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Masters of the Choirboys and the Strategies of their Appointment at the Cathedral of Cambrai, 1459–1539.

カンブレ大聖堂における少年聖歌隊教師とその雇用戦略 1459 年–1539 年

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「少年聖歌隊教師 *magister puerorum altaris*」は、現代に「作曲家」として名を残す著名な音楽家が多数在職していた一方で、その基本的な職務内容や社会的身分、価値基準については不明な点が多く、「ルネサンス期」における音楽家身分のありかたを考えるうえで興味深い研究対象である。そこで本稿では、優れた音楽保護が行われていたとされるカンブレ大聖堂を個別事例として取り上げ、その雇用状態やポーラ・ヒギンズが主張する 15 世紀中葉における職務上要求される資質の変化（「熟練した教師」から「創造的なメンター」へ）などに関して検討を行った。

1459 年–1539 年にかけて同教会に在籍していた 11 名の少年聖歌隊教師ならびにその候補者の就任過程や在職中の活動を調査した結果、以下の 3 点が明らかにされた。① 1460 年代における度重なるリクルートの失敗やわずか 1 年で辞職したオブレフトの事例が示しているように、カンブレ大聖堂の少年聖歌隊教師は、従来の研究者が想定しているほど当時の音楽家のキャリアとして有利なものではなく、また参事会が何らかの積極的な支援を始めたのは 15 世紀末になってからである。② ヒギンズが唱える価値基準の変化に関しては、この教会ではむしろ反対に長期間の在職が見込まれる「生え抜き」の者が重用されるようになった。③ そして 16 世紀になると、少年聖歌隊員からその教師を経て参事会員まで登りつめる一種の「内部昇進」のルートが成立した。

最後に筆者は、ヒギンズの主張と上記の事例は本質的に相反するものではなく、それぞれが中世末期における音楽家身分の変容過程の一端を示しているものであり、よって今後は他の音楽拠点における同種の変化を注意深く比較・検討し、より包括的な見通しのないしはモデルを提示することこそ、「ルネサンス」と呼ばれる時代の音楽生活をよりよく理解するために必須であると主張し、結論とした。

Master of the choirboys (Lat. *magister puerorum altaris*; Fr. *maître des enfants d'autel*) is an interesting object for one who works on a certain musical center in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe. Because its primary functions, social status, and criteria are still unfamiliar to us, even if there are many composers who took the position. The article will try to reveal its social status and the policy of appointment, taking as example the cathedral of Cambrai, which has been considered to provide lavish support for music and employ many talented musicians.¹⁾

At first, it is necessary to define fundamental characters of the charge of the *magister puerorum*.

This article is based on a paper spoken at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference 2001, Spoleto (Italy), 26–29 July 2001. I am indebted to David Fallows, David Fiala, Barbara Haggh, Margaret Bent, Masakata Kanazawa, and Bonnie J. Blackburn for reading earlier drafts and giving valuable comments. All dates contained herein are new style.

1) For music at Cambrai, see WRIGHT (1975; 76; 78), FALLOWS (1980), CURTIS (1991), and YAMAMOTO (2003).

As a matter of fact, the existence of the boys who take part in the liturgical service could date back to the early Christian period, based on two main ecclesiastical demands of which one is practical and the other is theological: preparing the clergy of the future and the importance of the innocence of young boys, which might be highly estimated (cf. WOOD 1994). As for the post of their teacher, we must however wait for at least the twelfth or thirteenth century when the *maîtrise*, a more musically specialized educational institution than the *schola lectorum*, began to appear in many churches throughout northern France and the Low Countries.²⁾

What the term of *maîtrise* exactly means? Despite of frequent adoptions in scholarly books, it has never been defined precisely. The most important character of the *maîtrise* is not teaching music to the choirboys, which had always been done to a certain extent from antiquity, but some independence from ordinary clerical education in the church. The concept may therefore be understood to consist of the existence of the boys who were selected exclusively to participate in the divine service, the specially assigned financial support for their education, and the assurance of their own dwelling so on. The post of the master of the choirboys seems to have been set at the time of foundation of the *maîtrise*, and their superiority to that of grammar is also an indispensable element of the concept.

However, it is a mere anachronism to presume that most of the masters should be employed only through their musical talent like a professional musician of our time. Because, except for the lessons of grammar taught by a particular teacher, the duties of the master extended to the whole education and behavior in order to make an adequate priest, and the instruction of singing was no more than one task among many others.³⁾ But Paula Higgins (1999) insists that the criteria imposed on the master of the choirboys dramatically began to change in the late fifteenth century.

Taking up a case that Antoine Busnoys was invited to the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand in Poitiers as master of the choirboys, she argues as follows; in September of 1465, Le Begue, incumbent master of the church, suddenly faced a trouble that would rob him of the post after only two months from the appointment. The reason is that another candidate, namely Busnoys, had evidently offered his service at the church, and an exceptional meeting took place to determine which of the masters should be employed. In this assembly, many conflicting opinions were expressed, but finally, Busnoys succeeded in getting the post by meeting with the approval of the influential members of the chapter, which were not a majority but well versed in the cultures of secular courts because of their affiliations with nobility. Higgins states that this affair reflects the rapidly changing position of the master of the choirboys from “skilled pedagogue” to “creative mentor”.

