THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

MEDIEVAL MUSIC

VOLUME I

EDITED BY
MARK EVERIST AND
THOMAS FORREST KELLY

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

MEDIEVAL MUSIC

Spanning a millennium of musical history, these monumental volumes bring together nearly forty leading authorities to survey the music of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. All of the major aspects of medieval music are considered, making use of the latest research and thinking to discuss everything from the earliest genres of chant, through the music of the liturgy, to the riches of the vernacular song of the trouvères and troubadours. Alongside this account of the core repertory of monophony, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* tells the story of the birth of polyphonic music, and studies the genres of organum, conductus, motet and polyphonic song. Key composers of the period are introduced, such as Leoninus, Perotinus, Adam de la Halle, Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut, and other chapters examine topics ranging from musical theory and performance to institutions, culture, and collections.

MARK EVERIST is Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. His previous publications include *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (2013), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2011), and *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994).

THOMAS FORREST KELLY is Morton B. Knafel Professor of Music at Harvard University, and has published numerous works including *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (2011), *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (1997) and the Kinkeldey Award-winning *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989).

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Notes on Contributors

ELIZABETH AUBREY is Professor Emerita of Music at The University of Iowa. She is author of *The Music of the Troubadours* (1996), co-editor of *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (2001), and editor of *Poets and Singers: On Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song* (2009). Her articles and reviews have appeared in journals and conference proceedings on musicology, music theory, literature, and medieval studies. She is a contributor to *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, and *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*.

BENJAMIN BAGBY is a vocalist and harper, and is the director of the medieval music ensemble Sequentia, which he co-founded in 1977. His career has been almost entirely devoted to the research, performance and recording work of the ensemble. He is also involved with the solo performance of Anglo-Saxon and Germanic oral poetry: an acclaimed performance of *Beowulf* has been heard worldwide. In addition to researching and creating concert programs for Sequentia, Bagby writes about medieval performance practice, and has taught courses and workshops all over Europe and North America. Between 2005 and 2017 he taught medieval music performance practice at the University of Paris – Sorbonne.

TERENCE BAILEY received his undergraduate education in Canada. After graduate studies in the United States he taught, first at the University of Saskatchewan in Regina, then at the University of British Columbia, and finally at Western University in London, Ontario, where he was chairman of the musicology department for ten years. He was awarded emeritus status in 2003. Almost all of his publications have been concerned with Latin ecclesiastical chant. Early and continuing interests have been processions and the relationship of text and musical setting in psalmody. Since the 1970s he has published books and articles on Ambrosian chant – the individual chant types and, in particular, the relationship between the Franco-Roman and Milanese repertories.

REBECCA A. BALTZER is Professor Emerita of Musicology at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research has focused on the music, notation, theory, and

manuscripts of the Notre-Dame School and Ars Antiqua, as well as codicology, liturgy, chant, and liturgical books of medieval Paris. In 2007 she was made an Honorary Member of the American Musicological Society, which she served in several national offices, including the board of directors, vice president, and treasurer. She recently spent six years as the review editor for books on music for *Speculum*, the journal of the Medieval Academy of America, and six years on the board of directors of Early Music America.

STANLEY BOORMAN is Emeritus Professor of Music at New York University. His research has been largely focused on understanding musical sources (especially early printed editions), why they are the way they are, and what they can tell us about performance, about the status of different musics and musicians, and about the technology of preparing printed sources.

ANNA MARIA BUSSE BERGER is Distinguished Professor of Medieval and Renaissance History and Theory at the University of California, Davis. She has published on notation, mathematics and music, music and memory, historiography, and music in African mission stations. Her books include *Mensuration and Proportion Signs* (1993) and *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005, Italian translation 2008), which won the ASCAP Deems Taylor Award and the Wallace Berry Award from the Society of Music Theory for 2005. She is co-editor of *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*. Busse Berger's fellowships include grants from the Guggenheim Foundation, Villa i Tatti, the Austrian Science Fund, and Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin.

JOHN CALDWELL taught at Oxford from 1966 to 2005. His publications include *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century* (1973), *Medieval Music* (1978), *Editing Early Music* (1985), *The Oxford History of English Music* (2 vols., 1991; 1999), and editions of early Tudor organ music: *Music for the Office* (1966) and *The Mulliner Book* (2011). He is a member of the Academia Europea, and is an honorary vice-president of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society. He was chairman of *Music & Letters*, 2005–16. He is also a composer, principally of short operas (including a trilogy on Christ's Passion and Resurrection), and of vocal and organ music.

THOMAS CHRISTENSEN is the Avalon Foundation Professor of Music and the Humanities at the University of Chicago. He has published a number of monographs, including a major study of the music theory of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1993). He was the editor of *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (2002), and, most recently, of an anthology of essays entitled *The Work of Music Theory* (2014). Professor Christensen has been the recipient of numerous fellowships and awards; he was a fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin, Germany, in 2011–12, and most recently the recipient of both an ACLS and a Guggenheim

Fellowship to support his current research project on the Belgian music critic, François-Joseph Fétis.

ALICE CLARK is Professor of Music History at Loyola University New Orleans, where she also directs the Medieval Studies minor. Her teaching ranges widely, with special interests in opera and in the intersections of music and social justice. Recent scholarship appears in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music* and *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut – An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Master*. Work in progress includes an essay in *A Companion to Medieval Motets*, a study of Carissimi's *Jephthe* in light of Jesuit spirituality, and an examination of the "flipped" classroom as applied to the undergraduate music history survey.

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT is Associate Professor of Music at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His work focuses on music around 1400, especially Italian and international repertoires. He is the creator of music21, a toolkit for computational analysis of music, which he uses in the discovery and identification of fragmentary repertories of medieval song. Cuthbert has won fellowships from the American Academy in Rome, Villa I Tatti, and the Radcliffe Institute.

HELEN DEEMING is Reader in Music at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her research concerns music, especially Latin and vernacular song, in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Britain and France, and she has recently edited the surviving songs from Britain, ca. 1150–1300, for the series Musica Britannica (vol. 95, 2013). She is also the editor, with Elizabeth Eva Leach, of a collection of essays, *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge, 2015), which re-examines the history of medieval song through a new focus on ten significant manuscript sources.

JOSEPH DYER taught music history at the University of Massachusetts Boston until his retirement in 2001. He has published numerous articles, book chapters, and encyclopedia entries on topics relating to chant and liturgy of late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (especially at Rome), psalmody, monasticism, performance practice, medieval music theory, and music in the intellectual life of the Middle Ages. Active as a church organist for more than four decades, he is an Associate of the American Guild of Organists and a Fellow of the Royal School of Church Music.

LAWRENCE EARP is Emeritus Professor of Music at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. His research and publications have focused on late medieval French music and the reception of medieval music since the eighteenth century. He is the author of *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (1995) and the Introductory Study (with Domenic Leo and Carla Shapreau) accompanying the facsimile of the Ferrell-Vogüé Machaut manuscript (2014).

MARK EVERIST is Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. His research focuses on the music of Western Europe in the period 1150–1330, opera in France in the nineteenth century, Mozart, reception theory, and historiography. He is the author of *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century* (1994), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (2011) and many other academic works. He was elected a fellow of the Academia Europaea in 2012. Everist was the President of the Royal Musical Association (2010–2017), and was elected a corresponding member of the American Musicological Society in 2014.

MARGOT FASSLER is Keough Hesburgh Professor of Music History and Liturgy at the University of Notre Dame and Tangeman Professor Emeritus of Music History at Yale University. Recent publications include the textbook *Music in the Medieval West* and its *Anthology* (2014), the edited volume (with Katie Bugyis and Andrew Kraebel) *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History, 800–1500* (2017) and the co-authored two-volume study (with Jeffrey Hamburger, Eva Schlotheuber, and Susan Marti) *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300–1425: Inscription and Illumination in the Choir Books of a North German Dominican Convent* (2016).

JAMES GRIER is Professor of Music History at the University of Western Ontario. The author of *The Critical Editing of Music* (1996) and *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (2006), his critical edition of the music copied by Adémar de Chabannes appears in the series Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (2012). He has also published numerous articles on music and liturgy in Aquitaine and textual criticism, as well as on the music of Joseph Haydn, Frank Zappa, Bob Dylan and Roger McGuinn.

JOHN HAINES is Professor of Music and Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. He has published on medieval and Renaissance music and its modern reception in a variety of journals, both musicological – from *Early Music History* to *Popular Music* – and non-musicological – from *Romania* to *Scriptorium*. His recent books are *Music in Films on the Middle Ages: Authenticity vs. Fantasy* (2014), *The Notory Art of Shorthand: A Curious Chapter in the History of Writing in the West* (2014) and *Chants du diable, chants du people: voyage en musique dans le Moyen Âge* (2016). He is a contributor to *The Cambridge Companion to French Music* (2015).

ROMAN HANKELN is Professor for Music History at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim (NTNU). Hankeln's research activities center on structure, style and socio-political context of medieval liturgical vocal music and the German Lied and its poetry around 1800. From 2010 to 2013 Hankeln

presided over the International Musicological Society Study Group "Cantus Planus" as chairman. Since 2004 Hankeln has acted as a member of the editorial board of the series HISTORIAE of the IMS, which is devoted to the editing of saints' Offices.

ANDREAS HAUG is holder of the chair in Music in Pre-Modern Europe at the University of Würzburg (Germany). After receiving his Ph.D. at the University of Tübingen, he worked at the CORPUS TROPORUM research center at the University of Stockholm (Sweden). He was Professor at the University in Trondheim (Norway) and holder of the chair in Musicology at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg (Germany). His main field of research is monophonic music – sacred and secular, Latin and vernacular – from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages. He is co-editor of the series Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi and editorial head of the Corpus Monodicum.

ANNE IBOS-AUGÉ is a doctor of musicology and holder of the agrégation in music. Author of *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval*, she carries out research into medieval refrains, trouvères' chansonniers, and the relationships between literature, music, and society during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. She is the editor, in collaboration with Mark Everist, of the database *REFRAIN – Musique, poésie, citation : le refrain au moyen âge / Music, Poetry, Citation : The Medieval Refrain*. She is currently teaching musicology at the Perpignan CRR in association with the University of Perpignan-Via Domitia.

PETER JEFFERY is the Grace Professor of Medieval Studies at the University of Notre Dame, and the Scheide Professor of Music History Emeritus at Princeton University. A former MacArthur "Genius Award" Fellow, he is the author of *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (1992); co-author of *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant* (3 vols., 1993–97); editor of *The Study of Medieval Chant, Paths and Bridges, East and West* (2000); and author of *The Secret Gospel of Mark Unveiled: Imagined Rituals of Sex, Death, and Madness in a Biblical Forgery* (2006). His next book is about Gregorian chant.

THOMAS FORREST KELLY is Morton B. Knafel Professor of Music at Harvard University. He is the author of *The Benevantan Chant* (winner of the 1989 Kinkeldey award) and a number of books and articles. He is a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres of the French Republic and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Academy in Rome. He is an honorary citizen of the city of Benevento.

DAVID KLAUSNER is Professor Emeritus of English and Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. His research has focused on two areas: the relationship between Old English and early Welsh poetry, and the drama of the late Middle

Ages. As a performing musician he spent twenty years as a member of the Toronto Consort, and he has been extensively involved in performance-based research in early drama. For Records of Early English Drama he has edited the records of Herefordshire and Worcestershire (1990) and Wales (2005) and is presently completing the edition of records of the North Riding of Yorkshire.

LORI KRUCKENBERG is Associate Professor at the University of Oregon. Her research focuses on tropes and sequences in the period from the late ninth century up to ca. 1225, as well as traditions of the medieval cantrices in the German-speaking lands. She has twice been awarded Fulbrights and received the American Musicological Society's Noah Greenberg Award in 2012. She has published in journals including the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *Revue bénédictine*, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, *Cantus Planus*, *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, and *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*.

KARL KÜGLE is Professor in the History of Music before 1800 at Utrecht University and Senior Research Fellow at Wadham College, Oxford. His research interests cover musical cultures in France, Italy, Cyprus, England, the Low Countries and Central Europe, ca. 1250–1450. Recent publications include an article in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (2012) on the Brescian origins of codex Turin BNU J.II.9 and a facsimile edition of Codex Ivrea 115 (2018). A member of the Academia Europaea (2012), he currently directs the ERC Advanced Grant-funded MALMECC Project (2016–20, malmecc.eu) at Oxford alongside the Utrecht-based Sound Memories Project (2016–19, soundme.eu) funded by HERA.

ELIZABETH EVA LEACH is Professor of Music at the University of Oxford. Her second monograph, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (2011), was awarded the Phyllis Goodhart Gordan Prize by the Renaissance Society of America. Leach is a Fellow of the British Academy and maintains a regular research blog; blogposts and free online downloads of many of Leach's paper publications can be found online via http://eeleach.wordpress.com/. She has been awarded a Major Leverhulme Fellowship (2015–18) to support her investigation of the contents (musical and otherwise) of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308.

PETER M. LEFFERTS is Associate Director and Professor of Music in the Glenn Korff School of Music at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. His areas of research include medieval English music, the medieval motet, early music theory and notation, and the tonal behavior of fourteenth-century songs. He is on the international advisory board of the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music and the Advisory Board of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature at

Indiana University, and he directs the web-based Texts on Music in English from the Medieval and Early Modern Eras.

KATARINA LIVLJANIC, singer and musicologist, specializes in medieval chant performance. She is currently Maître de conferences at the Paris – Sorbonne University where she directs a medieval music performance Masters program. She has been invited as professor or artist in residence to different universities or festivals worldwide (Harvard, Wellesley College, the Early Music Festival in Utrecht, Flanders Festival in Antwerp, and others). In 2014 she published a volume in the collection Paléographie Musicale. She is the founder and director of the ensemble Dialogos, with which she has toured in most European countries and in the USA, Canada, North Africa and Latin America, including extensive recordings on CD, radio and television broadcasts.

JEREMY LLEWELLYN studied music as organ scholar at the University of Cambridge. He undertook his doctorate in medieval chant under Wulf Arlt at the University of Basel and was an external member of the graduate school "Cultural Exchange in Medieval Europe" at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. Following two years at the interdisciplinary research center devoted to the "Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals" at the University of Copenhagen he returned to Basel as lecturer at the Musicological Institute of the University and then, from 2007, as Senior Tutor and Lecturer at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis.

TIMOTHY J. MCGEE is a music historian whose areas of research include performance practices before 1700, and Canadian music. His most recent monograph, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* was published in 2009. Other publications include *The Sound of Medieval Song* (1998); *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (1989); *Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Performer's Guide* (1985); and *The Music of Canada* (1985). In 2002 he retired from the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto.

THOMAS PAYNE is Professor of Music at William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, in the United States. He has published articles on medieval music in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* and *Speculum*, and in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, among other places. He is also the editor of a volume of *organa dupla* in the series *Magnus Liber Organi* and a collection of motets and prosulas with texts attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

ANDREAS PFISTERER studied Musicology and Latin Philology at Tübingen and Erlangen, receiving his Dr. Phil. from Erlangen University (2001) with a dissertation on the transmission of Gregorian chant, and his venia legendi from Regensburg University (2009) with a Habilitationsschrift on compositional technique in the music of Lassus. From 2003 to 2015 he taught at Regensburg

University, interrupted by guest lectureships at Vienna and Hamburg. Since 2015 he has been a collaborator on the project Corpus Monodicum at Würzburg University.

ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART is Emeritus Professor of Music at the University of California. He has published over a hundred works including symphonies, songs, solo and chamber music, and articles and books on Latin plainsong and Renaissance topics, as well as Latin-American and twentieth-century music. He was a Guggenheim fellow in 1987–88 and was presented with the medal of the city of Tours for his contributions to the history of French music in 2013. His book *Guillaume Du Fay* will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2017, and his edition of Du Fay's *Opera Omnia* is beginning to appear online.

YOLANDA PLUMLEY is Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Exeter. She is author of *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (2013) and *The Grammar of Fourteenth-Century Melody* (1996). She is currently collaborating with early music ensemble The Orlando Consort on a multi-disc recording of Guillaume de Machaut's songs. She currently holds a Major Research Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust for a project on French music and princely patronage in the late fourteenth century.

JOHN POTTER is Reader Emeritus in Music at the University of York. His discography of music by Leonin, Perotin, and their contemporaries extends from The Early Music Consort of London via Red Byrd and the Hilliard Ensemble to his recent three CDs of Conductus. His most recent book for Cambridge University Press, *A History of Singing* (written jointly with ethnomusicologist Neil Sorrel) focuses on historical performance reality.

EDWARD H. ROESNER is Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Arts and Science, New York University. He has published widely on the music of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, including a book on the *Roman de Fauvel* and two volumes of the seven-volume edition *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, of which he is General Editor. In addition to New York University he has taught at Indiana University and the University of Maryland, and as Visiting Professor at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale Universities. His grants and other awards include a Guggenheim Fellowship.

ANNE STONE is Associate Professor of Musicology at the City University of New York Graduate Center, specializing in late medieval music and culture. Her research interests include medieval manuscripts and musical philology, the cultural and intellectual history of music-writing, the relationship of song to late-medieval poetic subjectivity and autobiography, and medievalism in twentieth-century modernist musical thought. She is an editor of the songs of

Guillaume de Machaut, forthcoming as part of a new complete works edition, funded by the Leverhulme Trust (http://machaut.exeter.ac.uk/), and is writing a monograph about the Ars subtilior, the working title of which is "Reading Late Medieval Song."

REINHARD STROHM is Professor Emeritus of Wadham College, University of Oxford. He studied musicology, violin, medieval Latin, and Romance languages at Munich, Pisa, Milan, and Berlin (TU). He has published on European music ca. 1400 – ca. 1800, history of opera, historiography and postmodern criticism of musicology, and is currently engaged on the Balzan Research Project 2013–17 *Towards a Global History of Music*.

NIGEL WILKINS is Emeritus Professor at the Sorbonne in Paris and a Life Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. His research has largely centered on the study and edition of medieval repertories of poetry set to music, especially in France and Italy. His numerous publications, in French and in English, include editions and studies of medieval song, and other works of broader scope: *Music in the Age of Chaucer*, *The Lyric Art of Medieval France*, *La musique du Diable*, *Nicolas Flamel*, and *The Writings of Erik Satie*.

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Mark Everist
Banister Park, Southampton

Thomas Forrest Kelly
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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F-Pn n.a.f. 10036
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 10036

F-Pn n.a.f. 13521 ("La Clayette Codex")
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521

F-Pn n.a.f. 22069
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 22069

F-Pn n.a.f. 23190
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23190

F-Pn n.a.lat. 1411
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions Latin 1411

F-Pn n.a.lat. 1412
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions Latin 1412

F-Pn n.a.lat. 1871
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions Latin 1871

F-Psg lat. 111 ("Senlis Antiphoner")
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Latin 111

F-RS 227
Reims, Bibliothèque municipal 227

F-RS 258
Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 258

F-RS 264
Reims, Bibliothèque municipal 264

F-RS 285
Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 285

F-Sm 222.C.22 (destroyed)
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, 222.C. 22 (destroyed in fire)

F-Sm A94
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipal, A 94

F-Tc A 27
Tournai, Bibliothèque du Chapitre de la Cathédrale, A 27 [*olim*: 476]

F-TO 268
Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 268

F-TO 925
Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 925

GB-BFu 1/ 21.1
Belfast, Queen's University Special Collections 1/ 21.1

GB-Ccc 8
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 8

GB-Ccc 11
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 11

GB-Ccc 473 ("Winchester Troper")
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473

GB-Ccc Vg (Ferrell 1) [*Mach Vg*]
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ferrell-Vogüé Vg (Ferrell 1)

GB-Cgc 334/ 727
Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 334/ 727

GB-Cu add. 4435
Cambridge, University Library, additional 4435

GB-Cu add. 5943
Cambridge, University Library, additional 5943

GB-Cu add. 5963/ 8
Cambridge, University Library, additional 5963/ 8

GB-Cu Ff.ii. 17 ("Later Cambridge Songbook")
Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i. 17

GB-Cu Gg. v. 35 (Cat. 1567) ("Cambridge Songs")
Cambridge, University Library, Gg. v. 35 (Cat. 1567)

GB-DRc C.I. 20
Durham, Cathedral Library, C.I. 20

GB-DRu A.III. 11
Durham, University Library, A.III. 11

GB-DRu Cos. v.v. 6
Durham, University Library, Cosin v.v. 6

GB-Lbl add. 12194
London, British Library, additional 12194

GB-Lbl add. 19768
London, British Library, additional 19768

GB-Lbl add. 23935
London, British Library, additional 23935

GB-Lbl add. 28550 ("Robertsbridge Codex")
London, British Library, additional 28550

GB-Lbl add. 29987 ("London Codex")
London, British Library, additional 29987

GB-Lbl add. 29988
London, British Library, additional 29988

GB-Lbl add. 34209
London, British Library, additional 34209
GB-Lbl add. 35290
London, British Library, additional 35290
GB-Lbl add. 36881 ("St Martial Manuscripts" [StM-D])
London, British Library, additional 36881
GB-Lbl add. 38651 (E)
London, British Library, additional 38651 (E)
GB-Lbl add. 49622 ("Gorleston Psalter")
London, British Library, additional 49622
GB-Lbl add. 57950 ("Old Hall Manuscript")
London, British Library, additional 57950
GB-Lbl add. 82959
London, British Library, additional 82959
GB-Lbl Arundel 248
London, British Library, Arundel 248
GB-Lbl Egerton 274
London, British Library, Egerton 274
GB-Lbl Egerton 2615
London, British Library, Egerton 2615
GB-Lbl Harley 978
London, British Library, Harley 978
GB-Lbl Harley 2637
London, British Library, Harley 2637
GB-Lbl Harley 2961
London, British Library, Harley 2961
GB-Lbl Harley 5393
London, British Library, Harley 5393
GB-Lbl Lansdowne 420
London, British Library, Lansdowne 420
GB-Lbl Royal 8 C. XIII
London, British Library, Royal 8 C. XIII
GB-Lva circ. 526–1923
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, circ. 526–1923
GB-Lwa W.A.M. 12185
London, Westminster Abbey, Westminster Abbey Muniments 12185
GB-Ob Bodley 775
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775
GB-Ob Bodley mus. E. 160
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley museo E. 160
GB-Ob Canon. cl. lat. 112
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Latin classical 112
GB-Ob Canon. misc. 213
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici miscellany 213
GB-Ob Canon. pat. lat. 229 [PadA]
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Latin patristic 229
GB-Ob Digby 133
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 133
GB-Ob Don b. 31
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Don. b. 31
GB-Ob Don b. 32
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Don. b. 32
GB-Ob Douce 139
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 139
GB-Ob Douce 195
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 195
GB-Ob Douce 222
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 222
GB-Ob Douce 308 ("Douce chansonnier")
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
GB-Ob lat. liturg. D. 3
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Latin liturgical D. 3
GB-Ob mus. E. 7
Oxford, Bodleian Library, museo E. 7
GB-Ob Rawl. C 892
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 892
GB-Ob Selden sup. 27
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 27
GB-Ob Wood 591
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591
GB-Omc lat. 267
Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. 267
GB-Ouc 192
Oxford, University College 192
GB-SHRs VI
Shrewsbury, Library of Shrewsbury School, VI
GB-Wc X4/34/ 3
Wells, Wells Cathedral, X4/34/ 3
GB-WO add. 68 (along with *GB-Lbl* lat. liturg. D. 20 known as the "Worcester Fragments")
Worcester, Cathedral Library, additional 68
GB-WO F. 160 ("Worcester Antiphoner")
Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160

HR-Šibf
Šibenik, Samostan franjevaca konventualaca (no shelfmark)

I-AC 187
Assisi, Biblioteca comunale 187
I-APa 142
Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato, Notarile mandamentale di Montefortino 142
I-ARc 363
Arezzo, Biblioteca della città di Arezzo 363
I-AT Framm. 17
Atri, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, Biblioteca capitolare, Frammento 17 [*olim:* Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento n. 5]

I-Bc Q11
Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 11
I-Bc Q15
Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 15
I-BRq Inc. C.VI.5
Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Incunaboli C.VI. 5
I-Bu 221
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 221
I-Bu 596 busta HH2[1]
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 596, busta HH 2 [1]
I-Bu 2216
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2216
I-BV 21 *("Antiphoner of S. Lupo of Benevento")*
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 21
I-BV 33
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 33
I-BV 34
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 34
I-BV 39
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 39
I-CFm 63 *[Cividale A]*
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, biblioteca 63
I-CFm 98 *[Cividale A]*
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, biblioteca 98
I-CT 91
Cortona, Biblioteca comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca 91
I-CTas sen. Sig. (1)
Cortona, Archivio storico del Comune, senza signatura (1)
I-Fc Cassa forte 74
Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, "Luigi Cherubini," Cassa forte 74 [*olim*: D 1175]
I-Fl Ash. 999
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 999
I-Fl Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi Codex")
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87
I-Fl plut. 29.1 [F] ("Florence Manuscript")
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1
I-Fn Banco Rari 20 ("Cantigas de Santa Maria" [F])
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 20
I-Fn II.1.122
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.1.122 [*olim*: Banco Rari 18]
I-Fn Inc. F.5.5
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunaboli F. 5.5
I-Fn Maglia. BR 18
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano, BR 18
I-Fn Pancia. 26
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26
I-Fsl 2211
Florence, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo 2211
I-FZc 117 ("Faenza Codex")
Faenza, Biblioteca comunale 117
I-GDlcc Codex 1, volumes 2 and 3 (stolen) ("Choirbooks of Guardiagrele")
Guardiagrele, Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore, Codex 1, volumes 2 and 3 (stolen)
I-GR [Crypt.] Lat. 219
Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, [Crypt.] Lat. 219 [*olim:* E.β.XVI]
I-GR lat. 224 ("Grottaferrata fragments")
Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, lat. 224 [*olim*: Collocazione provvisoria 197]
I-IV 60
Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 60
I-IV 115 ("Ivrea Codex")
Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115
I-IV CV (104)
Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, CV (104)
I-Las 184 ("Mancini Codex")
Lucca, Biblioteca-Archivio storico comunale 184
I-Las 187
Lucca, Biblioteca-Archivio storico comunale 187
I-Lc 490
Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 490
I-Lc 601 ("Antiphoner of Lucca")
Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 601
I-Ma B 48 sup.
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 48 supra
I-MACa 488
Macerata, Archivio di Stato, Notarile di Recanati 488

I-MC 542
Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia 542
I-MC Q.318
Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Q. 318
I-MEs O.4.16
Messina, Biblioteca Painiana (del Seminario Arcivescovile San Pio X), O. 4.16
I-MOe 5
Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria 5
I-MOe α.M.5.24 [ModA]
Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M. 5.24
I-MZ c. 13/76
Monza, Biblioteca capitolare e Tesoro della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista, c. 13/ 76
I-MZ cod. CIX ("Monza Cantatorium")
Monza, Biblioteca capitolare e Tesoro della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista, cod. CIX
I-PAas busta 75 n.26
Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, busta 75 n. 26
I-Pas busta 14
Padua, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 14
I-Pas busta 553 [PadC]
Padua, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 553
I-PCd 65
Piacenza, Biblioteca capitolare 65
I-PEc 3065 ("Mancini Codex")
Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta" 3065
I-PEc 3409/1
Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta", 3409/1 [*olim*: III-12–4]
I-PEdu Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F. ("Cialini fragments")
Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.
I-Pu 658 [PadC]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 658
I-Pu 684 [PadA]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 684
I-Pu 1106 [PadD]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1106
I-Pu 1115 [PadB]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1115
I-Pu 1225
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1225
I-Pu 1475 [PadA]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1475
I-Pu buste 2/1 [PadD]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, buste 2/ 1
I-Pu buste 2/2 [PadD]
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, buste 2/ 2
I-Ra 123
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 123
I-Rasv reg. sup. 93
Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 93
I-Rasv reg. sup. 105
Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 105
I-Rasv reg. sup. 109
Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 109
I-REas App. Misc. framm. 16 ("Mischiati Fragment")
Reggio Emilia, Archivio di stato, Archivio Comune Re, Appendice, Miscellaneo storico-letteraria, Frammenti di codici musicali, no. 16
I-REm C. 408
Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipal, C. 408
I-Rss XIV L1
Rome, Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani (S. Sabina), XIV L 1
I-Rvat B.79
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, B. 79
I-Rvat Barb. lat. 171
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Barbarini latini 171
I-Rvat F.22
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Archivio di S.Pietro, F. 22
I-Rvat Ottob. 145
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Ottoboni 145
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 71
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 71
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 222
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 222
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 318
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 318
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 586
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 586
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1146
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1146

I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1462
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1462
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1490
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1529
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1529
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1709
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1709
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 2854
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 2854
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 5319
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 5319
I-Rvat Reg. lat. 10673
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 10673
I-Rvat Rossi 215 ("Rossi Codex")
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Rossi 215
I-Sas Framm. busta 1 insert 11
Siena, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti musicali, busta 1 insert 11 [*olim.*: 207]
I-Sas Ravi 3 (1568–9)
Siena, Archivio di Stato, Gavorrano, Ravi 3 (1568–9)
I-Sc C.V.8
Siena, Biblioteca comunale, C.V. 8
I-Sc H.I.10
Siena, Biblioteca comunale, H.I. 10
I-Sc L.V.36
Siena, Biblioteca comunale, L.V. 36
I-ST 14 [PadC]
Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana 14
I-Tn G.V.20
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, G.V. 20
I-Tn J.II.9
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II. 9
I-Tr vari 42
Turin, Biblioteca reale, vari 42
I-TRc 1563
Trento, Biblioteca comunale 1563 (housed at the Museo provincial d'arte)
I-TRcap BL [Trent 93] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Biblioteca capitolare, BL
I-TRmp 1374 [Trent 87] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio 1374
I-TRmp 1375 [Trent 88] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio 1375
I-TRmp 1376 [Trent 89] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio 1376
I-TRmp 1377 [Trent 90] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio 1377
I-TRmp 1378 [Trent 91] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio 1378
I-TRmp 1379 [Trent 92] ("Trent Codices")
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio 1379
I-UDa framm. 22 [Cividale A]
Udine, Archivio di Stato, frammenti 22
I-VCd 88
Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare 88
I-VCd 161
Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare 161
I-VEcap XC (85)
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XC (85)
I-VEcap CVII (107)
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CVII (107)
I-VO L.III. 39
Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci e Archivio storico comunale, L.III. 39
IRL-Duc Mícheál O'Cléirigh Institute for the Study of Irish History and Civilisation, B 29
Killiney, Dún Mhuire, Franciscan Library, B 29 (now in the Mícheál O'Cléirigh Institute for the Study of Irish History and Civilisation, University College, Dublin)

NL-G Inc. 70
Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Incunabulum 70
PL-Kj Berol. Theol. Lat. Qu. 11
Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berol. Theol. Lat. Qu. 11
PL-Kj mus. 40592
Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, mus. 40592
PL-Pa 174a
Poznań, Archiwum archidiecezjalne 174a
PL-Wn Lat. F. I. 378 (destroyed)
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat. F. I. 378 (destroyed)
PL-WRu Ak1955 / KN195 (k. 1 & 2)
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ak1955 / KN195 (k. 1 & 2)
PL-WRu rkp/ IV Q 16
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rękopisy/ IV Q 16

SI-Lna Rkp 13
Ljubljana, Nadškofijski arhiv, Rokopisi 13

US-BEm 744 ("Berkeley Manuscript")
Berkeley (CA), University of California, Music Library 744
US-CAh lat. 420
Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library, lat. 420
US-CAh Typ 122
Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ 122
US-CLwr Spec. Coll. 3 Lge/ML431.D 24
Cleveland (OH), Case Western Reserve University, Kelvin Smith Library, Spec. Coll. 3 Lge/ML431.D 24

US-Cn Case 54.1
Chicago (IL), Newberry Library, Case 54.1
US-Cn Case MLo 96.P 36 ("Lowinsky fragment")
Chicago (IL), Newberry Library, Case MLo 96.P 36
US-HA 002387 ("Dartmouth Fragments")
Hanover (N.H.), Dartmouth College, Baker Library 002387
US-NYpm M 34
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 34
US-NYpm M 36
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 36
US-NYpm M 978

Abbreviations

CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
CS	Scriptorum de Musica medii aevi Nova Series, ed. E. de Coussemaker (Paris: A. Durand, 1864–76)
CSM	Corpus Scriptorum de Musica
Grove Music Online	www.oxfordmusiconline.com/
GS	*Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum*, ed. M. Gerbert (Saint-Blaise: n.p., 1784)
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86)
MGG2	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols. (Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter, 1994–2007)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980)
NG2	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001)
PC	Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1933)
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus*, *series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1844–1904)
PMFC	Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century
RISM	Répertoire internationale des sources musicales
RS	Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, erster Teil, ergänzt mit einer Diskographie und einem Register der Lieder nach Anfangsbuchstaben hergestellt*, ed. A. Bahat (Leiden: Brill, 1980)

SR	Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. by Leo Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998)
vdB	Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains. Du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969)

Introduction and Context

The need for an account of the music of the Middle Ages is as great as for any title so far published or planned in this distinguished Cambridge series. A tradition of encompassing the music of the West from its origins up to ca. 1400 within the compass of a single work has a large number of distinguished predecessors. Gustave Reese's 1940 *Music in the Middle Ages* remained a classic until the appearance of its successor in the Norton Introduction to Music History series, Richard Hoppin's *Medieval Music* of 1978 (although many still make reference to Reese).[1] Alongside these two monumental enterprises stood a more concise work, Albert Seay's *Music in the Medieval World* in the Prentice Hall history of music series; this was published in 1965 with a second edition in 1975, and completely rewritten by Jeremy Yudkin in 1989.[2] Entirely coincidentally, in the same years as Hoppin's and Yudkin's volumes were respectively published, two freestanding histories of medieval music also appeared: John Caldwell's *Medieval Music* and Andrew Hughes' *Style and Symbol*.[3]

The number of multi-authored histories of medieval music is much smaller: the second volume of the New Oxford History of Music, *Early Medieval Music up to 1300*, was edited by Dom Anselm Hughes and dates from 1954;[4] it was re-edited – with perhaps less success than it deserved – in 1990 by Richard Crocker and David Hiley (although published in 1990, most of the chapters were written substantially earlier).[5] Between the two was one installment of

1 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (London: J. M. Dent, 1941); Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W. W. Norton; Toronto: R. J. Mcleod, 1978). Hoppin's history was accompanied by an anthology: Hoppin, *Anthology of Medieval Music*, Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W. W. Norton; Toronto: R. J.Mcleod, 1978).

2 Albert Seay, *Music in the Medieval World*, Prentice Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1965; rev. 1975); Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe*, Prentice Hall History of Music (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989).

3 John Caldwell, *Medieval Music* (London: Hutchinson, 1978); Andrew Hughes, *Style and Symbol: Medieval Music 800–1453*, Musicological Studies 51 (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1989).

4 Humphrey Vaughan [Anselm] Hughes, ed., *Early Medieval Music up to 1300*, New Oxford History of Music 2 (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954).

5 Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, New Oxford History of Music 2 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

a projected larger series edited by F. W. Sternfeld, *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (1973), a volume that many feel remains without peer to this day.[6]

We stress this distinguished tradition in order to place *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* in its own history. By the time of publication, there will have been no history of medieval music, single- or multi-authored, for over a quarter-century. The urgency for a volume of the scope of *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* therefore hardly needs restating. Vast changes have taken place in the way in which medieval music is defined and considered in the last quarter-century, and this fact is one very clear motivation for this work. The scope of these volumes is wider than any so far published. This feature is common to the entire series, but is particularly important here where the weight of tradition is so strong.

In order to meet the challenge of tradition, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* assembles an international team of scholars and organizes their thoughts according to a number of paradigms. In some cases, chapters address a single repertory and give an up-to-date account of it. Although this is an essential component of the volume, and the chapters dedicated to this thread in the weave are distinguished ones, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* seeks both to follow trajectories across the entire period (music and politics, learning and teaching, collecting music) and to focus on flashpoints in the history of medieval music where views have recently changed or are in a state of flux (antecedents, *nova cantica*, questions of rhythm). The balance between the expository and the experimental is central to the interest of the volume.

This structure also explains the absence of some types of chapter, especially those based on geography: with the exception of chapters on the *trecento* in France and Italy, there are no contributions that focus on, say, Scandinavia, German-speaking states, the Iberian peninsula, and so on.[7] The contributors' brief is to ensure – especially in the expository chapters – that the reception of the repertory with which the chapter deals forms part of the chapter itself: chapters on the fourteenth-century motet, then, will include both repertories that might be thought central and those ranging from Cyprus to the

6 *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld, A History of Western Music (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973).

7 Although *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) is a multi-authored introduction to the subject whose size and scope place it in a different class of study from the current volumes, its chapters on England (Peter Lefferts), Italy (Marco Gozzi), the Iberian Peninsula (Nicolas Bell) and regions to the East of the Rhine (Robert Curry) provide an introduction to the topography of medieval music. Christopher Page's "The Geography of Medieval Music" outlines a potential methodology for working with such questions (ibid., 320–34).

Netherlands, from Bohemia to Portugal. This ensures that the volume retains a sense of coherence by formally tying in questions of chronology and topography within single chapters rather than risking separating out the two concerns with the possible consequence of omission or duplication. We hope that "peripheral" areas (one of the most important sources of early polyphony is from St. Andrews) are given due and serious consideration, but not in a succession of geographical chapters.

The volume covers at least five times the span of time treated by the analogous histories of seventeenth- to eighteenth-century music, and is consequently of ample proportions.

Defining the Middle Ages

There is of course no such thing as the Middle Ages, at least with respect to the history of music. The Middle Ages – if they are plural at all – get their name as the temporal space between the decline of classical Antiquity and its rediscovery in the Renaissance. Such a definition might once have been useful in literature and the fine arts, but it makes little sense in music. The history of Western music begins not with the music of Greece and Rome (about which we know far too little) but with the music of the Latin Christian church. The body of music known as Gregorian chant, and other similar repertories, are the first music that survives to us in Western culture, and are the foundation on which much later music is built, and the basis for describing music in its time and forever after.

We continue to use the term "medieval" for this music, even though it is the beginning of it all; there is some convenience in this, because historians in other fields continue to find the term useful; what musicians are doing in the twelfth century, however non-medieval it appears to us, is likely to be considered medieval by colleagues in other fields.

The chronological period in question is far from being a single thing. If we consider the Middle Ages as extending from the fall of the Roman empire, perhaps in 476 when Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustus, into the fifteenth century, we have defined a period of about a millennium, far longer than all subsequent style-periods ("Renaissance," "Baroque," "Classical," "Romantic," etc.) put together; and yet we tend to think of it as one thing.

There are three challenges in the study of medieval music that should be borne in mind. One is the fallacy of historical parallax: things that are nearer to us appear to be larger, so that the history of the twentieth century looms enormous while the distant medieval period appears comparatively

insignificant. Secondly, the progressive loss of historical materials over time means that more information survives from recent periods than from more distant ones, leading to the temptation to gauge importance by sheer volume. Thirdly, we tend to study what survives, not what does not – or what was never written down because it was extemporized or memorized. (The authors and editors are aware of this last, and the practices of non-written musical performance are considered in Chapters 14 and 21.)

There is no clear beginning and no clear end to medieval music. In this volume we acknowledge the heritage of Antiquity, and we note the continuation of musical ideas and styles beyond our period. The authors of relevant chapters have needed no explicit encouragement from us to make the volume's readers fully aware that nobody at the end of the fourteenth century felt that all musical styles now came to an end.

Defining Medieval Music: Texts

If defining the Middle Ages, their culture and their institutions, is clearly a challenge, when we turn to "works" of music, definitions are even more of a thorny problem. It could be said that everything we know about the Middle Ages comes from two things: notations and words on parchment that convey all the musical and theoretical data that musicians who occupy themselves with the period have at their disposal. There are no senses of hearing, touch or smell that can be evoked as the past is reimagined. The second thing is the tradition going back at least to the seventeenth century of attempts to turn these images into either legible texts about music or musical notation legible to the modern eye and thence into sound. And our modern editions, whether of theory or musical "works," when they looked similar to modern editions of Wittgenstein or Webern, represented treacherous ground as the twentieth century attempted to reconcile a need for "texts" of this music with the absence of so much that was needed to re-create them.

An example can illustrate many of the problems as we seek to understand medieval music in a modern world where the "work," the "composition," the "piece" is relatively clearly defined. Even talking about a piece as well known as Machaut's virelai "Douce dame jolie" raises problems. It survives in several medieval images, which all by and large resemble each other, and of which Figure i.1 is an example.[8]

Depending on age, one's point of entry to the work might be Margaret Philpot's ethereal solo performance on what – for many – was an

8 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (*F-Pn*), fonds français 9221, fol. 159r.

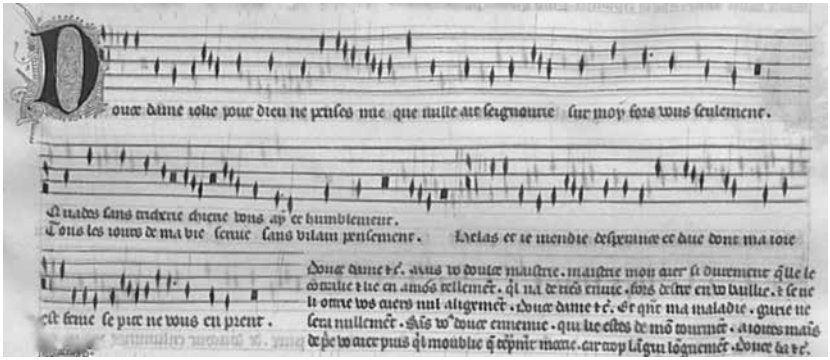


Figure i.1 Machaut's virelai "Douce dame jolie," in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français (*F-Pn* fr.) 9221, fol. 159r

epoch-making recording by the ensemble Gothic Voices entitled *The Mirror of Narcissus* and released in 1983.[9] Philpot's cool, detached, unaccompanied and above all simple performance was surely a direct response to the previous recording of the piece on David Munrow's *The Art of Courtly Love*, which dates from 1973.[10] It was almost as if the clean lines of Leo Schrade's edition of the piece, published in 1956 as one of the earliest volumes in the series "Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century," was coming directly off the page, with the generous white space around the single melodic line prompting the white sound of Philpot's performance and the absence of any other singers or instruments (Figure i.2).[11]

Only a decade older, Munrow's recording seems aeons away from Gothic Voices'. In *The Art of Courtly Love*, the performance is led by Martin Hill, who sings the verses, accompanied by James Bowman, Geoffrey Shaw and (perhaps) Charles Brett in the refrain.[12] But this description barely does justice either to the high-energy accompaniment from citole and tabor in the verses or to the added rebecs, cornetts and sopranino recorder – heavily ornamented – in the refrains (Munrow himself contributing to the top of

9 Gothic Voices, dir. Christopher Page, *Guillaume de Machaut: The Mirror of Narcissus* (Hyperion, CDA66087, 1983).

10 The Early Music Consort of London, dir. David Munrow, *The Art of Courtly Love* (HMV, SLS 863, 1973).

11 Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut: Second Part – Motets nos. 17 to 24 – Mass – double hoquet – ballades – rondeaux – virelais*, PMFC 3 (Monaco: Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 168.

12 It is possible that Munrow's 1973 recording was influenced by an earlier interpretation: New York Pro Musica, dir. John Reeves White, *Ah Sweet Lady (The Romance of Medieval France)* (Decca, DL 79431, 1967). See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 279.



Figure i.2 Leo Schrade's edition of "Douce dame jolie" from PMFC 3 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 168

the texture on the sopranino recorder). This was one of the key moments in the Early Music revival – as it was then called – in the United Kingdom, and a recording that was welcomed the world over. Here, Schrade's edition served only as a point of departure, barely a blueprint for the performance engendered by the Early Music Consort of London under Munrow's direction.

Munrow's aesthetic debt to Johan Huizinga's already venerable *The Waning of the Middle Ages* was clear not only from his performances but explicitly from the extensive liner notes that accompanied the lavish boxed set in which his recording of "Douce dame jolie" was found.[13] And when Christopher Page, the director of Gothic Voices, was asked to comment on BBC Radio in 1992, he responded with some caution but with direct reference to Huizinga: "I think that many people expect that any sound picture of the Middle Ages is going to be rumbustious and good fun. It's that sort of medieval banquet, rosy-cheeked wench, sucking-pig view of the medieval past and well, that's something I think that people like to have

13 Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London: Edward Arnold, 1924).

confirmed in performances."[14] Intellectual and musical debts are very much in evidence here.

Only a decade apart, and based on the same reading of the medieval past, these two recordings bear little resemblance one to the other, and others have probably shared our experience of playing both recordings to novices who have failed to recognize that they are one and the same "work." The example may be complicated slightly by an early example of moving from image to sound, from Roland Hayes. You could be forgiven for thinking that this was one of Duparc's simpler *mélodies*, with its simple piano accompaniment and g modality with very clearly articulated dominants and even a *tierce de picardie* at the end.[15] It's an elegant performance of a remarkable piece of music. The image that Hayes, and his pianist Reginald Boardman, take as their point of departure manages to turn Machaut's virelai into something very different. And unlike Page, and perhaps Munrow, who at least had a sense of what the original image of "Douce dame jolie" might have been, Hayes and Boardman never looked further than the edition from which they sang.

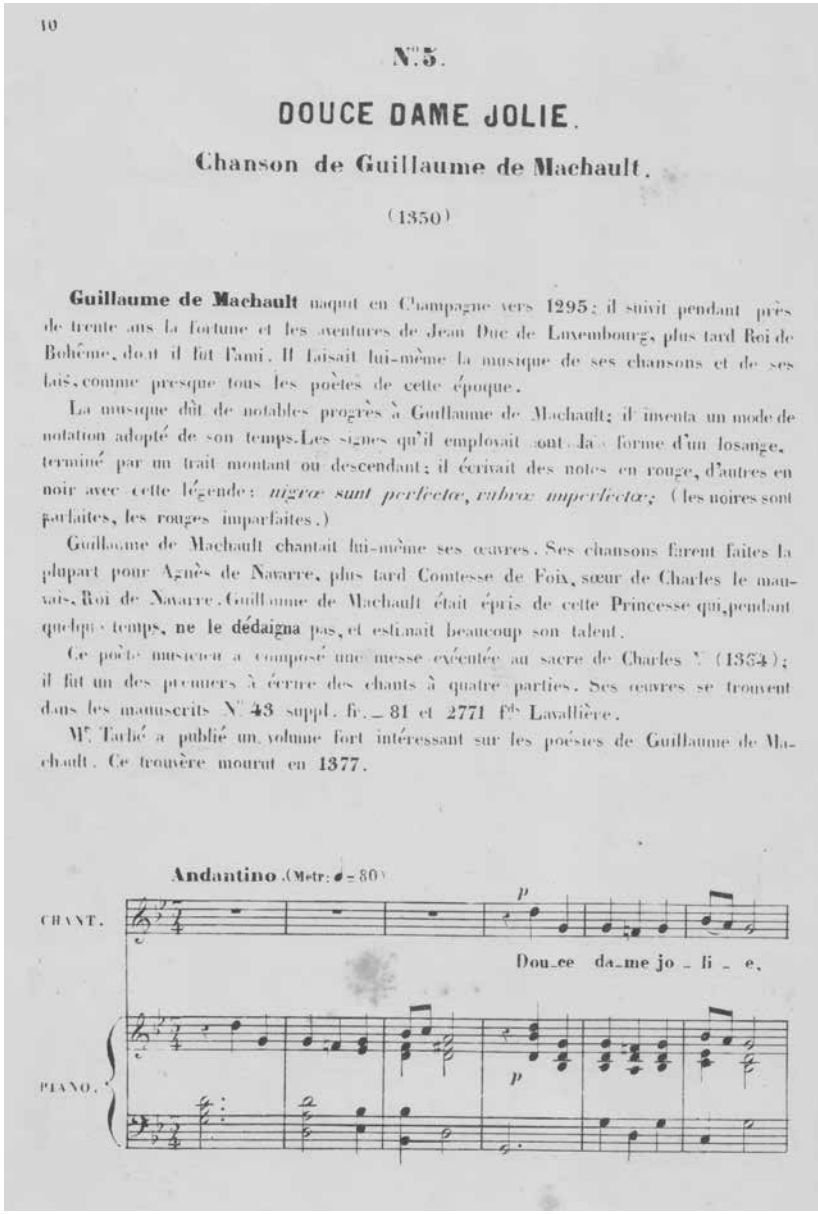
Remarkably, that edition, for a recording made just a few years before Schrade's version, was based on one a hundred years old. Published in the mid-1850s, *Echos du temps passé, transcrits avec Accompagnem[en]t de Piano* was edited by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, who later in the century would become the librarian of the Paris Conservatoire. When he published *Échos du temps passé*, he was the choral conductor of the Société Sainte Cécile in Paris.

As the facsimile of his edition of "Douce dame jolie" paradoxically shows, Weckerlin was not only prepared to compose an accompaniment to the song that is likely to provoke ridicule in certain Early Music circles today, but he was also committed to prefacing his edition with scholarly notes that went as far as citing primary sources and secondary bibliography (see Figure i.3).[16] But what these three examples show is two things – the radically different ways in which the same original images can find their way into a "modern" (mid-nineteenth- or mid-twentieth-century) edition, and how even the same edition can generate massively different results in the space of a decade.

14 London, British Library, British Library Sound Archive H777/01, cited in Edward Breen, "The Performance Practice of David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London: Medieval Music in the 1960s and 1970s" (Ph.D. dissertation, King's College London, 2014), 130.

15 The recording comes from the very end of Hayes' career: Roland Hayes and Reginald Boardman, *The Art of Roland Hayes: Six Centuries of Song* (Vanguard, VRS 448-VRS 449, 1954).

16 ÉCHOS / DU / TEMPS PASSÉ, / transcrits / *avec Accompagnem.t de Piano* / *PAR* / J. B. Weckerlin. / *PARIS*, G. FLAXLAND, *Editeur*, / *4 Place de la Madeleine*.



10

N.°5.

DOUCE DAME JOLIE.

Chanson de Guillaume de Machault.

(1350)

Guillaume de Machault naquit en Champagne vers 1295; il suivit pendant près de trente ans la fortune et les aventures de Jean Duc de Luxembourg, plus tard Roi de Bohême, dont il fut l'ami. Il faisait lui-même la musique de ses chansons et de ses lais, comme presque tous les poètes de cette époque.

La musique dût de notables progrès à Guillaume de Machault; il inventa un mode de notation adopté de son temps. Les signes qu'il employait ont la forme d'un losange, terminé par un trait montant ou descendant; il écrivait des notes en rouge, d'autres en noir avec cette légende: *nigræ sunt perfectæ, rubræ imperfectæ;* (les noires sont parfaites, les rouges imparfaites.)

Guillaume de Machault chantait lui-même ses œuvres. Ses chansons furent faites la plupart pour Agnès de Navarre, plus tard Comtesse de Foix, sœur de Charles le mauvais, Roi de Navarre. Guillaume de Machault était épris de cette Princesse qui, pendant quelque temps, ne le dédaigna pas, et estimait beaucoup son talent.

Ce poète musicien a composé une messe exécutée au sacre de Charles V (1364); il fut un des premiers à écrire des chants à quatre parties. Ses œuvres se trouvent dans les manuscrits N.° 43 suppl. fr. — 81 et 2771 f.ds Lavallière.

M.r Tarbé a publié un volume fort intéressant sur les poésies de Guillaume de Machault. Ce trouvère mourut en 1377.

Andantino (Metr: ♩ = 80)

CHANT. *p* Dou-ce da-me jo-li-e,

PIANO. *p*

Figure i.3 Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin's edition of "Douce dame jolie" from *Echos du temps passé, transcrits avec Accompagnem[en]t de Piano* (Paris: G. Flaxland). Collection of M. Everist

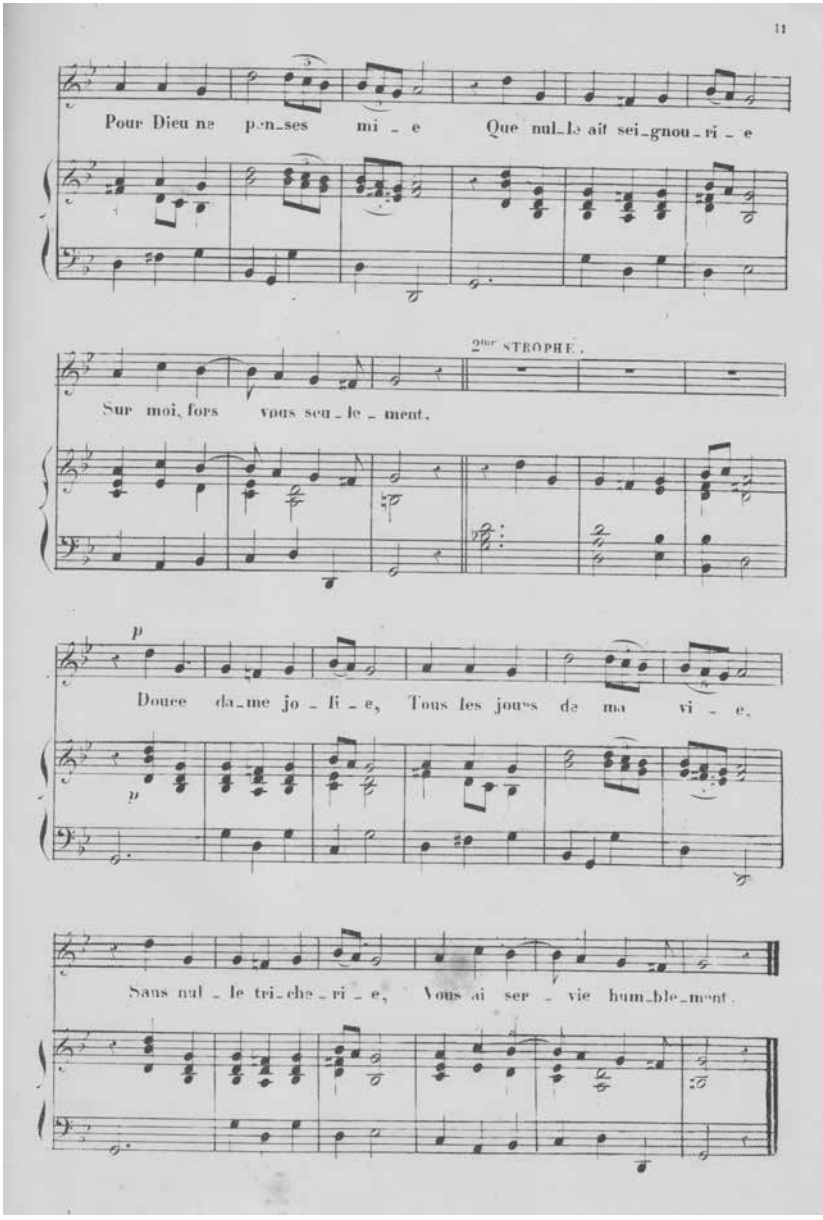


Figure i.3 (cont.)

Defining Medieval Music: Intertexts

In the previous section the word "work" has been carefully enclosed in quotation marks to draw attention to the distance between medieval and modern understandings of the concept. This is not to argue against, for example, the claims for a nineteenth-century system which supports both a work-based culture – for a string quartet by Mendelssohn, for example – and an event-based one – for French and Italian opera, say. But it is however to recognise the all-pervasive presence of an intertextuality between works and genres in all forms of music before 1400 and of course beyond.

The idea of the intertext immediately brings to mind claims for the formulaic construction of large parts of Latin liturgical chant and its derivatives, and the perhaps less contentious presence of contrafacta – replacing the verbal text of a composition with another, frequently in a different language – in large tracts of Latin and vernacular monophony and polyphony. The poems of the trouvères are frequently found with different melodies to the same text, and equally frequently with readings of sufficient variance that it is difficult even to arbitrate over where melodic difference ends and melodic variance begins. Less challenging perhaps is the presence in all polyphonic genres of the possibility of their existence in different numbers of parts: whether it is a clausula, a fourteenth-century polyphonic song, or a motet from around 1300, the idea that a "work" might exist in a different number of parts is a commonplace, and answering the obvious question – what is the original version? – is not only difficult but very often not the question to ask in the first place. The *ne plus ultra* of the intertextual "work" where poetic texts and musical voices interchange kaleidoscopically is the thirteenth-century motet.

So if we expect to find evidence of intertextual activity within a single genre, coupled to an expectation that a thorough investigation of that repertory would take account of such activity, we also have to recognise that intertexts transcend genres and reach across large swaths of the repertory of medieval monophony and polyphony. The use of the *cantus prius factus* in polyphony, or the retexting of melismas in the trope and sequence repertory, is so well known that it is easy to overlook. But it is fundamental to organum and clausula of the fifty years either side of 1200, and to the motet of all periods. And the *cantus prius factus* is not restricted to sacred Latin monophony: by the fourteenth century, vernacular songs are beginning to be found as the tenors in motets – still not as common as chant-based motets, but a significant repertory nevertheless.

Even plainsong is not immune to the temptation of intertextuality. The degree to which liturgical texts are based on biblical quotation and allusion brings even that genre into a larger network of intertextual working that encompasses – like contrafacta – both poetry and music.[17] This sort of exclusively poetic intertext spills over into the conductus repertory where the poetry is suffused with allusion and citation from the Bible also, but together with quotations from patristics and the classics.[18] But perhaps the most wide-ranging cross-genre intertextuality is found in the *refrain*; here fragments of poetry of between one and four lines, frequently together with their music, migrate among vernacular *chanson*, prose *romance*, rondeau and motet, in ways that are baffling in many respects but revelatory of both aesthetic and compositional practice in others.[19]

Analysis and Performance

Such considerations open up challenges and opportunities for the analysis and performance of medieval music. While the flexible nature of "works" – *de facto* the objects of analysis – renders many conventional approaches to analysis difficult to apply, it does open up the possibility of a different model of analysis, one that focuses more on the multiplicity of the object of inquiry than on the stability of its text. The thirteenth-century motet is a genre that has been the subject of much analysis that purports to uncover "listening" or "meaning," but it is striking that the methods used have stopped short of controlling versions of whatever single work is the subject of the analysis.[20]

17 The biblical sources of chant texts can be consulted in *Carmina scripturarum*, ed. Carolus Marbach (Strasbourg, 1907). The relationships among chant texts and related tropes, sequences, etc., are considered in Richard Crocker's classic article "The Troping Hypothesis," *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966), 183–202. See also the chapters by Andreas Haug and Lori Kruckenberg in this history. Texts of tropes are edited in the series *Corpus Troporum* (Stockholm, University of Stockholm, 1975–). A fascinating study on the selection and alteration of biblical texts to form chant texts, in this case for the Old-Spanish liturgy, is Rebecca Maloy's recent "Old Hispanic Chant and the Early History of Plainsong," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2014), 1–76.

18 See, for example, the notes to the text editions in Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols., [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared].

19 The standard text for the *refrain*, Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e: collationnement, introduction, et notes*, Bibliothèque française et romane, D:3 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969), has now been supplemented, updated and digitised: *REFRAIN Music, Poetry Citation: The Refrain in the Middle Ages / Musique, poésie, citation: le* refrain *au moyen âge*, 2015, www.refrain.ac.uk/.

20 Ardis Butterfield, "The Language of Medieval Music: Two Thirteenth-Century Motets," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993) 1–16; Suzannah Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16 (2007), 31–59; Anna Grau, "Hearing Voices: Heteroglossia, Homoglossia, and the Old French Motet," *Proceedings of Conference: The Gothic Revolution in Music, 1100–1300, Musica Disciplina* 58 (2013) 73–100; David Rothenberg, "The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200–ca. 1500: Two Case Studies," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006), 319–98; Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24–91; Gerald Hoekstra, "The French Motet as Trope: Multiple Levels of Meaning in *Quant florist la violete/El mois de mai/Et gaudebit*," *Speculum* 73 (1998) 32–57;

This focus on the complexity of a work, coupled with the lack of interest in the historical trajectories in which the work is embedded, is redolent of the focus on Austro-German nineteenth-century instrumental music in so much analysis of the twentieth century.

A further opportunity for analysis lies in the relationship between notation (closely tied to the image) and interpretation. Reflexive methods where notation and analysis mutually inform each other, much in the manner of the analysis of melodic variance in the trouvère song popular in the 1960s and 1970s, still has value not only for the interpretation of individual works, but of repertories and historical drifts.[21] Despite the considerable amount of work dedicated to the passage of the *refrain* from one work or genre to another, the interpretative possibilities here go far beyond the types of study current in print.[22]

Another approach to the analysis of medieval music consists of a set of claims about meaning and sound. Claims to be able to reconstruct a medieval sound-world out of the evidence that posterity has bequeathed us seem strange when they are divorced from the imperatives of re-creating this music in the twenty-first century. All the music discussed in this volume has been the subject of some sort of performance project or another, some successful, some less so. When Gothic Voices released *The Mirror of Narcissus* in 1983, with a disc presenting fourteenth-century monophonic songs with no instrumental participation of any sort, they issued a challenge to those ensembles who had been performing polyphony with minimal vocal involvement and monophonic repertories with complex instrumental accompaniments; in both cases, these recent performing styles – fundamental to the Early Music revival of the 1960s and 1970s – were based on little evidence from the Middle Ages apart from a choice of images: the pictures of instruments in medieval art (manuscript decoration, sculpture and stained glass). And needless to say, a careful reading of a range of medieval authors lay behind the performance decisions that underpinned *The Mirror of Narcissus*.

Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France (1260–1330)*, The New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 287–296.

21 Hendrik Van der Werf, "The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture," *Current Musicology* 1 (1965), 61–68; Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972).

22 Ardis Butterfield, "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991), 1–23; Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Brewer, 2013); Anne Ibos-Augé, "La fonction des insertions lyriques dans des œuvres narratives et didactiques aux XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles," 4 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III, 2000); Ibos-Augé, "Les refrains de la *Court de paradis*: Variance et cohérence des insertions lyriques dans un poème narratif du XIII^{e} siècle," *Revue de musicologie* 93 (2007), 229–267.

Despite Page's and Gothic Voices' efforts, and the number of ensembles that have emulated them, there are still plenty of recordings that furnish paraliturgical monody with instrumental preludes, postludes and accompaniments, or that perform any voice-parts that fail to carry a text on instruments of all types. So in the 1960s and 1970s, claims to authenticity could be made to underwrite performances of medieval music that made full use of an *instrumentarium* that included objects from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries – frequently because the ensembles were founded and largely staffed by instrumentalists. These claims now have to compete with those that take the view that vocal performance was the norm for pretty well all genres of polyphony and monophony; the resulting range of performances must leave any but the best informed in a position where they must wonder what they are in fact hearing. And of course, that understates the position, since advances – if that is what they are – in our understanding of notation and rhythm since the 1960s have resulted in editions that are as different – almost – as those of "Douce dame jolie" by Weckerlin and Schrade.

Organizing Medieval Music

We are pleased and honored that our contributors have agreed with us that this history is a project well worth undertaking, and doubly pleased that the breadth, the comprehensiveness, and the authority of our plan and of our contributors have met with more than routine approval by reviewers and by the Press. We have not attempted, in such a collaborative collection, to impose a "vision" on our contributors. (We would have no contributors if we did.) We have hoped to give some view of what history might mean by the very organization of the volume; the choice of topics, the avoidance of others (where genres become characters, for example, or styles triumph over adversity, or the modern finally breaks through), and a choice of authors whose broad view of history we accept, or admire, or dispute.

Many of the individual chapters are likely to present a view of history consistent with the view that music is of its culture. We believe that our choice of authors produces a textured understanding in which a variety of points of view can be held at once. We do not seek to impose a kind of uniformity by asking authors to reflect on thematic questions. We think that the themes are present in the structure and in the material.

This is not a single-author volume, and it makes no claim to represent a single overarching view of history, or of music. What it does propose is a stained-glass window whose individual panes, made by superb craftsmen,

are arranged in such a way as to transmit light of many colors arranged in patterns that are presented to, but not imposed upon, our readers.

There are, we believe, practical advantages in our organizational system. Let one example serve for many: chapters on secular song are deliberately spaced apart. The earlier chapters are placed where they are so as to keep the reader aware that not all monophonic music was liturgical; and the later chapters, on Latin song, are placed so as to situate monophonic song (here Latin song) in a wider social context, and in the permeable context in which polyphony and monophony coexist. To place all the chapters on monophonic song together runs the risk, we think, of Balkanizing the subject (a solution too often used); this spacing reminds the reader that there are multiple simultaneous strands that can be followed through the period.

We have specifically targeted this book as being about music. Discussion of music in the absence of music is a discussion of something else. Adequate musical examples allow authors to make their points, and readers to understand stylistic, notational, and other matters. The history of music must of course be associated with thinking about music, but excellent books on music theory already exist, and while we regret that the two cannot be more closely entwined, we feel that appropriate coverage of music theory would double the size of the project.

The essays collected here introduce readers to an enormous swath of musical history and style, and present the highest level of recent musical scholarship. We trust that taken together they will increase access to this rich body of music, and provide scholars and students with an authoritative guide to the best of current thinking about the music of the Middle Ages.

· 1 ·

Musical Legacies from the Ancient World

PETER JEFFERY

Like all great civilizations, medieval western Europe was built upon what came before. One can see this, for example, in many of the medieval church buildings that still stand today, like the cathedrals of Chartres, Cologne, Venice, or Compostela, St. Mary Major in Rome, or Westminster Abbey. Each of these structures exhibits a diversity of architectural styles, because it was built and rebuilt over many centuries, with every section reflecting its own historical period. Walking around the building as it exists today, one can see artworks, monuments, tombs, banners, and other items that date from every time period in the building's history. Some of the columns, stones, or other materials may be spolia – pieces taken from older dismantled buildings and put to new uses. The crypt, below ground, may include portions of an older building on the same site, along with the most important tombs: the bones of the patron saint, and the graves of kings and bishops who wanted to be buried near him or her. Safely locked in the church treasury, one will find the most valuable items: relics of the great saints and heroes of biblical times, textiles and vessels of gold and silver that may have come from as far away as Constantinople or the Holy Land, precious gifts from important people who died centuries ago. All of these things are still being used, sometimes in ways the original makers or owners could not have foreseen.

Of course, every culture is formed, in part, by repurposing some of the concepts, texts, technologies, and practices inherited from earlier times. But medieval people were particularly respectful of what survived from the world of Antiquity, even while they sought ways to innovate and adjust to new situations and challenges. The tension between honoring the past and engaging the present can be seen in the writings of the twelfth-century philosopher John of Salisbury, who praised his teacher's deep knowledge and love of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers. "Bernard of Chartres used to compare us to dwarves perched on the shoulders of giants. He pointed out that we see more and farther than our predecessors, not

because we have keener vision or greater height, but because we are lifted up and borne aloft on their gigantic stature."[1] Yet John also wrote that, in his own works, "I have not been ashamed to cite moderns, whose opinions, in many instances, I unhesitatingly prefer over those of the ancients. I trust that posterity will honor our contemporaries, for I have profound admiration for the extraordinary talents, diligent studies, marvelous memories, fertile minds, remarkable eloquence, and linguistic proficiency of many of those of our own day."[2]

In a similar way, the musicians of the Middle Ages created new music and new kinds of music that had never existed before, yet they were very aware of being indebted to more ancient precedents. These precedents were survivals of three of the cultures of late Antiquity: (1) ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, which included some highly developed music theory, (2) the literature and poetry of ancient Israel, preserved in the Christian Bible, and (3) the transformative synthesis of the early Church.

Ancient Greece and Rome

Greek Learning

Poetry, Song, and Dance

Greek poetry was not merely for reading – it was performed, usually with song and often with dance. Thus Greek culture did not clearly distinguish music, dance, and poetry as separate arts. Musicians could create vigorously affecting songs when inspired by the gods, in a psychologically agitated state known as *enthousiasmos* ("possession by a god"), the origin of our word "enthusiasm." Classical mythology recognized the emotional or rhetorical power of such music in the story of Orpheus, whose songs could charm animals, trees, and stones – even the gods of the Underworld, the abode of the dead. However, divine frenzies could also be destructive, as dramatized in Euripides' play *The Bacchantes* (fifth century BCE) in which Pentheus, the young king of Thebes, infiltrates the orgiastic cult of the wine-god Bacchus by disguising himself as a maenad (a dancing female devotee) – only to be torn apart by his own cult-crazed mother when she mistakes him for a lion.

Yet the learning of sung poetry was central to ancient Greek education. Poems encoded much cultural information; the epic poetry of Homer in particular was widely regarded as a storehouse of knowledge, deserving a

1 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 3.4, translated in Daniel D. McGarry, *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955), 167.

2 *Metalogicon*, Prologue, trans. in McGarry, *Metalogicon*, 6.

central role in the educational process.[3] This type of education was associated with the figures of Apollo (god of the sun, of medical knowledge, and of the fine arts) and the nine Muses, the daughters of Memory (Mnēmosynē). Each Muse presided over one of the arts, covering four types of poetry (epic, elegiac, erotic, hymnic), two types of drama (comedy and tragedy), dance, history (often transmitted through poems and songs), and astronomy, where the constellations represented the same mythological gods and heroes that populated Greek poetry, and the movements of stars and planets were governed by the same numeric ratios as musical harmony. Thus, learning Greek culture through the arts of the Muses was a "Muse -ical" activity, giving rise to our word "music."[4]

Philosophy

However, Plato (ca. 428–347 BCE) strongly objected to an educational culture based on poetry, since he thought true knowledge could be reached only by philosophy. Since so much of ancient Greek poetry was about gods and heroes misbehaving, causing misfortune, acting emotionally and irrationally, most poetry was not suitable for training the young.[5] "Philosophy is the supreme music," Socrates says in Plato's *Phaedo* (61a), shortly before drinking the hemlock that ends his life. By that he means that philosophy is the highest form of learning, superior to the arts of the Muses, although here Socrates is musing on the strange fact that he had responded to his death sentence by starting to compose poetry. Thus Plato and other philosophers were more interested in finding scientific ways to investigate the art of sound than in poetry, and they did this by pursuing two schools of thought: the study of acoustics, associated with Pythagoras (ca. 570–ca. 490 BCE), and the study of music's relationship to human behavior, pioneered by Damon of Athens (fifth century BCE).

Pythagorean Acoustics No writings survive from Pythagoras himself. But according to his followers, the Pythagoreans, music was a branch of

3 Hence it is called "The Homeric Encyclopedia" in Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1963, 1982), 61ff. See also Gregory Nagy, "Early Greek Views of Poets and Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. I: *Classical Criticism*, ed. George A. Kennedy (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1–77.

4 *Music and the Muses: The Culture of "Mousikē" in the Classical Athenian City*, ed. Penelope Murray and Peter Wilson (Oxford University Press, 2004). Claude Calame, *The Craft of Poetic Speech in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janice Orion (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

5 Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, vol. I: *The Musician and His Art*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 124–27; G. R. F. Ferrari, "Plato and Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, I: 92–148. Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, vol. II: *In Search of the Divine Centre*, trans. Gilbert Highet (Oxford University Press, 1943, 1971), 211–30.

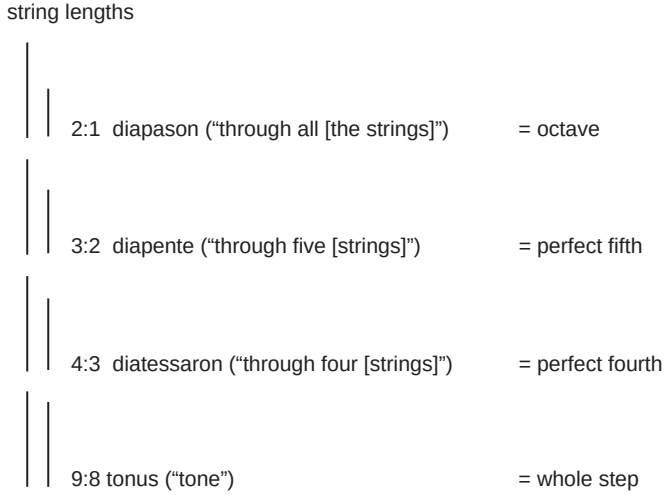


Figure 1.1 Pythagorean ratios for the most important intervals, with their Latinized Greek names, following Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.16

mathematics that dealt with the investigation of mathematical ratios. Pythagoras was said to have discovered that consonant musical intervals could be calculated using the type of ratio that was called "superparticular" – that is, the numerator was higher than the denominator by one (i.e., [n+1]/n in modern algebraic terms). In other words, if one string is twice as long as another string, the ratio between them is 2:1 ([1+1]/1). Plucking the shorter string will produce a pitch one octave higher than the pitch produced by plucking the longer string. We can demonstrate this principle today by placing a finger exactly in the middle of a violin or guitar string; it sounds an octave higher than the open string.

However, if one string is only 1½ times longer than the other string, one could multiply by 2 to produce a ratio of 3:2 ([2+1]/2), called *sesquialtera*; the two strings will produce pitches that are a perfect fifth apart. If the ratio is 4:3 ([3+1]/3, called *sesquitertia*), the two strings will sound a perfect fourth apart. The difference between a 3:2 fifth and a 4:3 fourth is, of course, one whole tone, which in Pythagorean tuning has the ratio of 9:8 ([8+1]/8; *sesquioctava*), since 3:2 ÷ 4:3 = 9:8 (see Figure 1.1). By calculating these ratios on a one-stringed instrument known as a *monochord* (an instrument "having one string"), a musician could find all the pitches and intervals needed to perform a piece of music, though they might be defined differently from the way we think of them today. For example,

the interval corresponding to what we would call a major third was calculated as one 9:8 whole tone plus another 9:8 whole tone, resulting in a combination that was known as a *ditone* ("interval of two tones"). Major and minor thirds did not really exist conceptually in Pythagorean tuning – one reason that early medieval polyphony was based on octaves, fifths, and fourths rather than thirds.

This approach to calculating intervals, using only whole-number fractions, led to some discrepancies that do not trouble us today, since the tuning of modern keyboard instruments makes adjustments to prevent them. For example, if we measure out six 9:8 whole tones on a monochord, the last pitch will be slightly higher than a 2:1 octave from the same starting pitch would be. The difference is called a *comma* ("small cut") in Greek, and has the unwieldy ratio of 531441:524288. Pythagorean tuning produces other peculiar intervals smaller than a tone. If we measure a 4:3 perfect fourth on the monochord, and then measure two 9:8 whole tones from the same starting pitch, the remaining interval will have a ratio of 256:243 – less than half a 9:8 tone. It is therefore called a minor (i.e. smaller) semitone, or in Greek a *diesis* ("difference") or *leimma* ("remnant"). When a minor semitone is subtracted from a whole tone, what is left is called a major semitone (9:8 ÷ 256:243 = 2187:2048), or in Greek an *apotomē* ("cutting off"). In fact, it is impossible to compute a semitone that is precisely half of a 9:8 whole tone, since a superparticular ratio cannot be divided exactly in half using whole-number ratios. The difference between a major semitone and a minor semitone is the Pythagorean comma again (2187:2048 ÷ 256:243 = 531441:524288). Imagine calculating such fractions using only Roman numerals![6]

It was not until the Renaissance, with the availability of Arabic numerals and the decimal point, that advances in the construction of keyboard and fretted instruments made it possible to develop more sophisticated tuning systems, such as just intonation, mean-tone temperament, and (more recently) equal temperament, in which all intervals except the octave are slightly distorted, to avoid Pythagorean microtones and to enable transposition and modulation into any key. What ancient musicians were trying to compute with their Pythagorean ratios, however, were not merely keys or scales or modes, but a grand *harmonia*, literally a "framework" or attunement, in which all the various components are interconnected like the beams of a house or a

6 For the main early Pythagorean writings, see Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, vol. II: *Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 28–52.

ship. An interval, a ratio, or a scale could be considered an example of harmonia, but harmonia itself was a concept larger than music.[7] The same mathematical ratios could be detected in other natural phenomena, such as the movements of the stars and planets studied by astronomers. Hence the entire cosmos could be thought of as a kind of "music of the spheres," a harmonious whole in perpetual but predictable motion, even though the resulting "music" could not be heard by human ears.[8]

Again, in ancient medicine, the physical and mental health of each human being was thought to be determined by the balance of fluids (which in ancient medicine were called *humors*) in the body. This allowed people to be categorized by temperament or disposition, good or bad humor, and vestiges of this idea still survive in our language today. According to the ancient medical authority Hippocrates (ca. 450–ca. 380 BCE), people with a high ratio of blood (*sanguis* in Latin) would be sanguine, with a ruddy complexion and a confident, hopeful outlook on life. Those with too much choler or yellow bile would be choleric or bilious: thin, ill-tempered and prone to anger, with a sallow or jaundiced complexion. Excessive phlegm would make people phlegmatic: calm, imperturbable, even sluggish, overweight, and apathetic. Melancholy people were dominated by black bile (*melancholia* in Latinized Greek), making them introspective, sad, pessimistic. Such imbalances could be affected by medical treatments and by natural factors, such as the changing seasons.[9] Thus Pythagorean science covered much more than music as we think of it.

Musical Ēthos The rhythmic and melodic features that characterize different kinds of music can help represent emotional states. Therefore, in accordance with the Platonic theory of *mimēsis* (that art imitates nature) music can have a positive or negative effect on human feeling and behavior. Music was therefore a subject that interested ancient philosophers thinking about *ēthos* ("custom" or "habit"), from which Aristotle derived the term "ethics." Plato traced the study of musical ethics back to Damon of Athens. Military music, for instance, could make people feel more brave, warlike, and patriotic, while laments would make a person sorrowful. Music played in "slack" tunings (i.e., relatively loose strings) could produce slackers, by encouraging indolence and

7 Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Problems of Terminology in Ancient Greek Music: ʻAPMONÍA," in *Festival Essays for Pauline Alderman*, ed. Burton Karson (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3–17.
8 Kathi Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970). Flora R. Levin, *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).
9 R. J. Hankinson, "Philosophy of Nature," in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 210–31, esp. 217–25.

moral laxness.[10] Other musical features could be characterized as "masculine," "feminine," or in between.[11] Since every musical performance had a certain character or ēthos that could influence – for good or ill – the behavior of those who heard or performed it, philosophers who were concerned about the education of youth and the future of society were often inclined to advocate that certain kinds of music be banned.[12] On the other hand, there is still much to be learned about the practical background for such thinking – the ways music was actually employed in military, theatrical, legal and court ceremonial, which often involved the playing of instruments, dancing or marching by choirs, or competitions akin to athletic contests.[13] The Greek chorus of young men or women, in fact, was not only an essential element of classical drama, but also functioned as a kind of educational institution.[14]

Roman Learning

The elite, educated culture of the Roman empire was largely the transplanted learning of classical Greece, which Roman armies had conquered in the second century BCE. Educated Romans could read and speak Greek, and therefore most academic disciplines studied in Latin were profoundly shaped by Greek knowledge. Even the study of Latin grammar and poetry was heavily indebted to Greek grammatical and poetic theory. The major exception was probably the study of law, in which the Romans had always excelled. By the fifth century CE, however, the Roman empire was beginning to break up politically under pressure from the barbarian invasions. The knowledge of Greek was becoming increasingly rare in the West, and the few scholars who still knew both languages did what they could to preserve Greek knowledge by preparing Latin translations, paraphrases, and commentaries. Information about the "music of the spheres," for example, was preserved by commentaries on a partial Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus* and on the *Somnium Scipionis* ("Scipio's Dream") – a section of Cicero's rewrite of Plato's *Republic*.[15] St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430), one of the most important

10 Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, I: 127–85.

11 Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Harmonia and Ethos in Ancient Greek Music," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984), 264–79.

12 Francesco Pelosi, *Plato on Music, Soul and Body*, trans. Sophie Henderson (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

13 On musical competitions see Jennifer Neils et al., *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

14 Claude Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions*, new ed., trans. Derek Collins and Janice Orion (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2001).

15 *Platonis Timaeus interprete Chalcidio cum eiusdem commentario*, ed. Ioh. Wrobel (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1876; reprint ed., Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1963). *Favonii Eulogii Disputatio de somnio Scipionis*, ed. Alfred Holder (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1901). Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, *Commentarium in somnium Scipionis*, ed. Franciscus Eyssenhardt, in *Macrobius* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1868),

Latin Church Fathers, did not know Greek well, but in his book *De Musica* ("On Music") he described the meters of classical Latin poetry and song, which were derived from Greek poetry.[16] Martianus Capella (fifth century), in his allegorical poem *On the Nuptials of Philology and Mercury*, paraphrased Greek texts on the most essential pedagogical disciplines, which became known as the seven liberal arts.[17]

Four of these arts – arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy – were considered essentially mathematical, and were therefore grouped together and called the *quadrivium* ("the crossroads of four paths") by Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (died about 525). A high-ranking official in the court of the barbarian king Theodoric, and probably the last man in Europe who was equally at home in both Latin and Greek, Boethius may have planned to produce Latin paraphrases of Greek textbooks on all four subjects. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to complete such an ambitious project. Imprisoned because his facility with Greek raised political suspicions, he spent his time while awaiting execution by writing *The Consolation of Philosophy*, on the interesting question of whether or not life is fair.[18] But his unfinished treatise *De Institutione Musica*[19] paraphrases some important Pythagorean texts, not all of which survive in Greek; it therefore became the most important music theory text of the Latin Middle Ages. Before long, the other three liberal arts described by Martianus – basically verbal rather than mathematical – were grouped into the *trivium* ("three paths"): grammar

465–652. Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William Harris Stahl, Records of Western Civilization (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

16 Aurelius Augustinus, *De Musica*, ed. in *PL*, vol. XXXII: 1081–194. Aurelii Augustini, *De Musica*, ed. Giovanni Marzi (Florence: Sansoni, 1969). Aurelius Augustinus, *De musica liber* VI: *A Critical Edition with a Translation and an Introduction*, ed. Martin Jacobsson, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 47 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002). English translation by Robert Catesby Taliaferro in *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, ed. Ludwig Schopp et al., Writings of Saint Augustine 2 (New York: CIMA Publishing, 1947), 151–379. Richard R. La Croix, ed., *Augustine on Music: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music 6 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988).

17 Annotated translation by William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols., Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 84 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971). James Willis, ed., *Martianus Capella* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983). Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The "ars musica" in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 30 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002).

18 Sam Barrett, *The Melodic Tradition of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi Subsidia 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013).

19 *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri quinque, Accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, ed. Godofredus Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867), 177–371. English translation by Calvin Bower as *Fundamentals of Music*, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989). Michael Bernhard, *Wortkonkordanz zu Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, De institutione musica*, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 4 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979). Michael Bernhard and Calvin M. Bower, eds., *Glossa maior in institutionem musicam Boethii*, 4 vols., Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 9–12 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993–2011).

(the basic structure of language), rhetoric (the art of composing persuasive texts), and dialectic or logic (the construction of true arguments and the disproof of false ones). The trivium and quadrivium became the basis of the medieval curriculum, preparatory to the study of theology, the most important subject of all.

The man who succeeded to Boethius' old job at court was the politically more pliable Cassiodorus Senator (died about 585). Thus he lived long enough to retire to his private estate in southern Italy, with a large library he had once hoped would support the founding of a Christian university in Rome. His book *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*, which describes the texts in this library, became the most important source of bibliographical information in the medieval period, and gives us some information about the contents of Latin and Greek music theory treatises that have not survived.[20] Isidore of Seville (died 636), who did not know Greek, assembled and defined in his *Etymologies*[21] many technical terms, including musical terms, which he found through his wide reading of Latin texts and translations. The *Etymologies* thus became the most important early medieval lexicon.

It was during the "Carolingian Renaissance" of the ninth century that the works of Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore and other Latin writers began to be studied seriously by musicians seeking to improve the pedagogy of Gregorian chant, the liturgical music of the medieval Western Church, even though Gregorian chant was very different from the ancient Greek music on which the theory was based. Ancient Greek music theory continued to be studied in medieval Byzantium – in fact most of the theory texts are preserved only in manuscripts from the Byzantine period.[22] As parts of the Greek-speaking East succumbed to the Muslim conquest, many Greek pedagogical texts were translated into Arabic, where they contributed much to the development of Arab music theory.[23] The Latin world had access only to the late-antique Latin translations until about the twelfth century, when the European discovery of

20 *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937). English translations by Leslie Webber Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946) and James W. Halporn and Mark Vessy, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, Translated Texts for Historians 42 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003).

21 *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, 2 vols., ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

22 Cataloged in Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Ancient Greek Music Theory: A Catalogue Raisonné of Manuscripts*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BxI (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1988).

23 Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900–1900)*, 2 vols., Répertoire International des Sources Musicales Bx–Bx[a] (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1979–2003). Max Haas, "Griechische Musiktheorie in arabischen, hebräischen und syrischen Zeugnissen, Quellen, Literatur," *Vom Mythos zur Fachdisziplin: Antike und Byzanz*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 2, ed. Konrad Volk et al. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 635–785. Lois Ibsen al Faruqi, *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).

Arab learning brought Latin translations of Arab writings on music.[24] Not until the revival of classical learning during the Renaissance were large numbers of Westerners able to find and read the Greek originals for themselves.

The Latin Transmission of Greek Music Theory

Rhythm and Meter

Since ancient Greek poetry was usually sung, and song was often accompanied by dance, the study of poetic and musical rhythms constituted a single two-tiered subject. The lower tier, the study of rhythm, was about patterns of long and short syllables, usually in ratios of 2:1 or 3:1 (i.e., a long syllable had twice or thrice the duration of a short syllable). The length of a syllable is known (from Latin) as its *quantity*. A syllable would be long if it contained a long vowel or a diphthong, or if two or more consonants separated it from the following vowel. In pedagogical texts, a long vowel could be marked by a *macron* or *longa* (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū), a short vowel by a *brachys* or *brevis* (ă, ĕ, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ). The Greek names of the best-known rhythmic units are still well known today: iambic (a short followed by a long, ˘ ¯), trochaic (long, then short, ¯ ˘), dactylic (¯ ˘ ˘), amphibrachic (˘ ˘ ¯), spondaic (¯ ¯), pyrrhic (˘ ˘), and so on. Each such unit was known as a *foot* (Greek *pous*), since it corresponded to one dance step. A foot or step could be subdivided into an *arsis* ("lift," the "upbeat" when the dancer's foot was raised) and a *thesis* ("placement," the "downbeat" when the dancer's foot was placed on the ground). Hence the thesis was the accented or long syllable within the foot. When these terms passed into Latin, however, they were reapplied to the raising and lowering of the vocal melody, rather than the dancer's foot. As a result their meanings were somewhat reversed: the arsis was identified with the strong, loud part at the beginning of the foot (like the downbeat of a modern measure); the thesis was identified with the weakening and lowering of the voice as the singer approached the end of the foot and the next breath (like a modern upbeat).[25]

Poetic feet could be grouped into larger units such as a *dipody* (two feet) or *tripody* (three feet), and such units would be further grouped to form the higher level of organization in this two-tier subject: the meter. Thus, in the meter known as iambic dimeter, a line of poetry contained two iambic dipodies, a total of four repetitions of the short-long pattern. A dactylic hexameter line consisted of six dactylic *monopodies*: six repetitions of the

24 Don Randel, "Al-Fārābī and the Role of Arabic Music Theory in the Latin Middle Ages," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), 173–88.

25 See the article "arsis" in *Lexicon Musicum Latinum Medii Aevi*, ed. Michael Bernhard (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, C. H. Beck, 1992–2006), vol. 1, 126–30.

long-short-short pattern. Hence this type of poetry is known as metrical (because it is measured by the meters) or quantitative (because it is based on syllable quantity).[26]

However, by the time Augustine wrote his *De Musica*, the long and short vowels of Latin were no longer being distinguished in ordinary speech (*De Musica* 1.1–2.2, 3.3.5). Speakers of Latin were marking the accented syllables by stress rather than length, as in modern English today. Thus a second type of poetry developed in the medieval period, called accentual (rather than quantitative). From the time of the Venerable Bede[27] (died 735) it has also been called rhythmical (rather than metrical). That is because, though a line of poetry can still be considered iambic or trochaic if we substitute stress for length, the complicated rules for eliding or distinguishing syllables at the metrical level cannot be applied. Therefore this type of poetry can only be analyzed at the lower, rhythmic level. A thorough understanding of both quantitative and accentual poetry is therefore essential for understanding medieval musical rhythm and rhythmic theory.[28]

Prosody

Ancient grammarians had another way of thinking about word accent. Speakers of ancient Greek apparently pronounced accented syllables at a higher pitch than unaccented syllables, so that it could be said Greek had a pitch accent rather than a stress accent. Since a student had to learn to distinguish high from low as well as long from short, pedagogical texts would mark the higher-pitched syllables with an acute accent; its upward slant visually suggests a rising pitch (á é í ó ú). Unaccented syllables could be marked with the opposite sign, the grave accent (à è ì ò ù). For some grammarians, the acute accent suggested greater length as well as greater height, which contributed to the ways these accents are used in the modern Romance languages. Ancient Greek also made use of the circumflex (â ê î ô û), which combined the acute and grave accents to indicate a pronunciation that began at a high pitch, then descended. Since only long syllables had sufficient

26 Martin L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 129–59. Joan Silva Barris, *Metre and Rhythm in Greek Verse*, Wiener Studien, Beiheft 35 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011). Felix Budelmann, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). David J. Califf, *A Guide to Latin Meter and Verse Composition* (London: Anthem, 2002). D. S. Raven, *Latin Metre* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1998).

27 Trans. and ed. by Calvin B. Kendall in *Libri II De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis: The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, Bibliotheca Germanica ser. nov. 2 (Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991).

28 Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004). *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum saec. IV–IX*. 1: *Songs in Non-Liturgical Sources* 1, ed. M. P. Bachmann, Sam Barrett et al. (Florence: Sismel, 2007).

quantity to permit such a pronunciation, the circumflex indicated length as well (the modern French circumflex has a more complicated origin). Since marking pitch differences in a text was rather like setting words to song, the Greek term for this subject was *pros ōdia* ("to song"), the origin of our English word *prosody*. Literal translation into Latin produced the calque *ad cantus*, which became *accentus*, the origin of our word *accent*.

Hence a fifth-century commentator on the fourth-century grammarian Donatus wrote that "prosody is a representation of music."[29] His Christian contemporary Quodvultdeus, a follower of St. Augustine, knew that the clergy used the accents to practice reading the Bible in church services; therefore he could describe the ceremonial reading of the Bible as "the delight of musicians: you have the organ [formed] out of the diverse pipes of the holy apostles and teachers of all the churches, furnished with certain accents – grave, acute, and circumflex – which that musician, the Spirit of God, touches, fills, and resounds through the Word."[30] The reference to the organ is metaphorical, since pipe organs were not then being used for church music, but only in outdoor theatres.[31] However, readers did use accent marks to guide the oral proclamation of texts. In fact the acute, grave, and circumflex accents fell within a larger category of grammatical and punctuation signs that were known in Latin as *notae*, some of which had performative or quasi-musical significance. For example, the apostrophe could signal the weakening sound of a dropped syllable; the question mark implied the trembling rising pitch with which we ask a question. The musical potential of such markings was already recognized in the first century.[32]

About the ninth century, therefore, the accents and certain other notae provided the inspiration for several systems of neumes, which constituted the first real music notation to be developed during the Middle Ages. The Greek word *neuma* means "sign" in the sense of "gesture" or "command" (from a verb meaning "to nod"), not "sign" in the sense of "written mark" (for which there are other words); this suggests the dynamic, gestural, performed quality of what the neumes signify. In the Latin West, "neuma" was often confused

29 "musica. . . cuius imago prosodia." [Sergii,] *Explanationum in Artem Donati Libri II*, ed. Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici Latini* 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864), 486–565; see 531 lines 24–25.

30 *Liber Promissionum et Praedictorum Dei: De Gloria Regnoque Sanctorum Capitula* 13.15, 17–18, ed. R. Braun in *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi Episcopo Tributa*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 220; 221–22.

31 West, *Ancient Greek Music* 114–18, 380–81. Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Publications of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 225–30.

32 Thus the Roman orator Quintilian (CE 35 – after 96) could say "musicis notis cantica excipiat" ("Let him draw out songs from musical notes": *Institutio Oratoria* 1.12.14). Quintilian, *The Orator's Education: Books 1–2*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell, Loeb Classical Library 124 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 250.

with the similar-looking Greek word *pneuma*, which can mean "spirit," "wind," or "breath" (as in "pneumonia"); "pneuma" thus was applied to a wordless melisma that could be sung in one breath. But this meaning of "pneuma" had nothing to do with the original meaning of "neuma."

Multiple systems of neumes developed in both the Greek and Latin worlds, and in both languages the earliest surviving fully neumated manuscripts date from the tenth century. Somewhat later we also find neumes in Slavonic, Armenian, and Georgian manuscripts.[33] Even though many of these systems share some common signs, notably the acute accent, they cannot all be traced back to a single original system.[34] Some systems of neumatic notation use a relatively large number of signs, while others use only a few signs but combine them in a wide variety of ways, as the circumflex combines acute and grave. Intermediate between neumatic music notation and the grammatical/punctuating notae are the ekphonetic neumes we find in many Greek manuscripts of the Bible.[35]

Harmonics

The most highly developed part of ancient Greek musical thought dealt with the organization of musical pitch, which was based on the method of tuning the kithara and other instruments of the lyre family. In these instruments the

33 Christian Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes: A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia 9 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculum Press, 2011). Johann von Gardner and Erwin Koschmieder, eds., *Ein handschriftliches Lehrbuch der altrussischen Neumenschrift*, Abhandlungen der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge 57, 62, 68 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963, 1966, 1972). Miloš Velimirović, "Evolution of Byzantine Musical Notation in Russia," *Studi di musica bizantina in onore di Giovanni Marzi*, ed. Alberto Doda, Studi e testi musicali: Nuova serie 6 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 29–32. Nicolas Schidlovsky, ed., *Sticherarium Palaeoslavicum Petropolitanum*, 2 parts, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae 12 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2000). Robert At'ayan, *The Armenian Neume System of Notation*, trans. Vrej Nersessian (Richmond: Curzon, 1999). Aram Kerovpyan, *Manuel de notation musicale arménienne moderne*, Musica Mediaevalis Europae Occidentalis 2 (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2001).

34 The proposals made in Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols. (Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe: Bärenreiter, 1970) have not attained wide acceptance. Reviews include: Wolfgang Krueger in *German Studies* 6 (1971), 69–75; Miloš Velimirović in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972), 479–83; Michel Huglo in *Revue de Musicologie* 58 (1972), 109–112. On the Latin traditions see Michel Huglo, "Bilan de 50 années de recherche (1939–1989) sur les notations musicales de 850 à 1300," *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990), 224–259. Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998) esp. 82–140.

35 Jørgen Raasted and Christian Troelsgård, eds., *Paleobyzantine Notations: A Reconsideration of the Source Material* (Hernen: A. A. Bredius Foundation, 1995). Christian Troelsgård and Gerda Wolfram, eds., *Paleobyzantine Notations II: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in October 1996* (Hernen: A. A. Brediusstichting, 1999). Gerda Wolfram, ed., *Paleobyzantine Notations III: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in March 2001* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004). The major publication on ekphonetic neumes is Carsten Höeg, Günther Zuntz, and Sysse Gudrun Engberg, eds., *Prophetologium* 1–2, 8 vols., Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Lectionaria 1 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1939–81). Christian Hannick, ed., *Rhythm in Byzantine Chant: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in November 1986* (Hernen: A. A. Bredius Foundation, 1991).

strings are attached to a sound box at the bottom, and extend vertically up to a horizontal bar held up by two vertical arms. The classical Greek kithara had seven strings, and thus could only play about an octave (see Figure 1.2), though Boethius reproduces Greek accounts of ancient innovators who added an eighth, ninth, tenth, and even an eleventh string (*De Institutione Musica* 1.20).[36]

The kithara strings could be tuned many different ways, however, and the theory of harmonics determined the possibilities. A hypothetical musical space, extending as far as two octaves, was divided into tetrachords or series of four pitches (*tetrachordon* actually means "having four strings"). The two outermost notes of every tetrachord were a perfect fourth apart, but the placement of the two intermediate notes could vary, so that there were basically three types of tetrachord (see Figure 1.3). Each type is known in Latin as a *genus* (plural *genera*). In a tetrachord of the diatonic genus, there were two descending whole tones followed by a half step, or rather a minor semitone; this could be represented by the modern pitch classes A-G-F-E or E-D-C-B. The tetrachord of the chromatic genus began with a *trihemitone*, equal to three half steps or a minor third, followed by two minor semitones; it could be represented by the modern pitch classes A-G♭-F-E. At the top of the enharmonic genus was a ditone or major third, with two quarter tones beneath it. This could be represented as A-F𝄲-F (a quarter tone flat)-E. Medieval music, however, made exclusive use of the diatonic genus; not until the Renaissance did composers begin to explore the other two genera.[37]

There were two ways to align tetrachords so that they formed a larger musical space: the Greater Perfect System and the Lesser Perfect System.[38] In either case the kithara player apparently began tuning with the pitch in the middle of the range, known in Greek as *mesē* ("middle [string]"). The tetrachord that descended from *mesē* (which could be represented a-G-F-E) was therefore known as the "tetrachord of the middles" (*mesōn*), since it consisted of the pitches in the middle of the System (see Figure 1.4). The note below *mesē* (G) was called *lichanos mesōn*, "the forefinger of the middles," apparently because the kithara player would put his forefinger (index finger) on the string

36 See also Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 53–78.

37 For attempts to reconstruct the ancient Greek tuning of the genera, see John C. Franklin, "Hearing Greek Microtones" and Stefan Hagel, "Twenty-Four in Auloi: Aristotle, *Met.* 1093b, the Harmony of the Spheres, and the Formation of the Perfect System," in *Ancient Greek Music in Performance: Symposion Wien 29. Sept.–1. Okt. 2003*, ed. Stefan Hagel and Christine Harrauer, Wiener Studien Beiheft 30 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 9–50, 51–91.

38 On the historical evolution of these Systems, see Stefan Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).



Figure 1.2 In this unusually detailed picture of a young kitharode (a person who sings to the kithara), the musician's head is thrown back as his mouth opens in song. He wears a crown of laurel leaves, indicating that he has just won a musicians' competition. That probably means that this particular amphora, filled with wine, olive oil, or some other valuable commodity, was given away as the prize. In fact the old man depicted on the other side of the amphora (not visible here) may represent the judge of the contest. The kithara has seven strings, which pass over a bridge on the hollow sound box near the bottom of the instrument, and are attached to a horizontal bar at the top. The

for that note. The next two pitches were called *parhypatē* or "next to the highest [string]" (F) and *hypatē* or "highest [string]" (E), even though, in pitch, they were really the next to the lowest and the lowest. The reason for this is that, when the player was tuning the kithara, he held it at an angle away from his body (see Figure 1.5). In this position the strings that were lowest in pitch were at the top of the instrument, closest to the player's face, while the highest-pitched strings were at the bottom of the instrument, closest to the ground. This is easier to imagine if we recall that a modern guitar is arranged the same way, with the low-pitched strings at the top of the instrument, the high-pitched strings at the bottom, closest to the ground.

To show how tetrachords were combined to form the Greater and Lesser Perfect systems, it is convenient to represent *mesē* as equivalent to the modern pitch A below middle C, but this should not be taken to imply that *mesē* was set to or near 220 Hz. The ancient world had no way to calculate absolute pitch. Thus in figures 1.6 and 1.7, the lower octave A–G is shown in upper-case letters, the higher one in lower-case, as a way to distinguish the two, but without implying correspondence to the Helmholtz or any other modern

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Caption for Figure 1.2 (cont.)

handles to the right and left of the bar apparently permitted the player to loosen the strings when the kithara was put away after playing. The player's left hand can be seen behind the strings, with his index finger (lichanos) on the third string from the left. That might mean that the fourth string was mesē, in which case the mode would be Dorian (see Table 1.1). If so, it could be significant that, on the tuning bar, there seems to be a slight space between the third and fourth strings, as if dividing the seven strings into groups of three (the hypatōn tetrachord?) and four (the mesōn tetrachord?). Beneath the young man's thumb we can see part of the colored strap that is wrapped around his left wrist and attached to the right side of the kithara, where the upright post that holds the horizontal bar joins the sound box of the instrument. This made it easier for him to hold up the kithara while playing, but it also suggests that he could not move his left hand very much. On the contrary, the right hand could move freely, plucking the strings with a plectrum, which is attached to the kithara by a cord to prevent loss. Attic red-figure amphora, attributed to the Berlin Painter, ca. 490 BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, USA. Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.38). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY. Image Reference: ART322669

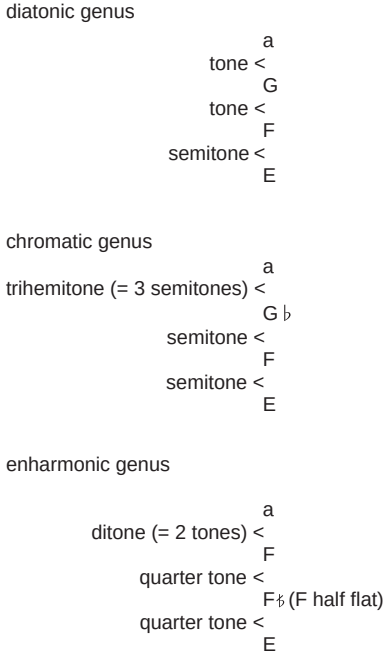


Figure 1.3 The genera: three types of tetrachords, after Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.21

	Greek name	translation	modern pitch letter
mesōn ("of the middles")	mesē	"middle"	a
	lichanos	"forefinger"	G
	parhypatē	"next to the highest"	F
	hypatē	"highest"	E

Figure 1.4 The tetrachord of the middle pitches (*mesōn*)

system of pitch notation. The *mesōn* tetrachord is now shown as a-G-F-E. The tetrachord below it, though lower in pitch than the *mesōn*, was known as "the tetrachord of the highest [strings]," *hypatōn*, because it was played on the strings at the top of the instrument (see Figures 1.6 and 1.7). Since *hypatōn* was a conjunct tetrachord, its highest note was the same as the lowest note of



Figure 1.5 A kithara player tunes his instrument. He holds it in tuning position, with the low-pitched strings close to his face (and therefore "highest") and the high-pitched strings nearer to the ground. Since we are now looking at the left side of the kithara (instead of the right side as in Figure 1.2), the wrist strap for holding up the instrument can clearly be seen. With his right hand, the musician turns the tuning bar at the top of the instrument, to adjust the tension of the strings. Eye Cup, ca. 520 BCE. Attributed to Psiax (Greek). Red-figure terracotta; diameter: 6.4 cm (2½ inches); overall: 11.2 × 33.6 cm (4⅜ × 13³⁄₁₆ inches). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the

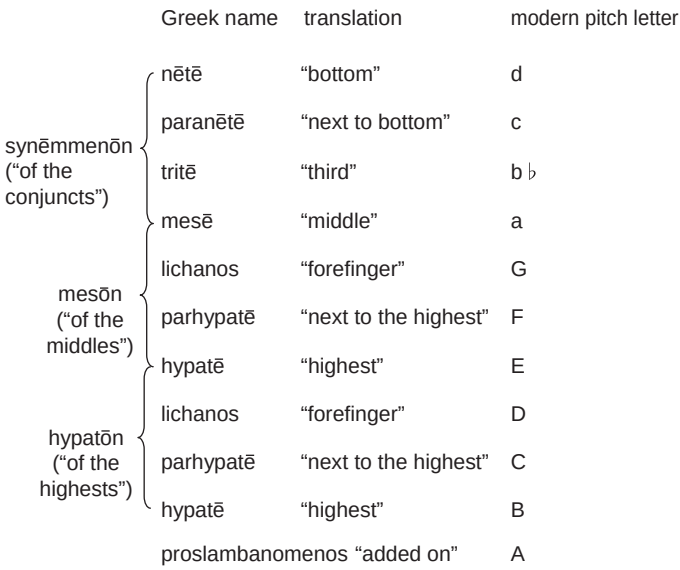


Figure 1.6 The Lesser Perfect System, showing the middle tetrachord with the "highest" tetrachord below, and the conjunct tetrachord above

the mesōn tetrachord, *hypatē mesōn*, "the highest of the middles" (E). Below that was *lichanos hypatōn*, "the forefinger of the highest [tetrachord]" (D), *parhypatē hypatōn* "next to the highest [string] of the highest [tetrachord]" (C), and *hypatē hypatōn*, "the highest [string] of the highest" (B). An extra note was added below that, called *proslambanomenos* or "added on" (A) to complete the octave with *mesē*.

Above the mesōn tetrachord, there were two ways to proceed, depending on whether the next tetrachord was conjunct or disjunct. In the *synēmmenōn* or tetrachord "of the conjuncts" (see Figure 1.6), the lowest note was *mesē* (a), and the note above that (b♭) was called *tritē* or "third," i.e., the third string counting from the highest pitch in the tetrachord. Above tritē was *paranētē* or "next to the bottom [string]" (c) and *nētē* "bottom [string]" (d), even though these lowest strings on the physical instrument were actually the highest in pitch. The three tetrachords hypatōn, mesōn and synēmmenōn formed the Lesser Perfect System, illustrated in Figure 1.6. However, if the tetrachord above mesōn was disjunct (see Figure 1.7), the *diezeugmenōn* or tetrachord "of the disjuncts" began with the note above mesē, called *paramesē* or "next to the middle [string]" (b♮), with tritē above that (c), then paranētē (d) and nētē (e). Beyond diezeugmenōn was another tetrachord, the *hyperbolaiōn* or tetrachord

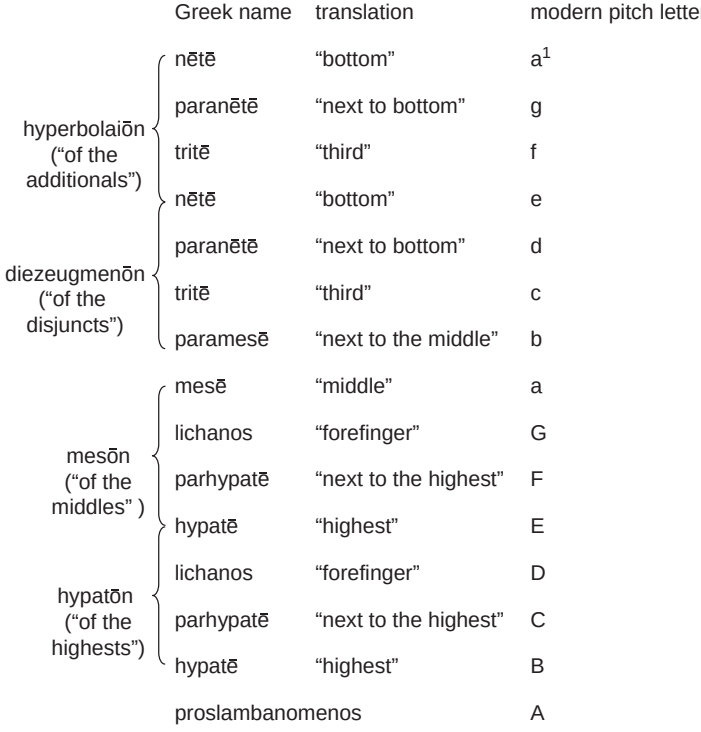


Figure 1.7 The Greater Perfect System, showing the middle tetrachord with the "highest" tetrachord below, and the disjunct and additional tetrachords above

"of additionals." Being conjunct, it included *nētē diezeugmenōn*, "the bottom [string] of the disjuncts" (e), then ascended through *tritē hyperbolaiōn*, "the third [string] of the additionals" (f), *paranētē hyperbolaiōn*, "next to the bottom [string] of the additionals" (g), and *nētē hyperbolaiōn*, "the bottom string of the additionals" (a^1). This produced the Greater Perfect System of two octaves or fifteen pitches (Figure 1.7).

A kithara could not cover fifteen pitches, however, because it did not have enough strings. But the performer could choose to play any portion of the two-octave range by setting mesē to any string, and then tuning either the Greater or Lesser Perfect System from there. Each tuning, therefore, produced a different octave species or sequence of whole and half steps. Boethius usually called these tunings *modi* ("modes") in Latin, but sometimes *toni* ("tones") or *tropi* ("tropes") in Greek; each mode had its own Greek name,

after an ancient Greek tribe that supposedly favored this tuning. A modernized version of Boethius' table of the modes can be seen in Table 1.1, translated into the same pitch letters used in Figures 1.6 and 1.7. In Table 1.1, which assumes the Greater Perfect System, the natural range from A to a^1 has been set to the Dorian mode, so that the mesē can be set to the fourth string in the middle of the instrument, on the pitch letter a (marked with an M for mesē). The other modes are produced by setting mesē to other strings, so that sharps and flats are required to represent the whole and half steps accurately. But Table 1.1 would have been just as accurate if the A– a^1 range had been set to another mode, such as the Hypodorian a fourth lower, where Boethius' table begins.[39] The sole purpose of the table is to show where the half steps are, not to suggest equivalence to modern pitches. In Table 1.1, therefore, the space between E and e represents the actual strings of an eight-string kithara, which could be tuned to any of the eight modes depending on which string is identified as mesē. The notes to the left and right of the E-e range are merely hypothetical, illustrating the portions of the Greater Perfect System that are left off the kithara with each particular tuning or mode.

As the mesē moves up from the fourth string, the Greek tribal names are Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian. As the mesē moves down, we have the Hypolydian, Hypophrygian, and Hypodorian at the interval of a fourth below their counterparts (*hypo-* means "beneath"). At the other end of the kithara, since the Mixolydian is a fourth above the Dorian, it can also be called the Hyperdorian mode (*hyper-* means "above"). Boethius himself may have added the Hypermixolydian at the high end, above the Mixolydian, to provide for an eighth string, even though the octave species is the same as that of the Hypodorian mode at the low end. It should be understood that, even though Boethius called these "modes," they should be thought of as tunings, octave species, or transpositions rather than scales. The pitches do not have scalar functions such as tonic or dominant. The mesē is not a final. It was early medieval Latin theorists who misidentified Boethius' tribally-named modes with the very different modal system of Gregorian chant (see below), spawning a thousand years of confusion from which we still have not yet fully emerged.[40]

39 For other modern realizations of Boethius' table see Calvin M. Bower, "The Modes of Boethius," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984), 252–63, esp. 260–61; Harold S. Powers et al., "Mode," *NG2*, vol. XVI: 778.

40 The complicated story is now best told in Charles M. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music*, AMS Studies in Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

ble 1.1 Table of the modes from Boethius, *De Institutione Musica* 4.16, translated into modern pitch letters. The letter M indicates the pitch t to *mesē*. When a box contains two pitch letters, the upper one belongs to the sjunct tetrachord (*diezeugmenōn*).

ypermixolydian												E		F#	G		a		b	c		d		M e	f 	f#	g g		a¹ a¹		b¹	c¹		d¹		e¹
xolydian or yperdorian										D		E	F		G		a	b♭		c		M d	e♭	e	f f		g g		a¹	b♭¹		c¹		d¹		
dian									C#		D#	E		F#		G#	a		b		M c#	d		e e		f# f#		g#	a¹		b¹		c#¹				
rygian							B		C#	D		E		F#	G		a		M b	c	 c#	d d		e e		f#	g		a¹		b¹						
orian					A		B	C		D		E	F		G		M a	b♭	b	c c		d d		e	f		g		a¹							
ypolydian				G#₁		A#	B		C#		D#	E		F#		M G#	a	a#	b b		c# c#		d#	e		f#		g#								
ypophrygian		F#₁		G#₁	A		B		C#	D		E		M F#	G	G#	a a		b b		c#	d		e		f#										
ypodorian	E₁	F#₁	G₁		A		B	C		D		M E	F	F#	G G		a a		b	c		d		e												

The Israelite Heritage

Though Christianity arose as one of many sects within late antique Judaism, it began attracting non-Jewish converts very quickly, setting in motion the tensions that would eventually lead to a complete separation into two discrete religions. A recent spate of new research on this topic, under the epithet "the parting of the ways"[41] has found it to be a complex of long-term processes that varied quite a bit from region to region.[42] But among the historical events that propelled it were the First and Second Jewish Wars (CE 66–70 and 132–35), when groups of rebels twice failed to overthrow Roman rule and establish an independent Jewish state centered on Jerusalem. The political turmoil brought new urgency to the question of who was really Jewish, and contributed to the decline of most of the Jewish sects that competed with emergent Christianity – the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots, and so on. However, the greatest casualty of the First Jewish War was the Temple of Herod in Jerusalem, known as the "Second Temple" even though it was actually the third construction on the site of the original Temple of Solomon.[43] Because this building was the cultic center of the Jewish religion at the time, this period of Jewish history is often referred to as "Second Temple Judaism."[44]

The Temple

In the Temple, the central acts of worship involved the ritual slaughter and sacrificing of animals and agricultural products by the priests, who were descendants of Moses' brother Aaron. The sacrifices themselves were carried out in ritual silence, following prescriptions laid out in the Torah of Moses,

41 Probably derived from Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988; 2nd ed. 2008), 61–64.

42 The vast bibliography includes: Stephen Spence, *The Parting of the Ways: The Roman Church as a Case Study*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004); James D. G. Dunn, ed., *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, AD 70 to 135: The Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism (Durham, September 1989)* (Grand Rapids, MI: William. B. Eerdmans, 1999); Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007).

43 Steven Fine, ed., *The Temple of Jerusalem from Moses to the Messiah: In Honor of Professor Louis H. Feldman*, Brill Reference Library of Judaism 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Lester L. Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel and Jesus* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2010). Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe, 291 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz, *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second Temple Judaism* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008).

44 On the literary history see: George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981). Neil S. Hecht et al., eds., *An Introduction to the History and Sources of Jewish Law* (Oxford University Press, 2002). For a concise historical summary see Neil S. Fujita, *A Crack in the Jar: What Ancient Jewish Documents Tell Us about the New Testament* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986).



Figure 1.8 A bas-relief on the triumphal Arch of Titus, in the Roman Forum

most familiar today as the Pentateuch or first five books of the Bible. At the end of each sacrifice, the priests would break the silence by blasting silver trumpets, and the people would kneel down or fall prostrate on their faces. A psalm would be sung by the Levites, who were descendants of the tribe of Levi, one of the twelve tribes of ancient Israel and the tribe to which Moses and Aaron belonged. After the psalm the priests would recite blessings over the people (Sirach 50:1–21).

The Temple burned down in CE 70 during an attack by the Roman army, even though (according to the Jewish priest and historian Josephus) the Roman general Titus, son of the emperor Vespasian, had ordered his troops not to destroy it, and tried to rally them to put the fire out (*Jewish War* 6.4.5–7). On the Arch of Titus in the Roman forum, one can still see a relief depicting the great menorah, the silver trumpets, and other Temple furnishings being carried through the streets of Rome in a triumphant victory parade (Figure 1.8). Today the site of the Temple is covered by the Dome of the Rock, one of the holiest shrines in the Islamic world, marking the place from which Muhammad ascended to Heaven. This situation renders unthinkable any possibility of either building a new Jewish Temple or excavating the original one, at what would doubtless be one of the most fascinating archaeological sites in the world.

The Synagogue

After the Temple's destruction, scholar/teachers known as *rabbis* ("masters") took over the religious leadership from the priests and Levites. They began a process of reformulating Judaism so that it centered on the learned study of the Bible and other texts, rather than the sacrificial cult of the lost Temple. About CE 200, they produced the Mishnah, the oldest portion of the Talmud, which remains the basis of most forms of Judaism even today. They formalized and expanded an alternate form of worship based on the chanting of biblical texts and prayers, which was already being practiced in a type of building known as a *synagogue* (a place where people are "brought together"). Unlike the Temple, which could only exist in one place, however, a synagogue could be built anywhere, making it possible for Judaism to become a world-wide religion.[45]

The oldest regulations for synagogue worship are included in the Talmudic writings, but the first comprehensive synagogue prayerbook, the Seder Rav Amram Gaon, dates from the ninth century CE.[46] However, the Temple is still remembered ritually in various ways. The daily and holiday services of the synagogue are still scheduled at the times when the Temple sacrifices used to take place, and on some occasions texts are read that describe the Temple ritual corresponding to the day and time. The shofar or ram's horn is still blown on Jewish New Year as it was in the Temple. Except for the shofar, however, no musical instruments were played in the synagogue before modern times; the chanting remained purely vocal, and this was interpreted as a sign of mourning for the lost Temple.[47]

The Bible

Because Rabbinic Judaism, the Judaism of Mishnah and Talmud, came to the fore after the destruction of the Temple, it is not the ancestor of Christianity, but a sibling or cousin. Nor are the Temple and synagogue rituals the direct ancestors of the Christian liturgy. In fact the leaders of

45 Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

46 For the history of liturgical texts and their study, see: Lawrence Hoffman, "Jewish Liturgy and Jewish Scholarship," *Judaism in Late Antiquity* 1: *The Literary and Archaeological Sources*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Handbuch der Orientalistik 1: Der nahe und mittlere Osten 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 239–66; Stefan C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer: New Perspectives on Jewish Liturgical History* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); Alistair Stewart-Sykes and Judith Hood Newman, *Early Jewish Liturgy: A Sourcebook for Use by Students of Early Christian Liturgy* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2001).

47 Ruth Langer, *To Worship God Properly: Tensions between Liturgical Custom and Halakhah in Judaism* (n.p.: Hebrew Union College Press, 1998), 1–19. James W. McKinnon, "On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue," *Early Music History* 6 (1986), 159–91. James McKinnon, "The Exclusion of Musical Instruments from the Ancient Synagogue," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979–80) especially 84–85.

each emerging religion deliberately shaped its liturgies so that members of the other group would be excluded from taking part.[48] By the second century, probably, the majority of Christians no longer had Jewish ancestry, could not read Hebrew, and lacked first-hand knowledge of Jewish practices. What Christians did know about Judaism was what they read about in the Christian Bible, a collection of about seventy-two books (the word "Bible" comes from *biblia*, which is Greek for "books") written by many authors over as much as 1,000 years. The largest part of the Christian Bible – the so-called Old Testament – contained Greek or Latin translations of all the Hebrew and Aramaic texts found in the Jewish Bible, plus about a dozen other ancient Jewish writings that had been composed in Greek and are not included in the Jewish Bible. (Today these Greek Jewish writings are also omitted from most Protestant Bibles, or relegated to an appendix as the Apocrypha, but they remain in Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christian Bibles.) Appended to the Old Testament was the much smaller New Testament, consisting of the earliest writings by Christian authors, all originally written in Greek.[49]

In the Bible, the singing of songs is closely connected to prophecy, or the experience of divine revelation. Listening to or performing songs was one way a prophet could bring on an enthusiastic or inspired state, enabling him or her to pronounce messages from God (1 Samuel 16:14–23, 2 Kings 3:1–20). Prophetic songs that have been preserved in the Bible include the song of Moses and Miriam at the Red Sea (Exodus 15), the song of Deborah and Barak (Judges 5), the song of Hannah, mother of the prophet Samuel (1 Samuel 2:1–10), and the song of Jonah while he was trapped inside the whale (Jonah 2). The Song of the Three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace (Daniel 3) is one of the Jewish Greek texts found in medieval Christian (and modern Catholic and Orthodox) Bibles, but not in Jewish or Protestant Bibles. In Christian tradition, such songs were known as odes or canticles; they were often collected in a special section at the end of the Psalter, alongside canticles from the New Testament such as the Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc Dimittis and Gloria in excelsis (Luke 1:46–55, 68–79, 2:29–32, 2:14 expanded).

48 Eviatar Zerubavel, "Easter and Passover: On Calendars and Group Identity," *American Sociological Review* 47 (1982), 284–89; Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004); Karl Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha: A Rhetorical History*, Liturgia Condenda 7 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); Ruth Langer, *Cursing the Christians? A History of the Birkat HaMinim* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

49 On the historical formation of the biblical canon, see Lee M. McDonald and James A. Sanders, *The Canon Debate* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002); Lee Martin McDonald, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority*, 3rd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007).

The psalter or book of psalms was by far the most important part of the Bible for musical purposes. It contains 150 hymns known as psalms, though the way they are numbered in Latin and Greek Bibles differs from the Hebrew way of numbering them. Almost all modern English Bibles, whether Catholic or Protestant, use the Hebrew numbering, but older Catholic Bibles in English use the Greek-Latin numbering (see Table 1.2).

Many of the psalms are ascribed to King David, who lived about 1000 BCE. He is thought to have sung them while accompanying himself on a stringed instrument called the *kinnor*, a type of lyre.[50] Hence the Greek word *psalmos*, which originally referred to the twanging sound of a plucked string, but later came to mean a song accompanied by a plucked-string instrument, was applied to these texts on the assumption that David performed them that way. In Christian art, however, David is usually shown playing a more familiar instrument, such as a harp in western Europe[51] (Figure 1.9) or a lute in Armenia. On the other hand, it is also believed that at least some of the psalms were sung in the Temple,[52] and indeed some of them are attributed to the Levites Asaph,[53] Jeduthun,[54] and the sons of Korah.[55] The Levitical families both sang and played a wide variety of instruments, and were said to have been appointed for this role by David himself (1 Chronicles 16:16–29, 35:1–8).

The Cantillation of the Hebrew Bible

We cannot know what melodies were sung by King David, the Levites or anyone else in ancient Israel, since we have no music notation from that period. The melodies of synagogue hymns and prayers were not written down in staff notation until the nineteenth century, with very few exceptions.[56] However, Hebrew Bible codices (not the scrolls actually used in the liturgy) traditionally include a system of punctuation signs,

50 1 Samuel 16:16, 23, 18:10–11, 19:9–10; 2 Samuel 22:1–23:7; Psalm 18. Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 16–19. Yelena Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible*, trans. Y. Kolyada and David J. Clark (London: Equinox, 2009), 32–42.

51 Colum Hourihane, ed., *King David in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University Press, 2002), 391–401.

52 Compare the refrain "his mercy endures forever" in Psalms 106, 107, 118, 136 (English numbers), with the reports of Temple singing in 1 Chronicles 16:34–41; 2 Chronicles 5:13, 7:3–6; 20:21; Ezra 3:11.

53 Psalms 50 and 73–83; 1 Chronicles 15:17–19, 16:5–7 and 37, 25:1–9; 2 Chronicles 5:12; Ezra 3:10; Nehemiah 12:46.

54 Psalms 39, 62, 77; 1 Chronicles 25:3–6; 2 Chronicles 5:12, 35:15.

55 Psalms 42, 44–49, 84–85, 87–88; 1 Chronicles 26; 2 Chronicles 20:19. See also Louis Jonker, "Another Look at the Psalm Headings: Observations on the Musical Terminology," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 30 (2004), 65–85.

56 Cataloged in Israel Adler, *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840: A Descriptive and Thematic Catalogue with a Checklist of Printed Sources*, 2 vols., Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B IX[1] (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1989). See the chronological listing on pp. xlvi–xlix.

Table 1.2 Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and English systems for numbering the 150 psalms. Psalms 1 through 8 and 148 through 150 are the same in all versions. Psalms 9 and 10 and Psalms 113 through 116 are divided up differently. In most other cases, the Hebrew/English number is one number higher than the Latin/Greek number. Thus the Hebrew psalms 11 through 113 are the Greek psalms 10 through 112. The Latin Vulgate numbers were the same as the Greek Septuagint numbers until the twentieth century, when they were modified slightly as shown in the "Latin" column below. English Bibles that are translated from the Vulgate use Vulgate numbers, but the vast majority of English translations are made from the Hebrew and use the Hebrew numbers. However, English Protestant translations, unlike those in most other languages, often treat the first verse or two as unnumbered titles, so that the English verse 1 will be verse 2 or 3 in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and most modern languages.

Greek	Latin	Hebrew	English
1–8	1–8	1–8	1–8
9	9A–9B	9–10	9–10
10–112	10–112	11–113	11–113
113	113A–113B	114–15	114–15
114–15	114–15	116	116
116–45	116–45	117–46	117–46
146–47	146–47	147	147
148–50	148–50	148–50	148–50

some of which are also used to learn how to chant the text. These signs are part of the Masorah ("transmission"), the apparatus for assuring that the text is transmitted correctly. For many centuries all Jewish communities have used the Tiberian Masorah, which dates from about the tenth century CE, though older manuscripts with different punctuation systems do exist. Since traditional Hebrew writing indicates only the consonants, the Tiberian Masoretic signs indicate the vowels, specify aspects of pronunciation and accentuation, and serve to mark the beginnings and ends of syntactical phrases. It is the syntactical signs, the *ṭe'amim* (from a word meaning "discern"), that are used to assist the musical rendition, even though that is not their primary function. The disjunctive ṭe'amim indicate the endings of phrases, clauses, sentences, or verses, where the reader should pause. The conjunctive signs mark places where the chanter should not pause but continue, until reaching the next disjunctive sign (see Figure 1.10). Both disjunctive and conjunctive signs are placed on accented syllables, so that they have a secondary function of indicating



Figure 1.9 King David strumming a harp, from an early thirteenth-century lancet window in the north transept at Chartres Cathedral. Even though the Bible says that David played a kinnor (a lyre-like instrument), the harp was more familiar to medieval Europeans. A harp has strings that extend from the sound board or sound box to an arm that extends out at an angle, whereas lyre strings extend to a horizontal bar held up by two vertical arms. But the fact that this harp has ten strings does not reflect medieval harp construction, but has a symbolic meaning instead. The artist was seeking to illustrate the "ten-stringed psaltery" mentioned in the Latin Vulgate, following the Greek Septuagint: *psaltērion dekachordon* (Psalms 32:2, 91:4, 143:9). However, the original Hebrew term, *nevel ʿaśor* (Hebrew Psalms 33:2, 92:4 [= English 92:3], 144:9), may have referred to a zither-like instrument, i.e., one in which the strings extend horizontally directly over the sound box (Kolyada, *Compendium*, 29–31; Braun, *Music*, 22–24). © 2004, Henri Alain de Feraudy.


Sof pasuq ("end of verse") marks the end of every biblical verse.


Etnaḥta ("pause") marks the main pause in the middle of each verse.


Tifḥa ("diagonal") is often the last disjunctive before sof pasuq or etnahta.


Revia ("fourth") is one of the less important disjunctives.


Zarqa ("scatterer") is another less important disjunctive.


Munaḥ ("resting") is the most common conjunctive sign; it can precede many of the disjunctive signs.


Merḥa ("lengthener") often precedes tifḥa.

Dotted circles show the position of the Hebrew letters relative to the ṭe'amim signs. A sign can occur on any letter.

Figure 1.10 Examples of the more common ṭe'amim

where the accents are. But at some point in history the practice of reading the Bible out loud acquired a musical aspect, so that it was more like singing than speaking. This in-between character is called "cantillation" in English.

In the most important parts of the Bible, the Torah (i.e., the first five books), and the excerpts from the prophets that are read in the synagogue (*haftarot*), each of the ṭe'amim is traditionally associated with a melodic phrase. These melodies are taught to every Jewish boy (and in some communities now to girls also) in preparation for the Bar Mitzvah ceremony when, having reached the age of thirteen, he will read the Torah scroll during the Sabbath service, for the first time as an adult. However, since the scroll contains only the Hebrew consonants, he must memorize the ṭe'amim and their melodies beforehand, using a manuscript codex or, nowadays, a printed book. Since the cantillation is complex and requires considerable ability to memorize, however, most liturgical readings are performed by a *ba'al-ḳeri'ah* or master reader, who has made the commitment to learn the tradition thoroughly. The man who is called up from the congregation to read recites the requisite prayers, then stands nearby as the master reader cantillates in his place.

Since the ṭeʿamim have a syntactical function and do not of themselves convey musical information, the melodies associated with them differ from one Jewish community to another, according to the local oral tradition.[57] As a result it is difficult to know how old the melodies of any particular community may be. Only in the twentieth century did it become possible to learn the ṭeʿamim from audio recordings and books with staff notation. And the ṭeʿamim for the psalms and other books of the Bible, which are not routinely read in the synagogue, do not even have the same kind of fixed relationship to corresponding musical formulas that one finds in the Torah.[58]

Thus there is no way to demonstrate that the melodies sung in the Temple or the Kingdom of David have survived in the music of any Jewish community. Most of the parallels presented in Eric Werner's well-known book *The Sacred Bridge* involve misunderstanding or misinterpretation.[59] The scores and recordings produced by Suzanne Haïk-Vantoura under the title "The Music of the Bible Revealed" are utterly without historical basis and completely misrepresent the functions of the ṭeʿamim.[60] No less problematic is the oft-heard supposition that ancient Israelite melodies may have been preserved in medieval Christian chant, since neither tradition was fixed in writing until a millennium after the two religions separated. The rapid disappearance of Hebrew knowledge among early Christians, the history of hostility between the two religions, and the considerable differences between their liturgies present formidable obstacles to anyone trying to prove that any

57 The Eastern European interpretation of the ṭeʿamim has a far larger bibliography than any other. Classic works include: Solomon Rosowsky, *The Cantillation of the Bible: The Five Books of Moses* (New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1957); Abraham W. Binder, *Biblical Chant* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959); Avigdor Herzog, "Masoretic Accents (Musical Rendition)," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Encyclopedia Judaica; New York: Macmillan, 1971), XI: 1098–112; Joshua R. Jacobson, *Chanting the Hebrew Bible: The Art of Cantillation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002). For some other traditions: Avigdor Herzog, *The Intonation of the Pentateuch in the Heder of Tunis* (Tel Aviv: Israel Music Institute, 1963); Uri Sharvit, "The Musical Realization of Biblical Cantillation Symbols (*Ṭeʿamim*) in the Jewish Yemenite Tradition," *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Center* 4 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press of Hebrew University, 1982), 179–210; Johanna Spector, "Chant and Cantillation," *Musica Judaica* 9 (1986–87), 1–21; Reinhard Flender, *Der biblische Sprechgesang und seine mündliche Überlieferung in Synagoge und Griechischer Kirche*, Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte 20 (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1988); Reinhard Flender, "Die Entzifferung der massoretischen Akzente und der ekphonetischen Notation – ein Forschungsbericht," in *Musikkulturgeschichte: Festschrift Constantin Floros zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Petersen (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990), 479–90.

58 Reinhard Flender, *Hebrew Psalmody: A Structural Investigation*, Yuval Monograph Series 9 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990).

59 Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (London: Denis Dobson; New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; with many reprints). Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium*, vol. 2 (London: Dobson; New York: Ktav, 1984). See Peter Jeffery, "Werner's *The Sacred Bridge*, Volume II: A Review Essay," *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1987), 283–98.

60 See my review of Suzanne Haïk-Vantoura, *The Music of the Bible Revealed: The Deciphering of a Millenary Notation*, trans. Dennis Webber, ed. John Wheeler (Berkeley, CA: BIBAL Press; San Francisco, CA: King David's Harp, 1991) *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18/4 (July/August 1992), 6.

ancient Israelite melodies have survived in Christian usage. "Ultimately it must be conceded that there is simply insufficient reliable information available at present to permit more than general and inconclusive observations about the relationship between ancient Jewish and early Christian chant in the first four centuries of the Common Era."[61]

On the other hand, melodic similarities have been pointed out between specific orally transmitted Jewish tunes and certain Christian chants, beginning with the work of Abraham Zwi Idelsohn.[62] Such resemblances might be due to coincidence, to borrowing or imitation during the medieval period or later, or to a common European or Middle Eastern background. The true significance of these similarities, if there is any, may eventually emerge as researchers on Jewish music develop more sophisticated ways of investigating the history and development of these mostly unwritten traditions.[63]

The Early Church

Early Christian worship did not develop out of Temple or synagogue ritual, but from more informal kinds of prayer and Bible study that took place during the banquets and meetings of Jewish sectarian groups. The best example is the group known as the Therapeutae, whose practices were described by Philo of Alexandria (died after CE 40), a Jewish Platonist philosopher who was a contemporary of Jesus and St. Paul. The common meals of the Therapeutae included Bible reading and instruction, with the singing of psalms and hymns, followed by all-night vigils of song and even dance.[64] Singing after banquets was in fact a common practice in the ancient world, among both Jews and Greeks (cf. Mark 14:26, Matthew 26:30). St. Clement of Alexandria (died about CE 215) wrote about early Christian dining practices and their accompanying hymnody, and his book *The Pedagogue* even ends (3.101.3) with the text of a

61 John Arthur Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 234.

62 Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), 31–34, 42, 47, 55–56, 58–65, 132. Idelsohn's pioneering and extremely important research on the musical oral traditions of various Jewish communities is summarized in Jehoash Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880–1948: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 11–22; 184–86. *The Abraham Zvi Idelsohn Memorial Volume*, ed. Israel Adler, Bathja Bayer, and Eliyahu Schleifer, Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre 5 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press of Hebrew University, 1986), 15–180; Hebrew 15–40.

63 Recent examples: Regina Randhofer, "By the Rivers of Babylon: Echoes of the Babylonian Past in the Musical Heritage of the Iraqi Jewish Diaspora," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13 (2004), 21–45; Sholom Kalib, *The Musical Tradition of the Eastern European Synagogue*, 2 vols. in 6 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001–05).

64 Peter Jeffery, "Philo's Impact on Christian Psalmody," in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot E. Fassler, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 25 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 147–87.

hymn he may have composed himself.[65] Like Philo, whose works he knew well, Clement drew sharp contrasts between the devout, chaste, edifying meals of his own religious community and the drunken revelry and sexual antics that characterized so many pagan repasts.[66]

The Dead Sea Scrolls, discovered just after World War II, preserve evidence of the practices of another Jewish sect, which inhabited the monastic building complex at Qumran until it was destroyed during the First Jewish War. The library of scrolls, hidden in caves near the Dead Sea for almost 2,000 years, include many non-biblical psalms and hymns, as well as descriptions of ritual bathing, communal banquets, and prayer at fixed times of the day and night, all of which make for interesting comparisons with early Christian texts as well as with later synagogue worship. The Qumran sect rejected the Jerusalem Temple, whose priests they saw as corrupt. But many of the Qumran texts, particularly the hymns, imagine an idealized Temple in Heaven, where perfect worship was offered by angels – perfect worship that should be imitated by humans on earth.

After the earthly Temple's destruction, a comparable idea became popular in the early Church, namely that human praise and singing imitates the eternal song of the angels in Heaven (Revelation 4:1–11, 5:6–14, 7:9–12, 11:15–19, 14:2–3, 15:2–5). Thus there were some parallels among early Christian worship, early synagogue worship, and the worship of Jewish groups like the Qumran sect: they all remembered a lost Temple that prefigured a more perfect angelic worship to come. It is this parallelism, not a line of direct descent from Jewish to Christian worship, that appears to explain most of the cases where a Christian prayer text seems to be derived or adapted from a Jewish prayer text.[67]

65 Clement of Alexandria, *Clemens Alexandrinus,* vol. 1: *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, 3rd ed., ed. Otto Stählin and Ursula Treu, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972), 291. English translation: Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. Simon P. Wood, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 276–78. John Anthony McGuckin, *At the Lighting of the Lamps: Hymns of the Ancient Church* (Oxford: SLG Press; Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 1995), 14–17.

66 James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 28–36; 1–4.

67 Examples can be found in the following books, though the authors' theories and interpretations are debatable: David A. Fiensy, *Prayers Alleged to Be Jewish: An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Brown Judaic Studies 65 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985); Stéphane Verhelst, *Les traditions Judéo-Chrétiennes dans la liturgie de Jérusalem: spécialement la Liturgie de saint Jacques frère de Dieu*, Textes et études liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy 17 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003); Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Margaret Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2003); Margaret Barker, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2007).

Christological Hymns

Informative comparisons can also be made between early Christianity and the pagan polytheism that was the majority religion of the Roman empire. About the year 110 CE, Pliny the Younger (ca. CE 61–ca. CE 112), the Roman governor of Bythinia and Pontus in modern Turkey, wrote a letter to the emperor Trajan (ruled 98–117), seeking advice on how to prosecute Christians. By interrogating Christians who had been arrested, Pliny learned that, like Philo's Therapeutae, they engaged in two kinds of rites: (1) communal banquets and (2) nocturnal vigils, at which "they sing with each other spells to Christ, as if to a god." Nevertheless Pliny wasn't entirely sure what the Christians were actually guilty of; even when tortured they confessed to nothing more than "depraved and excessive superstition."[68] Still, Pliny's mention of "spells to Christ" may refer to what modern scholars call "Christological hymns," which poetically outline the main doctrinal beliefs about Christ. Biblical passages like John 1, Philippians 2, and Colossians 1:15–22 are thought by some to be early examples of such Christological hymns. In one particularly interesting case, Ephesians 5:14 seems to quote an early hymn, and Clement of Alexandria gives us the rest of the stanza (see Figure 1.11). The theme of Christ as the sun or light of the world occurs in several early hymn texts, notably the lamp-lighting hymn *Phōs hilaron*, already noted as very old by St. Basil the Great (died 379), and still sung today at Vespers in the Greek Orthodox Church.[69] Another early hymn that survived into medieval and even modern usage, in both East and West, is *Sub tuum praesidium*, the earliest hymn to the Virgin Mary (see Figure 1.11).[70] Regrettably none of their early melodies survive, even though ancient Greeks had a kind of music notation. The sole exception is a papyrus fragment found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, which preserves the ending of an otherwise unknown Christian hymn with musical signs above the text.[71]

68 Pliny the Younger, *Epistularum Libri Decem* 10.96. A different but full translation by Betty Radice is in Pliny, *Letters and Panegyricus*, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library 55; 59 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), II: 285–93. I do not agree with those who say that the "spells to Christ" were sung antiphonally or in alternation; I have translated *secum invicem* as "with each other." For recent bibliography see Alistair C. Stewart, "The Christological Form of the Earliest Syntaxis: The Evidence of Pliny," *Studia Liturgica* 41 (2011), 1–8.

69 Peter Plank, ΦΩΣ ΙΛΑΡΟΝ*: Christushymnus und Lichtdanksagung der frühen Christenheit*, Hereditas: Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte 20 (Bonn: Borengässer, 2001). Frieder Schulz, "*Lumen Christi:* Der altkirchliche Vespergesang Phos hilaron; Zur westkirchlichen Rezeption: Forschung, Übertragung, Musikfassung," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 43 (2004), 11–48.

70 Maxwell Johnson, "*Sub Tuum Praesidium:* The *Theotokos* in Christian Life and Worship before Ephesus," in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), 243–67.

71 Egert Pöhlmann and Martin L. West, eds. *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 190–94.

1. A hymn quoted in the New Testament and in Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 9.84.2.

Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead,
and Christ shall give you light [= Eph 5:14],
the sun of the resurrection,
begotten before the morning star [Ps 110:3]
who gives life by his own very rays.

Translation: Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville, MN.: Liturgical Press, 1993), 350.

2. *Sub tuum praesidium* (mid 3rd cent.), the earliest known hymn to the Virgin Mary.

We take refuge in your mercy, O Mother of God.
Do not disregard our prayers in troubling times,
but deliver us from danger,
O only pure one, only blessed one.

Translation adapted from Stephen J. Shoemaker, "Marian Liturgies and Devotion in Early Christianity," *Mary: The Complete Resource*, ed. Sarah Jane Boss (London: Continuum, 2007), 130–45, at p. 130.

3. The Oxyrhynchus hymn (late 3rd cent., named for the place it was found, the only ancient Christian text with music notation).

. . . Let it be silent
let the luminous stars not shine,
let the winds (?) and all the noisy rivers die down;
and as we hymn the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,
let all the powers add "Amen, Amen."
Empire, praise always, and glory to God,
the sole giver of all good things. Amen, amen.

Translation: M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 325.

4. *Phōs hilaron*, hymn for lighting the evening lamps.

O cheerful Light, Jesus Christ,
holy glory of the immortal Father, who is heavenly, holy, blessed!
As we come to the setting of the sun, and behold the evening light,
we hymn the Father, Son and Holy Spirit: God.
Worthy are you in every moment to be hymned by happy voices,
O Son of God, giver of life.
Therefore the cosmos glorifies you.

Figure 1.11 Some early Christian hymn texts

The Post-Nicene Period

Two Types of Worship

With the Edict of Milan in CE 313, Christianity became a legal religion within the Roman empire. Persecution ended, and the Church held its first ecumenical (worldwide) council in CE 325, at Nicea near Constantinople.

The council serves as a convenient marker for historians, separating early Church history into pre-Nicene and post-Nicene periods, with liturgical and musical practices being much better documented in the latter. By the end of the fourth century Christianity had become the predominant religion of the Roman empire, and by then two approaches to Christian worship had emerged, each with its own kind of music. In twentieth-century scholarship it became common to refer to these two types as "cathedral" and "monastic" worship.[72]

Desert or Monastic Worship Monastic or desert worship, the simpler of the two kinds, looked back to the practices of the first monks in the Egyptian desert, where many fourth-century Christians had fled to lead lives of austerity and asceticism – rejecting the lukewarm, superficial and opportunistic kinds of Christianity that became common once large numbers of people began converting to the newly official religion.[73] In fact, however, monasticism was never limited to the desert, since there were monastic communities inside the cities as well. The key features of monastic worship were:

(1) It was relatively egalitarian, since the early monks were lay men and women, not members of the clergy. Differences were based on seniority rather than clerical rank.
(2) It emphasized memorization of the Bible, especially the psalms and canticles, to enable constant meditation on these texts, and therefore their continuous recitation over fixed periods of time. Reciting all 150 psalms in one day or one week became a typical ideal.
(3) It had little use for newly composed hymn texts that were not in the Bible.

Urban or Cathedral Worship The other kind of worship to emerge clearly in the fourth century might be called "urban," since it took place in the large cities, but it is usually called "cathedral" worship, since the cathedral was the main church in each city, where the chief clergyman, the bishop, had his throne (Greek *kathedra*). Urban/cathedral worship differed from monastic worship because it was intended to include the entire urban community: clergy, laity, and even monks.[74] Thus several features of urban or cathedral worship distinguished it from desert or monastic worship.

72 Paul F. Bradshaw, "Cathedral and Monastic: What's in a Name?" *Worship* 77 (2003), 341–53. Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Cathedral–Monastic Distinction Revisited 1: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?" *Studia Liturgica* 37 (2007), 198–216.
73 Relevant excerpts in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 51–63.
74 Excerpts from relevant texts in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 75–111.

(1) Cathedral worship was hierarchical, since the lay people were led by the clergy, headed by the bishop of the city. Below the bishop were the priests or elders, followed by the deacons, and lower still the minor orders, including readers, singers, acolytes, exorcists, doorkeepers, gravediggers, and so on.
(2) Cathedral worship was stational: every Sunday and major feast day, the bishop and his entourage traveled to one of the churches in the city or the surrounding area, and there celebrated the services of morning and evening prayer, as well as the Mass of the day. Over the course of the year, therefore, a station or round of services would be held at least once at each of the major churches of the city.
(3) Because of the stational system, urban worship put a lot of emphasis on marking the passage of time – both the hours of the day and night and the annual cycle of liturgical feasts and fasts.
(4) Therefore, instead of reciting all the psalms or complete Biblical books within a fixed space of time, as in monastic worship, the psalms and other sections of the Bible were chosen to fit the occasion or time of day. Thus emerged the distinction between ordinary texts (which rarely or never changed) and proper texts (which were different every day). This in turn created a need for liturgical books to keep track of when each text needed to be read or sung.
(5) Urban worship made greater use of non-scriptural songs and hymns than monastic worship did.

Their Influence on Each Other Though early Christian music cannot be understood without the monastic/urban distinction, it is important to note that these ideal types were often mixed in practice. Desert monastic communities that lacked priests of their own would need to go into town to attend Sunday Mass. Monastic communities located in cities found ways to be included in the daily and annual cycles of urban stational worship. Then, as late Antiquity gave way to the Middle Ages, it became more common for monks to be ordained to the clergy, and for the clergy to adopt monastic practices such as celibacy and communal life. By the Middle Ages, then, both monk-priests and ordinary priests celebrated the Mass and the other sacraments, and both had the obligation (*officium*) to observe all the daily prayer hours, which therefore became known as the Divine Office.[75]

75 Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993).

The monastic emphasis on the psalms also came to transform elementary education. Jewish and Christian authors, like some of the pagan philosophers, had long been troubled by the fact that children were taught to read from texts that described the excessive drinking, sexual escapades, and vengeful violence of the pagan gods. But the need to learn to read the Bible made most Christians unwilling to give up on literacy altogether. St. Basil of Caesarea (died 379) tried to strike a balance in his *Address to Young Men on Reading Greek Literature*,[76] and St. Augustine tried to do the same for Latin readers in his *On Christian Doctrine*.[77] Monasticism, however, offered a new model, since illiterate novices were required to learn to read and memorize the psalms as part of their training to become monks. Thus Cassiodorus, in the sixth century, tried to turn the psalter into an introductory guide to the liberal arts by writing his *Exposition of the Psalms*,[78] thereby pointing the way to the medieval curriculum that began the teaching of literacy with the psalms.

