# Jacobus de Ispania and Liège*

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A voluminous treatise on church law, published in 1702 by the Belgian canonist Zeger Bernhard van Espen, refers in passing to the statutes of an archdeaconate of Hispania held in the cathedral of Liège—'archidiaconatus Hispaniae in Ecclesia Leodiensi'.[1] An archdeacon is a senior ecclesiastic, second in rank to the bishop, who holds administrative responsibilities over a major subdivision of the diocese known as an archdeaconry. The reference, taken at face value, suggests that a portion of the diocese of Liège was known in Latin as 'Hispania'.

That may seem an unlikely name for a region in the Low Countries, yet the reference was almost certainly not an error. The author, Van Espen, had lived and taught his entire life at Leuven, which is about forty-five miles from Liège and located within the diocese, and he must have had more than passing familiarity with regional toponymy. However, since he was writing for an international audience, for whom 'Hispania' could only refer to a different part of Europe altogether, he did hasten to clarify the name. 'Hispania', he went on in one breath, 'whose territory includes locations near to us'—locations, that is, near Leuven.

The comment about the archdeaconate of Hispania is printed without alteration in the next few editions of Van Espen's treatise, evidently having passed the scrutiny of proof-readers in successive printing houses. But after the middle of the eighteenth century, several decades after the author's death, we also find it modified in some prints to 'Hasbania'.[2] This was, by then, the more common Latin name for what is still known today as the land of Hesbaye or (in Dutch) Haspengouw, northwest of Liège.[3] Approximately the size of the present-day country of Luxemburg, Hesbaye comprised several major monastic centres such as the abbeys of Gembloux and Sint-Truiden, as well as the cities of Tongeren, Hasselt, Huy, Namur, and, not least, Liège itself (see Figure 1).

Hasbania and Hispania: how could two such different-sounding names refer to the same geographical area? Setting aside the discrepancy in orthography, how could any region outside the Iberian peninsula call itself Hispania and still expect to be identifiable as a territory in its own right? Given that the perfectly unambiguous alternative 'Hasbania' was available, and would indeed be adopted in later editions, why

* I am grateful to Michael Scott Cuthbert, Anna Zararuznaya, Solomon Guhl-Miller, David Fallows, Karen Desmond, Margo Schulter, and David Catalunya for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this essay.

1 Zegerus Bernhardus van Espen, *Jus ecclesiasticum universum hodiernae disciplinae accommodatum* (Cologne: Wilhelmus Metternich, 1702), 30: '…conforme statutum Archidiaconatus Hispaniae in Ecclesia Leodiensi, cujus territorium etiam vicina nobis loca complectitur…'.

2 Though not, ironically, in the 1778 edition issued at Madrid: Van Espen, *Jus ecclesiasticum hodiernae disciplinae accommodatum* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1778), 28.

3 See Charles Piot, 'Les *pagi* de la Belgique et leurs subdivisions pendant le Moyen-Âge', in *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers* 39 (1879), 1-260 at 107-20.

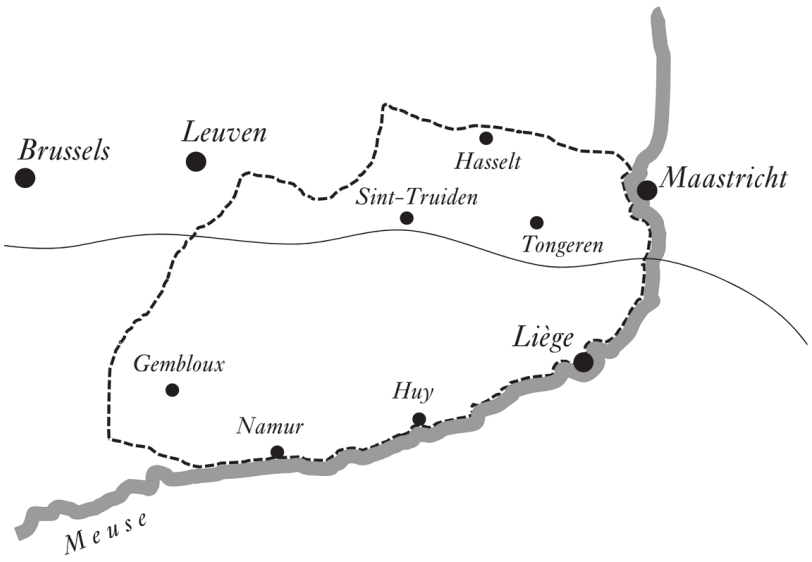


Figure 1. Map of Hesbaye and environs. The continuous line marks the approximate language boundary between French and Germanic

had Van Espen risked confusion—knowingly, it seems[4]—by using a variant of the name already taken by the Kingdom of Spain?

Although it may seem unlikely to us now, the reason may well be that the orthography 'Hispania' had once enjoyed equal if not greater currency. Along with several other variants of the name, it goes back to an age long before Spain's rise to a world power in the sixteenth century—an age in the first millennium, when there was as yet much less danger of confusion.[5] This may explain, for example, why we find the same archdeaconate referred to as 'Hisbania' in a papal document from 1353: 'canonicatus et prebende ac archidiaconatus de Hisbania in ecclesia Leodiensi'.[6]

There is evidence to suggest that the land of Hesbaye, in the early and high Middle Ages, was more usually called Hispania than Hasbania. One example is the miracle concerning 'a certain priest from Hispania', narrated in the *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1225)

[4] The statutes of the archdeaconate to which he refers (above, n. 1) had been available under the title *Statuta Archidiaconatus Hasbaniae in Ecclesia Leodiensi* in several printed editions, the first of which had been issued by the press of Johannes van Milst at Leuven in 1658.

[5] Hesbaye features as the Kingdom of Yspania in the legends of the Merovingian King Theodoric the Great; see Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (ed.), *Sagan om Didrik af Bern*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1850-54), vol. 2, 114-15. For its appearance in the Song of Roland tradition, see Bernard Gicquel, *Généalogie de la* Chanson de Roland (Paris, 2003), 32-34. Hesbaye was a county by the eighth century, and possibly already in the seventh; see Jean Baerten, 'Le comté de Haspinga et l'avouerie de Hesbaye (IX$^{e}$-XII$^{e}$ siècles)', in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 40 (1962), 1149-67. See also Charles-François Jalheau, *Miroir des nobles de Hesbaye* (Brussels: Henri Fricx, 1673). The name 'Hispania' for the Iberian peninsula or parts thereof goes back, of course, to ancient times. See Alejandra de Riquer and Esther Artigas, '*Hispania*, *Hiberia* y *Hesperia* en los poetas latinos', in *Fortunatae: Revista canaria de filología, cultura y humanidades clásicas* 5 (1993), 193-214. In the Middle Ages there appears to have been no precise notion as to which of several principalities the name referred to, though it seems to have been associated most commonly with the Kingdom of Castile. As for Hesbaye, the danger of confusing it with Spain would become especially acute after 1516, when the Low Countries came under direct Spanish rule. Even then it would take a long time before the region was exclusively known as 'Hasbania' rather than 'Hispania', as the example of Van Espen's *Jus ecclesiasticum* illustrates.

[6] Ursmer Berlière (ed.), *Suppliques d'Innocent VI (1352-1362): textes et analyses* (Rome, 1911), 117 (22 August 1353). Other readings in these registers include 'Hasbinia' (ibid., 79 and 97) and 'Hasbania' (263 and 482).

of Caesarius of Heisterbach.[7] Although the modern edition of the *Dialogus*, printed in 1851, presents the reading 'sacerdos quidam de Hesbania', the editor reported in a footnote that the majority of the sources available to him read 'Hispania'. Yet there can be no doubt that the priest from Hispania came from Hesbaye in present-day Belgium, not Spain. For the miracle he was said to have witnessed was a vision that appeared to him, one evening, in the countryside 'near the castle of the Count of Looz'. The Counts of Looz kept their residence in Hasselt, which is one of the major cities in Hesbaye.[8]

Other examples can be found in the medieval hagiographies of Hesbignon saints. A case in point is St. Trudo, who was one of the most important saints of Hesbaye, and the founder of the abbey named after him in the town still known today as Sint-Truiden or Saint-Trond. In one of the earliest sources for the saint's *Vita*, the eleventh-century Cotton-Corpus Legendary, we are told in the very first sentence that 'the venerable Trudo was born of a most noble Frankish family in the land of Hispania'.[9] Modern editors have unanimously changed this to 'Hasbania', sensibly reasoning that the original reading could only provoke puzzlement among modern readers.[10] Yet the former reading does appear to have been the more current, especially in the territory itself. The editors of the *Acta sanctorum editio novissima* specifically stated this, noting that they had found the reading 'Trudo, lord of our Hispania' (rather than 'Hasbania') especially often in martyrologies surviving in Belgium.[11] Likewise, the chronicler Baudouin de Ninove, writing in 1294, reports the death of 'the holy Trudo, priest, in Hispania' in the year 676.[12] Spanish hagiographers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would be led astray by these readings, proposing that the abbey of St. Trudo was located somewhere in Cantabria in northern Spain, thereby prompting lengthy and well-reasoned rebuttals from their colleagues in the Low Countries.[13]

Similarly, in the earliest known source for Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronographia*, a manuscript copied at Beauvais around 1150, we read that another Hesbignon saint,

[7] For this and what follows, see Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange (Cologne, 1851), 328 (dist. XII: *De praemio mortuorum*, cap. 12): 'Sacerdos quidam de Hesbania anno praesenti prope castrum Comitis Losensis dum in crepusculo noctis transiret de villa in villam, vidit in campo vicino maximum tornamentum mortuorum, valide clamantium: "Domine Waltere de Milene! Domine Waltere de Milene!"' The precise orthography in the two Cologne prints of 1473 and 1481 is 'Hyspania'; see Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum* (Cologne: Ulrich Zell, c. 1473), n.p.; Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum* (Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, 1481), n.p. For another example of 'Hispania' and 'Hasbania' as source variants in the work of Caesarius, see Aloys Meister (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte 14 (Rome, 1901), 4.

[8] Joseph Daris, *Histoire de la bonne ville, de l'église et des comtes de Looz*, 2 vols. (Liège, 1864), vol. 1, 10.

[9] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 9, fol. 173r: 'Venerabilis igitur Trudo in Hispanie finibus nobilissima Francorum prosapia ortus fuit'. Among other insular sources to attest to the use of 'Hispania' for Hesbaye is Thomas Walsingham's *Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani* (early 1390s), which refers to Namur as being located in Hispania; see Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 28/4, 3 vols. (London, 1867-69), vol. 1, 87-88.

[10] As, for example, in Jean Mabillon (ed.), *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti…saeculum secundum* (Venice: Sebastianus Coleti and Josephus Bettinelli, 1733), 1025, and Léopold Delisle (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1840-1904), vol. 3, 636. Neither edition reports alternative readings.

[11] Jean Bolland, Jean-Baptiste Carnandet, and Godefroid Henschen (eds.), *Acta sanctorum*, 69 vols. (Paris, 1863-1940), vol. 25, 142: 'Hasbania in Belgio usque ad Mosam extensa et ipsum Namurcum olim complexa…Hispania nomine vulgo notiori, sicuti in nonnullis Martyrologiis MSS. *S Trudo Comes Hasbaniae nostrae*, toti Belgio notissimus adscriptus invenitur *Hispaniae*'.