Did there actually take place such transition about the criteria of the master of the choirboys in other churches for example the cathedral of Cambrai? And first of all, what were its social status and the strategies of their appointment? These are the chief issues to be resolved in this article.

To deal with the problems, we must define the period to investigate. Although the list of seven masters of Cambrai cathedral from 1373 to 1427 has been printed by Jules Houdoy,⁴⁾ no details of

2) The standard study of the *maîtrise* in a more extensive point of view is still BECKER (1967). Also two important monographs are F.-L. CHARTIER (1897) and CLÉRAL (1899).

3) For the other tiresome tasks of the master of the choirboys, see BRENET (1910: 15-20), DU PIN (1706, 4: 717-20), GLORIEUX (1960-73, 9: 686-89), CHARTIER (1897: 66-70), BECKER (1967: 290-98) and WRIGHT (1989: 166-68).

their careers or even of their tenures are familiar to us except for those of Nicolas Grenon.⁵⁾ Therefore, in the following analysis based on two primary documents, the Chapter Deliberations (*Actes capitulaires*) and the Account Books of the Office of the Lesser Vicars,⁶⁾ I would like to be concerned with the period from 1459 to 1539 in which eleven masters took charge of the *maîtrise*. These eighty years can be divided into two terms in the view of the strategy of appointments taken by the chapter; one from the appointment of Robert Le Chanoine (1459) to the resignation of Jacob Obrecht (1485), of which characteristic is to employ principally a traveling teacher who had the master of the choirboys as his profession, and another from Denis de Hollain (1485) to Jean Lupi (1539) in which most of the incumbents came from Cambrai or even the *maîtrise* itself.

* * *

On 19 March 1459, a teacher named Robert Le Chanoine was employed as master of the choirboys by the chapter of Cambrai cathedral on condition that if he would carry out the duties until the feast of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) in the next year, he would earn twelve *écus* “in compensation of his discharge from the service of the church” (BMC, B 1060: 41^r). He was also collated as a great vicar on 27 April of the same year (*ibid.*: 43^v), but it seems to have turned out that his manner of work was not enough to content the canons. On 25 June 1460, nearly one year after the appointment, the chapter once decided his dismissal from the post, assigning Johannes Zemberch, a lesser vicar, to temporary master, and three canons, namely Guillaume Du Fay, Jean de Croix, and Nicole Boidin, were deputed to look for an appropriate one.⁷⁾ Le Chanoine nevertheless must have wanted to continue his charge, for two days after the chapter postponed the final decision to the end of the month, having him promise improvement (*ibid.*: 85^r). Then he was barely reappointed on 30 June through his “sufficient humility”.⁸⁾ But, again, his amendment seems to have been deceptive because only four months after, 7 November 1460, he was denounced as “a bad example not suitable to the boys” and ordered to leave the house of the choirboys at once, threatened that if he did not follow the command, he might be arrested and put in a prison of the chapter (*ibid.*: 97^v). At the same moment, the chapter entrusted the selection of successor to the above-mentioned three canons again (*loc. cit.*).

4) See HOUDOY (1880: 82, 129–30). David Fiala has offered a more precise list of the masters at the conference on music of Cambrai cathedral (“La musique dans les villes à la Renaissance: Cambrai”, Tours, 10–11 September 2001). There are other six masters in the middle of the fifteenth century: Mathieu Hamelle (1432), Pierre Béthune (1434–36), Petrus du Castel (1441–47), Gobert le Mannier (1447–51), Paul De Jonghe/Juvenis (1451–56), and Jean Du Sart (1456–58). I am very grateful to David Fiala for kindly sending me his handout of the conference.

5) About Nicolas Malin, for instance, we know only three facts that he was described first as a great vicar in 1390, traveled to seek choristers around Douai, Lille and Béthune in the fiscal year of 1409, and at least was alive until 1417, although his name is put in the *New Grove Dictionary* (1st edn.) only because of his possibility as Du Fay’s teacher.

6) As to the brief summary of these manuscript documents, see YAMAMOTO (2003: 59). And in this article, the following abbreviations are used to indicate the document; BMC: Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale; ADN 4 G: Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, série 4 G (Clergé séculier).

7) BMC, B 1060: 84^v. Zemberch was recorded three times in the accounts of the office of the lesser vicars from the fiscal year of 1458 to that of 1463. ADN, 4 G 6789 (1458–59): 5^r; ADN, 4 G 6789 (1459–60): 6^r; 4 G 6790 (1463–64): 5^v.

8) The date of 25 June as Le Chanoine’s dismissal that WRIGHT (1975: 196–97) has stated is not correct.

Here, the first recruitment for the master of the choirboys that we can trace from the surviving documents began at Cambrai cathedral.

It was a certain Johannes Regis that the canons first anticipated being the master. At the chapter meeting held on 10 November 1460, three days after the discharge of Le Chanoine, the task of the recruiting was entrusted to Du Fay:⁹⁾

The chapter concluded that Johannes Regis must be master of the choirboys, and Guillaume Du Fay must write to Regis that if he does not come, another will be sought.

