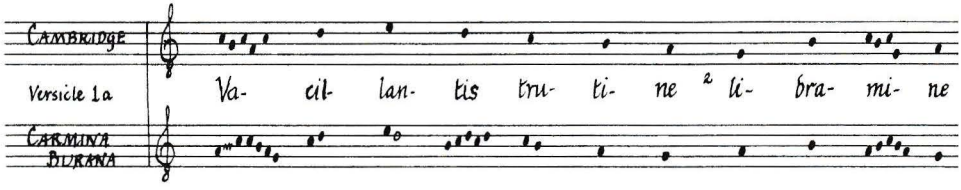
The anthology known as the *Carmina Burana* was compiled probably *c.* 1220–30 either at the monastery of Benediktbeuern in southern Bavaria or, as some now think, at Seckau.[44] Unusually for a manuscript of that date the neumes are unheighted and are therefore not transcribable with any certainty. About twenty melodies are apparently recoverable from other sources: half from the manuscripts associated with St Martial, mainly of the twelfth century and therefore older than the *Carmina Burana* MS itself; and half from more contemporary manuscripts recording the repertoire of Notre Dame in Paris.[45] I say 'apparently recoverable' because the list of surviving settings does not coincide with the list of neumed songs amongst the *Carmina Burana*, and some later melodies could be new ones. There is the further complication that some of the song-texts survive only in polyphonic settings, where they may of course have been altered in various ways, if not newly composed. However, the following extract shows how the staff notation of another source – in this case the Later Cambridge Songs – can to some degree be used to specify the pitchless neumes of the Benediktbeuern collection. Both versions are quite highly ornamented; and the differences between them are instructive. 'Vacillantis trutine' is a secular sequence with refrain, by an unknown author; it tells how *amor* pulls the scholar–poet in one direction whilst *ratio*, his desire to study, pulls him in another.[46]

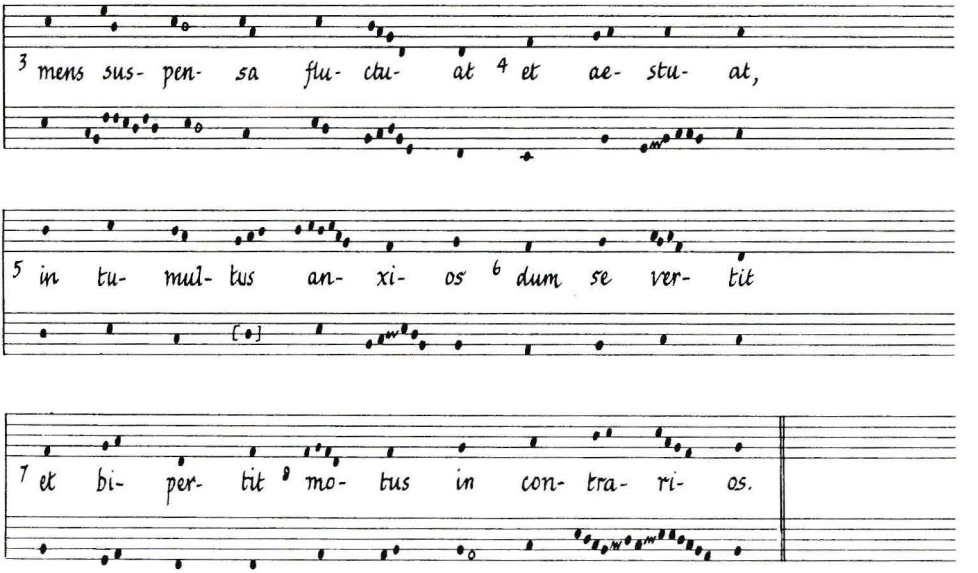
Ex. 16



[44] See Source 21. The most thorough study of the music associated with the *Carmina Burana* is in two articles by Lipphardt (1955, 1961), who however made rigid assumptions about the rhythm of the songs, as well as about the relations of *CB* songs to other versions. He also misleadingly claimed novelty for his work. See also Spanke (1930–1). The practical anthology by Korth (1979) is not fully critical and the rhythmical solutions are disputable; but the notes give basic information about sources.

