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# Relationship between the *Tours-168* and *Recueil Deslauriers* manuscripts

Peter BENNETT

A striking feature of the Tours manuscript (F-TO: ms 168, hereafter referred to as *Tours-168*) is that of the approximately 100 works it contains, some 50 are also found in the Deslauriers manuscript (F-Pn: Rés. Vma ms 571; hereafter referred to as *Deslauriers*). Most of these common works are found in a central section of *Tours-168* (f. 56-106) and a distinct section of *Deslauriers* (f. 89-125<sup>v</sup>), and in many places consecutive works in *Tours-168* appear consecutively in *Deslauriers*, with the mise-en-page often apparently similar in the two sources.

Such a significant common body of repertoire suggests that the two manuscripts are related in some way, a suggestion that has typically considered to be strengthened by the stylistic homogeneity of the common works, many of which are generally now attributed to Guillaume Bouzignac. The identification of Bouzignac as the composer of these works – almost all of which are in fact preserved anonymously in both sources – was first posited by Henri Quittard in an important 1905 article, and depended (according to Quittard's argument) on the proposition that *Tours-168* was, in some sense, the "primary" source in relation to *Deslauriers*.<sup>1</sup> His examination of *Tours-168* had revealed that it "could hardly be later than the middle of the century":<sup>2</sup> as for *Deslauriers* (which he considered as a whole entity, rather than focusing on the region in which most of these works were found), Quittard observed that "The script, which is not of a single hand nor of a single period, seems usually noticeably earlier (and less careful) than that of the *Tours-168* collection".<sup>3</sup> Thus Quittard did not argue that the "primary" nature of *Tours-168* was that of an exemplar or earlier model for *Deslauriers*. Instead, because of the more obviously homogeneous nature of *Tours-168*, the stylistic unity of many (but by no means all) of the common works, and the fact that three works were attributed to Bouzignac in *Tours-168*, Quittard proposed that *Tours-168* had been compiled by a copyist close to Bouzignac himself.<sup>4</sup> *Deslauriers*, by contrast, was apparently a much more heterogeneous source, was clearly not compiled as a single collection or "copying event", and contained numerous diverse works, only a small proportion of which could be connected with Bouzignac. Moreover, according to Quittard, *Deslauriers* probably originated in Paris, far from Bouzignac's habitual area of activity: *Tours-168*, on the other hand, originated in *Tours-168* (according to Quittard), a city where Bouzignac is thought to have worked in 1641 (also according to Quittard).<sup>5</sup>

Denise Launay adopted a different view. In the preface to her important *Anthologie du motet polyphonique latin en France (1606-1661)*, she restated Quittard's arguments about the relationship between the sources.<sup>6</sup> This time, however, she elevated the "primary" nature of *Tours-168*, assuming that it also predated the section of *Deslauriers* where these works were found — Launay now explicitly identified this section, which clearly had had an independent existence at some time, since it is provided with its own foliation numbers (1–36) as well as those of the manuscript as a whole (89–124) — and arguing that there was a direction of transmission from *Tours-168* to *Deslauriers*, from the city of *Tours-168* to Paris. Launay pointed out that a number of works in *Deslauriers* had an "origin" in *Tours-168* and had been

<sup>1</sup>. Henri Quittard, "Un musicien oublié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle : G. Bouzignac", *Sammelbände der Internationaler Musik-Gesellschaft*, VI (1904-1905), p.356-471. This evidence was expanded in Martial Leroux, *Guillaume Bouzignac (ca.1587-ca.1643)*, Béziers, Société de musicologie de Languedoc, 1993, and *Guillaume Bouzignac, vers 1587-vers 1643: l'énigme musicale du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle français*, Montpellier, Presses du Languedoc, 2002.

<sup>2</sup>. "... ne saurait guère être postérieur au milieu du siècle": see Quittard 1905, p.359.

<sup>3</sup>. "L'écriture, qui n'est pas d'une seule main ni d'une seule époque, paraît ordinairement sensiblement plus ancienne (et aussi moins soignée) que celle du recueil de Tours": see Quittard 1905, p.360.

<sup>4</sup>. "... on pourra supposer avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que le manuscrit de *Tours-168* est l'œuvre d'un musicien qui avait vécu un certain temps dans la familiarité de l'auteur et qui, curieux de réunir pour son usage une collection de ses compositions, n'avait aucun besoin de citer après chaque pièce un nom de lui bien connu, tandis qu'il notait avec soin, sous une forme impersonnelle, tel ou tel détail jugé digne d'être conservé": see Quittard 1905, p.361.

<sup>5</sup>. Denise Launay, "À propos de quelques motets polyphoniques en l'honneur de saint Martin", *Revue de musicologie*, 47 (1961), p. 67-80.

<sup>6</sup>. Denise Launay, *Anthologie du motet latin polyphonique en France 1609-1661*, Paris, Heugel, 1963, p. XLIIV-XLVI.

copied “either directly, or, instead, by means of another intermediate copy, today lost”.<sup>7</sup> She also noted the presence of forty-five works in *Deslauriers* which were “borrowed” from *Tours-168*.<sup>8</sup> Launay argued, therefore, that this section of *Deslauriers* must have belonged to a vicariant musician—she suggested Pierre Tabart—and that it must have constituted his working repertoire as he moved from post to post as a vicariant musician in early to mid 17<sup>th</sup> century France.<sup>9</sup>

Both Quittard’s and Launay’s arguments assumed *Tours-168* to be a “primary” source, either by virtue of its earlier date and status as an exemplar (Launay) or by virtue of its homogeneity (Quittard). But recent codicological studies of both manuscripts suggest that the relationship is not nearly as simple as those authors suggested. Peter Bennett has proposed that *Deslauriers* consists of a number of separate sections (gatherings), copied between the 1630s and around 1680 by a single scribe and only compiled many years later into the volume as it is now preserved.<sup>10</sup> According to Bennett, the main section of *Deslauriers* in which the *Tours-168* concordant works are found—gathering 3b in Bennett’s description—was probably copied in around 1636, while the other, much smaller section—the second half of gathering 3a—was probably copied some time around 1682.<sup>11</sup> (Bennett has also argued that this scribe was André Péchon, although in this context the precise identity of the scribe is not significant, only that he was almost certainly active in Paris<sup>12</sup>). Laurent Guillo, [in this study](#), on the other hand, has argued that *Tours-168* was probably copied some time from the 1640s onwards, probably around 1650.<sup>13</sup> This fact alone precludes a direct route of transmission from *Tours-168* to *Deslauriers*, yet the converse—that *Deslauriers* was the source for *Tours-168*—also seems unlikely, given the very complex arrangement of the works in the sources and the assumed geographical origins of the two sources (Paris and *Tours-168*). This brief study, then, attempts to describe and account for the relationship between the manuscripts—which we must assume is not direct—through two complimentary strategies. 1. By analysis of individual common works, using a purely textual approach in an attempt to establish (or at least examine) the relationships between individual works. 2. By establishing a collective relationship between the manuscripts themselves.

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL WORKS IN THE CONTEXT OF SCRIBAL PRACTICES

In an important article considering the relationships between medieval manuscript anthologies that contain concordant works, Margaret Bent has argued that such broad relationships should be approached through the means of the much narrower relationships between the individual works the anthologies contain, typically established through a classical text critical method.<sup>14</sup> Yet Bent acknowledges that musical sources, produced in close temporal proximity, and of much smaller scale than the substantial literary texts typically considered by this method, often remain impervious to such a methodology.<sup>15</sup> That said, it is nonetheless worth considering the kinds of variants that exist between the versions preserved in the two sources in search of any clues as to their relationship—variants that might suggest some kind of direction of transmission, chronology, shared sources, or at least provide a framework in which to consider both the sources themselves and the practices of their scribes. A detailed study of every single individual work is beyond the scope of this section, but the variants that can be observed fall into the following broad categories. (Variants for each individual piece can be explored in the edition.)

7. “... soit directement, soit, plutôt, par l’intermédiaire de quelque autre copie, aujourd’hui perdue” : see Launay 1963, p. XLIV. Launay’s initial identification of the stylistic features of Bouzignac’s oeuvre was made in Denise Launay, Guillaume Bouzignac’, *Musique et liturgie*, 21 (1951), p. 3–8.

8. Launay 1963, p. XLIV.

9. Launay 1963, p. XLV.

10. See Peter Bennett, *Sacred repertories in Paris under Louis XIII: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS V<sup>ma</sup> RES. 571*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009.

11. Bennett 2009, p. 13–53, esp. 52–53. Gathering 3b consists of folios 89–124 which also bear the secondary foliation numbering 1–36. Gathering 3a was later ‘wrapped’ around 3b (i.e. now representing folios 87–88 and 125–126), probably partially as a replacement for the outer folios of 3b, since it contains a continuation of the last work of 3a, but copied in a much later hand. The important section of *Deslauriers* under consideration, then, is gathering 3b (89–124) and the ‘second half’ of 3a (125–126).