From this document, there is no doubt that the invitation of Regis was proceeding on the initiative of Du Fay and was not doing well, but it is not proper to emphasize the relationship between Du Fay and Regis as it has long been considered, because in Cambrai selections of the master of the choirboys were, like those of the lesser vicars, usually deputed to the master of vicars (*magister vicariorum*) or ones who had once took up the *officium*; thus it was quite natural that Du Fay, who had been master of the vicars from the fiscal year of 1459 to 1463, undertook the mission. In fact, he appears to have found much difficulty with the recruitment. The post of the master of the choirboys had been vacant for about one year, and it was on 9 December 1461 that Jean Du Sart, a lesser vicar, was elected as master of the choirboys.¹⁰⁾ However, Du Fay and the canons of Cambrai did not abandon employing Johannes Regis. The chapter still kept in mind his invitation until 9 July 1462 when seven canons including Du Fay and two dignitaries of the church were delegated to undertake “a reconstruction of the dwelling of the choirboys, a provision for Johannes Regis who is to come being their master, and other things relating to those boys” (BMC, B 1060: 145^r). But he did not come to Cambrai after all.

By the way, who is *this* Johannes Regis? Is he the person who was mentioned in the *Proportionale musice* (ca. 1474) of Tinctoris and the *Omnium bonorum plena* (ca. 1470) of Loyset Compère, and then through the series of modern editions published in the middle of twentieth century, (LINDENBURG 1948; 56) is today regarded as one of the great musicians of the Renaissance? The life of Regis is still unfamiliar to us and of further argument,¹¹⁾ but the identification of the composer is not our immediate concern, and what is significant here is why the canons of Cambrai could not employ Regis in spite of copying some of his music as a preparation.¹²⁾ The reason is unknown for lack of adequate document but the problem of the dwelling of the choirboys may be one of the factors that made the recruitment fail, though there is no evidence which indicates the above-said “reconstruction of the dwelling” was at the request of Regis (cf. FALLOWS 1989: 146, 167). Its state seems to have been actually poor. On 2 April 1465, the chapter ordered the choirboys to move to another residence of a canon for the reason that their house was badly ventilated since it was near a church used as a storehouse

9) BMC, B 1060: 98^r (printed in WRIGHT 1975: 225): “Fuit conclusum quod mandetur pro Johanne Regis ut sit magister puorum, et scribat eidem magister G. du Fay, si venire noluerit, advisabitur de alio.” All the English translations of the Latin documents are made by the author.

10) BMC, B 1060: 127^r. As it has been said above, we know through Fiala's finding that Du Sart was once at the post of the master of the choirboys from 19 March 1456 to 23 Aug. 1458.

of the chapter, and there was much to be repaired too (BMC, B 1060: 229^r). Though the canons also decided to rebuild the dwelling “if the opportunity come”, it had to wait the early sixteenth century for its execution¹³). Anyway, the case of Regis implies that the *maîtrise* of Cambrai was not institutionally organized well, and then the post of its master was not so fascinating to the musician at that time as one would suppose.

This presumption can be confirmed by investigating the behaviors of the masters who held the post after Le Chanoine. First, Jean Du Sart, who appears to have been appointed as temporary master until Johannes Regis would come, accused Nicolas Plouchet, *scholasticus* of the church, of not paying “the promised 300 *écus* (gold crowns)” on 26 July 1465 (*ibid.*: 220^r). We don’t know if this amount of money was relative to the task of the master of the choirboys, but it is likely that, despite of the mandate of payment on Plouchet he acquired from the chapter, Du Sart would determine to resign the post, or their relationship would be in danger. In autumn of the same year, the chapter began to seek a successor to Du Sart. On 2 September 1465, Georges de Bresle (Brelles), master of the choirboys at Béthune, was invited for a dinner to the house of Du Sart, and made known the “ordination or vocation (i.e. appointment of the master of the choirboys), which had to be solved by this office (of vicars)” (ADN, 4 G 6789 [1465–66]: 6^v). And the fact that a month later, 2 October, a chaplain named Paul Bricquet was sent to Béthune “for the master of the choirboys” shows a strong intention of the chapter for inviting him (*ibid.*: 7^r). But this recruitment did not succeed too. In December, Du Sart still had to travel around several towns for the sake of choirboys (*loc. cit.*), and although a Philippe, master of the choirboys at Arras, came to Cambrai to be received as master on 13 December (*loc. cit.*), the chapter could not obtain him either. Finally, it was on 22 January 1466 that Rasse de Lavenne (La Venne), a lesser vicar, was elected as successor to Du Sart with some admonitions about his young housekeeper and an imprudent chorister (BMC, B 1060: 233^v). Lavenne himself however resigned the post after getting the chaplaincy of the Holy Trinity in the cathedral (*ibid.*: 254^{r-v}). The canons therefore had to call back Robert Le Chanoine, whom they had once dismissed (ADN, 4