[45] All are listed, with their concordances, and transcribed in Lipphardt's articles (see preceding note).

[46] 'Vacillantis trutine' (Anderson L48): see note 48 below. The only other surviving version is in the large English anthology, the Arundel Latin Lyrics (Source 13) (fol. 234: no music). The *Carmina Burana* version is on fol. 80; see facsimile, ed. Bischoff. The Cambridge version (ed. Schumann (1943), no. 9, without its melody) is a shortened text. The full text is conveniently reprinted from Arundel in *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, no. 232. Ex. 16 is based on the reconstruction in Lipphardt (1961) no. 12, pp. 118–21; but I have de-mensuralized the transcription.



In the sway of the wavering scales my mind hovers to and fro in passionate agitation whilst it turns back to anxiety and commotion and splits between opposite impulses.

The Later Cambridge Songs (thirteenth-century) seems to be just such an anthology as might have been put together for the kinds of 'clerical entertainment' Stäblein describes – but in the region of Leicester, it seems, not Limoges:

> the presence of numerous text scribes [in a collection of 16 pages only] argues a community at work, a community of clerics, perhaps the teachers or students of a cathedral or monastery school. The interlarding of a mainly sacred repertory with lively, though never gross, secular songs supports this opinion.[47]

Amongst the *conductus* are the widely popular 'Resonet, intonet', described earlier (here, unfortunately, with empty staves), and others of a similar kind – 'Magno gaudens gaudio', for example, for the Holy Innocents, and 'Virgo mater', a song for Candlemas. But scattered amongst these are 'international' songs of a different order, including three from the *Carmina Burana*.[48] It is songs of this more ambitious kind, the Latin counterpart to the vernacular *chanson* (and therefore, I have argued, more appropriately called *cantio* than *conductus*), which I wish now to consider. One of the three songs just men-

[47] Stevens, in Fenlon (1982), 43, based on Schumann (1943).

[48] 'Ecce torpet probitas' (Anderson L50): melody from Later Cambridge Songs, fols. 1v, 298; *Carmina Burana*, no. 3 (Hilka *et al.*, 3–5).

'Licet eger' (Anderson L51): Later Cambridge Songs, fol. 297; *Carmina Burana*, no. 8 (Hilka *et al.*, 10–13).

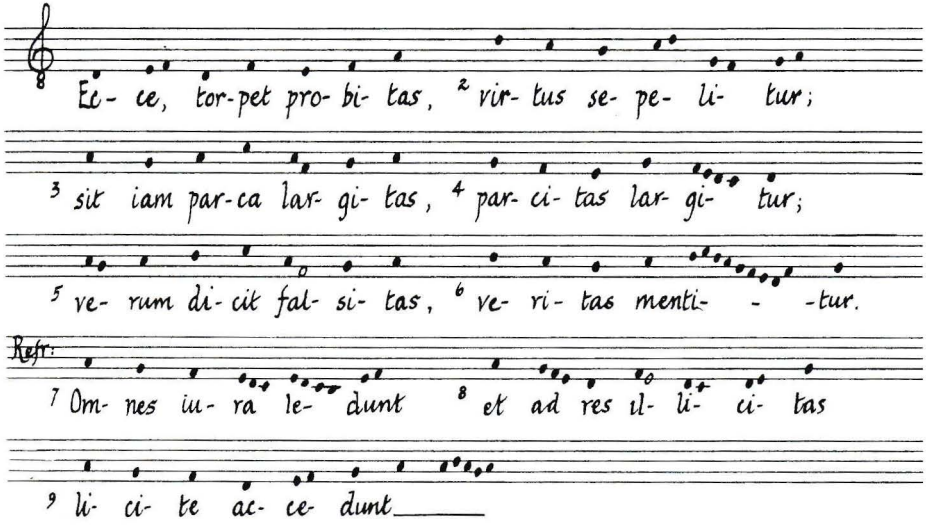
'Vacillantis trutine' (Anderson L48): Later Cambridge Songs, fols. 1–1v; *Carmina Burana*, no. 108 (Hilka *et al.*, 178–9).