12. See Bennett 2009, p. 55–67.

13. Elsewhere Bennett has suggested a copying date for *Tours-168* of shortly after 1639, although this does not alter the essential chronology. See Peter Bennett, *F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571: sacred repertories in Paris, 1630–43*, D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 2004.

14. Margaret Bent, “Some criteria for establishing relationships between sources of late-medieval polyphony”, *Music in medieval and early modern Europe: patronage, sources and texts*, ed. Ian Fenlon, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 295–317. Bent’s article provides a useful conceptual framework in which to understand *Deslauriers* and *Tours-168*.

15. Bent 1981. The types of errors or variants that a classical text-critical method relies on are often obscured by the fact that musical scribes often have enough context to correct errors.



## Text underlay

The scribe of *Tours-168* provided complete text for all voices throughout. The scribe of *Deslauriers* frequently only provided one voice with text, expecting the reader or performer to underlay the text for the remaining voices. This immediately places *Tours-168* as a source closer to the practice of performance (either to sing from directly, or to copy parts from), whereas *Deslauriers* appears to be more a hastily compiled and slightly incomplete/ambiguous record of the same works.<sup>16</sup> The scribe of *Tours-168* used slurs to indicate underlay much more consistently, whereas the scribe of *Deslauriers* used them only very rarely, even where such slurs are necessary to indicate underlay in an un-texted voice part (e.g. [t.37 / d.106, \*Dum silentium\*](#), b. 75, where a slur would have been helpful: e.g. [t.59 / d.148, \*Candens flos\*](#), b. 13, where a slur was provided). Very occasionally, minor compositional variants result in different text underlay in the two sources (e.g. [t.44 / d.117, \*Vadam et videbo\*](#), b. 19).

## Time signatures

In the context of alternating triple and duple meter, the scribe of *Tours-168* was much more likely to use the time signature **2** in than the scribe of *Deslauriers*, who used **C** in the majority of the corresponding places (e.g. [t.39 / d.109, \*Gloria laus et honor\*](#), b. 36, 39, 60). Only very occasionally did the reverse occur (e.g. [t.42 / d.154, \*Spargite flores\*](#), b. 7).

## Minor rhythmic and pitch variants

A number of simple variants in rhythm or pitch occur, although there is no way of establishing the primacy of one reading over the other, nor to indicate any direction of transmission. Different readings occur in, for example [t.38 / d.108, \*Alleluia, fundite rores\*](#), b. 14 (different melodic profile); [t.39 / d.109, \*Gloria laus et honor\*](#), b. 57-8 (same melodic profile but with distinctive rhythm and underlay); [t.42 / d.154, \*Spargite flores\*](#), b. 47 (the final cadence involves a much more dramatic leap); [t.62, 92 / d.156, \*Noe pastores\*](#), b. 1 (different melodic profile), b. 16-17 (the *dessus* sings an additional two bars of music). In both [t.68 / d.135, \*Missa duarum vocum\*](#) and *Psalmi duarum vocum* (t.69-t.72), we also find either minor variations in cadential figures (e.g. [Credo](#), b. 62, or the [t.71 / d.128, \*Magnificat\*](#), b. 35 (this appears to be a misreading in *Deslauriers*). More generally, cadential figures often appear as slight variants, sometimes with anticipation, sometimes not (e.g. [t.66 / d.116, \*Missa septem vocum\*](#), Gloria, b. 18). All these variants fall within the usual stylistic bounds of this music.

The scribe of *Deslauriers* frequently presents rhythms that are dotted in *Tours-168* as equal notes: for one of many instances see [t.66 / d.116, \*Missa septem vocum\*](#), Credo, b. 153. Much more rarely is a rhythm presented equally in *Tours-168* but dotted in *Deslauriers* (e.g. [t.65 / d.101, \*En flamma divini amoris\*](#), b. 56).

## Accidentals

*Tours-168* generally provides more accidental inflections—typically raising the leading tone (e.g. [t.39 / d.109, \*Gloria laus et honor\*](#), b. 42-4).

## Text variants

A number of works appear with different texts in the two manuscripts. Most strikingly, [t.37 / d.106, \*Dum silentium\*](#) appears in *Tours-168* with the text ‘Pax pro principe Henrico’ (b. 76-79). Quittard took ‘Henrico’ to be Henri de Montmorency, the governor of Languedoc (where Bouzignac is likely to have spent much of his career) who was executed for treason in 1632. In the corresponding bars of *Deslauriers*, the text reads ‘Pax pro inclito Vitali’ or, underneath ‘Pax pro praesule [Vitali]. Quittard plausibly identifies Vitali as Bishop Vital d’Estang, bishop of Carcassonne from 1621 to 1652.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> One might argue that this also precludes a direction of transmission *Deslauriers* to *Tours-168*, but it would certainly have been possible for a scribe to recreate the text underlay from the incomplete *Deslauriers* skeleton. Most likely, manuscripts such as *Tours-168* were used to copy individual performance parts from.

<sup>17</sup> Quittard 1905, p. 367-368. In a similar way the *Tours-168* version of [t.55 / d.143, \*Jesu propitius esto\*](#) provides an ossia text “Pro Bernardino nostro” or “Pro praesule nostro”. Bernardino was probably a bishop, but his identity remains unknown.

Less illuminating variants also appear, especially in [t.43 / d.114, \*Ad arma fideles\*](#), where we find: ‘dicit’ (*Tours-168*) vs. ‘vicit’ (*Deslauriers*) (b. 14); ‘ad superbiam’ with ossia ‘ad luxuriam’ (*Tours-168*) vs. ‘ad luxuriam’ (*Deslauriers*) (b. 29); ‘ad gloriam’ with ossia ‘ad virium’ (*Tours-168*) vs. ‘ad gloriam’ (*Deslauriers*) (b. 33).

### Major structural variants

Beyond the variants noted above, several works appear in substantially different versions in the two sources.

#### —[t.67 / d.112, \*Tota pulchra es\*](#)

This motet is a multi-sectional work setting a text from the Song of Songs. The *Deslauriers* version appears to have been copied in a confused manner, with evidence of an alternate *dessus* part for the opening refrain now deleted (see [f. 97<sup>v</sup>](#) of the *Deslauriers* facsimile). *Deslauriers* also features a section (“Dilectus meus mi et ego illi”) not found in *Tours-168* (which may have functioned as the final refrain in place of “Tota pulchra”), and it also provides a fragmentary *basse-continue* part that appears to have been carelessly copied in as an afterthought

#### —[t.98 / d.10, d.127, \*Jubilate Deo\*](#)

Two different versions of a setting of this motet (based on Psalm 99:1–3) are preserved in *Deslauriers* (gathering 3b, version II) and *Tours-168* (version I) (Their texts are reproduced in table 1). Another copy of version I is found, however, in *Deslauriers*, gathering 1a (f. 9–10), an entirely separate section of the *Deslauriers* manuscript. Bennett (2009) has argued that gathering 1a was copied some time in the early 1640s, and so no particular chronological development can be inferred from the two different versions, and although we apparently have three witnesses to the same work, in stemmatic terms there are two different works, one of which survives in two witnesses whose order of copying is unknown.

Table 1. Texts of *Jubilate Deo* settings in *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers*

Vulgate Psalter, 99	Version I, t.98 / d.10 <i>Deslauriers</i> gathering 1a, f. 9–10; <i>Tours-168</i> , f. 124–125 <sup>v</sup>	Version II, d.127 <i>Deslauriers</i> gathering 3b, f. 109–109 <sup>v</sup>
<p>¶ 1 Jubilate Domino omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia.</p>	<p>Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia. Alleluya.</p> <p>Sanctum jubile celebrat ecclesia.</p> <p>Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia.</p>	<p>Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia. Alleluya</p> <p>Ecce sponsus crucis, ferte lilia, resonate carmen. Alleluya</p> <p>Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia.</p>
<p>¶ 2 Introite in conspectu ejus in exultatione.</p>	<p>Introite fideles in conspectu ejus: sumite panem sanctum in exultatione. Alleluya.</p>	<p>Introite fideles et sumite panem sanctum in exultatione. Alleluya</p>
<p>¶ 3 Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus: ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos.</p>	<p>Scitote quoniam ille qui pasit nos est Deus : ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos.</p> <p>Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia. Alleluya.</p>	<p>Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia.</p>

#### —[t.100 / d.155, \*Cantate Domino omnis Francia\*](#)

A complete version of this motet, a celebration of the 1628 reduction of La Rochelle is preserved in *Tours-168* (f. 127–128<sup>v</sup>). *Deslauriers* preserves a fragment of the same work (f. 125), labelled as “Suite du motet Cantate. sur la Rochelle” that begins at b. 10 of the work, continuing until b. 15, where *Deslauriers*

inserts two phrases “Quis orbem tenuit ? Ludovicus. Quis militat pro sacris ? Ludovicus”. (The fact that this work appears in gathering 3a is significant: see also *Noe pastores* and the discussion of the relationship below.) After a measure of “Vivat, vivat” (again concordant with *Tours-168*), the *Deslauriers* version ends, indicating that the piece should continue with “&c.”. Presumably the scribe of *Deslauriers* assumed that the continuation of the piece would be available to his reader, but it has since been lost.

