MANUSCRIPT WITNESS TO POWER AND POLITICS
AT CENTRAL EUROPEAN EPISCOPAL CENTERS

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Abstract

Medieval institutions have frequently been considered either in terms of physical edifice or, in the discipline of musicology, in terms of a so-called, often ill-defined, but nevertheless taken as self-evident, music liturgical "repertories." This contribution discusses a more elusive, yet authentic, relationship between spiritual-social-physical cathedral institutions and the manuscripts produced by these institutions, concentrating on, and comparing, episcopal centers in central France and central Europe.

Keywords

Medieval institutions, liturgical manuscripts, bishoprics in central Europe, cathedral networks.

Resumen

Con frecuencia, las instituciones medievales han sido consideradas en función del edificio físico que las representa o, en el campo de la musicología, en términos de los llamados "repertorios" de música litúrgica, definidos a menudo con vaguedad, pero dados sin embargo por sentado. Esta contribución reflexiona sobre una relación más esquiva, pero auténtica, entre las instituciones de la catedral espiritual-social-física y los manuscritos producidos en dichas instituciones, centrándose, y comparando, los centros episcopales del centro de Francia y la Europa central.

Palabras clave

Instituciones medievales, manuscritos litúrgicos, obispados de Europa central, redes catedralicias.

Christ had stated that His Kingdom was not of this present world. Nevertheless, bishops and their seats played an extraordinary role in the drama of power and politics of medieval Europe. We can document this power play, namely, by observing the fate and fortune of manuscripts from these episcopal seats. It is often "the face of the page" —that is, superficial characteristics that delineate episcopal power, institutional vitality, and then again, quite the opposite. Manuscripts also record decline. I have chosen two pivotal cases, one from the context of Central France, between ca. 875 and the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the other from Central Europe, from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Both have a particular relevance for episcopal institutions as witnesses to power and politics. Both, despite the fact that I have used the word "central" twice, are in some respect on peripheries; yet, as we will see, belonged to a European-wide episcopal network of connections that, based on institutional affinity, defied time and geographical distance.

Medieval institutions have frequently been considered either in terms of physical edifice or, in the discipline of musicology, in terms of a so-called, often ill-defined, but nevertheless taken as self-evident, music liturgical "repertories." "Repertory" seems to be a catch-all term that musicologists use. A discussion of the relationship of a spiritual-social-physical institution with the manuscripts produced by that institution is rarely made, since such considerations are unconventional, need a new descriptive vocabulary, and, as with all spiritual-social relationships, are difficult to prove. It is interesting how often context is virtually ignored, nor are manuscripts placed in classifications that deal with the heart of institutional difference, that is, whether they were produced and used within a strictly monastic milieu, or reflect a cathedral, episcopal, context. How does one "prove" a spiritual link, for example, between the parts of an institution and its entirety? We will begin to study these relationships, working with principal sources from two cathedral milieux that, although possessing distinctive features, nevertheless share important characteristics that identify them as specifically episcopal institutions.

We begin with a case-study from an important cathedral center of the second half of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries —with distinguishing features both in terms of overt influence, as well as the more hidden, internal, fruition of education— that is, Nevers, in central France, not far removed from Cluny. Today one can easily reach Nevers from Cluny, yet Nevers as an episcopal center differed greatly from the monastic milieu of that famous abbey. The manuscripts from the cathedral community of Nevers, France, include Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 9449 (ca. 1060), Paris, BN, new collection of

the f. lat. 1235, and 1236 (both ca. 1120), Paris, BN f. lat. 3126 (also early twelfth century), Paris, BN f. lat. 10513 (early fourteenth century), Paris, BN f. lat. 908, and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine fonds latin 1708, also fourteenth century. This is a fairly large group of sources for a center on the periphery, so to speak, and the succession of manuscripts provides, as well, a context for comparison. We can see the institution unfolding before our eyes —the most inclusive and important manuscripts were produced during a significant period of productivity and autonomy for this cathedral milieu, followed by decline.[1]

Nevers is a characteristic, even paradigmatic, medieval cathedral context in that it constituted an association of diverse features, existing in close proximity to nearby monastic groups, yet separated in essential ways from them. What we have here is an association of modular parts that together constitute a functional whole. Further, this institutional complex, made visible through manuscripts produced by that institution, gives evidence for invisible, internal, qualities —such as the strength of that institution— that are not so easy to discern and describe. In view of the fact that Nevers, as an episcopal see, lies on the periphery of what constitutes power and politics in middle France during the Middle Ages, we actually know a good deal concerning the early years and gradual flourishing of this institutional complex. This —that is, connections between the production of significant manuscripts and episcopal dynamism— also can be applied to other cathedral situations, such as the cathedral of Esztergom in Hungary.