tioned is 'Ecce torpet probitas' by Walter of Châtillon (d. *c.* 1190).[49] If it were not for the Cambridge manuscript we should have no melody for it at all. As it is, we have no absolute guarantee that the 'Cambridge' melody was the continental one; nor, of course, that Walter composed it. The poem consists of five stanzas of six lines with a refrain of three. The wording of the refrain varies slightly from stanza to stanza; but it always starts with the same line – *Omnes iura ledunt* (Everyone violates the laws). The refrain drives home the message of the poem, which castigates vice, especially the vice of greed (*regnat avaritia*). The wittiest refrain is the third:

Omnes iura ledunt
et in rerum numeris
numeros excedunt

– 'in the numbers of their possessions [all] exceed proper measure' (?).[50] The poet and composer of the song certainly observed 'number' in the way we have come to expect.

Ex. 17



2. Regnat avaritia,
regnant et avari;
mente quivis anxia
nititur ditari,
cum sit summa gloria
censu gloriari.

[49] See preceding note.
[50] Hilka *et al.*, commentary, p. 5: 'beim Zählen ihrer Habe geraten sie über die Zählen hinaus'; that is, they have so much that they cannot reckon it all up.

Refr Omnes iura ledunt
et ad prava quelibet
imple recedunt.

Look, integrity is asleep; virtue is in the grave. Let generosity now become niggardly; niggardliness is distributed. Falsehood speaks the truth; the truth lies. *Refr:* Everyone violates the laws and licitly broaches illicit deeds.
(2) Greed reigns, and greedy men reign also. Any and every person strives anxiously to get rich, for it is the highest glory to boast about your possessions. *Refr:* Everyone violates the laws and falls back wickedly to whatever crookedness he may devise.

It is not difficult to say the obvious things about this song. They characterize it as a *cantio* having behind it the numerical syllable-counting and phrase-balancing tradition which also produced the vernacular chanson: musical and poetical form are close, but not identical (the melodic material for the refrain marks it off from the verse, for instance); the melody corresponds precisely with the syllabic structure of the original in the usual way (except for the curious extended final melisma) and with the line-structure (each line is a complete melodic unit).[51] Procedurally, then, it is very similar to the troubadour/trouvère chanson – and to practically every other medieval song we have looked at. And yet there are important differences. The Latin stanza, in addition to its syllabism, has an unmistakable stress pattern created by the favourite 'goliardic' metre (the *Vagantenzeile*: 7pp + 6p).[52] This metre has an irresistible swing which Walter of Châtillon exploits to the full (see, for instance, his careful choice of verbs with an *i*-stem in lines 2, 4 and 6, to ensure the full weight on the penultimate – *sepelítur, largítur*). The text would seem to be a suitable candidate – or mate – for one of the tuneful, festive, equally 'obvious' *conductus* melodies looked at earlier. But the accompanying melody does not have the expected qualities. It does, admittedly, provide a fair number of single notes, and therefore has some phrases that move easily. But there are also melismas (phrases 6 and 7, especially) to impede the flow. However, the most puzzling feature is the structure of the melody itself. It is stable in a *d*-tonality and makes prominent use of the *a* a fifth above; it has its recurrent descending-thirds motif; and it appears to be working towards a developmental repetition (7, 8, 9, certainly; 2, 4, 6, perhaps). And yet, the total effect is, to my ear, inconclusive; it lacks the extroverted balance of simple *conductus* and *lai*, and it does not achieve the satisfying *armonia*, the melodic architecture, of the best chansons. Perhaps – though one hesitates to say it across the centuries – it is just not a very good melody.

The 'numbers' of the Latin *cantio* are not so very different from those of the

[51] The sense of line-structure is occasionally modified by light enjambement; it is most marked in strophe 5 lines 1–2: 'Si recte discernere / velis, non est vita'. However, it may be more appropriate, despite the rhymes, to regard each pair of lines as a single unit (Norberg (1958) 214, classifies the *vers goliardique* as a thirteen-syllable line). The final melisma has been designated, unconvincingly, as instrumental.

[52] See Norberg (1958), 151–2, 187–8.