Guy of Saint-Denis and the Compilation of Texts about Music in London, British Library, Harl. MS. 281

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The British Library manuscript Harl. 281 provides a carefully structured anthology of texts, copied by a single hand, about the theory of music as interpreted in Paris in the early fourteenth century. The first of its two sections (ff. 5r–38v) opens with what is presented as three distinct books by Guido of Arezzo (d. after 1033): the *Micrologus*, the *Trocaicus* (a synthesis of various Guidonian texts, primarily the *Regule rythmice*), and a third book on music in the form of a dialogue, in reality the anonymous *Dialogus de musica* once attributed to Odo and often linked to Odo’s oeuvre. These three books are expanded by additional material and followed by a fourth text, the so-called *Tonale Beati Bernardi*, an anonymous tonary that provides a Cistercian interpretation of plainchant performance concerns. The second section of Harl. MS. 281 (ff. 39r–96v) contains three more recent texts, possibly intended to create a group of seven. The first of these is the *Ars musicæ* of Johannes de Grocheio (Jean of Grouchy), presented here (ff. 39r–52r) without identification of its authors.

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3 While some names, such as Johannes de Grocheio and Petrus de Cruce, will be referred to by their Latin form, in accordance with musicological practice, English forms will be used for certain others for the sake of clarity (for example, to distinguish Guido of Arezzo from Guy of Saint-Denis).
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author. No other copies are known of the two final works in the anthology, the relatively short Tractatus de tonis (ff. 52v–58r) by Petrus de Cruce, cantor of Amiens cathedral in the late thirteenth century, and the much more elaborate Tractatus de tonis (ff. 58v–96r) of Guy of Saint–Denis. This latter treatise, edited for the first time in 1998 by Sieglinde van de Klundert, makes significant use of Grocheio’s Ars musicae and the writings of Guido of Arezzo, and refers positively to the activities of Petrus de Cruce. Who, then, was responsible for the Harley anthology as a whole, and what was the reasoning behind this synthesis, which brings together both traditional and more contemporary thinking about music current in Paris in the late thirteenth century?

The Harley anthology might be compared to other compilations from the period, perhaps most immediately with the Tractatus de musica (Paris, BnF lat. 16663) prepared by the Dominican theorist Hieronymus de Moravia (Jerome of Moray) sometime after 1271. Hieronymus also combined ancient and modern authorities, in his case giving pride of place to the De institutione musica of Boethius, quoted and summarized in extenso within his treatise and paired with extensive citation from a range of more recent treatises on mensurable music. This study presents evidence that Harl. MS. 281 was commissioned and corrected by Guy of Saint–Denis, author of the final treatise in the anthology, and that the

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4 Only one other manuscript is known of the Ars musicae (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek MS. 2663, ff. 56r–69r, from the Carthusian house of Saint Barbara, Cologne, s. xiv). The attribution of the Ars musicae to Johannes de Grocheio occurs only in the Darmstadt manuscript. The Darmstadt copy appears to derive from the exemplar of Harl. MS. 281, rather than from the Harley copy itself. Both the Darmstadt and Harley versions of the Ars musicae are reproduced in facsimile in Ernst Rohloff, Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio: Im Faksimile herausgegeben nebst Übersetzung des Textes und Übersetzung ins Deutsche, dazu Bericht, Literaturgeschicht, Tabellen und Indices (Leipzig, 1972). In this publication, Rohloff (pp. 171–2) dates the Ars musicae to 1275, correcting an older view that it was from around 1300, initially formulated by Johannes Wolf, ‘Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Mittelalters’, Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, i (1899), pp. 65–130 at p. 67, defended by Heinrich Besseler, ‘Zur “Ars musicae” des Johannes de Grocheo’, Die Musikforschung, ii (1949), pp. 229–31, and widely repeated in musicological literature. A new edition and translation of the Ars musicae, based on Harl. MS. 281, is being prepared by the authors of this article for publication in the Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages (TEAMS) series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, forthcoming).


7 There are also some other compilations with which Harl. MS. 281 can be compared, for example, the so-called Berkeley Manuscript, a late fourteenth-century composite of music theoretical learning edited in toto in Oliver B. Ellsworth (ed., trans.), The Berkeley Manuscript: University of California Music Library, ms. 744 (olim Phillipps 4450) (Lincoln, 1984). Another example is Marie Louise Gollner, The Manuscript Cod. lat. 5339 of the Bavarian State Library (Neuhausen–Stuttgart, 1993).

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the contents of the manuscript as a whole reflect the same concerns found in Guy’s *Tractatus de tonis*, namely how traditional monastic teaching about music could creatively interact with much more contemporary perspectives. We suggest that it may have been prepared for students studying at the College of Saint-Denis in Paris, located near the Dominican house of St Jacques, home of Hieronymus de Moravia, before shifting to the Quai des Augustins by 1281. Our study also explores the subsequent history of Harl. MS. 281, particularly in the sixteenth century, when it came into hands of Jean Gosselin (c. 1505–1604), keeper of the French Royal Library during the wars of religion. Gosselin’s possession of the manuscript, which subsequently passed through the hands of Christopher Wren Jr and then Sir Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, indirectly sheds light on an otherwise mysterious phase in the history of the French Royal Library between 1561 and 1593.

**The Redaction of Harley 281: A Manuscript of Saint-Denis?**

The main text of Harl. MS. 281 was first foliated as ff. 1–93 in the sixteenth century but was refoliated after 1808 as ff. 1–96, taking into account three paper leaves (ff. 1–3) and a parchment flyleaf (f. 4) carrying annotations by Jean Gosselin. The parchment flyleaf, which is mounted on a guard, had been previously misidentified as part of the gathering system for folios 5–96 and would have been the original flyleaf to the volume. Folios 5–96 are preserved on parchment of relatively inferior quality with a number of buckled folios and lacunae. Folios measure 220 x 145 mm (the result of post-sixteenth-century retrimming) comprising twelve quires preceded by a singleton (f. 4). There are framed catchwords for seven quires, and there are pencilled folio signatures on the first half of each quire on the recto side. The written space measures 150 x 100 mm, with 40 lead-ruled text lines. Where present, musical staves occupy three text lines, with a fourth line used for text underlay, for up to ten staves per folio. Rubrication, musical illustrations, text highlighting and musical staves are in red. Red ink is also used to cross out text on ff. 5–38v; from f. 39r, text is predominantly crossed out in brown ink.

The text and rubrication on ff. 5–96 were entered by a single scribe in a neat, low-grade gothic *rotunda* bookhand of clear Italianate influence. Indications of this influence include an even, vertical script, short ascenders and descenders, and distinctive letter shapes, such as a round ‘d’ with a left-leaning, near horizontal ascender and a ‘trailing s’ at the end of

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9 The three paper leaves measure 135 x 95 mm (f. 1), 170 x 65 mm tapering to 45 mm (f. 2) and 185 x 135 mm (f. 3). Ff. 1 and 3 are mounted on guards, and f. 2 is mounted on paper. References to individual folios in the present study follow the modern foliation. The earlier foliation, ff. 1–93, is recorded in the 1808 catalogue of Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum: *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. i, p. 104. That foliation omitted f. 89, but the numbering is corrected for the final folios. The modern foliation is used in Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1906–1909; repr. 1964–1966), vol. iii, pp. 298, 300 and 302–4.

10 This misidentification occurs in Christian Meyer, *Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era*, p. 74.


12 These seven quires are: 2 (f. 18v), 3 (f. 26v), 4 (f. 34v), 6 (f. 46v), 8 (f. 64v), 9 (f. 72v) and 11 (f. 88v).

13 Most folio signatures have been erased, but they are still visible for quires 7 (ff. 47r–50r), 10 (ff. 73r–76r) and 11 (ff. 81r–84r) and in part for quires 4 (f. 30r) and 12 (ff. 91r and 92r).

14 Staves with notation are included on ff. 9v, 10v, 12v, 19r, 20r, 24r, 36r–38r, 53r–58r, 79r and 80r–96v.
The main scribe worked with a second individual, who wrote in what we may term the scholar’s hand. This scholar was evidently familiar with the detail of music theory; he was responsible for minor corrections throughout the manuscript and major corrections on ff. 66v–69r, 70r and 89r–v to the *Tractatus de tonis* of Guy of Saint-Denis. By contrast, few corrections were carried out by the main scribe. Comparison of the word ‘etiam’ from a musical illustration on f. 13v with the same word from a correction made in the scholar’s hand on f. 68v (fig. 1) indicates that this scholar also entered the musical illustrations included on various folios between ff. 7v and 33r as well as text under staves. Capital letters in the scholar’s hand also correspond to the hand that fills in, or writes over, letters that refer to note names in the text (fig. 2).

![Fig. 1. The word etiam in a musical illustration on f. 13v (left) and on f. 68v (right).](image)

Although the script of the main text is characteristic of a scribe of Italian origin, the manuscript includes distinctly Parisian pen decoration comprising red and blue flourished initials with red and blue single-side borders on the left (fig. 3). There are also alternate red and blue initials (flourished in red for blue initials and blue for red initials), and alternate red and blue paraphs. Music in Harl. MS. 281 is notated using a system of square notation typical of Parisian plainchant sources of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (fig. 4). Features of this system include red staves, standardized directions of note heads,

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16 Glenn Pierr Johnson describes this second individual as someone ‘who made various emendations’ in Harl. MS. 281 but implies that this individual was not connected to the production of the manuscript; Johnson, ‘Aspects of Late Medieval Music’, vol. ii, p. 481.