What do we know about Nevers? We know that Christian civilization there began early, in the third century C.E., established and encouraged by the missionary activity of two missionaries, whose names we also know: Eoaldus and

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[1] Cf. discussion of the sources and historical context of Nevers cathedral: N. van Deusen, *Music at Nevers Cathedral: Principal Sources of Medieval Chant* (2 vols, Binningen, Switzerland, 1980); "Music at Nevers Cathedral: Relationships between a Medieval Institution and Manuscript Transmission," *Musicology (Journal of the Australian Musicological Society)* 7 (1982), 30-40; and "Institutional Construct and Musical Composition: A Paradigm in Medieval France," in *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, eds. (Hildesheim/Zuerich, 1995), pp. 53-61, publications that are based upon Charles-Antoine Parmentier, *Archives de Nevers ou Inventaire historique des titres de la ville* (Nevers, Bibliothèque de la ville, Ms 9), late 18th century, partially edited by Anthony Duvivier (Nevers, 1842), who in turn, relied upon Guy Coquille, *Histoire du pays et duché de nivernois* (1612), Michel de Cotignon, *Catalogue historial des évêques de Nevers (1660), Claude-Louis Dollet, Histoire de nivernais* (17th century), as well as Pierre Gillet, *Annaires de la Nièvre*, a contemporary of, and collaborator with, Parmentier. See especially Augustin Joseph Crosnier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Nevers* (Nevers, 1854), *Hagiologie nivernaise ou vies de saints* (Nevers, 1858), and *Les congrégations religieuses dans le diocèse de Nevers* (Nevers, 1877).

Serotenus. Nevers very early on became an episcopal see. By 516, the death-date of the first bishop, Eulade, a cathedral building had been built, dedicated to the protomartyrs of Milan, Gervase and Protase; a rebuilt cathedral was later dedicated to St. Cyr. Although a complete chronological list of the bishops of Nevers exists, it is sparse; sometimes names have dates, often not, and often nothing is known about bishops' activities or defining personal characteristics. Latin names, such as Rauracus (ninth bishop), and Raginfredus (nineteenth bishop, 755-770) abruptly, in the late eighth, early ninth, centuries, change to French names, such as Hériman (twenty-sixth bishop, 841-860), and Françon. There is also a noticeable expansion of influence, building activity, and the delineation of cathedral areas of jurisdiction, or offices. In other words, this episcopal center of the early ninth century was already a composite with multiple definable parts, a complex institution, with many offices indicated by specific areas of responsibility. There were even more difficult to define groups of canons, each with its own basis for individuality and identity.[2]

By the end of the ninth century, Nevers had obtained the right to have bishops of that episcopal see selected internally by the canons of the cathedral, and there were forty of them. Further, the bishopric had complete jurisdiction over its properties as far away as the south of France, in the area around Mâcon, Chalon, Autun, Auxerre, and in the Auvergne. Charters and bills in this period are signed, not only by the bishop, but by the dean, the archdeacon, and the provost. Under Atton, the thirty-fifth bishop (end of the ninth century), the cathedral was extensively repaired, and a choir school was established, which, according to a twelfth-century account was instituted and trained by the famous Hucbald of St. Amand, who is also credited with having written a treatise within the medieval discipline of music.[3]

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[2] Charles Dereine has contributed numerous studies of the various nuances of meaning, both institutionally and geographically, for "canons regular" as, "Odon de Tournai et la crise du cénobitisme au xie siècle," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 4 (1948), 137-154; "Le problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes d'Anselme de Luques à Gratien," *Studi gregoriani* 3 (1948), 287-298; "L'élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers, spécialement sous Urbain II," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951), 534-565; as well as well as Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1967); John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986), 269-304; and more recently, "Regula," in *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald, O. S. A. (Grand Rapids, MI, Cambridge, UK, 1999), 707-710; and, in summary, Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK, 1996), pp. 11-12, 14, 40, 54-59, 107-108, 123, 240.