11) Identification of the composer is thoroughly taken in FALLOWS (1989). The most possible element, which causes the confusion in the biography of Regis is his very common name (Lat. “Johannes Regis”, Fr. “Jehan le Roy”, Dutch “Jan de Coninck”, etc.) which appears in many documents everywhere at the same time. Fallows supposes the composer was a master of the choirboys then *scholasticus* (schoolmaster) at the collegiate church of Saint-Vincent in Soignies, and once denied Houdoy, who wrote the man whom Du Fay and the canons had begged to come to Cambrai persistently was the master of the church at Antwerp, without, just like a historian of the nineteenth century, indicating the precise data of the document on which he based (*ibid.*: 164–65). Now the evidence for Houdoy’s statement, which is a payment record for Gille Faloen, nuncio, who was sent to Antwerp for a master of the choirboys called Johannes Regis, (ADN, 4 G 6789 [1462–63]: 4^v) has been reported by some scholars. While STARR (1995: 32–33) states this document might be interpreted as a payment for Faloen, as messenger to Antwerp, “on behalf of” Regis, not the incumbent there, Fallows tells me a possibility that the Regis of Soignies was actually in the city, waiting for news about his benefice from the Holy See, for Antwerp was a primary center of such information among the Low Countries (Private communication to the author). Furthermore, MAGRO (1992) suggests that there should be another composer Johannes Regis who was a canon at the collegiate church of Saint-Martin of Tours and had some connection with the court of France. As he says, the problem of the biography of Regis is still uncertain.

12) The payments for Simon Mellet, chef music scribe of the church, are printed in HOUDOY (1880: 194–95) and CURTIS (1991: 247–48).

13) It is only 1508 that the canons of the church decided to construct a new edifice for the cathedral school of which part was of course assigned to the *maîtrise* (BMC, B 1066: 55^r–57^r).

G 6789 [1466-67]: 5^v; 4 G 6789 [1467-68]: 5^v). On the whole, these occurrences give us an impression that the post of master of the choirboys at Cambrai was not very desirable, and taken on by the incumbents unwillingly.

Fortunately, however, the canons of Cambrai met a skillful and, more important, sincere teacher, who would have them reverse the previous policy of appointment: Jean Hémart. Though we don't know when he was appointed as master of the choirboys, he was probably taking the charge at least until July 1469 (ADN, 4 G 6789 [1469-70]: 6^r), and afterwards instructed boys for an extraordinary fifteen years. From lack of the documents (the Chapter Deliberations of which ones from the fiscal year of 1468 to that of 1474 are now lost), his activities of directing the *maîtrise* are utterly obscure but seems to have been agreeable to the canons of Cambrai; while he attended divine services as a lesser vicar too and was soon collated as a great vicar (ADN, 4 G 6789 [1468-69]: 5^v; 4 G 6789 [1469-70]: 6^r; 4 G 6791 [1474-75]: 4^r), his *lamentation* for Du Fay, who had died in the previous year, was copied by Simon Mellet in the fiscal year of 1475 (HOUDOY 1880: 201; CURTIS 1991: 253-54). Probably impressed by his diligent activities, on the chapter meeting held on 19 January 1478, the canon of Cambrai established a salary proper to the master of the choirboys presumably for the first time:¹⁴⁾

Considering this condition and load which are necessary for the rising prices, and since sire Jean Hémart, master of the choirboys, received only twelve *deniers tournois* per one boy, a day, which is not sufficient because it must be spent for the boys, and also knowing that he, a great vicar of this church, does not have a salary as master of these boys and now is suffering very much, my lords [of the chapter] order as follows: the *Office de l'Aumône* should pay sire Jean Hémart through a special grace until his permission to resign or release, and as to the sum, it must be fixed at sixty *sous tournois* per month from the date written down here.

Now some characteristics of the social/financial status of master of the choirboys at Cambrai are evident. Among them, the first to be noted is the relationship between the master of the choirboys and the great vicar. As far as we know, Nicolas Malin in the early fifteenth century and Robert Le Chanoine were great vicars, and the latter was no sooner collated than elected as master of the choirboys, thus resigned to exchange for another benefice on 15 June 1461 (BMC, B 1060: 113^r), about seven months after his harsh dismissal. From both of this case and the above document, it is almost likely that the salary as master of the choirboys was compensated with the benefice of great vicar. Although the canons had offered the masters twelve *écus* (approximately eighteen *livres tournois*), but it was paid only on completion of the task and was clearly not enough to make a living for

14) BMC, B 1061: 41^v: "Domini mei considerantes temporivam qualitatem ac onerem que ad victum necessaria sunt caristiam, quandoque dominus Johannes Hemart, magister puerorum altaris, solum habet pro quolibet puero singulibus diebus xii denarios tourn. qui revera non sufficiunt attenta dicta caristia pro expensis eorundem puerorum, etiam scientestes quod ipse Hemart, qui vicarius perpetuus est hujus ecclesie, nulla habet stipendia tanquam magister dictorum puerorum, atque idcirco detrimentum passus est hujusque patienter, ordinant quod officium elemosine solvat eidem domino Johanni Hermart de gratia speciali usque ad eorum beneplacitum aut revocationem, et quousque ipsa in meliorem erunt disposita singulis mensibus a die date presentis inchrandis lx solidos tourn."

an adult clergy. Unlike this, the stipend Hémart acquired were thirty-six *livres tournois* a year, which was virtually equal to the annual income of a chaplain. Here, the master of the choirboys at Cambrai obtained their own reward for the first time.

