus of Navarre’ mentioned by Robertus Handlo, the author of *Speculum musicae* is the only theorist named Jacobus known to us from this time period.²⁷ As to the identity of the author the Berkeley treatise: Christopher Page attempted to show that Jean Vaillant was the author of the fourth treatise through an acrostic he found in the lines of verse that begin the fourth treatise.²⁸ Although Page’s derivation of this acrostic is somewhat contrived, it is interesting: both because Jean Vaillant is thought to have been a teacher of music in Paris, and in light of Ursula Günther’s identification of Jean Vaillant with a papal singer of the same name who was employed in the private chapel of Innocent VI, and on whom was conferred, in 1355, a canonicate at the collegiate church of St Paul in Liège.²⁹ Although Günther has since retracted her identification – this Jean Vaillant died in 1361, whereas Jean Vaillant, music teacher and composer, is thought to have been still active after this date – the connection with St Paul is worth noting, especially considering the new information discovered on the career of Jacobus de Montibus that I will outline presently.³⁰ In conclusion, we can speculate with some confidence that the author of the Berkeley treatise, probably working in Parisian circles in the second half of the fourteenth

²⁶ Ellsworth, *The Berkeley Manuscript*, 213, n. 23.

²⁷ Robertus de Handlo, *Regule*, in *Robertus de Handlo, Regule, The Rules and Johannes Hanboys, Summa, The Summa: A New Critical Text and Translation*, ed. Peter M. Lefferts (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991), 162–3.

²⁸ ‘Fourteenth-century Instruments and Tunings: A Treatise by Jean Vaillant’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 32 (1980), 17–35.

²⁹ ‘Johannes Vaillant’, in *Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (Munich, 1970), 175.

³⁰ ‘Transmission of 14th-century Polyphonic Music’, *Musica disciplina*, 38 (1984), 105.

century, was quite familiar with Book 5 of *Speculum musicae*, written by an author known to him as Jacobus de Montibus.³¹

Thus far, apart from the internal (and necessarily indirect) evidence in *Speculum musicae* itself, there has been nothing specifically to link Jacobus de Montibus with the liégoise provenance evident in the treatise, or to show that this shadowy figure was active at the time we believe *Speculum* to have been written, during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. That is, the association of Jacobus de Montibus with Jacques de Liège, while reasonable enough, has remained conjectural. In what follows, however, I shall provide those linkages, and will thereby considerably strengthen the case for an identification of the two figures.

*

In the letters of John XXII from the Vatican and Avignon registers relating to the provinces of Cambrai and Liège, Théroüanne and Tournai, we find the following, which is dated 13 November 1316: 'Jacobus de Montibus Anonie confertur canonicatus ecclesie S. Pauli Leodiensis, sub expectatione prebende . . . Dat. Avin. id. novembris anno I. In eundem modum abbati monasterii Lantigniacensis, Parisius diocesis, et Nicolao de Ceccano, Atrebatensis, ac magistro Galtero de Auxiaco, Noviomensis ecclesiarum canonicus'.³² This letter confers on a certain Jacobus de Montibus, of Hainaut, a canonicate at the collegiate church of St Paul in Liège, with the expectation of a prebend. St Paul, founded by Bishop Eracle (959–71), the predecessor of Bishop Notger, originally a community of twenty canons, and increased to thirty by Notger, was one of seven collegiate churches in Liège, the others being St Barthélemy, Ste Croix, St Denis, St Jean l'Evangeliste, St Martin and St Pierre. With the cathedral of St Lambert, and the two Benedictine abbeys of St Jacques and St Laurent, these were the most important ecclesiastical institutions of the city.³³ Figure 1 is a map of Liège, showing the location of these institutions in the city of the prince-bishop.

Jacobus de Montibus appears to have taken up his canonicate in Liège in the month of June 1322. The fourteenth-century account books for the collegiate

³¹ As to the date of the Berkeley treatise, there is a colophon at the end of the third treatise dated 1375; Ellsworth claims, on codicological evidence, that all the treatises were compiled at the same time and intended to function as a unified whole, and he suggests that all five treatises may have been written by one author (*The Berkeley Manuscript*, 1).

³² Arnold Fayen, ed., *Lettres de Jean XXII (1316–1324)*, *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* 1 (Rome, 1908–12), no. 176.

³³ On the collegiate church of St Paul in particular, see O. J. Thimister, *Essai historique sur l'église de S. Paul* (Liège, 1867); O. J. Thimister, *Histoire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Paul, actuellement cathédrale de Liège*, 2nd edn (Liège, 1890); O. J. Thimister, 'Quelques chartes inédits', *Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire de Diocèse de Liège*, 8 (1894), 355–66; M. Ghiot, 'Etude sur formation du domaine de la collégiale de Saint-Paul à Liège', *Mémoire de licence en Histoire*, Université de Liège (1972–3); Christian Dury, 'La chronique d'un collégiale au Moyen Age: Le "Liber de senis et aqua Sancti Pauli Leodiensis"', *Leodium*, 79 (1994), 55–71; C. Dury, 'Chapitres séculiers et législation canonique: Saint Paul de Liège et la communication du droit (XIIIe–XVe siècles)', in *Droit et communication: dire, enseigner, publier. Actes des Journées internationales d'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions (Douai-Arras 9–11 mai 1997)* (forthcoming).