[12] Charles-Louis Hugo (ed.), *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica*, 2 vols. (Étival: Joannes Martinus Heller, 1725-31), vol. 2, 112-13: 'Anno Domini sexcentesimo septuagesimo sexto…sanctus Trudo Presbyter in Hispania [obiit] nono kal. Decembris'.

[13] Johannes Tamayo de Salazar, *Anamnesis sive Commemoratio omnium sanctorum Hispanorum,* 3 vols. (Paris: Borde, Arnaud, and Rigaud, 1651-59), vol. 1, 190-91; see also *Acta sanctorum*, vol. 6, 219-20.

Eucharius, had died in 723 'in the monastery of St. Trudo in Zerkingen, a village of Hispania'.[14] The same reading is found in a sixteenth-century print of the chronicle, *Sigeberti Gemblacensis coenobitae Chronicon*, issued at Paris in 1531.[15] Yet one looks for it in vain in modern editions, which have normalized it to 'Hasbania' almost as a matter of course.[16] Once again it is important to stress, however, that the original reading was not an error but current in the area itself: Sigebert was a native of Hesbaye and spent most of his active life in the abbey of Gembloux. The same is true of the parallel case of St. Christina Mirabilis, who was born in the mid-twelfth century in Brustem, not far from the abbey of St. Trudo. Her first hagiographer Thomas of Cantimpré (himself a native of the region) described her in his *Vita Christinae mirabilis* as 'a holy woman in Hispania', to the evident incomprehension of nineteenth-century historians who were convinced that this had to be a scribal error or a misprint.[17]

It is probably not surprising that the reading 'Hispania' should have been so persistently emended, and often even left unreported, in modern editions of medieval texts.[18] As the name for a region in Belgium, 'Hispania' makes no sense, and when we find it in a manuscript, our scholarly reflexes tell us that it must be a copying error, to be emended, tacitly or otherwise, to 'Hasbania'.[19] By now the name has virtually disappeared from the corpus of relevant texts available to us in modern editions. And its erstwhile currency is seldom hinted at even in handbooks of medieval Latin toponymy.[20]

[14] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 17545, fol. 111r: 'apud Sarcinium uicum Hispanie exulatus in cenobio Sancti Trudonis in sanctitate consummatus est'. Zerkingen, or Sarcinium, is the original name of the town that would eventually be called Sint-Truiden after the abbey. See also Carolus le Cointe (ed.), *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum*, 8 vols. (Paris: Typographia regia, 1665-83), vol. 5, 81-82.

[15] *Sigeberti Gemblacensis coenobitae Chronicon anno 381 at 1113* (Paris: Henricus Stephani, 1531), fol. 50v: 'apud Sarcinium vicum Hispanie epulatus'.

[16] The emendation goes back to the edition of Aubertus Miraeus (ed.), *Chronicon Sigeberti gemblacensis monachi* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussius, 1608), 80: 'apud Sarchinium Hasbaniae vicum exsiliatus'. It was adopted by Johann Pistorius (ed.), *Rerum germanicarum scriptores*, 3 vols. (Regensburg: Joannes Conradus Peezius, 1731), vol. 1, 770, who acknowledged in a footnote that '[s]ic emendavi, Miraeum secutus, cum antea legeretur: *Hispania epulatus*'. Jean-Paul Migne, in his edition of 1854, printed 'Hasbaniae vicus' without reporting other attested readings; *Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachii Opera omnia* (Paris, 1854), col. 138.

[17] 'Christina sancta mulier in Hispania'; see Christoffel Martinus Vos, 'De leer der vier uitersten: eene bijdrage tot de kennis van het godsdienstig geloof onzer vaderen in de vijftiende eeuw' (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1866), 123, n. 4. Vos commented that 'this is undoubtedly a scribal error or misprint of *Hasbania*, where Sint-Truiden was located' (my trans.). See also Suzan Folkerts, *Voorbeeld op schrift: de overlevering en toe-eigening van de* vita *van Christina Mirabilis in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum, 2010), 101.

[18] This was in fact the recommendation of Ferdinand Henaux in his *Histoire du Pays de Liège*, 3 vols. (Liège, $^{3}$1851), vol. 1, 67: 'Il serait utile d'examiner si les mots *Hispani* et *Hispania* des inscriptions lapidaires ne doivent pas être lus, parfois, *Hesbani* et *Hesbania*. Cette correction est à faire dans certains documents du moyen-âge'.

[19] One author, referring to the longstanding medieval tradition that associated Peter the Hermit with Hesbaye, blamed the orthography 'Hispania' on the ignorance of foreign scribes: 'En parlant des saints belges, dit Ghesquières [no reference given], plusieurs M. S. par l'ignorance des copistes portent *Hispania*, au lieu de *Haspania, Hasbania*, la Hesbaye, canton inconnu aux copistes étrangers'; see Baron de Hody, 'Description des tombeaux de Godefroid de Bouillon et des rois latins de Jérusalem', in *Journal historique et littéraire*, 22 (1855), 430-35 at 434. With reference to the Hesbignon St. Chrodegang, the editors of *Acta sanctorum* likewise criticized the Italian hagiographer Costantino Ghini who, they noted, 'hallucinatur dum loco *Hasbaniae* scribit *Hispaniam*' (vol. 7, 454).

[20] In *Orbis latinus*, one of the keywords for 'Hispanicus' directs the reader to the entry 'Hasbania', which reads: 'Hasbania, Asbania, Hasbacensis comitatus, Hasbaniensis comitatus, Haspanicus pagus, Haspinga, Hispanicus: Haspengau (Hesbaye, Haspengouw), Landschaft und ehemals Grafschaft in den Provinzen Li<m>burg, Lüttich und Namur, Belgien'. See Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, Friedrich Benedict, and Helmut Plechl (eds.), *Orbis latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 3 vols. (Braunschweig, 1972), vol. 2, 214 and 245. The designation 'Hispanicus pago' is reported in Ernst Wilhelm Förstemann (ed.), *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, 2 vols. (Brussels and Ghent, 1856-59), vol. 2, col. 694. The latter had found it attested in the 1844 edition of Hermannus Contractus's *Chronicon* (1054); see Georg Heinrich Pertz (ed.), *Annales et chronica aevi Salici*, Monumenta Historica

This background may not be without relevance as we revisit the curious case of the music theorist Jacobus, author of a voluminous and spectacularly learned treatise entitled *Speculum musicae*, written probably some time around 1330.[21] Although we do not know the author's last name (his first name is revealed in an acrostic in the treatise), he has been universally known, these last sixty years, as Jacques de Liège or Jacobus Leodiensis, ever since Roger Bragard demonstrated—conclusively, it seemed—that this is where he was active.[22]

Yet Bragard's arguments came under fresh scrutiny in 2011, when Margaret Bent announced a remarkable discovery.[23] In the archives of Vicenza Cathedral she had come across a document from 1457 that refers unambiguously to the *Speculum musicae*, and

Germanica Scriptores 5 (Hannover, 1844), 108. 'Hispanicus pago' is indeed the reading in the two oldest sources for Hermannus's chronicle, the eleventh-century manuscripts Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Reichenauer CLXXV, fol. 30v, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. clm. 14613, fol. 50r. In Jean-Jacques Jespers (ed.), *Dictionnaire des noms de lieux en Wallonie et à Bruxelles* (Brussels, 2005), 325, the nearest reported variant is *Haspanium*.

[21] Jacobus Leodiensis, *Speculum musicae*, ed. Roger Bragard, Corpus scriptorum de musica 3, 7 vols. in 8 (Rome, 1955-73). Three other treatises tentatively attributed to the theorist were edited in Jacobus Leodiensis, *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus; Tractatus de intonatione tonorum; Compendium de musica*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe et al., Divitiae musicae artis, ser. A, lib. 9a (Buren, 1988). Although there are close textual connections between these latter treatises and the *Speculum*, and although they survive uniquely in a manuscript copied at Liège, the question of their authorship does not bear on the issues with which this essay is concerned. I will return to them in another context.

[22] Roger Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae* du compilateur Jacques de Liège', in *Musica disciplina* 7 (1953), 59-104, and 8 (1954), 1-17 and 17a. Karen Desmond's research has confirmed the likelihood of Jacobus's connections with Liège; see Desmond, 'New Light on Jacobus, Author of *Speculum musicae*', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 9 (2000), 19-40, and idem, 'Behind the Mirror: Revealing the Contexts of Jacobus's *Speculum musicae*' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2009), esp. 1-67.

Prior to the solution of the acrostic in 1925, *Speculum musicae* was thought to be the work of Johannes de Muris, due to a misattribution in the only complete source for the treatise, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 7207. According to Hugo Riemann, writing in 1898, this pseudo-Muris was identical with the compiler of the thirteenth-century *Summa musice* (also misattributed to Muris at the time) as well as with the elusive music theorist Johannes Hollandrinus (known to Riemann from Anonymous XI). He called this compound figure 'Normannus Muris' to distinguish him from the Sorbonne scholar still known to us as Johannes de Muris. By positing the existence of two music theorists with the same name, Riemann believed to have solved the age-old question of whether Johannes de Muris was English or French. (Muris was mentioned as an English author in John Bale's *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum* of 1548-49, and would continue to be so identified until well into the nineteenth century) The solution, in his own words, could not be more simple: two identically-named writers must have been born on opposite sides of the Channel. Since the Sorbonne Muris was self-evidently French, and active at Paris, it followed that 'Normannus Muris' had to be English, and active presumably at Oxford. Needless to say Riemann could not have made this deduction if he had known that the author of the *Speculum* was called Jacobus and consequently had nothing to do with the Muris question. See Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1898), 228-36.

A quarter century after Riemann, Walter Grossmann tackled the same question on the basis of the first nineteen chapters of *Speculum* Book I, a sample representing, by his own admission, a mere fraction of the treatise as a whole. Noting the absence of any references to St. Thomas Aquinas in these chapters, but recognizing a quotation from *De ortu scientiarum* by Thomas Kilwardby, Grossmann concluded that the author of the *Speculum* must have shared Kilwardby's alleged anti-Thomism, in which case only Oxford could have provided a hospitable intellectual environment to him, not Paris. See his *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae*, Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen 3 (Leipzig, 1924), 45-48. Grossmann's argument founders on several grounds. First, it is based on the debatable premise that Kilwardby opposed the teachings of Aquinas; on this question, see, amongst others, Leland E. Wilshire, 'Were the Oxford Condemnations of 1277 Directed Against Aquinas?', in *The New Scholasticism* 48 (1974), 125-32. Second, even if the author of the *Speculum* had been critical of Aquinas, it is hard to see why he should have been effectively exiled from Paris for that reason: the teachings of Aquinas were subject to controversy in this city no less than elsewhere. Finally, it is unclear what relevance, if any, the contested doctrinal issues of the day had to the opening chapters of the *Speculum*. How should a music theorist have expressed his supposed allegiance to Kilwardby or Aquinas without departing from the topic of music altogether? (The quotation from *De ortu scientiarum* had concerned nothing more controversial than the general definition of music). For the theories of Riemann and Grossmann, see also Margaret Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the* Speculum musicae, Royal Musical Association Monographs 28 (Farnham, 2015), 2 n. 5, 147, and below, n. 62; for Jacobus's intellectual allegiances, see also below, n. 33.