17 The corrections are detailed by van de Klundert, *Tractatus de tonis*, vol. ii, pp. 141–74.
diamond-shaped descending notes, vertical strokes within staves and use of the \textit{plica} to indicate liquescence.\footnote{Harl. MS. 281 incorporates a left-facing \textit{virga} with a short, right-hand descending stroke, a left-facing \textit{podatus} and \textit{scandicus}, and a \textit{porrectus} with a left-facing initial note. The \textit{climacus} is also left facing with diamond-shaped descending notes. The \textit{clavis} faces right, and the \textit{torculus} incorporates a thick, vertical stroke with a left-facing final note; both the \textit{clavis} and \textit{torculus} have an initial right-hand descender. Liquescence is indicated using the ascending and descending \textit{plica}. A close contemporary comparison is afforded by BnF lat. 911, a manuscript dominated by chants for the feasts of Saint Louis and thought to have been compiled in Paris between 1300 and 1310. A feature of both manuscripts is the use of the \textit{plica} to indicate liquescence and the absence of a \textit{custos} at the end of lines. A facsimile of f. 3r of BnF lat. 911 is reproduced in Cecilia Gaposchkin, ‘Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX: New Perspectives on \textit{Ludovicus Decus Regnantium}', \textit{Plainsong and Medieval Music}, xii (2004), pp. 33–61 at p. 43. Michel Huglo discusses the use of the \textit{plica} as a sign of liquescence in Parisian plainchant sources in ‘Notated Performance Practices in Parisian Chant Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century’, in \textit{Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony}, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 32–44 at pp. 37–8.}

Distinctly Parisian flourished initials with folio-length, left single-side borders occur at nine points in Harl. MS. 281,\footnote{In the foreword to his edition of the \textit{Tractatus de tons} of Petrus de Cruce, Denis Harabinson notes the influence of mensural notation on the notation used in Harl. MS. 281 for Petrus’s tonary (this notation is the same as for the rest of the manuscript) but does so through the flawed identification of the \textit{punctum} with the \textit{brevis} and the \textit{virga} with the \textit{longa}, and he argues that this is ‘would appear to be confirmed by use of both the \textit{plica brevis} (two types) and the \textit{plica longa}’. As there are no strokeless, single-note signs in Harl. MS. 281, there is no sign that could be identified as a \textit{punctum}. The \textit{virga} is written consistently with a short, right-hand stroke and therefore does not correspond to the \textit{longa}. Moreover, both strokes on ascending and descending \textit{plicas} are the same length, precluding the possibility of either representing the \textit{plica longa} or the \textit{plica brevis}.} but at only one point among the twelve quires of the manuscript does a new quire correspond with one of these initials. This occurs on f. 39r, at the opening of Johannes de Grocheio’s \textit{Ars musice}. This effectively divides the manuscript into two parts: the first, on ff. 5r–38v, is itself divided into three books (\textit{libri}), each opening with a flourished initial with folio-length borders. The first of these is Guido of Arezzo’s \textit{Micrologus} (‘Little discourse’) on ff. 5r–16v with certain interpolations. The second, on ff. 16v–24v and introduced as a \textit{trocaicus} (‘trochaic verse’), is made up of a combination of various texts of Guido of Arezzo, namely the \textit{Regule rythmice}, \textit{Prologus in antiphonarium} and extracts from the \textit{Epistola ad Michaelem}. The third book, on ff. 24v–38v, is attributed to Guido of Arezzo but is in fact the \textit{Dialogus de musica} with interpolations,\footnote{These nine points and the texts they open are: 5r – the \textit{Micrologus} group of texts; 16v – the \textit{Tricacicus} group of texts; 23r – the \textit{Epistola}; 24v – the \textit{Dialogus} group of texts; 34r – the \textit{Tonale Beati Bernardi}; 39r – the \textit{Ars musice}; 52v – Petrus’s \textit{Tractatus}; 58v – part one of Guy’s \textit{Tractatus}; and 76v – part two of Guy’s \textit{Tractatus}.} extracts from the \textit{Epistola ad Michaelem} and certain other additional matter. The Hindu–Arabic numeral ‘3’ is written at the top of the recto side of ff. 25–34 (that on f. 25 as ‘3\textsuperscript{m}’ [\textit{tercius}] in the hand of the main scribe). This refers not to the third gathering but to this being the third book in the collection of Guidonian texts. It is not clear why there is no similar identification to books one and two of those attributed to Guido of Arezzo. A rubric on f. 34r (‘Expliciunt
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Fig. 3. Manuscript decoration on f. 52v.
Fig. 4. Musical notation on f. 53v (from Petrus de Cruce’s Tractus de tonis).
toni guidonis aretini’) is followed immediately by the rubric: ‘Incipit alia ars de tonis per modum dyaalogi que a quibusdam intitulatus sub nomine beati Bernardi’, introducing the Tonale Beati Bernardi. The opening of both the Epistola on f. 23r (among the second group of Guidonian texts) and the Tonale on f. 34r is marked by similar flourished initials (fig. 5).

The second part of the manuscript is also in three parts, set off with similar flourished initials, preserving three works from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, two of which are unique to Harl. MS. 281. Grocheio’s Ars musice might seem out of place in this anthology, as unlike all the other works in the manuscript, the discussion of musica therein is not confined to plainchant theory. Nonetheless, in the Tractatus de tonis, Guy of Saint-Denis quotes Grocheio, without identifying him by name. That Guy is the only theorist known to cite Grocheio hints at the possibility that he knew its author personally. Guy also intimates that he was familiar with the singing of Petrus de Cruce, the other author represented in the second part of Harl. MS. 281. Apart from his own Tractatus, the second part of Harl. MS. 281 comprises the work of theorists with whom Guy of Saint-Denis is likely to have had some sort of personal connection.

Although the script in this manuscript suggests certain Italianate features, decorative and notational traits, coupled with the contents of the anthology as a whole, point towards Harl. MS. 281 having originated in a Parisian milieu. This assumption is supported by marginalia in the scholar hand on f. 26r that include reference to solmization syllables (‘no, ni, na’) identified by Jacques of Liège (fl. 1300–1330) as used specifically in Paris in the early fourteenth century (‘no, ni, a’). Because Guy of Saint-Denis alludes to a quodlibetal disputation of Peter of Auvergne (d. 1304), delivered in 1301, the manuscript must have been copied after this date. This date is also consistent with the inclusion in Guy’s tonary of three chants from the Saint Louis Office, Lauda celestis, composed in, or soon after, 1297

22 ‘Ambianensis tamen ecclesia secundum tonos magistri Petri de Cruce et exempla, que ponit ibidem, nostro potius et ceterorum monachorum usui quoad hoc confornmari videntur et nos ipsi’; ‘et magistrum Petrum de Cruce, qui fuit optimus cantor et Ambianensis ecclesie consuetudinem specialiter observavit: aliqua invitatoria sunt istius toni, saltem duo. Unum videlicet, de quo ponit exemplum ille magister Petrus, qu<od> apud nos non est in usu, nec eius Venite, sed videntur esse de usu Ambianensis ecclesie sumpta’. Guido von Saint-Denis, Tractatus de tonis 2.1.102 and 2.8.75, ed. van de Klundert, vol. ii, pp. 78 and 133.


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and performed at Saint-Denis. The compilation of Harl. MS. 281 in the period shortly after 1300 is also suggested by the inclusion in Guy’s Tractatus of extracts from the commentary on the Politics initiated by Thomas Aquinas and completed by Peter of Auvergne, which was available to scholars for copying by booksellers, as a University of Paris tax record from 1304 makes clear.26

Whereas much Parisian book production during this period was typically directed by a libraire, who oversaw all aspects of manuscript preparation including engaging scribes, the musical illustrations appear to have been added not by a professional scribe but by our scholar.27 There are several elements that point towards the identity of this scholar. Marginalia in the scholar’s hand, usually rendered on the right-hand side of the half-folio, were penned by an individual with an advanced understanding of music theory.28 Most corrections made by this individual are minor; major corrections, such as the rewriting of whole sentences and the deletion of an entire paragraph on f. 67r, are confined to the Tractatus de tonis by Guy of Saint-Denis. These corrections are noted by van de Klundert in the apparatus to her critical edition of this text, although she did not investigate their significance.29 The changes made to the treatise are more than simply scribal corrections:

25 These chants include the mode one antiphon Lauda celestis, the mode three antiphon Hostem pestis and the mode six responsory Cum esset in accubitu. Guy also cites the Saint Louis hymns Rerum deus tenax vigor and Gaude mater. Michel Hugo has claimed that because Guy cites an ‘unknown chant for Corpus Christi’, his Tractatus must have been composed between 1315, when Corpus Christi was introduced at Cluny, and 1318, when the Corpus Christi Office was introduced into Parisian usage; see Michel Hugo, ‘Guy de Saint-Denis’, New Grove Online, ed. L. Macy (accessed 17 July 2007) <www.grovemusic.com>. Although Hugo does not name the chant in question, Guy does mention the antiphon Paratum panem for the Octave of Corpus Christi. Contrary to Hugo’s claim, however, the year in which the feast of Corpus Christi was adopted at Saint-Denis has not been established. Robertson, for example, dates its introduction to the ‘late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries’ and notes that this feast was added to at least one thirteenth-century missal of Saint-Denis at the same time as the feast of Saint Louis, which was celebrated at Saint-Denis from at least 1297; see Robertson, The Service Books of the Royal Abbey, p. 77 and n. 140. By coincidence, Guy mentions Paratum panem in the same paragraph as the responsory Cum esset in accubitu for the feast of Saint Louis; Guido of Saint-Denis, Tractatus de tonis 1.3.152–3/157, ed. Klundert, vol. ii, p. 33. The feast of Corpus Christi was established by papal Bull in 1264, while the year 1318 coincides with the obligatory celebration of the feast in Dominican houses; see William R. Bonniwell, A History of the Dominican Liturgy (New York, 1944), pp. 223–226. Van de Klundert has also answered Hugo’s claim in Tractatus de tonis vol. i, p. 18, n. 19.