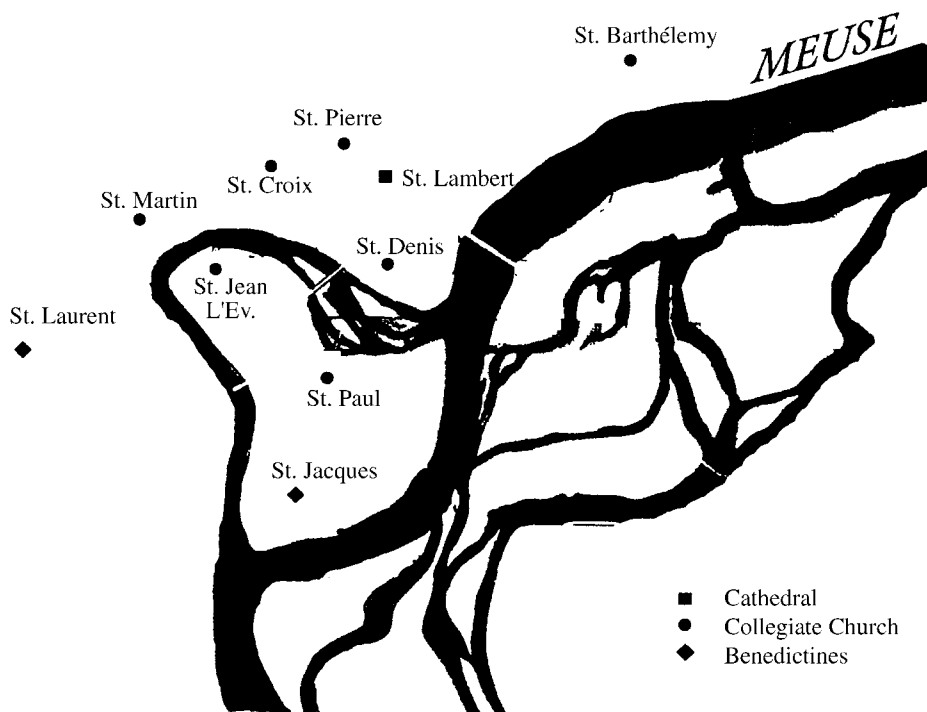


Fig. 1 Map of the principal ecclesiastical institutions in medieval Liège.

church of St Paul survive for the years 1307, 1310, 1321, 1322, 1336, 1344, 1346, 1347 and 1360 (note that the financial year runs from August to July, so the accounts for '1321', for example, comprise August 1321 to July 1322).³⁴ Payments to a Magister Jacobus de Montibus may be found in the 1321, 1322 and 1336 accounts: these payments are not found in the accounts from 1344 onward (Appendix 1 offers transcriptions of all the extended references to Jacobus de Montibus contained in these account books, excluding the instances when Jacobus's name appears as just one among the various lists of canons.) The surviving accounts for St Paul comprise records of income received by the church, their outgoing expenses, and the various distributions of goods and money. Those sections which are directly relevant to the canons of the church contain detailed descriptions of the distributions made to the chapter, listing both the fixed annual benefits payable to the canons, and the monthly distributions given only to the canons in residence.

Magister Jacobus de Montibus is first found among the list of canons who received these monthly distributions for the financial year 1321; however, his

³⁴ *Terrier de la collégiale S. Paul à Liège*, MS C I 2, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège. The account books for these years are gathered within one binding and foliated consecutively with a modern pencil foliation, although the accounts for 1360 are out of place, found directly after the accounts for 1336. Though this volume is termed in the French simply as a 'Terrier' and elsewhere as a 'Livre des comptes' in the archive inventory, the contents indicate that these are accounts of the Fabric.

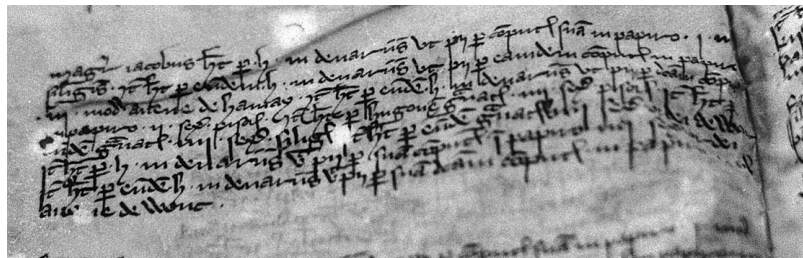


Fig. 2 Distribution of goods to Jacobus de Montibus in 1322, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège, MS C I 2, f. 87v (see Appendix 1.7 for transcription).

name begins to appear in the records only for the final months of the year, June and July (i.e., June and July 1322).³⁵ He also received an annual distribution of goods for that year, so we can probably assume that he officially took up his canonicate with prebend in 1322 (Appendix 1.4). The listing of goods received by the canons took a standardized format in these accounts, as seen in the text given as Figure 2 (see Appendix 1.7 for transcription): this typical entry from 1322 lists the distributions of wheat (*siligo*), oats (*avena*) and barley (*ordeum*) to Magister Jacobus.³⁶ In 1336, there are similar entries regarding the fixed payments to him of wheat (*cera*), pepper (*piper*), almonds (*amigdila*), etc. (Appendix 1.10). For these years (1322 and 1336), Jacobus's name is also included on the lists of canons who received monthly distributions, although, curiously, for the year 1322 there is no payment entered next to his name ('mag .ia. '), except for the month of March (i.e., March 1323), when he received 2 *sous*, suggesting that he was not actually resident at St Paul for most of that year (August 1322–July 1323).³⁷ In the accounts for 1336, Magister Jacobus receives a monthly distribution for each month except February, but since the accounts for the intervening years (August 1323–July 1336) are no longer extant, we do not know his resident status during this time.³⁸

Magister Jacobus de Montibus is found on 20 February, listed as a canon, in the mid-sixteenth-century obituary of the chaplains of St Paul: 'Commemoratio Magistri Iacobi de Montibus canonici huius ecclesiae qui legavit nobis 2 modios speltae'.³⁹ Although there is an earlier obituary of the canons of St Paul, dating

³⁵ MS C I 2, f. 61 ('pro iunio, magister iacobus, 5 modios 2 sextarios, 4 solidos 10 denarios turonenses; pro iulio, magister iacobus, 8 modios 6 sextarios, 3 denarios turonenses').

³⁶ Additional distributions to Jacobus for 1322 are given in Appendix 1.6.

³⁷ The monthly lists (from August 1322 to July 1323) are on ff. 80–82v.

³⁸ The monthly distributions for 1336 are on ff. 114v–117.