But it has long been stated that Hémart was pushed out in favor of Jacob Obrecht.¹⁵⁾ This explanation is based on a chapter act written down on 28 July 1484 that “The lords [of the chapter] have today retained sire Jacob Obrecht of Bergen [op Zoom] as master of the choirboys, in place of Jean Hémart, their previous master.”¹⁶⁾ Obrecht, choirmaster of the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom, presumably departed for Cambrai in August of the year and took up his position at Cambrai from 6 September. But he resigned the post only one year after for that of succentor of the collegiate church of St Donatian at Bruges. Although his tenure was no more than one year, it can tell us some important information about the social status of the master of the choirboys at Cambrai and the concealed intention of the chapter.

The matters of Obrecht that we must consider may be focused on two points; first, the process through which he was invited to Cambrai, and second, the reason why he left there for only one year. As to the first, Rob C. Wegman, calling attention to the fact that Hémart, who had functioned as master of the choirboys for fifteen years without any irregularity, was suddenly replaced by Obrecht, states that the decision of the chapter can not be explained by Obrecht’s reputation alone. And he supposes Obrecht, who was willing obtain the post at Cambrai, which was “one of the most prestigious musical centers in Europe”, would succeed in it through the relationship between Henri de Berges, bishop of Cambrai, and John II of Glymes, lord of Bergen op Zoom and father of the bishop (WEGMAN 1994: 82–83). It is nevertheless evident that, quoting the above-mentioned case of Busnois reported by Higgins, he observes in this case a long fixed point of view that a “skilled teacher” was substituted for a “creative artist”.

Does the event really reflect such transition about the social status of the musician in the late fifteenth century? Not like the case of Regis, the process in which the chapter of Cambrai invited Obrecht, and its precise intentions are almost unknown, but we have some information concerning Hémart, which provides us with a quite different explanation. In fact, Hémart resigned his position as a great vicar on 7 July 1483 (BMC, B 1061: 163^r, 163^v), a week after he had acquired the chaplaincy of the Holy Trinity (*ibid.*: 162^v). Judging from the said relationship between the great vicar and the master of the choirboys, it is natural to suppose that he also should have abandoned the post of the latter. And it indorses this presumption that, when he was asked by the chapter to sing with the lesser vicars for another one year on 8 August of the same year, he was entitled only “a chaplain of the Holy Trinity” (*ibid.*: 164^r). Besides these facts, Hémart quarreled with a Henri Machelier about a benefice of the parochial church of Lessines in the diocese of Cambrai, and appealed to the Papal Court on 19 November 1484.¹⁷⁾ Thus it seems evidently that he was seeking another livelihood in those years. The reason why Hémart was going to change his occupation may be for his age. Though the exact date of

15) For the information about the life of Obrecht, see PIRRO (1927), MURRAY (1957), and WEGMAN (1994).

16) BMC, B 1061: 187^r (printed in WEGMAN 1994: 367, doc. 31). And this statement is also found in FALLOWS (2001).

17) BMC, B 1061: 201^r. Hémart won this dispute with Machelier and was peacefully collated as a priest of the parochial church at Lessine on 14 April 1485. See, *ibid.*: 214^r.

his birth is unknown, we know that, on 6 August 1490, he was offered five *écus* as a special *gratia* by the chapter for “his diligent service of twenty-five years” and died in 1493 (*ibid.*: 372^v; BMC, B 1062: 51^r). He should consequently have been at least over forty years old in the middle of 1480s. With this evidence, I would like to propose a more reasonable explanation about the appointment of Obrecht as master of the choirboys at Cambrai like follows: In the early summer of 1483, the previous master, Jean Hémart, was no longer able to continue his duties as master of the choirboys because of his age and resigned the post after getting a chaplaincy in Cambrai cathedral. The chapter, which had greatly appreciated him, kept him as a singer with an exceptional salary, and in turn, began to seek another master. It is in this context that Jacob Obrecht was invited to Cambrai in July 1484, and Hémart was by no means deprived of his post for Obrecht as it has been thought.

As for the second point, Obrecht seems to have decided to resign the post at Cambrai soon after his appointment. On 7 February 1485, the chapter of the collegiate church of St Donatian at Bruges determined to appoint Johannes Rykelin as temporary succentor of the church after the recent resignation of the previous incumbent, Aliamus de Groote.¹⁸⁾ At the same time, the canons of the church also discussed about a very timely application made by a master of the choirboys at Cambrai, namely Jacob Obrecht and wrote him to come to Bruges as soon as he could. Obrecht was however reluctant to follow the order of the chapter. On 23 June of the year, he was told to take up residence in Bruges at once and urged to do so again on 12 September, being asked if he would really have an intention to be succentor of the church. On the other hand, how was Obrecht's behavior as master of the choirboys at Cambrai? It appears, rather, to have been not bad, because there is no remonstrance about his duties in the Chapter Deliberations, and he sometimes taught singing to some of the lesser vicars. A matter happened in late July. At the chapter meeting held on 27 July 1485, Obrecht was berated for not having looked after the children properly and that itch occurred among them. Though Obrecht could, as Wegman states, could have left Cambrai for Bruges at the moment, he still remained at the church, and on 2 September, received twelve *écus* for “buying necessities at the market of Antwerp”.