28 On f. 8r, for example, the outline of diatessaron ‘affinities’ from chapter seven of Guido of Arezzo’s Micrologus has the following marginalia clarification in the scholar hand: ‘a gravibus diatessaron vult diapente g. a. et vis quia sonat ad D; gravibus [?] vero sonant diapente quia a acuta ad eandem D gravem sonat’ (‘From the low notes, the diatessaron desires the diapente; to the low notes, it sounds the diapente because it sounds from high a to the same low D’.)

29 Van de Klundert, Tractatus de tonis, vol. ii, pp. 3–137.
they appear to improve upon what the author wanted to say. This level of editorial interference bears the hallmarks of an apograph, a copy directed by an author who actively engages in an editorial capacity with his or her text. That Guy of Saint-Denis collaborated with a *pictor* in the preparation of Harl. MS. 281 is indicated by the opening rubric to his *Tractatus de tonis* at the top of f. 58v: ‘Qui legis auctoris nomen per quinque priora Gramata pictoris, hoc scribi celitus ora’ (‘You who read the name of the author through the five first letters of the pictor, pray for it to be written in heaven’). The name ‘GUIDO’ is formed by the initial capitals of each of the five chapters of the *Tractatus de tonis*, indicating the name of its author. As the copy of Guy’s *Tractatus de tonis* in Harl. MS. 281 was certainly

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30 For example, on ff. 66v–67r, text is altered as follows, with bold type indicating the scholar’s corrections and deletions: ‘Primum igitur tonus est, qui regulariter in .d. gravi idest in .d. solre. finitur/ cuiusque acuitas vel ascensus ab cadem finali litera computando usque ad octavam litteram seu vocem. scilicet .d. acutam. idest .d. solre. regulariter se extendit vel etiam usque ad nonam. scilicet .e. acutam. idest secundum e-lami licentieliter. eius vero gravitas et descensus ab cadem finali littera computando/ solummodo usque ad secundam litteram seu vocem. scilicet .c. graven. idest .c. flat. licentieliter se extendit et si inventiatur descendere usque ad tertiam scilicet b mi valide raro hoc accidit tamen licentieliter sit’ Et si ultra quam dictum est se extendet sub vel supra/ talis cantus irregularis a musicis iudicatur tamquam latitudinem sui toni et ipsius regulares terminos limitesque transcendentem.’ This extract from book one, chapter three, describes the final and range of tone one and ends with a general comment that if any chant of this tone exceeds its range, it is ‘judged by musicians to be irregular’. The following paragraph (‘Volunt tamen quidam … dicetur naturam sapiant’) relates circumstances in which the range of this tone is exceeded, with the subsequent two paragraphs (‘Si vero cantus … reducetur.’ ‘Est etiam notandum … finalem litteram finiretur’) describing the use of affinals. This order of material — description of the final and range concluding with comment as to when a range is considered irregular followed by description of the use of affinals, where applicable — is replicated in subsequent paragraphs for tones two through to eight. The phrase ‘et si inventiatur descendere usque ad tertiam scilicet b mi valide raro hoc accidit tamen licentieliter sit’ describes one circumstance in which the range of tone one is exceeded, material that may have been considered out of place in this paragraph. The addition of ‘regulariter se extendit’ after ‘d solre’ replicates a phraseology found in descriptions of tones two through to eight. Prior to the paragraph beginning ‘Si vero cantus’ (f. 67r), an entire paragraph describing the use of ‘round or soft b’ (‘b rotundus vel mollis’) has been deleted (corrections in this paragraph are in bold type): ‘Sciendum est autem quod si contingat cantus aliquos huius toni finiri in .g. grave / idest in primo .g. solreut. causa videlicet necessitatis alciuius vel quia aliter notari non possunt prout conuerverunt cantari. tunc in fine cum .b. rotundo vel mollari notari debent / ut sic videlicet non in .ut. vel .sol. sed in .re. finiantur / et ita .g. gravis ad .d. gravem idest ad d solre. reducetur. et talis reductio locum habere videtur in Responsorio Germanus plenus spiritu sancto et in antiphona illa Oramus te. et in Responsorio. Pater insignis. Deus omnipotens. et quibusdam alios cantibus quorum nonnullus si vera sunt. immo quia vero sunt que de tonis senserunt musici salva nostrorum pace non solum irregularares esse constat immo nec unquam ab expertis in musica prout apud nos cantantur ad presens fuisse compositos / Sed magis scriptorum vicio vel correctionis negligencei deprivatos. de quorum sibi quia similitudem contranea alias forsitan etr locus.’ In subsequent paragraphs, the use of ‘soft b’ (‘b mollis’) is described only in brief, suggesting that this extended description was deemed inappropriate. The relevant passages are given in Guido von Saint-Denis, *Tractatus de tonis* 1.3.29–66, ed. van de Klundert, vol. ii, pp. 28–29.

31 The term ‘apograph’ is evoked here to signify the copying of a work that lies between an author’s autograph and a scribal exemplar, in particular, one that was made under the author’s supervision and includes the author’s own corrections. The term itself is lifted from Graham Pollard, who in turn borrowed it from Monsignor Saffrey; Graham Pollard, ‘The Pecia System in the Medieval Universities’, in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 145–161 at p. 151.

32 This ‘GUIDO’ acrostic matches the acrostic verse that opens the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, given on f. 5r of Harl. MS. 281. Jacques of Liège is similarly identified (‘IACOBUS’) in an acrostic spanning the seven books of his *Speculum musicae*. 
undertaken by a single scribe under the author’s direction, it can be concluded with reasonable confidence that the scholar who made corrections throughout the manuscript was Guy of Saint-Denis. The main scribe was also responsible for rubrics within the text, but the *pictor*, or painter, with whom Guy devised the acrostic initials, was probably responsible for the distinctly Parisian manuscript decoration in Harl. MS. 281.

We know that Guy was a monk at the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Denis from the explicit to his treatise: ‘Here ends the *Tractatus de tonis* gathered together by brother Guido, monk of the monastery of Saint-Denis in France’. Guy also comments that he had compiled the treatise ‘at the praiseworthy request of certain of our brothers’. Guy organizes his *Tractatus de tonis* into two books, the first of which is concerned with theoretical issues, the second with practical examples. The driving concern in Guy’s treatise is provision of an accessible introduction to the tones. The term ‘tone’ (*tonus*) had a wide range of applications in music-theoretical writings, but as a general term it described sound (*sonus*) that had been regulated in some way. Guy’s exposition on the tones is based firmly on the authority of monastic tradition, primarily as established by Guido of Arezzo and Boethius, but combining the authority of ancients with those of certain moderns. This echoes precisely the combination of texts found in the Harley compilation as a whole. The fact that he shares the same name as Guido makes this sense of identification with the ancients even more telling.

A possible explanation for the presence of an Italianate hand as responsible for copying Guy’s manuscript might lie in the presence in France in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries of Italian trained scribes, particularly from Bologna, where a thriving book trade prevailed in less-than-ideal political circumstances. As the account books of Saint-Denis confirm, professional scribes were frequently employed between 1280 and 1342 to copy manuscripts for the abbey. One of these was Guillaume Lescot, who produced in the early decades of the fourteenth century a chronicle presented to Philippe V in 1317. A professional scribe, his hand is also found in manuscripts prepared elsewhere in Paris. In the case of Harl. MS. 281, Guy did not just correct the work of the scribe but he also entered

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38 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. ii, p. 42. This is mentioned by Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, but not specifically as a manuscript of Saint-Denis, *La Bibliothèque*, p. 47, n. 140. This chronicle was appended to the *Vie de saint Denis* in Paris, BnF lat. 13836; see Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine: portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 7 vols (Paris, 1974), vol. iii, p. 339. The Rousses conclude that the three-volume copy of the *Vie* in Paris, BnF fr. 2090–2092 was also copied at Saint-Denis, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. ii, p. 42, as does Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque*, pp. 296–7. Similarly, Paris, BnF lat. 15131, dated to 1289–1292 and including *Formulae litterarum et carmina* of the abbey, was also compiled at Saint-Denis; Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, vol. iii, p. 399, and Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque*, pp. 306–7.
Guy of Saint-Denis and the Compilation of Texts about Music in London, British Library, Harl. MS. 281

musical illustrations, pitch names, text underlay and musical notation. This collaboration would also explain how distinctly Parisian decorative work could be included in a manuscript copied in a distinctly Italianate hand. The custos is not used in Harl. MS. 281, which is consistent with the manuscript being a Benedictine production. The monastic context of the compilation of this manuscript is confirmed by the explicit to Guy’s Tractatus, which states that this treatise, and by implication the manuscript itself, was gathered together (compilatus) in the monastery of Saint-Denis in France.39