—[t.62, t.92 / d.156, \*Noe Pastores\*](#)

In two separate locations *Tours-168* preserves this motet (f. 79-79<sup>v</sup>) and its continuation *Gabriel pastores* (f. 116<sup>v</sup>-117<sup>v</sup>) (indicated with the note “Voyez la premiere partie de ce motet Noe noe pastores a page”). *Deslauriers* preserves only the first section (significantly in gathering 3a: see discussion below). Either the exemplar the scribe of *Deslauriers* was using did not contain the *Gabriel pastores* continuation, he chose not to copy it, or it was later not incorporated into the collection when it was bound.

## Breathing marks

Unusually for manuscript sources of the early seventeenth century, both *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers* make use of what appear to be breathing marks. Similar marks appear in some (admittedly) later manuscript sources such as Tabart’s *Veni sponsa Christi* (F-Pn: Vm<sup>1</sup> 1646), but on the whole they seem to be a rare feature at this early date.<sup>18</sup> Duron has identified similar marks in a later publication of Sébastien de Brossard, where they clearly represent a breathing indication, either for technical or rhetorical purposes, but in *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers* their function in each case is slightly different.<sup>19</sup> *Tours-168*, which provides complete texts for all works, uses these marks liberally, especially in the opening phrases of many works, where they appear between every word in a manner that seems excessive (e.g. [t.49 / d.131, \*Ave cujus conceptio\*](#), opening) although somewhat related to the use of ‘barlines’ in chant sources that bar every word. In *Deslauriers*, which does not provide all texts, these marks may be used to indicate that a text phrase has finished and that the reader/performer should start the next line of text, or that the singer should repeat the word just sung (e.g. [t.70 / d.124, \*Beatus vir\*](#), b. 17–18, ‘manet’).

## Barlines and Page layout

Many of the works share very similar page layouts in the two manuscripts, a fact that might suggest a common exemplar. But we should be careful about drawing such a conclusion. In both sources, both scribes were concerned with using space effectively, which impacted the use of barlines and the page layout.

Gathering 3b of *Deslauriers*, in which most of the works concerned are preserved, was copied onto paper pre-ruled with 11 bars per stave (drawn top to bottom through the entire page). *Tours-168*, though somewhat more variable in its layout, nevertheless typically also uses 11 bars per stave. Given that both scribes usually begin a new piece on a new stave, it is not surprising that substantial sections would share the same layout and line breaks. However, when faced with measures that contain fewer, longer, notes, the scribes frequently began to compress two bars into one, but the extent to which they did this differed. In [t.38 / d.108, \*Alleluia fundite rores\*](#), b. 22–23, the scribe of *Tours-168* compressed two measures of slower moving music into one pre-ruled bar, while the scribe of *Deslauriers* did not. (From this point onwards, the page layout is obviously different.) Likewise, in [t.66 / d.116, \*Missa septem vocibus\*](#), *Christe*, b. 6–9, the scribe of *Tours-168* compressed the final bars to enable him to finish the movement at a line break, something the scribe of *Deslauriers* did not need to do. On the other hand, the scribe of *Deslauriers* was sometimes concerned with saving space to the extent that in a triple meter work he ignored barlines altogether (e.g. [t.57 / d.146, \*Stirps Jesse\*](#)).

## Conclusion

<sup>18</sup>. The manuscript copy of Du Caurroy’s *Preces* at F-Psg: Ms 3165–3167 does not use them, nor does the manuscript of works by André Péchon, F-Pn: Vm<sup>1</sup> 1647.

<sup>19</sup>. Duron points to an example in Brossard’s 1713 motet *Felix Dominici*: see Sébastien de Brossard, *Les petis motets manuscrits*, éd. Jean Duron, Versailles, Éditions du CMBV, 1995, p. XLIII.

While the traits exhibited by the two copyists outlined above shed some light on their individual practices, none of the evidence presented establishes any kind of primacy of one source or another, nor any chronological information that might be decisive in establishing a relationship between the manuscripts. Many of the variants (especially the minor ones such as *ficta* accidentals, breath marks, slurs, time signatures, rhythm and pitch variants) could easily have been introduced by the two scribes themselves while copying from the same exemplar, though it is equally possible that they were each faithfully copying independent yet related exemplars. At the same time, none of the minor variants can be read as the kind of separative or conjunctive errors that might be used to construct a stemma (which anyway typically requires the existence of three sources). The more major variants point to an earlier split in the transmission of some works (e.g. *Jubilate Deo* was composed in one version, then modified to the other version for a particular context: both versions then acted as sources for their independent transmission: likewise for *Cantate Domino omnis Francia*), but it remains an unfortunate reality that a text-critical approach, when applied to just two sources of approximately the same date (and when the date of the creation of the work itself is unknown) rarely provides insight into the relationship between those sources. In this case, we could construct any number of conjectural stemmas relating the individual works themselves, but we have no evidence to help us choose between them.

## COLLECTIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS

In contrast to Bent's approach, Alan Atlas has argued that the mere existence of works common to a number of anthologies suggests a connection between them, and that the more works anthologies have in common, the closer the relationship.<sup>20</sup> In the case of *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers*, not only is there a very large overlap between the contents of the two sources, but the works are also grouped together in both manuscripts: although *Tours-168* is a significantly larger source than gathering 3b/3a of *Deslauriers*, it is striking that the repertoire common to both sources is restricted to just three sections of *Tours-168* (f. 56<sup>v</sup>-62, f. 69<sup>v</sup>-91 and f. 98<sup>v</sup>-106). The repertoire shared athering 1a of *Deslauriers* (just two works, *Jubilate Deo* and *Omnes gentes*) is located in a fourth region. (The chanson *Quel espoir de guarir*, which appears outside these four regions, will not be considered here.) Given that we suspect that *Tours-168* is a later source than *Deslauriers*, it might appear that the copyist of *Tours-168* may have simply selected and copied regions of 3b directly, but in practice this is unlikely.

Table 2 below illustrates the contents of *Tours-168* and its concordances in *Deslauriers* (gatherings 3b (f. 89-124) and the second half of 3a (f. 125-126). The light shaded areas show works common to both sources. The dark shaded areas (organised into three columns for convenience) indicate regions where consecutive works in *Tours-168* correspond to consecutive works in *Deslauriers*. Each shaded area breaks off where the sequence in *Deslauriers* finishes.

<sup>20</sup>. Alan Atlas, "Conflicting attributions in Italian sources of the Franco-Netherlandish chanson c.1465-c.1505: a progress report on a new hypothesis", *Music in medieval and early modern Europe: patronage, sources and texts*, ed. Ian Fenlon, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.249-93.



Table 2. Contents of *Tours-168* and concordances in *Deslauriers*.

title	folio	concordance in <i>Deslauriers</i>	concordance in <i>Deslauriers</i> (subsidiary folio)	consecutive works in <i>Deslauriers</i>
Te Deum	1-12			
Vulnerasti cor meum	12 <sup>v</sup> -13 <sup>v</sup>			
In pace in idipsum	13 <sup>v</sup> -14			
Sicut malum inter silvarum	14-15 <sup>v</sup>			
Veni sancte spiritus	16-18 <sup>v</sup>			
Unus ex vobis	19-20 <sup>v</sup>			
Quasi cedrus	20 <sup>v</sup> -22			
Quasi stella matutina	22-23 <sup>v</sup>			
Ecce panis angelorum	23 <sup>v</sup> -25			
Ecce sacerdos magna	25 <sup>v</sup> -26 <sup>v</sup>			
Coetus omnes	26 <sup>v</sup> -27			
Ruisseau	27 <sup>v</sup> -28 <sup>v</sup>			
Quel espoir de guarir	28 <sup>v</sup> -30 <sup>v</sup>	238 <sup>v</sup> -239 <sup>v</sup>		
Que douce est la violence	30 <sup>v</sup> -33			
In exitu Israel	33 <sup>v</sup> -35			
Impetum ferebunt unanimiter	35 <sup>v</sup> -36 <sup>v</sup>			
Flos in floris	37-37 <sup>v</sup>			
O mors ero	37 <sup>v</sup>			
Ego gaudebo in Domino	38-39			
Flores liliae	39-41			
Surge aquilo	41-42			
Alleluya filiae Jerusalem	42-43			
Stella refulget	43 <sup>v</sup> -44 <sup>v</sup>			
Surgam et circuibo	44 <sup>v</sup> -45 <sup>v</sup>			
Descendit dilectus	45 <sup>v</sup> -46			
Christe quatuor vocum	46			
Ave Maria	46 <sup>v</sup> -47 <sup>v</sup>			
Beati mortui	47 <sup>v</sup> -48			
Libera me Domine	48 <sup>v</sup> -49 <sup>v</sup>			
Virgo Dei genitrix	49 <sup>v</sup> -50			
Nihil insolentiae	50-52			
Veni Maria	52 <sup>v</sup> -53			
Ecce Maria	53 <sup>v</sup> -54			
Ecce aurora	54 <sup>v</sup> -56			
Adjuva me Domine	56 <sup>v</sup>	93	5	
Dum silentium	56 <sup>v</sup> -58 <sup>v</sup>	93 <sup>v</sup> -94 <sup>v</sup>	5 <sup>v</sup> -6 <sup>v</sup>	
Alleluya fundite rores	58 <sup>v</sup> -59 <sup>v</sup>	95-96	7-8	
Gloria laus et honor	60-61	96-97	8-9	
Quis est iste	61	97	9	
Sicut laetantium	61 <sup>v</sup> -62	97-97 <sup>v</sup>	9-9 <sup>v</sup>	
Spargite flores	62-63	124 <sup>v</sup> -125	36 <sup>v</sup> -37	
Ad arma fideles	63 <sup>v</sup> -64	98 <sup>v</sup> -99 <sup>v</sup>	10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>v</sup>	