³⁹ *Recollection des anniversaires, Livre 1er*, MS C XI 5, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège, f. 5v. Christian Dury has prepared an edition of this obituary (in press), and I am grateful to him for pointing this *obit* out to me (C. Dury, 'L'obituaire des chapelains de la Collégiale de Saint-Paul Archives à Liège', *Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire de Diocèse de Liège*, 63 [1998, in press], 21–156). I have also found an *obit* for a 'Dominus Jacobus de Montibus' in the fifteenth-century obituary of the collegiate church of St-Barthélemy, but for a different date, this anniversary is on 8 July (*Collégiale Saint-Barthélemy*, no. 1, Obituaire sur parchemin, Archives de l'Etat, Liège, f. 28r). He is referred to here as 'canonicus noster', and there is no clue as to the year of his death. We have

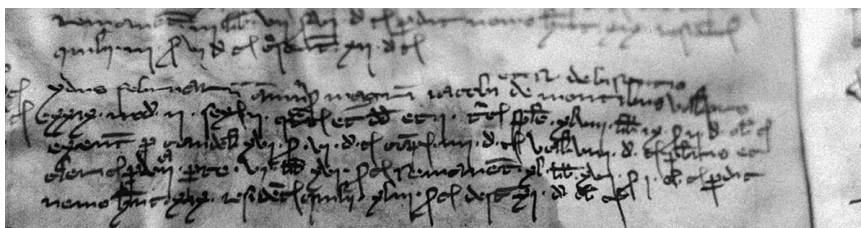


Fig. 3 1347 Obituary for Jacobus de Montibus, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège, MS C I 2, f. 208v (see Appendix 1.14 for transcription).

from the fifteenth century, it is not complete, running from May to November, and so does not contain an *obit* for Jacobus de Montibus.⁴⁰ However, added to the account books of the church (MS C I 2) are lists of St Paul's annual *obits* for the years 1347, 1348, 1349 and 1360, and an *obit* for Jacobus de Montibus is recorded for each of these years (Appendices 1.13, 1.15–17). Figure 3 shows the appearance of this obituary for the first year it appears in the extant accounts, that is, 1347 (see Appendix 1.14 for a transcription): the entry outlines the expenditures for candles (*pro candelis*), for capons (*capones*) and for the services of the priests and clerics (*presbyteriis et clericis pro septima parte*).⁴¹ As Jacobus was certainly deceased by 1347, and does not appear in the account books of St Paul for 1344, we could assume that he died between 1337 and 1343.

Further records concerning Jacobus's ownership of property lend support to this hypothesis. Details in the account books relating to Jacobus de Montibus include references to income generated from land in the territory of Wonck that Jacobus was an agent in procuring for St Paul. The only document from the archives of St Paul, other than the account books and the sixteenth-century obituary, to contain the name of Magister Jacobus de Montibus, is a charter dated 21 September 1334.⁴² On the reverse side of the parchment the following

no way of knowing whether he is or is not the same person as the canon of St Paul, and there are no relevant medieval archives for St Barthélemy to give us any more information on this individual. The name of Jacobus de Montibus is not recorded in any of the other extant obituaries for the collegiate churches of Liège: he is not found in the obituaries of Ste Croix (*Collégiale Sainte-Croix*, no. 6 [contains three obituaries], Archives de l'Etat, Liège), or in the thirteenth-century obituary of St-Denis (*Collégiale Saint-Denis*, no. 57, *Commemorations fratrum et benefactorum ecclesie Sancte Dyonisii*, Archives de l'Etat, Liège), and is not present in the obituaries of the cathedral of St Lambert (modern edition by Marchandisse, *L'obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert*) or the related chapter of Ste-Materne (modern edition by Alain Marchandisse, *L'obituaire du chapitre de Saint-Materne à la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège*, *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 1557 [1991], 1–124).

⁴⁰ *Collégiale Saint-Paul*, no. 1, *Obituaire sur parchemin*, Archives de l'Etat, Liège.

⁴¹ The name of the canon R. de Biscontio (Renardi de Beschohon) appears as an addition above the entry for 1347; in the subsequent years, his name is written directly after Jacobus's name.

⁴² *Collégiale S. Paul*, no. 160, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège. This document is not edited by Thimister: Thimister only included selected documents in his edition of St Paul's charter (O. J. Thimister, *Cartulaire; ou recueil de chartes et documents inédits de l'église collégiale de Saint-Paul actuellement cathédrale de Liège* [Liège, 1878]). I thank C. Dury for notifying me regarding the existence of this document.

is inscribed: 'littera quorundam heredorum jacentium in territorio de wonc acquistorum per magistrum de montibus'. The document itself outlines the transfer of land in Wonck from Thiriars Deniche to 'mon singnor jakeme de mons', with Pires de Hanayyes (Pierre of Hainaut), chaplain of St Paul, stipulating for Jacobus (see Appendix 2 for my transcription of this document).⁴³ Wonck, a village 15 km east of Tongres, 7 km north-west of Visé, was an ecclesiastical seignior, belonging to the chapter of St Paul. The charter in question states that all of Thiriars' land in Wonck – comprising quite a sizeable estate (see lines 10–17 of Appendix 2 for the description of the property) – was directly transferred to Jacobus ('toute le terre entirement').⁴⁴ The charter is particularly interesting because it places Jacobus de Montibus as well established in Liège by 1334, a well-regarded member of the community, a significant landowner, and an important figure in the chapter of St Paul, in that they allowed his ownership of this property in Wonck, which officially, as mentioned, was a seignior of the church.⁴⁵