[23] Her paper, delivered at Giessen in September 2011, was later published as 'Jacobus de Ispania?—Ein Zwischenbericht', in *Nationes, Gentes und die Musik des Mittelalters*, ed. Frank Hentschel and Marie Winkelmüller (Berlin, 2014), 407-22.

that gives us the author's full name: 'Magister Jacobus de Ispania'.[24] Any reasonable face-value reading of that name had to suggest that the theorist came from Spain. His association with Liège, accordingly, came to be regarded as problematic, and perhaps in need of critical reexamination.

The Vicenza testimony is unassailable. The document in question is an inventory of books kept in the cathedral sacristy, which means that the compiler probably had the actual treatise before him as he wrote, and copied his information directly from the title page. The record, in other words, has the strength of an actual manuscript attribution, as strong as any we might hope to find in a surviving copy of *Speculum musicae*. To those who once produced, owned, and inventoried the Vicenza manuscript (now lost), there cannot have been any doubt that Magister Jacobus was a native of Spain. And as responsible historians we have no choice but to take them at their word.

Bent explored the implications of her discovery in a recent monograph entitled *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the* Speculum musicae.[25] This book falls neatly into two sections of about eighty pages each. The second section (pp. 81-156) offers a long and impressively documented biography of a tentative candidate for identification with the music theorist: Magister Jacobus de Ispania, illegitimate son of the Infante Enrique de Castile, and nephew of Eleanor of Castile, Queen-Consort of England. Although this man had no documented passion for music or competence in the art (both of which were amply possessed by the author of the treatise), and although he is not known to have written scholarly treatises on any subject, he does meet two requirements posed by the new evidence. First, he had Spanish origins, and second, he was known, like the music theorist, as Magister Jacobus de Ispania—his name being variously spelled also as 'de Hispania', 'Hyspania', 'Ispannia', and 'Yspania'. (This candidate will be referred to hereafter as James of Spain). Yet his candidacy rests on more than just these requirements. In the final chapter of her book, Bent draws together a compelling historical picture which shows that the chronology and course of his career—most of which was spent in England—fit comfortably with what is known of the author of the *Speculum musicae*.[26] It is this latter knowledge that she critically reviews and reformulates

[24] 'Item liber in quo continetur *Musica* magistri Jacobi de Ispania, partitus in septem libris, quorum litere prime faciunt hoc nomen JACOBUS, copertus corio rubeo et duabus azulis argenteis, et clavis de aurichalco pulcris, relictus per dominum Matheum de Brixia canonicum'. After Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 64, which also presents full translations of the relevant documents. Needless to stress, 'Ispania' and 'Hispania' are orthographic variants of the same name.

[25] For this and what follows, see Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*.

[26] Except for the fact that James of Spain is known to have taken the master's degree at Oxford, whereas the author of the *Speculum musicae* had studied for the master's degree at Paris. As the latter himself tells us, it is at Paris that he had heard lectures on the first two books of Boethius's *De institutione musica*, which were a standard part of the curriculum for the degree of master of arts (*Speculum musicae*, II. lvi. 19; Bragard edn., vol. 2, 136). Bent acknowledges that their biographies are incompatible in this regard, but speculates that James of Spain, after obtaining the master's degree at Oxford, might have pursued additional studies at Paris during one of the periods when we know nothing of his whereabouts, specifically in the 1290s (pp. 140-41). This would not solve the problem, however, for the master's degree represented a licence to teach the liberal arts, including the first two books of Boethius. Even if James had gone to Paris for additional study, then, he could scarcely have been in need of hearing such lectures as he himself was competent to teach. Besides, Jacobus admits that the lectures at Paris had managed to leave him with 'an imperfect and even bad understanding' of the first two books of Boethius (*Speculum musicae*, II. lvi. 11 and 14; Bragard edn., vol. 2, 135-36), something that would be hard to imagine if a man of his prodigious intellect had gone to the unusual trouble of having those books parsed and dissected for him twice over, at two different universities.

Bent states that music was not on the Oxford curriculum in this period, so that the need for remedial musical studies might perhaps explain why a student should have enrolled for the same degree successively at Oxford and Paris (p. 140). Yet the documentary basis for that claim is doubtful: it rests on the fact that documents do not specifically

in the first part of the book (pp. 1-80), the part with which I will be mostly concerned in what follows.

The central question of this essay, one on which Bent's identification must be contingent, is how we are to read 'Ispania' in Jacobus's name. For by a bizarre coincidence that epithet rules out almost any possible non-Spanish place of origin except Liège, and the land of Hesbaye extending north and west from it.[27] More than that, if a historical individual is already known or suspected to have ties with this region, and none with Spain, the epithet could conceivably strengthen the argument for his origins there. After all, the very words 'de Hispania' can be taken to state that argument: 'from Hesbaye'—as they did in the cases of the Belgian archdeaconry of Hispania, the priest from Belgian Hispania, and of the lives of Sts. Trudo, Eucharius, and Christina in Belgian Hispania. It is true that a person living in the city of Liège would probably not have identified herself as being 'from Hesbaye'. For the city gave its name to the entire diocese, of which Hesbaye was only a part: 'from Liège' would have been clear enough for most foreigners. Yet the situation was different elsewhere in the region. The abbey of St. Trudo, for example, was consistently identified in medieval texts as being located 'in Hasbania' or 'Hisbania',[28] and individuals living nearby might well have done likewise.

Then again, 'de Ispania' may have been more than a toponymic. In fourteenth-century accounts from Liège Cathedral we also encounter it as a family name—for example, when a citizen from Huy is identified, in 1325, as Johannes, son of Gilkine de Hesbania, or a brewer living in the Rue des pêcheurs, Liège, is called Johannes de Hesbania in 1314.[29] Elsewhere in the same accounts, we find the territory as a whole referred to in French as

mention the teaching of music at Oxford until 1431, not on documents that specifically say it wasn't taught; see James A. Weisheipl, 'Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964), 143-85 at 171. That the art was in fact on the curriculum, and taught at a high level, is apparent from the example of Johannes Boen, who had been a student at Oxford in the early fourteenth century. The treatises he wrote after his return to Holland show a thorough understanding of Boethius's *De institutione musica* as well as familiarity with English commentaries on that treatise—none of which he could have acquired in his native Low Countries, where there were as yet no universities. See Wolf Frobenius (ed.), *Johannes Boen und seine Konsonanzenlehre*, Freiburger Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Stuttgart, 1971).

For Jacobus in Paris, see also Gilles Rico, 'Music in the Arts Faculty of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 2005), 35-37. On the custom, well-established already by the mid thirteenth century, of reading only the first two books of Boethius's *De institutione musica* in the liberal arts curriculum, see Joseph Dyer, 'Speculative "Musica" and the Medieval University of Paris', in *Music & Letters* 90 (2009), 177-204 at 190-92.

[27] Minor locales sometimes identified as 'Ispania' or 'Hispania' in medieval documents include the parishes of Épaignes near Lisieux in Normandy, Épagne near Troyes in Champagne, Épagne-Épagnette near Abbeville in Picardy, and Espagnac, about seventy-five miles southeast of Limoges. However, in the absence of clear indications in the *Speculum musicae* that Jacobus had lived in these regions, or was especially familiar with them, their relevance to the question of his background and identity must remain uncertain. See Lewis C. Lloyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, Publications of the Harleian Society 103 (Leeds, 1951), 51-52; Louis le Clert, 'Quelques seigneuries de l'ancien Comté de Brienne: Blaincourt, Épagne et Vaubercey', in *Mémoires de la Société académique d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du département de l'Aube* 68 (1904), 345-427 at 406 and 420; Augustin Thierry (ed.), *Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du tiers état: première série*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1850-70), vol. 1, 261.

[28] See Petrus Cratepolius, *De Germaniae episcopis et orthodoxis doctoribus* (Cologne: Godefridus Kempensis, 1592), 41: 'oppidum S. Trudonis in Hisbania'. Similarly, the hamlet Ville-en-Hesbaye (about 25 miles west of Liège) was referred to in a charter of 1236 as 'Vilhe in *Hisbania*'; Émile Brouette, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye du Val-Saint-Georges à Salzinnes (Namur), 1196/97-1300*, Studia et documenta 1 (Achel, 1971), 77-78.

[29] Édouard Poncelet (ed.), *Le livre des fiefs de l'église de Liège sous Adolphe de la Marck* (Brussels, 1898), 7: 'Johannes de Hesbania braxator de Piscatorum strata', and 66: 'Johannis filii Gilkine de Hesbania opidani Hoyensis'. Cf. also the Joannes de Hasbania, priest and monk, mentioned in an obituary of the abbey of Malmedy; Joseph Halkin, *Inventaire des archives de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy* (Liège, 1897), 178.

'Hesebeng' and 'Hesbaingne'.[30] The vernacular version of the family name, de Hesbaigne, is in fact attested in other documents from Liège, for example, when they mention a Jehan de Hesbaigne in 1433, or a Jean de Hesbaing in 1493.[31] Evidently the family was well-established in medieval Liège. If Jacobus was connected with the city or its environs, then local records could very possibly mention him under one of several variants of his newly discovered family name (or epithet) 'de Ispania'.

Yet all of this must depend on what we can determine about Jacobus from the treatise itself. And in this regard Bent's verdict has been unambiguous. On the basis of a fresh review of the evidence she concludes that the case for his connection with Liège was tenuous even on its own merits—that is, even without the Vicenza document that now appears to refute it altogether. That is not an inconsequential conclusion. For if Jacobus had no plausible connection with Liège, then that city's location in a territory called Hispania (amongst other variants of the name) cannot be of relevance to the question of his origins and identity.[32] We would be bound to conclude, with Bent, that 'Ispania' must mean Spain.

However, it is my contention in the pages that follow that this conclusion may have been premature, and that the case for Liège has perhaps been dismissed too soon. Not only is it the strongest case for any place of origin that can be made on the basis of the treatise itself, but it receives support, paradoxically, from the very discovery that had, at first, appeared to associate Jacobus with a different part of Europe.

Why was Jacobus ever thought to have something to do with Liège? Part of the answer has been that he mentions Liège, and speaks about Liégeois musical practices with knowledge and authority. The three passages in question are all found in Book VI of the *Speculum*. In each passage Jacobus refers to chants as they were sung 'in the secular [that is, non-monastic] churches of Liège' ('saeculares leodienses ecclesiae')—by which he may mean either those in the city itself or, possibly, those in the diocese at large. Jacobus is the only known medieval writer on music who deemed these local chant practices worthy of note; no other music theorist ever so much as mentions Liège. His knowledge of those practices is detailed, and borne out by surviving chant manuscripts. This has led scholars to surmise that he spoke from personal experience, such as long-time residence in the area would have afforded him.