The College of Saint-Denis

One place for which Harl. MS. 281 could have been intended is the house of study, or college, of the monks of Saint-Denis. The account books of Saint-Denis for 1229 record the presence of a house of study for its monks in Paris, adjacent to the Dominican monastery of Saint-Jacques.40 The College was relocated by Matthew of Vendôme, abbot of Saint-Denis from 1258 until his death in 1289, on land purchased in 1263 from the abbot of Saint-Germain (between what is now the Quai des Augustins, the rue des Augustins, the rue Christine and the rue Dauphine). Matthew intended it to be both his official residence in Paris and a place of advanced study for a small group of monks. Given that Matthew had been entrusted government of the kingdom in 1269 by Louis IX and would be senior adviser to his successor Philip III, the residence and thus the college would have been at the hub of political activity throughout these years. The abbey accounts show that between 1280 and 1342, a large number of manuscripts were copied for the use of the college’s students, many of whom would go on to hold major offices at Saint-Denis. The account books report that the abbey always made an annual payment for a magister iuvenum, and from 1284, there was also a magister puerum (de cantu).41 Because he was receiving a salary, this magister iuvenum does not seem to have been a monk of Saint-Denis, but rather someone employed to give instruction to the novices, perhaps before they became fully professed at the abbey. The fact that Harl. MS. 281 does not carry any of the traditional shelf marks introduced at the library of Saint-Denis in both the late thirteenth and the late fifteenth century suggests that it may have been preserved at the College of Saint-Denis rather than at the abbey itself.

More research is needed to establish whether Guy of Saint-Denis can be identified with Guy of Châtres (d. 1351), abbot of Saint-Denis from 1326 until 1342, when he stepped down from the position, presumably because of age and ill-health.42 Abbot Guy took a lead in providing

39 ‘Explicit tractatus de tonis a fratre guidone monacho in monasterii sancti dionysii in francia compilatus’, Harl. MS. 281, f. 96v; cf. Guido von Saint-Denis, Tractatus de tonis 2.8.111–12, ed. van de Klundert, vol. ii, p. 137. This explicit, originally in the hand of the main scribe, is rewritten below the original text in a sixteenth-century hand (that of Jean Gosselin), with this text repeated in the same hand at the beginning of Guy’s Tractatus on f. 58v as well as in the table of contents on f. 4r.


41 Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, La Bibliothèque, p. 339 (normally just magister puerum).

new buildings for the college in 1339 and was asked by Pope Benedict XII to draw up guidelines for reforming education within the entire Benedictine order. Guy also produced a Sanctilogium, a massive anthology of the lives of the saints (preserved in BL, Royal MS. 13. D. IX), that builds on the structure of Usuard’s Martyrologium (the traditional monastic calendar of the martyrs), by extending it with passages from the Legenda aurea of Jacobus de Voragine and the Speculum historiale of Vincent de Beauvais. That Guy of Saint-Denis could be Guy of Châtres is suggested by the former’s criticism in the Tractatus de tonis of composers of chant seeking to use each of the different tones mechanically within a series of nine readings, rather than choosing the tone appropriate to the subject matter of the chant in question. He says that he will be discussing this subject matter ‘elsewhere’. In the Tractatus de tonis, Guy develops a theme elaborated in the Micrologus of Guido of Arezzo, that a chant, and hence the tone with which a chant is associated, be appropriate to its subject matter. In the Sanctilogium, Guy effectively provides this subject matter, but organized much more accessibly than in the Speculum historiale and Legenda aurea.

The Music Theory of Harl. MS. 281

The Transmission of Guido of Arezzo

The version of the Guidonian corpus in Harl. MS. 281 is unusual for its inclusion of multiple prologues and other interpolations not found in other sources, coupled with the exclusion of certain passages. While Guy made several large-scale corrections to his text (an example of which is given in figure 6), there are no similar corrections outside of his own Tractatus de tonis. The interpolations made to the Guidonian corpus in Harl. MS. 281 may have been established before the main scribe entered the text. Guido of Arezzo’s Micrologus survives in nearly eighty manuscripts, and the work typically opens with an acrostic verse beginning ‘Gymnasio musas placuit’ followed by a dedicatory letter to Bishop Theodaldus, a prologue, a chapter listing and finally the work itself. In Harl. MS. 281, the initial acrostic is followed by two additional prologues: a Prefatio auctoris between the acrostic verse and the dedicatory letter and an Alius prologus before the chapter listing, both of which survive only in this manuscript. Both interpolations extrapolate themes represented in the Micrologus from the perspective of a scholar of advanced age (Guido of Arezzo maintained that he was only thirty-four when he wrote the Micrologus). The Prefatio auctoris mentions being called back to the ‘loathsome toil of study’ by Bishop Theodaldus, whom Guido of Arezzo addresses in the dedicatory letter, and the Alius prologus speaks of finding the numerical truth in music and adapting that truth for the ‘tender ears of singers’. This prologue specifically mentions Boethius, who is confirmed as an undisputed authority of music theory albeit one best read by philosophers, for he is

43 Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, La Bibliothèque, p. 51.
46 Transcription of these unique passages is included in appendix one. It remains to be investigated whether Guy was responsible for the composition or compilation of the prologues.
Fig. 6. Guy of Saint-Denis’s corrections to f. 67r.
‘contrary and difficult’, thereby elaborating Guido of Arezzo’s comment on Boethius from the final chapter of the *Micrologus*. The author of the *Alius prologus* rejects the obscure matter of ancient music theory and concludes on a personal note: ‘I offer to you in friendly fatherliness, for the clarity of this art, clearer and briefer rules insofar as I can explain them.’ Although the two prologues are apparently unique to Harl. MS. 281, there is another interpolation into the *Micrologus* that is not. This interpolation, *Hactenus invide lora*, follows chapter seventeen and introduces the subject of diaphony, which is the focus of chapters eighteen and nineteen. In this transmission, however, these two chapters are condensed into a single chapter, and the examples of organum that form most of chapter nineteen of the *Micrologus* are omitted. This transmission is replicated in Oxford, St John’s College MS. 150, although this is not acknowledged in Smits van Waesbergh’s 1955 edition of the *Micrologus*. The St John’s manuscript was prepared in Southern France, the folios including the Guidonian texts (ff. 1–24) having been prepared either in the eleventh or early twelfth century. The final chapter of the *Micrologus* is complete in Guy’s edition.

What is presented as the second book, or *trocacicus*, of Guido gives a rationale for instilling the rules of music to small boys in as painless a way as possible. It begins with Guido of Arezzo’s *Regule rythmice*, prefaced by a prologue ‘in which Guido himself responds to the haranguings of the Muse’ (*Prologus in quo Guido muse ipsum alloquenti Respondet*). This is followed by the rhyming *Regule rythmice*, which provide easy access to rote learning that is intended to be amplified with reason when the boys are older. Guido of Arezzo’s *Prologus in Antiphonarium* is then given in full. This leads into the *Epistola ad Michahelem*, introduced in Harl. MS. 281 as *Epistola guidonis ad fratrem martinum* (‘The *Epistola* of Guido to brother Martin’) perhaps a muddled reference to ‘domnus Martinus’ mentioned in the preface to the *Epistola*. The text is divided into two parts, the first part breaking off before a section on the location of notes on the monochord (this section is omitted in the Harl. MS. 281 transmission).

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49 ‘… vestreque paternitati benignis offero. huius artis ad evidenciam regulas lucidius et brevius quanto potui explicatus’, Harl. MS. 281, f. 5v.


Guy of Saint-Denis and the Compilation of Texts about Music in London, British Library, Harl. MS. 281

The first part of what is presented as the third book of Guido of Arezzo is the anonymous Dialogus de musica, commonly transmitted alongside the treatises of Guido of Arezzo from the eleventh century. Almost half of the fifty surviving manuscripts of the Dialogus include the Guido of Arezzo collection (Micrologus, Regule rythmice, Prologus in antiphonarium, Epistola). In Harl. MS. 281, the Dialogus contains several interpolated passages. It is preceded by a brief prologue on the dialogue mode and its abbreviating purpose, itself interrupted by an interpolation that begins with the same question as the Dialogus itself: ‘Quid est musica?’ This interpolated Quid est musica summarizes in dialogue form teachings about the monochord earlier omitted from the Epistola. After the complete Dialogus de musica, this so-called ‘third book’ concludes with the remainder of the Epistola. This is framed by two short texts, Quantumcumque vero omnium and Ecce patet et non latet, both of which are partially cited in the Speculum musicae of Jacques of Liège. This ‘third book’ concludes with the explicit, ‘Here end the tones of Guido of Arezzo’ (‘Explicitunt toni guidonis aretini’) on f. 34r. This reference to the tones (toni) suggests a music-theoretical theme that unites the texts of Guido of Arezzo in Harl. MS. 281.