title	folio	concordance in <i>Deslauriers</i>	concordance in <i>Deslauriers</i> (subsidiary folio)	consecutive works in <i>Deslauriers</i>
Vadam et videbo	64-64 <sup>v</sup>	102 <sup>v</sup> -103 <sup>v</sup>	14-15 <sup>v</sup>	
Sagittae Domini	65	104-104 <sup>v</sup>	16-16 <sup>v</sup>	
Ecce Maria navis	65 <sup>v</sup> -66	106-106 <sup>v</sup>	18-18 <sup>v</sup>	
Alleluya venite amici	66 <sup>v</sup> -67	106 <sup>v</sup> -107	18 <sup>v</sup> -19	
Ecce festivitas amoris	67 <sup>v</sup> -68	107-107 <sup>v</sup>	19-19 <sup>v</sup>	
Ave cujus conceptio	68 <sup>v</sup> -69 <sup>v</sup>	111-111 <sup>v</sup>	23-23 <sup>v</sup>	
O lilia gratiarum	69 <sup>v</sup> -70	113-114	25-26	
Ha plange	70 <sup>v</sup> -71	114-114 <sup>v</sup>	26-26 <sup>v</sup>	
Quare fremuerunt	71 <sup>v</sup>	114 <sup>v</sup> -115	26 <sup>v</sup> -27	
Salve Jesu piissime	72-72 <sup>v</sup>	115-115 <sup>v</sup>	27-27 <sup>v</sup>	
Alleluya Deus dixit	72 <sup>v</sup> -73 <sup>v</sup>	118 <sup>v</sup> -119	30 <sup>v</sup> -31	
Jesu propitius esto	74-75	119 <sup>v</sup> -120	31 <sup>v</sup> -32	
Solem justitiae	75-75 <sup>v</sup>	120 <sup>v</sup> -121	32 <sup>v</sup> -33	
Stirps Jesse	75 <sup>v</sup> -76	121-121 <sup>v</sup>	33-33 <sup>v</sup>	
Ad nutum Domini	76-76 <sup>v</sup>	121 <sup>v</sup> -122	33 <sup>v</sup> -34	
Candens flos	76 <sup>v</sup> -77	122-122 <sup>v</sup>	34-34 <sup>v</sup>	
Clamant clavi	77-77 <sup>v</sup>	122 <sup>v</sup>	34 <sup>v</sup>	
Quaeram que diligit	77 <sup>v</sup> -78 <sup>v</sup>	123-123 <sup>v</sup>	35-35 <sup>v</sup>	
Noe pastores	79-79 <sup>v</sup>	125 <sup>v</sup>	37 <sup>v</sup>	
Lauda Syon	79 <sup>v</sup>	124	36	
Alleluya nova sint omnes	80	124	36	
En flamma divini amoris	80 <sup>v</sup> -82	89-90	1-2	
Total pulchra es	82 <sup>v</sup> -84	97 <sup>v</sup> -98	9 <sup>v</sup> -10	
Mass a 7 Kyrie	82 <sup>v</sup>	100 <sup>v</sup>	12 <sup>v</sup>	
Mass a 7 Gloria	83-85	100 <sup>v</sup> -102	12 <sup>v</sup> -14	
Mass a 7 Credo	85 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>	102-104	14-16	
Mass a 7 Sanctus	89 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>	104 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>	
Mass a 7 Agnus	90	104 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>	
Mass a 2 Kyrie	84 <sup>v</sup>	113	25	
Mass a 2 Gloria	84 <sup>v</sup> -85	113-114 <sup>v</sup>	25-26 <sup>v</sup>	
Mass a 2 Credo	85 <sup>v</sup> -86 <sup>v</sup>	114 <sup>v</sup> -117	26 <sup>v</sup> -29	
Mass a 2 Sanctus	86 <sup>v</sup> -87	117-117 <sup>v</sup>	29-29 <sup>v</sup>	
Mass a 2 Agnus	87	117 <sup>v</sup> -118	29 <sup>v</sup> -30	
Dixit Dominus	87 <sup>v</sup> -88	105-106 <sup>v</sup>	17-18 <sup>v</sup>	
Beatus vir	88 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>	106 <sup>v</sup> -109	18 <sup>v</sup> -21	
Magnificat	89 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>	109-110 <sup>v</sup>	21-22 <sup>v</sup>	
O sapientiae	89 <sup>v</sup>	110 <sup>v</sup> -111	22 <sup>v</sup> -23	
O Adonai	90	111-111 <sup>v</sup>	23-23 <sup>v</sup>	
O radix Jesse	90	111 <sup>v</sup>	23 <sup>v</sup>	
O clavis	90 <sup>v</sup>	112	24	
O oriens	90 <sup>v</sup>	112-112 <sup>v</sup>	24-24 <sup>v</sup>	
O rex gentium	91	112 <sup>v</sup>	24 <sup>v</sup>	
Dixit Dominus a 7	90 <sup>v</sup> -93			
Dixit Dominus a 4	91 <sup>v</sup> -94			

title	folio	concordance in <i>Deslauriers</i>	concordance in <i>Deslauriers</i> (subsidiary folio)	consecutive works in <i>Deslauriers</i>
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes a 7	93 <sup>v</sup> -94			
Lauda Jerusalem a 7	94 <sup>v</sup> -98	98 <sup>v</sup> -100	10 <sup>v</sup> -12	
Laetatus sum	94 <sup>v</sup> -96 <sup>v</sup>			
O salutaris	97-97 <sup>v</sup>			
Christus natus est nobis	98			
Mass a 5 Kyrie	98 <sup>v</sup> -99 <sup>v</sup>	115 <sup>v</sup> -116	27 <sup>v</sup> -28	
Mass a 5 Gloria	99 <sup>v</sup> -101 <sup>v</sup>	116-117 <sup>v</sup>	28-29 <sup>v</sup>	
Mass a 5 Sanctus	101 <sup>v</sup> -102	117 <sup>v</sup> -118	29 <sup>v</sup> -30	
Mass a 5 Agnus	102 <sup>v</sup>	118-118 <sup>v</sup>	30-30 <sup>v</sup>	
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	103-104	100-102	12-14	
Fasciculus mirrhæ	104	123 <sup>v</sup>	35 <sup>v</sup>	
Omnia flumina	104 <sup>v</sup> -105	105	17	
Fuge dilecte mi	105 <sup>v</sup> -106	105 <sup>v</sup>	17 <sup>v</sup>	
Heu suspiro	106 <sup>v</sup> -107			
Ecce homo	107 <sup>v</sup> -108			
Ha morior	108 <sup>v</sup> -109 <sup>v</sup>			
Dic Maria	110-112 <sup>v</sup>			
Regina coeli	113-114			
Quae est ista	114-115			
Omnium sanctorum	115-116			
Gabriel, ubi est pastores	116 <sup>v</sup> -117 <sup>v</sup>	!! <sup>21</sup>		
Hodie cum gaudio	118-119			
Senex puera	119 <sup>v</sup> -120			
Dilectus meus a 5	120 <sup>v</sup> -121 <sup>v</sup>			
Dilectus mei a 6	121 <sup>v</sup> -122 <sup>v</sup>			
Surge amica mea	123-123 <sup>v</sup>			
Jubilate Deo (version I)	124-125	9-10 (version II 109-109 <sup>v</sup> )	(version II 21-21 <sup>v</sup> )	
Omnes gentes	125 <sup>v</sup> -127	7 <sup>v</sup> -9		
Cantate Domino omnis Francia	127-128 <sup>v</sup>	125 (fragment of related version)		
Credo a 5	128 <sup>v</sup> -132			

On the basis that fifteenth-century manuscript anthologies containing the same repertoire rarely if ever reproduced that repertoire in the same order, Charles Hamm has proposed that, in the late fifteenth century, music was circulated and transmitted by what he called “fascicle manuscripts”, small unbound manuscripts that consisted of just a few folded folios.<sup>22</sup> He suggested that scribes were copying these anthologies from a number of common ‘fascicle manuscripts’ (which contained only a few works) but selecting and using them (the fascicles) in a different order. Hamm’s methodology was strongly criticised by Bent, and he certainly did not provide the obvious example to support his hypothesis, a case where a larger fascicle manuscript (containing several works) had been copied twice and where its structure was reflected in both copies.<sup>23</sup> But an analysis of the copying order of both *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers* suggests that, in this case, they may both have originated from a common set of either real or putative fascicle manuscripts whose structure is still clearly evident.