For all these reasons, then, every medieval chant tradition, Eastern and Western, represents some kind of hybrid or synthesis of the two kinds of worship. In Rome, each of the great basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Mary Major, and so on was served by one or more monasteries that provided clergy to the basilica. As a result, a monastic approach prevailed in the shaping of the Divine Office at Rome, and the non-monastic services of cathedral worship disappeared almost completely. Both monks and ordinary clergy shouldered the obligation to recite all 150 psalms every week, but each group had its own arrangement for distributing the psalms across the days and hours. The Monastic cursus, outlined in the sixth-century Rule of St. Benedict (chapters 8–20)[79] was used by all monastic orders of Benedictine origin. The Roman cursus was used by diocesan priests and all non-Benedictine religious orders. In some of the great Greek-speaking cities, on the other hand, the non-monastic urban rite lasted much longer than in the West: in Constantinople until the Latin kingdom of the Crusaders (1204–61), in Thessalonica even up to the

76 Translated by Roy Joseph Deferrari and Martin R. P. McGuire in Saint Basil, *The Letters*, vol. IV, Loeb Classical Library 270 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934; with many reprints), 363–435.
77 Ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green in Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
78 Magni Aurelii Cassiodori, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 97–98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958). Trans. P. G. Walsh in Cassiodorus Senator, *Explanation of the Psalms*, 3 vols., Ancient Christian Writers 51–53 (New York: Paulist Press, 1990–91).
79 The best edition, with extensive commentary, is Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, eds., *La Règle de saint Benoît*, 7 vols., Sources Chrétiennes 181–86 [no series number for vol. 7] (Paris: Cerf, 1971–72; 1977). The best English translations for historical research purposes are: Terrence G. Kardong, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996); Timothy Fry, ed., *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981). The latter includes [Nathan Mitchell,] "The Liturgical Code in the Rule of Benedict," 379–414.

fifteenth-century Ottoman conquest.[80] Inevitably it was the monks who took on the task of rebuilding, but the Byzantine monastic office included more "cathedral" elements than the Latin Monastic and Roman cursus did. These "cathedral" elements came from the urban rite of Jerusalem, where the Greek-speaking Christian community had been under Arab Muslim rule since the year 637.

The Liturgical Tradition of Jerusalem

It is in fact in the early liturgy of Jerusalem, Christianity's holy city, that we can see the emergence of urban worship most clearly, while learning something about early monastic worship as well. Information begins in the fourth century, with the Greek sermons of the city's bishop, St. Cyril of Jerusalem (died 387).[81] A particularly important source, though it survives in only one manuscript with several missing pages, is the travelogue or *Itinerarium* written by Egeria, a Latin nun from somewhere in Spain or southern France, who wrote up her experiences in order to share them with her sisters back home. One of the very few early Christian texts known to have been composed by a woman, it originally included a description of the entire liturgical year as she herself observed it in CE 381–83.[82] Jerusalem was probably the place where stational liturgy originated: on every holiday, whether the celebration commemorated Jesus' birth or death, the Raising of Lazarus, the Last Supper, the Ascension, the martyrdom of St. Stephen or whatever else, the people and the clergy traveled to the exact location where (according to local memory) the original event had taken place. And, as Egeria frequently marveled, all the texts of the readings and the psalms were chosen to match both the day and the place.[83]

The early liturgical books from Jerusalem are among the oldest extant Christian liturgical sources, but for the most part they survive in translations, not the original Greek. Because the fifth-century church of Armenia decided to adopt the Jerusalem rite for its own use, early Armenian manuscripts faithfully preserve the calendar of readings and responsorial psalms used in

80 Oliver Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 112–50. St. Symeon of Thessalonike, *The Liturgical Commentaries*, trans. and ed. Steven Hawkes-Teeples (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010). St. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church*, trans. H. L. N. Simmons (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984).

81 Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2000). Alexis James Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses*, Patristic Monograph Series 17 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001). Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

82 *Egérie: Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)*, ed. Pierre Maraval, Sources Chrétiennes 296 (Paris: Cerf, 1982). Translated in John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 3rd ed. corrected (Oxford: Aris & Phillips; Oxbow Books, 2006). On the date, see 35–45, 169–71.

83 Some excerpts in McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 111–17.

fifth-century Jerusalem, even though no Greek MSS are known. A similar transplantation into Georgia occurred in the eighth century, producing Georgian translations of the entire annual cycle of Jerusalem hymns, along with much other material.[84] However, Greek liturgical texts from Jerusalem recently turned up in manuscripts discovered at Mount Sinai in Egypt, which have barely begun to be investigated.[85] From what we already know, though, it is possible to see that, although only Armenia and Georgia adopted the Jerusalem rite wholesale, many other liturgical traditions throughout the Christian world were partly shaped by influences and borrowings from Jerusalem. The most important of these borrowings was the Oktōēchos, the eight musical "church modes" that govern Gregorian chant and many, but not all, of the Eastern chant traditions.

The Eight Church Modes

One of the most impressive services in the rite of Jerusalem was the Resurrection Vigil, celebrated early on Sunday mornings before the tomb of Jesus, now known as the Holy Sepulchre. Egeria described how the lay people and monks gathered outside during the night, singing "hymns and antiphons" until cockcrow, when the bishop arrived and everyone went in. Then three psalms were "said," incense was lit, and the bishop went to the door of the tomb to read the entire story of Jesus' Passion and Resurrection from one of the Gospels.[86] Over time, the bishop's one long reading from a single Gospel developed into a series of shorter readings from all four Gospels, covering only the Resurrection story and spread across a four-week cycle. However, since some Gospels include more than one account of the Resurrection, the four-week cycle was doubled to eight weeks, so that shorter excerpts could be read each week, as shown in Figure 1.12.[87] This practice survived in different forms in the Armenian and Byzantine rites, but not in most others.

84 Peter Jeffery, "The Sunday Office of Seventh-Century Jerusalem in the Georgian Chantbook (Iadgari): A Preliminary Report," *Studia Liturgica* 21 (1991), 52–75. P. Jeffery, "The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertories," *Early Music History* 11 (1992), 151–90. P. Jeffery, "Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions," *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary 3–8 September 1990* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1992), 163–74. P. Jeffery, "The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994), 1–39.

85 Holy Monastery and Archiepiscopate of Sinai, Τα νέα ευρήματα του Σινά (Athens: Ministry of Culture, Mount Sinai Foundation, 1998).

86 *Itinerarium* 24.8–11, trans. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 144–45.

87 Sebastià Janeras, "I vangeli domenicali della resurrezione nelle tradizioni liturgiche agiopolita e bizantina," *Paschale Mysterium: Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore Marsili (1910–1983)*, ed. Giustino Farnedi, Studia Anselmiana 91; Analecta Liturgica 10 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo,

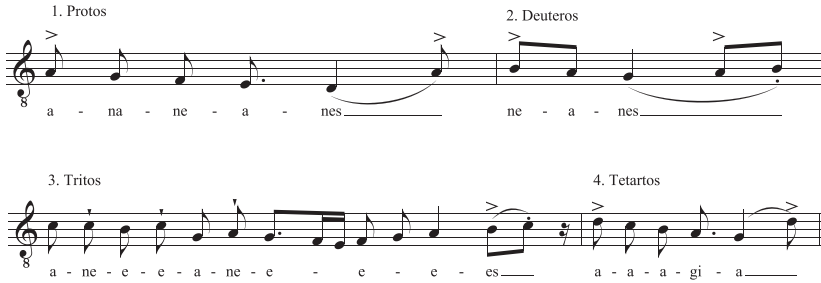
Matthew 28:1–20	Mode 1
Matthew 28:1–20	Mode 1 plagal
Mark 16:2–8	Mode 2
Mark 16:9–20	Mode 2 plagal
Luke 24:1–12	Mode 3
Luke 24:36–53	Mode 3 plagal
John 20:1–10	Mode 4
John 20:11–18	Mode 4 plagal

Figure 1.12 Cycle of eight readings from the four Gospels for the Resurrection vigil at Jerusalem, with corresponding musical modes. After Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51 (2007), 139–78 at 159.

By the sixth century, apparently, the 4 × 2 arrangement of Resurrection Gospel readings was being paralleled in hymnody by a system of four "principal" (*authentikos*) modes, numbered 1–4, and four "side" (*plagios*) modes, also numbered 1–4. The earliest theoretical discussions of their musical characteristics are found in a half dozen Armenian liturgiological and musicological treatises, which have yet to be fully edited and evaluated.[88] But we may be able to get some sense of the musical content at an early stage of development from the ēchēmata ("sounds") of Byzantine chant. Also known as apēchēmata and enēchēmata, they are brief tune-up melodies set mostly to nasal syllables, one for each mode. They may originally have been sung by the choir leader, or by individual singers, as a way to recall the modal characteristics of the chant they were about to perform. But they became the basis of the modal signatures that are found in notated Byzantine chant manuscripts from the tenth century. In their most basic form, shown in Example 1.1a, the ēchēmata of the authentic modes each begin and end on the same pitch, a, b, c, or d, moving through a tetrachordal or pentachordal space in between, though there are other forms in which they end on other pitches. The four plagal or "side" modes, similarly, begin and end on D, E, F, or G in their most basic form, as shown in Example 1.1b. As a result the two tetrachords cover

1986), 55–69. Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem," *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51 (2007), 139–78 at 158–61.
88 Frøyshov, "The Early Development," 169–71.

Example 1.1a The ēchēmata of the Greek authentic modes in their most basic form. Source for concept: Jørgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia 7 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), 9. Actual image is the author's own.



Example 1.1b The ēchēmata of the Greek plagal modes in their most basic form. Source for concept: Jørgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia 7 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), 9. Actual image is the author's own.



an octave from D to d.[89] To some extent the syllabic psalm tones of Byzantine chant follow a similar pattern, particularly in the four authentic modes, in which the reciting pitches are a, b, c, and d.[90] Thus one can hypothesize, for the time being, that each mode originally centered on a specific recitation pitch in a two-tetrachord space.

Of course things quickly got more complicated. In Jerusalem, the eight modes gradually spread from the hymnody close to the four Gospels to include all the hymn texts sung on Sundays. The result was an eight-week

89 Jørgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia 7 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), 9. See also Oliver Strunk, "Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes," in O. Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, ed. Kenneth Levy (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 19–36, esp. 32–33.

90 Christian Troelsgård, "Simple Psalmody in Byzantine Chant," *Papers R.ead at the 12th Meeting of the I[nternational] M[usicological] S[ociety] Study Group Cantus Planus: Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), 83–92.

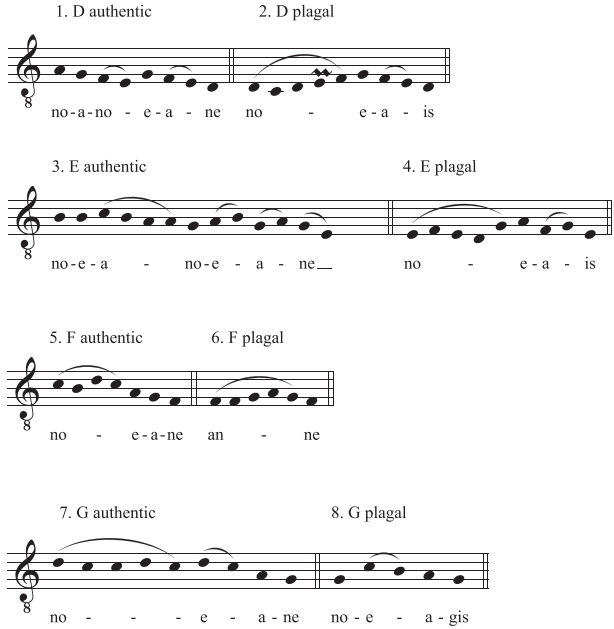
cycle of Resurrection-themed chant texts, one mode per week. These were collected in a book called Oktōēchos (after the eight ēchoi or modes), which later evolved into the Anastasimatarion or Resurrection-book of the modern Byzantine rite. Another book organized by musical mode was the Heirmologion, containing the model melodies or heirmoi used to sing the canons, or series of stanzas composed to accompany the nine biblical odes used in the Byzantine morning service. Both books appear to have formed in the Palestinian monasteries near Jerusalem, hence their traditional association with St. John of Damascus (ca. 676–749), a monk of Mar Saba and one of the greatest theologians of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

From Jerusalem, the eight modes gradually spread to other chant repertories in the Greek, Slavonic, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian linguistic realms. In the eighth century, the eight modes were imported into the Latin West, to serve a central role in the Frankish reformulation of Roman chant that became known as Gregorian chant. They were never adopted by the older local Latin traditions that Gregorian chant largely replaced – Milanese, Visigothic or Mozarabic, Beneventan, Old Roman. In each of the Eastern and Western musical cultures that did adopt the eight modes, however, changes were made, as if to adjust the theory to local usage. In the Latin world, where the modes had arrived by the late eighth century, for some reason they were adjusted so that the authentic modes ended on the same four finals as the plagal modes: D, E, F, or G. Thus each final would henceforth host two modes: one authentic, one plagal, as shown in Example 1.2.[91] In the later history of the Eastern churches it became common to number the plagal modes 5–8, retaining the authentic modes as 1–4. But in the West, modes with the same final were grouped together, with authentic and plagal alternating, so that the Latin authentic modes came to be numbered 1, 3, 5, 7, and the plagal modes 2, 4, 6, 8.

Before long, efforts were being made to conflate the Latinized Oktōēchos with the modes of Boethius, though the two originally had nothing to do with each other. The octave of the church modes ascends from D to d, while the System descends two octaves from a′ to A, and the tetrachords of the Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems were not the same as the tetrachords of the Jerusalem modes. These efforts resulted in the D mode being linked to the name Dorian and so on, as students are still being taught today. But the notion that the modes of Gregorian chant go back to ancient Greece has no more historical reality than the idea that Gregorian psalmody goes back to the Jerusalem Temple.

91 Terence Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant*, Studies and Texts 28 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 12.

Example 1.2 The ēchēmata of the Latin modes in their shortest form. Source for concept: Terence Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant*, Studies and Texts 28 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 12. Actual image is the author's own



Summary

The music of medieval Western Europe was created with the help of three legacies from older civilizations: the philosophy and learning of ancient Greece, the poetry and narratives of ancient Israel, and the cultural synthesis of the early Church. From ancient Platonic philosophy, medieval Europe inherited the Pythagorean theory of acoustics based on numerical ratios, as well as concepts about the ability of music to mimic and influence different types of behavior. As Greek music theory was transmitted through Latin writers, it was identified as one of the seven liberal arts, indeed part of the mathematical quadrivium. This included concepts of rhythm and meter that originated in the theory of Greek poetry, but were modified somewhat as they came to be reapplied to Latin poetry. It also involved a theory of word accent, marked by various notae or signs, which underlay the medieval development of more advanced systems of musical neumes. Finally it included the theory of harmonics, based on the tuning of the ancient Greek kithara, particularly as

described by Boethius in his Latin paraphrases of Greek theoretical texts. From this medieval Europe inherited a fundamentally tetrachordal arrangement of musical space and a system of tuning transpositions that contributed to the formation of medieval modal theory.

From ancient Israel, medieval Europe inherited the religious writings that were incorporated into the Christian Bible, notably the psalms. From the historical narratives in the Bible, medieval Christians learned about the Temple as representing an ideal form of worship, an earthly copy of the eternal praises sung by the angels in Heaven. The destruction of the Temple during the first century CE, however, forced a reformulation of Judaism around Talmudic study and synagogue worship, where the cantillation of the Torah of Moses was an act of central importance. Since musical notation was rare in Jewish cultures, reconstructing the history of oral traditions that survive today requires rather different methodologies from the heavily paleographical approach used for medieval Christian music, where notated sources are abundant.

In the early Church, the use of hymns – largely Christological in content – gave way to the two kinds of worship that emerged in the fourth century. Monastic or desert worship, more ascetic and egalitarian, focused on the recitation of the psalms. This contributed to a reformulation of the educational curriculum, so that basic literacy was acquired by reading the psalms instead of texts full of pagan deities. In cathedral or urban worship, the entire urban community, led by the clergy, celebrated the liturgical year by traveling to various sites of religious significance around the city. The model for urban worship was Jerusalem, where the first Christian community had lived under the leadership of the apostles. There the most important religious site was the tomb of Jesus, and it was in the Resurrection Vigil of Sunday morning, where the bishop read from the four Gospels, that a form of musical organization emerged based on recitation tones organized in two tetrachords. These became the medieval modes of Gregorian chant, Byzantine chant, and some other Eastern chant traditions.

It was in the Carolingian period, during the reign of Charlemagne and his successors, that the elements inherited from these three cultures were brought together for the first time, and molded into the Frankish recension of Gregorian chant – the first truly medieval music.

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Origins and Transmission of Franco-Roman Chant

ANDREAS PFISTERER

This chapter deals with events for which there is no direct documentation and about which there is no consensus among scholars. To hope that a consensus might be established by virtue of better arguments is utopian. Therefore, there are two possible ways of writing an article on this topic. One can be silent about history and speak about documents, or one can put forward one's own view in a hopefully consistent manner and present arguments that might prove relevant even within the framework of a different view. I will follow the second path.

The first half of the chapter deals with the origins of the Roman chant repertory – this topic is part of the history of liturgy and can be treated mostly without looking at the music. The second half deals with the phase of transmission that connects the origins with the musical manuscripts – this topic is treated here from the point of view of the melodies. I am convinced that the music provides more and better evidence than all the arguments by analogy from cultural history.

Professionalization of Liturgy

In contrast to the chant of Eastern liturgies, in late Antiquity in the West creativity is centered on chants with biblical texts; Mass chants are mainly from the psalms, office chants include texts from the whole Bible. There is a special feature, most clearly visible in the Roman Mass, that James McKinnon has termed "properization."[1] Not only feasts but also each Sunday and each day of Lent has its own chant formulary. Thus the repertory of the Mass chants in existence ca. CE 750 includes 148 Introits, 117 Graduals, about 40–50 Alleluias, 15 Tracts, 93 offertories, and 146 communions.[2] The Office repertory is less

1 James McKinnon, "Properization: The Roman Mass," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1995), 15–22.

2 The numbers are based on the manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries, excluding pieces that are probably Frankish additions, while including a few cases of pieces (almost) lost in transmission.

easily defined; it numbers a few hundred antiphons and responsories. Building up a repertory of that sort, and even more so preserving it in the memory and transmitting it to the following generations, requires the concentrated effort of an institution. For these reasons McKinnon attributed it to the Roman Schola cantorum and proposed a date in the second half of the seventh century, i.e., during a time of recovery from the catastrophes of the sixth century (Gothic wars, invasion of the Langobards). This late date has been contested in the course of my defense of a more traditional early date. In fact, McKinnon's argument is fragile in some points and there are clear indications of the existence of substantial parts of the repertory before Gregory I (590–604).[3]

The analysis of the liturgical order of the Mass antiphonary in the light of the history of the Roman calendar within the seventh century leads to a *terminus ante quem* in the middle of that century. The formularies of the feasts Hypapanti (2.2.) and Cena Domini, introduced around that time, borrow pieces from the Temporale. So the last comprehensive reworking of the Mass antiphonary seems to have taken place in the first half of the seventh century. But parts of the repertory are older.

The Introit "Ecce aduenit" is cited in the Vita of Pope Vigilius (537–555) in the roughly contemporary *Liber pontificalis*. A decisive piece of evidence is provided by the study of the chant texts from Isaiah: the pieces for the Advent season (introduced in the late sixth century) use the Latin text version called Vulgata; the pieces for the rest of the year use instead (with a few exceptions) older text versions that are today called collectively Vetus Latina. For some of these Vetus Latina texts it is clear that they have been chosen for the special Sunday or feast to which they are assigned, so they cannot constitute a pre-properization repertory. It is thus impossible to interpret the Advent chants as the initial layer of the repertory as McKinnon did; on the contrary, they must be seen as a late layer.

So the date of the properization project should be moved back to the period before the Gothic wars (535–555) devastated Italy. And this brings it closer to another development in liturgical history which might appropriately be called "professionalization."

3 McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). Andreas Pfisterer, "James McKinnon und die Datierung des gregorianischen Chorals," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 85 (2001), 31–53. Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 11 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), 217–32. Cf. the similar results of the independent study of non-psalmic Introit texts in Christoph Tietze, "The Use of Old Latin in the Non-Psalmic Introit Texts" in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004, Aug. 23–28* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 2006), 259–83.

Simplifying somewhat, in patristic times one may distinguish two liturgical spheres: cathedral and monastery.[4] The liturgy of the cathedral is characterized by the opposing roles of clergy and people; in the monastery, there are neither clergy nor people, but a group of professional worshipers. In the Middle Ages, however, the difference between cathedrals, collegiate churches and monasteries is not very great, for in all of them the liturgy is performed by a community of professional worshipers. The presence of the people is not required for any part of the liturgy, the presence of the bishop only rarely. The development that led from one stage to the other remains obscure due to the lack of sources. What seems to be clear is the mutual influence of cathedral and monastery beginning in the fourth century: one could speak of the clericalization of monks and the monasticization of clerics.

The musical implications of this development have been described by McKinnon as a change "from lector chant to schola chant."[5] The "responsorial" way of psalmody, as we know it from patristic texts, corresponds to the situation of the cathedral liturgy: a cleric, who knows the psalms by heart or is able to read them from a book, sings the successive verses, the people respond to each verse with a refrain that can be sung by heart by everybody. In the monasteries the same way of soloistic performance was used in the Office, sometimes even without a refrain. The preference for listening seems to correspond to the original monastic interpretation of psalmody as a type of meditation on scriptural texts.[6] But then the possibility of singing the verses together, since all members knew them by heart, was put into practice. As with all long texts (hymns, ordinary chants), the division into two choirs that sing alternately is a means of avoiding exhaustion. The refrain, originally a means of allowing the participation of the people, becomes superfluous in that respect; it is retained as the common beginning and ending of the psalm and as a means of adding thematic emphasis to the psalm text. The question of when and where this change in the office psalmody took place remains open; from the ninth century onwards the "antiphonal" type of psalmody is attested as the normal way.[7]

According to the traditional view, going back to Isidore of Seville (d. 636), Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) introduced double-choir psalmody in Western

4 This distinction, indispensable for the history of the Office, was developed by the school of Anton Baumstark; see Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1993).

5 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 62–65. 6 Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 364.

7 Helmut Leeb, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius* (Vienna: Herder, 1967). Joseph Dyer, "Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages," *Revue Bénédictine* 99 (1989), 41–74. Edward Nowacki, "Antiphonal Psalmody in Christian Antiquity and Early Middle Ages" in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. G.M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 287–315. Philippe Bernard, "A-t-on connu la psalmodie alternée à deux choeurs, en Gaule, avant l'époque carolingienne?" *Revue Bénédictine* 114 (2004), 291–325; 115 (2005), 33–60. Michel Huglo, "Recherches sur la psalmodie alternée à deux choeurs," *Revue Bénédictine* 116 (2006), 352–66.

Europe (this view has recently been defended by Huglo). Helmut Leeb rejected this view by demonstrating that there is no trace of that way of singing in the writings of Ambrose. Joseph Dyer then proposed the hypothesis that the Carolingian reform of the eighth century was responsible for the general introduction of double-choir psalmody, previously used only in special circumstances. One testimony has not yet been taken into consideration: Bede mentions double-choir psalmody in the narration of the death of his teacher Benedict Biscop (d. 689/90)[8]; this testimony would lead back to the seventh-century Roman monasteries that Biscop tried to imitate.

In Office psalmody, the choir took over the role of the soloist; the people as it were disappeared. In those genres, however, that retained the responsorial way of performance (especially the Gradual of the Mass) as well as in chants without psalmody (especially the Mass Ordinary) the choir took over the role of the people. These are two different paths of the development toward "schola chant."

The appropriation of chants by the choir may have occurred at different times for different genres. The proper chants of the Roman Mass were probably taken over by the choir by the end of the fifth century. The participation of the people in singing the chants for the Ordinary of Mass, however, seems to persist at least at some places into the Carolingian age.[9] This is probably the reason why ordinary melodies did not become part of the canonical repertory of the Mass antiphonary, the book of the choir.

At least for the Gradual, one can assume that it developed out of its predecessor, the patristic responsorial psalm placed within the series of scriptural readings. Its introduction to the Roman liturgy seems to have occurred rather late, under Pope Celestine I (422–32).[10] If one accepts a direct continuity, the text must have been abbreviated to one verse (additionally to the refrain) while the melody was extended. A parallel development seems to apply to all Christian rites.

Institutions

The Roman Schola cantorum is mentioned in various texts from the seventh to the fourteenth century.[11] It is not easy, however, to get a comprehensive picture of this institution. On the one hand it appears as an ensemble

8 Venerabilis Baeda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, *Historia abbatum*, *Epistola ad Ecgberctum*, *una cum Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, ed. Carolus Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 376.

9 Joseph A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 1952), vol. I: 460 and 603–05; vol. II: 161–64.

10 Peter Jeffery, "The Introduction of Psalmody into the Roman Mass by Pope Celestine I (422–432): Reinterpreting a Passage in the *Liber pontificalis*," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984), 147–65.

11 Dyer, "Schola cantorum," in *MGG2, Sachteil*, vol. VIII: cols. 1119–123. Cf. Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana*, 232–34.

consisting of men and boys and performing in the papal stational service; on the other hand it appears as a school that offers to gifted poor children a school education and the possibility of a clerical career. This second aspect is witnessed by Ordo Romanus XXXVI:[12]

Primum in qualicumque scola reperti fuerint pueri bene psallentes, tolluntur unde et nutriuntur in scola cantorum et postea fiunt cubicularii. Si autem nobilium filii fuerint, statim in cubiculo nutriuntur. (Ordo Romanus XXXVI 1)

First, in whichever school there are found boys that sing well, they are taken away from there and brought up in the Schola cantorum, and later they become privy servants (of the pope). If, however, they are sons of nobles, they are brought up from the beginning in the (papal) chamber.

Dyer is probably right in assuming that the alumni of the Schola cantorum later became clerics serving at the Roman titular churches and provided the chant in these churches.[13] In some documents the Schola cantorum or its building are called "orphanotrophium" (orphanage); this might have been its original function, but that had become secondary by the late seventh century at the latest. The question of the origin of the Schola cantorum was for a long time overshadowed by the person of Pope Gregory I who is named founder of the Schola cantorum from the ninth century on. Dyer has managed to make this claim implausible; he moves the origin of the Schola to the time of our first documents, i.e., the late seventh century.[14] There is one problem with this latest possible date: it cannot be reconciled with an early dating of the Roman Mass Proper. In order to produce and reproduce such a large repertory there must have been some established institution. Since the argument for an early date of the Mass Proper is much stronger than the absence of documents for the early existence of the Schola, there is no reasonable alternative to assuming that the Schola originated in the fifth or early sixth century.

One of the few documents of Gregory's intervention in liturgical chant is the decree of the Roman synod of 595:

12 Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age IV*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 28 (Louvain: Université Catholique, 1956), 195. This Ordo was probably composed by a non-Roman author in the later ninth century. In many details it is contradicted by Roman documents (see ibid., 185–91); there is, however, no Roman document that might confirm or correct the cited statement about the Schola cantorum.

13 Dyer, "The Schola Cantorum and Its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages," in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 19–40 at 37–38.

14 Ibid.

In sancta hac Romana ecclesia, cui divina dispensatio praeesse me voluit, dudum consuetudo est valde reprehensibilis exorta, ut quidam ad sacri altaris ministerium cantores eligantur et in diaconatus ordine constituti modulationi vocis serviant, quos ad praedicationis officium elemosinarumque studium vacare congruebat.

In this holy Roman church, over which the divine dispensation wanted me to preside, the very reprehensible habit arose long ago that some singers are elected to the ministry of the holy altar, and that those in the order of deacon perform the task of singing, who should devote themselves to the office of preaching and the care for alms.

Unde fit plerumque, ut ad sacrum ministerium, dum blanda vox quaeritur, quaeri congrua vita neglegatur et cantor minister Deum moribus stimulet, cum populum vocibus delectat.

This is why most often, while a charming voice is required for the holy ministry, the requirement of an appropriate way of life is neglected, and the singer-minister provokes God by his manners, while he delights the people by his sounds.

Qua de re praesenti decreto constituo, ut in sede hac sacri altaris ministri cantare non debeant solumque evangelicae lectionis officium inter missarum sollemnia exsolvant. Psalmos vero ac reliquas lectiones censeo per subdiaconos vel, si necessitas exigit, per minores ordines exhiberi. (Registrum 5,57a)

Therefore I order by this decree that at this [bishop's] seat the ministers of the holy altar must not sing and should perform only the task of the Gospel reading in the Mass service. For the psalms, however, and the remaining readings, I want them to be presented by subdeacons or, if required by necessity, by lower orders.

This decree puts an end to the musical role of the seven Roman deacons which is attested additionally by epitaphs from the fifth and sixth centuries.[15] From the point of view of McKinnon's chronology, the singing deacons are part of the prehistory of the Gregorian repertory; by my reckoning, however, they must have been involved in its formation. We have no records about the relationship between the deacons and the Schola cantorum. But it seems improbable that the deacons, often coming from the local nobility, could

15 Ernst Diehl, ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925–31), nos. 1194 and 1195, vol. 1: 231–32. Antonio Ferrua, ed., *Epigrammata Damasiana* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1942), no. 63, pp. 233–35. These documents have been largely ignored in anglophone literature, but see Anton de Waal, "Le chant liturgique dans les inscriptions romaines du IVe au IXe siècle," in *Compte rendu du troisième congrès scientifique international des catholiques 2: Sciences religieuses* (Brussels: Societé belge de librairie, 1895), 310–17. Ernesto T. Moneta Caglio, *Lo iubilus e le origini della salmodia responsoriale* (Venice, 1977), 184–85.

have attended the "orphanage"; there must have been ways of acquiring privately a training in chant as well as a normal school education.

Until 595, deacons and Schola had to cooperate in the stational service; in the Gradual responsory the deacon sang the refrain first, the Schola repeated it. Since there is no trace of different melodic styles used by soloist and choir (as in the Byzantine prokeimenon) in the melodic transmission, it is reasonable to assume that they sang the same melodies to the same words. On the other hand, it would be possible to connect the existing stylistic differences with the different institutions, if the Gradual, Tract, and possibly the oldest layer of Alleluia were the responsibility of the deacons, while the Introit, Offertory, and Communion were the responsibility of the Schola.[16] This would imply, however, that the Schola cantorum preserved the style of the deacons in the respective genres when it took over their role in 595.

For the Office, our knowledge of the institutions is even poorer. We know the Schola cantorum performed the Vespers of Easter week[17] and some festive vigils, but we have no further evidence of what they may have done.[18] We know of an Office at the Roman titular churches from a passing notice in Ordo Romani XXVII 79.[19] The main institutions concerned with the Roman Office as we know it are probably the basilical monasteries. The *Liber pontificalis* includes notices on the foundation of monastic communities at the Roman basilicas from the fifth century on.[20] They developed partly into Benedictine monasteries (St. Paul), partly into collegiate chapters (Lateran, St. Peter). The liturgical regulations of the *Regula Benedicti* of the sixth century seem to follow the use of the Roman basilical monasteries – with significant changes. Since Pope Stephen III (768–72) ordered that one of the cardinal bishops should celebrate the Mass at St. Peter's on Sundays,[21] it seems clear that the monks attached to St. Peter's were responsible for the Office only. We cannot exclude, however, that they additionally served as choir in the Mass. Johannes, abbot of one of the monasteries at St. Peter's in 678, bears the

16 For the different conceptions of musical form see Pfisterer, "Skizzen zu einer gregorianischen Formenlehre," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 63 (2006), 145–61.
17 Stephen J. P. van Dijk, "The Medieval Easter Vespers of the Roman Clergy," *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1969/70), 261–363.
18 If the twelfth-century antiphoner London, British Library add. 29988 belonged to the Schola, this would verify the existence of a complete Office for the late phase of the Schola.
19 Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age III*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 24 (Louvain: Université Catholique, 1951), 366.
20 Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris: Thorin/Boccard, 1886–92), vol. 1: 234, 239, 245.
21 Ibid., vol. 1: 478.

title *archicantor aecclesiae beati apostoli Petri*.[22] This might imply that the monks were integrated into the chant tradition of the city of Rome. The stylistic similarity of the great responsories of the Office and the antiphons of the Mass, which extends even to melodic identity, seems to confirm the unity of the chant tradition.

Melodic identity between different liturgical genres is often seen as a sign of the secondary reuse of pieces from one genre to fill gaps in the other genre (McKinnon, Maiani). Willibrord Heckenbach, however, judged it an archaism, implying an evolution toward more musical differentiation between the liturgical genres. My own research in the transmission of the melodies suggests another possibility: melodies that were different might be assimilated mutually (unconsciously).[23]

Repertory

The Proper of the Mass appears in the manuscripts as a monolithic block, largely resisting an analysis of historical layers. In the Office the transmission is much more diffuse; it will perhaps be possible to distinguish layers, but even the first step toward doing this, distinguishing between Roman pieces and Frankish additions, still remains to be done in a comprehensive way.[24] The Alleluia is an exception within the Mass Proper. It was clearly introduced late into the Roman Mass, i.e., after the "properization project." The Alleluia might therefore offer some insights into the mechanisms of properization, but even here it is difficult to reach a consensus about the definition of the Roman repertory.[25]

In some cases, favorable circumstances give us a glimpse of the prehistory of a single piece. Some pieces, especially offertories, have close cognates in other repertories, in particular the Old Spanish.[26] The question of the original

22 Venerabilis Baeda, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 369. The title *archicantor Romanae aecclesiae*, given by the anonymous author of the earlier *Historia abbatum* (ibid., 391), seems to be a simplification that should not be pressed.

23 McKinnon, "The Eighth-Century Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 179–227. Bradford Maiani, "The Responsory-Communions for Paschaltide," *Studia Musicologica* 39 (1998), 233–40. Willibrord Heckenbach, "Responsoriale Communio-Antiphonen," in *Ars musica, musica scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen*, ed. D. Altenburg (Köln: Gitarre und Laute Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980), 224–32. Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 173–74.

24 Some attempts can be found in Pfisterer, "Hesbert, Amalar und die fränkische Responsorienkomposition," in *Papers Read at the 13th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Niederaltaich/Germany, 2006. Aug. 29-Sept. 4* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 2009), 535–46. David Eben, "Die Ofiziumsantiphonen der Adventszeit," 2 vols., Ph. D. dissertation, University of Prague, 2003 (print in preparation).

25 Cf. McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 249–79. Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 126–27.

26 Louis Brou, "Le IVe Livre d'Esdras dans la Liturgie Hispanique et le Graduel Romain *Locus iste* de la Messe de la Dédicace," *Sacris Erudiri* 9 (1957), 75–109. Kenneth Levy, "Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul," *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 49–99.

provenance of such "international" pieces can often be elucidated by the study of the biblical text on which they are based. The Latin text of the psalms exists in many local versions that seem to be rather stable through the centuries. By that criterion, it has been possible to establish that most chants common to Rome and Milan are of Roman origin.[27] On the other hand, some chants of the Roman repertory seem to be of foreign origin, e.g. probably from Gaul or from Africa.[28] Texts from outside the psalter are often inconclusive in respect of geography, but significant in respect of chronology. These conclusions drawn from versions of the Latin text have to acknowledge many blind spots, since we cannot know all versions that have existed, and since assimilation to the version in actual use often covers the tracks of a piece which has wandered from one tradition to another. Nevertheless, the cases we can recognize show that the Roman Schola cantorum not only created pieces of their own, but also collected pieces from other liturgical centers and integrated them into their repertory.

Oral Tradition

The question of how one might imagine the transmission of a large treasury of melodies without the use of musical notation remained marginal for a long time. It was in 1970 that Leo Treitler put it into the center of the discussion. Instead of looking on oral tradition as a less effective way of transmission, he provided a model for the functioning of oral tradition different from written tradition. Inspired by a position in Homer scholarship, he saw the performance of a chant in oral tradition not as reproduction of an individual melody but as an improvisational reconstruction. Musical formulas and "grammatical" rules are adapted to a given (written) text; the object of transmission is these rules, not the performances resulting from their adaption. From this point of view, notated melodies are neither prescriptive nor descriptive, but exemplary.[29]

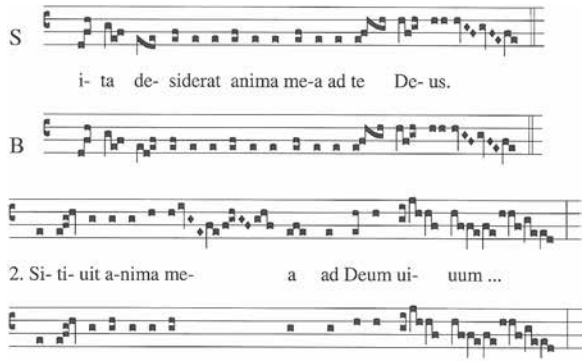
Helmut Hucke transformed this theory of oral transmission into a history of chant transmission by the way of deduction (thereby changing some of his former positions): the unanimity of chant manuscripts cannot be due to the (impossible) unanimity of oral performance, it must be the result of a written transmission. The various stages of codification (adiastematic notation about

27 Huglo et al., *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Archivio Ambrosiano 7 (Milan: Rivista Ambrosius, 1956), 127–36.

28 Pfisterer, "Remarks on Roman and Non-Roman Offertories," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 14 (2005), 169–81. Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

29 Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *The Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), 333–72. Treitler, "Centonate Chant: Übles Flickwerk or E pluribus unus?" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 1–23.

Example 2.1 Comparison of standard and Beneventan versions of the Tract "Sicut ceruus" (excerpt): S – standard version; B – Beneventan version



900, diastematic notation about 1100) each imply a break of transmission; the repertory of individual melodies we know is the final result of this development.[30]

Kenneth Levy defended the notion of a uniform Carolingian repertory of individual melodies. By supposing that adiastematic notation was already used about 800 he connects the testimony of the manuscripts for a stable transmission already in the ninth century with the notion that stability requires writing.

My own work continues that of David Hughes on the melodic variants in chant manuscripts.[31] The picture emerging from those studies will be sketched by some selected examples.

Accidents of Transmission

Example 2.1 shows the second half of the first verse and the first half of the second verse of the canticle "Sicut ceruus" from the Easter Vigil. This melody is part of the family of Tracts in the eighth mode; the four Easter Vigil canticles consist exclusively of formulaic phrases that are connected with certain formal positions within the verse. The manuscripts from Benevento transmit a common variant for the second verse that omits the division of the half verse into two

30 Helmut Hucke, "Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), 437–67. Helmut Hucke and Hartmut Möller, "Gregorianischer Gesang," in *MGG2*, Sachteil III (1995), cols. 1609–21.

31 David Hughes, "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 377–404.

phrases. The verse begins with the intonation of the first phrase, but ends with the melisma of the second phrase. Since the first phrase has a recitation on b, the second phrase a recitation on c, there is an internal change of the recitation pitch. One could imagine various different scenarios for the origin of this deviation from the formulaic system. At this place, the Beneventan manuscripts are opposed to the consensus of the rest of the manuscripts, which present the melody in regular form;[32] it is therefore probable that the variant arose when the chant was transferred to Benevento (probably around 800). It is not possible to explain this variant by a scribe's error; even in the case of a defective exemplar the scribe would have been able to complete the melody by analogy with the other verses. The most reasonable assumption seems to be that a singer failed to reconstruct the melody correctly from memory. He began the verse in the correct way, overlooked by accident the caesura at *anima mea*, perhaps induced by the similar behavior of the same words in the first verse. At *Deum uiuum* he remembered the melisma connected with these words, so he had to produce the change of reciting pitch in order to get back into the melody. However the variant came into being, it remained uncorrected and became part of the Beneventan tradition of chant, even though everyone familiar with the formulaic system of the Tracts would have been able to recognize and emend the error.

This (not very common) case gives several clues:

- Even within a simple formulaic system, melodies that are "grammatically" wrong can remain uncorrected; this implies that the chants are remembered as individual pieces;
- In the reconstruction from memory, the connection of the words *Deum uiuum* to a certain melisma was stronger than the integrity of the formulaic phrase;
- The normal control of the transmission by the collective memory may fail; there seems to have been no additional control through a normative notated book. The manuscripts preserve instead the variant that has emerged in performance.

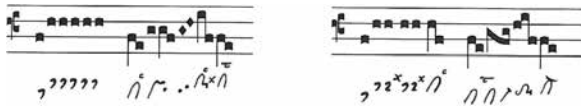
Assimilation

The Tracts of the second mode rely strongly on formulas, the most stable element being the medial caesura of the verses.[33] Example 2.2 shows on the

32 For some isolated exceptions see Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 83.

33 For an extensive discussion of the formulaic system see Emma Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical Chant and Patristic Exegesis: Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009).

Example 2.2 Medial caesuras of second-mode Tracts, with neumatic notation from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 359



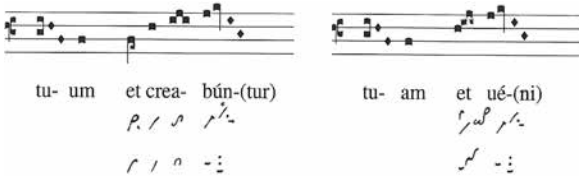
left the normal melisma on the final syllable, if the last word has its accent on the penultimate syllable; on the right it shows a variant that appears under the same conditions in the first verses of the tracts "Domine audiui" and "Domine exaudi." The difference between these two versions concerns not only the repetition of the third note, but also the rhythm as indicated by some early neumatic notations. In the normal version only the last three notes are long, in the special version the first five notes are long, too. There is no obvious reason for that difference, but it corresponds to further common features of these two pieces, so there may be some chronological reason. The special version is witnessed by the manuscripts of the tenth century and some conservative later ones; most later manuscripts, however, give the normal version every time, and one eleventh-century manuscript represents a tradition with the special version every time.[34]

One could imagine a development from a unique version to two different versions arbitrarily or by chance, but this cannot happen independently at different places. On the contrary, an assimilation of the special version to the normal one may happen independently. Thus it is probable that the older manuscripts reflect the state of development at the time of the diffusion of the repertory, whereas the later manuscripts represent the result of a regularization.

There may be cases of regularization that have been done intentionally; it is much more probable, however, that it happened inadvertently. Again this is not a typical scribal error, but rather a memory error. The transmission of literary texts knows comparable variants by assimilation especially in texts people know by heart, as the Bible or Virgil; there these variants may be judged as a contamination caused by memory. In chant transmission the frequency of such variants, together with the rarity of typical scribal errors, is a clear sign for the dominance of the transmission by memory even after the introduction of musical notation.

34 See Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 53.

Example 2.3 Alleluias *Emitte* and *Excita* (excerpts) with neumatic notation from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 359 and Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 47



Reiterated Variants

Most variants in chant transmission are not isolated, but reappear regularly in similar melodic situations. Their counterparts in literary transmission would not be scribal errors, but phonetic changes or dialect variants. It is reasonable, therefore, to speak of chant dialects.[35] Two early types of such variants will be presented here: the omission of the lower note of an ascending motion and the filling in of thirds.

Example 2.3 shows one of several typical situations for the former: a torculus-figure that connects two notes at the distance of a major third (most often F-GaG-a), the word accent being placed on the last note. The first note of the torculus-figure is regularly missing in the geographical western region (Brittany, Chartres, Aquitaine), it is regularly present in the east, while between them there is a large transitional zone. The example shows additionally a case where (due to the lack of syllables) the first note is connected with the torculus-figure; there the respective note is written as a quilisma and is present in all early manuscripts. This may be explained by assuming that the eastern version is the earlier one and that the western version is the result of the erosion of this ornamental note at the point of syllable articulation, whereas it survived within the syllable.[36]

Example 2.7 shows the filling in of thirds in ascending and descending motion with a passing note. This variant appears regularly in a group of manuscripts whose center may be the monastery of St. Denis near Paris; through the English ecclesiastical reform of the tenth century it also came

35 This term was introduced by Peter Wagner, in "Der gregorianische Gesang," in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. G. Adler (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1924), 65–105 at 87–88.
36 Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 26–29.

to the British Isles. The question of priority between the two versions cannot be easily judged by internal arguments; more helpful is the geographical method developed by Romance linguistics. The basic idea of this method is that novelties originate somewhere and spread out from there. The spread is dependent on the radiance of the place of origin and on the ease of communication. The earlier state of development is often preserved in peripheral and backward regions. Applied to our case, the area of the St. Denis variant is almost completely surrounded by the area of the standard variant. Therefore it may be assumed that the standard variant is the earlier one.[37]

The areas of this and other dialect variants often overlap; e.g., the tradition of Cluny partakes to some extent in both variants commented on here. A genealogical model of so-called vertical transmission cannot explain such overlappings; it is horizontal transmission that seems to dominate the spread of variants in chant.

"Old Roman" Chant: Manuscripts and Institutions

Hundreds of manuscripts from the whole of Latin Europe transmit us the Gregorian repertory with many small variants, but generally with astonishing uniformity. Besides that there is a small group of manuscripts, fragments, and notations of single pieces from the city of Rome that transmit a related, but clearly different melodic version.[38] There are several pairs of terms to distinguish the two versions; these reflect the different historical scenarios proposed for the origin of the double tradition of the repertory. Bruno Stäblein introduced "Old Roman" in contrast to "Gregorian," Helmut Hucke spoke of "Gregorian chant in Roman and Frankish transmission" instead.[39] Hucke's terminology has the advantage of preserving "Gregorian" as a comprehensive term for both branches; additionally it is compatible with my historical scenario, thus I will use it in the following discussion.

The most important witnesses of the Roman transmission are three graduals and two antiphoners.

37 Pfisterer, "Y a-t-il une tradition française."

38 Huglo, "Le chant vieux-romain: Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 96–124.

39 Bruno Stäblein, "Zur Frühgeschichte des römischen Chorals," in *Atti del congresso internazionale di Musica Sacra, Roma 1950*, ed. H. Anglès (Tournai, 1952), 271–75. Hucke, "Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1955), 74–87.

	Date	Institution
Graduals		
Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, C 74	1071	St. Caecilia in Trastevere
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi Latini 5319	11th/12th century	Schola cantorum[a]
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, F.22	13th century	St. Peter's
Antiphoners		
London, British Library, additional 29988	12th century	Schola cantorum?[b]
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Archivio di S. Pietro, B.79	12th century	St. Peter's

[a] Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 107–08.

[b] The indications in favor of the Schola are: absence of a dedication feast besides the dedication of the Lateran basilica (not conclusive because of some lacunae in the manuscript); presence of the Easter Vespers. The chants of the Easter Vespers are given full musical notation only on Sunday and Monday; this corresponds to the situation described in the roughly contemporary Ordo Lateranensis: on Sunday and Monday evenings the canons make way for the Schola, from Tuesday on they celebrate Vespers in the normal way in the basilica (L. Fischer, ed., *Bernhardi cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis* [Munich and Freising: Datterer, 1916], 88).

Other institutions in Rome used local variants of the Frankish transmission. The manuscripts of the Franciscan friars, beginning in the middle of the thirteenth century, are witnesses for the tradition of the Roman Curia, which seems to have been brought to the state in which we know it by a reform of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216).[40] It is probably based on the liturgy of the Lateran basilica as witnessed by a twelfth-century *Liber ordinarius*. The canons of the Lateran church were reformed in the first half of the twelfth century from Lucca; there are some indications that they received their liturgical tradition from there, too.[41] Probably the musical tradition came to Rome in the same way.

40 Stephen J. P. van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, MD; London: The Newman Press, 1960).

41 Pierre-Marie Gy, "L'influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 85 (1984), 31–41. Gy, "The Missal of a Church Adjacent to the Lateran: Roma Archivio di Stato MS Sanctissimo Salvatore 997," in *Songs of the Dove and the Nightingale: Sacred and Secular Music c. 900-c. 1600*, ed. G. M. Hair and R. E. Smith (Basel: Gordon and Breach, 1995), 63–73.

Carolingian Reform

Helmut Hucke explained the bifurcation of chant transmission by its connection with a decisive event in liturgical history, the Carolingian reform; it included the reception of the Roman chant in Francia and its dissemination throughout the Frankish empire. Hucke's connection was generally accepted after the deaths of its adversaries, Stäblein and van Dijk, and rightly so as it seems.[42] There are several accounts of the reception of Roman chant looking back to the events. One document, however, seems to be part of the events and should be regarded as the most reliable witness. Pope Paul I (757–67) answers a letter of King Pepin on behalf of his brother Remedius, bishop of Rouen, as follows:

In eis siquidem conperimus exaratum, quod presentes Deo amabilis Remedii germani vestri monachos Symeoni scole cantorum priori contradere deberemus ad instruendum eos psalmodii modulationem, quam ab eo adprehendere tempore, quo illic in vestris regiminibus extitit, nequiverunt; pro quo valde ipsum vestrum asseritis germanum tristem effectum, in eo quod non eius perfecte instruisset monachos.

In this [letter] we found written that we should hand over the present monks of your brother Remedius, beloved by God, to Simeon, the leader of the Schola cantorum, in order to instruct them in the singing of psalms which they could not learn from him in the time he was there in your kingdom; thereby, as you assert, your brother became very sorry that he did not completely instruct his monks.

Et quidem, benignissime rex, satisfacimus christianitatem tuam, quod, nisi Georgius, qui eidem scolae praefuit, de hac migrasset luce, nequaquam eundem Simeonem a vestri germani servitio abstolere niteremur. Sed defuncto praelato Georgio et in eius isdem Symeon, utpote sequens illius, accedens locum, ideo pro doctrina scolae eum ad nos accersivimus.[43]

And we account to your Christianity, most kind king, that, if George, who presided over the said Schola, had not passed away from this light, we would not have tried in any way to remove the said Simeon from the service of your brother. But when the director George had died and the said Simeon, as his deputy, took his place, therefore we called him to us for the teaching of the Schola.

42 Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 107–11.

43 *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi* 1, ed. E. Dümmler et al., MGH epistolae 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 553–54.

We cannot be sure if the events described here constitute the only channel of the introduction of Roman chant or one of several channels. The latter seems probable since, according to Paulus Diaconus, bishop Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766) introduced the Roman chant to his see,[44] obviously during the same time. But there is no evidence for the view that the introduction was repeated over a long period as Peter Jeffery asserted.[45]

It is possible, however, to pose the question of unity in the transmission on the Frankish side. As for the liturgical order of the Mass Proper, there is a layer of Frankish additions and changes common to all early manuscripts. The most significant addition is a feast for the Roman martyr Gorgonius, who is completely absent from Roman liturgical books; the feast seems to reflect his translation to Gorze near Metz in 765. On the other hand, the most famous saint of Gaul, Martin of Tours, is conspicuously absent.[46] This speaks in favor of Metz as center for the distribution of the Mass antiphoner. As for the Office, Jacques-Marie Guilmart has pointed to Proper pieces for three saints common to almost all early manuscripts: Mauritius (Agaunum), Martin, and Briccius (both Tours). The first two are widely known, but Briccius would hardly have been given a set of Proper antiphons outside of Tours.[47]

The further spread of the Roman chant repertory leads from Francia; even Benevento and later the Roman Curia did not rely on the Roman Schola cantorum, but on the Frankish tradition, as can be deduced from liturgical, textual, and melodic evidence. The introduction to Benevento took place before 838, i.e., most probably without musical notation and under similar conditions as the transfer from Rome to Francia.[48]

Analogies

Traditionally, variants within the Frankish transmission and variants between Roman and Frankish transmission are treated separately. One of my central theses says that there is an analogy between them: the same types of variants occur in both cases, the Romano-Frankish variants are simply more extended.

44 *Scriptores rerum Sangallensium*, *Annalium et chronicorum aevi Caroli continuatio*, *Historiae aevi Carolini*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH Scriptores 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1829), 168.

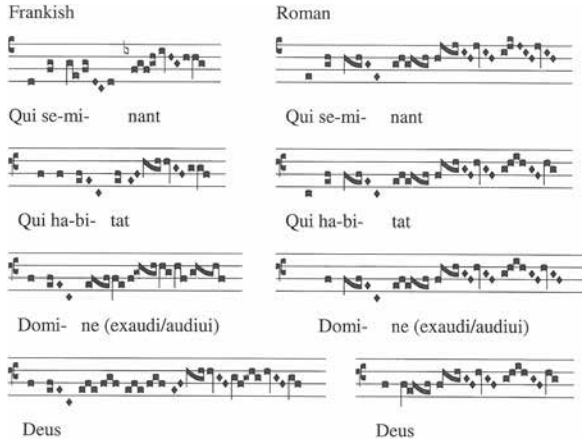
45 Peter Jeffery, "Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in Two Ancient Liturgical Centers," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. G. M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 207–47 at 234–40. The famous account in the *Vita Gregorii* by Johannes Diaconus (*PL*, vol. LXXV: cols. 90–92) ignores every person whose involvement in the transfer is documented; thus its ascription of two successive attempts to Charlemagne and Pope Hadrian is hardly credible.

46 Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 90, 103–4, 108–11.

47 Jacques-Marie Guilmart, "Origine de l'office grégorien," *Ecclesia Orans* 23 (2006), 37–80 at 45–52.

48 Pfisterer, *Cantilena*, 77–85, integrating arguments by Hesbert, Levy, and Kelly.

Example 2.4 Comparison of initial melismas of Frankish and Roman second-mode tracts, with one eighth-mode tract



Example 2.4 shows the initial melismas of the second-mode tracts. On the Frankish side the melismas on the last syllable of the first word of "Domine exaudi" and "Domine audiui" are identical; the similarity of the other melismas extends only to the descent to the lower fourth, the ornamentation of the final with its lower neighbor note, the ascent to the upper third, and the concluding return to the final. One may find some small assimilations between these melismas in Frankish manuscripts.[49]

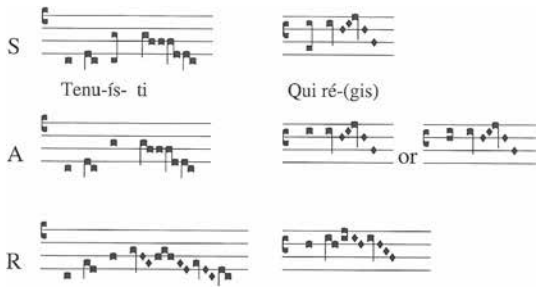
On the Roman side the melismas differ only in the case of different numbers of preceding syllables and in the melodic connection to the following syllable. Additionally the eighth-mode tract "Qui seminant" takes part in this identity of initial melismas. One may interpret this situation as a result of a Frankish reworking aiming at differentiation and individuality (but why did this not extend to "Domine exaudi" and "Domine audiui"?) or as a result of a secondary assimilation on the Roman side. The latter interpretation can be supported by the observation that the Roman melisma combines features that appear on the Frankish side in different pieces. The beginning of the Roman "Qui habitat" on the lower fourth comes from "Qui seminant," the figure for the descent to the lower fourth comes from the second-mode melodies, the addition of a note D at the beginning of that figure perhaps from "Qui seminant," the ornamentation of the finalis comes from "Domine exaudi"/"Domine audiui," the doubling of the cadence figure from these or from "Deus deus meus." Only

49 Ibid., 46 and 52.

Example 2.5 Comparison of intonation figures in Frankish and Roman first-mode introits



Example 2.6 Comparison of standard, Aquitanian and Roman graduals, *Tenuisti* and *Qui sedes* (excerpts)



the ascent of the second cadence figure to G has no example on the Frankish side; it may come from the melisma of the medial caesura.

Two types of reiterated variants have been cited above which occur in a similar way in the comparison of Roman and Frankish versions. Example 2.5 shows a common initial figure of first-mode Introits with an ascending fifth on the accented syllable. In Frankish manuscripts this figure is transmitted without variants, on the Roman side the lower note is missing. The cases with preceding unaccented syllables, however, make clear that the idea of this figure is an ascending fifth even in Rome. There are similar variants in Aquitanian manuscripts in other melodic contexts (Example 2.6).

Example 2.7 shows the paroxytone and the proparoxytone versions of a cadence formula of the second-mode graduals. Manuscripts of the St.-Denis group fill in the third G–b in ascending and descending motion, the Roman version does the same in descending motion only. Since the version of the St.-Denis group depends on the standard version, there seems to be a parallel development in northern France and in Rome.

Example 2.7 Comparison of standard, Roman and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 892 versions of cadence melismas from second-mode Graduals: S – Standard version; D – *GB-Ob* Rawl. C 892; R – Roman version



Within the Frankish transmission there are great differences in stability between the local traditions; one could integrate Rome into this picture as an extremely unstable local tradition. Thanks to the wealth of Frankish manuscripts from different regions, we are able to deal methodically with the Frankish variants and to restore the common ancestor of the Frankish transmission with some certainty. For the Roman transmission there is no similar possibility of looking back from the late eleventh-century manuscripts; it is only the comparison with the Frankish version that may give us an idea of the development of the melodic transmission in Rome.

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· 3 ·

Sources of Romano-Frankish Liturgy and Music

JOSEPH DYER

This chapter will provide a basic outline of the two principal liturgical observances of the medieval church, the Mass and the Office; it will also attempt to convey some idea of the richness and diversity of the sources of the Latin liturgy of the Middle Ages. Every medieval manuscript for Mass or Office is by definition unique, a collection that, while adhering to basic structures of liturgical observances and the traditional musical repertoire, adapts them to local custom by the inclusion of additional items (litanies, processional chants, tropes) or offices of saints to whom there was special devotion in a given region. The variegated nature of the sources will become abundantly clear in what follows.

Understanding the medieval liturgy requires taking into consideration more than books with music. At Mass each of the main participants (bishop or priest, deacon, subdeacon, cantor, choir) had a specific role and a specialized book corresponding to that role.[1] The celebrant (bishop or priest) read the variable prayers of the Mass and the invariable Canon from a sacramentary, which might also contain blessings and prayers for sundry occasions. The Epistle (or Old Testament reading) was chanted by the subdeacon either from a biblical codex or from an epistolary with the prescribed passages copied out in liturgical order. The Gospel was chanted by the deacon either directly from a book of the Gospels or from an evangeliary with the appointed readings for Sundays, feasts, and some weekdays (especially in Lent). The gradual (also *antiphonarium missae*) was a comprehensive book of music for the Mass (initially devoid of notation), but the cantor might have had at his disposal a *cantatorium* which contained only what his role required: the intonations and solo verses of Graduals, Alleluias, and Offertories, as well as all the music for the Tracts, which were solo chants.[2]

1 The most useful surveys (unfortunately with little coverage of the chant-books) are Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1986); also Cassian Folsom, *Introduction to the Liturgy*, Handbook for Liturgical Studies 1, ed. Ansgar Chupungo (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997), 245–314; and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998).

2 Michel Huglo, "The Cantatorium: From Charlemagne to the Fourteenth Century," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001),

The medieval Office likewise required several different books for the fixed hours of prayer distributed throughout the day from the early hours of the morning till nightfall: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. Matins required a biblical codex for readings of the first – and sometimes second – Nocturn. This was rarely a dedicated lectionary, for the length of the scripture readings initially varied according to the length of the nights in summer and winter.[3] A homiliary with patristic sermons and expositions of Scripture[4] and a legendary from which the lives of the saints were read on their feast days had to be available in choir. Also needed were a collectar (short scriptural passages and prayers) and an antiphoner with the text and music of the antiphons, responsories, and hymns.[5] Completing the list of books for the Office was the psalter, which, if notation was provided for the antiphons proper to the psalms sung during the weekly cursus of 150 psalms, was known as a "noted" psalter. An ordinal regulated how all of these books were coordinated for celebration of the feasts and ferias of the liturgical year. This began on the first Sunday of Advent, approximately four weeks before Christmas, and continued into the post-Pentecost season. Rubrics (written in red, hence the name) prescribed what was to be read and sung each day, giving the incipits of chants and psalms.[6] A complex book, the ordinal also determined whether an observance of the Temporale cycle (e.g., a Sunday) or a sanctoral feast should take precedence if both happened to fall on the same day.

An important source of information about Romano-Frankish chant is not a liturgical book at all, but a handbook called a "tonary." This organizes by incipit the antiphons of the Office (and often those of the Mass: Introits and Communions, but sometimes other chants as well), classifying them according to the system of eight modes (tones).[7] Chants in the four authentic tones (1, 3, 5, 7) end on the pitches D, E, F, or G. The four related plagal tones (2, 4, 6, 8) share the same finals, but pieces in these tones have different melodic characteristics and ambitus. The purpose of the tonary was not merely to classify the many hundreds of antiphons but to assign the appropriate reciting formula

89–105 and Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 64–75.

3 Aimé-Georges Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

4 Réginald Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse de manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli "Studi Medievali" 12 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1980).

5 The hymns were sometimes gathered into a separate book known as a *hymnarium*.

6 An excellent guide to the ordinal and to the Divine Office in general is Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Ordinal of Monte Cassino and Benevento: Breviarium sive Ordo Officiorum, 11th Century*, Spicilegium Friburgense 45 (Fribourg, 2008).

7 Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, series 3, vol. 2 (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1971).

(psalm tone) for the singing of the psalm with which the antiphon was associated. Within each mode the formulas were distinguished from each other by their cadences, known as *differentiae*.[8] The earliest comprehensive witness to the Romano-Frankish repertoire is in fact a tonary: Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 351, a manuscript dated 878, but based on a model of ca. 830.[9] Within each differentia (called "diffinitio") in this manuscript and in a related source (Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1050) the antiphons are listed in liturgical order. The antiphonal chants of the Mass (Introits and Communions) are included.

The Mass

The invariable chants of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus-Benedictus, Agnus Dei) make up what is known as the "Ordinary."[10] Proper chants, whose texts derived principally from the Bible, varied according to the seasons of the liturgical year and the feasts of saints. The chants both of the Ordinary and of the Proper are associated with specific points in the liturgy: entrance of the clergy and assisting ministers (Introit), between the readings (Gradual and Alleluia, the latter replaced by the Tract during Lent), during the reception of offerings and preparation of the bread and wine at the altar (offertory), and during communion.

The Mass lectionary is an important source for the chant historian, since scripture readings influenced the choice of chant texts more than did the prayers of the sacramentary. The phenomenon is best exemplified by a group of communions (several in Lent) derived, either verbatim or ingeniously paraphrased, from the Epistle or Gospel of the day. The communion for Easter, "Pascha nostrum," for example, quotes exactly the text of the Epistle (1 Corinthians 5:7–8), summing up the significance of the feast: "Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed." The communion for the third Sunday after Epiphany, "Dicit dominus," paraphrases the Gospel of the changing of water into wine at the wedding feast of Cana (John 2:1–11) by extracting short

8 The basic system is conveniently displayed in the *Liber Usualis*, 113–17 ("The Tones of the Psalms"); see also Joseph Dyer, "The Singing of Psalms in the Early Medieval Office," *Speculum* 64 (1989, 535–77.

9 Walther Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 43 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1965).

10 Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1958); trans., rev., and updated by Marco Della Sciucca, *Il canto gregoriano: Liturgia, storia, notazione, modalità e techniche compositive*, Musica Ragionata 10 (Lucca: LIM, 1998); David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 1993) is a comprehensive guide to all aspects of chant in the Middle Ages; for briefer introductions see Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*. (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and Richard Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000). An extensive bibliography of chant research is available at www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_IMusikwissenschaft/cantus.

phrases from the biblical text (beginning with verse 7) and adroitly recasting them as a summary of the miracle brief enough for musical setting. Only a very few (non-biblical) texts of the Western liturgy have Eastern origins.[11] Table 3.1 is a general outline of the medieval Mass that identifies the Ordinary (O) and Proper (P) items. It is assumed that a priest is the celebrant, but a bishop would do much the same things.

Though neither the texts of the Ordinary nor those of the Proper could be altered, melismas of florid chants were sometimes supplied with words (*prosula*), and introductory and/or interlinear tropes could be inserted as "frames" around phrases of the base texts, thus "properizing" or imposing a theological construction on the invariable texts.[12]

Books for the Mass

Until the end of the fourth century many bishops and priests schooled in the ancient rhetorical traditions improvised the variable prayers of the Mass (collect, secret/*super oblata*, postcommunion). Clergy from less educated strata of society emulated their bishops' prayers, copying them out and saving them in a personal *libellus* for future use.[13] Over the course of time, such *libelli* were gathered into books known as sacramentaries that supplied prayers for all occasions of the liturgical year.

The introduction of Roman liturgical materials north of the Alps had been under way for generations, officially and unofficially, when Charlemagne (r. 768–814) revived his father Pepin's campaign to introduce Roman liturgy and chant into his domains.[14] Having requested from the pope an authentic Roman sacramentary, he received after some delay a version of the Gregorian sacramentary now known as the "Hadrianum" from its association with Pope Hadrian I (r. 772–95). This papal sacramentary, which parallels the chant-books

11 Edward Nowacki, "Constantinople-Aachen-Rome: The Transmission of Veterem hominem," in *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen, Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst 2, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 95–115.

12 See the discussions by Andreas Haug and Lori Kruckenberg in Chapters 9 and 10 of the present volume.

13 Eric Palazzo, "Le rôle des *libelli* dans la pratique liturgique du haut moyen âge: Histoire et typologie," *Revue Mabillon* n.s. 1 [=62] (1990), 9–36.

14 On the motivation behind this campaign see Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 3 (London: Boydell, 2001) and Eric Palazzo, "La liturgie carolingienne: vieux débats, nouvelles questions, publications récentes," in *Le monde carolingien: Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherche, Actes du colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 18–20 novembre 2004*, ed. Wojciech Falkowski and Yves Sassier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 219–41. Still a classic study is Cyrille Vogel, "Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu'à l'époque de Charlemagne," in *Le chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 7 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1960), 185–295.

Table 3.1 Proper and Ordinary parts of the Mass

Clergy	Choir
Entrance procession: clergy and assisting ministers	Introit with variable number of psalm verses (P)
Spoken psalm verses, confession at foot of the altar	Kyrie eleison (O)
Censing of the altar: priest, deacon, subdeacon	
Priest intones "Gloria in excelsis deo" and reads the remainder of the text	Choir continues with the singing of the Gloria (O): "et in terra pax . . . "
Collect chanted by priest (P)	Response: Amen
Epistle or Old Testament reading (P) chanted by subdeacon	
	Gradual (P)
Formation of the procession to the place from which the Gospel will be read	Alleluia or (in penitential seasons) Tract (P)
	Sequence (if present) (P)
Gospel (P) chanted by deacon	
Priest intones "Credo in unum deum" (Sundays and high feasts only)	Choir continues the singing of the Credo (O): "patrem omnipotentem . . . "
Preparation of bread and wine	Offertory (P) with verses, if customary
Offertory prayers recited quietly by priest	
Censing of the altar: priest, deacon, subdeacon	
Priest washes his hands saying Psalm 25: 6–12	
Secret (P) said quietly by priest	
Preface dialogue: "Sursum corda," etc.	
Preface sung by the priest (sometimes Proper)	Responses to the Preface dialogue
Priest reads "Sanctus" and continues quietly with the prayers of the Canon of the Mass (O)	Sanctus-Benedictus (O); the Benedictus was later delayed until after the consecration
Sung conclusion of the Canon	Amen
Pater noster sung aloud by the priest	Response: "sed libera nos a malo"
Pax domini sit semper vobiscum	Response: "Et cum spiritu tuo"
Fraction of the host	Agnus Dei (O)
Distribution of communion	Communion (P), sometimes with additional psalm verses
Postcommunion (P) chanted by the priest	Response: Amen

Table 3.1 (cont.)

Clergy	Choir
"Ite missa est" (O): chanted by the deacon ("Benedicamus domino", if the Gloria is not sung, or if a procession follows)	Response: "Deo gratias" (O)
Final blessing: priest	
Last Gospel (Jn 1:1–14) spoken by priest	

introduced at about the same time, had to be supplemented with additional Masses in order to make it of practical use throughout the Carolingian empire. It was not, however, imposed as an "imperial sacramentary," an initiative that would have had little chance of success anyway, given the large number of older Roman sacramentaries that continued in use.

The adjective "Romano-Frankish" in the title of this chapter alludes to the fact that the Western Latin liturgy is not exclusively a Roman product but rather a Frankish adaptation of the eighth and ninth centuries. The validity of the epithet is more easily established for the verbal texts than for the music, traditionally called "Gregorian," despite the fact that its alleged connection with Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604) rests on no more than legendary accounts. The introduction of Roman music presented a greater challenge than did the transfer of liturgical texts, since the exclusively oral musical culture of the time required a coordinated effort that brought together books with the chant text and singers who had the melodies committed to memory. Piecemeal measures like those that had earlier imported Roman Mass prayers in the first part of the eighth century were not possible with a unified corpus of music.

Three stages mark the recorded transmission of the Romano-Frankish Mass chants: (1) text-only sources from the late eighth and ninth century, (2) sources notated in unheightened neumes that begin to appear towards the close of the ninth century, and (3) diastematic sources (heightened neumes), later made more precise with the introduction of staff lines and clefs over the course of the eleventh century. The texts of the earliest books of Mass chants (without musical notation) were published by Dom René-Jean Hesbert as *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*.[15] Table 3.2 is an overview of these sources with a note on additional contents of the manuscripts in which they are found.

15 See also Peter Jeffery, "The Oldest Sources of the Graduale: A Preliminary Checklist of MSS Copied before about 900," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), 316–21 and Daniel J. DiCenso, *The Oldest Sources of Gregorian Chant for the Mass to ca. 900* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, forthcoming).

Table 3.2 Manuscripts of the *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*

Source	Name	Date	Type	Additional Contents/Comments
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10127–10144, fols. 90–115	Mont-Blandin	8th c. (3rd quarter)	Antiphonale missarum	Collection of canons; Ordines Romani (13, 26, 3, 24, 30B); blessings
Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 30, fols. 27–165	Rheinau (from northern France or Switzerland)	ca. 790	Antiphonale missarum	Eighth-century Gelasian sacramentary; penitential; martyrology
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 12050	Corbie	ca. 853	Antiphonale missarum	Gregorian sacramentary of Rodradus with the Supplement of Benedict of Aniane and the votive Masses of Alcuin; each Mass formulary is numbered; modal indications for Introits and Communions.
Monza, Tesoro della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista, cod. CIX	Monza (north-eastern France)	8th–9th c.	Cantatorium	Contains only the cantor's music (intonations and verses); text often incomplete; purple parchment with gold letters.
Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, Latin. 111	Senlis (St. Denis / Senlis?)	872–82	Antiphonale missarum	Kalendar; Gregorian sacramentary with the Supplement of Benedict of Aniane and additional prefaces; only incipits of the chants
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 17436	Compiègne (Soissons?)	ca. 870/80	Antiphonale missarum	Contains the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald; Mass texts (with verses of the offertories); lacuna from 21 July to 30 November

The *Sextuplex* sources provide varying amounts of text, ranging from incipits (the Senlis Antiphoner) to the complete texts of all chants including offertory verses (the norm in the Compiègne Antiphoner). The Rheinau Antiphoner omits many liturgical occasions (Lenten ferias and melodic direction, saints' offices) found in the other books. These early antiphoners do not replicate one other; thus derivation from a single exemplar seems out of the question. Dom Hesbert regarded the Mont-Blandin antiphoner as the most ancient witness to the antiphonale missarum as it existed towards the end of the eighth century.

The earliest partially neumed sources date from around the year 900, but their adiastematic notations indicate only note groupings and melodic direction, not precise pitches. Many of the most important early neumed witnesses to the Mass chants have been published in the series *Paléographie Musicale*, founded in 1889 by Dom André Mocquereau (1849–1930), a monk of Solesmes. Generally speaking, only those folios were reproduced that related to the core chant repertoire of the Mass; omitted were parts of the manuscripts with tropes and proses. Table 3.3 lists the facsimiles that have been published to date.[16]

Other graduals of historical significance have been published in facsimile (some in color) outside the *Paléographie Musicale* program and more appear every year;[17] only a small sampling can be mentioned here. The incomplete gradual, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek lit. 6 (Ed. III. 7), written for St. Emmeram (Regensburg) before 962/972 on a model of ca. 833/848, is notated with German neumes supplemented by significative letters.[18] An eleventh-century gradual from St. Denis with French neumes (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 384) is almost complete, lacking only the Sundays of Advent.[19] The gradual and antiphoner of St. Peter in Salzburg (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Series nova 2700; ca. 1160), a stunning example of Austrian *Buchkunst*, is a collection of

16 The lengthy scholarly introductions of the original editions were truncated in the reprints and the pages renumbered. A descriptive guide to chant sources, listed by centuries, is John A. Emerson and David Hiley, "Sources, MS §II: Western Plainchant," in *NG2* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com). This may be supplemented by the list of graduals in *Le Graduel romain: Édition critique par les moines de Solesmes 2: Les sources* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint Pierre de Solesmes, 1957).

17 These are recorded annually in Günther Michael Paucker, "Liturgical Chant Bibliography," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6– (1997–).

18 Only 98 folios remain; see Günther Michael Paucker, *Das Graduale Msc. 6. Lit. des Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1986) and a facsimile edition, *Die Handschrift Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Lit. 6*. S. Corbin, *Die Neumen*. Palaeographie der Musik, 1, fasc. 3. (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag; Hans Gerig KG), 47ff. and Tafel 6.

19 René-Jean Hesbert, *Le graduel de Saint-Denis: Manuscrit 384 de la Bibliothèque Mazarine de Paris (XI^e siècle)*, Monumenta Musicae Sacrae 5 (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1981).

Table 3.3 Facsimiles of Graduals published in *Paléographie musicale*

Siglum/PM	Date	Comment
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 339 (PM 1)[a]	early 11th c.	Once thought to have been a copy of the "antiphonale missarum sancti Gregorii"; St. Gall neumes; the manuscript also contains a sacramentary
Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek 121 (PM 4)	10th–11th c.	Partial facsimile (pp. 1–428) of the 600-page manuscript; superseded by a color facsimile that includes the proser (pp. 436–599);[b] St. Gall neumes
London, British Library, additional 34209 (PM 5–6)	12th c.	Ambrosian; transcribed in PM 6; Milanese notation with red (F) and yellow (c) lines
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine H 159 (PM 7–8)[c]	11th c.	Gradual (St.-Bénigne-de-Dijon), French neumes and alphabetic notation (a–p); chants arranged in the order of a tonary, not liturgical order
Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 239 (PM 10)[d]	after 930	Gradual (incomplete) with Messine neumes and significative letters
Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 47 (PM 13) (destroyed in 1944)	9th–10th c.	Ordo for consecration of chrism on Holy Thursday; large collection of antiphons at end; Breton neumes
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10673 (PM 14)	early 11th c.	Fragment of a Beneventan gradual (Septuagesima to Holy Saturday); Beneventan chants for the adoration of the Cross and the Good Friday liturgy; Beneventan notation
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 34 (PM 15)	11th–12th c.	Gradual (S. Sophia, Benevento) with tropes and *prosae* followed by a Kyriale; Beneventan notation with red (F) and yellow (c) lines

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Siglum/PM	Date	Comment
Paris, private collection, Antiphoner of Mont-Renaud (PM 16)	10th c.	Gradual and antiphoner (from Corbie?), used at St. Eloi, Noyon; French neumes added in the late 10th or early 11th century; includes a monastic antiphoner adapted to the secular cursus (fols. 49–130v)
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 123 (PM 18)[c]	11th c. (ca. 1039?)	From Bologna, the troper-sequentiary is included in the facsimile (fols. 184–265v); North Italian neumes
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 807 (PM 19)	ca. 1150	Gradual of Klosterneuburg; four-line staff; many erasures and corrections; Messine neumes
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 33 (PM 20)	early 11th c.	Plenary missal; oldest complete witness to Romano-Frankish chant in South Italy; partially diastematic Beneventan notation
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 359 (PM ser. 1, vol. 1)	early 10th c.	Cantatorium (Graduals, Alleluias, Tracts; intonations of Introits and Communions); St. Gall neumes[f]

[a] Indexed in Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien: Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1910–21), i: 322–43; color images of this and all the manuscripts in Swiss libraries mentioned in this chapter (e.g., Einsiedeln) are available online through the portal e-codices.unifr.ch.

[b] Odo Lang, ed., *Codex 121 Einsiedeln: Graduale und Sequenzen Notkers* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1991).

[c] Finn Egland Hansen, transcr. and annot., *H 159 Montpellier: Tonary of St. Bénigne of Dijon* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog, 1974).

[d] Color images of the entire manuscript may be viewed at http://manuscrit.ville-laon.fr/oeb/Ms239/.

[e] Brian M. Jensen, "Codex Angelicus 123 as a Liturgical Manuscript," *Classica et Medievalia* 56 (2005), 303–25.

[f] Of similar interest is the next surviving gradual from St. Gallen, codex 342 (10th c.); Susan Rankin, "Ways of Telling Stories," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 371–94.

impressive dimensions (42.5 cm × 31 cm).[20] Notated in adiastematic south German neumes, it includes a collectar (pp. 22–138), a kalendar (pp. 150–163), a gradual (pp. 166–427), a kyriale (pp. 438–437), a sequentiary (pp. 439–467), and an antiphoner (pp. 468–843).

Facsimile editions of manuscripts on staff lines are not as plentiful. A large and luxurious manuscript of 452 folios written ca. 1142 for the cathedral of Piacenza, the *Liber magistri* (Piacenza, Biblioteca capitolare [*I-PCd*] 65) contains a kalendar, a psalter, a gradual (fols. 151–228) and an antiphoner (fols. 267v–450).[21] The facsimile edition of the fourteenth-century gradual of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 391) incorporates a study that compares several chants in the gradual with various regional traditions.[22] A facsimile of the Sarum gradual was published by Walter Howard Frere, mainly on the basis of a thirteenth-century gradual in the British Library (MS. add. 12194).[23]

Alternative melodies for the Proper chants of the Mass (apart from Alleluias and a few Communions with texts from the Gospels) were not produced, but hundreds of new melodies, generally of limited geographical distribution, were composed for the Ordinary texts from the tenth to the eighteenth century.[24] Early sources of the Ordinary chants group each genre (Kyrie, Gloria, etc.) separately. Complete cycles (with or without Credo) assigned to specific ranks of feasts, familiar from the Vatican kyriale, were not created until about the twelfth century.[25] They were adventitious combinations without motivic or necessarily modal unity.

Towards the end of the tenth century, the prayers, readings, and chants of the Mass began to be coordinated in a single volume. At first, the elements were merely juxtaposed in separate gatherings, as they are in the Codex Gressly, a late eleventh-century missal from Alsace, in which the parts follow

20 *Das Antiphonar von St. Peter: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis, series nova 2700 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, with Kommentarband by Franz Unterkircher and Otto Demus (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967–74); Stefan Engels, *Das Antiphonar von St. Peter in Salzburg: Codex ÖNB Ser. Nov. 2700 (12. Jahrhundert)*, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 30 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1994).

21 A color facsimile edition with a commentary volume by Brian M. Jensen was published as *Liber Magistri, Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare C. 65*; see also Jensen, "The Piacentian Liber Magistri: Structure and Contents," in *Il libro del Maestro: Codice 65 dell'Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Piacenza (sec. XII)*, ed. Pierre Racine (Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co., 1999), 39–54. The antiphoner in this manuscript is indexed in CANTUS, a database of antiphoner indices accessible through the website http://cantusuwaterloo.ca.

22 Peter Wagner, ed., *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig (14. Jahrhundert) als Zeuge deutscher Choralüberlieferung*, 2 vols., Publikationen älterer Musik 5 and 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1930–32; repr. Olms, 1967).

23 Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Graduale Sarisburiense* (London: Quaritch, 1894; repr. Westmead: Gregg, 1966).

24 All of the Ordinary and Proper chants have entries in *NG2* and *MGG* (Sachteil).

25 Two St. Gall manuscripts with kyriales have been published as *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen: Codices 484 und 381*; online at e-codices.unifr.ch.

in the order: gradual, sacramentary, lectionary.[26] Though the gradual of this manuscript was planned to receive notation, sufficient space for the long melismas of certain chants was not invariably provided. A manuscript from Echternach (Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 1946; ca. 1030), often called a gradual-sacramentary, is in fact an early missal.[27] The chants for each Mass, notated in German neumes, are presented in a block that precedes the priest's prayers. Sometimes only the chant incipits are given, especially for Masses of the Sanctorale.

A "plenary" missal integrates all of the essential components and arranges them in liturgical order. Prayers and readings were written in a script larger than that used for the chants, a distinction that did not necessarily imply that notation was envisaged. How (or whether) the chants in a noted missal were sung remains something of a mystery, since the average priest could not have deciphered unheightened neumes. Such books may have been representational codices to be used at the altar (in which case the priest may have simply recited the chant texts) or as reference books for the cantor.

Figure 3.1 is a hitherto unpublished folio from a mid-twelfth-century noted missal with parts of the Masses for Tuesday and Wednesday in the second week of Lent.[28] The left column begins with the secret prayer for Tuesday, continuing with the communion chant, "Narrabo," and the postcommunion ("Ut sacris"), followed by the prayer *super populum* ("Propitiare") that concludes Lenten weekday Masses. The Mass for Wednesday (F[e]r[i]a iiii^{ta}) begins with the introit, "Ne derelinquas me," and continues with the collect, "Populum tuum" and the Old Testament reading (Esther 13:8–11, 15–17), which concludes at the top of column 2.[29] In the middle of the column is the gradual, "Salvum fac populum," followed by the Gospel reading ("In illo tempore: Ascendens Ihesus Hierosolimam . . . ").

That notation was part of the original concept is evident from the spacing of the syllables of the gradual "Salvum fac populum," e.g., the space left after the final syllables of the words "domine" (first complete line) and "benedic" (next line), and the separation of the syllables of "hereditati tu[e]" (third line).

26 *Missale Basiliense saec. XI: Codex Gressly*; vol. 2 is a facsimile of the gradual with a study of the chants by Max Lütolf.

27 *Echternacher Sakramentar und Antiphonar: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift 1946 aus dem Besitz der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbiblothek Darmstadt*, Codices selecti phototypice impressa 74–74* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1982), with commentary volume, ed. Kurt Hans Staub et al. The same arrangement is found in Angers, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 91 (83), a missal of the tenth century notated in Breton neumes; S. Corbin, *Die Neumen*, 82–87 and Tafel 17ab; Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern 3, Lieferung 4 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975), 108–09 (Abb. 2).

28 I would like to express my thanks to Ryan Hendrickson of the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, for furnishing color scans of this leaf and permission for its publication.

29 Conventional abbreviations were used to save space and valuable parchment.

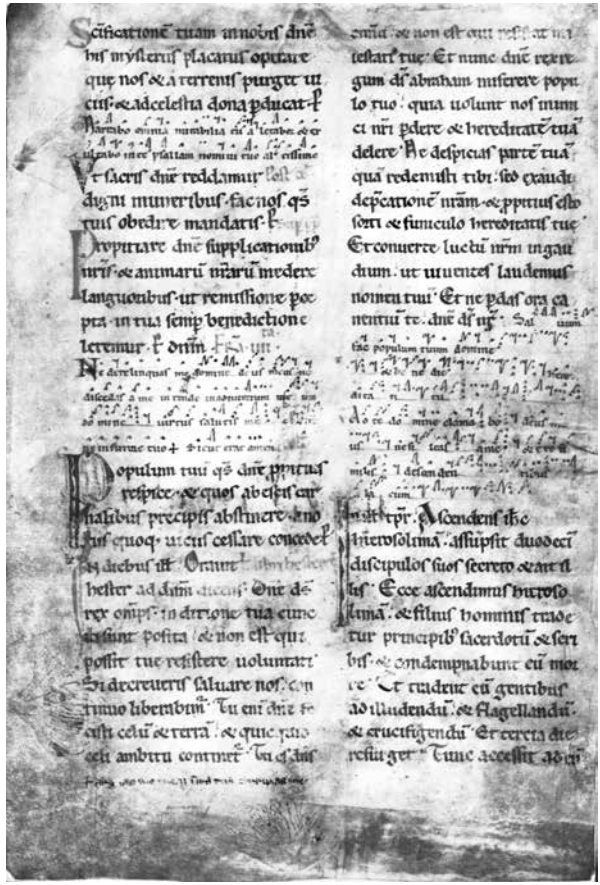


Figure 3.1 Masses for Tuesday and Wednesday in the second week of Lent in a leaf from a French noted missal (mid-12th c.), Boston University, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center

The adiastematic Messine neumes reveal only the short-term melodic contour, not the exact intervals between one pitch and another or one neume and the next. For example, the three torculus over the words "Salvum fac," though copied on the same horizontal plane, actually span the interval of a fifth.

The Office

Both the monastic and the secular Office observed the same times for daily prayer: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. The constituent elements were also the same: psalms and canticles with

antiphons, readings followed by responsories, hymns, and prayers; but they were somewhat differently arranged.[30] The structure of the monastic Office can be determined with a degree of precision from the Rule of Benedict (ca. 530), but the early secular (Roman) Office must be reconstructed only from what can be deduced from Benedictine and later Roman practice.[31] The Rule of Benedict and its instruction for the distribution of the Office psalms in the monastic Office did not begin to prevail in the Carolingian realm and subsequently in the West until the early ninth century.

Matins began with the invitatory psalm "Venite exultemus" (94 in the Vulgate numbering) and a hymn, followed by one to three "Nocturns," each consisting of from three to eighteen psalms and from three to (in monastic practice) as many as twelve readings. Each reading was followed by a chanted responsory. Lauds, the morning office, consisted of five psalms, the *capitulum* (a sentence from Scripture), a hymn, the canticle Benedictus (Luke 1:68–79), and a prayer. Vespers was similar, except that the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55) occupied the place of the Benedictus.[32] Each of the day Hours had three psalms, introduced by a hymn referring to the time of day and followed by a *capitulum*, a brief syllabic responsory, and a closing prayer. Compline, originally a night prayer said from memory in the dormitory, had fixed psalms (4, 90, 133) for every day of the week. The chapter ("Be sober, be vigilant . . . " [1 Peter 5:8–9]) and confession of sins preceded the psalmody, which was followed by the hymn "Te lucis ante terminum" ("To thee, before the close of day"), a short responsory, the canticle *Nunc dimittis* (not present in monastic Compline), and a prayer. Compline concluded with the singing of one of the four Marian antiphons.[33]

Antiphoner Fragments

Compared to the number of extant pre-1100 graduals, very few complete Office antiphoners of similar vintage survive; neumed ones are rarer still. Fragmentary sources, preserved by mere happenstance, are to be found in considerable numbers in European and North American libraries and

30 John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford University Press, 1991); the weekly distribution of the psalter is illustrated on pp. 258–59 and 242–50 (the words "monastic" and "secular" must be moved over to the head of the two right-hand columns).

31 The dependency of Benedict on the Roman Office was argued by Camillus Callewaert in a series of essays (most in Latin) in *Sacris Erudiri*.

32 Monastic Vespers had only four psalms.

33 Dominican Compline was always followed by the singing of *Salve regina* in procession; William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1945), 148–66.

archives, not to mention private collections.[34] Medieval book catalogs list many sources that have since disappeared. Unfortunately, nothing survives of the late eighth-century Roman Office books seen by Amalar of Metz, nor of his own edition of the antiphoner.[35] An early representative of what might once have been a common configuration is Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare 490, a single folio (eighth century) with a list of incipits of both Office and Mass chants for the four Sundays of Advent (with office chants for St. Lucy).[36] It might have been a guide for the cantor, who already had the pieces committed to memory. The Mass chants in the fragment are listed according to the familiar succession of introit, gradual, etc., but the antiphons and responsories are arranged in undifferentiated groups – a not uncommon pattern. The number of responsories for each Sunday varies from eight to fifteen; the extra pieces may have been sung on weekdays.

A similar list of incipits for the chants of Lauds and Vespers of the Temporale and the Sanctorale (antiphons and some responsories with verses) forms part of a well-known manuscript of a troper-proser from Saint-Martial de Limoges (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1240 [ca. 923/4], fols. 66-78v), but only four of the 135 offices in the manuscript are complete (Annunciation [25 March], Conversion of St. Paul [25 January], *transitus* of St. Benedict [11 July], and All Saints [1 November]).[37] An antiphoner from the oratory of the Holy Savior at St. Martial (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1085; ca. 960–80), regarded by James Grier as "a product of the first attempt to preserve a complete record of the Office" at Saint-Martial, is more complete.[38] The incipits of antiphons and responsories are notated with Aquitanian neumes, but only the responsory verses sung by a solo cantor are fully neumed. Modal indications for chants sung with a psalm tone (antiphons) were added later.

34 Antiphoner fragments from the ninth century (and many other medieval liturgical sources) are listed in Klaus Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1968), 1304a–d and Ergänzungsband, 127 (1304e–f).

35 Amalarius, *Prologus antiphonarii a se compositum* in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J. M. Hanssens, 3 vols., Studi e Testi 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948–50), III: 361–63.

36 René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vroment, 1935), xxv–xxx; Michel Huglo, "Die Adventsgesänge nach den Fragmenten von Lucca (8. Jh.)," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 35 (1951), 10–15; and Jacques Froger, "Le fragments de Lucques (fin du VIII^{e} siècle)," *Études grégoriennes* 18 (1979), 145–53.

37 Indexed in CANTUS; see John A. Emerson, "Neglected Aspects of the Oldest Full Troper (BNF, lat. 1240)," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, Corpus Troporum 8 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1993), 193–217. There is a table of antiphons (unnotated) on fols. 163–199v of Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 384 (St. Denis; eleventh century).

38 James Grier, "The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century: Paris, BNF lat. 1085," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (Oxford University Press, 2000), 179–204 at 181; there is an index of the manuscript on 193–96.

Palimpsested leaves of a source with separate collections of antiphons and responsories have been discovered in a tenth-century manuscript from Turin (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds grec 2631).[39] Represented in the fragment are the Sundays of Advent, Christmas and the following sanctoral feasts, Epiphany, and five more sanctoral feasts. The responsoriale is completely noted, apparently the earliest such document to have survived. There are nine responsories for feasts, which points to a secular cursus, but this alone might not be determinative. The pages of the antiphon collection, written in two columns, are too badly damaged to ascertain whether or not the texts were notated. The division of antiphons and responsories in this manuscript may correspond to the format of the "antiphonale et responsale" sent by Pope Paul I (r. 757–767) to Pepin.[40]

Complete Antiphoners

The earliest complete (though unnotated) antiphoner of the Office, the "Antiphoner of Charles the Bald" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 17436, fols. 31v-107v), is a deluxe production thought to have been prepared for the dedication of the imperial chapel at Compiègne in 887.[41] The groupings of the chants do not invariably match liturgical requirements – there are sometimes more items than needed (e.g., seventeen responsories for Assumption). Although the number of antiphons and responsories for Matins had long been fixed, the options for filling in the template remained flexible – one of the barriers to establishing the existence of a single "archetype" for the Office antiphoner. The only other relatively complete ninth-century antiphoner of the Office is Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Rochegude 44 (ca. 890; 125 fols.).[42] Judging from the spaces left between syllables in the (unnotated) gradual that precedes the antiphoner, the plan was to notate all of the chants, but it was never implemented. Only eight chants (five in the gradual, three in the antiphoner) were notated in

39 Marie-Noël Colette, "Un Graduel-Antiphonaire-Responsorial noté sauvé de l'oubli (Palimpseste Paris B.N.F., Grec 2631), région de Turin, x^{e} siècle," *Revue de Musicologie* 83 (1997), 56–79.

40 Ernst Dümmler and Karl Hampe, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae III (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898–99), 529.

41 Hesbert indexed the contents in *Corpus Antiphonalium Offici* I. For a recent study see Ritva Jacobsson, "The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris, BNF lat. 17436," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (Oxford University Press), 147–78.

42 An index was published in John A. Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44: A Complete Ninth-Century Gradual and Antiphoner from Southern France*, ed. Lila Collamore (Ottawa: The Institute for Medieval Music, 2002), also indexed in CANTUS.

Table 3.4 Facsimiles of Office Antiphoners published in *Paléographie musicale*

Siglum	Date	Cursus	Name
Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 601 (PM 9)*	12th c.	Monastic	Antiphoner of Lucca
Worcester, Cathedral Library F. 160 (PM 12)*	13th c.	Monastic	Antiphoner of Worcester
Paris, private collection (PM 16)	10th/11th c.	Monastic/ secular	Antiphoner of Mont-Renaud; see Table 3.3
Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare, 21 (PM 22)	12th c. (end)	Monastic	Antiphoner of Benevento
Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 542 (PM 23)*	12th c.	Monastic	Winter part of a two-volume antiphoner with many illuminations; Beneventan notation
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 390/391(PM, series 2, vol. 1)*	ca. 1000	Monastic/ secular	Antiphoner of Hartker

* Indexed in CANTUS.

full; another nineteen are partially neumed.[43] Antiphons and responsories are grouped together rather than distributed in the order in which they were sung.

Comparatively few antiphoners of the Office have been published in facsimile in *Paléographie musicale*. These are listed in the order of their publication in Table 3.4.

The earliest completely neumed Office antiphoner (with some gaps in the notation) was written ca. 980–1000 by the monk Hartker of St. Gall, at which monastery it remains to this day (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex

43 Marie-Noël Colette saw evidence of rhythmic differentiation in the neumes of the Aquitanian notation in this manuscript; "Le Graduel-antiphonaire, Albi Bibliothèque Municipale 44."

sangallensis 390/391). The first volume contains offices from the first Sunday of Advent to Holy Thursday; the second begins with Good Friday and extends to the feast of St. Andrew (30 November), concluding with vigil offices (apostles, several martyrs, one martyr, a sainted priest or confessor, and virgins), then Old Testament responsories for summer and autumn, antiphons for the Benedictus and Magnificat, chants for the Sundays after Pentecost, and a collection of invitatory antiphons.[44] Marginal letters (a e i o u y η ω) identify the mode of the antiphon; added consonants indicated the *differentiae*, the cadences of the respective psalm tones. The next oldest neumed source, the Quedlinburg Antiphoner (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, 40047), was written in the first half of the eleventh century for a house of secular canonesses and hence displays the secular cursus.[45] Like the Hartker Antiphoner, it is notated with adiastematic St. Gall neumes.

An early tenth-century manuscript combining both a gradual and an antiphoner was written (probably at Corbie) for the monastery of Mont-Renaud (Paris, private collection).[46] Neither the gradual nor the antiphoner was intended to receive notation, though indications of mode were supplied to the introits and communions by a later hand. In the late tenth or early eleventh century French and Messine neumes were added to both gradual and antiphoner, a task easier to accomplish for the chants of the antiphoner, which do not generally have the lengthy melismas of some Mass chants (graduals, alleluias, offertories). The antiphoner was later adapted to the secular cursus; Roman numerals in the margins indicate which nine of the original twelve monastic responsories of Matins were to be used.

Following a familiar pattern, the Beneventan antiphoner Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 21 does not distribute the responsories among the Nocturns but groups them together at the end of the night office. A manuscript in the Library of Worcester Cathedral (F. 160; 354 fols.) is a typical representative of the (ofttimes substantial) medieval liturgical miscellany. The frequency of such "mixed" sources can be seen from the comment columns of Tables 3.2 and 3.3. In addition to an antiphoner the Worcester source includes a psalter, hymnary, processional, gradual, proser and troper. The *Paléographie Musicale* facsimile is selective, however, omitting many sections of the manuscript.

44 The invitatories, written out in full, were often gathered in a separate fascicle of an antiphoner.

45 Hartmut Möller, ed., *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40047)*, 3 vols., Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 25 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1990); the facsimile in vol. 1 is of inferior quality; indexed in CANTUS.

46 Gabriel M. Beyssac, "Le graduel-antiphonaire de Mont-Renaud," *Revue de Musicologie* 39–40 (1957), 131–50.

A text edition of twelve early sources of the Office antiphoner, six secular and six monastic, was published by Dom René-Jean Hesbert as *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, accompanied by a representative facsimile page from each source.[47] The first two volumes inventory the sources; the succeeding two volumes are editions of the antiphon and responsory texts.[48] With the exception of the Antiphoner of Compiègne, discussed above, they all contain musical notation, but only the antiphoners of St. Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17296; 12th c.) and the just mentioned Benevento Antiphoner have notation whose pitches can be transcribed. The St. Denis Antiphoner frequently groups all the Matins responsories at the end of an office, as does the Benevento Antiphoner. The Matins responsories "de psalmis," usually placed after Epiphany, are here transferred to the end of the manuscript. A twelfth-century source thought to be from Saint-Maur de Glanfeuil (Loire; Paris, BNF, lat. 12584) is another miscellany of items that surround the core content, in this case an Office antiphoner and a gradual.[49]

The breviary, a monastic initiative, brought together all the elements of the Office in one or two volumes. Most fully represented among surviving exemplars are large noted breviaries intended for use in choir. These sizeable books range in height from 25 cm to over 40 cm.[50] While "breviary" came eventually to denote a book of smaller dimensions with an abbreviated form of the Office intended for private recitation, only a minority of the surviving twelfth-century breviaries fit that description. Truncation of the readings at Matins was the primary method of making the size of the book manageable. Compilation of a breviary inevitably entailed imposition of a predetermined, restricted content in place of the flexibility permitted by separate books.

The thirteenth-century Antiphoner of Rheinau (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 28) is a "primitive" breviary that juxtaposes elements of the Office.[51] It contains (in succession) a liturgical psalter,

47 The manuscripts are described in vol. I, XVII–XXIII (secular) and vol. II, V–XXIV (monastic). An analogous project to inventory the Office in local traditions of central Europe is the Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae (CAO-ECE) based in Budapest; indices of the manuscripts may be consulted at http://earlymusic.zti.hu/cao-ece/cao.

48 Searchable databases of the texts of volumes III and IV (as also of the *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*) are available through the website mentioned in note 10 above.

49 The Loire abbey had ties to St.-Maur-des-Fossés; a roughly contemporary antiphoner from that location (BNF, lat. 12044; twelfth century) is available online at http://gallica.bnf.fr.

50 Stephen Van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, MD; London: The Newman Press, 1960), 528–42 ("Provisional List of Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Breviaries").

51 Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au moyen âge: Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Lex Orandi 43 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967) (an invaluable guide to medieval Office books); Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 197–224, 238–44; Van Dijk and Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 26–44.

a hymnary, the monastic canticles of the third Nocturn of Matins, *capitula*, *preces* (intercessory versicles), a collectar, an ordo, the Office of the Dead, a lectionary (173 fols.), litanies, and an antiphoner (215 fols.). The two-volume twelfth-century Cistercian antiphoner (Paris, BNF 1411–1412; late 12th c.), divided into Temporale and Sanctorale, is one of the best witnesses to the earliest Cistercian chant for the Office.[52]

Modern Printed Editions of Chant-Books

For many readers of this chapter access to the "Romano-Frankish" liturgy will not be mainly via original manuscripts or facsimiles but through modern practical editions.[53] Due to limitations of space only a representative sampling of those published in the last hundred years or so can be mentioned.[54] Though most are adequate introductions to the medieval repertoire, they mix ancient chants with some of very recent date, and information about the sources of the melodies is not provided. Because of the many changes in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church in recent decades, which discarded much of the medieval heritage, anything published after the early 1960s must be used with caution.[55] The order of the kalendar and the traditional assignments of Mass chants were, moreover, drastically altered in 1970. Accordingly, books published after that date do not reflect the structure of the Mass or Office as celebrated during the Middle Ages.

The most common reference, the *Liber Usualis*, first published in 1896, is a compendium of over two thousand pages, whose principal aim was to serve the needs of parishes and religious communities in their celebration of Mass and parts of the Office (First and Second Vespers and Lauds of many feasts). It does not replicate any medieval book, nor was it intended to do so. Editions published after 1911 have the revised weekly psalter of Pius X and the revised arrangement of Office antiphons necessitated by the revision. Editions of the *Liber* published from 1956 onward have the revised liturgy of Holy Week authorized by Pope Pius XII. The square notation of the *Liber* and most modern chant-books is based on twelfth-to-thirteenth-century models, to

52 Facsimile in *Un antiphonaire cistercien pour le Temporal, XII^e siècle* and *Un antiphonaire cistercien pour le Sanctoral, XII^e siècle*.

53 Sound recordings, most sung from the books to be discussed in this section, are an important modern "source" of Romano-Frankish chant and regional repertoires; these have been indexed by Fr. Jerome F. Weber in a comprehensive searchable database: www.chantdiscography.com.

54 A large selection of historic graduals and kyriales, organ accompaniments to the chants, and many important chant treatises have been published by Jeff Ostrowski in the St. Jean de Lalande Library of Rare Books (www.ccwatershed.org/library); Latin and English resources are available at www.musicasacra.com/music.

55 The revised liturgy receives harsh criticism in László Dobszay, *The Bugnini Liturgy and the Reform of the Reform*, Publications of the Catholic Church Music Associates 5 (Front Royal, VA, 2003).

which in the Solesmes editions are added signs (vertical episemae, lengthening dots) not found in the medieval books.

The weekday Masses of Lent (not included in the *Liber*) can be found in the *Graduale Romanum*, which contains the Mass repertoire for the entire year but not the extra features of the *Liber Usualis*. Both volumes include a kyriale of Ordinary chants mainly grouped in cycles.[56] An indispensable source for understanding the rhythmic nuances of early medieval chant is the *Graduale Triplex*, in which the square notation of the 1972 *Graduale Romanum* is accompanied by hand-drawn neumes copied from two of the most important adiastematic chant manuscripts: Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 239 and St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 359. In the case of lacunae in the latter source, neumes from Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek 121 are substituted. This format allows immediate comparison of the version on staff lines with early French and St. Gall notations rich in rhythmic and melodic nuance. While very useful for the study of individual Mass chants, the *Graduale Triplex* does not present them in the order of the chants in the medieval tradition. The *Offertoriale Triplex cum versiculis* is a supplementary volume that includes the neumes of Laon and Einsiedeln for the responds and verses of the offertory.[57] A new initiative towards "a more accurate rendition of the ancient chants" was launched in 2011 with the publication of the first volume of the *Graduale Novum*.[58] In a large number of cases the melodies, likewise accompanied by the Laon and St. Gall neumes, differ strikingly from those published in the official editions. Many intervals are different and pitches (c-sharp, f-sharp) foreign to the medieval notational system, though certainly sung in practice, are introduced. How this scholarly edition will be used in the present Latin liturgy remains to be seen.

Modern printed editions for the study of the music of the medieval Office are less extensive. The *Liber Usualis* has complete Offices (including Matins) for Christmas, Pentecost, Corpus Christi (a thirteenth-century feast), Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week, Easter Sunday, and the Office of the Dead, which latter consists of Matins and Lauds only. The *Antiphonale Romanum* (1949) and the Benedictine *Antiphonale Monasticum* (1934) have the music for Lauds and Vespers as well as Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline for the secular and monastic cursus, respectively. A separate

56 *Graduale Romanum*, 1*–93*; *Liber Usualis*, 16–94.

57 Both are indexed to many of the manuscripts discussed in the present chapter by Matthias Kreuels, *Indizes der Handschriften … zu Graduale Triplex und Offertoriale Triplex*, Beiträge zur Gregorianik: Sonderheft (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1989).

58 *Graduale Novum editio magis critica iuxta S[acrosanctum] C[oncilium] 117 …*, vol. 1: *De dominicis et festis*, ed. Christian Dostal et al. (Regensburg: ConBrio Verlag – Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011).

collection containing the hymns for the Office has been published as *Liber Hymnarius*.[59] Editions that appeared subsequent to the 1970 revision of the Office (the *Liturgia Horarum* or the three-volume *Liber Antiphonarius pro diurnis horis* [Solesmes]) are of little use for the study of the traditional night Office, since the structure of the medieval Office was replaced and new texts were chosen that required new musical settings.

An ambitious project to make available music for Matins according to the traditional secular and monastic cursus was cut short by the premature death of the editor, Holger Peter Sandhofe, who completed only the volume with music of the secular Office.[60] This eclectic selection draws from sources ranging from Hartker to the *Psalterium Monasticum* (Solesmes, 1981). Sandhofe wrote some of the chants himself. The various religious orders (Cistercians, Carthusians, Dominicans, Premonstratentians) have published modern editions of their medieval chant traditions for Mass and Office.[61] These orders adopted standardized liturgical practices that were observed in all houses of the order, wherever they might be located. The musical traditions of the religious orders are mainly variants of the Romano-Frankish chant sung virtually everywhere in the Latin West.

(Old) Roman Chant

In Rome, at least through the twelfth century, the same texts encountered in "Romano-Frankish" chant were sung to music of a radically different musical idiom. The earliest surviving record of this Roman chant is a gradual copied in 1071 for the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere (Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana C 74).[62] Notated on two staff lines (F [red] and c [yellow]), this may be the oldest fully transcribable book of Mass chants in either the Roman or Romano-Frankish traditions. Two other Roman graduals of later date have also survived,[63] as have two

59 Modern hymns are identified as "novus" in the index.

60 *Nocturnale Romanum*, ed. Holger Peter Sandhofe (Cologne, 2001); the key to the abbreviations used for the sources is on pp. 221–22.

61 A selection is listed in the bibliography; see also Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 608–15. A comprehensive collection of liturgical books of the Cistercian rite is available at www.splendorveritatis.org and for the Dominican rite at http://dominican-liturgy.blogspot.com. For a study of topics relevant to the Carmelite liturgy see Boyce, *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, DC: Carmelite Institute, 1999).

62 Black-and-white facsimile in *Das Graduale von Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (1071)*; for an overview see Helmut Hucke and Joseph Dyer, "Old Roman Chant," in *NG2* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com [2001/rev. 2014]).

63 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5319 (twelfth c.) and BAV, Archivio S. Pietro F 22 (twelfth–thirteenth c.); the melodies of VL 5319 have been transcribed in Bruno Stäblein, *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970); transcription by Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki.

antiphoners for the Office.[64] Given the disappearance of most Roman liturgical books of the Middle Ages, survival of practically the entire musical corpus is a remarkable stroke of good fortune. While there can be no doubt whatsoever that both "dialects" are related, complex questions about their relationship and of which developed from the other has stimulated intense debate for more than sixty years.[65] The fundamental problems, inextricably intertwined, involve geography, chronology, and transmission. In the absence of musical sources from the period when the two repertoires presumably split apart (ca. 775–825) modern hypotheses have inevitably depended on historical sources (not all free of bias) that recount how Roman chant was brought to Francia.

Present scholarly consensus tends to favor the explanation that Romano-Frankish chant resulted from a redaction of eighth-century Roman chant carried out in Francia in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[66] Some scholars have proposed an inverted scenario: that "Romano-Frankish" chant is nothing of the sort, but that its melodies reflect rather closely what was being sung at Rome when Pepin and Charlemagne decided to impose Roman chant on the Frankish church. From this perspective what we know as (Old) Roman chant is not so old after all, being a later deformation caused by Roman cantors' inability to transmit the chant repertoire orally over the course of the three centuries before its first known neumation in 1071. It is alleged, furthermore, that the Roman singers' deficiencies (despite the fact that they seem to have been capable of executing intricate melismas) led to a "converging" musical style that replaced the differentiated contours of the eighth-century melodies with a diffuse melodic ductus.[67] A major difficulty with this theory is that the musical style of Roman chant corresponds rather closely to that of other indigenous Italianate repertoires. If Romano-Frankish chant were really the Roman chant of the eighth century, it seems very difficult to explain how, after a transformation lasting 250 years, Roman chant of the eleventh century could resemble so closely Beneventan chant, a repertoire that ceased to be actively cultivated after the first third of the

64 London, British Library, additional 29988 and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Archivio S. Pietro, B79, the latter published in facsimile as *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Archivio S. Pietro B 79*; indexed in CANTUS.

65 There is a justifiable tendency finally to drop the "old" qualification.

66 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 514–23 and 530–40; Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 94–108.

67 See Kenneth Levy, "A New Look at Old Roman Chant [I]–II," *Early Music History* 19; 20 (2000; 2001), 81–104; 173–97; Andreas Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 11 (Paderborn: Schönigh, 2002), 179–92 ("Fränkische Redaktion?"); Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 192–207.

ninth century.[68] If the Roman singers did have such alleged difficulties in remembering the melodies, it is difficult to explain how all three Roman graduals and the two antiphoners agree in all essentials.

The controversy about the relationship between Roman and Romano-Frankish (Gregorian) chant raised important considerations about the nature of orality that transformed the study of early medieval chant. The implications of oral transmission of a large body of music were first raised by Helmut Hucke and further developed by Leo Treitler, who pointed to the tenacity of oral tradition and stressed singers' "strategies" for maintaining the integrity of a repertoire, even though the same piece might not be sung precisely the same way all of the time.[69] After all, even adiastematic notation depended heavily on the singer's memory. Some of the conclusions drawn by scholars from the same body of evidence stemmed to a certain extent from differing points of view. Should dependence on melodic formulas, a technique that might be thought to preserve the melodies more or less intact, be regarded as a "conservative" process, or does it instead merely represent the end stage of a process of homogenization, a weakening of collective memory? Full comprehension of Romano-Frankish chant and its early sources must depend in no small degree on a more perfect understanding of Roman chant.

Example 3.1 compares the communion "Narrabo omnia" in the Roman and Romano-Frankish traditions. The transcription of the Romano-Frankish version from the *Liber magistri* of Piacenza mentioned earlier can be compared with the unheightened neumes of the same chant in Figure 3.1 (col. 1 top).

Even a cursory inspection of the melodies reveals similarities: both are in the same mode (D), move in the octave A-a, and share the same contours. The first two incises of the Roman melody ("Narrabo omnia / mirabilia tua") are much more florid than the corresponding incises of the Romano-Frankish parallel. Brief figures in the Romano-Frankish version correspond to more extended melismas in the Roman version. The stepwise ductus of the Roman "Narrabo" melody, compared to the frequency of leaps of a third in the Romano-Frankish melody, is a pervasive characteristic that distinguishes the two musical idioms. Particularly in evidence in the Roman

68 Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

69 Hucke, "Die Einführung des gregorianischen Gesangs im Frankenreich"; Nowacki, "Chant Research at the Turn of the Century and the Analytical Programme of Helmut Hucke." Treitler's most important essays have been collected in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made*. Questions of orality and chant transmission figure prominently in several of the essays collected in Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton University Press, 1998).

Example 3.1 "Narrabo omnia" (communion for Tuesday of the third week in Lent): A – Roman version (Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, C 74, fol. 49); B – Romano-Frankish (Piacenza, Biblioteca capitolare, 65, fol. 106)



melody are the small-scale rising and falling circular gestures that are typical of Roman chant. The relationship between the two melodies is clear. The Romano-Frankish version seems to "edit" the Roman melody, paring it to the essentials in order to conform to a very different musical ethos.

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Regional Liturgies: Spanish, Beneventan, Gallican, Milanese

TERENCE BAILEY

At the time of the Apostles the Romans controlled all of Italy, the Iberian peninsula and Gaul (a province that included modern France, Belgium, Luxembourg and western Germany). Since the benefits of life in the empire, even for those whose religion was proscribed, included safe travel, Latin as a lingua franca, and regular contact with the capital – where the Western Church founded by Saints Peter and Paul was headquartered – it cannot be doubted that missionaries began their efforts very early and that Rome was central in this activity. Local churches, matters of doctrine aside, developed independently, and although the Roman liturgy and music eventually prevailed over all or almost all others in western Europe, this hegemony was the largely unintended result of political pressures after the rise of the Carolingian empire. There is no indication that the papacy had any sustained interest in suppressing local liturgies in favor of the Roman – indeed on more than one occasion the pope has been their champion.

The development of the regional liturgies must have been constrained until the civil authorities ceased to persecute Christians, and until institutions such as cathedrals and monasteries were securely in place to secure continuity. In the first two or three Christian centuries regional practices are largely undocumented, and in any case it is quite certain that for further centuries the melodies were passed on from one generation to the next entirely by rote. Codification of the texts and customs did come – more, it seems, to provide an official record that would ensure uniform practices within an archdiocese or province than because the liturgy had become too complex to be passed on without the aid of writing. The fact is, we find, even in the earliest of the service books, not a rudimentary liturgy, nor one of intermediate complexity, but an already elaborate structure that was essentially complete.

Spain

Although it is not until the third century that we have reliable evidence of Christianity in Roman Hispania (which included all of the Iberian peninsula,

and thus modern Portugal, Spain, Andorra, Gibraltar and a small part of southern France), it can hardly be doubted that missionaries were active much earlier. St Paul himself, in his Epistle to the Romans (15:24, 28),[1] declared his intention to come; and, for what it's worth, it was firmly believed in Spain, and even elsewhere, that he did. A letter composed by St. Cyprian of Carthage that deals with the grievances of two Spanish bishops against the pope attests to the full organization of their church in the middle of the third century, persecutions notwithstanding. After 466 the Visigoths, a Germanic tribe, expanded their kingdom based in Toulouse to include a large part of Roman Spain, driving out earlier tribes such as the Vandals and the Alans who had made inroads. In the early sixth century the Franks, in turn, drove the Visigoths from Gaul, whereupon the seat of their government was shifted to Toledo. The Visigoths were Arian Christians, but the indigenous Catholics, other than certain bishops who opposed the new regime, seem to have been allowed to continue unmolested. It is unlikely that the Arian form of worship would have influenced that of the local population, but in 589 the Visigothic king, aristocracy and bishops accepted the Nicene faith of the populace, and from that time one might fairly speculate about a fusion of Iberian and Germanic elements. "Visigothic" is one of the words used to describe the indigenous Iberian liturgy, but it can hardly be doubted that its essential features were in place before the invasions of the fifth century.

In 711 Umayyad Muslims crossed at Gibraltar from Africa, and within a few years had control over all of the Iberian peninsula except a mountainous region on the north coast, which after 722 became the kingdom of Asturias, the staging point for the eventual Christian counter-invasion. The Muslim rulers tolerated the Christians, but for reasons that were probably practical as well as faith-based, a significant portion converted to Islam – in some regions, for example Andalusia in the south, perhaps a majority. The Iberian Church, if it did not flourish, survived several centuries of Muslim rule, and on that account is widely called "Mozarabic," apparently from *Mozarab* (مستعرب), "Arabized" – a term that is not ideal, because it suggests that Christian practices were influenced by Islam. It took Christian invaders from the north more than 700 years to wrest control from the Muslims in Spain, who were weakened over time by internal rivalries: in 1085 Toledo was captured, in 1238 Valencia, and finally, in 1492, Granada, the last bastion of the "Moors." Shortly afterward, in spite of earlier Christian promises of religious toleration, all Muslims and Jews were forced to convert or leave Spain.

1 "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you" . . . "When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."

It was not Muslims and Jews alone who were expected to convert. One of the results of the Reconquest was that the indigenous liturgy – in spite of its validation by a pope[2] and various miraculous signs in its favor – was replaced by that of the northern invaders, who by that time followed a version of Roman customs. This displacement did not happen all at once but the progress proved to be inexorable. It appears that some books containing the Spanish rite were produced – and actually used – as much as four centuries after the general acceptance of the Roman.[3] It is not clear whether these are evidence of local resistance, were intended merely to record the music and ritual of the past, or were used alternatively on special occasions.[4]

We know a few particulars about Toledo. After the city was taken, all new churches were required to use the Roman rite, but six "Mozarabic" parishes were allowed to keep on as they were. Only in these (and in special celebrations here and there outside Toledo) is the continuation of the Spanish rite documented. But even if we suppose that in these few parishes the old observances had been successfully maintained, it can only have been those – the Mass principally – that would be required in a parochial church; and one may particularly wonder how well the melodies were transmitted, since the old chant-books, although they could from time to time have been consulted, were never recopied in notation that is pitch-accurate. The rite must have seemed in danger of extinction at the end of the fifteenth century when the new Archbishop of Toledo provided for a "Mozarabic chapel" in his cathedral, establishing clerics to sing the Old-Spanish Mass and Office daily. He also ordered a commission that included three priests of the Mozarabic parishes to prepare editions of a missal,[5] which appeared in 1500, and a breviary,[6] published two years later. Although the first of these was titled *Missale mixtum*, i.e., "complete missal," neither it nor the breviary included the choral chants, no doubt because to do so would make the books unwieldy and expensive, and perhaps also because learning these melodies by rote was still held to be satisfactory.

These efforts to restore the old liturgy, and a few later attempts elsewhere in Spain (for special occasions), were not sufficient to stem the decline. It seems that the number of Toledan families who followed the indigenous rite gradually fell below the critical mass: in 1842 four of the six Mozarabic parishes, whose members together numbered less than a thousand, were

2 John X in 918 and again in 924.
3 Anscari M. Mundo, "La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos," *Hispania Sacra* 18 (1965), 1–25.
4 See below the similar circumstances of the Beneventan Liturgy.
5 *Missale Mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes* (Toledo, 1500; 1755; 1804).
6 *Breviarium secundum regulas beati Hysidori* (Toledo, 1502; 1775).

folded into the two remaining. Nationalist feelings kept alive the hope that the Old-Spanish liturgy might be revived; however, the furthering of vernacular worship by the Second Vatican Council of 1962 would seem to have made infructuous any attempt to reintroduce the old chants, even if they could be recovered. The Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church, which emerged in 1868 and aligned itself with the Anglican Communion, continues to follow as much as possible the Old-Spanish rite and music.

Sources and Notation

The earliest specific information about the Spanish Rite is found in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, written by St. Isidore between 600 and 636 while he was archbishop of Seville. A few other facts about the earliest period can be gleaned from decrees issued by eight church councils held in Iberia between 400 and 675. There are twenty or so more or less complete manuscripts bearing on the liturgy; the oldest-known is a prayer book from about 725 with marginal text-cues to chants that also appear in later service books. Others are (perhaps) as old as the eleventh century. The two distinctive notations employed in all but four manuscripts containing the Old-Spanish chants are similar in character to those employed elsewhere in Europe until the eleventh or twelfth century: the neumes show little more than the number of notes and the direction of the melody (and that not consistently); supplementary letters here and there seem sometimes to have rhythmic significance. Little more than two dozen Old-Spanish melodies that are certainly authentic exist in readable form, most added in Aquitanian neumes where the original notation has been erased, neumes that preserve the intervals of the melodies if not the position of the scale half steps. The four manuscripts with decipherable music throughout were prepared for use in the Mozarabic chapel around the time of the first published service books at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but the melodies, alas, are unreliable. When the new books were being prepared no one could be found who remembered certain items; therefore for a number of texts Gregorian melodies had to be employed or entirely new ones composed.[7]

The Mass

The compilers of service books could take much for granted, so the absence of an item in the entries for a Mass or Office is not always significant. Following, from

7 Angel Fernandez Collado, "The Mozarabic Chant Books of Cisneros," trans. Raul R. Gomez, *Sacred Music* 128/4 (Winter 2001), 14–18.

the *Missale mixtum*, are listed the items sung by the clergy or schola for Sundays and for saints' feasts (short responses made to the priest are not mentioned):

OFFICIUM, also called PRAELEGENDO and ANTIPHONA; its typical form was refrain, verse, repetendum,[8] doxology ("Gloria et honor patri"), repetendum

(GLORIA) IN EXCELSIS DEO . . . : the word *gloria* was sung by the celebrant; the choir continued with *in excelsis deo*; in Advent and Lent this hymn was omitted, but it was sung on any festivals of the saints

PSALLENDO, also called RESPONSORIUM: its typical form was refrain, verse, repetendum; the chant followed the reading from the Old Testament; on weekdays in Lent the psallendo was replaced by choral recitations called TRACTUS or THRENI, from Jeremiah, Job and Isaiah, all the verses sung to the same melody (there was no refrain)

LAUDA (also called ALLELUIA): its typical form was *alleluia*, verse, *alleluia*; it was sung even in Lent; the *lauda* followed the two readings from the New Testament (it seems there was no chant between them)

SACRIFICIUM, also called OFFERTORIUM: its typical form was refrain, verse, repetendum; it accompanied the preparation of the eucharistic elements for consecration

ANTIPHONA AD PACEM, also referred to as RESPONSORIUM: sung during the exchange of the Kiss of Peace; its typical form was refrain, verse, refrain, doxology, refrain

SANCTUS, SANCTUS, SANCTUS . . . : this hymn, with almost the same text as in the Roman Mass, concluded in Greek, "Agyos, Agyos, Agyos, Kyrie, O theos"; sung as part of the introduction to the consecration of the Eucharist

CREDIMUS IN UNUM DEUM . . . i.e., the Creed

ANTIPHONA AD CONFRACTIONEM, sung during the fragmentation of the consecrated host and associated rituals; the typical form was refrain, verse 1, repetendum (verse 2, repetendum), doxology, repetendum

ANTIPHONA AD ACCEDENTES (AD ACCENDUM): the name suggests it was sung at the *approach* of the communicants; in the *Missale mixtum* (and in the old manuscripts) none is assigned outside the period Lent to Eastertide, but it is likely that an unchanging "ordinary" chant, perhaps with the refrain *Gustate et videte*, was taken for granted in the rest of the year. The *Ad accedentes* is not, as one so often reads, the same chant as the Old-Spanish communio (in the period the former was specified both are entered); the typical form is refrain, verse 1, refrain, verse 2, refrain, doxology, refrain

8 The refrain, usually abbreviated to its last word or words.

COMMUNIO: an antiphon without verse sung *after* the distribution of the Eucharist.

The Divine Office

St. Isidore mentions antiphonal and responsorial psalmody and the *lauda* (in this case, a responsory with *alleluia* as the text, and a few verses); he also speaks of certain offices – namely vigils, Matins, Vespers and Compline.[9] He does not tell us how these offices were configured nor what they contained, but with the aid of council decrees and some later sources the evening and morning offices would appear to be structured as follows:[10]

The Evening Office: (1) the Light-Ritual, an opening ceremony where a lighted candle was elevated at the altar: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, light and peace," "Thanks be to God"; (2) a psalm with antiphon, doxology and prayer; (3) a hymn; (4) prayers of supplication; (5) closing prayer; (6) the Our Father; (7) the Petition, an expansion of the last words of the Lord's Prayer, "but deliver us from evil"; (8) the Blessing; (9) a processional antiphon with a few verses.

The Morning Office: (1) Psalm 50 with an antiphon and prayer; (2) a canticle with antiphon and prayer; (3) a psalm (or on Sundays and saints' days, the *Benedictiones* of Daniel 3:51ff.), with antiphon and prayer; (4) Psalms 148–150, with antiphon and prayer. The remaining items appear to have been the same as (3) through (9) at Vespers.

The Divine Office as it is found in the manuscripts and the printed breviary is very much more complicated, and, as the Spanish liturgy allowed for frequent exceptions (for example in Lent and Eastertide), defies synopsis.[11] Much remains uncertain. We know that there had been a night office (later obsolete) with lessons, but the Spanish cathedral-rite seems never to have included the continuous, sequential, recitation of the 150 psalms (the *lectio continua*). The usual Little Hours of Prime, Terce, etc., were sometimes supplemented by additional observances, so that the number of Offices might even reach twelve, one for each of the "hours" between sunrise and sunset. The sung forms of the Mass and Office are variously called *lauda*, *sono*, *matutinarium*, *vespertinum*, *responsorium*, *antiphona*, according to their place or function. It is important to note that chants designated by the latter two names do not always

9 Book 1, chaps 7, 9, 13, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23 (*PL*, vol. LXXXIII: cols. 743–760).
10 See Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993).
11 See, nevertheless, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (Robert Appleton Company [Encyclopedia Press], 1905–14), s.v. "Mozarabic Rite."

have the structure one might expect from the Gregorian usage. Hymns were very important, although their melodies were seldom recorded.

Benevento

The city of Benevento had been part of the Roman imperium for centuries by the time Christianity came to Rome, only 129 miles to the north. The Beneventans believed that the new religion was brought to them by a disciple of Peter the Apostle, but in any case it cannot be doubted that missionaries came early to a city whose importance in the early Christian period is demonstrated by the impressive remains of contemporary Roman structures. We have record of a bishop of Benevento martyred in the persecutions of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century, but the establishment of the diocese must be much earlier. Of the local liturgy in the first Christian millennium we can only guess. What we do have is evidence of vectors that would have brought outside influences to bear on the regional liturgy.

In 545 the Arian Ostragoths wrested control of southern Italy from the Byzantine army and destroyed Benevento. The region subsequently came under control of the Lombards, at first pagan and Arian – although increasingly orthodox, especially after 712. They rebuilt the city around 590 and made it the capital of a duchy, which in 787 came under the control of the Catholic Franks, then in 1053 the Normans, and in 1081 (until the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century) the popes. Not all external influences were from the north. Greeks had colonized southern Italy beginning in the eighth century BCE, and although it cannot be doubted that Benevento was Latinized very early, Greek persisted ("Grico" is spoken to this day in parts of Apulia and Calabria) and was reinforced by Byzantine colonists between 476, when the last western emperor was deposed, and 1081, when the Normans ended the rule of the eastern emperors in Italy and restored the jurisdiction of the popes. During this long period of six hundred years much of Italy south of Naples (only 33 miles from Benevento) was dominated by the Greek East and the Byzantine Church.

In spite of the long and rich history of the region, there is no documentation of a southern liturgy, Greek or Latin, until the early eleventh century in a Beneventan manuscript, a book whose idiosyncrasies (it is otherwise a missal of the Roman rite)[12] are perhaps explained as vestiges of superseded regional

12 Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Froger, ed., *Le missel de Bénévent (début du XIe siècle). Le manuscrit VI-33*, Paléographie musicale 20 (Bern, 1983); *Die Handschrift Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 33*, Monumenta palaeographica gregoriana 1 (Münsterschwarzach: Internationale Gesellschaft für Studien des Gregorianischen Chorals, 1986).

practices. A remark in a Beneventan service book dated 1075 makes it explicit that the Roman rite then used in the area did not entirely replace different practices, evidently earlier: "when we do not sing these antiphons in the Roman manner, the way they have been written above, we sing them in the Ambrosian, thus ... "[13] "Ambrosian" in this context can be explained. The capital of the Lombard Kingdom of Italy was Pavia, a city within the Ambrosian archdiocese of Milan, only 22 miles away. And it is reasonable to speculate that when the Lombards conquered southern Italy the orthodox Christians among them would have continued to worship according to the Ambrosian rite they had known for more than two hundred years, and have promoted it in the region. A single page of an Ambrosian antiphoner, corresponding in almost every detail to the earliest-known Milanese antiphoner of the twelfth century, survives in the distinctive Beneventan script and musical notation. We cannot suppose that the Milanese liturgy of the high Middle Ages was used in southern Italy,[14] but the fragment attests at least to a continuing interest in the northern rite, an interest that may have been grounded in local Ambrosian practices still remembered. In 1058 the reforming pope Stephen IX, himself its former abbot, "entirely forbade Ambrosian chant"[15] at the great monastery of Montecassino, 70 miles north of Benevento, about half way to Rome.

We cannot be certain of even the fundamental features of the Beneventan liturgy since no complete service book is known to survive. It may be presumed that changes in governance from the Lombards to the Franks, to the Normans, and then to the papacy would all have advanced the Roman rite in the region. If the local customs survived into the eleventh century, which seems likely from the edict of Stephen IX, it can hardly be doubted that they would have included liturgies for all the Sundays and feasts, although it is probable that for many occasions, perhaps most, the items would have been chosen from a relatively small repertory of neutral chants (a Commune dominicarum and sanctorum) that could be repeated as necessary. It is the common experience of all local liturgies that they were transmitted for centuries without the texts or music being preserved in writing. The Beneventan liturgy may have been superseded before any full service books were produced, although *libelli* containing lists and other aides-

13 "Quando non canimus ipse a[ntiphone] secundum romano quo modo supra scripte sunt canimus secundum Ambro[siano] hoc modo." Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Ottoboni 145 (from Santa Sophia), fol. 124r.

14 Terence Bailey, "A Lost Ambrosian Antiphoner of Southern Italy," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 17 (2008), 1–22.

15 "Tunc etiam et Ambrosianum cantum in ecclesia ista penitus interdixit."

mémoire for exceptional occasions were probably employed from earliest times.

The remains of Beneventan chant, the oldest items dating from about the year 1000, are found in scores of Gregorian manuscripts – sometimes in palimpsests, where earlier items, no longer current, have been erased and replaced. The neumes of the region are elegantly distinctive, characterized by conspicuous features, such as loops and solid connectors, whose purpose is purely decorative. These neumes are heightened (not always carefully), and usually grouped around a single line, although this is not always inked and is sometimes entirely absent. Although the position of the scale half steps is not always indicated, transcription is usually reliable since certain melodic figures are known to be associated with certain scale steps and *custodes* are employed as bridges between one line of notation and the next.

The Old-Beneventan items appear to be included as alternatives or as addenda (the latter preserve parts of the old Holy Week liturgy). Three books from the cathedral in Benevento contain additional "Ambrosian" items for nineteen Masses: ingressae, Alleluias (where appropriate), offertoria, communions and, for six occasions, respond-graduals. The ingressa, like its Ambrosian namesake, was sung without a verse; the melody of the Alleluia and its verse was repeated, as in Milan, for a number of occasions and different texts; in some of these masses there are two Old-Beneventan communion-chants which might recall the two (the confractorium and transitorium) of the Ambrosian mass. Chants of the Mass Ordinary are rarely notated in Beneventan books (this is quite usual) and there is no way of telling whether those that are should be considered Gregorian or Beneventan. In two Mass books from the Beneventan region a triple Kyrie eleison is specified after the Gloria; this is not a Gregorian practice but *is* an Ambrosian one. It is not clear why Old-Beneventan items were preserved for nineteen Masses and not for others, but two omissions attract attention. The festival of the Twelve Holy Brothers, whose relics were deposited in the cathedral of Benevento in the year 760, has an Old-Beneventan Mass; the equally important feasts of St. Mercurius and of the apostle Bartholomew, whose local cults began with similar depositions of relics in 768 and 838, do not. Thomas Kelly has suggested that in the eight years between the first two of these dates the Beneventan liturgy ceased to be used in the city.[16]

Beneventan chant is not significantly different in style from other western repertories; the noticeably frequent repetition of short musical figures is distinctive, but only with respect to the Gregorian chant. Such

16 Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12.

ornamentation, found also in the Old Roman repertory, can be explained as a later elaboration of melodies that were transmitted without the aid of notation for more than two centuries after the Gregorian was fixed in writing. Beneventan chants (if those we know are a sufficient gauge) are tonally restricted: although the chant was written without clefs, it appears that almost all melodies terminate on the notes A or G. The differences in style between chant types, for example between ornate respond-graduals and simple communions, are not in evidence; indeed, a communion in one Mass sometimes does duty as a respond-gradual in another.

Gaul

The historian Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594) wrote that Pope Fabian, who was martyred ca. 250, sent seven bishops to Gaul to preach the Gospel.[17] In 314 fully sixteen Gallican bishops, including representatives from the far reaches of the province, Cologne, Rouen and Trier, attended a Church council at Arles called by the emperor Constantine.[18] There is no specific information on the Gallican liturgical practices before the sixth century, and even after that what we know is mostly of a general nature, difficult to localize. The cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of the wide-flung region, where various Celtic, Germanic and Romance languages were spoken by peoples whose societies ranged from the tribal (on the frontier) to cosmopolitan (in southern cities such as Nîmes and Arles, where some Roman institutions continued into the fifth century) is one explanation for the circumstance that at the time of the suppression of the Gallican liturgy – or, it would be better to say, liturgies – no diocese could claim to be central and set standards for the others. And, of course, the suppression occurred before the time when one might reasonably expect to find documents that codify the details.

The existing organization of the Gallican church, notionally dependent on the papacy and Rome, but in many respects autonomous, survived the shift in governance in the mid-fifth century to Germanic peoples who had migrated to the region in sufficient numbers to challenge the established order. Power ultimately devolved to the Franks, who subdued or drove out the other tribes and made the province a kingdom. An effort to unify the diverse liturgical practices emerged when Pepin and Charlemagne consolidated their realm and expanded it to include Italy. The idea was to use religious uniformity, in

17 *Historia Francorum* I, 1 chap. 30, *Gregory of Tours*, *Libri historiarum X*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1951).
18 *Eusebius of Caesarea*, *Church History, the Greek Text*, ed. Hugo Lämmer (Schaffhausen, 1859–62), 10.5. 21–24.

effect, the uniformity of religious *practices*, as a factor in political unification. The adage "religio regis, religio populi" applied, but in this case the "religion of the king" was not that of the conquering Franks, but that of Rome. This decision might have been partly owing to liturgical diversity and ecclesiastical jealousies prevailing in Gaul, but there was another more compelling factor: Pepin had seized power from the Merovingian Franks in 751, declaring himself king, and to legitimize this act, the pope was persuaded (in expectation of Frankish aid against the Lombards) to come to Paris to anoint him. If the reign of the Carolingians was to be legitimized by the authority of the pope, then the promulgation of the pope's own liturgy would serve to strengthen their claim. The so-called *Ordo romanus I* – drawn up c. 770 and edited north of the Alps to instruct those who wished to follow Roman use – includes a note that makes this intention perfectly plain: "the bishops who preside in towns carry out everything just as the pope would."[19]

There are no manuscripts of the Gallican Mass older than the late seventh century, and this evidence (all of it, of course, to do with the texts) is fragmentary, much of it preserved in palimpsests where superseded texts were scraped and replaced by others needed currently. Most of what has survived consists of prayers and ritual formulas, although we do have a fair number of Masses, identifiably of the "Gallican" type, but lacking in agreement about the specific texts assigned and other particulars. One noteworthy singularity that demonstrates liturgical independence is found in a manuscript that had belonged to John II, bishop of Constance from 760 to 781. It contains, with ten other Masses that conform generally to the Gallican norm, one whose items, except for a single prayer, are entirely composed in hexameter verse.[20] The scanty manuscript evidence concerning the Mass has been supplemented by speculation (some of it perhaps too far-reaching) based on certain similarities between Gallican, Milanese and Old-Spanish practices; and indeed, it is said that when Charles the Bald (823–877) wanted to know how Mass was celebrated in the time of his grandfather, he invited singers from Toledo to the royal chapel at Compiègne.[21]

An overview of the Gallican Mass can be extracted from two "letters" attributed to St. Germain[22] which, if we take them as authentic,[23] describe

19 Chapter 22: "Episcopi qui civitatibus praesident ut summus pontifex ita omnia peragunt." Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge* II (Louvain: Université Catholique, 1948), 116.

20 Franz Joseph Mone, ed., *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: C. B. Lizius, 1850).

21 G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum 18bis* (Venice: n.p., 1773), col. 730, cited in Kenneth Levy, "Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul," *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 49–99 at 50.

22 Edward Ratcliffe, ed., *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society 98 (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1971).

23 Some consider the letters to be a Carolingian work of the ninth century; but see (among others) Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481–751* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 47–49.

practices in his diocese between 555 and 576 while he was bishop of Paris. The following brief outline will make apparent some of the similarities between the Gallican Mass and the Old-Spanish Mass (discussed earlier in this chapter). The sung items (excluding those of the celebrant and the short acclamations and responses of the choir) were:

ANTIPHONA AD PRAELEGENDUM, sung by the clergy as the celebrant proceeded from the sacristy to preside over the readings (i.e., the *legendum*) of the first part of the Mass; no verse is mentioned

AIUS (i.e., ἅγιος), the "Holy, Holy, Holy" sung by the choir "ante prophetiam" (see the next item but one) in Latin and then Greek ("dicens latinum cum greco")

KYRIE ELEISON, chanted three times by three boys

PROPHETIA (i.e., "prophecy"), "Benedictus dominus deus Israel," the Canticle of Zachary from Luke chapter 1, chanted alternately ("alternis vocibus ecclesia psallit"), perhaps with an alleluia-refrain (the alternation may have been between the verses and the refrain); that *alleluia* was a feature would explain why in Lent *Sanctus deus archangelorum* (a hymn?) was substituted for the canticle

HYMNUM TRIUM PUERORUM, *Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum* i.e., the canticle of the three children in the fiery furnace, from Daniel chapter 3, following the reading from the Old Testament

RESPONSORIUM, sung by the boys, presumably after the reading from the New Testament (taken, depending on the occasion, from Epistles, Acts, or Revelation [or perhaps the Acta Sanctorum])

AIUS, sung a second time ("denuo") as the Gospel-book was brought from the sacristy and a third time, in Latin (*Sanctus*, *sanctus*, *sanctus*), as it was returned after the day's reading

SONUM, sung as the bread and wine were brought to the altar for consecration

LAUDES, a triple alleluia ("prima et secunda et tertia"), except in Lent

ANGELICUM CANTUM, i.e., "the Angelic hymn," *Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax* . . .

ANTIPHONA *ad fractionem*, sung by the clergy on their knees ("supplex clerus psallit antiphonam") while the priest divided the consecrated host into fragments and performed other rituals such as mixing in a cup to be used for the communion of the people some consecrated wine with unconsecrated; the TRECANUM, explained by St. Germain as a reference to the Trinity, but *trecanum* is perhaps better understood as a version of *trikanon*, (τρίκανων) i.e., "three traits" or "triple bars," an obscure reference to the threefold *X* and *I* of the Roman numeral XXXIII, and therefore an allusion

to Psalm 33, whose verse "O taste and see that the Lord is good"[24] is the prototypical communion chant-text and – if the reference was implicit – the unvarying communion chant of the Gallican Mass

COMMUNIO? there is no mention in Germain's letter of a chant that corresponds to the communio in the Old-Spanish Mass (a chant that was sung after the distribution of the Eucharist); however, there is a significant lacuna in the sole manuscript[25] just where such a reference might be expected.

About the Divine Office it is difficult to summarize information; most of what is known concerns Tours in central Gaul, the monasteries of the Mediterranean south, especially Lérins, and Agaune in Burgundy (now Switzerland). Until the Carolingian reformer Benedict of Aniane (747–821) insisted that all follow either the Benedictine monastic Office or the "Roman" cathedral-Office the practices were exceptionally diverse; the various communities accepted, as it suited them, influences not only from Italy, but from Ireland and even from the Greek East.

Monastic communities, and modified monastic practices in cathedrals, were unknown in the West until the fourth century. However, regular morning and evening offices are documented in Gaul even at that early date; from the mid-fifth century we have manuscripts apportioning the various readings (lessons), and regulating the full complement of Hours: Matins (divided into Nocturns), Terce, Sext, None and "Duodecima" (at the twelfth hour of the day, i.e. at the end of day). From the writings of St. Caesarius, bishop of Arles from 503 to 542, it is possible to extract information about the Divine Office in his cathedral.[26] It is clear, by the way, that he expected all the faithful to attend, not just the clergy:

VIGILS, an office that began before dawn and included lessons interspersed with psalmody and prayers

MATINS, which followed vigils without a break, lasted about half an hour. The order is uncertain, but it began with Psalm 50, and probably included other psalms, particularly numbers 148–50 (all psalms sung with *alleuia* or other refrains?), sometimes a sermon, a hymn, and – on Sundays and festivals – the *Benedictiones* (i.e., the canticle of Daniel 3), the *Te deum* and (as seems likely) the *Gloria in excelsis*

LITTLE HOURS: Terce, Sext and None, which would have included a few psalms (probably chanted very simply) and prayers, were sung daily in the cathedral

24 Fernand Cabrol, *The Mass of the Western Rites* (London: Sands, 1934), 136. See above, p. 127 the description of the Old-Spanish *antiphona ad accedentes*.
25 Ratcliffe, *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, section 28a.
26 Collated with reference to many other documents in Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 151–56.

LUCERNARIUM, i.e., Vespers; surprisingly little is known of this, other than that it might include a sermon, and that it concluded with the bishop's blessing

DUODECIMA: this office included Psalm 103 (cf. verses 19–20: "the sun knoweth his going down. Thou makest darkness, and it is night").

No Gallican chant-books are known to exist. It is likely that none ever did: elsewhere, the transmission of chants by rote continued efficiently (as long as institutions were stable) long after the need to bring the Roman chants suddenly to distant churches led to the neumation of Gregorian melodies in Frankish territories. After the suppression of their indigenous practices the ecclesiastics in Gaul no doubt adopted the Roman rite as best they could, but for certain transalpine occasions books from Rome – for example the sacramentary sent by Hadrian I to Charlemagne about 790 – contained nothing that would serve. And we may suppose that, even when there were Roman counterparts, some well-loved texts and melodies would have proved resistant to change. The book sent by Hadrian to aid in the transition to the Roman rite was soon copied for distribution, but these copies already contain Gallican supplements that no doubt preserve something of the old liturgy. It does seem likely that versions of some Gallican chants are to be found in books of the Milanese and Old-Spanish liturgies, which are obviously allied with that of Gaul, and even in the Franco-Roman books themselves. Michel Huglo has listed twenty-four such items he believes to be Gallican.[27] The problem, however, is that there is no way to know whether such survivors, even where the texts are the same, have not undergone melodic changes to make them more like the chants among which they are presently found.[28] Consider the circumstances of the Roman offertoria: scholars have suggested that some were imported from the Gallican or Old-Spanish liturgies,[29] but the melodies of the Old-Spanish sacrificia survive only in an unreadable notation, and the offertories in Gregorian and Old Roman sources, particularly the verses, exhibit features that all would agree are characteristically Roman. The fact is, there is no reason to think that chants of the Gallican Mass and Office – antiphons, responsories, formulas for the recitation of psalms and canticles, hymns – were very different from the corresponding chants employed in the other Western rites. Walafrid Strabo, tutor of Charles the Bald, does say that

27 See Michel Huglo, "Les *preces* des graduels aquitains empruntées à la liturgie hispanique," *Hispania sacra* 8 (1955), 361–83; reprinted in *Les sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 800 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

28 For an excellent consideration of this problem see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 553–57.

29 See especially Levy, "Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul."

the Gallican chants differed from the Roman in melody (*sono*) as well as text,[30] but he probably meant only that the same melodies were not used, not that they had a different style. Hilduin of St. Denis, writing to Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious,[31] said that the office of St. Denis included Gallican chants that "should be changed," but the items of that office as it has survived do not display any features that would allow us confidently to say which melodies if any are Gallican.

Milan

Milan at the time of the Apostles was already the second city of Italy (named *Roma secunda* by Augustus in 15 BCE); by the end of the third century CE it had become the *de facto* capital of the western empire. It is likely, in view of its importance, that missionaries brought Christianity to the city in apostolic times or shortly after. Although in the eleventh century the apostle Barnabas was claimed as its first bishop, only five are known to have preceded Merocles, who attended the Council of Rome in 313, and from this it might seem that the diocese was not established until well into the third century. By the time of St. Ambrose (who died in 397) the Milanese see was recognized as an archdiocese and all the bishops from Florence to Turin as suffragans.

Arians, supported by the imperial party then resident in Milan, gained precedence in 355 and installed their candidate, Auxentius, as bishop. The orthodox regained control in 375 with the election of St. Ambrose, but before his accession accommodation must have been made for those in the city who remained Catholic, and this seems to have a bearing on the unusual (but not unique) circumstance that throughout the Middle Ages Milan had two cathedrals. The explanation is probably this: that during the period of doctrinal division one (a pro-cathedral, as it were, likely presided over by a local bishop of the Nicene party) had been allocated to the orthodox, the other to the Arians; and after unity was restored the venue of the episcopal liturgy was split between what were later known as the "winter" and "summer" churches. Until these were replaced by the present enormous cathedral (begun in 1386, the main altar was consecrated in 1418) the shift between them occurred on Easter Day and on the third Sunday of October (Dedication Day). However, neither cathedral was ever left unattended. In later times at least, the yearly liturgy, Mass and Office, was effectively

30 Strabo, ed. Alfred Boretius and Viktor Krause, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, chap. 22, MGH Capitularia 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1897).
31 Hilduin, ed. Friederich Kurze, *Hilduin of St Denis*, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 3, MGH SRG 6 (Hanover: Hahn, 1895), 330.

doubled: during the time the principal (episcopal) liturgy was celebrated in the seasonal church, another "lesser" liturgy (so to speak) was celebrated by other clergy in the other cathedral.

The first complete manuscript providing details of the Ambrosian Mass and Office (the texts and some rubrics) is the Manuale which dates from the early eleventh century;[32] an ordinal compiled for the cathedral shortly after 1126 includes much other information and additional rubrics.[33] These books are the principal sources of the descriptions given below. The oldest complete antiphoners,[34] which include the melodies in pitch-accurate notation, date from the twelfth century, although the fragment in Beneventan notation[35] – its single page in agreement as far as it goes with the corresponding pages of the other antiphoners – can be dated to the mid-eleventh, and is thus an indication that their archetype was produced at least that early. Although a few borrowed Ambrosian melodies can be found in Gregorian books in cheironomic neumes, no Ambrosian antiphoners are known that made use of them. It seems likely that such books never existed, and that the tradition of transmitting the melodies by rote continued in Milan until the innovations of Guido of Arezzo in the early eleventh century. Since his new staff notation, warmly encouraged by John XIX (pope from 1024 to 1033), was soon widely accepted, and since the notation that was employed in the oldest Ambrosian antiphoners (aside from the Beneventan fragment) can fairly be called Guidonian, it may be that the celebrated Guido provided the impulse for their production.