[3] Hucbald's identity as a founder of choir schools is an interesting question of how seriously, and on what level, reports many years after the time-frame under consideration can be taken

We are peering into a clouded tenth-early eleventh century mirror, yet it is surprising how much we know, and can infer, concerning this episcopal see during the period of its greatest vitality, as shown by the fact that, through a period of nearly four centuries, one notated liturgical manuscript after another, was produced. The number of these manuscripts is not great, but each one bears witness to a thriving episcopal institution and its development.[4] In a charter of 1029, signed by the bishop , Hugh the Great, the titles and names of archdeacon-provost Geoffroy, treasurer Raoul, dean-secretary Eudes, chancellor-cantor Odo, and twenty canons, twelve priests, six deacons, and six sub-deacons appear. This is the first time, by the way, that the title "cantor-chancellor" appears in cathedral sources.

Several important factors converge during this period, from about 1030 extending to the end of the twelfth century —some 170 years— within this cathedral community in order to produce simultaneously an energetic, institutional milieu, music-liturgical manuscripts of great interest, and distinctive music compositions which indicate the particular nature of the cathedral construct. Let us look at this construct in terms of parts within a totality. Under parts, for example, we have both strict and secular canons of the cathedral, the abbot and canons of the nearby abbey of St. Martin, which eventually became Augustinian in persuasion as well as in way of life —perhaps one of the first identifiable Augustinian communities, as the order became established in the late eleventh, early twelfth centuries— and the nearby Benedictine abbey of St. Stephen, chartered in 1063. Both of these nearby monastic houses, that of the Augustinians at St. Martin, and the Benedictines at St. Stephen maintained differences in their liturgies, as well as separate way of life, hence the relationship between the cathedral and abbeys were a difficult to define spiritual relationship rather than one due to a common monastic order, close proximity, or shared buildings. Evidence for a vital connection between the cathedral and the Augustinian abbey of St. Martin is given by the fact that this Augustinian house contributed several bishops —and of course Augustinians were always connected by virtue of their founder, Augustine who became a bishop, to episcopal situations. Within the cathedral community itself there were at least three groups of canons, either associated with, or active in some capacity, within the walls of the cathedral edifice: the canons of St. Gildard, the regular clerics of St. Sylvester, and the canons of St. Martin. The cathedral

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—bringing into the conversation the entire topic of the "reliability" of medieval historical witness. See Rembert Weakland, "Hucbald as Musician and Theorist," *Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956), 66-84.

    [4] See especially the commentary to the editions, N. van Deusen, *Music at Nevers Cathedral*.

community as an institution was composed of parts, each separate, characteristic, and distinct, yet all bound by invisible, in some respects, mysterious, bonds to the well-functioning of the total institution. All give evidence to the strength of this connection.

The very fact of the number, content, and quality of the manuscripts from this episcopal see also attests to the strength of this institution as an episcopal center. The manuscripts show activity, participation, erudition, and continuity. In poring over the documents in the Bibliothèque municipale at Nevers, which, today, is rather more like the public library of a small, peripheral, town, than an imposing manuscript archive —and, indeed, the medieval manuscripts from Nevers were probably carted up to Paris during, or shortly after, the French Revolution— one notices that the development was not gradual, or evolutionary, in its progress, but frequently occurred in spurts, with vital energy almost erupting from the institution in terms of acquisition of property, or a sudden plethora of newly-designated offices for episcopal administration. This cathedral community, the episcopal see at Nevers, from ca. 1060 to 1120, was a composite of diverse elements, each part retaining its identity, yet united by invisible bonds into a convincing, operational, whole. Nevers cathedral constituted a composite that differed in important ways from the unitary, monolithic, structure of the monastery, in which the totality was evident in terms of one single rule, by which the monks lived, and to which they spiritually adhered, as well as within one geographical place where the monks lived and worked.

The story, however, continues. Several factors combined to change the efficiency and potency of this episcopal structure. Toward the end of the twelfth century, decline set in no doubt for the reasons that decline occurs today, that is, both in terms of external, as well as moral, resources. First, the community of regular canons was disbanded so that they no longer shared a common way of life, and were no longer subject to the discipline of community. This also struck a practical blow to cathedral operations, since the regular canons provided basic services such as making fires to keep the cathedral warm in winter, making and maintaining candles for light, as well as routine custodial jobs. All this would have been done silently and efficiently in the old days of the late eleventh, early twelfth centuries, as the canons were about their tasks. Without this one can easily imagine that the place very quickly acquired a forlorn aspect. The bishop was no longer selected by the canons and officers from within the composite group, rather he was delegated by the papacy. Often the bishop did not come from Nevers at all. After the end of the twelfth century, there is no further mention of the choir school, the later manuscripts do not include an important epiphany

cycle, or "The Making of the Star," named a "liturgical drama" in the nineteenth century, that constitutes a priority germane to cathedral situations, in the manuscripts from 1060, as well as 1120.[5] Finally, the cathedral burned down.