<sup>21</sup>. Not preserved in *Deslauriers*, but a continuation of *Noe pastores* which is.

<sup>22</sup>. Charles Hamm, “Manuscript structure in the Dufay era”, *Acta musicologica*, 34 (1962), p. 166-84.

<sup>23</sup>. Bent 1981, p. 300-304.

As the corollary of table 2, table 3 shows the contents of *Deslauriers* (gathering 3b and the second half of 3a) and its concordances with *Tours-168*: the shaded areas represent regions where the copying order in the two manuscripts is the same, while works without shading represent works in 3b which are not found in *Tours-168*.

Table 3. Contents of *Deslauriers* (3b and second half of 3a)  
showing regions of *Tours-168* copied in the same order

title	folio	subsidiary folio	concordance in <i>Tours-168</i> (unless otherwise stated)	sequences of consecutive works in <i>Tours-168</i>				
				1	2	3	4	5
En flamma divini amoris	89-90	1-2	80 <sup>v</sup> -82					
Domine salvum	90-91	2-3						
O amor interminabilis	91-92	3-4						
Tristis est anima mea	92-93	4-5						
Adjuva me Domine	93	5	56 <sup>v</sup>					
Dum silentium	93 <sup>v</sup> -94 <sup>v</sup>	5 <sup>v</sup> -6 <sup>v</sup>	56 <sup>v</sup> -58 <sup>v</sup>					
Domine salvum fac regem	95	7						
Alleluya fundite rores	95-96	7-8	58 <sup>v</sup> -59 <sup>v</sup>					
Gloria laus et honor	96-97	8-9	60-61					
Sicut laetentium	97-97 <sup>v</sup>	9-9 <sup>v</sup>	61 <sup>v</sup> -62	(1)				
Tota pulchra es	97 <sup>v</sup> -98	9 <sup>v</sup> -10	82 <sup>v</sup> -84					
Lauda Jerusalem	98 <sup>v</sup> -100	10 <sup>v</sup> -12	94 <sup>v</sup> -98					
Ad arma fideles	98 <sup>v</sup> -99 <sup>v</sup>	10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>v</sup>	63 <sup>v</sup> -64					
Laudate Dominum	100-102	12-14	103-104					(2)
Mass a 7	100 <sup>v</sup> -104 <sup>v</sup>	12 <sup>v</sup> -16 <sup>v</sup>	82 <sup>v</sup> -90					
Vadam et videbo	102-103 <sup>v</sup>	14-15 <sup>v</sup>	64-64 <sup>v</sup>					
Sagitte Domini (3)	104-104 <sup>v</sup>	16-16 <sup>v</sup>	65					
Omnia flumina	105	17	104 <sup>v</sup> -105					
Dixit Dominus	105-106 <sup>v</sup>	17-18 <sup>v</sup>	87 <sup>v</sup> -88					
Fuge dilecte mi	105 <sup>v</sup>	17 <sup>v</sup>	105 <sup>v</sup> -106					
Ecce Maria navis	106-106 <sup>v</sup>	18-18 <sup>v</sup>	65 <sup>v</sup> -66					
Beatus vir	106 <sup>v</sup> -109	18 <sup>v</sup> -21	88 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>					
Alleluya venite amici	106 <sup>v</sup> -107	18 <sup>v</sup> -19	66 <sup>v</sup> -67					
Ecce festivitas amoris	107-107 <sup>v</sup>	19-19 <sup>v</sup>	67 <sup>v</sup> -68					
Jesu ubertate	108-109	20-21						
Jubilare Deo (Version II)	109-109 <sup>v</sup>	21-21 <sup>v</sup>						
Magnificat	109-110 <sup>v</sup>	21-22 <sup>v</sup>	89 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>					
Alma redemptoris	110-111	22-23						
O sapientia	110 <sup>v</sup> -111	22 <sup>v</sup> -23	89bis <sup>v</sup>					
Ave cujus conceptio	111-111 <sup>v</sup>	23-23 <sup>v</sup>	68 <sup>v</sup> -69 <sup>v</sup>					
O Adonai	111-111 <sup>v</sup>	23-23 <sup>v</sup>	90					
Plaudat nunc organis	112-112 <sup>v</sup>	24-24 <sup>v</sup>						
O clavis David	112	24	90 <sup>v</sup>					
O oriens	112-112 <sup>v</sup>	24-24 <sup>v</sup>	90 <sup>v</sup>					
Ave verum	112 <sup>v</sup> -113	24 <sup>v</sup> -25						
O rex gentium	112 <sup>v</sup>	24 <sup>v</sup>	91					



title	folio	subsidiary folio	concordance in <i>Tours-168</i> (unless otherwise stated)	sequences of consecutive works in <i>Tours-168</i>				
				1	2	3	4	5
O lilia gratiarum	113-114	25-26	69 <sup>v</sup> -70					
Mass a 2	113-118	25-30	84 <sup>v</sup> -87					
Ave omnes dicunt	113 <sup>v</sup>	25 <sup>v</sup>						
Ha plange filiae Jerusalem	114-114 <sup>v</sup>	26-26 <sup>v</sup>	70 <sup>v</sup> - 71					
Quare fremuerunt	114 <sup>v</sup> -115	26 <sup>v</sup> -27	71 <sup>v</sup>					
Salve Jesu piissime	115-115 <sup>v</sup>	27-27 <sup>v</sup>	72-72 <sup>v</sup>					
Mass a 5	115 <sup>v</sup> -118 <sup>v</sup>	27 <sup>v</sup> -30 <sup>v</sup>	98 <sup>v</sup> -102 <sup>v</sup>					
Alleluya Deus dixit	118 <sup>v</sup> -119	30 <sup>v</sup> -31	72 <sup>v</sup> - 73 <sup>v</sup>					
Jesu propitius esto	119 <sup>v</sup> -120	31 <sup>v</sup> -32	74-75					
Lumen ad revelationem	120-120 <sup>v</sup>	32-32 <sup>v</sup>						
Solem justitiae regem	120 <sup>v</sup> -121	32 <sup>v</sup> -33	75-75 <sup>v</sup>					
Stirps Jesse	121-121 <sup>v</sup>	33-33 <sup>v</sup>	75 <sup>v</sup> -76					
Ad mutum Domini	121 <sup>v</sup> -122	33 <sup>v</sup> -34	76-76 <sup>v</sup>					
Candens flos	122-122 <sup>v</sup>	34-34 <sup>v</sup>	76 <sup>v</sup> -77					
Clamant clavi	122 <sup>v</sup>	34 <sup>v</sup>	77-77 <sup>v</sup>					
Quaeram quem diligit	123-123 <sup>v</sup>	35-35 <sup>v</sup>	77 <sup>v</sup> - 78 <sup>v</sup>					
Fasciculus mirrhæ	123 <sup>v</sup>	35 <sup>v</sup>	104					2*
Lauda Syon	124	36	79 <sup>v</sup>					
Alleluya nova sint omnia	124	36	80					
Spargite flores	124 <sup>v</sup> -125	36 <sup>v</sup>	62-63	1*				
GATHERING 3A								
Alleluya. Ludovicus vivat	125		127-128 <sup>v</sup>					
Noe pastores	125 <sup>v</sup>		79-79 <sup>v</sup>					

### Notes to table 3

1. The work on f. 62-63 (*Tours-168*) *Spargite flores* should be located here in *Deslauriers* to make a perfect consecutive series. It is instead the last work in the gathering, 1\*: see below.
2. The work on f. 104 (*Tours-168*) *Fasciculus mirrhæ* should be located here in *Deslauriers* to make a perfect consecutive series. It too was instead copied much later in the gathering, at 2\*.

Table 3 reveals that there are five sequences of works copied in a common order in both sources but with other concurrent sequences interspersed (with the two exceptions noted in the table above). Some of these parallels relate to liturgical ordering (i.e. Mass movements follow in the same order), but the majority seem to have originated independently.