Bent has argued, however, that the three passages provide insufficient evidence to warrant the supposition that Jacobus came from Liège, or had a particular connection with it. One of her objections is that his references to Liège are less 'substantive and persuasive' than the comments implying activity in Paris, where Jacobus is known to

[30] Other vernacular names for the region, current by the eleventh century, include 'Hispang' and 'Hispangow'. See Frédéric Guilleaume de Hofmann, *Recherches sur le legitime* [*sic*] *gouvernement des comtés de Looz, d'Horne et de Nyel* (s.l.: s.n., [3]1799), 56-61.

[31] Lambert Polain, *Esquisses ou récits historiques de l'ancien pays de Liège* (Brussels, [3]1842), 165. This man is perhaps identical with the Johans de Vorous *dit* de Hesbaingne mentioned in Liège in the same year; M. Stanislas Bormans, 'Le bon métier des drapiers de Liège: recherches historiques', in *Bulletin de la Société liégeoise de littérature wallonne* 9 (1867), 85-232 at 210. A document from 1493 mentions a Jean de Hesbaing 'li Sportier', citizen of Liège; Joseph Cuvelier, 'Inventaire des Archives de l'abbaye du Val-Benoit lez-Liège, de l'Ordre de Citeaux', in *Bulletin de l'institut archéologique Liégeois* 30 (1901), 1-706 at 345. A namesake Jacobus de Hesbaigne is documented in the records of the Luxembourg Abbey of Esternach; see Ad Reiners, 'Die niederländischen oder belgischen Äbte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der reichsunmittelbaren Abtei Echternach (Luxemburg)', in *Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique*: *Annales du congrès* 22 (1911), 215-41 at 220. See also Jean Germain and Jules Herbillon (eds.), *Dictionnaire des noms de famille en Wallonie et à Bruxelles* (Brussels, 2007), s.v. 'Despagne, Lespagne, Van Espen'.

[32] The possibility that 'Ispania' may refer to locations outside the Iberian peninsula is not pursued in Bent's monograph.

have resided during his student years.[33] Before addressing this objection it may be helpful to put the argument into perspective. First of all, we are not required to compare Paris and Liège, or to measure the credibility of one in terms of the other. What Jacobus says about either city depends on the argument he is making, not necessarily on the strength or weakness of his ties with it. It is true that Jacobus once lived in Paris, but that need not turn his comments about Paris into the standard that his comments about Liège must meet. To cite a parallel case, throughout the seven books of the *Speculum* Jacobus never makes an argument that requires him to say something about Spain or England, yet this has presented no obstacle to the candidacy of James of Spain.[34] Of course it has not helped his candidacy either. When a theorist mentions a location by name, then it raises, at the very least, the intriguing question why he would have done so. But when that same theorist never mentions some other location, or even an entire country, the only question it could possibly raise is why he wouldn't have. That cannot be an intriguing question when the argument is that he had resided in that country for decades. Indeed there may well be a point at which the proverbial 'absence of evidence' turns into evidence of absence—especially in a treatise of such vast proportions as the *Speculum*, in which it would have been hard for any author to completely conceal his ties to the

[33] Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 12. It is clear from Jacobus's own testimony that he had pursued the liberal arts curriculum at Paris (above, n. 26), yet there are good grounds for believing that he may have gone on to study for a doctorate in theology. In his treatise he comes across as a rigorously and methodically schooled theologian, equipped with a formidable arsenal of scholastic artillery that he was ready to deploy whenever an opportunity presented itself. Some of the most telling examples are in chs. 21-22 in Book IV, which deal with the philosophical question of perfection, and offer an acrobatic display of metaphysical reasoning far beyond any question of music. In these chapters Jacobus also seems to reveal some of his intellectual allegiances. In IV. xxii. 12, for example, he repudiates an article censured in the two Paris condemnations of 1270 (art. 1) and 1277 (art. 32), an article which held that there is only one intelligence in all humans (the doctrine known as monopsychism). For the relevant articles of censure, see Henricus Denifle (ed.), *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-97), vol. 1, 487 and 545. However, instead of invoking the condemnations themselves, Jacobus quotes directly from the anonymous *Tractatus de erroribus philosophorum* (thought to date from the late 1260s or early 1270s), where the tenet is attributed to Averroes rather than to anyone who had been threatened with excommunication at the University of Paris. See Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroisme latin au XIII^me^ siècle*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1908), vol. 2, 8-9 (words quoted in the *Speculum* in italics): 'De collectione errorum *Averrois…erravit* quia *posuit unum intellectum numero in omnibus hominibus*'. Jacobus cannot have been unaware that this and other Averroist teachings were widely attributed to Siger of Brabant, a canon of the church of St. Paul in Liège who lectured at Paris and who appears to have been the prime target of the two condemnations. Part of the purpose of the anonymous treatise seems to have been to divert blame to Arab and Jewish commentators (ibid., xvii-xix), an effort of which Siger was certain to be the chief beneficiary. In invoking it Jacobus could be seen to have distanced himself from the attack on the Liégeois theologian. A few moments later Jacobus takes a more tolerant view of another article condemned at Paris in 1277: article 124, which holds that the soul of Christ is not more perfect or more noble than that of Judas (*Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, vol. 1, 550). Jacobus ventures that perhaps one could read this article in two ways: on the one hand the souls of Christ and Judas are equal as members of the species 'soul', but on the other, when their souls are considered as *individua* subordinate to that species, then they are obviously different as to their relative degrees of perfection. There is an unmistakable Liégeois connection here: among the few scholars who had commented on the article after its condemnation, one was especially outspoken in his call for a more subtle understanding of the question: Godrey de Fontaines, born in Hesbaye about eight miles west of Liège, Regent of the University of Paris in 1285-1304, and canon of the cathedral of St. Lambert at Liège. See Jean Hoffmans (ed.), *Le huitième quodlibet de Godefroid de Fontaine*, Philosophes Belges, Textes et Études 4 (Leuven, 1924), 216-22. (For Godfrey and Jacobus, see also Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror', 52-54 and esp. 218-43).

If Jacobus felt confident enough to offer his own views on these and other controversial issues of scholastic philosophy, one might reasonably infer that he was not merely a master of arts but a doctor of theology—a degree for which the minimum age at Paris was thirty-five. A long period of advanced study at the University of Paris would certainly account for his phenomenal recollection of *auctoritates* drawn from a wide range of classical, Patristic, and scholastic writers, and for the consummate ease with which he delved into questions of metaphysics and theology whenever the argument offered an opportunity for him to do so.

[34] His reference to 'Gallici, Angli, Alamanni' (VI. lxii. 3; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 165) is a borrowing from Johannes de Afflighem, *De musica cum tonario*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus scriptorum de musica 1 (Rome, 1950), 49: 'Angli, Francigenae, Alemanni'.

real world. Of course Jacobus does not completely conceal his ties to the real world: he mentions Liège, and he mentions Paris. And that, again, must raise the question why he would have done so. In the case of Paris we know it is because he had lived there. But what about Liège?

Jacobus himself gives the answer: it is because he had lived in this part of the world, too; he probably still did. Let us take a closer look at his comment to that effect, and read it in context. That context is the tonary presented in chapters 78-111 of Book VI, more specifically chapter 85, which is devoted to the *Euouae* formulas, or *differentiae*, of the first *tonus* or Dorian mode.[35] At the beginning of the chapter Jacobus states that such formulas can vary widely 'according to the diversity of regions and churches and minds and times'.[36] 'Some churches', he says, 'have more *differentiae*, others fewer'. That is why he confines himself in this chapter to only three known sets of six, seven, and eight formulas, respectively, and illustrates every formula of each set with a musical example.

The first and third sets turn out to have been copied directly from two existing music treatises: *De musica cum tonario* of Johannes of Afflighem and the anonymous *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*.[37] Jacobus is known to have relied heavily on these treatises also elsewhere in the *Speculum*, so his dependence on them here is not surprising.[38] However, no known music treatise can be identified as the source for the second set. It contains seven *differentiae*, and Jacobus says that it reflects the practice adopted by 'moderniores', that is, clerics nearer his own time. Specifically, he adds, the practice is current 'even now' ('etiam nunc') in secular Liégeois churches.[39]

What might lead us to conclude that this second, Liégeois, set was not taken from an (otherwise lost) music treatise, but reflected the use with which Jacobus was personally familiar? To answer that question we must turn to the end of the chapter, where the theorist offers some concluding remarks about the three sets he has just finished presenting. He begins by reiterating a point already made at the beginning of the chapter, which is that there are many, many other sets of first-mode *differentiae* which he could have cited as well. But he had to make a choice. And his decision was to present three

[35] For discussions of Jacobus's tonary, see Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, 1971), 429-33, also ibid. 294-310, and esp. Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror', 23-67.

[36] 'Tactae enim varietates in ipsis reperiuntur differentiis ut vix una ecclesia conveniat cum alia, sed passim per regionum et ecclesiarum et animorum diversitatem varientur et temporum. Quaedam enim ecclesiae plures, quaedam pauciores habent differentias. Hae distinguunt illas sic, illae aliter et in distinctis tonariis distinctus reperitur ordo, distincta decantatio similiter et intonatio' (*Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxv. 3-4; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 237-38). As is well known, this passage owes significant textual debts to the *Quaestiones in musica*, I. 19; see Travis Yeager, '*Questiones in musica*: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary' (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2014), 297-98 and 499.

[37] Johannes de Afflighem, *De musica cum tonario*, 163-67; *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*, 60.

[38] He identifies the *Tractatus de intonatione*, along with its apparent companion treatise *Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus*, in *Speculum musicae*, II. xiv.3 (Bragard edn., vol. 2, 41), where he refers to the didactic song *Tredecim consonantiae sunt* as '[quidam cantus, positus] in principio cuiusdam alterius brevis operis <de> consonantiis et tonis et tonorum vel modorum intonatione super psalmos'. See Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae*' (1954), 6-9.

[39] 'Sunt autem aliqui moderniores qui alias primi toni ipsorum "saeculorum" ponunt formulas quibus etiam nunc utuntur saeculares ecclesiae Leodienses, et ponunt septem' (*Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxv. 24; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 240). Desmond notes that the *differentiae* which Jacobus ascribes to the secular Liégeois churches are almost identical to those in the chant books of the collegiate church of Sainte-Croix, Liège; see Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror', 62-65 and below, n. 46. Significantly, the examples cited by Jacobus include the antiphon *Magna vox* for the patron saint of Liège, St. Lambert, as noted by Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 432. For this antiphon and its significance for medieval Liège, see Catherine Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests: Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège* (Rochester NY, 2014), 88-91.

sets that were more frequently used ('celebriores'), taken either from churches where he himself had been resident, or from authors who had discussed them in their treatises:[40]

Verum est quod multae aliae differentiae primi toni ab his quae tactae sunt reperiri possunt. Sed nequeo omnes enarrare, nec expedit. Sufficiant igitur quae positae sunt, quia videntur celebriores, et quibus nec amplius utuntur ecclesiae in quibus conversatus sum, et de quibus loquuntur actores quos vidi suis in tonariis. Et cum tetigerim hic differentias primi toni ex distinctis tonariis, in quo conveniant et in quo distinguantur videri potest ex dictis.