That internal moral power had more or less vanished is attested by a reform prescribed by Bishop Robert Cornu in 1246. These articles show the degree to which a once virulent, energetic, one could say powerful, episcopal institution had sunk:

Article I: Disobedient canons were to be punished by fines. If a canon refused to pay up, the chapter would take him to court.

Article II: Merchandise should not be hawked within the cathedral sanctuary.

Article III: "The Feast of Fools," celebrated on Innocents' Day, should be abolished. It would seem that this feast occasioned far too much foolishness.[6]

Article IV: Canons, clergy or their servants could not be imprisoned during the period of time between Easter and Pentecost. This article would seem to indicate not only that canons and clergy had servants, but that they could be put in jail during most of the year.

Article V: Ill-gotten wood could not be burned within the cathedral close during the readings. One can infer that legitimately-procured wood could be burned in the cathedral at any time, which perhaps is one of the reasons why the cathedral itself periodically burned down.

Article VI: Canons and clerics of the choir were forbidden to wear "indecent attire" and walk about town without their choir habits.

These reforms along with other administrative changes, were levied by a papal legate, with the authority of the archbishop of Sens. Nevers' ecclesiastical autonomy, authority, self-imposed discipline, and moral strength, in short the

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[5] See N. van Deusen, *Music at Nevers Cathedral*, I, pp. 109-116; II, pp. 137-184; "Narration, A concept of History, and Medieval Liturgical Drama: An Epiphany Play Reconsidered," in *The Harp and the Soul: Essays in Medieval Music* (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, Ontario, 1989), pp. 75-108.

[6] Cf. Max Harris, *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca, NY, 2011). This is an important topic, and a careful, patiently-considered, discussion in which the few quotations that are usually cited as evidence for a free-for-all (for example by Jean-Baptise Thiers, 1686, Jean-Bénigne Lucotte du Tilliot, 1741, especially, of recent influence, Guido Maria Dreves, 1894, and E. K. Chambers, 1903) are taken to task as representing the "Feast of Fools" of all times and everywhere. It is interesting to compare this article in the context of decline at Nevers against other practices, as analyzed by Harris.

invisible power of its morale, by the middle of the thirteenth century had all but disappeared.[7]

We can summarize some traits that will also be found in our next example from Central Europe. First, important manuscripts with consciously-formulated contents, indicate institutional vitality, as well as institutional individuality. Secondly, cathedral institutions differ significantly from medieval monastic institutions in that episcopal centers are both eclectic and composite in nature. Episcopates are wholes integrating multiplex, modular, parts. Thirdly, episcopal centers network with each other, even at a distance, bypassing monastic centers more close are hand.

We move on to central Europe and the later Middle Ages, ca. end of the thirteenth century, Esztergom, capital of medieval Hungary and the seat of the primate of Hungary. The Great Legend of St. Stephen of Hungary, written ca. 1077, approximate to the period of the earliest manuscript witness to the importance of the cathedral of Nevers, states that "The provinces of the Most Christian Prince (of Hungary) were divided into ten bishoprics, and with the consent and agreement of the Roman Apostolic See, the church of Esztergom was placed as the head and overseer of the others."[8] In its simplicity, this statement defies the negotiation, turmoil, cajoling, threatening, and politicking of at least the previous four decades —perhaps a bit similar to, but certainly more turbulent, and potentially more dangerous, than a political election today. What seems to have started it all was the coronation of the king, and the convening of the council of Ravenna, Easter, 1001, where what was increasingly viewed as the "Hungarian Church" was founded with the approval of Pope Sylvester II, who had sent

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[7] See van Deusen, "Music at Nevers Cathedral: Relationships between a Medieval Institution and Manuscript Transmission," 39; Crosnier, *Monographie* 297f, and *Congrégations*, 74ff.