Charlemagne took Milan from the Lombards in 774, and established a Frankish presence: his *de facto* son-in-law, Angilbert I, was archbishop from 822 to 823, and Angilbert II, another Frank, succeeded him to reign until 859. Charlemagne did not enforce the religious uniformity he and his father intended for the rest of his empire. Perhaps the city's ecclesiastical establishments and aristocracy were powerful enough to make the suppression of the Ambrosian cathedral practices impractical. For all that, Roman influences, via the Franks, were accepted – enough that Milan's indigenous rite was importantly changed, but not enough that it lost its identity.

Although monasteries were established near Milan as early as the fourth century and flourished until modern times, only the cathedral liturgy survives.

32 Marco Magistretti, ed. *Manuale Ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI olim in usum Canonicae Vallis Travaliae*. Pars altera (Milan: Hoepli, 1904).

33 Magistretti, ed., *Beroldus sive Ecclesiae ambrosianae Mediolanensis kalendarium et ordines, saec. XII* (Milan: Hoepli, 1894).

34 London, British Library, additional 34209 (*GB-Lbl* add. 34209) (winter part) and Brezzo di Bedero, MS. B (summer part).

35 Bailey, "A Lost Ambrosian Antiphoner," 1–22.

This – adapted ad hoc as necessary – was also used in the collegiate churches in the archdiocese, but as for the monasteries, we can only guess. They too may have adapted the cathedral practices. More than one of the surviving manuscript antiphoners were at one time owned by monasteries, and several of them within the city were visited officially by the cathedral clergy on certain occasions, as is noted in the ordinal. Some, at least, of the monasteries, especially after the reforms of Benedict of Aniane that followed in the wake of the Frankish conquest, may have accepted the Benedictine liturgy, which was substantially that of Rome.

In the earliest documents and (except for details) until the reforms of the sixteenth century the parts of the Ambrosian Mass and Office sung by various individuals and groups of the clergy, or by the boy scholars, were as follows. I have not included the prayers, nor the numerous versicles, responses, etc. that punctuated the liturgy.

The Mass

INGRESSA: sung at the beginning of mass, this antiphon without verse originally accompanied the entrance of the celebrants

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX . . . (omitted on Holy Saturday and on a few occasions when the archbishop was not the celebrant)

KYRIE ELEISON, sung three times

PSALMELLUS, a responsory, usually with a single verse, in the form refrain, verse, repetendum; it was sung after the reading from the Old Testament

ANTIPHONA ANTE EVANGELIUM, sung, without verse, while the Gospel-book was brought from the sacristy to the pulpit on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and the Feast of the Epiphany; in Milan on the feasts of the Ordination of St. Ambrose, the feast of his Deposition, and the Feast of St. Lawrence; and throughout the archdiocese on the festival of a patron saint (this latter is not mentioned until the thirteenth century). Ordinarily the procession was made without special music while the Mass continued[36]

ALLELUIA, the word *alleluia* sung one or more times, followed by a verse and concluding with a repetition of the opening section, on some occasions greatly elaborated by melismas (these are the counterparts of the *longissimae melodiae* that Notker complained of); the alleluia was sung after the reading from the Epistles, except on penitential occasions

36 Terence Bailey, "The Milanese Gospel-Processions and the Antiphonae ante Evangelium," in *Antiphonaria: Studien zu Quellen und Gesängen des mittelalterlichen Offiziums* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2009).

CANTUS, two (or occasionally more) verses of a psalm or canticle sung to an elaborated psalm tone after the reading from the Epistles when the alleluia was not sung

ANTIPHONA POST EVANGELIUM, an antiphon without verse sung during the preparations for the consecration of the Eucharist

OFFERENDA (sometimes called *offertorium*), like the previous item, sung during the preparation of the elements of the Eucharist, about a third of them with a verse (very rarely two) and repetendum

(CREDO IN UNUM DEUM) PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM . . . the first four words were sung by the celebrant (omitted on Holy Saturday)

CONFRACTORIUM, an antiphon sung during the fragmentation of the consecrated host, and the various rituals that followed

TRANSITORIUM, an antiphon without verse sung during the communion of the clergy and people.

On penitential occasions such as saints' vigils and the weekdays in Lent (Mass was normally said only on Sundays and festivals) the "Mass" (it is so designated) was very simple and consisted only of a psalmellus and a cantus. Beginning in the thirteenth century some of these penitential Masses were expanded with the usual additional items.[37]

The Divine Office

In what follows I have not included the frequent and complex stational observances that involved various churches throughout the city on the eve of saints' feasts,[38] nor the ceremonies in both baptistries that almost always followed Matins and Vespers.[39] The "Little Hours," Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline, each began with a hymn; otherwise they consisted of short readings (without responsories), psalms (without antiphons), versicles and prayers.

The first and most important of the Ambrosian daily offices was Matins (*matutinum*, also *matutina*, the plural); this included items divided between Matins and Lauds in the Roman rite.

Matins on Sundays

HYMNUS, "Aeterne rerum conditor" (attributed to St. Ambrose)

37 See Terence Bailey, "Rome, Milan and the Confractoria," in *Proceedings of the Cantus Planus, Dobogoko, 23–29 August, 2009* (Lions Bay, BC: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2013).
38 See Terence Bailey, "Ambrosian Processions of the Saints," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 263–86.
39 See Terence Bailey, "Ambrosian Processions to the Baptistries," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 15 (2006), 29–42.

RESPONSORIUM POST HYMNUM, with verse and repetendum

CANTICUM ESAIAE, "De nocte vigilat," the canticle from Isaiah, chapter 26,[40] chanted with an antiphon-refrain (the usual form of such extensive recitations was refrain, verses, repeat of the refrain, doxology)

ORATIO ANNAE, *Confirmatum est cor*, the canticle of Anna from 1 Kings chapter 2, chanted with an antiphon

CANTICUM ABBACUCH, "Domine audivi auditionem," the canticle from Habakkuk chapter 3, chanted with an antiphon

CANTICUM IONAE, "Clamavi ad dominum," the canticle of Jonah chapter 2, chanted with an antiphon

RESPONSORIA INTER LECTIONES, two responsories, each with verse and repetendum, to separate the assigned readings[41]

CANTICUM ZACHARIAE, "Benedictus dominus deus Israel," the canticle of Zachary from Luke chapter 1, except in Advent

CANTICUM DEUTERONOMII, "Attende caelum et loquar," the canticle of Moses, from Deuteronomy chapter 32, sung in Advent in place of the canticle of Zachary

KYRIE ELEISON, sung three times (this supplication was probably taken for granted in other places where it is not specified)

ANTIPHONA AD CRUCEM, an antiphon, without verse but with doxology, that was sung repeatedly to accompany an elaborate procession involving three crosses surmounted with lighted candles

CANTICUM MOYSI, "Cantemus domino gloriose," the Canticle of Moses from Exodus chapter 15, chanted with an antiphon

KYRIE ELEISON, sung three times

CANTICUM TRIUM PUERORUM, "Benedicite omnia opera domini," the canticle of the Three Children from Daniel chapter 3, chanted with an antiphon

KYRIE ELEISON, sung three times

LAUDATE, Psalms 148–50 plus 116 chanted with a single antiphon and concluding (after the doxology) with a "*capitulum*," a *versus ad repetendum* sung by both sides of the choir together

PSALMUS DIRECTUS, a psalm chanted without antiphon by both sides of the choir together

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO, the usual "Angelic Hymn" (concluding: *in saecula saeculorum, amen*), but followed immediately by as many verses again, beginning with verse 25 of the *Te deum* (*Per singulos dies benedicimus te*), and

40 The Ambrosian liturgy employed versions of the canticles (included in the official psalter) that frequently differ in wording and verse division from the Vulgate versions.

41 In later times the Te deum was sung (at the end of Lauds, as it were) before the Benedictus, the next item.

concluding (again): *in saecula saeculorum amen*; all of this followed by a special doxology, "Gloria et honor deo patri"

HYMNUS, "Splendor paternae gloriae" (attributed to St. Ambrose)

KYRIE ELEISON, sung twelve times (on Sundays and almost all other occasions, after the twelvefold Kyrie, some of the clergy went in procession to the two baptistries for further observances; others, remaining behind, brought Matins to a close in the chancel with versicles and prayers)

Matins Monday through Friday

HYMNUS, "Aeterne rerum conditor"

RESPONSORIUM POST HYMNUM, with verse and repetendum

ANTIPHONAE IN PSALMOS, three antiphons to be sung with the allotted psalms of the sequential series (the psalms through 108 were distributed at weekday Matins in a two-week cycle)

RESPONSORIA INTER LECTIONES, two responsories, each with verse and repetendum, sung between the assigned readings

CANTICUM ZACHARIAE, or in Advent, CANTICUM DEUTERONOMII

PSALMUS QUINQUAGESIMUS ("Miserere mei deus"), Psalm 50, chanted with an antiphon

LAUDATE

PSALMUS DIRECTUS

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX ... followed by the special doxology, "Gloria et honor deo patri"

HYMNUS, "Splendor paternae gloriae"

KYRIE ELEISON, sung twelve times

Matins on Saturdays

HYMNUS, "Aeterne rerum conditor"

RESPONSORIUM POST HYMNUM, with verse and repetendum

CANTICUM MOYSI

PSALMUS 118, "Beati immaculati in via," in winter (when the nights were longer) all of it; in summer, half one week, half the next; chanted with an antiphon

RESPONSORIA INTER LECTIONES, two responsories, each with verse and repetendum, to separate the assigned readings

CANTICUM ZACHARIAE, or in Advent, CANTICUM DEUTERONOMII

PSALMUS 117 (*Confitemini domino quoniam*) chanted with an antiphon

KYRIE ELEISON, three times

LAUDATE

PSALMUS DIRECTUS

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX ... with the special doxology, "Gloria et honor deo patri"

HYMNUS, "Splendor paternae gloriae"

KYRIE ELEISON, sung twelve times

Matins on Festivals and Special Occasions

On most festivals, the items sung were as on Sunday, but omitting the first four canticles; the closing hymn was frequently proper to the occasion. At Matins on certain "feasts of the Lord" (Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension) *all* the Sunday canticles were sung, and on the first three of these occasions, before the readings, extra psalms with antiphons (on Christmas Day and Epiphany, as many as eighteen). Between Palm Sunday and Easter, the sequential chanting of the psalter was suspended, and special psalms and antiphons assigned instead (as many as eighteen on Good Friday). The six days following Easter were treated as though they were Sundays.

Vespers

Every day of the week, when no feast was celebrated, the items were as follows:

LUCERNARIUM, a chant in the form of a responsory,[42] with a single verse (in one case two) plus repetendum

ANTIPHONA IN CHORO, sung without verse (Sundays only)

HYMNUS, "Deus creator omnium" (attributed to St. Ambrose)

RESPONSORIUM IN CHORO

ANTIPHONAE IN PSALMOS, five antiphons sung with the allotted psalms of the sequential cursus

MAGNIFICAT, "Magnificat anima mea," the canticle of Mary from Luke chapter 1, sung with antiphon

KYRIE ELEISON, sung three times

On festivals, Vespers took place on the day before the assigned date; on occasions with Second Vespers (Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, Easter, Pentecost, Dedication of the Principal Cathedral) these took place on the day itself. The sung components were normally as follows:

42 Terence Bailey, "The Ambrosian Lucernaria," in *Dies est laeticiae: Essays on Chant in Honour of Janka Szendrei on Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. David Hiley (Regensburg: Bosse, 2008), 5–44.

LUCERNARIUM

ANTIPHONA IN CHORO

HYMNUS, proper to the occasion or from the appropriate category in the Commune sanctorum

RESPONSORIUM IN CHORO

ANTIPHONAE IN PSALMOS, antiphons for the specially chosen psalms, usually two

MAGNIFICAT

KYRIE ELEISON, sung three times

Some of the most important occasions were exceptional. On Christmas Day and Epiphany, at First Vespers there was no responsory or antiphon "in choro," but after the hymn and before the assigned psalms, four psalmelli to be sung between readings, followed by a simple vigils Mass.[43] On Easter Day at First Vespers, there were no readings and no assigned psalms; at Second Vespers, no readings but one psalm with antiphon. On the Day of Pentecost at First Vespers, three psalmelli and a cantus were sung between the readings; no psalms were assigned. The clergy, having left to perform observances in the baptistry, returned to the chancel and sang a Mass (no Mass chants before the alleluia are assigned); this was followed by the Magnificat.

There remains the question of Ambrosian style. Many have attempted to show that Milanese chant differs characteristically from the Roman. In fact, it does not, and to demonstrate this it is enough to observe that about half of the Ambrosian Mass chants,[44] and some of those sung in the Office, employed the same texts and versions of the same melodies found in Gregorian manuscripts.

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43 Bailey, "Rome, Milan and the Confractoria."

44 For a detailed comparison of the melodies of Gregorian and Ambrosian offertory chants, see Terence Bailey, *Ambrosian and Gregorian Offertory Chants* (Vancouver: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2012).

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· 5 ·

Nova Cantica

JEREMY LLEWELLYN

What, exactly, was new about the *nova cantica* or "New Songs"? No contemporary manifesto, treatise, epistle or other document has survived setting out in detail the poetic and musical conventions which underpinned the flourishing of this new phenomenon in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The material manifestation of the *nova cantica* is thus principally confined to the transmission of approximately 150 songs of primarily religious content – around 70 in polyphonic form – hailing from four broad geographical contexts: the Duchy of Aquitaine, similarly famed for the vernacular compositions of the earliest troubadours; the northern cathedrals of Beauvais, Laon and Sens, straddling Paris; the southern cathedral of Palermo within the cultural orbit of Norman-Sicilian rule and, thus, connected to the north; and the pilgrimage center of Santiago de Compostela.[1] The greatest concentration of songs can be found in Aquitanian and Norman-Sicilian sources, and these are also the oldest witnesses to the *nova cantica* with the first manuscripts of song gatherings being copied around 1100 and others following on during the course of the century. Significantly, there are only about a dozen concordances between the Aquitanian and Norman-Sicilian

1 A new edition of the *nova cantica* is in preparation by the *corpus monodicum* research group at the University of Würzburg under the direction of Andreas Haug. I am grateful to Gunilla Björkvall for access to her pre-publication text edition of Latin *versus* and to Wulf Arlt for numerous materials. For the collaborative exchange of transcriptions, I should like to thank Agnieszka Budzińska-Bennett and Kelly Landerkin (Basel), Konstantin Voigt, David Catalunya and Isabel Kraft (Würzburg). Older editions of the monophony can be found in Leo Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertoires of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967); Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung* (Köln: Volk, 1970); David Hiley, "The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20–4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London King's College, 1981); Margaret Louise Switten, "Versus and Troubadours around 1100: A Comparative Study of Refrain Technique in the 'New Song,'" *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16/2 (2007), 91–143; and the polyphony in Sarah Ann Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969); Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); and Hendrik Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*, 2 vols. (Rochester, NY: Van der Werf, 1993). The exact number of songs is a matter of debate and varies according to certain criteria such as the inclusion of the polyphonic sequences, the recuperation of illegible compositions, and the separation of longer poetic blocks into smaller, discrete compositions.

sources.[2] In fact, the two traditions reveal a number of discrete differences such as the appellation of genre, the exactitude of the musical notation, the incorporation of the vernacular or the relationship to polyphony. Despite these differences, it is important to note that the "New Songs" thrived not only in monastic environments but also at cathedral establishments and, moreover, that they were a living performance tradition, defined in differing ways.[3] The *nova cantica* were not monolithic, but lithe. Redolently self-referential about their own newness, they allude repeatedly in their texts to, for example, "novitas," "novari," "nova cantica," "nova dies," "novum festum," "novus homo," and – in Occitan – "so noel" (a "new melody").[4] Thus they are eminently worthy of their modern moniker, established in musicological literature by Wulf Arlt.[5] He regards the burst of new activity in song production around 1100 as a watershed moment in the calibration of the relationship not only between text and music but, in addition, between the two voices of a diaphonic texture. In both cases, the old was recalibrated, often with startlingly individual results. So what, exactly, was new about the "New Songs"?

An unmistakable feature of the *nova cantica* is their tendency towards performative excess. This foregrounded exuberance is not, of course, solely the preserve of the *nova cantica*: in the ninth century, Sedulius Scottus writes in a springtide poem about multiplying the tones of the alleluia a hundredfold.[6] This explosion of textlessness is, however, put into the shade by the literally more calculating considerations of the twelfth-century strophic song "Nata est hodie" in which the novelty of the Incarnation is to be praised "a hundred times, a thousand times and even beyond."[7] The logical conclusion to this development is found in a rubric in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale (*F-LA*) 263

2 The concordances for the individual songs, including the "Streuüberlieferung," are given in the text edition of the Latin *versus* by Björkvall (forthcoming).

3 For a discussion of the monastic and cathedral environments of these songs, see James Grier, "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," *Speculum* 69/4 (1994), 1023–69 and Andreas Haug, "Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter," in *Musikalische Lyrik: Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen*, Bd. VIII, ed. Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2004), 59–129, esp. "altes Lied–neues Lied," 97–125.

4 See the songs "Lux rediit," "Mira lege," "Da laudis homo," "Gaudeamus nova cum leticia," "Novum festum celebremus," "*Homo gaude*," and "In hoc anni circulo" respectively.

5 See the seminal articles Wulf Arlt, "Nova cantica. Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters," in *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10: 13–62 and Arlt, "Das eine Lied und die vielen Lieder. Zur historischen Stellung der neuen Liedkunst des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Dubowy and Sören Meyer-Eller (Pfaffenhofen: Ludwig, 1990), 113–27. For a broader historiography surrounding the "New Song," see Haug, "Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter."

6 "Nunc chorus ecclesiae cantat per cantica Sion/Alleluia suis centuplicatque tonis," quoted in Gunilla Iversen, "Psallite regi nostro, psallite: Singing "Alleluia" in Ninth-Century Poetry," in *Sapientia et Eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nicolas Bell and Gunilla Iversen, Disputatio 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 9–58 at 35.

7 "Nata est hodie," strophe 3: "Cencies, milies/et ultra conlaudanda."

from the later twelfth century. This manuscript contains a wide range of musical materials for the clerical festivities of the Christmas period including, for Epiphany, the reference to "completorium infinitum," or an "infinite Compline." The written-out liturgy for the Office concludes with the instruction to sing "as many Benedicamus [compositions] as anyone present knows."[8] Thus the extension of the vanishing point of ritual is achieved through aesthetic means, since the *Benedicamus domino* chant had increasingly become the site for poetic and musical experimentation in the form of often elaborate strophic compositions. Naturally, it could be argued that *F-LA* 263 and similar manuscripts from northern cathedrals represent a secondary reception of the *nova cantica* in which their function had been reconfigured. But such collections of songs – the precondition for the aleatoric expansiveness of open-ended performance – can be found in the earliest Aquitanian and Norman-Sicilian manuscripts. Moreover, they already contained traces of the infinite. Just as with the *iubilus*, the standard doxological call to eternal praise is worked into the texture of the *nova cantica* in numerously inventive ways. To sing "sine termino" ("without end") as in "Stirps Iesse" rhymes, naturally, with "Benedicamus domino"; more ingenious are the balanced strophe-endings of "Letamini plebs" which temporally, if not metrically, match the perpetual praising of the Lord with rendering eternal thanks to God.[9] A similar sentiment is even expressed in Occitan in the macaronic "In hoc anni circulo"/ "Mei amice mei fiel" where the listeners are encouraged to "repeat henceforth/Each new *vers* … "[10] The performative excess of the "New Songs" can, therefore, be viewed in the first instance as a supercharging of discrete liturgical habits – the *iubilus*, the doxology – which made the songs special, in both senses of that word: the mention of "cantus specialis" in "Resonemus hoc natali" signals a song type that is out of the ordinary but which, at the same time, does not constitute a genre or *genus* by itself since it belongs to the subordinated category of *species*. That specific aspect of peculiarity manifests itself in the *nova cantica* in a playful interaction with function, form, text, melody, and discourse.

In functional terms, the *nova cantica* blossom within a context of troping: oftentimes they breathe in a performative synchrony with other, pre-existing texts. Most obviously, this concerns the elaboration of the call-and-response formula "Benedicamus domino–Deo gracias" sung at the end of the Office. Indeed, other moments of the Office are furnished with songs such as the "Tu

8 See Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters*, 227 and Haug, "Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter," 40.

9 The non-matching line-lengths are flagged up by Björkvall in her materials; for an analysis of the composition, see Arlt, "Nova cantica," 31–71.

10 "dijat en avan/Chasques vers nous …," in Margaret Louise Switten, "Versus and Troubadours around 1100: A Comparative Study of Refrain Technique in the 'New Song,'" *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16/2 (2007), 91–143 at 121.

autem," which could be considered a trope in the strict sense of introduction (albeit in the vernacular) and the "Deus in adiutorium," and "Pater noster," which, functionally, are worked into poetic paraphrases of the original liturgical texts. A looser relationship is suggested by those songs which function as introductions to ritual acts, rather than specific texts, such as the exhortation to begin a liturgical reading. Finally, a principal function of troping – to emphasize the solemnity of a particular feast day with an appeal to collective celebration in the *hic et nunc* – is woven verbally into many of the *nova cantica*, such as "In hoc festo breviter," "Nunc clericorum contio," or "Letamini plebs hodie." Introducing, paraphrasing, and scene-setting are all classical functions of troping, so definitely not new: what transforms this function in the *nova cantica* is the subsuming of pure sound within the scope and scheme of troping. A series of poetic lines introducing the *Benedicamus domino* can now each end with the monosyllabic rhyme "o," the rhyme itself being punched out repeatedly by virtue of the new deployment of accentual verse.[11] This is a world away from the allusive "a"-assonance of earlier proses and prosulas. Moreover, this specific device in the *nova cantica* was not reactive like the unfolding of an Alleluia postlude, but rather anticipatory, playing with expectations in a goal-oriented manner.

Naturally, not all "Benedicamus domino" songs pounded out a terminal "o." Nevertheless, they form a more or less homogeneous subgroup of the *nova cantica* if only because their function is so clear and they are often rubricated as such.[12] Indeed, this clarity in identification persists even when the traditional formulation of the call-versicle is rephrased for reasons of rhyme or rhythm, such as "benedicat domino," "benedic domino," "hic benedicatur," or expanded expressions like "benedicat chorus celorum domino" or even the reiterative "bene benedicamus domino."[13] There is a degree of inconsistency within the transmission concerning the incorporation of a second half of *Benedicamus domino* songs revolving around the response-versicle "Deo gracias." The Norman-Sicilian manuscripts are, in general, more conscientious in presenting a second block of strophes leading to "Deo gracias" whereas the written presentation of these songs in Aquitanian sources ends on several occasions with just "Benedicamus domino" or its equivalent. A similar divergence in the transmission concerns the heterogeneous group of *versus* whose function is far less clear. The Aquitanian

11 Indeed, the "tympano" makes an appearance in *Dulce melos cum organo*: see Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España (*E-Mn*) 289, fol. 136r. Other songs which include a prominent "o" include "Da laudis homo," whose first line ends with the line-lengthening exclamation "o," and "Verbum patris humanatur" which even has a repetitive "o, o" at the end of the first line.

12 For example Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (*F-Pn*) lat. 1139, fol. 58r, "[h]ic incoant benedicamus"; *E-Mn* 289, fol. 126v "In nativitate d[omi]ni b[e]n[edicamus]."

13 See "Noster cetus," "Patris ingeniti," "Omnis curet homo," "Congaudet hodie celestis curia," and "Catholicorum concio."

sources would appear, again from the rubrication, to reveal a more catholic appreciation of the term which even includes the title "vers[us] s[ancte] marie" for the Occitan song "O Maria deu maire" (*F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 49r). Otherwise the term covers a multitude of different textual trajectories including those songs that introduce a reading, expound a theological quandary, extol moral living or trace a historical narrative. Distilled from this heterogeneity, however, in the Norman-Sicilian source *E-Mn* 289 is a group of songs bearing the rubric "conductus." At least on three occasions, these rubrics preface songs that end with a reference to a reading ("audiat, senciat, quid dicat leccio," "dic: iube, domine!," "lector incipe"), thereby illuminating an incipient understanding of the term conductus as a new song which functionally introduces a lesson.[14]

The relationship between the *nova cantica* and form has been succinctly circumscribed by Andreas Haug.[15] Whereas the poetic texts of the "Old Song" – principally hymns – demonstrated a relatively limited number of verse forms, the combinatorial potential between any one hymn text and any one hymn tune was expansive. Alternatively, the "New Song" reveled in a plurality of verse forms which were often highly particular to the individual song; this, naturally, radically reduces the possibility of the interchangeability of individual song melodies and can even be considered as indicative of a new, formal rigor. It should, however, be stressed that with the *nova cantica* it was not simply a matter of pouring music, whether monophonic or diaphonic, into a pre-formed poetic mold, however exotic: music and text existed in a new and sophisticated form of codependency.

The individuality of many of the *nova cantica* should not, however, mask the significant number of songs which deploy traditional isostrophic forms. In a study of the poetic forms of the earliest layers of the "New Song" repertory (*F-Pn* lat. 1139, *F-Pn* lat. 3719 and *E-Mn* 288), Gunilla Björkvall notes, for example, the presence of nine texts using the trochaic septenary (8p + 7pp), eleven a seven-syllable strophe (7+7, generally pp) and five an iambic dimeter (8pp).[16] This compares to seventeen songs with "free strophes" – an individually styled unit with novel combination of line-lengths which is then repeated strophically – and seven songs with "template-less strophes" ("typlose Strophen") where individual textual units in a specific song display a different verse form. Of course, the immediate temptation typologically would be to equate the template-less strophic songs with musically through-composed forms and,

14 See "Resonet, intonet fidelis concio," "Congaudentes iubilemus hodie," "Anni novi circulus" respectively.
15 Haug, "Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter," deploys a useful contradistinction between the "Formenarmut und Ambiguität der Formartikulation" (43) in the "Old Song" and the "Formenpluralismus und Strenge der Formartikulation" in the "New Song" (51).
16 The study forms part of the materials assembled in connection with the text edition of Latin *versus* which underpins the forthcoming *Corpus monodicum* edition of the *nova cantica*.

conversely, the traditional isostrophic texts with faithfully repeated strophic tunes. This is not always the case, either in the monophonic or the polyphonic *nova cantica*. One such exception is the monophonic song "Letabundi iubilemus," whose three free – yet regular – strophes are copied out in full in *F-Pn* lat. 1139 (fols. 58r–58v); of interest is the staggeringly melismatic formulation of strophe two, contrasting with strophes one and three which transmit the same melody.[17] Similarly, the stoutly regular verse structure of the two-voice "Iubilemus exultemus," consisting of four two-line strophes of trochaic septenaries, is diffracted through a through-composed musical form extending over the entire composition.[18] From an opposing perspective, the slight irregularities in line-lengths between strophes in "Da laudis homo nova cantica" are ironed out in a strophic musical form which retains its essential integrity.[19] Such *variatio* in songs with strophic melodies is not uncommon in Aquitanian sources and is even more pronounced in diaphonic compositions. It is moot, however, to tie this in per se to a formal exuberance, when it could be considered more an aspect of performance.

The tension between encapsulating form in the *nova cantica* in terms of standard shorthand descriptions of line-length and word-stress, on the one hand, and the dynamism of an individually crafted text-music relationship in a single composition, on the other, can best be probed in three brief examples. Each revolves around the formal status of a textual block of four syllables. Example 5.1 presents the first strophe, without refrain, of the monophonic song "Plebs domini" from *F-Pn* lat. 3719 (fol. 39v). The text invites from the assembly full-hearted but pious peals of praise to the Virgin Mary for the birth of the Son of God at Christmastide.

The first two lines reveal discrete moments of patterning: a disyllabic rhyme with proparoxytone stress (*dô*)*mini* is balanced against a disyllabic rhyme with paroxytone stress, *díe*. This balance is reflected in the melodic behavior which alternates a D-mode sonority for the first four syllables with the countersonority built on the descending chain of thirds G–E–C before reaching the final, D; additionally, the switch from proparoxytone to paroxytone stress is marked by the departure from purely syllabic declamation through the introduction of a modest neume group with *oriscus* on *di*(*e*). Indeed, these two melodic devices arguably bind the 4pp + 3p text segments into one verse line of 7p which is, of course, immediately repeated with the surface variation of an F–D start, instead of D–F. Line three follows this pattern in its text with

17 For a detailed melodic analysis, see Arlt, "Nova cantica," 44–52.
18 Arlt, "Peripherie und Zentrum. Vier Studien zur ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des hohen Mittelalters 1," in *Forum Musicologicum* 1 (Bern: Amadeus, 1975), 169–222 at 190–93.
19 Arlt, "Nova cantica," 28–37.

Example 5.1 The first strophe, without refrain, of the monophonic song "Plebs domini" from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin (*F-Pn* lat.) 3719, fol. 39v.



the melody this time starting on the repetition of the high octave D and descending, the melodic curl on (*Ma*)*ri*(*e*) leading upwards to A. The pattern then morphs. Suddenly, disyllabic rhymes on "-ibus" come at the listener more quickly, the proparoxytone stress on "córdibus," "vócibus," and "áctibus" does not relent, and the insistence is underlined by the repeated use of the word "et." These waves of phonetic sound then crash upon the paroxytone "promátur" which ends the strophe. Melodic impulses are similarly clear at this point in the strophe. The repeated four-syllable blocks beginning with *et* all encompass a descent either of a fourth or a fifth, sometimes with repeated pitches, sometimes without. This compact melodic pattern which foregrounds the proparoxytone stress is, of course, originally found at "Laus virgini" in line three.

A formal or structural reading of the entire strophe stutters, therefore, at the words *et vocibus*: up to this point, the verse form, neatly articulated by the melody, could be understood as 3 × 7p; and after this point at "et actibus promatur" (7p) it could be considered to resume. Of course, this concatenation of the textual units 4pp + 4pp + 4pp + 3p from "et cordibus" to "promatur" would take up the space of a trochaic septenary (8p + 7pp) but here, again, the paroxytone polarity of "promatur" would seem to militate against such

Example 5.2 "Promat chorus hodie," a short *versus* found only in *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 51v



a reading. A theoretical emendation of the text of "et vocibus" to "et voce" would render a uniform 5 × 7p strophe, but that would entail rewriting the melody at this point, possibly with a melodic twirl on *vo*(*ce*). A processual reading of the first strophe of "Plebs domini," however, makes a great deal of sense: after setting up certain poetic and melodic parameters in the first three lines, the fourth line beginning "et cordibus" increases tension through the rapid reiteration of a four-syllable block which is ultimately released by the melisma on "promatur." It should be stressed that this is not simply a terminal melisma known from some *versus* and later *conductus*. It is the logical response to the preceding syllabicism but also, significantly, amplifies on a grander scale that staged balance acted out in the opening line of the strophe between a syllabic proparoxytone stress ("dómini") and a neumatic paroxytone stress ("díe"), right down to the appearance of the *oriscus*. Semantically, too, the melisma rings true as "praise to the Virgin Mary" is to be "brought forth with hearts and with voices and with actions" whereby the anaphora could allude, along with the refrain of "Plebs domini," to Luke 10:27 about loving the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength. In short, collective vocality – "et vocibus" – does not so much break the verse form of "Plebs domini" as transform it.

"Promat chorus hodie" in Example 5.2 is a short *versus* found only in *F-Pn* 1139 (fol. 51v) which celebrates the day on which the eternal King of Kings

assumed human form in the Incarnation. The "plebs" have become a "chorus" and in this song they "bring forth" a "song of joy" ("canticum leticie").

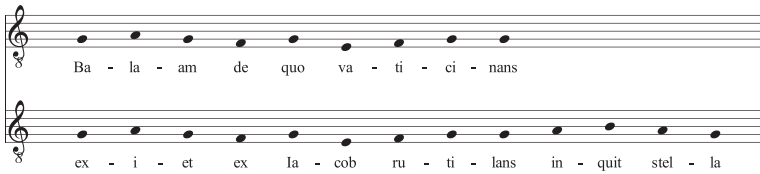
A musical transcription is relatively straightforward, except for the melodic formulation of the word "psallite." Despite the various means of pinning down pitch content more precisely in this manuscript – *custodes*, drypoint-lines, mi-neumes – the irregular gapping of neumes on (*psalli*)*te* could either be read as DEDC or EFED.[20] Interestingly, this lack of clarity in pitch coincides with a lack of clarity in verse form: "Psallite contio" is a six-syllable line with proparoxytone stress whereas the other lines – barring the repeated refrain "o contio" – are all 7pp. Restoring "Psallite contio" to a 7pp form could not, however, be easier since it would simply require adding an "o" before "contio." This would lead to both a clear verse form of $2 \times (7pp + 4pp) + 2 \times 7pp$ and a crisp bipartite structure where the first two lines deploy a disyllabic *-ie* rhyme with dovetailing refrain; and the final two lines begin with a permutation of the verb *psallere* and favor a disyllabic rhyme on *-io*. A restored "song of joy" resounds which, with its easy rhymes, catchy refrains, and reference to "chorus" and "tripudium," is highly suggestive of a rondellus. Indeed, the "popular" nature of the song underpins the argument advanced by Hans Spanke that Guilhem de Peiteu, the "first" troubadour, used it as the basis of his "Companho, farai un vers tot convinen."[21] For the two verse forms to fit in a contrafactum relationship, however, Spanke silently expands "Psallite contio" to "Psallite o contio," creating a 7pp line in the Latin song which neatly corresponds to the Occitan "Et er totz mesclatz d'amor." More significantly, the performative playfulness with refrains in "Promat chorus" is wholly missing from "Companho, farai un vers" or rather, the playful sarcasm of the latter is expressed through a denser poetic texture. In other words, it is arguably less important for the performance of "Promat chorus" if line three comprises either 6pp or 7pp with the added "o" since the point of the song is surely the functional polyvalence of the four-syllable block "o contio" which can act as an interjection or bridge, flit between the imperative and the subjunctive, and float between vocality and choreography. Form is not static, but dynamic.

20 For questions of codicology, paleography, and notation, see the introduction to the forthcoming *Corpus monodicum* edition of the *nova cantica*. The most detailed study to date on the materiality and connectedness of the Aquitanian manuscripts, including the question of the separate *libelli*, is James Grier, "Transmission in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985) and subsequent articles. The "mi-neume" was put on the notational map in Marie-Noël Colette, "La notation du demi-ton dans le manuscript Paris, B.N. Lat. 1129 et dans quelques manuscrits du Sud de la France," in *La tradizione dei tropi liurgici* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 297–311.

21 Hans Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik*, Abhandlung der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, dritte Folge, 18 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1936), 19–20.

That self-same melodic gesture over four syllables – ABAG – occurs in another *novum canticum*, albeit in an entirely different context. "Prima mundi" is a Benedicamus song transmitted in successive polyphony in *F-Pn* lat. 1139 (fol. 58v).[22] It tells of the Fall of Adam and Eve by that "infamous trick" ("fraude nota"), the expulsion from Paradise, and the ultimate redemption of Eve's crime by the Virgin Mary. Musically, the most striking feature is that the lower voice appears to be taken over wholesale from a versicle of the sequence *Epiphaniam domino* which, likewise, appears in *F-Pn* lat. 1139 and is presented in Example 5.3.

Example 5.3 A versicle of the sequence "Epiphaniam domino" from *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 58v



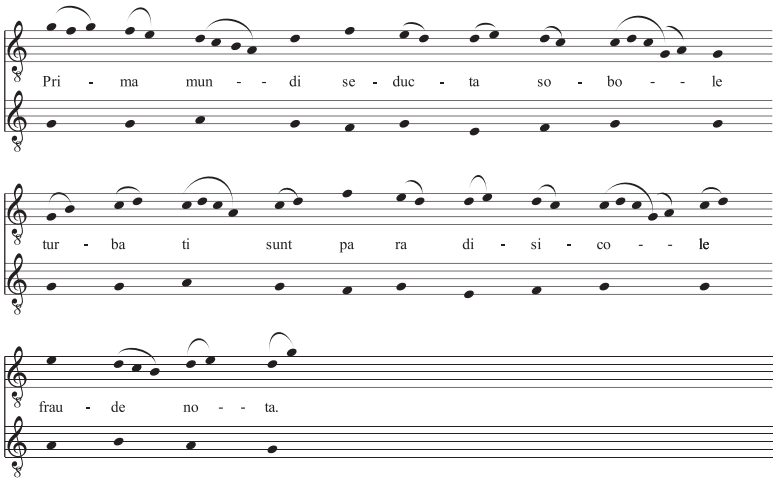
Of note is the way in which a self-contained melodic segment is repeated with a short extension. In this case, the articulatory force of the *pes stratus* figure (FGG) at the end of the first statement of the segment is subsumed into the flow of the concluding four-note group (ABAG) of the second. Such additive behavior is not uncommon to sequence melodies and, indeed, during "Epiphaniam domino" this four-note group accrues ever more weight as a closing gesture.[23] The transformation of this melody as a strophic unit of "Prima mundi" is presented in Example 5.4.

Most obvious is the lightly ornamented discant texture; however, the repetition of the first G to create an opening four-syllable unit in a ten-syllable line ("Prima mundi seducta sobole") is also of importance. Indeed, this is reinforced by the diaphony which reads the text in this way: the second half of line one ("seducta sobole") corresponds musically to the second half of line two ("paradisicole"), except that the two voices converge at the end of line one on a unison G but stretch apart to the interval of a fifth in line two. Indeed, this differentiation in the use of prime consonances is deployed more strikingly in

22 The identification of "successive polyphony" has been a staple of research on Aquitanian polyphony; the seminal text is Sarah Ann Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony: A Reappraisal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24/2 (1971), 169–92. "Prima mundi" provides a good example since it is also transmitted in score notation in *GB-Lbl* add. 36881.

23 For an edition of this sequence from *E-Mn* 289, see David Hiley, *Das Repertoire der normanno-sizilischen Tropare*. 1: *Die Sequenzen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi Bd. XIII (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 30–31.

Example 5.4 The transformation of the "Epiphaniam domino" melody as a strophic unit of "Prima mundi"



the diaphonic behavior of the openings of lines one and two which, of course, are based on an identical melodic unit, GGAG. The opening gambit "Prima mundi" establishes itself on the sonority of the octave before falling a seventh precipitately to A and ending the segment on the upper fifth, D; "turbati sunt" adopts the opposing strategy of beginning on a unison G and then working its way up to the fifth. From this vantage point, the diaphonic plot of "Prima mundi" becomes clear: the first line tapers from an open octave down to a unison; the second line begins on this unison and shears upwards to the fifth; and the final four-syllable block catapults the diaphony back up to the octave. From this position, the next strophe can begin. Yet this strophe – and this is the crucial point or "infamous trick" – begins with the very same text, "fraude nota," which ended the first strophe. In fact, every strophe of "Prima mundi" opens with the four-syllable textual block with which the preceding strophe concluded; as can be seen, for example, in the following two strophes:

II	Fraude nota Adam condoluit, Eva quoque, que scelus monuit fit commota.	III	Fit commota plancxitque nimium, que seduxit et se et sotium, Adam Eva.

As a strophic song, "Prima mundi" thus bears the distinction of not only presenting the same music with a different text, but also the same text with

different music. This formal conceit lies in playing with half-lines and it is tempting to imagine the four-note melodic block ABAG, which had accrued such potency in the sequence "Epiphaniam domino," exerting enough force to result in the retrospective equalization of syllable-count at the very opening of the strophe, that is, four instead of three syllables. Ironically, therefore, "Prima mundi" solidifies a segment of a *prosa* – to give the sequence genre to which "Epiphaniam domino" belongs its proper designation in contemporary Aquitanian manuscripts – into verse form. At the same time, however, the diaphonic texture dilates the internal repetition of the original lower voice to create a dynamic form which, in beginning with the open octave G and only arriving again on that same G octave at the very end of the strophe which becomes the beginning of the next strophe, apotheosizes the verbal repetition of the concluding four-syllable block. Monophony could hardly achieve this; diaphony, even in this simple discant form, allowed for such a sophisticated superimposition of music, text and meaning.

The radical potential within a simple constituent element of a seemingly undramatic verse form finds a parallel in the ludic delight in words and word-games found within the *nova cantica*. First and foremost, this phenomenon exploits the new weight attached to rhyme in verse composition around 1100. "Lux rediit" furnishes a classic example where there is an almost diarrhetic display of rhyme, even reaching quadrisyllabic proportions:

Qualis nativitas
que novitas,
que bonitas,
que caritas
et castitas,
fecunditas,
humanitas
et deitas!

In this case, the exclamatory mirrors the wonderment of the Christmas mystery. It is, therefore, not surprising to encounter specific exclamation words – "eia," "heu" and the Occitan "oi" – woven into certain songs.[24] Again, this places the *nova cantica* within the orbit of liturgical troping practices where "eia" is an intrinsic way of highlighting festal occasion and collective participation. Rarely found, however, in tropes or liturgical chant in general are concentrated bursts of repeated words such as "summo, summo, summo" in "Catholicorum contio," "nova, nova, nova, nova" in

24 "Eia": "In hoc festo," "Ex Ade," "Lilium floruit"; "heu" and "oi" in "Deus quam brevis" (*F-Pn* lat. 1139) and the light reworking "Oi Dex quam brevis" (London, British Library [*GB-Lbl*], add. 36881).

"Da laudis homo," or – with the aforementioned exclamations – "eia, eia, eia" in "Lilium floruit." The repetition of single words blossoms on occasion into repeated word-blocks so that the mystery of the Incarnation at Christmas becomes, in the refrain of "In hoc festo breviter," a mouth-watering celebration of the "feast of the wondrous man" ("Festum miri viri/festum miri viri/eia celebremus"). The refrain revels in gratuitous rhyme, since there can be scant theological reason for describing the powerless infant of Bethlehem impersonally as a "mirus vir" when other epithets would appear more fitting. A similar play on words in word-pairs occurs in "Nube carnis" where "linga digna" is not only subject to rapid-fire repetition, but also inversion.[25] Word repetition is also linked to phonetic extension as in "Radix Iesse" where the newborn to whom praise is being proffered ("nato") is immediately transmogrified into the eternal one ("athanato") and it is this temporally unbounded epithet that is then subject to repetition. A further level of extension makes its presence felt in the version of "In hoc anni circulo" in the earliest Aquitanian source, *F-Pn* lat. 1139. In contrast to the Norman-Sicilian version, *F-Pn* lat. 1139 presents this *versus* in macaronic form, with alternating strophes of Latin and Occitan bound together by a final refrain line focusing on the "virgo Maria."[26] Apart from this minimal refrain, the *versus* is notated in its entirety, almost as if the musical notation provided the scaffolding behind which such phonetic inventiveness could be safely erected. This intermixture of languages in the Aquitanian sources casts light on those *nova cantica* which foreground declinations in their poetic texts. Whereas "Annus novus in gaudio" deploys a different declination to begin each new strophe ("Anni novi," "Anno novo," "Annum novum" and "Anne nove"), "Mira dies oritur" places a single permutation of the verb *mirari* as a depth-charge in the middle of each strophe: when it goes off, the conjugated ending breaks off from the stem and shunts the melody stepwise up the octave, resulting in "miramur, mur, mur, mur, mur, mur, mur, mur" in the first strophe, "mirandum, dum, etc." in the second, and so on with "miranda" and "mirando."[27] Such word-games, at the most basic level, provide a summation of the inflected nature of the Latin language which has been so in evidence in the more localized examples. Thus the sheer sound quality of different conjugations and declensions could be considered a factor in generating form, especially of a strophic variety. Or else – to shift from vocality to grammar – the different declensions may

25 Thus, "linga digna, digna linga, linga digna, digna linga, linga digna."
26 Thus the refrain is not identical every time but ends in some permutation of "virgo Maria." Moreover, the alternation stops in strophes 17 to 19 which are all in Occitan. The following song in *F-Pn* lat. 1139 is the Occitan "O Maria deu maire."
27 Edited in Switten, "Versus and Troubadours around 1100," 142–43.

Example 5.5 The opening phrase of "Radix Iesse" from *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 46r



Example 5.6 The last line of the first strophe of "Gaudeamus nova cum laetitia," from *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 38r



possibly have been of use in a pedagogical situation, such as the monastic or cathedral schoolroom. Most pointedly, playing with Latin inflections gave a deeper expression to the possibilities of diglossia just as, at the same time and in the same region, the first flourishings of troubadour song in Occitan did.

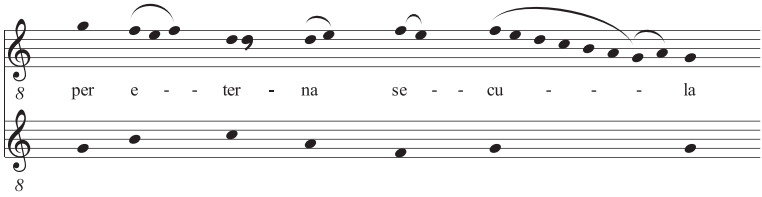
A further parameter which the *nova cantica* calibrate anew is melody. First and foremost, this concerns a new prominence accorded the interval of the octave in both monophonic and polyphonic compositions in the Aquitanian sources. To begin a monophonic song insistently on the upper octave – as, for example, in "Radix Iesse" (Example 5.5) – is unlike the modal behavior found in the basic stock of liturgical chants for the Mass and Office.

Moreover, such behavior sets up an expectation that the melody will inexorably fall; that there is a gravitational pull downwards. This manifests itself in different ways, the most obvious being the rapid, stepwise run down the octave or the seventh generally found in terminal melismas of both monophonic and polyphonic compositions (Examples 5.6 and 5.7).[28]

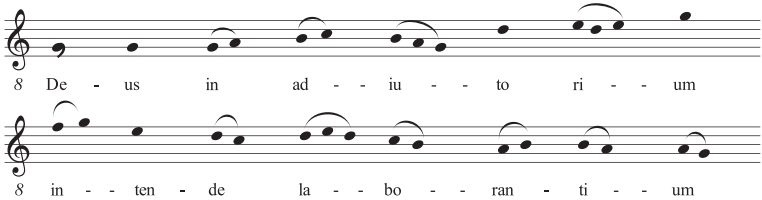
Another manifestation of this pull is the diaphonic strategy of voice-exchange: one voice starts high and descends whilst the other starts low and works itself upwards. That this was an early technique – or "protocol" (Fuller) – for making diaphony can be adduced from the presence of the famous *versus*, "Deus in adiutorium," copied in successive notation in the earliest layer of *F-Pn* lat. 1139 (fol. 32r) from around 1100 (Example 5.8).

28 A historical contextualization and an analysis of these melismatic "tails" form the focus of Mark Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected: The 'Punctus organi' and the 'Conductus cum caudis,'" in *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance: Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Kleinertz (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010), 161–95.

Example 5.7 The end of the second strophe of "Iubilemus exultemus," from *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 41r



Example 5.8 Successive notation and diaphony in "Deus in adiutorium" from *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 32r



Within a mere eight syllables of text, the melody has arched its way from the lower to the higher octave; from this high point, it then weaves its way downwards during the second eight-syllable block which, notably, rhymes with the first. The symmetrical conception leaves space for fluidity in the neume-against-neume motion, including the incidence of consonance and dissonance. This is contrary motion writ large, unlike the essentially oblique motion – another protocol – of "Prima mundi," which similarly foregrounded the sonority of the octave, but where the lower voice did not ascend. *Deus in adiutorium* thus neatly demonstrates how freely diaphony could operate within the Aquitanian *nova cantica*: equal ranges across a charged octave allowed the two participative voices to cross each other, thereby breaking through the registral plateaux – either above or below – which had marked out earlier diaphonic practices.[29] Indeed, voice exchange could be deployed in an even stricter sense as, for example, in "Noster cetus" where actual blocks of melodic figuration are interchanged between the two voices.

29 This sense of the "charged" octave can also be seen in Fuller's reduction of that composition which has a slow-burning descent from above to below.

Example 5.9 The end of the first strophe of "Annus novus" from *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 36v



Example 5.10 The end of the refrain of "Plebs domini" from *F-Pn* lat. 3719, fol. 39v



The increased potency of the octave in the *nova cantica* also allowed for new possibilities of melodic patterning which depart from the standard modal behavior of the liturgical chants of the Carolingian *cantilena romana*. The following two examples illustrate such patterns: the two-note "kicking" pattern found intermittently within the Aquitanian repertory in both texted and untexted positions within songs; and a curlicuing three-note group which winds down ultimately towards the final (Examples 5.9, 5.10).

The significance of these melodic patterns is that they could be easily shifted around – "transposed" – within the modal ambitus of any one song. Examples 5.11 and 5.12 interestingly show how the stepwise descent of a fourth – an interval which, incidentally, was accorded particular prominence in diaphony owing to its status as a *symphonia* – could be shunted down sequentially with an almost insouciant disregard for tetrachordal propriety.

The patterns did not only feel the force of gravity and descend; they could also be used to generate upward thrust, as with the five-note group shown in Example 5.13.

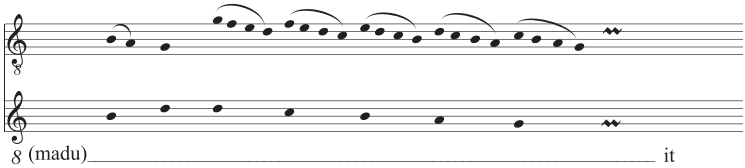
Indeed, ascending and descending melodic patterns could be combined in diaphonic compositions in order to generate form, as in the terminal melisma of the refrain of "Virgine nato" (Example 5.14) which was notated, problematically, in *F-Pn* lat. 1139 in successive notation.[30]

30 A transcription of this problematic composition ultimately relies upon the toleration of passing dissonance; see, also, Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony," 180.

Example 5.11 The final melisma of "Lilium floruit" from *F-Pn* lat. 3719, fol. 43r



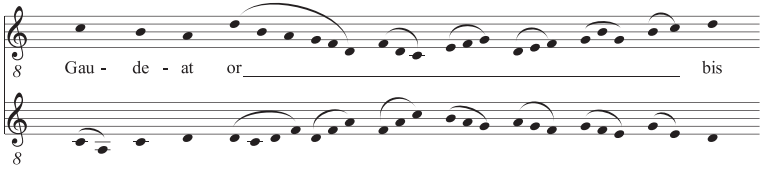
Example 5.12 The closing melisma of the first strophe of "Vellus rore" from London, British Library, additional (*GB-Lbl* add.) 36881, fol. 9v



Example 5.13 A five-note group from the final cauda of "Lux rediit / Novus est rex," *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 36v

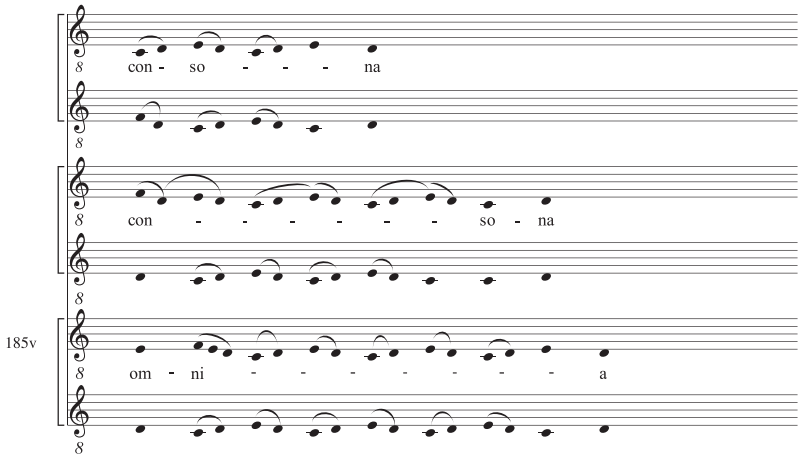


Example 5.14 The refrain of "Virgine nato," *F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 39v



The presence of the patterns provides the key to the transcription of this song. Sculpted three-note groups in both the upper and lower voices solve the problem of coordination since the patterns undoubtedly belong together; and the ways in which each neume group locks in at least one prominent consonance which can then be transposed secure the transcription of pitch. In fact, this diastolic-systolic motion of the two voices – opening up often to a *symphonia*, before contracting again – occurs in many of the diaphonic

Example 5.15 A comparison of the caudae of "Noster cetus / Ad superni," from three manuscript sources (*F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 61r ; *GB-Lbl* add. 36881, fol. 3r; Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral, s.s. ["Codex Calixtinus"])



compositions of the *nova cantica*.[31] The most gratuitous example of this type of motion, albeit not strictly involving a consonance, is the first terminal melisma of "Noster cetus" as found in the Aquitanian sources and as a contrafactum in the Calixtinus compendium, "Ad superni regis decum" (Example 5.15).

The shaping of these terminal melismas could be considered a parallel to the basic technique of voice exchange and, taken together, both are highly suggestive that diaphony in the *nova cantica* was primarily an aspect of performance – burnished in improvisatory practices – rather than contrapuntal theory. The concatenation of melodic patterns ascending, descending or combined gives the impression of a degree of artistic license in shaping the performances of any one song. Moreover, this formal freedom need not have been mensurable: the drive in these passages so often derives from the power of transposition and the primacy of the octave.[32]

If a certain playfulness with regard to melody was in evidence in both the monophonic and polyphonic *nova cantica*, the same is true for discourse.

31 For "consonance reductions" of this procedure, see Sarah Ann Fuller, "Early Polyphony to circa 1200," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 61.

32 Fuller comes to this conclusion but from a different route since she is not interested in the monophonic repertoires.

Otherwise known as "texture," "discourse" is a useful means of describing the relationship between musical event and poetic declamation and, of course, also extends to monophony.[33] The categories for monophonic song or chant are syllabic or melismatic, with neumatic utilized where each syllable of the text is accorded one neume, or modest group of pitches. The discourse of diaphonic song is, naturally, concerned with the coordination of the two voices, which can either unfold in a note-against-note fashion or else with a florid upper voice underpinned by held notes in the lower voice. A third diaphonic possibility is neume-against-neume motion, which differs from note-against-note for the simple reason that there can be a differing number of pitches in the respective neume or neumes between the lower and upper voices; this is a not infrequent occurrence in the diaphony of the *nova cantica*. In the basic stock of liturgical chants, discourse was intimately bound up with genre and performing resources so that, for example a sequence was generally syllabic, an introit neumatic and a responsory melismatic. In the *nova cantica*, however, different types of discourse can appear alongside each other within the same song resulting in a subtle interplay of different formal flows. This phenomenon, which raises questions concerning interpretation in terms of both hermeneutics and performance practice, has repeatedly attracted scholarly attention resulting in seminal studies on the monophonic songs "Laetabundi iubilemus", "Ex Ade vitio," and "Alto consilio"; to a lesser extent "Plebs domini" (Example 5.1 above) functions in a similar manner.[34] Above all, these shifts in discourse testify to a new sensibility towards the interrelationship of music and text in the *nova cantica* as well as to the high degree of individuality ascribed to them. Moreover, an analogous situation exists for studies of diaphonic songs such as "Iubilemus exultemus" and "Viderunt Emmanuel."[35] Passages of a florid upper voice over a slow-moving lower voice can give way to flashes of note-against-note motion. In each case, the change of discourse – alternating between syllabic, neumatic or florid declamation – can give an articulatory edge to the rhyme, rhythm or strophicism of the poetic text, or even cut across the literary form. Beyond this form-giving role, discourse also embraced on a more localized aesthetic level the possibilities of *variatio* or the desire especially amongst

33 The useful term "discourse" is deployed in Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected," in relationship to the threefold division in the *conductus* repertory into *cum littera*, *sine littera* and *punctus organi* sections. "Texture" is used widely in Fuller, "Early Polyphony to circa 1200," 46–66.

34 Arlt, "Nova cantica" and Silvia Wälli, "Musikalische Analyse und 'natürliche Erkenntnis': Ein Beitrag zum Verständis von Alto consilio," in *Musik jenseits der Grenze der Sprache*, ed. Christian Berger (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Rombach, 2004), 95–111.

35 Arlt, "Peripherie und Zentrum."

Example 5.16 Sequences with the same base melody: the openings of "Rex omnipotens" and "Sancti spiritus," in reduction, from *F-Pn* lat. 3549, fol. 159v and *F-Pn* lat. 3719, fol. 46v



the Aquitanian sources for melodic difference. This comes particularly clearly to the fore in the shaping of the florid, upper voices and nowhere more demonstrably than in the multiple diaphonic solutions to an identical lower voice as, for example, at the start of the polyphonic *prosae* "Rex omnipotens" and "Sancti spiritus."[36] A transcription of the three versions together with their diaphonic reduction illuminates the variation not only in the details of the upper voice but also in the contrapuntal strategies

36 For a further edition and discussion of this constellation, see ibid., 44–45.

concerning the goal-directed motion towards the octave or the fifth (Example 5.16).

It is almost as if a deliberate decision was taken to differentiate the two *prosae*, which shared a common melody, through diaphonic means. This, of course, could not be achieved by monophony alone and could thus be considered an innovation.

From function through to *variatio*, the *nova cantica* tend towards the playful, prodigious, and profligate. There exists, however, a danger of overemphasizing this aspect of exuberance to the detriment of identifying moments within the repertory of calculated limitation.[37] These are, possibly, more deep-rooted than imagined thus far and can now be addressed in turn.

The first limitation is perhaps the most practical: physical stamina. Sandwiched between two "Benedicamus domino" songs in *F-Pn* 1139 appears a rhymed song in Occitan with the rubric "Tu autem"; "Be deu hoi mais finir nostra razos" comprises a single, six-line strophe with a generally regular structure of ten-syllable lines ending with the rhyme "-os."[38] These three aspects – some form of troping function linked to a Latin formula, the expansion of language towards Occitan and the punching out of "o"-rhymes – have all been considered facets of the exuberance of the *nova cantica*. The text of this song and its modest melodic formulation tell another story – literally. The first person singular announces that he shall have to terminate his recitation ("razos") for today at this point; he is weary ("las") because "the melody was too high" ("trop fo aut lo sos"). Two clerks are to take over the response "Tu autem" and the text ends with an appeal to God to remember the assembled when he separates the bad from the good. The content of the "razos" is not immediately clear: Stevens suggests it may have been a farced epistle which could possibly signal that the melodic formulation of "Be deu hoi mais finir nostra razos" may, additionally, have acted as a model melody for the recitation of vernacular poetry.[39] Crucially, this song does not function as an exhortation to begin reading, in the sense of a classical conductus, but rather brings a performance to an end. That a performance was intoned at its rightful pitch and came to its correct end was ultimately the responsibility of the cantor.[40] Given that there are several mentions of the cantor in the

37 "Limitierung" is the term used in Haug, "Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter," 56. This survey of restrictions is broader.

38 See facsimile, edition, translation, and further bibliography in John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 212–13.

39 John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 247–49.

40 For a description of the "careful cantor," see Jeremy Llewellyn, "The Careful Cantor and the Carmina Cantabrigiensia," in *Manuscript and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 35–57.

poetic texts in *F-Pn* 1139, this particular song might even be considered a gentle joshing about his role or even a brief moment of cantorial self-deprecation. Most importantly, the song stages the movement down from the exuberant heights, drawing the performative closer towards the prayerful. Over-exertion put limits on infinite praise.

A well-known example for the limitation of musical means in the *nova cantica* is the monophonic "Natali regis gloria."[41] This is a syllabic setting of a strophe comprising four lines of eight syllables with proparoxytone accent. Such a design immediately suggests a standard hymn format in the "Ambrosian" mold, but even with a simple, syllabic setting with restricted melodic ambitus a case can still be made for the highly crafted individuality of the song based on its conscious deployment of mirroring techniques in terms of both minimalist gestures and the use of the principal sonority and counter-sonority. Nevertheless, "Natali regis gloria" is not the only song which consciously presents a mesmerizing simplicity. Songs like "Corde patris genitus" repetitively bang out the same blocks of syllabic melody, usually of a limited range, and even where the melodic formulation is less bare as in "In laudes innocentium" the restriction of range can still come into play: this plagal D-mode song in the version in *F-Pn* 1139 sits essentially within the tetrachord between D and G with infrequent excursions below the final to C and a liquescent B. The song praising St. Nicolas, "Incomparabiliter," almost seems predestined for a syllabic setting since a word as long as this attracts attention to the number of syllables it contains, and this aspect of counting is ironically underlined by the first word of the second strophe, "Innumerabilibus." Simplicity, however, also took other forms such as in "Regi nato domino" where the simple ploy of a repeated pitch leading to a neumatic, stepwise fall in the principal sonority for the first line of text is then adapted on the counter-sonority for the second before the whole is rounded off with a melodically poised one-line refrain. Such examples – and there are more – reveal that simplicity in musical language which abjured an abundance of means formed an integral part of the aesthetic and, undoubtedly, exegetical ideals of the *nova cantica*.

A particular quandary concerning restrictive practices among the *nova cantica* relates to the Aquitanian diaphonic *prosae*. These, naturally, form something of an exception within the repertory since the diaphony is predicated on the grounds of a pre-existing liturgical chant, namely, the sequence for the respective feast day; thus the monophonic versions of the

41 For analyses of "Natali regis gloria," see Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais*, and Haug, "Musikalische Lyrik im Mittelalter," 56; both point out the subtle balancing of musical parameters.

melodies can be found in a variety of liturgical sources used in Aquitanian institutions. Of interest, quite simply, is that the diaphonic versions are presented in truncated form: for example, the Pentecost sequence "Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia" which, in its monophonic form extends to twelve double-versicles plus conclusion, only runs until the end of the fourth double-versicle in two-voice score notation in *F-Pn* lat. 3719 and *F-Pn* lat. 3549. That the concordant sources break off at the same point – and that the notations of the majority of the diaphonic *prosae* similarly conclude after a few versicles – suggests that this was not some random act of scribal ennui but rather a living performing convention. The problem, however, is that it is not immediately clear what this convention was. Fuller opined that the difference in length in the notated diaphonic *prosae* could relate to whether literary texts belonged to the newer form of rhythmical composition or else were grounded in the older layers of the sequence repertory, but this does not necessarily explain the status of the shortened sequences.[42] Several further possibilities spring to mind: the singers performed the opening section in diaphony before reverting to monophony for the rest of the text in a liturgical performance; or else they took the notation of the opening versicles as a template for the improvisatory continuation of the text in diaphony; or, finally, the introduction and four double-versicles of "Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia" form a self-contained piece for an undetermined occasion, within or outside the Mass. Nonetheless it is hard to shake off the impression of a certain aesthetic reticence with regard to presenting older sequences diaphonically in their complete form. This limitation could, again, have sprung from an appreciation of physical stamina or from a fear of *variatio* overkill. In any case, this process of truncation also runs counter to infinity.

For a repertory that so redolently embraces strophicism, it is moot to suggest that limitation in the *nova cantica* also occurs through contrafacta procedures; to a certain extent, all isostrophic forms display characteristics of contrafacta if only that new texts are repeatedly adapted to the same melody. However fraught the definition of a contrafactum is, it should be clear that such a process of adjustment and accommodation threatens to challenge the primary narrative concerning the *nova cantica*; that these songs represent a burst of innovation and were highly individualized, deploying unique forms where music and text interacted in a new way. Contrafacta thus act as awkward relatives, but still require attention. Arguably, the clearest cases of contrafacta

42 See the chapter devoted to the proses; Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 148–78.

within the repertory concern the retexting of whole songs, often linked to cultural translocation. Thus two diaphonic songs transmitted in the Aquitanian sources are integrated into the Codex Calixtinus with new texts.[43] A similar example, this time a monophonic song, can be found between the earliest layer of the Aquitanian source *F-Pn* lat. 1139 and the twelfth-century troper from Sicily, *E-Mn* 289.[44] Translocation could also occur within one and the same source or even the same song. It could be argued that the alternating Latin and Occitan strophes in "In hoc anni circulo" are the result of a contrafaction process built on extreme strophic stability. This relationship between languages also brings into focus the possibility that the Latin *nova cantica* provided peculiar strophic forms for the earliest troubadours, as was originally proposed by Spanke and has been more recently taken up by Haug.[45] Further afield, certain songs share a resemblance through blocks of similar vocabulary or the basic ductus of the melody but are sufficiently diverse to raise questions about the nature of influence: these cases would rather appear to be reworkings.[46] In fact, melodic correspondences themselves have been used to identify families of songs, such as those listed by Arlt which in some way refer to the melody of "Ave maris stella."[47] It may seem perverse to suggest that such cultural mobility in the transmission of *nova cantica* in contrafacta or reworked form represents a restriction. The point is simply to observe from various perspectives a certain lack of formal particularization which, just as the hymn before, allowed for changing permutations of text and music in different localities.

The last example of limitation concerning the *nova cantica* does, however, relate to a highly specific phenomenon: the removal of diaphony and the cosmetic reshaping of the resulting monophonic melody.[48] Most obviously,

43 "Noster cetus" = "Ad superni regis decus" and "Ad honorem" = "Gratulantes celebremus." These compositions are edited from Aquitanian sources and Calixtinus in Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 49, 91, 162, 197 and 207, 208; and Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*, 12 and 109.

44 "Castitatis lilium" (*F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 42r) = "Letabunda lauda" (*E-Mn* 289, fol. 138r). I am grateful to Konstatin Voigt for bringing this correspondence to my attention.

45 As set out, with an interdisciplinary overview of the historiography, in Andreas Haug, "Kennen wir die Melodie zu einem Lied des ersten Trobador? Ein Versuch in wissenschaftlichem Wunschdenken," in *Projektion, Reflexion, Ferne: Räumliche Vorstellungen und Denkfiguren im Mittelalter*, ed. Sonja Glauch, Susanne Köbele, and Uta Störmer-Caysa (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 369–89. "Promat chorus" is arguably more problematic because it is a rondellus-type song with refrain which appears fully re-functionalized with the Occitan text.

46 Compare, for example, "Resonet intonet fidelis concio" (*E-Mn* 289, fol. 101r) with "Auscultet exultet fidelis contio" (*F-Pn* lat. 1139, fol. 46v). Moreover, this is to be expected of rhymed, rhythmical poetry since blocks of text could simply be transposed, almost in a centonate manner, between compositions.

47 See Switten, "Versus and Troubadours around 1100," 101 with reference to Wulf Arlt, "Zur Intepretation zweier Lieder: 'A madre de deus' und 'Reis glorios,'" *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977), 117–130.

48 For an analysis of another example, "Iohannes postquam senuit," see Arlt, "Neues zum Neuen Lied: Die Fragmente aus der Handschrift Douai 264," in *Sine musica, nulla disciplina. Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin*, ed. Franco Bernabei and Antonio Lovato (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2006), 89–110, esp. 106–08.

this delineates differences relating to the use of diaphony in centers which cultivated the *nova cantica*. As with contrafacta, however, there is a certain latitude in the application of this procedure which is, in any case, rare. Example 5.17 presents the first four lines of "Rex omnia tenens imperio" as found diaphonically in the Aquitanian sources *F-Pn* lat. 3719 and *GB-Lbl* add. 36881 and monophonically in the Norman-Sicilian manuscript *E-Mn* 289.

The song is tonally centered on G and the text reveals a regular form of ten-syllable lines ending with a proparoxytone rhyme on "o" in preparation, naturally, for the versicle "Benedicamus domino." At first glance, the Sicilian version appears to fall into regular strophes of two lines after which the melody repeats. The two Aquitanian sources, however, disagree on the setting of the first two lines with *F-Pn* lat. 3719 presenting different musical material and *GB-Lbl* add. 36881 copying out the first line and then only entering the text for the second with the implication that it simply repeats the music of the first. It could be that the scribe of *GB-Lbl* add. 36881 mistook "Rex omnia" for a sequence and, indeed, at the end of line two and then repeatedly through the piece an FGG *pes strata* cadence in the lower voice is deployed. Approaching the final, G, from below does not, however, interest the notator of *E-Mn* 289 in the slightest. His arching phrase quickly ascends and stays comfortably in the range between C and the upper G, only descending in the second half of the second line and reaching the final from above. Thus whilst the looping G-mode melodies seem common to both the Sicilian version and the lower voice of the Aquitanian version, this differing approach to the final suggests reworking. When this is combined with the persistence in *E-Mn* 289 in the upper half of the modal range, it would seem possible that the Sicilian redaction provides a composite melody for "Rex omnia," tracing both the lower and upper voices of the Aquitanian sources. Again, it would be difficult to regard the fluid, carefree melody in *E-Mn* 289 without knowledge of the transmission as limited. But thanks to a synoptic analysis, a less expansive aesthetic approach to the *nova cantica* – in terms of diaphony, strophicism, *variatio* – can be clearly discerned.

If it were necessary to summarize the nature of the *nova cantica* in a way which embraced both form and content, it could be claimed that this dazzling repertory combined religious orthodoxy with aesthetic heterodoxy. The stark emphasis on theological rectitude is formulated on numerous occasions in the poetic texts, spurning in harsh terms other beliefs. It is not difficult to imagine such an attitude arising within the context of the First Crusade and, indeed, one of the first *nova cantica* to attract the attention of scholars was the crusading song in *F-Pn* lat.1139,

Example 5.17 Synoptic transcription of the first three strophes of "Rex omnia," from *F-Pn* lat. 3719, *GB-Lbl* add. 36881, and Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España (*E-Mn*) 289



"Ierusalem mirabilis."[49] Moreover, one can imagine the Crusades as an initial spur for the cultural exchange of song. Indeed, the chronicler of the First Crusade, Raymond D'Aguilers, describes the scene of pilgrims visiting the newly conquered Holy Sepulchre: "How they clapped, exulting and singing a new song to the Lord. Indeed their mind offered prayers of praise to the victorious and triumphant God which words could not express. A new day, a new joy . . . new words, new songs . . . a renewal of our faith."[50] As a form of *renovatio*, the *nova cantica* occupy an especial place within the history of song in medieval Europe.

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49 The dating of this song – and its notation – is contested: see Marie-Noël Colette, "Jerusalem mirabilis, la datation du manuscrit Paris BnF latin 1139," in *Saint-Martial de Limoges: Ambition politique et production culturelle, xe-xiiie siècles: Actes du colloque tenu à Poitiers et Limoges du 26 au 28 mai 2005 Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, CESCM*, ed. Claude Andrault-Schmitt (Limoges: Pulim, 2006), 469–81.

50 See John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill, *Le "Liber" De Raymond d'Aguilers*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 9 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1969), 151: "Quomodo plaudebant exultantes et cantantes canticum novum Domino. Etenim mens eorum Deo victori et triumphanti vota laudum offerebat, que explicare verbis non poterat. Nova dies, novum gaudium . . . nova verba nova cantica . . . et fidei nostre renovatio."

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Music and Prosopography

MARGOT FASSLER

In recent decades scholars have uncovered vast amounts of new information about medieval music, the ways it was made and preserved, and its meanings. As a result particular agendas – compositional, scribal, political, religious, liturgical, aesthetic – can be discerned within many repertories of music more readily than was previously possible. Where there are agendas, there are musicians making decisions. Some of these persons can be identified by name, whereas others can be traced only through various kinds of sources that produce evidence about their goals and actions – either as a class of person or as individuals – although the people themselves remain nameless. There are many strategies that scholars employ to identify the communities and individuals responsible for compositions, repertories, book production, theoretical and aesthetic understandings, and a range of musical decisions, including the performative. This chapter will introduce several ways of working, using examples from recent scholarship, and pointing out the most important tools and resources available for this kind of work, moving from the earlier Middle Ages, to the twelfth century, when the quality of evidence changes dramatically, to the later Middle Ages, a period in which there is frequently more written evidence than before, at least about the more learned styles of music.

The Study of Groups: In General

Prosopography is the study of groups of individuals who are bound by some defining shared characteristics, usually social, literary, or historical. From study of these characteristics, clearer knowledge arises of the ways in which given groups were constituted or developed, and the natures of their members' collective and separate lives.[1] However, the work of prosopography has

1 K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography: Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), with bibliography. See also the journal *Medieval Prosopography*, published by the Medieval Institute, Kalamazoo, MI (vol. 1, 1980).

been little explored by music historians, nor has the methodology been consistently applied to a significant body of data; moreover, prosopographers often leave music and musicians out of their investigations. Philippe Depreux's study of the figures in the entourage of King Louis the Pious (781–840), for example, offers the names of all the people he was able to locate, and includes as much biographical evidence as he has been able to glean about each, and from a vast array of documentary evidence.[2] But there is little to say about the ways in which music might have played a role in the lives of those few figures he associates with it, much less of the roles that musicians might have had in the making of the evidence itself. What is perhaps the most ambitious of all medieval prosopographical studies to date, the massive *Durham Liber Vitae Project* headed by David Rollason and a team of scholars with a variety of specialisms, has produced several volumes of studies and named hundreds of individuals directly associated with at least two monasteries – monks and clergy as well as laity – and allowed for observing the natures of classes of people over many centuries.[3] But the reader who is interested in music must use the materials produced by the *Project* selectively, studying individual entries and indices to glean what information might be available. Music is not a topic that is referenced in any direct way, nor is a musicologist part of the investigative team. The vast new series for study of the dignitaries of French dioceses is not yet complete, and, unfortunately, begins to track records only in the year 1200, yet it offers a strong sense of the kinds of documents that need to be consulted to gather information about figures involved with music and the liturgy in an episcopal sphere.[4] All of the volumes list cantors of the cathedral chapters; but only some of the volumes list succentors, the men who were often in charge of the music at this late date. The systematic gleaning of all the then known cartularies, necrologies, and other records to list the dates of the known dignitaries of Chartres Cathedral by Lucien and René Merlet was of tremendous use for a recent study of a line of cantors in this institution and the natures of their works and contributions to fabric.[5]

2 Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997).

3 For an introduction, see the essays in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. David Rollason et al. (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2004).

4 *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae: Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996–).

5 Lucien Merlet and René Merlet, eds., *Dignitaires de l'Église de Chartres. Listes chronologiques* (Chartres: Ch. Métais, 1900); Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2010). For English dignitaries, the standard work is John Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae, or A Calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales, and of the Chief Officers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, from the Earliest Time to Year M.DCC.XV*; with continuation from M.DCC.XV by T. Duffus Hardy (Oxford University Press, 1854).

Much of medieval music was created by, within, and for identifiable groups of people. It is for this reason that the kinds of study falling within the larger category of prosopography offer excellent opportunities for exploration of musicians and their activities. Most prosopographical studies of earlier medieval topics focus on institutions – geographical or chronological units, courts, churches, monasteries, noble families, or particular societal movements – and so refinement is often necessary to extract information about musicians, who are regularly treated merely as they happen to fall into larger groupings. But prosopographical study can (and eventually will, one hopes) be of major importance for understanding the lives and activities of musicians, especially given that the evidence about individuals is often slim. Christopher Page's *The Christian West and Its Singers* is not a prosopographical study strictly speaking, but it offers numerous useful suggestions about what such a study might look like and how fruitful it will doubtless be, if and when music scholars turn their attention to this method of working.

It must never be forgotten that much of the best evidence about musicians' lives and actions as groups of people will often be found within the music itself, including its texts, and its paleographical and codicological presentations, as will be seen in several of the case studies below. But in each situation, the ways this evidence can best be read will depend on context. An investigation of French scribes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows that over 2,000 manuscripts can be associated with particular names from this period, and that some evidence allows for prosopographical study of the kinds of people doing the writing, but as is so often the case with such studies, music is not mentioned.[6]

The Study of Individuals: In General

For the study of medieval music, no matter the century or the place, there will be certain kinds of documents that can be mined to gather evidence about specific individuals and their roles within communities. The earliest evidence for medieval Western music is primarily related to the functioning of cathedrals and monasteries, the institutions that controlled book production and the creation of music and of artworks that served liturgical functions. For any region or center or specific manuscript or individual pre-1100, attempts must be made to gather or at least account for all the following kinds of materials:

6 Émilie Cottereau-Gabillet, "Les copistes français de manuscrits aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles: Une population méconnue – Enjeux et ensignements de l'approche prosopographique," in *Eure Namen sind im Buch des Lebens geschrieben: Antike und mittelalterliche Quellen als Grundlage moderner prosopographischer Forschung*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Munster: Aschendorff, 2014), 318–45.

liturgical manuscripts (all of which will be unnoted until the ninth century, and most long after that); library catalogs; sermons and homilies; letter collections; chronicles and other histories, including the deeds of famous men; obituaries and necrologies; poetry and other literary works, including the grammatical; the proceedings of church councils and synods; collections of charters; institutional histories, including foundation narratives; rules of life and customaries; pontificals and ordinals; liturgical commentaries; scriptural exegesis and other textual commentaries; lives of saints; artistic and architectural evidence; early music theorists and writers on the liberal arts; and legal tractates.[7] These kinds of evidence do not disappear after the eleventh century; they are rather often more plentiful, but they need increasingly to be supplemented by other kinds of sources as well, especially as many musicians and composers increasingly are not part of monastic communities.

The most important problem with these categories of evidence generally will be that many of the writings, especially histories and chronicles, will have been created or copied by people who lived long after the deaths of the musicians or musical/liturgical circumstances mentioned or described. As a result the agendas of a variety of persons must commonly be considered when interpreting the evidence.

The ways that some scholars work through these vast bodies of materials are through the use of electronic search engines, now available in any major research library. These kinds of searches, although extraordinarily helpful, can be misleading. For passages of interest, it is crucial to find the book itself, to look at the context of the reference and be sure one knows the history of the document and its original audience, and then to discern if the work has more recently been studied or newly edited. Electronic databases and other tools, such as the fundamental serial bibliography, *Medioevo Latino*, should be the beginning rather than the end of the search. The written evidence can rarely be taken at face value.

7 Bibliographies and other information concerning the kinds of materials mentioned here can be found in the many specific volumes of *Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental*, which include the following essential topics for musicological research: *Les traités de musique* (Christian Meyer); *The Sermon* (dir. Beverly Mayne Kienzle); *Die Dokumente der klösterlichen Visitationen* (Jörg Oberste); *Les catalogues de bibliothèques* (Albert Derolez); *Les documents nécrologiques* (Nicholas Huyghebaert); *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin* (Jacques Dubois); *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Michel Huglo); *Latin Hymns* (Josef Szövérffy); *Les "ordines," les ordinaires, et les cérémoniaux* (Aimé Georges Martimort); *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Aimé Georges Martimort); *Les sacramentaires* (Marcel Metzger); *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Michel Sot); *Local and Regional Chronicles* (Elizabeth van Houts); *Les matricules universitaires* (Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen); *Letters and Letter Collections* (Giles Constable). For study of families, see *Le médiéviste et la monographie familiale: Sources, méthodes et problématiques, colloque international tenu au centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale de l'université de Poitiers du 21 au 22 novembre 2003*, ed. Martin Aurell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

The evidence found in musical repertories is of a different nature from documents, histories, and other writings, and crucial to understanding the workings of individual musicians and their lives, goals, and creative processes. Several examples will be given below, including the work of Olive Sayce on the linguistic features of the thirteenth-century *Carmina Burana*, which allow her to figure out details about the training and knowledge, and linguistic affinities, of the two scribes/composers/compilers of this central source.[8]

The Carolingians (750–987)

The period of liturgical reform in the mid-eighth century revolves around the court of Pepin the Short (d. 768) and his queen Bertrada (d. 783), the parents of Charlemagne (ca. 742–814); and Charlemagne and his court. The last Merovingian ruler Childeric III (d. ca. 753) was deposed by the pope at the instigation of Pepin, who was subsequently elected king, thus beginning a new royal line. It is very often the case that a new line of kings begets renewed liturgical and musical practices to provide organization and establish authority (we will note several examples in what follows). Periods marked by major transferals of political power, therefore, are especially important for the history of music and the lives of musicians.

Pepin apparently looked to Rome, both to establish his own authority as king and also to find liturgical and musical practices that might be signatures of his newly won office. As part of this agenda, the secular (that is, non-monastic) clergy were reorganized during this period, under the leadership of Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz (ca. 712–66), one of the new king's right-hand men. Pepin had sent Chrodegang to Rome to escort Pope Stephen II across the Alps to provide a regal consecration in 753, and so the bishop was a first-hand observer of Roman musical and liturgical practices. The documents necessary for the study of music in this period relate to a small group of liturgical books, chiefly sacramentaries or collections of prayers, letters, and tractates, Chrodegang's rule of governance for the clergy of his diocese, and historical writings, most directly, the writings of Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–99?), who wrote a life of Chrodegang and other eighth-century dignitaries, and who also prepared a compendium of readings for celebration of the Office. Many of the documents directly concerned with the periods of Pepin and Charlemagne were gathered, compiled, and produced or

8 Olive Sayce, *Plurilingualism in the Carmina Burana: A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1992).

forged after (often long after) their time of life. Kenneth Levy has tackled the question of the degree to which musicians from the north influenced repertorial development in Rome in the formative decades before and after the year 800, a situation in which repertory reveals as much about production and intention as the documents themselves.[9] Here, in the music itself, is a kind of evidence that has an authenticity not found in any other body of materials. The same can be said of music theorists: it is sometimes possible to study what they knew, read, and had access to through an oral tradition by careful scrutiny of their writings, as Barbara Haggh-Huglo has demonstrated in her analysis of Aurelian.[10]

As is so often the case with research on the medieval period, it is crucial to consult various kinds of documents to discern the most plausible scenarios concerning the lives and work of important individuals or groups of people. Chrodegang's *Rule*, for example, was prepared under his auspices. As one copy survives in part from his own lifetime and immediate sphere of influence, the rule provides an important window onto the mid-eighth century, but whereas the work shows that Chrodegang had goals for a large-scale reform of liturgical practices in the diocese of Metz, it has little to say about music. Nor was Chrodegang's *Rule* influential in the preparation of the *Canonical Institute*, a document prepared at a Council held in Aachen in 816. However, the *Canonical Institute* does have a good deal to say about singing and music, and liturgical practice, and so points to change and development in the early ninth century.[11] Paul the Deacon, from whom we gain much of our information about Chrodegang, was a member of the court of Charlemagne, and wrote his life of the bishops of Metz at the request of Angilram of Metz, who had become head of Charlemagne's chapel. Damien Kempf says that within Paul the Deacon's work we see the "hidden hand of Angilram and his political aspirations for the bishopric of Metz."[12] If we consult histories and other documents, then, including letters, we must ask who prepared them, and why, and for whom.

The monasteries that developed in the wake of Charlemagne's reign show increasing dependence on the *Rule of St. Benedict*, a sixth-century Italian rule

9 See, for example, his "Gregorian Chant and the Romans," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 5–41.

10 "Aurelian's Library," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2001), 271–300.

11 The document is edited and translated with an introduction in Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 84–174.

12 Damien Kempf, "Paul the Deacon's *Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus* and the Role of Metz in the Carolingian Realm," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), 279–99 at 280. See also Walter Goffart, "Paul the Deacon's *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium* and the Early Design of Charlemagne's Succession," *Traditio* 42 (1986), 59–93.

for monastic life that came north and was adapted for use throughout the Carolingian realm.[13] The *Rule* lays out a plan for singing the psalms throughout the week, and to study this historic schema reveals a great deal about the musical practices of those who sang the Office day to day. Various forms of the *Rule* and the customs and liturgical plans associated with it have been edited in the eighteen volumes of the *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, a goldmine of information for music historians. The Benedictine monastery of St. Gall in modern-day Switzerland, the importance of which has reached great proportion for the study of chant and liturgy, produced a musician whose life and scholarship upon it offers a model for other work on figures from the ninth and tenth centuries. Indeed the figures for whom we have the most evidence are the best starting places. These comparatively well-documented cases are suggestive of ways of studying musicians for whom less evidence survives.

Notker Balbulus (the Stammerer) of St. Gall (d. 912) is known from his own book of sequence texts, the *Liber hymnorum*, as well as from other writings, some of which are in his own hand, and from his institutional reputation. Notker is a figure of a particular type: he was surely a musician (although there is no evidence he held the office of cantor), but he was also a scribe and a scholar. As such, he fits into the profile of a musician as defined by the many monastic rules and commentaries that add materials to the *Rule of St. Benedict* and other plans of life.[14] By the late ninth century, the term "cantor" is synonymous with *armarius* (librarian), the figure in charge of the *armarium* (book cupboard). As such, by that time the cantor was also often in charge of book production in a monastery, as the greatest number of books to be produced were liturgical books. Furthermore, as the cantor worked with the liturgy, its music, and its texts, he knew the calendar, with the shifting date of Easter, and could register events including death dates of individuals. It is for this reason that the cantor was often the monastic chronicler, in charge not only of straightforward registries of dates, but also of more expansive histories.[15] New materials for the saints, both their *vitae* and their Offices, would, as we have seen, also have been written by a man who was the

13 Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c. 900* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

14 Margot E. Fassler, "The Office of the *Cantor* in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29–51; Susan Boynton, "Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. Carolyn Muessig and George Ferzoco (Leicester; London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 7–20; and her "Boy Singers in Medieval Monasteries and Cathedrals," in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 37–48.

15 For a study of how a medieval cantor composed a history of liturgy in Rome, see Peter Jeffery, "The Roman Liturgical Tradition according to a Twelfth-Century Roman Cantor," in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History*, ed. Katie A. Bugyis, Andrew B. Kraebel, and Margot E. Fassler (York: York Medieval Press, 2017, 310–25).

cantor, or who had held this office. Many noted books, then, were produced in the central Middle Ages, by musicians themselves or under their immediate supervision. The work of nuns as scribes and producers of books was also important, although less well documented.[16]

Notker is known to have held the office of librarian at St. Gall; he wrote an impressive body of liturgical texts; he was a scribe of major importance in the production of books at St. Gall; he penned the *vita* (life) of St. Gall, the patron saint of the monastery (only fragments of which survive); he revised the martyrology of the monastery, thus influencing the ways in which saints were commemorated throughout the liturgical year; and he wrote a life of Charlemagne, which, although post-dating the emperor's death by seventy years, is a lively account, and one that emphasizes the importance of chant and liturgy. When cantors write histories or saints' lives, observations about music and liturgy found in the texts are valuable. Notker and his close associates, the monks Tutilo and Ratpert, were part of the oral and written histories of St. Gall, as can be seen from the detailed ways they were described by Ekkehard IV, an eleventh-century historian of St. Gall.[17]

In addition to the works Notker wrote, and the description of him by Ekkehard, the range of evidence is broad for uncovering information about his life and works, and about his character as a person. Each of his writings, for example, would repay close reading, as can be seen from the analysis by Andreas Haug of the preface to Notker's *Liber hymnorum*. Haug describes the sources and says that the version found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (*F-Pn*), lat. 10587 of ca. 900 is the most reliable; he then works through the text line by line, explaining terms, attitudes, and various strategies of persuasion.[18] Haug argues that the preface is a defense of the sequence as a genre; accordingly its texts are not inferior to verse and its meanings are theologically sound. Notker also wants to establish the close relationship between sequence poetry and the Alleluia-chant; and he wishes to demonstrate the importance of the monastic school as a creative and dynamic center for education. Susan Rankin has studied many of the manuscripts produced

16 Rosamond McKitterick, "Nuns' Scriptoria in England and Francia in the Eighth Century," *Francia* 19 (1989), 1–35; Alain J. Stoclet, "Gisèle, Kisyla, Chelles Benediktbeuern et Kochel: Scriptoria, bibliothèques et politique à l'époque carolingienne, une mise au point," *Revue bénédictine* 96 (1986), 250–70. See also K. A. Bugyis, "Female Monastic Cantors and Sacristans in Central Medieval England: Four Sketches," in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft* , 151–70.

17 *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall: An Overview*, ed. James C. King and Werner Vogler (Stuttgart: Belser, 1991); Lori Kruckenberg, "Singing History: Chant in Ekkehard IV's *Casus Sancti Galli*," in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft*, 59–88.

18 Andreas Haug, "Re-Reading Notker's Preface," *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Cannata et al. (Madison, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 65–80.

during the time of Notker, with special attention to his work as a scribe.[19] Ekkehard described Notker, Tutilo, and Ratpert going to the scriptorium to collate texts between the Hours of Matins and Lauds. Rankin, through her study of Notker's hand and his work, finds that he was indeed a skilled and careful preparer of texts, and that he cared greatly about both legibility and authenticity. His work as scribe was related to his work as librarian and his ambitious hopes for the book collection at St. Gall. He set out a plan for study of the Bible, the classics, saints' lives, and ecclesiastical histories. As with Notker, a closer sense not only of musicians' characters, but also of how they lived, rises out of close study of the manuscripts they produced. In addition, Notker was apparently skilled in the illumination of books, and so, like other musicians such as Odorannus of Sens and Helgaud of Fleury, used his musical and liturgical understanding to inform the visual arts (see below). So, as Susan Rankin has recently pointed out, much can be told about Notker's life as a copyist and corrector of books, certainly a vital aspect of his career.[20]

Musicians' Lives in the Central Middle Ages: The Eleventh Century

Christopher Page[21] and Thomas Kelly[22] have made lists of figures thought to have composed music, and evaluated them in ways that are suggestive for understanding musicians as a class of people, that is, for beginning the work of serious prosopographical study. If we combine their lists for figures from ca. 900 to ca.1100, we get slightly over sixty names: Kelly lists the most famous composers; Page has searched saints' lives and institutional histories and uncovered lesser-known individuals as well. A large percentage of the descriptions are found in documents associated with monasteries, and most of the music attributed to these figures consists of Offices (or individual chants for Offices) and some sequences and tropes composed for the saints.

From such study, it emerges that the fundamental work of musicians in the central Middle Ages was creating new pieces either to enhance pre-existing saints' cults or to establish new ones, and that, for the most part, the majority

19 Susan Rankin, "The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St. Gall Vadiana 317 and Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 10587," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 201–33; Rankin, "Ego itaque Notker scripsi," *Revue bénédictine* 101 (1991), 268–98; and Rankin (with Wulf Arlt), ed., *Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen Codices 484 & 381, Facsimile Edition with Commentary*, 3 vols. (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996).

20 Susan Rankin, "Notker Bibliothecarius," in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft*, 41–58.

21 Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 429–41.

22 Thomas Kelly, "Medieval Composers of Liturgical Chant," *Musica e storia* 14 (2006), 95–125.

of individuals doing the work were monks; some of the composing was purportedly done by abbots of monasteries associated with the cults for which the music was created, or occasionally by bishops. When a new saint's Office was established, it was magnified if the figure who created it was a part of written history, and even more so if the person was of stature, and a founding member of the community. The skepticism that Kelly and Page exhibit regarding the actual attributions in their lists is well founded; it is indeed difficult to use much of the information they bring forth to assign particular pieces to individuals, or to be sure who actually wrote the music claimed for named persons. Yet in spite of the difficulties it is clear from this evidence that music played a major role in the ways that identities and histories were created for monastic institutions in the central Middle Ages, and any of the figures mentioned in the lists described above could bear further study, although some attributions would surely dry up in the process.

The first matter at hand when it comes to studying any of the musicians on the lists of Kelly and Page would be to identify manuscripts from the places where each figure lived and worked, especially those that were produced during their lifetimes. Susan Boynton's study of the Benedictine monastery of Farfa demonstrates the ways in which close study of manuscripts and the role of music and musicians in creating history played out in one particular place during the central Middle Ages.[23] As a rule the close relationship between music, liturgy, and institutional history can be explored in every monastery from which liturgical manuscripts and hagiographical materials survive. Musicians were involved in producing these sources, whether we know their names or not, but so much the better when we do.

Four examples from the eleventh century underscore the importance of the profile of the cantor-historian in the study of musicians' lives and works and demonstrate how to treat a variety of medieval sources. Most of the men found in the lists mentioned above will leave evidence in the manuscripts they prepared, not only because they composed and edited music for them, but also because they may have been the scribes themselves, or supervised the scribes. In addition, the records kept by the monasteries in which they worked – from names written in obituaries, to other kinds of necrologies, to chronicles and histories – may have been their work. The life and activities of Adémar of Chabannes (988–ca. 1034) introduce a wide range of knowledge that rises out of the manuscripts themselves: musical notation probably in his hand is found on 450 folios of manuscripts that survive from the monastery of St. Martial

23 Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

and many texts survive in his hand as well.[24] He was trained in music by his uncle Roger, who was the cantor of St. Martial, himself a figure worthy of study. Information found in manuscripts from St. Martial demonstrates that Adémar was a scribe, a compiler of liturgical texts, an editor who was skilled at book production, a composer, a singer, and one of the most important chroniclers of the eleventh century. He spent most of his liturgical activity on the cults of local saints, promoting them and creating music for their veneration; the third volume of his history is filled with details concerning local liturgical celebrations, including a marvelous description of the reception of the head of John the Baptist in a local church.

Sigo, cantor of Chartres, was a contemporary of Adémar; his profile introduces different kinds of evidence from those associated with Adémar. Chartres was known as a center for musical composition in the eleventh century, as can be seen from the numerous musicians trained there whose names are found on the lists of musicians compiled by Page and Kelly. Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale (*F-CHRm)* Na4 was produced and written during the lifetime of Sigo, and may have been compiled by him. It is a type of book that is very useful for studying the lives of medieval cantors, for it includes materials they needed to do their work: it contains a calendar, a computus for figuring the date of Easter, a martyrology, and a necrology.[25] Bishop Fulbert has been placed in the martyrology (probably by Sigo) in an entry that uses language proper to the saints. Tipped into the book are leaves that include both a memorial poem as well as a painting of Fulbert, showing him about to preach within Chartres cathedral, an illumination that was once part of a set of three commissioned by Sigo for his teacher. Martyrologies/necrologies not only provide evidence about the ways medieval cantors shaped history; they also often contain entries about them on their *dies natalis* (date of death = date of birth into eternity), as their successors would have written the entries. Sigo died on July 11, and the entry is filled with evidence about his life: "Sigo was a priest, illustrious by reason of his wisdom, venerable for his life, and the most beloved cantor of this church of the Holy Mother. He was the intimate counselor of Fulbert while the holy bishop lived; when he died, [Sigo] had a splendid tomb made for him, as can be seen [in the choir of the Abbey of St. Peter of Chartres]."[26] To glean information from

24 James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); on Adémar's uncle, see Grier, "Roger de Chabannes (d. 1025), Cantor of St. Martial, Limoges," *Early Music History* 14 (1995), 53–119.

25 For a study of another cantor's book, see Alan Piper, "The Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24)," in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093–1193*, ed. David Rollason et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 79–92.

26 Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres*, 102. There is discussion of this necrology and of other historical materials and how to work with them in this study.

necrologies, one must study the handwriting of the additions and date them; even if the necrology has been copied later it is sometimes possible to tell a great deal from the order of the names, at least.

Working not far from Sigo was the cantor Helgaud of Fleury, a Benedictine monastery near Orléans. Helgaud fits the profile developed here as well: he was both a musician and a historian/hagiographer. Helgaud's best-known work is his life of King Robert the Pious, a hagiographical tract that tells us as much about its author as it does about its subject, and that survives in a heavily revised autograph copy.[27] In this work, Helgaud sets in motion what became a popular myth – that King Robert was himself a musician and composer. As can be seen from centuries of elaboration, the stories spread widely until Robert's musical prowess became one of his defining characteristics. Every musical legend requires study; attributions cannot be taken at face value; yet the legends themselves have great value as historical constructions even if they are not factual. Here again, as with evidence from the ninth century, we see that music and liturgy and the writing of history shift when a new royal line is established.

Adémar, Sigo, and Helgaud each worked within a particular institution. Goscelin of St. Bertin, who lived in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, came originally from Flanders, but moved soon after 1058 to England. He remained in England, working in a variety of places, and ending up at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, where he may have been the cantor (precentor), at least for a time. He too, then, is a musician working when new stories had to be told to support a new political regime. In addition to his hagiographical work at Wilton, Ely, and elsewhere, the prolific Goscelin was in charge of preparing the new saints' lives necessary for a building program that was ongoing at St. Augustine's in the 1080s and 1090s.[28] Reginald of Canterbury wrote a poem for Goscelin on music theory, and another in which he praises Goscelin's abilities: "You gladden all with songs when you sound loud and clear, and soothe rough natures with lyre and voice . . ."[29] The extant Office for St. Mildreth was probably composed by Goscelin, to go along with the liturgical *vita* he surely wrote for her.[30] Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*,

27 Helgaldus, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1965). For further commentary on this work and its Nachleben, see Margot E. Fassler, "Helgaud of Fleury and the Liturgical Arts: The Magnification of Robert the Pious," in *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music*, ed. C. Stephen Jaeger (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 102–27, with notes.

28 Frank Barlow, ed. and trans., *The Life of King Edward*, attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) includes a list of Goscelin's works, 146–49.

29 See poem no. 15, ed. Felix Liebermann, "Reginald von Canterbury," *Neues Archiv* 13 (1888) 519–56, at 543.

30 Richard Sharpe, "Words and Music by Goscelin of Canterbury," *Early Music* 19 (1991), 94–97; David Hiley, "The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001), 23–37.

a treatise he wrote for his pupil Eve, who left England to become an anchoress at Angers on the Continent, provides a view of the inner emotional life of a late eleventh-century musician.[31] Goscelin warns, " . . . let him who does not love not read it" (preface). Goscelin introduces the importance of understanding the musical and textual sources that served as models or even that provided the materials for compositions that were actually reworkings, and says of his own activities: "We have made new things from old . . . "[32] It can be demonstrated that he was a painstaking reviser, one who had great respect for his source materials and transformed them through gentle and subtle reshaping.

Musicians in the Twelfth Century: New Kinds of Evidence; New Kinds of Questions

Profiles for liturgical musicians in the twelfth century and the kinds of sources needed to study their lives and works remain somewhat constant, as can be seen from examining the lives of four musicians from the period: Adam of St. Victor, Hildegard of Bingen, Abelard, and Leoninus. But there were many musicians setting vernacular poetry to music, and the situation with them offers new challenges. In addition the twelfth century was a watershed for the production of manuscripts: up until this time, monastic scriptoria and monks did the work, but during the twelfth century, hired professional scribes began to be important in book production, introducing a new strain of secularity into the process in some places. There are few studies of musicians in the twelfth century that can be deemed prosopographical, but there are many studies of individuals.

The situation with Adam of St. Victor offers a warning: he was long identified with Adam Brito, a shadowy figure from the late twelfth century, and this identification skewed understanding of how the sequence developed in twelfth-century Paris. The identification was the result of a myth developed by the Victorines in the fourteenth century, filling a gap in their own forgotten history; this is something that often happens with the identity of musicians. Study of Parisian sequence manuscripts and other liturgical sources, and of Parisian cartularies and necrologies, has allowed the uncovering of Adam's true identity as precentor of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and, later in his life, as a canon of the Augustinian Abbey of St. Victor

31 Stephanie Hollis, with W. R. Barnes et al., eds. *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

32 See Barlow, ed., *The Life of King Edward*, 143–44 for the full quotation from his *Historia Maior* of St. Augustine.

who died in around 1146.[33] Yet although Adam's identity is secure, the state of the sources does not allow for precise attributions, and these must be made for the most part by study of layers within the manuscripts and by stylistic features.[34] The music of the sequences has much to say about the lives and goals of the people who created it, even if secure attributions are lacking: the Victorines celebrated their identities as Augustinian canons regular, using the art of contrafacta to create a unique musical exegesis.

Hildegard of Bingen, in stark contrast with Adam, has left abundant sources for studying her life and the place of her musical compositions within it. Study begins with the two major manuscripts that contain her compositions, one of which pre-dates the other by over a decade, offering somewhat superior readings in several ways. Both have been published in facsimile editions. Because Hildegard was a theologian who wrote music, and who designed artworks to accompany at least one of her treatises, she provides opportunities to contextualize her works to a greater degree than any other composer before or since. In addition she was the first medieval musician to supervise a collected edition of her written works and her music, and so secure attributions – so often difficult or impossible with other figures – are readily made in her case. Nuns in German lands were enjoying something of a renaissance of educational goals in the period, as can be seen both from studies of the *Speculum virginum* and of scribal practices, and Hildegard fits into this picture.[35] In addition, her letters and treatises include discussions of music, and, in some cases, actual texts of some of her pieces, making it possible to suggest a chronology, at least for some of the works, and opening up her own attitudes toward liturgical music and the purposes of her own works. Unfortunately, there are no liturgical manuscripts extant from her own convent, the Rupertsberg, or from those she founded. Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek (*CH-EN*) 103, a breviary/lectionary from the region, is useful for contextualizing her works, although its connection to Disibodenberg has recently been challenged.[36]

33 Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011); Fassler, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 233–69.

34 See Fassler, *Gothic Song* and Jean Grosfillier, *Les séquences d'Adam de Saint-Victor: Étude littéraire (poétique et rhétorique). Textes et traductions, commentaires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

35 Catherine Jeffreys, "'Listen, Daughters of Light!': The *Epithalamium* and Musical Innovation in Twelfth-Century Germany," *Listen, Daughter: The "Speculum Virginum" and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 137–57; Alison I. Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

36 For study of Hildegard's musical life and works, with a full bibliography, see Tova Leigh Choate, Margot Fassler, and William Flynn, "Hearing the Heavenly Symphony: An Overview of Hildegard's Musical Oeuvre with Case Studies" and "Hildegard as Musical Hagiographer: Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 103 and Her Songs for Saints Disibod and Ursula," in *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Beverly Kienzle, George Ferzoco, and Debra Stoudt (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Details of Hildegard's life and of her relationship with her secretary are treated in some detail in Margot E. Fassler, "Volmar,

The evidence for the study of Peter Abelard's life is abundant; for his musical compositions, far less so. By the admission of both Abelard and his wife Heloise, he was a composer of love songs that circulated broadly and made them both famous. Unfortunately, none of Abelard's love songs has been recovered. The state of the sources is somewhat better for his liturgical music. Abelard founded a monastery, the Paraclete, for and with Heloise, who became a nun and abbess following the scandal of Abelard's castration. The hymnal Abelard wrote for the Paraclete is one of the greatest collections of liturgical poetry ever penned, abounding with innovative uses of meter and rhyme; however, the melody for only one hymn survives. Abelard also wrote several laments, *planctus* based on suffering characters from the Old Testament. In this case too, the melody for only one can be securely transcribed.[37] But what do exist in the case of Abelard are liturgical books that reflect the very decisions made about choice and ordering of works created by him and Heloise as they planned the liturgy for the community they founded, a kind of evidence not possessed for any other of the musicians studied from this period. Moreover, the works have been commented upon by the learned authority Chrysoganus Waddell.[38] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 14410 (*F-Pn* fr. 14410) is an ordinal from the Paraclete, written in Old French in the next-to-last decade of the thirteenth century. The scribe copied it from what must have been a heavily annotated Latin original, abridging the text and translating as she worked, and only rarely understanding what she was doing. Chaumont, Bibliothèque municipale 31 (*F-CHUm* 31) is a diurnal with some other kinds of liturgical materials, copied in the late fifteenth century. It is the book that Dreves used for his edition of the texts of Abelard's hymns, later published without their notes in *Analecta Hymnica* 48. The wealth of information contained in these books, in spite of their difficult state (and the possibilities for speculation about them) has unleashed a torrent of publications, and pointed to a need for further study as well.[39] Controversy over a set of anonymous letters, which some scholars believe to be authentic works of Abelard and Heloise, is far from settled.[40]

Hildegard, and St. Mathias: History and the Shaping of Identity in the Twelfth Century," *Medieval Music in Practice*, ed. Judith Peraino (Middleton, WI, American Institute of Musicology, 2013) 85–109.

37 Lorenz Weinrich, "Peter Abelard as Musician" I and II, *The Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969), 215–312; 464–86.

38 Chrysoganus Waddell, *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms français 14410 and the Paraclete Breviary, Chaumont, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 31: Introduction and Commentary* (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985), with the edition itself published in 1983.

39 See Thomas J. Bell, *Peter Abelard after Marriage: The Spiritual Direction of Heloise and Her Nuns through Liturgical Song* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2007).

40 See, for example, the discussions of C. Stephen Jaeger and Giles Constable in *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 125–86.

Perhaps the most important sources for the study of medieval musicians from the twelfth century forward are the necrologies and cartularies of cathedral chapters, including *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* mentioned above. One of the best documented chapters is that of Chartres, and the collected study of its dignitaries by Lucien and René Merlet (1900) contains sections on both cantors and succentors, presenting a wealth of information, and allowing for the identification of particular individuals with various liturgical, musical, and architectural developments.[41] Craig Wright used the cartularies and obituaries of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in his study of Parisian composers from the cathedral, beginning with Adam of St. Victor, and moving forward chronologically to the mid-sixteenth century until the time of Mathieu Sohier.[42] In this line of musicians are two of particular importance to the history of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century polyphony: Leoninus and Perotinus.[43] Wright discovered that the modern printed edition of the charters was incomplete, and the editors had left off the names of the signatories in many cases. When he looked at the originals in the French National Archives, he found the evidence on which he based his understanding of Leoninus' identity as a canon of Notre Dame Cathedral, a priest and a magister. By 1187, Leoninus had given some form of allegiance to the Abbey of St. Victor, and the abbot had commissioned a poem from him.[44] In his study of the poetry of Leoninus, Bruce Holsinger has described the circles in which the poet/composer moved in the late twelfth century.[45] Wright's work on charters and obituaries leads to a possible identity for Perotinus as well, whom he believes to be one and the same with Petrus, the succentor of the cathedral, who served in that position from at least 1207 to ca. 1238. By this time, the position of cantor was administrative rather than musical in this cathedral, and the succentor was the dignitary in charge of the celebration of the liturgy and its music.

The kinds of evidence used for studying musicians functioning in monasteries and cathedrals in the twelfth century may or may not be available for those who worked at court. Figures such as the troubadour William IX, Duke

41 See Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Marking History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
42 Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).
43 Ibid.
44 Craig Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986), 1–35.
45 Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Bruce Holsinger and David Townsend, "Ovidian Homoerotics in Twelfth-Century Paris: The Letters of Leoninus, Poet and Polyphone," *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly* 8 (2002), 389–423.

of Aquitaine, or the trouvère, Thibaut, Count of Champagne, are outside the norm because they were wealthy and powerful men about whom much is known aside from their poetry and compositions. The *vidas*, the lives of troubadours and trouvères that begin to appear in the late thirteenth century, and were further elaborated upon in the fourteenth century, and the *razos*, anecdotal stories that circulated about poet/composers, are the sources for much of the fanciful information now possessed about their lives.[46] Elizabeth Aubrey offers a summary of the kinds of evidence used for studying the troubadours, in addition to the sources mentioned here: (1) the poetry itself is often self-referential, describes particular places or regions, and mentions other troubadours; (2) archival material can be of great use, once the place or region is known; and (3) chronicles.[47] The kinds of work that can be done (and that need to be done) for troubadours' lives has been modeled by Walter Pattison on Raimbaut d'Orange.[48] Pattison painstakingly traced the archival materials he needed from Burgundy to the Hague, and found among them and in other materials a wealth of new information, including the composer's parents' wills. He has been able to evaluate the musician's times and the political situation in which he was born in the mid-twelfth century, his economic conditions and the nature of his household, his military career, his relationship to other literary figures, his death, and his heirs. This rich information makes possible an honest appraisal of the more traditional documents and explanations for some of the errors found within them. When Pattison turns to the song texts themselves, he is equipped to offer explanations for a variety of themes and for specific allusions to persons, places, and events. But this kind of investigation has not generally been done for other twelfth-century troubadours.

The history of musicians in the twelfth century would not be complete without musical iconography, which entered a new stage at this time. Although no actual music survives for instruments alone from this period, for the first time we can see suggestive representations within programs of Romanesque sculpture, most famously on the west portal of Chartres cathedral, the west portal of the Abbey of St. Peter in Moissac, the south portal (third archivolt) of the church of St. Pierre de la Tour, Aulnay-de-Saintonge, and the *Portico da Gloria* in the western narthex of the cathedral at Compostela,

46 John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) provides an overview of this literature.
47 Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).
48 Walter T. Pattison, *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d'Orange* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952).

all of which date from the twelfth century.[49] From these (the most complete) programs and other sculptural displays, a sense of what twelfth-century musicians looked like as they played can also be gained, even if they are idealized and dressed to resemble visions of the elders of the Apocalypse or other biblical figures.

Musicians' Lives in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Music and its modes of preservation changed dramatically from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. Until the twelfth century, the copying of music manuscripts was essentially the purview of the monasteries; the only musicians who have left their music for us to study were those involved in the lives of cathedrals and monasteries. But in the twelfth century this began to change, and increasingly secular copyists were hired for fees. The rise of the universities in the thirteenth century meant that there were new means for book production and selling and also increasing numbers of professional scribes to do the work. It is in the course of the thirteenth century that large repertories of secular music are first transcribed and that scholars look to evidence beyond the types studied above (all of which remain in play). From the thirteenth century, we can get a sense of the new kinds of information by the study of three different approaches, (1) one that works with a manuscript and its features; (2) one that uses chansonniers and their contents, as well as other documents, but as situated in a particular place and culture; and (c) a third that draws upon the source materials related to study of the schools and scholastic culture (both of which still had a foot in religious life).

The so-called Carmina Burana (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [*D-Mbs*] clm 4660[50]) is dated to the third or fourth decade of the thirteenth century. It is a collection of Latin and vernacular songs, with some religious plays as well, and now bound to it are a small group of fragments that were once an integral part of the manuscript. The repertory includes polemic songs, love songs, school songs, and parodies, and raises up the mythical figure of Golias, that champion of wandering scholars and their boozy lives. In her study of the book, Olive Sayce has used the linguistic worlds of the two major scribes as ways of revealing a great deal about their lives and training.

49 The problems with evaluating these kinds of evidence are broached in Rosario Álvarez Martínez, "Music Iconography of Romanesque Sculpture in the Light of Sculptors' Work Procedures: The Jaca Cathedral, Las Platerías in Santiago de Compostela, and San Isidoro de León," *Music in Art* 27 (2002), 13–36. A study of one twelfth-century group of figures and their instruments is found in Lawrence Wright, "Sculptures of Medieval Fiddles at Gargilesse," *The Galpin Society Journal* 32 (1979), 66–76.

50 Now online at http://imslp.org/wiki/Codex_buranus_%28Anonymous%29.

Accordingly, Sayce suggests from study of the nature of the poem that the two scribes worked in the cathedral school at Brixen.

She looks at the kind of poems they chose to copy, and the characteristics of the poems they wrote themselves, perhaps composing on the spot as they did the work of copying. Scribe I shows a great deal of classical learning and displayed erudition and a high level of ecclesiastical knowledge, wanting to include works that decry the decay of learning. He copied the most serious works in the codex. From his linguistic affiliations, Sayce discerns that the first scribe is an Italian speaker, but that he knows Old French to a minor degree, as well as German; and is well versed, as many Italians might be, in the troubadour lyric. Scribe II, on the other hand, makes no claim to the highest rungs of knowledge, nor does he plead with his betters. Sayce thinks he is younger and of lesser stature than scribe I. He is a French speaker, and his command of German is insecure. We can watch these two men at work, in a cathedral town on the border of modern-day Germany and Italy; side by side, they were part of the same clerical culture, yet different in origin and stature, and perhaps even in age. A very close reading of a manuscript can lead to a great deal of hypothetical knowledge about the lives and working conditions of medieval song writers, even if one does not know their names.

Yet another way of knowing about a particular composer's life rises from studying the cultural conditions in which he must have lived and worked. All the world was a stage in thirteenth-century Arras, with many kinds of sophisticated crossings over between the boundaries of the secular and the sacred.[51] The jongleurs belonged to a powerful confraternity that had an enormous public presence in the city, with special ceremonies, processions, and artifacts that were symbols of their status. This guild was the first to produce its own documents and a vocabulary that emphasized its power and independence. Its *Nécrologe de la Confrérie des jongleurs et de bourgeois d'Arras*, kept from 1194 to 1361, is an extraordinary document, one that allows for prosopographical study of a class of musician/entertainers over several generations; the customary of the jongleurs describes many of their ceremonies (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 8541 [*F-Pn* fr. 8541]). From these and other documents, from Adam's works themselves, and from the evidence of his patrons, Robert II, Count of Artois (himself a promoter of careful record keeping) and Charles I of

51 Carol Symes' *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008) offers a thick description of Arras, a place that sustained a huge number of jongleurs, including the trouvère Adam de la Halle. Symes demonstrates the ways in which Adam's plays may reflect the circumstances of his life; Sylvia Huot finds correspondences mentioned here in a broad selection of Adam's works: see her "Transformations of Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de la Halle," *Romanic Review* 78 (1987), 148–64.

Anjou, a great deal can be learned about Adam's life and the circumstances in which he worked.

Adam's *Le Jeu de la Feuillée* (*Play of the Bower*) seems to refer to a kind of structure that was built in Arras every year to house and protect the Marian relics that were displayed for public veneration in a section of the town square, also the setting for plays and other entertainment, including music. In the play, the lines between players and audience are blurred, so that the sense of who are players and who are "real" people is deliberately lost. Adam himself appears, as a cleric who wishes to return to Paris to study, but now has taken a wife, and his responsibility to her weighs him down. As he makes this claim, the character Adam refers to several of his songs, works collected with the plays in the chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25566 (*F-Pn* fr. 25566 [ca.1300]). Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque municipale Méjanes (*F-AIXm*), 166 (Rés. 14), dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, is an illuminated copy of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* that seems to reveal details of characterization and possible ideas about performance.[52]

Seemingly Adam did study in Paris, for he is a highly skilled musician who knows how to compose motets. It is not possible to say for sure if the circumstances of the play show his own longing for further training and work, although seemingly he recognized that at least some musicians did feel that way in Arras. The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* was created for the court of Charles I of Anjou in Naples, and probably served to provide a pastoral display for homesick northerners in the court. The most authoritative version of the play (and not that usually anthologized) includes a preface in which the "pilgrim" offers news about "Adam le Bochu" (that is, the Hunchback, the name of Adam's family in Arras): he has died, and jokes are made about his death, while testimony is given to the great value the Count placed on the play, a work made under his patronage. Many of the basic facts of Adam's life and of the play's composition are known (or thought to be known) from the speech of this character. Plays and playbooks can provide much information about the lives of the musicians who created them.

The mid-thirteenth-century theorist Franco of Cologne, supposed author of the treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, is an ideal figure for introducing the various ways one has of gathering information about the lives of the musicians who worked in Paris during the period, all the more so because Michel Huglo has analyzed the surviving evidence in considerable detail.[53] Many of Huglo's

52 Online at http://toisondor.byu.edu/dscriptorium/aix166/index2.html.

53 Michel Huglo, "Recherches sur la personne et l'oeuvre de Francon," *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1999), 1–18 and his "De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," *Revue belge de Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 34/35 (1980/1981), 44–60.

arguments could draw opposition from one quarter or another, and yet the way he takes us through the evidence is masterful. The surviving theoretical treatises themselves, and their dates, including the witness of Anonymous IV (ca. 1275–85), prove that Franco was known consistently as "of Cologne," or "Teutonicus" (German). However, problems persist with this identity: a late thirteenth-century copy of Jerome of Moray's theoretical compendium, compiled around 1272, has the following attribution: "Having said this, the third [treatise] follows, which is 'Cum de plana musica' [the incipit of the treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis*] by John of Burgundy, as we heard from his own mouth, or, following common opinion, by Franco of Cologne."[54] The earliest independent copy of Franco, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 11267 (*F-Pn* lat. 11267), which dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, was apparently owned early in its life by John of Plivet, a canon of St. Denis in Reims, which links the source to this place. Who are these two figures named John, and how do they relate to Franco?

As the earliest manuscript comes from the Augustinian house of St. Denis in Reims, Huglo turns to two necrologies from this place, and there he finds both John of Burgundy and John of Plivet listed. John of Plivet, the owner of the manuscript, died in the fifteenth century, and so leaves the scene of our inquiry. John of Burgundy, however, is directly relevant: a canon of St. Denis in Reims, he is also called a "master," rare in this distinction among his confrères, and so can be identified as a teacher in Paris in the thirteenth century. None of the persons named Franco in the necrologies can be the theorist, and the association with Reims seems to have been added later. Huglo then examines other theoretical treatises and finds John of Burgundy's name mentioned most prominently in a short treatise by the mid-thirteenth-century Petrus de Picardy (probably Franco's student), who says, "as many listeners, especially the younger ones, like a short summary, I have reduced the number of chapters on mensural music to the four necessary for newer listeners, following in my remarks the treatise of Master Franco of Cologne, and the 'tree' of Master John of Burgundy." The treatise *Ars motettus* also mentions this "tree" of John, as a way of expressing the relationships between note shapes within species.

From this understanding, Huglo then returns to the treatise of Franco, noting its language, its references to the teaching of Aristotle, and its use of a way of explaining the interrelationships between note values through a diagram which he thinks is like John of Burgundy's "tree." The confusion of attribution is resolved, as is the problem of identity: Franco was indeed "of Cologne" but he did borrow from John of Burgundy in his work, and may

54 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 16663 (*F-Pn* lat. 16663).

have had this knowledge through an oral tradition (perhaps, we might add, supplemented by classroom notes). Franco's numerous musical citations demonstrate a profound knowledge of the repertory circulating in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, but his treatise also has strong musical affiliations with the two major motet manuscripts from German lands. Many details of Huglo's arguments are left out in this brief summary, but from a study such as his one learns about the many sources necessary for gleaning information about a musician in Paris and his text for instruction, and how to make conclusions about his life and times. More broadly, Huglo uses this knowledge of Franco and his treatise to suggest that alongside the speculative teaching on music in the schools, there continued to be practical training for those who sang in the cathedral and other venues, and also written tracts, produced for those who wanted a more sophisticated understanding of music and notation, books that may have been chained and ready for consultation in the Chapel of St. Ursula at the Sorbonne.

In fact the evidence surrounding music and musicians from the fourteenth century is, in some regions, far richer than ever before; and in some tantalizingly poor because of mass destruction by later generations. This is so most dramatically in England.[55] We have seen that the kinds of evidence used to understand the life and times of Franco of Cologne centers on Paris, which had become the musical capital of Europe in the course of the thirteenth century, with "nations" set up in the university to house students from every region. This mixing and mingling of the most talented of musicians in major urban centers increasingly characterizes what we know of their work, which was so often produced under conditions in which musicians were working in contact with others of equal fame, well-placed at the courts (either ecclesiastical or secular). The interplay between the various kinds of students and scribes in early fourteenth-century Paris is represented by the notated and expanded copy of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 [*F-Pn* fr. 146]).[56] The interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* can only be the product of royal chancery scribes and the artists and musicians who worked with them to produce documents and manuscripts for the nobility. The manuscript and its production have much to say about a particular class of younger poet/artist/musician and their collaborative working methods, as well as the intensity with which they experienced the social problems of their own times and expressed them in music.

55 Some of the kinds of lost information and manuscripts that make a scholar weep are inventoried in Andrew Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 21 (1988), 1-19.

56 Digitized at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90588888/f4.item.

The politics revealed in the manuscript are woven with great care into the very fabric of the art and music, although only the initiated would have understood the most intricate of the arguments. As a whole, the work is focused on the much despised Enguerran of Marigny, a Norman, the son of lesser nobility, who got his start as a butler to the Queen of France, and slowly became the head of King Philip the Fair's (1268–1314) household.[57] The manuscript was produced in the years just after his death, as the hanging of Enguerran took place on April 30, 1315, and there are numerous allusions to this event in the texts, music, and artworks of *F-Pn* fr. 146. The patron behind the production of this lavish manuscript has not been securely identified, but it was made during yet another time of transition of power, from the Capetian to the Valois line of French kings. None of Philip's sons was able to retain power or produce an heir, and his brother Charles (1270–1325), Count of Valois, would be the founder of the new line. It is he, indeed, who is thought to be the most likely candidate for the patron behind the manuscript.[58]

The identity and early life circumstances of Philippe de Vitry, a composer, poet, and scholar, perhaps first flourishing in Paris in the second decade of the fourteenth century, is dependent on a variety of sources, including study of *F-Pn* fr. 146. The many ways that scholars have ferreted out evidence and from it hypothesized about his early years form a splendid example of the many methodological strategies employed by scholars working on the Ars Nova period. His birthdate was 1291, revealed by the figure himself in a note to a chronicle he owned.[59] His likely origin (there are several towns named Vitry) was uncovered by Anne Walters Robertson, who traced the use of details of musical dialect within a motet attributed to him to the town of Vitry-en-Artois near Arras.[60] This identity would have put Philippe in the College d'Arras in Paris, the same place with which the young Machaut would have been affiliated. Understanding the earlier stages of his career, and the extent to which he was or was not involved in the production of the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, is crucial, and can be helped by the fact that Philippe de Vitry was an important poet and friend of Petrarch, who left a body of much-copied motet

57 A fine study of the life and times of Enguerran is found in Dorothy Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

58 For the study of soundscape in Paris of the period, see Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

59 See Andrew Wathey, "Philippe de Vitry's Books," in *Books and Collectors, 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: British Library, 1997).

60 Anne Walters Robertson, "Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York; Oxford University Press, 1997), 52–81.

texts and other works.[61] There are several motets in *F-Pn* fr. 146 that have, at one time or another, been ascribed to Philippe de Vitry, both their texts and their music. If we look at three of them, those that clearly reference the hanging of Enguerran, it can be seen that the texts and the music are closely interrelated, and that the set of motets is carefully and closely tied in with the unfolding of the narrative in the work as a whole.[62] Although there is no direct proof, it is hard not to put Philippe de Vitry around the table during the creation of *F-Pn* fr. 146, and that would locate him in Paris in his early years. Robertson speculates that the very young Machaut (ca. 1300–1377) may have actually been present around 1317, the time when the manuscript was prepared, and that this would have been the beginning of his association with Philippe and his admiration for him.[63]

Philippe was such a famous and highly placed individual that it is easier to outline his whereabouts in later years, as can be seen from study of charters and other evidence documenting his long career in the service of Louis I, Duke of Bourbon, his prominence in royal courts, and his time as bishop of Meaux, an office Philippe de Vitry held from 1351 until his death in 1361. Lastly, the theoretical work *Ars Nova*, ascribed to Philippe de Vitry, has been proved to be rather a compilation of several works and many influences. One of the hands that passed over it may have been that of Philippe de Vitry, but it was one of many.[64] The association of Philippe de Vitry's name with a particular treatise for generations suggests ways that myths about musicians and musical artifacts are perpetuated in the scholarship, and how dramatically historical understanding changes when they are revised.

The evidence of the schools and of scholasticism has little to say about the activities of women musicians in the later Middle Ages. Whereas women were

61 Especially important for the circumstances surrounding *F-Pn* fr. 146 and Philippe de Vitry's possible role in its production is Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, eds., *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford University Press, 1998), which includes Margaret Bent, "Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?," 35–52; Emma Dillon, "The Profile of Philippe V in the Music of Fauvel," 215–31; Christopher Page, "Tradition and Innovation *in F-Pn* fr.146: the Background to the Ballades," 353–94; Andrew Wathey, "Gervès du Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court," 599–613; and Anne Walters Robertson, "Local Chant Readings and the *Roman de Fauvel*."

62 A close reading of just one of the Marigny motets reveals ways in which the text is linked to Philippe de Vitry and his other writings and proclivities: Margaret Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit/ Quoniam secta latronum/ Merito hec patimur* and Its 'Quotations,'" in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. D. Pesce, 82–103. For more details in corroboration, see Andrew Wathey, "Myth and Mythography in the Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 89–106.

63 Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37.

64 Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1986), 23–50.

often well educated in the centuries when monastic education was at the forefront of learning, the rise of the universities usually left women behind. They could not attend; but scholars have been too quick to surmise that all women were without learning in the later Middle Ages, and that is in addition to learned figures such as Christine de Pisan. Women musicians, aside from those who were entertainers, continued to function in their convents. And although they looked increasingly inward, and had often lacked ways to acquire the kinds of learning that might make their lives rich with understanding of polyphonic repertories and their rules of composition, new evidence suggests understanding of and singing of polyphony in some institutions.[65] Recent scholarship surrounding some of the achievements of nuns both as producers of noted manuscripts and as composer/compilers of chant has revealed something of the nature of their lives, and has proved that they were, at least in some regions, far better educated than has been previously believed. A ground-breaking work was offered by Judith Oliver in her study of the interaction between manuscript illuminations, their inscriptions and embodied textual materials, and the chant and liturgy.[66] The work of Dominican nuns on their manuscripts, and especially in the illuminations for the sequence "Verbum deo dei natum," for their special protector, St. John the Evangelist, was first studied in the manuscripts of the Katharinenthal in the essays for the fascimile edition published in 1983.[67] The illuminations of the sequence stem from a vision of the piece revealed by the novice Kathrin Brümsin.[68] Katharina von Radegg, one of the nuns and also a major donor, is depicted joining St. John the Evangelist in Heaven (fol. 161r). The degree of learning that some nuns in the period were able to gain is demonstrated by the writings of Gertrude of Helfta.[69]

In recent years, several scholars have been engaged with the extraordinary manuscripts copied in the Dominican convent of Paradies bei Soest in Westphalia. A preliminary study of a few leaves now in the Houghton Library at Harvard University led to plans for a more all-encompassing

65 David Catalunya's studies of the manuscript include his forthcoming paper "The Las Huelgas Codex Revisited: Scribal Aspects and the Process of Compilation."

66 Judith Oliver, *Singing with Angels: Liturgy, Music, and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kersenbroeck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). The manuscript has recently appeared in a facsimile edition: *Der Codex Gisle: das goldene Graduale der Gisela von Kerssenbrock*, ed. Beate Braun-Niehr et al. (Lucerne: Quaternio, 2015).

67 The gradual is Schweizerisches Landesmuseum Zürich und Museum des Kantons Thurgau, Frauenfeld, LM 26117, dated to 1312. See especially the essays by Ellen Beer and Max Lütolf in *Das Gradual von Sankt Katharinenthal: Kommentar*, ed. Alfred A. Schmid (Lucerne: Faksimile-Verlag, 1983).

68 Erika Lauren Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

69 Michael Anthony Abril, "Gertrude of Helfta: Liturgical–Mystical Union," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly: An International Review of the Monastic and Contemplative Spiritual Tradition* 43 (2008) 77–96.

investigation.[70] In an article exploring the carefully inscribed capital letters and illuminations, Jeffrey Hamburger argues that the nuns used their visual commentary in part as a kind of necrology. Just as the liturgical chants for St. John are filled with the many manifestations of the saint's name, so too are the illuminations and decorative letters inscribed with the names and initials of the nuns, some of whom were surely scribes and composers.

Susan Marti has reproduced plans and sketches of the now-destroyed medieval buildings inhabited by the nuns of Paradies bei Soest, giving a sense of the spaces they inhabited in day-to-day life.[71]

From the books themselves we learn a great deal about the nuns as scribes and musicians. A fourteenth-century gradual prepared for the Dominicans at Dortmund (Dortmund, Archiv der Propsteikirche, B 6 [*D-DO* B 6]) has the following colophon: "Sister Elisabeth von Lünen of the order of Preaching Friars wrote, notated, and completed this book with labor in Paradies for the brothers of the order in Dortmund for her memory in perpetuity" (trans. Marti). Elisabeth belonged to a wealthy family from Soest, and surviving documents demonstrate that she was able to administrate her property while a nun. Another liturgical book produced over a generation later (the gradual Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek [*D-DÜL*]D 12) contains the following colophon: "Sister Hadewygis of Ludenscheyde and sister Elisabeth Schilling had this book made at their own expense. And sister Elisabeth Rathus wrote it. May their souls rest in peace. Amen" (trans. Marti). These nuns too were members of local families. The nuns who prepared these books were highly skilled scribes, and although much of the work in the fourteenth century was their own, in the early fifteenth century they also were able to commission painters for their books, and must have collaborated with them. In addition, they used micrographics to weave their liturgical and personal commentaries into the books they wrote, which include colophons, signatures, and pictorial self-portraits.

The over 800 inscriptions woven into the gradual Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek D 11 (*D-DÜL* D 11, ca. 1380) provides a complex

70 *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of John the Evangelist at the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008). Jeffrey Hamburger, Eva Schlotheuber, Susan Marti, and Margot Fassler, *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300–1425: Inscription and Illumination in the Choir Books of a North German Dominican Convent* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016).

71 Susan Marti, "Sisters in the Margins? Scribes and Illuminations in the Scriptorium of Paradies at Soest," in *Leaves from Paradise*, ed. Hamburger, 5–54, at 14; Marti's comments in this article on the nuns' work relate as well to her "Schwester Elisabeth schreibt für ihre Brüder in Dortmund: Das Graduale für das Dortmunder Dominikanerkloster," *Die Dortmunder Dominikaner und die Propsteikirche als Erinnerungsort*, ed. Thomas Schilp and Barbara Welzel, Dortmunder Mittelalter-Forschungen 8 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2006), 277–91.

liturgical commentary, the only one from the entire Middle Ages to be completely designed by women, and helping to restore a sense of the imaginations of women as they sang within the liturgy. There are several instances of compositions not otherwise known that may well have been created by the nuns themselves, and for their own liturgical use, demonstrating a high level of Latin learning and skill in writing poetry. There is something very personal about handwriting, even when highly stylized, and to examine the books of the nuns of Paradies bei Soest is to experience a sense of how the sisters filled their hours and the careful planning that lay behind their skillful and artful ways of designing elaborate liturgical codices.

We close with a particularly fascinating case, and one that still raises major unresolved issues. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (*I-Fl* Pal. 87), the famed Squarcialupi Codex, is well known to any student of Western music.[72] This, the greatest collection of secular Italian trecento polyphony, is thought to have been prepared in Florence between the years 1410 and 1415 at the Camaldolese Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and illuminated by artists in the sphere of the famed painter Lorenzo Monaco (né Piero di Giovanni). The portraits of the musicians form a special kind of evidence that is usually lacking, however Platonic they may be in form.[73] Although the patron of the manuscript and its intended audience remain unknown, historians long believed they knew a fair amount about the identity of Antonio Squarcialupi (1416–80), who owned the manuscript in the fifteenth century. John Nadas, a leading authority on the source, and James Haar have joined together to explore the career of Antonio, and in the process introduced the materials and methods used for studying Italian figures from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[74] By the early twentieth century he was known as an organist of extraordinary skill, who was revered by the Medici and belonged to a distinguished family, and who was a friend of Dufay himself. In addition to the manuscript and its contents, there is rich archival and art-historical evidence to explore.

One of the most useful things about Haar's and Nadas' study is the way they organize the evidence, making a timeline of the key pieces of evidence, which number thirty. In a second column the primary source and secondary evaluation are referenced. Haar and Nadas have substantially revised the

72 A fine summary of known facts about the manuscript can be found in James Haar's review of the facsimile edition of the codex and the accompanying essays, ed. Alberto Gallo (Florence: Libreria Musicale Italiana; Giunti Barbera, 1992), *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), 145–55.

73 William Gibbons, "Illuminating Florence: Revisiting the Composer Portraits of the Squarcialupi Codex," *Imago musicae* 23 (2006), 25–46.

74 James Haar and John Nadas, "Antonio Squarcialupi: Man and Myth," *Early Music History* 25 (2006), 105–68.

understanding of Antonio and his identity, drawing heavily upon evidence unearthed by other scholars but reinterpreting it as they introduce new material. Antonio was indeed an organist in Florence, and he did work for the Medici. But there is no evidence that he composed, and no evidence that his playing was spectacular. The letter from Dufay is not to him, but to another person, and the letter he wrote to Dufay was for the Medici and is formal and shows no degree of familiarity. He was not of the family Squarcialupi, a well-known Tuscan noble house, but rather took on the name in the late 1450s; he was the son of a butcher, and rose up from meager roots. Haar and Nadas explore the ways that Antonio promoted his new identity, and how his son Francesco took it upon himself to further lionize his father. In their careful evaluation of the laudatory poetry and bust the authors say: "What seems clear from all this is that Antonio, and his son Francesco, were regarded as close friends, in effect creatures of the Medici, and thus the portrait bust, its inscription and the poems of the Squarcialupi 'Anthology' were commissioned as a deliberate hagiographic gesture, the determined forwarding of the Squarcialupi myth" (p. 126).

The materials used to create myths about musicians in the Carolingian period are very different from those employed in the fifteenth century, but the purposes are strikingly similar. When there is a need for political greatness and to create an aura of magnificence, music and musicians are often key elements of the illusion. The study of musicians' lives in the Middle Ages, like so much else, must take cognizance of facts and of fiction, and be willing to incorporate understandings from both to create fuller knowledge.

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The Silence of Medieval Singers

KATARINA LIVLJANIC AND BENJAMIN BAGBY

Introduction

Investigating how the human singing voice might have sounded in plainchant and other ecclesiastical vocal traditions of the Middle Ages, we find ourselves confronting medieval informants whose written words are surrounded by silence. We scholars and performers have access to medieval musical notation but we do not have access to medieval sounds; our perceptions are based on the singing voices of the living but informed by documents created by those long dead, whose sounds we have never heard.

Among the various strands of medieval musicology, the study of the voice is the one most closely linked with performance practice; medieval texts about the voice and the notation of vocal music can only be fully discussed and understood when they are linked with vocal practice and made audible today. In the investigation of medieval instruments, it is possible to evaluate visual sources, and based on these to make reconstructions of playable instruments; but in the case of the voice, visual sources can only provide us with very limited, external information, such as the number of singers present and their possible relationship to a written source, or hand and facial gestures. And reconstructions? Today's singers are the only possible reconstructions. We cannot learn, by studying texts and images, how to sing in the way medieval singers did; performances today will always contain an element of conjecture.

To this should be added the fact that we twenty-first-century singers are physically quite different from our medieval counterparts: we enjoy a radically different and more nutritious diet, grow larger and live longer than the singers we wish to understand and emulate. To create a truly "authentic medieval singer" in our time would involve considerably different educational methods, some of which would not be admitted in our society (a similar situation exists for Baroque opera: we would not expect to witness a resurgence of the castrati, and so we have come to accept the more humane – albeit less authentic – alternatives).

However, if we are pursuing a study of medieval singing out of intellectual and artistic curiosity, then we can at least examine here a number of examples from the medieval sources, which could help us to enter by various small doors into the huge realm resounding with the many voices of medieval authors, singers and scribes. Our discussion here – again, not sounds but only words on paper – will try to take this reality into account as we select specific texts and notated elements, examining these for possible hints about the vocal sounds and techniques of some medieval singers.[1]

Sources, Living and Dead

Remarks on singing by medieval writers were aimed largely at readers within each author's own cultural/musical environment, or what Max Haas defines as a "chant community."[2] In each case where we find a vocal activity described (whether praised or criticized), we are dealing with informants in their own specific times and places, writing not for our benefit but for their own contemporaries. Their writings are often anecdotal, unclear or biased, requiring an understanding of circumstances we cannot always understand today.

The surviving notated manuscripts, depictions, and descriptions of performances are artifacts, not living musical traditions, and every performance of medieval music today – including the Western plainchant which has remained in the liturgy for a thousand years and more – is by definition a reconstruction. The study of medieval singing is closely linked with our own perception of the human voice and puts us into an arena where we are truly confronted with our own prejudices and standards of vocal beauty, and we can only hope that scientific inquiry might be able to get us beyond our opinions.

Even within the context of medieval plainchant, the various European chant communities knew many languages and sound-ideals. It would be impossible and useless to make general conclusions about vocal practice within such an immense geographical area and during a time-span of 700 years or more. We search for information about the sound of something we call a "medieval voice," but to whom belong the voices we have in mind? Members of an elite Frankish *schola cantorum* of the ninth century? A clerical soloist at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in early thirteenth-century Paris?

1 For a more thorough examination of these texts see, for example, Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); F. Müller-Heuser, *Vox humana. Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Stimmästhetik des Mittelalters*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung XXVI (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1963).

2 Max Haas, *Musikalisches Denken im Mittelalter: Eine Einführung* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 216.

Nuns of noble birth singing Hildegard von Bingen's *symphonia* at the Rupertsberg in the late twelfth century? Or the women of the convent of Las Huelgas de Burgos in early fourteenth-century Castille? The soloist intoning virtuosic *Sanctus* tropes at St. Andrews in Scotland? The vocally gifted singers in the monasteries of Montecassino, of St. Gall, of St. Mary in Zadar, of St. Martial in Limoges? Clerics singing in the church at Skálholt in thirteenth-century Iceland? This list goes on and on.

Describing the Voice

The sounds of the many lost vocal traditions of medieval Europe cannot be described accurately in words which resonate with today's more globalized chant community. Since all medieval voices are long silent, we have no choice but to base our descriptions of singing on voices we can hear today, either live or on historical recordings, convincing ourselves that medieval voices did or did not sound similar to something we can hear in our own time.

We must also recognize the impossibility of describing effectively, in a way which has the same meaning for all readers, the sound of human singing voices long extinguished. Even if we translate medieval vocal terminology (or descriptions of singing) in a way that can be understood today, we cannot know the modern words which will describe a lost vocal phenomenon as the informant heard it, nor can we be assured that all readers of that translation will hear – in their mind's ear – the same vocal phenomenon. The understanding of vocal sound, articulation, and technique is always linked to each reader's sense of how the voice should sound, to his or her vocal background (in the case of performers, vocal training and experience), and to those preferences formed by today's musical culture and expectations. Singers of all types – whether classically trained, traditional, or popular – and also non-singers will react in different ways to texts describing the voice.[3]

3 For instance, the thirteenth-century *Tractatus de musica* by Lambertus mentions the performance of the *plica*: "Fit autem plica in voce per compositionem epiglotti cum repercussione gutturis subtiliter inclusa." Different English translations of this single sentence modify slightly its meaning, though each of them mentions the combination of narrowing (or even closing) the epiglottis and vibration (or repercussion) in the throat. (Cf. John Haines, "Lambertus's *Epiglotus*," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 [2006], 146, which includes references for various English translations.)

In fact, Lambertus's description of narrowing the epiglottis (assuming he even refers to the anatomical *epiglottis* – the flap that covers the trachea during swallowing so that food does not enter the lungs – which is not certain, since the *epiglottis* itself is not involved in phonation) sounds almost as if he had access to a modern laryngoscopic examination. But we know he didn't. This text serves as an example of the impasse between medieval terminology and physiological vocal phenomena, since its interpretation is influenced by the vocal experience, practice, and culture of the reader.

Historically Informed Performance Practice

This investigation is of necessity linked to the discussion of historical performance practice, to the reception of medieval music in our time, and to cultural factors which color today's conceptions of a convincing "medieval" vocal sound, articulation, and style.

As scholarly performers, in our search for "medieval" ways to modify our existing voices, we tend to seek access to some easily applied external solutions: the application of some incompletely understood "ornaments," or an imagined idea of a "correct" Latin pronunciation, or the rigid interpretation of certain notational symbols. But in doing so, we often ignore larger issues which also deserve our attention: the role of rhetoric in the medieval singer's training; the need to communicate meaning and emotion to the listeners; the color of language and dialect; the role that memory played in the learning of pieces which we can only know from notation. We search for global answers about something we hope to identify as "the sound of medieval song," but all of the evidence points to the fact that – in matters of singing throughout a 700-year period – style, taste, ornamentation, sound quality, and pronunciation varied widely.

Vocal Technique

Searching for "The Other"

In discussions about singing medieval music, the point is raised that there is a dichotomy between what is called "Western classical vocal technique" (or "conservatory vocal technique") and other, unnamed vocal techniques which are probably closer to something known to medieval singers and hence more suitable as models for imagining the "sound of medieval song."

We do not agree on what we mean when we say "conservatory vocal technique." There are important technical as well as stylistic differences in singing Monteverdi, Bach, Wagner, or Berio. Vocal technique evolves to suit the circumstances of the musical world it serves: over the past hundred years alone, historical recordings reveal an impressive transformation of the accepted norms of vocal sound (and taste) in classical music performance. But if we divorce the term "vocal technique" from the words "classical" or "conservatory," we might formulate the definition more easily: vocal technique is the ability to employ the voice freely and expertly – within the ideal of beauty in the singer's vocal tradition – as an *instrumentum* capable of optimally expressing a text and moving the hearts

of the listeners. All of the medieval texts about singing would agree with this definition.

Deprived of living sources for medieval sounds, we search for characteristics of "otherness" as we look for images of what medieval song might have sounded like. In reading the medieval sources, we intuit that it may not have been anything like our classical vocal music as it is currently performed, and we seek it in musics that we perceive as being outside our experience: foreign, even mysterious, in short, barbarian (we use this term in its original sense, meaning "those who do not speak our language, who are therefore unlike us"). To an expert vocalist from a traditional Asian or Middle Eastern musical culture, the sound of a Western opera singer is indeed a barbarian sound, just as most conservatory-trained singers in the West would view an expert classical vocalist from Iran or India as a singer whose art, language, and technique are completely foreign, certainly worthy of admiration, but too far removed from our experience to "speak" to us in our own tongue: barbarian.

Faced with a Western classical conservatory vocal technique (sometimes erroneously called bel canto, and often identified by the mildly pejorative term operatic), we do not easily find an image of vocal sound which might fit with our image of the medieval singer, and so we begin to search the realms of "otherness." If the music we wish to re-create is vocally demanding (a highly melismatic solo liturgical chant, for example) we will find most European non-classical voices to be technically insufficient in terms of articulation, range, and breath control. And if we search too far away from Europe we will find the languages, the vocal techniques, and the basic sounds too foreign, too barbarian; has anyone ever asked a Japanese, Indonesian, or Korean traditional singer to bring his/her ancient vocal arts into the service of troubadour song or medieval plainchant?

In the later decades of the twentieth century, one of the attempts to fill the gap between us and the medieval cantors was the appeal to traditional music.[4] However, values from the world of traditional singers cannot always resonate

4 An important landmark in the study of medieval plainchant in the perspective of oral tradition is certainly the article by Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 131–85.

See also: Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992); Marie Noelle Colette, "Des modes archaïques dans les musiques de tradition orale," *Études grégoriennes* 27 (1999), 165–84.

easily with our urban Western world of sightreading and instant access to the music traditions of the whole world. Characterized by processes of slow transmission over long periods of time, these values are often misunderstood, resulting in superficial imitations or vocal mannerisms in the performance of certain types of neumes; or they simply give an unusual, vaguely exotic color to the sound of chant. There is another difficult issue in this approach to chant: how do we develop criteria for choosing *which* traditional singers to take as our models? From *which* country, tradition, or type of repertoire?

The Conservatory vs. Orientalism

And so, where do we generally turn when searching for models of vocal otherness in our reconstructions of medieval singing? To the Middle East and North Africa, of course, to those lands steeped in Judeo-Christian, Hellenic, and Roman culture (and later, the dominance of the Islamic caliphates and the Ottomans), to that varied cluster of "oriental" cultures – near and yet very far – which has fascinated and obsessed Europeans for more than a millenium, from the first Crusaders to the most recent graduate students and tourists. For many Western musicians today, the collective "sound" of the Middle Eastern vocal arts (of which there are countless styles and traditions) has become the default vocal mode and the sound of "otherness" we seek in the re-creation of medieval European musical repertoires, especially repertoires from Mediterranean Europe.[5] Timothy McGee's scholarly study of medieval singing, based on a variety of medieval treatises, suggests that "Since the Western vocal sound of the present day does not resemble that of the Middle Ages, we might look elsewhere for a possible sound image . . . the model that comes quickly to mind is that which is still common in the Eastern Mediterranean countries and in the music of India . . . "[6] He comes to the conclusion that "any and all of the Eastern vocal practices can be used to assist the modern reader to conceptualize the kind of sound that would have resulted from applying what is described in the theoretical treatises and required by the ornaments."[7] This idea is rooted in the Orientalist tradition of Western Europe, which also harbors the belief that Eastern vocal techniques, and ideas of beauty and sound, have remained untouched and unchanged throughout the centuries, when in fact they too may well have gone through an evolution between the Middle Ages and the present.

5 See Thomas Binkley, "Zur Aufführungspraxis der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters – ein Werkstattbericht," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1978), 19–76, and other articles in this volume.

6 McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 120. 7 Ibid.

If we take this into account, we will perhaps listen more critically when Western singers, in their reconstructions of medieval European music, borrow superficially, even indiscriminately, from today's traditional Eastern musical and vocal techniques. It is a risky procedure:[8] by including such sounds, we may unknowingly import modern (e.g., neo-Byzantine) characteristics of traditions which have themselves undergone changes.

There is an enormous distance between conceptualizing a sound and learning to sing. And those Western singers who have made a serious study of a specific Eastern vocal technique would be the first to complain about the superficiality of such an approach.