It is true that many other *differentiae* of the first mode may be found apart from those that have been mentioned. Yet I cannot narrate them all, nor is that convenient. Therefore let those that have been given suffice since they seem to be more frequently used, both those that are the only ones used in the churches where I have resided,[41] and those about which the authors I have seen [that is, Johannes of Afflighem and the author of the *Tractatus de intonatione*] speak in their tonaries.[42] And since I have treated the *differentiae* of the first mode from different tonaries here, one can tell from what was said in what respect they agree and in what respect they differ.

It is critical to the interpretation of this passage that it applies specifically to the chapter he is about to conclude, a chapter about first-mode *differentiae*. This is unmistakably clear from the first and last sentences in the text quoted above.[43] Consequently there are two things we know about the three sets: (a) one or more had been discussed by the authors of known music treatises, and (b) one or more were used in churches where Jacobus had resided. Now it has already been established that Jacobus copied the first and third sets from Johannes of Afflighem and the anonymous author of *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*. If there is any set to which (b) applies, therefore, and to which, by exclusion, it *must* apply, it is the second, which reflects the usage current in secular Liégeois churches. So there is indeed a reason why Jacobus mentions Liège in Book VI: a good part of his life was spent in the diocese, if not the city itself. We have it directly from the equine's mouth.

In itself this would probably suffice to clinch the case, but it may be as well to review the other two passages in which Liégeois churches are mentioned. One of these is in chapter 83 of Book VI, where Jacobus is concerned, amongst other things, with mediants in psalm

[40] *Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxv. 57-58; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 247-48.

[41] Bent translates 'conversatus sum' as 'I have frequented', which carries the implication that he had only visited the churches on a more or less regular basis but was otherwise resident elsewhere. My translation adopts what I take to be the principal sense of the verb: 'versari' means to dwell or to live, and 'conversari' to dwell or live together with others. This appears to be the sense, for example, in the Vulgate version of Acts 11:26: 'et annum totum conversati sunt in ecclesia', referring to the apostles as a group. In the case of Jacobus that sense may suggest that he had been, and perhaps still was, a member of a body of priests, conceivably a chapter—given that the church or churches in which he had resided were secular, not monastic. This would tie in very well with the likelihood that he was a doctor of theology (above, n. 33), as this degree was among the requirements for a canonry at Liège. See [Charles-Louis] Richard et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire universel…des sciences ecclésiastiques*, 5 vols. (Paris: J. Rollin, 1760 62), vol. 3, 624.

[42] By stating specifically 'authors who speak of [*differentiae*] in their tonaries' Jacobus makes it clear that he means treatises such as De musica cum tonario of Johannes of Afflighem and the anonymous *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*, not local liturgical books. It is true that the latter may contain lists of *differentiae* that are called tonaries, but these do not involve discussions attributable to an author. The point of the distinction is that there were no music treatises that dealt with the *differentiae* of the churches where Jacobus had resided. For these churches he consequently had to rely on his own experience singing, hearing, and using local chant books.

[43] Besides, Jacobus has not yet discussed any other *differentiae* at this point in Book VI.

tones, that is, the inflection at the end of the first phrase of a psalm verse. He states that mediants must always end on the reciting pitch of the psalm tone, at least according to 'the said teachings', that is, those of the treatise on which he has been relying in the chapter so far, the anonymous *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*.[44] Yet he adds that there are some churches, 'as, for example, the secular Liégeois ones', that end mediants on a different pitch.[45] Jacobus provides several musical examples of this, in all eight modes, once again demonstrating that his knowledge of Liégeois psalm tones goes well beyond hearsay. Indeed Karen Desmond has discovered direct matches for each of his examples in two fourteenth-century antiphonals from the collegiate church of Sainte-Croix in Liège.[46]

When Jacobus is about to give his example for the fourth-mode mediant, he notes that the churches in question add insult to injury by ending it on a pitch raised by a sharp. Effectively, that is, they end the fourth-mode mediant on a leading tone, namely, the one leading back to the reciting pitch with which the psalm tone will resume. He adds that they do this also in the seventh mode, turning the mediant's last note into a leading tone here as well. None of this is apparent, however, from the musical examples which he provides, both of which are notated without sharps (see Figure 2). Rather, we learn it from what Jacobus says in the main text, which is that, firstly, the last two notes of the fourth-mode mediant are sometimes sung *sol-mi* (*b-G*♯) rather than *mi-ut* (*b-G*), and secondly, that the last two or three notes of the seventh-mode mediant are sometimes sung *sol-mi* or *sol-fa-mi* (*a-F*♯ or *a-G-F*♯) rather than *la-fa* or *la-sol-fa* (*a-F* or *a-G-F*).[47] His chief complaint about clerics who do this, we learn elsewhere in Book VI, is that they are singing something that is not written in the chant book.[48]

There is an interesting corollary to this. Since the practice is not apparent from the musical examples, and goes against what was notated in the local chant books, no one could tell from notation alone that it existed. One could only know about the practice by hearing it in person, not by consulting a book in some other part of Europe. At this point, therefore, Jacobus is commenting on performance practices that necessarily presuppose the testimony of an eye- and ear-witness. Being the scrupulous author that he was, and knowing that his treatise might well be read by Liégeois clerics, he would

[44] There are verbatim textual parallels between *Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxiii. 1-7 (Bragard edn., vol. 6, 232-33) and *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*, iii. 3-17. The rule can be inferred from the *versus de mediis tonorum* which Jacobus copies from the *Tractatus*.

[45] *Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxiii. 17; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 234: 'Hoc tamen aliis tonis commune est ut finalis vox mediationis, secundum tactam doctrinam, cum tenore unisonet. Dico "secundum tactam doctrinam", quia quaedam ecclesiae, ut leodienses saeculares, etsi sequantur positas intonationes quantum ad principium, non tamen ad medium'.

[46] Liège, church of Sainte-Croix, Mss. 1 and 2; see Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror', 371-93, for a full transcription. Jacobus's example of the first- and sixth-mode mediants is identical with that transcribed in Desmond, p. 372, fourth stave (hereafter cited in the format 372/4), as well as 378/2, 383/4, and 388/8. (He cites the same mediant in VI. ciii. 2; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 291, and the full psalm tone in VI. lxxxvi. 2; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 249). His second- and eighth-mode mediants are identical with 373/6, 381/2, 384/4, and 391/8; his third-mode mediant with 374/8 and 385/6, and his fourth-mode mediant with 376/2 and 386/9. Jacobus gives no musical example of the fifth-mode mediant, but his seventh-mode mediant is identical with 379/5 and 390/2. (The seventh-mode mediant is cited also in VI. ci. 1; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 285). In the Sainte-Croix tonaries, all the relevant psalm tones carry the verse *Dixit Dominus Domino meo: sede a dextris meis* (Ps. 110:1); indeed they are the only tones so texted in those tonaries. The same verse is cited also in Jacobus's examples of the first, third, and sixth-mode mediants. There is thus a good probability that he copied his examples directly from the tonary in a local chant book like the Sainte-Croix antiphonals (see also above, n. 39).

[47] *Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxiii. 19-20; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 235: 'In illa tamen <quarti> mediatione de *mi ut*, in descendendo faciunt *sol mi*…In septimo tono per *la fa* vel per *la sol fa*…Sed ibi, pro *la fa*, in descendendo cantant *sol mi*, vel *sol fa mi*'. See also *Speculum musicae* VI. lxvi. 8-10 and ci. 1-3; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 185-86 and 285-86.

[48] *Speculum musicae* VI. ci. 2; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 286: 'Nam cum in illis mediationibus cantor descendat per tonum et semitonium, probatur ibidem quod ipse non observat quod in illorum libris est notatum'.

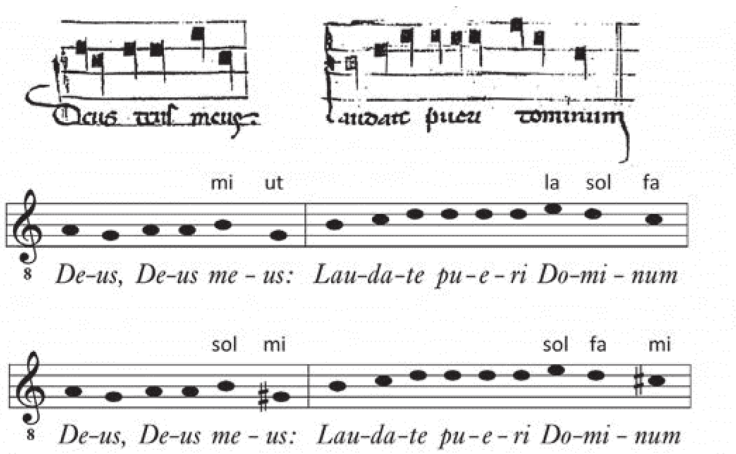


Figure 2. Examples of mediants as written and sung 'in certain churches', including the secular Liégeois churches, given (a) as notated in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 7202, fol. 252v; (b) transcribed in stemless notation; (c) as sometimes performed according to Jacobus, *Speculum musicae*, VI. lxxxiii. 18-19

surely not have risked being caught in an error by repeating mere hearsay. If he was a stranger to the area, one would have expected him to qualify things he had heard or read by writing 'audivi', or 'fertur', or 'dicitur'. But the point is that he did not: he spoke on his own authority. All this is consistent with the first passage, discussed above, which affirmed that as a resident cleric Jacobus had had the opportunity to hear Liégeois chant practices in person, and to participate in them on a daily basis.

It would be hard to challenge the combined testimony of the first and second passages. As far as I can see there is only one possible loophole: Jacobus ends the second passage by noting that 'a certain author' had written a treatise against singers who applied ficta in fourth- and seventh-mode mediants. This is a treatise he evidently knew first-hand, for he tells us that it was structured in question-answer format, and he even identifies it by its incipit, 'Quaeri potest', and explicit, 'fonsque totius veritatis'.[49] The text appears not to have survived. However, the fact that it existed, and that Jacobus knew it, raises the theoretical possibility that he might have learned about the performance practice from the anonymous author—in which case the second passage would not be quite as conclusive as the first.

Even in that case, however, the Liège hypothesis would be the most plausible one. For one thing, if Jacobus had learned about the performance practice from *Quaeri potest*, he could have relied on it only for the examples of ficta in the fourth and seventh-mode mediants, not for his examples of other mediants sung in Liégeois churches. The anonymous author's purpose, after all, had been to rectify an erroneous performance practice in those two mediants; it would have been extraneous to that purpose to supply a complete list of the Liégeois mediants in the manner of a tonary. (Indeed, given its limited scope, it seems unlikely that his text would have comprised more than a few folios.) None of the Liégeois mediants cited by Jacobus can be found in any known music

[49] *Speculum musicae* VI. lxxxiii. 20-21; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 235: 'Unde, contra cantores qui tactas in tono quarto et septimo mediationes observant, quidam, per modum quaestionis, tractatus confectus est qui sic incipit: *Quaeri potest*, et cetera, sicque terminat: *fonsque totius veritatis*, ibique quot et quanta ad mediationes illas inconvenientia proveniant aperitur, nec hic apponuntur'. He also refers to this treatise in *Speculum musicae* VI. ci. 1-3; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 286.

treatise—exactly like the Liégeois examples in chapter 85 of which he positively stated that he knew them from personal experience. Consequently he must have known the complete set of mediants from personal experience too, and hence he knew even without the treatise how they were performed.