We can trace land identified with the name Deniche in the accounts of St Paul relating to Wonck for the years 1307, 1310, 1321 and 1322 (see Appendix 1.1–3 and 1.5; unfortunately the archives for the *échevinage* of Wonck do not survive for this period).⁴⁶ The land is most often associated with the tenancy of the Wafflar family (mentioned during these years are Johannes and his brother Colinus). In 1336, there is no mention of the name Deniche in the 'apud wonc' section of the accounts, as Jacobus de Montibus had by then acquired this property from Thiriars Deniche. In the accounts of 1336, we find property associated with name of Jacobus de Montibus in the section of the accounts entitled 'sequitur domus claustralis', which enumerates the property of the resident canons of the chapter (Appendix 1.9).⁴⁷ In 1344, on a badly damaged and almost illegible page of the accounts, we can make out that the property acquired by Jacobus is now listed again in the section relating to property of Wonck ('apud wonc'), lending support to the hypothesis that Jacobus de Montibus was deceased by 1344, and control of his property had been returned to St Paul (Appendix 1.13). In this entry, the property is named under the tenancy of Katherina Wafflars, sister of Johannes, and is referenced as 'pro acquisitione magistri iacobi de montibus'. The property continues to be listed in this way for the remaining extant accounts (1346, 1347 and 1360; Appendices 1.12, 1.18–19). In 1360, the accounts are somewhat more detailed, and outline the intended use of this income, which Jacobus

⁴³ Pierre of Hainaut is also mentioned in a charter of 27 November 1332, along with Lambier Bines as 'capellains de Saint Poul, procureurs et messages especiaus les dis doyen et capitle Saint Paul' (Thimister, *Cartulaire*, 182).

⁴⁴ Appendix 2, line 21.

⁴⁵ Dr Paul Bertrand, archivist at the Archives de l'Etat, Liège, indicated to me the implications of Jacobus's ownership of this estate in Liège, especially in light of the status of Wonck as an ecclesiastical seignior of St Paul (private communication, 4 June 1999).

⁴⁶ There is only one fourteenth-century document surviving from the *échevinage* of Wonck, from 1322, and it is not relevant to this property (Wonck, II, Actes divers, Archives de l'Etat, Liège).

⁴⁷ MS CI 2, f. 99r.

had specified for the maintenance of vigils at the altar of Blessed St Agnes (Appendix 1.11).⁴⁸

If this is our Jacobus, then what of the connections to the Abbey of St Jacques mentioned earlier, specifically his use of books belonging to the library of St Jacques? The collegiate church of St Paul did enjoy a special relationship with the Benedictine abbey: as early as 1113 we have a charter that affirms the confraternity between the canons of St Paul and the monks of St Jacques.⁴⁹ This charter outlines the terms of the fraternity between the two institutions: they both should celebrate a Requiem Mass and an Office of remembrance with a vigil procession for each monk or canon of the fraternal institution who should die during the year; St Jacques should celebrate the feasts of St Paul and its Dedication; in turn, the canons of St Paul should especially venerate the feasts of St James, and if either institution was in need of assistance, it should turn to the other institution for aid. We could assume the confraternity would have allowed the canons of St Paul access to the library of St Jacques. Although many readers of the day certainly knew of St Jacques's library and had access to it – for example, we know that in 1333 Petrarch visited Liège to use the library, and discovered some then unknown works of Cicero there⁵⁰ – we may also keep in mind the easy proximity of the two institutions: both were situated on the 'insula leodiensis' and were within ten minutes' walk of one another (see Fig. 1).

Certainly in the fourteenth century, the collection of books at St Paul was negligible, and it was only in the fifteenth century, after several large donations of books to the chapter, that the building of a new library was necessary (the construction was begun between 1444 and 1447).⁵¹ A mid-fifteenth-century inventory of the library enumerates 264 volumes, for the most part works on theology and canon law, reflecting the specific interests of the fifteenth-century donors.⁵² What must have existed in the library during the fourteenth century would

⁴⁸ Du Fay acquired land similarly, to pay for his last foundations: see Alejandro E. Planchart, 'The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46 (1993), 345–6.

⁴⁹ Thimister, *Cartulaire*, 3–4.

⁵⁰ Sylvain Balau, *Etude critique des sources de l'histoire du Pays de Liège au Moyen-Age* (Brussels, 1903), 632.

⁵¹ Albert Derolez, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Book Lists of the Southern Low Countries*, vol. 2, *Provinces of Liège, Luxemburg and Namur* (Brussels, 1994), 633.

⁵² For the most recent, and most accurate, edition of the library catalogue, see Derolez, *Medieval Booklists*, 64–161. The catalogue, contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript kept without shelf mark at the Archives de l'Evêché, Liège, was owned and written by the canon and *scholasticus* Daniel of Blochem (d. 1467). This manuscript also contains extracts from the wills of canons who left books to the chapter, and a chronicle of St Paul, written by Daniel, that has many references to acquisitions by the library. Extracts from the chronicle and the testaments are also edited by Derolez (140–8). The library catalogue has also been edited in Anne-Catherine Fraeijs de Venbeke, 'Un catalogue des manuscrits de la collégiale Saint-Paul à Liège au milieu du XVe siècle', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 4 (1974), 359–424; Saint-Denis Bormans, 'La librairie de la collégiale Saint-Paul, à Liège, au XVe siècle', *Bibliophile belge*, 1 (1866). Neither the catalogue nor the extracts contain any references to books on music, although there are several references to liturgical books (breviaries, noted missals, glossed psalters) in the various testaments (the liturgical books would, of course, not appear in the library catalogue, as they were not housed in the library).

hardly seem to have been sufficient for Jacobus's needs. The library of the cathedral of St Lambert was also negligible in the later Middle Ages, since most of its books were lost in a fire of 1185, and the library was never reconstituted.⁵³ However, the library of St Jacques, as noted earlier, housed nearly 500 books throughout the later Middle Ages, and was apparently renowned for its collection.⁵⁴