Sound Quality

When medieval authors speak about regional differences in matters of liturgical chant performance, they sometimes use extreme terms.[9] John the Deacon, a ninth-century monk of Montecassino, expresses from his point of view the eternal North–South problem:

> Alpine bodies do not properly make the sweetness of the melody they have adopted resound, since in their voices they make high-sounding noises like thunder. Because the barbarian fierceness, belonging to a drinker's throat, emits rough hard voices when it attempts to produce a soft tone with inflections and repetitions, and does so with a kind of natural roar of the voice, sounding confused, as if you were to throw carts down steps. And so, through bewildering and terrible bawling, it rather disturbs the listeners' minds, which it ought to please . . . [10]

An eleventh-century witness, Adémar de Chabannes, describes Frankish singers: "The Franks could not perfectly express the tremulous or the sinuous notes, or the notes that are to be elided or separated, breaking the notes in the throat, with a natural barbaric voice, rather than expressing them."[11]

In our quest for the "authentic" way to perform medieval plainchant, maybe we should actually ask ourselves: what do we really want to accomplish when we give voice to plainchant today? Do we want to make it sound as it had

8 In relation to this subject, consult the chapter "A Different Sense of Time: Marcel Pérès on Plainchant," in B. D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 25–42.

9 See Susan Rankin, "Ways of Telling Stories," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. G. M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 371–94; Kenneth Levy, "A New Look at the Old Roman Chant," *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 81–104; 20 (2001), 173–97.

10 John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* (*PL*, vol. LXXV: cols. 90–91). English translation from Susan Rankin, "Ways of Telling Stories," 372.

11 *Chronicon*, II, 8, from: J. Chavanon, ed., Adémar de Chabannes: *Chronique* (Paris, 1897), 81. English translation from James Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56/1 (2003), 48.

sounded in a medieval liturgy? Do we search to perform it in the manner in which the theorists wished it to sound? Or in the manner of their contemporaries, whose singing they criticized? The difference, in the case mentioned above, could have been perceived not only in the Frankish incapacity to sing nuances of the long ornamented melodies, but also in their different vocal types.

We can read medieval descriptions of many vocal models, but we cannot know – were we miraculously given the chance to hear them all – if we would particularly *like* any one of them.

Virtuosity and Humility

Words such as "humility, sobriety, and chastity" can be prone to misunderstanding when used in relation to the voice, evoking an attitude of piety and softness more fitting to the aesthetics of the nineteenth century than to the Middle Ages. But these ideas may have had nothing to do with vocal technique, and more to do with an inner spiritual attitude, rectitude, and honesty in the person of the singer himself, while still allowing him to express the text with all the amplitude and dexterity of his voice, making full use of his training and his expressive abilities.

What exactly do these concepts mean? What did they mean for Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, for the Carolingians, for the nineteenth-century monks of Solesmes in the period of chant restoration, and what do they mean for our voices today?

In the centuries between a testimony provided by Gregory the Great in 595 (mentioning ecclesiastical promotions among the clergy based on the beautiful voices of deacons who were "charming the believers by their singing"),[12] and an article describing vocal style in a current monastic context,[13] a long transformation has taken place in attitudes towards virtuosity and humility in plainchant singing.

Several medieval authors single out certain vocal types suitable for liturgical singing and unlike the voices of actors. Words such as dignity, simplicity, and virility permeate the texts of these authors, giving us tantalizing hints about

12 *Decretum ad clerum in basilica beati Petri apostoli*, Ep. 5, 57; cf. MGH, Epistolae 1, ed. P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, 2nd ed. (Munich: Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 1957), 363.

13 Cf. M. A. Roux, "À Solesmes, les chantres du silence," *Le Monde*, Paris, December 26, 2002, 17. In this newspaper article, the organist of the Abbey of Solesmes is described as possessing "une basse capable de chanter des airs d'opéra, ou des chœurs russes orthodoxes, pas de se joindre aux voix solesmiennes ... 'Comme je ne peux pas chanter, je joue de l'orgue,' conclut-il." The cantor is also described: "Pas besoin de posséder une belle voix pour être chantre: il y a celles que l'on suit et celles qui font le lien avec les autres – le Père B. appartient à la seconde catégorie."

their aesthetic preferences, but leaving us, unfortunately, without precise information about the vocal technique of those singers. Thus, Isidore of Seville maintains that the voice needs to be appropriate to the holy religion, as opposed to those voices asociated with theatrical performance ("habens sonum et melodiam sanctae religionis congruentem non quae tragicam exclamet artem").[14] The eighth-century bishop Chrodegang of Metz, in his *Regula canonicorum*, describes the ideal image of a Carolingian cantor: his main duty is not to defile the gift received from God, but to adorn it by humility, chastity, and watchfulness. According to Chrodegang, the cantor should be distinguished and illustrious for his voice and his art.[15] He also says: "As for those who are less skilled in these arts, it is better that they should keep silent until they are better trained."[16] A clear need for vocal hierarchy permeates Chrodegang's words: "In other parts of the liturgy certain settings are used for highly trained voices, but in the recitation of the psalms it is better to avoid that sort of music."[17] It is obvious that Chrodegang is aware of a differentiation in the vocal skills needed for various layers of the liturgical repertory. According to him, the cantor should "guide the singing of the others."[18] A singer is chosen because of his vocal gift and, instead of hiding or defiling it, he is called upon to use the gift without falling into the trap of arrogance: "But if the cantors become proud, and refuse to pass on to others the skill which God has enabled them to acquire, they should be seriously disciplined, so that they may learn from their own correction to pass on to others the talent which they have received from God."[19] Chrodegang's concept of humility is not about withrawing the voice, but on the contrary, about using that talent as an inspiration for others.

Bernard de Clairvaux (1090/91–1153) encouraged his brethren, in a sermon on the Song of Songs, to sing the Office "not as lazy, sleepy or bored creatures, not sparing your voices, not cutting off half the words or omitting some altogether, nor with voices broken or weak, neither singing through the nose with an effeminate lisp, but bringing forth with virile resonance and affection voices worthy of the Holy Spirit."[20]

14 *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, 12, in *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C. M. Lawson, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXIII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 72.

15 *Regula Longior Canonicorum*, L: *De cantoribus*. See J. Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 260–61.

16 Ibid., 260.

17 Ibid., 261. Chrodegang's exact words behind this translation are: "vox excelsa" for the more demanding repertoires, and "vox vitanda" for the psalmody. In terms of vocal technique, the precise meaning of these terms remains unclear (cf. ibid., 209).

18 Ibid., 260. 19 Ibid., 261.

20 J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, eds., *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 7 vols. (Rome, 1957–74), vol. II: 66. English translation from: John Dyer, "The Voice in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. Joseph Potter (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 174.

What is Bernard trying to convey concerning humility? The monks are not supposed to be sparing the voice, but instead to sing with virile resonance – the humility seems to be expressed through the "voices worthy of the Holy Spirit," and not through "sparing the voice."

Bernard also reminds his brethren that the "melody ... should never obscure the sense of the words but enhance them ... "[21] Bernard's words might lead us to a common misunderstanding of the concept of vocal *humility*, i.e., that the voice should not stand in the way of the text. But the problem seems to be the opposite one: only a trained voice can properly convey the text, and efficiently pronounce and carry the vowels to make them understood and not randomly "sticking out" if used in different vocal registers. Only a trained voice can be used in the solo or *schola* repertoire without intruding on the concentration and understanding of the sacred text.

In his *Policraticus*, a major treatise on morals and behavior, presented to his patron Thomas à Becket in 1159, John of Salisbury describes singing which he has heard in church, probably during a period when he studied theology in Paris (1136–47):

> The very service of the Church is defiled, in that before the face of the Lord, in the very sanctuary of sanctuaries, they [the singers], showing off as it were, strive with the effeminate dalliance of wanton tones and musical phrasing to astound, enervate, and dwarf simple souls. When one hears the excessively caressing melodies of voices beginning, chiming in, carrying the air, dying away, rising again, and dominating, he may well believe that it is the song of the sirens and not the sound of men's voices; he may marvel at the flexibility of tone which neither the nightingale, the parrot, or any bird with greater range than these can rival. Such indeed is the ease of running up or down the scale, such the dividing or doubling of the notes and the repetitions of the phrases and their incorporation one by one; the high and very high notes are so tempered with low or somewhat low that one's very ears lose the ability to discriminate, and the mind, soothed by such sweetness, no longer has power to pass judgment upon what it hears. When this type of music is carried to the extreme it is more likely to stir lascivious sensations in the loins than devotion in the heart.[22]

We can see in this oft-quoted text that John is trying to describe a vocal sound and technique which is virtuosic and even extravagant. Aside from the author's obvious distaste for this kind of "effeminate" vocal display (and possibly the gestures which accompany it), he does grudgingly admire the

21 B. S. James, trans., *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (London: Burns & Oates, 1953), 502.
22 J. B. Pike, ed., *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers, Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the* Policraticus *of John of Salisbury* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), 32.

astonishing complexity of the vocal performance. We have in his text a unique witness to a thriving oral tradition of liturgical singing, much of which is probably based on traditional plainchant but obviously adds performative aspects which are perceived as unusual: extremes of range, articulation, ornament, expression and contrast, and a type of vocal elaboration which utterly charms and distracts the listener. John, a cosmopolitan cleric of his time, does not so much condemn the practice itself as he does the degree to which it is taken in this case. In a lesser-known part of the text, he continues: "But if it [this type of performance] be kept within reasonable limits it frees the mind from care, banishes worry about things temporal, and by imparting joy and peace and by inspiring a deep love for God draws souls to association with the angels."[23]

He pursues the idea of moderation and modesty to show that this type of virtuoso – even effeminate – singing is, in itself, not the real problem: "If you notice that any one of those [singers] somewhat addicted to such faults is at the same time dignified, moderate, and modest, be sure to count him among the strong men of our day. He is indeed a 'rara avis.'"[24]

Vocal virtuosity, even verging on extravagance, will be understood to be expressed by some or all of the following: passages of quickly sung notes; patterns and sequences of certain vocal gestures, repeated and possibly varied; faultless breath control and capacity; vocal ornaments and sound modifications; an ability to express the text with clarity and rhetorical power. We hear some of these described, and we see many of these notated, but we cannot know how they sounded. Yet we do know about the effect these soloistic performances had on listeners: sometimes arousing disturbing passions, and sometimes – depending on the singer's sense of modesty and dignity – calling forth a feeling which "draws souls to association with the angels."[25]

Virtuosity and Vocal Ambitus

Even a cursory examination of solo pieces in the liturgical chant repertoire reveals in some of them a large vocal range, similar to the range we would expect to find in the solo repertoires of later periods. Leaving aside a comparison of vocal techniques in these different genres, we notice one common factor: the range of one octave and a third in chants such as "Collegerunt pontifices"[26] covers the space which will necessarily demand from the singer a mastery of resonance modifications and an effective

23 Ibid. 24 Ibid., 33. 25 Ibid., 32. 26 Cf. *Graduale Triplex* (Solesmes, 1979), 135–36.

Example 7.1 "Collegerunt pontifices," *Graduale Triplex*, 135, with kind permission of Éditions de Solesmes



management of vowels in different registers (see a section from "Collegerunt pontifices," Example 7.1).

The advanced vocal ability called for in these examples is necessary to convey the text, to produce efficient and understandable singing in all registers, and to sing in a way which will not distract the listeners from the liturgical text and the *gravitas* of the Office. Again, any medieval author would agree with this necessity.

The *Ordo virtutum* ("Play of the Virtues," ca. 1151–52), by the German abbess and mystic Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179), is the earliest music-drama by a known author to have survived with its text and music intact. The overall vocal range is extensive and several of the musical numbers call for an advanced level of vocal ability in terms of articulation, breath control, and rhetorical sense. This

drama, together with the large repertoire of Hildegard's more highly melismatic *symphonia*, indicates to us the probable vocal gifts of the abbess and some of the "twenty noble girls of wealthy parentage" who moved with her to the Rupertsberg convent. The solo role of the *anima* is one of the most demanding vocal parts in the medieval monophonic repertoire and has a range of almost two octaves. Aside from the non-singing role of the *diabolus* and the small parts for patriarchs and prophets, possibly sung by men, the vocal forces called for are certainly female. The overall range is two octaves, divided among roles who sing in a relatively low tessitura (*caritas*, *contemptus mundi*), medium (*castitas*, *obedientia*), or high (*misericordia*, *victoria*); this variety of vocal ranges, in addition to the fact that some roles are vocally more demanding than others, would suit a community of trained singers of different ages and levels of experience.[27]

Among sources for music from the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, the thirteenth-century manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 628 Helmst. (*D-W* Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. [W_1]) is considered the earliest. In the tenth fascicle,[28] a unique collection of monophonic conductus and tropes of Sanctus and Agnus Dei attest to a tradition of extemporized solo elaborations which are highly virtuosic in their phrase-length and articulation, in their sequential modal patterns, and especially in their long descents of an octave and more.[29] It is impossible to transcribe these tropes into any kind of coherent rhythmic system. Imagining the soloist who sang these tropes and how they are contrasted with the simplicity of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei chants upon which they expand, we might well consider whether this is the written record of the extemporized troping of one highly gifted singer who distinguished himself through the constant repetition and variation of a particular set of vocal gestures (see Example 7.2). The similarities with Parisian monophonic conductus of the period are striking, but the virtuosity of the vocal dialect is unique.

Preparing the Voice

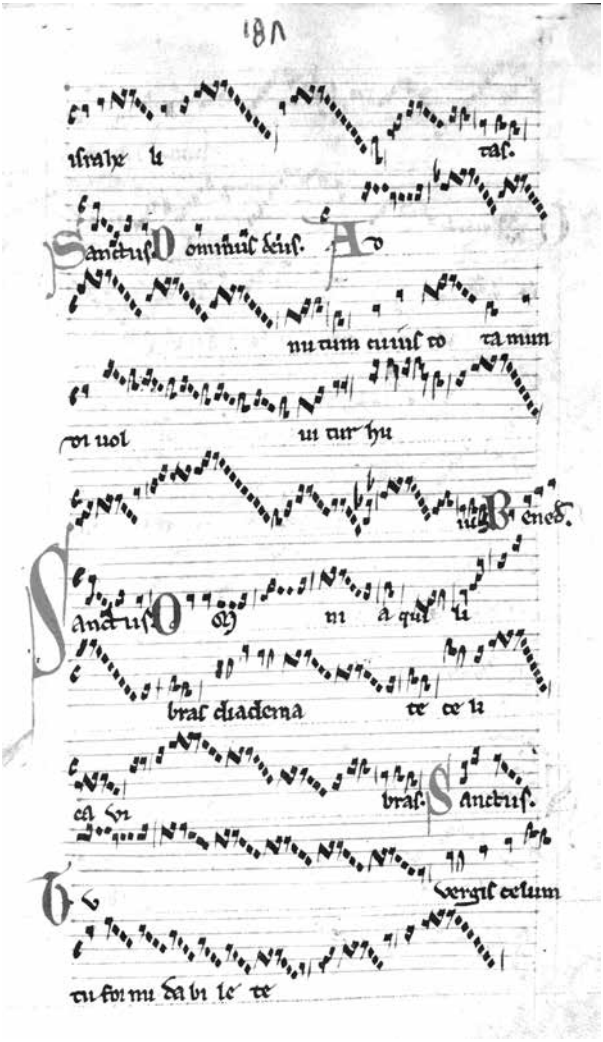
Before beginning to sing a difficult solo chant, the voice must be prepared to function optimally in both high and low registers. It has often been asked

27 Source: Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Handschrift 2 (*D-Wl* Hs. 2 "Riesenkodex"), fols. 478va–481vb. Facsimile: Hildegard von Bingen, *Lieder. Faksimile Riesenkodex (Hs. 2) der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden*, ed. L. Welker (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998).

28 Fascicle x (fols. 185r–191v).

29 Jan Cosart, ed., *Monophonic Tropes and Conductus of W_1: The Tenth Fascicle*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance, 38 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007).

Example 7.2 Monophonic Sanctus tropes from *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (W_1), fol. 187r (St. Andrews, Scotland, mid-thirteenth century), with kind permission of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel



why there are so few surviving records of ecclesiastical vocal exercises or other such pedagogical tools from before the late Middle Ages. And how did medieval singers "warm up" their voices before facing a long and arduous day of singing chant, or perhaps polyphony? The answer to this

question can be found by considering the daily liturgical life of a medieval singer, particularly a soloist in a monastic or cathedral choir. The general structure of the Offices, with antiphons, psalmody, responsories and other chants, may provide an answer: the night Office of Matins (which is the first singing after sleeping) brings the singers through a long and graded series of pieces in various modes and at various levels of difficulty, interspersed with pauses for listening to readings. By the time this long office is finished, in the earliest hours of dawn, the singer's voice and breathing are completely balanced and functioning optimally.

For the singers involved in the most demanding repertoires, there are records of medieval *exercitia vocum* as witnesses to careful work on vocal efficiency and range. Michel Huglo lists three examples of such vocal exercises for singers, found in German sources of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries.[30] A thirteenth-century source from Munich, Universitätsbibliothek (*D-Mu*), 8° Cod. 375 (Cim 13), originally from St. Georg im Schwarzwald, contains a vocalise on the text "Amen": the long melisma on the "a" vowel covers intervals and neumatic figures of more than two octaves. This remarkable exercise assumes an extremely skillful singer who can easily cover the large range while crossing some of his/her own vocal resonance modification passages (see Example 7.3).

Lost in Transcription: Notation and Vocal Style

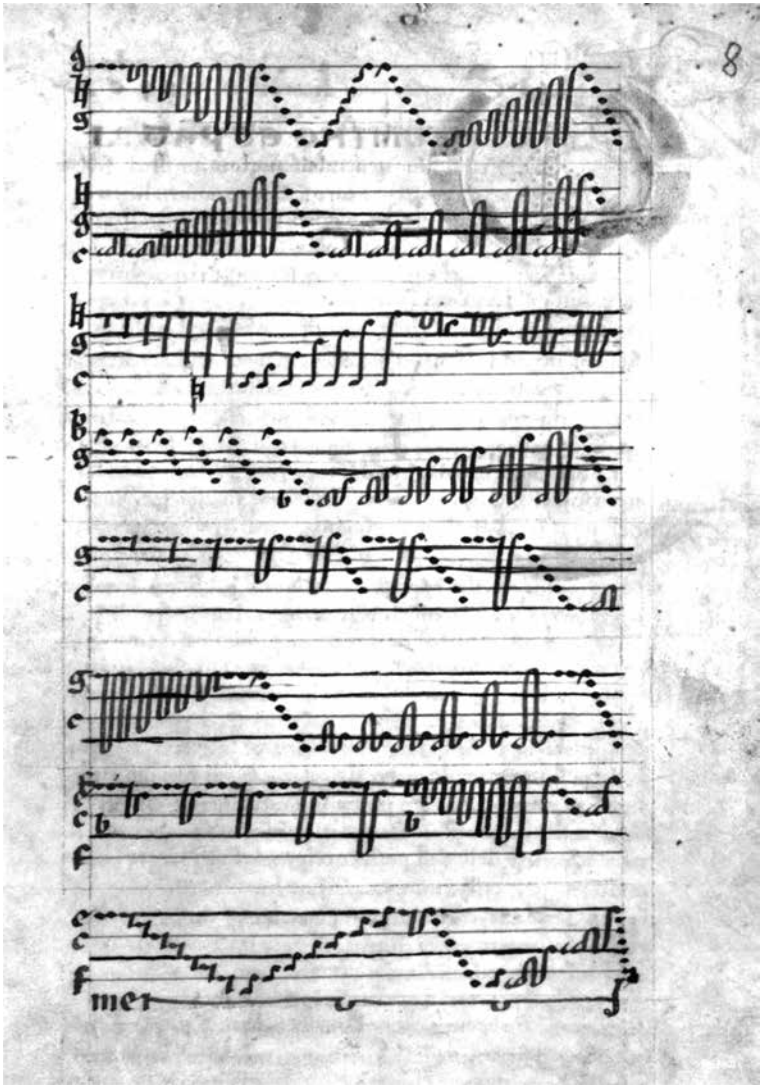
What does notation tell us about vocal style? In the case of medieval chant and early polyphony, our search for answers to this question is somehow compromised from the very beginning: it is difficult, if not almost impossible, for today's scholar to assume the responsibility of distinguishing among the roles of the "composer," the scribe and the singer, as perceived through the prism of a written manuscript page.

This issue contains a complex of questions:

- Does the scribe reflect the practice of a single performer?
- Does the scribe assist the singer, and if so, how?
- Does he prescribe a hypothetical, ideal performance?
- Or does he describe concrete performances he heard?
- Or does he concentrate more on his own notational and calligraphic skills, being less focused on describing/prescribing a performance?
- Might the scribe actually *be* the singer?
- On the other hand, is it sure that the singer can always read musical notation?

30 Michel Huglo, "Exercitia vocum," in J. Szendrei and D. Hiley (eds.), *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60 Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1995), p. 117–23.

Example 7.3 Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 8°Cod. 375 (Cim 13), fol. 8r, with kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Munich



It is also very difficult to assume that any of these suppositions might be isolated from other ones, and it is imaginable – and quite plausible – that each scribe reflects a mixture of the different elements cited above. Two types of documents could be taken into consideration in order to help us: notational

signals in the manuscripts themselves and texts from medieval authors who speak about notation and performance.

During the final decades of twentieth-century chant research, scholars who specialized in musical paleography and its links to interpretation considered some types of early neumatic notation as rhythmically more precise; they assigned a privileged role to the earliest neumes of the St. Gall and Metz families.[31] The discipline known as Gregorian semiology brought a new, enriching perspective to the understanding of the earliest neumes. However, different performance schools engendered by Gregorian semiology bear witness to the fact that each of them represents just one possible point of view, an interpretation of an interpretation.[32]

We will never be able to know the precise values which St. Gall scribes and cantors ascribed to such terms as *long* and *short*, *fast* and *slow*; how these values relate to each other, and how flexible they were in their symbiosis with the text of a given piece. And since medieval chant comes to us through a variety of neumatic styles, we shouldn't be trapped by a kind of St. Gall myopia, applying parameters from one notation to another, especially if we want to perform chant repertory from different medieval sources.

There is another danger in the study of relationships between notation and performance. Different graphic styles of medieval neumes should not lead us into generalizations about regional performing styles based on notational shapes: neumatic scripts using more liquescent shapes or *litterae significativae* may not necessarily try to convey a more expressive, fluid or rhythmically varied style of singing. They translate a scribal attention to these elements, but we have no means to confirm how these notational signals were translated into vocal sound. We should as well be cautious about generalizations based on the visual impression of a given neumatic script: for example, Aquitanian neumes with their detached dots on the parchment do not necessarily suggest a more "detached" vocal production than St. Gall neumes, written with more attention to connecting individual elements into longer neumatic gestures.[33] The geographic map of Europe shows that individual places or monasteries might have been isolated in using one neumatic script under the influence of some powerful monastic "mother house," and that they do not necessarily build monolithic regional divisions. This kind of

31 Dom Eugène Cardine, *Semiologia Gregoriana* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, 1968).
32 See Lance W. Brunner, "The Performance of Plainchant. Some Preliminary Observations of the New Era," in *Oral and Written Transmission in Chant*, ed. Thomas F. Kelly (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 99–111.
33 Cf. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 146–47.

thinking might mislead us into paradoxical conclusions that – for example – a smaller neumatic script might mean faster and more fluid singing than larger neumes written with wider pens, etc.

While taking into account the need for caution and flexibility in the interpretation of the delicate nuances of the medieval notation, it is nevertheless important to mention some concrete notational signals which may inform us about the importance given by the scribes to some particular vocal gestures: manuscripts of the St. Gall tradition (for example St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 359 and 339; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 121), and some Messine witnesses as well (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 239, for example) contain abundant information in that regard. Neumatic shapes can be altered, symbols or letters can be added to the basic neume shapes, and constituent elements of a neume can be graphically separated in order to suggest a different reading. Let us mention some of these practices:

Significative letters (*Litterae significativae)*[34] can be added to the neumes to give supplementary indications to the meaning of the neumes and affect the rhythm, pitch or manner of their execution. Although some other neumatic families can also contain such indications, they are mostly used in St. Gall and Messine manuscripts in the earliest centuries of musical notation. Still, their precise meanings remain unclear, since it is impossible to know how these indications relate to one another: for example, the exact meaning of the letter *m* (*mediocriter*), or the length of a note accompanied by the letter *t* (*tenete*, hold) as compared to a note written with the letter *c* (*celeriter*, quickly).

Liquescent neumes are generally added to the last note of a syllable in cases where diphthongs and certain other consonants occur in the text (for instance if the liquid consonants are succeeded by another consonant),[35] to indicate a difference in the vocal articulation and the smooth transition to the next pitch. In this context, the practice of using special neume shapes is widespread in different regional neumatic families.

34 "Significative Letters," Grove Music Online; M. C. Billecoqc, "Lettres ajoutées à la notation neumatique du codex 239 de Laon," *Études grégoriennes* 17 (1978), 7–144; Jacques Froger: "L'épître de Notker sur les 'lettres significatives,'" *Études grégoriennes* 5 (1962), 23–72.

35 "Liquescent," Grove Music Online; J. B. Göschl, *Semiologische Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der gregorianischen Liqueszenz. Der isolierte dreistufige Epiphonus praepunctis. Ein Sonderproblem des Liqueszenzforschung* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlishen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1980), 31–81; David Hiley, "The Plica and Liquescence," in *Gordon Athol Anderson, 1929–1981, in memoriam; von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. L. A. Dittmer (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 379–92; Andreas Haug, "Zur Interpretation der Liqueszenzneumen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993), 85–100.

Nevertheless, manuscripts vary in their use of liquescent neumes, some (especially Beneventan manuscripts[36]) being extremely generous in their different liquescent shapes. This should not surprise us: since the phenomenon of liquescence is tightly and organically linked to the pronunciation of Latin, it is logical that their use emanates from the relationship between the pronunciation of Latin and the local vernacular language of a given region. Even medieval authors like Guido of Arezzo stress such a flexibility in performance: "At many points notes 'liquesce,' like the liquid letters, so that the interval from one note to another is begun with a smooth glide and does not appear to have a stopping place en route ... If you wish to perform the note more fully and not make it liquesce, no harm is done; indeed, it is often more pleasing."[37] A thirteenth-century anonymous treatise, *Metrologus*, discusses and analyzes Guido's passages about liquescent neumes. According to the author of *Metrologus*, the way of performing the gliding liquescent neumes can be different depending even on the syllable or the melodic direction.[38]

Some twentieth-century authors have suggested ways of singing liquescent neumes: it is significant that some of them were somehow influenced by their own mother tongue in their suggestions of delivery of these neumes,[39] particularly in the cases of authors like Freistedt (German) and Mocquereau (French).[40] This seems only logical since Latin pronunciation was always, today as in the Middle Ages, influenced by the mother tongue of each speaker.

Some neumatic forms like *quilisma*, *oriscus*, *tristropha* or other special signs might also suggest a particular kind of vocal articulation.[41] They are used by different neumatic traditions, although manuscripts tend to reduce the

36 Cf. R. J. Hesbert, "Etude sur la notation bénéventaine," *Le codex VI.34 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, Paléographie musicale, vol. XV (Solesmes, 1953), 145–51; 160–61; R. Fischer, "Die rhythmische Aussage von Benevento 40," *Benevento Biblioteca Captolare 40. Graduale*, Codices Gregoriani I (Padova: La Linea Editrice, 1991), IX–XII; Thomas F. Kelly, *Les témoins manuscrits du chant bénéventain*, Paléographie Musicale, vol. XXI (Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1992). Katarína Livljanic, ed., *Montecassíno Archivio dell' Abbazía, ms. 542. Antiphonaire (12cs.)*, Paléographie Musicale, vol. XXII (Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 2014); Thomas F. Kelly and Matthew Peattie, eds, *The Music of the Beneventan Rite*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, vol. IX (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 2016).

37 Guido d'Arezzo, *Micrologus*, chapter 15. Cf. *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, ed. W. Babb, 72–73.

38 Joseph S. van Waesberghe, ed., *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini*, Musicologica medii aevi I (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1957), 89. Cf. English translation of certain excerpts in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 48.

39 See discussions about twentieth-century authors and their interpretations of liquescent neumes in J. B. Göschl, *Semiologische Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der gregorianischen Liqueszenz*, 31–81; D. Hiley, "The Plica and Liquescence," 381–82; and A. Haug, "Zur Interpretation der Liqueszenzneumen."

40 H. Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten des gregorianischen Chorals: Ein Beitrag zur Notationskunde* (Fribourg, 1929), 52–81; A. Mocquereau, "Neumes-accents liquescents ou semi-vocaux," in *Le réponsgraduel Justus ut Palma*, Paléographie Musicale, 1st ser., vol. II (Solesmes, 1891), 37–86. Mocquereau, for instance, suggested the addition of an extra syllable, similar to a French "e muet," in certain liquescent contexts.

41 Hiley, "Quilisma," Grove Music Online; Hiley and J. Szendrei, "Notation, §III, 1: History of Western Notation: Plainchant," Grove Music Online.

Example 7.4 Gradual "Exsultabunt sancti." Verse "Cantate Domino." *Graduale Triplex*, 456, including neumes from St. Gall Cantatorium, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek (*CH-SGs*), cod. sang. 359 and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale (*F-LA*) 239, with kind permission of Éditions de Solesmes



usage of these signs as the adiastematic and staffless notation transforms into a more diastematic notation on the lines of a staff.

Different performance schools of the twentieth century have approached these notational symbols in various ways,[42] trying sometimes to reflect the writings of medieval theorists. For instance, Aurelianus Reomensis describes a particular vocal production as *inflexione tremula*,[43] as he mentions the verse *Cantate Domino canticum novum* of the gradual "Exsultabunt sancti." In the word *canticum*, the first syllable indeed twice contains a quilisma (see Example 7.4).[44]

As Aurelianus describes the psalm tone for the seventh-mode introits, he mentions that the penultimate syllable of the doxology should be sung with a *terna percussione* (threefold pulsation) which the St. Gall scribe writes using a *tristropha* (see example 7.5).[45]

42 Brunner, "The Performance of Plainchant," 99–111.
43 Aurelian of Reome, *The Discipline of Music*, trans. J. Ponte (Colorado College Music Press, 1968), 34. See also Leo Treitler, "The 'Unwritten' and 'Written Transmission' of Medieval Chant and the Start-Up of Musical Notation," *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992), 191.
44 *Graduale Triplex*, 456. 45 Ibid., 264.

Example 7.5 Psalm verse for the introit "Adorate Deum." *Graduale Triplex*, 264, including neumes from Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln (*D-E*) Musikbibliothek 121, with kind permission of Éditions de Solesmes



What the nature, speed and vocal sound of this pulsation might entail remain unclear,[46] and different singers would probably propose various ways to convey it vocally according to their vocal cultures and backgrounds. This issue of vocal pulsation may lead us to consider the usage and type of "vibrato" in medieval chant.

For instance, what can we learn about vocal vibration from the late eleventh-century treatise *Commentarius in Micrologum*, by an anonymous author who mentions *tremula* (a neume signifying "now a greater, now a lesser impulse of the voice, as if trembling") and *morula* ("uniform pulses of the voice")?[47] He does not indicate the precise degree of vibration. We cannot conclude from his description if these neumes are reserved only for some particular situations or whether they vary according to different chant communities.

In the late thirteenth century Jerome of Moravia writes, in his *Tractatus de musica*, about the practice of using a slight vibration (*procellaris*). Speaking of some French singers he mentions that they "generally reject the use of the *procellares*, claiming that all peoples using it have trembling voices."[48]

46 Another well-known indication from Aurelianus mentions the possibility of a vocal pulsation in a "threefold swift beat like the beating hand." Aurelian of Reome, *The Discipline of Music*, 49.

47 Van Waesberghe, ed., *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini*, 149. Cf. English translation in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 54.

48 Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 2 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935), 187. For English translation cf. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 69.

If we were to show a passage of one of these medieval authors to different singers today, each of them would probably read into it something that corresponds to his or her own vocal culture. Each singer would propose a different vocal rendering of the same medieval description, since the question of vibrato depends so much on each vocal tradition, on the habitual degree of vibrato used and tolerated in different musical cultures. To this should be added the fact that all singing voices are modulated in pitch or intensity to some extent, even if we do not refer to this modulated tone as a "vibrato." Attempting to sing with a truly "straight tone" not only requires considerable effort, but can be vocally inefficient in relation to the vowels in different registers and may not serve the understanding of the text.

Another question that we might legitimately ask at the end of this section: were medieval singers always able to read and use musical notation? For the members of a *schola cantorum* the learning process was taking place in the context of oral transmission, assisted with the written tradition to different degrees (varying according to different places and centuries).[49] In that perspective, the musical notation which we read today on the pages of medieval manuscripts should be understood more as a reflection of a society deeply rooted in orality. Some aspects of the oral tradition are perhaps more faithfully translated into notation than others, but it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to distinguish clearly among them. The degree to which notational symbols are faithful to vocal gestures, and whether all symbols are faithful to the same degree, unfortunately remains unclear.

Voice as Vehicle of Text

How can we possibly speak about any vocal technique – Eastern or Western – without including a consideration of the specific language which is sung? Language is, after all, at the root of all vocal art, and the sound of a singer's voice is not, even in the most melismatic styles, divorced from the words being sung, the vowels and colors which are unique to each community. The vocal style of a medieval Catalan singer, for instance, will be intimately linked with the sounds of Catalan (or Latin) as spoken by that singer and his/her community and audience. If we are willing to recognize the primacy of language in medieval vocal music, then we will not be satisfied with a merely superficial search for the "correct" pronunciation of medieval texts.

49 About oral transmission and the role of memory in medieval chant transmission see: Leo Treitler, "The 'Unwritten' and 'Written Transmission'"; Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Peter Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

The human singing voice is much more than its placement, articulations, and ornaments; similarly, the sound and melody of language contains a wealth of subtlety in color, inflection, and dialects.

Language has long been the elephant in the room during any discussion of medieval singing. The role and function of language is often neglected by performers in favor of a consideration of hypothetical historical pronunciations, which tend to dominate singers' perceptions of how medieval languages (especially Latin) were sung. But most decisions about pronunciation in the period before 1250 are necessarily speculative, based on limited sources and minimal hard evidence.[50] In a world such as ours, where standardized national languages dominate, it is difficult for us to imagine a Europe of a multitude of spoken dialects and very little or no access to writing.

Within any given medieval chant community we can assume a rather high degree of agreement about the ways language is understood, pronounced, and vocalized. Not only will the vowels and consonants be uniform, but the manner in which texts are articulated and shaped in singing will attest to a common practice and to years of singing together on a daily basis. This agreement, with its uniformity of vowel sound and articulation, brings with it an effortless modal coherence and, in polyphony, perfect tuning of intervals.

Apart from popular devotional song and some vernacular insertions in liturgical drama, the music of medieval chant communities was sung in Latin, a language which was often learned at an early age but yet had the distinction of being no singer's true mother tongue.[51] This means that Latin was always learned within each chant community (principally monasteries and cathedral schools) and therefore certainly had a remarkable degree of uniformity as it was sung. From a modern perspective, we speak of Latin as it might have been pronounced by "French" or "German" singers, but the reality was more varied and complex.[52] For example, in the geographical area we now call France, more than a hundred different regional languages and dialects were spoken until well into the nineteenth century, and the medieval precursor of modern French, *langue d'oïl*, was itself a minority language spoken in several

50 See Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin* (Oxford: The Author, 1990) and McGee, ed., *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

51 Cf. Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 197.

52 Ibidem, 312 for an example of the different varieties of Latin heard in a meeting of Frankish and Roman singers.

dialects in the twelfth century.[53] And in Paris itself one would have heard many versions of the local dialect, as well as the diverse accents and colors of the Latin spoken by the multitude of foreign students attending lectures at the flourishing schools of the incipient university. Anyone who has heard the varieties of English spoken in a crowded international airport today will have some idea of Latin as it was spoken – and abused – in Paris and other medieval cosmopolitan centers.

Conclusion

It should not come as a surprise that our article contains many more questions than answers; and even the few answers we propose cannot be considered definitive. In musicological study it is the scholar who defines the relationship between written sources and our understanding of their meaning; but in the study of the historical singing voice, the dynamic of this relationship is made more complex by the presence of an actual laboratory: the singing voices of today. That laboratory is a living, breathing, evolving place where sounds are produced, heard, and evaluated in relation to ideas and the words – both medieval and modern – which describe them.

If our comments seem permeated by phrases such as "impossible to know," it is not because of pessimism or negativity, but rather because we recognize the three-way nature of this relationship – text, scholar, and singer – in which no one member of the *ménage à trois* can function without the other two. Our access to the truest informants, the medieval singers themselves, remains limited to texts and musical notation, even if those singers were sometimes skeptical of the authority of notation,[54] an authority which we must accept today. The rupture of a myriad of medieval oral traditions has imposed a cruel silence on us which we can only break by bringing our scholarly work into the resounding spaces of the vocal laboratory itself.

It is indeed "impossible to know" many things about a silent voice described with words, and whose notational traces are at best a compromise, but in giving our own voices to medieval singers we might once again inhabit their mysterious and eloquent silence.

53 For a useful overview of French identity and the geography of language, see G. Robb, *The Discovery of France: A Historical Geography* (New York: Norton, 2007), 50–70.

54 "But, to this point, a chant can only be imperfectly recognised by these signs, nor can anyone learn a chant from it in solitude; it is necessary that the music be frequently heard from another and learned through long practice ..." From Page, *The Summa Musicae: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 66.

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· 8 ·

Notation I

THOMAS FORREST KELLY

It is a remarkable conceptual leap to imagine that one could depict sound, that music might be represented by marks on parchment – marks that would facilitate the reproduction of that music at another time and place. The importance of such a recording device is difficult to overestimate. Almost like writing itself, which allows spoken sound to be recorded and reproduced, notation allows for the transfer of music through time and space.

The music-writing of the Middle Ages is a technological breakthrough that defines the future history of music. Not many cultures in the world have developed, or needed, musical notation. Along with the development of polyphony – another triumph or disaster of the Middle Ages – the creation and use of musical notation is what gives us the beginnings of our musical history, and defines a large part of the nature of that history.

The earliest Western notations are of two types: pitches only and melodic direction only; one, found in treatises, is for people who will not sing but study, and another, found in chant-books, is for people who will sing, but who already know the pitches. The form of the notation is related to its purpose.

Notation from theoretical writings as early as the ninth century needs to make certain points about harmony, and therefore seeks to be absolutely clear about the notes being discussed: these notations attempt to portray the individual sounds. The notation in general use by singers of liturgical chant is the system that is widespread, practical, and at the heart of the Western musical experiment. It is a system that represents not notes, but melodies.

Notation for Singers

One characteristic of the new music-writing was its ubiquity. From the late ninth and early tenth centuries, in almost all corners of Europe, related versions of musical notation appeared, as a means of recording liturgical chant for singers.

Figure 8.1 shows a page of musical notation from a manuscript of St. Gallen written about 1000 CE. It is closely related in its basic concepts

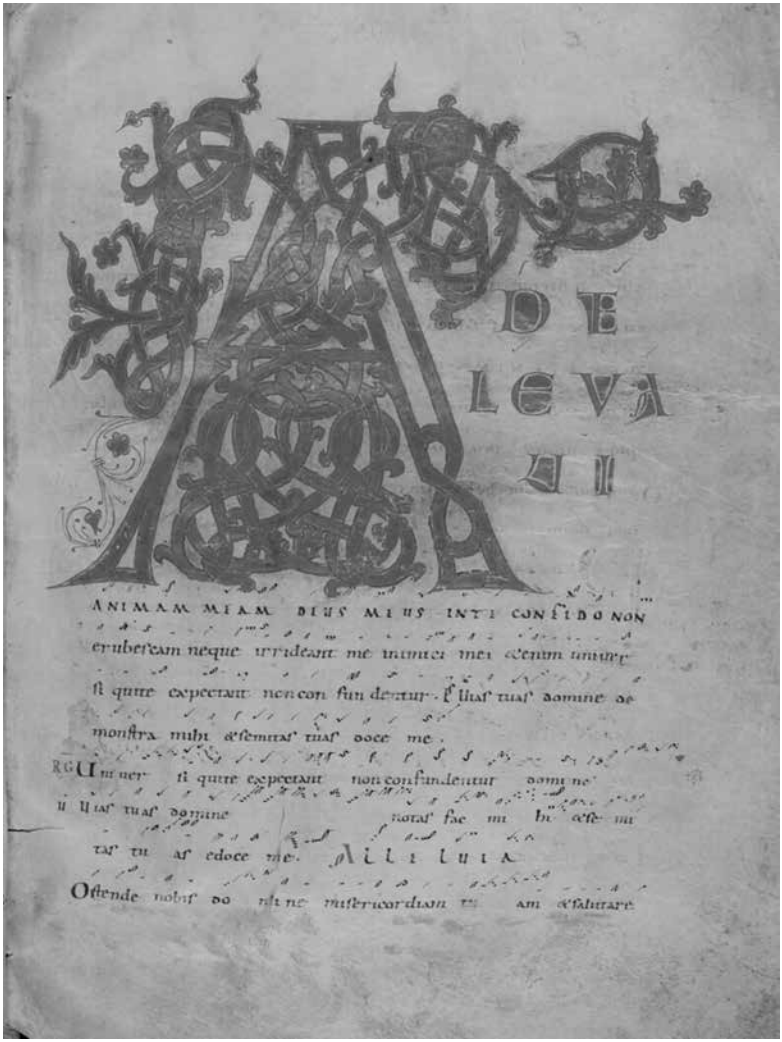


Figure 8.1 Musical notation from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis (*CH-SGs* cod. sang.) 339, fol. 33

to many other families of notation. One sign from this musical notation is shown in Figure 8.2(a). This is the music for a particular syllable of the Latin text (musical notation like this tends to connect the notes of a single syllable); this sign designates a three-note ascending figure. The sign tells

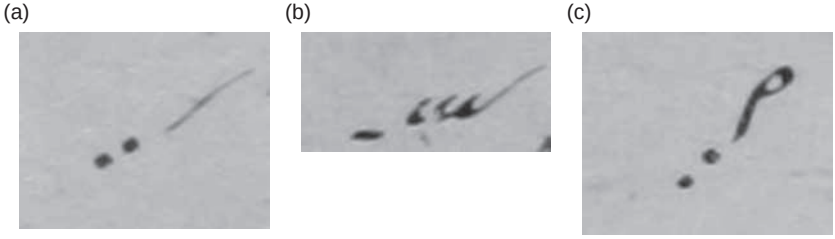


Figure 8.2 *CH-SGs* cod. sang. 339: three details

us how many notes, and the melodic shape, but not what the specific notes are.

This same sign can have various forms, each of which says something about how to sing the three notes. Figure 8.2(b) shows a second version, whose first two notes are involved in a "quilisma," an ornamental feature that requires a wavering of the voice. The first two notes are combined in a wavering sort of sign made of a series of connected c-shaped curves – it *looks* like a wavering.

A third version of the same sign is shown in Figure 8.2(c); this sign, too, designates a three-note ascending figure, here with no quilisma; but here the last and highest note finishes with a descending flourish indicating a "liquescence." (A liquescence is the sound of the end of a syllable if the mouth has to move: to make a nasal "n" or "m" ("Amen"), for example, or a change of vowel on a diphthong (au, eu, etc.: "cau-sa"), or a semivowel (y, j, etc.: "alleluj-a), or apparently anything, like a final consonant, that causes a closure of the syllable.

This notation is full of information useful for its singer: it indicates how many notes are sung to this syllable, it reminds the singer of the shape of the melody, and it gives reminders about details of performance. It does not – nor does it intend to – give the individual pitches of the notes.

Some basic principles are noticeable in this example, and they are at the foundation of our Western musical system. First, that this is music meant to go with words; and second, that the basic unit of music-writing is not the note but the syllable.

This notation arose in the context of liturgical music, whence its intimate relationship with a text. Indeed, the writing of the words of a song is in itself a kind of musical notation. We still use this form of notation sometimes; for reminding us of songs we know; for describing moments in songs where we can identify the music by showing its words. Our earliest surviving chant-books, of the eighth and ninth centuries, consist of texts only (they are

edited by René-Jean Hesbert in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*.) These are books of chant – the same chants that will later receive the first notations. There are thousands of chants that get sung in the course of a year in a monastery or cathedral, and a book that helps remember them would surely be useful to singers – it would be a songbook, even when it contains no additional musical signs.

The concept of writing words was completely entrenched in the habits of the singers well before they began to think of musical notation. The words were written left to right across the page, one line following another down the page, and that is what the musical notation did, since it was designed to accompany the words.

Musical notation was devised with *written* words in mind. Notation was not, at its origin, meant to appear by itself; it was in a sense a description of what happens to the words, and the words are always present. (There is no Western notation of purely instrumental music that I know of before about the fourteenth century, some five centuries later.)

But as for the notation, it is tied, not to letters, not to words, not to sentences, but to *syllables*. This is the second of the two essential principles. It seems to be the most important rule of musical notation, never to be violated, and it continued in force until the twentieth century. You must lift the pen in order to begin the music for a new syllable. There are other reasons for lifting the pen, too, but even though there is a tendency to group notes together into gestures, they are always separated into syllabic groups.

Notation for Theorists

Other kinds of notation than the neumatic notation introduced above can readily be imagined; a variety of systems exist in other cultures, and other notations were put into limited practice in the Middle Ages. Tablatures – systems that give directions for actions: which string to pluck, which finger holes to cover – have been used variously, including an ancient Greek instrumental notation. Medieval notations that give direction and distance, like that of Hermannus of Reichenau mentioned later, could be thought of as a sort of tablature, in which it is not so much the music, but the action, that is represented.

Certain medieval notations, some of them very early, are designed to allow for a specification of pitch, something that the neumatic notation did not provide. Such notations are found mostly in technical writing about music, where demonstrations often require specifying pitch, and pointing to specific

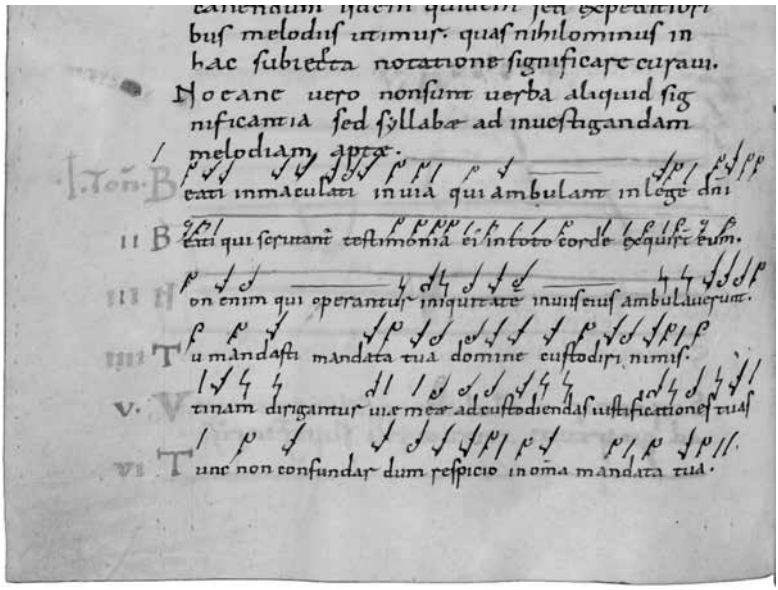


Figure 8.3 Daseian notation from *Musica enchiriadis* in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Varia 1 (*D-BAs*, var. 1), fol. 45v. The psalm "Beati immaculati" is notated by a series of signs, each of which represents a pitch. Blank spaces indicate that a pitch is repeated for successive syllables

musical places without assuming a perfect musical memory on the part of the reader.

The Dasia notation, found in the Enchiriadis group of treatises, uses a Greek sign (*prosōdia daseia*, used to indicate aspiration of initial vowels), and its rotations, to represent the pitches of a scale of tones and semitones defined in the treatises. The use of a series of spaces, each representing a pitch, on which syllables could be written, was another means of showing the pitches of syllables; but it took up enormous amounts of space and was mostly useful for demonstrations using simple melodies.[1] And various forms of alphabetic notations (continuous, or repeating by tetrachord or octave) have been used to represent the notes of scales. These include the

1 On this notation see Nancy Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren von Boethius bis zum 12. Jahrhundert," trans. Gudrun Tillmann-Budde, in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie, 4: Die Lehre von einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, ed. Thomas Ertelet and Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 293–623 at 305–16.

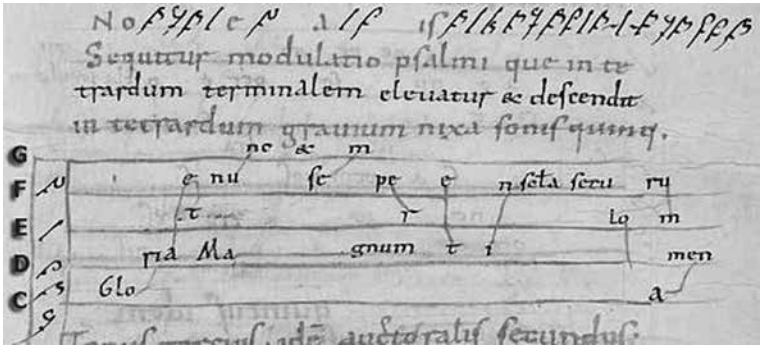


Figure 8.4 Notation using spaces to represent pitch (the spaces are labeled by Dasia signs at left). The *Musica enchiriadis* demonstrates the melody for a psalm tone (*D-BAs*, var. 1, fol. 44)

Greek-letter notation of Hucbald, the alphabet of Odorannus of Sens, and the series used in the tonary of Dijon (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196).[2] All are highly useful for their purposes, but none of those systems performed the functions needed by the singers of the great repertory of Latin liturgical music.

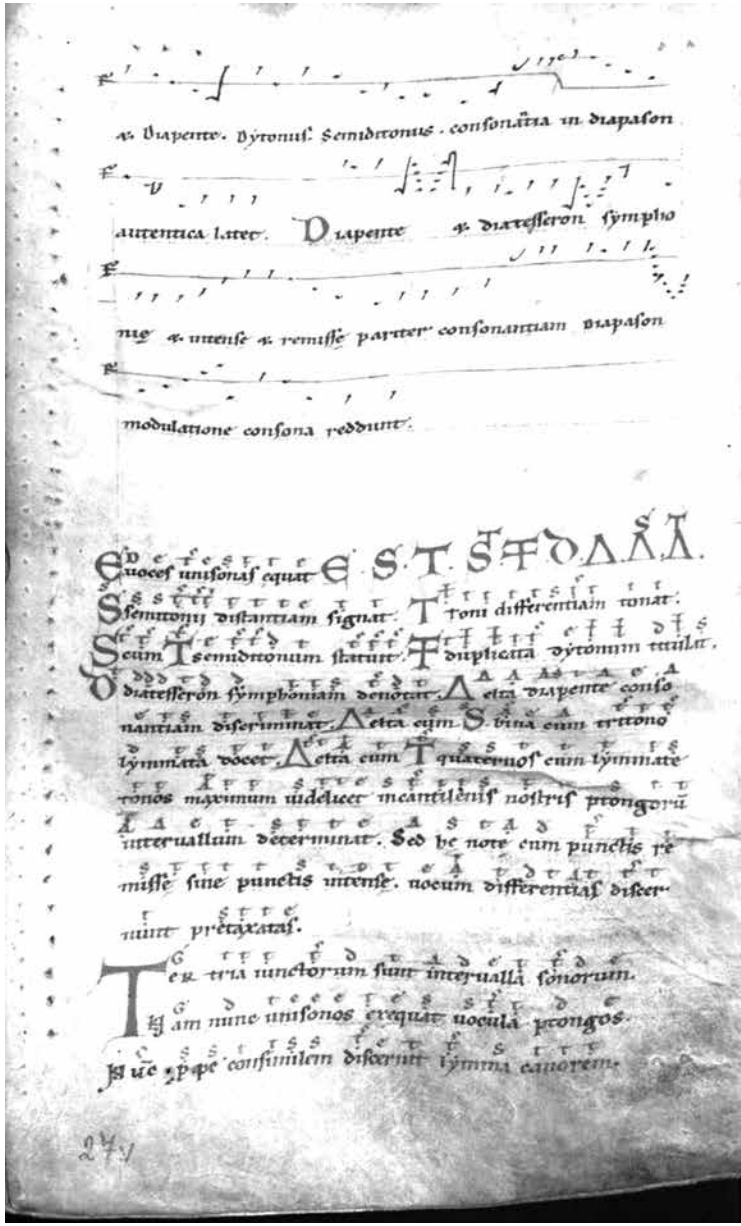
Notation of Motion

One approach to notation is seen in those systems that indicate, not the individual notes, but the action needed to reach the next sound event – the notation of the motion, the distance, the action, rather than of the sound itself (in the sense that they give instructions, such notations could be considered a form of tablature).

One form of such notation is used in the Byzantine Church; the notational signs give an indication of distance to the next note; this is very useful as long as the singer keeps careful track of present position. A similar notation was occasionally used in the West, using signs for tones, semitones, and unison, along with indications of direction, such as that of Hermannus of Reichenau (see Figure 8.5).

Those who study medieval tropes and sequences know the story of Notker of St. Gall, who invented texts to be sung to the *longissimae melodiae* that he had such trouble remembering (he evidently relied only on his memory).

2 On various letter notations, see ibid., 549–80.


Diapente. Dytonus. Semiditonus. consonantia in diapason
authentica latet. Diapente. diatesseron. symphonia
nig. mense. remisse. pariter consonantiam diapason
modulatione consona reddunt.
Vocem unisonas equat
Semitonij distantiam signat
Toni differentiam tonat.
Cum semiditonum statuit
Diplicata dytonum tenuat.
Diatesseron symphoniam denotat
Cetera diapente conso
nantiam discriminat.
Cetera cum
Cetera cum
Cetera cum

Notker reports that his teacher Iso, on seeing Notker's first efforts, said that "The individual motions of the melody should receive separate syllables." Iso seems to have been describing not notes, but motions, *motus*, to the great poet of the early sequence.[3] Notker revised his plan, and produced some splendid language matching syllables to melodies. He is using a text to record a melody – his sequences are a sort of musical notation.

Indeed there is, among the early systems of neumatic notation, one that stands out for its emphasis on motion. This is the notation called Paleofrankish, which uses signs to connect the locations of successive sounds; the motion between sounds seems to be the principle, not so much the marks for the sounds themselves.[4] The importance of this distinction will be clearer after an exposition of the principles of medieval neumatic writing.

The Neumes and Their Varieties

The signs of practical notation in the earlier Middle Ages are called neumes (from *neuma*, gesture, or *pneuma*, breath – or perhaps, happily, from both). An explication of them might begin with a systematic, if unhistorical, description, and then continue with issues of regional styles, chronology, and origins.

Neumes generally proceed from the use of a sign to indicate a note. In almost all systems, two signs, point and line, punctum and virga, are used to indicate lower and higher notes. Such signs are of relatively little value as individual signs: here is an example, from the antiphoner of Hartker (St. Gallen, Stiftbibliothek MS 390–391, ca. 1000):

Caption for Figure 8.5 (cont.)

intervals (e = unison, s = semitone, t = tone, t^s = minor third, t^t = major third, etc.) indicate the distance to the next note, downward intervals being indicated by a dot below the sign. The system has the advantage of requiring little space, and the risk that if the singer loses track it may be impossible to recover. (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung 2502 [*A-Wn* 2502], fol. 27v)

3 Notker's text is accessible in Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols. (Bern: Francke, 1948), II: 8–10, 160. English translation in Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 1–2; a careful study of the Latin text is Andreas Haug, "Re-Reading Notker's Preface," in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Cannata et al. (Madison, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 65–80.

4 On Paleofrankish notation, see Jacques Hourlier and Michel Huglo, "La notation paléofranque," *Études grégoriennes* 2 (1957), 212–19. See also S. Rankin, "Carolingian Music," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*., ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 274–316 at 302.

/ /– / – / / –
Respice et exaudi me.

From this diplomatic facsimile one understands the two basic principles that govern this system: time moves from left to right, and height above the text represents higher pitch – given that a *virga* (rod, twig) is by its nature taller than a *punctum* (point) or a *tractulus* (short horizontal mark). In fact, in the Hartker manuscript (p. 98), the second and the penultimate virgae extend higher and are slightly longer than the ones that precede them, evidence of a wish to indicate higher pitch.

Combination of tractulus and virga in cases where a syllable bears more than one note, or where for other reasons notes are grouped together, retains a sense of vertical space as representative of pitch. Figure 8.6 shows how the signs are combined into multi-note neumes.

In principle these groups can be elongated, by adding additional notes, to make neumes as long as the syllable lasts. Long melismas can be easily expressed by assembling groups of these neumes.

In fact there is a variety of regional families of notations of this early kind, dating from the late ninth century through the eleventh; they are all based on general principles we have just seen, derived from the basic idea of reading: namely that left to right represents time; that up and down equal pitch; and that compound signs indicate something about direction and about individual notes.

But they all do it a bit differently, and in the differences are to be found some very interesting conceptual ideas about what music actually is, about how a melody is made, about how singing works.

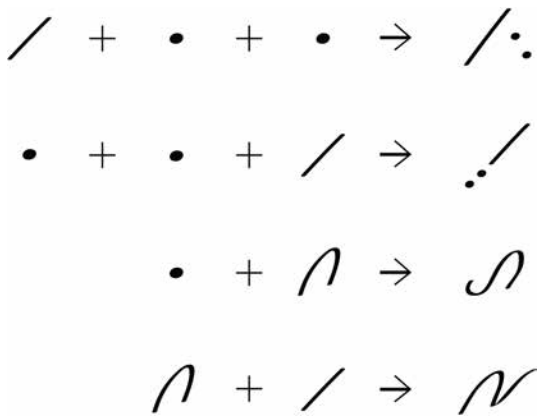


Figure 8.6 Punctum and virga as elements of multi-note neumes

From the earliest practical music-writing that survives to us, the aim is to allow a singer to recall to memory a melody already learned. It is clearly not the intention of these notations to supply the information needed to "read" a melody that the singer does not already know. Nevertheless, the notation, in its refinement and elegance, seems to have been entirely adequate for its purposes.

These purposes may have been more than one. Recalling a melody is surely one aim; but equally important in many cases may be not so much the melody as how that melody is performed. All early notations to some extent, and some of them to a great extent, include information about nuance of performance. A number of special neumes indicate something about sound.

The *liquescence*, as we have seen, is the phenomenon of the changing sound at the end of a syllable, when the syllable ends with a liquid ("AL-leluia"), a diphthong or semivowel ("AlleLUI-a"), or almost any consonant ("et"); it is a special form of an ordinary neume that acknowledges the closing down of the vowel sound; when it is used, the liquescence always applies only to the last note of a syllable.

There are certain signs in the early neumes that surely include some performance indication. The *quilisma* is a wavering note, usually part of an ascending three-note sequence . The *pressus* is the coming together of two notes at the same pitch, which seems to involve some sort of lengthening and vibrating, rather than a simple repetition. The *oriscus*, rather mysterious both as to its name and its significance, seems to be some sort of light note usually attached to another one. The *trigon*, Greek for triangle, represents three notes of which, whatever the trigon's appearance, the first two are often at the same pitch and the third is lower: since there are other ways of writing such a group, the trigon must have some particular sound, yet to be discovered.

And there are other interesting special signs, with wonderful medieval names (*virga strata*, *pes quassus*, *apostropha*) that make it clear that there is a great deal of finesse involved in singing, and in writing, this music.

In addition to special sounds, there are signs that give indications of rhythm. In the tradition of the monastery of St. Gall, there are ways of indicating the relative weight, or length, of notes (see Figure 8.7). A rising two-note neume (*pes*) is written differently depending on whether one or both notes are heavy or light ("l" and "h" indicate "light" and "heavy" [or "loud," or "long"?]); it is not clear how the distinction was made in performance. Similar variations are found for three-note descending neumes, and for others as well.

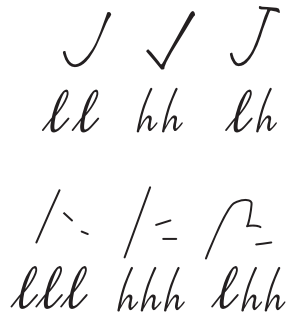


Figure 8.7 Relative weights as indicated in St. Gall notation

The relative weight of an individual element can be marked in several ways:

- by the shape itself: an angled shape rather than a rounded one affecting the first note
- by changing a punctum into a little dash (a *tractulus*);
- by adding a mark, called an *episema*, to the note in question.

There are other signs, too, that are sometimes used to indicate facts about performance. Letters are sometimes added among the neumes, telling the performer things that she or he needs to know, sometimes about melody, sometimes about other aspects of performance. They include:

a (*augete*) = raise, enlarge (louder? higher?)
c (*celeriter* or *cito*) = fast
fr (*cum fragore*) = noisy (loud?)
t (*tenete* or *trahete*) = hold (make the note longer?)
x (*expectate*) = wait
s (*sursum*) = this is higher than one might expect
iu (*iusum*) = this is lower than one might expect.

Consider the long melisma on "immola-" in Figure 8.8, from a tenth-century manuscript of St. Gall: these are the signs in order from the beginning of the line: tractulus, virga (with an episema, giving it weight), pes (two notes rising), climacus (three notes down, virga punctum punctum), climacus with weight on the third note, two apostrophas, clivis (two notes down), virga with episema, climacus, climacus with weighted third note. Later in the line there

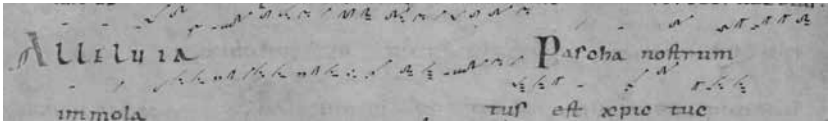


Figure 8.8 *CH-SGs* cod. sang. 339, p. 76. The Easter Alleluia "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus" (detail). The neumes on the second line are discussed in the text

is a trigon, a salicus (three notes up with the middle one an oriscus), a quilisma, etc.

This notation, like many others of the earliest ones, has a remarkable elegance and finesse that can give us a sense of the sound of early medieval chant.

The notation of rhythmic finesse, known in some of its aspects for a long time, was closely observed in the scholarship of Dom Eugène Cardine and others, and is clearest in some of the early notations.[5] The notation of St. Gall, just discussed, is matched in expressive detail by the notation of the manuscript *F-LA* 239 (and a few other manuscripts of this type, variously called Laon notation, or Messine, or Lothringian). It is characterized by the lack of a virga, and the hook-shaped *uncinus* as a means of writing a heavier note, as compared to a punctum for a lighter one. Groups written cursively are relatively lighter than groups written as a series of uncinus. Significative letters are used in this notation also (though not always in the same way as at St. Gall).

The same melisma on "immolatus" from *F-LA* 239 is found in Figure 8.9. It should be easy to see the difference between uncinus and punctum, and to note the similarities with St. Gall in the number and arrangement of notes – and the difference in nuance that are found at certain parallel places. There is clearly more than one way to sing this melisma.

The modern *Graduale triplex* (Solesmes, 1979) provides a convenient conspectus of these two early notational styles. It consists of the modern square-note edition of the post-Vatican-II gradual, with diplomatic facsimiles of the neumes from *F-LA* 239 and from manuscripts of the St. Gall tradition; the comparisions are fascinating and informative.

5 Eugène Cardine, *Semiologia gregoriana* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, 1968); English translation by Robert M. Fowels as *Gregorian Semiology* (Solesmes, 1982).

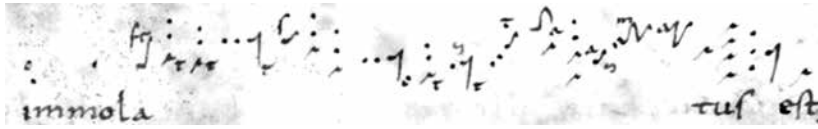


Figure 8.9 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale (*F-LA*) 239, fol. 52. The melisma in the verse of the Easter Alleluia "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus" (detail). Note the distinction between punctum and *uncinus* (hook), and the presence of letters (fr, t c, a, m) among the neumes

The neumatic notations of the earlier Middle Ages are not all so full of performance nuance as the most detailed manuscripts of St. Gallen and Laon; but they all seek to represent various aspects of a melody – its shape, its rhythmic contour, and its relationship to the words. For these purposes the notations are elegant and well-made. (Cases where a writer needs to be specific about details of pitch require the employment of other kinds of notation.)

The Origin of Neumatic Notation

Scholars have been concerned with the origins of neumatic musical notation for very good reason. Our knowledge of early medieval music depends on this notation, and the nature of its origin – its place(s) and time(s) – can tell us much about the purposes and history of the earliest Western music.

Various theories have been advanced for the origins of neumatic notation.[6] Chief among them have been the idea that notation derives from cheironomy, the gestures made in the air by a cantor or other person describing a melody by motions of the hand. Such a theory accords with the notion of a melodic line, but presents many difficulties with respect to the many nuances of the earliest notations that seem impossibly fussy for a hand.

Others have considered that notation arises from the adoption of existing prosodic signs used to assist in reading a text – accents, punctuation, and the like – to a new use in describing how that text is performed in music.

6 A summary of theories is presented in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 361–73.

Although some scholars seem to have dismissed the "accent-theory" of the origin of musical signs as too simple to explain the complexity of Western music-writing, Charles Atkinson suggests convincingly that prosodic accents, as expressed in ancient treatises on grammar, formed the basis for the musical script known as Paleofrankish.[7] Earlier versions of such a theory had held that the acute accent became the medieval virga, the grave accent the punctum, and the circumflex accent the clivis; Atkinson demonstrates that the prosodic signs make sense only in the context of the special Paleofrankish script, and that there is an unquestionable link between the prosodic signs and the rise of music-writing. The close association of this notation, in turn, with the monastic culture of the early ninth century matches well with the moment of the dissemination of a slightly different form of neumatic notation at the end of that century and the beginning of the tenth.

The accent-theory of origin accords well, also, with the apparent use in neumatic notation of other signs that, like the accents, were originally used in writing as adjuncts to analysis, understanding, and reading. These include certain signs used also for punctuation. The quilisma looks very like a form of Carolingian interrogation sign; the *apostrophe*, a sign of contraction in writing, is used among the neumes for a series of repeated notes, often on one of the subsemitonal pitches; the trigon, usually written as a triangle of dots, is a punctuation-form for a full stop. And the titulus or tilde, used in Latin to signal an omission, may be the origin of the neume known as oriscus.

It seems entirely reasonable that the writing of music should be done with the signs used for the writing of language. And the varieties of regional notations, despite their differences, and despite their wide variety of emphases, have so much in common as essentially to preclude the possibility that they arose separately. All must derive from a single impetus to describe on two-dimensional space the sound that occurs when the words written on that same two-dimensional space are sung.

One index of that unity is the almost ubiquitous use of the quilisma. This is a sign whose meaning is not clear; it seems to represent a tremulous note, perhaps varying in pitch, rising to a more stable one. It is derived, as we have said, from a Carolingian interrogation sign. But this sign was not used

7 Charles M. Atkinson, "*De accentibus toni oritur nota quae dicitur neuma*: Prosodic Accents, the Accent Theory, and the Paleofrankish Script," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone, Isham Library Papers 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 17–42.

everywhere; in southern Italy, for example, where the Beneventan script was employed rather than the ordinary, or Caroline, minuscule, the interrogation sign is quite different: it looks like a figure "2," and is placed not at the end of the question but over the interrogatory word, or at the beginning of the question. And yet the Beventan *notation*, from its earliest witnesses in the tenth century, uses the quilisma in essentially the same form as everywhere else. It is a good indicator that the neumatic notation of the Beneventan zone was imported there, no doubt in association with the Gregorian chant which it is used to record.

Questions of Date

The date and place of origin of musical notation is uncertain, since so few of the earliest examples are securely datable. The matter is an urgent one, however, because of its intimate connection with the origins, transmission, and dissemination of the Frankish-Roman chant (see Chapters 2 and 3 in this volume).

Whatever the pre-history of the chant, we can know it only indirectly. By the time it comes to us in fully notated books, in the tenth century, it is a complete body of music, relatively fixed in its repertory and its melodic contour. Its paleographical origin seems to be Frankish – that is where the earliest sources of musical notation are found, and where the earliest chant-books originate – although its liturgical (and to some degree musical) origins are Roman.

How can this be? How did Roman chant come to Francia? How was it learned, or reorganized, or re-composed, and how was a complete repertory disseminated? It may be that musical notation arose specifically in order to address this problem of reception and dissemination; it is certainly telling that the earliest sources of chant, and of notation, are apparently contemporaneous and coterminous.

The body of chant, fixed as it is, shows signs of having been created in more than one stage; its genres are very distinct; it gives evidence of the imposition of an eight-mode system on a pre-existent repertoire; and to many it shows signs of formulaic oral composition and transmission. But all the evidence we have is written evidence, and the musical notation, fixed and written, is ironically the only evidence we can use to determine aspects of orality and oral transmission.

It is thus of crucial importance to know what we can about the history and origins of Western chant notation. Whatever we think we can deduce about

its pre-history, it must be remembered that we can only assume that the melodies we see in unheightened neumes are the same as those that we find in later pitched sources. And to extrapolate still farther into the past brings increasing risk.

Surviving evidence suggests the ninth century as the time. The earliest datable piece of music in neumatic notation (the dating is now accepted by most scholars) is the Alleluia-prosula "Psalle modulamina" written by a scribe named Engyldeo in a manuscript for bishop Baturich of Regensburg (bishop 817–848).[8] Other souces exist from the ninth century, though not all scholars agree on which sources should be so dated.[9]

The earliest more or less complete books of chant are from the early tenth century, three different notational families: *F-LA 263*, *CH-SGs*, cod. sang. 359, Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale (*F-CHRm*) 47 (destroyed in 1944). From the physical evidence, then, it seems that the tenth century is the moment when the full repertory of chant begins to be recorded in writing.

Other scholars, however, notably Kenneth Levy, have suggested, on the basis of other kinds of evidence, that notation for chant, and indeed a fully notated chant-book, must have existed a century or so earlier.[10] Based on a variety of indirect indications, Levy suggests that a complete neumed book of Mass-chants must have existed at the time of Charlemagne. The absence of physical evidence is countered by Levy with suggestions about distribution and about similarity of neumations in distant places, and on his conclusion that the theorist Aurelian of Réôme (whose *Musica disciplina* was written in the middle of the ninth century) and the early ninth-century bishop Helisachar were acquainted with neumatic notation.[11] The issue has been heatedly argued;[12] that such varying views are held by such distinguished scholars

8 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*D-Mbs*) clm 9543, fol. 199v; see J. Smits van Waesberghe, "Over het onstaan van Sequens en Prosula en beider oorspronkelijke uitvoeringswijze," in *Feestafleveering ter gelegenheid van de zestige verjaardag van Prof. Dr. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers* [= Orgaan KNTV 12], ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaars/Vereeniging, 1957), 51–57; Hartmut Möller, "Die Prosula 'Psalle modulamina' (Mü 9543) und ihre musikhistorische Bedeutung," in *La Tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. C. Leonardi and E. Menestò (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 279–96.

9 Some lists of early sources are given by David Hiley, s.v. "Notation III.1," in *NG2*, vol. XVIII: 89; another list is in Solange Corbin, *Die Neumen*, Palaeographie der Musik, 1, fasc. 3 (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, Hans Gerig KG, 1977), 30ff.

10 Kenneth Levy, "Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987, 1–30.

11 See also Levy, "Abbot Helisachar's Antiphoner," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995, 171–86.

12 See Leo Treitler's communication, concerning Levy's "Charlemagne's Archetype" and David Hughes' "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), 566–75; and Levy's reply, 575–78. See also Emma Hornby, "The Transmission of Western Chant in the 8th and 9th Centuries: Evaluating Kenneth Levy's Reading of the Evidence," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004, 418–57.

says much about the importance of this critical moment in history, and about the difficulties inherent in the study of music so distant from ourselves.

Regional Varieties of Neumatic Notation

Notational styles vary recognizably over the area in which Latin church music was sung. Along with writing style, notational families contribute to our view of the dissemination and localization of language and writing, music and notation. The notational styles are all related (with the remarkable exception of the so-called Paleofrankish notation already mentioned). They all adhere to the same basic principles; all use vertical and horizontal axes to some extent; all use gestural neumes to group notes; all observe the distinction of syllables; all use expressive signs like liquescence, the quilisma, the oriscus, and others. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that neumatic musical notation was not devised individually at a variety of centers; instead, it appears that it was disseminated, surely as an aspect of the chant it records, as a means of fixing somehow a music that was in some ways fluid, and in some ways not well known or understood.

Writ large, and traveling clockwise, the large families of neumatic notations are Anglo-French, Lorraine (or Metz), Germanic, northern Italian, Beneventan, Visigothic, and Aquitanian. Within each of these groups, and especially within the Anglo-French and the Italian, are a great many very interesting specialized types of notation.

Figure 8.10 shows a comparative table of characteristic neumes in various regional styles of writing. The table is reproduced from Leo Treitler's "The Early History of Music Writing in the West," pp. 246–47.

The essential similarity of the scripts is the most notable observation to be made from this table. Such a table of neumes, however useful it is, does not of course give the full flavor of a writing style. Each scribe is an individual, but within regional traditions there are aspects of pen-preparation, of ductus, of page layout, that give each scribe, and each region, a particular flavor not conveyed by this table; a glance at the facsimiles in this chapter will confirm the characteristic look of at least some styles of neumatic script.

Some of these scripts seem to be oriented to the continuity of melodic line, joining many notes together where possible (Visigothic, Beneventan); others, especially the Aquitanian, focus on attention to individual sounds – the notes.

Let us pause for a moment on that distinction – beween the note and the line, the motion and the constituent elements. All the early notations include a certain amount of each, but some are especially concerned with representing melody as a line, a continuous sound with duration and direction.

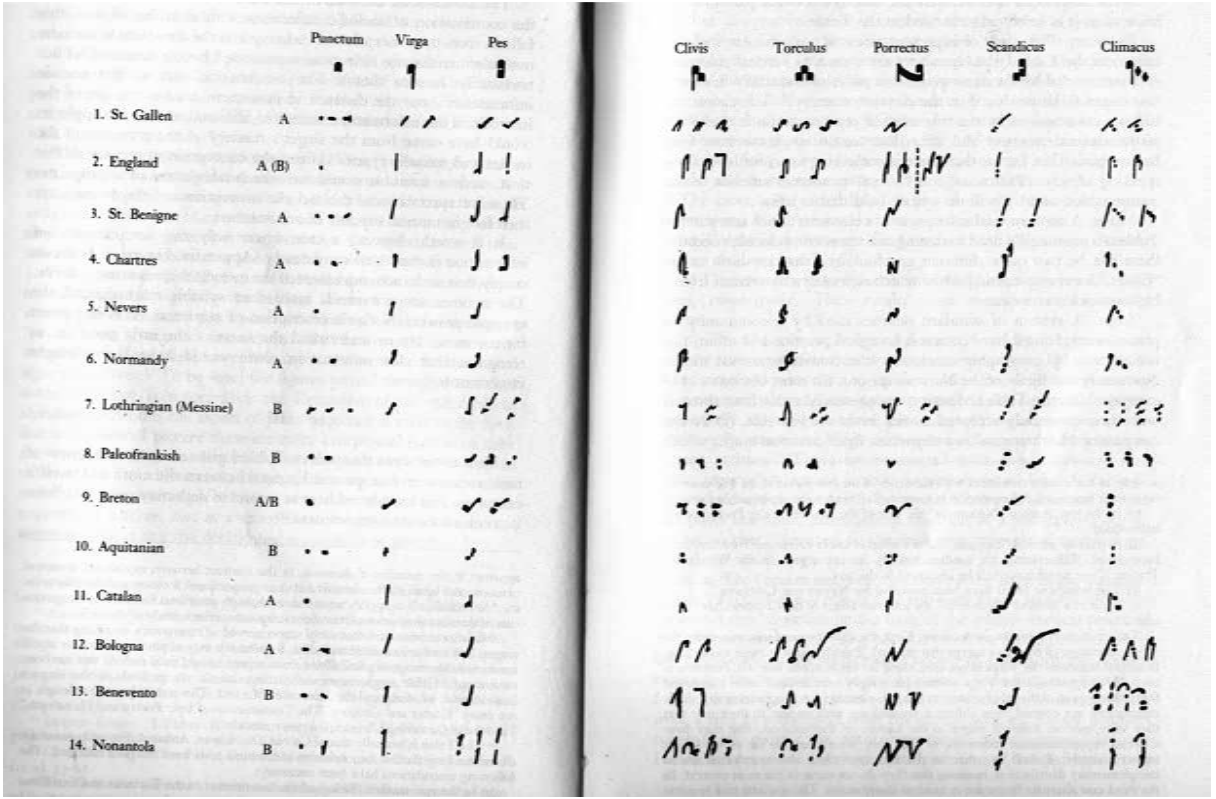


Figure 8.10 A tabular view of neumes in various regional writing styles. Reproduced from Leo Treitler's "The Early History of Music Writing in the West," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35/2 (1982), 237–79 at 246–47. The column containing indications "A" and "B" denotes with the letter B those scripts that Treitler calls "reinforced iconic"; they are those that use different forms of a neume depending on its position in a conceptual melodic "line".

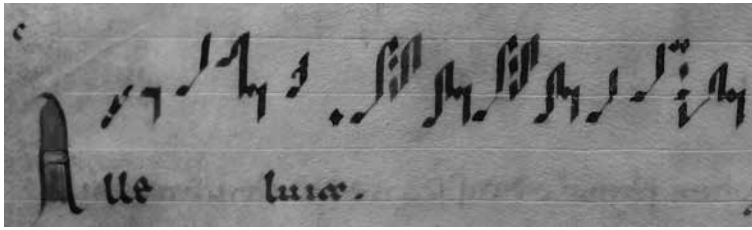


Figure 8.11 Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare (*I-BV*) 34, detail

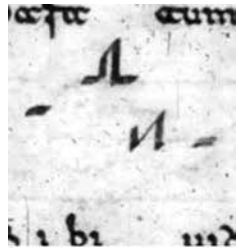


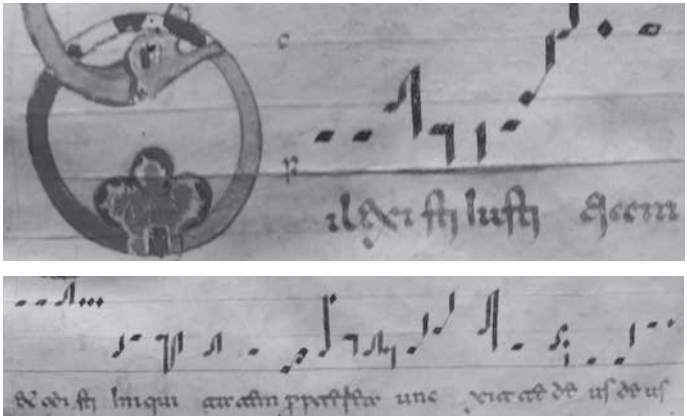
Figure 8.12 *I-BV* 39, fol. 11v (detail). Two versions of the three-note torculus (low–higher–lower); the shape varies depending on whether the melodic line is ascending (first case) or descending (second case)

From the earliest notations, the tendency to group into a single gesture a series of movements is characteristic of all families of notation. There is a literal attempt to trace a "melodic line" (see Figure 8.11). Such a concept might seem anachronistic, a projection backwards of our own conception of melody, were it not for the physical presence of that line in the notations. The line is seen particularly in notations that join together as many notes as convenient, not only in simple neumes, as seen above, but also in longer sequences of notes (or motions, depending on one's concept of melody).

The line is seen also in the shapes of certain neumes, especially in some of the notational families, in which the writing of the neume is dependent on melodic direction. This is clear in the Beneventan notation of southern Italy, where a number of note shapes and neume shapes vary according to their position in an ascending or descending melodic line (see Figure 8.12).

This is useful information in a gestural notation without specific pitches; but the notation continues to use these distinctions long after the use of clear heightening, clefs, and pitch-lines renders their information superfluous. They

(a)



(b)

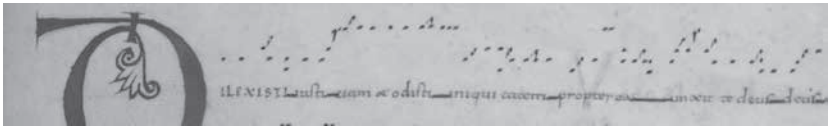


Figure 8.13 The Introit "Dilexisti iustitiam" from *I-BV* 34, fol. 4 (a) and *F-Pn* lat. 776, fol. 7 (b)

are retained, not merely out of inertia, but with an awareness of the melodic continuity that carries over despite the inevitable interruption between syllables.

Elsewhere, emphasis is placed on points rather than lines – that is, on the pitches themselves rather than the motions required to attain them. Most characteristic of this is the Aquitanian notation of southern France and post-reconquista Spain (see Figure 8.13).

This notation retains the distinction between virga and punctum (themselves a sign of direction), although the virga is very small; and notes are indeed sometimes joined together. Nevertheless, the overall impression is strongly one of a series of discrete notes, in this case carefully arranged so as to show the individual elements that constitute, in other notations, a melodic line.

Directionality and Diastematy

Not all styles of neumatic notation came into existence at the same time, even if they are descended from some sort of common archetype. Nor do they remain the same from document to document, or over the passage of time in a single place. Each scribe, of course, has idiosyncrasies that differentiate her or

his work from all others; but there are recognizable traditions of time and place.

Speaking generally, musical notation changes with time in essentally a single direction: the attempt to be increasingly specific with respect to the pitch content of the notation (sometimes at the expense of performance nuance). This reflects a gradual conceptual shift from a nuance-rich memory aid to a nuance-poor, but pitch-specific, prescriptive notation.

The use of vertical space on the page to represent pitch is almost inevitable, in that the direction is built into the signs themselves. The punctum and virga, arising from accents representing lower and higher, and the shapes of the various individual two-note and three-note neumes are understood as using the vertical dimension as a reprentation of relative pitch. The notion of melodic line, too, as illustrated above in the Beneventan neumes, has an inherent directionality that indicates shape with respect to pitch. The use of the horizontal dimension for time (as in writing) gives very little choice as to how to incorporate pitch into neumatic notation (remember, though, that there are other notations, used by theorists, for indicating exact pitches).

It must be remembered that the use of these two axes, horizontal for time and vertical for pitch, is only approximate. Although letters proceed across the page from left to right, their individual signs do not necessarily do so; they have closed loops, figures that double back on themselves, and the like. The same is true of the neumes; some signs, like many of the liquescences (see for example Figure 8.2 c), some of them made by looping the pen back through a vertical line, are implausible as representatives of pitch (or of time); the repeated curls of the quilisma are a representation of something whose conventional meaning needs to be understood outside of the physical representation of directionality.

The increasingly careful writing of music with diastematy (using measurable height to represent pitch) gives us our first notations that we can transcribe with some certainty, at least with respect to the relative pitch classes of their notes. What we cannot tell is the specific interval, unless we are told where the diatonic semitones lie – and indeed some notations have special neumes, or use neumes in special ways, to identify this.

The careful observation of height may have arisen simply from the use of parchment. Parchment intended for musical manuscripts – mostly antiphoners and graduals – was often ruled in such a way as to provide a single rule for each text line, the rules spaced so as to leave room for the notation. For manuscripts mixing texts with and without music (such as missals and breviaries, containing lections and prayers in addition to chants),

sheets were usually ruled as for text manuscripts, with regularly spaced rules for each line of text. In portions where music was to be written, the text scribe either wrote very small, or used every other rule, so as to leave space for notation. In the latter case the result was that the space for notation had a drypoint line inscribed in the middle of the blank space above the text; such a line would be difficult for a music scribe to ignore, and its use as a guide for the accurate heightening of the neumes is almost inevitable. It is a short step to the deliberate inscribing of such lines for purposes of musical diastematy.

Guido's Innovations

It is to the monk Guido, known as Guido of Arezzo, that we ascribe the first fully functional system of pitch-specific notation. In the prologue to his (now lost) antiphoner, written about 1030, Guido laments the time that young singers spend learning chants by heart. His efforts to train the singers of the cathedral at Arezzo led him to devise various useful techniques for singing music at sight. He proposed a notation using lines as guides for heightening, and specifying by letters and colored lines the placement of the notes below which the semitones lie:

> The notes are so arranged, then, that each sound, however often it may be repeated in a melody, is found always in its own row. And in order that you may better distinguish these rows, lines are drawn close together, and some rows of sounds occur on the lines themselves, others in the intervening intervals or spaces. All the sounds on one line or in one space sound alike. And in order that you may understand to which lines or spaces each sound belongs, certain letters of the monochord are written at the beginning of the lines or spaces. And the lines are also gone over in colors, thereby indicating that in the whole antiphoner and in every other melody those lines or spaces which have one and the same letter or color, however many they may be, sound alike throughout, as though all were on one line ... Hence, however perfect the formation of the neumes might be, it is altogether meaningless and worthless without the addition of letters or colors.
>
> We use two colors, namely yellow and red, and by means of them I teach you a very useful rule that will enable you to know readily to what tone and to what letter of the monochord every neume and any sound belongs ... wherever you see the color yellow, there is the third letter [C], and whenever you see the color red, there is the sixth letter [F], whether these colors be on the lines or between them ...[13]

13 Translation in *SR*, 212–13. Guido's original, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Tres tractatuli Guidonis Aretini*, Divitiae musicae artis, ser. A, III (Buren: Knupf, 1975); ed. and trans. D. Pesce, *Guido D'Arezzo's Regule rithmice, Prologus in antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michahelem* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999).

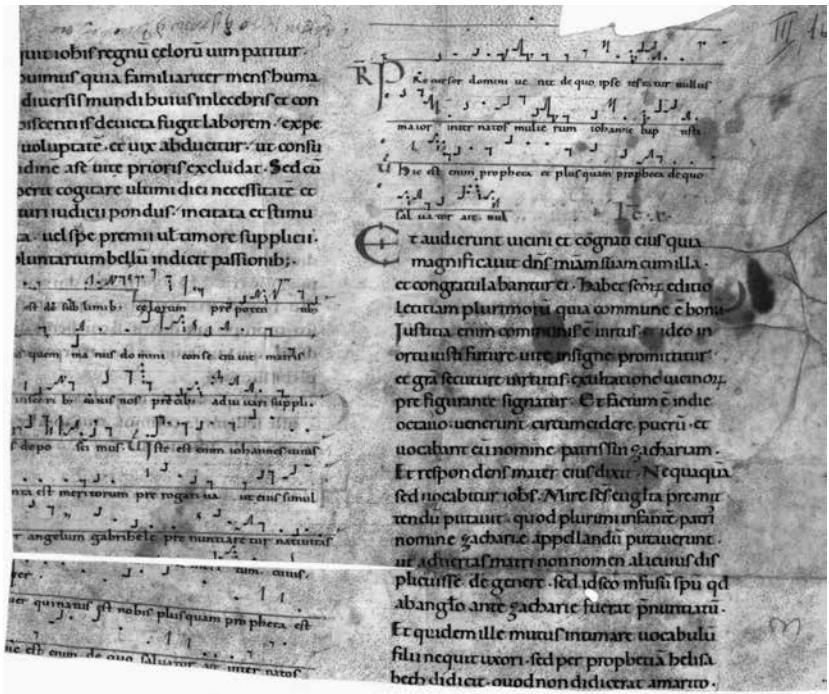


Figure 8.14 Arezzo, Biblioteca della città di Arezzo (*I-ARc*) 363 (III, 1b)

The fragment from Arezzo shown in Figure 8.14 dates from a little after Guido's time, but it shows his system at work. Note the lines (red in the original manuscript), one for each line of text, that indicate the note F (note too the letter "F" placed just above the initial text-letter "P"). The letter "C" marks the beginning of the C-line, which is colored yellow. Another line, scratched into the parchment, stands between the F and C lines.

Guido is also responsible for the adoption of the solmization syllables UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA (adapted from the first syllables of the successive lines of the hymn "Ut queant laxis"):

UT queant laxis
RE-sonare fibris
MI-ra gestorum
FA-muli tuorum
SOL-ve pollutis
LA-bii reatum
Sancte Iohannes.

Guido's system was as widely celebrated in his own time as it is today. His innovation came to the attention of Pope John XIX, and the use of his lines, clefs, and colors spread rapidly through most of Europe. Guido's innovations made it relatively simple to sing the pitches of any music notated using his system. The importance of this conceptual shift is difficult to overestimate. Earlier notations, designed to remind, are replaced with Guidonian notations, designed to prescribe.

The change in notational style reflects – or perhaps even causes – changes in notation. Certain neumatic signs gradually drop out of use, perhaps because they cannot really be accurately written on a staff, or perhaps because the melodic detail they represent is no longer used in practice. Whatever the reason, many ornamental signs – quilisma, oriscus, trigon, and others – disappear in staff notation by the end of the eleventh century. The era of Plain Song, *cantus planus*, has arrived.

Plainsong Notation from the Twelfth Century

Musical notation continued to be employed for chant, and from about the thirteenth century it changed very little, so that the square notation used in the printed books of the Roman Catholic Church and in other publications closely resembles the standardized notation developed in thirteenth-centuy Paris.

This square notation accompanies a change from ordinary to Gothic minuscule, and the extreme contrast between thick and thin strokes characteristic of Gothic writing is seen also in the square notation, which is an adaptation of the older neumes to the use of the newer broad pen (see Figure 8.15). It is these signs that come to be reinterpreted as rhythmic signs, first in a contextual way in the Notre Dame polyphony, and then, in a further breakthrough, by using the various note shapes (tailed square, originally a virga; square, originally a punctum; lozenge, originally a descending note of a climacus) as indicative of note-length. This is a brilliant development, and is treated in a later chapter.

The square notation itself, without rhythmic implications, continues to be used in most of Europe alongside the measured notation which uses its signs.

In a few areas of Eastern Europe, the square notation never quite penetrates, and a tradition of non-diastematic notation like that of St. Gall continues well into the fifteenth century. Elsewhere in Eastern Europe and in Germany, a stylized form of notation derived from neumes but written in very

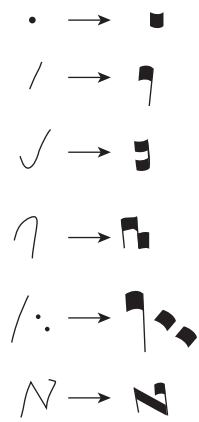


Figure 8.15 Square notation derived from neumatic signs

broad strokes was developed for chant, called "Hufnagelschrift" from the similarity of its signs to the shape of shoeing nails.

Notation, once established, was widely used for other music. The surviving repertories of monophonic vernacular music, of Latin verse, and of religious song in Latin and vernacular languages, all come down to us in the notation developed for use with liturgical chant. As repertories, this music is the subject of other chapters in this volume, but the fact that we have their music is owing to the existence of musical notation.[14]

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Tropes

ANDREAS HAUG

Tropes are the product of a medieval practice of poetic and musical expansion; and in a music-historical context, the term "trope" refers to any textual or melodic figure that is added to an existing chant without altering the textual or melodic structure of the said chant. The boundaries between the original chant and the added figures remain recognizable and this purely formal feature is the only constant characteristic of the genre. In the succinct formulation of Adémar de Chabannes (ca. 1030), tropes, then, are "inserted chants" ("inserta cantica").[1]

Connected to the chants of the Roman rite, tropes were widely and continuously diffused in medieval Europe. The earliest written transmission is first attested to by isolated documents from the ninth century. According to the sheer abundance of surviving sources as well as the range of repertoire, the practice of troping culminated sometime between the mid-tenth century and roughly the end of the eleventh century. Approximately 100 manuscripts containing no fewer than 7,000 additions of this kind have survived from this period. It is not until the onset of the modern era that the transmission of tropes abates, although in some places tropes still found their way into the first printed books. The earliest evidence of the existence of tropes is a canon of the Synod of Meaux in 845, which forbids the performance of tropes and sequences,[2] as well as a small number of written records from Regensburg,[3] Toul,[4] and Reichenau.[5] Witnessing to the end of the tradition is a printed

1 In Adémar's interpolation to the Vita of Pope Hadrian II in the *Liber pontificalis* manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (*F-Pn*), lat. 2400, fol. 151, cited in *Le liber pontificalis: Text, introduction et commentaire*, ed. Louis Duchesne (Paris: n.p., 1955–57), vol. I: clxxxii.

2 MGH. Concilia III (Hanover: Hahn, 1984), 129.

3 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*D-Mbs*), clm 9543. See Hartmut Möller, "Die Prosula 'Psalle modulamina' (Mü 9543) und ihre musikhistorische Bedeutung," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. Claudio Leonardi et al. (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 1990), 279–96.

4 *D-Mbs*, clm 14843. See Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler, "Tropes and the Concept of Genre," in *Pax et sapientia. Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, ed. Ritva Jacobsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), 59–89 at 78–84.

5 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. CCLIX. See Michael. Klaper, *Die Musikgeschichte der Abtei Reichenau im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 52 (Stuttgart, 2003), 75–95.

gradual of 1496 from the diocese of Würzburg – the only known incunabulum to contain tropes[6] – while a printed gradual of 1583 for the same diocese – unfazed by the prohibition of tropes in the liturgy by the Council of Trent (1545–63) – is the monumental final document of this medieval art of expansion.[7]

A Typical Medieval Genre?

Owing to their great variety and their widespread and enduring presence, tropes constitute a significant and therefore intensively researched corpus of plainchant from a key period of European music history. According to Bruno Stäblein, a leading figure in early trope research, a trope's dependent relationship to an existing chant is "a unique phenomenon."[8] If this is so, tropes require an interpretation that can make comprehensible the productive potential of an approach to musical composition that, at first glance, may seem extremely restrictive and heteronomous. On the other hand, it might be (and has been) argued that, in fact, tropes are not an unusual form of musical composition, but rather examples of a mode of composition normal for medieval conditions for artistic and particularly literary production. Following this principle, in the literary and musical domain of the Middle Ages, the production of something new could also have included the practice of expanding something that already existed, and would have been judged as such. In this way, tradition is neither displaced nor reduced in authority, but rather enriched and enhanced, and its authority is confirmed and guaranteed. One can include troping with the medieval practices of transcription, extrapolation, overwriting, glossing, commenting, paraphrasing, elaborating, interpolating, and adapting, all practices by which tradition is not abandoned, but rather perpetuated, brought up to date, and recontextualized. The Middle Ages knew many musical forms that were based on the adaptation of existing material: the setting of texts to sequence melodies, the practice of contrafacture, the composition of organa and motets.

Viewed broadly as a typical phenomenon of the period, tropes are not singular as such, nor are they isolated from the other new musical forms of the ninth century: sequences, ordinary chants, versified Offices, and diaphonic performance techniques (which can be understood as "sonic troping"). But

6 Graduale Herbipolense, Würzburg: Georg Reyser 1496 (Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Stuttgart 1990, Nr. 10984).
7 Graduale Herbipolense 1583. See Theodore Karp, "In the Twilight of Troping," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Alma Santosuosso and Terence Bailey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 79–94.
8 Monumenta monodica medii aevi III, p. viii.

when one considers what makes troping different from its historical relatives, it is easy to fall into the preconception of a heteronomous and restricted musical production blemished by deficient originality. It was in this sense that Richard Crocker once criticized the scholarly opinion he labeled the "Troping Hypothesis": that composition in the Carolingian period was in all its manifestations a subservient, if not parasitic, expansion of Roman chant with similar or only marginally different means. Arguing against the opinion that sequences and Ordinary chants were the product of "mere troping," Crocker defends the new forms of Frankish music, which he considered to be the original and idiomatic independent production of a "Frankish genius."[9]

Even if one disregards the criterion of originality as a prejudice of a modern value system, it remains problematic to see the relationship between tropes and original chants in a way that emphasizes the aspects of homogeneity and continuity and obscures those of difference. Ignoring this historical difference leaves one blind to the historically singular conditions under which the tropes emerged. The chants to which the tropes first and foremost are linked, the antiphons of the Roman rite, are elements of a practice of vocal performance of sacred texts that all three European "religions of the book" had in common.[10] The tropes, however, are among the first creations of a new musical culture that was forming outside the Mediterranean world, north of the Alps, a culture that had taken up the Roman patrimony under political and religious pressure and therefore had to overcome an ambivalent relationship to it.

The comparison of tropes with glosses or commentaries is well suited to making the tropes seem less strange.[11] However, it can only be applied to a limited extent. Like glosses and commentaries on established texts, tropes are unambiguously marked off from the authoritative words and music of the troped original chant. They were initially copied separately from the Roman antiphoners in their own books (or parts of books): the tropers. At the same time, they are textually and musically so dependent on the original chants that, again like glosses and commentaries, they cannot be understood or meaningfully performed separately from them. The comparison with

9 Richard L. Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966), 183–203.

10 Andreas Haug, "Medialitäten des Gotteswortes: Die vokale Performanz sakraler Texte in den Buchreligionen des Mittelalters," in *Abrahams Erbe – Konkurrenz, Konflikt, Koexistenz im Mittelalter*, ed. Ludger Lieb (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

11 Wulf Arlt compared the tropes to the "interpolating glosses" of a text; "Neue Formen des liturgischen Gesangs. Sequenz und Tropus," in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, ed. Christoph Stegemann (Mainz: Schott, 1999), vol. III: 732. Margot Fassler with commentary: *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 22.

glosses captures a hermeneutic function of tropes without doing justice to their aesthetic dimensions. Unlike glosses and commentaries, tropes are an artistic rather than a didactic phenomenon; they were musical and poetic compositions intended to be vocally performed, not only to preserve and protect the cultural meaning of sacred or auratic texts. Even if, in consensus with current scholarly opinion, one may describe the melodies of tropes as a reading of the texts that captures their contents, one would not want to consider that singing them was a mere elaboration of meaning. The question then is: do the tropes elaborate in order to interpret or do they interpret in order to elaborate? The former supposes an intellectual context in which interpretation is required in order to guarantee an understanding of the original ritual text. The latter supposes a set of conditions in which uninhibited composition can only unfold in the form of an elaboration of an existing chant. Either way, troping's functions of capturing, creating, and mediating meaning, as uncontroversial and significant as they are for a poetics of troping, do not answer the decisive question of their history: why did the practice emerge in the region and period in which we encounter it for the first time?

Taking these considerations into account, the present chapter will be weighted in favor of the ways in which troping is different from other procedures typical of the era, as opposed to the ways in which it is similar to them. The differences will also be given greater consideration than the similarities in the relationship of tropes to other new forms of chant in the ninth century. In doing so, the question is not whether those other forms, but rather whether the tropes themselves can be adequately described as products of a "mere troping." This double focus is in the interest of understanding tropes not as something "typically medieval," but rather as products of composition that are symptomatic of the extreme cultural circumstances that existed north of the Alps during the Carolingian period – and only then and there – as a consequence of the radical Romanization of the rite and the transalpine transfer and prescriptive reception of Roman chant in the Frankish empire. Tropes can be understood, then, as an immediate response to this transfer and thus as an important part of a historical process that was so influential on European music history.[12]

12 Obviously, the present chapter cannot replace previous and more comprehensive surveys of its topic, such as Jacques Handschin, "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus," in *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), vol. II: *Early Music up to 1300*, ed. Anselm Hughes, 128–174; B. Stäblein, "Tropus," in *MGG*, vol. XIII: 797–826; Ruth Steiner, "Trope," in *New Grove*, vol. XIX: 172–87; and Planchart, "Trope (i)," Grove Music Online.

The appearance of the *Corpus Troporum*, the Stockholm text edition of tropes, beginning in 1976,[13] triggered a new wave of contributions to the study of the genre that has continued to the present. The academic interest of these contributions was always less focused on the historical circumstances of the practice and the principal problems of an interpretation of tropes and more on philological questions: the editions themselves, individual sources and practices at individual centers, the relationship between literary and musical aspects, the processes of establishing traditions and of cultural exchange, and attempts to reconstruct the transmission of individual complexes of tropes. Consequently, despite the immense growth of knowledge achieved in trope scholarship in the last decades, surprisingly little has changed in many traditional scholarly opinions. Tropes are still widely described either as embellishments of the rite or as commentaries to its sung texts, without reflection on how their decorative and discursive dimensions relate to each other and why Roman chants would need to be embellished or explained for their Frankish audience in the first place. The melodies are still interpreted as a medium of rendering the trope texts in a way that captures their meaning, without integrating the non-hermeneutical effects of vocality and performativity – the voice and the singing so vividly evoked in many trope texts – into the discussion as a fundamental theoretical problem.[14] It is still assumed that the tropes advanced the adoption of the Roman chant in the Frankish empire – because the foreign is felt to be less strange when clothed in the familiar – without also considering the ambivalences towards this foreignness and the difficulties of legitimizing the familiar. Finally, the relationship between the original chants and the tropes is still understood as a relationship between old and new, without clarifying whether the practice of troping originally bridged a historical distance or a cultural difference to the corpus of Roman chants. All these common assumptions about tropes are at best superficial. Throughout this chapter they will not be altogether challenged, but firmly problematized.

Repertory and Transmission

The chants affected by the practice of troping fall into to three main groups. The first consists of approximately 600 antiphons and responsories of Roman origin that the Carolingians distributed in the Frankish empire from the

13 *Corpus Troporum* I–XII (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975–2014).
14 See Andreas Haug, "Der Codex und die Stimme in der Karolingerzeit," in *Codex und Geltung*, ed. Felix Heinzer, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 25 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2015).

middle of the eighth century onward and connected with the name of Pope Gregory I. The majority of the preserved tropes are attached to antiphons of this group, with far fewer for Alleluia responsories, and almost none for the Gradual responsories.

The second group consists of the chants – namely Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, and Ite missa est – the texts of which remain the same while their melodies change; this group later became known collectively as the "Ordinary" of the Mass.[15] Unlike the antiphons, whose melodies' Roman origins have been definitively established, it is assumed that the melodies of the Ordinary chants did not originate in Rome but in the Frankish empire, as did their tropes, some at the same time and others even as part of the same compositional process. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the practice of troping, the Ordinary chants were treated in the same way as the Roman chants; that is, as something pre-existing that was later expanded. The pre-existing material was the unchanging texts. Because of the lack of both historical and cultural distance between the tropes and original chants, the primary impulse that motivated the troping of the Roman antiphons appears to have been lacking for the Ordinary chants. It would appear that without tropes for Mass antiphons, there would not have emerged tropes to any other chants of the rite.

A third group of "troped" chants are the responsories of the Office, primarily those that were sung after the readings of the night Office. The reason as to why Office antiphons were neglected by the practice of troping is as unclear as the reason as to why there are practically no tropes for the Mass responsories. However, the concentration of the practice of troping on the Mass is probably related to the fact that there were fewer restrictions on the Office, and new compositions could complete or even take the place of traditional ones; beginning in the ninth century this took place frequently, particularly in the case of saints' feasts.[16]

Within all three groups, tropes occur in greater frequency around feasts of greater solemnity, except those during Lent, and in some regions those during Advent as well. Masses in which the Tract was sung instead of the Alleluia and in which the sequence was omitted also tend to be free of tropes. Like the Alleluia and the sequence, tropes appear to have been a sign of celebration and

15 David Bjork, *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Richard L. Crocker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Klaus Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires der St. Martial-Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967); Keith Falconer, *Some Early Tropes to the Gloria* (Modena: Mucchi, 1993); Charles Atkinson, "The Earliest Settings of the Agnus Dei and Its Tropes" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1975).

16 See Ritva Jacobsson and Andreas Haug, "Versified Office," Grove Music Online.

festiveness, and their absence a sign of musical and poetic abstinence on days of sorrow and reflection. This perception of tropes – which is also evidenced in Adémar de Chabannes's use of the name "festivae laudes"[17] for them – suggests the ornamental character of tropes more strongly than the discursive, as it is not apparent why the Mass has less need of a sung commentary in periods of penitence than on high feast days of Christmas or Easter. Moreover, unlike the sequence, which is genuinely bound to the semantics of the Alleluia, tropes do not as such have fixed associations with utterances of joy that seem inappropriate during times of penitence. Tropes assigned during penitential seasons only appear in numbers worthy of mention in the verses of the Offertory: in these cases, the tropes were sung on approximately half the days on which tropes on other parts of the Mass were left out.[18] Tropes have been transmitted for Mass antiphons for approximately 25 feasts of the Christmas and Easter cycles, for four Marian feasts, and no less than 150 feasts of saints.

In view of the techniques of expansion and the structures of expansion necessitated by these techniques, one can distinguish between four kinds of trope: (1) purely melodic tropes (melismas added to the original chant at caesuras in its text and melody; (2) purely textual tropes (texts added to melismas of the original chant); (3) melodic tropes to which texts were added later; as well as (4) textual-melodic tropes (texts with their own melodies appended to original chants, either preceding their beginning or inserted at internal caesuras). The one characteristic that all sorts of tropes share – indeed, the principle that underlies all of these techniques – is that the existing chants expanded upon remain unchanged and still distinguishable from their additions. This phenomenon can be understood as the "troping principle."

These four different types of compositional technique do not map evenly onto the three above-mentioned groups of original chants to which tropes were added. Melodic tropes are limited almost without exception to introits, Glorias of the Mass, and responsories of Matins. The origin of this practice was perhaps a melismatic prolongation of the psalm-tone differentia – that is, an embellishment of a traditional melodic variable in the performance of psalmody – which was subsequently transferred into the make-up of the antiphon. In any case, melodic tropes on the psalm tone are more common than melodic internal tropes.[19] Texts added to melismatic tropes can be found

17 *Le liber pontificalis*, I: clxxxii. 18 See *Corpus Troporum*, vol. XI: 8–12.
19 Andreas Haug, "Das ostfränkische Repertoire der meloformen Introitustropen," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy, 1992), 413–26.

in all types of chant for which there are prolonging melismas. These textual additions have a different effect than the purely melodic expansions whose effect they suspend. Both techniques manipulate the balanced distribution of weight between word and music in the original chant and create effects of contrast foreign to the Roman antiphons. Adding text to prolonging melismas adds weight to the side of the text and creates contrast between the textual-melodic structure of the antiphon and the strictly syllabic sections. The untexted melismas reverse the contrast, and allow the texted segments of the antiphon to work as areas of declamation between the widely spread untexted melismas. The sonic organization of the original chant always remains the same, but it is experienced as dramatically different due to the various contrasts.

Texts are added to melismas in the original chants of the Alleluia and the offertory, primarily to their melisma-rich verses. With regard to troping, it is not necessary to distinguish between the different formats of psalmody (antiphonal or responsorial) in the offertory.[20] What is notable is that, as to its troping, the repeated portion is not handled significantly differently from introit and communion antiphons. Exceptions to this include the so-called "paraphrase-tropes," whose melodies are shaped like recitation tones and whose texts quote the subsequent section of the original chant and thus intone the start of sections that are repeated after the verses,[21] as well as examples where not only are the melismas of the verses texted, but also the repeated part.[22] The conspicuous occurrence of offertory tropes during Lent is perhaps related to the fact that the technique used in these cases is the adaption of texts to melismas, which could be perceived as festival melodic decorations; thus the troping shifts the status of the melisma from an exulting melodic embellishment to a melodic vehicle for contemplative text.

Textual-melodic tropes are predominantly used with Mass antiphons as well as the Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. They are by far the most common type and constitute the core of the early trope repertory. For 220 Mass antiphons, approximately 3,600 tropes of this kind have been preserved, the majority of which are for the Introit. They evince an immense spectrum of styles of speech, textual-melodic structures, and modal behaviors; these interact and contrast amongst themselves and with the antiphon tropes in

20 See Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

21 John Johnstone, "The Offertory Trope: Origins, Transmission, and Function" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1984).

22 Gunilla Björkvall and Ruth Steiner, "Some Prosulae for Offertory Antiphons," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 5 (1982), 13–35.

a multitude of ways. The tropes operate in front of the background of the antiphons to which they are attached, and the antiphons stand in the light of the tropes that surround, play with, break up, infuse, color them in always new and different ways, and, in the word of Bruno Stäblein, that "restage" them.[23] Whether the Roman chants appeared more "familiar" to the Frankish cantors in the light of the tropes, or, as Stäblein sees it,[24] were made familiar and "brought closer" to local and "contemporary taste," remains open: tropes confronted the unfamiliarity of the Roman chants without removing it. They sharpened and made productive the perception and awareness of music-cultural alterity and diversity.

Tropes seem to have begun in monasteries, and because of this presumed link, trope texts were considered to be a medium of genuine monastic mentality and spirituality. However, the practice must have expanded rapidly to the cathedral and collegiate churches, since these also played a significant role in the circulation of tropes, if not in their production.

The oldest sources are evidence of comprehensive collection and preservation in script and notation. Beginning in 1000, collections of tropes ("tropers" in a proper sense) appear that are organized by functional criteria and categorized with appropriate detail.[25] They distinguish themselves by the selection and ordering of the material and by the privileging of different types of trope and thus contributed to the liturgical and musical profile of the places and institutions for which they had been written.

Almost 70 percent of all preserved tropes to Mass antiphons can be found in at least one of the ca. twenty sources that were created before 1000 and that originate almost entirely from locations north of the Alps.[26] This shows that the origins of the practice of troping are to be found north of the Alps, and

23 Stäblein, "Tropus," 802. 24 Ibid., 798.

25 Wulf Arlt, "Von den einzelnen Aufzeichnungen der Tropen zur Rekonstruktion der Geschichte," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 1990), 439–79 at 457–60.

26 Apt, Basilique Sainte Anne, ms. 18 (French–Italian border zone, tenth century); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 5 (Reichenau, 1001); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 6 (Regensburg, Saint Emmeram, second half of the tenth century); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 30 (Reims, ca. 1000); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. CCLIX (Reichenau, ninth century; see Klaper, *Musikgeschichte*, 75–95); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, U.H. Frag. 24 (area of Lake Constance, ca. 1000; see Klaper, *Musikgeschichte*, 121–32); London, British Library, add. 19768 (Mainz, Cathedral, second half of the tenth century; on the provenance see Parkes, *Liturgy and Music*, 27–98); *D-Mbs*, clm 9543 (Regensburg, first half of the ninth century); *D-Mbs*, clm 14843 (Toul, second half of the ninth century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 27 (second half of the tenth century); *F-Pn*, lat. 887 (probably Aurillac, ca. 1000); *F-Pn*, lat. 1084 (probably Aurillac, ca. 1000); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1118 (probably Auch, ca. 1000); *F-Pn*, lat. 1240 (Saint Martial of Limoges, first half of the tenth century); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana (*I-Rvat*), Reginensi latini 222 (Bourges, tenth century); Saint Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 381 (first half of the tenth century); Saint Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 484 (first half of the tenth century); Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare (Monza, mid-tenth century); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1609 (Freising, ca. 900).

limits the phase of intensive trope production to a time period that stretched from the days of Louis the Pious and his sons to the dawn of the church reforms of the high Middle Ages. At this time, tropes succumbed to a delegitimization under the banner of "reform" that contributed to the dwindling of the production of tropes without putting the continuation of the practice in question. The monastic reform movements of Cluny and Hirsau as well as the new Cistercian order held tropes at a distance. They created no new tropes, and limited their use of existing tropes to a select few.[27] That these few examples were still being used made them particularly notable, and their use contributed to the super-regional musical-poetic signature of their respective practices.[28]

Wulf Arlt has shown, in a series of foundational studies, that the history of the texts of individual tropes or trope complexes can always be traced back to the north-west of the Frankish empire (that is, the north-east of the later French-speaking area), more accurately, the "region east of the Île-de-France and west of the Rhine, in which the origin and an early center of troping has always been suspected."[29] Everything suggests that the suspicion is correct, even when an exact point of origin can no longer be identified owing to the massive loss of sources from this region. This means that the idea of enriching the Roman chant with "inserted chants" originated within the cultural and political nucleus of the Carolingian empire. Seen historically, the tropes are thus an essentially Carolingian and, given the cultural context of their origin, a Frankish phenomenon. Where they appear, they presuppose the presence of the Roman chant that they expand. The diffusion of that corpus in the Frankish empire was understood by the Reichenau abbot Walafrid Strabo around 840 as a largely finished process.[30] The temporal distance between the Frankish reception of the Roman chant and the onset of the practice of expanding it with tropes, for which there is evidence from the middle of the ninth century, can therefore not have been very large.

Even as the production of tropes to Mass antiphons was largely discontinued, they remained in use – as is evidenced by extant tropers and corroborated by the witness of cathedral Ordinaries – and represented a specific element of the celebration of the Mass for specific occasions. The "disappearance of the

27 David Hiley, "The Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere," in *De musica et cantu. Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 131–55.

28 Andreas Haug, "Ein 'Hirsauer' Tropus," *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994), 328–45.

29 Wulf Arlt, "Schichten und Wege in der Überlieferung der älteren Tropen zum Introitus *Nunc scio vere* des Petrus-Festes," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 13–93 at 13.

30 *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus eclesiasticis rerum*, ed. Alice L. Harting-Correa (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 168.

tropes" described by Margot Fassler was limited to France,[31] where they were replaced after 1100 by new sequences with song-like melodies and by the newer styles of the conductus and "Benedicamus" compositions.[32] Alternatively one can observe the establishment of enduring regional repertoires on the basis of older material in Italy and especially in German-speaking regions, where tropes were sung until the end of the Middle Ages. In this context, multiple tendencies towards reduction can be seen in the German "small tropers": limitation of tropes to the introit and introductions to antiphons (that is, the omission of internal tropes) and to a small number of central feasts, in many cases only those of the cycle of Christmas feasts.[33] Only the production of tropes to the Ordinary chants of the Mass and the responsories of Matins continued until the end of the Middle Ages. Newer creations on this field distinguish themselves from the older ones in text, content, form, and music, and they reflect the changing historical circumstances of the tropes in music, poetics, and mentality.

One can observe significant differences even within the older levels of the preserved sources; these not only concern the already mentioned editing of a selective, functionally organized local repertoire, but also the preservation of particular types of trope in particular regions and time periods. Thus melodic tropes appear in almost every preserved manuscript in the east Frankish region from the period before 1000, only to disappear almost completely thereafter, and only a small number of the textings of melodic tropes survive their demise.

Correlations can be observed between the region of distribution and the age of tropes. They bear witness to periods of production before the beginning of a widespread written tradition. Michael Huglo has hypothesized that chants that can be found throughout the entire region of the former Carolingian empire at its height under Charlemagne at the beginning of the written tradition in the tenth century were written and diffused before the first division of the empire in 843. These melodies are therefore older than those that are found only in either East Frankish or West Frankish sources.[34] It is also a widely held scholarly opinion that

31 Margot Fassler, "The Disappearance of the Proper Tropes and the Rise of the Late Sequence," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus, Papers Read at The Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy, 1992), 319–35.

32 James Grier, "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth Century Aquitaine," *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1023–69.

33 Andreas Haug, *Troparia tardiva. Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995).

34 Michel Huglo, "Division de la tradition monodique en deux groupes 'est' et 'ouest,'" *Revue de Musicologie* 85 (1999), 5–28.

tropes that are found in the oldest sources from all the regions of Western Europe derive from the oldest production. Lori Kruckenberg has demonstrated that there are not only "pan-Frankish" tropes, whose sources are spread over the region of the empire before its division in 843, and those that are only to be found in the western portion or the eastern portion of the empire after its division in 870, but also tropes whose sources are found within the narrow borders of the short-lived middle portion that stretched from the Atlantic coast to Italy from 843 to 870 and whose composition likely occurred during this time.[35] How far tropes from different phases of the ninth century can be distinguished from one another stylistically has yet to be investigated.

To date, hardly any recognizable sign of historical change in genre or style seems to substantiate a historical narrative given the simultaneous emergence in the oldest sources of fundamentally different types of trope which cannot be shown to be historically derived from one another, and given the relatively short time in which the bulk of the tropes were composed and the relatively long time over which they were used. Hence, a "History of Tropes" is best constructed as a history of transmission, reception, distribution and exchange, as a mapping of the *Schichten und Wege* of tropes rather than a genre history.[36] The idea that the small number of formal, internal, and functional markers that a majority of all tropes have in common (the often-cited "complex network of similarities that overlap and cross each other" and "familial resemblance"[37] that accounts for the loose relationship between the diverse manifestations of the troping principle) can be somehow comprised with the concept of genre has been rejected with good reason.[38] The "troping principle" did not create any separate category of chant that can be defined by constant characteristics other than this shared principle. Any interpretation of the tropes should therefore be measured by how well it explains the emergence and subsequent application of this principle.

35 Lori Kruckenberg, "The Lotharingian Axis and Monastic Reforms: Towards the Recovery of an Early Messine Trope Tradition," in *Cantus Planus – Study Group of the International Musicological Society: Papers Read at the Twelfth Meeting, Lillafüred, Hungary. 23–28 August 2004* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy, 2006), 723–52.

36 Arlt, "Schichten und Wege"; Arlt, "Von den einzelnen Aufzeichnungen"; Arlt, "Deutsch-französische Beziehungen im Tropus des ausgehenden 9. und frühen 10. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Axel Beer, Kristina Pfarr, and Wolfgang Ruf, Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 37 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 67–79. See also the studies by Arlt and other authors in *Itinerari e stratificazioni dei tropi: San Marco, l'Italia settentrionale e il Nord*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Giulio Cattin (Venice: Ugo e Olga Levi, 2009).

37 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), 57.

38 Jacobsson and Treitler, "Tropes and the Concept of Genre."

The earliest example of the use of the term "trope"[39] for sung additions to chants of the Mass is found in a rubric that appears in two tropers from the Abbey of St. Gall around 950: "Incipiunt tropi carminum in diversis festivitatibus missarum canendi" ("Here begin the tropes of the chants of the Mass as they are to be sung on the different feasts").[40] The comprehensive material that the copyist of both books collected under this title includes the entire spectrum of forms and procedures that the term could include at that time: around 1,000 melodic or textual-melodic additions of different forms and styles of speech to two groups of the "carmina missarum," to which they were compiled as belonging (as the genitive form "tropi carminum" indicates): first, to Mass antiphons that were not included in the tropers but found in both contemporary and older antiphoners (graduals) of the abbey, and second to the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, whose melodies – even those which appear without tropes – were included in the tropers, but – like the tropes – were left out of the antiphoners.

Poetics and History

The following attempt at an interpretation of the tropes focuses on the relationship between the tropes and the original chants to which they were added. Early trope scholarship, too, concentrated on the relationship between the expanded and the expanding.[41] From various viewpoints, the

39 The medieval nomenclature for tropes is of only marginal importance for such an interpretation. The word "trope," which is derived from Greek τροπος ("turn," like the Latin "versus") and has been assimilated into academic discourse as an umbrella term for all its variations, was only one of many medieval terms for tropes. The unspecific term "versus" was used alongside it, along with "prosa," "prosula," "verba," or "verbeta," to refer to tropes that were constructed by adapting texts to melismas, or "laudes," often used for Gloria-tropes, and "neuma" (in the sense of "melisma") for melodic tropes. Conversely, the term "tropus" indicated not only the expansion of existing chants. Its music-theoretical meanings ("mode," like the Latin "modus," and "melody," "chant," like the Latin "sonus," "cantus") are irrelevant for the interpretation of musical tropes. The same is true for its rhetorical meaning (the "turn" from the proper to the improper use of a word), even if medieval authors sometimes play on its meaning as a figure of the transfer of meaning ("significatio translata"). See Odelmann, "Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes?" The earliest definitions of tropes are more supportive for their interpretation than terminology. They can be found around 1030 in texts of Adémar of Chabannes (*Le liber pontificalis*, I: clxxxii). One, the above-mentioned "inserta cantica" ("inserted chants"), refers to the tropes to the Introit and captures the moment of insertion into an already existing structure. The other, "himni interstincti" ("set in hymns"), refers to the tropes of the Gloria and seems to emphasize the hymnodic as opposed to psalmodic aspect of the poems.

40 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek (*CH-SGs*), cod. sang. 484, fol. 4 and cod. sang. 381, fol. 195.

41 Heinrich Husmann, "Sinn und Wesen der Tropen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959), 135; Bruno Stäblein, "Zum Verständnis des 'klassischen' Tropus," *Acta Musicologica* 35 (1963), 84–95; Wulf Arlt, "Zur Interpretation der Tropen," in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Hans Oesch, Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte, Forum musicologicum 3 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 61–90; Arlt, "Zu einigen Fragen der Funktion, Interpretation und Edition der Introitustropen," in *Liturgische Tropen. Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Cambridge (1984)*, ed. Gabriel Silagi (Munich: Arbeo Gesellschaft, 1985), 131–50.

attributes "old," "prescribed," "biblical," "Roman," and "unchanging" can be assigned to the corpus of original chants, while "new," "tolerated," "poetic," "Frankish," and "changing" can be applied to the tropes. Thus the following series of five oppositions might be used to express the relationship between the original corpus and the chants:

"old – new"
"prescribed – tolerated"
"biblical – poetic"
"Roman – Frankish"
"unchanging – changing"

It is clear that none of these oppositions is equally useful in every individual situation, and that they carry different weights for the interpretation of tropes. Considering them separately, however, facilitates nuanced analysis and reflection on the complexity and ambiguity of the functional relationship between tropes and original chants.

"Old – New"

It is not easy to say what meaning the relative opposition of old and new has for the understanding of tropes. From the perspective of music history, one can easily get the impression that the troping of an Introit, in the words of Wulf Arlt, set "all interest on the complex and subtle interaction between old and new."[42] No less complex and subtle are, however, the interaction between that which is biblical and poetic, Roman and Frankish, unchanging and changing, and it is far from obvious on which of these aspects those who composed, performed, and received the tropes focused their attention. That does not mean that the aspect of newness was not a criterion by which to judge tropes. In his *Gesta Karoli* of ca. 880, Notker of St. Gall attributed the skill of "newly composing chants" ("nova carminum compositio sive modulatio") to "a cleric incomparable in all regards" at the court of the emperor.[43] Here, the merit of newly composed "carmina" is assumed, and Notker may well have had in mind the immense production of tropes at St. Gall. But composers of tropes were not always concerned to highlight the new as such with respect to new textual and melodic material. They could also afford to disregard the compositional "novitas," as Letaldus of Micy explained around 1000 when he gave priority to an

42 Arlt, "Zu einigen Fragen," 133.
43 Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, ed. Hans F. Haefele, MGH, Scriptores, Nova Series, vol. XII (Berlin: MGH, 1959), 45.

idiomatic (that is, modal) "alignment with the original chant" ("similitudo veteris cantus") as opposed to setting oneself apart ("dissimilitudo") from it.[44]

What was new attracted negative attention when it fell afoul of church authorities and resulted in a ban on tropes, as in a canon of the Council of Meaux of 845 (which also applied to sequences) in which the "purity of the ancient" ("puritas antiquitatis") was explicitly protected from people who out of "delight in novelties" ("novitatibus delectati") would disfigure the ancient with new "compositions," which the gathered bishops disqualified as "inventions" ("adinventiones") and "forgeries" ("fictiones").[45]

If one accepts that the production of tropes began after the reception of Roman chant in the Frankish empire had ended, then in comparison with the chants, the composition of tropes was not part of the original material but rather a new practice. The opposition of the "old" and the "new" thus shows itself to be too imprecise, too differently valued, and too quickly relativized to be given any greater weight in the modern interpretation of tropes.

"Prescribed – Tolerated"

The use of the Roman chant was politically decreed in the Frankish churches, something documented in royal directives.[46] Frankish cantors' practice of expanding the chant with tropes seems to have been quietly tolerated by religious authorities; however, the historical sources are silent on the matter. Cases in which the license to trope was taken away from cantors demonstrate that this tolerance could not be taken for granted. The prohibition like the one mentioned above in a canon of the Council of Meaux of 845, which expressly forbids the production and performance of tropes by "clerics and monks" and threatens offenders with the loss of office ("quod si fecerit, deponatur"), may have been, in fact, an isolated case. In any event, no other mandates are known to have been preserved. Tropes could also be affected by opposition in principle to non-biblical chant texts. The ancient ban on poetic texts in worship, "nihil poetice compositum in divinis laudibus usurpandum," renewed by Bishop Florus of Lyon (d. ca. 860)[47] – itself a verdict with a long and involved prehistory[48] – did not

44 *PL*, vol. CXXXIX: col. 784.
45 MGH, Concilia III (Hanover: Hahn, 1984), 129. For a detailed interpretation of the canon see Andreas Haug, "Ein neues Textdokument zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sequenz," in *Festschrift Ulrich Siegele zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rudolf Faber et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 9–19.
46 *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, ed. Hubert Mordek et al. (Hanover: Hahn, 2012), 230.
47 *Flori Lugdunensis Opera Polemica*, ed. Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 260 (Turnhout, Brepols, 2014), 36 (previously attributed to Agobart of Lyon).
48 See Henri Muller, "Pre-History of the Medieval Drama: The Antecedents of Tropes and the Conditions of Their Appearance," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 44 (1924), 544– 75.

directly target tropes. Pierre-Marie Gy has suggested, however, that "zones anti-tropes" were created as a consequence of a rigid "mono-biblisme."[49] Nevertheless, it is difficult to say whether a local or regional lack of evidence of troping is the result of a ban or the loss of sources. In principle, tropes were not subversive, and the suggestion that troping was a kind of anti-authoritarian practice that encountered consistent opposition from religious authorities is contradicted by the evidence of their massive transmission.

Occasionally tropes were elevated to the level of a normative element of liturgical practice, namely when they were included in the order of the service. The oldest directive on the use of tropes is found in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Hirsau reform movement.[50] It concerns the Easter trope *Postquam factus*, whose prominent position in the practice at Hirsau bestowed on it a second career.[51] At the same time, the Hirsau *Liber ordinarius* provides indirect evidence of the excision of tropes from the Mass as it contains no further tropes than this one Easter trope and one Christmas trope. The motivation for this excision is not evident. It cannot be due to an objection to poetic texts, as sequences played a large role in the practice of the reform movement.[52]

"Biblical – Poetic"

The label "poetic" can be applied to tropes either because of the non-biblical status or the poetic form of their texts. Both aspects are related insofar as Mass antiphons almost always have texts of biblical origin that are in a prose form, namely the prose form of the Latin translation of the Bible. With a view to the music-historical significance that the corpus of Roman chant has as the core part of the oldest extant layer of European music, one can almost describe the linear prose of the Bible (the "Vulgata" and the "Vetus Latina") as the "native language" of European music, the syntactic structures of which were a formative factor in the creation of the melodic syntax of Roman chant, a kind of "prose melodics," and which subsequently assumed a formative role for many of its tropes. However, almost all trope texts were formulated independently of the Bible, not in terms of content, but in terms of style. They are freely written or taken from existing poetic texts – as with the verses by Prudentius that were sung as an introit

49 Pierre-Marie Gy, "L'hypothèse lotharingienne et la diffusion des tropes," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 231–37.
50 Felix Heinzer, "Der Hirsauer 'Liber ordinarius,'" *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992), 309–47.
51 Andreas Haug, "Ein 'Hirsauer' Tropus," *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994), 328–45.
52 Lori Kruckenberg, "Zur Rekonstruktion des Hirsauer Sequentiars," *Revue Bénédictine* 109 (1999), 186–207.

trope[53] – but they do not always have texts in verse form. Among the tropes to Mass antiphons, approximately one third have versified texts, among which metrically constructed verses (hexameter and distich) dominate. Only in exceptional cases do their melodic structures follow the structure of the verses closely enough to render it audible when sung.[54] A wavering interest in the poetic form of the text is also demonstrated by the fact that not only would trope texts written in prose be reworked into verse, but verse would also be rewritten or paraphrased as prose. There is no evidence that a desire for texts in verse form motivated the creation of tropes. Nevertheless, during the Carolingian period, in the tropes and the verse offices, the ancient Latin of classical verse forms entered the field of composition as a new and different language. This language was more artificial, more culturally distinguished, and offered more literary and musical possibilities than the *sermo humilis* of the Bible. With the practice of troping, not only did these two linguistic idioms come into contact, but the intricate syntax of metrical verses also came into contact with the linear structures of prose melodics modeled on biblical prose in the traditional psalmodic chant forms. The increased textual demands on the melodies of versified tropes were an impulse for further compositional exploration of the text-setting potentials of monophonic music.

When Adémar of Chabannes described the tropes as chants inserted "into the psalms of David,"[55] he was placing greater emphasis on the biblical or "Davidic" origins of the Mass chants than on their Roman or "Gregorian" origins, and envisioning the biblical psalms as a higher authority for the tropes than the Roman antiphons. In fact, a majority of the texts of the antiphons of the Roman Mass are based on the psalter, even though the texts of some of the most frequently troped antiphons come from other books of the Old and New Testaments.[56]

Through poetic means troping can be understood as a continuation of psalmodic practice insofar that the tropes share functions that the antiphons already fulfill: like the antiphons, they concretize the connection between the liturgically "neutral" content of the psalm and the content of the feast in

53 Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Primus init Stephanus. Eine Sankt Galler Prudentius-Vertonung des zehnten Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1992), 57–78.

54 Andreas Haug, "Ways of Singing Hexameter in Tenth-Century Europe," in *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music*, ed. Michael Scott Cuthbert, Sean Gallagher, and Christoph Wolff, Harvard Publications in Music 23 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 207–28.

55 *Liber pontificalis*, 1: clxxxii.

56 Petrus Pietschmann, "Die nicht dem Psalter entnommenen Meßgesangstücke auf ihre Textgestalt untersucht," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1932), 87–144; Ritva Jacobsson, "Poésie liturgique et fond biblique," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 309–41.

whose Mass the psalm is sung in the Roman liturgy. While the antiphons remain limited to the biblical text in their wording, the tropes are formulated as poetic texts independent of the Bible and can make the connection of the psalm to the feast more tangible than the antiphons can. The meaning assigned to the psalm in the exegetical tradition of the church remains latent in the original text and is made manifest in the trope. Sometimes this occurs in a concise directness or an almost pedantic redundancy that does not always represent a poetic improvement on the short Roman antiphons, and other times with a deeper exegetical perspective, mobilizing such subtle means that the original text is fully fathomed theologically and surpassed rhetorically.

Hodie totus orbis laetabundus exultat,
hodie fortis leo resurrexit,
dicamus cum psalmista:
RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM . . .[57]

Taken from the Reichenau troper,[58] these lines introducing the introit antiphon for the Easter Sunday Mass are exemplary demonstrations of certain central achievements and effects of tropes: the celebrated event is proclaimed ("fortis leo resurrexit"), the joy surrounding the event is pronounced ("totus orbis laetabundus exultat"), and it is underscored that the past event is made present in the celebration ("hodie"). The resurrected one is portrayed in a poetic – i.e., non-biblical – figurative expression ("leo fortis"). Those singing are invited to intone the antiphon.

The trope references the psalter – the work of the "psalmista" – as the biblical source of the antiphon that is sung in alternation with verses from Psalm 138 (137 *iuxta Septuagintam*) and marks the antiphon as an expression of the contemporary singers and at the same time that of the biblical psalmist, whose voices unite. The text of the antiphon, permeated by calls of "Alleluia," was made by centonization, a literary procedure known since late Antiquity; in this particular instance segments of Psalm 138 (verses 2–6, 17–18), a psalm that praises God's omniscience, have been pieced together. Singing this psalm on Easter Day conforms to the patristic interpretation of this text as the speech of the Son of God resurrected from the dead and returned to his Father in Heaven. The text of the antiphon, repeated as a refrain, brings this interpretation of the psalm to the fore. In the following hexameter, taken

57 *Corpus Troporum*, vol. III: 117. "Today the entire world rejoices and is filled with joy, / the strong lion is resurrected today, / let us sing with the Psalmist: / I AM RESURRECTED AND STILL WITH YOU . . . "
58 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek (*D-BAs*), msc. lit. 5.

from the same manuscript, Christ himself speaks in the trope, and the naming of the Father together with the doubling of the pronoun (for reasons of the verse form) underscores the salutary character of the trope:

Te, mihi membra, pater, te vivificante sepulta,
RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM ...[59]

The merging of the voices of biblical figures with voices of the singers participating in the rite corresponds to a merging of time periods. The "hodie" that brings the past events into the present at the beginning of this and countless other tropes has a double significance: the adverb signifies "a temporal" and "an eternal day," as Honorius Augustodunensis noted in his *Gemma animae* in regard to the formulation "Hodie resurrexit dominus."[60] In his *Speculum ecclesiae* Honorius explains: "Therefore we now sing in the service 'Today is he resurrected,' even though we know that he was resurrected many years ago."[61] If the writings of this author originated in Regensburg, as has been suggested,[62] then the quoted "Hodie resurrexit dominus" may refer to the following Easter trope that seems to have originated in Regensburg as well:[63]

Hodie resurrexit dominus Iesus Christus de sepulchro,
portas destruxit et infernum depredavit:
Propterea gaudete, gratias agite et cantate illi cum tremore:
RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM ...[64]

In the following trope, one of the most widely diffused, oldest, and also long-lived of the Easter feast, Christ speaks of himself and his actions in the first person in both the introductory pair of hexametric verses and the short internal trope elements written in prose. He is not announced as the speaker, but is recognizable by what he says (see Example 9.1):[65]

59 *Corpus Troporum*, vol. III: 201 (with commentary p. 250). "That you, Father, you, give life to me, the body laid in the grave / I AM RESURRECTED AND STILL WITH YOU ... "
60 "Duo sunt dies: dies temporalitatis et dies aeternitatis." *Gemma animae*, cap. XII: *PL*, vol. CLXXII: col. 692.
61 "Ideo in divinis officiis nunc dicimus: Hodie resurrexit, dum eum ante plurimos annos resurrexisse noverimus." *Speculum ecclesiae: PL*, vol. CLXXII: col. 929.
62 Konrad Benedikt Vollmann, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. V: 122.
63 Viacheslav Kartsovnik believes this to be certain: "Honorius Augustodinensis of Regensburg, Liturgical Tropes and a Sequence by Notker Balbulus," in *Hortus Troporum: Florilegium in Honorem Gunillae Iversen: A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Gunilla Iversen at the Occasion of Her Retirement as Chair of Latin at the Department of Classical Languages, Stockholm University*, ed. Alexander Andrée and Erika Kihlman (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2008).
64 *Corpus Troporum*, vol. III: 113. "Today the Lord Jesus Christ is resurrected from the grave, / he has broken the gates of Hell and conquered the Underworld: / Therefore be joyful, thank God and sing to him with trembling: / I AM RESURRECTED AND STILL WITH YOU ... "
65 Halberstadt, Domschatz (*D-HTd*), Inventar-Nummer 45, fol. 23–23v.

Example 9.1 Trope complex "Postquam factus homo" for the Easter Introit "Resurrexi" from Halberstadt, Domschatz, Inventar-Nummer 45, fol. 23–23v



Postquam factus homo tua iussa paterna peregi
in cruce morte mea mortis Erebum superando,
RESURREXI, ET ADHUC TECUM SUM, ALLELUIA.
In regno superno tibi coequalis, iam ultra in eternum semper immortalis.
POSUISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM, ALLELUIA.
Laudibus angelorum, qui te laudant sine fine,
MIRABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA,
Cui canunt angeli:
ALLELUIA, ALLELUIA.[66]

The complex opens with a trope element that summarizes the salvation history in compact form, connecting the Incarnation of the Son of God through his human birth, his death on the Cross as celebration of victory over death, and his Resurrection made present on Easter Sunday. The internal trope elements limit themselves to the biblical text of the antiphon: the first is a kind of gloss that clarifies a passage difficult to understand and indeed understood by the Church Fathers in different ways: "et adhuc tecum sum" ("and I am still/once again/from now on with you"): after his Resurrection the Son of God stands beside the Father, immortal like him, and equal to the Father.[67] The next element brings his speech to the fore, in which the angels who live and sing in Heaven appear, and in whose mouths – a change of speaker – the closing Alleluia-calls sound in the final element.

Like the biblical Mass antiphons, but more explicit and insistent than them, the tropes read texts of the Old Testament from the perspective of the New Testament. The philologist Felix Heinzer has demonstrated the usefulness of Erich Auerbach's concept of "figura" for the understanding of the hermeneutic function of tropes.[68] Auerbach's concept is derived from the exegetical practice of the Church Fathers and the hermeneutics of Augustine, and with it he refers to the Church's construction and appropriation of the Old Testament in which earlier events and figures were read as prefigurations of later ones which reveal their hidden

66 *Corpus Troporum*, vol. III: 162, further elements pp. 127, 132 and 75. "After I was made man at your fatherly command, / conquering the Underworld of death through my death on the Cross, / I AM RESURRECTED AND STILL WITH YOU, ALLELUIA, / in Heaven, like you, for now and forever immortal. / YOU HAVE LAID YOUR HAND ON ME, ALLELUIA. / In the songs of praise of the angels, who praise you without end, / IT IS WONDERFUL TO RECOGNIZE YOU, / of whom the angels sing: / ALLELUIA, ALLELUIA."
67 Gunilla Björkvall, "French Tropes in Northern Italy," in *Itinerari e stratificazioni dei tropi: San Marco, l'Italia settentrionale e il Nord*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Giulio Cattin (Venice: Ugo e Olga Levi, 2009), 43–60.
68 Felix Heinzer, "Figura zwischen Präsenz und Diskurs. Das Verhältnis des 'gregorianischen' Messgesangs zu seiner dichterischen Erweiterung (Tropus und Sequenz)," in *Figura. Dynamiken der Zeiten und Zeichen im Mittelalter*, ed. Christian Kiening and Katharina Mertens Fleury (Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2013).

allegorical meanings. The Church's interpretation of the psalms in this way laid the foundation for their use in chant in the Church. The figurative meaning of the psalm can be brought out in the alternation of its verses with its sung antiphon, taken from either the same psalm or another location in the Bible. The meaning of the antiphon is explicated, reinforced, or given greater depth by the trope that appears with it. Above all, unlike in the antiphon, the figurative rereading is not left unsaid or taken for granted in the trope, as in Psalm 138 where the words of the psalmist are identified as the speech of the Son of God. The figurative meaning is made explicit, and the blurring of two different temporalities is emphasized. This is the decisive difference between psalms and antiphons on the one hand and tropes on the other, which Heinzer has identified (with the example of the St. Gall Christmas trope "Hodie cantandus est"):

> The assimilation of the Old Testament texts into liturgical chant does not raise the issue of adoption as such, but rather blurs the distance between old and new and the difference in authority of the model and its realization ... Opposite this compression of identity, the trope stresses the symbolic nature of these figurative relationships. In doing so, it also emphasizes the temporal distance that decisively separates and raises it from the context of the introit. In principle, this applies already to the introductory signal of the contemporaneity of *Hodie*, because this also functions as an insistent affirmation of the claim to contemporaneity that the related text ... makes.[69]

However, the interplay between psalm, antiphon, and trope is not just a play of meanings, but also a play of voices: the voices of biblical figures – presented in the present – and the voices of the singers participating in the performance – presenting themselves as in the present – who represent the speaking biblical figures, repeat their speech, and at the same time reproduce their voices. There is a blurring of the represented and representing voices. This can be observed in the following opening trope, where the blurring of voices can occur multifariously through the doubling of the verb *dicere*:

69 "Die Vereinnahmung des alttestamentlichen Textes im liturgischen Gesang thematisiert den Akt der Übernahme als solchen nicht, sondern überblendet in seiner sakralen Performanz die Distanz zwischen Alt und Neu und die Geltungsdifferenz von Vorbild und Erfüllung in absoluter Engführung ... Gegenüber dieser Setzung von Identität betont der Tropus die Zeichenhaftigkeit des figuralen Verhältnisses und in diesem Zusammenhang auch das Moment der zeitlichen Differenz, das ihn von dem präsentischen Gestus des Introitus dezidiert unterscheidet und abhebt. Das gilt im Grunde schon für das einleitende Aktualisierungssignal des *Hodie*, denn auch dieses wirkt wie eine insistierende Affirmation jenes Vergegenwärtigungsanspruchs, den der Bezugstext ... feststellt" (Heinzer, "Figura zwischen Präsenz und Diskurs," 73).

Hora est, psallite, iubet domnus canere, eia dicite:
Christus devicta morte personat voce praeclara patro dicens:
RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM ...[70]

One is called by singing to sing, and it is evinced in singing that a singer announces the day and hour of the Resurrection. In doing so, the antiphon is not directly identified as spoken by Christ, but in the next lines of the trope, the singers, distinguishing between speech and voice, declare themselves to be not only intoning the words of Christ, but also to be his "clear voice."

The "hodie" that opens a great number of tropes semantically encompasses not only the presence of the celebrated past event through the equalizing of "temporal" and "eternal" day, but also the contemporaneity of the vocal performance through the unison of absent fictional voices and present real voices. This is signaled by the exclamation "eia" so frequently iterated in trope texts. The effect of the message is overpowered by the effect of the voice of a contemporary singer whose presence is ceaselessly referenced in trope texts. This aligns with Paul Zumthor's use of the word "vocality"; used of the voice, not as a carrier of language, but as a practice of the bodily capability to produce a sound, that "is not directly connected to meaning," but "only prepares the location" where the meaning will be pronounced.[71] The voice plays this role even more powerfully when it is sung, not spoken, as in the practice of psalmodic performance and in the practice of troping. Interpretation, commentary, figurative rereading of the Bible, and the variation-rich, rhetorically amplifying, poetically formed, musically supported reformulation of meaning are important for the tropes. Yet, tropes are not merely a medium of their manifestation in language. They are at the same time a location of vocality, performativity, the "production of presence"[72] – and they refer to themselves as such a location in their texts.

The historical prerequisites for the hermeneutical function of tropes – the allegorical interpretation of the psalms, the figura concept – did not emerge in the Carolingian period, but existed already in the time of the Church Fathers. To date, no evidence has been found that the tropes fulfilled a concrete interpretational need that was specific to the time of their emergence.

70 *Corpus Troporum*, vol. III: 117 and 67, and commentary, 237: " The hour is here, intone the psalm, the lord (cantor) calls you to sing, eia, sing: / Christ, after he had conquered death, sang with a clear voice and said to the Father: / I AM RESURRECTED AND STILL WITH YOU . . . "
71 Paul Zumthor, *La poésie et la voix* (cited and translated from the German edition: Paul Zumthor, *Die Stimme und die Poesie in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft* [Munich: Fink, 1994], 12–13).
72 Hans Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Thus the opposition "biblical" – "poetic" seems to be of less importance than the opposition "Roman" – "Frankish" for the historical contextualization of the tropes and the question of what factors might have necessitated or facilitated their conception.

"Roman – Frankish"

The antiphons troped by Frankish cantors were considered Roman within the Carolingian empire. It is not relevant in the context of troping that the pre-existing corpus, its texts and – as far as we know – its melodies, actually were of Roman origin. What is important is that the attribute "Roman" first became relevant in music history as a Frankish label. It was the Franks who propagated the idea of the Roman-ness of the Roman chant and gave it relevance outside of its city, and it was the Franks who began to expand this corpus with tropes.

However obvious it is that the appearance of the tropes presupposes the reception of the Roman chant in the Frankish church, it is nevertheless very difficult to construct a causal historical connection between the two successive events. In any case, one might say that the beginning of troping marks the transition from a "passive" to a "productive" reception of the Roman chant by Frankish cantors. At the same time, it marks the transition by Frankish cantors from the use of the "Gallican" chant that was reportedly suppressed by Pepin III[73] to an adoption of the Roman repertory. One can speculate that in this encounter between Frankish singers and the Roman chant textual and melodic elements of the suppressed indigenous tradition – or at least certain stylistic features of this tradition – found their way into the expansions of what was for the Franks a foreign, politically imposed "received chant" ("suscepta modulatio"),[74] albeit such elements of an indigenous musical substratum cannot be identified within trope composition.

Carolingian propaganda helped the Roman chant achieve lasting acceptance in the Frankish empire. It was given a greater authority through the belief that it was the embodiment of a system of chants ("norma canendi"[75]) established by Pope Gregory I and the claim that Pope Gregory had written

73 *Admonitio generalis*, cap. 78: "quando Gallicanum tulit" ("when he [Pepin] suppressed the Gallican [chant].)" (*Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, ed. Hubert Mordek et al. [Hanover: Hahn, 2012], 230.)

74 John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, II, cap. VII *et passim*; quoted from the edition in Andreas Haug, "Noch einmal: Roms Gesang und die Gemeinschaften im Norden," in *"Nationes," "Gentes" und die Musik im Mittelalter*, ed. Frank Hentschel and Marie Winkelmüller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 103–45, esp. Anhang, Text 1: 130.