Tones and Tonaries in Harley 281

The various treatises on the tones in Harl. MS. 281 helped monks classify the various chants that they could be called on to sing, but they also lead up to the final treatise in the collection, the Tractatus de tonis (‘Tract concerning the tones’) by Guy of Saint-Denis. A theme common to all the treatises in Harl. MS. 281 is that they deal with the tones in some way, and the anthology includes several tonaries. A tonary is a collection of chants, chiefly antiphons, collated according to aspects contributing to the effective performance of those chants. Such aspects include the melodic formulas known as ‘tones’ (toni) to which Psalm texts and other verses are sung and from which the term ‘tonary’ ultimately derives. The Guidonian texts on ff. 5r–34r are presented as the work of Guido of Arezzo on the tones in its explicit (‘Explicitunt toni guidonis aretini’). The Dialogus de musica incorporates a tonary, while the Tonale Beati Bernardi transmits a Cistercian tonary. Tonaries are also included in the Tractatus de tonis of Petrus de Cruce and Guy de Saint-Denis. Even Johannes de Grocheio, although concerned with the nature of music more broadly, devotes a sizable portion of his treatise to the tones. This may suggest one reason as to why Grocheio’s treatise is preserved in Harl. MS. 281.

An unusual feature of Harl. MS. 281 is the inclusion of the writings of Guido of Arezzo in the same manuscript as a treatise associated with the twelfth-century Cistercian chant reforms. The inclusion of a Cistercian tonary in a manuscript intended for Benedictine brethren at Saint-Denis is also noteworthy. Cistercian reform treatises were, by and large, transmitted independently of those by Guido of Arezzo, despite the survival of the latter in well over 100 manuscript sources. A survey of surviving music-theoretical sources from


54 The Tonale Beati Bernardi is one of a small number of music treatises associated with the liturgical reforms undertaken by the Cistercian order during the mid-twelfth century. These reforms emphasized a simplification of liturgical practice. An obvious indication of Cistercian influence as far as tonaries are concerned is a marked reduction in the number of differentiae (psalm cadences) assigned to chants.
Guy of Saint-Denis and the Compilation of Texts about Music in London, British Library, Harl. MS. 281

Cistercian houses indicates that only Guido’s *Micrologus* found its way into Cistercian manuscripts, but even then Guido of Arezzo was copied no more than any other authority.55 The inclusion of the *Tonale* in Harl. MS. 281 can be viewed in the light of the unifying theme of the manuscript: the tones. The *Tonale* offers a specific view of the tones, which are defined therein as ‘rules defining the nature and form of regular chant’.56 Its opening line, ‘Quid est tonus?’ also suggests a link from the ‘Quid est musica?’ dialogue that precedes it. Harl. MS. 281 is not the only manuscript in which these two very different theoretical traditions are brought together. Bologna, Peraro, Bibliotheca Comunale Oliveriana MS. 1336 (late thirteenth century) preserves a collection of Guido of Arezzo’s treatises, together with the prologue to the Cistercian Antiphonal (on f. 15r). Harl. MS. 281, however, includes the earliest known pairing of a Guidonian collection with the so-called *Tonale Beati Bernardi*.

Michel Huglo identified twenty-six surviving copies of the *Tonale Beati Bernardi*, which he classified into three basic ‘forms’: the complete *Tonale*, the earliest copy of which, Cambridge, Jesus College MS. Q.B.17 (34), dates from around 1175,57 and two distinct abridged versions.58 Harl. MS. 281 is one of eleven copies of the *Tonale* that Huglo identifies as ‘complete’. At the end of the *Tonale*, the author acknowledges that some readers may, after reading through the work, seek further clarification of theoretical matters, for which they are directed to the *Musica* of a certain Guido Augensis, who dedicated his treatise to Guillaume (d. 1143), ‘first abbot of Rievaulx’ (founded 1132).59 The identification of this Guido at the end of the *Tonale* with Guy of Eu, the author of the Cistercian *Regule de arte musica* occurs in the library catalogue of Richard of Fournival (c. 1190–1260), who was chancellor of the cathedral of Amiens during the mid–thirteenth century.60 Richard’s catalogue also lists one of the so-called ‘complete’ copies of the *Tonale*, Paris, BnF lat. 16662 from 1240–1250, later donated to the Sorbonne by Gerard of Abbeville.61 The *Tonale* was therefore available in Paris by this date.62

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55 This survey is based on Christian Meyer’s online catalogue, *Les Sources manuscrites de la théorie de la musique* <http://www.lml.badw.de/info/rism.htm>.
62 Meyer’s edition of the *Tonale* indicates that Harl. MS. 281 includes a number of variants that are particular to this source. This may indicate that the source from which Guy derived his copy of the *Tonale* is now lost.
Another peculiarity of Harl. MS. 281 is its inclusion of the only surviving copy of the *Tractatus de tonis* attributed to Petrus de Cruce. This *Tractatus* is a short tonary prefaced by a brief summary of the eight tones and mnemonic verses for psalm-tone incipits and mediantis (middle sections of a psalm tone). Contemporaries of Petrus extol him as a composer of mensural music and an innovative theorist of measure, but only Guy of Saint-Denis refers to him as an authority on plainchant, although it is known that he was commissioned to compose an *Office* (*historia*) for the canonization of Louis IX. It may have been during Petrus’s time in Paris in 1298 that Guy was able to procure Petrus’s *Tractatus*. Not only does Guy comment that Petrus based his tonary on the practice at Amiens, but Guy himself seems to be responsible for adding the word Ambianensi after ‘Expliciunt toni a magistro petro de cruce’ (fig. 7). There are certain correlations between the tonary elements of each of the three ‘modern’ treatises in Guy’s manuscript: Grocheio, Petrus and Guy each include a definition of tone (*tonus*) and provide mnemonics for the retention of psalm tones, and each cites examples of invitatory antiphons for the first and eighth tones. An unusual correlation occurs between Grocheio’s and Petrus’s tracts, with seven of the eight introits named by Grocheio among the twenty-four introits in Petrus’s tonary, the mode two antiphon *O sapientia* being the only other chant named by both theorists.

The works that Guy of Saint-Denis put together with his own *Tractatus* for the brethren at the Abbey of Saint-Denis convey a wide variety of teachings on plainchant music theory, but the specific emphasis that unites the collection is teaching about the tones (*toni*). These teachings would have lent themselves to the performance of plainchant at an abbey that is known not to have embraced the multi-voiced mensural music practised elsewhere in Paris, most famously at Notre Dame. The physical aspects of Harl. MS. 281 tell us much about its origins and the music-theoretical preferences of the compiler. There are, however, many areas that need further research, including the precise origins of the texts included in Guy’s anthology, the relationship between Guy and other theorists in Paris, and the impact of Harl. MS. 281 on the music-theoretical community in Paris and beyond. It is hoped that this initial survey will provide a point of reference for such further enquiry.

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65 The accounts concerning the payment of Petrus de Cruce for the Saint Louis Office are listed in Gaposchkin, ‘Philip the Fair’, pp. 55–56, n. 94–95.

66 *O sapientia* is the only antiphon named by Grocheio and only one of two for the second mode named by Petrus.

The Later History of Harley 281: Jean Gosselin and Christopher Wren, Jr

Sometime in the sixteenth century Harl. MS. 281 came into the possession of a certain Jean Gosselin, who added his signature at the bottom of f. 4r (fig. 8), the original parchment flyleaf, as well as table of contents.\(^68\) The handwriting of this Jean Gosselin varies, though this may be because he added various notes as marginalia throughout the manuscript over a period of time.\(^69\) Gosselin’s notes on ff. 1–4 include verses on harmonic intervals, an astrological note concerning the physical effects of a solar eclipse (f. 2v) and a Guidonian Hand (f. 3r).\(^70\) Details concerning the dating of Guido of Arezzo’s life and work appear on f. 4r–v along with acrostic verses extracted from Guido’s *Regule rythmice* and *Micrologus*.

The same Gosselin’s signature exists in a twelfth-century manuscript of Boethius’s *De institutione musica* (Paris, BnF lat. 7203),\(^71\) which is thought to have belonged to Jean Gosselin (c. 1505–1604), the Guardian of the Royal Library of France (later the Bibliothèque nationale) from 1560 until his death in 1604 at the age of almost 100.\(^72\) Jean Gosselin was a remarkably long-lived scholar who did not pass unnoticed by his contemporaries. Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie (1541–1598) includes a reference to Gosselin in his idiosyncratic poetic epic *La Galliade* (1578) as one to whom ‘is due the honour of the re-establishment of the sciences and disciplines in our part of Europe’.\(^73\)

GOSSELIN ornement de sa ville de Vire,  
Qui le Globe de Cieux si bien vire & reuire,  
Et qui a sous sa garde, & commis sa foy  
Ainsi que Sacrestain, tous les liures de Roy.\(^74\)

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\(^{68}\) The first name Jean is very faded but is discernable from the microfilm copy of the manuscript. Gosselin’s account of the contents is given in appendix one.