What position did Jacobus de Montibus occupy at St Paul? Are there any other clues within the archives that might link him more specifically with the music profession? Could Jacobus, for example, have been *magister* of the students at St Paul? Unfortunately, the references found in the extant archives do not contain any specific mention of music, nor of Jacobus's duties and responsibilities at St Paul; however, from references to other individuals at St Paul, we can at least deduce which positions he did not hold. The format of the entries in the account books often gives the job title in addition to, or instead of, the name of the particular canon. So, we know, for example, that Jacobus was not *cantor*: during his time as canon at St Paul, a 'h. cantor' is listed in 1321 and 1322; this is Henricus de Westfalia, mentioned in two charters from December 1317.⁵⁵ In 1336, Colardus de Marneffe was *cantor*. Nor was Jacobus the *scholasticus*: in 1322 'colonia sco.' is specifically listed in this position (Godefridus de Colonia – he was also deacon until his death in 1346), prior to this, Gilles de Selve held the position of *scholasticus* for about two decades, and he also went on to be deacon, from 1324 to 1326.⁵⁶ In 1336, a 'h. scholasticus' is listed. This 'h. scholasticus' is Henricus de Brunichusen, who is listed in a charter of 1332, this same charter also names Nicolaus de Marneffe (a brother of Colardus?) as *cantor* (Nicholaus de Marneffe was later deacon, from 1346 to 1364).⁵⁷

It is interesting that Jacobus de Montibus is always mentioned in the account books with the title 'Magister'. It certainly accords him a level of respect (or perhaps an unfamiliarity?) not shown to any of the other canons on these lists, some of whom had university degrees, but are always listed only by their given names, whereas Jacobus is most often cited with his full name, 'magister iacobus de montibus' or at least with his given name and title, 'magister iacobus'. It suggests that this may have been his job title, rather than just indicating the fact that he had a master's degree. The *magister scholarum* at St Paul was a position distinct from that of the *scholasticus*, an assistant to him, probably carry-

⁵³ Balau, *Les sources*, 631.

⁵⁴ For the most comprehensive studies of this library and bibliography, see Mortiaux-Denoël, 'Le fonds des manuscrits' (see n. 15 for citation) and by the same author, 'La dispersion des manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Jacques de Liège', *Revue bénédictine*, 107 (1997), 352–80, essentially revisions of her dissertation, 'La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liège, Mémoire de licence en histoire, Université de Liège (1971).

⁵⁵ Thimister, *Cartulaire*, 142 (8 December 1317), 144 (12 December 1317).

⁵⁶ Gilles de Selve is first mentioned in Thimister's *Cartulaire* in 1295; until as late as 1317 (142, 144); he is also found on the lists of canons for 1307 (MS C I 2).

⁵⁷ Thimister, *St Paul*, 173. Thimister dates this charter to 11 April 1331, but based on the date of Easter that year, Dury has redated it to 1332 (private communication, 23 May 1999).

ing out his duties in his absence, and was also known by the title *rector scholarum*.⁵⁸ The statutes for St Paul, which survive in a version from 1457, do not make clear the responsibilities of the *magister scholarum*, although he is mentioned briefly in the paragraph from an ordinance of 1359, copied after the statutes, that treats the duties of the *scholasticus*.⁵⁹ It seems certain that they were two different positions held by two different people, even though Thimister, in his study of St Paul, is unclear about the differences between these positions, and often seems to equate them. However, in two charters of 10 and 12 December 1317 most of the canons of St Paul are named in the opening paragraphs, with Gilles de Selve listed as *scholasticus*, and in the final paragraphs, a Magister Johannes dicto Dives Homo is listed as a witness, under the title of 'rector scholarum eiusdem ecclesie'.⁶⁰

If Jacobus de Montibus was the *magister scholarum* at St Paul, might he have had something to do with the previously mentioned charter of 1332, drawn up by the collegiate chapter on 11 April that implements rules for dealing with the boys in the choir who misbehave, with particular reference to their incorrect singing of the chant?⁶¹ As we have seen, this act specifically mentions the names of the *cantor* (Nicholas de Marneffe) and the *scholasticus* (Henricus de Brunichusen), and their deputies, respectively the *succentor* and *magister scholarum* (who are not mentioned by name). We do not find Jacobus de Montibus's name in this document, but there are repeated references to the *magister scholarum*. Any misbehaviour in singing is to be dealt with by the *succentor*, similarly any other delinquencies of the students are to be punished by the *magister* or *rector scholarum*. Might the choirboys' lapses in discipline have been brought to the attention of the chapter by Jacobus de Montibus? In Book 6 of *Speculum musicae*, Jacobus discusses a step-by-step method of teaching singing, but it is not possible to state definitively that he is speaking from personal experience.⁶²

If we are then to identify the Magister Jacobus de Montibus of St Paul with Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*, we can present the following revised hypothesis concerning the biography of Jacobus. His name, and in particular, its translation into the vernacular as 'Jakeme de Mons' suggests that Jacobus was from the Belgian town of Mons. The letter of John XXII cited earlier, which outlines Jacobus's expectative prebend, refers to 'Jacobus de Montibus Anonie' (Anonie=Hainaut), a reference to the location of Mons in the diocese of Hainaut. So, Jacobus de Montibus (or Jakeme de Mons) was probably born in the town of Mons, most likely in the 1270s or 1280s, assuming a death date around 1340,

⁵⁸ Thimister, *Histoire*, 109.

⁵⁹ *Registrum statutorum ecclesiae collegiatae S. Pauli Leodiensis*, MS CI 12, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège; edited by Emile Schoolmeesters, *Les statuts de l'ancienne collégiale de Saint-Paul à Liège* (Louvain, 1911), 48.

⁶⁰ Thimister, *Cartulaire*, 145–6, 148–9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 177–9.

⁶² *SM* 6.69, 198–9; in these paragraphs, Jacobus states that only when the singer can sing the chants without sol-fa, and without the aid of notation as if by improvising, and *without the aid of the magister*, then does he deserve to be called a practical musician or a *cantor*.

and knowing from Jacobus's own words, that he was 'old' when completing his *Speculum musicae*.⁶³ We know nothing of his early career, other than to assume that he studied for his Master's at the University of Paris, and probably resided there for around a decade at the turn of the fourteenth century, and may have taught there, as part of his necessary regency for two years, thus obtaining the title 'Magister'. He may have stayed in Paris after completion of his Master's, or may have received an appointment elsewhere for the early years of the fourteenth century: as yet, we have no information regarding this intervening period. In 1316 he received a canonicate with an expectative prebend at the collegiate church of St Paul in Liège, and, as *magister*, he took up this canonicate with prebend in June 1322, although he appears to have been non-resident for most of this and the following year. In 1334 he purchased land from Thiriars Deniche, with the approval of the chapter of St Paul, in the territory of Wonck, land which he presumably anticipated providing the income for his final obsequies. He remained a canon of St Paul until at least 1336, and then does not appear in the account books from 1344 on. He appears in the *obits* for the church from at least 1347, and thus died, probably in Liège, between 1337 and 1343.