True, Jacobus implies that all the mediants cited in chapter 83, both with ficta and without, were sung beyond Liège as well, since he speaks of 'certain churches, as for example the secular Liégeois ones'. This might seem to offer another loophole, since it allows the possibility that he had learned of the ficta mediants outside Liège. Yet the fact remains that he singled out the Liégeois churches as an example, and none elsewhere, which suggests that these were the locales for which he could personally testify to the existence of the practice. This is arguably the most plausible reading, since it best explains why Jacobus would have mentioned Liège at all. An implausible reading, by comparison, would be one which held that Jacobus could equally well have written his comments in another part of Europe, because it cannot be definitively ruled out that, hypothetically, he might have. In that case the reason why he mentioned Liège would have to be that Liégeois chant books had reached him there and had somehow attracted his notice. But by speculating on the availability of Liégeois chant books in another part of Europe we do not really succeed in explaining much at all. For even if Jacobus had lived far away from Liège, perhaps even in England, he was no more likely there to have access to Liégeois chant books than he was to mention Liège as he did, and thus the former could do little to explain the latter.[50]

The third and final passage referring to Liège is the only one Bent examines in detail in her monograph. It appears in chapter 41 of Book VI, in a parenthetical discussion of yet another chant practice which Jacobus deems blameworthy: this is the arbitrary extension of the range of a chant to the point where it no longer observes its proper final, but affirms instead an affinal—as when a chant begins in the first mode on *D* but at some point behaves as if it were in the first mode on *A*.[51] Jacobus cites two chants in which he knows this sometimes occurs, *Alleluia Iudicabunt sancti* and the responsory *Terribilis est locus iste*. In both cases he emphasizes that they are sung this way in secular Liégeois churches:[52]

[50] A hypothetical scenario under which James of Spain visited Liège while travelling abroad from England (Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 142-43) would help his candidacy if there were indeed evidence to suggest the likelihood of such a visit; otherwise it would of course be merely speculative.

[51] See Jürgen Ballke, *Untersuchungen zum sechsten Buch des* Speculum Musicae *des Jacobus von Lüttich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tetrachord- und Moduslehre*, Europäische Hochschulschriften ser. 36: Musikwissenschaft 3 (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), 186-88; Dolores Pesce, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987), 62-63, and Nicolas Meeùs, 'Jacques de Liège et la pratique de la transposition partielle', in *Revue belge de musicologie* 47 (1993), 43-48.

[52] *Speculum musicae* VI. xli. 12 and 16; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 101-2. As is well known, there are close textual correspondences here with two older treatises that have been independently associated with Liège and its musical sphere of influence; see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, 'Some Music Treatises and Their Interrelation: A School of Liége (c. 1050-1200)?', in *Musica Disciplina* 3 (1949), 95-118 at 98-101; Yeager, '*Questiones in musica*', 302-3.

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| Voluntate autem et necessitate transfertur cantus aliquis ad affinalem, quando videlicet cantus aliquis circa propriam finalem se tenuit, postea voluntate musici actoris illius cantus in acutis lasciviendo exaltatus et diutius quam debuerat immoratus, cum iam eum ad propriam finalem terminari sit incontinuum, in proximum socialis suae, quasi fessus, divertit hospitium, ut patet, quantum ad saeculares leodienses ecclesias, in *Alleluia Iudicabunt sancti*. | For a chant is carried over to the affinal at pleasure and by necessity when [at first] it has stayed around its proper final, but thereafter—running wild, [and] having been lifted up to a higher range at the pleasure of the musical author of the chant, and having stayed there longer than it should, so that it cannot now end on the proper final without creating discontinuity—it finds shelter, like a weary man, with its comrade [the affinal], as is apparent, as far as secular Liégeois churches are concerned, in *Alleluia Iudicabunt sancti*. |
| Consimiliter cantus illius responsorii *Terribilis est locus* corruptus est in ecclesiis aliquibus leodiensibus, quia duos dant illi fines modo quo dictum est prius de tacto Alleluia. Alibi enim vidi responsorium illud bene et regulariter notatum, sicut et praedictum Alleluia, quia, nec in isto responsorio, nec in praecedenti Alleluia, ascensus tollit quin ad <propriam> redire possit vocem finalem. | Likewise the chant of that responsory *Terribilis est locus* is corrupted in some Liégeois churches,[3] for they give it two finals in the same way as was described earlier in the said Alleluia. For I have seen that responsory elsewhere notated properly and according to rule, just as also the aforesaid Alleluia, for in neither that responsory nor the preceding Alleluia does the ascent go up [so high] that it cannot return to the [proper] final pitch. |

It has been generally agreed that if Jacobus was so well acquainted with Liégeois versions of these two chants, and if he knew that corrupted versions were sung in some Liégeois churches but not others (having seen them correctly notated elsewhere), then he must have known the local usage as only an insider would. Bent's objection to this is that the theorist could equally well have derived such knowledge from books, at least partly, and not necessarily from direct experience alone (p. 12). Once again this cannot be denied simply as a possibility, so the passage by itself can only be claimed to provide corroborating evidence, not conclusive proof. Its strength in this regard is most easily shown by considering the possibility that he had indeed relied on books. That possibility hinges on the likelihood that multiple books, of multiple Liégeois churches, could just as easily have been available to the author outside the diocese as within, conceivably even in England.[54] Of course it is not impossible that they travelled; but if we cannot pinpoint a location other than Liège where he is likely to have resided, why should we hypothesize about such a location, or the availability of Liégeois books there?[55]

[53] The qualification 'aliquibus' implies that Jacobus also knew of Liégois churches that had not adopted the corrupted version of the chant.

[54] If Jacobus's knowledge was based on books, as Bent hypothesizes, then he should have had access to the books of at least two Liégeois churches, since he knew that some of those churches had adopted the corrupted version of *Terribilis est* but others had not (see above, n. 53).

[55] Perhaps we should not overstate the availability of music theory treatises to Jacobus—as opposed to the vast store of *auctoritates* he must have memorized during his years in Paris, and excerpts he may have collected in commonplace books. In Book II he reports that when he set out to write the *Speculum*, he had borrowed a copy of Boethius's *De institutione musica* 'from a certain worthy man' ('a quodam valente'), but that he had rushed to make excerpts from it and memorize them, 'being afraid that the said *Musica* of Boethius which had been lent to me would be taken from me again' (*Speculum musicae*, II. lvi. 12-19; Bragard edn., vol. 2, 135-36). It would appear from this that not only did Jacobus lack the means to have the treatise copied by a professional scribe, but he also did not count on being able to

It would be difficult to infer the existence of such an alternative location from the two comments Jacobus makes about psalmody 'in churches both Roman and French'.[56] It is clear even from a cursory reading that these comments need not reflect personal experience based on residence or international travel, indeed that this is not even especially likely:

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| Tactus modus intonandi, quantum ad principium et quantum ad medium, in tonariis communiter reperitur in ecclesiis, puto, tam romanis quam gallicanis et quibusdam aliis, etsi non in omnibus, ut infra dictum observatur (VI. lxxxiii: 11). | The said manner of intoning, as far as beginning and middle are concerned, is generally found in tonaries in churches both Roman and French, I think, and in some others, though not all, as is noted in the statement below. |
| Item sunt alii qui, in tonariis suis, in hoc tono ponunt octo differentias, quarum tamen quattuor priores principaliores et magis usitatae, aliae vero minus principales, et raro in antiphonariorum libris reperiuntur. Et illae differentiae et ipsarum distinctio, quae tangetur, in multis observantur ecclesiis, ut in gallicanis et forsan romanis (VI. lxxxv: 32). | Also, there are others who, in their tonaries, posit eight *differentiae* in this [first] mode, of which four are however more principal and more in use, and the others less principal and rarely found in antiphonal books. And those *differentiae* and the distinction between them, which shall be mentioned, are observed in many churches, as for example in French and perhaps Roman ones. |

There are three reasons for this. First, in both passages Jacobus emphasizes that the psalm tones he associates with Roman and French churches are found in multiple tonaries. In both cases it is also apparent that of those various tonaries, the one on which he himself relies is the anonymous *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*.[57] Numerous comments elsewhere in the *Speculum* confirm that Jacobus took this treatise to reflect a general practice, the practice which he attributed to French and Roman churches at large. None of what he claims to know about those churches goes beyond what he could have gathered from the *Tractatus*.[58] This is the exact opposite of his knowledge about

obtain another copy through different channels. This makes it doubtful that he had ready access to a large institutional library such as that of a major abbey or a university college; it must seem even more doubtful, accordingly, that chant books from foreign dioceses in Europe would have been readily available to him. The monasteries of Liège were known for their rich libraries, according to Petrarch who had visited the town in June 1333 and discovered there two unknown orations of Cicero including *Pro Archia*; see Georges Monchamp, 'Pétrarque et le pays liégeois' in *Leodium: chronique mensuelle de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liége* [*sic*] 4 (1905), 1-16 at 3. But the Liégeois chant books that Jacobus is likely to have consulted (above, n. 46) belonged to the secular churches with which he had been affiliated. As for the possibility that Jacobus had texts in private possession, he tells us in Book VII that 'I think I have seen fifteen different treatises on music, or even more', with the apparent implication that this was the lifetime extent of his reading in music theory. Jacobus seems to speak from recollection more than actual access. However, even if he owned all fifteen or so music treatises that he remembered having seen in his life, they would have been unlikely to fill more than one bound volume—judging, for example, from the Liégeois theory manuscript Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 10162/66, whose ninety-nine folios contain altogether sixteen treatises on music. (*Speculum* VII. vi. 23; Bragard edn., vol. 7, 17: 'Secunda autem quaestio a nullo auctore musicae, <cuius> opus viderim, mota est nisi ab hoc solo actore moderno; puto tamen me vidisse quindecim tractatus distinctos de musica, vel etiam ampliores'). The Ars nova treatises to which he had access would not have taken up more than one or two gatherings at the very most.

[56] See Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 16. The prince-bishopric of Liège, being situated in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, was not reckoned part of France.

[57] For this and the next sentence, see Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror', 28-29, 62-65.

[58] In one respect Jacobus does seek to provide more information than supplied in the *Tractatus*: while the latter gives musical examples only of *differentiae* and psalm tones, he quotes in addition the incipits of several antiphons to which they can be applied. For a musician who knew whereof he spoke one would have expected those incipits to be con-

Liégeois churches, which by his own account reflects the experience of actual residence, and indeed none of which can be traced to any known music treatise.

As a matter of fact, and this is the second reason, Jacobus is not absolutely sure of what he knows about French and Roman churches. For he phrases the two comments with studied circumspection, qualifying the first with 'I think', and the second with 'perhaps'. It seems doubtful that he would have admitted to such uncertainty if he had resided in or recently visited France or Rome. By comparison there is no sign of any uncertainty when he reports what Liégeois churches are doing 'even now'—and justifiably so, it seems, given that his comments are backed up by Liégeois chant sources.