\(^{69}\) The marginalia in this hand are: f. 7v (‘Enchiridi musici reprehensio’), f. 19r (‘In vestissimo codice nullæ sancte notæ sed littere fautum’), f. 19v (‘vari colores’), f. 22r (‘In alio veteri exemplari ita scriptum repexi Incipit epistola Domini Guidonis monachi ad Michaelem monachum Monasterum Sancte Mariae Pomposia’), f. 25r (‘quid Musica’), f. 34r (‘Incipit alia ars de tonis per modum dialogii: quæ a quibusdam intitulatur sub nomine beati Bernardi Dyalogus’), f. 39r (‘Nota quod id est, signifi cant es’/‘ordo disciplinæ’), f. 46v (‘id est signifi cant es, motet sus quid/organum quid’) and f. 96v (‘Explicit tractus de tonis a fatre guidone monacho monasterii sancti dionysii in francia compilatus’). A neater version of this hand appears in the top right-hand margin on f. 5r (‘brevis sermo Gymnasio’), the word *Ambianensi* is inserted in this hand below ‘petro de cruce’ on f. 52v, and the attribution on f. 58v is also in this hand (‘a Guidone monacho Monasterii Sancti Dyonisi in Francia’). Because of the similarity in form (although not in neatness) between the two scripts, it is assumed that both are examples of handwriting from the same person, but perhaps writing at different times.

\(^{70}\) This mnemonic device is traditionally attributed to Guido of Arezzo but appears only in the manuscript tradition of later centuries.

\(^{71}\) This manuscript later became part of the collection of Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), who was the superior to Jean Gosselin. Like Harl. MS. 281, the main material of Paris, BnF lat. 7203 is prefaced by miscellaneous notes on music, including a verse on the influence of the planets on music, as well as some Guidonian hands (*mains guidoniennes*). It is unclear if any of these non-Boethian writings are in Gosselin’s hand; see L. Royer, ‘Catalogue d’écrits des théoriciens de la Musique, conservés dans le fonds latin des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale’, in *L’Année Musicale*, iii (1913), pp. 206–41 at p. 213.


\(^{74}\) Boderie, *La Galliade*, p. xiv.
Guy of Saint-Denis and the Compilation of Texts about Music in London, British Library, Harl. MS. 281

Fig. 8. F. 4r including the signature of Jean Gosselin.
Gosselin shares this honour in Le Fèvre de la Boderie’s poem with such slightly earlier luminaries as Desiderius Erasmus and Guillaume Budé, as well as the classicist and translator of Plutarch, Jacques Amyot (1514–1593), abbot of Bellozane, teacher of François II, Charles IX and Henri III, and bishop of Auxerre from 1570 until his death (and Master of the Royal Library from 1560 to 1593). The epitaph indicates that Gosselin had a larger intellectual standing in his own time than has been accorded him by later generations.

In the copy of the Statutes of the College of Master Gervais that Gosselin presented to the Royal Library in 1600, he reports: ‘I, Gosselin, who was then the principal of the College of Gervais, was made Guardian of this Royal Library, namely, in the year of Christ 1560.’ The College of Gervais was founded in 1370 by the royal physician, Master Gervais Chrétien, and had traditionally been devoted to the study of medicine, as well as its then-attendant science of astrology. With his Norman background and scholarly interest in astrology, Gosselin may have originally been a student there. In the early 1560s, the Royal Library was transferred to an unknown location in Paris before being taken to the College of Clermont in 1594. He held the position of Guardian of the Royal Library throughout the wars of religion, with no successor formally appointed until 1601.

A native of Vire in the Norman region of Calvados, Jean Gosselin was uncle of the younger mathematician Guillaume Gosselin de Caen (d. c. 1590). Often described as a mathematician himself, Jean Gosselin’s interest in music led him to publish in 1571 a work (no copy of which has yet been identified) entitled La Main harmonique, Ou les principes de Musique antique et moderne. Et les proprietez que la moderne reçoit des sept Planettes. A striking feature of Gosselin’s notes in Harl. MS. 281 is that they include just such a main harmonique on f. 3r (fig. 9). Moreover, the antiquarianism evident in Gosselin’s interest in the dating of Guido of Arezzo, along with the brief astrological passage that otherwise sits incongruously in a manuscript devoted to music, links this material with the intellectual interests of Jean Gosselin. These close correspondences with the intellectual preoccupations of

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77 Master Gervais was also, amongst other things, the canon of Notre Dame Cathedral at Bayeux in Gosselin’s native Calvados, and the college had traditionally been a place of study in Paris for young men who had been born in that diocese. For the history of this college, see Franklin, Les Anciennes Bibliothèques, vol. ii, p. 225–227. Its alternative name was the Collège de Notre-Dame de Bayeux: Franklin, Les Anciennes Bibliothèques, vol. ii, p. 225, n. 5.
Guy of Saint-Denis and the Compilation of Texts about Music in London, British Library, Harl. MS. 281

evined in Gosselin’s notes in Harl. MS. 281 suggest that this manuscript was indeed part of his collection.\(^8\) The year 1570 had seen the establishment of Jacques Baïf’s Académie de poésie et de musique under the patronage of King Charles IX, which declared in its statutes its mission of studying and performing ‘ancient’ music and song with the aim of reforming and cleansing the moral nature of the auditors of the Academy’s musicians.\(^8\) Although they were aiming to reach back to an imagined primordial purity believed to have been exemplified by the musicians of ancient Greece, they also looked back to the best of medieval tradition.\(^8\) Gosselin’s notes in Harl. MS. 281 would seem contribute to that movement.

Gosselin did not publish any more on music, suggesting that he may have acquired Harl. MS. 281 before 1571, the year he published *La Main harmonique*. In that year he also published a volume of astronomical tables. He subsequently published an account of the constellations (1577), on various games (1579, reprinted in 1582), a perpetual Gregorian calendar (1583), and a study of human physiognomy (1599).\(^8\) There were historical opportunities for Jean Gosselin to acquire Harl. MS. 281 in the 1560s. In 1567, the Abbey of Saint-Denis was sacked by Protestant forces amid the conflict between Catholics and Protestants that raged throughout France during the second half of the sixteenth century. Some of the monks at Saint-Denis were also known to have sold off the contents of its library.\(^8\) While it is possible that Harl. MS. 281 found its way into the hands of Gosselin amid the chaos that physically engulfed the library at the Abbey of Saint-Denis during this period, it is more likely that he found the manuscript in the College of Saint-Denis in Paris (as the absence of a standard fifteenth-century Saint-Denis shelf mark would suggest).\(^8\)

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\(^8\) Another piece of circumstantial evidence pointing towards the identity of the Harley Gosselin as Jean Gosselin ‘de Vire’ is contained in a 1546 edition of Boethius’s *Opera* now housed in the State Conservatory of St Petersburg. The book is inscribed with the name and date ‘I. Gosselinus, 1558’, and, according to the Russian scholar O. N. Bleskina, Gosselin made ‘additions with mathematical examples and references to the works of other authors’ in the texts of the *De arithmetica, De musica*, and the pseudo-Boethian treatise on geometry. O. N. Bleskina, *XV-XVI-Century Rare Editions in the Collection of the St Petersburg Conservatory Library*, available at <biblio.conservatory.ru/Today/Public/Bleskina2.htm>. Bleskina’s short description of Gosselin’s annotations also refers to a passage where he identifies himself as ‘Ioannes Gosselinus Regiae Bibliothecae custos’, suggesting that he undertook a protracted study of Boethius’s mathematical works that continued after his appointment to the Royal Library in 1560.


\(^8\) Yates, *The French Academies*, p. 44.

\(^8\) The Bibliothèque nationale de France records the following items of Jean Gosselin: *Ephémérides, ou Almanach du jour et la nuit pour cent ans*, lequel donne à cognoistre par chacun jour de l’an le lie du soleil au zodiac, l’instant qu’il se lève et se couche (Paris, 1571); *Historia imaginum caelestium nostro seculo accomodata* (Paris, 1577); *Déclaration de deux douxques qui si trouvent en comptant le jeu de la paume, lesquelles méritent d’estre entendues par les hommes de bon esprit* (s.l., 1579), reprinted as *La signification de l’ancien jeu des chartes pythagorique et la déclaration de deux douxques qui se trouvent en comptant le jeu de la paume* (Paris, 1582); *Kalendrier grégorien perpetuel, traduit de latin en françois* (Paris, 1583); *Discours de la dignité et précellence des fleurs de lys et des armes des rois de France* (Melun, 1593), also published in this year in Tours and in 1613–1615 at Nantes by L. Gobert; *La phisionomie, c’est à dire la science de cognoistre le naturel et les complexions des personnes. Avecques l’industrie de cognoistre les bon chevaux … Le tout recueilly d’anciens livres escrits à la main, estans en la Librairie royale, et mis en lumière par Jean Gosselin* (Paris, 1599). The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* mentions besides *La Main harmonique* Gosselin’s *Table de la reformation de l’an* (Paris, 1582); Frères (ed.), *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, vol. xxii, cols 325–6.