Taking account of this puzzling behavior and the twelve *écus*, Wegman supposes that the amount should have been an impossible request that Obrecht, who knew he was leaving anyway, dared to make to the chapter to justify his departure (WEGMAN 1994: 135-37). But, as we have seen, it is almost likely to have been the reward for the master of the choristers at Cambrai, which was paid in return for the completion of his duties for one year.¹⁹⁾ Therefore a more plausible interpretation seems that Obrecht, who had already ensured another post at Bruges in February 1485, had to achieve his charge at least for one year in order to obtain its reward and thus had to keep the chapter of St Donatian's waiting until his completion at Cambrai. At last, he came to Bruges on 13 October 1485 and was promised by the chapter to be succentor of the church, then returned to Cambrai to begin to wind up his affairs. Finally, he was released from the last boy who remained in his house on 1 November, and departed for Bruges without any anxieties.

18) The following draws on STROHM (1985: 38-41) and WEGMAN (1994: 133-38).

19) *Ibid.*, p. 136. Wegman however may have hesitated to insist his own opinion, having respect for the long popularized one of PIRRO (1927: 79), because he presents almost the same idea as mine in the note 7 in the page.

Now it may be useful to sum up the characteristic of the master of the choirboys at Cambrai cathedral from the evidence of the above-mentioned six masters and their candidates. First, as to the status of their employment, they were engaged by a contract with the chapter, in which he would have received a copy of the *Ordonance* with which he had to work at least for one year.²⁰⁾ The chapter, besides the yearly twelve *écus*, offered the master one of the nine benefices of great vicar, as soon as it became to be vacant, of which prebend would serve master's livelihood. It also implies that master of the choirboys at the church needed the holy orders of subdeacon.²¹⁾ What a master was principally expected to do by the chapter is administering the children diligently rather than musical activities, and then, if he neglected his duties, he was faced with a difficulty of dismissal. Second, as to the strategy of their appointment, there was not any nomination in which a "skilled pedagogue" was replaced with a "creative mentor" as Higgins states in the case of Poitiers. Recruitment for another master was started only when the predecessor resigned or was dismissed. At the moment, the chapter sought an experienced master of other church first, using the network of musicians, which it took mainly from the masters of vicars, and then, if the recruitment failed, selected a lesser vicar in the church as temporary master. Finally, as to the value of the post for the musician of that time, it is quite misguided to think it was highly advantageous to a musician who wanted to step up in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, as it had been evident in the cases of Regis and Obrecht. Although the reasons are not familiar to us besides the bad conditions of its dwelling and the instability of the post of great vicar which was promised to the master of the choirboys, the long approved scheme that many musicians from north France and the Low Countries was desperately eager to obtain the position at Cambrai could not be substantiated.

The canons of Cambrai cathedral however could not be indifferent to these problems, namely the frequent failures in the recruitments for masters and their unpleasant behavior. In particular, they might have been utterly shocked, seeing a renowned musician, Obrecht, leaving Cambrai after only one year, next to a diligent teacher who had served for about fifteen years. Henceforth, the policy of the appointment seems to be changed; without neglecting his musical abilities, from a traveling teacher to one who came from or had some relationships with its own church in order to entrust their children more safely in the long term.

* * *

In late October 1485, one and half a month after Obrecht's resignation had become obviously, the canons of Cambrai cathedral began looking for his successor. At the chapter meeting held on 26 October, it was ordered to tell Jean de Atrio, master of the choirboys at Reims, that they had begun to seek a master (BMC, B 1061: 237^v). But there was a more appropriate teacher near them. On 24 October, Nicaise Pascal, a great vicar, and Martin, probably a senior lesser vicar and *tenorista*, were asked

20) About the regulation on the behavior of the master of the choirboys, named "Ordonnance sur le gouvernement espituel et temporal des enfants de choeur" (BMC, B 1060, 25^v–26^r), see PIRRO (1927: 78–80).

21) The post of great vicar required the major holy orders (priest, deacon, and subdeacon) for the reason that their primary function was celebrate the Mass.

by the canons what kind of person was useful to the church for administrating the *maîtrise* and instructing the children, and finally a master at the collegiate church of St G ry in Cambrai was proposed: Denis de Hollain (*loc. cit.*). Then, a messenger was sent to the chapter of the church soon, and on 3 November, Hollain was elected as master of the choirboys of Cambrai cathedral with a majority of the canons (*ibid.*: 238^r). His behavior seems to have been sufficiently well because, for the twenty years of his tenure, there are only two admonitions in the Chapter Deliberations about the recreations and the divine services the choirboys had to do (*ibid.*: 243^r; BMC, B 1063: 208^v). Although his collation as a great vicar was late until 30 October 1489 for a rush for collations of great vicar,²²⁾ he was at last elected as a canon of the church on 15 February 1503 (BMC, B 1064: 437^{r-v}). There is certainly the case of Nicolas Grenon in the early fifteenth century that the master of the choirboys of Cambrai cathedral became a canon of the church. But, not like Grenon, who had obtained the post through the supreme authority of church hierarchy, namely Papal Court, Hollain got the canonicate of Cambrai cathedral for his long diligent service as master of the choirboys. Unfortunately, he was dead until 11 November of the same year (*ibid.*: 483^r), so did not have a time enough to be favored with the honor of canon. In any case, here a route was established in which the master of the choirboys at Cambrai could rise even to canon.