Finally, in neither comment does Jacobus remark upon qualifying distinctions between the usages of Roman and French churches,[59] or even between those in different French dioceses or regions. On the contrary: he lumps them all together into what he describes as 'the' general practice. If there is any distinction he makes here at all, it is that between this general practice and the usage peculiar to secular Liégeois churches. There is no hint in these passages that he knows any locale or region in Rome or France as well as he does Liège. On the contrary, his very vagueness on what is going on in the rest of the world provides a foil to his exceptional familiarity with Liégeois practices, and only places that familiarity into sharper relief.

As said before, there must be a reason why Jacobus refers repeatedly to 'the secular churches of Liège'. The reason cannot be that he knows a lot about many places in the world and is eager to tell us about all of them, for with the exception of Paris and Liège he never does. What we can conclude with certainty from the sixth book of the *Speculum* is this: the information he provides about psalmody in any part of the world other than Liège can all be found in music treatises to which he demonstrably had access. Even if he had left the diocese of Liège by the time he wrote the *Speculum*,[60] he must have lived there recently enough to be

sistent with Roman or French chant dialects, but that does not turn out to be the case: the incipits of the first-mode antiphons *Iure tuo*, *Ave Maria*, and *Canite tuba* all display the distinctively Germanic variant *aca* (for *aba*, after a fifth leap up from *D*), and in this respect they match the examples he had just given for Liégeois churches. See *Speculum* VI. lxxxv. 27 and 35; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 241-42. Even in supplying these examples, then, the frame of reference appears to be Germanic rather than Roman, French, or English.

[59] Unless it be this comment, in which Roman churches are not specifically included: 'It is true that there are some antiphons in which the use goes against the said rules, also in French churches. For in this matter there are few rules or they admit of exceptions'. (*Speculum* VI. lxxxv. 45; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 245: 'Verum est quod sunt aliquae antiphonae in quibus usus tactis obviat regulis, etiam in ecclesiis gallicanis. Paucae enim in hac materia sunt regulae quin exceptiones recipiant').

[60] This possibility appears to be suggested by the distinction he makes between the usages of secular Liégeois churches and 'the teachings which I now follow' or 'follow here' ('nunc sequor', 'hic sequor'), which are those of the *Tractatus de intonatione tonorum*, and which he associates broadly with Roman and French churches; see *Speculum musicae*, VI. lxxxv. 34, 38, and 42, and xc. 2; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 242-44 and 262. However, it seems likely that by 'sequor' he meant something like 'I rely on for my information'—given, for example, the very similar comment he made about Boethius in *Speculum musicae*, II. iii. 11 (Bragard edn., vol. 2, 13): '[s]equor autem in hoc opere, quoad theoricam, Boethium, prout possum'. (I am grateful to Karen Desmond for pointing this out to me).

One also hesitates to associate the ageing Jacobus with a university environment. For one thing, he tells us that not only did he have scarcely any knowledge of Greek, but he also had no-one now—'nunc', that is: at the time of writing—with whom to discuss the Greek language: 'modicum vel nihil noverim de litteris graecis, nec habeam cum quo nunc de illis possim conferre' (*Speculum musicae*, VI. v. 11; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 19). His apparent difficulties in procuring a copy of *De institutione musica* by Boethius (whose first two books were among the core texts in the medieval liberal arts curriculum) also speak against a university context for the years he spent working on the *Speculum* (above, n. 55).

All this ties in with something else we know about the conditions in which Jacobus wrote the treatise: he had no musical instruments at his disposal—not even a monochord—to test and verify statements regarding consonance and dissonance. 'It is not easy for me', he wrote in Book IV, 'to identify the causes of concords and discords in sounds, and why some are better and others less so. For it is use as well as discipline that has taught what every man knows above all in practical matters. But I have not used man-made musical instruments. And their use, in conjunction with the discipline

able to speak with confidence of practices current 'even now'—a confidence he was unable to muster when speaking about other parts of Europe. French and Roman churches he mentions—twice. But when it comes to Italy, Spain, or England, his silence is deafening. Anonymous IV had said more about those countries in one short treatise than Jacobus does in all seven books of his *Speculum musicae* combined. And what he says is precisely nothing at all.

All that could conceivably connect Jacobus to Spain is the epithet 'de Ispania', and all that could conceivably connect him to England is the tentative identification with a James of Spain. Yet it makes no sense for Jacobus to have been a Spaniard. There is nothing in his treatise to suggest it.[61] There are no questions to which it offers an answer, there are no problems it could help us explain, no mysteries it could solve. On the contrary, the assumption of a Spanish background has created problems, in that his familiarity with Liégeois musical practices has come to seem problematic, and the evidence for it must be explained away. For what could a man 'from Spain' have to do with Liège? The need to resolve that problem has caused us to interpret the treatise less well, not better. This is a loss which is not compensated by significant interpretive gains that might come from assuming that 'Ispania' means Spain.[62]

of music, provides a good empirical tool for judging more securely and accurately about which consonances are generally more concordant and which less so, and likewise about discords'. See *Speculum musicae*, IV. xli. 1; Bragard edn., vol. 4, 106: 'Concordiarum et discordiarum in vocibus et quare hae meliores, illae minus causas assignare facile mihi non est. Usus enim et ars docuit quod sapit omnis homo maxime in practicis. Ego autem musicis artificialibus instrumentis usus non sum, quorum tamen usus, una cum arte musicae, non modicum praebet experimentum ad securius et verius iudicandum communiter de consonantiis quae maioris concordiae sunt et quae minoris, et similiter de discordiis'.

[61] To my knowledge the possibility of a Spanish background did not independently occur to scholars before the discovery that the author was called Jacobus de Ispania. Nor does Bent cite evidence to support such a background, apart from the existence of Castilian parallels for the use of acrostics as authorial signatures (Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 152-54). Bent's principal focus is on demonstrating, not a Spanish, but an English background for the treatise (see below, n. 62).

[62] The candidacy of James of Spain is tangential to this issue, since it already presupposes the answer to what is yet to be determined, namely, the question what 'Ispania' means in the case of Jacobus. Setting aside that question, the critical weakness of his candidacy is that James of Spain studied at Oxford whereas the author of the *Speculum* had studied at Paris (above, n. 26). Some of the other things we know about Jacobus seem difficult to reconcile with the privileged life of a royal family member, such as his apparent difficulties in procuring books and musical instruments needed for the writing of his treatise (above, nn. 55 and 60). Nor are there compelling indications that the *Speculum* was especially likely to have been written in England.

It seems doubtful, for example, that we must necessarily posit an English background to explain Jacobus's use of the word 'larga' for maxima, or his reference to 'proprius cantus' as a synonym for the natural hexachord, two terms that are thought to have been especially current in England (Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 149-51). 'Larga' is a term he actually quotes (with disapproval) from another treatise, now lost, which Karen Desmond has argued is likely to be by Philippe de Vitry; see her article 'Did Vitry write an *Ars vetus et nova*?', in *Journal of Musicology* 32 (2015), 441-93. Even if that other treatise were not by Vitry but by an English author—a possibility that is speculative at best—it does not follow that Jacobus must have lived in England to read it. As for the term 'proprius cantus', it is used and explained in the *Introductio musicae planae* of Johannes de Garlandia, a treatise that survives only in continental sources; see Johannes de Garlandia, *Musica plana*, ed. Christian Meyer, Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 91 (Baden-Baden and Bouxwiller, 1998), 67 (I am grateful to Solomon Guhl-Miller for drawing my attention to this latter passage).

Likewise, the reference to the historical existence of three different musical tempi, in *Speculum musicae* VII. xvii. 1 (Bragard edn., vol. 7, 35), may indeed parallel similar observations in the treatises by the English authors Robert de Handlo and Anonymous IV, as Bent notes on p. 148. However, Jacobus specifically credits the notion of three different tempi to the 'moderni'—that is, in Book VII, the Paris-based theorists who had set forth the new *ars nova* notation. Jacobus cites their otherwise lost treatises to counter the argument that the recent invention of the minim was justifiable because music was being sung at a significantly slower tempo than it used to be in the past. This historical perspective is absent from the observations on tempo differences by the two English authors. Yet we do find it in a Parisian treatise written around 1280, *Tractatus de musica* by Hieronymus de Moravia. The latter observes that when an unmeasured plainchant note is brought in relation to measurable polyphony, it should be measured by the *tempus modernorum*, which is three times as slow as the *tempus antiquorum*. This is exactly the point Jacobus makes: 'tantum enim apud modernos valet nunc brevis perfectae tertia pars quantum apud antiquos brevis perfecta'. See Hieronymus

That assumption, as we have seen, is expressly contradicted by the theorist himself, when he makes it clear that he had resided in Liégeois churches during at least some part of his career. There is another piece of evidence that is corroborative in this regard. Jacobus reveals it on one of the very few occasions in the *Speculum* that he cites a French word or text. In chapter 17 of Book VII he quotes selected lyrics of a motet by Petrus de Cruce, *S'amours eust point de poer/Au renouveler du joli tans/Ecce jam*—a motet otherwise known to us from two sources, surviving in Montpellier and Turin, respectively.[63] What is significant about this particular textual excerpt (there are two others in the same chapter) is that the lyrics are written in a dialect that is not just broadly Walloon (as already pointed out by other scholars[64]), but distinctively Liégeois. This is the use of the semiconsonant 'w' to separate two successive vowels that are pronounced with an intervening hiatus—for example e'u in such words as 'eüst' and 'deüsse'. Jacobus writes these latter words exactly as we would find them in a Liégeois document: 'ewist' and 'dewisse', presenting the motet text as 'S'amours ewist point de po<o>ir…je m'en dewisse bien'.[65]

For the historical significance of this we must rely on the expertise of historical linguists, and in at least one study the verdict has been unambiguous. Gustave Cohen concluded, after an extensive analysis of the manuscript Chantilly 617 (which was copied in the Hesbignon town of Huy in the fifteenth century), that '[t]his trait, abundantly represented [in the manuscript] and of great importance, is one of the most characteristic phenomena in old and modern Liégeois Walloon'.[66] Surely it cannot be accidental that Jacobus quotes a French motet in the dialect of this particular corner of the world. Once again it must raise the question why he would have done so.

de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. Christian Meyer and Guy Lobrichon, Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis 250 (Turnhout, 2012), 167-69.

Nor, finally, does one need to posit an English context to explain Jacobus's citations from the English scholar Robert Kilwardby (Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 144-47). The treatise in question, *De ortu scientiarum*, survives in sixteen sources copied on the European mainland, mostly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as against four in England. See Robert Kilwardby, *De Ortu Scientiarum*, ed. Albert G. Judy, Auctores britannici medii aevi 4 (London, 1976), xvii-xxxi. See also above, n. 22.