75 *I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 1709, fol. 32 (Fleury, ca. 800). Bruno Stäblein, "'Gregorius praesul,' der Prolog zu römischen Antiphonale," in *Musik und Verlag. Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Baum und W. Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), 545.

down the Roman antiphoner following a divine dictation ("afflatu dictante superno"[76]). With such powerful ideological associations, the Roman chant would have been presented in the Frankish churches as a corpus intrinsically perfect, unchangeable, and not to be replaced by any other chant. New musical formulations were reconcilable with this belief as long as (1) they did not replace, but rather expanded on the Roman substance; (2) the expansion was achieved without changing the structure of the Roman chants; (3) the expansion was tied to the Roman chant and remained dependent on it; and (4) the boundary between the Roman substance and the expansion was clear enough to prevent their confusion or mixing. The concept of tropes satisfies these four requirements.

The normative reception of the Roman chant north of the Alps directed composition into the limited path of troping. The tropes could function as a medium of appropriation of the imported foreign idiom, in that they qualified the ideal of a musical Roman-ness without negating it. The Roman chant that was forced on the Frankish cantors was something foreign. It required that they recognize the chant of the others. It also required them to accept their own chant's loss of authority and to abandon it. Thus the Franks found themselves relegated to a secondary position in music and culture. Moreover, not only from the perspective of polemicizing Romans, but also from the Frankish perspective, it must have been difficult to recognize the ability of non-Romans to achieve the same quality as the Romans in such a Roman area as the Roman chant. In order to explain what would make the reception of Roman melodies difficult, the Roman John the Deacon (ca. 875) ascribed to the Gauls – he did not use the political term "the Franks" – two qualities.[77] The first was a "natural wildness" ("feritas naturalis"), that expressed itself in the "natural racket" ("fragor naturalis"): a brash, coarse, "un-Roman" vocality. It was an inborn lack, resistant to intercultural learning processes, and, in the eyes of the Romans, less dangerous than amusing as a target of literary satire. The other is an "unshakeable frivolity" ("levitas animi," "indiscussa levitas") that John does not accept but criticizes as the expression of a cultural behavior: an underlying resistance to Romanization in the Gauls that expresses itself in the "mixing" ("miscerunt") of their "own" ("proprium") into the Roman chant. Thus, regarding the difference between their own and the received chant, the Franks were accused by the Romans of inherent laxness. This

76 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 118, fol. 1 (Saint-Denis, ninth/tenth century); Stäblein, "Gregorius," 546.
77 *Vita Gregorii Magni*, II, cap. VII; quoted from Andreas Haug, "Noch eimal," Anhang, Text I: 130.

critique was known in the Frankish realm, and the Frankish concept of troping can be understood against the background of this critique: it is a mode of assimilation that makes the foreign object one's own and connects one's own to it, without mixing, confusing, or exchanging it with one's own.

In fact, tropes can be clearly distinguished from the original chants, which to a certain extent demonstrates that they were only added after formal sections or units of meaning in the original chants. This is also true of textual tropes, which do not merge unnoticed into the original text, even when they merely constitute a short gloss-like addition, but especially when the linguistic structure of these additions contrasts with that of the original text, like tropes with texts in verse form, or when tropes are textings of original melismas or of melismatic tropes, and therefore are distinct from their surroundings because of their syllabic style. This is even true for purely melodic tropes to the Roman antiphons, although they fundamentally alter the appearance of the Roman original both by displacing the prevailing balance in the antiphon between word and music and by redistributing the balance between the antiphon, which swells melodically many times beyond its original size, and the psalmodic verses. But the newly added notes never seep unnoticed into the melodic construction of the antiphon. They constitute self-contained melodic, melismatic expansions at cadences and at the end of units of meaning, and are found only on final syllables of words, never on internal syllables of words.

The shift of weight from the psalm verses to the antiphon created by the introit tropes reflects a change in function first identified by Wulf Arlt.[78] Unlike the beginning of the Roman stational Masses, where the antiphon served as the refrain for a longer and variable series of psalm verses that accompanied the entry of the bishop, in the Frankish monastic churches the Roman entry chants only served as opening chants of the Mass: here the antiphon was sung in alternation with only one or two psalm verses. Textually and melodically, the antiphon was formulated briefly and concisely, and the trope extended its duration, expanded its intellectual scope, and heightened its music. What had been a refrain of the psalm was thus elevated to the position of utmost importance: a recontextualization and new presentation of the Roman antiphon according to the needs of the Frankish church. In this way, the Roman chant was reshaped in the process of its Frankish reception. This reshaping, which approaches a refashioning, represents a creative contribution as opposed to a passive reception, and

78 Arlt, "Zu einigen Fragen," 132–34.

goes far beyond a subaltern continuation by the same means. Instead, the Franks placed something of equal value alongside the Roman chant.

Ironically, the Franks could not revel in their new creation because it suffered from a problem of legitimation. The Franks themselves had established the difference in authority between Roman and Frankish chant practice. They had created a steep differential between the two that was difficult to reconcile with the claim that Frankish achievements held equal status with Roman ones, and they had made the differential even steeper by massively inflating the Roman chant with the idea of Pope Gregory I's authorship and the divine inspiration of the chants. The loss of their own chant tradition could be compensated for with new musical production. But such production lacked authority. It could be elevated with an attribution to Romans, but this entailed a denial of Frankish authorship. This latter strategy was followed by Ekkehart IV of St. Gall and Adémar of Chabannes in their eleventh-century narratives.[79] In both narratives Roman singers in the Frankish empire are transformed from transmitters of Roman chant to the creators of Frankish musical forms or into the transmitters of musical forms that all of our historical knowledge indicates were actually of Frankish origin. Thus Ekkehart makes two Roman singers into the first composers of sequences,[80] and Adémar's Romans bring notation ("nota Romana") and two-part singing ("ars organandi") to the Frankish empire.[81] Elsewhere Adémar draws on the authority of Roman bishops for Frankish chant forms. He claims that Pope Hadrian I (772–95) mandated the singing of the versified prologue to the Roman antiphoner (*Gregorius presul*) on the first Sunday of Advent; that Pope Hadrian II (867–72) sanctioned the practice of singing sequences ("melodias ante Evangelium quas dicunt sequentias"), tropes on the Gloria, and certain "added chants to the psalms of David, that are called introits," which the Romans called "festive songs for praise" and the Franks "tropes." It was also thanks to this pope that the troper was, like the antiphoner, "full of worthy chants" ("cantilenis honestis"):[82] Adémar declared the difference in authority between the Roman antiphoner and the Frankish troper null and void.

The tropes, then, can be interpreted as a symptom of the cultural ambivalence of Frankish cantors towards the reception of Roman chant in

79 Haug, "Noch einmal," *passim*.
80 Haug, "Der Beginn europäischen Komponierens in der Karolingerzeit: Ein Phantombild," *Die Musikforschung* 58 (2005), 225–41.
81 *Ademari Cabannensis opera omnia*, *pars 1*, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 88–90 and Haug, "Noch einmal," Anhang, Text III: 138–40.
82 *Le liber pontificalis*, I: clxxxii, and Andreas Haug, "Noch einmal," Anhang, Text VI: 144–45.

the Frankish empire. On the one hand, this product of a musical high culture from the Mediterranean of late Antiquity, which was undeniably forced on the Franks, would have been seen as a provocation from the Frankish perspective as soon as it arrived and was adopted north of the Alps. The impulse for an enduring creative engagement with the idiomatically foreign corpus arose from this musical experience of alterity. The transalpine recipients of the Roman chant, about whom we know very little, must have been self-conscious carriers of an indigenous musical tradition that they regarded as completely equal in value to the Roman and that they nevertheless were willing to abandon in favor of the Roman. They must have recognized that their own tradition, regardless of its musical equality, possessed less cultic authority than the foreign tradition. The tropes emerged from Frankish cantors' compositional engagement with this difference of cultic authority for which political and religious-political factors were responsible.

Because Roman chant was imposed as a royal directive, the appearance of tropes can be seen as an indirect result of Pepin III's efforts toward the Romanization of the Frankish Church. Furthermore, because the production of tropes benefited from the rediscovered and renewed cultural competencies in the realms of language, literature, and music as facilitated by the Carolingian educational reforms, the practice of troping can be seen as a music-historical result of the Rome-oriented religious politics of Pepin and the educational reform of Charlemagne, even if it appears that the practice of troping did not fully come into effect until the time of Louis the Pious and his sons.

"Unchanging – Changing"

The corpus of Roman chants is set down unchanging in books that carried Roman authority. Tropes could change and thus they allowed the unchanging antiphons to appear in varying poetical and musical garb. In this way, tropes would not endanger the aura of the Roman chant as a practice safe from any kind of change. Quite the opposite is true: they demonstrate it. The extra-regional consistency of Roman singing was an ideal whose realization was far removed from the immediate experience of local churches. Through tropes, it could be expressed.[83]

83 According to the two oldest tropers of St. Gall, no fewer than fifty-five melodic and fifty-six textual expansions on the introit antiphon *Ecce advenit* for Epiphany were known in the abbey, and arranged by copyists in sixteen series. These series represented many possible ways to realize this Introit, in whose changing forms the unchanging antiphon was performed as a constant, fixed core. The later tropers of the abbey from the eleventh century evidence a reduction of this material so that only thirty trope elements were applied to the Introit for Epiphany, divided between the main feast and the octave. In this order, the antiphon is still repeated seven times as an unchanging core surrounded by changing tropes (four times at the main feast and three times a week later). See Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen Codices 484 & 381, Facsimile Edition with Commentary*, 3 vols. (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996).

Tropes are not just variable with respect to their stability and their changing performance, but also – again in obvious contrast to the unchanging original chants – with respect to their textual and musical form. They could be subjected to reworking, a phenomenon never found among the antiphons. We encounter, for example, several textual rephrasings in new melodies of the Easter trope "Postquam factus homo" mentioned above.[84]

The Roman chants also present themselves as unchanging in view of the situation of their melodic transmission, which appears relatively stable in comparison with the transmission of the tropes. The oldest notation of the Roman chant and the oldest notation of tropes appear in the same time period and in the same part of Europe, but transmit very different pictures. The widespread agreement between different notations of Roman antiphons suggests that their melodies were perceived as concrete, unalterable melodies. Substantial variations appear in the notation of tropes, however, so that one can speak, on the one hand, following Wulf Arlt, of a "multitude of (different) transmissions of the same,"[85] and on the other, following Leo Treitler, of the written copy of a trope as a "vicarious performance."[86] The spectrum of variations of the same trope corresponds to the possible spectrum of their melodic realizations. In Treitler's account, the trope's melodies were transmitted through a repeated realization following particular rules, and not through an exact reproduction of a particular realization or through the copying of notation.

In the notations of the Roman chant, as we encounter them in the oldest notated sources of the late ninth and early tenth centuries north of the Alps, the idea of an exact transmission of melodies, of a psalmodic performance of biblical texts based on concrete and constant melodies, manifests itself for the first time. It is not relevant to this discussion how far this reflected the actual circumstances of transmission before the melodies entered notation. What is relevant is that the concept of constant melodies reflected the same Frankish idea of a constant Roman chant practice, on which the concept of troping is based as well. Both notating and troping articulate the Carolingian construction of normative Roman-ness of the Frankish chant practice.

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84 On the textual relationship between these arrangements, including the internal elements that have been left out here, see Björkvall, "French Tropes," 43–60.

85 Arlt, "Zu einigen Fragen," 149.

86 Leo Treitler, "Observations on the Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes," in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Hans Oesch, Forum musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte 3 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 11–92.

Along the lines of argumentation followed in this chapter, two theses pertaining to historical, cultural, and poetological, as well as ideological, aspects of the tropes have by and large shown themselves to be plausible.

1. Tropes advanced the psalmodic practice of the Church of late Antiquity under radically new historical circumstances, with new means and in varying ways. On the one hand, as a hermeneutic practice of preserving and protecting meaning through the performance of chants that were textually based on the Old Testament and conceptually focused on the assimilation of the Old Testament by the Church through a figurative rereading, tropes follow the traditional function of the antiphons. They display in language the presupposed figurative reading, but they also explicate and emphasize the symbolic nature of these figurative relationships. They mark the identity as well as the differences of the temporalities of the "eternal" and "temporal" today, and allude to this double "today," to the enduring presence, the now, the "hora est" of the performance, the speech, and the voices of contemporary singers. On the other hand, tropes also advanced a psalmodic practice as a practice of vocal performance in which the voice is not just the carrier of linguistic meaning and in which singing is not only a way of reading that is centered on and an affirmation of meaning. Tropes combine discursive and decorative functions, and bring into play aesthetic – in the modern sense of the word – effects that subvert meaning and produce presence. Tropes are figures, in the expression of Felix Heinzer, between presence and discourse.
2. Troping is in a symptomatic way a Carolingian phenomenon, rather than a medieval one. Neither the aesthetic-performative nor the hermeneutic-discursive aspects of troping can explain the where and when of its appearance, in the Frankish empire during the Carolingian period. It is not possible to identify a desire to beautify the linguistic and musical formulation of the Roman rite (or even a specific distaste for the Roman rite in the eyes of Frankish cantors), nor can we isolate a specific need in the intellectual context of Frankish monasteries and cathedrals for clarification of the meaning of biblical texts. What can be identified are the traces of discourse in which the Frankish perception of the alterity of the Roman chant and the differential in authority between Roman and Frankish chant are negotiated. Troping the *cantilena romana* allowed the Frankish singers identification with the cultural value of the Roman *norma canendi* without denying their own cultural identity. Troping thus emphasized

a difference less historical than cultural. And it did indeed emphazise this difference rather than conceal it. The addition of the indigenous did not make the foreign familiar, did not disguise and definitely did not eliminate the alterity of the Roman chant. Rather, it underscored the Roman chant's difference from more familiar practices. For this reason, the troping of Roman antiphons did not undermine the politically and religiously motivated Carolingian project of Romanization under whose pressure troping appeared. In resisting this pressure, troping took part in its articulation, and ultimately even supported the completion of this project. In so far as troping presents Roman antiphons in connection and in contrast with changing appendages, it demonstrated – no different from the neumatic notation at the same time – its constancy, as befit the Frankish construction of a stable normative Roman-ness of Frankish chant practice.

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· 10 ·

Sequence

LORI KRUCKENBERG

Introduction

The sequence (from Latin *sequentia*) was a type of monophonic song especially in use in the liturgy of the Latin West from the ninth through the mid-sixteenth centuries.[1] Though the sequence is not part of the Gregorian chant repertoire per se, it became firmly established in the Roman rite of the Middle Ages, sung primarily as a proper item during the Mass, where it followed the Alleluia chant and preceded the reading of the Gospel. Unlike the liturgical assignments of Introits, Graduals, Tracts, Communions, and Offertories, the liturgical assignments of sequences were not universal; rather they were flexible and typically defined at the regional, institutional, or local level. Thus, in contrast to most Mass Proper chants, repertories of sequences were open to change, expanding and contracting – sometimes slightly, sometimes radically – as the genre was cultivated and renewed aesthetically and stylistically over several centuries.

Not surprisingly, the some 4,500 representatives to have survived to the present day demonstrate a wide array of styles and types, with text–music relationships accounting for much of this variety. A sequence could exist as a wordless melody, as a melody with a partial text, or as a melody with a thoroughgoing text. When text is present, a one-to-one note–syllable ratio is most common, but more florid textures are certainly found as well. The style of texts ranged from poetic prose, whereby the melody traditionally governed the shape and organization of the text, to rhythmic, rhymed verse, in which the versified units often determined aspects of the melodic structure. Form,

1 Recommended surveys on the history of the sequence – especially as they include aspects not reviewed in the present chapter – are: "Sequences" (chapter II.22) in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 172–95; Lori Kruckenberg, "Sequenz," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. VIII: cols. 1254–86; Richard L. Crocker et al., "Sequence (i)," in *NG2*, vol. XXIII: 91–107; and Michael McGrade, "Enriching the Gregorian Heritage," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 26–45, esp. 32–41. Two older but still recommended overviews are Jacques Handschin, "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus," in *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed., ed. Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), vol. II: Early Music up to 1300, 128–74; and Bruno Stäblein, "Sequenz," in *MGG*, vol. XII: cols. 522–49.

especially as regards the presence or absence of phrase repetition and versicle pairs, also played a role in the diversity of the genre, as did to a lesser extent the relative length of the piece. Because of the differences in the presence of text, the relationship of text to music, the style of text, and the overall structure and length, the ways in which sequences were labeled, rubricated, written down, notated, sung, and used liturgically reflect a myriad of possibilities for the medieval understanding and definition of the genre.

This range of possibilities for the medieval sequence was not lost on contemporary authors who described types of sequences, explained their origins, and attempted to give reasons for their existence. For instance, around 1050, the monk Ekkehard IV of St. Gall penned a short summary on the transmission of chant in the Frankish lands. In the midst of his discussion, he turns briefly away from Gregorian chant and toward the subject of the *sequentia*. Ekkehard explains how, in the time of Charlemagne, two cantors – a certain Petrus and Romanus – were dispatched from Rome to Metz as part of their broader mission to restore Gregorian chant in the north. On their journey, they stopped at the monastery of St. Gall for rest and convalescence, after which it was decided that Romanus would remain there, while Petrus would continue on to Metz as planned. Ekkehard continues:

> Thereafter ... each of them [Petrus and Romanus] vied with the other for praise and glory ... And it is appropriate to recall how much, because of this competition, each place [Metz and St. Gall] not only flourished in chant, but also developed in other kinds of learning. [At Metz] Petrus created the wordless melodies for the sequences they call METENSES. Romanus, on the other hand, composed for us the melodies ROMANA and AMENA. Later on Notker joined these same [melodies] with words, as we shall see. Inspired by these, Notker also devised on his own the sequence melodies of FRIGDORA and OCCIDENTANA, which he named thusly.[2]

2 "Dein uterque ... emulabantur pro laude et gloria ... Memoriaque est dignum, quantum hac emulatione locus uterque profecerit et non solum in cantu, sed et in ceteris doctrinis excreverit. Fecerat quidem Petrus ibi iubilos ad sequentias, quas METENSES vocat. Romanus vero ROMANE nobis econtra et AMENE de suo iubilos modulaverat. Quos quidem post Notker, quibus videmus, verbis ligabat. FRIGDORE autem et OCCIDENTANE, quas sic nominabat, iubilos, illis animatus, etiam ipse de suo excogitavit." Ekkehard IV, *Casus Sancti Galli (St. Galler Klostergeschichten)*, ed. and trans. H. F. Haefele. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 10 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 106–08. Unless otherwise stated, translations are my own. While the story of the cantors Petrus and Romanus' visit to St. Gall, as well as the reasons for their composing of sequence melodies and subsequent appellations given to melodies, may be entirely fictitious, this episode still offers insight into medieval views concerning the process of sequence making and how tunes came to be named. For further consideration of issues of musical veracity in the *Casus Sancti Galli*, see Lori Kruckenberg, "Ekkehard's Use of Musical Detail in the *Casus Sancti Galli*," *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker*, ed. Judith A. Peraino (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler Verlag, 2013), 23–57; and Kruckenberg, "Singing History: Chant in Ekkehard IV's *Casus Sancti Galli*," in *Medieval Cantors and Their Craft: Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History (800–1500)*, ed. Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A.B. Kraebel, and Margot E. Fassler (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press 2017, 59–88).

More than two centuries later, the Dominican priest Jacobus de Voragine provided a retrospective on the history of Latin liturgical chant in his *Legenda aurea*, a popular compendium of saints' lives (ca. 1260–70). Drawing on several earlier liturgical commentaries, Jacobus included a short résumé on the emergence and establishment of the sequence and its relationship to other chants in the Roman rite, saying:

> In the time of Charlemagne the Ambrosian rite was mostly abandoned and the Gregorian rite was solemnly disseminated, with the imperial authority greatly aiding this [dissemination] ... Ambrose, Gelasius, and Gregory established that Graduals, Tracts, and Alleluias were to be sung at the Mass ... Notker, Abbot of St. Gallen, was the first to compose sequences in place of wordless melodies of the Alleluia, and Pope Nicholas permitted the singing of these sequences in the Mass. Hermannus Contractus the German composed [the sequences] "Rex omnipotens," "Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia," and "Ave Maria" ... However, Sigebert says that Robert, king of the Franks, composed the sequence "Sancti spiritus adsit gratia," etc.[3]

More than two hundred years divide Ekkehard and Jacobus, and the sequence repertories each knew were quite different from one another.[4] Nonetheless their "microhistories" of the genre share several fundamental points. Both

3 "Huius Karoli tempore officium ambrosianum maxime dimissum est et gregorianum sollempniter divulgatum, imperiale auctoritate ad hoc plurimum adiuvante ... Gradualia, tractus et alleluia Ambrosius, Gelasius et Gregorius ad missam cantari instituerunt ... Nocherus abbas sancti Galli sequentias pro neumis ipsius alleluia prius composuit, sed Nicholaus papa ad missam eas cantari concessit. Hermannus Contractus Teutonicus fecit *Rex omnipotens, Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia*, et *Ave Maria* ... Sigebertus tamen dicit quod Robertus rex Francorum fecit sequentiam *Sancti spiritus adsit gratia*, etc." See Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 2nd ed., ed. G. P. Maggioni, 2 vols. (Tavarnuzze-Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), vol.II: 1271–72. Much of the historical information in this passage is simply false: Notker Balbulus was never abbot at St. Gall; the ascription of "Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia" to either Hermannus or Robert II is impossible, since that sequence certainly pre-dates the pair, and it was almost certainly by Notker Balbulus. Likewise "Rex omnipotens" easily pre-dates Hermannus by a century, and the attribution of "Ave Maria gratia plena" to him has been rejected by modern scholars; see H. Oesch, *Berno und Hermann von Reichenau als Musiktheoretiker* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1961), 147. Several of Jacobus' details concerning the sequence are not of his own making and can be traced to earlier liturgical commentaries, notably to Honorius Augustodunensis' *Gemma animae*, Johannes Beleth's *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, Robertus Paululus' *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, Sicard of Cremona's *Mitralis de officiis*, and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. Many of Jacobus' points about the history of the sequence will find their way, moreover, into William Durand's widely transmitted *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (1292–96).

4 The sequence repertory known to Ekkehard IV was most certainly that of the early German Benedictine tradition, while the one with which Jacobus was familiar was the Dominican repertory with predominately late-style sequences. For a view of the typical contents of tenth- and eleventh-century sequence collections from the German-speaking lands and the kinds of texts most connected to St. Gall, see Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols. (Bern: A. Francke, 1948). An edition of the early German texts with their melodies (as constructed from a combination of early neumed versions, later diastematic versions, and discussions in medieval music theory treatises) is Calvin M. Bower, *The "Liber ymnorum" of Notker Balbulus*, 2 vols., (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, printed by Boydell and Brewer, 2016). The Dominican sequence repertory comprises especially rhymed pieces (including a handful of Marian sequences composed by Dominicans) with a few sequences from the

writers trace the emergence of the genre to the ninth century. Each author makes the point that sequences were a chant-type distinct from and not belonging to the Gregorian chant repertory, and each cites terminology and musical aspects peculiar to the genre, such as its wordless state (*iubili ad sequentias*, *neumae*) or the tradition of naming wordless tunes (given in small capitals throughout this chapter, thus METENSES, ROMANA, AMOENA, FRIGDORA, and OCCIDENTANA). Both authors allude to the practices of sequences as being in a state of flux, whether by describing wordless melodies that were later fitted with texts, or by citing examples authored by composers separated in time and space, thus, Petrus and Romanus (*fl.* ca. 800), Notker Balbulus (ca. 840–912), Robert II the Pious of France (972–1031), or Hermannus Contractus of Reichenau (1013–54). Finally, both Ekkehard and Jacobus list specific pieces as a way to illustrate the genre according to his understanding.

The fundamental points common to Ekkehard's and Jacobus' accounts serve as the structural divisions for the history of the sequence presented here. The oldest attestations for the genre are the focus of the section "The Emergence and Early History of the Sequence, ca. 800–ca. 925." Much of this material evidence from the late Carolingian period exists in the form of verbal descriptions, often quite brief; a few written examples of sequences – often incomplete and without notation – have survived from this time as well. From the second quarter of the tenth century through the end of the eleventh century, on the other hand, we encounter a drastically different pool of evidence, sequences rich in numbers, and indicating a period of intense composition, vigorous collection, and systematic organization of liturgical cycles, as well as the development of distinct ways of labeling and notating the genre. Accordingly the section "Regional Traditions, ca. 925–ca. 1100" introduces the sequence of the tenth and eleventh centuries, concentrating on three regional traditions (German, Anglo-French, and Italian) as identified by the contents of repertories, terminological usage, and the clearly defined approaches to visual layout and coordination of text and neume scripts.

In the decades around 1100, markedly different kinds of sequences began to emerge, pointing to the promotion of new approaches to sequence composition and the introduction of pronounced changes to the standing

early Anglo-French tradition. For a glimpse at a repertory likely familiar to Jacobus, see Fassler, "Music and the Miraculous: Mary in the Mid-Thirteenth-Century Dominican Sequence Repertory," in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, ed. L. E. Boyle, P.-M. Gy, and P. Krupa (Rome: École française de Rome; Paris: CNRS, 2004), pp. 229–78; see also Philip Gleeson, "The Pre-Humbertian Liturgical Sources Revisited," ibid., pp. 99–114, esp. 113–14.

regional traditions. Particularly with respect to the poetry and its relationship to the musical component, these new works reflect not only a renewal of the genre but also a revised understanding of what a sequence could be and how it could be composed. The section "Change, Renewal, and Innovation after ca. 1100" presents the late eleventh and twelfth centuries as an important turning point in the history of the sequence, particularly in how new sequences and repertories were created. Some additional late medieval developments are addressed in this section as well. Finally, just as Ekkehard and Jacobus referred to specific pieces in order to help elucidate their retrospectives of the genre, the present chapter offers select sequences to illustrate a few styles and types found in the vast history of this prominent type of medieval song.

The Emergence and Early History of the Sequence, ca. 800–ca. 925

Both Ekkehard IV and Jacobus de Voragine traced the emergence of the sequence to the ninth century. Ekkehard began his history with two Roman cantors serving during the time of Charlemagne (d. 814). Jacobus – drawing on earlier commentaries – credited Pope Nicholas I (pope 858–67) for establishing the sequence. Ekkehard named Notker Balbulus (ca. 840–912) as one of the earliest composers of sequences, while Jacobus designated this St. Gall figure as the originator of the genre.

In fact, the oldest known description of the sequence – a fleeting reference in a gloss on Augustine's *De musica*, Book IV, ch. 24 – is dated to just before, or around, the time of Charlemagne's death in 814. This explanatory note occurs in the main text's discussion on poetic meter. To the original text's phrase "qui non verbis fiunt" ("which are made not with words"), the glossator adds the clarification "without words just as sequences are" ("sine verbis sicut sequentiae sunt"), and this gloss suggests that for early ninth-century readers, the *sequentia* was understood as a wordless phenomenon.[5] Amalar of Metz, writing ca. 823, likewise refers to the wordlessness of the sequence, connecting it to a special music sung in the Mass rite. Describing the effect the Alleluia

5 Patrick Le Boeuf, "La Tradition manuscrite du *De musica* de saint Augustin" (Thèse pour le diplôme d'archiviste-paléographe, École nationale des chartes, 1986), 349, cited in Nancy Phillips, "Classical and Late Latin Sources for Ninth-Century Treatises on Music," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Barbera (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 120; and Augustine, *De musica*, in *PL*, vol. XXXII: col. 1141. Citing Le Boeuf, Phillips gives folio 62v in the codex Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 268 (*F-TOm* 268) as the primary source for this earliest sequence reference and she notes, furthermore, that this brief reference occurs in the second of two layers of glosses, the first entered before Charlemagne's death in 814, and the second from the time of his death.

chant has on the singer, Amalar states in the *Liber officialis*, a commentary on the liturgy, "The verse of the Alleluia touches the cantor inwardly, so that he considers in what way he ought to praise the Lord, or in what way to rejoice."[6] Having set the stage for the cantor's deliberation of a proper exultation, Amalar continues:

> This *iubilatio*, which cantors call the *sequentia*, brings that condition to our mind when the speaking of words will not be necessary, but by thought alone the mind will show the mind what it holds within it.[7]

According to Amalar, the sequence's *raison d'être* is the cantor's inspired quest for a fitting expression of musical praise, and the result is a wordless melody, called by cantors "sequentia." In a later liturgical work by Amalar (*Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, ca. 831–55), the author again refers to singing the Alleluia – this time as sung in Rome during Easter week Vespers – saying that, in this context, the Alleluia was sung "with every complement and distinction of the verses and *sequentiae*."[8]

Other contemporary documents present *sequentia* in terms similar to Amalar's description in the *Liber officialis*, especially linking the performance of the sequence to the Alleluia of the Mass. The late ninth-, early tenth-century liturgical exposition by Pseudo-Alcuin repeats Amalar's explication nearly verbatim.[9] In the *Ordo romanus* V from the late ninth century, a rule concerning the singing of the Alleluia notes the presence of the *sequentia* thus:

> Indeed the cantor, who intones the Alleluia [chant], sings the verse of the Alleluia by himself. Standing on the same step, that is the lower one, he sings

6 From Book III, Ch. 16 of *Liber officialis*: "Versus alleluia tangit cantorem interius, ut cogitet in quo debeat laudare Dominum, aut in quo laetari." See Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, in *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean-Michel Hanssens, 3 vols., Studi et Testi 138–40 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948–50), vol. II: 304. For a recent translation of the *Liber officialis*, see Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, ed. and trans. E. Knibbs, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

7 Ibid. "Haec iubilatio, quam cantores sequentiam vocant, illum statum ad mentem nostram ducit, quando non erit necessaria locutio verborum, sed sola cogitatione mens menti monstrabit quod retinet in se."

8 "Ideo in ea statione in qua apostolicus celebrat vespertinale officium, alleluia canitur cum omni supplemento et excellentia versuum et sequentiarum ... " Amalar of Metz, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, in *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Hanssens, vol. III: 84.

9 The passage, from ch. 39 of *Liber de divinis officiis* and once attributed to Alcuin, reads "Haec iubilatio, quam sequentiam vocant, illud tempus significat, quando non erat necessaria locutio verborum, sed sola cogitatione mens menti monstrabit, quod retinet in se." See Pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber de divinis officiis*, in *PL*, vol. CI: col. 1245. That during the Middle Ages sequences were viewed as connected to Charlemagne and his court is supported by a late eleventh-century manuscript from Trier (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Handschrift 120/1170 [*D-TRs* Hs. 120/1170]) where the heading to the sequence *Summi regis* ascribes its authorship to Alcuin: "Sequentia de sancto michaele quam Alcuinus composuit Karolo Imperatori" ("a sequence for St. Michael, which Alcuin composed for emperor Charles"). While the attribution is suspect, it once again underscores the medieval perception that the sequence dates back to the time of Charlemagne.

> the Alleluia a second time by himself. The *iubilatio*, which they call the *sequentia*, follows.[10]

A mid-ninth-century gloss on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* uses the sequence to help explicate the signification of melody. The commentator indicates that the inherent rationale of a melody is not dependent on a meaning endowed to it either by number (*rhythmica*) or by words, but rather by some other (here undefined) reasoning, known to and understood by singers.

> There are, however, three kinds of forms, of which the first is found in sounds, the second in numbers, the third in words. The first, that is the one found in sounds, pertains to *harmonía*. For in this [form] one seeks not words with a certain meaning, but only sounds, which are joined with each other according to some rational basis, just as sequences are among singers.[11]

While the glossator does not spell out the rules for making an appropriate melody, he does point to the cantor's *sequentia* as an illustration of such. As with the aforementioned ninth-century accounts, this *De nuptiis* commentary allies the sequence with a pure melody unencumbered by words. Indeed, numerous liturgical commentaries from the central and late Middle Ages continue to sustain the idea of the *sequentia* as a tune *sine verbis*, with many clear citations or paraphrases that can be traced back, if indirectly, to Amalar.[12]

Despite the strong and persistent hold of the "Amalarian" tradition in liturgical exegesis, by the second half of the ninth century other testimonies denote a shift in the perception of the sequence as a strictly wordless melody.

10 "Cantor vero qui inchoat Alleluia, ipse solus cantat versum de Alleluia. Ipse iterum Alleluia dicit, stans in eodem gradu, id est inferiore. Sequitur iubilatio, quam sequentiam vocant." See Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61), vol. II: 215.

11 "Formarum autem tres sunt species, quarum prima in sonis, secunda in numeris, tertia in verbis. Illa autem prima i. quae in sonis invenitur, ad armoniam pertinet. Non etenim in ea verba aliquid significantia, sed soni tantum sibimet ipsis aliqua ratione coniuncti queruntur, ut sunt sequentiae apud cantores." For discussion and translations, see Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The "Ars musica" in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 327–28.

12 Examples showing the persistence of this particular "Amalarian view" through the Middle Ages include: Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sacramentarium*, ch. 81 (*PL* CLXXII: cols. 788–89); Pseudo-Hugh of St. Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*, ch. 7 (*PL* CLXXVII: col. 359); Robertus Paululus, *De caeremoniis, sacramentis, officiis et observationibus ecclesiasticis*, book II, Ch. 18 (*PL* CLXXVII: col. 422); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitralis de officiis*, book III, ch. 3 (Sicard of Cremona, *Mitralis de officiis*, ed. G. Sarbak and L. Weinrich, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 228 [Turnhout: Brepols, 2008], 151–52); and William Durand, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, book IV, ch. 22 (William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum I–VIII*, ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, 3 vols., Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 140–140B [Turnhout: Brepols, 1995–2000], vol. I: 338). Book IV is now available in English translation as well: William Durand, *Rationale IV: On the Mass and Each Action Pertaining to It*, trans. T. Thibodeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 190.

The oldest extant description to refer to verbal elements in the genre occurs in a mandate from Council of Meaux of 845. The ruling reads:

> Because of the utterly damnable wickedness of certain ones, who, delighted by novelties, do not fear to improve upon the purity of Antiquity with their own added inventions, we decree that, in the angelic hymn, i.e. the "Gloria in excelsis deo," or in the sequences (which are customarily sung solemnly in the Alleluia), none of the clerics or monks should presume to add, interpolate, recite, murmur, or sing out loudly any compositions that they call "proses" or any other contrivances. If any shall do so, let him be dismissed.[13]

As in other ninth-century references, the *sequentia* is treated as an accepted singing practice anchored to the Alleluia chant. New to the discussion is the apprehensiveness about the practice of adding words to the *sequentia*. The conciliar ruling strictly prohibits the alteration of sequences (as well as the Gloria chant) through additions, interpolations, fabrications, and other compositions known as *prosae*. Indeed, the *Concilium Meldense* is the oldest extant document to juxtapose the two states of the sequence – a wordless *sequentia* and a texted melody called *prosa*. The deliberative body gathered at Meaux apparently viewed the latter type as a corrupt practice, while it upheld the value of the textless *sequentia* for its "purity of Antiquity" (*puritas antiquitatis*).

From around the year 884 an even more explicit text addresses the genre in these two states of existence. In the famous epistolary prologue to a collection of sequences, the monk Notker Balbulus of St. Gall describes his decades-long musical experiences and experiments with the genre.[14] Notker describes how, as a youth, he had difficulty remembering "very long melodies" (*melodiae longissimae*), and thus began to consider how he might bind or fetter (*colligare*) them. In the meantime Notker met a visiting priest from Jumièges, who had in his possession an antiphoner that contained "some verses set to sequence

13 "Propter inprobitatem quorundam omnino dampnabilem, qui novitatibus delectati puritatem antiquitatis suis adinventionibus interpolare non metuunt, statuimus, ut nullus clericorum nullusque monachorum in Ymno Angelico, id est 'Gloria in excelsis deo,' et in sequentiis, quae in Alleluia sollempniter decantari solent, quaslibet compositiones quas prosas vocant, vel ullas fictiones addere, interponere, recitare, submurmurare aut decantare presummat. Quod si fecerit, deponatur." In *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, ed. W. Hartmann, MGH, Concilia III (Hanover: Hahn, 1984), 129. For an in-depth analysis of this statute, see Andreas Haug, "Ein neues Textdokument zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sequenz," in *Festschrift Ulrich Siegele zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rudolf Faber et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 9–19.

14 The present discussion is particularly indebted to the important analysis of this text (including edition and new translation) by Andreas Haug; see Haug, "Re-Reading Notker's Preface," in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. D. B. Cannata, G. I. Currie, R. Charnin Mueller, and J. L. Nádas (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 65–80. Compare also von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, I: 154–81, II: 8–11; 160; and Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 1–2.

melodies" ("aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati"). In imitation Notker tried his hand at making his own settings. He showed these trials to his teacher Iso, who corrected them, counseling Notker that the "single motions of the melody ought to have single syllables" ("singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere").[15] Thus, Notker's preface legitimizes the practice of "texting," that is, adding text to a (pre-existing) melody, as long as one follows the correct procedure of providing one syllable of text for each note.[16]

Notker listed "Laudes deo concinat" as his first attempt at providing a text for a melody, even describing three difficult places in a preliminary draft that, eventually, he successfully rectified. He reports texting "Psallat ecclesia" as his second attempt and relates DOMINUS IN SYNA and MATER as two melodies (also with trouble spots) that he ultimately was able to set easily with texts. Thus, through a process of trial and error, Notker first improved and then mastered the art of composing texts for pre-existing sequence melodies, so much so that he reports that a confrère encouraged him to gather his textings of melodies in a collection, which – at least in several tenth- and eleventh-century copies – bears the heading "Liber ymnorum Notkeri Balbuli" ("A Book of Hymns of Notker Balbulus") or some variation of it.[17]

While Notker's letter from ca. 884 was intended to introduce a collection of sequences, few written representations of the genre, let alone actual collections of sequences, have survived from before ca. 925. This is hardly surprising since extant ninth-century sources of chants of any type – particularly with notation – are relatively scarce. Nonetheless, a few ninth- and early tenth-century documents preserving sequences as chants have come down to us. As with the foregoing references and descriptions, the written representations of sequences as chants demonstrate divergences in what constituted the genre. These early written records can be roughly grouped as follows: (1) cues or rubrics for singing sequences; (2) sequences as notated melodies (both textless and partially texted types); and (3) sequences as texts, with or without notation. The sources for these written records range from chant-books and other kinds of liturgical sources to composite manuscripts and miscellanies. Many of these early written records of sequences are secondary to the original contents of a given source, having been entered into blank spaces or on empty leaves of a book or *libellus* at a later time. Some of these records survive in fragmentary forms. These earliest written representations of the genre have been summarized in Table 10.1.

15 Translation from Haug, "Re-Reading Notker's Preface," 70.
16 Von den Steinen called the note-to-syllable texting procedure the "isonische Regel" after Notker's *Lehrmeister* Iso, and for that reason scholars sometimes refer to the "Isonian rule" or "Isonian principle." See von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, I: 156–57.
17 See von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, II: 8–9; 160.

Table 10.1 Written Representations of the Sequence, ca. 800–ca. 925*

Siglum	Source Type	Date of source/ Date of sequence evidence when added to original	Provenance	Description of Representation for Sequences
B-Br 10127–10144	Ordines romani-gradual	ca. 800	NE France or Belgium	Performance cues 'cum sequentia' following 6 Alleluia verses for Sundays after Pentecost
F-Al 44	Gradual-antiphoner	$IX^4/_4$	Albi	Performance cues 'cum sequentia' accompanying 5 Alleluia verses for Easter week Vespers
F-Pn lat. 17436	Gradual-antiphoner	860–877/ add. $IX^4/_4$	Soissons for Compiègne	Addition of one unnamed melody and the named melodies ADORABO MINOR (with the partial text *Suscipe laus angelorum*), FULGENS PRECLARA (with the partial text *Rex in aeternum*), GLORIOSA, EIA RECOLAMUS; notated sequence text *Summa pia* in different hand elsewhere in manuscript
F-AUT S 28 (24)	Johannes Cassianus, *De institutis coenobiorum*	VII/ add. $IX^3/_3$	Autun (?)	Addition of one unnamed melody and the named melodies OSTENDE, FULGIDA, HIERONIMA, and SIRENA
D-Mbs clm 14843	Miscellany	$IX^4/_4$	Toul	10 sequence texts: *Christe tua agmina*, *All. Gloriosa dies adest*, *All. Nostra tuba regatur*, *All. Rex nostras*, *All. Haec est sancta … Apri*, *Christi hodierne*, *Pange dominum debitum*, *Ecce iam venit nostra redemptio*, *All. Beata tu virgo Maria*
F-Pn lat. 1154	Miscellany	$X^4/_4$ or X^{in}	Aquitaine	Litanies, orations, Isidore, Boethius, Carolingian poetry including the versus/texted sequence *Sancte Paule* labeled VERSUS DE SANCTO PAULO and the texted sequence *Concelebremus sacram* labeled PROSA
I-VEcap XC (85)	Miscellany	ca. 900/ add. X	Verona	5 sequence texts (fols. 57 r–60 v: *Christe tua agmina*, *Sit iocunda*, *Haec est sancta solemnitas clara*, *Beata tu virgo*

Table 10.1 *(cont.)*

Siglum	Source Type	Date of source/ Date of sequence evidence when added to original	Provenance	Description of Representation for Sequences
				Maria, *Christi odierne pangimini*) and *Sancte Paule* (fols. 137 v–139) are part of original corpus; sequence text *Benedicta semper sancta* added (fols. 77 r–77 v)
D-Mbs clm 3005	Missal	IX^{ex} or X$^{1}/_{4}$/ add. X or XI	northern Italy; later Bavaria (Andechs?)	Genre cue PROSA entered after Alleluia (Italian hand) indicating either sequence text or prosula; neumed incipit *Sancti spiritus assit* entered by later German hand
F-Pn lat. 10587	Fragment of *Liber ymnorum Notkeri*	ca. 900	St. Gallen	Notker's Preface followed by 4 notated sequence texts: *Natus ante secula*, *Hanc concordi* (incomplete), *Laus tibi Christe qui humilis* (incomplete), *Festa Christi* (incomplete)
I-MA B 48 sup.	Missal (fragment)	ca. 900 or X^{in}	northern Italy	sequence text *Benedicta semper sancta* (fol. 142 r)
F-Pn lat. 268	Evangeliary	IX/ add. X^{in}	northern France (Metz?)	sequence text *Alma chorus* added alongside a few other liturgical items
CH-SGv 317	Miscellany	X^{in}	East-Frankish (not St. Gallen)	6 sequence texts: *Festa Christi* (incomplete), *Summi triumphum* (partially neumed), *Laurenti David*, *Dilecte deo*, *Laude dignum*, *Quid tu virgo mater*
CH-SGs 614	Miscellany	IX/ add. X$^{1}/_{2}$	Unknown; later St. Gallen	Unnotated sequence text *Christi hodierna* labeled VERBA DE SEQUENCIA following *Fabricae mundi* prosulas (notated with Messine neumes)
CH-SGs 484	Troper-sequentiary	920–940	St. Gallen	44 sequence melodies

* In Hucbald of St. Amand's music treatise (*De*) *Musica* (also *De harmonica institutione*) from ca. 900, the author refers to a descending four-note series in the sequence *Stans a longe*. Hucbald's reference falls in the span ca. 800–ca. 925; the oldest extant copies of the treatise date to the late tenth and eleventh centuries.

The oldest known representation of the sequence in a "practical" source occurs in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10127–10144 (*B-Br* 10127–10144) as in the form of cantorial cues. Written in north-eastern France or Belgium around 800, the codex *B-Br* 10127–10144 contains, inter alia, *Ordines romani* and a gradual with unnotated texts for the proper chants of the Mass. In the concluding section of the gradual (fols. 114v–115r), a list of thirty-three alleluia verses for Sundays after Pentecost is found. After six of these verses, the phrase "cum sequentia" has been entered.[18] Similarly, in a gradual-antiphoner from the cathedral of Sainte-Cécile in Albi that has been dated to the final quarter of the ninth century, Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, Rochegude, 44 (*F-Al* Roche. 44), annotations reading "cum sequentia" are found alongside five Alleluia chants, all assigned to Vespers during Easter week.[19] Collectively these nearly a dozen entries have generally been interpreted as performance notes indicating that a wordless melody was to be sung after the indicated verse, thus, in accordance with the broader Amalarian tradition: in the case of *B-Br* 10127–10144, the practice is reminiscent of the passage found in his *Liber officialis*, while the cues in *F-Al* Roche. 44 appear to reflect the description in his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, where, following the Roman practice for Easter week Vespers, Alleluias were distinguished through the "reinforcements" of additional verses and *sequentiae*.[20]

Another kind of cantorial cue can be found in a ninth-century missal of northern Italian origins, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 3005 (*D-Mbs* clm 3005). In the midst of a votive Mass for Trinity, the rubric "prosa" has been entered in the gap following the Alleluia with the verse "Benedictus es domine". This cue may be an indication that a sequence – in this case a texted type – was to be sung after that Alleluia, since, as will be recalled, *prosa* was the term used to described texted sequences in the *Concilium Meldense*. Andreas Haug has proposed

18 René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935), xv–xviii; 198. See also images 235–36 at http://lucia.kbr.be/multi/KBR_10127-44Viewer/imageViewer.html.

19 These are found on fols. 91r–92r. In the case of the first entry, the cue reads first "cum sequentia" and then again "cum suis versibus et sequentia." For a text transcription, see John A. Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44: A Complete Ninth-Century Gradual and Antiphoner from Southern France*, ed. Lila Collamore (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002), 228–32. Emerson proposes the date of the sources as the final quarter of the ninth century. A color facsimile of the entire manuscript has been made available online: http://archivesnumeriques.mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/_images/OEB/RES_MS044/index.htm.

20 For further thoughts on the transfer of this Roman practice outside of Rome, see Bower, "Alleluia, Confitemini Domino, Quoniam Bonus – An *Alleluia*, *Versus*, *Sequentia*, and Five *Prosae* Recorded in Aquitanian Sources," in *Music in the Theater, Church, and Villa: Essays in Honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, ed. S. Parisi (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2000), 3–30.

"Benedicta semper sancta" as the likely candidate for the intended "prosa."[21]

While the entries "cum sequentia" in *B-Br* 10127–10144 and *F-Al* Roche. 44 do likely refer to a practice of singing wordless melodies, neither codex actually preserves the melodic information for these cued *sequentiae*. Fortunately, two early sources do record wordless sequences in written form, providing some musical clues about the ninth- and early tenth-century practices. The gradual-antiphoner Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 17436 (*F-Pn* lat. 17436), written at Soissons for Compiègne between 860 and 877, is believed to be the oldest surviving example of notated sequences.[22] It contains three textless melodies and two partially texted sequence melodies, a subtype discussed below and traditionally grouped with textless examples and labeled similarly. These five *sequentiae* were added to the original codex, probably before the end of the ninth century; the first three of these can be seen in Figure 10.1.[23] Similarly, sometime in the final decades of the ninth century five wordless sequence melodies were written down on a blank page of Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 28

21 The word "prosa" occurs on fol. 213v. See Haug, "Anmerkungen zum Andechser Missale," in *Musikalische Überlieferung und musikalische Edition*, ed. M. Staehelin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 76–89. For an online facsimile, see http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bs b00041139/images/index.html. Neither text nor melody is provided, and thus it remains unclear whether *prosa* refers to a texted sequence (as the word came to be used regularly in much of the west-Frankish territories as well as Spain and England or to prosula, since *prosa* generally refers to "prosula" in the east-Frankish territories as well as throughout the Italian peninsula, while *sequentia* identifies texted sequence in the same regions. Five Italian sources record a prosula for the "Alleluia Benedictus es domine". On the other hand, eleventh-century sequentiaries from the Italian peninsula regularly contain the sequence "Benedicta semper sancta," and moreover, as described below, this sequence occurs in two of the earliest Italian witnesses to the genre: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XC (85) (*I-VEcap* XC [85]) and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 48 supra (*I-MA* B 48 sup.), the latter only recently brought to the attention of music historians by Giovanni Varelli (see n. 32). It should be added that terminology as regards tropes, prosulas, and sequences was not yet codified in the ninth century, the time of the missal's copying. For more on sequence terminology use, see below. Furthermore, on fol. 168r of *D-Mbs* clm 3005, the incipit "Sancti spiritus assit," a Pentecost sequence by Notker Balbulus, has been entered into the margin and neumed. This missal was transported to southern Germany, where a few local scribes made additions, as in this case, probably still during the tenth or eleventh centuries.

22 See Michel Huglo, "Observations codicologiques sur l'antiphonaire de Compiègne (Paris, B. N. lat. 17436," in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993), 117–30; Marie-Noël Colette, "Séquences et *versus ad sequentias* dans l'antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve (Paris, BnF, Lat. 17436)," *Revue de Musicologie*, 89 (2003), 5–29; Colette, "The Place and Function of Music in a Liturgical Context: The Earliest Witnesses of the Sequence and *Versus ad sequentias* in the Antiphoner of Charles the Bald and Other Early Sources," in *Sapientia et eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. G. Iversen and N. Bell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 59–92; Iversen, "*Rex in hac aula*. Réflexions sur les séquences de l'Antiphonaire de Charles le Chauve (Paris, BnF lat. 17436)," *Revue de Musicologie* 89 (2003), 31–45.

23 Entered on fols. 29r–30r of *F-Pn* lat. 17436, these are: an unnamed melody (but known in other traditions as DOMINE REFUGIUM and as DE PROFUNDIS MAIOR), ADORABO MINOR with the partial text "Suscipe laus angelorum," FULGENS PRECLARA with the partial text "Rex in aeternum," GLORIOSA, EIA RECOLAMUS. For *F-Pn* lat. 17436, see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426787t. The addition of the texted sequence "Summa pia" to the same codex is discussed below.

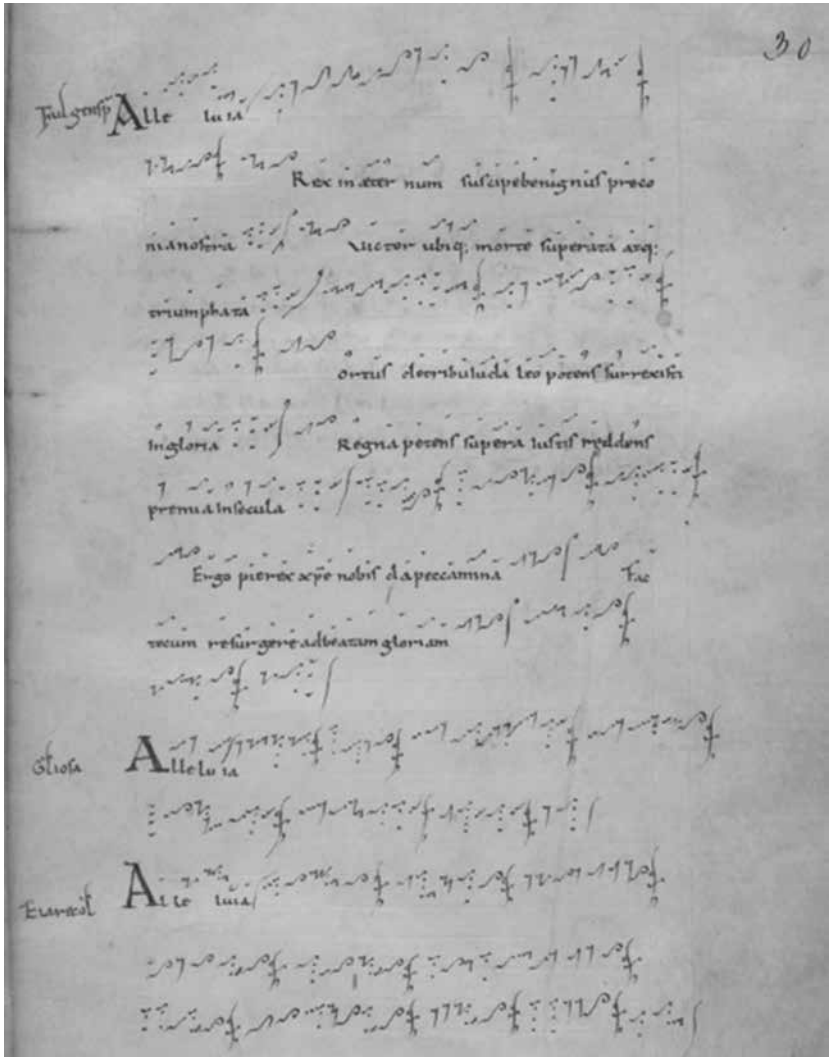


Figure 10.1 The sequence melody FULGENS PRECLARA (with its partial text "Rex in aeternum") and the textless sequence melodies GLORIOSA and EIA RECOLAMUS, in a late ninth-century gradual-antiphoner written at Soissons for Compiègne (*F-Pn* lat. 17436, fol. 30r), the oldest surviving example of notated sequences

S (*F-AUT* 28 S). None of the examples in either codex actually bears a genre designation, but all melodies have been identified in later sequence collections. Moreover, four of the five examples in *F-Pn* lat. 17436 and four of the five pieces in *F-AUT* 28 S carry melody names, a designating phenomenon peculiar to the genre and discussed below.[24] While the notation of these two sources is without intervallic specificity, their compound neumes indicate the contours of the melodic ductus, and because all are known in some versions from later diastematic sources, these earliest extant records of sequence melodies can be reconstructed.[25] What is clear from these melodies is that progressive parallelism, a structural aspect common to the genre, is already present in eight of the nine melodies found in the combined examples of *F-Pn* lat. 17436 and *F-AUT* 28 S (with one melody common to both).

In addition to written records of sequence melodies, several texts of sequences have survived from the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Ten sequence texts are preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14843 (*D-Mbs* clm 14843), a liturgical libellus also containing several tropes and Alleluia verses, and probably from St. Aper in Toul, ca. 875.[26] A miscellany from Verona of ca. 900, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XC (85) (*I-VEcap* XC [85]), contains a collection of Carolingian poetry, among which can be found seven sequence texts.[27] In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds

24 On fol. 64r of *F-AUT* 28 S are found an unnamed melody (related to the melodies DE PROFUNDIS and DOMINE REFUGIUM) and the named melodies OSTENDE, FULGIDA, HIERONIMA, and SIRENA. See Bruno Stäblein, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 18 (1961), 6–8, and figure 1. Scholars have differed somewhat on dates for the neumed addenda, including the sequences. For instance, the second half of the tenth century is the dating found in C. Maître, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits d'Autun: Bibliothèque municipale et Société Éduenne* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 105. Stäblein judged the additions of sequences to belong to the late ninth century as did Bernhard Bischoff. See Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2014), vol. I: 37. For a review of *F-AUT* 28 S in the context of other notated sources used in Autun, see Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, "Les notations musicales en usage dans l'église d'Autun," in *Lingua mea calamus scribae: Mélanges offerts à madame Marie-Noël Colette*, ed. Daniel Saulnier, Katarina Livljanic, and Cristelle Cazeaux-Kowalski. *Études grégoriennes* 36 (2009), 138–39.

25 The melody FULGIDA in *F-AUT* 28 S is transcribed in Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 304–05. The relationship of FULGIDA of *F-AUT* 28 S to other melodic versions is the subject of D. Hiley, "*Dulce lignum maior et minor*," *Etudes gregoriennes* 36 (2009), 159–72. For studies of relationship of melodies in *F-Pn* lat. 17436 to later sources, see Colette, "Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*," and Colette, "Place and Function."

26 Wulf Arlt, catalog entry "XI.43 Sammelhandschrift mit Tropen und Sequenzen," in *799, Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn; Katalog und Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung, Paderborn 1999*, ed. C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, 3 vols. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), vol. II: 853–55.

27 Five of these sequence texts occupy fols. 57r–60v, and a sixth appears on fols. 137v–139r; a seventh, "Benedicta semper sancta," occurs as an addendum (fols. 77r–77v) slightly later than the others. The sixth sequence, "Sancte Paule pastor bone," has been categorized as both a Carolingian *versus* and as a type of sequence variously called the double-cursus, archaic, and da-capo sequence. See especially Stäblein "Einiges Neue zum Thema 'archaische Sequenz,'" in *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. T. Kohlhase and V. Scherliess (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1978), 352–83, as well as Hiley,

latin, 1154 (*F-Pn* lat. 1154), a manuscript from Aquitaine from the beginning of the tenth century, a series of songs variously identified as *versus*, *planctus*, *ritmus*, and *hymnus* follows Isidore's *Libri synonymorum*.[28] This series concludes with the fully notated sequence "Concelebremus sacram" and introduced by the rubric PROSA. Also found is an unnotated "Sancte Paule pastor bone," a song that has the distinction of having been labeled and treated as both a *versus* (as in this source) and as a sequence (as in a half dozen later sources as well as the aforementioned *I-VEcap* XC [85]).[29]

In the aforementioned Compiègne witness, the texted sequence "Summa pia" was inscribed and neumed at the top of a formerly blank leaf, an addition likely from the final decades of the ninth century.[30] Toward the beginning of the text one finds the striking petition "De gente fera normannica nos libera, que nostra vastat, Deus, regna" ("deliver us, O God, from the savage Northmen race, who lay waste to our realm"). Some scholars have speculated that this sequence may have been written in part as a response to the devastation of Viking raids in the second half of the ninth century.[31] An Italian missal fragment (ca. 900) preserves "Benedicta semper sancta," one of the sequences also attested to in *I-VEcap* XC (85) and possibly the sequence intended by the rubric "prosa" in the aforementioned *D-Mbs* clm 3005.[32] In a ninth-century evangeliary from north-eastern France, possibly Metz (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds latin 268 [*F-Pn* lat. 268]), "Alma chorus," a rare example of a sequence in hexameter, was added along

Western Plainchant, 178–80; 239–41. Consideration of *I-VEcap* XC (85) in terms of the early sequence is found in the pioneering study: von den Steinen, "Die Anfänge der Sequenzendichtung," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 40 (1946), 253–56. For an important re-evaluation of *I-VEcap* XC (85), see Jeremy Llewellyn, "Hodie-Tropes in Northern Italy: Studies in the Composition, Transmission and Reception of a Medieval Chant Type," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Basel, 2010), I: 13–39.

28 Sam Barrett, "Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 1154," *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 55–96.

29 Because "Sancte Paule pastor bone" is found in several eleventh- and twelfth-century southern Italian manuscripts where it is clearly treated liturgically as a sequence and often labeled as such, I have counted it as one of the earliest extant examples of sequences, recognizing that there was apparently some overlap between the genres of Carolingian *versus* and sequence. See Lance Brunner, "Catalogo delle sequenze in manoscritti di origine italiana anteriori al 1200," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 20 (1985), 260.

30 This addedum is found on fol. 24r. In addition to the short version "Summe pia" found in *F-Pn* lat. 17436, a related, longer sequence exists as "Gaude eia unica" (AH 9, no. 67) and is found in four other northern French sources dating from the end of the tenth through the beginning of the thirteenth century.

31 The longer version of the sequence, "Gaude eia unica", also contains this passage. See Stäblein, "Die Sequenzmelodie 'Concordia' und ihr geschichtlicher Hintergrund," in *Festschrift Hans Engel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Heussner (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), 364–92; Crocker, "Some Ninth-Century Sequences," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 367–402. Alejandro Planchart noticed a further adaptation of the text in a late eleventh-century Roman source as well; see Planchart "Proses in the Sources of Roman Chant, and Their Alleluias," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. P. Jeffery (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 320–21, 336–37.

32 Varelli, "The Early Written Transmission of Chant in Northern Italy: The Evidence of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 48 sup., ff. 141–142," *Études grégoriennes* 40 (2013), 253–82.

with several other chants to the book, probably toward the beginning of the tenth century.[33] In a composite manuscript now at St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. sang. 614 (*CH-SGs* 614), probably at the beginning of the tenth century the sequence text "Christi hodierna" together with a few *Fabrice* prosulas were entered on an originally empty page. While the sequence text was left unnotated, the prosulas were notated in Messine neumes, giving some clue to the identity of either their scribe or the region whence this import came.[34] Also dating from the early tenth century (possibly St. Gallen) is codex 317 of St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek (*CH-SGv* cod. 317), which preserves six sequence texts, including one left incomplete and one partially neumed.[35]

Altogether most of these aforementioned texted sequences occur as addenda, and they were left unnotated or are somehow unfinished. One early source dating from before ca. 925, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 10587 (*F-Pn* lat. 10587), is special among all of these first witnesses because, while fragmentary in its current state, it appears to have belonged to a liturgical cycle of sequences for which notation was planned.[36] Moreover, this manuscript, written at St. Gallen in the first two decades of the tenth century, preserves the oldest extant copy of Notker's preface as well as notation in the so-called synoptic layout, one of the dominant layout types in use up to ca. 1100. The final source to be considered among the earliest witnesses is yet another St. Gallen witness (ca. 920–40), and in fact, it straddles the ca. 925 temporal divide. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. sang. 484 (*CH-SGs* 484) presents by far the largest collection considered among the earliest witnesses; it has forty-four wordless sequence melodies, and thanks to the festal rubrics in later collections, it is clear that the melodies in *CH-SGs* 484 have been ordered liturgically. Like the examples of *F-Pn* lat. 17436 and *F-AUT* 28 S, the tunes in *CH-SGs* 484 are provided with melody names.[37]

33 These other chants include the lesser doxology, a responsory prosula, five Alleluia prosulas, and a Christmas antiphon. See Michael Klaper, "Die Neumen in einem Evangeliar des 9. Jh. (Paris, BN, lat. 268): Zu einer bislang unbeachtet gebliebenen Quelle für Sequenz und Prosula," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, Hungary 1998* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences/Institute for Musicology, 2001), 209–22.

34 "Christi hodierna" was most certainly a sequence from the Anglo-French tradition. It was adopted in several traditions in the Italian peninsula as well, but not by those connected to the German-speaking lands. For general information on the codex as a whole, see B. Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, vol. 1: Abt. IV: Codices 547–669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8.-18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 198–206. See p. 48 of http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0614/48.

35 Rankin, "The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St. Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10587," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 201–33.

36 Ibid., 213–32.

37 Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 und 318*, 3 vols. (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996), vol. 1: 78–95; 169. For a color facsimile of *CH-*SGs 484, see ibid., vol. II, or http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0484/1/0/Sequence-567. As with the majority of medieval chant-books today housed at the Stiftsbibliothek in St Gallen, this codex is available online.

The presentation of sequences in this codex, however, is spectacularly singular, for the melodies must be read in reverse vertical direction, that is, from the bottom of the page to the top, though still left to right. The scribe's reason for copying the sequence tunes in this manner is unknown, but it is clear that he enlists this manner of copying for this genre only.[38]

The written representations of sequences from pre-925 can hardly be considered a unified group. Still, save for the outlier *CH-SGs* 484, they have in common the modest number of sequences each contains, often only one or two cues or written-out sequences, with the larger examples preserving five to ten pieces. With the exceptions of *F-Pn* lat. 10587, a fragmentary *Liber ymnorum Notkeri* and *CH-SGs* 484, none can be said to constitute a repertory or liturgical cycle of chants. In the case of the collections found in *D-Mbs* clm 14843 and *I-VEcap* XC (85), the texts are generic, without liturgical or calendrical specificity. Many of the examples are ancillary to the main contents of the manuscript – slipped into unclaimed writing spaces by enterprising scribes. The sequences in six sources are without notation and were intended as such (*B-Br* 10127–10144, *F-Al* 44, *D-Mbs* Clm 14843, *I-VEcap* XC [85], *D-Mbs* Clm 3005, *F-Pn* lat. 268); two present sporadic neumed entries, apparently because notation was not critical to the recording of these pieces (*F-Pn* lat. 1154, *CH-SGv* 317). The examples of sequences in five sources were designed with notation in mind (*F-Pn* lat. 17436, *F-AUT* 28 S, *I-MA* B 48 sup., *F-Pn* lat. 10587, *CH-SGs* 484) and in a sixth source, notation may have been planned (*CH-SGs* 614). Finally, other than the cues "cum sequentia" found in *B-Br* 10127–10144 and *F-Al* 44, or the single cue of "prosa" in *D-Mbs* Clm 3005, most of the early examples lack any kind of genre identifier. Excluding the performance cues, from the few examples where genre labels are actually found, it is clear that the terminology for the sequence was far from having been firmly established at this time: thus, one finds "versus" (twice), "prosa" (once), "verba de sequencia" (once), and by implication, "hymnus" via the heading "liber ymnorum."

38 I have speculated previously that this bottom-to-top reading is "in keeping with both the scribe's general habits and quest for an individualized product: the inverted recording signals an unfinished, non-performable state of the genre, and though the melodies are indeed intact, they are as yet untexted, thus incomplete. Superficially *CH-SGs* 484 may seem to resemble a collection of West-Frankish *sequentiae*, but I think that the scribe creates an unusual reading path, certainly negotiable for copying or composing, but counterintuitive for an immediate, vocalized realization by a cantor." See Kruckenberg, "The Absence of Transmission: Symptoms of a Musical-Cultural Reception Barrier between the West- and East Frankish Regions," in *Musik und kulturelle Identität: Bericht über den XIII. Internationaler Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung in Weimar 2004*, ed. D. Altenburg and R. Bayreuther, 3 vols. (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 2012), vol. II: 466–76, at 474.

Regional Traditions, ca. 925– ca. 1100: Repertories, Nomenclature, Scribal Practices, and Performance Issues

Beginning around the second quarter of the tenth century, the number of extant documents preserving sequences increases exponentially, as does the size of these collections.[39] From these sources, three distinct geographic traditions of the sequence emerge, and these traditions are primarily distinguished by (1) the written representations of the genre, particularly the notational layout and use of melody names; (2) the terminological conventions used for identifying the genre; and (3) repertorial compilations and the styles evident in these repertories. The most unified of these three traditions lies in the territories of the former East-Frankish kingdom and roughly the kingdom of Germany (*regnum Teutonicum*) after 911, and later the main part of the Holy Roman Empire; for convenience the sequence tradition of this geographic area is referred to as German. A second, somewhat less homogeneous tradition is found in the former West-Frankish kingdom (the bulk of modern-day France) as well as in England, and this tradition is commonly referred to as Anglo-French.[40] Sequence sources from the Italian peninsula account for the third geographic tradition of this period.

The written appearance of sequences in more than three dozen tenth- and eleventh-century German sources – a scribal practice all but unique to the genre – is surely one of the most distinct notational conventions to emerge during the entire Middle Ages.[41] See Figures 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4.

Typically scribes copied the text in the main writing block, while entering neumes to the side of the text, either in the outer margins

39 A relatively comprehensive summary of the source evidence from this period can be found in Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1997), 115–24, and Kruckenberg, "Sequenz," cols. 1259–62. Five newly identified or largely unknown witnesses from northern France from the period ca. 925–ca. 1100 have recently come to light. Four of these are conserved at Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, with the signatures fonds latin 2373, 2778, 12273, and 12957 (*F-Pn* lat. 2373, *F-Pn* lat. 2778, *F-Pn* lat. 12273, *F-Pn* lat. 12957), while a fifth witness is preserved in the Département des Médailles of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France as Inv. 298 (*F-Pn* Médailles, Inv. 298). See Colette, "Enigmes neumatiques (F-Pn lat. 12273; F-Pn Médailles, inv. 298; I-Rvat, reg. lat. 1529)," in *Dies est leticie: Essays on Chant in Honour of Janka Szendrei*, ed. D. Hiley and G. Kiss, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological Studies 90 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2008), 111–14; 127–37; and Colette, "Place and Function," 84–88. With regard to the German tradition, several newly identified witnesses (many fragments) are presented in Kruckenberg, "Before Notker Became Notker," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* (forthcoming).

40 A. Hughes, ed., *Anglo-French Sequelæ: Edited from the Papers of the Late Dr. Henry Marriott Bannister* (Burnham; London: The Plainsong & Mediæval Music Society, 1934; reprint, Farnborough, 1966).

41 Known examples are summarized in Kruckenberg, "Before Notker Became Notker." Occasionally one finds prosulas (textings of pre-existing melismas) connected to Office responsories and Alleluia chants with this special type of notational *mise-en-page* associated with sequences, but these are often exceptional. The eleventh-century author, Anonymous Haserensis, described the written appearance of the prosula "Terminus et idem interminus" as using the synoptic layout used for sequences (" . . . eisdemque notulis versiculos instar sequentiarum subiunxit"). See Stefan Weinfurter, ed., *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis: Edition-Übersetzung-Kommentar*. Eichstätter Studien Neue Folge 24 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet Verlag, 1997), 47–48.

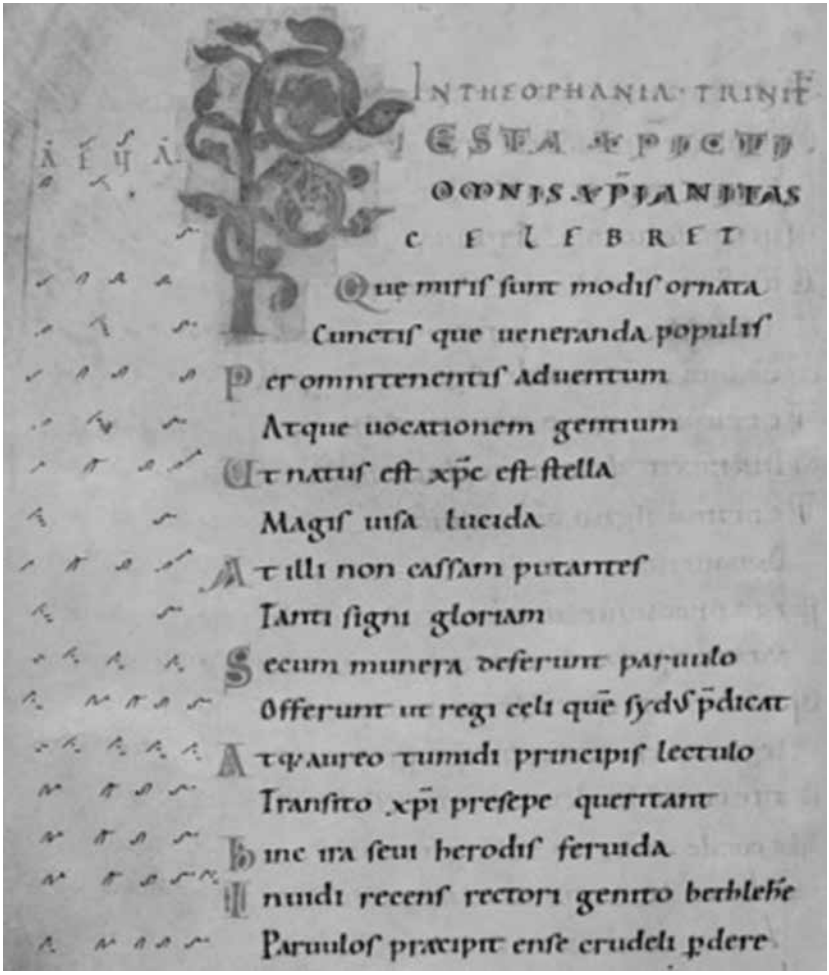


Figure 10.2 The sequence text "Festa Christi" to the melody TRINITAS, in synoptic notation layout: in a mid-eleventh-century troper-gradual-sequentiary from St. Gallen (*CH-SGs*, cod. sang. 376, p. 339)

(Figure 10.2) or in marginal columns prepared for neume script (Figures 10.3 and 10.4). The melody is synoptically joined to the adjacent words, hence the modern term "synoptic layout" ("synoptisches Schriftbild").[42] In the example

42 For an in-depth study on the use of synoptic layout see Haug, *Gesungene und schriftlich dargestellte Sequenz: Beobachtungen zum Schriftbild der ältesten ostfränkischen Sequenzenhandschriften* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1987). The synoptic arrangement occurs in double columns as well, for instance with Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, 443 and 444 (*F-CO* 443, *F-CO* 444), Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 113 and Codex 114 (*CH-E* 113, *CH-E* 114), and Šibenik, Monastery of Franciscans the Conventuals, s.n. (*HR-Šibf*). See



Figure 10.3 The aparallel sequence "Laus tibi sit o fidelis" in synoptic and interlinear notation and rubricated with two melody names, IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI and SPIRITUS DOMINI, in a tonary-gradual-troper-sequentiary from Reichenau, ca. 1001 (*D-BAs* lit. 5, fol. 93v)

of Figure 10.3, from a manuscript from the abbey of Reichenau that has been dated to the year 1001 (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 5 [*D-BAs* lit. 5]), the neumator has entered directly above the text a complementary notation. This supplemental interlinear notation essentially "dissolves" the compound neumes of the marginal notation into a series of single-note *virgae* and *puncta*. Occasionally interlinear notation was used in conjunction with the synoptic format – systematically and sporadically. On a couple of twelfth-century flyleaves now part of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 17 (B.II.10) (*D-BAs* Patr. 17 [B.II.10]), the marginal and interlinear notations have been entered on staves (Figure 10.4), one of the rare diastematic presentations of synoptic format known to have survived.[43]

Hana Breko, "The So-Called 'Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium' (Šibenik, Monastery of Franciscans the Conventuals), 11th Century: The Oldest Medieval Missal of Pula, Istria," *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 45 (2004), 35–52.

43 I know of only three surviving sources (all fragments) that present a synoptic layout of German neumes on staves: one, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 366 (*CH-E* 366) has been known since the nineteenth century. A second, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 17 (*D-BAs* Patr. 17 [B.II.10]), appears to have gone unnoticed by chant scholars until now, and it is from this fragment that I have transcribed "Festa Christi" in Example 10.1. A third fragment, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, bibl. 71 (*D-BAs* bibl. 71), was recently identified by Miriam Wendling, who notes that both Bamberg fragments existed as flyleaves in books from Michelsberg. I wish to thank Dr. Wendling for kindly sharing images of the sequence fragments in *D-BA* bibl. 71 and her research concerning them.

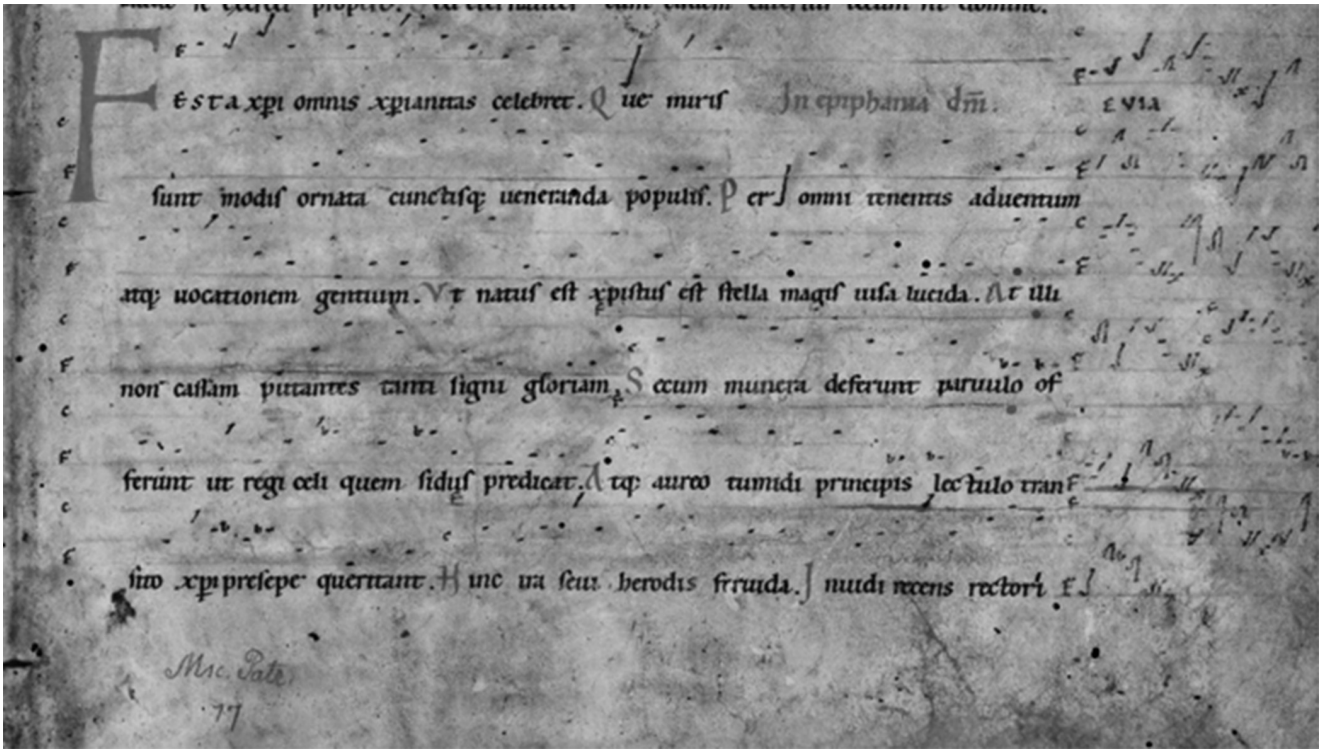


Figure 10.4 A rare example of synoptic notation on staff (here combined with interlinear notation), for the sequence "Festa Christi": a twelfth-century fragment of unknown German provenance, *D-BAs* Patr. 17 (B.11.10), flyleaf i

In the synoptic arrangement, typically the first line or two of neumes of each sequence appear above the letters "AEUA" or "AEUIA" (abbreviations for the word "Alleluia"), which have been added into the margins of the neumes area. Notker, it will be recalled, described struggling with learning how to correctly fit syllables to the syllabic placeholders "-le-", "-lu-", and "-ia" ("ea quidem quae in *ia* veniebant ad liquidum correxi quae vero in *le* vel *lu* quasi inpossibilia vel attemptare neglexi cum et illud postea usu facillimum deprehenderim, ut testes sunt DOMINUS IN SYNA et MATER.").[44] As Andreas Haug has shown, the texting of the opening of a sequence melody was "expected to reflect the phonetic form of the word *alleluia*," including the semivowels and liquescent notes of the impacted syllables.[45]

Generally each sequence was introduced by both a festal rubric and a designation used to refer to the melody sans text. Thus, as in the example of Figure 10.2, taken from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibiliothek, cod. sang. 376 (*CH-SGs* cod. sang. 376), a mid-eleventh-century chantbook from St. Gallen, the rubrics at the top of the folio begin "In theophania" ("on the feast of Epiphany") and continue with TRINITAS, the name of the melody to which the text "Festa Christi" has been set. In the example in Figure 10.3, the liturgical assignment for "Laus tibi sit o fidelis" is absent, but the melody name IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI is provided; the rubricator signals, moreover, that there is a second name used to refer to the melody, for he continues "or SPIRITUS DOMINI" (vel SPIRITUS DOMINI).[46] Figure 10.4 presents the sequence "Festa Christi" – this time on staves – headed by the liturgical assignment "In epiphania domini," but, as became increasingly common in those later sources that still employ synoptic layout, the melody name is lacking.[47]

The medieval practice of supplying sequence melodies with names is peculiar to the genre in the first three centuries of its history. The names of these

44 See the close analysis of this passage in Haug, "Re-Reading Notker's Preface," 72–73. 45 Ibid.
46 Some German sources – especially those written in scriptoria around Regensburg – did not include melody names. See Haug, *Gesungene und schriftlich dargestellte Sequenz*, 96. While the names used for sequence melodies were relatively constant in the early German tradition, discrepancies are found. See, for instance, Kruckenberg, "The Absence of Transmission," 470–71; M. Klaper, *Die Musikgeschichte der Abtei Reichenau im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 52 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 44–48.
47 By the eleventh century melody names begin to disappear from certain scribal traditions (Regensburg, Bamberg) or occasionally are confused. The majority of sequences in the early German repertory have been preserved in later diastematic sources with interlinear notation, the common format that, beginning in the late eleventh century, would ultimately replace the idiosyncratic synoptic format. Even so, as can be seen in Figure 10.4, a few fragments of synoptic layout were attempted with staves. For a detailed description of shifting scribal practices in the German sequence tradition of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Kruckenberg, "Before Notker Became Notker."

melodies appear to have been derived in a variety ways.[48] Many were apparently named for an Alleluia verse, as in the case with melody name SPIRITUS DOMINI of Figure 10.3, or DOMINUS IN SYNA, referred to by Notker in his preface. In some of these instances, the opening melodic gesture of both sequence melody and Alleluia chant are similar; in other cases, the sequence shares the same liturgical destination as that of the Alleluia verse.[49] Some melody names may refer to proper names: Ekkehard claimed that the melody ROMANA was named for the cantor Romanus. Furthermore the melodies he cites with the collective plural form METENSES (but which were labeled separately as METENSIS MAIOR and METENSIS MINOR in sequence sources) were so named, according to him, for Metz, their place of origin. Some names appear to reflect liturgical usage or themes commonly associated with that melody. In the case of the melody MATER ("mother"), a tune cited specifically in Notker's prologue, one of its most important texts in the German tradition was "Congaudentes angelorum," a sequence in honor of the Virgin Mother. The melody FILIA MATRIS ("the mother's daughter") was most commonly found with the text "Virgines venerande," used for the Common of Virgins. Melody names are often evocative as with VIRGO PLORANS ("lamenting virgin") and PUELLA TURBATA ("troubled girl"): the most frequently paired texting for the former was "Quid tu virgo," which addresses a weeping Rachel, while that for the latter was "Scalam ad caelos," a narrative about the trials faced by female followers of Christ. Modern scholars have noted links between certain melody names and key words contained in their most common textings. Richard Crocker pointed out that in "Summi triumphum," set to the melody CAPTIVA, the word "captivitatemque" is made prominent musically by a series of large leaps.[50] Clemens Blume and Henry Marriot Bannister noted that the passage "Ecce sub vita

48 Nikolaus de Goede, *The Utrecht Prosarium: Liber sequentiarum ecclesiae capitularis sanctae Mariae Ultraiectensis saeculi XIII. Codex Ultraiectensis, Universitatis Bibliotheca 417*, Monumenta musica Neerlandica 6 (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1965), 25–26.

49 This is the case with Alleluia melody Them. Kat. Nr. 206, most commonly circulated with the verse "Spiritus domini replevit," whose beginning is very similar to the sequence melody SPIRITUS DOMINI; see Karlheinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft Band 2 (Munich: Walther Ricke, 1965), 164–66. The incipit of the Alleluia Them. Kat. Nr. 271, a well-known Alleluia tune transmitted with several verses including "Dominus in syna," is quoted by the beginning of the sequence melody DOMINUS IN SYNA. See ibid., 192–95; and Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, 357–58. The musical relationship of the sequence to the Alleluia was an especially major topic in sequence scholarship in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. For a recent study exploring the connections between the Alleluia and the sequence, see Bower, "From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definitions of Relations," in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music*, ed. S. Gallagher, J. Haar, J. Nádas, and T. Striplin (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 351–98.

50 Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, 218.

amoena" occurs at the climax of "Carmen suo dilecto," one of the most common texts for the melody AMOENA.[51] Some names (FRIGDOLA, DISCORDIA, DUO TRES, CIGNEA) are intriguing if indecipherable, yet historians have sought to explain the meanings behind these names.[52] Whatever the origins of the names of melodies, their appellations reinforce the ninth-century concept of the autonomy and priority of these *melodiae longissimae*. When these names are combined with the synoptic layout of music and text, thanks to the elements of this mise-en-page, the process of binding very long melodies to words unfolds graphically before the reader's eyes.

Around thirty sources – with dates ranging from between ca. 925 up to ca. 1100 – present complete or mostly complete versions of the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri*. About one fourth of these sequentiaries are preceded by the epistolary preface, the title *Liber ymnorum Notkeri*, or both.[53] From this same period, more than a dozen fragments containing the melodies and textings common to the large collections have survived as well. Collectively the majority of these sources (including the fragments) present the synoptic layout, usually with melody names. Owing to the astonishing degree of repertorial and scribal cohesiveness, it is clear that a basic comprehensive repertory of sequences for the liturgical year must have been in place at least by the first half of the tenth century, and that is was being successfully transmitted throughout the German-speaking lands.[54] Indeed, by the year 1001, extant sequentiaries from St. Gall,

51 Clement Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister, eds., *Thesauri hymnologici prosarium: Liturgische Prosen erster Epoche aus den Sequenzenschulen des Abendlandes, insbesondere die dem Notkerus Balbulus zugeschriebenen, nebst Skizze über den Ursprung der Sequenz, Auf Grund der Melodien aus den Quellen des 10.–16. Jahrhunderts*, Analecta hymnica medii aevi, vol. 53 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1911), 96–97.

52 O. Drinkwelder, ed., *Ein deutsches Sequentiar aus dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, VGA 8 (Graz and Vienna: Kommissionsverlag der Verlagsbuchhandlung "Styria," 1914), 84; Schlager, "Frigdola = Frigdora? Spekulationen um einen Sequenzentitel," in *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobzay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Szendrei and D. Hiley (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), 279–84; Fred Büttner, "Welche Bedeutung hat die Überschrift 'Cignea' für Notkers Sequenz 'Gaude maria virgo'?" *Die Musikforschung*, 45 (1992), 162–63.

53 For those sources with preface, heading, or both, consult the critical apparatus in von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, vol. II: 160.

54 Based on sources dating up to ca. 1100, the presence of the German sequence tradition can be traced as far west as Murbach, Metz, Trier, Echternach, Prüm; as far north as Huysburg and Minden; as far east as Mondsee and Pula in Dalmatia (via Tegernsee); and as far south as Murano (via Salzburg, presumably). The synoptic Schriftbild occurs almost exclusively in the context of the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri* and notated with German neumes, but one eleventh-century source from Gorze or Metz with the German sequence repertory (Metz, Médiathèque municipale, 452 (*F-ME* 452) gives the layout using Messine neumes. This source was destroyed in 1944 but has survived in microfilm format. Furthermore, it has long been known that a leaf from the sequentiary portion of *F-ME* 452 was missing and that leaf has been recently identified in a collection of fragments: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 17177 (*F-Pn* lat. 17177). See Marie-Noël Colette and Christian Meyer, "Le tropaire-prosaire de Metz. Metz, Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, Ms. 452 / Paris, BnF, Lat. 17177, f. 45-46," *Revue de Musicologie*, 96 (2010), 133–81. For a facsimile of this leaf, see http://gallicalabs.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065998b/f1.item.

The synoptic layout has survived in a few non-German sequence collections, namely a late eleventh-century gradual-sequentiary from Cluny (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1087 [*F-Pn* lat. 1087]), where French neumes are used. The responsible scribe or scribes struggled with the coordination of

Einsiedeln, Reichenau, Prüm, the diocese of Freising, and Regensburg as well as a partial sequentiary from Mainz show that, in the German tradition, forty-four melodies formed the core melodic repertoire to which texts were set. By 1030, about five more melodies were commonly found in the German tradition (though not always at St. Gallen), while another handful of melodies became established by the end of the eleventh century; a few of the original melodies cede to some of the newer tunes.[55] By ca. 1100, between forty-five and fifty-five sequence melodies were commonly used, with many circulated with more than one text, and each generally following the principle of one syllable per note. These collections were arranged according to the liturgical calendar, presented generally in a *Temporale* cycle (Christmas through Pentecost, including saints of the Christmas octave but excluding the periods of Advent and Lent); a *Sanctorale* cycle (usually commencing in late spring), and a *Commune sanctorum* cycle (frequently including Trinity, dominical, and Dedication sequences). On the average, sequentiaries from this period have between fifty and sixty sequences, with some collections smaller and others considerably larger.

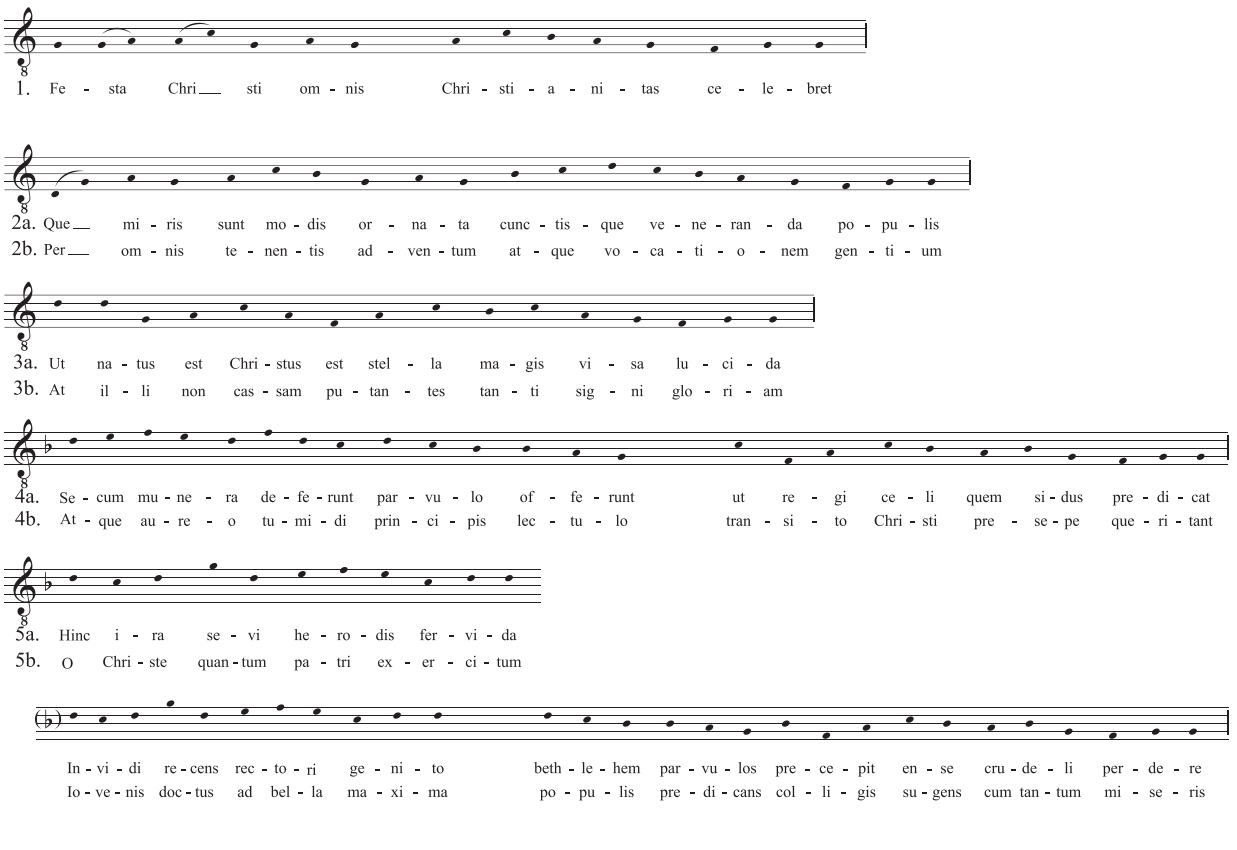
The sequence "Festa Christi," believed to be by Notker Balbulus, is indicative of the genre's signature structural organization of "progressive repetition." See Example 10.1. In general the piece is organized in couplets of differing lengths, with first and final versicles acting as singletons, i.e., unpaired "bookends." Because this overall arrangement (a single versicle followed by a series of paired versicles and concluding with a single versicle) is quite common, the scheme *a bb cc dd … yy z* has become the conventional shorthand for representing progressive repetition, with the flexibility of number of internal pairs conveyed by the ellipsis. Bruno Stäblein, noting that progressive repetition dominated the genre, referred to this as the "standard form" sequence, and indeed progressive repetition is in evidence in the earliest written examples and it continued to persist as the main type for the entire history of the genre.[56]

text and notation, suggesting that mise-en-page was foreign there. Moreover, the occurrence of this German scribal practice was probably linked to the visit of the German monk Ulrich of Zell. There is also a single entry of synoptic layout made by a French hand: fol. 122r in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi latini 318 (*I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 318). This was assigned by Bannister to Fleury (end of the tenth century); see *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, ed. Henry Marriott Bannister, 2 vols. (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1913; reprint Westmead, UK: Gregg International, 1969), vol. "Tavole," Tav. 17a; vol. "Testo," 39–40. Finally two fragments presenting the synoptic layout with Beneventan notation survive: one as a leaf in Killiney, Dún Mhuire, Franciscan Library, MS B29 (verso), now in the Mícheál ÓCléirigh Institute for the Study of Irish History and Civilisation, University College, Dublin, and the other in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. L. 1503. I would like to thank Alejandro Planchart for bringing the Madrid fragment to my attention, and Frank Lawrence for sharing images of the Dublin fragment with me before its eventual publication in Alejandro E. Planchart, "What the Beneventans Heard and How They Sang," *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 22 (2013), 135–37, including figure 1.

55 Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150," 113–19; 124–55; 280–333.

56 The "standardisierte kirchliche Sequenz" was used as a designation to contrast with the *Nebenform* of the "a-parallele Kirchensequenz." See Stäblein, "Sequenz," in *MGG*, vol. XII: cols. 522–27.

Example 10.1 "Festa Christi," an example of an early sequence and one attributed to Notker Balbulus, *D-BAs* Patr. 17 (B.II.10), flyleaf i

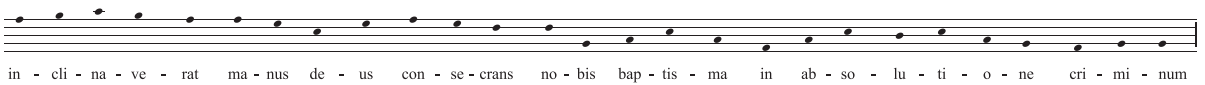


Example 10.1 (cont.)



6a. An - no ho - mi - nis tri - ge - si - mo sub - tus fa - mu - li se in - cli - te

6b. Ec - ce spi - ri - tus in spe - ci - e ip - sum a - li - tis in - no - cu - e



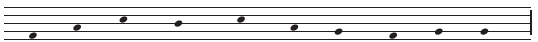
in - cli - na - ve - rat ma - nus de - us con - se - crans no - bis bap - tis - ma in ab - so - lu - ti - o - ne cri - mi - num

unc - tu - rus san - ctis pre - om - ni - bus vi - si - tans sem - per ip - si - us con - ten - tus man - si - o - ne pec - to - ris



7a. Pa - tris e - ti - am in - to - nu - it vox pi - a ve - te - ris o - bli - ta ser - mo - nis

7b. Ve - re fi - li - us es tu me - us mi - chi - met pla - ci - tus in quo sum pla - ca - tus



pe - ni - tet me fe - cis - se ho - mi - nem

ho - di - e te mi fi - li ge - nu - i



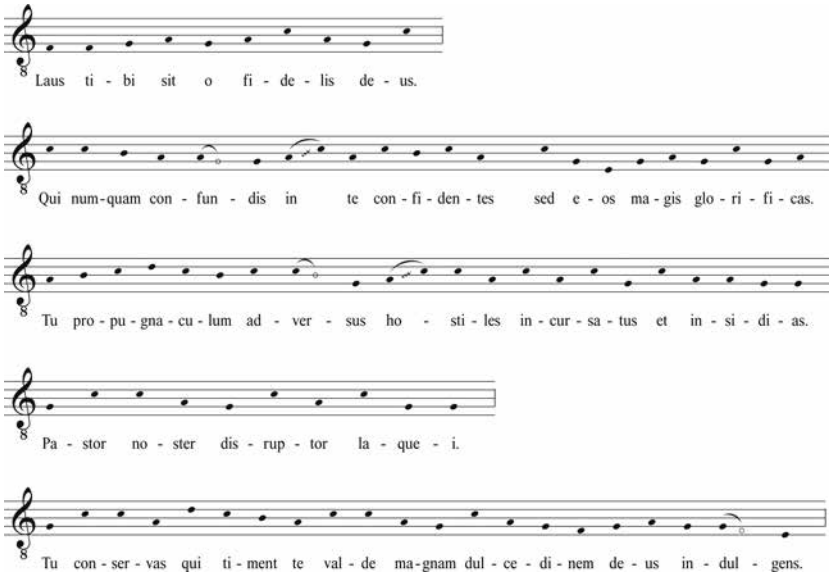
8. Hu - ic om - nes au - scul - ta - te po - pu - li re - demp - to - ri

Turning to the specifics of "Festa Christi," one can note that a different musical phrase accompanies each versicle set of the piece (i.e., 1, 2a/b, 3a/b, 4a/b, 5a/b, 6a/b, 7a/b, and 8). Using letters to represent each melodic phrase and superscript numbers to represent the number of syllables for each versicle, the musical and textual structure of "Festa Christi" can be expressed as: $a^{14}\ b^{19}\ b^{19}\ c^{16}c^{16}\ d^{25}d^{25}\ e^{39}e^{39}\ f^{45}f^{45}\ g^{31}g^{31}\ h^{15}$. Typically – as with "Festa Christi" – versicles are shorter toward the beginning of the piece, longer toward the middle, and somewhat shorter again toward the end.

The text–music relationship is overwhelmingly syllabic, certainly a texture (i.e., note–syllable ratio) concordant with the guidelines described in Notker's prologue: "singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere." The text, though not versified, is in an elevated style of poetic prose, and it follows a basic plan of exordium, narrative, and peroration. The introduction of "Festa Christi" calls upon the community to commemorate the day ("Let all Christians celebrate the feasts of Christ"), with specificity of the liturgical occasion delayed until couplet 2 with its references to "all peoples" and "the Gentiles," common markers for the feast of Epiphany. The main body of the text (3a–7b) presents a series of images connected to the festal period: a brilliant star, gift-bearing Magi, the infant Christ, a manger, male children under the age of two years. The baptism of Christ and the speaking of God the Father serve as the apotheosis of this narrative. Versicle 8 shifts abruptly from the narrative to a final short exhortation for the community of the faithful to listen and give heed to the Lord's words.

The gamut of the entire piece runs from d to a′ with g as the finalis, but as is typical of the early period, the melody expands gradually, well-served by both arrangement and content of the text. Thus, as the range of the sequence expands, the text moves from the introductory exordium to the central narrative; as the melodic tessitura shifts from low to high, the narrative builds in tension, first with savage Herod's slaughter of the Holy Innocents, climbing higher still (reaching a′) and hovering at the top of the range at the words "the voice of the Father sounded forth . . . 'Truly you are my Son . . . today I have begotten you'" (7a/7b). While the ending cadences of each versicle set remain anchored to the finalis g, internal cadences in versicles 5a/b rise to the cofinalis d′, with the internal cadences in couplets 6 and 7 residing on the g′. Anticipating the concluding cadence of versicle pair 7, the melody draws downward to the original tessitura of versicle 1, with the music of versicle 8 first circling and finally closing on g. The cadential figure used throughout "Festa Christi" (f–g–g and its transpositions c′–d′–d′ and f′–g′–g′) is known in scholarship variously as

Example 10.2 "Laus tibi sit o fidelis," an example of a so-called aparallel sequence, and one attributed to Notker Balbulus, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek des Klosters Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek (*CH-E*) frag. 366, p. 24



the undertone, subfinal, and Gallican cadence; it is an especially prominent cadence type associated with the sequence.

Though progressive repetition such as that found in "Festa Christi" is one of the defining markers of the genre, a small subset of sequences for which paired versicles are not structurally fundamental (and indeed for which repetition may be wholly lacking) is found in the early tradition of sequences. Scholars refer to this type as the aparallel sequence. Relatively short in overall length, these pieces were commonly assigned to feasts of lower ranks or to ferials, as in the case of "Laus tibi sit o fidelis" (Example 10.2), a sequence for the third Sunday after Easter. Unlike "Festa Christi," the range is quite contained – occupying the interval of a seventh (e to d′), with the extremes of compass rarely sounding. Indeed, the main part of the melody oscillates (at least according to the only pitch-readable source) between the notes g, a, and c′, with the finalis e occurring but twice. The individual versicle lengths do still differ from one another, but none occur in pairs. Finally, in contrast to the melody of "Festa Christi," the music of "Laus tibi sit o fidelis" does not build, nor is there a strong sense of directionality, with the melody resembling that of an elaborated reciting tone.

Some scholars have hypothesized that these short, aparallel sequences may represent the sequences more akin to those referred to in ninth-century descriptions in the vein of Amalar.[57] As David Hiley has expressed it, "Without the clear structural features of the larger sequence, [the short aparallel types] sound simply like an Alleluia jubilus, and indeed, although some of them have a small amount of internal phrase repetition, this does not go beyond what one would expect of an Alleluia jubilus."[58]

In the German sequentiaries from before 1100, on those occasions when a genre label is found, *sequentia* is invariably used, having emerged as the *terminus technicus* for the genre. Thus, around 1025, when a scribe from St. Gall prepared a sequence collection (today in Crakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms. Berol. Theol. Lat. Qu. 11 [*PL-Kj* Berol. Theol. Lat. Qu. 11]), he qualified what was meant by the heading "book of hymns of Notker," extending the title to read "Liber ymnorum *ad sequentias modulatorum* Notkeri" (emphasis mine).[59] Underscoring the German terminological preference and the ubiquity of the genre in the decades after Notker, *sequentiarium* becomes the established name for a libellus, a section of a codex, or a book type containing sequences, as reflected by entries in tenth- and eleventh-century German library catalogs.[60] It should be noted, moreover, that in the German-speaking lands, the term *prosa* was reserved for prosulas.

Whereas sequence sources from the German territories present an overwhelmingly unified and cohesive picture, the "Anglo-French" witnesses offer a far less homogeneous impression, and they are better examined in subgroupings of (1) Aquitaine, the county of Toulouse and Catalonia, (2) England, and (3) areas of northern France. Among the numerous Anglo-French sources, the dozen-and-a-half tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts of the first group – commonly written in Aquitanian notation – issue by far the most uniform representation of the genre in the former west-Frankish region. These sources boast, furthermore, some of the largest pre-1100 extant

57 See especially Klaus H. Kohrs, *Die aparallelen Sequenzen: Repertoire, liturgische Ordnung, musikalischer Stil*, Beiträge zur Musikforschung 6 (Munich; Salzburg: Emil Katzbichler, 1978).

58 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 181.

59 This heading is found on folio 147v of *PL-Kj* Berol. Theol. Lat. Qu. 11, and the manuscript was a commission for Bishop Sigebert of Minden, copied in St. Gallen for use in Minden. For a facsimile version and commentary, see Schlager and Haug, eds., *Tropi carminum. Liber hymnorum Notkeri Balbuli: Berlin, Ehem. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. theol. lat. qu. 11, (z. Zt. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Depositum)* (Munich: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, 1993). See also the online facsimile: http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=199476&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=683&QI=E550AFE7E7D808862 5DF9F5CC43227EA-51.

60 For examples, see *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, ed. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in München (Munich: Beck, 1918–62. Reprint with errata sheet inserted in v. 4:2, Munich: Beck, 1969–).

collections from anywhere.[61] The tenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1084 (*F-Pn* lat. 1084), for example, contains 130 texted sequences and 108 textless sequences, while the contemporary Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1118 (*F-Pn* lat. 1118) has 140 texted sequences and 74 textless sequences; both contain numerous addenda as well.

It is clear from this group of sources that the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh were a period of robust collecting, composing, and assembling of extensive repertories, which were often paired in coordinated cycles presenting the genre in its texted and textless states. Headings like "Sequencias de toto circulo anni" in *F-Pn* lat. 1118 or "Incipiunt sequentiae de circulo anni" in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1134 (*F-Pn* lat. 1134) denote the comprehensive nature of these cycles, while intermediary headings like "incipiunt prose de adventu domini" and "incipiunt prose dominicales" in *F-Pn* lat. 1084 show the need for subdivisions within these vast repertories. (It should be noted that unlike the German tradition, the Anglo-French tradition also included in its liturgical cycles sequences for the period of Advent.)

That many of these prodigious collections might more accurately be called anthologies is clear from the common occurrence of "item," "alia," or "alia ubi volueris," rubrics indicating that the cantor (or some responsible party) was to choose from several possibilities the sequence he wished to have sung. Chronology and repertorial currency is noted in some books as well. The mid-eleventh-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1138–1338 (*F-Pn* lat. 1138–1338) offers 141 texted sequences in two original series, with the supposed "newness" of the first series (or at least some of its pieces) characterized by the explicit "facta sunt prosas novas [*sic*]."[62] The early eleventh-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1121 (*F-Pn* lat. 1121) contains 86 untexted and partially texted sequence melodies total, with the final 22 melodies designated as no longer in use ("aliae sequentiae quae non sunt valde in usu").

61 Richard Crocker's dissertation remains of fundamental importance for study of the sequence sources. In all, he surveys fifteen sources, all using Aquitanian notation; see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges (Tenth and Eleventh Centuries)," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1957). Because of their affinity to Crocker's sources, to this regional subgroup should be added the manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 9449 (*F-Pn* lat. 9449, mid-eleventh century from Nevers) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions Latin 1871 (*F-Pn* n.a.lat. 1871, late eleventh century from Moissac). The latter exists in a new facsimile: Colette and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, eds., *Tropaire séquentiaire prosaire prosulaire de Moissac (troisième quart du XIe siècle): Manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1871* (Paris: Société française de Musicologie, 2006). Most of these manuscripts have been digitized and have been made available for online viewing through the Bibliothèque nationale de France's digital library Gallica. Throughout this section, following convention, "Aquitanian sources" refers to those written in Aquitanian notation, rather than sources from the Duchy of Aquitaine. However in *F-Pn* lat. 9449 from Nevers, French notation is used.

62 Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," vol. I: 134.

As regards genre identifiers in these sources, except for the very earliest manuscript from this group (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1240 [*F-Pn* lat. 1240] from ca. 930), the witnesses are quite consistent: a texted sequence was labeled as *prosa* or *prosa ad sequentiam*; a textless or partially texted sequence as *sequentia*. Headings such as "incipiunt sequentie" or "incipiunt prose" underscore the standardization of nomenclature in Aquitaine. Only in the early tenth-century *F-Pn* lat. 1240 does *prosa* refer to Alleluia prosulas, offertory prosulas, and texted sequences equally.

In the German tradition, melodic appellations were rarely named after incipits of textings, but according to the Aquitanian sources, the most common way to identify a melody was by the incipit of its partnered texts (NOSTRA TUBA for "Nostra tuba nunc tua clementia"; CHRISTI HODIERNA for "Christi hodierna," etc.). Sometimes melodies in Aquitanian sources were identified by Alleluia verse incipits as well (e.g., LETATUS, EXCITA, MULTIFARIE), but the other categories for names (liturgical associations, keywords) seem to have been rare. The St. Martial manuscripts *F-Pn* lat. 1240 and *F-Pn* lat. 1118 provide no designations (melodic or otherwise) for their *sequentiae*.

In the Aquitanian tradition, the written representations of the genre were well established by the late tenth century. Texted sequences or *prosae* appear as interlinearly notated texts. The textless and partially-texted *sequentiae* were initiated by a notated "Alleluia" or its abbreviation, after which neumed phrases were entered over a red horizontal line in the text field. Repetitions of melodic phrases were either written out a second time, or were marked for repetition by the letter "d" for "duplex." Compare this to the written representations of textless and partially-texted melodies of the ninth-century representation in *F-Pn* lat. 17436 from Compiègne in Figure 10.1.

The oldest sources from England are found in two eleventh-century manuscripts from Winchester: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473 (*GB-Ccc* 473) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775 (*GB-Ob* Bodley 775).[63] At first blush the pair appear to have much in common with the Aquitanian sources, for, as with many of the counterparts from southern France, the Winchester sources essentially present coordinated double repertories, with *GB-Ccc* 473 containing the nearly matched fifty-four *prosae* and fifty-two *sequentiae*; *GB-Ob* Bodley 775 has seventy-five texted and forty-nine textless and partially-texted sequences. The written appearance of sequences at Winchester is – save for

63 See Walter H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper: From Mss. of the Xth and XIth Centuries* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1894; reprint, New York: AMS, 1973); Hiley, "The Repertory of Sequences at Winchester," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. G. M. Boone (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 153–93. *GB-Ccc* 473 is available as a color facsimile as well; see *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction*, ed. and intro. S. Rankin (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007).

its Anglo-Saxon neume script – similar to Aquitaine, with scribes also using *d* as a repeat sign. The Winchester scribes use in addition *x* (for *simplex*), to mark non-repeated phrases, a convention common in some northern French sources. According to *GB-Ccc* 473 and *GB-Ob* Bodley 775, melody names were not just derived from the incipits of sequence texts. Indeed a peculiarity of several Winchester names is their association with musical terms as with CITHARA, TUBA *vel* FISTULA, TYMPANUM, or CHORUS; a few names are unique to Winchester.[64] The dichotomy between *sequentia* and *prosa* appears to have been as firmly rooted in the Winchester tradition as it was in Aquitaine.

Tenth- and eleventh-century northern French sources containing complete liturgical collections or repertories of sequences are relatively rare, and the three earliest extant cycles contain textless or partially texted sequences, but not the texted kinds as in the Aquitanian and English subgroups. These three sources are: Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 47 (*F-CHRm* 47, missing since 1944), a mid tenth-century gradual from Brittany (perhaps Redon) with twenty-nine melodies; Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 144 (*F-AN* 144), a tenth-century book of homilies from St-Aubin, Angers, to which several chants were added, including twenty-eight sequence melodies; and Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 75 (*F-CA* 75), an early eleventh-century gradual-troper from Saint Vedast, Arras, with thirty sequence melodies, two of them with partial texts.[65] While melody names are frequent in all three, none present genre labels for their sequences.

Indeed, based on the known witnesses from northern France, the picture concerning terminology for the genre is less clear than in Aquitaine or England. In two sequence sources from late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Cambrai (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 78 [*F-CA* 78] and Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 60 [*F-CA* 60], respectively), *sequentia* is the genre label for the texted sequence, while no label accompanies the textless and partially-texted sequences in these codices, though a few melody names are found in the latter. In a late eleventh-, early twelfth-century source believed to be from Normandy (London, British Library, Royal 8 C. XIII [*GB-Lbl* Royal 8 C. XIII]), one finds an unfinished collection in which texted and textless sequences occur in alternation. The texted versions

64 Andreas Holschneider, "Instrumental Titles to the Sequentiae of the Winchester Tropers," in *Essays on Opera and English Music: In Honour of Sir Jack Westrup*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld, N. Fortune, and E. Olleson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 8–18.

65 For *F-CHRm* and *F-AN* 144, one could dispute calling these cycles, because liturgical ordering is not exact and liturgical assignments are not given. See Hiley, "Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere," in *De musica et cantu*, 131–55; Hiley, "The Sequentiary of Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 47," in *La sequenza medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1992), 105–17. With the exception of one twelfth-century addendum in *F-CA* 75, there are no texted sequences in these sources.

were completed and consistently labeled *prosa*. The textless versions of the genre were never notated in full, although neumed incipits over "Alleluia" are frequently found. Even so space had clearly been reserved for the notation of the melodies. What is unusual about this incomplete collection is that a rubric either of *pneuma* or *sequentia* had been entered above the space intended for wordless sequences; it is clear that the two terms were used interchangeably and synonymously. Johannes of Avranches, a Norman ecclesiarch active in the third quarter of the eleventh century, wrote in his liturgical commentary *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis* of the singing of a certain *pneuma sequentiae*. This unusual formulation, roughly rendered as "the wordless melody of the *sequentia*," signals that, at least in the archdiocese of Rouen, the word *sequentia* alone did not automatically refer to a wordless sequence melody as it did in Aquitaine and at Winchester. Johannes's commentary clarifies this phrase further through the familiar Amalarian trope, saying "the wordless melody of the *sequentia*, which is sung after the Alleluia, signifies the praise of eternal glory, when the speaking of words will not be necessary, rather a constant, pure, and intense contemplation in God alone shall be necessary."[66]

There are other examples pointing to terminological instability in the evidence from the northern French subgroup. For instance, in an early twelfth-century source from Angers (Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 97 [*F-AN* 97]), *sequentia* refers to the texted sequence while *sequens* is the occasional rubric used to call attention to the concluding jubilus of the Alleluia chant. In a late eleventh-century gradual from Cluny (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1087 [*F-Pn* lat. 1087]), whereas the typical Anglo-French *prosa* was in fact used for the liturgically ordered group of texted sequences (collectively introduced as "incipiunt prose annuis festivatibus dicende"), the scribe uses "melodia" to refer to a complementary series of twenty-eight textless and partially texted sequences, with the heading "incipiunt melodie annuales festivatibus dicendae". Other tenth- and eleventh-century sources – ranging from smaller collections with fewer than ten such pieces and fragments – seem to indicate that the tradition of sequences was not yet codified in northern France at that time.[67]

David Hiley has shown that the performance of textless sequences remained vital in northern France through the end of the eleventh century, while the current author has brought forth evidence from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attesting to the continuing performance of textless sequences –

66 See Johannes of Avranches, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis ad Maurilium*, *PL* CXLVII, col. 34: "Pneuma sequentiae, quod post *Alleluia* cantatur, laudem aeternae gloriae significat, ubi nulla erit necessaria verborum locutio, sed sola pura, et in Deo semper intenta cogitatio." Johannes served both as bishop of Avranches (1060–67) and later as archbishop of Rouen (1067–79). This ecclesiastical tract was commissioned by his predecessor, Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen.

67 Many of these sources can be found in the literature given in n. 39 above.

although as rarer occurrences and mainly in churches in northern France.[68] Example 10.3 presents a transcription of the melody known as GLORIOSA [DIES ADEST] in sources from Aquitaine and Cluny and as BEATUS VIR [QUI TIMET] in the German lands as well as at Arras, Angers, Brittany, and Winchester. In an early twelfth-century source from Cambrai Cathedral (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 60 [*F-CA* 60] it was called UNUS AMOR (after a text with the same incipit), while a twelfth-century source from Reims (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 258 [*F-RS* 258]) has preserved it with the unique name INSCRUTIBILIA IUDITIA. See Figure 10.5 for this relatively late record of a wordless sequence melody and its transcription in Example 10.3.

From the transcription, one notes that the vertically stacked abbreviation *dpx* in *F-RS* 258 served as a repeat sign, and that the same formal principles found in Notker's "Festa Christi" (varying phrase lengths, progressive repetition, gradually expanding range, a stock cadential figure) are in operation here. The main difference between INSCRUTIBILIA IUDITIA and "Festa Christi," of course, is that in the former there is no text, no semantic anchor, as the chant sounds as an extended vocalise (for several minutes) over the vowel *a*. The practice of textless singing appears to have died out in the German tradition a century and a half earlier (perhaps already toward the end of Notker's life), and in England and Aquitaine it was probably already in decline by the mid-eleventh century.[69]

While the sequence tradition in pre-1100 France and England does not present the same degree of uniformity as that in the German lands, collectively some thirty sequence texts and melodies formed the core Anglo-French tradition.[70] Moreover, the notational layouts in the Anglo-French tradition were different than that of the early German tradition. Whereas Anglo-French sequence collections do, in fact, have in common with their German counterparts several melodies, by and large the melodies in the sources from further west are named differently and significant variants can occur. Thus, for instance, the melody known in the German tradition as METENSIS MINOR (or

68 See Hiley, "Sequence Melodies Sung"; and Kruckenberg, "Neumatizing the Sequence: Special Performances of Sequences in the Central Middle Ages," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), 243–317.

69 While it is tempting to allow the Winchester books to stand in for the whole of the English practice before 1100, two late eleventh-century English manuscripts, one from Canterbury (Durham, University Library, Cosin V.V.6 [*GB-DRu* V.V.6]) and the other from Exeter (London, British Library, Harley 2961 [*GB-Lbl* Harley 2961]) – neither of which provide either textless sequences or melody names – suggest a different conclusion. Compare the relevant columns in tables 2 and 3 in D. Hiley, "The English Background to the Nidaros Sequences," in L. Kruckenberg and A. Haug, *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*, ed. Kruckenberg and Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 63–117.

70 D. Hiley, "The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, King's College 1981), 235–86.

Example 10.3 The sequence melody INSCRUTIBILIA IUDITIA (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale [*F-RS*] 258, fol. 179v)



VITELLIA in Trier) was known as STANS A LONGE in the Anglo-French sources. The German melody CONCORDIA (known as AUTUMNALIS in Trier) is similar to the melody identified as CHORUS and BAVVERISCA in the Winchester books and ILLUXIT at Arras; a related melody in numerous tenth- and eleventh-century French sources was consistently labeled EPIPHANIAM DOMINO.

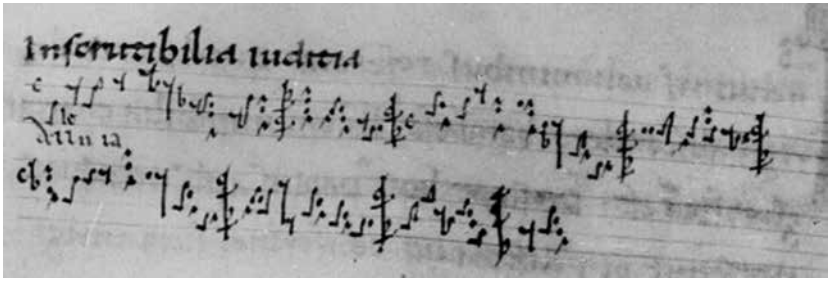


Figure 10.5 The textless sequence melody known variously as GLORIOSA [DIES ADEST], BEATUS VIR [QUI TIMET], and UNUS AMOR and here as INSCRUTIBILIA IUDITIA: entered on a blank page of a twelfth-century evangeliary-liturgical book from Reims; Reims, Bibliothèque municipale (*F-RS*) 258, fol. 179v

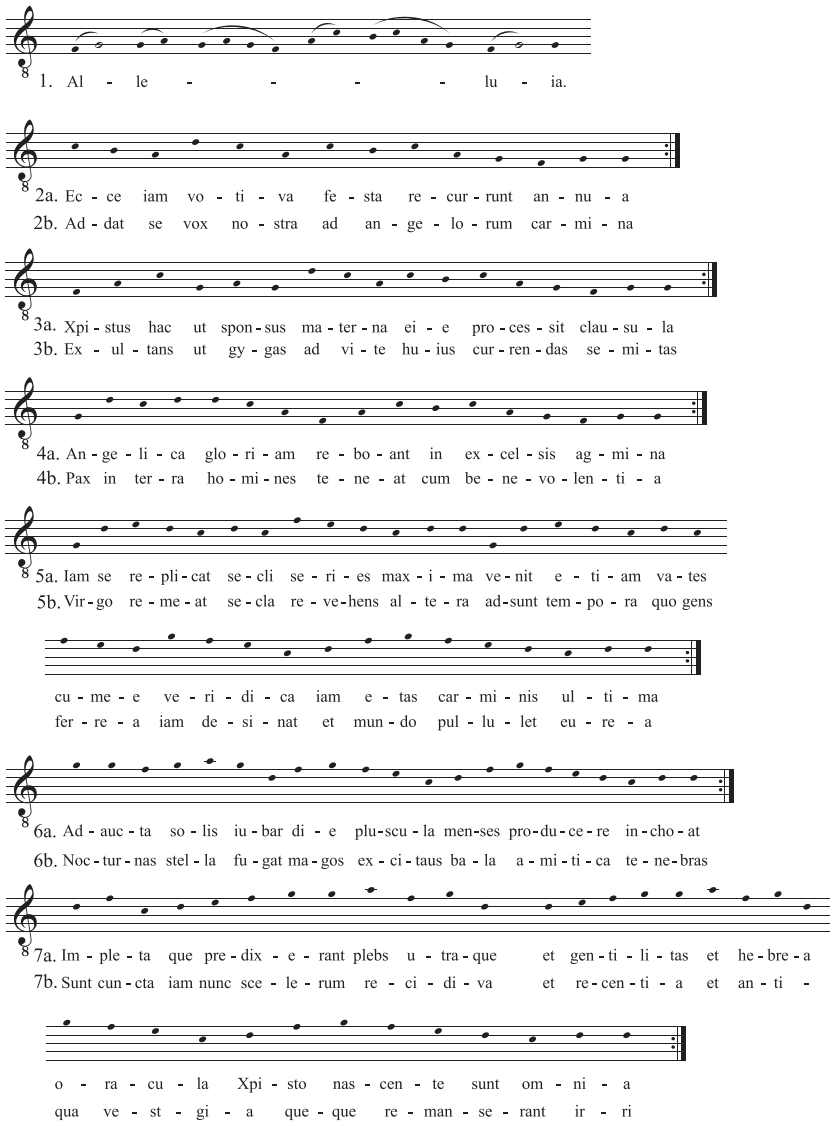
The style of texts is one of the most distinguishing characteristics between the Anglo-French and German traditions. In the Anglo-French sequences, *a*-assonance typically marks the ends of versicles as well as internal caesuras. See Example 10.4. This penchant for *a*-assonance resounds in couplet 2 of "Ecce iam votiva": "Ecce iam votiva/ festa recurrunt annua/ Addat se vox nostra/ ad angelorum carmina." Moreover, classical references –– as with the paraphrasing of Vergil's *Eclogue IV* in versicles 5a/b –– are considered to be more typical of the Latinity of the Anglo-French tradition than that of the German.[71]

The melody used for the text "Ecce iam votiva" was very well known and it was set with several texts. In the Anglo-French area the melody was identified with the names of SIRENA (Autun), MUSA (Winchester and Arras), and CHRISTI HODIERNA (Aquitaine and Cluny), while in the German lands it was consistently called MATER. A feature of this melody common to many sequences is the management of the modal space and ending note. Though it begins with a clearly identified finalis of g, the co-finalis d′ – introduced as an important cadential arrival in versicle pair 5a/b – becomes the new finalis and the pitch on which the piece closes.

Finally, the phenomenon of partially texted sequences is yet another major difference between the German and Anglo-French traditions before 1100. This subtype can be seen in Figure 10.1 and Figure 10.6a. As the phrase "partially

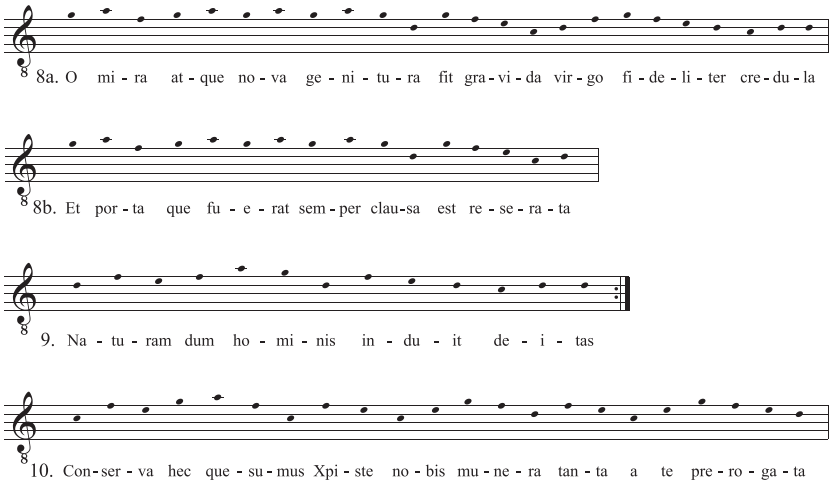
71 For a taste of the stylistic differences as evinced in the Aquitanian repertory and Notker's *Liber ymnorum*, see the discussions and analyses in Lars Elfving, *Étude lexicographique sur les séquences limousines*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 7 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962); and von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*.

Example 10.4 "Ecce iam votiva," an example of a sequence in the early "Anglo-French" style (*F-Pn* lat. 833, fol. 13r)



texted" suggests, only part of the melody is provided with a text, and these verbal bursts occur in the midst of lengthy melismatic passages. Bruno Stäblein noted that in some of the partially texted pieces, the texted passages tend to occur in specific couplets, namely versicle pairs 5, 8 or 9, and sometimes 11 or 13, while

Example 10.4 (cont.)



the other couplets remain *sine verbis*.[72] Curiously, these partial texts also occur embedded in fully texted sequences. Figures 10.6a and b, both from *F-CA* 60, present two related sequences: the partial text version beginning "Iam nunc intonant," and its embedding in the fully texted "O alma trinitas." For ease of comparison, underscoring has been added to the embedded text in the latter. In general there does not appear to be a separate term used to differentiate partially texted sequences from the texted and textless kinds. One exception seems to be *F-Pn* lat. 1137, which calls special attention to two fully texted pieces: "Celebranda satis nobis" (fol. 56v) and "Adest una atque precelsa" (fol. 57v), both of which contain the embedded partial text "Ecce puerpera," with the label "prosula."[73]

While there is some evidence attesting to the presence of the sequence in the Italian peninsula before ca. 925, unlike the German and Anglo-French traditions, very little has survived from before the eleventh century. The earliest comprehensive source (dated to ca. 1000), Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre 18 (*F-APT* 18), comes from an unknown Italian provenance, and it was possibly made for use at the cathedral of Ste-Anne in Apt

72 Stäblein, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz," 8–33. This pattern does not apply to "Iam nunc intonant," the example in Figure 10.6a.

73 Despite the modern use of the phrase "versus ad sequentias" for partially texted sequences (see, for instance, usage by the editors of *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* and more recently, by Colette, "Séquences et *versus ad sequentias*"), I know of no medieval source that explicitly uses this phrase for the partially texted phenomenon. The modern application was born of an attempt in the nineteenth century to link Notker's description of what he saw in the antiphoner from Jumièges. In Catalonian sources, "sequentía cum prosa" and "prosa … [cum] pneuma" are found with partially texted sequences.

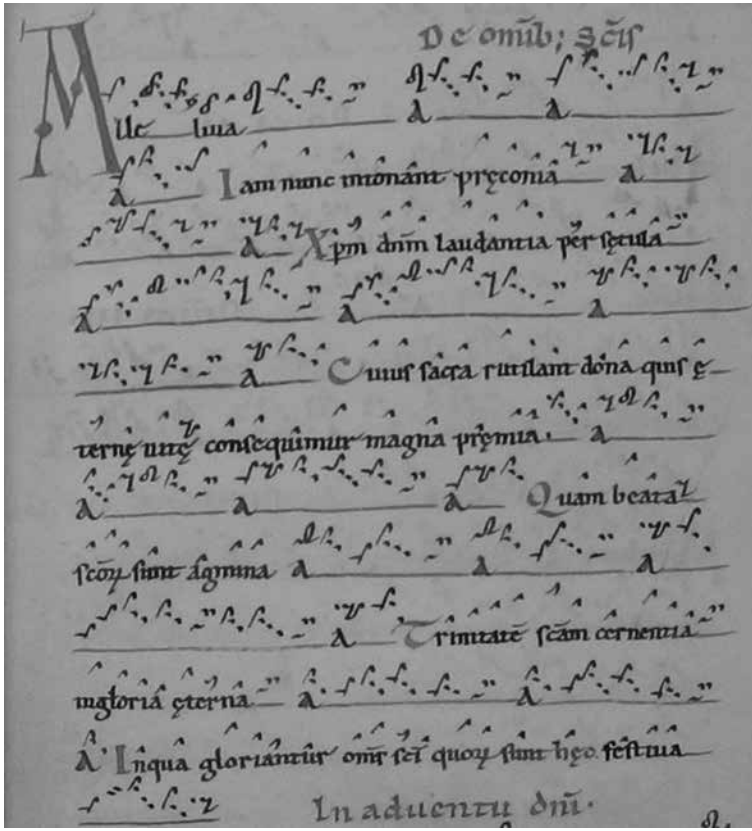


Figure 10.6a The partially texted sequence "Iam nunc intonant," in an early twelfth-century source from Cambrai Cathedral (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 60, fol. 117r)

(Provence).[74] In the majority of early Italian sources, sequences are intermingled either with other Mass chants or with tropes and ordinary chants; contrastingly, sequences are generally self-contained in books from the German and Anglo-French traditions.[75] Moreover, while Anglo-French textless sequences and most early German collections require a specific preparatory ruling to accomodate

74 Gunilla Björkvall, *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss. 17 et 18: Inventaire analytique des mss. et édition des textes unique*, Corpus Troporum v. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 32 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986). The sequences contained therein show many affinities with the Aquitanian repertories and, by extension, with the Anglo-French tradition as a whole.

75 For a concise overview of the early sequence in Italy, see Brunner, ed., *Early Medieval Chants from Nonantola: Part IV. Sequences* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1999), xi–xxvi. Brunner's inventories of Italian sources are quite useful for the study of the Italian tradition: Brunner, "Catalogo."

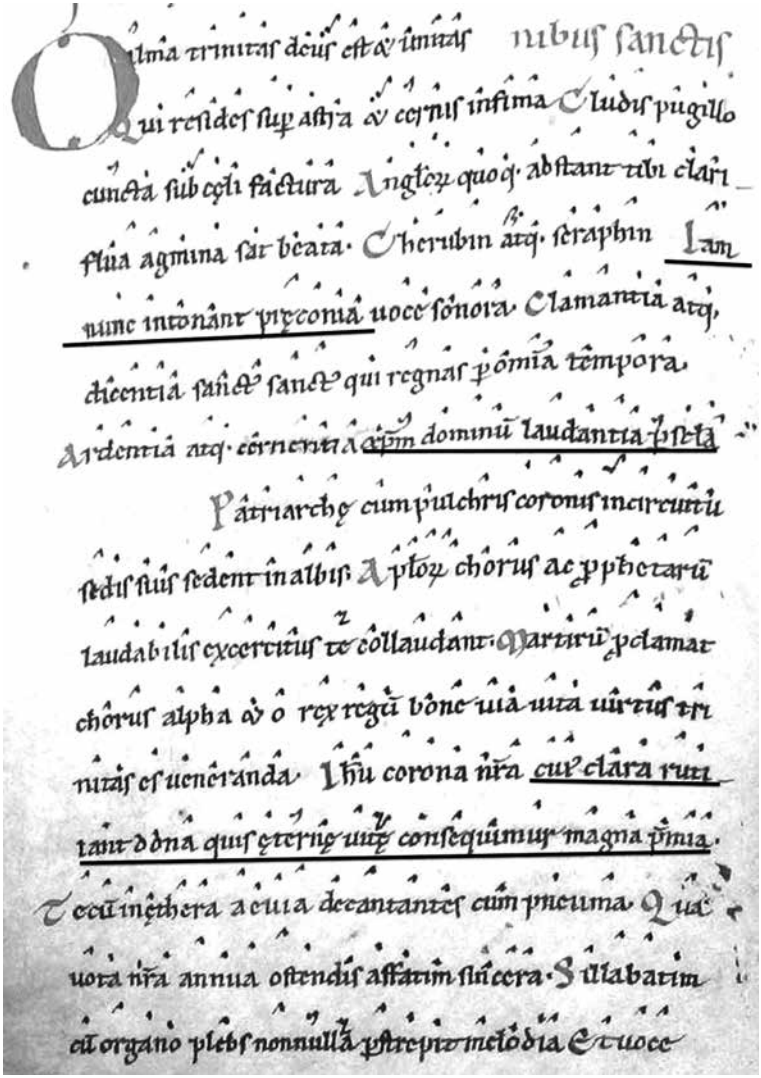


Figure 10.6b The texted sequence "O alma trinitas" with the embedded "partial text" "Iam nunc intonant" (here underlined by the author): in an early twelfth-century source from Cambrai Cathedral (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale 60, fol. 137v)

their respective idiosyncratic layouts, Italian sequences were, as with any other chant genre, notated interlinearly. Perhaps as a consequence of this scribal integration, the special notational practices used in sequence collections from north of the Alps are all but unknown in the Italian tradition. Even so, in a handful of early Italian sources, copyists have entered the notated text versicle in alternation with the same melodic phrase without text, the latter often over the vowel *a*.[76] Scholars have discussed the possible significance that this scribal method might have had in indicating special performances, but it may simply have been a scribal solution to imitate the appearances of sequences in the imported Anglo-French or German sources, but under the condition that the sequence was to be copied together with other chants.

In contrast to Anglo-French and German traditions (which have astonishingly little repertorial overlap with one another), the Italian tradition drew freely on the German and Anglo-French repertories of texted sequences for their liturgical cycles. Pan-Italian and local compositions are in evidence as well. Italian sources comprise almost exclusively the texted type and, based on surviving evidence, textless versions were apparently unknown, while partially texted sequences are extremely rare. Thus, texted sequences are the only type found in Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 161 (*I-VCd* 161); a hand from the original layer occasionally entered *sequentia* at the head of such pieces. However, a later scribe added above several of these text sequences the word *melodia*, the meaning of which is unclear. The practice of including melody names for sequences is also unknown in the Italian tradition. In one of the few instances where a partially texted sequence is found in eleventh-century manuscripts from Novalesa (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 222 [*GB-Ob* Douce 222]), it bears the genre label *pneuma*. With the exception of *GB-Ob* Douce 222, most Italian sources from before 1100 (and indeed, well after) use *sequentia* as the genre label for the sequence, with *prosa* serving as the established term for Alleluia, Offertory, and other responsory prosulas.

Change, Renewal, and Innovation after ca. 1100

Toward the end of the eleventh and throughout the twelfth century, several key practices that had once defined the early sequence all but disappeared.

76 The *alternatim* layout type is found in several Italian manuscripts, where it is sometimes applied only sporadically. These include *F-APT* 18; Rome, Biblioteca angelica, 123 (*I-Ra* 123); Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, MS CVII (*I-VEcap* 107); Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, G.V.20 (*I-Tn* G.V.20); and Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 60 (*I-IVc* 60). Moreover, the *alternatim* layout was planned though ultimately not executed by the scribes of Monza, Biblioteca capitolare, c. 13/76 (*I-MZ* 13/76). A layout of alternating texted and textless phrases is also found in a few sources belonging to the Anglo-French tradition, but these are probably independent scribal initiatives, unconnected to the Italian tradition. For a list of the latter group, see Kruckenberg, "Neumatizing," 245–46, n. 5.

The convention of identifying a sequence melody by name as well as writing sequences as wordless tunes, in a synoptic format, or in alternating texted versicle-melisma arrangements greatly declined, having essentially vanished from sequentiaries by 1200.[77] With the exception of "Grates nunc omnes," "Qui regis sceptra," and "Ecce iam Christus" – stock pieces in the German, Anglo-French, and Italian traditions respectively – the short, aparallel types were on the whole no longer being included in sequentiaries. That the progressive repetition type had become the recognized standard for the genre was articulated by William Durand around 1292, as he summarized the structural expectation of the genre thus: "the verses of sequences are sung with the same melody [in phrases] two by two" ("versus sequentiarum bini et bini sub eodem cantu dicuntur").[78] The partially texted sequence of the Anglo-French tradition met a similar fate with apparently only a few surviving in a very small number of sources copied after 1100.[79] A third change is noticeable in the contents of sequentiaries from England and France on the one hand, and those from the German-speaking lands on the other. Before 1100 a repertorial mixing of Anglo-French and German traditions was rare north of the Alps. From the twelfth century on, however, the mixing of formerly distinct traditions became increasingly common as is most apparent in sources from twelfth-century northern France and England.[80] To a lesser extent (and a few decades later), sequences from the early Anglo-French tradition as well as more modern compositions from northern France made their way into sequentiaries used in German churches, especially ones with links to Augustinian canons, Premonstratensians, and later on Dominicans.[81]

77 The integrity of the melody name appears to have become increasingly compromised over the course of the eleventh century, as evidenced in the incorrect use of names in certain eleventh-century sources. Moreover, even at St. Gall, synoptic writing and use of melody names falls off in the late eleventh century. In French and English sources, melody names are rarely found after 1100, most probably because they were connected with textless versions of sequences. Residual practices of textless sequences and named melody are found in a few examples, as in the case of *F-RS* 258. A detailed discussion of scribal shifts can be found in Kruckenberg, "Before Notker Became Notker." In the cases where wordless melodies or alternating texted and textless versicles are found, they are atypical of their sources and contexts and likely represent exceptional singing practices used to commemorate special occasions. This is the subject of the study Kruckenberg, "Neumatizing."

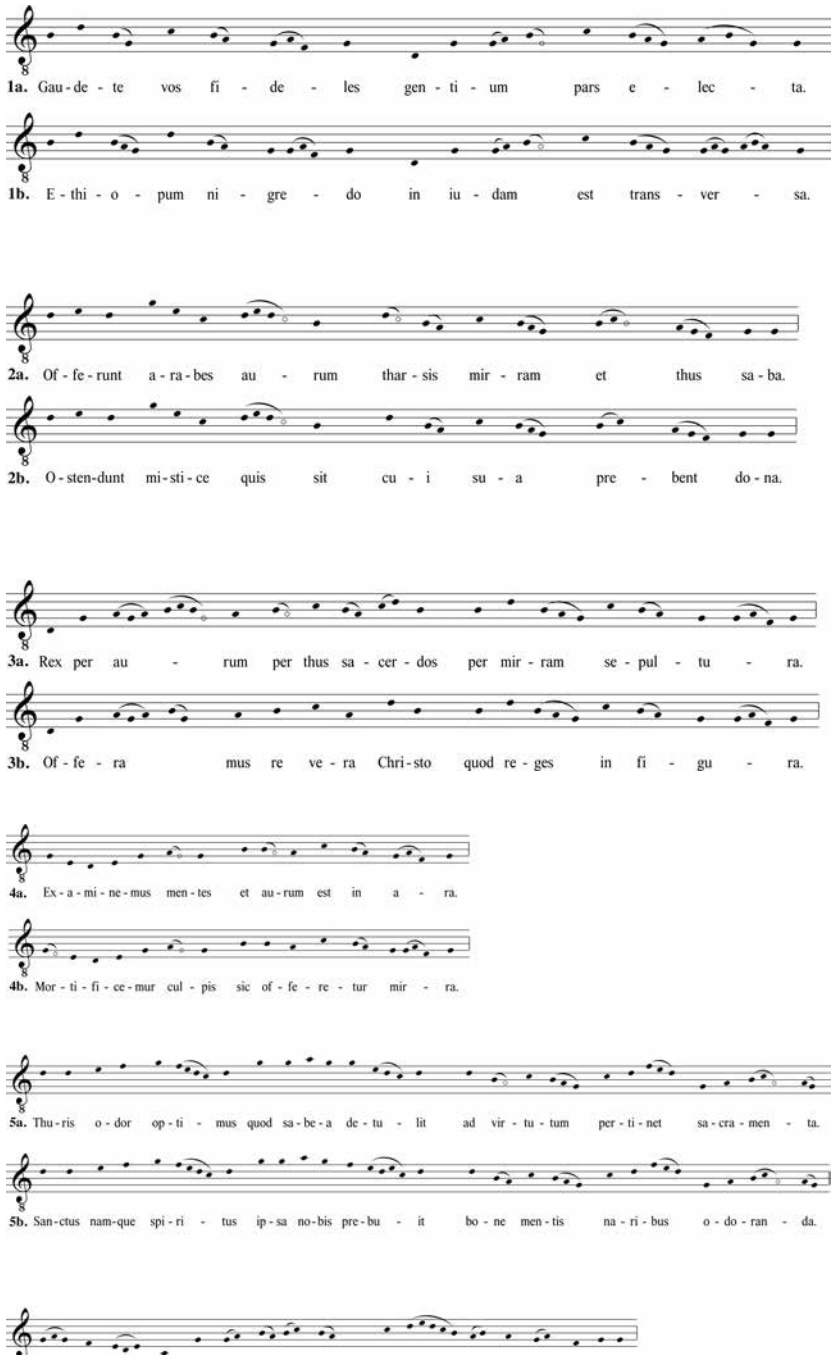
78 I have slightly modified Timothy Thibodeau's translation for purposes of calling attention to the melodic and textual aspects. See William Durand, *Rationale IV: On the Mass*, 185; and William Durand, *Rationale*, vol. I: 336.

79 These include "Rex in aeternum," "Alleluia Iam nunc intonant preconia," "Gloria victoria salus et in secula," "Ecce puerpera." For a study on the survival of the latter example in Spain, see Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, "De monjas y tropos: Música tardomedieval en un convento mallorquín," *Anuario musical* 53 (1998), 29–60.

80 Kruckenberg, "The Absence of Transmission," 470–76; Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150," 161– 225.

81 For repertorial changes in manuscripts from Augustinian institutions in Austria, see Franz Karl Praßl, "*Psallat ecclesia mater*: Studien zu Repertoire und Verwendung von Sequenzen in der Liturgie österreichischer Augustinerchorherren vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Karl-Franzens-Universität zu Graz, 1987).

Example 10.5 "Gaudete vos fideles", new style sequence (Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 263: fols. 124v–125r)



Unquestionably the most dramatic changes to mark the history of the genre – indeed since its inception – were the distinct stylistic features emerging in the decades around 1100. Foremost among these traits were the use of versification in sequence texts, the employment of greater surface detail and melismas in newly composed melodies, and the use of a pre-existing text – rather than a melody – as the point of departure for creating a new sequence.[82] All of these approaches indicate a move away from the early "first-epoch" model of texting pre-existing melodies as the established method of creating a sequence. Because the fundamental relationship between text and melody has changed – either because composers are no longer restricted by the principle of one-to-one relationship of note to syllable, or because poets are interested in employing structures inherent in verse forms – the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries have been referred to as the beginning of the era of the "new sequence" or the "second epoch."[83]

"Gaudete vos fideles," first attested to by twelfth-century sources, is one case in point. Here we find a hitherto unknown melody, and one certainly not among the repertorial core of first-epoch melodic families. Unlike the typical treatment of range found in early sequence melodies, the unfolding of the pitch matrix of "Gaudete vos fideles" (c to a′) is not a gradual, measured one, rather a full octave (d to d′) is sounded in the first couplet, with the compass expanded upward to g′ in the second couplet, thus, with nearly the entire range explored already in the first two versicle pairs. The note–syllable ratio is not, moreover, the traditional one-to-one relationship, but instead a relatively ornate melody accompanies the text. In addition, the versicles are formed from verse units (mainly in groups of four, seven, and eight syllables) and paroxytonic stress (p) consistently concludes these units in couplets 1–5. Only in the concluding singleton does a proparoxytone (pp) close a unit. A variety of single-syllable and two-syllable rhymes further delineate the endings of versicles, while internal rhyme is found twice in the longest couplet (*optimus–spiritus, protulit–prebuit* in 5a/b). The verse units of "Gaudete vos fideles" might be expressed then as:

82 Concerning the contrafacting of pre-existing texts, see, for example, Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150," 273–77; compare also text as a means to recall a melody in Haug, "Zum Wechselspiel von Schrift und Gedächtnis im Zeitalter der Neumen," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary 19–24 September 1988* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences/Institute for Musicology, 1990), 33–47.

83 For discussions of a variety of aspects concerning these stylistic changes and contexts giving rise to them, see most importantly Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011); see also Kruckenberg, "The Relationship between the Festal Office and the New Sequence: Evidence from Medieval Picardy," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 5 (2013), 201–33; Kruckenberg, "Two *Sequentiae novae* at Nidaros: *Celeste organum* and *Stola iocunditatis*," in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*, ed. Kruckenberg and A. Haug, Skrifter no. 20 (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 367–411; Arlt, "Sequence and *Neues Lied*," in *La sequenza medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. A. Ziino (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1992), 3–18.

Versicles 1a/b	7p 7p
Versicles 2a/b	8p 4p 4p
Versicles 3a/b	4p 5p 7p
Versicles 4a/b	7p 7p
Versicles 5a/b	7p 7p 4p 4p
Versicle 6	8p 7pp

Contemporaneous with several new sequences in the vein of "Gaudete vos fideles" are dozens of sequences for which versification takes on an even more pronounced regularity of rhythmic stress and thorough-going disyllabic rhyming. An enormous corpus of these "regular-type" sequences was cultivated in Paris as connected to the Augustinian canons of the cathedral of Notre Dame and to the abbey of St. Victor.[84] "Virgo mater salvatoris," a sequence sung on the octave of Epiphany and found in the sequentiaries of St. Victor, is indicative of the attention given to regularity of rhythmic trochees and rhyme, as both saturate the text of the first couplet:

1a. Virgo mater salvatoris
angelorum grata choris
intus fove serva foris
nos benignis precibus.

1b. Protulisti virga florem
cuius floris in odorem
sancti currunt per amorem
piis cum muneribus.

It may have been such regularity of stressed and unstressed syllables as well as rhyming schemes that prompted William Durand to note further that in some cases, in addition to the same melody, the same rhythm remained consistent between the versicles of a pair.[85]

These melodic phrases – called melodic units by Margot Fassler and *timbres* by Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry – are found not only in the same melodic family (Family IVE) but are known in different melody families and in different positions within the melody as a whole. As Fassler has stated,

84 See especially Fassler, *Gothic Song*; and eadem, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 233–69.

85 The passage reads in full: "the verses of sequences are sung with the same melody [in phrases of] two by two for the reason that – as often happens – they are composed in pairs with the same rhythm, with the same number of syllables" (" . . . versus sequentiarum bini et bini sub eodem cantu dicantur, quod ideo contingit quia ut plurimum bini et bini per rithmos sub paribus syllabis componuntur"). See above, n. 78.