Louis van Pulaer, successor to Hollain, had a career as a choirboy at Cambrai cathedral evidently.²³⁾ He entered the *maîtrise* in November 1485 soon after Hollain had become its master and remained about nine years there (PIRRO 1928-29: 351). Then, leaving Cambrai on 10 October 1494 (BMC, B 1062: 221^v), he also became master of the choristers at the church of St Denis in Li ge and instructed the children for eight years (BMC, B 1063: 17^r). It was on 5 April 1503 that van Pulaer returned to Cambrai to become master of the *maîtrise* of his hometown (BMC, B 1064: 448^r). As far as we can trace from the surviving documents, it was the first time when a former pupil of the *maîtrise* became its teacher.²⁴⁾ Van Pulaer was sometimes, however, warned by the chapter about his administration of the boys (PIRRO 1928-29: 351-52) and finally dismissed from the post on 23 April 1507 (BMC, B 1065: 213^v). Then he became master of the choristers at Notre-Dame of Paris and retained the post for twenty years faithfully at that time.²⁵⁾ In 1527, the chapter of Cambrai elected him as a canon, of which reason is not familiar to us. The fact implies that the canons at Cambrai might have had another criteria for the master of the choirboys besides a diligent long service.

By the way, Louis van Pulaer was followed by Nicaise Abrachart on 12 May 1507 (BMC, B 1065: 216^v), of which biography is almost unknown except that he had been a lesser vicar from the fiscal year of 1506 to 1517 (ADN, 4 G 6793 [1507-08]: 6^r; 4 G 6793 [1508-09]: 6^r; 4 G 6794 [1509-10]: 5^r; 4 G 6795 [1511-12]: 7^r; 4 G 6794 [1513-14]: 8^r; 4 G 6794 [1516-17]: 10^r; 4 G 6794 [1517-18]: 6^v). It is likely that he was appointed as temporary master like Jean Du Sart and Rasse de Lavenne until a more

22) BMC, B 1061: 347^r. Just before Hollain was employed, four collations of great vicar were given successively. *Ibid.*: 163^v (17 July 1483), 174^r (30 January 1484), 227^r (19 August 1485), 237^r (24 October 1485).

23) For the life of Louis van Pulaer, see PIRRO (1928-29: 351-53) and WRIGHT (1989: 309-14).

24) PIRRO (1928-29: 80) states Hollain was also a chorister of the *maîtrise* of the cathedral without specifying the document, which I have not confirmed yet.

25) For his activities at Notre Dame of Paris, see WRIGHT (1989: 309-14).

proper master would be employed.

The chapter's inclination for the master who was able to instruct the boys in the long term, and possibly came from its own church, appears to have become evident with the case of Jean-Rémi dit Descaudain, who was probably born near Escaudain (which is about 20 km. north-east of Cambrai).²⁶⁾ He had been a former chorister of the *maîtrise* at Cambrai at least before 1501 (BMC, B 1064: 370^v), and on 28 December 1505, obtained five *écus* in order to study for one year (BMC, B 1065: 138^r). After the nomination as master of the choirboys, he also participated in divine services as a lesser vicar (ADN, 4 G 6795 [1511–12]: 7^r; 4 G 6794 [1513–14]: 8^r), and on 5 March 1514, the chapter offered him the benefice of great vicar (BMC, B 1066: 260^r). We know he was dead at near eighty on 12 March 1562,²⁷⁾ so he should have taken charge of the master of the choirboys from his late twenties to about forty-five when he conceded the post to one of his pupils at the *maîtrise*, Johannes Lupi on 21 March 1527, to become a canon of the church (BMC, B 1069: 58^v). Not like Hollain and van Pulaer, who were not able to fully enjoy their canonicates, Descaudain was active in the chapter for thirty-five years and, especially in the fiscal years from 1529 to 1531, and that from 1548 to 1551, took care of the Office of the Lesser Vicar (ADN, 4 G 6797 [1529–30]; BMC B 1069: 222^r; ADN 4 G 6797 [1531–32]; 4 G 6798 [1548–49]; 4 G 6798 [1549–50]; BMC B 1072: 170^r; ADN 4 G 6798 [1551–52]), which had never been charged with the previous master of the choirboys, except for Nicolas Grenon. Here appeared a model of living for the musician at Cambrai cathedral that a man who had been a former chorister of the *maîtrise* became its master, and, estimated by the execution of his duties for a long time, was elected as a canon of the church, then finally supervised the whole divine service including the adult choir, in the title of the master of the lesser vicars.