The significant dates in the biography of Jacobus de Montibus accord with the broad date range usually supposed for the writing of *Speculum musicae*, i.e., during the 1320s or 1330s. There is no real justification for linking, as Grossmann and Michels have done, the treatise with John XXII's papal bull of 1324/5, which admonishes against new musical practices, or to use this date as a *terminus post quem* for *Speculum musicae*.⁶⁴ Whether or not Jacobus knew of the papal bull, it is not significant (as they suggest it is) that Jacobus did not refer to it in *Speculum musicae*: this fact alone does not imply composition of the treatise before the issuance of the bull. There is also no reason to conclude, as Bragard and others have done, that the first five books of *Speculum musicae* were written in Paris, while the last two were completed after Jacobus settled in Liège. The works by authors with so-called Parisian connections that Jacobus cites from extensively

⁶³ SM 7.1, 6.

⁶⁴ Walter Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum musicae von Johannes de Muris: Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (rpt. Nendeln, 1976), Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen (Leipzig, 1924); Ulrich Michels, *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 8 (Wiesbaden, 1970), 50–5. On the bull, see Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Zur Constitutio "Docta SS. Patrem"', in *Speculum musicae artis* (see n. 29), 125–52; Helmut Hucke, 'Das Dekret Docta sanctorum patrum Papst Johannes' XXII', *Musica disciplina*, 38 (1984), 119–31. For Michels, the dating of *Speculum musicae* with respect to the papal bull has implications for the dating of other *ars nova* treatises. Thus, his dating of Jehan des Murs's *Notitia* to 1321, and *Speculum musicae* to 1324/5, compels him to date the *Compendium* to 1322, as Jacobus certainly knew of this treatise, and, further, his dating of Vitry's *Ars nova* to 1322–3 is based on the datings of *Notitia* and the *Compendium*. Apart from the fact that Jacobus must have known the *Ars nova* in at least one of its versions and the works of Jehan des Murs, there is no reason to suppose that the other works are themselves related in a chronological progression moving from the less developed to the more developed presentations of *ars nova* doctrines. But even supposing that they are related in this way, Michels's datings are constructed as a house of cards, and once any of his criteria are called into question (e.g., his use of the date of the papal bull as a *terminus post quem* for *Speculum musicae*), all of the other datings become immediately suspect.

in the first five books – Jordan of Nemore, Robert Kilwardby, etc. – were surely ‘classics’ by the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and easily available in the Liège (and other) libraries, and, in any case, we have already shown how Jacobus uses the past tense when referring to Paris, even in the reference cited earlier from Book 2. Also interesting in light of this new evidence is that there is little in the archival documents discussed here to suggest that Jacobus de Montibus had any sort of direct involvement with either music or music theory apart from the routine contact with plainsong that was part of the life of any medieval religious. In this respect, these documents resemble the archival sources for the biography of Leoninus, which offer no clues that this might be the author of the *Magnus Liber*, or even that he is the poet that Craig Wright has shown him to have been.⁶⁵ The same might be said of the archival sources for the life of Philippe de Vitry, Jacobus’s great contemporary. At this stage, we have still more questions than answers regarding the career of Jacobus, particularly during those important years that saw the completion of *Speculum musicae* – we do not yet know anything of his activity between 1323 and 1334, these years also being concurrent with the early years of the propagation of *ars nova* theories. It is hoped that the new information offered here will prompt further research into the career and works of Jacobus de Montibus, canon of the collegiate church of St Paul, Liège.

APPENDIX 1⁶⁶

Account Books, St Paul

(1) anno vii apud wonc (f. 1r)

item pro minuta deciam feodorum terris terracialibus de wonc et pro deciam deniches debent iohannes wafelars et humbeleis filius le pelon 15 modios spelte a 2 ans.

(2) anno x apud wonc (f. 17r)

... dominus h. de wonc pro deciam deniche 16 modios spelte et 2 sextarios.

(3) anno xxi apud wonc (f. 47r)

item pro deciam deniche debent iohannes li pessarias li drapiers et rigaldus inniltor de wonc 23 modios spelte.

... item iohannes wafflars et colinus fratres 6 modios spelte.

... item nicolaus wafflars pro terra preciosa 1 modium [spelte].

(4) anno xxi expense ecclesie sancti pauli (f. 65v)

magister iacobus de montibus habet per h. in denariis ut patet per computum in papiro pro sua rata cere 14 solidos 3 denarios et obolum turonenses valentes 1 libra et 3 sextarios cere 7 obolos turonenses. item habet per h. in denariis ut patet per suum dictum computum⁶⁷ in papiro pro sua rata piperis 10 solidos 2

⁶⁵ Craig Wright, ‘Leoninus, Poet and Musician’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29 (1986), 1–35.

⁶⁶ In the appendices, I retain the spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the source.

⁶⁷ MS: ‘per suam dictam computam’; the scribe always treats ‘computus’ as a feminine noun, I have corrected that in these transcriptions.

denarios et obolum turonenses valentes 1 libra piperis desunt 3 denarios et obolum turonenses. item habet per dictum h. per eandem computum in papiro in denariis pro [number no longer visible] fagottis 17 solidos 2 denarios turonenses pro sua rata fagottarum.

(5) anno xxii apud wonc (f. 67r)

item pro deciam deniche iohannes li pessarias li drapiers et rigaldus inniltor de wonc 23 modios spelte.