Although Bent does not mention it, an insular background could perhaps explain Jacobus's comment about the liberal use of fourths in the polyphony of the 'Galenses': 'Hac consonantia quidam libenter utuntur, ut Galenses. Sui enim discantus saepe diatessaron resonant, licet simpliciter loquendo rudior et imperfectior sit quam diapente' (*Speculum musicae*, II. xxxvi. 17; Bragard edn., vol. 2, 90). F. Joseph Smith took this to mean the musicians of St. Gall (*Gallenses* or *Sangallenses*); see *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae: A Commentary*, 3 vols. (Brooklyn, 1966-83), vol. 2, 81. Yet the argument could be made that 'Galenses' is *prima facie* more likely to mean the Welsh, even if the latter were not otherwise famed to prefer fourths over fifths in polyphony. Frustratingly, however, 'Gallenses' and 'Galenses' are also attested as orthographic variants for 'Wallenses', that is, Walloons; so the James of Spain hypothesis may not offer a decisive advantage over other interpretations even here. See Johann Jacob Hoffmann, *Lexicon universale*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Jacobus Hackius et al., 1698), vol. 4, col. 717, s. v. 'Wallenses'.

63 See the edition in Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Montpellier Codex*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2-8, 4 vols. (Madison, 1978-85), vol. 3, 61-65.

64 See especially Bragard, 'Le *Speculum musicae*' (1954), 4-5. Bragard suggested that Jacobus could have borrowed the spellings from the manuscript Turin, Biblioteca reale, Ms. Vari 42, fols 24v-25r, which comes from the abbey of Saint-Jacques, Liège. Bent argues that this is unlikely (*Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 21-27). If the theorist was Liégeois, there is indeed no reason why he should have.

65 *Speculum musicae*, VII. xvii. 8; Bragard edn., vol. 7, 37; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 7202, fol. 282r. See the illustrations in Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania*, 158-59.

66 Gustave Cohen, *Mystères et moralités du manuscrit 617 de Chantilly* (Paris, 1920), lxiii-lxiv: 'Ce trait, abondamment représenté ici et très important, est un des phénomènes les plus caractéristiques du wallon liégeois ancien et moderne et qui atteste une fois de plus le peu de netteté de l'articulation des voyelles que nous avons déjà constatée'. See also Paul Marchot, 'Les principaux traits morphologiques du wallon prélittéraire ou préhistorique (500-800)', in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 41 (1913), 233-56 at 249-52.

Bent does not dispute that the motet text is quoted in Walloon, but she does note that Jacobus cites two other French texts in the same chapter that are not demonstrably closer to Walloon than they are to French (p. 26).[67] They are neutral, that is, since they contain only words that would be spelled the same way in both regions. Yet their neutrality in this regard does not negate the question of why Jacobus would have been familiar with the Liégeois dialect. It still calls for explanation. As one of the most scrupulously careful authors on music in the era, concerned above all else with precision and clarity, Jacobus was apparently content to write a French text in Liégeois, and perceived no need to 'standardize' it for a broader audience—as if it did not even occur to him that it might be anything other than normal. This would have been odd already if he had come, say, from northern-French regions. It would be downright inexplicable if he had been a Spaniard—especially one like James of Spain, who throughout his active life had been exposed to the Anglo-Norman French spoken in England.[68] The most

[67] A few folios further on, at *Speculum* VII. xxxiiii. 21-29 (Bragard edn., vol. 7, 68-71), Jacobus also quotes the music and lyrics of a two-voice hocket entitled *A l'entrade d'avrillo*. The text of this piece belongs to the genre of the macaronic pastourelle, as pointed out by Christopher Page in *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300* (London, 1989), 101-2. Most of the poem is in straightforward northern French, but it also contains a number of words that are written as if they were pronounced in a northern Italian dialect, possibly from the Veneto; see, for what follows, Zeno Verlato, *Le vite di santi del Codice Magliabechiano XXXVIII.110 della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze* (Tübingen, 2009). Particularly prominent is the tendency, thought to be typically Veronese, of ending words on '-o' where other dialects have '-e', as in *avrille* > *avrillo, matinade* > *matinado, clère* > *clero* (ibid., 77); for the rare orthography 'avrillo' in particular, see Alfredo Stussi, 'Testi in volgare veronese del Duecento', in *Italianistica* 21 (1992), 247-67 at 256 and 258 (attesting the use as early as 1265). Other orthographies thought to be characteristic of the Veneto are: *po-* > *pu-*, and *-ière* > *-ero*, in *pomière* > *pumero* and *bergière* > *bergiero* (Verlato, *Le vite di santi*, 72, 64, and 383); and *venire* > *vegnire* in *venuto* > *vengtiudo* (ibid., 376 and 435). See also the commentary and translation by Margaret Switten (Bent, *Magister Jacobus*, 160-62), who draws attention to several unmistakable Italianisms such as *trovai*, *sospirando*, *clamando*, and *morirò*. (*Clamando* for *chiamando* would be consistent with Veronese; see Verlato, *Le vite di santi*, 369). Switten cites Occitan cognates for several words in *A l'entrade*, but no direct Occitan matches for any of the poem's more unusual spellings; the case for the idiom being 'clearly Occitan' (ibid., 162) may require more patient explanation for the benefit of non-experts like myself. However that may be, since the hocket exploits the humorous intermixture of different linguistic idioms, it may not provide a secure basis for inferences about the idiom spoken by Jacobus himself. In the motet by Petrus de Cruce, on the other hand, the Liégeois dialect in the example cited by Jacobus indicates a line of transmission that must have passed through Liège, and that consequently connects him to that town as well.

[68] Interestingly, when Jacobus speaks of the ability to tell at a moment's notice what nation a person is from, the example he gives is that of distinguishing a Frenchman ('gallicus') from a German or Dutchman ('teutonicus'). See *Speculum musicae*, VI. xxxvi. 16; Bragard edn., vol. 6, 92: 'with experience and training one could distinguish the modes of certain chants solely on the basis of their beginnings, by the hearing alone, just as someone who knows the customs of peoples and the kinds of different languages can immediately tell a Frenchman from a German' ('usu et exercitio de quibusdam cantibus, cuius toni <sint>, ex ipso solo principio, solo auditu decernatur, velut sciens hominum mores et diversarum linguarum genera Gallicum illico a Teutonico recognoscit'). This not an example that is likely to have occurred to James of Spain, since he spent almost his entire career among the English, and is not known to have lived in or near the Germanic-speaking world for any length of time. Yet the example would make perfect sense if the author of the *Speculum* had lived in or near Liège, in which case he could have cited it from personal experience. After all, the border between French and Germanic languages ran only twelve miles north of the town, through the land of Hesbaye (Figure 1), and divided the bilingual diocese of Liège almost exactly in half. Interaction between French and middle-Dutch speakers must have been an everyday reality for the people of Liège, as of course it was in other towns near the language border. After decades of such interaction an inhabitant of the town could credibly claim to be able to recognize a *teutonicus* instantly by his speech and appearance alone—as credibly as an experienced musician might boast the ability to determine the mode of a chant from its incipit alone. In thirteenth-century documents from Liège cathedral the Dutch language is consistently referred to as *teutonicus*. See, for example, Aubertus Miraeus and Johannes Franciscus Foppens (eds.), *Opera diplomatica et historica*, 4 vols. (Leuven: Aegidius Denique, 1723-48), vol. 1, 565: 'Omnes libri Romanè vel Theutonicè scripti de divinis scripturis in manus tradantur Episcopi, & ipse quos reddendos viderit reddat' (quoting a document dated 1202). Charters regularly quote Dutch words and expressions with such introductory phrases as 'qui dicitur theutonice', just as French words are cited as being spoken *gallice*; see Stanislas Bormans et Edouard Schoolmeesters (eds.), *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, 6 vols. (Brussels, 1893-1933), vol. 1, 450 (document from 1243) and vol. 2, 308-9 (document from 1279). Individuals who were fluent in both Dutch and French are mentioned in Hesbaye as early as 1302; see François Straven, *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des*

plausible explanation must surely be that Jacobus himself spoke Liégeois. If that was his mother tongue, and if he was a native of Liège, then he was a native also of the land of Hesbaye to which the city belonged. And if he was a native of Hesbaye, then one way to make that clear in Latin would have been to call him 'de Hispania'.

* * *

In this essay I have addressed two interrelated claims that have appeared to me to be problematic: first, that the evidence for a connection between Jacobus and Liège is tenuous, and second, that the newly discovered surname (or epithet) 'de Ispania' must mean 'from Spain'. Both claims are difficult to reconcile with evidence from the treatise itself; indeed they cause problems of interpretation that cannot be satisfactorily resolved unless we read 'de Ispania' as 'from Hesbaye'. The latter would be the face-value reading for any individual known to have lived in Liège or its vicinity, especially in the early fourteenth century—long before the Low Countries would come under Spanish rule, in 1516, and the name 'Hispania' became all but unusable for the territory that had claimed it since Merovingian times.

At the end of the day, of course, both readings, Spain and Hesbaye, must remain hypothetical. But hypotheses can be demonstrated: that is why we entertain them. The reading 'from Hesbaye' opens a perspective on what may one day be the conclusive identification of magister Jacobus. As said before, if he was connected with Liège or its environs—and he himself, as we have seen, affirms that he was—then local records could conceivably mention him under one of several variants of his newly discovered surname: not just 'de Hispania' or 'Ispania' but, equally plausibly, 'de Hespania', 'Haspania', or 'Hasbania', not to mention vernacular forms such as 'de Hesbaingne' or indeed (recalling now the Belgian canonist with whom we began this essay) 'van Hespen' or 'Espen'. It is this promise that may spur us on to renewed inquiry in the medieval archives of Belgium, and which nourishes the hope that such research may one day pay off.


## Abstract

The early fourteenth-century music theorist Jacobus, author of the encyclopedic treatise *Speculum musicae* (c. 1330), has long been thought to have been associated with the city of Liège—for which reason modern scholarship has dubbed him Jacques de Liège. However, his apparent association with Liège has recently come into question with Margaret Bent's discovery that the author was known in his own time as magister Jacobus de Ispania. In the light of that discovery it has seemed all but certain that Jacobus was a Spaniard, or at least of Spanish descent. In a recent monograph Bent has undertaken a critical review of the Liège hypothesis, and decided that it had been 'flimsily-founded' and ought never to have taken root. However, this conclusion may be premature. Firstly, 'Ispania' may refer to other locations besides Spain, notably the region of Hesbaye in which Liège was situated: the usual Latin name for that region in the Middle Ages was Hispania or Hesbania. As a matter of fact the theorist's last name was current in Liège,


*archives de la ville de Saint-Trond*, 6 vols. (Sint-Truiden, 1886-95), vol. 1, 14: '[vir] utrumque intelligens atque sciens proferre tam gallicum quam teutonicum ydioma, [et] ego…utrumque etiam intelligens ydioma tam gallicum quam teutonicum'.

where numerous documents refer to individuals called de Hesbania or de Hesbaingne. Conceivably the theorist could have come from a family so named. Secondly, in his treatise Jacobus states indirectly but unambiguously that he had been resident in one of the secular churches of Liège. There are numerous other clues in the *Speculum musicae* which corroborate that statement, and point to Liège as a place with which Jacobus was exceptionally familiar. Against this he leaves not even the most circumstantial indication that he had anything to do with Spain. The Liège hypothesis, in sum, is compelling and well-founded, and should not be dismissed too rashly.