\(^8\) There are no known shelf marks for the College of Saint-Denis, indeed, no identified manuscripts of the college. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, ‘Le Collège de Paris’, pp. 467–8.
Fig. 9. Gosselin’s Guidonian Hand on f. 3r.
In 1563, Pierre Ramus urged Catherine de Medici to imitate her illustrious Florentine forbears in locating the Royal Library in the city of Paris as part of the royal college that he wished to see established in his effort to reform the university, reminding her that he had suggested a possible location for it. The onset of physical violence after the massacre of St Bartholomew (in which Ramus lost his life) meant that the Royal Library had to be kept under lock and key in a secure location. Given that the treasure of Saint-Denis was periodically brought to the College of Saint-Denis during the 1550s and 1560s, it seems quite plausible that Catherine de Medici brought the Royal Library to the College, as a physically secure site in Paris, potentially accessible to scholars. In 1595 Gosselin published A remonstrance follows concerning the Guardian of the Library of the King, addressed to all persons who love literature, outlining his recent troubles following the outbreak of civil war in Paris in 1593 (a translation of the Remonstrance is given in appendix two). He reports that he had protected the Royal Library against the League, taking refuge at the Abbey of Saint-Denis when the city was besieged. He complained that members of the League nonetheless forced their way into the collection, and that they had also stolen all his property in his house, reducing him to penury. Gosselin, then almost ninety years old, was anxious to let the world know about his role in protecting the library and the poverty to which he was reduced. Although the League had been in control of Paris since 1588, Gosselin had managed to oppose their attempts to gain access to the Royal Library. Henri IV had gained access to Saint-Denis in July 1590, while Paris was still under the control of the League, and formerly embraced Catholicism at Saint-Denis on 25 July 1593, where the newly appointed abbot of Saint-Denis formally accepted his abjuration of Protestantism. Gosselin subsequently went with Henri IV to Melun, where he composed his account of the fleur-de-lis, demonstrating his commitment to the history of the French crown. His signature is preserved on a document requesting that he resign from his post as Guardian of the Royal Library, dated 14 October 1593. If Harl. MS. 281 was already in Gosselin’s possession, his claim of having been plundered of everything in 1593 suggests that the manuscript was lost to him at this point.


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Gosselin remained Guardian of the Royal Library after its relocation to the former Jesuit College of Clermont in 1595. In November 1601, Henri IV issued a patent appointing Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) to Gosselin’s position but with the proviso that the old librarian was not to be disturbed. Casaubon only being able to officially assume the post of Guardian once it had become vacant.92 Gosselin died suddenly and bizarrely on 20 November 1604. According to the diarist L’Estoile, Gosselin was found by the fire sitting in his chair completely burnt and already turning green.93 Had Harl. MS. 281 not been stolen by the League, it would most likely have gone up in flames with its owner. Although Gosselin’s successor at the Royal Library, Casaubon, would himself flee to England in the early seventeenth century to avoid religious persecution, there is no firm evidence that he took Harl. MS. 281 to England with him. It is quite possible that the manuscript was taken by those who raided Gosselin’s house in 1593 but was subsequently acquired by Christopher Wren the younger (1675–1747) in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Sometime before 1709, Sir Robert Harley (1661–1724), the great book collector, politician, and future Tory Prime Minister to Queen Anne, received a gift from Wren the younger of an old French manuscript on music theory.94 When his librarian, Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), catalogued this manuscript, he assigned it the number 281 on the opening flyleaf (now f. 4r), below his earlier shelf mark, 37.A.20.95 He also used the summary description written out by Gosselin on that flyleaf as the basis for his own catalogue entry.96

Harl. MS. 281 itself offers no obvious clues as to its fate in the years before Gosselin’s death in 1604 and Wren the younger’s presenting it to Harley in around 1709. It probably did not belong to Sir Christopher Wren the elder (1632–1723), as he was still alive when his son donated it to Robert Harley. The manuscript may be one of those that Wren the younger purchased during his extensive travels in Europe, having been in France in 1698 and in 1705 in the Netherlands, ‘where he bought a number of books’.97 It was in the years shortly after his trip to the Netherlands that he gave the manuscript to Robert Harley. Although the scholarly interests of Wren the younger could broadly be described as antiquarian, they were more concerned with numismatics and the history of his own family than with music theory. Likewise, apart from Tory politics, there seems to have been little connecting the Wren and Harley families, with Harl. MS. 281 being the only manuscript in the vast Harleian catalogue known to have come from any of the Wrens.98 The reason why Wren the younger

93 His servant was nowhere to be found, and an autopsy revealed that the old man had suffered a blow to the head. Foul play was at first suspected, but when it was discovered that nothing had been stolen it was put down to a bizarre accident, the servant having fled because he did not want to be falsely blamed for his master’s death. ‘P. de L’Estoile’, Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l’histoire de France, vol. iii, p. 478.
95 The earlier foliation (ff. 1–93) is in the same hand as Wanley’s shelf mark, as are the folio references to works listed in the table of contents on f. 4r.
96 For the entry in Wanley’s catalogue, see A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, vol. i, p. 104.
98 See Wright, Fontes Harleiani, p. 363. Only Harl. MS. 396 (the statutes of Hereford Cathedral) possibly came from Sir Christopher’s uncle, Matthew Wren.
presented the manuscript to Harley may lie with his librarian, Humfrey Wanley. Before entering into full-time service with the Harleys in 1708, Wanley had been an assistant to Hans Sloane, the Secretary of the Royal Society, and was elected a fellow in 1706. This would have put him in the same London scholarly and scientific milieu as the Wrens. The British Library’s catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts describes Wanley as ‘not only a great Judge of Music, but a very able Composer’, and, in addition, he was considered the greatest medievalist and palaeographer of his generation. It may be that Wren the younger presented Lord Harley with the manuscript with a view to its being placed under Wanley’s care, the entire collection passing to the British Museum in 1753.

The name ‘Mr Wren’ occurs in a late eighteenth or nineteenth-century hand at the top of f. 4r (fig. 8). This hand is responsible for cross-referencing the works in Harl. MS. 281 with Martin Gerbert’s three-volume Latin editions of medieval music theory first published in 1784. Comparison of the figures in the Gerbert cross-references with those of the modern foliation of the manuscript suggests that the same hand was responsible for both. It is possible that these cross-references were entered by Augustus Hughes-Hughes, one-time assistant in the British Museum’s Department of manuscripts, as the same cross-references are included in his Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum published between 1906 and 1909.

The persistence of scholarly interest across the centuries in the music anthology that survives as Harl. MS. 218 testifies to the remarkable significance of this manuscript. As a manual of music theory, commissioned and corrected by Guy of Saint-Denis, it introduces us to the instruction he wished to give monks of his monastery. Some of the treatises were for those satisfied with only basic musical instruction. Others, however, like the Ars musice of Grocheio, and the first book of Guy’s own treatise on the tones, were for those with an advanced education. It seems quite likely that the manuscript was compiled at the Abbey of Saint-Denis for the College of Saint-Denis, where it stayed until it came into the possession of Jean Gosselin during the 1560s. The manuscript provides a precious clue to the whereabouts of the French Royal Library during the wars of religion, when it was Gosselin’s duty to be its Guardian. That the manuscript survived that turbulence and finally entered the Harleian collection, and thus as part of the British Library, is a minor miracle. Rather than simply focusing on single treatises within the manuscript, it is important that we appreciate the manuscript as a unified whole.

102 Martin Gerbert, Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum, 3 vols (St Blaise, 1784). The cross-references in Harl. MS. 281 to Gerbert’s editions are on ff. 5r, 17r, 21r, 25v and 34r.
103 In his catalogue, Hughes–Hughes uses the modern foliation and a similar phraseology to that in Harl. MS. 281 for the Gerbert cross-references. The catalogue entries read: ‘Printed by Gerbert’ followed by a volume number using Roman numerals and a page reference in Hindu–Arabic numerals. The entries in Harl. MS. 281 read: ‘Pr. in Gerbert’ followed by the same numbering system as the catalogue. Gerbert cross-references are given for the Micrologus, Regule rythmice, Prologus in Antiphonarium and Tonale Beati Bernardi in Harl. MS. 281. Hughes–Hughes also includes Gerbert/Coussemaker cross-references for the Dialogus de musica and the Tractatus de tonis of Petrus de Cruce in his catalogue. The authors would like to express their gratitude to the British Library reviewer for raising the possibility that the pencil annotations in Harl. MS. 281 were made by Hughes-Hughes. Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of Manuscript Music, vol. iii, pp. 298, 300 and 302.
Appendix one: Inventory of Harl. MS. 281

Notes by Jean Gosselin et al.