... item iohannes wafflars et colinus frater eius 6 sextarios spelte.

... item nicholaus wafflars pro terra preciosa 1 modium spelte.

(6) anno xxii expense ecclesie sancti pauli (f. 87r)

magister iacobus habet per dominam hochettam in camera 4 libra cere. item habet in domo dicte domine hochette 2 libra piperis. item habet per h. in denariis ut patet per computum suum in papiro 8 libra cere. item habet per eandem h. in denariis ut patet per eundem computum in papiro 4 libra piperis. item habet per eandem h. ut patet ibidem 25 capones in denariis. item habet per hugonem granatarium 17 capones et gallinam, gallinam sic nimis habet 1 gallinam. item habet per donam mariam de gimes domine dicte mulieris 18 libra amigdalarum. item habet per h. in denariis ut patet per computum suum in papiro 22 libra amigdalarum. item habet per h. in denariis ut patet per computum suum in papiro 15. item habet per eandem h. in denariis ut patet per suum dictum computum in papiro 1500 fagottos.

(7) anno xxii distributio siliginis ordei avene et pisonis (f. 87v)

magister iacobus habet per h. in denariis ut patet per computum suum in papiro 1 modium siliginis. item habet per eandem h. in denariis ut patet per eundem computum in papiro 3 modios avene de hannay. item habet per eandem h. in denariis ut patet per dictum computum in papiro 2 sextarios pisonis. item habet per hugonem granatarium 4 sextarios ordei de wonc. item habet per h. 4 denarios ut patet per suum computum in papiro 4 sextarios ordei. item habet per eandem h. 4 denarios ut patet per suum dictum computum in papiro 1 modios cere avene de wonc.

(8) anno xxxvi apud wonc (f. 90r)

item nicolaus wafflars 3 sextarios spelte. item idem pro terra preciosa 1 modium spelte. item iohannes wafflars 3 [modios spelte].

(9) anno xxxvi sequitur domus claustralis (f. 99r)

item domus magistri iacobi de montibus 10 modios spelte.

(10) anno xxxvi distributio cere piperis caponis amigdalarum siliginis ordei avene pisonis fagottarum (f. 128r)

magister iacobus habet per iohannem hochettam 2 libra et dimidiam cere, 1 libra et dimidiam piperis. item habet per h. in denariis 9 libra et dimidiam cere et 4 libra et dimidiam piperis. item habet per granatarium 17 capones et 2 gallinam. item habet per h. in denariis 32 capones et 1 gallinam. item habet 5 libra amigdalarum decime de lavoit. item habet per h. in denariis 41 libra amigdalarum. item habet per granatarium 11 sextarios siliginis. item habet per h. in denariis 21 sextarios siliginis. item habet per granatarium 1 modum ordei. item habet per

h. in denariis 4 sextarios ordeï. item habet per h. 3 denariis 3 modios avene de hannay. item habet per granatarium 2 sextarios pisonis. item habet per h. in denariis 3 sextarios pisonis. item habet per h. in denariis pro 3000 fagottis 9 libra turonenses. Item habet per h. in denariis 1 modum avene de wonc.

(11) redditus ecclesie sancti pauli pro anno lx (f. 130r)

item domicella katherina wafflarde 3 sextarios spelte mensura leodiensis. item eadem pro acquisitione magistri iacobi de montibus 1 modium spelte. item colit 31 vigiliis magister de montibus de altari beate agnete in ecclesia beati pauli de quibus debet supra sancta antiqua debita 2 modios spelte mensura leodiensis non sunt de redditibus.

... item nicholaus wafflar pro terra preciosa 1 modium spelte leodiensis.

item idem 3 sextarios spelte mensura leodiensis.

item idem pro acquisitione magistri de montibus 3 modios spelte leodiensis.

summa 4 modios 3 sextarios spelte.

(12) anno lx in anniversariis modios spelte (f. 167v)

pro die ydus februarii anniversarum magistri iacobi de montibus et renardi de besechon valentes pro 30 modios 2 sextarios 1 tercerios et dimidiam granarium spelte 60 libra 12 solidos 3 denarios obolum turonenses exeunt pro candelis pro una libra et dimidiam 33 solidos turonenses pro campanis pro 2 denarios spelte 8 denarios turonenses presbyteris et clericis pro septima parte 8 libra 8 solidos 4 denarios obolum turonenses bone remanent et 50 libra 10 sextarios 3 denarios turonenses perdit nemo habent 22 canonici residentes quilibet 45 solidos 11 denarios turonenses census 1 turonenses.

(13) anno xlv apud wonc (f. 171r)

item sorores iohannis wafflart 3 sextarios spelte.

... item domicella katherina soror dicti iohannis pro acquisitione magistri iacobi de montibus 1 modium spelte.

item nicolaus wafflars [*badly worn, the rest of this entry is illegible*].

(14) distributiones anniversarum pro anno xlvii (f. 208v)

ydus februarii anniversarum magistri iacobi de montibus et r. de biscontio valentes pro 39 modios 2 sextarios in granarium et dimidiam et 2 tercerios spelte 48 libra 9 solidos 2 denarios obolum turonenses exeunt pro candelis 16 solidos 6 denarios turonenses capones 4 denarios valentes 8 denarios turonenses presbyteris et clericis pro septima parte 6 libra 16 solidos turonenses remanent 40 libra 16 solidos 1 obolum turonenses perdit nemo habent 29 residentes quilibet 43 solidos turonenses census 11 denarios obolum turonenses.

(15) distributiones anniversarum pro anno xlviii (f. 212r)

tertio ydus februarii anniversarum magistri iacobi de montibus et renardi de bescohon valentes pro 29 modios 2 sextarios in granariam et dimidiam et 1 tercerium spelte 54 libra 6 solidos 8 denarios turonenses exeunt pro candelis 17 solidos 6 denarios turonenses campanis pro 2 denarios cere pro 7 denarios turonenses presbyteris et clericis pro septima parte 7 libra 12 solidos 8 denarios turonenses remanent 45 libra 41 solidos 11 denarios turonenses perdit iohanni delle scure habent 21 residentes turonenses quilibet 43 solidos 7 denarios turonenses census 8 denarios turonenses.