Example 10.6 Versicle pairs 1a/b, 7a/b, and 8a/b from *Virgo mater salvatoris*, an example of rhymed, 'regular' sequence, attributed to Adam of St. Victor (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 14819, folios 54v–56v).



> Much of the work on late sequence melodies has proceeded without sufficiently acknowledging their composite nature, treating each melody as if it were a fixed entity with little opportunity for variation and development. Actually, the reverse is true. To understand late sequence melodies, one must pay close attention both to the melodic units and to the plans of the melodies as wholes.[86]

Repertorial changes, including the addition of new sequences, were often achieved at the diocesan level, and occasionally at the metropolitan level. Because the liturgy of the church frequently came under the scrutiny of monastic and ecclesiastical reformers, sequence repertories were often affected as well. The influence of reform movements on the sequence becomes particularly obvious after 1100. With Benedictine reformers attached to Cluny and Hirsau, for instance, continuity in sequence repertories was largely stressed, but their respective cycles appear to have been trimmed somewhat from the larger collections of the eleventh century and to a lesser extent their festal assignments reassigned. The example at Cluny in the final two decades of the eleventh century suggests a largely unbroken tradition with the exception of some pruning of the repertory. Nonetheless, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156, mandated the adoption of a new sequence, and its spread throughout parts of France and Spain was likely a consequence of his institution.[87] Similarly the Hirsau ordinal sustains the centrality of the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri* as the foundation of the German sequence repertory – albeit in a pared down, slightly reordered state. In contrast to changing traditions in northern France, England, and Nidaros, the Hirsau-reform monasteries appear to have been largely conservative with regard to their sequence repertories.[88]

The Cistercians, one of the new religious orders of the period, generally did not support the singing of sequences in the Mass, though the genre sometimes found a place in private devotions and later sources.[89] The Premonstratensians, another newly founded order, issued a liturgical ordinal, and, while not absolute in its prescriptions, its *Liber ordinarius* appears to have helped spread several new sequences common to northern

86 Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 292.

87 Kruckenberg, "Relationship between the Festal Office and the New Sequence," 210–13, 222–23.

88 One case in point is the adoption of the "new-style" sequence "Sancti merita Benedicti" by the Hirsau-reform circle. Thus, whereas the editors of "Analecta hymnica medii aevi" considered the text of "Sancti merita Benedicti" to belong to the so-called "transitional" style, its melody dates back to the ninth century (Ekkehard IV ascribed it to Notker), and the syllabic setting is entirely in keeping with the sequence of *Liber ymnorum Notkeri*. See Kruckenberg, "Zur Rekonstruktion des Hirsauer Sequentiars," *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), 186–207.

89 There are prominent exceptions, particularly in late medieval manuscripts from Cistercian houses, as with the famous Codex Huelgas or the supplement to the Gisle Codex. See also Fassler, *Gothic Song*, xxxi–xxxii, n. 55.

France and Flanders into the German lands, as well as to have promoted the entry of older Anglo-French sequences further east.[90]

But by far it was the Augustinian canons in certain quarters – Paris (as already mentioned) as well as throughout Austria – who gave special attention to sequences in their liturgies. The Augustinian priory of St. Victor in Paris, under the leadership of the former cathedral precentor Adam, spectacularly overhauled nearly the entirety of its sequence repertory, replacing older, long-established pieces with dozens of newly composed sequences in the new style.[91] Elsewhere the adoption of new sequences often complemented older strata, or these new pieces were concentrated in a large subsection of Marian sequences. As Margot Fassler has documented, Dominicans created normative repertories of sequences in distinct strata.[92]

Yet the sequence was not promoted in all sectors and already in the first half of the fourteenth century reformers in Subiaco suggested limiting the singing of sequences to five selections, anticipating the post-Tridentine missal of 1570 by 200 years. Another development is the rise of sequence commentaries; these expositions analyze the literary component of the genre for everything from lexical offerings to theological content.[93]

The current state of research on the sequence of the late Middle Ages does not match the scholarship of the genre from before 1200, and much work on the sequence remains to be done.[94] The number of extant sources as well as new kinds of written testimonies from the later centuries presents an overwhelming task for study, yet at the same time wealth in evidence signals rich opportunities for future investigations. For instance, the rise of the ordinal, a book type more prominent from the thirteenth century on, allows consideration of performance issues generally not spelled out in sequentiaries.[95] From the twelfth century on, liturgical commentaries experienced

90 One can glean the repertorial foundation of Premonstratensian sequentiaries from Placide Fernand Lefèvre, *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré d'après des manuscrits du 12e et du 13e siècle* (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1941).

91 Fassler, *Gothic Song*; and Fassler, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor?"

92 Fassler, "Music and the Miraculous."

93 Erika Kihlman has led the way on recent research into the late medieval phenomenon of sequence commentaries: Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum: Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues: Editions with Introductions* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2006); Kihlman, "Commentaries on *Verbum dei deo natum* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," in *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of John at the Dominican Convent Paradies bei Soest*, ed. J. F. Hamburger, Houghton Library Studies 3 (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, Harvard University Press, 2008), 101–31.

94 Two exceptions include Kees Vellekoop, *Dies ire dies illa: Studien zur Frühgeschichte einer Sequenz* (Bilthoven: A. B. Creyghton, 1978); and Bower, "The Sequence Repertoire of the Diocese of Utrecht," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 53 (2003), 49–104.

95 Ordinals provide a window on performance because they provide instructions for special ways of singing, such as neumatizing, on the practice of "divisio" – where only part (usually the second half) of a sequence was to be sung on lesser feast days, and a charting of the frequency that a given sequence was sung over the course of the liturgical calendar, as well as during the liturgy of the Divine Hours. See, for example,

a renaissance, and many are rich in their discussion on performance and aesthetics concerning the sequence.[96] Retrospectives of the genre similar to the previously cited one by Jacobus de Voragine are common to late medieval liturgical commentaries and may point to a certain scientific distance from the genre being adopted in some circles in the later period.

To conclude, perhaps the most spectacular "historical review" of the genre to have survived from the Middle Ages comes in the form of the massive sequence anthology of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. sang. 546 (*CH-SGs* 546). Its compiler and scribe, cantor Joachim Cuontz, began this monumental project in 1507 and completed it in 1512, just in time for the 600-year commemoration of the death of Notker Balbulus.[97] Not only did Cuontz assemble some 416 sequences, but he also regularly included marginal annotations indicating his own assessment of a particular sequence's aesthetic merit or character, attributions of place of origin, or indication of authorship. While Cuontz gave pride of place to sequences of the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri*, he also included dozens of works that had fallen out of favor (e.g., early aparallel sequences) as well as those foreign to the St. Gallen traditions, including twelfth-century pieces from Paris and northern France, thirteenth-century pieces from the Dominican repertory, and even some sequences from the early Anglo-French tradition. On display in this anthology is the wide array of styles of Latinity and melodies, and while *CH-SGs* 546 presents not even a tenth of the sequences known to have survived from the Middle Ages, the extraordinary richness and variety of contents reminds one of the vitality of this genre during its nearly eight centuries of use and renewal in the rites of the Latin West.

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96 The pioneering work on the value of such tracts and commentaries for sequences in particular (and chant in general) is Fassler, *Gothic Song*, esp. 18–57.

97 Frank Labhardt, *Das Sequentiar Cod. 546 der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen und seine Quellen*, 2 vols. (Bern: P. Haupt, 1959–63).

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· 11 ·

Music Theory

THOMAS CHRISTENSEN

There is a famous aphorism written over 1,000 years ago by Guido of Arezzo that tells us:

> Musicorum et cantorum, magna est distantia
> Isti dicunt, illi sciunt, quae componit musica.[1]
> (Great is the difference between musicians and singers,
> The latter say, the former know what music comprises.)

Guido here sets us a polarity that would be repeated again and again by writers throughout the Middle Ages. A *musicus* was one knowledgeable about the science and philosophy of music (*musica*) as opposed to the *cantor* who could only sing. The former is a thinker, the latter a doer.

Now there is no doubting where Guido's preferences lie in this particular passage. Immediately following this couplet, he adds that anyone who does something without knowing why they do so is no better than a beast ("Nam qui facit quod non sapit, diffinitur bestia"). It is an invidious dichotomy to be sure. Still, Guido's two poles capture an important and persistent tension that we find in medieval musical thought, and indeed, even today. On the one hand, there was the aspiration to understand the fundamental nature and meaning of music from a philosophical perspective. This was the great legacy of speculative music theory inherited from the ancient Greeks. Often called the subject of "harmonics," it represented a kind of pure knowledge that had little to do with the applied skills one needed for musical performance or composition. On the other hand, there *was* a growing need throughout the Middle Ages to understand and teach just those practical skills necessary for the proper singing of music in the church. Was there a way these two differing vocations could be reconciled, these two differing kinds of knowledge balanced?

1 Guido, *Regule rithmice* 11. 8–10; cited in Calvin Bower, "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 136–67 at 163.

The struggle – and glory – of so many medieval writers on music lies precisely in their attempts to bring together these two desiderata, to accommodate the intellectual aspirations of the *musicus* with the practical needs of the church *cantor*. Beginning in the late eighth century, a small number of Carolingian monks undertook the daunting challenge of codifying the vast and unwieldy repertoire of chant that they were charged with teaching using newly discovered tools and language inherited from classical harmonics. Charles Atkinson has aptly called this moment of music history "the critical nexus."[2] The importance of this disciplinary alchemy can hardly be overstated. For within the converging vocational roles of the *musicus* and the *cantor* was born medieval music theory, and by consequence, music theory as we understand it today.

It is the aim of this chapter to describe something of this complex story, one that played out over many centuries. Obviously, my discussion cannot provide a detailed history of music theory in the Middle Ages – a history that can in any case be found ably recounted in other recent publications.[3] Still less can I pretend to offer an extensive analysis of single theoretical issues or particular writings. But I do hope to sketch out some of the major themes and tensions of medieval music theory, while also pointing out some of the institutional contexts and codicological constraints within which this theory was formulated and articulated. To begin this story, though, it is first necessary to start with the classical musical writings inherited in the Middle Ages, for this became the foundation upon which medieval music theory was built.

Musica: The Classical Legacy

Knowledge among medieval readers of ancient Greek literature concerning music theory was quite limited. Only a handful of such writings circulated in the Middle Ages in Latin translation. (For example, the sole work of Plato dealing with music known in the medieval period was Calcidius' translation of and commentary on the *Timaeus*.) A larger number of Aristotelian texts became

2 Charles Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

3 Besides Atkinson, *The Criticial Nexus*, there are several other synoptic surveys of historical music theory that may be recommended, including essays within Christensen, ed. *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*; Frieder Zaminer, ed., *Die Mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie, 5 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984); Zaminer, *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990); Thomas Ertelt and Frieder Zaminer, eds., *Die Lehre vom Einstimmigen Liturgischen Gesang*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 4 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006); and Christian Meyer, *Les Traités de musique*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 85 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

available in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries via Arabic translations (notably, in the case of music, the *Problemata*). But by and large, until the greater recovery of Greek sources that began in the later fifteenth century, what knowledge there was of Greek thought about music stemmed from about a dozen or so Latin writings of varying length – and varying detail – stemming from late Roman Antiquity.[4]

These writings include a number of short texts such as Censorinus' *De die Natali* (CE 238) and Fulgentius' *Mitilogiae* (ca. fifth–sixth centuries CE). There are also sections from more encyclopedic works by Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, before 439 CE), Cassiodorus (*Institutiones*, after 540 CE), and Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, ca. 627–36 CE). There were two early fifth-century commentaries on the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero by Favonius Eulogius and Macrobius, and as just mentioned, Calcidius' translation of and commentary on the *Timaeus* (from the later fourth or early fifth century). Augustine's treatise on music (*De musica*, 387–89 CE) was important given the stature of the author, although it had little to offer musicians since it is more on poetic meter (with a few tantalizing comments on music that hint at the longer text on melody that Augustine seems to have been contemplating writing but never finished). And then, of course, there was the *De institutione musica* of Boethius (early sixth century), the indisputable magnum opus of music theory stemming from late Antiquity – a text that we will have occasion to return to several times in this essay.

Obviously, these texts are not medieval literature, properly speaking; they represent more the embers of a waning classical tradition. Still, the influence and importance of many of these writings in the Middle Ages was so profound, their presence in the writings of so many medieval authors so evident, that it is proper here to consider them as foundational to medieval music theory.

To begin with, it was through these authors – but above all, Boethius – that whatever knowledge of ancient Greek music theory known in the Middle Ages was conveyed – however imperfect that information was. It was also through these writings that many of the great Greek legends and myths concerning the power and ethos of music were transmitted (Orpheus,

4 Discussed extensively in Michael Bernhard, "Uberlieferung und Fortleben der antiken lateinischen Musiktheorie im Mittelalter," in *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 7–35; also see Calvin Bower, "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 136–67; and Michel Huglo, "Bibliographie des éditions et études relatives à la théorie musicale du Moyen Âge (1972–1987)," *Acta Musicologica* 60 (1988), 229–72 at 231–42 for bibliographies of editions, translations, and commentaries.

Pythagoras, Amphion, etc.). Through Macrobius, Eulogius, and Calcidius, medieval readers learned the little they could know of Platonic musical thought, while through Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, and Isidore, they could glimpse an educational ideal of the *artes liberales* in which *musica* occupied an honored position. Together, these texts provided the foundation for a tradition of classical learning concerning the *ars musica* that was to prove catalytic to the Middle Ages.

As mentioned, by far the most influential of these writers was Boethius, whose writings on music (mainly in his *De institutione musica*, but also parts of his *De institutione arithmetica*) made him the closest thing to a canonical *auctoritas* in the Middle Ages. The ninth-century Carolingian theorist Aurelian of Réôme voiced a commonly shared sentiment when he called Boethius the "vir eruditissimus" and "doctissimus." (As late as 1487, the Italian theorist Nicolò Burzio defended Boethius as the "Monarch of Musicians.") As but one empirical indication of his importance, we might note that there are over 137 extant manuscript copies of Boethius' music text from the Middle Ages – far more than exist for any other single musical text.[5] And this manuscript tradition continued (with some notable fluctuations to be discussed) until the first print publication of the *Institutio musica* in 1492.

The importance of Boethius' work to the Middle Ages was manifold. First of all, it conveyed with more detail and authority than any other extant source the classical Greek tonal system to its Latin readers: pitch and interval names, scale systems, tonoi, and genera. As mentioned above, this kind of scientific knowledge constituted the classical discipline of "harmonics." (But we must always keep in mind that Boethius himself was removed by at least half a millennium from the period in which any of these concepts might have had any real vitality.) His highly sophisticated mathematical discussion of interval ratios and proportions remained authoritative – and often impenetrable – for medieval readers until at least the fourteenth century. Moreover, Boethius introduced an alphabetic (Alypian) notation system that would prove catalytic (if at times bewilderingly confusing) to Carolingian theorists. We will have occasion in this chapter to return to Boethius' writings and see their continued resonance throughout the Middle Ages.

For now, though, it is enough to underscore that the greatest legacy of Boethius' text was simply the prestige and legitimization it gave to music as a subject of philosophical inquiry within the seven *artes liberales*. Along with

5 Bower, "Boethius' *De institutione musica*: A Handlist of Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), 205–54.

the disciplines of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, music was part of the great "quadrivium" of numerical sciences (the other canonical grouping being the "trivial" subjects of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics). Of course his conception was fully a Platonic one in which *musica* was understood as an abstract science of discrete numerical relations. Properly speaking, the subject of "harmonics" had little to do with anything that we would consider "practical" music-making. Still – or precisely because of that – it was the subject fit for the true philosopher of music (whom Boethius designated simply as a *musicus*).

With its powerful rhetoric and intimidating array of classical and mathematical learning, its clear exegetical ordering (characteristic, as Leo Schrade has noted, of the ancient Greek genre of the *protreptikos* – an exhortation to the study of philosophy) it is not surprising that upon its reappearance during the ninth-century Carolingian revival of learning, *De institutione musica* quickly assumed the position of a canonical text.[6] As the first European universities were established in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it became prescribed as a required text, a position it maintained in some institutions as late as the seventeenth century. There were few learned writers on music throughout the entire Middle Ages who were not aware of Boethius' work, and in many cases they drew from it liberally for their own writings.

A Codicological Excursus: Manuscript Culture and Textual Authority in the Middle Ages

If we look closer at this picture, a more complex story emerges that might lead us to re-examine the authority – and autonomy – of Boethius' treatise in the Middle Ages. This complexity stems from a range of codicological questions regarding the text's origins, compilation, and reception history. As these are problems that are endemic to the overall manuscript culture of the Middle Ages, it will perhaps be of value here to pause briefly and review for non-specialists what some of these are, problems that are relevant, *mutatis mutandis*, to most other texts of musical literature that confront the medieval historian.

To begin with, there is the basic philological problem of simply determining what the authoritative text of *De institutione musica* is. As with virtually all other writings of the Middle Ages, we do not have an original autograph manuscript to consult. (The first autographed copies of a music theory text in the Middle Ages that have survived are only from the fifteenth

6 Leo Schrade, "Music in the Philosophy of Boethius," *The Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947), 188–200.

century.)[7] In the case of Boethius' work on music, the earliest manuscript we have is from the late ninth century. But simply because a copy is prior in a stemmatic reconstruction, it need not necessarily be the most reliable. Many of the earliest manuscripts seem to be corrupted by copying errors, omissions, additions, or decay and mutilation over time. (A later manuscript could well be based on a more authoritative earlier copy that is now lost.) It is rare to find two copies of the text that correspond in all details; and in many cases, the variances are substantive.

Thanks to the philological work of several generations of medieval scholars, we now can reconstruct as close as we may ever get to an authoritative recension of Boethius' work. Still, it is not the work that most readers probably would have known. For many of the surviving copies of the work are only partial in content, containing often just the first one or two "books" of the text. And even for those copies that contain the "complete" five books (amounting to about two-thirds of the surviving copies), Calvin Bower has plausibly argued that there are at least two now-lost books that were probably meant to conclude the original text.[8] Then again, *De institutione musica* seems to have been conceived as but one treatise among four that would detail the quadrivial sciences, although none of the other treatises survive save for fragments of the arithmetic treatise. How would reading this text within its broader (or narrower) intellectual context and program change how one understands its arguments?

As it turns out, Boethius' text was often found copied in single codices along with appropriate excerpts from Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, a short treatise entitled "Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis," and the so-called *Enchiriadis* treatises, *musica* and *scolica*. These groupings are so prevalent among surviving tenth-century codices that scholars have suggested that it likely represents a tradition of Carolingian pedagogy.[9]

The compilation of various writings within a single codex was in fact commonplace in the Middle Ages. Oftentimes, just single sections of a text were excerpted – and just as often without authorial attributions. But it turns out that many canonical "treatises" in the Middle Ages are nothing but *compilationes* of such excerpts, good examples being the *Brevarium* of Frutolf of Michelsberg (late eleventh century) or the so-called "Berkeley" manuscript (fourteenth century).[10] Still, a compilation could be more than a random

7 Bernhard, "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter," in *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 37–103 at 67.

8 Anicius Manlius Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, tr. Calvin M. Bower (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), p. xxxviii.

9 Bernhard, "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter," 70.

10 Berkeley (CA), University of California, Music Library, 774 (*US-BEm* 774).

collection of excerpts; a skilled compiler knows not only which texts to draw from but how to strategically order them (*ordinatio*) to create an effective pedagogical curriculum.[11]

If Boethius' own writings were frequently drawn upon by his admirers throughout the Middle Ages, we should also not overlook that he too was standing on the shoulders of giants. For it seems that a good deal of what Boethius wrote was actually a translation (with commentary) from a now-lost work of Nichomachus, the *Eisagoge musica* (constituting substantial portions of books 1 through 4), from the Euclidian *Sectio canonis* (book 4), and from Ptolemy's *Harmonica* (book 5). Obviously, concepts of authorship, not to say originality and plagiarism, had quite differing values fourteen hundred years ago than in our age. To borrow, excerpt, and perhaps even fully appropriate a text without citation was both acceptable and commonplace for an "author." Yet this does underscore for us today the fragility of textual authority for many medieval writings.

And then there is the vexing question of textual accretion and additions. Many copies of Boethius' texts – as with other canonical manuscripts of the Middle Ages – are laden with glosses (marginalia comments and textual annotations). These glosses range from short grammatical, lexical, or etymological notations to surprisingly extensive commentaries, exempla, elaborations, illustrations, questions, disputations, or explanations (especially of his difficult mathematics).[12] To view these glosses as mere appendages cluttering the "authentic" text of Boethius is to woefully underestimate the potential insight they might offer us. When carefully studied, glosses may reveal a reception record, if you will, of the text over many generations of manuscript copies. In many cases, a persistent gloss might eventually become incorporated within the text by scribes during the copying process, in essence becoming part of *De institutione musica* and its reception history.

I have rehearsed these many problems of the textual codicology and reception of Boethius' *De institutione musica* as it helps to underscore the precariousness of the written text in medieval manuscript culture, what Paul Zumthor has referred to as a manuscript's *mouvance*.[13] Disentangling the

11 Meyer, *Les Traités de musique*, 52, 161. It is well to keep in mind that not all codices will necessarily show the same level of integration. The incoherence of a "text" such as Coussemaker's "Anonymous XI" can only be explained to result from the compilation of a large number of unrelated excerpts by some scribe that Coussemaker wrongly presumed must have represented a unified whole (C. Matthew Balensuela, "Anonymous Theoretical Writings," in *NG2*, vol. I: 693–707 at 698).

12 Michael Bernhard and Calvin Bower, eds. *Glossa maior in institutionem musicam Boethii*, 3 vols. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1993–96); Bernhard, "Glosses on Boethius' *De institutione musica*," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. André Barbera (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 136–49.

13 Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique medieval* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).



Figure 11.1 A late ninth-century manuscript copy of Boethius' *De musica* with multiple glosses. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7200, fol. 1

many sedimentary layers of commentary, borrowings, interpolation, and glossa in a text such as that of Boethius requires exquisite hermeneutical skills on the part of the scholar. But if the case of Boethius' treatise is a particularly complex and rich one, the cautionary lessons it teaches us are worth keeping in mind when attempting to assess any other manuscript from the Middle Ages. The full meaning of *De institutione musica* is not revealed simply by the reconstruction of some original and "autonomous" recension, no matter how

rigorous the philology, but also through its unfolding reception, interpretation, and absorption by generations of readers spanning almost a thousand years.

Music Theory in the Middle Ages

As we turn now to the first indigenous writings on music theory from the Middle Ages, a number of new difficulties face the historian. First of all, the sheer number of extant medieval texts classified as "music theory" is enormous. Michael Bernhard has calculated these to be around 820 in number.[14] It is not simply the number of theory texts that poses a challenge to the historian, however. There are codological issues (many discussed above in relation to Boethius' *De institutione musica*) that pose challenges. Of the 820 or so texts that Bernhard estimates to exist, only about 120 of them may be securely tied to a specific author. (To make this arithmetic explicit, that means that there are some 700 anonymous texts of medieval music theory – almost six out of every seven known manuscripts.) Fewer still can be associated with a secure date and place.

Beyond the question of authorship and provenance, though, there are numerous outstanding questions of textual integrity for many of these treatises. While none of them exist in copies to rival those for Boethius' *Institutio musica* (the most-copied authors we have are Guido, Pseudo-Odo and Jehan des Murs – from 49 to 78 copies extant for each author), there still are intractable problems for scholars in reconciling discrepant copies of these texts.

Secondly, the range and variety of these writings is enormous. There are mammoth *summae* of encyclopedic knowledge running to tens of thousands of words, as well as short fragments of discant and counterpoint instruction. The works treat a range of problems and repertoire: from elementary pitch notation and chant theory (*musica plana*) to the most sophisticated problems of rhythmic notation and polyphony (*musica mensurabilis*). A large number of texts are obviously written for church singers (the *cantor*) while a number of others appear to be university texts (appealing to the *musicus*, presumably). Finally, the literary styles of these writings range from the highly mathematical or pretentiously scholastic in tone, to the prosaic and

14 Bernhard, "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter," 44. Bernhard presumably gets his numbers from RISM (Répertoire international des sources musicales): Series BIII "The Theory of Music," whose sixth and final volume published in 2003 completes an almost fifty-year project to inventory every extant Western theory manuscript known from the ninth century until the late fifteenth century presently lying in libraries and archives around the world. For full entries, see the bibliography.

pedestrian, to the poetic or satirical.[15] Dialogue was one favored literary device used for the teaching of music, starting with the *Enchiriadis* texts; practical manuals in verse were also popular, the rhyming couplets no doubt serving as an aid for the memorization of rules (e.g., Guido of Arezzo's *Regule rhythmicae*).

Excursus: Arabic Music Theory

One of the treasures of medieval literature is the large corpus of Arabic writings on *mūsīqī*. We know of at least one hundred Arabic texts on music theory between the ninth and fifteenth centuries.[16] And for much of this time, these Arabic writings dwarfed their Western counterparts in scope and sophistication. Certainly in the ninth and tenth centuries, there was nothing in the Christian world that rivaled the theoretical writings of Al-Kindī (ca. 801–ca. 866), who offered an encyclopedic survey of Greek speculative harmonics, Al-Munajjim (856–912), one of the first to attempt a codification of the Arabic modal system, and above all Al-Fārābī (d. 950), whose "Grand Book on Music" was one of the most expansive treatises of music theory in the entire Middle Ages, not to be equaled by any Western writer until Jacques of Liège in the fourteenth century.[17] It is to Arabic writers, of course, that we owe the

15 Scholarly editions of many of these writings are available from a variety of well-established academic sources. It would woefully extend the length of this chapter to indicate in the footnotes or bibliography all the various editions and translations of theory works that I will cite. Thus I will restrict myself to mentioning the names of authors (when known) for major treatises, or to give generally agreed-upon titles or incipits, and encourage the reader desirous of more information to consult one of the following works.

First and foremost there is the *Quellenverzeichnis* in *Lexicon Musicum Latinum Medii Aevi*, ed. Michael Bernhard. This is the currently the most comprehensive published listing of theory texts from the Middle Ages; it includes the author and date of a text (if known), a siglum to identify each work, and a listing of published sources and editions for each text along with a cross-listing of incipits. Most usefully, this comprehensive list is updated with each new fascicle of the Lexicon that is issued in the series.

Less exhaustive, but still useful, listings of scholarly editions of major theoretical texts can be found in Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung: Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969); Meyer, *Les Traités de musique*; Zaminer, *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter* 1990, 287–97; and David Williams and C. Matthew Balensuela, *Music Theory from Boethius to Zarlino: A Bibliography and Guide* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2007). The latter work is especially useful for its comprehensive inventories of secondary literature as well as its many cross-references.

Finally, mention should be made of a number of the online databases of Latin theory treatises, particularly the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*. (See the bibliography for further details.)

16 Amnon Shiloah, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900–1900): Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Libraries of Egypt, Israel, Morocco, Russia, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, and Supplement to Bx*, RISM B/x [A] (Munich: G. Henle, 2003).

17 Owen Wright, "Arab Music I," in *NG2*, vol. 1: 797–824; Shiloah, "Techniques of Scholarship in Medieval Arabic Musical Treatises," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. André Barbera (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 85–99; Don Randall, "Al-Fārābī and the Role of Arabic Music Theory in the Latin Middle Ages," *Journal of the American Musicological Association* 29/2 (1974), 173–88.

preservation and eventual transmission of much Greek philosophical literature into the West, especially of Aristotle. While regrettably none of the major Arabic musical treatises were ever translated into Latin, parts of Al-Fārābī's "Classification of the Sciences" was translated in the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona. This later work contained a précis of the author's Aristotelian division of musical science into both speculative and practical ("active") parts. It would be a fateful pairing with profound resonance in the musical-theoretical tradition of the Middle Ages. (The first writer to explicitly invoke this partition in the West was Johannes de Grocheio at the start of the fourteenth century.)

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In order to start making sense of this diversity of theory texts, it is tempting to begin as a first gambit by dividing them into speculative and practical categories, *musica* and *cantus*. As appealing as this move may be, it is one that does not always work for every text. To begin with, the Aristotelian distinction between practice and theory was not adopted by medieval writers until it was introduced via translations of Arabic writings from the twelfth century.

A second problem in legislating a division of musical knowledge into practical and speculative halves is that it precludes a theory text from organically drawing from both approaches. As suggested at the head of this chapter, the glory of much medieval theory is how it so brilliantly mediates these two epistemological extremes (if not fully reconciling them), how it often seems to claim the speculative tools and intellectual aspirations of classical harmonics for the service of the church musician.[18] Still, we will probably find it useful to retain these categories as a heuristic when trying to sort out the orientation of

18 It is an unfortunate (but probably unavoidable) reality that today most musicologists writing in English use the locution "music theory" to designate a wide swath of medieval historical literature that would hardly have been recognized as *musica theorica* to its authors. Let alone that the Greek term θεωρια was more commonly rendered in Latin as *speculatio* by medieval writers (and hence making the profession of "speculative music theorist" an absurd-sounding redundancy to any ear attuned to the Middle Ages), a large number of treatises we today might call theoretical were understood as being purely practical in nature (hence, by the same logic, making the profession of a "practical music theorist" a paradoxical oxymoron for any medieval musician). See Albrecht Rietmuller, "Probleme der spekulativen Musiktheorie im Mittelalter," in *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990, 163–201 at 170; Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5. I trust the reader recognizes that when I use the locution "music theory" I do so in a more capacious, non-historical sense, reserving *speculatio* or *theoria* for their more historically contingent meanings.

a given text (or section of a text), while recognizing that few writings fall exclusively in one or the other.

We can see the medieval alchemy forging speculative and practical claims already in the first group of medieval theoretical writings that have come down to us from the ninth and tenth centuries from the hands of Aurelian, Hucbald, Regino of Prüm, and, perhaps above all, the authors of the *Enchiriadis* treatises. All of their writings, products of the great Carolingian *renovatio* in learning, testify to some awareness of the classical intermediaries discussed in the first section of this chapter. Most particularly, Boethius' presence is marked throughout their writings, whether it is borrowing his Greek terms to name pitches, intervals, and scale systems; appropriating his Alypian alphabetic notation; or adopting his classification of music as a quadrivial science.[19]

Yet there is ultimately little that is truly "speculative" about this first generation of medieval music writings, at least in the abstract sense that Boethius and his classical forefathers would have understood "musica." For the focus of these authors seems ever pragmatic; each attempts to explain, rationalize, and facilitate the singing of chant (and in the case of the *Enchiriadis* authors, even a little organum). The concerns of the church cantor are never far away in their writings, not surprisingly since the little we know of the authors suggests that each *was* a church cantor. This is evident in the continuous citations of chant repertoire by these Carolingian authors and their (often tortuous) incipient efforts to invent a notational language for conveying this chant repertoire as well as to understand pitch space for the memorization and categorization of chant.

If we wish to identify the true legacy of Boethius and his classical forefathers upon our medieval writers, it is not so much in the appropriation of any specific vocabulary, notation, or classification system; rather it was simply the validation Boethius gave musicians who were trying to understand, rationalize, and systematize many of the practical problems they faced. Their aim was to raise the lowly cantor, if not to the august heights of the classical *musicus* (an idealized occupation that, for all practical purposes, would have been an impossibility in the Middle Ages) at least to that of a *peritus cantor*, and perhaps even a *cantor peritus et perfectus*.

Undoubtedly the greatest example of such "practical theorizing" among the first generations of medieval cantors was the construction of the system of ecclesiastical modes. This feat entailed far more than simply classifying

19 Bower, "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages"; Meyer, *Les Traités de musique*, 83.

a newly canonized Roman chant repertoire into ready-made tonaries, for there was little in the practice of chant as received in the eighth and ninth centuries to organically suggest a single, symmetrical eightfold categorization of *toni*. Rather, the "modern" modal system of the Middle Ages arose as a result of the desire of certain classically aware writers (such as Aurelian, Hucbald, and the author(s) of the "Alia musica" texts) to fit Roman chant practice retrospectively within a model inspired by the eight Greek tonoi delineated by Boethius and possibly also the Byzantine *octoechoi*.[20] But once theorists had decided that chant *should* conform to an eight-mode system, ingenious intellectual exercises were proffered to fit a recalcitrant chant repertoire, procrustean-like, into this schema. The fact that later additions to the chant repertoire conformed more easily to this modal typology does not change the fact that the medieval system of eight modes was largely a construction of theory (albeit a brilliant one), not an obvious deduction from practice.

It is in the next generation of music theorists from the eleventh century – Guido of Arezzo, Johannes Affligemensis/Cotto, and the author of the *Dialogus de musica* (attributed by many earlier scholars to an Italian abbot named Odo) – that we see some of the most vigorous and imaginative "theorizing" of the entire Middle Ages. This was a heady time in the development of medieval music. It saw the establishment of our modern pitch gamut and staff notation. These notational accomplishments consequently helped Church authorities to stabilize and consolidate the chant repertoire. Supporting these pedagogical reforms were the numerous cathedral schools for the teaching of this newly canonized chant repertoire, and finally, the beginnings of a sustained polyphonic practice improvised around this chant – at least in a few progressive cathedrals.

Guido of Arezzo (ca. 991–after 1033) receives much of the credit for the pedagogical advances of the day. (And he received credit even for the most famous innovation that was actually not of his own design: the Guidonian "hand" in which the student could navigate the full diatonic gamut using solfège mutations of overlapping hexachords.) It is little wonder that his writings were some of the most widely copied and disseminated in the Middle Ages (aside from Boethius, of course). Soon attaining the status of an "auctoritas" in his own right, Guido enjoyed the almost unique distinction of being an author whose several writings on music were early on consolidated as a single corpus in most manuscript copies.

20 A story detailed in Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus*.

In all this animated theorizing, there was little new here that we can credit directly to Antiquity. But that does not mean that ancient writers had lost their appeal to medieval musicians. The most obvious evidence is found in the writings of those Parisian musicians from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries who discussed rhythmic issues of mensural theory. While there was little help Boethius could offer medieval musicians on this topic, it turned out that a much earlier classical authority could provide surprising intellectual stimulation: Aristotle. For with the dramatic entry of the great bulk of Aristotle's logical and metaphysical writings (the *logica nova*) in the thirteenth century, thanks to translations from the Arabic (and dramatic is hardly an overstatement in describing this epochal event in intellectual history), music theorists found a compelling intellectual paradigm by which to conceptualize and systematize the rhythmic relations demanded of the new polyphonic practice. The theory of rhythmic modes of the thirteenth century is virtually inconceivable without the scholastic apparatus – terminology, concepts, and logic – by which it is articulated. It is not surprising to find that virtually all of the earliest theorists of mensural music in the thirteenth century were associated with the University of Paris, where the new scholasticism took firmest hold: Johannes of Garlandia; Lambertus; the author of the 1279 Anonymous treatise; Franco of Cologne; and the English author of the Anonymous IV treatise.[21] Nor was it just in rhythmic theory that the tell-tale signs of Aristotle may be found. Even in coterminous discant and counterpoint treatises, the rhetoric and logic of Aristotle found surprisingly fertile application.[22]

It is in the fourteenth century, though, that we can find probably the most full-scale evidence of scholasticism among the encyclopedic authors who wrote their extensive *summae* of music knowledge along Aristotelian lines: Jerome of Moravia, Johannes de Grocheio, Johannes Boen, John of Tewkesbury, Walter of Odington, Jehan des Murs, and, above all, Jacques of Liège. As a literary genre, the *summa* continues the venerable medieval tradition of compilation mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter, in which diverse treatises – or excerpts of treatises – are collated by an author to form an integrated curriculum of musical study, often with encyclopedic aspirations. (And, in fact, Jerome's

21 Jeremy Yudkin, "The Influence of Aristotle on French University Music Texts," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. André Barbera (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 173–189; Dorit Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250–1400* (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 1999), 1999.

22 Joseph Dyer, "Chant Theory and Philosophy in the Late 13th Century," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1992), 99–118; David Cohen, "The Imperfect Seeks Its Perfection: Harmonic Progression, Directed Motion, and Aristotelian Physics," *Music Theory Spectrum* 23 (2001), 139–69.

"Summula" turns out to be a compilation of earlier authors, although – almost uniquely – he is scrupulous in crediting his sources.)

In any event, we find adopted in most of these encyclopedic writings Aristotle's strong demarcation between *theoria* and *practica* (or as it was sometimes put in Latin drawn from Al-Fārābī: *musica speculativa* and *musica activa*). Books of learned speculation (often extended *commentaries* on Boethian harmonics) are paired with extensive tracts on practical problems of the day: modal species and classification, mensuration, notation, rules of contrapunctus, etc. All this seems to return us to the *musicus/cantor* polarity of previous centuries. Yet differences should be noted.

First of all, the activities of the *musicus* and the *cantor* were no longer understood as personifications or careers (if indeed they ever really were). A good musician could – and was indeed expected to – embody both. This is why authors such as Jehan des Murs or Jacques of Liège could write treatises that had both speculative and practical parts. As Johannes Gallicus put it so effectively in his *Ritus canendi* (mid-fifteenth century) "aren't all modern *musici* also practical musicians?" (Quid ergo? Musici non sunt hodiernis temporibus nostri cantores?). It was rare for any writer to continue insisting, as had Guido, that musicians must be divided into the two non-adjacent categories of the *musicus* and *cantor* ("magna est distantia ... "). More common was the argument of Lambertus that theory and practice were but two parts of a single *ars musica*. In an ideal dialectic, theory (*ars*) would explain practice, while practice would show the application (*usus*) of theory.

Secondly, the kind of speculative music theory penned by authors after the thirteenth century began to take on a very different hue than that found in Boethius. While there was still a strong mathematical component, calculations were more often applied to very concrete problems of tuning and interval generation (such as divisions of the whole tone and the construction of usable temperaments). Questions that had occupied many earlier authors such as the harmony of the spheres were now almost completely neglected or ridiculed. And new topics that had hitherto found little attention in ancient harmonics – such as the physics of sound – garnered intense interest and study. In short, music's hallowed place in the venerable quadrivium was slowly but surely being eroded by the persistent onslaught of Aristotelianism. It is telling that, by the end of the thirteenth century, Boethius was largely dropped from most university curricula.[23] Outside of a few exceptions in England and central

23 Dyer, "The Place of *Musica* in Medieval Classifications of Knowledge," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 3–71. Not surprisingly, the number of extant manuscript copies of *De institutione musica* show a parallel drop starting in the thirteenth century: Michel Huglo, "The Study of Ancient Sources of Music Theory in

Europe, Boethius was no longer prescribed reading for university students, replaced in many cases by the more up-to-date *musica speculativa* of Jehan des Murs.[24] Of course the winds changed again in the late fifteenth century. With a strong revival of Platonic thought and literature well under way, Boethius' text elicited new excitement and readership, although for reasons quite different from that which motivated earlier generations of readers.[25]

A good example of the more practical species of "speculative" theorizing can be found in the large number of monochord treatises that have come down to us. Christian Meyer has analyzed over 150 of these treatises ranging between the ninth and fifteenth century.[26] Many of these earliest treatises rely on time-honored concepts, terms, and techniques of classical harmonics bequeathed by Boethius. Indeed, some include in their incipits "secundum Boethium" or "Mensura Boethii." Not surprisingly, the tuning these authors advocated was largely Pythagorean. Yet this same tool – the monochord – could also be used for quite radical and subversive ends. Many later theorists used their monochord to plot out ratios and proportions that stand outside of classical Pythagorean tuning, whether they were the new consonances of just thirds and sixths proffered by Ramos, or the small divisions of the whole tone calculated by Marchetto.[27] If there is anything speculative about this monochord literature, it is not in the sense of *qualitas* – abstract musical proportions with little acoustical reality. Rather, it is in the sense of *potentia* – the exposition of a mathematical idea that may have very concrete *practical* realization.

An entirely new type of musical speculation is evident in the writings of a number of academics and physicians who attempted to analyze music as an acoustical phenomenon ("soni accutas") subject to physical analysis.[28] For Robert Grosseteste, music was not so much "numerus sonorus" (sounding

the Medieval Universities," in *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. André Barbera (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 150–72 at 167.

24 Dyer, "Speculative 'Musica' and the Medieval University of Paris," *Music & Letters* 90 (2009), 177–204.

25 The same is true of Plato, by the way. There is only a single copy of Calcidius' translation of the *Timaeus* stemming from the fourteenth century that has survived, this in comparison to the numerous copies that preceded it and, of course, that would follow in various published editions beginning in the late fifteenth century (Huglo, "The Study of Ancient Sources," 168).

26 Meyer, *Mensura monochordi: La division du monocorde, IX^e–XV^e siècles*, Publications de la Société française de musicologie, Seconde série 15 (Paris: Sociéte française de musicology; Éditions Klincksieck, 1996).

27 Jan Herlinger, "Medieval Canonics," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 168–92.

28 Frank Hentschel, *Musik – und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter: Fragen zur Wechselwirkung von "musica" und "philosophia" im Mittelalter*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 62 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998). It should be noted that it was Arabic writers who made the most significant study and advances in musical acoustics during the Middle Ages: Frederick Hunt, *Origins in Acoustics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), 69–73. But virtually none of this literature was known in the West.

number) as it was "sonus harmonice numerato" (sound harmonically numbered).[29] The shift of subject from number to sound signals a profound reorientation of music. If the numerical aspects of musical ontology were never completely abandoned by any medieval music theorists (and given the empirical demonstrations possible on any monochord, how could one possibly ignore these correspondences?), the numerical aspects of musical correspondence were largely restricted to sounding music, and usually without a great deal of metaphysical baggage. Complementing this change of perspective were studies of the acoustical and physical properties of bells and organ pipes.[30]

Not all music considered by theorists concerned the sacred repertoire. Johannes de Grocheio was the first medieval writer to say anything of substance about secular music ("the music which men at Paris use"), simply calling such music "publicus vel vulgaris" (*Tractatus de musica*, ca. 1300). Grocheio includes this category as part of a larger Aristotelian attempt to inventory all types of musical forms and genres. Among the genres of secular music discussed by Grocheio are a large number of song types that he groups under the rubric of cantilenae as well as popular dance forms (ductia, stantipes, rotundellus, etc.). Lacking any notational examples, it is sometimes difficult for us to know with any confidence just how this music sounded. Still, Grocheio's example shows how theorists were slowly beginning to broaden the scope of their analytic interests beyond the liturgical repertoire to which they had hitherto confined themselves. Music theory was moving in new directions.

By the fourteenth century, it had become clear that music was beginning to lose its traditional home within the quadrivium. It is thus ironic, though perhaps understandable, that at the same time it was finding increasingly safer harbor in the trivium. Throughout the century, we can track an increasing interest among medieval writers in music's relation to grammar – and, to a lesser degree, rhetoric – both disciplines that were traditionally enfolded within the trivium.[31] To be sure, this was a development that had earlier precedents. Already in the Carolingian period theorists had used grammatical

29 Cecilia Panti, "Robert Grosseteste's Theory of Sound," in *Musik – und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter: Fragen zur Wechselwirkung von "musica" und "philosophia" im Mittelalter*, ed. Frank Hentschel, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 62 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 3–18; Dyer, "The Place of *Musica* in Medieval Classifications of Knowledge," 39; 65.

30 Described in Hunt, *Origins in Acoustics*.

31 Mathias Bielitz, *Musik und Grammatik: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1977); Calvin Bower, "The Grammatical Model of Musical Understanding in the Middle Ages," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), 133–45.

terminology to analyze and teach aspects of chant melodies.[32] But it seems that in the fourteenth century, a number of musicians turned to study more systematically the grammatical sides of music, including Jehan des Murs (*Notitia artis musicae*) and Johannes Ciconia (*Nova musica*).[33]

Part and parcel of this "trivialization" of music was a concern with music as a creative process, something for which precise rules could be established for its creation. Aristotle actually had a perfectly good label for such a pedagogy – musical *poesis* – although it was oddly little invoked by medieval writers. Still, beginning with a family of anonymous organum treatises in the twelfth century that have been analyzed by Hans Eggebrecht and Frieder Zaminer, we have the first of a series of writings that teach a musician literally how to compose (or more accurately, to improvise) above some given chant.[34] It might be odd for us to think of these treatises as music theory, in that some of them have virtually no text and consist merely of *exempla* of florid organa or *Klangschritte* that the student presumably is to memorize and emulate.[35] What prose there is might be a simple enumeration of rules to guide possible interval successions (such as the thirty-one "rules of organum" in the Vatican treatise). Still, they formed part of a program of musical education that increasingly included a creative element: the skills to create a musical "work" (*opus*). It is telling that by the end of the thirteenth century, we have some of the first notated musical compositions with authorial attributions (e.g., several motets by Petrus de Cruce).

The didactic literature for the composition of music is seen perfectly exemplified in a remarkable group of fifteenth-century theory treatises, all originating from Italy, by writers such as Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, Ugolino de Orvieto, Johannes Tinctoris, and Franchino Gaffurio – to name only the most prominent. By this point, the most vibrant culture of active music theorizing seems to have migrated across the Alps from France to Italy (much as the gravitational center of so much music composition seems to have shifted southward). Some of these theorists knew one another; all were steeped in a vibrant compositional and intellectual environment that encouraged thoughtful – and sometimes polemical – reflections on contemporary musical practice.

32 Marie-Elisabeth Duchez, "Description grammaticale et description arithmétique des phénomènes musicaux: Le tournant du IXe siècle," in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan Peter Beckmann and Wolfgang Kluxen, 2 vols., Miscellanea mediaevalia 13 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), II: 561–79.

33 Margaret Bent, "The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 15–59.

34 Hans Eggebrecht and Frieder Zaminer, *Ad Organum faciendum*, *Lehreschriften der Mehrstimmigkeit in nachguidonischer Zeit*, Neue Studien zur Musikwisenschaft 3 (Mainz: Schott, 1970).

35 Fuller, "*Organum-discantus-contrapunctus* in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, 477–502.

The texts we have seem notably more organized and unified than so many earlier theoretical writings, their literary sophistication also markedly elevated. One might attribute this to a nascent humanist movement that was just beginning to show signs of life in Italy. There may also be the simple fact that there are fewer paleographic problems. (For many of these treatises, we have only a single manuscript copy to consult, a few of them even original autographs.[36]) And of course there was the introduction of printing. (Gaffurio's *Theoricum opus musice discipline* of 1480 marks the first major music text to be published – and also, incidentally, the first to employ the term "theory" in its title.) All in all, we sense a new professionalization and sense of confidence among music theorists.

If the fourteenth-century *summa* looked backward, summarizing a theoretical tradition often dating back hundreds of years and sometimes unsympathetic to new musical trends (viz., Jehan des Murs or Jacques of Liège), this new Italian literature was decidedly forward-looking, responding to contemporary practice and challenges to composers with some of the most sophisticated theorizing seen since the Carolingian period. Above all, the pedagogy of counterpoint was thoroughly updated and reflected the most progressive developments of polyphonic style then being cultivated in the major Italian centers of musical activity.

The culmination of this tradition is undoubtedly found in the corpus of writings by Johannes Tinctoris (1435–1511). While Tinctoris was a Burgundian by birth, he spent most of his life in Italy, where he composed all twelve of his extant treatises (two of which were published). Together, these works might at first glance be seen as continuing the tradition of the medieval Summa, as they offer an encyclopedic coverage of all knowledge of music, practical and speculative: mode, mensuration, counterpoint, notation, classical harmonics, tuning, and even – uniquely for its day – a dictionary of musical terms. And indeed, it seems that Tinctoris very much did see his scholarship as a unified corpus of encyclopedic knowledge of music. But Tinctoris was truly a progressive observer of his day, and he was explicit that only the music of the "moderns," beginning with Dufay, was worth the attention of musicians – and presumably theorists.

Still, it would be a mistake to conclude from the example of Tinctoris that by the end of the fifteenth century we have finally moved beyond the many codicological and hermeneutic problems endemic to medieval theory

36 The first autograph manuscript of a theory text for which we can make a firm attribution is by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis in the fifteenth century (Michael Bernhard, "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter," 67).

that were outlined earlier in this chapter. It is easy to let the luminosity of these major Italian works eclipse other contemporaneous, if more subaltern, currents of theoretical activity. And there is no better reminder of this reality than the case of Johannes Hollandrinus.

Hollandrinus is not a name well known to musicologists today. In fact, we know virtually nothing of the person. He seems to have lived somewhere in central Europe during the second half of the fourteenth century, and to have been active as a teacher of chant theory. But not a single music text has come down to us that we could attribute with any confidence to his pen. Still, there is an extraordinary group of some thirty manuscripts stemming from central Europe and spanning the period from the early fifteenth century until the second quarter of the sixteenth century that invoke his name and seem to represent the core of his teachings. Lacking any original work that we can identify as the source of these teachings, the Hollandrinus "tradition" can only be reconstructed through painstaking paleographic work – and then, of course, only partially.[37] At a certain point, though, it becomes impossible – and ultimately irrelevant – to disentangle any "original" text or teaching that we might attribute to the elusive Hollandrinus and we must instead view this complex as a dominant "teaching tradition" that spanned a wide geographical area for over a century and a quarter. Through careful analysis of these texts' topics, terminology, locutions, and mnemonic devices, it is possible to distill a core of teachings that seem to have been disseminated and assimilated among music theorists active in large swaths of southern Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland.

Most of these manuscripts are partial, unsystematic, and unpolished; they seem to represent mere notes of teachings (*reportiones*) that were passed on orally. Their substance, as we might expect, is many-layered, with some of it traceable as far back as the eleventh century (borrowings from Johannes Cotto, Lambertus, and Jehan des Murs have all been identified). Their focus is uniformly upon chant practice, with problems of modal classification and the fundamentals of "musica plana" the central concern. If one looks for any sign of the more "progressive" music theory being taught in Italy, one will come away disappointed.

Still, there are truly profound implications of this tradition, and they offer a cautionary tale to historians of music theory. First, there is the obvious lesson that theoretical teachings were taking place throughout Europe in the fifteenth century outside of the more familiar Western centers. In addition to

37 I rely in this section upon the important study by Michael Bernhard and Elzbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, *Traditio Iohannis Hollandrini*, 2 vols. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2010).

Paris, Padua, or Oxford, we must also remember Prague, Cracow, Leipzig, Budapest, and Breslau as places of music-theoretical activity – and no doubt many more.

Secondly, we are reminded that chant theory remained a dominant concern of most practicing musicians throughout the fifteenth century (and well beyond, for that matter). It is all too easy for us to be dazzled by the summits of polyphonic composition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and forget that this was still a highly specialized – and professionalized – genre of music-making. For most church musicians throughout Europe, monophonic chant, not complex polyphony, either sacred or secular, remained the primary staple of their craft and musical world. And for many of these musicians, the pedagogy they continued to teach and learn in the midst of the most opulent polyphonic practice was one firmly rooted in medieval tradition.

Finally, the Hollandrinus manuscripts remind us that music pedagogy and theoretical teachings should not be reconstructed only by relying upon a canon of monumental texts. We have in these manuscripts a glimpse of a robust oral teaching tradition that must have existed for centuries across the whole of Europe. Indeed, this was surely the norm in music pedagogy rather than the exception. It may never be possible to reconstruct this oral teaching tradition as fully as we have for the Hollandrinus tradition of central Europe in the fifteenth century; but it does caution us to think about the scope – and limits – of the more canonical "elite" theory literature upon which musicologists have traditionally relied.

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· 12 ·

Vernacular Song I: Lyric

ELIZABETH AUBREY

Introduction

Lyric songs in vernacular languages had begun to appear throughout Europe by the first decade of the twelfth century. Guilhem, ninth duke of Aquitaine and seventh count of Poitiers, was one of the first to compose them, and he could hardly have foreseen the enduring power, longevity, and widespread dissemination that songs like his would enjoy over the next 200 years. They emerged in broadly diverse geographical, linguistic, and cultural environments, spreading from the Midi, where Guilhem and other *trobadors* composed *cansos* in Occitan (Provençal), to the north where the trouvères created *chansons* in their native French, and soon to the east where Minnesinger sang their *minnelieder* in Middle High German. Around the middle of the thirteenth century vernacular poetry blossomed in secular and sacred *cantigas* in Galician-Portuguese, the literary language at the court of King Alfonso X of Castile and León, and in the devotional *laude* of cities in central Italy. The astonishing creativity of language and imagery, the intensity of the emotions expressed, and the broad diversity of styles, types, and forms in these songs were unprecedented. The repertoires differ not only in language but also in content, form and style, origins and dates, cultural environment, and social function. But they share internal features of strophic construction, inventive metrical schemes, and monophonic melodies.

The songs are labeled "lyric" to distinguish them from non-strophic poetry such as *chansons de geste* and romances. Unlike narrative works, lyric texts were thematic and subjective poems in which the poets expressed their own personal feelings. The composers represented a wide swath of society – nobility, clergy, merchants, and servants. Their poetry reveals both contemporary and ancient literary influences, including the classical elegiac love poetry of Ovid and medieval scholastic systems of grammar and rhetoric. Guilhem IX, who was the grandfather of one of the most celebrated women of the Middle Ages, Aliénor (Eleanor) of Aquitaine, often is referred to as the "first" *trobador*. But his songs betray

evidence of prior traditions, including popular song, Andalusian love lyrics, epic poetry, and Latin love songs and hymns. The vernacular songs have structural affinities with Latin *versus* cultivated at the abbey of St. Martial in Limoges, many of which were strophic, and in which phrases in Occitan occasionally occur.

Guilhem's Poitiers was situated at the northern edge of the Midi, a region with its own social customs, political systems, and economic structures. His songs include allusions to a militaristic, chivalric culture like that depicted in northern narrative epics that relate tales of the deeds of heroic men, but also to an emerging southern aesthetic of refined life at court and the love service that lords owed to their ladies. This new ethos, celebrating generosity, civility, joy, and above all love, in a tone ranging from ribald, overtly erotic, and satirical, to witty, gracious, and sensitive, soon spread from the Midi northward and to the east.

Poetry

The love of which the *trobadors*, trouvères, and Minnesinger sang included all its manifestations: joy and fidelity, generosity, discretion, and patience, but also submission, grief and despair, longing and resignation, jealousy and anger. In many songs the poets idealized love and the beloved, but they often expressed love's sensual and erotic side. They sometimes sang in language simple and direct, sometimes with irony or satire, often with exotic imagery and double meanings. No two poems explore love in the same way, and few are static – the poet's subjective journey through stages and feelings of love evolves as the stanzas of the poem unfold.

The repertoires include laments, playful dialogues, satires, didactic and polemical texts, and religious songs. Laments might memorialize the death of a beloved but more often that of a patron or a powerful lord. Composers engaged in dialogue on topics of love, personal or professional rivalry, or politics, sometimes with other poets in alternating stanzas, sometimes in conversation with imaginary interlocutors, sometimes with themselves. Some songs were political or satirical commentaries, invectives, or moral pronouncements. Religious themes were the topic of the Italian *laude*, and the *cantigas de Santa Maria* include songs of praise of the Virgin and colorful tales of her miracles. Many of the same *trobadors*, trouvères, and Minnesinger who sang overtly of love also composed Marian and other sacred texts. Poems about crusading in the Holy Land were as much about the privations of the journey, separation from loved ones, and renunciation of worldly pleasures as they were about service to God.

Strophic structure served as a framework for endless creativity in metrical schemes. Verses could have as few as three or more than twenty syllables; stanzas could comprise lines of the same number of syllables, or long and short lines combined in an unpredictable order. A poem might have a single rhyme throughout all verses and stanzas, a new rhyme on each verse, recurring patterns of rhymes, or a wide variety of irregular schemes including some in which the rhyme sounds change from one stanza to the next. Many songs conclude with a *tornada* (Occitan) or *envoi* (French), a few verses that follow the metrical structure of the last part of the stanza, and that often directly address a patron, a lover, another poet, or a singer. Text refrains are common in all the repertoires: one or two verses, a half verse, or even a single word that recurs in the same place in every stanza. Many of the *laude* and *cantigas* have a verse refrain that frames the beginning and end of each stanza. In some lyric songs, especially *lai* types, the stanzas comprise two or three "versicles" that share a metrical structure not matching that of other stanzas, as in the late liturgical sequence: AA . . . BB . . . CC . . . etc. In these, one musical phrase is repeated for each versicle in a stanza, although it might be adapted if the versicles have slightly different syllable counts.

Many lyric songs can be differentiated by their topic or structural features. Authors of Occitan poetic treatises of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries introduced a terminology that forms the basis of a modern taxonomy of genres, although not every detail in their descriptions is corroborated in extant examples. The anonymous author of the *Doctrina de compondre de dictats*, a Catalan text probably dating from the 1290s,[1] describes the *canço*, *dança*, and *retronxa* as love songs, of which the *canço* is the most important. A *discort* ("discordant") concerns unhappiness in love; an *alba* tells of the dawn that brings a tryst to an end, a *pastora* is about a peasant girl seduced by the poet, a *plant* is a lament. A *vers* is a poem about "truth" or other moral issues, a *lays* about moral issues including God or worldly matters, a *sirventes* about "feats of arms" or "praise of a lord or of calumny." A *stampida* can be on any topic, a *tenso* is a dialogue or debate. The author says the *retronxa*, *dança*, *stampida*, and *discort* have a refrain comprising the last few verses of each stanza. There are no comparable literary treatises in a vernacular other than Occitan that define genres, but similar terms are found in lyric texts and manuscript rubrics. Some manuscripts group certain kinds of songs together, but often the groupings are not exclusive, and songs within a particular group are not necessarily uniform in structure or style.

1 John H. Marshall, ed., *The "Razos de trobar" of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 93–98. Translated by Elizabeth Aubrey, "Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères," in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 273–96 at 280–86.

Music theorist Johannes de Grocheio, writing around 1300 about vernacular songs in his adopted city of Paris, constructed a somewhat baffling classification, differentiating among *cantus coronatus*, *cantus versualis*, *cantilena*, *rotunda* or *rotundellus*, *stantipedes*, and *ductia* according to poetic content and musical form.[2] Scholars have struggled to match his terms with contemporary vernacular terms and with extant songs.[3] However systematic theorists or scribes might have been, most composers seem to have been fairly nonchalant about categorizing their works, and the repertoires are replete with songs that do not fall neatly into a single generic category.

Nonetheless, labels are sometimes useful, and Table 12.1 gives the standard definitions of the terminology now in use. Scholars have added several modern terms to the medieval ones; medieval terms are in italics. The absence of a term in a column means that no examples survive or that no term exists in that language.

Many songs in which a woman expresses her love for a man – i.e., poems in the woman's voice – use language and structures similar to those of songs in the male voice.[4] Some scholars detect in these a "feminine" tone, although it is difficult to pinpoint how such stylistic features are distinct from "masculine" ones. Authorship of most of these songs is unknown, although several women are named among the Occitan (the *trobairitz*) and French repertoires ("troveresses"). *Chansons de toile* or *chansons d'histoire* comprise a small group of French songs with a refrain and simple text in which a woman relates her often woeful story of occupying herself with spinning or another feminine activity while waiting for love.

A few *lais* and *descorts* have sacred (especially Marian) themes, and some of these have musical affinities with extant Latin sequences, including a versicle structure. Grocheio describes a particular type of song with paired versicles which he calls *stantipedes*, perhaps a Latinization of French *estampie*. Vernacular treatises do not allude to versicle structure in the *estampie*, and many extant *estampies* are strophic, especially in the *trobador* repertoire. The possible etymology of the term ("stomping" or "stamping") as well as the context of the word as it is found in some literary texts suggest that it

2 Christopher Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993), 17–41.

3 See Timothy McGee, "Medieval Dances: Matching the Repertory with Grocheio's Descriptions," *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989), 498–517; Aubrey, "The Dialectic between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century," *Early Music History* 16 (1997), 1–53 at 49 n. 112.

4 Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner et al., eds., *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature A, 97 (New York and London: Garland, 1995); Eglal Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *O som de Martin Codax* [*The Sound of Martin Codax*] (Lisbon: Unisys Imprensa Nacional – Casa de Moeda, 1986).

Table 12.1 Terminology and features of vernacular song genres

Occitan	French	German	Galician-Portuguese	Italian	Content	Structure
vers					love or moral issues	strophic
canso	*chanson*, *grant chant*	*lied*, *minnelied*, *minnesang*	cantiga d'amor		love	strophic
sirventes					political, moral, or satirical theme	strophic
planh, *plant*					lament on death of patron, important personage, or beloved	strophic
alba	aube	*tagelied*, *tagewîse*			tryst ending at dawn	strophic
pastora, *pastorela*	*pastourelle*				attempt by a lord or knight to seduce a shepherdess	strophic
tenso, *joc partit*, *partimen*	*tenson* *jeu-parti*	streitgedicht, wechsel			dialogue or debate	strophic, interlocutors alternate verses or stanzas
	chanson de croisade	*kreuzlied*			crusade theme	strophic
lays	*lai*	*leich*			love, moral, or religious	often with versicles
descort, *discort*					"discordant" in structure or theme, including unrequited love	versicles or strophic, sometimes with refrain
	chanson d'ami, chanson de femme	frauenlied, frauenstrophe	cantiga d'amigo		love, in a woman's voice	strophic

	chanson de mal mariée				woman unhappy in marriage	strophic
	chanson de toile, *chanson d'histoire*				narrative, in a woman's voice	strophic, usually with refrain
			cantiga de loor	*lauda*	praise of God, Mary, or saints; *lauda* can be penitential	strophic with refrain
			cantiga de miragre		Marian miracle	strophic with refrain
cobla		Spruch			love, didactic, religious, or moralizing	usually a single stanza
estampida	*estampie*				usually love	strophic, often with refrain, sometimes versicles
retroncha	*rotrouenge*				dance song, usually about love	usually strophic with refrain
dansa	*dance*	*tanzlied*, *tanzweise*, *reie*			dance song, usually about love	usually strophic, often with refrain
balada	*ballade*, *ballete*				dance song, usually about love	usually strophic with refrain
	rondet (de carole), *rondeau*				dance song, usually about love	usually strophic with refrain
	chanson avec des refrains				love	strophic, unmatching "refrains" at ends of stanzas

might have been some kind of dance song.[5] The term "chanson avec des refrains" refers to an unusual category of French lyric in which each stanza concludes with one or more verses that do not necessarily match the verse structure of the stanza.[6] These verses are dubbed "refrains" because some of them seem to be borrowed from other songs or are citations of short lyric verses elsewhere interpolated into longer narrative works; for many of these unmatching verses no concordances survive.

The *cantigas de Santa Maria* are religious songs of praise or miracles, but a small number of secular Galician-Portuguese songs about love, today labeled "cantigas d'amor" (male voice) and "cantigas d'amigo" (female voice), have surfaced. The Italian *laude* are distinct from the other repertoires in content and social function; they were not songs for entertainment but were communal and personal expressions of devotional fervor.

The late nineteenth-century concept of "courtly love" has served as a foundation for understanding the aesthetic of the lyric love songs of the *trobadors*, trouvères, and Minnesinger. Most definitions of "courtly love" include the idea of a lover's passionate but unfulfilled love and of a moral code of behavior that governs the lover's actions and words, including faithfulness, discretion, and submission. The first scholar to use the expression was Gaston Paris,[7] who in the 1880s applied it in the context of adultery – a theme that is quite rare in lyric – in French Arthurian romances. The phrase itself seldom occurs in medieval vernacular texts, but some scholars believe that the idea of courtly love is inherent in the medieval expressions *fin'amors* (Occitan) and *fine amour* (French), literally "refined" or "pure" love, and in Middle High German *minne*, which implies love, affection, passion, desire, and remembering. Roger Dragonetti proposed the term *grand chant courtois* for the quintessential love song of the trouvères and argued that the language and structure of these songs derived from the medieval art of rhetoric.[8]

Another concept in literary studies is that of poetic "register," a way to delineate certain types of songs from others by conventions of language, formulas, syntactic constructions, and theme.[9] Such internal features, as

5 See Aubrey, "Dialectic," 40–52.

6 See Doss-Quinby, *Les refrains chez les trouvères du XII^e siècle au début du XIV*, American University Studies II 17 (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 96–111.

7 Gaston Paris, "Études sur les romans de la table ronde: Lancelot du Lac," *Romania* 10 (1881), 465–96 and *Romania* 12 (1883), 459–534.

8 Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale*, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en wijsbegeerte 127° Aflevering (Bruges: Rijksuniversiteit Gent, 1960).

9 Paul Zumthor, *Langues et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963) and *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972); see also Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008), 75–122 at 76–81.

well as external factors like social context, have been used to stratify the lyric songs of the *trobadors*, trouvères, and Minnesinger into two registers or "styles": a "high," "courtly," or "aristocratic" style, including love songs, satirical and moralizing works, and laments; and a "low," "popular," or "jongleuresque" style that includes simple refrain songs, dances, *pastourelles* and other narrative types, and *lais*.[10] "Registral interference" is said to occur in a song that might ordinarily fall into one register but is "corrupted" by the presence of an element from the other, such as a refrain or earthy language found in a "high-style" song, or elevated sentiment or complex metrical structure in a "low-style" song.[11] Some scholars believe that the distinction between "high" and "low" is reflected in differences in performance practices (see below).

However, recent studies have cast doubt on the usefulness both of the concept of courtly love and of the bifurcation of the repertoires into different levels of style or performance.[12] There is no direct evidence that composers or performers viewed the songs through that lens, and the notion that such a dichotomy can be applied to repertoires of such diversity across repertoires, generations, languages, places, and cultures is problematic.

Music

Not only the texts but also the musical style and structure of the songs differ from repertoire to repertoire and within repertoires as well, rendering a universal framework for analysis impossible. The melodies range from simple and repetitive to complex and unpredictable; from syllabic to melismatic; from conjunct to sharply angular; in range from a fifth to a tenth or more; and in form from through-composed to monotonously repetitive. In contour, melodies and individual phrases can undulate or move in an arch, or they can proceed from a low pitch to a higher one or from a high pitch to a lower one. The variety of these elements transcends genre as well as repertoire.

Most melodies of trouvère songs, *laude*, and *cantigas* begin and end on the same note, which often recurs at internal cadences as well. Some melodies seem to gravitate toward two pitches. Such coherence is not quite the same as found in plainchant where a mode can govern the final, range, and interval

10 Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au moyen âge (xiie-xiiie siècle): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux*, 2 vols., Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers 6–7 (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1977–78); Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
11 Zumthor, *Essai de poétique*, 245–47.
12 Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 125–32; Aubrey, "Reconsidering."

structure. Tonal centers in vernacular songs are not limited to the plainchant finals of d, e, f, and g, and a tonal center is not always the lowest or nearly the lowest pitch in the melody's range, as one would expect in an authentic chant melody, or a third or fourth above the lowest note, as would occur in a plagal melody. In many songs, especially those of the *trobadors*, it is impossible to identify a clear-cut tonal orientation.

It often is difficult to classify the interval make-up of a particular tune, where half steps and whole steps, major and minor thirds, are not always in locations that one would expect. Sometimes unpredictable or shifting melodic inflections occur – including not only B♭ but also occasionally E♭, F♯, and C♯ – which along with inconsistencies among concordant readings also make analysis difficult. Tritones are not uncommon, either unaltered such as a leap from F to B or, more surprisingly, altered as in movement from C to F♯. We will never know what kinds of alterations singers may have made during performance or whether a particular scribe inserted chromatic inflections as he wrote.

Most songs have at least one repeated musical phrase. In many melodies of the trouvères and the Minnesinger the first phrase or pair of phrases is repeated (AA*x* or ABAB*x*); the following phrases might also include repetition but rarely in a standard pattern, and often they proceed without repetition. Coincidence between musical repetition and rhyme scheme is unusual among the *trobador*, trouvère, and Minnesinger songs. It is more common in the later repertoires, especially the religious songs in Italian and Galician-Portuguese, whose rhymes in the framing refrain often are matched by repeated musical refrains. Many melodies feature short musical units which might be heard as recurring motives or formulas, often varied or adapted to poetic phrases of different syllable length; sometimes such motives coincide with a poetic *caesura* (a grammatical pause in the middle of a longer verse), but often they do not.

Some modern discussions use terms that Dante introduced in his *De vulgari eloquentia* of ca. 1303–05 to describe the structure of lyric melodies of Italian songs.[13] Melodies without repetition, which we would describe as through-composed, he called *oda continua* ("uninterrupted melody"). An interruption (*diesis* or *volta*), "a movement from one melody to another," was some sort of musical bridge in a melody with repeated phrases. Repetition can happen in the first or the last section of the melody or both. If it comes before the *diesis*, the repeated phrases are *pedes* ("feet"); if it occurs after the *diesis*, the repeated

13 Steven Botterill, ed. and trans., *Dante: De vulgari eloquentia* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 74–79.

phrases are called *versus* ("verses"). There can be two, three, or more *pedes* or *versus*. An opening musical section without repetition is called a *frons* ("forehead"), and a concluding section without repetition, a *cauda* or *sirma* ("tail"). A melody with repetition thus can take one of three forms:

1.	repetition before *diesis*	*pes – pes* . . .	*diesis*	*cauda*	A A . . . B
2.	repetition after *diesis*	*frons*	*diesis*	*versus – versus* . . .	A . . . B B
3.	repetition before and after *diesis*	*pes – pes* . . .	*diesis*	*versus – versus* . . .	A A . . . B B

The first of these patterns is fairly common in the trouvère repertoire, but in the other repertoires few melodies conform precisely to any of these musical structures.

The *trobador* Bertran Carbonel composed an oft-quoted *cobla* (sometimes erroneously attributed to Folquet de Marselha)[14] that addresses a poem and its melody (ironically, no music survives for this text):

Cobla ses so es enaissi	A stanza without a melody is
co.l molis que aigua non a;	like a mill that has no water;
. . .	. . .
c'om non a gaug pas del moli,	for one has no pleasure from the mill itself,
mas per la mouture que.n tra.	but from the meal that one gets out of it.

It is difficult to establish how close a relationship between text and music composers might have intended and what such a relationship might entail. Attempts to find small-scale word-painting are of little use since we have no way of knowing whether modern notions of this phenomenon resemble those of medieval composers. Equally problematic are the often significant melodic variants in the sources, which complicate the effort to discern what notes a composer might have had in mind. The practice of borrowing – the creation of contrafacta – is difficult to reconcile with the idea that specific notes were essentially intertwined with specific words.

Taking a broader view, some scholars have attempted to identify musical style with a particular genre, such as that of a love song or of a lament. This is a circular approach that requires identifying a song's genre, analyzing its features, and then using those features to help define the genre. Since

14 See Aubrey, "Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères," in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 273–96 at 273 and 289 n. 1.

borrowing often occurs between texts with radically different styles and content, including between genres – as when one melody serves both a love song and a polemical *sirventes* or a tribute to the Virgin Mary – composers and singers were guided in their musical choices by factors that we have not yet been able to fathom.

Manuscripts and Transmission

The surviving manuscripts of the different repertoires vary widely in their dates and provenances, their contents including the presence or absence of music, their numbers, and the extent to which their contents overlap with those of other sources. About two-thirds of French texts and most of the extant poems of the *cantigas de Santa Maria* survive with their melodies; most of the texts of the *trobadors*, the Minnesinger, the secular *cantigas*, and the *laude* have reached us without music.

Significant disparities among the surviving sources suggest differences in the relationships among composers, singers, and scribes. The first singers of the songs were probably the composers themselves and their contemporaries, and undoubtedly many songs were disseminated from one singer to another orally. At what point scribes began writing down the songs is impossible to determine, but it occurred at different times for different repertoires, and many songs existed in both oral and written form at the same time. The Marian *cantigas* were recorded close to the time of their composition; the manuscripts are comprehensive, carefully organized, and – in two cases – luxuriously decorated, and they can be dated to the reign of their patron, King Alfonso X of Castile and León. The *laude* manuscripts probably were commissioned by civic confraternities, so presumably their contents reflected current usage. We know very little about the circumstances surrounding the production of the extant sources of the melodies of the Occitan, French, and German songs. All of these manuscripts are relatively late and their scribes could not have known personally the authors of earlier generations, but they may have known and heard singers of their day who continued to keep the earlier songs alive. Some composers in the late thirteenth century evidently were eager to have their own songs preserved in writing, notably the *trobador* Guiraut Riquier and the trouvère Adam de la Halle, for both of whom compendia rather like "collected works" are extant. For the earlier repertoires a long tradition of oral transmission is likely, although there are signs that many, if not most, of the manuscripts that survive had written exemplars.

We have little certainty about the extent to which scribes interacted with the songs, or how singers and scribes might have changed a melody that they

received either orally or in writing. We do not know how singers learned songs, whether from composers or from other singers or by reading them in manuscripts. We are mostly in the dark about the ability of composers and singers to read or write, or whether they were versed in plainchant, polyphony, or music theory, and whether such training might have affected their approach to monophonic song. We can only guess about how many songs a singer knew or sang in a lifetime, whether they memorized songs or re-created them, and even what "memorization" meant. Recent studies have demonstrated that memorization in the Middle Ages was less a process of rote assimilation and reiteration than it was re-creation of the essentials of a work,[15] which in the case of lyric song might include recapturing the melody's structure, contour, and modality, but not necessarily reproduction of exact words and pitches.

Concordant readings are especially numerous and substantial in the trouvère repertoire, less so in the *lauda* and Minnesinger repertoires. Text variants occur in language, vocabulary, dialect and orthography, order of verses and stanzas, and references to patrons, friends, or recipients. Differences in melodic readings can occur in small melodic figures, intervals, contour, incipits and finals, realignment of pitches over syllables, addition or subtraction of notes, and structure. Variants could be accidental or intentional; they could indicate error in the course of transmission or fluidity that might have been inherent in the art of lyric song – a quality for which Paul Zumthor coined the term *mouvance*.[16] Both intentional and accidental variants could have occurred in the course of either oral or written transmission. Scribal errors such as clef misplacement seem likely to have happened during a copying process. Deliberate scribal intervention might have included regularizing a melody's structure or tonal goals. Other variants, like a difference in the number of notes over a particular syllable, could have originated during performance. Given the multitude of variants that exist, it is impossible to identify a song's "original" version, if such a concept is even apt for medieval lyric.

The Repertoires

Trobadors

Over ninety surviving manuscripts of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries preserve more than 2,600 songs by the *trobadors*.[17] Only about 250

15 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge University Press, 2008).
16 Zumthor, *Essai de poétique*, 65ff.
17 D'Arco Silvio Avalle, *I manoscritti della letteratura in lingua d'oc*, new ed. (Turin: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 1993).

have music, recorded in two main manuscripts, one from the Midi and the other from Italy; both of these sources are quite late, from the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth.[18] Manuscript attributions name some 450 composers, including as many as twenty women (*trobairitz*). The most prolific *trobadors* included Guilhem IX (1071–1126), Jaufre Rudel (*fl.* 1125–48), Marcabru (*fl.* 1129–49), Bernart de Ventadorn (*fl.* 1147–80), Guiraut de Bornelh (*fl.* 1160–1200), Gaucelm Faidit (*fl.* 1170–1202), Bertran de Born (*fl.* 1175–1202), Folquet de Marselha (*fl.* 1178–95), Arnaut Daniel (*fl.* 1180–1200), Peire Vidal (*fl.* 1183–1205), Peirol (*fl.* 1185–1221), Raimon de Miraval (*fl.* 1185–1229), Aimeric de Peguilhan (*fl.* 1190–1225), Peire Cardenal (*fl.* 1205–72), Sordello (*fl.* 1233–42), and Guiraut Riquier (*fl.* 1254–92). The Comtessa de Dia (late twelfth century), whose identity remains uncertain, composed more songs than any other *trobairitz*: five poems, one of which includes a melody (see below).

The Midi – Aquitaine, Poitou, Auvergne, Limousin, and Gascony in the north, and Languedoc, Provence, and Catalonia in the south – was a prosperous, largely rural milieu. Some *trobadors* earned a living by their art, others owned property and had financial means and legal responsibilities; they included nobles (including all of the *trobairitz*), merchants, clergy, and servants. Many traveled from city to city and court to court, and some traveled as far as Italy, the Holy Land, Iberia, and France; others stayed close to home all their lives. They interacted with each other both in person and through their poems, addressing and debating, borrowing themes and structures, praising or insulting their colleagues' personalities and abilities.

The poetry of the *trobadors* is arguably the most sophisticated of all of the vernacular lyric repertoires. Many poems follow the simplest of metrical schemes, five to seven stanzas each with six to eight verses all of the same length and using the same rhyme.[19] Many more poems have unpredictable combinations of rhyme scheme and verse number and length. The *trobadors* found imaginative ways to vary the rhyme scheme by alternating, interlocking, and otherwise changing the succession of rhymes from stanza to stanza.

Most of the poems are direct and accessible, many are vivid and delightfully original. Often poets used verbal puzzles, exotic imagery, or enigmatic references. A hermetic style that a few early *trobadors* explored, called *trobar*

18 Aubrey, "Sources, MS, §III, 3: Secular Monophony: Occitan," in *NG2*, vol. XXIII: 848–51.

19 See István Frank, *Répértoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, IV[e] Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 302 and 308 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1953).

clus or *ric* ("closed" or "rich" poetry), involved obscure metaphors or supremely complicated metrical schemes, in contrast to *trobar leu* or *plan* ("easy" or "plain" poetry). Love was the theme of two out of five of the extant poems, but generalizations about how the *trobadors* spoke of love are impossible. They did not all revere or covet it; some treated it satirically or with mocking or contempt. About 500 *sirventes* survive; in the thirteenth century a number of these addressed the devastating invasion by northern armies of lords and clerics during the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29), instigated at the direction of Pope Innocent III to eradicate the Catharist heresy that had found fertile ground in the cities and courts of the Midi.[20]

The diversity of the *trobadors*' poetry is matched in their music.[21] About 20 percent of the melodies are through-composed, as in the song in Example 12.1, a celebration by Bernart de Ventadorn of the generosity of a lady, the poet's devotion to her, and her obligation to reciprocate.[22]

While there is no full phrase repetition, Bernart makes use of smaller motives to provide some coherence. Ascending c′-d′-e′ (labeled *x*) and descending e′-d′-c′ (labeled *y*) occur in strategic locations and sometimes are varied to suit the texture or text alignment.

One in four of the extant melodies of the *trobadors* has an overall form of AAB, with repetition of the first one or two phrases, but in many such cases the recurring phrase is varied in some way. Often a phrase is repeated unexpectedly later in the song: Bernart's celebrated "Can vei la lauzeta mover" is one of these,[23] eight verses with a melody that is through-composed except for the return of the fourth phrase, slightly varied, in the penultimate verse (ABCDEFD′G).[24] A handful of melodies follow a paired-verse or a rounded structure. As time went on, regularity of structure became more common, although even at the end of the thirteenth century one finds some melodies with unpredictable repetition or none at all.

20 See Joseph Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades*, with a New Epilogue by Carol Lansing (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992); Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France 1100–1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); and Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978).

21 Thorough discussion in Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 132–236.

22 PC 70, 19. The manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844 (*F-Pn* fr. 844), fol. 195, in which the text begins with the fifth stanza.

23 A song often provided as an example in music history textbooks, such as Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 258–261.

24 The following conventions are used for graphing structure: for texts, numbers indicate syllable count, lower-case letters indicate rhymes, upper-case letters indicate verse refrains, and a prime mark indicates presence of a paroxytonic ("feminine") rhyme; for music, upper-case letters indicate melodic phrases, prime marks indicate phrase variations, lower-case letters indicate shorter motives.

Example 12.1 Bernart de Ventadorn, "Ma dosne fu al commençar," stanza 5 of "Estat ai com om esperdutz"



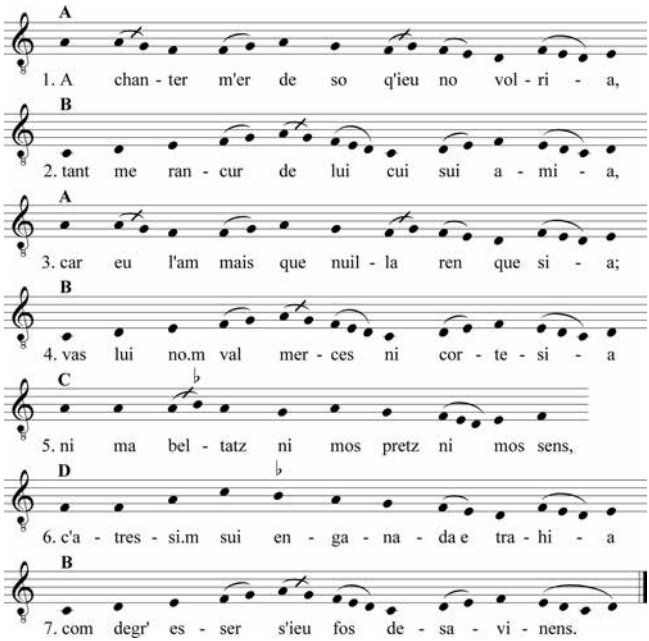
The tonal instability and neumatic texture of the melody in Example 12.1 are in contrast to the constrained, mostly syllabic melody of the Comtessa de Dia in Example 12.2, the only extant melody by a *trobairitz*.[25] In this song she complains of her lover's disdain for her.

The music begins with a pair of phrases that are immediately repeated, the second of which returns on the last verse: ABABCDB. The textural and intervallic economy of this melody is balanced by the use of the octave's full range.

The differences between these two melodies reflect the various approaches to musical style – range, contour, texture, direction, form – that composers of the twelfth century took. In the course of the thirteenth century, *trobadors*

25 PC 46,2; *F-Pn* fr. 844, fol. 204.

Example 12.2 Comtessa de Dia, "A chantar m'er de so q'ieu no volria"



experimented with wider ranges, more disjunct motion, and more florid textures. Guiraut Riquier left behind a large body of works, and his music illustrates well the sophistication of compositional approach that the best *trobadors* applied to their melodies. In the song in Example 12.3, a song praising the virtues of *fin amors*,[26] he builds up every phrase from two motives (*x* and *y*), and the overall form is rounded out with the music of the first two verses returning, varied, at the end:

verses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
musical phrases	A	B	A	B′	C	A	B ″
musical motives	*xy*	*y′x′*	*xy*	*y′x″z*	*z′x‴*	*xy*	*yx⁗*

The variations of *x* and *y* seem almost ornamental, and this florid texture is typical of Guiraut's music. While the melody begins on e and ends on d, the latter is clearly the tonal center, recurring at the end of every half-phrase *x*.

26 PC 248,18; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 22543, fol. 105v.

Example 12.3 Guiraut Riquier, "Be.m meravilh co non es enveios"



Trouvères

The songs of northern France comprise primarily love songs, but the trouvères produced more *lais* and *pastourelles*, debate songs (*jeux-partis*), dance songs, and religious and devotional songs, especially those in honor of the Virgin, than the *trobadors*. The *sirventes*, *planh*, and *alba* are rare. Many love songs included refrains, and by the end of the thirteenth century some of them approximated the poetic and musical structure that became the classic rondeaux and virelais in the early fourteenth century. The trouvères invented new types such as the *chanson d'histoire*, and they expanded their compositional universe beyond monophonic lyric types. The trouvère repertoire includes many more contrafacta than the *trobador* repertoire. Trouvères created a large corpus of short "refrains" that turn up as proverbial statements tacked randomly onto the ends of stanzas of lyric songs (*chansons avec des refrains*) and as interpolations in romances, a striking juxtaposition of lyric and narrative. Some trouvères in the late thirteenth century engaged with the growing art of polyphony, setting some vernacular texts to two or three voices. It is striking that most of these polyphonic works have refrains, which suggests an origin in popular dance types; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries polyphonic refrain songs

became one of the highest musical art forms. A few composers of monophonic French songs also composed motets, particularly ones with French texts.

Over the course of the thirteenth century the north increasingly fostered writing and book creation, possibly due in part to the scholastic environment of Paris. Dozens of manuscripts and fragments of medieval French lyric survive; about twenty of these are major sources, and most of them include music.[27] The majority were copied in Artois or Picardy (strikingly, none originated in Paris) during the lives of the later composers, in the 1270s and 1280s. Roughly 2,130 lyric songs survive, about half of them unattributed, and some 1,400 were provided with music – almost six times as many as survive for the *trobadors*. The sources give the names of 260 trouvères, a few of them women. The earliest composers came largely from the aristocracy, either title holders or younger sons, whose milieu was the various courts dotted around Champagne, Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, and Burgundy. In the thirteenth century towns in Picardy and Artois became centers of activity, and many trouvères came from the bourgeois class. Literary societies and guilds in cities such as Amiens and especially Arras – *confréries* (with religious associations) and *puys* – sponsored poetic contests and helped foster the composition of lyric songs, especially *jeux-partis*.

Major trouvères include Gace Brulé (*fl.* 1159–1212), the Chastelain de Couci (*fl.* 1170–1203), Blondel de Nesle (*fl.* 1175–1210), Conon de Béthune (*fl.* 1180–1220), Gautier de Dargies (ca. 1170 – after 1236), Gautier de Coincy (1177/8–1236), Gontier de Soignies (*fl.* 1180–1220), Audefroi le Bastart (*fl.* 1190–1230), Guiot de Dijon (*fl.* 1200–30), Guillaume le Vinier (*fl.* 1190–1245), Thibaut IV, Roi de Navarre (1201–53), Andrieu Contredit d'Arras (*fl.* 1200–48), Jehan Erart (*fl.* 1200–59), Richard de Fournival (1201–60), Moniot d'Arras (*fl.* 1213–30), Colin Muset (*fl.* 1230–60), Philippe de Remy (ca. 1205–65), Jehan Bretel (ca. 1210–72), Perrin d'Angicourt (*fl.* 1245–70), Raoul de Soissons (ca. 1215–72), Jehan le Cuvelier d'Arras (*fl.* 1240–70), Gautier d'Espinal (d. before July 1272), Gillebert de Berneville (*fl.* 1250–80), Adam de la Halle (ca. 1240–88), and Jehan de Lescurel (*fl.* early fourteenth century).

The poetic tone of Old French songs in general is more conventional, often formulaic, and abstract than that of *trobador* lyric. A love song typically begins with an *exordium*, an introductory stanza, followed by three or four stanzas exploring the topic of the song, and ending with a dedicatory stanza or *envoi*. The predominant metrical scheme is four verses with rhymes ABAB followed by four to six verses that use the same or sometimes other rhymes in a variety

27 Aubrey, "Sources, MS, §III, 4."

Example 12.4 Thibaut de Navarre, "Nus hom ne puet ami reconforter"



of combinations.[28] Trouvères were somewhat less venturesome than *trobadors* in creating intricate interlinking devices between stanzas.

The most common large-scale musical structure is AAB, with repetition coinciding with the recurring *pedes* and often matching the rhyme scheme, and a *cauda* without repetition. Typically there are more distinct musical phrases than there are rhymes. In some melodies the second phrase is a variation of the first, AA′AA′, and often the variation occurs at the end of the line, creating a "closed" effect, as in a song by Thibaut de Navarre about his frustrated love for an unresponsive lady, Example 12.4.[29] Verses 1 and 3 move up to c′ at the end while verses 2 and 4 descend to g.

28 See Ulrich Mölk and Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1500* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972).

29 The trouvères' songs are indexed in RS, where this song is number 844, and in Robert White Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs 3 (University, MI: Romance Monographs, 1979) (henceforth L), where this song is number 240–39. The source used here is *F-Pn* fr. 844, fol. 62v.

The last two lines of this poem (verses 8–9) form a refrain in which Thibaut begs the lady to have pity on him and give him hope. The poem is unusual in having four rhyme sounds, the last two of which (labeled C′ and D below) are introduced in the three lines preceding the refrain (verses 5–7) and then repeated in the refrain. Lines 7 and 9 have only four syllables each, contrasting sharply with the prevailing ten- and eleven-syllable lines (the latter with an uncounted unstressed ending syllable) and creating an arresting effect:

								Refrain	
verses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
syllables and rhymes	10A	10B	10A	10B	11C′	11C′	4D	11C′	4D
musical phrases	A	A′	A	A′	A″	B	A‴	D	A⁗

Verse 5 begins with the same motive as the preceding lines and has a similar contour, but it moves a step higher to e′ on the fifth syllable and ends on a. The two phrases before the refrain (verses 6–7) cover the range of an octave from f to f′, and the short verse 7 reflects the melodic contour of the ends of verses 2 and 4. The refrain begins with new music, also concluding with a variation of the ending motive of verses 2 and 4. Such subtle interlinking of motives, rounding the melody at the end, and the disregard of the rhyme scheme in the second part of the stanza are all quite common throughout the repertoire. Thibaut also produced a number of through-composed melodies, which were not unusual even later at the end of the thirteenth century.

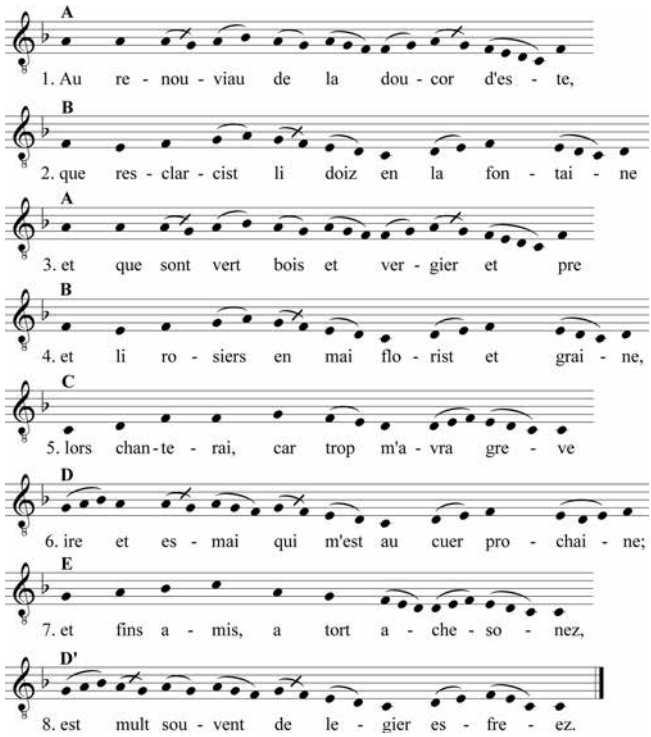
Example 12.5, by an earlier composer, Gace Brulé,[30] typifies the ABAB*x* musical structure, whose first four verses are followed by new music except in the final verse (labeled D′), which is a variation of the sixth phrase (D).

The neumatic texture and conjunct motion of this melody are typical, as is its overall contour, from phrase to phrase and from beginning to end: the initial pitch is higher than the final, phrase two begins on the last note of phrase one and cadences on a lower note, the melody gradually rises to a high point (verse 7) and then descends in the final phrase.

Most manuscripts of this song indicate B♭ at the beginning of each system. In one version[31] a sharp sign precedes the f on the syllable *pro-* near the end of line 6, and the final phrase ends with f♯–g–f♯–d. Such a marked modal shift is disruptive to the ear, and it is impossible to know whether it reflects

30 RS 437 and L 65–6; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 845, fols. 15v–16.
31 *F-Pn* fr. 846, fol. 3.

Example 12.5 Gace Brulé, "Au renouviau de la doucor d'esté"



a performance or the notable predilection of this manuscript's scribe for including unusual chromatic inflections.[32] This poem begins with a conventional allusion to nature, the return to summer's warmth, the awakening of the poet to the trials of loving, and a complaint against love's detractors. Its melody also accompanies the text of an anonymous devotional song, "Chançon ferai puis que Dieus m'a doné," a contrafactum that uses the secular text as a springboard for celebration of "a different love" for God. Such an ironic thematic contrast across genres demonstrates how thin the line was between secular and sacred, and belies the theory that musical style was associated with any particular type of song.

One final French example, Example 12.6, is a *jeu-parti* between Jehan Bretel, the most prolific composer of this type, and Adam de la Halle, one of

32 See Thomas Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 49–87.

Example 12.6 Jehan Bretel and Adam de la Halle, "Adan, vauries vous manoir"



his contemporaries in Arras and prolific in his own right.[33] Jehan begins by asking Adam whether he would be willing to live in Arras forever with only his lady for companionship. As the interlocutors exchange stanzas, the tongue-in-cheek debate ends in a stalemate, typically for the genre. The majority of *jeux-partis* follow the conventional ABAB*x* musical structure, but at least fifteen of Jehan's are through-composed, as is this one. The neumatic texture is fitting for the conversational style of this genre.

The lines end on c′ or g, with the exception of the penultimate verse, whose final d′ seems "open" and compels a drive into the final verse. The melodic contour gradually pushes the upper limit of the range, from c′ in verse 1 to d′ in verses 2 and 3, e′ in verse 4, f′ in verses 5 and 6, finally reaching g′ in verse 7 before settling back into the lower range rather suddenly in the last phrase.

33 RS 1798 and L 133–18; Arras, Médiathèque municipale 657, fols. 149v–150.

Minnesinger

The Holy Roman Empire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries drew its power from a loose confederation of feudal lords, including the dukes of Swabia, Saxony, Bavaria, Franconia, and Lorraine, the kings of Arelat (now Switzerland), Bohemia, Hungary, and Italy, the landgrave of Thuringia, and the margraves of Moravia and Austria. Friedrich I Barbarossa, Duke of Swabia, became king of Germany in 1152 and emperor in 1155, and he managed to counterbalance the other princes with imperial counts palatine and *ministeriales* who exercised administrative authority on his behalf throughout the realm; several Minnesinger can be found among their ranks. The formidable clerical establishment was a reminder of persistent friction between emperor and pope. The empire nonetheless had relative peace, strong cities, and good roads throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Various dialects of German were spoken throughout the area, but a literary language based largely on the southern dialect, today called Middle High German, emerged during the period.

Written evidence of a vernacular lyric art is sparse and late.[34] The earliest source is the so-called "Carmina Burana manuscript,"[35] whose first layer was created in Tyrol, ca. 1230. This layer comprises 226 secular Latin songs, of which 48 are followed by a single German strophe that follows the metrical structure of the Latin song immediately preceding it; most of these vernacular texts are *unica*. About half of these German strophes have been attributed to composers of the early thirteenth century, including Walther von der Vogelweide. Non-diastematic (hence unreadable) German neumes appear above some or all of the lines of some of the Latin and German texts in this manuscript. The earliest surviving manuscripts dedicated exclusively to German songs, from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, give only texts. The earliest extant significant musical sources are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their late dates cast some doubt on the reliability of their readings.

The marriage of Friedrich I to Countess Beatrice of Burgundy in 1156 may have been a catalyst in the introduction of the songs of early *trobadors* and trouvères into the Hohenstaufen empire (although the oft-cited claim that Beatrice brought the trouvère Guiot de Provins in her retinue is

34 Ronald Taylor, *The Art of the Minnesinger: Songs of the Thirteenth Century Transcribed and Edited with Textual and Musical Commentaries*, 2 vols. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1968), 1: xli–xliv, and David Fallows and Lorenz Welker, "Sources, MS, §III, 5: Secular Monophony: German," in *NG2*, vol. XXIII: 860–65.

35 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660 and 4660a.

unsubstantiated[36]). In the decades before that, the meager evidence indicates a tradition of simple indigenous folk- and dancing songs as well as epic tales with long poetic lines. The few extant songs of the earliest named German poets, notably Dietmar von Aist (*fl.* ca. 1150–70), have features both of the earlier traditions and of a richer style that may have resulted from assimilation of French and Occitan lyric song, including not only structural regularity but also a more subjective tone in love songs. A number of actual or possible contrafacta of French songs have been identified in the German repertoire.

Minnesinger who emerged in the last decades of the twelfth century included lesser nobility, Rudolf von Fenis (d. ca. 1196), Fridrich von Hûsen (d. 1190), and Hendrik von Veldeke (d. ca. 1190). At the Diet of Mainz in 1184 Friedrich I mounted a huge celebration of the knighting of his two sons, and the event attracted nobles, knights, poets, and entertainers from throughout Europe. The years between about 1180 and 1230 saw a flowering of a "golden age" of *minnesang*, led by Hartmann van Ouwe (d. after 1210), Heinrich von Morungen (d. 1222), Reinmar von Hagenowe (der Alte) (d. ca. 1205), Wolfram von Eschenbach (*fl.* ca. 1170–1220), and the most famous of them all, Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–1230).

During the thirteenth century the repertoire expanded into more populist and realistic themes. Reinmar von Zweter (d. ca. 1260), Ulrich von Liechtenstein (d. 1275), Reinmar von Brennenberg (d. before 1276), and Meister Alexander (mid–late thirteenth century) continued the tradition of Walther and others in their songs of love, while Neidhart von Reuental (d. after 1236) explored new tones of coarseness and parody in his "summer" and "winter" songs. More popular idioms are found also in songs by Der Tannhâuser (*fl.* mid-thirteenth century) and Wizlâv von Rügen (*fl.* ca. 1300). Others in this period include Konrad von Würzburg (1225?–1287), Der Meissner (second half of the thirteenth century), Der Marner (*fl.* ca. 1230–70), Der Kanzler (last third of the thirteenth century), and Friedrich von Sonnenberg (*fl.* 1247–75). Heinrich von Meissen (ca. 1280–1318), known as "Frauenlob," stands at the end of the *minnesang* period, and in his songs one can sometimes detect a more formulaic approach that foreshadowed the art of the Meistersinger.

Walther von der Vogelweide was the first to use the term *minnesanc* to describe his songs. Many German love songs explore love of a transcendent

36 The origin of this claim is unclear. Guiot himself provided the names of dozens of his patrons and Beatrice's is not among them. He is attested at Friedrich's court in 1184 (see below) but not before. See John Orr, ed., *Les oeuvres de Guiot de Provins, poète lyrique et satirique* (Manchester: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1915).

nature, often idealistic and contemplative: Friedrich von Hûsen, Walther, and others referred to it as *hôhiu minne*, "high love." Yet some songs also explore the more sensual and erotic facets of love, and, especially in the later thirteenth century, songs can be as explicit as some lyrics of the *trobadors*. Besides *minnelieder* the repertoire includes dialogues, dawn songs, crusade songs, *leichs* with versicle structures and often religious themes like French *lais*, and the so-called *frauenlied* in the woman's voice. Single-stanza Sprüche addressed political, social, philosophical, or religious topics.

The metrical structure of each poem, which governs the structure of the melody, is called the *ton*. Each *minnelied* or other strophic song has its own *ton*, while many independent Sprüche could share the same the *ton*. A *ton* had an identity apart from a particular poem; many sources that do not transmit music indicate that a song is to be sung to the melody of a particular *ton*. Early songs tend to have stanzas with four to six long lines and irregular rhyme or assonance. Later the stanzas often were longer and rhyme schemes more regular. In the thirteenth century AAB stanzaic form became predominant in both *minnelied* and Spruch (the terms *bar*, *stollen*, *aufgesang*, and *abgesang* come from the Meistersang tradition and are anachronistic here), but at the same time Minnesinger experimented more with other structural features such as refrains, rounded forms, and stanzas linked by rhymes.

The early generations are bereft of extant melodies except for one attributed to Spervogel (ca. 1200), given in Example 12.7.[37] It is music for a six-line Spruch with an AABBCC rhyme scheme; the text expounds on the value of true friendship. The music is somewhat angular and covers the range of a ninth. No musical line is repeated fully, but the melody of verse 3 (C) is anticipated in the second part of verse 2 and recurs at the end of verse 5. Similarly, the music of verse 4 (D) recurs at the beginning of verse 6.

Of the golden age, only Walther is represented by surviving music, one complete and three incomplete melodies in a fourteenth-century fragment.[38] Some manuscripts from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries ascribe a handful of *töne* with their melodies to Walther, but verifying these late attributions is impossible. The only text of Walther's for which a complete

37 The earliest Minnesingers' songs are numbered in Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, eds., *Des Minnesangs Frühling, unter Benutzung der Ausgaben von Karl Lachmann und Moriz Haupt, Friedrich Vogt und Carl Von Kraus*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1982); this song is 29,4 in that edition; the manuscript is Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, El.f.101 (*D-Ju* El.f.101), fol. 29. The author of this Spruch was probably the second of three Minnesinger called Spervogel; see Kippenberg and Welker, "Spervogel." This *ton* serves twenty-two other Sprüche that follow in the Jena manuscript.

38 Münster, Staatsarchiv, VII 51, fol. 1.

Example 12.7 Spervogel, "Swa eyn vriunt dem andern vriunde bi gestat"

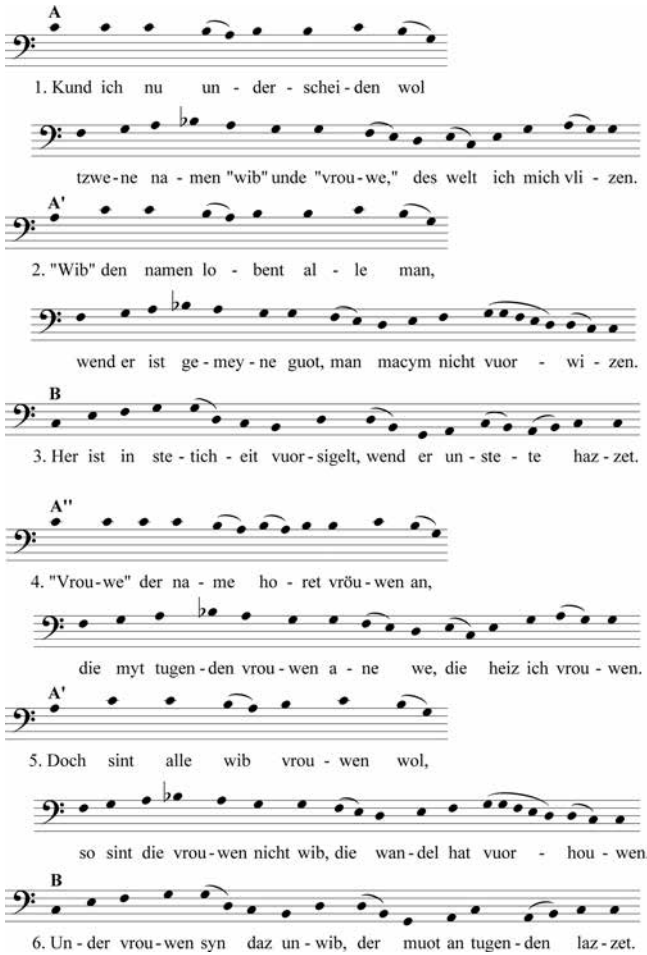


melody survives is a *kreuzlied*, "Nu alrest leb ich mir werde."[39] This melody has a modal simplicity around d, a clear-cut AAB structure rounded by the return of the A cadence at the end, and an arched contour, which all give the impression of a coherent, carefully crafted melody. But whether or not this is representative of Walther's style is impossible to say. The incomplete music of one of the other songs attributed to Walther in the same manuscript has a wider range, no clear tonal direction, and is more angular, closer to the style of Spervogel's melody.

Only a small number of melodies of the thirteenth-century composers after Walther survive in the earliest sources. Among the most prolific of these later Minnesinger is Neidhart von Reuental, but his songs are found mainly in fifteenth-century manuscripts. Der Meissner is one of the best represented Minnesinger in the Jena manuscript.[40] He left behind a significant repertoire of Sprüche, especially on sacred subjects. One of his secular songs is given in

39 This song appears in several textbooks, including Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), 234, and Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe*, 316–17.
40 See Horst Brunner, "Meißner," in *MGG2* Personenteil, vol. XI: cols. 1485–86.

Example 12.8 Der Meissner, "Kund ich nu underscheiden wol"



Example 12.8; it is a witty rumination on the names "wife" (*wib*) and "lady" (*vrouwe*), including some word-play with *vröuwen*, "glad" or "gladness."[41] The author concludes that *wib* is the "higher" name because while a *vrouwe* may gladden (*vröuwen*) a man's heart she may be fickle, whereas a *wib* is chaste and honorable.

The extraordinarily long lines of the poem are set to a wide-ranging, conjunct, and mostly syllabic melody whose form follows the rhyme structure

41 *D-Ju* El.f.101, fol. 97–97v. This Spruch is followed by fourteen more on the same *ton*.

Example 12.8 (cont.)



of the *pedes* but is rounded at the end by the reappearance of the A and B phrases which accompany the new d rhyme:

rhymes	a	a	b	a	a	b	c	c	d	d
music	A	A′	B	A″	A′	B	C	C′	A′	B

Cantigas

Northern Iberia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was divided among the kingdoms of Portugal, Navarre, Aragón, León, and Castile, the latter two of which were unified in 1230. The south, Al-Andalus, had been dominated since the eighth century by Moors from northern Africa, and in the eleventh century the northern rulers launched a long *reconquista* to reclaim the peninsula for Christianity. Andalusian culture, though, was deeply ingrained, and it is possible to detect near-eastern elements in the literature even of the north. Catalonia was a frequent destination of several *trobadors* in the thirteenth century, and the medieval Catalan language was

virtually indistinguishable from Occitan. Further west, it was the hybrid language of Galician-Portuguese that became the predominant literary vernacular of Iberia.

A secular lyric repertoire beginning around 1200 is evident from text sources, comprising nearly 1,700 songs by more than 150 poets through the middle of the fourteenth century. Only two fragments with music, dated ca. 1300, have come to light, one that contains seven *cantigas d'amor* with music by King Dinis of Portugal (r. 1279–1325, grandson of Alfonso X of Castile and León, and author of 137 extant lyric songs);[42] and another with six *cantigas d'amigo* (women's songs) attributed to Martin Codax.[43] Dinis's melodies have neumatic textures and predominantly conjunct motion; the fragmentary nature of the source makes it difficult to reconstruct the musical structures. The songs by Martin represent a larger corpus of nearly 500 extant songs in the woman's voice, compared to about 700 male-voiced *cantigas d'amor*. These numbers suggest that south of the Pyrenees the female perspective on love was almost as highly valued as that of the male. *Cantigas d'amigo* tended to have simple poetic structures, short stanzas, and uncomplicated rhyme schemes, usually with a refrain. Martin's melodies have narrow ranges and syllabic to neumatic textures, and mostly AA′B structures.

Alfonso X became king of Castile and León in 1252 and set about creating a cultural environment in his realm that fostered advances in literature, science, and scholarship, including reforms in education and in legal and social institutions, all earning him the sobriquet "el Sabio." His court was a remarkable crossroads for artists, poets, musicians, and scholars from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish traditions. Several *trobadors* spent time at his court, including Guiraut de Bornelh and Guiraut Riquier.

An anthology of songs in honor of the Virgin Mary is one of his most spectacular projects. 420 lyrics, every tenth a song of praise, relate in colorful and witty language her virtues and her miraculous works in the lives of peasants, clerics, merchants, and nobles. Four large manuscripts, dated between about 1275 and 1285 and almost certainly commissioned by Alfonso, preserve this repertoire; three of these books include music.[44] Two of them are lavishly decorated with illuminations depicting singers and instrumentalists, courtiers, scribes, and characters in the songs. They give

42 See Harvey Sharrer, "The Discovery of Seven *cantigas d'amor* by Dom Dinis with Musical Notation," *Hispania* 74 (1991), 459–61, and Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus coronatus: 7 cantigas d'El-Rei Dom Dinis/by King Dinis of Portugal*, trans. David Cranmer and Rip Cohen, DeMusica 10 (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005).
43 Ferreira, *O som de Martin Codax* [*The Sound of Martin Codax*] (Lisbon: Unisys Imprensa Nacional – Casa de Moeda, 1986).
44 Fallows and Ferreira, "Sources, MS, §III, 6: Secular Monophony: Galego-Portuguese," in NG2, vol. XXIII: 865–66.

no composer attributions, although it is possible that Alfonso himself was one of the authors.

Most of the *cantigas de loor* (songs of praise) and *cantigas de miragres* (miracle stories) include a poetic and musical refrain that frames each stanza, creating a rounded structure that resembles the French virelai, although not in its classic fourteenth-century form. Stanzas have as few as three or as many as sixteen lines, each of which has from four to sixteen syllables. Two rhymes are typical, but many songs have three, four, or even five rhymes which can proceed in a variety of ways. A common rhyme pattern is AAbbbAA, a structure that closely resembles Arabic forms cultivated in Andalusia during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Arabic *zajal* and the *mūwashshaḥ*.

The melodies often do not reflect the rhyme schemes of the poems, even in those with a refrain; this is in contrast to later virelai-types. Such is the case in "Non deve null' ome d'esto per ren dultar," a song in praise of the Virgin given in Example 12.9:[45]

	Refrain					
rhymes	A	A	b	b	b	a
music	A	B	b	b	a	b

The notes as presented in this example replicate the shapes of the neumes in the manuscript, whose precise rhythmic interpretation is uncertain (see below).[46] The relatively neumatic texture of this melody is typical of the repertoire, although there are many syllabic settings and a fair number with occasional melismas of four or more notes. Ranges generally stay within an octave.

The similarities among the French virelai, Andalusian types, and *cantiga* have led to spirited discussion of origins and influences, although the most that can be said for certain is that all of these forms include a framing refrain. Given the late date of French songs with the "classic" virelai structure of AbbaA, it seems unlikely that the composers of Iberian songs consciously imitated it.[47]

Laude

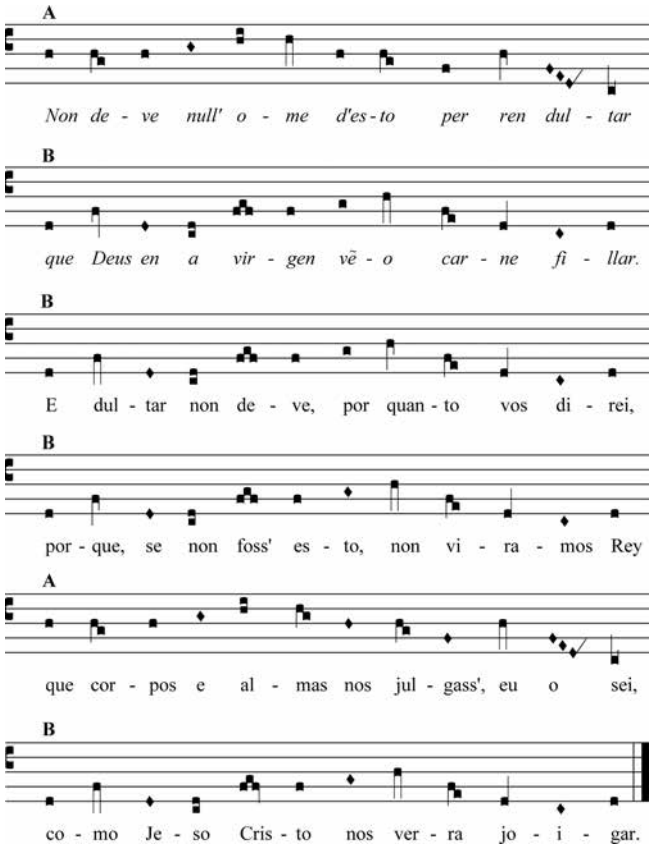
Italy by the middle of the thirteenth century had been visited by many *trobadors*, whose songs inspired a literary tradition that blossomed in the

45 Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España 10069, fol. 79v.

46 See Ferreira, "Andalusian Music and the Cantigas de Santa Maria," in *Cobras e son. Papers from a Colloquium on Text, Music and Manuscripts of the "Cantigas de Santa Maria,"* ed. Stephen Parkinson (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 7–19.

47 See Ferreira, "Rondeau and Virelai: The Music of Andalus and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13 (2004), 127–40.

Example 12.9 Anonymous, "Non deve null' ome d'esto per ren dultar"



late thirteenth century, the *dolce stil nuovo* described by Dante. But an important indigenous development began as early as the 1220s when people gave voice to their Christian devotion in response to the fervent preaching of mendicant friars like Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). Their songs of praise, or *laude*, probably were simple songs that the general populace could easily learn and sing. The *laude* soon found a home amid lay confraternities that were established starting in the 1260s among professional guilds in cities of Tuscany and Umbria, most notably Florence.[48] These companies committed

48 Cyrilla Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monographs 10 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1988), and Blake Wilson, "Madrigal, Lauda, and Local Style in Trecento Florence," *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), 137–77.

themselves to praise, prayer, and penitence. Local ecclesiastical authorities and institutions encouraged public expressions of devotion to God, the Virgin Mary, and various saints, and their sanction of the religious guilds, or *laudesi*, allowed the repertoire to take shape as a quasi-liturgical body of songs, each with its proper placement within the church calendar and sung on appropriate feast days, although not in church. After the influx of fiery Dominican preachers like Peter Martyr (1244–45) in the 1240s and the organization of large processions of penitential flagellants (*flagellanti*, *disciplinati*), many *laude* took on a darker, more penitential tone.

The *laude* are distinct from the other vernacular song repertoires primarily in their social function as devotional songs directed heavenward, not as vehicles for entertainment. Even the *cantigas de Santa Maria*, especially the stories of miracles, while religious in content, clearly were intended to amuse their hearers. The *laude* were created for a community united in the pursuit of personal piety, and at least in the earlier period were sung by the group, not by a single individual to an audience.

More than 200 manuscripts that contain texts of *laude* survive, but only two of them transmit music, for a total of 134 melodies of which fourteen are found in both sources.[49] One of the books is a utilitarian volume written sometime between 1260 and 1291; it belonged to the Confraternità di Santa Maria delle Laude in Cortona. The other, more lavishly produced and perhaps never intended for everyday use, was created in the early fourteenth century for the Compagnia delle Laude di Santo Spirito in Florence. The only named composers were the Franciscan monk Jacopone da Todi (ca. 1230–1306), Guittone d'Arezzo (ca. 1235–1294), who also composed secular songs, and someone named Garzo.

The texts have differing structures, but the later extant repertoire tended toward schemes that included refrains such as a group might sing in response to verses sung by a leader. The number of lines in the refrain and verses varied, and there was no standard rhyme scheme. Similarities between these songs and the *ballata* form with its *piedi* and *volta* that emerged during the fourteenth century have been noted, but the diversity found in the *lauda* repertoire makes it difficult to draw a direct correlation.

The music ranges from simple, conjunct, and syllabic with a manageable range that amateurs could sing, to florid and angular with a wider range, more likely to have been sung by a trained singer such as were found in Florence. Most melodies are repetitive, with text refrain matched by musical refrain, although rhyme scheme and musical phrase do not always coincide exactly.

49 David Fallows, "Sources, MS, §III, 7: Secular Monophony: Italian," in *NG2*, vol. XXIII: 866.

Such is the case, for example, in "Lauda novella sia cantata"[50] with only two rhymes but four distinct musical phrases:

	Refrain					
rhymes	A	A	b	b	b	a
music	A	B	a′	c	d	b′

"Fami cantar l'amor di la beata"[51] has three rhymes arranged ABcccbAB set to a melody with two phrases:

	Refrain					
rhymes	A	B	c	c	c	b
music	A	B	a	b	a	b

Even among the simpler melodies, wide leaps are not uncommon: in "O Maria/d'omelia"[52] the refrain ends on c and jumps up a major tenth to begin the verses.

Typical of the more virtuosic melodies is the Marian song "*Ave, donna santissima*" in Example 12.10.[53] It has a clear-cut tonal center of d with a secondary center of a, occurring especially at the ends of phrases. Obscuring its scheme of two rhymes is a musical setting with five different phrases:

	Refrain					
rhymes	A	A	b	b	b	a
music	A	B	c	d	e	b′

Melismas occur at the beginnings, middles, and ends of lines, and on accented and unaccented syllables. (The version of this melody in the Florence manuscript[54] is even more melismatic.) The second and last verses share the same melodic outline, but the small differences offer a clue to the kind of variation that a singer might introduce in the act of performance.

50 Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, 91 (*I-CT* 91), fols. 3v–4; facs. and ed. in Luigi Lucchi, ed., *Il laudario di Cortona* (Vicenza: Libreria internazionale edizioni francescane, 1987), 97–100 and 282.
51 *I-CT* 91, fols. 19v–20; facs. and ed. in Lucchi, *Il laudario di Cortona*, 119–21 and 293–94.
52 Ibid., fol. 22–22v; facs. and ed. in Lucchi, *Il laudario di Cortona*, 122–27 and 295.
53 Ibid., fols. 5v–6; facs. and ed. in Lucchi, *Il laudario di Cortona*, 101–03 and 282.
54 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.1.122 [*olim*: Banco Rari 18], fols. 48v–49.

Example 12.10 Anonymous, "Ave, donna santissima"



Performance

Generalizations about performance practices of lyric songs are impossible, given the different contexts in which they were composed and sung, the various identities, training, and social status of those who sang them, the diversity in types and styles among the vernacular repertoires, distinctions among the languages, and the differences among the manuscripts that preserved them. It is unlikely that a single aesthetic or approach governed how all songs were sung, even within a particular repertoire.[55]

The problems of rhythm and the use of instruments continue to attract debate and they will be discussed below, but many other questions about performance persist. Where and when were the songs sung? Was there an audience, and if so who might the hearers have been and what were their expectations? How many singers participated in a performance? Was there a distinction of class between a performer – called a *joglar* in Occitan or *jongleur* in French – and a composer, or between "professional" and "amateur" performers? Were singers aware of other musical traditions or of "academic"

55 See Aubrey, "Non-Liturgical Monophony: Introduction," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 105–14.

concerns such as rhetoric or music theory? How did a singer perceive the role of music in relation to a particular text? Would she or he sing expressively or dramatically, mechanically or declaratively, bending the melody to flow with the structure of the poem or to capture the meanings of the words, or drawing attention to the melody's style or structure? Indeed, would they understand any of those concepts in the same way that we do?

All of our evidence about performance practices comes from sources whose interpretation will always be debatable. Most of the manuscripts tell us only the pitches of the melodies, which were written above the first strophe of each song. The variant readings suggest freedom on the part of singers to re-create songs that they had learned from composers, other singers, or manuscripts. Literary and visual sources can provide a window into social situations, but because they themselves are works of art and not historical documents, we cannot necessarily rely upon them for accurate or realistic information about musical practices. From historical records we know a great deal about some composers and their social environments, especially those in the upper classes, but such information sheds only limited light on when, where, how, and by whom lyric songs were sung. Distinctions between sacred and secular in composition and performance were fluid: French clerics composed explicit love songs, Iberian aristocrats sang impassioned prayers to the Virgin, German monks created ribald drinking songs, Italian merchants joined clerics, nobles, and workers to sing devout penitential texts, Occitan love-poets issued fervent calls to holy crusade.

Thirteenth-century theoretical texts that emerged in Paris and elsewhere where Parisian scholastic teachings held sway were concerned with plainchant, polyphony, and notation. While there are intersections between the songs of the trouvères and later thirteenth-century polyphony, theorists rarely addressed vernacular elements in polyphony, and the relevance of the treatises to monophonic song is limited. A single exception to this is Johannes de Grocheio (see above), who remarked on the performers, audiences, and venues of certain types of French song. A *cantus coronatus*, he says, entertains "nobility, masters, and students" at "festivals and diversions," while a *cantus versualis* entertains the "young and idle," and a *ductia*, a dancing song, is for the "wealthy" at "festivals and diversions" but also should distract "young men" from pursuing "erotic love."[56] As a native of Normandy and an academic in Parisian circles, Grocheio's knowledge of the trouvère repertoire, whose main circle of activity was in Artois and Picardy, may have been limited. As noted

56 Page, "Johannes de Grocheio," 23–27. See discussion of this passage in Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 67–69 and 196–201, and Aubrey, "Reconsidering," 108–17.

above, his descriptions and taxonomy of the structures and content of different song types are problematic, and his discussion of vernacular song, as important as it is because of its novelty, should be understood more as an exercise in rhetoric and scholasticism than as a survey of actual musical practice. In all of these materials – manuscripts, literature, artworks, archives, and treatises – we have not a single clear-cut record of a specific performance of a specific song in a specific situation.

Rhythm

The question of the rhythm of vernacular songs has been debated for over a century. The notations offer little help: scribes of the various repertoires used different scripts, the majority of which convey nothing about rhythm. The notation of most of the manuscripts of *trobador*, trouvère, and *laude* music is the late medieval square notation of plainchant. The earliest German manuscripts have non-diastematic neumes, and the later ones have square, Messine, or Gothic neumes. The only sources with notation that could be construed as including rhythmic meaning are the *cantigas* manuscripts and scattered portions of three trouvère manuscripts from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, whose scribes used longs, breves, and semibreves of later thirteenth-century polyphony.

Several theories of the rhythm of monophonic songs have been offered, and none can claim unequivocal proof or universal acceptance. The mensural symbols in Iberian and French sources helped buttress one of the earliest proposals: that the songs of the *trobadors* and trouvères were sung according to the rhythmic modes (patterns of long and short notes) of Parisian polyphony.[57] The theory was soon extended to the Minnesinger by inference, and the *cantigas* and *laude* also have been interpreted modally. Scribes devised these mensural figures after about 1270 as a clearer way to convey the modes of polyphony than the earlier practice of grouping ligatures of square notation in visual patterns to reflect the aural patterns. In the sources of monophony where longs, breves, and semibreves appear, they sometimes seem to indicate the first or the third rhythmic mode. But often these notes do not sustain a pattern or they are inconsistent (for example, two identical melodic phrases might have different mensural figures, or they do not fall clearly into one of the modes, as is the case in Example 12.9 above). The mensural symbols were limited in number and variable in meaning, depending on the prevailing

57 Jean-Baptiste Beck, "Die modale Interpretation der mittelalterliche Melodien der Troubadours und der Trouvères," *Caecilia* 24 (1907), 97–105; Pierre Aubry, *La rythmique musicale des troubadours et des trouvères* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907).

mode: a long could have the value of two or three breves, and one breve might be twice as long as another.

Another argument in support of the modal theory is that the melodies flow according to text accent groupings that correspond to the patterns of the modes. Several factors place this in doubt. First, unlike the quantitative verse of classical poetry, medieval poetry is qualitative wherein stress is expressed as emphasis, not duration; an accented syllable in a text would not necessarily be expressed in music as a longer rhythmic value, nor an unaccented syllable as a shorter value. In the Romance languages stress is a consistent metrical factor only at the rhyme and at the caesura, and persistent stress patterns throughout a line are rare. A poetic verse is defined not by accent but by the number of syllables, so a regular pattern of musical stresses might or might not coincide with irregularly occurring text accents. In German, lyric poetic verses are organized by patterns of stressed syllables, but the number of unstressed syllables in a line can vary, so modal rhythms would have to be adjusted to fit lines that have the same stress patterns but different syllable counts. In Example 12.7 above, for instance, lines 1 and 2 share the same metrical structure of six stresses and a common rhyme, but verse 2 begins with an anacrusis and has twelve syllables, compared to the eleven syllables of verse 1. Similarly, the second part of line 2, which has seven syllables, shares its music with the whole of line 3, which has eight syllables and thus has an extra c′ at the beginning.

The modal theory has lost favor over the last several decades. Most now believe that a melody could have had more flexible rhythms that did not adhere to a pattern of long and short notes, which the scribes of the *cantigas* manuscripts may have been attempting to capture. The note values may not have been precisely measurable. Some have argued that singers used rhythm to highlight structural and stylistic features of the melody such as recurrent motives or phrases, contour, or pitch repetition.[58] Others have proposed that singers gave each note more or less the same durational value (an "isotonic" performance), or accorded each syllable more or less the same time value (an "isosyllabic" interpretation).[59] The prevalent theory today is that a singer would have sung the melody in the same way that he or she might "declaim" the text without music, guided by such things as the text's syntax, the structure of the poetry, or the meanings of the words; repeated musical phrases thus would not necessarily have the same rhythmic

58 Ewald Jammers, *Ausgewählte Melodien des Minnesangs: Einführung, Erläuterungen und Übertragung*, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, Ergänzungsreihe 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1963).
59 John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

contour.[60] A premise that has garnered broad support for the *trobador* and trouvère repertoires is that the more serious "high-style" genres such as *canso*, *sirventes*, and *planh* would be sung freely because they were subjective and introspective, expressing a poet's inner feelings. "Low-style" dances, *lais*, dialogues, and songs that tell a story like *pastourelles* would be more likely to move to regular or predictable rhythms because they appealed to an audience's sense of community and taste for light entertainment.[61] But as noted above, delineating between a "high" style and a "low" style is problematic, and the broad array of indirect evidence that might support a difference in performance practices based on such a distinction is vague and often contradictory.[62]

Those who argue for flexible or declamatory rhythms in the *trobador* and trouvère repertoires cite as evidence the fact that most of the music manuscripts do not have the mensural symbols that would have indicated more precise rhythms. But most of these sources were produced either before mensural notation became widely used or outside the Parisian sphere in which that notation developed, and their scribes may not have had the opportunity to learn the new script. Even if a scribe after 1270 had mensural symbols in his toolbox, he might have had reasons for not using them for monophonic lyric. Depending on what a manuscript was for – actual use by musicians, or a repository of songs for an interested patron – it might not have been a priority for the scribe to capture detailed performance indications. If he were copying the songs from a source that used undifferentiated neumes he might have hesitated to expend the effort to change them to mensural symbols, especially if he did not know the songs he was copying or what their rhythms might be, or if he found the mensural symbols inadequate for songs with more complex rhythms than the system was designed for. Perhaps because these monophonic songs did not sound or look like the polyphony for which mensural notation was developed, it simply may not have occurred to a scribe to use that notation for them. In the end, what was written down reflects only dimly what singers sang or, for that matter, what a composer had in mind; and the question of rhythm is likely to remain unanswered.

60 Hendrik van der Werf, "Deklamatorischer Rhythmus in den Chansons der Trouvères," *Die Musikforschung* 20 (1967), 122–44; "Concerning the Measurability of Medieval Music," *Current Musicology* 10 (1970), 69–73; "The 'Not-So-Precisely Measured' Music of the Middle Ages," *Performance Practice Review* 1 (1988), 42–60; and *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972).

61 Page, *Voices and Instruments*. 62 Aubrey, "Reconsidering."

Instruments

No rubric or other instruction in any extant song manuscript refers to the use of musical instruments in the performance of monophonic lyric. Decorated initials and other illustrations in several French and Occitan sources, and spectacularly in two of the manuscripts of the *cantigas de Santa Maria*, depict musicians playing various sizes and shapes of lutes, harps, fiddles, rebecs, psalteries, hurdy-gurdies and organistrums, flutes both straight and transverse, shawms, bagpipes, horns, portative organs, drums, and clappers. Some poems and many other literary texts including epics and romances refer to instruments of every sort and to social situations in which they were played. A number of archival documents point to activities and positions of instrumentalists. Johannes de Grocheio refers to "the diversity of musical forms that are executed with [instruments]," specifically saying that a fiddle (Lat. *viella*) player can play any kind of *cantus* or *cantilena*, and he mentions a "postlude" (*exitus*) that fiddlers play after a *cantus coronatus* or *stantipes*.[63]

But seldom does a text or illustration point unequivocally to a performer singing a lyric song to instrumental accompaniment. One rare text that does is the *tornada* of a *canso* by early thirteenth-century *trobador* Albertet de Sestaro ("Bo chanter fai al gen temps de pascor"): "Peirol, violatz e chantatz cointamen/de ma chanson los motz e.l son leugier" ("Peirol, fiddle and sing my song gracefully, the words and the light melody").[64] Some passages associate instruments more with dances and simple narrative songs than with the sophisticated strophic works of *trobadors*, trouvères, and Minnesinger (the verses in Albertet's song being a notable exception), which has led some to theorize that an "ethos" inherent in "high-style" songs precluded the use of instruments which were the province of lower-class musicians.[65] The likelihood that instrumentalists tended to be uneducated and lower in social status and may not have known the songs of the more learned poet-composers lends weight to this theory. But aside from the vagueness of distinctions that composers and performers may or may not have made among genres and styles in the Occitan, French, and German repertoires, it is an untenable argument *ex silentio* to draw any conclusions from the lack of evidence of instrumental usage in certain types of songs. Medieval authors may have neglected mentioning the presence of instruments in performance simply because they were so ubiquitous as to make such reference gratuitous.

63 Page, "Johannes de Grocheio," 30–31 and 40–41.
64 PC 16,8. See Joel Cohen, "Peirol's Vielle: Instrumental Participation in the Troubador [*sic*] Repertory," *Historical Performance* 3 (1990), 73–77.
65 Page, *Voices and Instruments*.

In this respect as in many others, the *laude* and *cantigas* repertoires must be viewed separately from the *trobador*, trouvère, and Minnesinger songs. It seems unlikely that groups of religious devotees who gathered to sing simple *laude* of praise and piety, or the *disciplinati* who would eschew any connection with life's pleasures, would have included instruments in their services or processions, even for *laude* that are similar in form and style to dance songs. The *cantigas de Santa Maria*, on the other hand, clearly were intended to entertain both performers and hearers, and the plethora of manuscript depictions of instrumentalists with singers, and the documentary evidence of instrumentalists employed at court, strongly suggest that these musicians were involved in the performance of the songs.

Every repertoire is distinctive, and the evidence offers little reason to suppose that any set of rules or conventions governed how a singer recreated a song in a given situation. The date, social surroundings, performer, audience, familiarity of a song, indeed utter serendipity, must have combined to make each performance of any of these vernacular songs unique.

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· 13 ·

Vernacular Song II: Romance

ANNE IBOS-AUGÉ

The largest share of the repertory of secular song dating from the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth century, both in *langue d'oc* and in *langue d'oïl*, is preserved in songbooks. A non-negligible portion, however, comes to us from a more surprising source: as lyric insertions made by the authors of various genres and forms of narrative texts, as well as in the texts of theatrical entertainments, and even in didactic works, most often in *langue d'oïl* but occasionally also in Latin. Most of these insertions appear in the manuscripts without accompanying music, although some do appear with musical notation. Still others have empty musical staves, or leave interline space initially intended for notation that was never added.

The practice of including lyrical elements in non-lyrical works was rare in the repertory of the *langue d'oc*,[1] but frequent in northern France, where it was almost the fashion from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth, involving nearly eighty works.[2] This important corpus comprises a wide variety of texts in prose and in verse: romances, short strophic and non-strophic texts (*lais*, *dits*, etc.), *saluts d'amour*, didactic works sometimes translated from Latin, nonsense texts (*fatras*, *rêveries*, *oiseuses*), chronicles, collections of miracles and proverbs, theatre pieces, and even Latin sermons prefaced by an introductory rondeau, each successive line of which is taken up in the text in support of the arguments being preached.

The insertions themselves appear in various contexts. They are sometimes introduced in the course of a narration by means of various formulaic phrases that indicate the singer, the nature of the text quoted, and even the reason for its inclusion. One reads, for example, in the *Court d'Amours II* (dating from the

1 Among extant sources, only two "*novas*" by Raimon Vidal de Besalù from the first half of the thirteenth century (*Abril issi' e mays entrava* and *En aquel temps com'era jays*) and the *Perilhos tractat d'amor de donas* included in the *Breviari d'amor* of Matfre Ermengaud from the end of the thirteenth century cite songs by troubadours and, more rarely, by trouvères. Some other narratives (*Flamenca*; *Lai on cobra sos dregs estatz*; and *Guillem de la Barra*) quote anonymous unknown lyric fragments. Among Catalan authors, Cerveri de Girona and Jacme March include troubadour songs in some of their works. These insertions, most often fragmentary and serving to reinforce the meaning of the text, appear without music in the manuscripts.
2 *L'Estoire de Joseph* pre-dates this period, but the version containing musical notation is a later copy preserved in a manuscript from the thirteenth century.

end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth) that a "dame d'onneur"

> [. . .] dist ceste canchon sans plus,
> qui conforta moult son espoir,
> devant le conpengnie :
> *Je n'ai mie amouretes a men voloir*,
> *si en suis mains jolie*.[3]

The "canchon" here happens to be a refrain, which raises the question of the interchangeability of terminology used in describing lyric texts: while songs based on courtly poetry are always mentioned as such, refrains are sometimes described differently. The terminology used is most often linked to the idea of singing ("chanson," "chansonette," "chant," "motet," "son," "vers") but one also encounters terms that merely evoke speech ("mot," "dit," "parole"). This double lexical field perfectly reflects the twin musical and semantic functions of the lyrical quotations themselves. By entering the domain of words, these musical borrowings are endowed with an indisputable "authority," reinforced by their pre-existence in other sources. The authors of non-lyric texts can then use them to back up their arguments, as they sometimes do when relating a tale that anchors their text in the "true account" (*voir dit)* of the past to justify its subject matter in the eyes of readers.

Certain writers go even further and provide attributions for the insertions they use. Jean Renart, considered the originator of the "insertion romance" genre, cites the names of the majority of the trouvères of the north and south referenced by him in his *Roman de Guillaume de Dole*, written ca. 1228. Other examples are the texts of Jakemès, which provide the setting for the composition of certain courtly songs by the Châtelain de Couci in the romance bearing his name, written after 1285, and those of Nicole de Margival that quote his contemporary Adam de la Halle in the *Dit de la panthere d'amours* dating from ca. 1300.

In the corpus as a whole, half of the romances were conceived to include musical notation. Three of these provide complete melodies in at least one source: the *Roman de Tristan* in prose written between 1230 and 1245, the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée composed between 1279 and 1284, and the *Roman de Renart le Nouvel* written about 1289 by Jacquemart Gielée. The *Roman de Fauvel*, written between 1310 and 1314, exists in a later revised version with notation from ca. 1316, while the *Roman de la Poire*, written in the middle of the thirteenth century by a certain Thibaut, provides

3 Terence Scully, ed., *Le Court d'amours de Mahieu le Poirier et la suite anonyme de la "Court d'amours"* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976), vv. 3372–74.

fragmentary notation. Five works have space reserved, either between the lines or in empty staves, for insertions which were never added: the *Roman de la Violette* by Gerbert de Montreuil, probably written between 1227 and 1229, two romances by Girart d'Amiens, *Escanor* and *Meliacin*, both written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, *Cleomadès* by Adenet le Roi, after which the latter were likely modeled, and the continuation (*suite*) to the *Court d'Amours*, written ca. 1300, perhaps by Matthieu le Poirier.

Short non-strophic texts are less endowed with music: only one, the *Court de Paradis*, written in the second half of the thirteenth century, is preserved in a source that provides melodies for almost all of the refrains cited. Baudoin de Condé's *Prison d'Amour* from the second third of the thirteenth century contains musical notation for only two refrains in one copy, the other two merely displaying space reserved for it. Only the later version of *L'Estoire de Joseph* contains notation, in the form of neumes laid out mostly in the bottom margins of the page spanning both columns, sometimes on lines but sometimes only diastematically. The often sloppy hand of the copyist, however, indicates that he was likely unfamiliar with musical notation. The collection of *Miracles de Nostre Dame* composed between 1223 and 1227 by Gautier de Coinci provides melodies for the songs in a large number of the manuscripts but the refrains and refrain songs quoted by the author in his sermon *De la Chasteé as nonains* included in the collection are not notated. Gautier appears to be making a distinction here between songs which he claims to have composed himself in honor of the Virgin Mary and fragments or quotations explicitly designated as coming from the authority or the words of others. The only surviving copy of another collection, the *Rosarius*, provides notation for the majority of its songs. Compiled around 1330 by a preaching friar from the area near Soissons, it includes miracle stories scattered throughout various other texts that describe the natural properties of things. As for the epic poem *Le Restor du Paon*, dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, one manuscript contains the music of the rondeau cited by the author, Jehan Le Court.

The only short strophic texts containing musical notation are the *Dits entés* of Jeannot de Lescurel.[4] As for all the other strophic poems – *saluts d'amour*, didactic works, nonsense poems (apart from those included in the *Roman de Fauvel*), collections of proverbs and chronicles – none of these contain music for the works cited by their authors. Nevertheless, numerous copies, while providing neither musical notation nor space reserved for it, do differentiate their insertions visually from the rest of the text. This differentiation is sometimes

4 The fact that this work is preserved in the manuscript *F-Pn* fr. 146, which also contains the revised version of the *Roman de Fauvel* with musical notation, is certainly not a coincidence.

the work of the copyist. In the manuscript of the *Roman de la Violette* in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (*US-NYpm* M 36), the first word or words of the songs and refrains are written in larger letters, and in one of the copies of the treatise *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter* by Gerard of Liège, preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginenses latini 71 (*I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 71), the initial letters of the texts inserted in the Latin text are more prominent and emphasized by being put in color. The hand of the decorator is also evident in the coloring of the initial letters of song texts in the *Roman de la Violette*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français (hereafter *F-Pn* fr.) 1553, in certain copies of the *Lai d'Aristote*, and in that of the *Dit de la panthere d'amours*, *F-Pn* fr. 24432. One occasionally notes, as well, the work of a later hand: the indication "chançon," for example, appears before the majority of the insertions in the annotated translation of Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (*F-Pa*) 2741, and the same indication precedes the songs in the two copies of the *Roman du Châtelain de Couci.* Lines of certain insertions in the manuscript of the *Roman de Meliacin*, *F-Pn* fr. 1455 were underlined, and the song quoted in *Le Chastoiement des dames* by Robert de Blois is preceded by a heading in red: "li complainte des amanz." One finds pilcrow paragraph markers at the beginning of the refrains in *F-Pn* fr. 837, which contains a number of short texts (*saluts d'amour*, *La Chastelaine de Saint-Gille*, etc.), many of them anonymous. The presence of songs in these works thus demonstrates an express desire to give heightened importance to the non-lyric texts in which they occur.

The types of insertions encountered are as various as the kinds of works into which they are inserted. Latin fragments of various sorts and of various lengths (sequences, hymns, conductus, etc.) are present in the version of the *Roman de Fauvel* with interpolated music, as well as in the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* by Adam de la Bassée from Lille. The majority of the quotations, however, are in the vernacular[5] and mirror the same kind of variety observed in trouvère song collections, with songs and *lais* found side-by-side with motets, rondeaux and refrains, the first and last of these predominating.

*

Lengthy quotations are represented in non-lyric texts in various ways. Notated *lais* are only present in large numbers in the *Roman de Tristan* in prose and in the *Roman de Fauvel*.[6] Only the latter contains polyphonic motets, but independent

5 Some of the songs with musical notation in the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* are Latin contrafacta of known French songs, the author of the romance (who is perhaps the copyist himself) having merely adapted Latin words to the melody of the original text.

6 The only *lai* with musical notation in the *Rosarius* is modeled after a work that has been preserved: the *Lai du Chevrefeuille*.

parts of motets are scattered throughout the repertoire, *Meliacin* being the romance containing the most in this regard. Songs are the most frequent insertions, with nearly 150 poems represented, two-thirds in the courtly genre, the other third being songs with refrains.[7] Among the texts containing songs, only the two miracle collections and the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* also contain the music for them. The *Roman de la Violette* and *Roman de Meliacin*, as well as the *Dit de la panthere d'amours*, contain only empty staves in one or more copies. As small as this corpus of material is, the six examples noted allow us to observe important stages in the development of the lyric insertion phenomenon. First of all, in several of these texts we find what could be called "external indications": prologues, marginal (and non-marginal) notes by the authors, and performance indications. Let us examine these.

Gautier de Coinci, one of the first authors to insert music in his texts, explains the practice in the prologue to the songs that follow the general prologue of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame:*

> En cest livre volrai planter
> De lius en lius chançons noveles
> De Nostre Dame mout tres beles,
> De legieretes et de fors.[8]

Further on, Gautier defends his choice of popular songs currently in vogue:

> Qui que vos chant chançons polies
> De risees et de folies,
> Je ne veil pas chanter tex chans,
> Car trop i a pleurs et deschans:
> L'ame sovent pleure et deschante
> Dou chanteür qui tex chans chante.[9]

The author wishes his text to be accessible to a Romance-language public through his "translation" from Latin, and he means to reinforce this accessibility by inserting lyric material, while nevertheless remaining within a sacred frame of reference. So while the texts of the Prieur de Vic-sur-Aisne might well be of Marian inspiration, the majority of the originals on which they are based are secular.

7 These latter divide into two groups according to their placement within the text and number of refrains quoted. Most numerous are the *chansons à refrain*, with the same refrain repeated after each strophe, while the *chansons avec des refrains*, occurring only in the miracle collections, quote a different refrain after each strophe.

8 V. F. Koenig, ed., *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par Gautier de Coincy*, 4 vols. (Genève: Droz, 1955–1970), vol. 1: 1 Pr 1, vv. 18–21.

9 Ibid., vv. 63–68.

Gerbert de Montreuil's prologue at the beginning of the *Roman de la Violette* also justifies his use of musical quotations. Indeed, he makes them witnesses to the very truthfulness of his tale:

> Et s'est li contes biaus et gens
> Que je vous voel dire et conter,
> Car on puet lire et chanter;
> Et si est si bien acordans
> Li cans au dit, les entendans
> En trai a garant que di voir.[10]

This mention of "voir dire" goes beyond the mere desire to entertain as expressed by Jean Renart, his predecessor in the "insertion romance" genre, who several years earlier claimed to have originated the procedure in the prologue to his *Roman de Guillaume de Dole:*

> Car aussi com l'en met la graine
> Es dras por avoir los et pris,
> Einsi a il chans et sons mis
> En cestui *Romans de la Rose*,
> Qui est une novele chose
> Et s'est des autres si divers
> Et brodez, par lieu, de biaus vers
> Que vilains nel porroit savoir.[11]

And finally, while Adam de la Bassée from Lille gives no explanation for the inclusion of songs in his *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*, he does provide the incipits of the secular songs on which these notated songs were based in the manuscript of his romance, of which he himself may have been the copyist.

Songs inserted into non-lyric texts often derive from a known repertory. In the two collections dedicated to the Virgin, as well as in the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*, these are mainly contrafacta of trouvère songs, with the author fitting a new text to a pre-existing model (Example 13.1).

Ludus super Anticlaudianum, Lille, Bibliothèque municipale 397 (*F-Lm* 397), fol. 17rb	Example 13.1a
RS 711 (*F-Pn* fr. 844 [*Mt*]), fol. 74ra	Example 13.1b

10 D. L. Buffum, ed., *Le roman de la violette ou de Gerart de Nevers* (Paris: Champion, 1928), vv. 36–41.
11 F. Lecoy, ed., *Le roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (Paris: Champion, 1979), vv. 8–15. The only copy of the text mentions the authors of these songs merely in marginal notes added later, and the only distinctive visual markers on the page consist of colored initial letters for the musical quotations. Another prologue, that of the *Cantiques Salemon* (without music in the copy which has come down to us), also mentions the presence of songs, placed "par devotion sa et la" (*F-Pn* fr. 14966, fol. 3r).

Example 13.1 Opening sections of the song "Ave gemma" and of the song by Thibault de Champagne after which it is modeled

(a) *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* (*F-Lm* 397, fol. 17rb)



(b) RS 711 (Mt, fol. 74ra)



Gautier de Coinci, who composed his collection between 1223 and 1227, has a preference for the works of trouvères from Picardy[12] and from Champagne[13] who were active between forty and fifty years before the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* was written. Of the three contrafacta appearing in the *Rosarius*, two are attributed to Moniot d'Arras (one of the original songs in this collection is also by this trouvère) and one to Pierre le Borgne, originally from Lille. One of the quotations is attributed by the author to Thibaut d'Amiens. As a whole, these unfortunately scant references thus cover a very long period (a century) preceding the appearance of this text by the preaching friar of the Soissons region.

The seven models for the musical insertions made by Adam de la Bassée are found in several songbooks. They belong to a known repertory of works dating from the period between 1220 (when Thibault de Champagne likely began his poetic activity) and 1261 (the death of the the Duke of Brabant, the last of the trouvères serving as models for a song in the romance). Three of the models are attributed to trouvères about whom we know little, except that they were active around the middle of the thirteenth century. These are: Sauvage de Béthune, author of the song "Quant voi paroir la fueille en la ramee"[14] (RS 550), Martin le Béguin de Cambrai, author of the song "Loiaus desir et pensee jolie" (RS 1172), and Gaidifer d'Avion, author of the song "Tant ai d'amours apris et entendu" (RS 2054). The popularity of these models is attested to by the large number of sources in which they are found: ten manuscripts for RS 550, of which nine contain music, seven for RS 1172, to which must be added the copies of *Meliacin* by Girart d'Amiens, and four for RS 2054, which also served as the model for a Marian song with text attributed to the poet Lambert Ferri of Arras. The three other models for the Latin songs of Adam de la Bassée are, respectively, Thibault de Champagne ("Tant ai Amours servies longuement," RS 711, preserved in fourteen manuscripts and used as the model for a religious song), Raoul de Soissons, active between 1235 or 1240 and 1260 ("Quant voi la glaie meüre," RS 2107, present in thirteen sources and used in four other contrafacta), and the Duke of Brabant ("L'autrier estoie montés," RS 936, present in five songbooks and used as a model for a religious song copied into a source now lost). Lastly, the motet portion copied into the *Ludus* is based on a pre-existing motet of which, here again, several copies have come down to us: one in the form of a clausula

12 Blondel de Nesle is attributed as the author of *Bien doi chanter cui fine Amours adrece* (RS 482), *Li plus se plaint d'Amours, mais je n'os dire* (RS 1495), and *Amours dont sui espris* (RS 1545), while *De chanter me semont amours* (RS 2030) is attributed to Vielart de Corbie.