Sequence 1 begins with *Adjuva me Domine* (f. 93 in *Deslauriers* and f. 56<sup>v</sup> in *Tours-168*) and continues through consecutive folios of *Tours-168* through *Dum silentium*, *Alleluya fundite rores* and through to *Alleluya nova sint omnes* (f. 124 in *Deslauriers* but f. 80 in *Tours-168*).<sup>24</sup>

Sequence 2 contains four works: *En flamma divini amoris* (f. 89-90 in *Deslauriers* and f. 80<sup>v</sup>-82 in *Tours-168*), *Tota pulchra es* (f. 97<sup>v</sup>-98 in *Deslauriers* and f. 82<sup>v</sup>-84 in *Tours-168*) the Mass for seven voices (f. 100<sup>v</sup>-104<sup>v</sup> in *Deslauriers* and f. 82<sup>v</sup>-90 in *Tours-168*), and the Mass for two voices (f. 113-118 in *Deslauriers* and f. 84<sup>v</sup>-87 in *Tours-168*).

Sequence 3 runs from *Dixit Dominus* (f. 105-106<sup>v</sup> in *Deslauriers* and f. 87<sup>v</sup>-88 in *Tours-168*) to *O Rex gentium* (f. 112<sup>v</sup> in *Deslauriers* and f. 91 in *Tours-168*)

<sup>24</sup>. The copyist omitted the work *Spargite flores* which 'should' have followed *Sicut laetentium* on f. 97-97<sup>v</sup>. Instead he inserted it as the final work of the gathering at f. 124<sup>v</sup>-125.

Sequence 4 contains only two works: *Lauda Jerusalem* (f. 98<sup>v</sup>-110 in *Deslauriers* and f. 94<sup>v</sup>-98 in *Tours-168*) and the Mass for five voices (f. 115<sup>v</sup>-118 in *Deslauriers* and f. 98<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>v</sup> in *Tours-168*).

Sequence 5 runs from *Laudate Dominum* (f. 100 in *Deslauriers* and f. 103-104 in *Tours-168*) to *Fuge dilecte mi* (f. 105<sup>v</sup> in *Deslauriers* and f. 105<sup>v</sup>-106 in *Tours-168*).<sup>25</sup>

The presence of these five parallel and concurrent sequences can be explained by the existence of five archetypal ‘fascicle manuscripts’ which were directly (i.e. they existed in the form I describe) or indirectly (i.e. they somehow informed the structure of intermediate exemplars) used to create *Tours-168* and 3b of *Deslauriers*. If we suppose that these archetypal fascicle manuscripts were used directly, the scribe of *Tours-168* would have copied the contents of these fascicles in the order in which they were preserved, and, additionally, inserted the contents of a number of other sources, now lost to us. The scribe of *Deslauriers*, by contrast, would have selected works from various fascicles at will, but although jumping from fascicle to fascicle, he always started at the beginning of each, and always returned to the same point when resuming copying after breaking off to use another fascicle. Just like the scribe of *Tours-168*, at certain points, rather than selecting a work from these fascicles, he copied a work from a different source. (These works are separated from the five sequences by horizontal lines in table 3. He also omitted three works from fascicle 4, three from fascicle 3 and one from fascicle 1.)

This process is illustrated in table 4. The contents of the five fascicle manuscripts are shown in the centre column. The order in which both *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers* were copied is shown by the ‘location’ numbers in the adjacent columns to left and right. Thus, the scribe of *Deslauriers* began copying 3b at:

Location 1: *En flamma divini amoris*, the first work of [fascicle 2](#).

Location 2: *Adjuva me Domine* to *Sicut laetentium*, the first 6 works in [fascicle 1](#); he did not include the seventh, *Spargite flores*, instead inserting this at the very end of *Deslauriers*. (The reasons for this will be discussed below.)

Location 3: *Tota pulchra es*, [back in fascicle 2](#), continuing from where he left off previously.

Location 4: *Lauda Jerusalem*, the first work of [fascicle 4](#).

Location 5: *Ad arma fideles*, [back in fascicle 1](#), continuing where he had left off previously.

Location 6: *Laudate Dominum*, the first work of [fascicle 5](#).

...

Location 10: *Dixit Dominus a 2*, the first work of [fascicle 3](#).

etc.

With the exception of the numbers marked with an asterisk (24 and 26, works that the scribe of *Deslauriers* copied out of sequence, leaving them to the very end) the 26 locations representing the 26 changes between exemplar are, within each ‘fascicle-manuscript’, arranged in ascending order, demonstrating an underlying order of works, a deep structure common to both sources which can only have resulted from five notional or actual ‘fascicle manuscripts’ being the exemplar for both sources. The scribe of *Deslauriers* worked from the beginning to the end of the five fascicles though selected at will from them. The scribe of *Tours-168*, however, copied fascicles 1-3 in order. He then inserted two versions of the *Dixit Dominus* and a *Laudate Dominum* from another source, not available to the scribe of *Deslauriers*, nor part of this discussion. He then resumed, copying fascicles 4 and 5 in order, though inserted other works, again not available to the scribe of *Deslauriers*.

(The other possibility is that the contents of the fascicle manuscripts were in the ‘same order’ as the contents of *Deslauriers* rather than of *Tours-168*, and that it was the scribe of *Tours-168* who selected works at will. In this case, however, that scribe would have had to, for example, copy the first work of a fascicle manuscript, omit several, copy another work, and then change exemplar, repeating that process through all five fascicle manuscripts. He would then have had to go back through the same fascicle manuscripts again, copying some of the omitted works. This process would be repeated until all had been copied. If the scribe of *Tours-168* had thereby imposed a recognisable structure on its contents (perhaps in

<sup>25</sup> The copyist omitted the work *Fasciculus mirrae* which ‘should’ have followed *Laudate Dominum* on f. 100-102. Instead he inserted it towards the end of 3b and after the end of the sequence at f.123v.

scoring, liturgical function, style) such a process would be justified, but there is no evidence of such a structure.)

Table 4.9. Copying order of *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers*  
(Does not indicate works found in *Deslauriers* but not in *Tours-168*)

title	<i>Tours-168</i>		Fascicle manuscripts	<i>Deslauriers</i>		
	folio	location number	fascicle number	location number	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Te Deum	1-12					
Heureux séjour de Parthénisse	1-12					
Vulnerasti cor meum	12 <sup>v</sup> -13 <sup>v</sup>					
In pace in idipsum	13 <sup>v</sup> -14					
Sicut malum inter silvarum	14-15 <sup>v</sup>					
Veni sancte Spiritus	16-18 <sup>v</sup>					
Unus ex vobis	19-20 <sup>v</sup>					
Quasi cedrus	20 <sup>v</sup> -22					
Quasi stella matutina	22-23 <sup>v</sup>					
Ecce panis angelorum	23 <sup>v</sup> -25					
Ecce sacerdos magna	25 <sup>v</sup> -26 <sup>v</sup>					
Coetus omnes	26 <sup>v</sup> -27					
Ruisseau qui cours	27 <sup>v</sup> -28 <sup>v</sup>					
Quel espoir de guarir	28 <sup>v</sup> -30 <sup>v</sup>				<a href="#">gathering 12</a>	
Que douce est la violence	30 <sup>v</sup> -33					
In exitu Israel	33 <sup>v</sup> -35					
Impetum fecerunt unanimiter	35 <sup>v</sup> -36 <sup>v</sup>					
Flos in floris tempore	37-37 <sup>v</sup>					
O mors ero mors	37 <sup>v</sup>					
Ego gaudebo in Domino	38-39					
Flores liliae	39-41					
Surge Aquilo	41-42					
Alleluya filiae Jerusalem	42-43					
Stella refulget	43 <sup>v</sup> -44 <sup>v</sup>					
Surgam et circuibo	44 <sup>v</sup> -45 <sup>v</sup>					
Descendit dilectus	45 <sup>v</sup> -46					
Christe quatuor vocum	46					
Ave Maria	46 <sup>v</sup> -47 <sup>v</sup>					
Beati mortui	47 <sup>v</sup> -48					
Libera me Domine	48 <sup>v</sup> -49 <sup>v</sup>					
Virgo Dei genitrix	49 <sup>v</sup> -50					
Nihil insolentiae	50-52					
Veni Maria	52 <sup>v</sup> -53					
Ecce Maria	53 <sup>v</sup> -54					
Ecce aurora	54 <sup>v</sup> -56					
Adjuva me Domine	56 <sup>v</sup>	1	1	2	93	5
Dum silentium	56 <sup>v</sup> -58 <sup>v</sup>				93 <sup>v</sup> -94 <sup>v</sup>	5 <sup>v</sup> -6 <sup>v</sup>