[8] József Török, *The History of Hungary's Dioceses*, A Magyar pálosrend liturgiájának forrásai, kialakulása és főbb sajátságai (1225-1600) (Budapest, 1977); *Történeti Lexikon: Korai magyar történeti lexicon (9-14 század): Lexicon of Early Hungarian History*, gen. ed. Gyula Kristó, eds. Pál Engel, Ference Makk (Budapest, 1994), László Dobszay, "Plainchant in Medieval Hungary," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Society* 13 (1990), 49-78; and the introduction to *The Istanbul Antiphonale, ca. 1360, Facsimile Edition with Studies*, ed. Janka Szendrei, with Studies by Maria Czigler, László Dobszay, Janka Szendrei and Tünde Wehli (Budapest, 1999), pp. 9-66, including "History of Research," (Janka Szendrei), "The Description of the Codex," (Janka Szendrei), "Restoring the Codex," (Mária Czigler), "Music-Palaeographical Examination of the Codex," (Janka Szendrei), "The Place of the Codex in the History of Arts," (Tünde Wehli), and, especially, "The Liturgical Analysis of the Codex," (László Dobszay), who describes in detail the defining features of this source, comparing them to other cathedral centers within Central Europe, and, especially, the Hungarian cultural aegis; as well as "The Origin and Fate of the Codex," (László Dobszay).

King Stephen his crown. All of this was occasioned and to a certain extent made possible by the evangelization of what is now Hungary in the second half of the tenth century, a harvest of the missionary activity of priests from the diocese of Salzburg as the Frankish Church expanded toward the East, ever further into the "periphery." It was a network of cathedrals, of contact with, and influence from, Salzburg and Passau, somewhat later on with Zagreb, that became the patron-conglomerate of the first Esztergom cathedral. Episcopal sees connected with one another, and one sees this in overt as well as subtle music/liturgical connections of specific music pieces such as tropes, sequences, variants in the items of the Proper of the Mass, as well as the Offices. The sequence in particular, with texts that are not taken from the Psalms or other parts of the Biblical scriptures, as typically, the other portions of the Mass, serve as a marker, tracing amazing connections between cathedrals. In the particular case of the "Istanbul Antiphonale," a truly imposing source for the Offices at Esztergom, László Dobszay has written (in the introduction to the facsimile of this source): "[The codex] is an outstanding document of the Angevin period that again brought Hungary economic and cultural growth after the turbulent last years of the reign and the demise of the Arpadian dynasty. Churches and palaces were enlarged and rebuilt in the Gothic style, ornamented by statues and frescoes, thanks to the generosity of the newly-emerging bourgeois towns, ancient church centres, and the royal court. Books were made and ornamented in the up-to-date style to serve the Divine Service, literature, law, and sciences. It was a propitious period both for specifically Hungarian traditions and for European orientation... The Istanbul Antiphonal is a worthy product of and witness to this period and, together with the *Chronicon pictum* and the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary*, an outstanding specimen also of the art of book copying in this period."[9] Again, in this case, the manuscript evidence, even —or especially— "the face of the page," and, although the manuscript does not contain considerable illuminations, in keeping with what is typical to Office manuscripts, the source is a splendid testimony to the vitality of both cathedral and the multivalent environment that produced it in the fourteenth century. (Examples, f. 1r: *A diebus antiques, Hodie nata est beata virgo*, f. 230v).[10]

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[9] *The Istanbul Antiphonale*, p. 62. The manuscript was taken to Istanbul as booty during the Turkish occupation of Hungary (1526-1686), a further indication of its value. The 1999 facsimile edition was made possible through cooperation between the Hungarian and Turkish governments.

[10] *The Istanbul Antiphonale*, p. 47: "Advent. A common feature of the Hungarian rites is the existence of a series of five antiphons that begin the first Vespers of the Sundays in Advent. These pieces are rare occurrences individually in Europe, for their composition and liturgical function outside Hungary only scarce and questionable examples can be found" (László Dobszay). This observation