Let me take up the case of Johannes Lupi in order to confirm this scheme.²⁸⁾ Born in one of the distinguished family in Cambrai about 1506, he was entrusted to the *maîtrise* at the age of eight on 26 June 1514 and had instruction in music under Descaudain for seven years (BMC, B 1066: 274^v). Moreover, he entered the *collège des bonnes enfants* of Cambrai in 1521 and, winning the scholarship founded by Nicolas Ruitère, went to the university of Leuven (BMC, B 1068: 163^v). Returned to Cambrai four years after to become a lesser vicar, Lupi was elected as master of the choirboys in 1527. He was still twenty-one years old at that time, so that he had to wait for 1530 to be collated as a great vicar. However, it is likely that Lupi was not as diligent as his teacher, because he was often warned of the negligence of his duties by the chapter already in 1528 (BMC, B 1069: 132^r) and, after some admonitions, was dismissed on 3 March 1532 (BMC, B 1070: 2^v). If he had been the master of the fifteenth century, he should have transferred to another church immediately. But Lupi seems to have persisted in Cambrai cathedral and was readmitted to the post on 9 December of the same year (*ibid.*:

26) The precise date of Descaudain's installation as master of the choirboys is still obscure. Although BOONE (1939: 102, n. 3) offered the year of 1509 without citing the document on which his opinion based, I have not been able to find such a document in the Chapter Deliberations.

27) This date of death is given from his epitaph, which Tranchant copied for his book entitled *Collectio omnium inscriptionum in metropolis Ecclesiae Cameracensis Monumentis*, 1764 (BMC, B 1049). Also see BLACKBURN (1970: 89; 1973: 555).

28) For the life of Johannes Lupi, see BOONE (1939) and BLACKBURN (1970: 69–91; 1973: 550–61; 2001). The following documents concerning Lupi are also printed there.

32^v). Unfortunately, a chronic disease prevented him from carrying out the task. He was suspended from the position briefly in 1535 and though returned to his position again in 1537, was finally dead on 20 December 1539 (BMC, B 1071: 64^v). Although Lupi did not become a canon of the church, his case indicates what did it mean for a musician that his future was extended to canonicate.

* * *

I would like to conclude this article with summarizing the characteristics of the social status of the master of the choirboys at Cambrai and the trends of the appointments of the post executed by the chapter of the church.

At least by the middle of the fifteenth century, the masters of the choristers at Cambrai cathedral were charged with a professional teacher who was traveling from church to church. Though he was not given particular salary except one for necessities, the chapter instead offered him one of the benefices they were able to dispose, namely that of great vicar. But the collation as a great vicar was done on condition that he continued to carry out his task, so he was threatened with a dismissal when he ignored his duties. Moreover, his promotion was limited to the post, and with some institutional difficulties, the occupation of the master at Cambrai seems to have been less attractive than so far has been claimed; then many masters resigned or were discharged quickly, and their behavior was also far from satisfactory to the chapter of the church. However, the contrary cases of Jean Hémart and Jacob Obrecht should have given an opportunity for the canons to change this circumstance. They henceforth apparently began to prefer the master who had not only musical ability but also diligence enough to entrust their boys to in the long term and, fortunately, found such men in their own church. It may be said that here a conversion about the policy of appointment of the master was occurred: from outsider to insider.²⁹⁾ By the early sixteenth century, the position of the master was frequently occupied with former chorister of the church, and the canons offered him even a canonicate, the most prestigious status that the musician of that time could wish, in compensation for the long service as master. At the moment, a route in which a chorister of the *maîtrise*, passing the post of its master, was able to be a canon of the church was established at Cambrai cathedral. On the other hand, this expectation of great possibility should have become an incentive that made a musician stay in one place long.³⁰⁾

Though there were not such change of position or criteria of master of the choirboys in Cambrai just as Higgins claims, I do not think these two cases contradict fundamentally each other. In fact, we do have many but scattered evidences, which indicate that a definitive transition about social status of musician did occur around occidental Europe from the late fifteenth century to the middle of six-

29) Needless to say, it is not proper to state that this change was something decisive. Because Fiala informed me that at least Robert Le Chanoine was also trained as a choirboy at Cambrai cathedral (Private communication to the author), and it is also likely that there were other masters or at least their candidates who had once been choristers at the church by the middle of the fifteenth century. Thus, I must confess that hereafter the above idea has to be carefully investigated through further research, which is not restricted to documents of Cambrai cathedral.

30) HAGGH (1988: 122; 1989: 173) discusses an important change of life style of musician at the day.

teenth. For instance, the chapter of Notre Dame of Paris changed its policy of appointment of master of the choirboys, contrary to the case of Cambrai cathedral, from dutiful inside singers to skilled musicians throughout France around the end of the fifteenth century (WRIGHT 1989: 173), and singers in many churches and secular chapels increasingly began to be written down in document with their voice parts.³¹⁾ In short, these signs evidently indicate the movement of professionalization of musician and the cases of Cambrai and Poitiers must be understood in this broad context over their particular circumstances.³²⁾ So what we must do from now on is to compare many instances concerning this transition, and finally present a view or model as a whole, which would provide us rather precise and vivid perspectives of the musical life of what we know as Renaissance.

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31) The lesser vicars of Cambrai cathedral were paid according to their vocal part from the fiscal year of 1547 (ADN 4 G 6789 [1547–48]: 8°).

32) In this point, it may also be useful to apply the term of "function elites" who by virtue of their qualifications and performance achieve a higher degree of effectiveness in society, because both of two cases are common in respect of some ascension of the social status of musician. And the problem of its transition must not be confined only in the context of music history. As to this term employed on those who had studied in the Arts Faculty in the later Middle Ages, see KINTZINGER (2000: 177–78).

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