(16) distributiones anniversarum pro anno xlix (f. 216r)

quarto ydus februaryi anniversarum magistri iacobi de montibus et renardi bisontio valentes pro 29 modios 2 sextarios 2 quartarios et dimidiam et 2 tercerios spelte 45 libra 10 solidos 4 denarios obolum turonenses exeunt pro candelis pro una libra et dimidiam cere 34 solidos turonenses pro campanis pro 2 denarios bone 7 denarios turonenses presbyteris et clericis pro septima parte 6 libra 4 solidos 10 denarios remanent 31 libra 8 denarios turonenses perdit nemo habent 22 residentes quilibet 34 solidos census 11 denarios obolum turonenses.

(17) anno xlvi redditus ecclesie sancti pauli (f. 219r)

item domicella katherina soror dicti iohannis pro [acquisitione] iacobus de montibus 1 modium spelte.

... item nicolaus wafflars pro terra preciosa 1 modium spelte. item idem pro acquisitione magistri de montibus 3 modios spelte. item idem nicolaus 3 sextarios spelte.

(18) anno xlvii redditus de wonc (f. 257v)

item domicella katherina soror iohannis wafflar 3 sextarios spelte.

... item eadem pro acquisitione condicione magistri de montibus 1 modium spelte.

item nicolaus wafflars pro terra preciosa 1 modium spelte.

item idem pro acquisitione condicione magistri de montibus 3 modios spelte.

item idem 3 sextarios spelte.

APPENDIX 2

Purchase of land by Jakeme de Mons, dated 21 September, 1334⁶⁸

a tous cheaus qui ces presentes lettres veront et oront, li maires et li eschevins de wonc salut et conissance de veriteit. sacent tuit ke par devant nos si com par devant curt et iustiche. conirent en leurs propres personnes pour chu faire ke chi apres sensiet. thiriars fis thirar deniche dunepart, et hons discreis sires pires de hanayyes, cappelains de saint paul, en liege, stipulans et partie faisans por home discreis mon singnor jakeme de mons canone de saint paul pour lui et en nom de lui dautrepart. et lui requisit li dis thiriars, a johani le tyes, maior mis en fealiteit de par betran de vileir maior et est henri de wonc. qui somonist nos les eschevins ke nos raporte sus sil estont si lui binfaitement avestis et a hireteis et en teile possecion com par lui deshireteir et atruit a hireteir. de ovoit verges grandes et dois et deniet petites de terre eroule por plus ou por moins gisans en terroir de wonc, deleis lis terres saint paul vers froimont dunepart, et les terres saint gile decosteit vers gere dautrepart. item, de sept verges grandes et dys petites en tel mersines terroir en dois piches lume joindant del autre en lue dist al estagir entre le terres dame ysabeaus feme conoir desore et desos. item don jornal en sol moisures terroir por le trege detreit. deleis les terres saint

⁶⁸ *Charte* no. 160, Collégiale St Paul, Archives de l'Evêché, Liège. This charter is not edited by Thimister.

gile dunepart, et le terre giles de moins dautrepart. li quos maires nos en somont et raportans par plaine siete. ke li dis thiriars estoit de tout hiretage desordit si bin a hireteis et en teile posention quilh en poist bin faire se lige volenteit lui deshireteir et atruit a hireteir. et chu ensi raporteit. li dis thiriars fut si conselhies quilh reportat sus en le main de dit maior en aioes de dit mon singnor jakeme toute le terre entirement desordite. qui teroir de mon ditte curt le bonir pour mi dis denirs et malhe et en denir ligois de polage. de cens par an a pourament dicte curt a teis termines. a savoir al saint denys quatre denirs a le terre quatre denirs al saint jehan baptiste doit denirs le malh et le donir de polage a on de ces termines et le report li dis thiriars sens rins eus a rettenir par quos li dis maires a lensengnement de nos les eschevins par mi teil cens et a teis jours apponir com dit est. sist a dit singnor piron en aioes le dit mon singnor jakeme. de tout hiretage desordit don et vesture et eus le commandat empais si anant. ke lilois et li costume de pays portent et ensengnement et chu fait li dis sires pires pour le dit mon singnor jakeme. et en se nom rendit a tenir de li hiretavlement a trescens, a dit thiriari, tout hiretage desordit par mi teil cens com dit est et par mi encors. dois muys despeatte. ke li dis thiriars en doit a dit mon singnor jakeme rendit et parer caston au hiretavlement al feste saint andrir lapostle bim parens et loians al mesure de liege a dois denirs pres delle melhome de muy de liege et de dehireir a liege sor le grenir, le dit mon singnor jakeme. a cost frons et despens le dit thiriari et par mi teil cens rentes ensi et a teis jours apponir com dit est li dis sires pires por le dit mon singnor jakeme fist a dit thiriari del yretage desordit don et vesture et ens le commandat empais si anant com lois porte par teile condition. se li dis mon sires jakemes mestoit bin sens et ponis del saint andrir justes a le quasimode apres. quilh tantost sens mi determine bin autrement faire portit valen a hiretage desordit si qua ast bin yretage les queles onires et toutes les cases desordites. li dis maires mist en le wonc de nos les eskevins ki nos drois en ewimes et li dis maires le sins drois asavoir. sont johans wafflars, libiers pinteneas, humbeles wairat, rigas li munirs, watirs le blans et betran de vilier. et par tant ke ce soit ferme coise et estable ju bertrans por mi por le maior a se requeste, ju johans wafflars par mi, ju libiers por mi por rigol, ju humbeles por mi wateoreol a lur requeste avens pendus a ces letres nos propres saious dequeis nos li eschevins usons a ceste fois. che fut por lan del nativiteit mon singnor jhesu christe m. ccc. et trente quatre le jor le saint mathies lapostle.