	<i>Tours-168</i>		Fascicle manuscripts	<i>Deslauriers</i>		
title	folio	location number	fascicle number	location number	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Alleluya fundite rores	58 <sup>v</sup> -59 <sup>v</sup>				95-96	7-8
Gloria laus et honor	60-61				96-97	8-9
Quis est iste rex gloriae	61				97	9
Sicut laetantium	61 <sup>v</sup> -62				97-97 <sup>v</sup>	9-9 <sup>v</sup>
Spargite flores	62-63			26*	124 <sup>v</sup> -125	36 <sup>v</sup> -37
Ad arma fideles	63 <sup>v</sup> -64			5	98 <sup>v</sup> -99 <sup>v</sup>	10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>v</sup>
Vadam et videbo	64-64 <sup>v</sup>			8	102-103 <sup>v</sup>	14-15 <sup>v</sup>
Sagittae Domini	65				104-104 <sup>v</sup>	16-16 <sup>v</sup>
Ecce Maria navis	65 <sup>v</sup> -66			12	106-106 <sup>v</sup>	18-18 <sup>v</sup>
Alleluya venite amici	66 <sup>v</sup> -67			14	106 <sup>v</sup> -107	18 <sup>v</sup> -19
Ecce festivitas amoris	67 <sup>v</sup> -68				107-107 <sup>v</sup>	19-19 <sup>v</sup>
Ave cujus conceptio	68 <sup>v</sup> -69 <sup>v</sup>			16	111-111 <sup>v</sup>	23-23 <sup>v</sup>
O lilia gratiarum	69 <sup>v</sup> -70			18	113-114	25-26
Ha plange	70 <sup>v</sup> -71			20	114-114 <sup>v</sup>	26-26 <sup>v</sup>
Quare fremuerunt	71 <sup>v</sup>				114 <sup>v</sup> -115	26 <sup>v</sup> -27
Salve Jesu piissime	72-72 <sup>v</sup>				115-115 <sup>v</sup>	27-27 <sup>v</sup>
Alleluya Deus dixit	72 <sup>v</sup> -73 <sup>v</sup>			22	118 <sup>v</sup> -119	30 <sup>v</sup> -31
Jesu propitius esto	74-75				119 <sup>v</sup> -120	31 <sup>v</sup> -32
Solem justitiae	75-75 <sup>v</sup>			23 <sup>26</sup>	120 <sup>v</sup> -121	32 <sup>v</sup> -33
Stirps Jesse	75 <sup>v</sup> -76				121-121 <sup>v</sup>	33-33 <sup>v</sup>
Ad nutum Domini	76-76 <sup>v</sup>				121 <sup>v</sup> -122	33 <sup>v</sup> -34
Candens flos	76 <sup>v</sup> -77				122-122 <sup>v</sup>	34-34 <sup>v</sup>
Clamant clavi	77-77 <sup>v</sup>				122 <sup>v</sup>	34 <sup>v</sup>
Quaeram que diligit	77 <sup>v</sup> -78 <sup>v</sup>				123-123 <sup>v</sup>	35-35 <sup>v</sup>
Noe pastores	79-79 <sup>v</sup>				125 <sup>v</sup> gathering 3a	
Lauda Syon	79 <sup>v</sup>			25	124	36
Alleluya nova sint omnes	80				124	36
En flamma divini amoris	80 <sup>v</sup> -82		2	1	89-90	1-2
Tota pulchra es	82 <sup>v</sup> -84			3	97 <sup>v</sup> -98	
Mass a 7 Kyrie	82 <sup>v</sup>			7	100 <sup>v</sup>	12 <sup>v</sup>
Mass a 7 Gloria	83-85				100 <sup>v</sup> -102	12 <sup>v</sup> -14
Mass a 7 Credo	85 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>				102-104	14-16
Mass a 7 Sanctus	89 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>				104 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>
Mass a 7 Agnus	90				104 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>
Mass a 2 Kyrie	84 <sup>v</sup>			19	113	25
Mass a 2 Gloria	84 <sup>v</sup> -85				113-114 <sup>v</sup>	25-26 <sup>v</sup>
Mass a 2 Credo	85 <sup>v</sup> -86 <sup>v</sup>				114 <sup>v</sup> -117	26 <sup>v</sup> -29
Mass a 2 Sanctus	86 <sup>v</sup> -87				117-117 <sup>v</sup>	29-29 <sup>v</sup>

<sup>26</sup>. Although location 23 appears to follow directly on from location 22 (i.e. it should not be a separate location), another work, *Lumen ad revelationem*, not preserved in *Tours-168*, is inserted here. The scribe of *Deslauriers* therefore returned to the fascicle manuscript at location 23.



	<i>Tours-168</i>		Fascicle manuscripts	<i>Deslauriers</i>		
title	folio	location number	fascicle number	location number	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Mass a 2 Agnus	87				117 <sup>v</sup> -118	29 <sup>v</sup> -30
Dixit Dominus a 2	87 <sup>v</sup> -88		3	10	105-106 <sup>v</sup>	17-18 <sup>v</sup>
Beatus vir a 2	88 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>			13	106 <sup>v</sup> -109	18 <sup>v</sup> -21
Magnificat a 2	89 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>v</sup>			15	109-110 <sup>v</sup>	21-22 <sup>v</sup>
O sapientiae a 2	89 <sup>v</sup>				110 <sup>v</sup> -111	22 <sup>v</sup> -23
O Adonai a 2	90			17	111-111 <sup>v</sup>	23-23 <sup>v</sup>
O radix Jesse a 2	90				111 <sup>v</sup>	23 <sup>v</sup>
O clavis a 2	90 <sup>v</sup>				112	24
O oriens a 2	90 <sup>v</sup>				112-112 <sup>v</sup>	24-24 <sup>v</sup>
O rex gentium a 2	91				112 <sup>v</sup>	24 <sup>v</sup>
Dixit Dominus a 6	90 <sup>v</sup> -93					
Dixit Dominus a 4	91 <sup>v</sup> -94					
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	93 <sup>v</sup> -94					
Lauda Jerusalem	94 <sup>v</sup> -98		4	4	98 <sup>v</sup> -100	10 <sup>v</sup> -12
Laetatus sum	94 <sup>v</sup> -96 <sup>v</sup>					
O salutaris	97-97 <sup>v</sup>					
Christus natus est nobis	98					
Mass a 5 Kyrie	98 <sup>v</sup> -99 <sup>v</sup>			21	115 <sup>v</sup> -116	27 <sup>v</sup> -28
Mass a 5 Gloria	99 <sup>v</sup> -101 <sup>v</sup>				116-117 <sup>v</sup>	28-29 <sup>v</sup>
Mass a 5 Sanctus	101 <sup>v</sup> -102				117 <sup>v</sup> -118	29 <sup>v</sup> -30
Mass a 5 Agnus	102 <sup>v</sup>				118-118 <sup>v</sup>	30-30 <sup>v</sup>
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	103-104		5	6	100-102	12-14
Fasciculus mirrhæ	104			24*	123 <sup>v</sup>	35 <sup>v</sup>
Omnia flumina	104 <sup>v</sup> -105			9	105	17
Fuge dilecte mi	105 <sup>v</sup> -106			11	105 <sup>v</sup>	17 <sup>v</sup>
Heu suspiro	106 <sup>v</sup> -107					
Ecce homo	107 <sup>v</sup> -108					
Ha morior	108 <sup>v</sup> -109 <sup>v</sup>					
Dic Maria	110-112 <sup>v</sup>					
Regina Coeli	113-114					
Quæ est ista	114-115					
Omnium sanctorum	115-116					
Gabriel, ubi est pastores [continuation of Noe pastores]	116 <sup>v</sup> -117 <sup>v</sup>					
Hodie cum gaudio	118-119					
Senex puera	119 <sup>v</sup> -120					
Dilectus meus a 5	120 <sup>v</sup> -121 <sup>v</sup>					
Dilectus meus a 6	121 <sup>v</sup> -122 <sup>v</sup>					
Surge amica mea	123-123 <sup>v</sup>					
Jubilate Deo (version I)	124-125		a		version 1, 9-10 (version 2 at 109-109 <sup>v</sup> )	(21-21 <sup>v</sup> )

	<i>Tours-168</i>		Fascicle manuscripts	<i>Deslauriers</i>		
title	folio	location number	fascicle number	location number	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Omnes gentes	125 <sup>v</sup> -127		b		7 <sup>v</sup> -9	
Cantate Domino omnis Francia	127–128 <sup>v</sup>		c		125	
Mass a 5 Credo	128 <sup>v</sup> -132		d			

A number of works stand outside this framework. Notably, however, all of them are related to the completion of both sources and are therefore located at the end of each.

[\*Jubilate Deo... sanctum jubile\*](#) (t.98 / d.10),

Although the copyist of gathering 3b had access to a version of this piece (version II: *Jubilate Deo... ecce sponsus* (d.127), the version copied in *Tours-168* came from a different source, hypothetically called 'a' in the table above, which was also available to the copyist of gathering 1a.

[\*Omnes gentes\*](#) (t.99 / d.9),

This piece was not copied as part of 3b, but only as part of gathering 1a, immediately before *Jubilate Deo*. This piece, too, came from a different source, hypothetically called 'b' in the table above. Given that *Omnes gentes* and *Jubilate Deo* appear consecutively in both *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers* (though in reverse order). It seems likely that 'a' and 'b' were combined together in some way (possibly on either side of a bifolio sheet?).