What can we learn from these sources? Manuscripts testify to productivity; that a cathedral milieu is "flourishing." When this is no longer the case, there is a precipitous decline in both productivity as well as ease, sophistication, and orthography —all superficial features, but nevertheless indicative. Further, perhaps most important, episcopal institutional constructs are composite in nature, in contradistinction to monastic environments that are more unified, even monolithic, in their structures. The situation at Nevers is a case in point: the cathedral contained within its institutional structure, the abbey of St. Martin, in the mid-eleventh century, one of the earliest Augustinian houses, powerful and influential enough to contribute bishops to the cathedral; the Benedictine monastery of St. Stephen, only a few minutes' walk from the cathedral; independent groups of canons within the cathedral itself that both maintained their independence, as well as identity, while contributing to the complexity and productivity of the cathedral milieu. One keeps in mind that Augustine himself, as well as the Augustinian order, emerging in importance and formal organization in the mid-to late eleventh century, had always been associated with the seat of a bishop and a cathedral milieu. It is of particular importance that the Augustinian abbey of St. Martin, near Nevers, should have played such an important part in the institutional government of that cathedral, from ca. 1060 on. This role is important not only for the ecclesiastical structure of Nevers cathedral, but also for the development of the identity of the Augustinian Order during the course of the late eleventh century. Some conclusions follow:

I. Central European episcopal centers also give witness to power and politics within their structures through manuscripts, in terms of their sheer physicality; magnificent production, careful notation, often, as well, careful text-music alignment. Liturgical music manuscripts have often failed to attract the attention of art historians since they are only infrequently illuminated.[11] The lack of illumination, of the *figurae* of characteristic people, places, and gestures that lend opulence and visual significance to other categories of manuscripts such as Books of Hours, has directly to do with the concept itself of *figura*.

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begins a highly detailed examination of individual features of the source, relating them to other centers within Central Europe, as well as in a wider European context.

[11] This is true of all of the Nevers sources cited above, as well as the Istanbul Antiphonale. Apparently, the *figurae* of music notation itselt was sufficient; additional illustrative *figurae* within illuminations would have been redundant. In addition, these codices were actually used, no doubt, day by day, as specifically notated liturgical sources.

II. But there is another, more important, certainly more universal issue at stake here, namely, what relationship exists between the construct of an institution, even the outline of its edifice and manuscripts from that institution? Can this relationship be seen as that between material and its representation, between sound substance and the notation of that sound in terms of alphabetical letters? This is relatively straight-forward with respect to a building, but the relationship between the *figura* for example of sound and sound itself, as we have in both alphabetical letters, as well as music notation —both designated in the Middle Ages by the same term, *figurae*— is both more difficult to conceptualize, and to prove. It is close, however, to the relationship we have discussed, namely, that between the invisible, but powerful, internal substance of an institution and the manuscripts, containing *figurae*, produced by this institution.

III. Cathedrals network, bypassing monastic centers. Both Nevers and Esztergom are cases leading to this conclusion. Nevers, as a cathedral milieu, had significant connections to other cathedrals, to Le Mans, and even to Palermo as an episcopal see. Esztergom owed its early importance, subsequent authority, to the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Passau, as a network of episcopal centers.[12]

Robert Grosseteste, the first rector of Oxford University, and eventually bishop of Lincoln cathedral, the most populous see in England during the thirteenth century, knew about cathedrals and episcopal centers first hand, and, no doubt, with deep insight. He wrote, quoting Augustine, that imagined constructs could be more evident than what could actually be seen with the physical eye.[13] This is the question we have begun to explore here, namely, the relationship between the parts of the cathedral institution and the manuscripts produced by that institution; also between institutional strength and the external *figurae* that indicate that strength in terms of the alphabetical letters, as well as musical notational *figurae* inscribed on a manuscript page. In many of the same ways that the external cathedral edifice geometricizes institutional substance, so figures on a page

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[12] See fn. 7 above.

[13] See N. van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University. The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous* IV (Leiden,1995), pp. 56-57, referring to particulars, or modules, within a construct as brought together by mental force: … magna et mirabilis vis est anime, que illam compagem ineffabili permixtione vitaliter continet, et in quandam sui moduli redigit unitatem, cum eam non indifferenter, sed, ut ita dicam, indignanter patitur corrumpi atque dissoli, quoting Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram* III, 16 (CSEL 28, 1, 81-82.

indicate as all figures do, internal, invisible substance —institutional strength, the will to produce, and the resources to bring concepts that are unseen to visible fruition, such as in the case of the Istanbul (Esztergom) Antiphonale.[14]

[14] This concept is also expressed in a thorough discussion of the geometry of the cathedral in: Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation. Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Surrey, GB, Burlington, VT, 2011).

Fig. 1: "The Istambul Antiphonale", Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi (Istanbul, Turkey), Ms. Deissmann 42, fol. 1r.