13 Gilles de Vieux-Maisons and Pierre de Molins, authors respectively of *Je chant, c'est mout mauvais signes* (RS 1356), and *Chanter me fet ce dont je crien morir* (RS 1429).

14 Titles in the text are given according to RS; music examples use original manuscript spellings.

in a Florence manuscript (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1), three others in collections from Bamberg (*D-Bas* lit. 115, Ed. IV. 6), Turin (*I-Tr* Vari 42), and La Clayette (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521), and two from the lone Montpellier songbook (*F-MOf* H 196).

The principal other texts containing long quotations – the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole*, the *Roman de la Violette*, the *Roman du Châtelain de Couci*, the *Roman de Meliacin*, and the *Dit de la panthere d'amours* – do not use contrafacta but rather original poems. The works of Jakemès and Nicole de Margival only quote specific authors, acting almost as a poetic catalog of their literary output. They list works by the Châtelain de Couci in the work bearing his name (a romance version of his life story), and works by Adam de la Halle and Nicole de Margival in the latter's *Dit de la panthere d'amours*. Apart from these, however, the variety of authors quoted reflects the diverse poetic and musical memories of the romance writers themselves. In the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole*, three songs are attributed to Gace Brulé and two to the Châtelain de Couci. Renaut de Beaujeu, Renaut de Sablé, the Vidame de Chartres and Gontier de Soignies are quoted once each. Three songs in *langue d'oc* are mentioned, attributed to famous troubadours: Jaufre Rudel, Daude de Pradas and Bernart de Ventadorn.[15] We note that the first of these, the famous song of "love from afar" by Jaufre Rudel, was likely chosen by Jean Renart to serve as a lyrical echo, on a smaller scale, of one episode in the romance. Sung by Guillaume on horseback while out looking for the Emperor Conrad, it depicts exactly the situation of the latter, who is in love with a young girl – Guillaume's sister, in fact – whom he has never seen. This type of correspondence between the microcosm of the quotation and the macrocosm of the romance is found in songs of another type, the anonymous *chansons à toile* with refrain, sung by Guillaume's sister and her mother. These songs arise as extensions of their immediate narrative context, describing a mother and daughter busy with needlework while the singers in the romance itself are engaged in the same activity. Two of the songs included in Jean Renart's romance also appear in the *Roman du Châtelain de Couci* and in the *Roman de la Violette*. The song found in the latter occurs in a situation analogous to that in the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole*. The singer deplores the futility of wanting to test the love of his lady, for fear of discovering what he most fears to find: proof of her infidelity.

One also encounters narrative texts containing adaptations of pre-existing songs. The three troubadour songs in the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* have been translated from their original language into *langue d'oïl*, likely in order to allow them to be better understood by the public. These poems constitute the

15 These are, respectively: "Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai" (PC 62 no. 2), "Bela m'es la votz autana" (PC 124 no. 5), and "Quan vei l'alauzeta mover" (PC 70 no. 43).

three oldest quotations in the text, and while the troubadour tradition was still present in popular memory, Jean Renart could well have wished to render its vocabulary more accessible to a northern French audience of readers and listeners. It is noteworthy that northern songbooks also transmit the troubadour songs which they contain in this linguistically adapted form. Table 13.1 compares the versions of Jaufre Rudel's song contained in the *Roman de la rose*, and in a trouvère songbook, with the original.

Interestingly enough, the same kind of linguistic adaptation is found in the *Roman de la Violette*, where it raised questions among the copyists of different sources of the text. In one copy of this work, one of the two songs in *langue d'oc* inserted by Gerbert de Montreuil as a "son poitevin" (song in Poitiers dialect), viz., the third strophe of Bernart de Ventadorn's "Ab joi mou lo vers e.l (al) comens" (PC 70 no. 1), was translated with the aim of making it appeal to a *langue d'oïl* public. The scribes of the three other copies likely did not recognize the song and copied out instead an entirely different text which is not known to belong to the *langue d'oc* song repertory.

Another quite remarkable case of adaptation is found elsewhere in this same *Roman de la Violette*, namely the song used by the narrating heroine to reject the advances of an overly insistent admirer, the very character in the romance who is trying to compromise her reputation in the eyes of her beloved. The song itself, "Amors mi font renvoisier et canter" by Moniot d'Arras, was not modified, but Gerbert de Montreuil chose to add a refrain different from that of the original. The refrain

Quant pluz me bat et destraint li jalous,
Tant ai je pluz en amours ma pensee[16]

is replaced by

Laissié me ester, ne m'en proiés jamais;
Sachiés de voir, c'est parole gastee[17]

which is better suited to the details of the story.

With the exception of Renaut de Sablœil, Girardin de Boulogne, and Renaut de Beaujeu (better known for his *Roman du Bel Inconnu)*, all of the trouvères quoted in the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole*, the *Roman de la Violette*, and *Meliacin*, as well as in texts with lyric insertions generally,[18] are among the

16 Text of refrain vdB 1555. The song is preserved in the three trouvère manuscripts *M* (*F-Pn* fr. 844), *T* (*F-Pn* fr. 12615), and *a* (*I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 1490), the first of these without music.
17 Buffum, ed., *Le roman de la violette*, vv. 448–49.
18 Indeed, one could add to this list the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*, the *Roman du Châtelain de Couci*, the *Dit de la panthere d'amours*, as well as the two collections in honor of the Virgin cited above.

Table 13.1 Comparison of versions of "Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai" by Jaufré Rudel

Roman de la rose[a]	Songbook *W*[b]	Original text in *langue d'oc*[c]
Lors que li jor sont lonc en mai	*[L]an que li jor sunt lonc en mai*	*Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may*
M'est biaus doz chant d'oisel de lonc.	*M'est bel dolz chanz d'oisel de [loig].*	*M'es belhs dous chans d'auzelhs de lonh*,
Et quant me sui partiz de la,	*[Et q]uan me sui partis de lai*,	*E quan mi suy partitz de lay*
Membre mi d'une amor de lonc.	*Membre [mi d'u]ne amor de loig.*	*Remembra.m d'un' amor de lonh:*
Vois de ça embruns et enclins	*Vais de talens bruns et enclins*	*Vau de talan embroncxe clis*
Si que chans ne flors d'aubespin	*Si que chanz ne flors d'aubespins*	*Si que chans ni flors d'albespis*
Ne mi val ne qu'ivers gelas.	*Non val maiz que l'ivers gelaiz.*	*No.m platz plus que l'yvern gelatz.*

[a] Lecoy, ed., *Le roman de la rose*, vv. 1301–07.

[b] *F-Pn* fr. 844. Words in square brackets indicate lacunae in the manuscript (*W* 189v), which erroneously attributes the song to "Jossiames Faidins," i.e., Gaucelm Faidit.

[c] Alfred Jeanroy, ed., *Les chansons de Jaufré Rudel* (Paris: Champion, 1921), chanson v, pp. 12–13.

best-known courtly poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It seems clear that these narrative authors were intent on citing poems of established fame and renown that would in some sense grant authority to their tales, using poems known from previous generations of poets in the majority of cases, or those of contemporaries in the case of Gerbert de Montreuil in his *Roman de la Violette*. With the exception of this latter text, we see that the musical memory that these writers of romances wished to summon up in the minds of their readers was the memory of an ancient past, which matches their oft-noted concern to lend their tales the authority of the ages as a pledge of their veracity. Certain authors, however, do not hesitate to mix their own compositions in with those of the trouvères they have picked out for inclusion, thus placing the historical resonance and musical *ramenbrance* evoked by their works in a distinctly contemporary context.

And so we find Jean Renart inserting in his *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* an epic *laisse* which he claims derives from *Gerbert de Metz* but which is not found in any extant copies of this *chanson de geste*. Several narrative elements found within this fragment correlate directly with the narrative of the romance, lending plausibility to the idea that the author himself composed the *laisse*, especially since the prologue suggests a connection between the songs and the text so close that the former appear to have been composed expressly for the latter:

> S'est avis a chascun et samble
> que cil qui a fet le romans
> Qu'il trovast toz les moz des chans,
> si afierent a ceuls del conte[19]

The song sung by the Duc de Galice in *Meliacin* and the last song in the *Roman du Châtelain de Couci* (even though attributed by Jakemès to this trouvère but not found in any other source) are other probable examples of "false" quotations. As for Nicole de Margival, he claims outright the paternity of the ballades and rondeaux which he includes in his *Dit de la panthere d'amours*.

*

Short quotations represent the most significant portion of the musical elements inserted in non-lyric texts. More than 1,900 refrains dating from between the twelfth century and the middle of the fourteenth have been identified. A little more than a third of these refrains are found in non-lyric texts, sometimes embedded within a larger-scale musical element such as a song, motet, rondeau, or rondet, and sometimes reduced to the few lines they occupy in the original version.

Refrains, we should remember, are lyrical melodic fragments found most often at the end of the strophes of songs but without forming part of them, either metrically (the meter of the refrain can differ from that of the host text), or musically (their melodic material is sometimes related to that of the host song, but this is not always the case). The presence of these short elements – never more than four lines, more often only two – extends across the majority of the musical genres cultivated from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Among the musical forms in which they occur are the rondeau and its forbear the *rondet de carole*, pieces originally intended for

19 Lecoy, ed., *Le roman de la rose*, vv. 26–29.

dancing constructed out of a refrain arranged in a strict pattern of text and music that includes internal repetition of one part of the refrain. One also finds refrains, of course, in the *chanson à refrain* and the *chanson avec des refrains*. Lastly, they appear in various ways in motets: as internal elements within the motet, or as a terminating element; with the two separate lines of the refrain framing the motet at the beginning and end, as in the *motet enté*; or constituting the entire structure of the piece in a continuous series of refrains, as in the *motet centon*. When included in non-lyric texts, the refrain fulfills a number of different functions directly linked to the narration. It can interrupt the flow of narrative to introduce an element of dialogue between the characters; it can present a quotation justifying the point being made by the author; it can act as an element articulating the formal structure of the text; or it can simply function to provide entertaining contrast during dance episodes. While the first three functions are frequently encountered in musical forms with refrains,[20] the last is more typically the case in narrative texts with lyric insertions. In these texts short episodes are sometimes found in which refrains – occasionally included in rondets – are placed in situations where dancing originally occurred.

A few non-lyric texts contain music for the refrains that they quote, allowing a comparison with the other occurrences of the same refrain. Very often, the musical versions are similar. In certain cases, however, notable differences are evident, at times linked to variations in the text, or to an evolution of the music itself over time in cases where the refrain occurs in sources extending over a long period. Thus, of the four versions of the refrain vdB 1781, the two different occurrences of it are due in one case to textual variation, and in the other because the later source, the *Roman de Fauvel*, bears the marks of its evolution over time (Example 13.2).

Court de Paradis (*F-Pn* fr. 25532, fol. 334va)	Example 13.2a
Motet "Si com aloie jouer / Deduisant com fins amourous / Portare" (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine [*F-MOf*] H 196 [hereafter *Mo*], 199v)	Example 13.2b
Roman de Fauvel (*F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 24va)	Example 13.2c
Motet "Tant me fait a vous penser / Tout li cuers me rit de joie / Omnes" (*Mo*, 158r)	Example 13.2d

20 In *pastourelles*, for example, the refrain often serves to convey the speech of the characters involved in a scene, or is cited as an "authority." As we have seen, the refrain is also used as the fundamental structuring element of the musical form of rondets, rondeaux, and the fourteenth-century *formes fixes* (ballades, virelais), as well as certain motets.

Example 13.2 Four occurrences of the refrain vdB 1781 “Toz li cuers me rit de joie, quant la voi”

(a) *Court de Paradis* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 25532, fol. 334va)



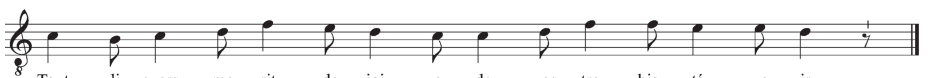
(b) Motet “Si com aloie jouer / Deduisant com fins amourous / Portare” (*Mo*, 199v)



(c) *Roman de Fauvel* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 146, fol. 24va)



(d) Motet “Tant me fait a vous penser / Tout li cuers me rit de joie / Omnes” (*Mo*, 158r)



The *Roman de Renart le Nouvel*, for which three of the four extant sources contain music for all of the quotations, has variable refrains, the multiple occurrences of which differ musically among themselves. Three versions of refrain vdB 156, for example, are quoted in the romance, of which only one, however, is identical to the original (Example 13.3).

Roman de Renart le Nouvel (*F-Pn* fr. 25566, fol. 165va)	Example 13.3a
Roman de Renart le Nouvel (*F-Pn* fr. 372, fol. 50vb)	Example 13.3b
Roman de Renart le Nouvel (*F-Pn* fr. 1593, fol. 49[50]ra)	Example 13.3c
Rondeau "Amours et ma dame aussi" (*F-Pn* fr. 25566, fol. 33va)	Example 13.3d

A study of lyric insertions also reveals cases in which the musical and textual roles of refrains remain distinct. *Renart le Nouvel* is unusual in that it contains refrains that are musically related,[21] but differ in their texts, spread throughout the work like melodic place-markers, some of which (mostly *unica*) appear motivated by differences in meaning. For example, refrains 6 and 7 (vdB 1012 and 429) are delivered by the queen, and then by Renart, who is in love with her and replies in music. The version of *Renart le Nouvel* in manuscript *C* (*F-Pn* fr. 372) gives a musical account of this dialogue exchange (Example 13.4).

Refrain 7 will be heard once again further on but with a different text, sung by the female monkey Boursee in another reincarnation of the *unicum* (Example 13.5).

Sometimes the *unica* originate in an existing refrain. Such is the case with refrain 23 (vdB 494) which is sung by Renart in reply to refrain 22 (vdB 1166) sung by the beaver. It takes up the melody of this latter, which is itself similar to the melody in other versions of the same refrain (Example 13.6).

Refrain 23 of *Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fr. 372, fol. 47va)	Example 13.6a
Refrain 22 of *Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fr. 372, fol. 47va)	Example 13.6b
Tenor of the motet "Au cuer ai un mal / Ja ne m'en repentirai / Jolietement" (Mo 283vb)	Example 13.6c

21 *La Court de Paradis* is another example.

Example 13.3 The refrain "Amours et ma dame aussi, jointes mains vous proi merchi" (vdB 156) in the *Roman de Renart le Nouvel* and a rondeau of Adam de la Halle

(a) *Roman de Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 25566, fol. 165va)



(b) *Roman de Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 372, fol. 50vb)



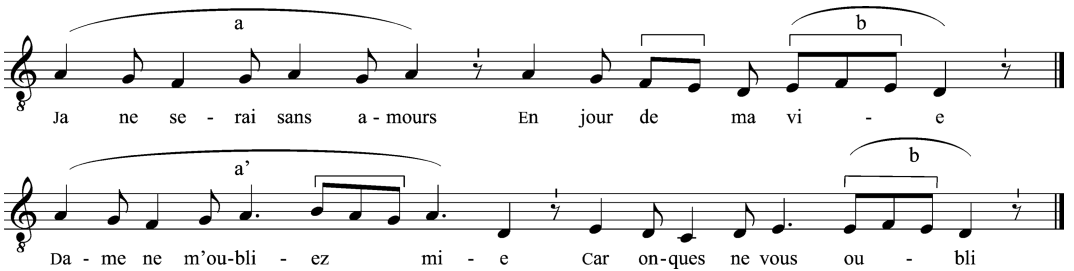
(c) *Roman de Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 1593, fol. 49[50]ra)



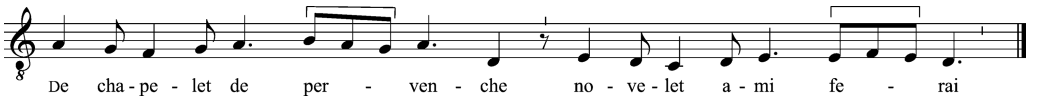
(d) Rondeau "Amours et ma dame aussi" (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 25566, fol. 33va)



Example 13.4 Refrains 6 and 7 from manuscript *C* (*F-Pn* fr. 1593) of *Renart le Nouvel*



Example 13.5 Refrain 40 (vdB 342) in manuscript *C* of *Renart le Nouvel*



Ex. 13.6 Comparison of refrains 23 and 22 from *Renart le Nouvel* in manuscript *C* and the motet "Au cuer / Ja ne m'en repentirai / Jolietement"

(a) Refrain 23 of *Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 372, fol. 47va)



(b) Refrain 22 of *Renart le Nouvel* (*F-Pn* fonds fr. 372, fol. 47va)



(c) Tenor of the motet "Au cuer ai un mal / Ja ne m'en repentirai / Jolietement" (*Mo* 283vb)



As in the case of songs, certain refrains bear the traces of their poetic adaptation to a new narrative context. An inserted song sung by the married women in the *Court de Paradis* is adapted to its new purpose in two of the sources of the work, with the original

Ainssi doit on aler
A son ami[22]

becoming

Ensi doit dame aler
A son ami.[23]

Another example is the adaptation of the twenty-eighth refrain in the *Court d'Amours II*. Sung by a young girl, it is the masculine version of the framing refrain of the *motet enté* 1075 "J'ai un chapelet d'argent":[24]

J'ai un chapelet d'argent
Et bele amie a mon talent

which in the romance becomes

J'ai le capelet d'argent
Et bel ami a men talent.[25]

The poetic transformation of pre-existing quotations is at times motivated by the general theme of the narration. In the *Court de Paradis*, two of the insertions represent a pious reworking of secular refrains.

Refrain 7:

Vrais Diex la joie que j'ai
Me vient de vos[26]

is adapted from

Tote la joie que j'ai
Me vient de vos

22 Text from vdB 65. This refrain is found in a rondeau, in two motets, and in one *chanson avec des refrains*. It appears also in Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency*.
23 Eva Vilamo-Pentti, ed., *La court de Paradis, poème anonyme du XIII^e siècle* (Helsinki: Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1953), vv. 358–59.
24 *F-Pn* fr. 844, fol. 4v.
25 Terence Scully, ed., *Le Court d'amours de Mahieu le Poirier et la suite anonyme de la "Court d'amours"* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976), v. 3607a/b.
26 Vilamo-Pentti, ed., *La cour de Paradis*, vv. 318–19. The readings differ slightly in different copies but the refrain is carefully reworked in each.

found in this form in the song "L'autrier par un matinet" *(Erroie)* (RS 962).[27]

Refrain 18:

Touz li cuer me rit de joie
Quant Dieu voi[28]

is based on

Tout li cuers me rit de joie,
Quant la voi

which is found in numerous other sources.[29]

Lastly, several quotations found only in non-lyric texts offer poetic analogies with refrains given a musical setting. For example, the distich at the beginning of the anonymous *Resverie*

Nus ne doit estre jolis
S'il n'a amie

can be compared with refrain vdB 1407

Nus n'iert ja jolis
S'il n'aime

of which it might be considered a reincarnation, adapted to the metre of the poem. The refrain included in *Les Oiseuses* by Philippe de Remy – "Douce amie je vous pri, pour Dieu merci," not listed in vdB – is too closely related to another refrain not to be easily substituted for it:

Douce dame a qui je sui
Pour Dieu merci.

The refrain in question is vdB 602, inserted by this same Philippe de Remy into his *salut d'amour* which begins *Douce amie*, *salus vous mande* – still another reason to consider one refrain to be a transformed version of the other. The modification of the first line derives from the need for internal rhyme, a characteristic feature of the medieval *rêverie* genre. In the *Fatras* of Watriquet de Couvin, only two refrains, the second and twenty-sixth, are found in their entirety, while in the case of two others only a single line of the insertion is found in another source. Refrain 7

Puisqu'il m'estuet de ma dame partir,
Or voi je bien, *je pert soulas et joie*

27 This song is preserved in manuscripts *M* (*F-Pn* fr. 844), fol. 100rb; *T* (*F-Pn* fr. 12615), fol. 46v; *K* (*F-Pa* 5198), p. 243b; *N* (*F-Pn* fr. 845), fol. 119ra; *X* (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 1050), fol. 165rb; and *P* (*F-Pn* fr. 847), fol. 93ra.
28 Vilamo-Pentti, ed., *La cour de Paradis*, vv. 503–04.
29 This refrain is found in two *chansons avec des refrains* and in two motets. In addition, it is quoted in the translation/adaptation of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and in the *Roman de Fauvel*.

contains the same first line as the *chanson de croisade* "Puisqu'il m'estuet de ma dame partir" (RS 1441), the second line of which, however, differs from that of the refrain.[30]

The lack of musical source material does not permit us to determine the true role that this kind of variation played in the development of the repertory. Furthermore, a little more than a third of the repertory of refrains is only found in non-lyric texts, which bestows a unique but ill-defined status on this particular corpus of works, since the essence of the refrain's character lies in the multiplicity of its occurrences, both melodic and poetic.

One cannot reasonably doubt that the lyric elements in miracle collections and the majority of romances were intended for musical performance. Even without considering the prologues, the very presence of music (or space reserved for it) in numerous texts appears sufficient to justify this conclusion. The *Roman du Châtelain de Couci* and the *Dit de la panthere d'amours* may be viewed as the "personal collection" of one or several trouvères. Things are different, however, for the other texts. In didactic texts quotations exemplify and reinforce the didactic message. This seems to be the case for the *saluts d'amour*, as well. The way in which the process of quotation is systematized, in strophic texts for example, more readily suggests that poetic and stylistic considerations are at play, an idea confirmed by the large number of *unica* or modified refrains present in the texts. The musical function of lyric elements appears paradoxically less doubtful in the case of nonsense texts. Simply because the *texts* of refrains are formally inseparable from the *fatras* in which they are found does not necessarily mean that the *music* of those refrains was integral to these works as well, but the example of the silly songs set to music in the contemporaneous *Roman de Fauvel* argues in favor of the musical performance of these nonsense works.

The reason why this would be so is difficult to determine. Certainly one must consider seriously both Jean Renart's stated objective of creating entertainment as well as the purely didactic intentions claimed by Gautier de Coinci and other didactic writers. Gerbert de Montreuil's desire to provide lyrical authority in support of his narration is a third point in favor of reading this process as intertextual. Innately separate in kind from medieval songbooks, narrative and didactic texts of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries occupy a place of their own in the preservation and transmission of the period's lyric repertoire.

Things change in the following century, when authors will cite their own works, e.g, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Acart de Hesdin (*La Prise amoureuse*, completed in 1332), Jean de Le Mote (*Le Parfait du paon*, composed in 1340), Jean Froissart (with the exception of his *Meliador* of 1365–80, a lyric "catalog" of the

30 This song is preserved, along with its music, in *F-Pn* fr. 1591.

works of Duke Wenceslas of Brabant), as well as the authors of the *Roman de Perceforest* (completed between 1337 and 1344), the *Roman de la Dame à la Licorne* in the middle of the century, and the continuations of the *Roman des sept sages*. Only the music of Machaut, however, has come down to us as the last witness to a compositional process that might be called "hybrid," combining the poetic with the musical in the manner of the trouvères.

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a	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1490 (*I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 1490)
K	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5198 (*F-Pa* 5198)
M	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844 (*F-Pn* fr. 844)
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 (*F-MOf* H 196)
Mt	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844 (*F-Pn* fr. 844, Chansonnier du Roi de Navarre)
N	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 845 (*F-Pn* fr. 845)
P	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 847 (*F-Pn* fr. 847)
R	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1591 (*F-Pn* fr. 1591)
T	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12615 (*F-Pn* fr. 12615)
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· 14 ·

Instruments and Their Music

NIGEL WILKINS

Preliminary Remarks

Musical instruments have, of course, played an important part in all human societies, no doubt from the Stone Age onwards. In the ancient world, there is no lack of pictorial evidence of the use of musical instruments, whether from Assyrian reliefs or Egyptian burials, from Greek vases or Roman mosaics; in addition, there are numerous references to instruments in Greek and Latin writings, as in the Christian Bible.[1]

It is important to be aware of the considerable variety in form, structure, and usage of instruments from one age to another and in different locations. A "harp," or a "fiddle," or a "flute," for instance, may be rather dissimilar in appearance and in sound from one time and place to another. Over a period of some eight hundred years, up to the early fifteenth century, many developments and modifications naturally took place. Given the almost total absence of any surviving whole instrument from the entire period, it follows that "authentic performance" and "historical reconstruction," despite the combined efforts of several disciplines, are ideals unlikely ever to be realized in full. Extreme caution is necessary in the identification of instruments and their usage from pictorial sources, and in putting names to objects. In fact, sculptures may have been subjected to "restoration" in ignorance of the instruments' original form; indeed, medieval artists and writers may have had other aims in mind than the exact representation of contemporary practice. More dependable evidence of the shapes and structures of instruments is emerging from recent and current studies in music archaeology.[2]

A further preliminary consideration is that almost no surviving medieval music stipulates the use of instruments, even when the nature of the music

1 See for instance the passages in Daniel (3:15), Psalms (49:4; 150:1–6), and Job (21:12).

2 The following article addresses broad issues around music archaeology: Arnd Adje Both, "Music Archaeology: Some Methodological and Theoretical Considerations," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 41 (2009), 1–11. Relevant research networks of music archaeology are: the International Council for Traditional Music – Study Group on Music Archaeology; the International Study Group on Music Archaeology; the International Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and Its Cultural Heritage (see bibliography for weblinks).

seems clearly instrumental. Scholarly debate rages over the use or non-use of instruments together with voices in a number of major religious and secular forms. The use of contemporary descriptions and depictions of musical activity can help, but rarely settle such questions absolutely.

Descriptions and Depictions

Information about medieval instruments and their functions has traditionally been gathered from the writings and images of the time.

Written evidence may be derived from many and varied sources such as theoretical treatises and didactic materials, chronicles, late epics and romances, song texts, letters, and payment accounts. Images of musicians and musical instruments are mainly to be found in manuscript illuminations and marginalia, paintings and decorations, frescoes, stained glass, statues and carvings, misericords, seals, coins, floor tiles, vestments, and tapestries.

Most of the known representations of groups of instruments and their players are symbolic or else constitute "catalogs," in no way intended to suggest an ensemble in practical terms. The "Angel Concert" is particularly common, in frescoes and in paintings, along with the "Coronation of the Virgin."[3] The "Old Men of the Apocalypse," often featured on Romanesque church portals, may hold the harps assigned to them by the biblical text, as well as other instruments.[4] "King David as musician" is another common theme: he may usually play the harp or a carillon of bells, and be accompanied by his attendants playing some deliberately archaic and surely not ecclesiastical instruments.[5] Encyclopedic works such as Bartholomeus Anglicus' treatise *De Proprietatibus rerum* may list instruments and give illustrations varying from the factual to the fanciful.[6] Of particular value are certain musical treatises such as those by Amerus (*Practica artis musice*, ca. 1271), Hieronymus de Moravia (*Tractatus de musica*, ca. 1300), Johannes de Grocheio (*De musica*,

3 One instance of the "Angel Concert" is Hans Memling's *Music-Making Angels* (1480). As far as the "Coronation of the Virgin" is concerned, see the paintings by Catarino Veneziano (1375) or the later works by Fra Angelico (ca. 1432 and ca. 1434–35 respectively).

4 A famous example is the tympanum of the south-west portico at Moissac Abbey, France.

5 The German codex "Beatae Elisabeth Psalterium" (thirteenth century), now at Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (*I-CFm*), depicts King David with psaltery and his musicians with tuba, organ, timpani, and harpsichord (fol. 149). A full-page miniature of David playing a harp, and a standing musician playing a fiddle, is found in London, British Library, Lansdowne 420, fol. 12 (first quarter of the thirteenth century). A further example is the miniature found at fol. 7v in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 11550 (ca. 1070), where King David sits on the throne with a lyre, and his musicians stand around with harp, finger-hole horn, panpipe, and rebec. King David playing a carillon of bells is found at fol. 55v in London, British Library, Arundel 83 (ca. 1310).

6 For reference see Elizabeth Joy Keen, *Journey of a Book: Bartholomew the Englishman and the Properties of Things* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007).

ca. 1300), Petrus de Abano (*Expositio problematum Aristotelis*, 1310), Jean de Gerson (*Tractatus de canticis*, ca. 1425), or Jacques de Liège (*Speculum musice*, ca. 1320), which all give detailed information, some with diagrams, about the structure, tuning, and use of various stringed instruments.[7]

Music Archaeology

Although the recognition of fragments of ancient instruments in archaeological sites became more precise early in the twentieth century, the study of music archaeology has only recently developed along serious and scientific lines. Descriptions and depictions of instruments have their limits and can never transmit the sounds musicians created in the past. Surviving fragments – and there are many of them – are the nearest we can come to the real thing, especially when their nature is interpreted using modern scientific techniques and then translated into modern reconstructions using materials, methods, and dimensions indicated by the finds. As Graeme Lawson has written: "Musical and acoustic finds become the fingerprints and DNA of our detective work ... Their first-hand testimony offers us direct glimpses into music's ancient past."[8] From the 1980s detailed surveys of archaeological collections have been conducted, leading to many new identifications of formerly unrecognized fragments. Pieces of wood or bone can be dated using radiocarbon techniques, microscopic examination of surfaces can reveal traces of vanished components or of usage patterns (around flute finger holes, for instance). Even the examination of dead musicians' teeth can provide information on wind-playing techniques. The study of the acoustical properties of medieval buildings also helps to shape an idea of how instruments were intended to sound. The handling of newly found fragments, which are constantly coming to light, requires great care and expert supervision so as not to destroy these fragile indications of our musical past.[9] Although complete instruments have rarely survived, parts of them nevertheless come to light in excavations. Information about these can help not only archaeologists to recognize them, but modern

7 For editions of the treatises see Cesario Ruini, *Practica artis musice* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1977); C. Meyer, G. Lobrichon and C. Hertel-Geay, *Tractatus de musica* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Grocheio, *Concerning Music (De musica)*, ed. Albert Seay (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1973); Peter of Abano, *Expositio problematum Aristotelis quam Petrus edidit paduanus* (Mantua: P. de Butzbach, 1475); Nancy Gillian Siraisi, "The Expositio problematum Aristotelis of Peter of Abano," *Isis* 61 (1970), 321–39; Isabelle Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du coeur de Jean Gerson: Édition critique, traduction et commentaire du Tractatus de canticis et du Canticordum au pélerin* (Geneva: Droz, 2005); F. Joseph Smith, *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966).

8 www.orfeo.co.uk/My_Homepage_Files/Page20.html.

9 For instance, from the submerged lake village of Charavines-Colletière in France. Up-to-date information about the site can be found in Lucile Chevallier, *Le lac de Paladru. Des fouilles archéologiques aux projets de musée*, available at https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-00748248, accessed May 13, 2017.

craftsmen who are attempting reconstructions as well. The recent establishment of study centers such as CMAR (Cambridge Music-Archaeological Research) in Britain, or APEMUTAM (Association pour l'étude de la musique et des techniques dans l'art médiéval) in France, provides a framework for publication and collaborative research in these fields.[10]

The Instruments

With these approaches and studies behind us, we may now attempt to draw up a descriptive list of the most important medieval instruments, though leaving aside a number of ephemeral or rustic types. They are listed alphabetically below, classed according to the four traditional categories of organology; however, for ease of consultation, we extract keyboard instruments (whether chordophones or aerophones) and put them into a fifth category. Where no English name is known – not necessarily because the instrument was unknown among English speakers, but because it is not mentioned in any English vernacular source – its French, Latin, or any other commonly used denomination is given. The modern classification of instruments mentioned above should not mislead us, in fact it must be stressed that in the medieval period instruments were instead only classed into two groups: *haut* (loud) and *bas* (soft).[11] Loud instruments, played by heralds and waits, were used especially for outdoors, for dancing, and for ceremonial occasions, and included horns, trumpets, bagpipes, *chalemies*, and percussion. Soft instruments, for indoors and for intimate occasions, included all the stringed instruments (e.g. lute, gittern, *vielle*, harp, psaltery) and less loud wind instruments such as the flute.

Chordophones

Plucked

- *ala bohemica* (fr. *ele/aile*) a type of zither in the shape of a wing, roughly the size of a harp, depicted in fourteenth-century Czech sources and mentioned by Machaut;[12] held against the body and plucked with both hands.
- *canon* see *psaltery*

10 Together with the research networks mentioned above; see note 2 above.

11 Edmund A. Bowles, *Haut and Bas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1955).

12 See for example the "Velislai Biblia Picta," Nationalbibliothek der Tschechischen Republik, Prague, XXIII.C.124. For more detailed information on this instrument see Pavel Kurfürst, *Ala und Harfemit zwei Resonatoren: unbekannte Instrumente der europäischen Stilmusik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1985).

- *cimbalum* a cithara used inside a building, for example in a cathedral along with the organ. The much later, and related, *clavicimbalum* no doubt took this name because of its bright sonority.
- *cithare* (lat. *cithara*) a word referring to a stringed instrument with a sounding case but used unsystematically in the period. The term could heterogeneously refer to zithers, psalteries, harps, lyres, lutes, or even keyboards. Etymologically linked, but different in structure, is the *gittern* or *guitar* (*fr. guiterne/quiterne*). See also *psaltery*.
- *citole* (lat. *cetra/cetula*) a small instrument plucked with a plectrum, in use since Roman times. The flat-backed case is carved out of a single block; the upper plate may be curved, with a movable bridge. The neck is fretted, though sometimes only under the upper two of the (normally) four strings, usually made of metal. The peg box is shaped like a sickle and often decorated with a grotesque carving. The plectrum may be made of wood, bone, ivory, tortoiseshell, metal, or a quill.
- *gittern* (fr. *guiterne/ghiterne*) of "holly-leaf" shape, wedge-shaped in cross-section. The back is flat. There is a fretted fingerboard which extends over the upper plate, bridge and tail-piece. Peg box at an angle, sometimes sickle-shaped. Four or five strings, possibly doubled, tuned in fourths. Plucked with fingers or with plectrum. On account of the thickness of the neck, a hole is provided to accommodate the thumb. It is comparable with the *guitara latina* represented in a manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,[13] although the fingerboard of that instrument extends only to the edge of the upper plate and its neck is more slender, with no need for a thumb hole.
- *guitara latina* see *gittern*
- *harp* (fr. *harpe*, *arpe*) several distinctions have to be made here, since there is a good deal of semantic confusion. The Germanic *hearp* (lat. *harpa*), for instance, is mentioned by Venance Fortunat in the sixth century,[14] and was an instrument of the *lyre* family. It is comparable with the Roman *lyra* or the Germanic *chrotta* (*cf. crwth*). The *harp* in its more usual sense lacks the sounding board of the *lyre* types. The instrument is triangular in shape, the sequence of strings decreasing regularly in length. The shape may vary, however: in the late Middle Ages a tall, slender model was developed. Generally there are three elements in the frame: the sound box held against the body, the neck at the top (with holes pierced for pegs to hold

13 San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial (*E-E*), J.B.2, fol. 147r.

14 Venance Fortunat, *Venantii Fortunati … Opera omnia juxta … Sequuntur Defensoris monachi, Evantii abbatis, sanctorum Arculfi et Adamani, necnon Crisconii, episcopi Africani, triumque auctorum, quorum unus, vero latente nomine, Magister audit, alii autem prorsus sunt anonymi, scripta quae supersunt universa, nova nunc et accuratiori editione donata. PL*, XXXIV: l. 37.

the strings), and a column to complete the triangle. In early types this column was absent, which must have put strain on the joint between neck and sound box and made tuning difficult. Harp pegs are often shaped to fit a tuning key. The number of gut strings varied according to the size of the harp, but up to about twenty-five was possible in the later Middle Ages, tuned diatonically. If the player was standing, the harp had to be attached by a strap round the neck, but this is rarely visible in paintings. The harp is fundamental to medieval music at all levels of society, from minstrels to monarchs, from Tristan to King David. The *Irish harp* (*clarseach*), known equally in Wales and in Scotland, is of more compact form, carved in a single piece of willow wood; the strings were of metal (brass or even silver) and thus "clearer" in sound. A famous example from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Brian Boru harp, is conserved at Trinity College, Dublin; the instrument is said to have a sonorous and brilliant tone. In letters of 1378 and 1386, John I of Aragon ordered the manufacture of one "double" and one "simple" harp,[15] which likely means one large and one small. In 1425 Alfonso V of Aragon purchased two double harps together with two lengths of black leather (*cuir negre*) to cover the instruments.[16]

- *lute* (fr. *luth*, arab. *al ud*) well-known from its wide popularity in the Renaissance. The wide pear-shaped back is generally made of a number of ribs, curved using heat and fixed together with strong glue. The neck is short but wide, terminating in a back-turned peg box. There is generally a large decorative rose or sound hole in the center of the upper plate. The lute may be plucked with fingers or a plectrum; it had a tuning of fourths around a central third. A crucial source for the understanding of the medieval lute is Johannes Tinctoris' *De inventione et usu musicae* (ca. 1481–83).[17] The instrument is of Middle Eastern origins (as the Arab name *al ud* suggests), and was inherited through Moorish Spain. The lute was largely limited to southern Europe and made only a gradual appearance in the north from the fourteenth century. Its early shape is illustrated in only a few sources, one of them being the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[18] However, from about 1450 it was one of the most frequently depicted instruments.

15 Edmond Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle* (New York: Dover, 1969), vol. VII: 4. Originally published 1878.
16 Ibid.
17 Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat "De inventione et usu musicae"* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1961).
18 Jeremy Montagu, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976), 31.

- *lyre* (lat. *lyra*) a rectangular-shaped sound box sometimes squared, sometimes in the form of an 8, but known from Antiquity in a variety of shapes and sizes. Two arms reach up from the resonating case and are connected by a neck or cross-piece pierced with holes for the pegs. From five to eight gut strings are held by a tail-piece at the base of the instrument and are supported by a bridge made of wood or of ivory. The joints were often strengthened with decorative metal corner-pieces or with nails. This emblematic instrument is traditionally associated with bards and ancient royal burials. More or less abandoned from the eleventh century except in Ireland and in Scandinavia, where it continued to be practiced for another two centuries, sometimes bowed rather than plucked.
- *mandora* (lat. *mandorla*, fr. *mandore*) a small lute of almond shape rather resembling the rebec in appearance. Carved from a single block, with fingerboard and sickle-shaped peg box. Unlike the rebec, however, the gut strings – usually three – are plucked, not bowed. Although it is depicted in a thirteenth-century *Cantigas* manuscript,[19] the term *mandora* seems not to be attested at the time.
- *micanon* see *psaltery*
- *monochord* (lat. *monocordium*, fr. *monocorde*) might be described as a one-string *cithare* with a movable bridge. Its first appearance is in Greece, in the fifth century BCE. In fact, it is said that it was invented by Euclid or by Pythagoras.[20] It played a major role in the teaching of music theory in the Middle Ages, through demonstration of string lengths, proportions, and intervals. Its decline was likely due to the introduction of the more sophisticated keyboard chordophones.
- *psaltery* (lat. *psalterium*, fr. *psalterion*) a zither-type instrument, with parallel rows of metal strings stretched over a wooden resonating case; held vertically against the chest or horizontally on the knees, played with quills or a plectrum. Its name comes from the ancient Hebrew use of the term *biblos psalmon* to address the "book of psalms," supposed to be sung with the accompaniment of this instrument. There is a great variety of shapes and sizes: square, triangular, circular, and – the most common – the so-called "pig snout" form. A comparable instrument is the *canon* (arab. *qanun*, gr. *Kanon*). Half of this instrument gives a *micanon*, in the shape of a wing (see *ala*), which determines the shape of later keyboard instruments. Thin metal wire strings of gold, silver, brass, or bronze were

19 See the illumination at fol. 205, in the codex San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo (*E-E*) B.1.2.
20 Flora Levin, *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 148.

manufactured, as in Antiquity, by goldsmiths and armorers. Surprisingly, surviving examples are rare: a thin bronze wire was found next to some psaltery pegs on a site in Oxford where a maker had lived ca. 1435.[21] Metal strings were the exception rather than the rule. They were employed principally on Irish and Breton harps and on psalteries. A particularly full account of psaltery strings is given ca. 1250 in the encyclopedic *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomeus Anglicus.[22] Almost two centuries later, the use of silver and silver-gold alloy strings on the psaltery is confirmed by Jean Gerson, in his *Tractatus de Canticis* (ca. 1426).[23]

Bowed

- *crwth* (lat. *rotta/chrotta*, fr. *rotte/rothe*) a Welsh term describing an instrument of the lyre family but played with a bow and later equipped with a drone string; mentioned in Welsh sources in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[24] There are also numerous Continental references to the *rotte*, but precision is lacking and the term seems to cover a range of instruments from the hurdy-gurdy to the harp.
- *gigue* (ger. *gige/Geige*) used in Germany in the twelfth century. The trouvère Adenet le Roi mentions the *giguëours d'Alemeigne*.[25] An instrument held downward on the knees. There is no bridge, hence notes are formed not by pressure but by "hooking" (as with the North African *rabab*).
- *rebec* (arab. *rebab/rabel*) of narrow pear shape, carved from a single block of wood, with added upper plate; it has a short neck, fingerboard and back-turned peg box. There are usually three gut strings tuned in fifths or octaves. Bowed and held against the neck or chest, unlike its Arab ancestor the *rebab*, which was played downwards on the knees. Not to be confused with "Jew's harp" (*rubebe/guimbarde*), which is a folk instrument frequently found on archaeological sites.
- *vielle* (lat. *vitula*, fr. *viele*, sp. *vihuela*) not to be confused with the later *viol* (fr. *viole*). It is often translated as "fiddle." Generally comparable in size to

21 Brian Durham, "Archaeological Investigations in St Aldates, Oxford," *Oxoniensia* 42 (1978), 83–203.
22 Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 217; cf. Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).
23 Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 217; cf. Isabelle Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du coeur de Jean Gerson: Édition critique, traduction et commentaire du Tractatus de canticis et du Canticordum au pélerin* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).
24 For an in-depth study see Otto Andersson, *The Shetland Gue, the Welsh Crwth, and the Northern Bowed Harp* (Åbo: n.p., 1956).
25 Albert Henry, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, vol: I, 46.

the modern viola and played in similar fashion, though there were many variants in shape and size, and downward playing is possible. The *vielle* usually had five gut strings tuned in fourths, fifths, or octaves. It could also be fitted with a drone string. In a letter of 1373, John I of Aragon asks for strings, well made by a furrier; these strings are to contain five, four, three, two, or one strand.[26] Intestines were twisted and dried to provide the gut. Normally sheep or lamb was used but wolf was also possible. In certain illuminations strings are painted red: in fact strings were sometimes "pickled" in red wine in order to conserve them, but a common alternative was urine. In the mid-fourteenth century Henry of Cossey, in his commentary on Psalm 150:4, seems to suggest the use of horse hair for *vielle* strings;[27] this is possible, but it was surely not very effective. The exceptional use of silk strings for a *vielle* is mentioned ca. 1300 in the German romance *Der Busant*.[28] Bows were made of wood, and always convex in the Middle Ages. Horse hair was used, and resin, as today. Fiddle bows first appear in Europe about CE 1000 and were of oriental origin; in the earliest period the arc of the bow was very pronounced and the right hand clutched stick and hair in the fist. By the fourteenth century systems had been devised to attach the hair to the stick, the stick became flatter (giving better control) and the hand grip began to resemble that of a modern violinist. Unlike the *rebec*, which remained on the popular level as an instrument for minstrels, the *vielle* was accepted in higher academic and aristocratic circles. Along with the harp, it was dominant in music-making in Christendom, both religious and secular, over roughly five centuries.

Aerophones (Vibrating Air) (lat. Inflatilia*)*

Reed Instruments

– *bagpipe(s) (fr. cornemuse/muse/chevrette/cabrette)* an instrument of wide geographical distribution, especially associated with popular or rustic idioms. The bag was often made of goat skin, a reservoir for the air. This is equipped with a pipe for the player to blow into, the air being blocked by a valve, and at least one melody pipe with an internal reed and finger holes. Several longer drone pipes (*bourdons*) may be added. It developed from a simple *muse*, to which was added a bladder and later a whole skin.

26 Maria Muntané, *La música medieval en España* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), 317.
27 Henry of Cossey mentions the string materials of the *vielle* in the manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (hereafter *GB-Ccc*) 11 (fol. 251v).
28 Cf. the manuscript Moscow, Central'niy gosudarstvenniy arkhiv drevnikh aktov, Fond 181, ed. Hr. 1405 (fols. 74v–75r).

- *bombarde* (lat. *bombus*, ger. *pommer*) bass or tenor *chalemie* dating from the fourteenth century and greatly used in the fifteenth century. There is an unprotected double reed held within the mouth and blocked by a metal disk. Circular breathing was probably employed.
- *cabrette* see *bagpipe* (*cornemuse*)
- *chalemie* family of double-reed instruments with conical bore, ancestors of the oboe. The reed is wedged into a tube or else concealed with a *pirouette* (a mushroom-shaped piece of wood pierced with holes). The *chalemie* is frequently confused with the *chalumeau* in translation. There were different sizes (see *bombarde*): in 1372 John I of Aragon asked for *les xelamies grossa e petita e la cornamusa petita* (the large and small *chalemies* and the little bagpipes).[29] Instruments were frequently decorated, especially with the arms of the noble household. A few years after the previous letter, in 1377, John I of Aragon requested "covers" (*cobrir*) for his *chalemies* and bagpipes; these were to be decorated with Moors' heads and a cross, and a preliminary sketch painted on paper or parchment was to be submitted beforehand for royal approval see *shawm*.[30]
- *choron* (lat. *chorus*) a little-known instrument mentioned in a limited number of Latin texts. Probably a type of small bagpipe comparable to the *bladder pipe* (lat.*vessica*, fr. *veze*), also known in French as *turelure*.
- *douçaine/douchainne/douceinne/doussainne/dulzaine* a rather mysterious double-reed instrument of cylindrical bore with a reed cap. Mentioned by Adenet le Roi in the thirteenth century,[31] the instrument is praised for the softness of its tone.
- *shawm* (fr. *chalemie*, lat. *calamus*, ger. *Schalmei*) a double-reed instrument of conical bore. This instrument, of great antiquity, ancestor of the oboe, was originally cut out of a reed or a corn stalk. Depictions from the tenth to the eleventh century show double oboes, reminiscent of the double *aulos* of the ancient Greeks.

Pipes

- *flageolet* (fr. *flajol/flageol*) a simple flute blown from the end, typically with two finger holes, though this is variable; the instrument is held in the left hand while the right hand beats a small drum (*pipe and tabor*). Carved out

29 Muntané, *La música en la Casa Real catalano-aragonesa durante los años 1336–1432* (Barcelona: A. Bosch, 1979), 133.
30 Felipe Pedrell, "Jean I d'Aragon, Compositeur de Musique," in *Riemann Festschrift: Gesammelte Studien* (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1909), 229–40.
31 Henry, *Les oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi* vol. I.

of wood or bone, flageolets are associated mainly with rustic and pastoral contexts. Machaut mentions *flajos de saus*,[32] which is cut from a willow branch. Exceptional instruments might be decorated in silver.

- *flute* (fr. *flaüte/flahute/fleuste/fleute*) of two types, straight and transverse, of finer quality than the popular *flageolet*. The straight or block flute (later engl. *recorder*) is cylindrical, with seven finger holes and a thumb hole. The bottom hole might be double, permitting right- or left-hand play (the superfluous hole being blocked with wax). The transverse flute (fr. *flute traversière/traversaine*) is known in western Europe from the twelfth century.
- *pan pipes* (pop. lat. *fistellum*, fr. *frestel*) a pastoral instrument inherited from Antiquity, often played by shepherds in depictions of the Nativity. From eight to fourteen reed pipes, of decreasing length, are tied together with reed or leather. Alternatively, holes were pierced in a solid piece of wood.
- *pipe* see *flageolet*

Horns and Trumpets

- *airaine* a brass instrument of the horn family with conical bore.
- *bugle* (fr. *bugle/cor bugleret*) originally a cow horn.
- *clarion* see *trumpet*
- *cornett* a horn-shaped instrument usually slightly curved and to be distinguished from the natural horn by the presence of finger holes. Not to be confused with the cornet, from the trumpet family.
- *graisle* see *trumpet*
- *horn* (fr. *cor*) originally shaped from a cow horn, with conical bore and a mouthpiece. Mostly used for signaling, by hunters and by watchmen. Particularly large horns called *olifant* were carved from an elephant tusk. The Olifant horn is associated with the legendary figure of Roland. Different is the *cor sarrasinois* (Saracen horn), of conical bore and corresponding to the north-African *buq*.
- *trumpet* (lat. *buccina*, fr. *buisine/busine*, ger. *posaune*, sp. *añafil*) a long and straight natural trumpet made of copper or silver and with cylindrical bore. Particularly used by heralds. A shorter form, emitting a more piercing sound, is known in French as *graisle/grele* or else (as in English) *clarion* (it. *tromba clarina*). The body comprises several sections, the joins being covered by rings which give support to the left, holding hand. The right

32 Georg Strack, *Rhetorik in Mittelalter und Renaissance: Konzepte – Praxis – Diversität* (Munich: Herbert Utz, 2010), 224.

hand holds the mouthpiece. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the problem of excessive length was overcome by bending the instrument first into an S-shape, then this S-shape was folded back on itself to form a loop. The *Grandes Chroniques de France* for 1377 give us a description of a ceremony where silver trumpets hung with embroidered banners were used to announce each important person.[33]

Membraphones (Vibrating Skins) (lat. Percussionalia*)*

- *bedon/boudine* a large drum borne on a carrier's back and struck by a *bedonneur* using two sticks.
- *kettledrum* (fr. *timbale*) large hemispherical drum sometimes fixed in pairs on the back of a horse. For military occasions.
- *nackers* (fr. *nacaires/naquaires*, arab. *naqqâra*) a pair of small hemispherical drums suspended from a belt at the waist and beaten with sticks; sometimes borne on an assistant's back. Used in military assaults to make loud noise and frighten the enemy, and also by minstrels to heighten crowd excitement.
- *tabor* (fr. *tambour*, arab. *tana'bir*) a cylindrical drum with one or two skins under tension, normally suspended at the player's side. Often beaten by the right hand while the left hand holds a pipe (see *flageolet*). Mainly used for dancing.

Idiophones (Materials Vibrating without Tension)

- *bell* although large church bells do not participate in normal musical performance, they were nevertheless of prime importance in medieval life, for warning and for celebration, and from the fourteenth century for sounding the hour, from town belfries.
- *campanula* a carillon of small bells, sometimes mechanized in towers and belfries.
- *carillon* a set of bells from smaller to larger, suspended within a frame or case, struck either by clappers set in motion by the use of strings or ropes, or by hammers held in the player's hand. The etymology of the word suggests in the first place a set of four bells, but more are often depicted, especially in miniatures of King David or of Pythagoras.[34]

33 Paulin Paris, *Le premier volume des grandes chroniques de France: Selon qu'elles sont conservées en l'église de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris: Techener, 1836), 162 1ff.

34 A very famous image of Pythagoras' carillon is featured in Franchino Gaffurio's *Theoretica musicae* (1492).

- *crotales* a pair of cymbals mounted on a forked stem. Of oriental, then Roman origin, still used in Carolingian times.
- *cymbals* (lat. *cymbala*, fr. *cymbale*) a pair of small, slightly concave metal disks. Held in the hand by attached strings. Larger versions are clashed together horizontally.
- *rattle* (fr. *crecelle/cresselle*) a strip of wood or bone held in a frame is rotated round a toothed cylinder. Used by the Church to replace bells during Holy Week, and by lepers to warn of their approach.
- *triangle* (fr. *trepié*) made of metal, suspended on a cord, with a metal beater. Often represented in depictions of angel musicians.

Keyboards

Strings

- *armonie* see *hurdy-gurdy*
- *exchequer* (lat. *scaccarium*, fr. *echiquier*) a fairly rare early keyboard instrument, the case of which seems to have resembled a chess board. There is a good painting of one among the frescoes at Le Mans cathedral. John I of Aragon, in a letter of 1388, described the instrument as comparable to an organ but using strings and asks for a musician known to double on the two instruments; in 1391 he again mentioned the instrument (*un sturment de corda appellat scaquer*) together with a "wooden chair" (*une cadira de fusta*), maybe a special stand for the instrument.[35]
- *hurdy-gurdy* (lat. *symphonia*, fr. *chifonie/chifoine/cyfoine/sinfonie/armonie*) a smaller development of the *organistrum*, which it superseded late in the twelfth century. A single player turns the handle at the base of the instrument, thus rotating the wheel which sets the three gut strings in vibration, while pressing down with the other hand the tabs or keys stopping the strings. Drone strings may be present, some producing a buzz. The instrument is held on the knees, just as in many folk music groups to this day.
- *organistrum* a large hurdy-gurdy with three vibrating strings. Two players were needed, one to turn the handle, the other to push or pull the tabs stopping the strings. The instrument, which must have been slow and cumbersome, is mentioned in Germanic sources from the late eleventh century, and was well-known in France, Spain, and England later in the twelfth century. There is a famous stone carving of this instrument in the

35 Pedrell, *Jean I d'Aragon, Compositeur de Musique*, 231ff.

tympanum of the Gate of Glory of the cathedral of Santiago da Compostela, where the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse are depicted.

Wind

- *organ* (lat. *organum*, fr. *orgue)*. The organ was invented in Alexandria ca. 300 BCE, where it exploited water to maintain air pressure (thus it was originally called *hydraulos*).[36] The organ fell out of use with the collapse of the Roman empire; however, it continued in Byzantium, and reappeared in Europe from the reign of Pepin the Younger. Of particular note is the chapter *De organis* in the treatise *Schedula diversarium artium* written in the late eleventh century by the monk Theophilus; he describes in detail the manufacture of the instrument.[37] The earliest types used sliders rather than keys in order to open and close the air supply to the pipes. The operation must have been slow and cumbersome, suggesting that the instrument was mainly used to provide drone support to chant in the church. By the thirteenth century two basic types emerge:
  - the *positive organ*, of some size and weight, was either free-standing or placed on a table. It might also be transported on a wagon. One or more assistants operated bellows, allowing the player to use both hands in polyphony at the keyboard.[38]
  - the *portative organ*, varying from the very small to medium size, but still capable of being supported on the player's knees. A single player worked the bellows with the left hand and fingered the keyboard with the right. One of the most celebrated players was the blind Italian composer Francesco Landini, in the late fourteenth century. An inventory of the possessions of King Martin I in 1410 mentions a small organ apparently dismounted (*desclavats e desviats*) along with its wooden case.[39]

The first instrument made especially for an organ loft dates from the late fourteenth century, when it was built in the cathedral at Rouen (1386).[40] Only from the fifteenth century did the construction of large and permanent instruments expand.

36 Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, "Music in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt," *World Archaeology* 12/3 (1981), 287–97 at 292.
37 For an edition of the treatise see Theophilus, *Schedula diversarium artium*, ed. and trans. Hermann Hagen and Albert Ilg (Vienna: Braunmüller, 1874).
38 Cf. the image of a positive organ played by a rabbit and a dog, in the "Gorleston Psalter" (ca.1325), London, British Library (*GB-Lbl*), add. 49622 (fol. 88v).
39 Jose Cunhill and Joseph Gudiol, *Nocions d'arqueología sagrada catalana* (Barcelona: Balmesiana, 1931), vol. 1: 498.
40 Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), 304.

Instrument Makers

The history of instrument making and makers in the Middle Ages remains to be written. Sparse though our information may seem, there are nevertheless numerous records especially in surviving payment accounts and letters recording gifts, purchases, and repairs to instruments. Many important towns possessed instrument makers. For example, we know from the letters of John I of Aragon that there dwelled in Valencia in 1378 a certain Ponç, maker of lutes and harps.[41] In 1420 Alfonso V of Aragon ordered a small organ to be made in Valencia for his royal chapel, the instrument to be tuned by a court musician according to norms previously indicated.[42] While John II of France was at Windsor, awaiting payment of his ransom following the French defeat at Poitiers, he enjoyed the music of his own household.[43] In 1359 his chapel clerk was entrusted with transporting a positive organ to Hertford and back; skin, nails, give and twine were purchased for repairs made by *Maistre Jehan*, *l'organier*, who travelled from London; there were extra expenses for an assistant for three days' pumping. Illustrations of the story of Pygmalion sometimes show him in his workshop with an assortment of instruments on benches or on the wall.[44]

The Players

Minstrels, as opposed to humbler *jongleurs*, mostly came to be attached to noble, royal, or ecclesiastical households. From the fourteenth century they were often members of professional guilds (as in Paris or, in England, in Tutbury, Beverley, Lincoln, or London), served apprenticeships, and were bound by strict sets of rules. They often played a variety of instruments. In 1388, in Aragon, there is a reference to "old instruments" (*los sturments vells*) played by two musicians proficient in "the old style" (*la guisa vella*),[45] an interesting indication of the gradual evolution of styles and tastes in which older methods and instruments give way to new developments gradually, not suddenly, with a long period of overlap; instruments of "the new kind" (*esturments de novella guisa*) are said to have been purchased in Flanders.[46] *Jongleurs*, especially in the early part of the period, were traditionally expected to play on a variety of instruments, juggle, and handle performing animals!

41 Andrés Descalzo, "Músicos en la Corte de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336–1387)," *Revista de musicologia* 13/1 (1990), 112.
42 Higini Anglès, *Scripta musicologica*, vol. I (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1975), 1469.
43 Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 168–69.
44 Cf., for instance the image of Pygmalion making music for his sculpture: miniature on fol. 150v, from the late fifteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter *GB-Ob*), Douce 195.
45 Muntané, *La música en la Casa Real catalano-aragonesa durante los años 1336–1432*, 159.
46 Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, vol. VII: 4.

Certain gestures of musicians seem timeless. Compare the following description from the *Odyssey* XXI – "Then, as a singer, skilled to play the harp, stretches with ease on its new fastenings a string, the twisted entrails of a sheep, made fast at either end, so easily Ulysses bent that mighty bow"[47] – with this from the *Roman de Horn* (ca. 1170): "Then he took up his harp, wishing to tune it. God! You should have seen how well he handled it, touching the strings and making them tremble, making them sing sometimes alone, sometimes in harmony ... "[48] or this, from the romance of *Galeran de Bretagne*: "When he had listened to the music, he tuned (the strings) with his tuning key, putting them perfectly in tune ... "[49] There are many such descriptions in medieval French and English romances.

Players of instruments were not necessarily professionals. Many of the troubadours and trouvères were persons of the highest degree, and proficiency on an instrument was considered to be a social accomplishment. Noble ladies in particular played the harp, as did the French royals Elisabeth of Bavaria-Ingolstadt and Valentina Visconti, for instance. Payment accounts tell us that Elisabeth, wife of Charles VI, purchased strings and cases and Valentina, wife of Louis d'Orléans, had her instrument repaired.[50] At Henry V's wedding celebrations, in 1420, the new queen, Catherine of France, played the harp.[51] The nobility was indeed introduced to the playing of instruments at an early age: in 1383, for instance, Charles VI of France and his brother Louis, aged fifteen and twelve, were given *musettes* and some small-size instruments.[52]

The *vielle* in particular was adopted by students and clerics. The thirteenth-century scholar Henry Bate, for instance, records that when he was very young he learned to play flutes and other wind instruments, but later mastered the *vielle*, "bringing together, most harmoniously, a melodious touch on the strings and the drawing of the bow."[53] The chronicler Gilles Li Muisis records how, in the early 1300s, he used to see Parisian students in the streets gaily playing on *citoles*;[54] this puts one in mind of Chaucer's Parish Clerk who accompanied his own singing on the rebec and sometimes on the gittern. By the 1400s the "bourgeoisie" also had taken to amateur music-making. Guillebert de Metz, in 1434, describes great musical animation in Paris, with masters, poets, and theologians playing a variety of instruments including *vielle*, harp, rebec, and flute, and the house of a Maître Jacques Duchié where

47 Homer, *The Odyssey*, 234.
48 Thomas, *The Romance of Horn*, ed. and trans. Mildred K. Pope and T. B. W. Reid (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 4–5.
49 Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 96.
50 André Pirro, *La Musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI (1380–1422)* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1930), 26–27.
51 Ibid. 52 Ibid. 53 Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 59–60. 54 Ibid.

there was a special music room "full of all manner of instruments, harps, organs, *vielles*, psalteries, and others," on all of which the owner could play.[55]

Music for Instruments

At first sight, nearly all of the music which has survived from the Middle Ages is for one or more voices, on liturgical or secular texts, with no written suggestion that instruments might be included in performance. Instruments must certainly have combined with voices in certain musical genres, but our ignorance of their precise usage is almost total. The multiplicity of different kinds of instrument existing in the Middle Ages makes it certain that they were indeed used on very many occasions. The few surviving dance tunes hint at the existence of a vast repertory of such pieces, no doubt for a large part unwritten, traditional and folk music, lost to us for ever. Specific instruments are rarely named in medieval sources: this suggests great flexibility in interpretation according to the circumstances of the moment. Quite apart from use in normal musical performance, including drama, many types of loud instrument were used for other purposes: for military signals (horns and trumpets), in watch towers (horn or *chalemie*), in grand processions (trumpets especially), and to stir up excitement (trumpets at jousts), for example.

Instruments and Voices

Are instruments to be used in "vocal" music? In church music, at least before the fourteenth century, probably rarely, though there seems an obvious invitation to use an organ or other sustaining instruments for the very long notes in early polyphony and especially for tenor parts in motets; instruments might also play the untexted florid, often dance-like interludes or *caudae* in organum and conductus. The "Bamberg Codex," Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek (hereafter *D-Bas*), lit. 115, written ca. 1300, contains an *In seculum viellatoris* (fols. 63v–64v), in three parts without text, apparently an instrumental piece to be played on vielles. The "Montpellier Codex," Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine (hereafter *F-MOf*), H 196, includes four motets using *estampies* as tenor: three are marked "chose Tassin" (*Mo* 292 and 294) and one "chose Loyset" (*Mo* 297), perhaps a reference to their minstrel originators. A confirmation that almost any music composed for voices could on occasion be performed on instruments comes in a passage from the *De Vetula* of Richard de Fournival: the youthful Ovid declares that "although one normally sings motets,

55 Guillebert de Metz, *Description de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle* (Paris: A. Aubry, 1855), 84ff.

ballades, virelais, comic songs, rondeaux, and *lais*, I performed them on all manner of instrument . . ."[56]

The biggest controversy concerns the performance of the songs of the troubadours and trouvères in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is obvious from the large number of pictures and descriptions of the time that instruments were indeed very often associated with solo singers in performance, though normally just a harp or a *vielle*, far from the motley assemblages often heard in concert today. Some maintain, however, that instruments were to be reserved for "low" forms of song – dance songs, rondeaux, etc. – but that the "high" form of the *grand chant courtois* was to be unaccompanied.[57] The large number of instruments depicted in the main *Cantigas* manuscript San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real monastario de San Lorenzo (*E-E*), B.I.2, composed in a circle frequented by known troubadours, would seem to belie this, as would a famous miniature in the "Manesse manuscript," Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (hereafter *D-HEu*), Pal. germ. 848, showing the Minnesinger Heinrich Frauenlob playing the *vielle* and surrounded by several instrumentalists (fol. 399r). A number of troubadours are depicted in the source manuscripts with their instruments, for instance Perdigon playing a *vielle* (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France [*F-Pn*] 854, fol. 49). Guiraut de Cabreira also, and Pons de Capdoil, were greatly admired for their playing on the *vielle*.[58] Several French poems mention the performance with instruments of *sons poitevins* (southern songs) in courts in the north: in the epic *Garin le Loheren* (ca. 1200), for instance, we read that at a feast "many an excellent *son poitevin* was sung and played upon the fiddle."[59] The theorist Johannes de Grocheio, in his treatise *De musica*, gives a list of song types which any good player of the *vielle* should include in his repertory; this comprises the *cantus coronatus*, to be understood as song in "high style."[60] It would seem perverse to reject this testimony on the grounds that it is rather late in date. If the singer did also play a *vielle* (the most common case) or harp, or was accompanied by a colleague, we may assume that the instrumental part employed drones (inherent in the instrument's tuning) and heterophony, following the vocal line but with embellishment; preludes and postludes may have been added. Perhaps a more prudent and pragmatic solution to the controversy would be to propose different performance possibilities according to time and place and circumstances: if no instrumentalist was available, then, of course, the song could be sung unaccompanied, but this clearly was not always the case.

56 Jean Lefevre and H. F. J. M. Cocheris, *La vieille, ou Les dernières amours d'Ovide* (Paris: Aubry, 1861), 20.
57 Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 134.
58 James McKinnon, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 203.
59 Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 29. 60 Ibid.

When we come to the style of the Ars Nova and beyond, different questions arise. It is clear that Machaut, for example, was enormously enthusiastic about instruments, giving two famous long lists of them in his narrative poem of the *Remède de Fortune* and in his verse epic, *La Prise d'Alexandrie*. In his *Voir Dit* Machaut mentions the possibility of arranging one of his songs "in German style," for organs, bagpipes, or other instruments.[61] It is thus not possible to deny the use and presence of instruments in this repertory, and in almost all song from the fourteenth century onwards. Characteristically, in French Ars Nova and Ars subtilior ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, an upper voice (cantus) is equipped with a text to sing. The lower voices (countertenor and tenor) have no text in the manuscripts and are often more angular and tortuous in style; less suited to voices. By this time a wider variety of instruments could participate, bringing more interest and color to the composition, though still probably only one to a part. A number of polyphonic songs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appear in the sources with no text at all, or simply an incipit for identification; the only solution for performance would seem to be to play these pieces on instruments. The presence of musicians known to be both singers and instrumentalists at the papal court of Avignon, or in the courts of Orthez or Barcelona (where instruments were so greatly appreciated and sought after), again lends credence to the involvement of instruments. The composer Senleches, indeed, composed a ballade in praise of his own instrument, *La harpe de melodie*, which he notated on an image of the instrument, the strings and spaces becoming a vast staff in his novel score.[62] In church music also, there may have been a place for instruments. There is an interesting moment in the Gloria of Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame*, set for four texted voices, where a completed phrase is separated from the commencement of the next by a little run with no text in the two lower parts (bar 20, repeated three times later, and also in the Credo; see Example 14.1). This was once described, by Safford Cape, as "a window through which Machaut's instrumentalists look out at us";[63] it could well be assigned to two *vielles*, which would double the lower voices in the rest of the composition.

Nevertheless, despite so much evidence to the contrary, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century song repertories are often presented today in purely vocal

61 Timothy McGee, "Musical Performance Practice," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. W. W. Kibler (New York: Garland, 1995), 1233.

62 This is recorded in two sources. The first source, dated ca. 1395, is the manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library (hereafter *US-Cn*), Case 54.1, fol. 1or. The second source of this composition is the famous "Codex Chantilly," Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé (hereafter *F-CH*), 564 (formerly 1047), fol. 43v.

63 Nigel Wilkins, *The Lyric Art of Medieval France* (Fulbourn: New Press, 1989), 176.

Example 14.1 Machaut, *Messe de Nostre Dame*, Gloria, mm. 19–21



versions, thus depriving them of their instrumental color. It often seems as if the existence of a good vocal ensemble is the sole reason for the imposition of this choice.

Instruments Alone

The apparent absence of instrumental music in the Middle Ages is, of course, an illusion. Since Antiquity there were always *jongleurs*, minstrels and entertainers. However, most of their output was traditional; folk music – dances and songs – improvised and passed from one generation to the next, but never committed to parchment. Most of this is lost to us, though happily some vestiges of dance music remain. In contemporary art and literature we have many depictions of rustics dancing to the sound of bagpipes and of more sophisticated dancers in meadows or in noble halls, singing or accompanied often by a group of *chalemies* or other, generally "loud" instruments. The *Carole de Deduit* from the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* (ca. 1220) is a famous example. In the romance, Jean Renart presents animated scenes of singing and dancing to the accompaniment of a *vielle*.[64] In the fourteenth century we read of brilliant scenes of dance and entertainment at the Court of Wenceslas in Brussels, with minstrels from numerous other countries; the instrumentalists there included performers on fiddle, lute, harp, gittern, rebec, psaltery, flute, shawm, trumpet, horn, organ, and drums.[65] Jean Froissart, in *La prison amoureuse* and in *Meliador*, shows how, at that same court, dance music was provided in alternation by the singing of the dancers themselves and by instruments (the wind players in particular would have needed a break!).[66] *Estampies* were especially popular. From Italy at the same

64 Renart, *Le roman de la Rose, ou de Guillaume de Dole*, line 1569.
65 John Gower, *Confessio amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck and Andrew Galloway (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006), book 1, ll. from line 2798.
66 Jean Froissart, *La prison amoureuse*, ed. Anthime Fourrier (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), ll. 401ff.

Example 14.2 Saltarello (London, British Library [*GB-Lbl*], additional 29987, fol. 62r)



time we have famous scenes of singing, playing, and dancing from Boccaccio's *Decameron*: " ... in no time at all they were dancing *caroles*, accompanied sometimes by Tindaro on the cornemuse and sometimes by the music of other instruments ... "[67] Similar scenes occur in the *Paradiso degli Aberti* of Giovanni da Prato or in the *Saporetto* of Prodenzani.

Eight French instrumental *estampie* melodies are preserved in the manuscript *F-Pn* fr. 844, together with three other monodic dance tunes. The manuscript London, British Library (*GB-Lbl*), add. 29987 preserves fifteen Italian dances including four *salterelli* and other pieces bearing colorful names such as "Ghaetta," "Tre Fontane," "Trotto," or "Lamento di Tristano."[68] The main formal characteristic of these monodies is their division into a number of sections or *puncta*, each repeated with open and closed endings. There is, however, considerable variation in length, structure, and melodic style. Quite often the melody betrays the tuning in fifths of the instrument intended to play it (Example 14.2).

Early in the fifteenth century compositions appear written in score in two parts, more likely for organ than for instrumental duet. Two pieces are added into the manuscript *F-Pn* nouvelles acquisitions françaises (*F-Pn* n.a.f.) 6771, one of which is an arrangement of Landini's *Questa fanciulla* (fol. 85r). The main source is the "Codex Bonadies," Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale (*I-FZc*) 117, which contains a substantial collection of similar arrangements of sacred and secular French and Italian music from the late fourteenth century; there are also three two-part dance tunes. The basic principle is to use the original tenor more or less unchanged, but to add to this in the right hand a new and embellished upper part. The style of this embellishment no doubt reflects the style of ornamentation practiced at the time (Example 14.3).

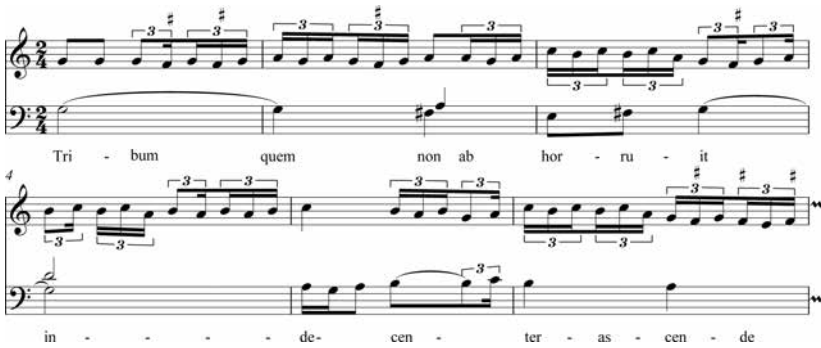
One further important, though small, source of instrumental music remains to be discussed: the "Robertsbridge Codex," *GB-Lbl* add. 28550, copied ca. 1330. The music here, still in two parts, is written with letters only for the lower line, the first instance of so-called "German organ tablature." The first and last of the four pieces found on the manuscript are incomplete but are

67 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 520.
68 Wilkins, *Music in the Age of Chaucer* (Cambridge; Totowa, NJ: D. S. Brewer; Rowman & Littlefield, 1995), 71–73.

Example 14.3 Bartolino da Padova, "Imperial sedendo" (Faenza, Biblioteca communale 117, fol. 74v)



Example 14.4 Vitry, "Tribum quem" (*GB-Lbl*, add. 28550, fol. 44r)



estampie-like in character. The remaining two pieces relate to two French motets by Philippe de Vitry; here Vitry's Latin text is also given, making these the first known examples of music for voice with keyboard accompaniment (Example 14.4).

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- www.musicarchaeology.org/: International Study Group on Music Archaeology.
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· 15 ·

Teaching and Learning Music

ANNA MARIA BUSSE BERGER

Music education formed an important part of daily life in the monasteries and cathedral schools throughout the Middle Ages. Two closely interrelated features fundamentally distinguished a medieval education from a modern one: first, learning consisted mainly of committing material to memory. Secondly, until recently, it was assumed that before the invention of staff notation all music was sung from memory and that once a composition could be written down accurately, singers no longer needed to be burdened with the cumbersome process of memorization, since they could now sing directly from the page. However, recent research has shown that exactly the opposite was the case: the ability to write something down, to visualize it, allowed for exact memorization and opened up new ways of committing material to memory.[1] In other words, the invention of musical notation, like writing, does not replace performance from memory, but, on the contrary, may be used to aid it. The fact that something was written down does not have to mean that it was no longer transmitted orally as well, for written texts and oral transmission may well coexist. This fact fundamentally transforms our view of education in the Middle Ages.

Students were not only expected to sing the entire Gregorian chant repertoire by heart, but the more talented were taught music theory and counterpoint, both of which also relied heavily on memorization. To most of us today it seems incomprehensible that our medieval ancestors could have learned and memorized this much material. For this reason, we will concentrate in this chapter not only on *what* was learned, but also on *how* it was learned. Subsequently, we will also explore how all this memorization affected the creation of new musical texts.

1 For the first discussion on the consequences of literacy, see Jack Goody and I. P. Watt, *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge University Press, 1968); Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge University Press, 1987); for memorization in general see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); for memory and music, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

Gregorian Chant

One of the earliest testimonies about memorization in monasteries comes from Agobard of Lyon, an archbishop also known for his anti-Semitic publications, who wrote in 830: "Most of them [the monks] have spent all the days of their life from earliest youth to gray age in the preparation and development of their singing."[2] Students who entered the monastery learned Latin and reading simultaneously by reciting the psalms (this is why a student was called *psalteratus*), combining letters into syllables, syllables into words, and words into sentences.[3] All 150 psalms had to be performed every week, according to Benedict's rules. At first, they did not know what they were reciting; gradually they learned Latin and reading.

What exactly did students memorize aside from psalms? Whenever a psalm was performed, it was framed by an antiphon appropriate for that particular day. Antiphons multiplied rapidly: Regino of Prüm already lists over 1,000 antiphons by 900; eventually, there were over 3,000 to memorize.[4] In addition there were chants for the Mass: the eighth- and ninth-century gradual contained approximately 70 Introits, 118 Graduals, 100 Alleluias, 18 Tracts, 107 Offertories, and 150 Communions, in other words about 560 chants.[5] Benedictines sang at least six hours a day, for monks at Cluny the number of psalms sung every day increased to 215, in addition to two or three conventual Masses, Offices, processions, litanies, and other public prayers.[6] It is easy to understand that this led to overburdening of monastic memory, and various attempts were made to shorten

2 *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera omnia*, ed. L. van Acker, in *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 350; for the best overview of music education see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung: Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern III, 3 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), 25; on Agobard, see also Chrisopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years*, New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010, 361; Page writes also about memorization " ... one is reminded on almost every page [of Aurelian's *Musica Disciplina*] that the study of plainsong was virtually the only intellectual discipline known to the ninth-century Occident in which a substantial body of material wholly unknown to Classical authors had to be brought to order and theorized," 355.

3 Pierre Riché, "Apprendre à lire et à écrire dans le haut Moyen Age," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1978–79), 193–203; see also Riché's *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. J. Contreni. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976, 115; 461–68; Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Classical Text* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

4 For a new edition of Regino's *Epistola de harmonica institutione*, ed. M. Bernhard, see *Clavis Gerberti, eine Revision von Martin Gerberts Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum (St. Blasien 1784)* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989); see also David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 329.

5 Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 102.

6 Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 152.

the liturgy, particularly by the Cistercians. But even the Cistercians exempted monks from imposed silences in order to memorize antiphons, hymns, and the content of the gradual.[7]

How did students in the Middle Ages commit so many texts and melodies to memory? Recent work by historians and literary historians shows that the mnemonic techniques they used were the same ones known since ancient times.

The most basic technique for memorization, already described by Quintilian, was based on dividing and classifying the material.[8] In fact, it was so elementary that few writers bothered to discuss it. Hugh of St. Victor gives the most detailed description in his "De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum" addressed to very young students in the school of St. Victor in 1130.[9] You acquire knowledge (*sapientia*) throughout your life, which becomes a treasure (*thesaurus*) and is stored in your heart or strongbox (*archa*).[10] He explains in some detail how one memorizes psalms:

> Suppose for example that I wish to learn the psalter word for word by heart. I proceed thus: first I consider how many psalms there are. There are 150. I learn them all in order so that I know which is first, which second, which third, and so on. I then place them all by order in my heart along my [mental] numerical grid, and one at a time I designate them to the seats where they are disposed in the grid, while at the same time, accompanied by voicing [*prolatio*] of cogitation, I listen and observe closely [*attendo*] until each becomes to me of a size equivalent to one glance of my memory ... Having learned the [whole order of] psalms, I then devise the same sort of scheme for each separate psalm, starting with the beginning [words] of the verses just as I did for the whole psalter starting with the first words of the psalms, and I can thereafter easily retain in my heart the whole series one verse at a time; first by dividing and marking off the book by [whole] psalms and then each psalm by verses, I have reduced a large amount of material to such conciseness and brevity. And this [method] in fact can readily be seen in the psalms or in other books containing inherent divisions. When however the reading is in an unbroken series, it is necessary to do this artificially ...[11]

Hugh recommends to always use the same copy of the text and to commit not only the text to memory, but also the color of the letters, their shape, position, and placement on the page.

7 Ibid., 175.
8 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, trans. and ed. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), bk. XI: chap. 2, 227–33. See also Carruthers' discussion of elementary memory designs and *divisio* throughout *The Book of Memory*, especially on pp. 88–121.
9 The text is translated by Carruthers in *The Book of Memory*, 261–66.
10 "De tribus maximis," in Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 261. 11 Ibid., 262–63.

Another popular mnemonic device, alphabetizing of chapters and units, was already recommended by Aristotle in his *De memoria*.[12] By far the most important tool for memorizing long texts is the compilation of florilegia or distinctiones. Florilegia consist of excerpts and maxims from classical and biblical texts.[13] They were used as a tool to help retrieve material from the memorial archive. The original works on which later collections were modeled are the *Disticha Catonis* and the biblical wisdom books. Later collections often attempted to harmonize biblical and classical material. Florilegia could be organized according to author, subject or alphabet. The alphabet could be further subdivided into, say, three different letter types, or word beginnings.

From the very beginning, the collection of these passages was also considered a tool for memorization. Quintilian says that "this will train their memory, form their style in imitation of the best authors by an unconscious process of absorption, provide an abundant treasure house of vocabulary, patterns of sentence structure, and figurative expressions, and enable them to acquire a happy knack with quotations."[14] Petrarch alluded to the fact that his compilation was memorized by entitling his florilegium *Rerum memorandum libri*.

But the main function of florilegia was to serve as memorial prompt books to help in the preparation of sermons, letters, or any other text you might need to write. Once you had compiled a florilegium, it was simple to retrieve material: all you had to do was check under author, subject, or first letter of a word, while earlier you had to search the whole text to find the correct passage. A famous example, surviving in more than seventeen copies, is the *Florilegium angelicum*, which consists of extracts from ancient and patristic orations and letters. Compiled in France during the second half of the twelfth century, it includes maxims, aphorisms, and sententious statements of universal truth.[15] Often the florilegium would be rearranged by someone. To quote Richard and Mary Rouse, this "was a tacit recognition of the fact that each user of a work will

12 Aristotle, *On Memory*, trans. R. Sorabji (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1972), 31–34; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 29–30; 109–10.

13 The best study on florilegia before the thirteenth century is Birger Munk Olsen's "Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^{e} siècle," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979), 47–112; 10 (1980), 115–64. He lists twenty-six florilegia in thirty-eight manuscripts. The most important are the *Florilegium gallicum* and *Florilegium angelicum*. On the *Florilegium angelicum* see Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary Ames Rouse, "The *Florilegium angelicum*: Its Origin, Content, and Influence," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 66–114; another excellent article is Barry Taylor, "Medieval Proverb Collections: the West European Tradition," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), 19–35. For the later Middle Ages the most important articles are Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 201–25.

14 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, II, VII, 2–4. 15 Rouse and Rouse, "The *Florilegium angelicum*," 88.

bring to it his own preconceived rational order, which may differ from those of other users and from that of the writer himself."[16] The *Florilegium angelicum* was twice rearranged by subject in the middle of the thirteenth century, and then Thomas Ireland reorganized it again in the early fourteenth century in his *Manipulus florum* according to topic and alphabet.[17]

Authors took care to show the various classifications on the page through indentations and the use of different colors and letters. The script, the paragraphs, the chapters, the marginal notes, the glosses, the running titles, the colors, all of this was intended to reinforce the divisions of the text, to make it easier to understand and memorize.

Tonaries

If these classification devices for literary texts were so popular throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages, it makes sense to find out whether some of the same techniques were used by musicians to memorize the text and the melodies of Gregorian chant.

The most obvious items that have been modeled on the florilegia are tonaries. Tonaries are collections by eighth-century Carolingian theorists of an already existing body of liturgical chant according to the eight psalm tones of Gregorian chant. The terminology of the tonaries was transferred from the Oktoechos, which probably came from Jerusalem.[18] At this point, modes were simply an abstract classifying device, while the eight psalm tones refer to melody types with a reciting tone, a range of pitches employed, and a formula (see Table 15.1). Tonaries mainly classify antiphons of the Office, but also Mass responsories, Graduals, Tracts, Alleluias, and sequences. Singers compiled tonaries from the late eighth century to the early sixteenth century, wherever one sang chant: that is, all over Europe.[19]

In order to explain how the classification by mode would have helped singers, let us recall how antiphons were performed. Each antiphon was sung with a psalm, in which each verse was sung to a formula, the "psalm

16 Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 212. 17 Rouse and Rouse, "The *Florilegium angelicum*," 93.
18 The best surveys of the topic are Peter Jeffery, "The Earliest Oktoechoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West. In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. P. Jeffery (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 147–209; Charles M. Atkinson, "Modus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, 1995; Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford University Press, 2009). Atkinson untangles the initial confusion between the terms *tonus*, *modus*, and *tropus*; see also Keith Falconer, "The Modes before the Modes: Antiphon and Differentia in Western Chant," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West*, ed. P. Jeffery (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 131–45.
19 See, for example, Nicolas Wollick, *Enchiridion Musices* (Paris: Jehan Petit and François Regnault, 1512) and Udalrich Burchard, *Hortulus Musices* (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1514). See also Huglo, *Les tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris: Heugel, 1971), 440–41.

Table 15.1 The Carolingian modes and psalm tones

			Range (nominal)	Mode final	Psalm-tone reciting tone
Protus	Authentic	Mode 1	D–d	D	a
	Plagal	Mode 2	A–a	D	F
Deuterus	Authentic	Mode 3	E–e	E	(b) c
	Plagal	Mode 4	B–b	E	a
Tritus	Authentic	Mode 5	F–f	F	c
	Plagal	Mode 6	C–c	F	a
Tetrardus	Authentic	Mode 7	G–g	G	d
	Plagal	Mode 8	D–d	G	c

tone," consisting of two halves. After a short intonation (usually three to four pitches) the psalm tone settled on a reciting pitch, then continued with an internal cadence (the "mediant cadence"). The second half resumed the reciting pitch, and ended with a different cadence ("termination"). To most psalms was appended the short doxology:

> Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.
> Sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper: et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

This was usually treated as two verses, that is, twice through the psalm tone. Each psalm was framed by an antiphon, so that we have the following sequence: antiphon, psalm verse 1,2,3 . . . doxology, antiphon.

Each antiphon had its own independent set of words with its own short melody. Nevertheless, because there were thousands of antiphons, much reuse was made of melodic idioms, and in some cases more or less the same melody was used for a hundred or more texts (in which case the melody is known to scholars as a "model melody," or "melody type"). In the tonaries, each antiphon was placed into one of eight modes, according to the last pitch of the antiphon melody. The mode of the antiphon determined the choice of psalm tone to be used in singing the accompanying psalm.

Each of the eight psalm tones for the eight modal classes of antiphons had its own intonation, reciting pitch, and mediant and final cadences. Of particular importance is the final cadence, the termination (also called *differentia*, *varietas*, *diffinitio*, *divisio*, *figura*, *modus*, *formula*[20]) which had to lead back to the beginning of the antiphon. Antiphons could begin on various pitches aside from the

20 Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 55.

final, therefore the singer could choose from a number of terminations the one that made the best retransition to the antiphon. In the ninth century, the termination was designated by the letters EVOVAE, the vowels of the words *seculorum amen* that concluded the second verse of the *Gloria Patri*.

Graduals and antiphoners list all chants in liturgical order, starting with the first Sunday of Advent. In other words, you would check an antiphoner to find out which piece you would sing on a given day. The most important fact about tonaries is that compilers fundamentally reorganized the chant, substituting the usual liturgical order in favor of a classification by eight modes. How would singers establish the mode of a piece? If chant is notated in diastematic notation, you can determine the mode of the piece by looking at the last note, the final, as well as the other pitch features of the melody.[21] But in neumatic notation you can only determine the mode of the piece if you know it by heart.

So why, then, was chant classified into the eight modes? There is no doubt that tonaries helped the singers to match the antiphon with the correct psalm tone. But it was certainly not the main reason. Let us place ourselves into the role of the cantor: he needed to know the mode of the antiphon if he was supposed to select the correct psalm tone. And yet, if a cantor was using the tonary to find the right psalm tone, he had to know the rule of the reciting pitches and the rule of the final. And in order to find his antiphon in the tonary, he could either search the entire tonary, or, if he remembered to which mode the antiphon was assigned, he could save himself a lot of time by looking immediately in the right group. We can thus conclude that only if the cantor had previously memorized the melody would he have known both the reciting pitch and the mode of the antiphon. In short, it seems that the purpose of the compilation of tonaries was simply to organize the repertory for memorization.

The second step in the hierarchical classification of the tonaries is concerned with the question of how to match the reciting pitch with the antiphon melody. The singer would know the psalm tone from practice and remember that it consisted of an intonation, a reciting pitch, a mediant cadence, reciting tone, and termination. If he performed the antiphon with the psalm, he had to accomplish two things: first, he needed to get from the antiphon to the psalm tone, and second, he had to make a smooth transition from the psalm tone back to the beginning of the antiphon. The first was easy, since the antiphon always ended on the final. The second, however, was more

21 Note, though, that one theorist, Regino of Prüm, classifies the antiphons according to their first note. See his "Epistola de harmonica institutione," ed. M. Bernhard, in *Clavis Gerberti, eine Revision von Martin Gerberts Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum (St. Blasien 1784)* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 37–73. See also Paul Anthony Luke Boncella, "Regino Prumiensis and the Tones," in *Songs of the Dove and the Nightingale, Sacred and Secular Music c. 900–1600*, ed. Greta Mary Hair and Robyn E. Smith (Sydney: Currency Press, 1994), 74–89.

difficult, because the antiphon could begin on a number of different pitches. Thus, the cantor would have to select a termination that would make a good transition to the beginning of the antiphon. This selection called for judgment, since there was no simple rule. We will return to the classification of terminations below.

Just as with the florilegia, there were additional subdivisions after the classification by mode (which was without exception always the first one) and termination. Antiphons may, in turn, be arranged (a) liturgically, (b) alphabetically, (c) according to proximity of the first note to the final, (d) according to similarities of antiphon beginnings, (e) according to the level of complexity (see Figures 15.1a and 1b).

For example, the Metz tonary (Figure 15.1a) which was written around 875, but probably copied from an exemplar made around 830,[22] lists antiphons first by mode, then by termination (here called *diffinitio*), then by liturgical order. But even the liturgical categories are too large, so they get further subdivided according to their first note (the compiler calls these new subdivisions *varietates*). All antiphons which start on D are grouped together, then those which start on C, and so on.[23] Altogether, the compiler lists 1,294 antiphons which are broken down into smaller, more manageable units.

Figure 15.1b shows divisions in a revised version of the Metz tonary, the so-called Reichenau tonary, copied in 1001 and 1006. Now the office antiphons are in addition also arranged alphabetically, which makes memorization much easier. A group which originally consisted of 194 antiphons in the Metz tonary starts now with a group of seventeen beginning with the letter A, which are then, in turn, organized liturgically; next come five beginning with the letter B, etc.[24] These are units that are easy to memorize. Additional classifications of *differentiae* encountered in tonaries are according to similar beginnings and according to the distance of the first note of the antiphon from the final.[25]

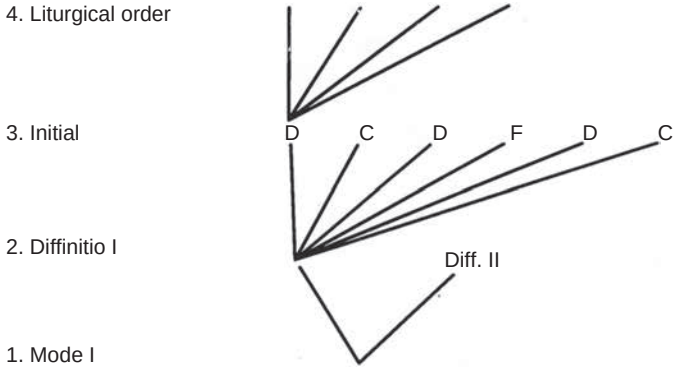
22 For a transciption and detailed discussion see Walther Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965).

23 For a more detailed description see my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 60–67.

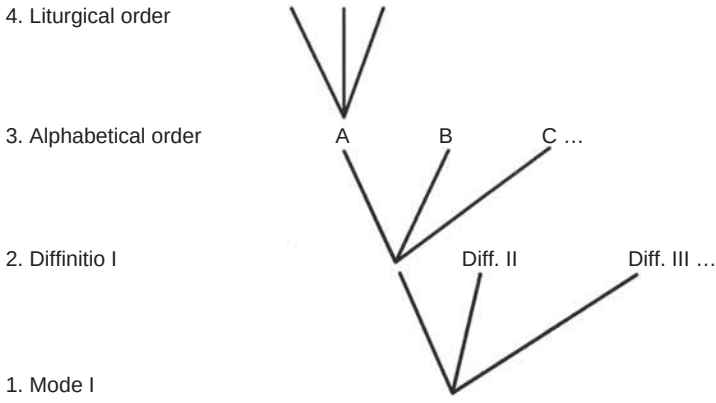
24 Alphabetic organization was particularly popular in Germany. For the most detailed discussion of alphabetic tonaries, see Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires*, 272ff. Other theorists who use alphabetical classification are Berno of Reichenau, *Bern Augiensis tonarius*, in *Die Musiktraktate des Abtes Bern von Reichenau, Edition und Interpretation*, ed. A. Rausch (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1999), 75–115; *Libellus tonarius*, copied ca. 1075, in *Quellen zur Transformation der Antiphonen: Tonar- und Rhythmusstudien*, ed. H. Sowa (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1935); and Frutolfus' versified treatise *Breviarium de musica et tonarius*, ed. P. Cölestin Vivell, in *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 188, 2* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1919), 26–113.

25 Burchard, *Commentum super tonos*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, Divitiae musicae artis collectae, Ser. A, Liber A (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1975); see also Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 129–31. The text was copied in the Auvergne in the early eleventh century. Frutolfus and the *Libellus tonarius* mentioned above also classify according to similar beginnings.

a: Hierarchies of Office antiphons in Metz tonary



b: Hierarchies of Office antiphons in Reichenau tonary



Figures 15.1a and b Hierarchies of Office antiphons, Metz and Reichenau tonaries

In short, we have seen that the classification systems used to memorize chant subdivide a large number of pieces into smaller, more manageable units. This classification is based on analysis of music (mode, starting tone, proximity to final and initial formulas), and text (liturgical and alphabetical order).

As with the florilegia, scribes used mnemonic aides to help memorization. Before the invention of diastematic notation, singers needed a formula which would remind them of the intervallic patterns characteristic of every single mode. Virtually all tonaries, even the ones written with diastematic notation, include a formula of intonation at the top of each modal set of antiphons. The earliest formulas are called *Enechma* or *Noanoeane* syllables and derive from the Byzantine Oktoechos.[26] After 900 formulas with Latin texts were used, where the number in the text always makes a reference to the number of the mode (Examples 15.1 and 15.2). Both kinds of formula were expanded by a *neuma* or melisma as a continuation of the formula which would further reinforce the modal pattern.[27] Until the twelfth century both formulas were used. Nevertheless, the anonymous author of *Dialogus in musica* and Guido of Arezzo disapproved of the Byzantine formulas in favor of the Latin ones already in the eleventh century.[28]

How can we be sure that the tonaries were memorized? Numerous theorists demand that students commit the lists of antiphons in the tonaries to memory. For example, Odo of Arezzo writes: "He who wants to hold the highest position in the teaching of chant in the church, must endeavor to study with the greatest attention the formulas, which I have organized in writing to you to be sung . . . "[29]

Just as with the florilegia, the page layout of the tonaries helps memorize the material. Tonaries are usually notated in two, three, four, or even five columns. Regino of Prüm, for example, highlights new differences through new paragraphs and a change of letters and color.[30] We find the Latin invocation "Primum querite regnum Dei," followed by the *Noanoeane* formula at the top of the left column, followed by the first differentia and a list of the antiphons for this differentia. Margins are used to highlight memorable points, such as the ambitus of an antiphon,[31] or the mode, or the differentia.[32] Similarly, there are various representations that help students memorize the eight modes and their

26 For a detailed discussion of these formulas see Terence Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974).

27 Ibid., 32 and 60–77.

28 Michel Huglo, "L'auteur du Dialogue sur la Musique attribué à Odon," *Revue de Musicologie* 55 (1969), 119–71 at 168.

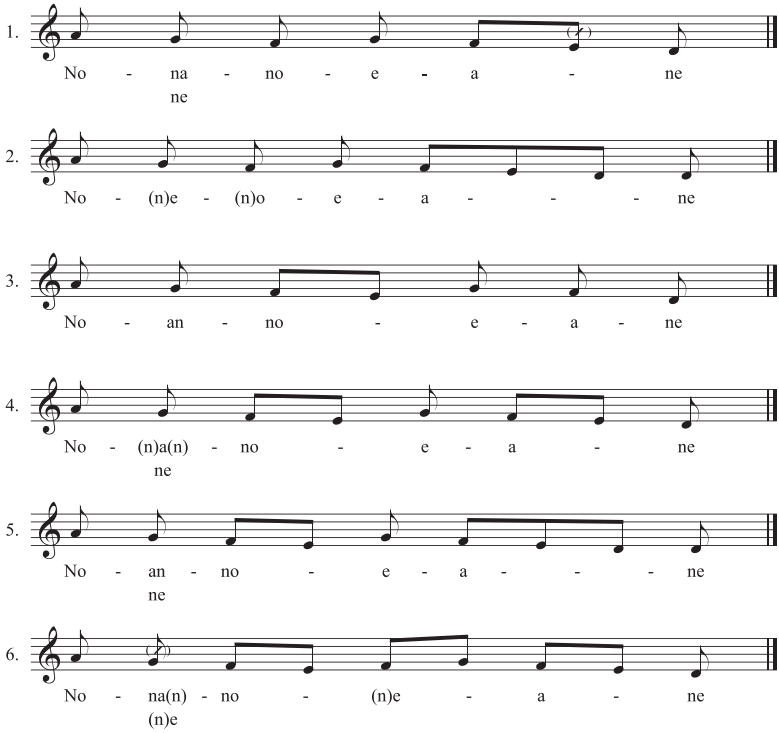
29 Odo of Arezzo, *Tonarius*, GS, 1: 248–50 at 248A. For more on Odo, see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 185–205, 214, and 222. For more references by theorists on memorization of tonaries, see my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 73–74.

30 Ibid., 76 for a reproduction.

31 See, for example, the Dijon tonary, which gives the range and also indicates in the margins whether B or B-flat is used. See also Heinrich Sowa, *Quellen zur Transformation der Antiphonen: Tonar- und Rhythmusstudien* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1935).

32 See, for example, Hugo Spechtshart von Reutlingen, *Flores musicae* [1332–42], ed. K. W. Gümpel, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1958 (Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften; Steiner, 1958), 51–177.

Example 15.1 Intonation formulas for Mode 1 from Terence Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio brevis*, 48



patterns. For example, Pseudo-Odo and Guido include a diagram to explain the affinities among the finals (see Figure 15.2). Upon looking at the graph the student will remember that modes 1 and 2 share the final D.[33]

We have been able to reconstruct the method with which singers managed to memorize thousands of melodies. Chant was first memorized by rote. However, simple memorization was not enough. Singers needed to be able to retrieve the material quickly. Therefore various tools were developed which allowed them to organize and locate the chant quickly. Tonaries share many features with florilegia: both classify previously memorized texts used on a daily basis. Both employ several hierarchical classification systems, and in both cases the subdivisions, especially the alphabetical one, helped find items quickly. In addition, it seems that the very process of compiling a tonary or florilegium helped in the process of memorization.

33 For other mnemonic graphs in tonaries see my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 74–77.

Example 15.2 Latin intonation formulas, from Terence Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio brevis*, 81–90, from Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, msc. lit. 5

a) Mode 1: Primum querite regnum dei



b) Mode 2: Secundum autem simile est huic



c) Mode 3: Tertia dies est quod hec facta sunt



d) Mode 4: Quarta vigilia venit ad eos



e) Mode 5: Quinque prudentes intraverunt ad nuptias



f) Mode 6: Sexta hora sedit super puteum



g) Mode 7: Septem sunt spiritus ante thronum dei



h) Mode 8: Octo sunt beatitudines



VII I III V I III V VII I III V I III V VII I

Γ A B C D E F G a b c d e f g aa

VIII II IV VI II IV VI VIII II IV VI II IV VI VIII II^{i}

Figure 15.2 Pseudo-Odo and Guido, affinities between the finals

The classification of the antiphons into modes had another major advantage, especially before the invention of the staff: you cannot identify a melody by neumes alone. Yet, a neumated melody which is assigned to a particular mode would remind the singer of how the melody goes.

Basic Music Theory

In addition to chant, students learned basic music theory, that is, the musical gamut, the intervals, the solmization syllables, and the hexachord.[34] By far the most important tool to learn the intervals of the musical gamut was the hand.[35] There are two ways to represent the gamut: the *scala* (Figure 15.3) and the hand (Figure 15.4). In both figures we find twenty *loca* or places; in the *scala* the numbers are notated in the right column of the graph; the places or pitches are additionally divided into clefs (*claves*, the name of the *clavis* is in the first column on the left in the half-circles). In the hand, the lowest place Γ is put on the tip of the thumb; then the places move down, continue through the middle of the hand on all four fingers, then move to the top of the small finger and continue counter-clockwise in spiral motion. The highest step, ee, is placed on the back of the middle finger because there is no room left on the inside. The places are also called by the hexachordal syllables (*voces*) ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, which are arranged in the interval pattern whole tone (T), whole tone (T), semitone (S), whole tone (T), whole tone (T). The gamut is divided into seven hexachords: the hard low (*durum grave*) from Gamma ut to E, the natural low (*natura gravis*) from C to a, the soft low (*b molle grave*) from F to d, the hard high (*durum acutum*) from G to e, the natural high (*natura acuta*) from c to a', the soft high (*b molle acutum*) from f to d', and hard very high (*durum superacutum*) from g to e'. Note that some places include only one solmization syllable; others might contain as many as three.

Guido of Arezzo described the hexachord from C to a in his *Epistola de ignoto cantu* as a revolutionary teaching device.[36] The fully developed gamut took years to develop. Why did Guido think his hexachord was such

34 See Smits van Waesberghe's *Musikerziehung* and my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, ch. 3.

35 For the clearest explanation of the hand and the *scala*, see Johannes Tinctoris, *Expositio manus*, in *Opera theoretica* vol. 1, ed. A. Seay, CSM 22 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), 31–57; for the use of the hand in the singing of polyphony see Philippe Canguilhem, "Main mémorielle et invention musicale à la Renaissance," in *Memory and Invention: Medieval and Renaissance Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A. M. Busse Berger and M. Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 2009), 81–98; for a recent volume on different usages of the hand see Claire Richter Sherman, *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, 2000); see also Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 120–21.

36 *Guido D'Arezzo's Regule rithmice, Prologus in antiphonarium* and *Epistola ad Michahelem: A Critical Text and Translation with an Introduction, Annotations, Indices, and New Manuscipt Inventories*, ed. D. Pesce (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999).



Figure 15.3 *Scala musicalis* from Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek 70, fol. 108r

a breakthrough? Students were confused about the different interval patterns in the various modes, and Guido was able to show that authentic and plagal modes share some of the same interval patterns: for example, modes 1 and 2 have the same pattern from D to a, modes 3 and 4 from E to b, and

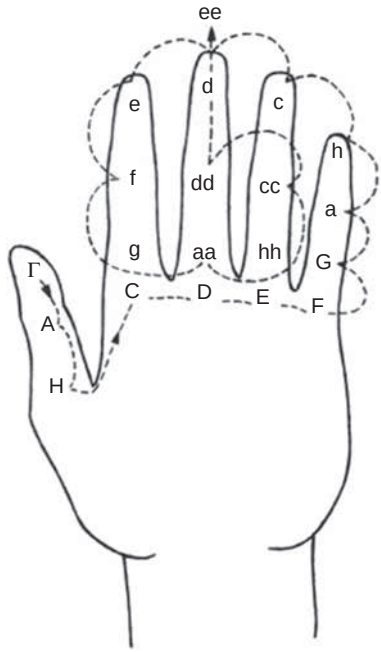


Figure 15.4 Diagram of the hand, from Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 124. (In this diagram, the notes B, b, and bb are rendered as H, h, and hh, according to the German tradition)

modes 5 and 6 from F to c (he calls these affinities).[37] Then he demonstrated that all modes use the same pattern TTSTT, though the final and cofinal might be placed at different places within the hexachord (see Figure 15.5).

The first phrase of his melody "Ut queant laxis" begins with the note C and the syllable *ut*, the second with D and the syllable *re*, the third with E and *mi*, etc. Once the student had committed the melody to memory he would be able to notate any unwritten melody by matching the order of the tones and semitones to the first pitches of the phrases of "Ut queant laxis."[38] In addition, he could write down any new melody. In short, the addition of the hexachord syllables allowed the singer to easily orient himself throughout the entire gamut.[39]

37 *Guido Aretini Micrologus*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, CSM 4 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955), 117–19.
38 "Epistle Concerning an Unknown Chant," trans. Oliver Strunk, rev. James McKinnon, in *SR*, 217.
39 On the gradual evolution of the gamut in the Middle Ages, see Richard Crocker, "Hermann's Major Sixth," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972), 19–37; Karol Berger, "The Hand and the Art

Modes 1 and 2: D E F G a

t s t t

Modes 3 and 4: E F G a b

s t t t

Modes 5 and 6: F G a b c

t t t s

Figure 15.5 Interval patterns in modes

Karol Berger has shown in his study "The Hand and the Art of Memory" that musicians used the basic tools of the ancient art of memory to visually represent the pitches they could hear and sing.[40] The basic principles of the art are simple: the student would visualize a structure, say, a building with many rooms, which is called the background grid. The structure is, in turn, divided into places (*loca*). If one wants to memorize a speech, one attaches images for every section of the speech to each of the places in the structure or building. It is important that one always traverses the structure or background grid in the same order. If one wants to deliver the speech, one can then easily wander from room to room and collect the images which in turn trigger the memory of respective sections of the oration. From the very beginning, the background grid is associated with wax tablets on which one can write and erase, in order to notate a new text. In other words, the background grid remains fixed, while the images can be erased and replaced with new words.

If we apply these mnemonic principles to the hand and *scala*, the order of the pitches was fixed by means of the background grid of "places" provided either by the fingertips and joints of the open left hand or by the lines and spaces of the *scala*, with each place marked by a different letter-name. The specific intervals between the adjacent places, whether whole tones or semitones, were indicated by the syllables located within the places. The hand

of Memory," *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981), 85–120; for an updated, but shorter and less detailed summary, see Berger's "The Guidonian Hand," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. M. Carruthers and J. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 71–82; A. M. Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, ch. 3; Stefano Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

40 Berger, "The Hand and the Art of Memory."

or *scala* with its clefs and syllables was the mnemonic tool for imagining the tonal system. In addition, the staff without clef, key signatures, and notes functions as a background grid which can be filled with different notes.[41] In fact, the staff shares many similarities with the ladder diagram, another important mnemonic graph.[42]

Another popular method for teaching students music theory involves didactic songs. Guido's "Ut queant laxis" falls into this category. In the eleventh century, many more didactic songs begin to appear in manuscripts, such as the interval songs "Et voces unisonas aequat" and "Ter tria cunctorum," which go through all important intervals.[43] Another popular interval song, "Diapente et diatessaron simphonie," appears in more than thirty theoretical and practical sources, among them the so-called "Cambridge Songs," an eleventh-century manuscript in Cambridge, University Library, Manuscript Gg. V. 35 (Cat. 1567).[44]

Equally popular were mnemonic poems found in many medieval and Renaissance treatises. Many are incomprehensible to us without explanation, such as this one:

> Pri re la, se re fa, ter mi fa, quart quoque mi la,
> Quin fa fa, sext fa la, sep ut sol, oc tenet ut fa.

Since the poem is found in a treatise by Guilielmus Monachus in a section which discusses tonaries, the solmization syllables must refer to the steps of the final and reciting tone and can be translated as follows:

41 See Giovanni Battista Della Porta, *L'arte del ricordare* (Naples: Marco Antonio Passaro, 1566), c.B3v. See also my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 91–94.

42 Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 180f. See especially her discussion of Ramon Lull. In *The Book of Memory*, Carruthers includes several references to ladder diagrams and a detailed description of Noah's Ark which uses ladders (236–39).

43 "E voces unisonas" is reproduced in J. Smits van Waesberghe, *School en muziek in de Middeleeuwen*, 87. It is transmitted in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (*A-Wn*), Musiksammlung 51 and 2502; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (*D-LEu*) 371; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*D-Mbs*) clm 14965 and clm 9921; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek (*D-KA*) 504. For a facsimile of the song see Smits van and the Art of Memory Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 77.

For more information on these songs, see my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 94–98. For a facsimile of a simplified version of "Ter tria cunctorum," called "Ter terni sunt modi,"see Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 77. There has recently been renewed interest in the topic. See Charles M. Atkinson, "The Other *Modus*: On the Theory and Practice of the Intervals in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West*, ed. P. Jeffery (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 233–56; Michael Bernhard, "Didaktische Verse zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters," in *Cantus Planus* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences/Institute for Musicology, 1990), 227–36; Michael Bernhard, "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter," in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* 3, ed. F. Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 37–103; for earlier excellent discussions of the topic see Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung* and *School en Muziek in de Middeleeuwen*; for a recent article on didactic song in Italy, see Michael Long, "Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61 (2008), 253–306.

44 For a recent discussion of musical references in the "Cambridge Songs" see Atkinson, "The Other *Modus*," 245–56. For the most recent edition and translation, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Cambridge Songs, Carmina Cantabrigiensi* (New York: Garland, 1994).

> The first are d and a, the second d and f, the third e and c [on the hard hexachord], the fourth e and a, the fifth f and c [on the hard hexachord], the sixth f and a, the seventh g and d [hard hexachord], the eighth g and c [hard hexachord].

Putting material into verse was altogether one of the most important methods for committing any kind of material to memory. Approximately one-half of the music theory treatises written between the ninth and the sixteenth century were written in verse.[45] Similarly, mnemonic graphs were extremely common throughout in all fields in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[46] For example, a lion from a tenth-century manuscript now in the British Library (Figure 15.6) visualizes the six consonances by connecting them to different body parts: the fourth (mouth), fifth (first front foot), octave (second front foot), octave and fourth (first back foot), octave and fifth (second back foot), and double octave (tail).

Counterpoint

After the students had memorized chant and mastered elementary music theory, some went on to learn to sing organum (pieces with a plainchant tenor in sustained notes against a melismatic upper voice or voices) and discant (note-against-note counterpoint). Both could be either improvised or written down.

As we have seen earlier, instruction in the Middle Ages relied to a large extent on memorization.[47] For example, teaching of grammar began with committing to memory nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and their declensions, followed by verbs and their conjugations. Next students would combine nouns with adjectives and verbs; they would do this repeatedly until every

45 J. Smits van Waesberghe, "Einige Regeln der lateinischen rhythmischen Prosa in mittelalterlichen Traktaten," in *Musica scientiae collectanea, Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Hüschen (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1973), 577–89. See also his *Musikerziehung* and his *School en Muziek in de Middeleeuwen*, 161–63. See also Bernhard, "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter," 47–48, 64, 79–80; F. Alberto Gallo, "La tradizione orale della teoria musicale nel medioevo," in *L'etnomusicologia in Italia*, ed. D. Carpitella (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1975), 161–66; Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 98–102.

46 See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 150–51 and 248–57; and *The Craft of Thought*, 140–42. For a recent article on mnemonic graphs in music in the Renaissance, see Stefano Lorenzetti, "'Arboream inspicias figuram,' Figure e luoghi di memoria nel pensiero e nella practica musicale tra Cinque e Seicento," in *Memory and Invention: Medieval and Renaissance Literature, Art and Music*, ed. A. M. Busse Berger and M. Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 2009), 99–150.

47 See my *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 115–18; Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Warren van Egmond, "The Commercial Revolution and the Beginnings of Western Mathematics in Renaissance Florence, 1300–1500" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1976).



Figure 15.6 Lion with intervals, London, British Library, Harley 2637, fol. 40v

possible combination was memorized. After this, passages from the Bible and Latin authors were committed to memory and organized into florilegia. When students finally starting creating their own texts, they were not expected to be original, but rather combine these memorized sentences in

ever new ways. As a result of all this memorization students could write beautiful Latin.

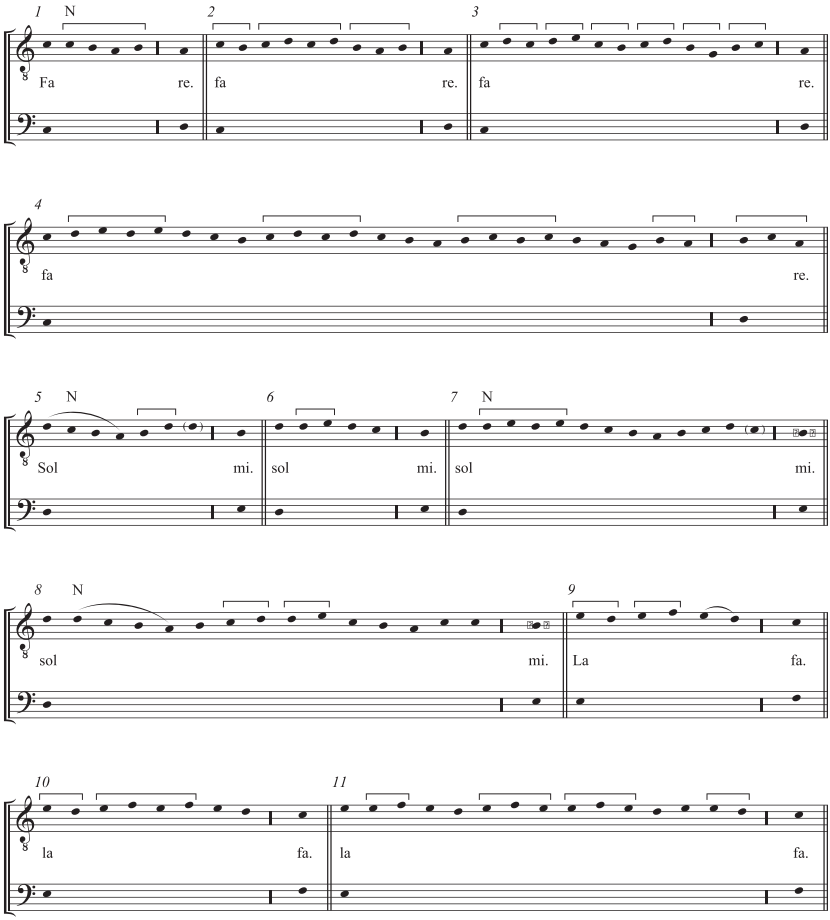
Also organum instruction relied to a large extent on memorized interval progressions combined with melodic formulas. We are fortunate to have a text, the so-called Vatican organum treatise, copied in Paris in the early thirteenth century, which documents step-by-step how singers learned to sing and compose polyphony.[48] The text consists of four sections: a short theoretical tract, melismas combined with tenor progressions, melismas without tenor progressions, and three complete organum settings where many of the previously notated melismas reappear. The first section lists the allowed consonances as octave, fourth, and fifth. For us, the second and third sections are most interesting, since they include altogether 343 melismas. Let us look at Example 15.3, which the author calls "first rule." He lists four alternative formulas for the tenor progression c–d: "If the chant ascends by a second and the organum begins at the octave, let the organum descend by a third, and it will arrive at a fifth."[49] We can see that the formulas become increasingly complex. In the rest of part 2, he goes systematically through all tenor progressions a singer might encounter and suggests again possible melismas for them. This is followed by formulas for repeated tenor notes (examples 213–23), and finally melismas without tenor progressions (examples 277–343).

The "rules" are not rules in the modern sense of the word, rather they classify interval progression with their formulas: rule 1 comprises examples for a stepwise ascending tenor progression combined with an organum part that descends from the octave to the third, rule 2 melismas for an ascending major third in the tenor and an organum part that begins at the octave and descends a second, forming a consonant fifth with the tenor. Even the melismas in the third section are strictly classified, for example, the first group of melismas presents all possible ascending seconds in the G hexachord between the first and the last note (Example 15.4). Then the scribe goes similarly through the remaining intervals.

What can we conclude from these examples? First, the underlying note-against-note counterpoint is central to all progressions. All the rules say something like this: if the chant ascends or descends by a given interval, and the duplum is at a given consonance above it, it (the duplum) should descend or ascend by a specific interval, so that it can find itself making a specific

48 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 3025. The best article on the Vatican organum treatise is by Stephen Immel, "The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-Examined," *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 121–72.
49 "Si cantus ascenderit duas voces et organum incipiat in dupla, descendat organum 3 voces et erit in quinta . . . ," in "The Vatican Organum Treatise: A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation," ed. I. Godt and B. Rivera, in *Gordon Athol Anderson, in Memoriam*, vol. II (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 264–345 at 264; 299.

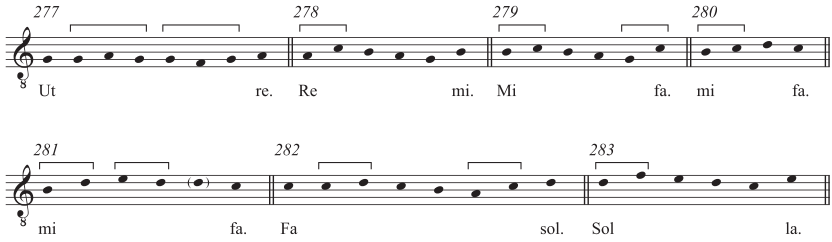
Example 15.3 Rule for consonances above an ascending step, "Vatican Organum Treatise," ed. Godt and Rivera, 299



consonance with the chant. Secondly, we can observe that musicians believed there were alternative ways to realize the duplum from the first to the second vertical consonance. These alternative ways are, precisely, our melodic formulas. What we then have is a two-stage compositional process: stage one, where one would decide which vertical consonance to choose for the next chant note; and stage two, where one would pick one of the suitable organal formulas.

Stephen Immel has shown that the formulas of the Vatican organum treatise are closely related to those encountered in the *Magnus liber organi*. Anyone who had memorized these formulas could easily improvise or compose organum

Example 15.4 Melismas filling in ascending steps in the G hexachord, "Vatican Organum Treatise," 338



duplum. In fact, the treatise illustrates the coexistence of orality and literacy in the thirteenth century like few other texts. The author must have studied some notated versions of the Notre Dame repertoire at length before he could arrive at his classification of formulas. And yet, when we compare this text to grammars of the period, we notice that it is similarly structured, progression from small to larger units which are eventually combined into entire pieces. Both only make sense as texts that were intended to be memorized. In fact, the three compositions at the end of the Vatican treatise consist of many of the formulas previously listed. In short, a student who learned how to sing polyphony with the help of this treatise would have all possible melismas at the tips of his fingers for every interval progression he would encounter. And he could therefore either improvise or write down polyphony.

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· 16 ·

Music in Drama

DAVID KLAUSNER

Let us begin with a fable.

> Many centuries after the demise of the late Roman theatre, the mimetic aspects of the Mass (especially the celebration of the Eucharist) provided the seed from which drama grew within the liturgy. As these liturgical dramas became ever larger and longer, they outgrew the confines of the Mass and became separate entities, performed outside of the context of the liturgy. Eventually, they became too large and too expensive for the Church, and moved outside its walls to be performed at the west door, and their production began to fall under the supervision of municipal authorities and trade guilds rather than the Church. This secularization led to a move away from biblical and liturgical subject matter towards more secular themes.

As an explanation of the process by which a dramatic seed in the liturgy may have led in a linear and evolutionary fashion to the plays of Shakespeare, this story is neat and understandable. It is also nonsense. Just about every aspect of it is either a gross over-simplification, or is simply wrong. It was, however, the dominant understanding of the development of drama at least to the middle of the twentieth century, and can still be found in anthologies and summaries of the field.[1] Although there certainly was a process of development in the drama of the Middle Ages, it was neither linear nor evolutionary, and a recognition of this fact is important to an understanding of the use of music in drama as well. A few facts then: the Roman theatre persisted, though in a debased form, considerably longer in the early Middle Ages than was once thought.[2] Professional entertainers in a variety of modes – tumbling, juggling, dancing – frequented the medieval countryside, and their performances had a profound influence on the development of drama. Dialogues like the thirteenth-century "Interludium de clerico et puella" may well have figured in their repertoires, and semi-dramatic monologues and dialogues like the *pastourelle* lie behind such plays as Adam de la

1 Evolutionary assumptions lie behind such seminal works as E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1903).
2 Donalee Dox, *The Idea of the Theater in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 11–42.

Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Dance songs like "Al'entrada del tens clar" may very well have had a mimetic aspect to their performance.[3]

Although writers frequently described the Mass in terms of a tragic drama, the idea that medieval drama as a whole derived from the liturgy cannot be upheld.[4] Even drama within the liturgy did not "grow" in an evolutionary sense; many of the earliest liturgical dramas are also the most complex, while many of the late examples (from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) are very simple and short. Nor were the liturgical dramas exiled from the church buildings: in many places they continued to be performed in their liturgical context well into the sixteenth century and beyond. The biblical dramas that developed in municipal contexts in the later fourteenth century did not develop out of the liturgical and semi-liturgical dramas, but represent a parallel course; nor do they demonstrate an increasing secularization of the drama, a process already visible in many of the Church dramas performed outside the liturgy. Finally, the secular drama in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries developed in parallel to, not out of, a thriving tradition of sacred and biblical drama. These few facts will allow us to consider the use of music in early drama in the context of a more nuanced understanding of its history.

A second set of facts applies more specifically to music in drama. These are: in spoken-word drama music is never simply decorative, but always functional and representative. Conversely, in drama which is entirely sung the music is generally decorative rather than representative. There are occasional exceptions to both these rules, but they will significantly inform our discussion of the music. It is also worth noting that until the late 1950s the prevailing scholarly opinion was that the use of music in medieval drama was entirely decorative.[5] As we shall see, such a conclusion is not borne out by the plays themselves.

Terminology

Writers and scribes used a bewildering variety of terms to describe mimetic performance in the Middle Ages, most of them overlapping extensively:

3 The music can be found in the *NG2* article "Ballade" (vol. 11: 551); the text is in Karl Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale* (1904), 6th ed., ed. E. Koschwitz (Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), 122.

4 The best-known example of such a description is in the *Gemma anime* of Honorius of Autun (ca. 1100) who describes the celebrant priest as representing "by his gestures in the theatre of the Church before the Christian people the struggle of Christ . . ." Quoted from O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 39.

5 This view was first challenged by John Stevens in his 1959 lecture to the Royal Musical Association: "Music in Medieval Drama," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 84 (1958), 81–95. The fullest study of the representative use of music in English drama is Richard Rastall, *The Heavens Singing: Music in Early English Religious Drama* 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993) and *Minstrels Playing: Music in Early English Religious Drama* 11 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

festum, *ludus*, *miraculum*, *misterium*, *officium*, *ordo*, *representatio*. Generally, the last three indicate Latin liturgical dramas, although none is used with sufficient clarity to allow certainty without reference to the text itself. Similarly, the terminology for performers (*histrio*, *joculator*, *lusor*, *mimus*, *menestrallus*) is never clear enough to indicate what a person is actually doing (actor, singer, musician, juggler, etc.) without further documentary information.[6] It has become customary to use "mystery" to indicate plays based on scriptural history, "miracle" to refer to plays based on saints' lives, and "morality" to describe plays which describe a representative human figure's fall and redemption, but this (while convenient) does not mirror the medieval usage.

Drama in the Liturgy

The music of liturgical drama is itself liturgical, derived from the long-standing patterns of liturgical chant. Like the chant, it is not symbolic or representative, but is an ornamentation or embellishment of the words of the sacred texts. There is substantial scholarly disagreement over the extent to which mimetic ceremonies within the liturgy, such as the well-known "Quem quaeritis" tropes or even the Eucharist itself, should be considered as drama. C. Clifford Flanigan pointed out the substantial differences in the relationship between spectators and performance in liturgy as opposed to drama and suggested that the devotional aspect of liturgical mimesis would be better described as "ritual" rather than "drama": "Strictly speaking there are no audiences for rituals, since the entire congregation participates in them, whereas 'the arts' are marked by some sort of division between audience and performers."[7] This is not to say that liturgical music is without function. As David Hiley puts it, "Its function is to add solemnity to Christian worship. Liturgical texts which are sung, whether chanted on a monotone or to a highly melismatic melody, are more solemn, inspiring, and impressive, and a more worthy vehicle for human prayer and praise of God, than spoken words."[8] There is no evidence that the performance practice for such liturgical

6 Abigail Young, "Plays and Players: the Latin Terms for Performance," *REED Newsletter* 9/2 (1984), 56–62 and 10/1 (1985), 9–16.

7 Clifford Flanigan, "Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: *Visitatio Sepulchri* as Paradigm," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1993), 9–35, 10. Also Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual, and the Question of 'Liturgical Drama,'" in *Sapientia et Eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 163–201. See also Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 308–71.

8 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.

ceremonies would be in any way different from that of the rest of the liturgy. These dramas are not "theatrical" in any sense of the word although they involve mimetic action; terms like "stage," "play," "stage direction," "costume," or "props" are thus anachronistic and inappropriate. As if emphasizing the liturgical drama's separation from the theatre, a *Visitatio sepulchri* from Essen, Germany, notes in its initial rubric that the angels at the tomb are allowed to sing from the book ("et habeant librum, in quo contineatur cantus") if they have failed to memorize it and there is sufficient light.[9]

A considerable number of such troped ceremonies survive from all regions of western Europe.[10] Most common were the two forms of "Quem quaeritis" ("Whom do you seek?"). The Easter trope, normally performed following the third responsory of the Easter Matins service, was the earliest, with examples dating from the tenth century. Karl Young, in his compilation of the texts of liturgical dramas, identified three versions of the service: a simple and primary version in which the three Marys (that is, Mary Salome, Mary Jacobi, and Mary Magdalene, as described in Mark 16:1) approach Jesus' tomb where they are told by an angel that he is risen, followed by the Marys' announcement of the Resurrection to the congregation. That is the full content of this simplest version of the trope. A second, more elaborate version of the ceremony may include the three Marys' visit to an ointment seller and Peter and John's dash to the tomb, while the third and most complex version adds the risen Christ and the Harrowing of Hell.[11]

A second group of "Quem quaeritis" tropes provides a Christmas narrative parallel to the simple Easter version, with the three kings (*Officium stelle*) or three shepherds (*Officium pastorum*) approaching the manger where the Nativity is announced by an angel and then conveyed by the kings/shepherds to the congregation. A number of other mimetic ceremonies are found in local liturgical usages, among them a service for the dedication of a church in which a cleric hidden within the closed church asks the scriptural question "Who is this king of glory?" before opening the

9 Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1933, repr. 1967), vol. I: 333.

10 The primary source for the surviving tropes is Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, though a number of important texts have surfaced since Young's day. Young prints the texts only, without the music. A more extensive collection of the Easter dramas can be found in Walter Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 6 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975–81). The liturgical dramas of England and northern France are surveyed by Susan Rankin, "The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and in England" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1981). A list of manuscript sources is provided by William Smoldon, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), appendix.

11 Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. I: 239–40. Further research has added considerably to the 400-plus examples described by Young.

church door to the text of Psalm 23:7–8, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and the king of glory shall come in."[12]

Other liturgical ceremonies also gave rise to dramatic tropes: the Procession of the Prophets (*Ordo prophetarum*) and the related Song of the Sibyl, both of which prophesy the birth of Christ, found a place in the Christmas Matins service, while both the burial of Christ (*Depositio crucis*) and his Resurrection (*Elevatio crucis*) frequently formed a part of the Easter liturgy. Palm Sunday services, particularly in Germany, occasionally involved a Christ-figure riding an ass. The Feast of the Holy Innocents was sometimes embellished with Rachel's lament, an *Ordo Rachelis*. Chants from other sources in the liturgy were frequently used for the troped material, usually (though not always) with their traditional musical settings. The most elaborate of the surviving dramas are the large Passion plays, whose length and complexity remove them from strictly liturgical performance. Two of these survive in the "Carmina Burana" manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660 [*D-Mbs* clm 4660]); one of these includes a dance song in German for Mary Magdalene as she puts on her make-up, removing the drama still further from a liturgical context. The manuscript also contains an elaborate Christmas play, including the procession of the prophets and the song of the Sibyl.

In some locations, the principal feasts of the Virgin Mary were celebrated dramatically: plays for the Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption survive, though not all of them include musical notation. The most elaborate of these is the play written for the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin (21 November) by the late fourteenth-century soldier and diplomat Philippe de Mézières, which includes extensive direction for two instrumental musicians. The instruments they play are not specified, but the rubric that they play both music "cum instrumentis pulsantes" (bells) and music to lead a procession may imply the use of both soft and loud instruments.[13] Though it lacks the indications of instrumental music, the well-known *Play of Daniel* from Beauvais also includes extensive rubrication indicating the way in which passages are to be sung.[14]

For the most part, liturgical dramas used only the pre-existing locations and furniture of the church, utilized symbolically in the same way that ecclesiastical vestments were used symbolically for the performers.

12 Nancy Spatz, "Church Porches and the Liturgy," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 327–67 at 347–50.

13 William Coleman, ed., *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 11 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 85.

14 D. H. Ogden, ed. *The Play of Daniel: Critical Essays, with a Transcription of the Music by A. Marcel J. Zijlstra* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996).

One significant exception was the common provision of an Easter sepulchre in the church, of which several English examples in stone survive. A representation of the shrouded body of Christ could be placed in it on Good Friday, its absence to be revealed on Easter Sunday.[15]

Uniform in these mimetic rituals within the liturgy is the use of music as decorative ornament, rather than for a specific functional purpose. For the most part, this conceptualization of music continues in sung drama outside the liturgy, such as the large church dramas of the Beauvais (London, British Library, Egerton 2615 [*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615]) and Fleury (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 201 [*F-O* 201]) manuscripts, as well as the small repertoire of fully sung secular dramas, like Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*.[16] Whether its style is based on chant (as with the church dramas) or on a courtly parody of an imagined folk style (as with Adam), the music in which the characters in these plays speak and converse is essentially an ornamentation of their conversation and does not fulfill a dramatic function.

Planctus and Sponsus

Closely related to the liturgical drama, although itself extra-liturgical, was the lament of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the Cross. This lament, known in Germany, where it was especially popular, as "Marienklage," was sung below the crucifix on Good Friday. At least fifty examples survive, closely related to each other, and broadly melismatic in form. The planctus was sometimes incorporated into a Passion play. Examples are also found in northern Italy and France; the Fleury "Play of the Innocents" includes a complex planctus for Rachel, clearly related melodically to other laments.[17]

A *Sponsus* play from eleventh-century St. Martial (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1139 [*F-Pn* lat. 1139]) tells the story of the wise and foolish virgins (Matthew 25:1–13). It has no connection with the liturgy, and its music utilizes four melodies which do not appear to be chant-based.[18]

15 Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987).

16 Jacques Chailley, ed., *Le Jeu du Robin et Marion* (Paris: Choudens, 1986). The Beauvais manuscript (Great Britain, British Library, Egerton 2615) contains the well-known *Ludus Danielis*; the Fleury playbook (*F-O* 201) preserves ten plays, including the *Ordo ad representandum Herodem*, and the St. Nicholas play *Filius Getronis*.

17 Walther Lipphardt, "Marienklage und Liturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1932), 198–205; Lipphardt, "Studien zu den Marienklagen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 58 (1934), 390–444; Solange Corbin, *La déposition liturgique du Christ au Vendredi Saint: Sa place dans l'histoire des rites et du théâtre religieux* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960).

18 d'A. S. Avalle and R. Monterosso, eds., *Sponsus: dramma delle vergini prudenti e delle vergini stolte* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1965).

Spoken-Word Drama

The situation is essentially reversed in the case of plays based on the spoken word, in which music is both representational and functional. Behind the provision of music in the (predominately biblical) drama of the later Middle Ages lie two fundamental representations: vocal music, with a number of significant exceptions, represents Heaven, divine order, or mankind's aspirations to such order. Instrumental music, in contrast, is worldly and represents earthly power, corruption, or sinfulness. So appearances of angels or divine figures such as Gabriel are often accompanied by singing. The angels who accompany Mary in her descent to earth and her return to Heaven at the conclusion of each of the fourteenth-century "Miracles de Nostre Dame" sing a rondeau, while the angels who accompany Mary on her ascent in the York *Assumption* play sing one of the few examples of music surviving in the manuscripts of the English biblical plays.[19] The angels who announce Christ's birth to the shepherds sing "Gloria in excelsis," and the shepherds' unsuccessful attempt in the Chester play to repeat their song is a gentle reminder of the fallen state of mankind.[20]

Conversely, instrumental music is representative of the world, especially of earthly power and corruption. So the appearance of a king or other figure of power will often carry with it a textual indication for music of shawms or trumpets. Herod, in the N-Town Play, celebrates the supposed death of Christ in the slaughter of the Innocents:

> þerfore, menstrell, rownd abowte,
> Blowe up a mery fytt![21]

In the moral interlude *Wisdom* the three powers of the soul, Mind, Will, and Understanding, are corrupted by Lucifer. In their corrupted state, each leads a dance of his followers; the corrupted state of Mind is Maintenance, a use of illegal power to circumvent the law, and Maintenance's dance is accompanied by trumpets as a representation of this corruption. The dances of Mind's companions are accompanied by instruments of lower social status, indicating the more debauched corruption into which they have fallen. Understanding (now become Perjury) leads a dance to a bagpipe, and Will (now Lechery)

19 Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, eds., *Parisian Confraternity Drama of the Fourteenth Century: The Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Richard Beadle, ed., *The York Plays* (Oxford University Press, 1982), 465–74.

20 Robert M. Lumiansky and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society Supplementary Series 3–4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), vol. 1: 141–45.

21 Stephen Spector, ed., *The N-Town Plays*, Early English Text Society Supplementary Series 11–12, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1991), vol. 1: 195, ll. 231–32.

dances to a hornpipe, a wind instrument made of animal horn and thus debased in comparison to the human voice.[22]

There are, of course, exceptions to the use of voices to represent Heaven and order, and in general these indicate an explicit perversion of divine order and its reflection in human life. So the three powers in *Wisdom* who, under Lucifers' guidance, change from cloistered monastic figures to gallants, demonstrate their new-found secular attitudes by singing a three-men's song. The song itself does not survive with the playtext, but their description of it strongly suggests that it would have been bawdy in nature. Even more clearly, the perversion of the world's order is signified in the moral interlude *Mankind* by the three vices, New Guise, Nowadays, and Nought, who seduce the audience into joining them in singing a "Crystemes songe" (l. 332), which – as the audience quickly discovers – turns out to be both obscene and blasphemous. In the *Mystère de Sainte Barbe* the Devil calls for a song: "Disons present une chanczon/ Non pas en melodïeux ton."[23]

In addition to its representational aspect, music in drama is also characterized by its function. A function may be dramatic in nature, telling the audience something about the character, as when Mary Magdalene sings a love song in German (the rest of the play is in Latin) in the Passion play from the abbey of Benediktbeuern.[24] The two surviving songs from the Coventry *Shearmen and Tailors' Pageant* give voice to the light-hearted joy of the shepherds who witness the Nativity, as well as to the grief of the mothers whose children are slaughtered by Herod. Functions are often structural in nature. Entries of important (worldly) characters may be heralded by trumpets or shawms; so the Frankfurt *Dirigierrolle* of the mid-fourteenth century begins "Primo igitur persone ad loca sua cum instrumentis musicalibus et clangore tubarum sollempniter deducantur."[25] Perhaps most frequently, music is used to link scenes which take place at different points in the playing space. The angelic singing which accompanies Mary's descent (and return) in the "Miracles de Nostre Dame" has already been noted; similarly, the entries and exits of Anima in the morality play *Wisdom* are accompanied by singing of liturgical texts. In the fragmentary interlude,

22 David Klausner, ed., *Two Moral Interludes: "The Pride of Life" and "Wisdom,"* TEAMS: Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009), 46–49.
23 Kathleen Ashley and Gerard NeCastro, eds., *Mankind*, TEAMS: Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), ll. 332–43; Mario Longtin and Jacques Lemaire, eds., *Le Mystère de sainte Barbe en cinq journées* (Orléans: Paradigme, forthcoming), ll. 19741–2.
24 Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 206–08.
25 Richard Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1891–2), vol. II: 340–74.

The Pride of Life, the king's servant Mirth is directed to sing a song ("Et cantat") as he takes a message from the Queen to the Bishop.[26] Functionally, the use of music to move action from one location to another becomes so important that a specific term – "silete" – is used for it in many Continental plays. Originally a sung direction for the audience to be silent, "silete" appears in stage directions as a guide to play music as actors move from one place to another. The twenty-five-day Valenciennes Passion play of 1547 indicates where there is a "lieu pour iouer silete," and the Mons Passion play of 1501 notes a flexible and pragmatic attitude to such music, suggesting that for God's descent from Heaven, "Sillete, s'il est trop loing."[27] In some cases organ music is used for this purpose, and the Mons play has frequent directions for a "silete d'orgues" or a "poze d'orghues." The Valenciennes play includes textual references to the use of organ, choir, trumpet, lute, and tambourine (for Salome's dance).

We know considerably more about the personnel involved in the performance of music in early drama than we do about what they may have played or sung. Financial documents from English towns indicate the regular hiring of musicians in civic employ (the "waits") to provide instrumental music for plays, as well as singing-men from the local church or cathedral to provide music for Heaven. On the Continent, the surviving directors' notes for the Passion plays from Mons and Lucerne both include extensive description of the music and musicians involved. Both plays required at least four groups of musicians: an organist, an ensemble of instrumentalists ("Spillüt" in Lucerne, "tambourins" in Mons), an ensemble of trumpet players, and a heavenly choir. In addition to these, the Lucerne play also required a further ensemble of loud instruments and two further choirs.[28]

Most plays, with the exceptions of the large church music-dramas which are sung throughout, survive without specific music. There are, however, important exceptions, although precisely what survives does not always include all the information we would like. Contemporary indications of music appear in playtexts in three ways: first, in a relatively small number of cases, notated music survives with the playtext. In England, the two songs of the Coventry *Shearmen and Tailors' Pageant* and the brief music for the York

26 Klausner, ed., *Two Moral Interludes*, stage direction (hereafter SD) 322.

27 Elie Konigson, *La representation d'un Mystère de la Passion à Valenciennes en 1547* (Paris: CNRS, 1969), 62–64; Gustave Cohen, *Le Livre de conduit de régisseur et le compute des dépenses pour la mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1925), 24.

28 M. Blakemore Evans, *The Passion Play of Lucerne: An Historical and Critical Introduction* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1943), 61–76; Evans gives a transcription of the music for Synagogue from the wooden boards on which it survives, 68–76.

Assumption play survive with the plays themselves.[29] The Jewish "chant" for the Synagogue choir in the Lucerne play survives on the wooden boards from which it was read, but most of the other music indicated in the director's notes, especially the traditional fanfares of the trumpets and horns, is lost to us. Second, a specific direction for music may be given in a stage direction or marginal note in the manuscript. I have already noted the direction that the King's messenger in *The Pride of Life* should sing ("Et cantat") as he goes to deliver a message to the bishop. The direction "Silete" in many French and German plays usually indicates in a flexible manner the provision of music to cover the movement of performers from one locus to another or from one level to another. These examples are typical in that they do not indicate what music is to be sung or performed. When liturgical chant is required it can often be reconstructed without difficulty when the text (or at least its incipit) is given. So the play of *Wisdom* gives the full text of the chants needed for entries and exits and indicates who is to sing them. Many plays (especially the larger ones) conclude with a "Te Deum," often indicated in a concluding speech.

The third, and most common, way in which music is indicated in a playtext is by reference in the text itself. So the N-Town Herod calls for a minstrel to "Blowe up a mery fytt!" (l. 232) and the three fallen Mights in *Wisdom* discuss at some length the three-men's song they are about to sing (followed by a stage direction):

> MYNDE: I rejoys of thes, now let us synge!
> UNDYRSTONDYNGE: Ande yff I spar, evell joy me wrynge! *refrain, hurt*
> WYLL: Have at, quod I! Lo, howe I sprynge! *Go on! dance*
> Lust makyth me wondyr wylde! *wonderfully*
> MYNDE: A tenour to you bothe I brynge.
> UNDYRSTONDYNGE: And I a mene for ony kynge! *middle part (good enough) for*
> WYLL: And but a trebull I outwrynge, *unless, upper part, squeeze out*
> The Devell hym spede that myrth exyled!
> Et cantent. *And they sing.*
>
> (ll. 612–19)

Wisdom's use of music is particularly lavish, but again much of what we need to know is missing. Mind's dance of maintenance will be accompanied by trumpets, and Mind's direction to them ("Lett see Madam Regent,/ Ande

29 The manuscript of the Coventry plays was destroyed in the 1879 fire at the Birmingham Reference Library, so the only surviving source for the plays and their music is the 1817 edition of Thomas Sharp. See Pamela M. King and Clifford Davidson, eds., *The Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 27 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 2–3 and 166–73. The music for the York Assumption play is included in Beadle, *York Plays*, 465–74.

daunce, ye laddys, your hertys be lyght!") may well incorporate a reference to the name of the dance tune they are to play (ll. 706–7). Unfortunately, no tune called "Madam Regent" is known.

We have already noted that many plays conclude with a singing of the hymn "Te Deum laudamus," and this direction may appear either in the playtext itself or in a stage direction, usually with little clarity as to precisely what is meant. The hymn may well have been sung by all participants, and possibly the audience as well; the Pope concludes the *Mystère de sainte Barbe* with a general invitation: "Et allons sans sejourner plus/ Chantant Te Dëum laudamus" (ll. 23791–2), and at the conclusion of *The Castle of Perseverance*, God steps out of character:

> þus endyth oure gamys.
> To saue 3ou fro synnynge
> Evyr at þe begynnynge
> Thynke on 3oure last endynge!
> Te Deum laudamus! (3645–49)

Clearly the hymn is to be sung in the St. Barbara play; in *Castle* it is not certain whether it is to be sung or simply spoken by the actor who has played God.

The information provided by the playtexts, whether through the inclusion of music (rarely), stage directions (occasionally), or textual references (frequently), can be supplemented by sources external to the plays themselves. In a few fortunate cases, such as the Frankfurt, Lucerne, and Mons Passion plays, these external sources are focused directly on an individual play; more commonly, they relate only in a general way to a specific text. This is the case with much of the information coming to light through the research project Records of Early English Drama, which is unearthing a large body of material relating to music in the drama of medieval and early modern England. Rarely, however, does this material pertain directly to the musical requirements of a particular play; rather the records give us information more generally on the forces available to cities, towns, and parishes, on the costs involved in mounting a play, on the routes taken by traveling (professional) players.

Sources

The primary sources for the use of music in drama – stage directions, references within the plays themselves, and external documentation – are subject to the haphazard survival of playtexts and documents. There are, however, clear differences in the dramatic traditions of the various linguistic communities of medieval Europe.

German-Speaking Regions

Drama from the medieval German-speaking regions (present-day Germany, Austria, Switzerland) forms the most extensive body of material from western Europe. These plays fall primarily into five genres. Three of these genres deal with the events of Christ's death and burial and are associated with Easter observances: first, Passion plays involving the whole narrative of the Crucifixion; second, plays focusing on the lament of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the Cross; and third, plays focusing on the visit of the three Marys (Mary Magdalene, Mary Jacobi, Mary Salome) to Christ's sepulchre. Although the "Marienklagen" and the sepulchre plays were not a part of the liturgy and were in a few cases in German rather than Latin, their use of music paralleled that of the liturgy – that is, primarily decorative rather than functional.[30]

In addition, there are Advent plays dealing with the Nativity, and Corpus Christi plays utilizing a wide range of biblical narrative. Associated with these plays is an extraordinary body of documentary material related to their production. Directors' rolls survive for both the Alsfeld (1501) and Frankfurt (1350) Passion plays, containing extensive information on the plays' production, including the use of music.[31] The fullest description of a play's music lies in the notebooks of Renward Cysat, the Lucerne town clerk who directed the Lucerne Passion play in 1583 and 1597. Although these are relatively late documents, it is likely that many of the production requirements Cysat describes (including playing places, costumes, and music) represent long-standing traditions. The music for the Lucerne play was lavish in the extreme. Cysat lists the forces required: an organist; a group of instrumental musicians with miscellaneous duties including the performance of dance music (*Spillüt*); two ensembles for fanfares and entrances, one of trumpets and one of *harsthörner*; and three choirs, one for Heaven, one for earthly liturgical music (*Cantorey*), and one (called "Synagogue") for the music of the Jews. The Spillüt included *Pusonen* (sackbuts), *Schallmyen* (shawms), and *Schwäglen* (flutes, or perhaps pipe-and-tabor players). For the 1571 performance of the play Cysat notes the

30 Sandro Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

31 Johannes Janota, *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle*, *Frankfurter Passionsspiel. Mit den Paralleltexten der* "Frankfurter Dirigierrolle," *des* "Alsfelder Passionsspiels," *des* "Heidelberger Passionsspiels," *des* "Frankfurter Osterspielfragments" *und des* "Fritzlarer Passionsspielfragments," Die Hessische Passionsspielgruppe vol. 1 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997); Klaus Wolf, *Kommentar zur "Frankfurter Dirigierrolle" und zum "Frankfurter Passionspiele"* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002). For a broad survey of the musical requirements of the surviving plays, see Ernst Schuler, *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951).

presence of 156 Spillüt, though this seems to have been a special case.[32] Although the organist is often used to accompany the Cantorey, his primary function is to provide music during pauses or breaks in the action of the play, or to cover movement from one site to another. The functionality of the Cantorey's music is clear in Cysat's notes for the 1583 performance: they are to sing a short piece as Abraham and Isaac go to the mountain, but "nit lenger dann bis sy zuo dem Berg komment." Covering all eventualities, the organist also provides "Musica pro incidenter occurrentibus."[33] Most of the music surviving with the German Passion plays is monophonic, but the Lucerne choir is described as singing both chant and polyphony; in the Nativity sequence "incipiunt angeli choraliter, et cantoria prosequitur figuraliter alternatim: Puer natus in Bethlehem."[34] The large Passion play from St. Gall, in Switzerland, includes incipits for a large number of chants.[35]

A number of the plays contain songs. In several plays (including the Erlau *Mary Magdalen* and the Benediktbeuern *Passion*) Mary Magdalene demonstrates her lustful and sinful character by singing a worldly vernacular song and dancing, while in several of the Passion plays (Alsfeld, Innsbruck) the merchant's assistant sings to advertise their wares. The Hesse Nativity play contains a number of Christmas songs, including several well known from non-dramatic sources.[36] Songs, usually monophonic, containing the word "silete" (or in expanded versions, "Silete, silete, silentium habete") appear in a number of the plays, most prominently in the Passion play from St. Gall.[37]

French

Plays in French or Anglo-Norman provide a contrast to the German repertoire, with a number of plays surviving from the earlier Middle Ages. The earliest of these is the St. Martial *Sponsus* play of the wise and foolish

32 Evans, *Passion Play of Lucerne*; John E. Tailby, "Lucerne Revisited: Facts and Questions," in *Leeds Studies in English N.S. 29: Essays in Honour of Peter Meredith*, ed. Catherine Batt (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1998), 347–58.