[\*Cantate Domino omnis Francia\*](#) (t.100 / d.155),

The difference between the two versions suggests that the two scribes were working from different exemplars. It is not possible to deduce much about hypothetical source 'c', which may, therefore, in fact be more than one source

[\*Missa quinque vocum\*](#), Credo (t.101),

The remainder of Mass a 5 is preserved elsewhere in *Tours-168* and *Deslauriers*, without the Credo. Either the scribes omitted it in both cases, or it was not provided in their common exemplar (more likely). However, at a much later date, a source for the Credo became available (hypothetical source 'd'), and it was copied into the end of *Tours-168* as the final work, in a different hand to the main body of the manuscript. (The circumstances surrounding this will be explored in the conclusion.)

It is striking that these final works of *Tours-168* all exhibit anomalies, and striking too that the final works of *Deslauriers* are also unusual—copied much later, standing outside the sequence, or reflecting substantially different versions from *Tours-168*. In the conclusion that follows, I attempt to account for these anomalies and propose one explanation (not exclusive of others) to account for the broader relationship between the sources and the way in which they originated.

## Conclusion

The analysis presented above enables us to propose a number of conclusions. Firstly, it seems likely that common set of fascicle manuscripts provided the basis—either directly or indirectly—for a substantial proportion of the works in both sources: while the process might not have unfolded exactly as a describe, there is undoubtedly a shared deep structure that can only have originated from a number of separate groupings of works that, within each group, were preserved in a fixed order. The scribe of *Tours-168* copied them predominantly in sequence: the scribe of *Deslauriers*, however, copied them in a more complex manner, probably related to issues of page layout; since 3b was copied on to paper with 21 staves per page (rather than the 12 that *Tours-168* consists of), the scribe of *Deslauriers* was faced with more complex decisions about page layout than the scribe of *Tours-168*, and it is perhaps for these reasons that he broke the sequence of works in a given fascicle manuscript and chose a work from another. (For the copying of *Deslauriers*, for example, the sequence of locations 12–20 shows that the scribe of *Deslauriers* chose a different strategy to the scribe of *Tours-168* to fit the 2-voice works underneath other larger scale works.)

Secondly, nothing about this process suggests that *Tours-168* was copied in Tours. While Bouzignac himself is thought to have spent some time in that city in 1641 for the translation of the relics of Saint Martin from Cluny, via Paris, to the Abbey of Marmoutier just outside Tours, none of the works that are

associated with this event are found in *Tours-168*.<sup>27</sup> (They are all in *Deslauriers*, gathering 1a, a source that was copied in Paris.) And while it is difficult to say anything about the place of origin of *Tours-168*, it does seem likely that it was in use in Paris in the 1670s or around 1680. The hand in which the Credo a 5 was added corresponds closely with the later hand used extensively in *Deslauriers* and most notably in folios 125–126, the works added to gathering 3a. (Bennett identifies this as hand Y, associated with the final completion of *Deslauriers* in the 1670s and early 1680s: he argues that the whole of *Deslauriers* was copied by the same individual, but that his hand changed over the long period in which it was created, c.1630s to c. 1680).<sup>28</sup> Figure 1 below shows the identical clefs (g, c and f); the use of the curved flag for upward-stemmed quavers and the sharp, ‘angled-flag’ for the downward stemmed quavers; the identical crotchet rest formation, with the separate vertical and horizontal strokes; and the fact that the downward-stemmed minims have the stem on the right, overshooting a slightly open note head.

Figures 1:  
*Tours-168*, f. 130<sup>v</sup>



<sup>27</sup>. See Launay 1961, p. 67–80.

<sup>28</sup>. For an extensive discussion of Hand Y see Bennett 2009, p. 46–49.



Figure 2 shows the identical **C** time signatures, with the top of the **C** produced in a short separate stroke (this formation appears consistently throughout the later copied parts of *Deslauriers*).

Figures 2:

*Tours-168*, f. 128<sup>v</sup>, A time signature with F and C clefs  
(bass clef is not typical)



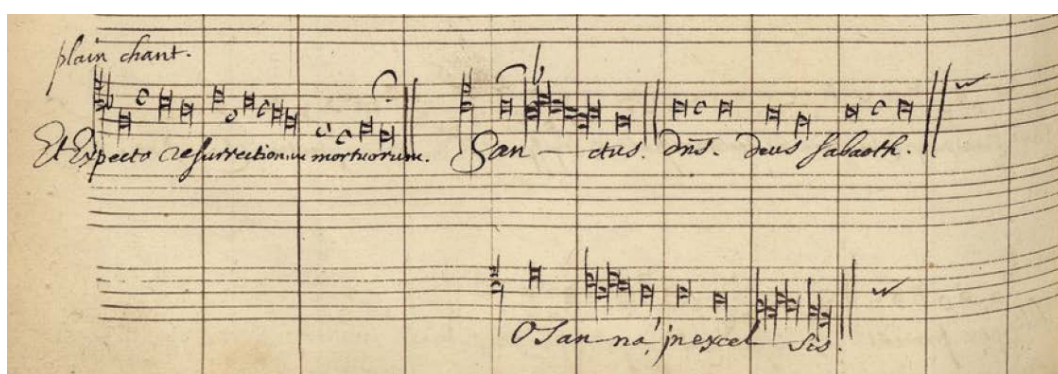




Figure 3 shows an excerpt of text from the two sources, which differs only in the occasional choices made about the formation of the letter 's'.

Figures 3:  
Tours-168, f. 131<sup>v</sup>, text of 'Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum'





If the hands are indeed identical, this would support the following hypothesis. At some point around 1640 the scribe of *Deslauriers* (I have argued that this was André Péchon) gained access to the five fascicle manuscripts (or copies that somehow retained their underlying structure) and copied gathering 3b as a self-contained collection, with its own foliation numbers 1–36. At the end of folio 36, the piece *Spargite flores* was continued either onto another folio, or equally possibly, another whole gathering that might have contained numerous other works now only found in *Tours-168*. At some point in the following 40 years, this continuation was lost or became separated, and so in around 1680, when Péchon came to prepare his entire collection for binding, he ‘wrapped’ gathering 3b in the much smaller 3a, recopying the conclusion of *Spargite flores*, the alternative version of the *Cantate sur la Rochelle*, and the *Noe Pastores*.

*Tours-168* meanwhile, had been copied sometime in the 1640s from the same set of fascicle manuscripts or their copies—I would suggest also in Paris. At some point in the 1670s, *Tours-168* came into the hands of André Péchon who was, during that decade, in the process of preparing his own collection of separate gatherings for binding (i.e. the creation of *Deslauriers* in its current state) and had access to Bouzignac sources. He therefore copied the Credo a 5 (from hypothetical source ‘d’, which neither scribe had had access to decades earlier) into the end of *Tours-168* for completeness, and might well have done the same to *Deslauriers* except that there was no space suitable for him to do so. (Or, of course, he owned source ‘d’ and had no need to add it in to *Deslauriers*.)

If indeed *Tours-168* was in Paris in the late 1670s, this would support yet another hypothesis. Jean Duron has proposed that *Tours-168* belonged to René Ouvrard and that its presence in *Tours-168* can be attributed to Ouvrard’s position as a canon at the Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, a position he took up following a period as *maître de musique* at the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, between 1663 and 1679. It is therefore entirely possible that *Tours-168* belonged to Ouvrard in Paris; that he knew André Péchon (who by the 1670s was in Meaux, although he retained his Paris connections); that Péchon added the Credo a 5 into Ouvrard’s manuscript in the same hand that he used for 3a and all the late Boesset copies found in *Deslauriers*; and that Ouvrard then took *Tours-168* to Tours where it found a home in the cathedral library after his death. Although Dorange’s catalogue of the Bibliothèque municipale (the manuscript’s current location) gives the provenance of *Tours-168* as the library of the Basilica of Saint Martin, the citation he provides in the 1736 catalogue of that library does not lead to the manuscript itself.<sup>29</sup> Instead, D’Avanne’s 1706 catalogue of the cathedral library shows that works of Ouvrard (including his *La Musique rétablie*) were catalogued under the callmark 461, while a ‘Liber manuscriptus de Musicâ’ was catalogued almost adjacent at callmark 459.<sup>30</sup> It is certainly possible, therefore, that this ‘Liber manuscriptus’ was in fact *Tours-168*, and that both it and Ouvrard’s theoretical works came into the possession of the Bibliothèque municipale at the same time, and from the same source—the cathedral of Saint-Gatien, but that *Tours-168* itself had originated in Paris, a witness—albeit guarded—to the complex nature of manuscript and musical transmission in the seventeenth century.

<sup>29</sup> Dorange refers to its provenance as ‘Saint-Martin, 1315’, but the 1739 catalogue to which the reader is directed does not contain a reference to this manuscript. See A. Dorange, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours*, Tours, Imprimerie Jules Bouserez, 1875, and Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, Paris: Briasson, 1739, II.

<sup>30</sup> Victor D’Avanne, *Bibliotheca sanctae ac metropolitanae Ecclesiae Turonensis...*, Tours, Jacob Poinsot, 1706, p. 51-52.