F. 1r: Semitonium maius est differentia | Diatessaron et Dytoni vel Hexachordi minoris et Dyapente | Semitonum minus est differentia | Ditonia et Semiditoni vel Hexachordi maioris et Hexachordi minoris | In quinque unguibus | Tuæ levae manus | Hexachordum maius | Hexachordum minus | Eorumque partes modernae musice | Si bene numeres | Dignoscere potes. | [Illustration of Harmonic Intervals] F. 1v [Blank] F. 2r: De semitono maiore, et semitono minore | ut re mi | re mi fa | mi fa | re mi | Semitonium maius est differentia | ut E F G a | mi fa sol la | fa sol la | Diatessaron et Ditonia vel Hexachordi maioris et Diapente | Semitonium minus est differentia inter b # | Ditonia et Semiditoni vel Hexachordi maioris et Hexachordi minoris. F. 2v: Eclipsis solis In decano | primo Aerem perturbat magna que exagitât varietas | secundo, fluvios et fontes exsultat | tertio per universam armeniam et africae et lues aliae inimicit. F. 3r: [Guidonian Hand] Hæc Manus singula vocum diatona Intervalla harmonica et moderna, quæ usitata sunt in uno quo que diapason ratione numerorum ab sola foro propriis indicat. F. 3v [Blank] F. 4r: Mr Wren | In hoc libro continentur | Musicae Quinque Tractatus | Iste Guidonis augusti, sive Aretini {Micrologus} fol. 1 | Trochaicus 12 | Dialogus f. 21 | et Aliorum: scilicet | Alia ars de tonis per modum dialogi quae intitulatur Dialogus beati Bernardi de tonis. f. 30 | Tractatus musicæ, a quodam invento, f. 35 | Tractatus musicæ, a Petro de cruco ambiensi folio 40 | Tractatus musicæ, frater Guido monacho monasterii sancti dionysii in francia f. 30 | [Shelf marks] | Hic Guido Aretinus composuit Gamma Ut. Vixit quem circa annum Domini 1020 | Fasciculus temporum narrat Guidonem musicam floruisse in Italia circa annum Domini 1034. | Gosselin F. 4v: Guido aretinus et Petrus de cruce | Gliscunt corda hominum nostris mollita canemus | Tuæ mihi vinctus numeros contulit ictus | In caelis summo gratissima carmina fundo | Dans aulae Christi munus cum voce ministro | Ordine me scripsi primo qui carmina finxi (cf. Guido of Arezzo, Regula rythmica) | et Gymnasio musas placuit revocare solutas | Utriusque habita vix factesen alitis | Invidiae telum perimat dilectio caecum | Dira quidem pestis tulit omnia commoda terris | Ordine me scripsi primo qui carmina finxi | Gymnasio musas placuit revocare solutes et cetera (cf. Guido of Arezzo, Micrologus). | In quinque unguibus | Hexachordum maius | Hexachordum minus | Modis moderne musices | Si bene numeres | Cognoscere potes. | Arbitror Guidonem vixisse anno 1020. Fasciculus temporum tradit hunc authorem vixisse circa annum Domini 1034 certius anno 1028 Sed secundum Salignas anno 1020.

1.1 Guido of Arezzo, Micrologus <Versus sequentis operis>


1.2 Prefatio auctoris

1.3 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus* <Epistola Guidonis ad Theodaldum; Prologus>


1.4 *Alius prologus*

F. 5v: *Alius prologus*. Sepe et multum graviter elaborare perstudui, antiqua grecorum volumina revolvens si simplex huius artis ratio numerorum proportionibus omnino posthabitis teneris auribus cantorum plenarie posset accomodari, multorum itaque consideratis tractatibus ad hoc boetium inveni meliorem, quo et quanta sit coniunctio vocum per modos per tropos per species inter se consonantium ostendentem, quo vero nitter solis intendere philosophis vim et naturam vocum armonice querentibus contrarius est et difficilis. Senior enim philosophie tractatus nимia obscuritate perplexus gravitate verborum argumenta profertentium improvecitis tendit insidias auribus. Hoc aut abinde percepi ubi tholomeus. Duo inquit cromonis capita utriusque phebi collateralia mediocris armonie dulcedine ducta, diffici habentium inquisitione siderum mercurio mediante, mirabili meloditate asserimus resonare. Hec et hiis similia speculo enigmatis vix considerata, veteres philosophie sectatores ocuło cordis diversi corporis naturas rerum interius perscrutantes, numero, pondere, mensura, omnia constare prosequentes phisice potuerunt cognoscere. ¶ Ex supradiictis itaque ad bene modulandum utiliora queque eligo, nunc minus obscuriora vel ad hoc nihil valentia respuo, vestreque paternitati benignus offero, huius artis ad evidentiam regulas lucidius, et brevius quanto potui explicatas.


1.5 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus* <Capitula 1–17>


1.6 Hactenus invidie lora


1.7 Guido of Arezzo, Micrologus <Capitulum 18.4–50; Capitulum 19.26–27; Capitulum 20 (= capitulum xix)>

2.1 Prologus in quo Guido muse ipsum alloquenti Respondet

2.2 Guido of Arezzo, Regule rythmice

2.3 Guido of Arezzo, Prologus in Antiphonarium
Ff. 21r–22v: In hac capitulo docet guido prosaces qualiter antiphonarium neumari debeat vel notari. Temporibus nostris super omnes homines fatuic sunt cantores … si ut debent ex industria componantur. (Guido d’Arezzo, Prologus in Antiphonarium, ed. Pesce, pp. 406–34 (even).)
2.4 Guido of Arezzo, *Epistola ad Martinum* [pro Michaelem]


3.1 Prologus


3.2 Pseudo Odo, *Dialogus de musica* <Incipit dyalogus>


3.3 *Quid est musica?*

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3.4 Pseudo Odo, Dialogus de musica

3.5 Quantumcumque vero omnium

3.6 Guido of Arezzo, Epistola ad Martimum <excerptum>
Ff. 32r–33v: Omnes autem voces in tantum sunt similes. sonosque similes et neumas concordes faciunt … cuius liber non cantoribus sed solis philosophis utilis est. (Guido d’Arezzo, Epistola ad Michailem, ed. Pesce, pp. 490–530 (even).)

3.7 Ecce patet et non latet

4 Tonale Beati Bernardi
5. Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*


6. Petrus de Cruce, *Tractatus de tonis*


7. Guy of Saint-Denis, *Tractatus de tonis*


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**Appendix two: A remonstrance follows concerning the Guardian of the Library of the King, addressed to all persons who love literature**

Transl. by Leigh McKinnon

You, my lords, and other persons who have the honour to love literature, and those who treat of it, I, Jean Gosselin, Guardian of the Royal Library, pray you to attend to the brief discourse which follows:

It has been 34 years, and more, that I have had the charge to guard the Library of the King, which is one of the most beautiful treasures of this realm. During this time I guarded it for many years inside the chateau of Fontainebleau, and then, by the command of King Charles IX, I undertook to bring it into this city of Paris; and although, since the time that I have had the responsibility of guarding the said library, the sciences and arts have had many travails and adversities, so it is that God has given me the grace to have faithfully guarded this library, and to have prevented many times its dispersal or ruin, and especially since the commencement of the last troubles, as some of the henchmen of the League wanted to enter it, to interfere, under the pretext of wanting to give order to it according to their fashion. This I prevented by the grace of God and through the aid of my lords and friends, and, seeing that I could not resist the force of such henchmen, estimating also that in my presence they would more have the audacity to enter the library (they would constrain me, to make their opening of it [the library], by the imprisonment of my person, which they would not have in my absence), I closed the door of the said library securely with a good lock and a good chain, and on the inside with a strong bar, and I absented myself from this city of Paris two months before it was besieged, and I retired to Saint-Denis, where was His Majesty, and afterwards took refuge in the city of Melun, which was loyal to the King. I was there up until the last truce, during which President de Nully, who at that time had much

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authority in this city of Paris, had, moved by a particular affection, gone to see the said library so as to pick the lock and chain by which its door was shut; and they being unable to open that door because it had been closed at the back with a strong bar, he broke through the wall to open the said door, entered the library with such a company as he wished, and went there many times with his fellows, who were seen to go away with him carrying quite large parcels under their cloaks, and possessed the said library as he wished, until the time that this city was reduced into obedience to the King, and that His Majesty summoned him to render to me the keys of this library, and to return to the said library its books if any of them were taken, and the aforesaid president returned only the keys to me, saying that he had not taken anything from inside the said library. I do not want to speak of it further; but I come back to my intention, more necessary to me: it is that you, my lords and other persons who love literature and those who treat of it, I beseech you to understand the calamitous state to which the henchmen of the League have reduced me. Some of those who were in this city of Paris, ill-disposed to the servants of the King, being informed that I had withdrawn to a city that was in obedience to the King, come into my home next to Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs where I had left my late wife, and steal all my property, so much that nothing is left to me, and if they had found me, they would not have left me behind. This is how the said henchmen of the League have reduced me to a very great penury. But His Majesty, full of kindness, having understood the faithful services which I have done in the past, and which I do still at present, and also the great necessity in which I have been and am still now, has arranged and commanded very expressly by the advice of his council itself to Master Balthasar Gobelin, treasurer of savings, that he had to pay me cash, with the brightest coins in his charge, the sum of sixteen hundred and sixty-six escus, due to me for many years of my wages, and for coins paid out by me for the maintenance of the said library, with which the order was duly dispatched, of which a copy follows after this.

And as much as monsieur the treasurer does not want me to give me my due, necessity constrains me to beseech humbly you, my lords and other honourable persons who love literature, that it please each of you (when the occasion presents itself) to reprimand and persuade the aforesaid treasurer, that he would acquire honour with the grace of God and men, following the will of the King, by pleasing those persons who treat of the arts, do service to the King and to the public, and especially in paying me that which is my due and has been commanded by his said Majesty so that I can acquit myself to those good people who lent me money during the bad times which have passed and so that I have the means to have bread and clothes at the age I am. For otherwise (to my very great regret) I will be constrained, after I have served four great kings in the space of thirty-four years, to beg and ask for alms (with great shame) from all persons whom I will know to love the arts, sooner than to die, languishing, of hunger.