33 Evans, *Passion Play of Lucerne*, 61, 66. 34 Schuler, *Osterfeiern*, 83.

35 The music for the play has been reconstructed by Peter Macardle, *St. Gall Passion Play: Music and Performance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).

36 Helmut Osthoff, "Deutsche Liedweisen und Wechselgesänge im mittelalterlichen Drama," *Archiv für Musikforschung 7* (1942); Osthoff, *Die Musik im Drama des deutschen Mittelalters: Quellen und Forschungsziele* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1943); Walther Lipphardt, *Die Weisen des lateinische Osterspiele des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1948); Karl Dreimüller, *Die Musik des Alsfelder Passionsspiels* (Vienna, n.p., 1936); Rudolph Meier, *Das Innsbrucker Osterspiel* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1963); Lipphardt, "Das hessische Weihnachtspiel," *Convivium symbolicum* 2 (1958).

37 Schuler, *Osterfeiern*, 46–48.

virgins, dating from the late eleventh century.[38] This play lies closer to the liturgical drama in its use of music, though it is not liturgical itself and uses music which has no liturgical antecedents. It is sung throughout and therefore its music does not carry the degree of functionality of most vernacular plays. The well-known Anglo-Norman *Jeu d'Adam* (twelfth century) requires the singing of a number of responsories and lessons drawn from the liturgy.[39] The play uses these liturgical borrowings to introduce each of the dramatic actions of the Fall; they are sung by a choir which does not otherwise participate in the drama and thus may well parallel the heavenly choirs in many of the later German plays.

The Provençal play of *Saint Agnes* shows an unusually broad understanding of the possible functions of music.[40] Of the twenty sung passages in the play, two are liturgical, some of the others are laments (Â *planctus*), and some are prayers. Most of the songs are indicated in stage directions; music is included for many of them, and for others the name of the tune to be used is given. Instrumentalists (*tibicinatores*), rather than singers, are required for movement between Heaven and earth.

Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, from the late thirteenth century, is in many ways unique.[41] Written for the court of Robert II, Count of Artois, it is a highly sophisticated blend of *pastourelle* and *bergerie* intended to provide a taste of the French homeland for Christmas festivities at Robert's court, then resident in Naples. *Robin et Marion* is the only surviving secular play to use both sung and spoken passages, with sixteen (likely pre-existing) melodies given for the sung text. Unusually, the play survives in multiple manuscripts: two of these include the music; a third clearly intended the music to be added, but this was never finished and the staves are blank. The mention in the text of a *chievrete* (bagpipe) and two *cornes* (horns) implies the participation of instruments in the play's performance.[42]

From the fourteenth century the forty plays of the "Miracles de Nostre Dame" were written for the Confrérie St. Éloi of the Parisian Guild of Goldsmiths for their annual patronal festival (December 6). The plays are all structured in a similar fashion, centering on the Virgin Mary appearing to

38 Avalle and Monterosso, *Sponsus*.
39 Lynette Muir, *Liturgy and Drama in the Anglo-Norman Adam* (Oxford University Press, 1973).
40 Alfred Jeanroy and T. Gérold, *Le jeu de Sainte Agnès, drame provençal du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1931); Ernest Hoepffner, "Les intermèdes musicaux dans le Jeu provençal de Sainte-Agnès," in *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Gustave Cohen* (Paris: Nizet, 1951), 97–104.
41 Richard Axton and John Stevens, *Medieval French Plays* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971); Jacques Chailley, "La nature musicale musicale du *Jeu du Robin et Marion*," in *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Gustave Cohen* (Paris: Nizet, 1951), 111–17.
42 Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, ed. Shira I. Shwam-Baird, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series A, vol. 94 (New York: Garland, 1994); music ed. Milton G. Sheuerman, Jr., 93–108.

perform a miracle. In each play, her descent from Heaven and her return following the miracle are accompanied by a rondeau sung by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. The texts of the plays also show evidence of instrumental participation.[43]

As in the German-speaking countries, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were marked by the development of large-scale, multi-day religious plays, predominantly dealing with the events of the Passion. As with the Lucerne Passion play, we are fortunate to have the director's book for the 1501 Passion play at Mons, for which extensive musical resources are required: an organist, a heavenly choir, trumpeters for fanfares, and a group of instrumentalists (*tambourins*).[44] Less extensive information survives for many of the other plays: the 1477 Montferrand Passion play required two organists, seven trumpeters, and four other instrumentalists (likely an ensemble of shawms and sackbuts for dance music). Dance music is also needed for the Semur Passion play, Jean Michel's *Passion*, and the *Mystère de Saint Louis*. The Rouen *Incarnation* (1474) uses music in particularly unusual ways; songs sung by angels appear frequently in the text, alternating with instrumental verses. The musicians who play these instrumental verses are directed to be hidden, and the angel singers are directed to mime the playing of the instruments. The shepherds' scenes of this play involve extensive singing, as well as a music lesson for the youngest shepherd derived largely from Johannes de Muris.[45]

England

It was long thought that the norm for dramatic activity in late medieval England, at least in the larger towns, was the Creation to Doomsday cycle of biblical plays, often produced annually at Corpus Christi under the supervision of the town's trade guilds. It is now clear that this situation obtained only in a few towns (York, Chester, Coventry, and probably Beverley) and that some of those sets of plays previously understood as civic cycles were in fact anthologies or compilations (Towneley, N-Town), or represent *tableaux vivants* or other forms of performance (Hereford). *Records of Early English Drama* has greatly increased our understanding of the staging of plays in medieval England, including their use of music, and has shown that the most common form of drama was the parish play, although very few of these

43 Nigel Wilkins, "Music in the 14th-Century *Miracles de nostre dame*," *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1974), 39–75.
44 Cohen, *Le livre de conduite*.
45 Jacques Handschin, "Das Weihnachts-Mysterium von Rouen als musikgeschichtliche Quelle," *Acta Musicologica* 7 (1935), 97–110.

survive.[46] Some of these may have been saints' plays relating to the parish church's patronal saint, but the only surviving saint's plays are a large fifteenth-century play on the life of Mary Magdalene and the early sixteenth-century *Conversion of St. Paul*. The Digby *Mary Magdalen*[47] includes a number of stage directions and textual references that indicate the use of music: the gallant Curiosity seduces Mary Magdalene by inviting her to dance, the heathen priest and his acolyte sing their "Office," and the mariners who convey Mary to Marseilles bring their ship onstage "with a mery song" and sing again as they dock at Marseilles.[48] Angels feed Mary in the wilderness, singing "Assumpta est Maria." *The Conversion of St. Paul*, from the same manuscript, shows little indication of music; at the opening of the play Saul's entry is accompanied by a "daunce," although the marginal annotation is in a later hand than the play itself.[49]

In the biblical plays, although stage directions and textual references indicate significant musical content, little music survives with the plays themselves. The York *Assumption of the Virgin* play provides two-voice settings of three angelic songs, "Surge proxima mea," "Veni de Libano sponsa," and "Veni electa mea," and a brief monophonic "Gloria" is provided in one late manuscript of the Chester play of the Shepherds.[50] The Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley E. museo 160 (*GB-Ob* Bodley, E. museo 160) play of the *Resurrection* provides for the singing of the Easter sequence "Victime paschali," with unusually expansive directions for its performance: "Tunc hee tres cantant idem, id est, 'Victime pascha[li]' – totum vsque ad Di[c nobis] in cantifracto vel saltum in pallinodio" (Then these three [the Marys] shall sing it through to "Dic nobis" in polyphony or at least in antiphonal style).[51]

It seems likely that instrumental music for the biblical cycles of York, Chester, and Coventry would have been provided by the civic musicians

46 On the evidence for parish drama, see the essays in Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüsken, eds., *English Parish Drama*, Ludus 1 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996) and Beat Kümin, "Music in the English Parish, c. 1400–1600," in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 70–81. The Beverley records are surveyed by Diana Wyatt, *Performance and Ceremonial in Beverley before 1642* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 1983).

47 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 133 (*GB-Ob* Digby 133).

48 Donald C. Baker et al., eds., *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian Mss Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, Early English Text Society O.S. 283 (Oxford University Press, 1982), ll. 530, 1394 (SD), 1438 (SD), 2030 (SD).

49 Ibid., l. 13 (SD).

50 London, British Library, additional 35290 (*GB-Lbl* add. 35290). Music in the English plays is surveyed by Joanna Dutka, *Music in the English Mystery Plays* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1980), and by Richard Rastall, *Heavens Singing: Music in Early English Religious Drama I* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), and *Minstrels Playing: Music in Early English Religious Drama II* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

51 Baker et al., *The Late Medieval Religious Plays*, l. 691 (SD).

(waits), but the accounts of the cities do not allow us to say that unequivocally. The Chester and Coventry waits were paid for performing in some of the plays, although gaps in the records prevent a full understanding of their participation; the York records are less forthcoming, though it is probable that the waits were involved in the plays. Trumpets are called for in several of the plays, and payments to them imply their professional status. Similarly, there is somewhat spotty evidence that cathedral singing-men and vicars choral were regularly involved in the provision of vocal music for the plays, though the frequent payments to "singers" gives little information on their possible provenance.[52] In some cases, singing by actors in the play is called for, most notably in the Coventry Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors, which includes a three-men's song for the mothers of the Holy Innocents (the well-known Coventry Carol) and one for the shepherds.[53] The Chester *Noah's Ark* play indicates the singing of a psalm by Noah and his family, as well as a drinking song for his wife and her cronies.[54]

A number of interesting problems are presented by the manuscript known as the "Shrewsbury fragments" (Shrewsbury, Library of Shrewsbury School, VI [*GB-SHRs* VI]), which contains the text and music of a single actor/singer for three plays; parts for all other participants have been lost. The manuscript dates from about 1430, and the nature of the plays is clear: a Christmas play, *Officium pastorum*, an Easter play, *Officium resurrectionis*, and a *Peregrinus* play concerned with the journey to Emmaus. The surviving parts are for the third shepherd, the third Mary, and the disciple Cleophas, all presumably played by the same person. The surviving parts are in both English (spoken) and Latin (sung). Six of the nine Latin texts are from liturgical sources, but their relationship to the music is not clear. Rankin has shown that the surviving parts align with liturgical dramas known to have been performed in Lichfield cathedral.[55]

The morality plays (or moral interludes) all have substantial musical requirements with the exception of the Dutch-based *Everyman*. *Wisdom*'s music is the most elaborate, with liturgical singing by Anima and her Five Senses, and three dances of sin and a song for the fallen Mights (noted above). The vices of *Mankind* use an obscene song to seduce the audience into

52 These financial records are readily available in the relevant volumes of *Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979–2010; Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010–). The difficulty of interpreting the records is discussed by Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, esp. pp. 45–46. See also Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963).

53 King and Davidson, *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*.

54 Richard Rastall, "Music in the Cycle," in R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 139.

55 Susan Rankin, "Shrewsbury School Manuscript VI: A Medieval Part Book?" *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 102 (1975–76), 129–44; Rastall, *The Heavens Singing*, 88–121.

complicity with them, and at least one of the vices is expected to have some musical competency, since he is asked to pipe in the devil Titivillus.[56] *The Castle of Perseverance* includes directions for both singers and trumpet players, as well as such non-specific directions as "Pype up musyk."[57] On the whole, the English plays are more parsimonious than the French or German in their indication of music. Often, a single text reference implies the presence of one or more musicians, as with Herod's direction to his minstrel in the N-Town play of the Death of Herod, and a clear correspondence between the playtexts and the evidence of civic or guild accounts is unusual.[58]

The corpus of plays in the Cornish language surviving from late medieval Cornwall show little concrete evidence of music, but the frequent directions in the *Ordinalia* that actors descend from their scaffolds into the platea (for example "hic descendit deus pater") or return to their scaffolds may well imply that this movement is accompanied by music in the fashion of the Continental "Silete." Unusually, there is music associated with the devils – as Beelzebub blows a horn ("flat cornu") to assemble his forces for the Harrowing of Hell – as well as a more normal angel choir singing "Christus resurgens" at the Resurrection. The three Marys sing a lament in English at the tomb, "ellas mornyngh y syngh," but the manuscript gives only the text, not the music. The angels mark the Resurrection with the singing of "Gloria," and a general dance concludes the play.[59] In the Cornish saint's play *Beunans Meriasek* each day ends with a direction for minstrels to play for dancing.[60]

The Low Countries

The limited information on music in the English plays seems positively lavish in comparison with the musical references in the only surviving manuscript of Dutch plays from the earlier fifteenth century, the Van Hulthem manuscript, containing ten plays.[61] It would, however, be unwise to take this lack as an indication that music was not a part of the performance

56 Ashley and NeCastro, *Mankind*, ll. 333–343.
57 Klausner, ed., *The Castle of Perseverance*, TEAMS: Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), ll. 455 (SD), 574 (SD), 646 (SD), 1705 (SD), 1852 (SD).
58 Spector, *The N-Town Plays*, 193, l. 153.
59 Edwin Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1859), vol. I: 136–37, 464–45; vol. II: 34–5, 58–9, 190–91, 198–99.
60 Whitley Stokes, *Beunans Meriasek* (London: Trübner, 1872), 144–45, 264–65.
61 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 15 (*B-Bc* 15), 589–623; Hans van Dijk, "The Drama Texts in the Van Hulthem Manuscript," in E. Kooper, ed., *Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 283–96.

tradition. The bulk of surviving plays from the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries lies in the works associated with the fraternal Chambers of Rhetoric (Rederijkerskamers); many plays in this large repertoire include the texts of songs, often to be sung to well-known tunes. *Elckerlijc*, the play on which the English *Everyman* is based, follows many of the Dutch plays and mirrors the English play in its complete lack of stage directions; the only suggestion of music lies in Kennisse's (Knowledge's) remark that he hears the sound of angels as Elckerlijc descends into the grave.[62] Future records research may well fill the gaps with evidence of the use of instrumental music as well.

Italy

Drama in medieval Italy was dominated by two genres, the popular *laude* and the spectacular *sacre rappresentazioni*. The *laude* developed in the later thirteenth century, first as monologues, then as dialogues and plays with more extensive casts. The question of when and by what means the *laude liriche*, sung but not staged, transformed into the *laude drammatiche* has not yet been adequately answered.[63] The *laude* were particularly associated with the lay confraternity movement. Although over two hundred manuscripts of *laude* survive, virtually all of them are without music. Internal evidence nonetheless indicates that they were sung, and two later *laudari* manuscripts from Florence and Cortona give examples of the kinds of music which are likely to have been used.[64] As with other sung narrative forms, both liturgical and non-liturgical, the music of the *laude* would not have been primarily functional. References in the texts do imply the participation of a variety of instruments, including viols, *piffari*, trumpets, and organ.[65]

The confraternities were also involved in the production of the spectacles known as *sacre rappresentazioni*. These large-scale plays, often dealing with the lives of saints, provide a wealth of information on the use of music, with a wide variety of songs and stage directions involving a range of instruments.

62 Clifford Davidson, Martin Walsh, and Ton J. Broos, eds., *Everyman and Its Dutch Original, Elckerlijc* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007); Richard Rastall, "Music and Liturgy in *Everyman*: Some Aspects of Production," *Leeds Studies in English* N.S. 29 (1998), 305–14.

63 See, for example, Vincenzo Traversa, *The Laude in the Middle Ages* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), xxvii. A survey of research on the Italian plays is given by Kathleen C. Falvey, "Italian Vernacular Religious Drama of the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries: A Select Bibliography of the *Laude Drammatiche* and the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 26 (1983), 125–44.

64 Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona 91 (*I-CT* 91); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano BR 18 (*I-Fn* BR 18).

65 Cyrilla Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 10 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), 20–24.

The Russian bishop Abraham of Souzdal accompanied the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Council of Florence in 1439 and described a *sacra rappresentazione* on the Annunciation, noting that the boy who played the archangel sang as he descended from Heaven on two ropes. Abraham also saw a play of the Ascension, in which "God was surrounded by a group of young boys playing flutes, lyres and small bells who represented the Angels."[66] Many of the *sacre rappresentazioni* include stage directions for dancing: in the Siena Nativity play, the shepherds present their gifts, then return "al luogo loro, ballando e saltando e facendo gran festa" (to their place, dancing and skipping and making merry).[67]

The Iberian Peninsula

The development of drama in Spain proceeded by very different paths in the Castilian and Catalan regions. Catalonia, perhaps because of its proximity to France, had a rich tradition of liturgical drama, including plays on less common themes such as the Assumption and the Sybilline prophecies. Some of these, such as the Elche Assumption play (still performed today) were extra-liturgical, but all share a non-functional use of music.[68] A substantial collection of plays from Mallorca falls within the Catalan tradition; the forty-nine plays of the Llabrés manuscript include saints' plays and biblical plays.[69] All of these include both sung and spoken passages, but the music remains primarily liturgical in function.[70]

Medieval Castile does not appear to have had a significant dramatic tradition until the later fifteenth century. It has been suggested that this is due to the loss of manuscripts, but the fact that no documentary evidence of such a tradition has been found either suggests that it simply did not exist.[71] One important exception is the incomplete *Auto de los Reyes Magos* from the late twelfth century, but the manuscript contains no evidence of music.[72] The core of the Castilian tradition lies in the large repertoire of short *autos* from the late fifteenth century, many of them appearing in print rather than in

66 Larson, "Bishop Abraham of Souzdal's Description," pp. 210–11.
67 Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, *Laude drammatiche e Rappresentazioni sacre*, 3 vols. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1943), vol. II: 213.
68 Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Mediaeval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1958).
69 Barcelona, Biblioteca de Cataluña 1139 (*E-Bbc* 1139)
70 Josep Romeu i Figueras, ed., *Teatre hagiogràfic*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Barcino, 1957).
71 A. Salazar, "Music in the Primitive Spanish Theatre before Lope de Vega," *Papers of the American Musicological Society* (1938), 94–108; Ann Livermore, "The Spanish Dramatists and Their Use of Music," *Music & Letters* 25 (1944), 140–49.
72 Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, Vitruvio/5/9 (*E-Mn* Vitr/5/9).

manuscript and, in contrast to the rest of Europe, most of them by playwrights whose names we know. Many of these playwrights were also composers, and music was an integral part of their plays. Although intended for courtly performance, the plays of Juan del Encina and his followers (usually called *églogas*) often contained rustic scenes of shepherds and peasants, and each play ended with the singing of a *villancico*. Music survives for four of Encina's eight *églogas* in the Palacio and Segovia *cancioneros*.[73] A number of dramatists modeled their work on Encina's, including Lucas Fernandez and Gil Vicente. Fernandez, like Encina, was a musician as well as a playwright, and spent much of his career at Salamanca as *maestro de capilla*. Vicente, working in Portugal at the courts of João II, Manuel I, and João III, wrote plays on a wide variety of subjects principally for performance at Christmas. Like Encina and Fernandez, he composed *villancicos* to conclude most of his plays.[74]

From the early sixteenth century, some Spanish towns developed a tradition of Corpus Christi plays, the *autos sacramentales*. For some of these, texts do not survive, and evidence for their performance is limited to documentary sources. It is not always possible to be certain whether these documents are describing a play or a textless *tableau vivant*, but the documents do give evidence for music, especially music to define Heaven for appearances of God and his angels (as in the Corpus Christi plays from Valencia).

Sixteenth-century Spain also produced our only surviving example of a dance-play. The *Danza del Santisimo Nacimento*, published in 1510, was intended for church performance, though not as part of the liturgy, and included sung and danced parts for angels and shepherds, with instrumental music accompanying the dance.[75]

Eastern Europe

Although research on the dramatic traditions of Eastern Europe is still at an early stage, there is substantial evidence that Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary all had thriving traditions of liturgical drama, at least from the thirteenth century onwards. A Bohemian prohibition on *ludi theatrales* in

73 Madrid, Biblioteca Real II (*E-Mp* II); Segovia, Catedral, Archivo Capitular, s.s. (antiguo18) (*E-SE* s.s. [antiguo18]).

74 Juan del Encina, *Obras dramátias* I, ed. Rosalie Gimeno (Madrid: Istmo, 1975); Encina, *Teatro*, ed. Rosalie Gimeno (Madrid: Alhambra, 1977); Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y églogas*, ed. Juan Miguel Valero Moreno (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002–04); Gil Vicente, *Obras*, ed. José Camões, 5 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa de Moeda, 2002).

75 Tomás Lozano, *Cantemus al alba: Origins of Songs, Sounds, and Liturgical Drama of Hispanic New Mexico*, ed. and trans. Rima Montoya (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 136–42.

the procession of Corpus Christi from 1371 implies that such performances had become sufficiently common to attract the attention of ecclesiastical authorities. Records of a Corpus Christi play from Eger (now Cheb, near the German border) survive, as well as fragments of a variety of plays on religious themes.[76] Morality plays combining elements of the *memento mori* tradition with dialogues of the Soul and Body are found in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary and many of these end with a song.[77] Documentary evidence in civic and guild accounts from Buda, Hungary, indicate the participation of professional musicians in a wide variety of plays and entertainments.[78]

Conclusion

The study of medieval drama, including its use of music, is a field of research which is changing rapidly. These changes rest on a considerable expansion of the information open to us concerning the plays and their performance: for some traditions the primary texts are not yet available in reliable editions, but the bulk of this expansion is centered on the systematic combing of documentary sources for information. These sources are, often, not directly concerned with drama and its performance; they are predominantly routine financial records (civic, ecclesiastical, private) and routine legal records (civil and ecclesiastical) in which references to plays and performance are fortuitous. Since performance is often peripheral to the main purpose of the document, this material requires careful reading and interpretation, and a small but noticeable seismic shift can be felt in the field each time a new collection of texts or documentary sources is published.

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76 The surviving Czech materials, often fragmentary, are surveyed by Jarmilla F. Veltrusky, "Medieval Drama in Bohemia," *Early Drama, Art and Music Review* 15 (1993), 51–63; Gustav Milchsack, *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel* (Tübingen: Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1881); Veltrusky, *A Sacred Farce from Medieval Bohemia: Mastičkář* (Ann Arbor: Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, The University of Michigan, 1985).

77 Julian Lewanski, *Dramaty staropolskie*, 6 vols. (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959–63).

78 A. Kubinyi, "Spielleute und Musiker von Buda in der Jagello-Epoche," *Studia Musicologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 9 (1967), 77–97.

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· 17 ·

The Sources

STANLEY BOORMAN

It is difficult, today, to know how many of the surviving medieval music manuscripts were intended for use during performance: probably fewer than we might wish. Even fewer can have been used for learning a new or previously unheard work. In part, this is due to the relatively slow emergence of musical notation, and its even slower development as a picture of the details of what was to be represented – not only pitch and rhythm, but also the features we have come to regard as essential, text–music relationships, the alignment between different voice parts, *musica ficta*, and all the other detailed aspects of a musical performance, many of which were deemed unnecessary to notate as late as the seventeenth century. For us, as modern scholars and performers, the imprecision in many of these features, or their complete absence, leaves much room for speculation, producing solutions that are often no more than informed guesswork. There is still controversy over the pitches involved in Mozarabic chant and the rhythms of early organum, over the application of *musica ficta* and the use (or non-use) of instruments in a number of repertoires. At the same time, we want to believe that the original owners and users of these manuscripts *did* know what to do, either that they had a clear sense of what was right and what was wrong, or that they were willing to accept any of a wide range of possible interpretations in each situation. Otherwise, why write down the music at all; or at least, why refer to the sources?

Behind this approach, on our part, lies the difficulty of determining, for many (though by no means all) manuscripts, what was their specific function.[1] Were they intended for use in performance, or for study in the school-room or chapter-house? Were they archival sources, perhaps for consultation, or

1 For general background, see the article "Sources, MS," sections I–VII in *NG2*; for a representative sample of illustrations, with commentary, see Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Bd.3, vol. 4 (Leipzig: VEB Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1975); and Heinrich Besseler and Peter Gülke, *Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Bd.3, vol. 5 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1973), especially plates 1–31. These are cited hereafter as *Schriftbild* 4 or 5.

monuments to some famous repertoire or to a distinguished local musician? Or were they intended as gifts on a diplomatic mission, or to grace some noble library of rich manuscripts?

For some musical manuscripts, the answer to these questions seems simple: it is reasonable to assume that the most lavish were intended for the most illustrious of collectors, or as prestigious gifts – certainly not for daily use. We would find it hard to accept that the Squarcialupi Codex could be regularly placed on a music stand, perhaps spotted with candle wax, and with singers' annotations.[2] Similarly, a manuscript such as that of the *Roman de Fauvel*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 (*F-Pn* fr. 146), exceedingly large, heavily decorated and illuminated, and extravagantly laid out, would be treasured (as indeed it was), and displayed, if at all, to distinguished guests of its owner.[3] There are similarly beautiful, rich, and expensive manuscripts of chant, which surely became the treasured possessions of bishops and cardinals, perhaps appearing in public for the highest liturgical feasts, rather than displayed daily on the lectern.[4]

Evidently, the scribe of any single manuscript had the answers to our questions before starting work. He will have been commissioned to copy

2 The presence of illuminations portraying the composers represented, coupled with the care taken in preparing the music and text, suggests that this was much more of a memorial collection of a repertoire than a performance manuscript. This is supported by the fact that much of the music is in a style which was already out-of-date by the time the manuscript was copied. The manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (*I-Fl* Pal. 87), has been reproduced in facsimile, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Firenze: Giunti Barbera, 1992), and accompanied by a series of essays.

3 In this case, given the polemical nature of the contents, we could assume that the manuscript acted as a political statement on the part of the owner, perhaps to be shared with other holders of the same political views. A facsimile of the manuscript has been published as *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain* (New York: Broude, 1990), with introductory essays by Michel Huglo, Nancy Regalado, and Edward Roesner. Detailed studies of the manuscript and its contents appear in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, MS Français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

4 Two points need to be made here: the first is that levels of decoration did not remain constant throughout the medieval period. A simple comparison of the glorious "carpet" pages of Celtic seventh-century manuscripts with almost any important fourteenth-century source will make this point.

A second point is that we cannot assume that all very beautiful manuscripts were not used: the number of richly decorated Books of Hours shows that lavish treatment could go hand-in-hand with intended daily use. Admittedly, it is true that many of these books were intended to be used in what one might call a "protected environment" – by a noble lady in her private room. But there are many very elegant chant manuscripts, prepared for and used by monastic institutions, which must have been used on a daily basis. Published studies of the illuminated manuscripts of specific institutions or groups of institutions abound, and are useful for art historians tracing the development of decorative elements, even as they are for musicologists tracing liturgy. Thus we should only accept as a generalization the sort of argument that equates a less elegant presentation with a greater probability of use in performance: for example, Eugeen Schreurs makes "a distinction between more and less luxurious manuscripts, which depended on whether they were intended for the very rich, the well-to-do, or the average professional musician" (in *Anthologie van musiekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen* (*Middeleeuwen – Renaissance*) [Peer: Alamire, 1995], xvii). At the top end of the scale this is almost certainly true, as it is at the lower end, for the scruffiest and least attractive sources: but there is a middle ground, where exceptions to a general pattern certainly do lie.

the music, and this commission will have laid out a series of requirements. Among these will have been some or all of the following:

1. A stipulation as to the contents of the planned manuscripts. These contents were probably not always listed in detail – for we find cases where later additions disrupt a plan, or where it appears that the scribe collected the music from more than one source.[5] But a patron will certainly have had some reason for deciding to commission a manuscript,[6] and the contents will have been a central aspect of that decision.

Ancillary to this fundamental aspect of a plan will sometimes have been decisions about the order of the compositions: this was clearly a necessity for liturgical manuscripts, although in those cases it may not have been formally stated – for the new manuscript will frequently have been a careful copy of an earlier one. But a clear stipulation will have been made in those cases where the collection was to be copied in separate layers, as was common in Italian fourteenth-century sources of secular music, or some collections of monophonic song, where each poet's works were collected together,[7] sometimes even in alphabetical order.[8] More significantly, towards the end of this period,

5 This is the case with the Chantilly manuscript, Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé 564 (*F-CH* 564). In the excellent commentary to the recent facsimile edition (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone show how the scribe had access to a second manuscript after copying a number of works, and as a result made changes in musical readings.

6 It is reasonable to assume that the commissioning of some religious or liturgical manuscripts was thought to carry credit in Heaven much as was the building of a chapel or cathedral, or making provision for a chantry or a benefice.

7 This was not an unusual feature. Such a design could be known and allowed for even before all the music was available: evidence for it can often be detected in the structure of the surviving manuscript.

Sometimes the sequence of authors should be seen as making a statement, possibly aesthetic but more frequently social. See, in particular, the arrangement in the so-called "Manuscrit du Roi" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844 (*F-Pn* fr. 844), facsimile in *Le manuscrit du roi*, ed. Jean-Baptiste and Louise Beck (London and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938), where the sequence begins with "li princes," before descending through a sequence of noble authors. On this manuscript see John Haines, "The Transformation of the 'Manuscrit du Roi,'" *Musica Disciplina* 52 (1998–2002), 5–43.

8 The surviving works of Jehan L'Escurel are organized in this way in their unique source (a fascicle in *F-Pn* fr. 146), with all those opening with a word beginning with the letter *A* before those beginning with *B*, followed by those with an initial *C*, etc. While this collection was meant to include a full complement of works ranging through the alphabet, it actually breaks off with works beginning with *G*. This layer of the manuscript is reproduced in *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*, ed. Nigel Wilkins, CMM 30 ([n.p.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

An excellent example of this sort of organization can be found in the "Chansonnier Cangé," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 846 (*F-Pn* fr. 846), ca.1280–90, with its 351 chansons arranged by initial letter. Two additional features are important. One is that the scribe also arranged all the works under each letter in some sort of hierarchy by composer, beginning with Thibaut, King of Navarre, followed by Gace Brulé, whenever songs by them were available, before continuing with other musicians. The second is that no blank folios occur between the different alphabetical sections. Taken together, these argue that the scribe must have had the complete collection of 351 works available to him before he began to copy any. A reproduction of this manuscript, ed. Jean-Baptiste Beck, appeared as vol. 1 of the series *Les Chansonniers des Troubadours et des Trouvères* (Paris: Champion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927; reprinted New York: Broude, 1964).

French manuscripts (in particular) have different genres grouped together in separate fascicles. This is the practice in the Machaut manuscripts,[9] and it spread to anthology manuscripts. This sort of planning must have been known to the scribe from the beginning, so that he could sort the material to be copied.

In some manuscripts, as it appears to us, the scribe was presented with all the music and left to arrange the works himself:[10] in others, the music to be copied was not all available at the start of work, and the scribe had to start each section on fresh parchment, leaving empty leaves for additional entries for each poet or composer. In some cases, the scribe evidently knew exactly what was to be inserted at a given point, even though the music was not yet available, and he could leave blank folios ready and in the correct sequence.[11]

In all of these diverse examples, nonetheless, the fundamental *character* of the contents will have been defined: and in most manuscripts that character is evident to the modern scholar.[12] But this may still tell us little or nothing about how the manuscript was to be used – for presentation, for preservation of the contents, for reading, even during performance. The evidence for these further factors will often lie in details discussed in the following paragraphs, again factors that were to a large extent decided before copying the manuscript could begin.

2. *Decisions about the material to be used, the size of the page, and the generosity (or otherwise) in using space on the page.* This was basic to preparing the

9 For a discussion of the ways in which Machaut controlled the organization and preparation of the central manuscripts of his works, see Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of his Works," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), 461–503.

10 By this statement, I mean little more than that we as modern scholars are unable to see a pattern behind the arrangement of individual pieces.

11 For example, in the Squarcialupi Codex, seventeen folios were ruled up ready for entering the music of Paolo Tenorista, with his portrait on the first folio, even though the music was not yet available. In the end, no music was entered. Even more precise is the case of the "Old Hall Manuscript," London, British Library, additional 57950 (*GB-Lbl* add. 57950), where the scribe appears to have left blank pages for specific compositions which were to become available for copying: in these cases, an ornamental initial was prepared.

12 We need to except here some manuscripts with a mix of types of music, where perhaps the scribe was also a collector of musical compositions, and copied each into the manuscript as he found it. Such manuscripts, much more common in the following centuries, are usually not of great artistic merit, for that was not their purpose. But this apparently random organization reveals the intent and character of the manuscript just as clearly. It can be distinguished from those other occasions where additional works, copied later, were inserted into the manuscript, perhaps placed to fill blank space or appearing on the last folios. These will not have been part of the original intent and character of the manuscript, even though they can sometimes tell us much about later changes in its function or use. The intention to include basically religious contents (motets and Mass sections) in the "Ivrea Codex," Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115 (*I-IV* 115) is not changed by the presence of a number of rondeaux, virelais, and chaces, added at the foot of the page, when space was available. The same can be said for the early fifteenth-century manuscript, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2216 (*I-Bu* 2216), where the original plan is rather more obscured by the greater number of later additions: see the facsimile, ed. F. Alberto Gallo: *Il Codice Musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Bologna: Forni, 1968).

manuscript for copying, for only then could the pages be ruled up, with vertical margin rules and horizontal rules for each line of text or music. These decisions will have represented a balance between conventional patterns and the special requests of the patron. Thus, liturgical books intended for processional use were necessarily smaller than those intended for the whole choir standing at the lectern in the chancel. For secular sources, there seem to have been fewer conventional patterns of size or the amount of content on a page. It is tempting to argue that manuscripts with larger pages were considered more important than those with smaller ones, and that the smaller pages were more likely to be intended for use – but we don't really have enough sources to generalize about this. But such decisions, when coupled with awareness of the expected contents, will have dictated much about the quality of script and design.

3. *Instructions concerning the quality of the manuscript* – the use of colored initials, of gold leaf or silver, and ways in which space was used. These must, directly or not, have been laid down in the commission. For all chant, there may have been a stipulation by the bishop or other cleric commissioning the manuscript, and this would have been more a reflection of the status of that official than one of personal affluence, for the manuscript would have been copied as a pious activity within a monastic scriptorium. For manuscripts of polyphony and of secular song, the quality of work was a direct reflection of how much the commissioner was prepared to pay: the more money that was forthcoming, the more use there could be of gold leaf, of lapis lazuli, and of historiated initials or full illuminations.

The subjects depicted in illumination or initials seem to us to have been laid down, by the patron or by convention. In liturgical manuscripts, they would normally have been dictated by the liturgical text which they accompanied. The same is true for some other religious texts, such as those collected in the Florence *lauda* manuscript.[13] For secular musical manuscripts, we do not have enough evidence to show how often this decoration was specified in detail, with the illuminator (for example) having been given not only subjects but also a schedule of designs to follow.[14] In other manuscripts (such as those of the legend of Tristan or of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, of Books of Hours or

13 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.1.122 [*olim*: Banco Rari 18] (*I-Fn* II.1.122). See the facsimile of the musical notation in Fernando Liuzzi, *La Lauda e i Primordi della Melodia Italiana* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, Anno XIII [1935]), vol. II.

14 However, there are certainly some manuscripts where specific illuminations must have been required. The design of some miniatures in some of the Machaut manuscripts, including a portrait of the composer himself, is surely an example, as are the portraits of poets in lieder manuscripts. Probably, the illuminations in the Fauvel manuscript were prescribed, as surely were those in liturgical manuscripts.

particularly of the scriptures), traditions of sequences of decoration developed, with specific subjects, and even detailed designs, reappearing in numbers of manuscripts – presumably sometimes reflecting the desires of the patron, and sometimes no more than the strength of a local scribal or interpretative tradition.[15]

Even when there are no decorative illuminations, some manuscripts betray the patron's wish to own (or the donor's wish to give) a lavish manuscript. The Old Hall Manuscript was surely copied for a rich institution, given the size and quality of the parchment, and the use of rich colors,[16] and the same must have been true for a large percentage of the surviving complete sources. The contrast between such a manuscript and one without the same pretensions can be seen by comparing two of the central manuscripts of Machaut's works: *Vogüé* (*Mach Vg*) is an attractive manuscript, with miniatures at key points, many historiated initials, and a lavish use of gold, silver, and lapis lazuli.[17] By contrast, *MachB*, which was copied from *Vogüé*, is a working copy, without decoration, and written in a much less stylish hand.[18]

4. How far an intention to include music was part of the original plan, and how far that was to affect the basic layout of the page, with any necessary occasional modifications. For example, many liturgical manuscripts show that there was a complicated series of planning decisions – reflecting the presence and absence of music at various points, and the need for distinguishing between the text to be said or sung and the rubrics which were instructions and guidance, through the use of two colors, red and black. The preparation of each page in such a manuscript was a mixture of standard rulings and experienced calculation and guesswork: it appears that many

15 A remarkable study of this practice can be seen in the two volumes of Peter Brieger, Millard Meiss, and Charles S. Singleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969 [*recte* 1970]). Tracing design patterns in different works of art has become a recognized tool for art historians – much as tracing readings of specific compositions has helped in tracing the circulation of musical manuscripts and their contents.

The best-known examples of this work for medieval music manuscripts are probably the research confirming a Parisian origin for Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1, the "Florence Manuscript, " F, and the more recent work identifying the scribe and early owner of the Fauvel manuscript. For the second of these, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol. I: 203–33 and vol. II: 191 and 195–200.

16 See note 11 above.

17 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ferrell-Vogüé Vg (Ferrell 1) (*GB-Ccc* Vg (Ferrell 1). Private Collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell, on deposit at the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

18 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1585 (*F-Pn* fr. 1585), one of a group of Machaut manuscripts preserved in Paris. See note 9 above, and Margaret Bent, "The Machaut Manuscripts *Vg*, *B* and *E*," *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983), 53–82.

pages could only be ruled up in outline, and that copying was a more complex operation than usual.

For some early manuscripts (even some later poetic sources), music may not have been part of the original plan – for the pages were ruled up without making any allowance for the space it would occupy.[19] Musical signs could then be inserted above the syllables that required them, so long as the tradition of such signs did not require much vertical space – unheightened neumes, for example. Indeed, in a number of these manuscripts music was only added for a percentage of the texts.

But as soon as notation began to be more precise, employing heightened neumes, even *in campo aperto*, the scribe needed to arrange the page to leave space for them.[20] The emergence of a practice of ruling even one or two "stave lines" (indicating specific pitches) meant that scribes had to make more regular provision for music when ruling up the page. Even here, it is evident that scribes sometimes had to make on-the-spot decisions, as when one of the lines had to be moved up or down momentarily, to accommodate a wider musical range.[21]

19 We cannot simply assert that a regular text-ruling for a page precluded the addition of notation, especially in the early phases of musical notation, when neumes were rarely heightened. The evidence that music was indeed intended for specific poems can often be found in the way that a text is spaced on the page – leaving room for melismas, for example. Clear examples can be seen in the excellent reproduction of the principal manuscript of the Carmina Burana (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660), on fols. 73v and 74r, or on 53r–54r (note here the use of red lines in the text area, showing the presence of a melisma, though the space was not always accurately calculated). Less successful attempts, where space was left for the melismas in some instances, though not all, appear on folio 94r–v; and an evidently later addition of notation appears on fol. 34r. See *Carmina Burana: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Clm 4660 and Clm 4660a*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff, Publications of Medieval Musical Manuscripts 9 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1967), 19.

20 An alternative solution, in which the text to which music was to be supplied would be written in smaller characters, was employed in missals and other manuscripts from at least the late eighth century: in these manuscripts, intended for the priest, the sung sections were indicated in this way, since he would not be taking part in them, but merely needed to know what the text was. This is well illustrated in a twelfth-century breviary from Austria, shown in *NG2* vol. XXIII: 820 – evidently the whole page was ruled up uniformly, and the smaller text allowed for music to fit into the same space. See also *Schriftbild* 4, pl. 9, of the "Winchester Troper," Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473 (*GB-Ccc* 473); and Plate III of Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), showing a late eleventh-century Parisian source, where the text scribe did not calculate at all well how much space the musical melismas would occupy. The practice is discussed in the facsimile of the Winchester Troper: see Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile, Edition and Introduction*, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 2007).

21 There are many examples of this need to move the line in Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Handschrift 2 (*D-Wil* Hs. 2), one of the two principal manuscripts of the music of Hildegard von Bingen, copied late in the twelfth century. Most staves have a small C clef, and a red line for the pitch f, usually the f below middle c. When the range of the melody went beyond the 4-line stave (which was already ruled before copying began), both the clef and the red line showing f were moved. On occasion, a second red line would be added for the f above middle c, when the melody went that high. See *Hildegard von Bingen Lieder: Faksimile Riesencodex (Hs. 2) der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, fol. 466–481v*, ed. Lorenz Welker (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1998).

But some repertoires remained largely unnotated. While most trouvère manuscripts do contain music, and the scribes of others left spaces for the addition of notation, very few extant troubadour manuscripts contain music, and even then not regularly. (Even more extreme is the absence of music in the major text manuscripts of minnesang.) Given the extent to which the same trouvère texts often survive with different melodies, it is apparent that the repertoires remained textual, and that the musical elements of a performance were often improvised, or at least the personal property of an individual singer. In such a situation, it is reasonable to assume that any decision to include music in a manuscript was a very conscious one – whether the music appeared generally for many works or only for one or two. This is most apparent in the earliest sources, those that were probably written before the year 1000, where musical notation is supplied for only a small percentage of the poetry in the source. But the same situation prevailed long after a regular notation (with staves, specific pitches, and rhythmic signs) had become normal for polyphony, and staves had also been adopted in most liturgical manuscripts. The argument surely follows that the act of adding notation to a secular verse was not intended to make the music itself available to any casual reader of the manuscript, but kept it the preserve of the singer who would already know its basic features.

5. *The layout of the texts and music on the page*, conditioning how the page was ruled up prior to copying. This was a second fundamental issue, a corollary of decisions on the size and lavishness of the manuscript. In practice, I suspect, however, that it will not have been specified by a patron, for traditional page designs will have prevailed. While these patterns changed over the period covered by the present volumes, different standard layouts were preferred at any given period and in any geographical or liturgical area. Thus, while much of the earliest polyphony was preserved in score,[22] more economical layouts rapidly came to be adopted, with the voice-parts copied separately. Initially, this involved consecutive presentation, triplum, motetus, and then tenor, but produced sources in which the music could not be performed by reading the notation – for the various parts could lie on either

22 Mark Everist, in his *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), shows how impractical this could be in various situations – as in the manuscript at Châlons-en-Champagne, Bibliothèque municipale 270 (*F-CECm* 270). The continuation of this practice, especially when copying three- and four-voiced organal compositions, was a product of the need for a tenor to see when to change pitch from one held note to the next. However, it was also retained in settings of other genres, and this was presumably a reflection of difficulty in notating rhythmic aspects of early syllabic polyphony, even after (as we think) a relatively consistent set of interpretations was in use for other repertoires.

side of a folio.[23] A logical development placed the upper voices in separate columns, with the tenor part (with many fewer notes and little text) separated from the others and presented below them.[24]

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, all these arrangements of the parts on the page were available, and the scribe selected from among them according to the nature of the composition to be copied, and often (as it seems to us) in order to present a clear and visually attractive appearance.[25] In many cases, consideration also had to be given to additional verses of text, or to poetry without music, and also to decoration and perhaps illumination. The various arrangements, of both polyphonic and monophonic works, in the principal manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel*[26] show how complex the range of decisions could be, especially when expense was no object.

23 The three central Notre Dame manuscripts: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 628 Helmstedt (*D-W* Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. [W_1]); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 1099 Helmstedt (*D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. [W_2]); and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (*I-Fl* plut. 29.1 [F]) show this transition in progress, for each represents several stages of copying. W_2 may be the clearest, for different fascicles were copied by different scribes. The first layers, containing organa and conductus settings, were written in score. A later layer (from fol. 123), with three-voiced motets, has the two upper parts copied in score, and the tenors entered at the end of each work. But from fol. 145 the Latin motets are laid out with consecutive voice-parts. See Luther Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript 1099 Helmstadiensis – (1206), W_2*, Publications of Mediaeval Music Manuscripts 2 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960). For W_1, see *Die mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift W_1: vollständige Reproduktion des "Notre Dame"-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).

By the time of the musical layer of the La Clayette manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521 (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521), perhaps from the 1260s it seems to have become standard. Here, the first piece shows the potential problem, for the end of the motetus and the tenor part are on the verso of the folio that opens with the triplum. Since the works in this manuscript are copied consecutively, this problem occurs frequently.

24 A consistent use of this pattern can be seen in almost all of the "Bamberg Codex" (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 [*D-BAs*, lit. 115]: facsimile as Pierre Aubry, *Cent motets du XIII siècle* [Paris: Rouart, Lerolle; Geuthner, 1908]): the few exceptions include score for a "Deus in adiutorium" and five settings of the "In seculum," and a few compositions in which all three voices move together, and are therefore in parallel columns.

This layout is ideally suited to use in a rotulus, where no page turns intervene. The "Brussels Rotulus," Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 19606 (*B-Br* 19606), shows how it was easily adapted to works where the triplum had many more notes than the motetus. One face of the roll begins with a "Deus in adjiutorum" in the earlier score format, and then adapts the layout of the following motets in a most attractive manner. The manuscript, which is described in *RISM*, BIV², 43–45 and published in facsimile as *Rotullus, early 14th c.* (Peer: Alamire, ca.1990), joins the folios together at the top and bottom. Some other rolls join the folios at the sides: see for example, Tongeren, Stadsarchief, fonds Begijnhof 490 (*B-TOa* Beg. 490), reproduced in facsimile in *Anthologie van musiekfragmenten uit de Lagen Landen (Middeleeuwen – Renaissance)*, ed. Eugeen Schreurs (Peer: Alamire, 1995), plates 22 and 23.

25 The best example of how different scorings for similar types of composition affected patterns of ruling and layout can be seen in the "Montpellier Codex," Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 (*F-MOf* H 196): the first fascicle has pieces notated in score, the second has four-voiced motets in four columns across an opening, and later fascicles show other patterns. See the facsimile, *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle*, ed. Yvonne Rokseth (Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1933–39), and the detailed study of this manuscript's preparation and copying in Mary E. Wolinski, "The Compilation of the Montpellier Codex," *Early Music History* 11 (1992), 263–301.

26 A particularly elegant example, on folios 41v–42r, is also reproduced in color in *Schriftbild* 5, pl. 18.

By the time of the Machaut manuscripts, after the mid-century, these various layouts had become standard. The larger size of the page meant greater clarity in presentation, and standard arrangements of the parts. The highest voice increasingly was placed automatically at the top left of an opening, and the second high voice (in three-voiced compositions) at the top right. The tenor could be entered below them, across the opening. With shorter compositions – three-voiced *formes fixes* settings, for example – consecutive presentation of all voices remained the most sensible and economical solution. With the emergence of contratenor parts, the tenor came to lie in second place: in four-voiced works a triplum might appear first or second. These manuscripts are exemplary for the way in which the different genres and scorings produced different layouts on the page. There is even, in the copy of Machaut's Mass in *Vogüé*, an early example of what later was called choirbook format, with two parts on each page of an opening: this is used for the Gloria (except for the Amen, written in four columns), Credo and Sanctus.[27] These various practices meant that different pieces and pages would be planned to look different, and that had to be done before pages could be prepared. In most cases, the whole page could be ruled at once with a basic layout, in one or two columns (the *Fauvel* manuscript is rare among musical sources in being in three columns, itself a statement of the prestige attached to the finished work), whether or not it was to include music.

The ruling was usually drawn at a distance required by single lines of text, and the music regularly spaced accordingly. When there were also blocks of verbal text – in a liturgical source, a secular prose source with musical inserts, or a musical source with additional verses below the music – the relationship between music spacing and text spacing was usually very simple. This meant that several pages, perhaps a complete gathering, could be ruled at once, in the knowledge that different pieces could still use the same ruling. In some cases, the stave lines may correspond exactly with text lines, so that the music occupies the equivalent of five text lines. In other cases, it will take a consistent number, perhaps four or three lines, depending on the complexity of the notation, and the size of the text hand.[28] Usually this ruling was made

27 I have always found it strange that the arrangement of parts put the music for the highest voice at the top of the verso page of an opening. In books used for liturgical purposes, this puts music for the shortest musicians (the choirboys) at the top, and that for the men at the bottom. With choirbooks resting on a lectern, such as is regularly shown in illustrations, this makes it harder for choirboys to read the music during performance: it is perhaps, therefore, an additional argument for the boys performing essentially from memory.

28 An interesting case, available in facsimile, is that of a processional for the abbey of Sant'Andrea della Castagna in Genoa, during the fifteenth century. Pages were lightly ruled, and then stave lines drawn over the horizontal rulings. The text fills the space between *two* ruled lines, so that one system occupies six. See *Il processionale benedettino della Badia di Sant'Andrea della Castagna* (Milan: Electa, 1992).

blind, and not only in music manuscripts, especially if the set of four or five stave lines was intended to take other than the same number of blind rulings. An interesting exception is a manuscript of works attributed to Oswald von Wolkenstein, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Cod. Vind. 2777 (*A-Wn*, Cod. Vind. 2777),[29] where all the rulings for the major part of the manuscript are in red: a series of single lines was ruled, above which the text was written. Below each of those lines, four-line staves were ruled to carry the music. These were ruled before either the verbal or musical text was entered, indeed probably before decisions were made about which compositions were to be copied onto which pages.

A subsidiary issue, and one which may not have concerned the patron or whoever ordered the manuscript, was the relationship between text and music, as they were entered on the page. In many cases, we assume two different scribes, one for music, one for text: in practice, this is hard to prove, for the two often appear to have used different implements. Further, there are few elements common to the two sets of symbols, and the act of writing each would seem to involve different actions. Thus, it is sometimes possible that the same scribe wrote both. (This is surely the case, of course, in those small manuscripts which look to be performer's copies, or simple collections without decoration or any pretence at visual style.) However, more significant for our understanding of what was written is the question of which actually came first: was the music spaced to allow for the text, or vice versa? Since we have little idea of how concerned a scribe was that individual syllables might align with individual pitches (indeed, a complete lack of concern seems common, to our eyes), it is often helpful to develop a sense of how far one element was squeezed or spaced poorly, or had to stray into a margin, as reflecting an order of work, and perhaps some sense of priority on the part of the scribe.[30]

6. But, beyond the general issues discussed so far, all of which were of central importance to the initial stages of preparing a manuscript, other details would have to have been specified: these concern similarly basic issues, now about the potential function of the manuscript, probably reflecting a balance between, on the one hand, a sense of lavishness and expense, and, on the

29 A facsimile, with commentary by Francesco Delbono, is *Oswald von Wolkenstein Handschrift A: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe in Original Format des Codex Vindobonensis 2777 der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977).

30 A general discussion of this issue, with examples drawn from the Chantilly Codex, is Elizabeth Randall Upton, "Aligning Words and Music: Scribal Procedures for the Placement of Text and Notes in the Chantilly Codex," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms.564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 115–32.

other, the feasibility of use by readers and performing musicians. These must have begun with *decisions about the style, size and clarity of the text and music as they were to be copied.*

The possible range between the most elegant and the least is quite wide: I have mentioned the range between different manuscripts of Machaut's works. A comparison of the hasty script of various layers of F with the elegance of much of W_2, or the care taken in the fragmentary manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca del Orfeó Català 1 (*E-Boc* 1) (both in notating the music and in adding decorative calligraphic initials),[31] makes that range of possibilities evident even for such early sources.

Certainly, for us looking back from a millenium later, it seems that this must bear on whether a manuscript was intended for use by singers, either in performance, or for the individual singer to prepare his or her own part – perhaps even to learn it by heart. We assume that this would have been part of the original instructions to the scribe, to be followed in planning the layout of the manuscript – for it is an integral part of the future owner's view of the function of the manuscript. This is a point to which we will have to return.

These sets of decisions were of course completely intertwined – any views on the lavishness of a manuscript directly affected decisions about the size of a page and the amount of space surrounding the text; they would also affect how far illumination or gold leaf were restricted to the opening folios of the finished manuscript or were to be present throughout. But equally influential would be decisions about the planned use of the manuscript.

7. One additional decision will have been made by the patron: *whether the manuscript was to be regarded as complete once copied*, or whether space was to be left for later additions, either at the end or at specific points within the manuscript. This decision had some impact not only on planning the manuscript itself, but also on the copying process. A manuscript arranged to contain works by different composers, each series grouped together, could require that each composer's work began on a separate series of folios and gatherings, making separate fascicles. It could even require that different fascicles were ruled up in different ways, allowing for differences in musical style or content.[32] Each of these layers could be started at the same time, or at least

31 These pages are reproduced in Max Lütolf, *Die mehrstimmige Ordinarium Missae-Sätze vom ausgehenden 11. bis zur Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1970), pll. 13–25.

32 Manuscripts constructed in this way need to be distinguished from the bound-up collection of more than one manuscript, originally separate and distinct – the *konvolut*. At first sight, the two types may well look the same, with separate fascicles, each copied in the manner most convenient for the content: however, a single manuscript planned as a set of separate units, fascicles, intended to belong together,

left incomplete at the end, pending the possibility of further additions before the manuscript was despatched to its owner. For us, the presence of unused folios in the middle of a manuscript is a good stimulus for considering whether some such arrangement was expected. This is obvious in such a source as F, the Florentine Notre Dame manuscript: of the eleven fascicles into which modern scholars divide the work, each distinguished by scoring or genre, the ends of six include blank staves, ready for the addition of more works.[33] This pattern of assuming later additions must distinguish such manuscripts from any that were planned to be gifts or were to contain a closed and defined collection of pieces, for those will have been completed in one, probably continuous, process.

In yet other cases, the discovery of new material to be added to a manuscript could lead to rearranging the original. The tenth-century St. Gall manuscript, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 484 (*CH-SGs* cod. sang. 484), is an example where the scribe seems to have started out with a number of tropes, and with the intent of making as complete a collection as possible. As he found new tropes he rearranged the extant folios, and inserted new ones at various points.[34]

8. One final decision was surely not specified, but must have been in the scribe's mind: *the relative importance of accuracy and appearance*. An answer will have been derived from a consideration of our earlier points, especially that concerning the potential use of the manuscript. For example, there is little reason to suppose that the most luxurious gifts to kings and emperors were necessarily going to be used for a detailed reading, rather than for display: they were statements of the richness of thought and attributes expected of royalty, and at the same time of the donor's perception of those standards. Similar claims could be made for many manuscripts donated to religious institutions. Such manuscripts not only needed to be beautiful and lavish: they also should not show signs of haste or of correction, indeed of

will usually show the sort of integrity of purpose and destination that I have discussed above. By contrast, in a *konvolut* the separate units often had no connection with each other, but were bound together simply for the convenience of the eventual owner. However, one cannot always rely on such obvious evidence, and indeed sometimes it is difficult to tell whether adjacent fascicles were originally part of one manuscript or came together later. Anne Stone makes this point in her commentary to the facsimile of Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (*I-MOe*, α.M.5.24): see her *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24: Commentary* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), 23–27: see also the situation in the Hildegard von Bingen manuscript at Wiesbaden (see note 21, above), where the music fascicle may have had an independent origin, separate from the writings in the rest of the manuscript.

33 The similar pattern in W_2 may not have quite so simple an interpretation, despite the same organization and appearance, since many of the fascicles were written by different people. It may be that each scribe made provision for additions to his own layer.

34 See the facsimile in Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996).

anything that might disrupt the flow of one beautiful page after another. Accuracy, therefore, may have been important, but it took second place.[35]

On the other hand, we cannot assume that a manuscript from which musicians might work had to be as accurate as possible. Accuracy is only needed when singing or playing from sight. In other cases, a correct version can be arrived at through rehearsal or practice. Sometimes errors might need to be corrected on the page; sometimes they were so obvious that no correction was needed; sometimes, perhaps, they led to singers abandoning the attempt at singing a particular work. More significantly, sometimes they might not have been noticed, as singers unthinkingly adjusted the notated music to what they had expected to see, a conventional musical figure, the standard completion of a tactus, or a logical cadential approach, for example. Accuracy, for the medieval scribe and singer, was a concept based on a series of premises almost alien to the modern performer.[36]

As a result, there are works where manuscript versions defy the modern scholar's attempts at making a sensible transcription; there are others where even the original scribe seems to have given up, and left the work incomplete or obviously garbled.[37] There is also a whole range of types of variation between different copies of the same work: some of these variations probably reflect the interests and tastes of the different scribes; some represent updating or deliberately different stylistic views; some may well represent attempts at solving a problem in the scribe's exemplar; and some, of course, represent slips of commission or omission on the part of the scribe. Very rarely can we even speculate as to which is the cause of any given variation.

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It is easy, with hindsight, to see the patterns of change in the organization of manuscripts and the presentation of their musical contents as a logical progression, moving from a visually suggestive series of symbols laid out in a straight line towards the adoption of staves and strictly notated pitch (whatever that meant in practice); moving from no rhythmic indications at

35 This argument cannot have applied to some texts – Scripture, liturgy, patents of nobility and so on.

36 I am not trying to argue that musical scribes did not care, or that they thought accuracy was not important. Instead, I am suggesting that their concept of accuracy involved a series of performing decisions which could often override the details of the text they were copying. In addition, any scribe would want to produce a performable version, regardless of whether the sources were to be used in performance.

37 An example from just after the medieval period concerns Arnold de Lantins's *Tra quante ragione*, which survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici miscellany 213 (*GB-Ob* Canon. misc. 213) in an incomplete and evidently corrupt state.

all through modal notations towards a system in which context could yield precise notational relationships (and on into the seventeenth century as note-forms acquired relationships regardless of context); moving from an approximate score-layout towards the choirbook layout of the early fifteenth century, and through an apparent concern for economizing on space towards a concern for clarity and consistency of layout.

While these lines of thought and movement are clearly no more than a series of over-simplifications, we can see simple reasoning behind some of the developments. For example, score-layout became impractical as soon as the motet introduced the idea of simultaneous different texts: the space involved in showing three texts meant that a single system took up a large amount of vertical space on the page, and the relationship between individual parts was harder to perceive. In addition, producing a good vertical alignment of three musical lines with their texts, while not impossible, was itself more time- and thought-consuming, and the results were probably seen as not satisfactory. (It is hard enough in a modern edition, for some of these repertoires.) At the same time, the act of composing polyphony presumed a high level of rhythmic accuracy on the part of the singers, and thus a more precise series of distinct notations – so that they could be read or learned by an individual singer, and put together satisfactorily with parts learned by other singers.

Tenors moved more slowly than upper parts, often so slowly that a full page of music for any upper parts would correspond to less than a single line of music for the tenor. Thus it would seem logical that, while the tenor was still the most important part, it was most sensibly copied only after the scribe had found out how much of the upper parts could be fitted onto the upper staves: and the tenor ended up inscribed on the lowest stave of a page. The idea of having the two upper parts of a three-voiced motet inscribed in separate columns (or on the facing pages of an opening) follows logically from this first stage of segregation – it added further clarity to the layout.

Other facets of the copying process, and of changes in both appearance and notation, can be explained in similar ways. Yet it is evident that few such changes took place with any consistency, either across repertoires or across geographical distance. Indeed there are many exceptions to each linear "rule of progress," destroying the simplicity of historical hindsight: we know this very well from the history of notation, in which regional notational variants have been the subject of continuing study. But some of these "departures" from the pattern reflect specific repertoires, or sometimes specific uses of a manuscript: the presence of stroke notation, long after the mensural system

was well advanced,[38] argues for a source which was to be used by inexperienced singers – perhaps even in performance. Even more evidently, the occasional continued use of score in simpler two-voiced music – *cantus planus binatim* – suggests performers who could not improvise a second part over chant, but needed a notated solution: and score continued in England well after it had been abandoned for most repertoires on the Continent.

Then, again, unheightened notations were still being used in the fifteenth century, whenever that was more convenient and raised no problems. Typical for this is the evidence of notated sources in north German convents. As Ulrike Hascher-Burger has shown, these manuscripts were written by the nuns themselves, as part of their regimen, and were for their own personal use.[39] Here is clear evidence of the ways in which changes in notation, and in the copying process, could not proceed in a linear fashion.

At the other extreme, there are some developments which seem to lie in advance of, or outside, a more linear progression. The early use of choirbook layout, in one source of Machaut's Mass, has already been mentioned. A parallel may be seen in the notation of keyboard music in the "Robertsbridge Codex":[40] the use of letters for the lower line of music foreshadows its appearance in German organ tablatures of the fifteenth century.[41] As a third example, one can point to the notation of the Ars subtilior repertoire, which is distinctive and more complex than that for most other contemporary music, necessarily reflecting what we hear in the music. In addition, the notation is presented in manuscripts in a manner which almost precludes their use in performance. The size of notes, and the extent to which they are squeezed in next to each other, can be seen as a contradiction of the care with which they are copied, the extensive uses of color, and the relative elegance of the manuscripts. In this combination of factors, these sources lie outside any attempt at a logical progression towards fifteenth-century sources of secular song.

38 A major collection with many songs in stroke notation is the Gruuthuse manuscript from late fourteenth-century Bruges. See Jan van Biezen and K. Vellekoop, "Aspects of Stroke Notation in the Gruuthuse Manuscript and Other Sources," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 34 (1984), 3–25. See also Barbara Haggh, "The Helmund Manuscript," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (1997), 39–41.

39 See Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio Moderna (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms 16 H/34, olim B 113)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), and the facsimile of that manuscript, *Utrecht Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 16 H 34*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 31 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2004).

40 London, British Library, additional 28550 (*GB-Lbl* add. 28550).

41 Although here it is fair to point out that there are no surviving sources from German lands in the intervening period.

All these things we can see, as we look at medieval manuscripts: they are evident from the appearance of the individual page or opening, and from the quality of the materials. But they still tell us less than we would like about the intent behind preparing each manuscript. In particular, we very rarely know whether the requirements were stipulations made by some future owner or the institution which employed the scribe, or whether they were simply what a scribe decided to do, as a result of the commission or derived from his own copying or performing practice. We would like to know if the scribe was merely responding to convention, or if he was attempting to reflect a specific requirement made of him when the manuscript was commissioned. We can offer speculative answers to these questions, and I have done so in some cases above.

But frequently the power of tradition must have been strong enough that it overrode all but the strongest requests from the patron or financial pressures imposed by his decisions. We can see this in the character of text hands, which (for any given institution at any given time) have an internal consistency that allows us to analyze them and then locate further examples.[42] There are similar patterns in musical hands. While it is easy to see, for example, the difference between the basic character of musical symbols in French and Italian fourteenth-century hands, we can find it difficult to distinguish different musical hands when two or more scribes shared work in earlier manuscripts. This is particularly hard where tradition and training were most influential, not least in monastic scriptoria.

On the other hand, the manner in which we can trace these local traditions in notation, and also in the manner of preparing a manuscript for copying, has been useful for studying those many manuscripts and fragments which are now to be found far from where they were copied or first owned.

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Study of the sources began, as it had for other texts, as a means of discovering new musical works, and editing them. The necessary process of evaluating the various versions of works led naturally to consideration of the sources involved. This process involved not only the codicological and paleographical skills conventionally used for describing and assessing manuscripts; it also led to considerations such as those raised earlier in this chapter. This work has enabled many of the conclusions reached in other chapters, especially where

42 This, incidentally, also allows the scholar to point to active changes in hand-style, for example under the influence of classical scripts, and to trace the attempts of scribes to change their hand.

anonymous works are involved, or where the source only survives in fragmentary form.

But, behind all this discussion lurk two very difficult questions. The first is being attacked in a number of ways in recent scholarship: it asks how far the surviving manuscripts provide a representative cross-section of what was actually copied. We know, of course, that much must have been lost, and in some cases we are fortunate enough to have some idea of just how much. For example Rebecca A. Baltzer[43] has marshaled evidence for seventeen lost copies of Notre Dame polyphony, showing that what survives is in fact only a proportion of the original spread of sources. The danger of extrapolating from this single instance in order to draw a broader picture lies in the esteem with which this repertoire was held, and in the manner in which these sources are cited in the library catalogs and other places: the implications of this emphasis are twofold: one is that the repertoire was so highly regarded that many people wanted to preserve it; the other is that some of the manuscripts were themselves to be found alongside some of the most lavish examples of the illuminator's craft. It may be that the pattern suggested by this evidence is not representative.

We assume that books that were regularly used, whatever they contained, would tend to deteriorate, lose their bindings, get damaged, and eventually be discarded. We have some evidence for these lost sources, in addition to library catalogs. Some, once they were no longer of use, were sent to binderies, where they were broken up, and sheets used as padding for bindings or torn up further to make guard strips. The rate at which these fragments continue to surface, continuing to open new perspectives on the dissemination of polyphony in, for example, England or Iberia, suggests that perhaps the evidence of lost Notre Dame sources may have to be regarded as typical. We may have to extrapolate from this pattern to reconsider the general absence of sources from eastern Europe, especially when we ask how widely disseminated were the works of composers such as Machaut or Landini. In other words, the pattern of surviving sources, across Europe as a whole, may be far from representative of how much existed, and where.

When we turn to consider how much music (rather than sources) has been lost, the picture looks somewhat different. Michael Scott Cuthbert has explored the possible pattern of music for the Italian fourteenth century – and has shown that what survives of specific repertoires is probably a large

43 Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 380–99.

proportion of what originally existed.[44] The discovery of new fragments tends to support this view, for they often contain works that have been known from other sources, though not necessarily sources from the same part of the world.

But even this evidence does not confirm that the surviving sources give a representative view of what was once available. Some repertoires were rarely written down, sometimes because they were largely improvised, but also sometimes because they were simple enough, sung often enough, or remained a personal repertoire.[45] Or, to take a different approach, some repertoires were never preserved in luxurious or formal manuscripts: copied into simple working sources, they will have largely disappeared. This must certainly be true for any sources that might have been made of early improvised polyphony, where the best evidence seems to lie in the treatises. Such gaps in the written repertoire confirm what we would expect: that any music copied into manuscripts had to be not only something that was worth preserving, but also something that people might want or need to look at or read in the future.

This is where the first problem (of lost sources) impinges directly on the second problem, that of how far the surviving (or indeed any) manuscripts were actually used for performance. This second problem needs to be seen as twofold: were such manuscripts used to preserve a performing repertoire, to be read? and then: were they used to read from during performance, rather than to prepare performances, learning a work in advance?

The first of these questions may seem to be naive, in questioning simple assumptions: after all, there would seem to be few other reasons for writing down music. It does not fit into the range of fields for which accurate records were needed – institutional or mercantile accounts, formal records of wills and grants of nobility, legal precedents and so on. These seem to be the materials which form the contents of the earliest written documents, after which the practices of writing and preservation spread slowly to other verbal repertoires. Even allowing for the earliest musical sources, music was not written down until well after this spread – and it might therefore seem that musical sources corresponded, in their functions, to the wider repertoire of written texts.

44 Michael S. Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009), 39–74.

45 The extent to which this skews our understanding of the range of repertoires, and the extent to which the surviving sources are not representative, is underlined by Bernhard Bischoff, writing of the manuscript Carmina Burana: " . . . certain lyrical genres, such as the Latin dancing songs of the scholars or the songs which accompanied the drinking of wine or the playing of dice, are known to us only, or almost only, from this one codex." See the reference above, in note 19.

We surely must assume, therefore, that most musical manuscripts were meant to be read: although it is not clear how far that reading was restricted to reading the verbal texts, with an interpretative reading of any illuminations or historiated initials. Some manuscripts were certainly intended for readers, and for reading for (or before) performance: this must be especially true for those manuscripts conveying music that did not normally need to be written down. Manuscripts with simplified notations (*cantus planus binatim*) or with stroke notation reveal, through this notation, an intent to help performers. This is also probably true for manuscripts containing music for faburden or fauxbourdon performance. The use of the term "sight" in some English treatises suggests (though it does not require) that performance of an improvised additional voice was derived from *looking at* the notated part. And yet, the very nature of these repertoires as largely improvised genres[46] argues that they were only written down when performers actually needed to see the music – in other words, that manuscripts (or individual layers of manuscripts) served a special function.

But other manuscripts can hardly have been used as reading material when performing: many are too small for more than one or two people to use at the same time: the polyphonic manuscript of Notre Dame compositions now in Madrid is only 166 mm high, but its second section contains twelve staves per page, grouped as for four-voiced compositions.[47] Even in the more spacious pages, there are regularly eight staves. Further, in a stave of a little over 100 mm in length, as many as fifty pitches may be entered. None of the three principal Notre Dame manuscripts (W_1, W_2, and F) is more than 50 percent larger, although the notation tends to be clearer.[48] In all these cases, we must question whether three or four musicians could possibly stand round the copy and perform from it. Perhaps using these monumental sources for such an argument is not fair: but the fragments of other sources seem to raise the same issue. A good demonstration, using not merely the size of the manuscript, but also the size of the notation, lies in two fragmentary manuscripts from the end of the fourteenth century and

46 See the comment by F. Alberto Gallo, in "The Practice of *Cantus Planus Binatim* in Italy from the Beginning of the 14th Century to the Beginning of the 16th Century," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizione Torre D'Orfeo, 1989), 14: "Given the nature of this type of polyphony . . . it is probable that it was as a rule entrusted to oral tradition, and that only by way of exception, in particular circumstances, or to satisfy particular requirements, did it come to be written down in permanent form."

47 Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España 20486 (*E-Mn* 20486 [Ma]). This manuscript was copied in Spain, sometime in the mid-thirteenth century. It has been reproduced in facsimile: Luther Dittmer, intro., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Madrid 20486*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 1 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1957).

48 A particularly attractive page from W_2 is reproduced in *Schriftbild* 4, pl. 8, enlarged by over 50 percent.

now preserved in the Stadtarchief in Ghent.[49] Both copy the parts of three-voiced motets consecutively, starting lower voices in the middles of lines with colored initials. The fragment Ghent, Stadtarchief, Groenenbriel 133 (*B-Gar* Groen. 133) is from a large manuscript, 440 mm high, with ten staves per page. The notation, especially of the lower voices, is very compact, and would be hard to read in performance. The second fragment, Ghent, Stadtarchief, Varia D 3360 A (*B-Gar* Varia D 3360 A), is smaller, in quarto with pages 309 mm high, and contains only eight staves. But the notation is throughout much more generously spaced and easier to read. These, and similar cases, seem to argue that sources used for reading the music were more compact, but with clearer and more spacious presentation of the notation itself.

In other cases, the different voice-parts cannot even be seen at the same time. I have mentioned the Winchester Troper,[50] and there some other early sources, with Aquitanian and Parisian repertoires, where the same situation holds. Clearly, in such cases, the two performers, even of an organal setting, could not be reading the music in performance. The best we could hope for would be that one singer (presumably the one holding the chant) performed from memory, while the other could read from the manuscript.

Indeed, the general structure of the contents of many of these sources (into the early fifteenth century) argues that they were not compiled for performance, but rather as repositories of important and highly-regarded repertoires. If the Notre Dame sources organize their contents, at the largest level, by genre and style, and only after that by liturgical occasion or function, or if song manuscripts were arranged in sequence by alphabetical text incipits or by composer, obviously this does not preclude performance from the manuscript: but it does suggest strongly that the primary intention was to present an organized archive. Such a view is reinforced by the frequent presence of a repertoire that was old-fashioned, perhaps almost obsolete, and by a range of different notational patterns and interpretations. When such manuscripts are also small (as with the Notre Dame manuscripts), or the notation is cramped and difficult to read (and, more importantly, to interpret at sight), the collected weight of the evidence suggests that they were never intended for use in performance.

On the other hand, the continuation of score notation in organal music, or the vertical alignment of parts in conductus settings, suggest that some

49 These have been reproduced by Eugeen Schreurs (see note 24 above), as plates 16–20.

50 *GB-Ccc* 473, where the chant is preserved in one layer, and the corresponding organal parts in a completely different part of the manuscript. The same is true for some parts of the repertoire preserved in F. Even later there are occasional similar problems: see the discussion above of the layout in Ma.

manuscripts were used. These may be special cases, for it is clear that rhythmic alignment in performance would be impossible without following the manuscript notation.

So the answer is far from clear. Our inclination is to avoid a simple answer, to take a conservative stance in the case of the most beautifully embellished or elegantly written manuscripts, and for those which seem to be archival collections, and suggest that they were not used in performance; then to take a more flexible position and say that the presence of manuscripts in depictions of musical performances supports an idea that singers certainly did read from sources in some situations. The two positions are not incompatible, of course: they can be seen as reflecting the different character and appearance of individual manuscripts as much as those of the contents. Eugeen Schreurs's formulation (quoted above, in note 4) succinctly states the conventional compromise, one which seems to make a good deal of sense. But there is also a third option: given the points that early notations cannot (and could not) be used by themselves to create a performance, and that singers of chant will have known much that was on the open page before them on the lectern, and that some sources seem to be designed to make using them in performance very difficult, it is possible to suggest that the most common use of a manuscript of medieval polyphony was to learn the music in private before performing it, and to have the manuscript open on the lectern in case of need. That view removes the "problems" of the small size of manuscripts, the constriction of notational space, and the presence of copying errors.

At present, we can do no more than suggest an answer for specific manuscripts: again, for the most elegant, or the most haphazard, or the most organized on practical or cultural terms. Assuredly, more general answers will be found as we understand more clearly how individual manuscripts reflect the specifications laid down by the patron or donor, and how those requirements interlock with tradition, both that of the scribe and illuminator and that of the reader or musician.

Collectors of Music

For much of the last few centuries, from about 1650 (and even earlier), a collector of music was assumed to be someone who collected scores and performing parts. This was understandable – often the only way one could get to know, and particularly to learn from, many compositions was to own, perform, and study scores or parts. While some great performers, Paganini or Liszt, for example, could command an audience whatever and wherever

they performed, they were only heard by a small percentage of interested musicians, even in a nineteenth century when virtuosi toured throughout Europe and to the New World. The rest of the world knew what was happening from reports or reviews, and from scores and arrangements. For anyone born before about 1950, this still remained true – for performing parts and miniature scores were widely available, while the larger orchestras and opera companies could rarely visit out-of-the-way towns or even cities.

Beginning in the third quarter of the twentieth century, however, the follower of music and musical affairs would increasingly be assumed to be someone who was collecting recordings, originally on discs, later on CDs and DVDs, and now increasingly online. Many recorded duplications of performances of the major works in the repertoire were made, and are still being made, and reviewers and collectors assess them to a large extent on the quality of the performance and the characteristics of the performer. In other words the collector is collecting performances as much as collecting compositions or composers – the performer is again assuming an ever-greater prominence in listening choices.[51] In popular genres, and in jazz and some non-Western repertoires (especially from India and some Muslim countries), the Western collecting instinct is directed almost entirely to performers and their performances. The important role assumed by recording technology in the dissemination of music has, in effect, altered the criteria by which many people assess what they hear, listening more to the performance, and less to the composition. There are exceptions, of course, among performers (amateur and professional), scholars, and others for whom an interest in (usually classical) music includes scores or parts.

This is very much a return to the situation that prevailed throughout the medieval period, at least as far as secular music was concerned: performers were pre-eminent, their performances were sought after and their versions of composed and orally transmitted works provided the yardstick by which the music itself was measured. Particular segments of society did own manuscripts, often of poetry to which music was attached, and institutions performing liturgy had collections of settings, both as chant and as polyphony.

This pattern requires a division of the idea of collecting music into two parts: on one side was the patron of itinerant musicians, of performances of

51 It is not surprising, therefore, that reviewers in magazines assessing new recordings spend much of their energy comparing recordings, with the intention of recommending one or another as "the best"; nor is it unusual that they bemoan the situation when only one recording is available for a less well-known work, for then there is no "better" or "worse" performance. I admit that all reviewers will express interest in new or previously unrecorded works, but there is still a frequent reluctance to assess the work beyond the extent to which the performers make it "work" as music.

lais, dance music, and much other occasional music; on the other the patron of polyphony and the poetry written and performed by nobles, educated gentlemen, or members of some confraternities.

For the first group, there is little evidence, of course:[52] the best is usually to be drawn from the accounts of the patron, recording payments and gifts to musicians and other entertainers. These make it clear that many nobles, leading members of cities, and those clerics who maintained a large household, kept a few musicians as retainers, perhaps including a harpist or other string player who could sing, certainly some musicians to play for dancing and as background music during meals, and often one or more trumpeters and drummers, to add an element of state to their movements and actions. The numbers and types of musicians retained by a nobleman were to some extent a reflection of his social status, probably more than of his interest in music or dancing.

Many such patrons also welcomed itinerant musicians and other entertainers, who would provide variety, and could also bring new stories, new songs, and news from elsewhere in the world – no doubt as much gossip as fact.[53]

These two means of collecting performances make of the patrons active collectors of music – in exactly the typical understanding of the meaning of a collector. They would acquire a stock collection – the music performed by their personal retainers – and also keep on the lookout for new material – the music brought by itinerants, music which might well become permanent parts of their collections if it was learned and performed by the retainers. Similarly, such collectors culled their collections – letting itinerant musicians move on, and releasing their own musicians to take a post elsewhere.

These patrons, and their musicians, had little or no need of written sources: for the musicians, the music was performed from memory, and additions quickly learned. For the patron, the music itself was almost exclusively a performed phenomenon, one which required a sense of live interaction between performer and audience, and therefore almost excluded the use of notated versions.

Even so, a few manuscripts of this repertoire do survive. In particular, there are a few examples of dance music – estampies, for example. Significantly,

52 This is not the place for a history of the medieval patronage of music and musicians. Such a history still remains to be written. All I wish to do here is draw a distinction between the practice of music as perceived by most members of medieval society, and the place of written documents.

53 These performers will have had in their repertoire versions of the famous legendary, classical, and medieval histories and legends, stories which some patrons would also have owned in manuscript form. But the distinction between a performance and the ownership of a manuscript's text is important: the two would not have been seen as "the same." This point, alongside others useful for understanding the point I am making here, is discussed in Maria Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present: The Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

most of these manuscripts also contain intabulations of polyphonic music. For example, what may be the earliest source, the Robertsbridge Codex (*GB-Lbl* add. 28550),[54] has ornamented arrangements of three motets alongside three estampies. This sort of pattern of including polyphonic works suggests that this and similar manuscripts were not the property of itinerant musicians but of performers established in an institution (in this case probably an English abbey), or of the institution itself. This is even more true of the two "keyboard" sources from the early fifteenth century – in Faenza (Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale 117) and in Groningen (Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Incunabulum 70) in the Netherlands:[55] while the Groningen source is only a fragment, the Faenza manuscript is a relatively large collection, in which the few dance pieces are surrounded by intabulations of a mixed repertoire of sacred and secular, Latin, French, and Italian pieces. Similarly, the presence in London, British Library, additional 29987 (*GB-Lbl* add. 29987) of a few dance pieces, and even four monophonic works called "Chançona tedescha," does little to change the principal character of the manuscript as a collection of Italian secular polyphony and theoretical writings, probably also copied at the start of the fifteenth century.[56]

In other words, there is little reason to suppose that we have sources for the lowest strata of musical society – traveling singers, jongleurs, dancers, and dance musicians – except insofar as some music was copied into a manuscript with different associations. The collectors and owners of manuscripts with these few additions were evidently interested in collecting a different repertoire, one which we must assume was more closely related to their own interests and social position. These owners might include musicians who had a permanent position in some sort of establishment, and who collected some music for their own interest or that of their patron. This seems, for example, to be the logical explanation of the existence of "keyboard" sources, offering performable versions of a fashionable repertoire in a guise which displayed the skills of the

54 Described in RISM BIV², 236–38. One of the pages is reproduced in Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, as plate LXI. This source is also an instance of another common feature of small musical manuscripts – that they were bound with other unrelated material at an early stage in their history.

55 The first is reproduced in full in *The Codex Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117*, ed. Armen Carapetyan, Musicological Studies and Documents 10 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1962). The second in *Anthologie van musiekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen (Middeleeuwen – Renaissance)*, pl. 128.

56 This manuscript is reproduced as *The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, Musicological Studies and Documents 13 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1965). The instrumental dances on fols. 56–63 fall between two monophonic religious settings, but are then surrounded by secular polyphony. The German songs on fol. 74 are similarly embedded among Italian songs.

performer, while also having a few other pieces, inserted for dancing or because the compiler liked them.

We have other traces of this sort of collecting of a usable repertoire – often in a fluent hand where style is less important than legibility, and where an economical use of the small amount of available space was important. In many cases, these pieces were entered after the rest of the manuscript was compiled, even bound, arguing that they were of great (if momentary) interest for the owners or users of the manuscript. Since the original manuscript is often one of some size, and contains material that would be kept in a library or an archive, it seems that these pieces may have been copied so that they could be learned: they might be on flyleaves or on blank space within the manuscript, when they would then become buried in the middle of the manuscript in the middle of an archive. Rarely, this sort of addition shows some positive sign of having been used. One example that does is a single flyleaf attached to a manuscript in Ljubljana. The manuscript, Ljubljana, Nadškofijski arhiv, Rokopisi 13 (*SI-Lna* Rkp 13), contains a set of sermons. The musical addition is an early fifteenth-century score setting of "Jube Domine" in a German chant notation; at the end of the second system, a later annotation has shown the correct alignment of the three parts, taking the last note of the lowest part over to the next system.[57] Another instance, on the last verso of a separate layer of London, British Library, Harley 5393 (*GB-Lbl* Harley 5393), also shows signs of having been used for performance: it also contains a three-voiced score, in this case from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and has what look like later vertical lines providing essential alignment for the three parts.[58]

In other cases, the present-day flyleaves or binding guard strips containing music are all that survives from an earlier manuscript, one no longer of value, and now given a new life. Some come from stylish manuscripts, arguing that the repertoire ceased to be of use;[59] others present good evidence for coming from complete musicians' manuscripts – copies which present no attempt at elegance, in either decoration or script, but which could have served as a basic working repertoire. For manuscripts of this sort, we can assume that the musician-owners themselves acted as collectors – gathering pieces from colleagues, from other manuscripts as they saw them, and adding their own works.

57 This page is reproduced in Jurij Snoj, *Medieval Music Codices: A Selection of Representative Samples from Slovene Libraries* (Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni Center SAZU, Muzikološki Inštitut, 1997), pl. 20.

58 The dating and description of this fragment come from Andrew Wathey, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, Supplement 1 to RISM* BIV$^{1-2}$*: the British Isles, 1100–1400* (Munich: Henle, 1993), 46–47, with a reproduction as plate 18.

59 One example, of two folios of polyphony with historiated initials, dating from ca. 1400 and later used as a binding, is described in RISM BIV^3, 77.

Some manuscripts do survive for which this concept is a reasonable assumption – probably complete fascicles (perhaps even complete early manuscripts) written in only one or two hands within a short time period, and containing music copied in a clear and functional manner, without decoration or waste of space. For these, we want to assume that they were copied by musicians for their own use – that there was no intention of giving them to anyone else.[60] There are many such small manuscripts, collections of an available repertoire, now often bound in with other non-musical works. A good example is the pair of small manuscript collections in Prague, bound into the *konvolut* Praha, Knihovna Narodního muzea, XI E 9 (*CZ-Pn*, XI E 9): the first has twenty-three pieces in French, Italian, and German, on five folios, while the second, also of five folios, has eighteen, again using all three languages.[61] Although each was the work of more than one scribe, both seem to represent working manuscripts, in the clarity of notation, the presence of no more than incipits for the texts, the economical use of space without crowding, and the complete lack of extraneous decoration. A slightly larger collection, available in facsimile, is a twelve-folio gathering in Cambridge, University Library, additional 5943 (*GB-Cu* add. 5943).[62] This small manuscript has two pieces written in score, alongside the rest with parts copied consecutively: on some pages the music is crowded, on others there are blank staves. The appearance is of a small collection of pieces made by the scribe from different sources as they became available, and selected because they appealed to him. In other words, this seems to be a clear example of a performer's collection.

Few large manuscripts fitting this description have survived. One probable example is the manuscript now at Ivrea. There is an additional reason for arguing that this was a musicians' manuscript and probably used for some time: secular chansons, written by later scribes, have been added at the feet of pages where blank space is available. In this way, it contrasts with the other principal manuscript of the Avignon repertoire, Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, 19bis (*F-APT* 19bis), which contains almost entirely Mass movements and hymns, with no secular music at all. *F-APT* 19bis differs, too, in having been copied over time by a number of scribes. Finally, the appearance of the two manuscripts is different: *Apt* is smaller, though with larger staves and a more generous layout to the music. It is as if the two manuscripts served

60 In practice, of course, the music may have been collected by a theorist, or even by a non-musician (although he would be unlikely to be fluent in notation).

61 The manuscripts are described in *Catalogus Codicum Notis Musicis Instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, ed. Václav Plocek, vol. I: 401–14. A reproduction of one page of the second manuscript is in the same study, vol. II: 926.

62 This is available in facsimile, with an introduction by Richard Rastall, as the first of *Two Fifteenth-Century Song Books* (Aberystwyth: Boethius Press, 1990).

complementary functions: while *Ivrea* is the sort of collection we would like to ascribe to a musician wanting to have a repertoire to hand, *Apt* seems more likely to be an institutional manuscript, presenting a necessary repertoire laid out on the page so that it could easily be read and learned.[63]

Here lies the problem in understanding the purpose of collecting a specific repertoire of music and copying it into a manuscript. Given that many manuscripts reveal an organizational principle, we are prone to speculate (as I have done above) about whether the scribe had access to a complete collection of the planned contents, or whether he copied works as they became available. Either could argue for the acquirer (individual or institution) seeking out music, acting as a collector. But we might as well argue for serendipity, for the absence of a collecting instinct. Similarly, either could argue for institutional as much as private use. But, whatever the purpose, many medieval manuscripts make clear statements about the desire to collect music, to have access to a range of compositions, to have them on one's shelf or available for performance.

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The preceding paragraphs have focused on the collection of music, rather than the collection of manuscripts (or of performers). This seems to have been the more normal manner of thinking about collecting documents – collecting the contents, and therefore (only) incidentally the manuscripts.[64] Indeed, some have argued that most of the really large manuscripts of the time were in fact archival collections of repertoire,[65] that the three Notre Dame manuscripts represent a particular example of this, and that the manuscript at Montpellier is a similar collection of a repertoire that should be not forgotten, but preserved for its prestige. In the case of the last manuscript, this can almost be confirmed by the decorative designs on each page and the presence of a number of high-quality illuminations.[66]

63 An easy comparison of the two sources can be had from the two photographs at the front of *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, ed. Hanna Stäblein-Harder, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 29 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1962).

64 Certainly, outside music, the growing interest, towards the end of the medieval centuries, in finding and collecting manuscripts of classical literature, was fueled by an interest in their content. This is confirmed by the readiness with which copies were made for any scholar who asked for one.

65 It is interesting to speculate about the relationship of these manuscripts to the rapidly changing views held by theologians and philosophers about polyphony in the Church. The manuscripts could be seen as reflecting either a desire to preserve a repertoire to which scholastics were still opposed, or perhaps a recognition of the growing softening of their attitudes. For a discussion of these views, see Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300* (London: Dent, 1989). An important discussion of the ideas, and their relation to the visual arts as well as music, is in Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

66 See note 25 above.

This idea of collecting an important repertoire can be seen to lead to the idea not only of presenting the repertoire in a magnificent manner, but also of collecting the manuscripts which contain such repertoires. Even so, for most of the more spectacular manuscripts of the time, we still cannot distinguish whether the idea was to spend money to embellish the repertoire magnificently, or whether it was to create a spectacular manuscript that happened to contain a major repertoire. Again, one has to look outside music: we find that many of the most lavish manuscripts were surely conceived, at least in part, as adornments of the text they contained – often one with a long tradition of being regarded as special. Examples include Books of Hours, missals, Bibles, copies of the Tristan legend, and so on. In the case of those religious texts that were regularly consulted, there must have been a circular series of motivations: the text was devotional and of high importance; the text was worthy of the best presentation possible; the presentation was also a representation of the important standing and worth of the owner; the owner was devout and worthy of using the text. This is where (and how) the move towards owning a manuscript for its own worth and value comes into play – and also why Books of Hours were so commonly among the richest of books in an individual's possession.

We do know of a number of thirteenth- and (particularly) fourteenth-century collectors who seem to have acquired manuscripts for their own beauty and value, as much as for the texts. Pre-eminent among these were royalty, and very senior members of the nobility. But, when it comes to musical manuscripts, especially those not owned by ecclesiastical institutions, we know much less. Thirty years ago, Rebecca A. Baltzer wrote of a number of early references to books of organum or Notre Dame repertory:[67] not surprisingly, she could draw attention to manuscripts owned by the Kings of France, dating back to Louis XI. Alongside them were Edward I, king of England and Pope Boniface VIII, both reigning in the year 1300; more interestingly, Professor Baltzer could cite several private persons, some (though not all) attached to ecclesiastical institutions. It seems reasonable to assume that these last were all interested in preserving the repertoire, for none of them seem to be of enough social prestige to have been able to afford luxurious manuscripts. In this way, the preservation of the Notre Dame repertoire can be seen as consisting both of manuscripts for the most prestigious libraries and of manuscripts intended to keep a prestigious repertoire.

Apart from this sort of research, much of the information we have about original or early owners of medieval manuscripts has been reached almost serendipitously. The most common approaches have been looking for

67 See note 43 above.

ownership marks on the manuscripts themselves, studying surviving catalogues of major early libraries, or examining the manuscript's iconography and contents. From the former, we know that Charles V of France and his brothers (Philip, Duke of Burgundy and John, Duke of Berry) were all collectors of manuscripts, employing the best scribes and illuminators. Charles had manuscripts of chansons and of motets, in addition to three Notre Dame manuscripts (cited by Baltzer). The Duke of Berry owned a Machaut manuscript – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 9221 (*F-Pn* fr. 9221) [*MachE*] carries his Ex Libris on its opening folios. Similarly, the fragmentary remains of an important manuscript (owned now by the Duchesse de la Trémoïlle) have a statement that it belonged to the chapel of Philip Duke of Burgundy. We are fortunate when a manuscript has the owner's name entered, even when (as in this last case) the name is written over the erased name of a former owner.

For collectors and owners of this rank, it appears that music manuscripts were highly thought of, and that a well-prepared manuscript was thought a prestigious gift. For example, Philip the Fair gave the future Philip V a book of motets as a wedding gift in 1307, and the King of France gave a music manuscript to King Edward III of England on his betrothal in 1326: the manuscript still survives, as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 571 (*F-Pn* fr. 571).[68] This second case is an example of studying the texts of the musical contents of the manuscript. Similar studies of the artistic contents, illuminations, handwriting, and so on, have produced evidence of the owners of *Fauvel* and the *Manuscrit du Roi*: in both of these cases, the research has led to affluent citizens, to Gérard de Montaigu and probably to Guillaime de Villehardouin.[69]

We know the names of other owners, although they may not tell us much. We know nothing of Jacques Bauchant, an owner of the St. Victor manuscript, or of many others.[70] Indeed, we rarely know whether they were collectors of manuscripts, or collectors of music, or simply the happenstance owners of a manuscript, left to them by an ancestor, or purchased as perhaps of value. Later names, those of owners from the next and subsequent centuries, are sometimes more informative, especially once we pass beyond 1500. But those sixteenth-century collectors about whom we know enough seem rarely to

68 See Andrew Wathey, "The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 1–29. In the same manner, Isabella Data has suggested that the Turin "Cypriot" manuscript Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria J.II.9 (*I-Tn*, J.II.9) was part of the dowry of Anne of Cyprus when she married Louis of Savoy in 1431. Anne certainly did own the manuscript. See Isabella Data and Karl Kügle, *Il Codice J.II.9* [facsimile] (Lucca: Libraria Musicale Italiana, 1999), 67–73.

69 See the literature cited in notes 3 and 7 above. It is interesting to note that both studies suggest new names for the original owners.

70 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds Latin 15139 (*F-Pn* lat. 15139).

have been specialist collectors of music; and the exceptions, the Fuggers, Herwarts, Pastons, and others, seem really to have been interested in music of their time, rather than collectors of earlier music.

Thus we are in the position of having to say that the idea of collecting music manuscripts seems to have been a later phenomenon; that the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century owner of such manuscripts was, as often as not, interested in the repertory they contained, rather than in a manuscript as such; and that the high-born collectors, whose names we do know, saw a music manuscript, if well illuminated and copied, as a suitable addition to their libraries, or as a gift of which the content could reflect the occasion when it was presented. We are fortunate, then, that so much has survived, and that abandoned music manuscripts found second homes, albeit in a fragmentary state, as a result of the binder's art.

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· 18 ·

The Revival of Medieval Music

JOHN HAINES*

The idea of a musical revival has often been applied to music and literature of the Middle Ages.[1] Beginning with the sixteenth-century rescue of medieval song-makers from "the prison of oblivion," as antiquarian Claude Fauchet put it, up to the more recent resurrections of Gregorian chant and Early Music, the revival concept has been reprised on a regular basis.[2] Perhaps too much; recently researchers have doubted the appropriateness of the concept.[3] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson in particular has argued that one should speak of medieval music's invention rather than its revival.[4] For most of its existence, medieval polyphony has been invented "from an infinite range of viewpoints," Leech-Wilkinson writes, each equally valid but none fulfilling their claim of the "faithful recovery of the past."[5] If medieval polyphony was not so much revived as invented, one might legitimately wonder whether the same could be said of all medieval music. As we shall see in the following reception history, the multiple incarnations of medieval music have taken place on a broad continuum ranging from continuity to invention, with varying shades of revival in between.

Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, medieval music received significant attention long before the nineteenth century.[6] In fact, it is possible to view the study of medieval music as a continuous tradition beginning in the

* For the redaction of this chapter, I am especially grateful to the members of my "Romantic Musings on the Middle Ages" graduate seminar at the University of Toronto in the fall of 2009: Sarah Gordon, Laura Harris, Lindsay Jones, Helen Patterson, Kathryn Taylor, and Michael Turabian.

1 On the "revival" concept, see John Haines, "Antiquarian Nostalgia and the Institutionalization of Early Music," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, ed. Juniper Hill and Caroline Bithell (Oxford University Press, 2014).

2 Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49–52; 80 n. 12; Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988).

3 Ibid., 9.

4 Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

5 Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention*, 7–8.

6 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 49; 79 n. 2.

sixteenth century – in other words, the end of the Middle Ages.[7] Given that the label "medieval music" grew out of the idea of a "Middle Ages," it will be useful here to first survey the evolution of the latter concept. In the first section of this chapter I will do this, emphasizing continuity in the historiography of the medieval period and its music. The following section will focus on discontinuity and will provide three instances of the revival of medieval music.

The Continuity of Medieval Music in Modern Times

The notion of a distinct time period sandwiched between Antiquity and modern times was invented in the sixteenth century, in the wake of nationalistic debates over whether French or Italian was the most qualified literary successor to Latin. Only a short while lay between sixteenth-century writers and what we now call the Middle Ages. They called it "Antiquity." When discussing the time in which their vernaculars were first written down, sixteenth-century literati used the label "antiquity" (e.g., *nostre antiquité*) to confer a kind of classical prestige on Italian and French.[8] In response to Protestant musical reforms, Catholic authorities emended liturgical singing practice by appealing to what they felt was the good part of medieval music: an oral tradition "handed down from a most ancient (*antiquissmo*) time" – in other words, the Middle Ages.[9] Just like chant specialists, writers on secular song considered medieval "antiquity" a vague historical concept. Clément Marot spoke of late medieval love songs as belonging to "French antiquity" (*antiquité françoise*), a time he designated with another label that would stick for some time thereafter, "the good old days" (*le bon vieux temps*).[10] Thus those for whom the medieval period was closest defined it most ambiguously, as a formless "good old days."

The view emerged in the 1500s, and has endured to the present time, that a fundamental quality of the music of medieval antiquity was its rusticity, both good and bad. The so-called barbaric parts of medieval chant that the Catholic Church rejected in the 1500s consisted of the many liturgical

7 I made this point for troubadour and trouvère music in Haines, *Eight Centuries*, especially 79 n. 2; the present chapter expands that argument to other repertoires.

8 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 59; Jürgen Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972), 73.

9 Latin text in Raphael Molitor, *Die Nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform zu Rom: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (1901; Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1976), vol. I: 295; English translation from Robert Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1979), 35.

10 Nathan Edelman, *Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France toward the Middle Ages* (Morningside Heights, NY: King's Crown Press, 1946), 40–43; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 49–50.

pieces that were created – when else? – in the High Middle Ages. In his famous brief issued in 1577, Pope Gregory XIII referred to the "barbarisms, obscurities, contrarieties and superfluities" surviving from the Middle Ages that needed to be purged from early modern liturgical books.[11] Alternately, the positive side of medieval musical primitivism lay in the oral tradition of chant, as just mentioned above; it was encapsulated in a concept coined, like "the good old days," by Clément Marot: "le style naïf."[12]

In the seventeenth century, the vague medieval "antiquity" began to take shape as a more distinctive period thanks to important historical research. Increasingly, other terms than "antiquity" were used to describe the Middle Ages, including, but not exclusively, "Gothic" (*gothique*) or some version of *moyen âge*.[13] A great deal of the research on the Middle Ages in the 1600s emanated from Catholic circles as a response to the Protestant Reformation.[14] During this period, scholars established Guido of Arezzo as a key figure in music history, as the bridge between ancient and modern music.[15] By the late 1600s, the legend was established of Guido as a Great Man of medieval music, a legend that has survived to the present day.[16]

In addition to ecclesiastical motivations, seventeenth-century research on the Middle Ages was also prompted by ongoing quests for nationalistic identity, in particular for linguistic roots and noble ancestry. Already in the 1500s, French kings looked to medieval chivalric romances for their own courtly proceedings and tournaments. Archival work of the 1600s on medieval chivalry and genealogy continued this process.[17] Beyond the world of scholarship, medieval-themed stage works by Jean-Baptiste Lully and Henry Purcell from the late 1600s attest to a great deal of popular interest in the Middle Ages. Such stage works display several themes that would remain strongly associated with the medieval period for a long time afterwards. First there is the chivalric-heroic theme, as for example in Lully's *Roland* (1685), where the triumphant hero regularly marches off to war to the strains of suitably energetic music; or in Purcell's music for John Dryden's self-described "heroick poem" *King Arthur*

11 Latin text in Molitor, *Nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform*, 297; English translation in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 37.
12 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 50–51 and 272.
13 See Voss, *Das Mittelalter*, 134–35 and 371, Edelman, *Attitudes*, 339, and Fred Robinson, *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993), 307.
14 Edelman, *Attitudes*, 55–59; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 615–21; Theodore Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper* (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2005), vol. 1: 205–49.
15 Giovanni Bontempi, *Historica Musica* (Perugia: Pe' l Costantini, 1695), esp. 182; Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der Edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (1690; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck, 1964), esp. 106.
16 Haines, "The Origins of the Musical Staff," *The Musical Quarterly* 91 (2009), 327–78, esp. 327–29.
17 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 61, 84 n. 63, and 272–73.

(1691).[18] Secondly, a supernatural theme associated with the medieval period can be seen in Purcell's magical centerpiece in the third act of *The Fairy Queen* (1693), or in the fairies and other fantastic characters that populate this and other works such as Lully's *Roland*, *Amadis* (1684) and *Armide* (1686).[19] Thirdly, there is an exotic or non-Western element, as seen in Purcell's famous Chinese masque in *The Fairy Queen*.[20] Finally, the primitive element endemic to the Middle Ages since the sixteenth century can be seen in the rustic peasant dance (so-called "la Mariée") in the fourth act of *Roland* (1690 version).[21]

The eighteenth century witnessed an unprecedented explosion of interest in the Middle Ages. By late in the century, fundamental traditions existed that would continue for the next two centuries: archival research on medieval history and culture (including plainchant), editorial procedures for the publication of medieval texts and music, and a thriving popular interest in things medieval. Charles Burney's *General History of Music* (1776–89) and Jean-Benjamin de Laborde's modestly titled *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (1780) represented the culmination of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century research on the Middle Ages and its music.[22] A diversity of labels for our period persisted, with "Gothic" remaining a favorite.[23] For music historians, the fundamental divisions of time still remained "ancient and modern music," in the words of the title of Laborde's book, with the bridge between them being Guido of Arezzo. Burney divided music history into two categories, either before or after the "time of Guido," whom he says at one point "has long been regarded in the empire of music as *Lord of the Manor*" (his italics).[24] Before the notes and staff that Guido invented, Laborde writes, "plainchant was only the debris of Greek music."[25]

The science of archaeology, emerging in the early 1700s with the discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii, had made its influence felt in music histories by

18 Dryden cited in M. Neville Davies, "King Arthur; or, The British Worthy," in *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford University Press, 2000), 255; Robert Shay, "Dryden and Purcell's *King Arthur*: Legend and Politics on the Restoration Stage," in *King Arthur in Music*, ed. R. Barber (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 9–22; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 77–78.

19 Shay, "Dryden and Purcell's *King Arthur*," 16.

20 See plate 11 in Burden, ed., *Henry Purcell's Operas*, unnumbered plates.

21 Rebecca Harris-Warwick, "La Mariée: The History of a French Court Dance," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. J. Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 239–57 at 248.

22 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: T. Becket, 1776–89), 4 vols.; Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres, 1780), 4 vols.

23 Robinson, *The Tomb of Beowulf*, 308; Voss, *Das Mittelalter*, 232 (the term *Moyen Âge*). Laborde seldom uses "moyen âge," instead usually referring to a specific century (Laborde, *Essai*, vol. I: 215).

24 Burney, *General History*, vol. II (1789): 1, 70–155 at 72.

25 Laborde, *Essai*, vol. II: 56: "Avant ce temps, le plain-chant n'était que les débris de la Musique Greque . . . "

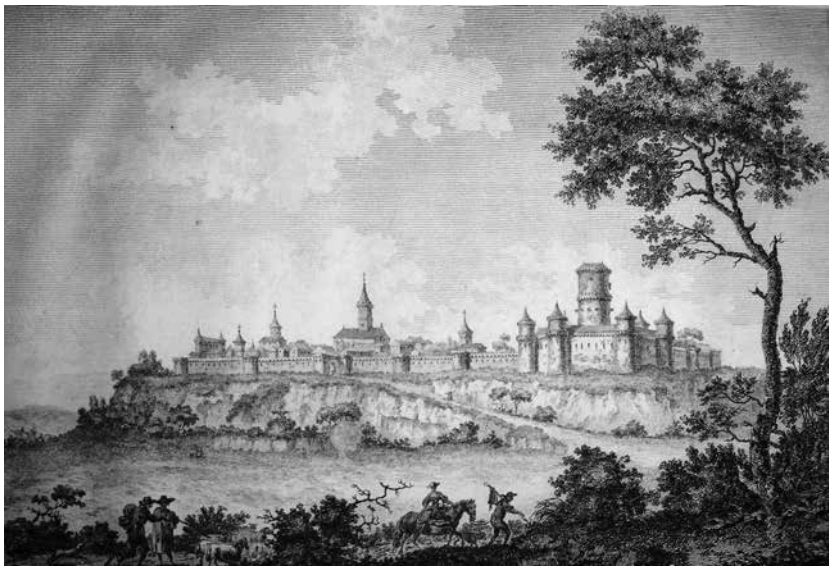


Figure 18.1 "Vue de Coucy-le-Château dans le Vermandois," from J.-B. de Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (1780), vol. II: facing p. 235

the end of the century. At the start of his chapter on the music of trouvère Châtelain de Coucy, Laborde included an engraving depicting the approach to Coucy-le-Château (dép. Aisne) with its intricate castle walls set against an immense clouded sky (Figure 18.1). This image recalled similar engravings of monuments in archaeological publications from around this time.[26] Like archaeologists digging up treasures at Pompeii, musical antiquarians were uncovering treasures in manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Yet even for advanced students like Laborde and Burney, "Gothic antiquities" – in Burney's words – had their limitations. "The history of barbarians," writes Burney, "can furnish but small pleasure or profit to an enlightened and polished people."[27]

Most of these Enlightenment traditions devoted to the Middle Ages thrived in the nineteenth century, including the four themes I outlined a few paragraphs earlier. Nineteenth-century readers and audiences loved the medieval period for its primitivism, as when Edmond de Coussemaker spoke of

26 Laborde's *Essai*, vol. II: plate facing p. 235. On the archaeological context, see Haines, "Généalogies musicologiques: Aux origines d'une science de la musique vers 1900," *Acta Musicologica* 73 (2001), 25.
27 Burney, *General History*, vol. II: 41.

trouvère song as having the same spontaneous and popular character as the folksongs of his day;[28] for its heroism, as in Richard Wagner's Saxon knight-hero in *Lohengrin* (1846–48);[29] its spirituality, as when Dom Joseph Pothier spoke of how medieval chant in its purity and simplicity surpassed all modern music;[30] and its orientalism, as when Jean-François-Joseph Fétis claimed that "the songs of the troubadours and trouvères . . . were inspired by those of the Arabs."[31] As seen in Figure 18.2, the frontispiece of Coussemaker's *Chants populaires des Flamands de France* (1856) illustrated the by then common view of modern folksong as having been transmitted from the early medieval barbarian tribes (left foreground) to the kings of the High Middle Ages (back). From 1800 on, the expressions "Moyen Âge" and "Mittelalter" were used with greater frequency, most notably in Jules Michelet's *Histoire de France* (1833–67), a work that also popularized the idea of a "Renaissance," securely bookending our period into its thousand-year slot.[32] So too eventually went the study of music, beginning with Coussemaker's landmark *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (1852).[33] English writers, however, still preferred "Gothic" or no label at all to the awkward "Middle Ages."

Most significant for the academic study of medieval music at this time was the emergence of the modern industrial university. Germany led the way in the tremendous growth universities experienced in the 1800s, expanding programs and student bodies to unprecedented numbers. New disciplines included musicology (*Musikwissenschaft*) by the 1830s, with the first professorial appointment in 1870.[34] Medieval music study came of age with the rise of *Musikwissenschaft*, moving from the limited domain of independent antiquarians we have just surveyed to that of the university classroom.[35] In the 1800s, "musical archaeology" and "musical philology" meant musicology, and musicology meant the study of mostly medieval music. The different expressions used during this period to designate musicology say much about the general apprehension surrounding this novel pursuit. In forging a legitimate academic discipline, musical researchers carefully followed the methods of archaeology and philology. When the monks of Solesmes, the famous creators of the

28 Edmund de Coussemaker, *Chants populaires des Flamands de France* (1856; reprt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1971); Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 173–74.
29 Volker Mertens, "Wagner's Middle Ages," in *Wagner Handbook*, ed. U. Möller and P. Wapnewski (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 236–68 at 242–46.
30 Joseph Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition* (Tournai: Desclée; Lefebvre, 1880), 1–5.
31 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 187.
32 Voss, *Das Mittelalter*, 99; A. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 701.
33 Haines, "Friedrich Ludwig's 'Musicology of the Future': A Commentary and Translation," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 12 (2003), 129–64 at 138.
34 Ibid., 130–31. 35 Haines, "Généalogies musicologiques," 21–44.



Figure 18.2 Frontispiece of E. de Coussemaker's *Chants populaires des Flamands de France* (1856)

Paléographie musicale, labeled their work "philologie musicale," they were perpetuating the nineteenth century's view of itself as having inaugurated an entirely new phase of historical research, a "new spirit" embodied in the new science of philology.[36]

The general twentieth-century reception of medieval music continued these medievalist academic institutions, perpetuating the well-worn stereotypes about the medieval period: its naïveté, as in Curt Sachs' portrayal of the "very primitive" aspects of European folksong directly traceable to medieval music;[37] its heroism, as in the many film depictions of the Middle Ages, from the silent *Jeanne d'Arc* (1909) to *The Thirteenth Warrior* (1999);[38] its spirituality, as in Will Durant's description in *The Age of Faith* (1950) of "the directness and power" of medieval chant, music "as vital as the church edifice itself";[39] and its orientalism, as in the "Arabic style" that Studio der frühen Musik introduced in sound recordings of the 1960s.[40] Earlier English labels such as "Gothic" disappeared in favor of the now-standard "Middle Ages," albeit gradually. In 1901, *The Oxford History of Music* did not use it; Gustav Reese signaled the change in the title of his landmark *Music in the Middle Ages* (1940).[41] The expression "medieval music" would not become common coin until after World War II, with the dramatic surge of performance groups and university programs devoted to medieval music study and performance.[42] Starting in the 1980s there came an inevitable backlash – thinly veiled in academic prose as "thoughts" and "reflections" – against the dominance of the medieval period in the university curriculum.[43]

Lost in this learned rumpus about what should and should not be studied in the ivory tower has been both the steady popularity of the Middle Ages, and the long twentieth century's most significant contribution to musical

36 Godefroid Kurth, *Histoire poétique des mérovingiens* (1893; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1968), 10: "Le XIX^{e} siècle a abordé l'étude de l'histoire avec un esprit nouveau." See Karp, *Introduction*, vol. I: 271–93; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 155, 178–87; Haines, "Généalogies musicologiques," 30.

37 Curt Sachs, "The Road to Major," *The Musical Quarterly* 29 (1943), 381–404 at 382.

38 Kevin Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages: American, Western and Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian Films about Medieval Europe* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999), 140.

39 Will Durant, *The Age of Faith*, vol. IV of *The Story of Civilization* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1950), 895–97.

40 Haines, "The Arabic Style of Performing Medieval Music," *Early Music* 29 (2001), 369–78.

41 H. E. Wooldridge, *The Oxford History of Music*, vol. I: *The Polyphonic Period*, Part I, *Method of Musical Art, 330–1400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901); Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940).

42 Haskell, *Early Music Revival*, 161–88.

43 Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 182–217; Kay Shelemay, "Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds," *Ethnomusicology* 45 (2001), 1–29. Although not discussing early music per se, Bruno Nettl's *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 11–42 and 130–35 critiques the great "masters" and the "priesthood of repertory."

medievalism in the form of two new media: sound recording and cinema. It is difficult for us to recapture the sense of wonder with which those in the early 1900s heard the first sound recordings of chant and secular song, or saw early talking films such as *The Crusades* (1935).[44] The illusion of physically entering the past seemed almost within reach thanks to these technologies. Films on the Middle Ages such as *Ivanhoe* (1952) transported audiences into an unprecedentedly vivid past. The illusion of time travel in this particular film was strengthened by the music of composer Miklós Rózsa and his use of an authentic troubadour tune, "Reis glorios," as one of the primary themes.[45] Mid-twentieth-century enthusiasm for filmic magic spread to academic productions such as New York Pro Musica's 1958 "smash hit" (in Noah Greenberg's words) of *The Play of Daniel*, a lavish performance at New York City's Cloisters complete with costumes and a full medieval "orchestra."[46] In the twentieth century, then, as had been the case hundreds of years before, medieval music was a strange and thrilling noise.

The Revivals of Medieval Music

If the modern fascination with medieval music can be seen as a continuous tradition from the 1500s onwards, it is equally possible to see within this tradition many instances of discontinuity and revival, and this for all three of the main divisions of medieval music: plainchant, polyphony, and the immense corpus of quotidian work songs and popular instrumental music that constitutes the bulk of music performed in the Middle Ages.[47] In the present section of this chapter, I shall look at one instance from each one of these divisions: an excerpt of medieval chant as interpreted in the seventeenth century, an eighteenth-century imitation of an epic song, and a polyphonic paraphrase from the twentieth century. Each case illustrates a revival of medieval music shaped by the aspirations and anxieties of post-medieval times.

The first instance comes from the seventeenth-century reception of medieval chant. As described above, following the Protestant Reformation the Catholic Church appropriated medieval chant as its unique heritage, this despite medieval chant's strong influence on reformers such as Martin

44 Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 131–42; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 245; Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages*, 117–18 (although not indicated, the music is by Rudolph Kopp).
45 Christopher Palmer, *Miklós Rózsa: A Sketch of His Life and Work* (London: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1975), 36–37; 59.
46 James Gollin, *Pied Piper: The Many Lives of Noah Greenberg* (Hillsdale, NJ: Pendragon, 2001), 228–64.
47 On this particular point, see Haines, "Performance before c. 1430: An Overview," in *The Cambridge History of Music Performance*, ed. C. Lawson and R. Stowell (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 231–47, and Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Luther.[48] The dominant Protestant verdict on medieval music was typically condemnation; as one writer put it, "the genius of music had its wings clipped during the Middle Ages."[49] Catholics countered their own anxieties over medieval "barbarisms" of chant mentioned earlier with the notion that, in the late medieval period, chant had been corrupted (*correptio cantus*), as the Tridentine reformers saw it. One therefore needed to purge (*purgare*) chant of these corruptions and restore (*restituere*) it to a pristine state.[50] Post-Tridentine editions of chant focused on a hypothetical early medieval pronunciation of Latin. To emend (*emendare*) and reform (*reformare*) chant, one should follow correct Latin prosody, as expressed in long and short note durations; so went the prevailing Catholic view after the Council of Trent.[51] This idea was not original in its time, and can be seen in other coeval experiments with secular song, most famously the "vers mesurés à l'antique."[52] The subsequent tradition of editing medieval chant with notes of relative duration thrived for well over two centuries, paving the way for nineteenth-century reforms ironically based on closely related assumptions about the pronunciation of Latin in the Middle Ages.[53]

The seventeenth century presents an especially rich field of Catholic literature on medieval chant.[54] For reformers such as Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers in the latter part of the century, correct chant harked back to Pope Gregory the Great, who was fast becoming the single most important figure in medieval musical historiography.[55] The assumption posited by Nivers and others – that chant in its purest form came from Gregory's time – has endured to the present. A return to "true Gregorian chant" ("le véritable Chant Grégorien"), Nivers argued, would require pronouncing Latin in what he supposed was the Gregorian way.[56] In his edition of "Veni, sancte spiritus," for example, Nivers imposed metric feet of ancien poetry on the melody since he felt this "ancient chant

48 Alan Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 514–17; Franke Schmitz-Gropengießer, "Ist der gregorianische Choral unprotestantisch? Zur Rezeption der Gregorianik in der evangelischen Kirche," in *Mittelalter und Mittelalterrezeption: Festschrift für Wolf Frobenius*, ed. H. Schneider (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005), 145–72.

49 Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 1.

50 Jean-Yves Hameline, "Le plain-chant aux lendemains du Concile de Trente," in *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII^e siècle*, ed. J. Duron (Versailles: Royaumont, 1997), 14 and 20.

51 Hameline, "Le plain-chant," 14.

52 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 75.

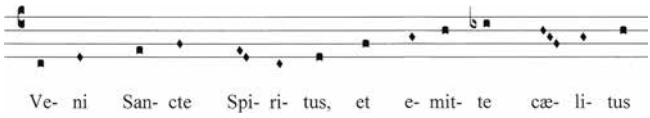
53 Cf. Timothy McGee, ed., *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Karp, *Introduction*, vol. 1: 251–69.

54 See the various essays in Jean Duron, *Plain-chant et liturgie*, and Karp, *Introduction*, vol. 1: 215–49.

55 Monique Brulin, "Le plain-chant comme acte de chant au XVII^e siècle en France," in Duron, *Plain-chant et liturgie*, pp. 40–48 and Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, *Dissertation sur le chant grégorien* (Paris: The Author, 1683), unnumbered preface.

56 Nivers, *Dissertation*, unnumbered preface.

Example 18.1 Incipit of "Veni, sancte spiritus" from G.-G. Nivers, *Graduale Romanum* (1697), after P. Ranum, "'Le Chant doit perfectionner la prononciation, & non pas la corrompre': L'accentuation du chant grégorien d'après les traités de Dom Jacques Le Clerc et dans le chant de Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers," in *Plain-chant et liturgie*, ed. Duron, 79



grégorien" belonged to a distinct category of chant he called "poetic."[57] As seen in Example 18.1, long and short durations fall on accented and unaccented syllables, respectively. Nivers' appeal to Saint Gregory would become a common topos in subsequent revivals of medieval chant, most notably in the mid-nineteenth-century attempt to find Gregory's musical autograph.[58] Like later revivals, the seventeenth-century objectification of medieval chant expressed ideas typical of its time; specifically, a rejection of certain popular musico-liturgical practices, an idealization of Gregory the Great, and an idiomatic pronunciation of liturgical Latin perceived as historically faithful.[59]

My second instance of a revived piece of medieval music comes from the reception of medieval epic song in the eighteenth century. Epic, one of the many orally transmitted musical genres of the Middle Ages, held a special fascination for people in the Enlightenment. As I have related above, a favorite notion was that certain musical repertoires had been transmitted in the collective memory of the people in the form of certain popular songs. Such was the thinking behind one of the landmark publications of both folksong and early German Romanticism, Johann Gottfried Herder's *Volkslieder* (1778–79).[60]

Few medieval vernacular songs have captured the modern imagination like the Song of Roland. Noteworthy was Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516–32), a loose paraphrase of the medieval story of Roland. Ariosto's *Orlando* remained popular in the eighteenth century, as seen in the musical settings of Antonio Vivaldi (*Orlando finto pazzo*, 1714) and G. F. Handel (*Orlando*, 1733). Figure 18.3 shows an illustration from John Hoole's 1783 translation of Ariosto's *Orlando*, depicting a heroic knight – Astolpho, a secondary character in the story – on his powerful steed with a hermit in the foreground. Already by Ariosto's time, exactly what Roland's "song" was had become unclear. Was it Roland's dying prayer after he had been fatally wounded in 778, or a war cry used by later

57 Ranum, "'Le Chant,'" 72 and 79. 58 Haines, " Généalogies musicologiques," 27.
59 Brulin, "Le plain-chant," 44–45 and Ranum, "'Le Chant,'" 76–77.
60 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 157–58.



Figure 18.3 The knight Astolpho and a hermit, from John Hoole's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1783)

warriors based on Roland's deeds, or any of the numerous epic songs derived from the Roland story?[61] Eighteenth-century poets and musicians further muddled things by inventing songs on Roland and labeling them "Song of

61 Ibid., 57–59.

Roland." In the 1770s, the Marquis de Paulmy offered such a "Song of Roland" – in the spirit of the lost original song, as he put it. It was set to music shortly afterwards by none other than Laborde (see Figure 18.4). The refrain of the Paulmy-Laborde Roland pastiche opens with the words "Soldats français, chantons Roland, de son pays il fut la gloire" ("Soldiers of France, let us sing of Roland, who was the glory of his country").[62] This "Song of Roland," with text and music by two eighteenth-century scholars, falls into Leech-Wilkinson's category of "invented" medieval music discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Although purporting to be in the spirit of the original "Song of Roland" (whatever it may have been) "Soldats français, chantons Roland" is a thoroughly eighteenth-century song, from the duple meter to the harmonies suggested by the bass line, as seen in Figure 18.4.

The idea that one might find in contemporary music the spirit of an original medieval song was thus thick in the air by the late eighteenth century. During the compilation of his landmark *Volkslieder* Herder had drawn on French writers from Montaigne to F.-A. Paradis de Moncrif.[63] One of the key ideas that German Romantic medievalism borrowed from the French Enlightenment was the notion that many songs of the Middle Ages had been orally transmitted for centuries by the common people, and that certain modern folksongs were in fact medieval songs that had never been written down. In the late eighteenth century, for example, the Comte de Tressan claimed that ancient odes had been preserved "from generation to generation by oral tradition," and could still be heard in the songs of peasants in the Pyrénées Mountains. An acquaintance of Tressan's had copied down the words of one of these songs, which Tressan published since it reminded him of the Song of Roland. These were the words: "O Rolland! Honneur de la France, que par toi mon bras soit vainqueur" ("O Roland! France's honor, may my arm be victorious thanks to you!").[64]

That medieval song has remained frozen in the song of the folk is still a popular notion nowadays, as illustrated in Robert Lug's magisterial survey of twentieth-century medieval-themed popular music.[65] The idea has especially thrived within certain marginalized sub-cultures, as two examples related to medieval France will illustrate. In the French south, called Occitania or Provence, indigenous dialects and songs have long been maligned, with speakers of Occitan rapidly dwindling in the twentieth century. In defense of their persecuted cultural heritage, native musicians of Occitania have frequently portrayed their song-

62 Ibid., 104. 63 Ibid., 158. 64 Ibid., 108.
65 Robert Lug, "Minnesang: Zwischen Markt und Museum," in *Übersetzte Zeit: Das Mittelalter und die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Gratzer and H. Möller (Hofheim: Wolke, 2001), 117–89.



Figure 18.4 "Chanson de Roland par M[onsieur] le M[arquis] de P[aulmy]," in Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (1780), vol. II: "Choix de chansons," 117

making as directly rooted in the art of the medieval troubadours. Examples in modern Occitania of "living troubadours," as I have called them, include Gérard Zuchetto and Massilia Sound System in the late twentieth century.[66] Another case of this same mentality can be seen in North-American French diasporas such as Quebec (Canada). The claim has frequently been made that medieval song has survived far better in the songs of rural Quebec than in the folksongs of Europe. The argument goes something like this: whereas French popular songs changed dramatically from the seventeenth century onwards, the diaspora in rural Quebec preserved French songs going back to the Middle Ages; this deliberate act of musical anachronism was made possible through memory rather than writing. Canadian folksong researcher Marius Barbeau wrote of the modern "jongleurs" of Quebec that "their memory was prolific; their stock of songs was novel and inexhaustible."[67] Thus in Occitania and Quebec, as in many other places today, there persists the old and unverifiable notion that medieval song survives thanks to an oral tradition. As the sixteenth-century writers cited near the beginning of this chapter put it, this oral tradition was "handed down from a most ancient (*antiquissmo*) time," from "the good old days."

The Canadian province of Quebec takes us to my third and final instance of revived medieval music, a thirteenth-century motet as arranged in the early twentieth century. My first case of chant in the seventeenth century was more of a pseudo-revival than a revival, as I indicated; and my second, medieval epic in the eighteenth century, a pure invention. But this third case provides us with a clear-cut case of the revival of medieval music. Prior to 1900, very few knew about medieval polyphony, and even fewer liked it. One of the earliest students of polyphony in the 1820s described the sound of a polyphonic rondeau as "horrible."[68] This same student would not have even known of the peculiar species of medieval polyphony that was the early medieval motet, for it was not discovered until the late nineteenth century. Even so savvy a musical archaeologist as Laborde, when stumbling across motet tenors in the late eighteenth century, mistook them for monophonic Latin hymns. It was not until 1898 that Latin scholar Wilhelm Meyer published his landmark study making sense of the hitherto inexplicable organa and, by extension, the motet.[69] Meyer's discovery of manuscript F (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1) famously launched the study of the motet just as musicology was entering the

66 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 285–92; Haines, "Living Troubadours and Other Recent Uses for Medieval Music," *Popular Music* 23 (2004), 143–49.
67 Marius Barbeau, cited in J. Haines, "Marius Barbeau et le Moyen-âge," in *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*, ed. L. Jessup, A. Nurse and G. Smith (Hull, Québec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2008),193.
68 François Joseph Fétis, cited in Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention*, 17.
69 Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 169 and 178.

university curriculum, as related earlier. Two of the earliest musicological professorial appointments went to specialists of the early medieval motet: Gustav Jacobsthal (1875) and Friedrich Ludwig (1905, as *Privatdozent*), both at the University of Strassburg.[70] The subsequent focus of musicological studies on the motet shows the extent to which it constituted a genuine discovery in the early 1900s, by contrast with chant and popular song discussed earlier.

One of the earliest motet arrangements performed for the general public occurred on 24 May, 1928 at the lovely Château Frontenac in Quebec City (Fr. Québec).[71] The circumstances of this performance originated in a failed collaboration between Alsatian musicologist Jean Beck and Canadian folklorist Marius Barbeau mentioned above. After working together in 1917–19 on transcribing early sound recordings of Quebec folksongs, Beck and Barbeau eventually acknowledged that their respective philological and anthropological approaches were incompatible. They abandoned the project, but parted amicably.[72] Some ten years later, when the Canadian Pacific Railway Company planned a folksong festival in Quebec City devoted to French-Canadian folksong, the festival organizer, John Murray Gibbon, decided to put on a performance of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Gibbon was inspired by Julien Tiersot's 1896 edition of the *Jeu* based on its performance in Arras that same year.[73] Marius Barbeau was consulted for the Quebec premiere of this medieval work, and Barbeau turned to Beck for advice on medieval music. It was agreed that Beck would arrange the *Jeu de Robin et Marion* for the Quebec festival. The performance of Adam's *Jeu* was to be a "musical sensation," Gibbon beamed, since he had enrolled the orchestra of Quebec City's own Vingt-deuxième Royal Régiment, under the leadership of Wilfrid Pelletier, a Canadian who conducted at the Metropolitan Opera.

Jean Beck was faced with the challenge of arranging medieval monophony for an orchestra, using authentic sonorities that even specialists could not stomach, as related earlier. With his characteristic confidence, Beck informed Barbeau that he would improve on Julien Tiersot's diatonic piano accompaniment of the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Instead of modern harmonies, Beck would create medieval ones using polyphony from the same period as Adam's *Jeu*, notably a three-voice motet based on the famous melody sung by Marion,

70 Haines, "Friedrich Ludwig's 'Musicology of the Future,'" 131.
71 In this section, I am drawing on Haines, "Paraphrases musico-théâtrales du *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, 1870–1930," *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* 216 (2002), 281–94; on the context, see Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention*, 59–63.
72 Their epistolary debate is described in Haines, "Marius Barbeau and Jean Beck on Transcribing French-Canadian Songs," *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections* 30 (1999), 1–6.
73 Haines, "Paraphrases musico-théâtrales," 284–87.

Example 18.2 Excerpt from the prelude of Jean Beck's 1928 arrangement of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*



"Robin m'aime."[74] Preparations leading up to the performance did not always go smoothly, with Beck living up to the hot-headed reputation that had caused his dismissal from European academic circles.[75] The conductor Wilfrid Pelletier regularly complained of the overabundance of parallel fifths and tritones in Beck's arrangement. At one point, Gibbon confided to Barbeau, "I am nervous about a scrap between Pelletier and Jean Beck."[76]

Nevertheless, organizers, performers and the persistent Beck all pulled through, and, on the evening of May 24, 1928, a Thursday, the momentous performance took place. The critic for the *Musical Leader* of Chicago spoke of "crude harmonies" and "an ungainly orchestra."[77] Unfortunately, no sound recording of the performance has survived, nor has Beck's full orchestral score, since, following its second performance at the May 1928 festival, his arrangement of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* was to my knowledge never performed again. A surviving letter from Gibbon to the leader of the Vingt-deuxième Royal Régiment orchestra does describe the musical forces, however: twelve strings (including one bass), a trombone, two flutes, two oboes, a bassoon, two French horns, a harp, and a few drums.[78] Thankfully, a piano reduction of Beck's orchestral arrangement was published that same year, which allows us to see how he wove into his score medieval consonances such as parallel fifths. At the end of the prelude, for example, Marion's theme from the famous rondeau "Robin m'aime" appears, with the indication "original harmonization of the thirteenth century" (Example 18.2).[79]

74 Ibid., 287 n. 32.
75 On which, see Haines, "The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music," *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 87–120, among others. It now turns out that Beck was also being sued around 1909 for failing to make child-support payments; see Winton Solberg, "A Struggle for Control and a Moral Scandal: President Edmund J. James and the Powers of the President at the University of Illinois, 1911–14," *History of Education Quarterly* 49 (2009), 39–67.
76 Haines, "Paraphrases musico-théâtrales," 288. 77 Ibid., 289. 78 Ibid., 291.
79 Jean Beck and John Murray Gibbon, *The Play of Robin and Marion, Mediæval Folk Comedy Opera by the Trouvère Adam de la Halle* (Boston, MA: C. C. Birchard, 1928), 3.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I questioned the appropriateness of the revival concept to medieval music. As argued in my first section, the idea of "medieval music" developed out of the more general concept of a "Middle Ages," both of which were the products of a long and continuous reception tradition. This tradition has perforce simplified the vast and complex medieval period as an exotic and primitive epoch characterized by outstanding pietism and heroism. Within this continuous tradition, various musical genres have been revived and invented in a great many ways. The three cases presented in the second section of this chapter illustrate various responses to medieval music ranging from revival to invention.

Despite recent academic anxieties surrounding appropriate performances of medieval music, for a majority of people outside academia the medieval period and its music will continue to exert the fascination it has prompted from early modern times onwards. We see this today, for example, in medieval-themed movies and successful historical performance ensembles.[80] A few years ago, medieval music performer Benjamin Bagby pointed out that the output of many historical ensembles in the last three decades has been largely dictated by the CD format on the one hand and public taste on the other.[81] Academics may frown at such blatant commercialization of the Middle Ages, but working musicians like Bagby must negotiate between the finer points of research and the sounds that audiences enjoy hearing. Another prominent medieval music performer has recently summed things up in the words of Duke Ellington: "if it sounds good, it *is* good."[82] As I have pointed out in this chapter, medieval music has been heard and interpreted in a great variety of ways for some five hundred years. It is precisely because the idea of medieval music has taken shape over such a long period of time that, in one form or another, it will endure both in popular culture and in academic study.

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80 At the time of my writing, Ridley Scott's *Robin Hood* (May 2010) had just been released in theatres.
81 Benjamin Bagby, "What Is the Sound of Medieval Song?" *Medieval Academy News*, 151 (Spring 2005), 12.
82 Susan Hellauer, "You Can't Sing a Footnote: The Continuing Adventures of Anonymous 4," *Medieval Academy News*, 144 (Winter 2002), 12.

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· 19 ·

Medieval Performance Practice

TIMOTHY J. MCGEE

Introduction

The variety of ways in which music was performed during the late Middle Ages reflected the wide variety of occasions that called for music. In addition to the music that was an integral part of religious services, there were professional minstrels who entertained in the villages and the courts; civic musicians who were employed to lend pomp to public ceremonies; and citizens on all social levels who enjoyed singing, playing instruments, and dancing. No banquet was complete without music; peasants sang as they went about their daily tasks; monks sang as a part of daily religious life; choirs could be found in churches and chapels. Each of these had its own traditions and performance practices that had developed over the preceding centuries. It was a living tradition that evolved in response to the needs of the developing society as the feudal, agrarian-based communities gave way slowly to mercantile-based states. We can recover some of the performance information through documents, literature, and iconographic representations, although many of the details are forever lost. What has survived, however, hints at a wonderfully rich and varied set of traditions, some of which will seem familiar while others are considerably different from modern practices.

Although many of the performance practices discussed below were more or less common to all areas, some were unique and local, and even those that were held in common no doubt had local variations. Descending from long-held traditions, even when celebrating the same type of event, e.g., a wedding banquet, each area would have had its own tradition in terms of what kinds of songs would seem appropriate, what were the favored musical instruments, and what types of dances were chosen. At the present time we are aware of only some of these local variants, and even then what we know is only on a very broad level; i.e., we can discuss the instrumental accompaniment choices and dance types in France as different from those in German and Italy, but there is little doubt that each local settlement within these large areas had its own customs.

In addition to the traditions that grew over the centuries in each European location, there was also a strong influence on European culture from the Middle and Far East: models for particular musical instruments and their techniques; singing styles and techniques; and compositional types. These practices would have continued to evolve in the decades leading to the period of the Renaissance, as the Europeans mixed, adapted, and combined them with local customs. We can find evidence of some of this, although in most cases it is not possible to sort out with any degree of accuracy which of the elements of performance practices were native and which were imported.

Voices

In our search to discover what were the actual musical sounds of the medieval world, we are on firmer footing with the sounds of instruments than we are with the voice. Whereas we can construct new instruments to match the images found in the iconography, and thereby come fairly close to what must have been their sounds, the same is not possible for the sound of the voice. Given the wide range of possible human vocal sounds, even using the surviving documentary evidence it is very difficult to ascertain with any certainty what kind of sound was considered to be desirable in the Middle Ages.[1] It has been noted that in several of the iconographic images the singers stand with their chins raised high and what would appear to be a strained look on their faces, which could be an indication of a fairly tight-throated delivery and/or a nasal sound.[2] On the other hand, this pose may well have been just a convention adopted by artists as a way of portraying the action of singing; the written references to singing describe a free and unconstricted sound. John the Deacon (ninth century) criticizes northern singers for not being able to "bring forth the proper sweetness of the melody"; the anonymous author of the *Instituta Patrum de modo psallendi* (ca. 1200) criticizes singers whose voices do not have a "natural manner"; and Isidore of Seville (seventh century) states that "The perfect voice . . . is loud, sweet, and clear."[3] These statements, unfortunately, still do not provide an unambiguous view of medieval vocal sound, since there is no way for us to know exactly what the writers thought was a 'sweet' or 'natural' sound. Further, the fact that the writers felt the need

1 This is a point made in Timothy McGee, *Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Performer's Guide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 54; and in John Potter, "Reconstructing Lost Voices," in *A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. T. Knighton and D. Fallows (London and New York: Schirmer, 1992; reprinted Oxford University Press, 1998), 311.

2 See McGee, *Medieval and Renaissance*, 54–55, and illustrations 1 and 6.

3 Quoted in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Vocal Style and Ornamentation According to the Theorists*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 17, 19, 20.

to make the criticisms is strong evidence that the desired 'sweet' and 'natural' sound was not always achieved – or even universally desired.[4] This point is made even stronger in a statement from the early thirteenth century that makes it clear that there were pronounced regional differences in vocal practices: "the Greeks say the Latins bark like dogs and the Latins say the Greeks growl like foxes ... The French claim that the Italians groan ... and refuse to listen to them. Italians, on the other hand, say that French and Germans emit tremulous sounds like someone suffering from fever, and that they sing so loudly they must think God is deaf."[5]

There is quite a bit of evidence that medieval vocal practices included a much larger variety of sounds than are found in modern-day performances of the classical repertory, although many of the sounds are present in the traditional vocal practices of Middle Eastern countries. Late medieval theorists discuss sounds such as: those emanating in the back of the throat as well as in the front of the mouth and in the head; "bent" pitches that rise or fall slightly; techniques such as sliding while moving from one pitch to another; rapid throat repetition of a single pitch; and other colorful sounds we might associate with music of the Middle and Far East.[6] Most of these sounds are described and discussed in conjunction with the performance of sacred music – chant and sacred polyphony – but there is evidence, both in the actual written music and in the theoretical discussions, that those vocal practices may have been associated with the secular repertory; that in any one location there was a single basic vocal sound employed for all types of music. The singularity of any regional vocal practice is strongly suggested by theorists Johannes de Grocheio and Johannes Garlandia (both late thirteenth century), who discuss intermixing phrases of secular song within a sacred performance, a practice that would not have been possible if the sacred and secular vocal traditions differed in any fundamental way. Specifically, Grocheio describes the performance of the Gloria, Offertory, and hymns in terms of the secular song forms *cantus coronatus* and *carol*.[7] Garlandia, in a discussion of how to add a *quadruplum* to a section of chant, states that one could substitute "a familiar *cantilena* ... or a phrase from a *lai*" in

4 For more on this subject see Joseph Dyer, "The Voice in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. J. Potter (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 165–77; 254–58.

5 Boncompagnus of Signa, quoted in Christopher Page, "Around the Performance of a 13th-Century Motet," *Early Music* 28 (2000), 343–57 at 348.

6 See the discussion in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, chapter 2. Further details are found in John Haines, "Lambertus's *Epiglotus*," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006), 142–63. The sounds are discussed and demonstrated in McGee, "The Sound of the Early Neumes," in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus. Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. L. Dobszay (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), 549–64 + CD.

7 Johannes de Grocheio, *De Musica*; modern edition *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*, ed. E. Rohloff (Leipzig, 1972). English translation *Johannes de Grocheo, Concerning Music*, trans. A. Seay (Colorado Springs, 1967; rev. ed. 1973), 16:270, 164:280, 156:241.

place of original composition.[8] Evidence that some details of vocal practice varied according to region can be found in diatribes such as that by John the Deacon quoted above, written from Rome and decrying the ugly vocal sounds of monks from northern monasteries. His statement goes on to say that the northerners' singing "sounds like farm carts clumsily creaking up a rutted hill," which reinforces the impression that regional differences were quite marked.[9] Elsewhere I have speculated on other aspects of regional practices: that the northern French may have sung in a far more detached manner than those in the south; that the tradition on the Iberian peninsula was much more ornate than elsewhere on the Continent; and that the English practice was similar to Spanish although more conservative in terms of quantity of ornamentation.[10]

The richness of medieval vocal sounds can be surmised from statements in theoretical treatises concerning the way in which particular chant neumes were to be performed. These statements describe a vocal practice that stands in sharp contrast to the currently accepted practice of singing chant. According to the *Summa musice*, written ca. 1200,[11] the second note of a *pes* ✓ is to liquify and fade away; the second note of a *clivis* ◜ is to end as an indistinct sound; the second sound of a *plica* ⁀ (higher or lower, depending on the written sign) is a liquid sound that fades, is sung in the back of the throat, and may be as little as a quarter tone away from the full first sound. In other words, performance of the most common two-note neumes found in the chant repertory all involved a strong–weak relationship in which the first pitch is a solid, distinct pitch, and the second either a fading or otherwise less distinct sound. The result of that vocal practice would have been a constant and rapid change of volume as well as considerable variation in sound quality throughout a performance. The *apostropha*, *bistropha*, and *tristropha* neumes ⁘ ⁘⁘ ⁘⁘⁘ require a rapid articulation in which the voice enters each new pulse on pitch and then slides flat with an inflected sound.[12] Other treatises discuss the gargling sound of a note called *gutturalis*, and a sliding pitch called a *sinuosa*,[13] as well as a variety of trills and vibrato (see "Ornamentation," below). The inclusion of pitches other than the usual tone and semitone seems

8 Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*; modern edition ed. E. Reimer, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1972). English translation *Concerning Measured Music*, trans. S. H. Birnbaum (Colorado Springs, 1978), 1: 97:16.

9 Quoted in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 17. 10 Ibid., 147.

11 Published in *The* Summa Musice: *A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers*, ed. Page (Cambridge University Press, 1991). The treatise was intended to teach boys how to sing from chant notation.

12 Discussed in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 57–58.

13 Walter Odington, *De speculatione musicae*; English translation by J. A. Huff, *Walter Odington*, *De speculatione musicae*, Musicological Studies and Documents 31 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 94. Summarized and discussed in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 52.

to have been a common vocal practice; Marchettus of Padua (early fourteenth century) makes a point of discussing the division of the tone into five parts, allowing for very wide and very narrow semitones.[14]

Many of these vocal practices and nuances are reflected in some versions of the early notation itself. In the neume presented above illustrating the *plica*, it can be seen that the shape of the second note suggests the intended vocal rendering. Other neumes whose shapes convey performance information include: the *quilisma* , which is to be sung as a smooth motion between the pitches indicated at the beginning and end of the neume, in which the voice pulses alternately strong and weak as it moves; the *pressus* , which is sung evenly and quickly as a repeated pitch followed by the lower auxiliary; and the *oriscus* , which includes a smooth and quick move from the first-written pitch to a pitch slightly higher (but not necessarily as high as a half step), followed by a return to the original pitch, much like a Baroque mordent. Additional nuances indicated in some of the early notation include variant shapes of the same neume to indicate different vocal treatment, e.g, curved lines indicating a sliding of the voice from one note to the next, as opposed to straight lines that indicate movement from one solid pitch to another: *pes* , *scandicus* , *torculus* . There is no suggestion in any of the writings that only solo singing is being addressed. It would seem that these sounds applied to all singing, including chant choirs.[15]

Articulation and Rhythm

The clearest and most basic articulation instruction is found in Jerome's *Tractatus de musica* (ca. 1280) which states that notes written separately are to be articulated separately, while those joined together are to be sung without separate articulation. This is supported by a similar statement in the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, from the early eleventh century.[16] Notes joined together in neume groups, therefore, had the same meaning as does a slur mark in modern notation, and consequently individually written notes, not only those with text syllables, should be separately articulated.

It is also clear from medieval theoretical treatises that chant was sung with marked rhythmic patterns. Guido of Arezzo stated that chant should be

14 Marchettus of Padua, *Lucidarium*. Critical edition, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua*, trans. and ed. J. Herlinger (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 2.8.9–10. Discussion in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 81–82.

15 An additional source of information about vocal nuances is found in a ninth-century letter from Notker, a monk at the Abbey of St. Gall, that provides details on the performance of markings in St. Gall manuscripts. Discussed in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 32–33.

16 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*; English translation *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, trans. W. Babb (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1978), 49–83. See the discussion in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 28–30.

"clapped as if with metrical feet,"[17] which suggests a very regular pace and perhaps an isosyllabic basis for rendering the neumes associated with any text. Unfortunately, at the present time it is not possible to present a clear and comprehensive description as to how rhythms were to be sung; this is one area of early performance practices that is still in need of much work.[18]

In the light of so much new information about vocal sounds, many of the older ideas of chant articulation and rhythm are in need of serious reconsideration. From the above discussion it is apparent that the performance of chant during the Middle Ages was quite different from the current performance practices as developed in the nineteenth century by the monks of the Abbey of Solesmes, that result in smooth, long lines of unvarying vocal color, with little articulation. Although a comprehensive performance practice cannot be presented at this time, the evidence indicates that the Solesmes practices do not accurately represent the sound of medieval chant.

Singing Instructions

The first set of performance instructions directed at singers does not come until the very end of the period: Conrad von Zabern's *De modo bene cantandi* of 1474,[19] which dwells on choir performance practices. For the most part these are fairly elementary observations for anyone wishing to participate in a vocal ensemble, such as: enter in unison; blend the voices; observe rhythmic values accurately and uniformly; and do not add notes or harmonies to the melody. But Conrad also provides a small snapshot of some regional practices when he encourages his singers to strive for a cultivated vocal delivery which he contrasts with "rustic" practices. Among the "rustic" practices he warns against are: adding consonant sounds during a melisma for the purpose of articulation (e.g., adding the sounds k.. k.. k.. to articulate a melisma over the first syllable of "Kyrie"); extreme nasal sound; inattention to pure vowel sounds; wavering pitch on long notes; continuous vibrato; forced vocal sound; bellowing on high notes and singing faintly on low notes; and making elaborate facial and body gestures.

Conrad, who taught in Heidelberg, states that his area of reference for the observation of these "rustic" singing practices extends from Frankfurt to Koblenz and Trier (i.e., western Germany); but the modern reader will

17 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, quoted in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 73.

18 The most extensive study of possible rhythms in the chant was undertaken by Jan W. A. Vollaerts, *Rhythmic Proportions in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960). See also McGee, "The Sound of the Early Neumes."

19 Conrad von Zabern, *De modo*. See Joseph Dyer, "Singing with Proper Refinement from *De modo bene cantandi* (1474) by Conrad von Zabern," *Early Music* 6 (1978), 207–27 and Carol MacClintock, ed., *Readings in the History of Music in Performance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1979)., 12–16.

recognize a number of these as present-day common faults, and therefore they probably are generally applicable. His statements about avoiding nasal sounds and wavering pitch, however, seem to contradict some of the more colorful sounds found in earlier treatises. We might conclude, therefore, that Conrad's instructions imply that by the end of the medieval period some of the more extreme vocal sounds were being eliminated. Lacking any other references, it is not possible to say how many of the earlier sounds persisted, nor for how long; but we can be sure that the answer would be somewhat different for each region.[20]

Sacred Vocal Performance

Solo and Ensemble

Sacred performance involved both soloists and choirs, although the practice was quite different from soloist/choir practices of the present day: choirs sang only monophonic chant, whereas polyphonic music was the particular domain of soloists. The way in which chant was performed during Mass and Office was far more varied than might be imagined. During the observance of Hours, the psalms and other multiple-verse items were often performed in *alternatim* style, in which the choir was divided in half and took turns singing verses. The standard performance of antiphons called for the full choir to sing the antiphon refrain while a soloist performed the verses. This could be elaborated by the introduction of tropes – interpolated text phrases with newly composed music – inserted before and after the standard phrases of the antiphon. A troped antiphon, therefore could be charted as:

trope introductory phrase – soloist
first phrase of antiphon – choir
new trope phrase – soloist
second phrase of antiphon – choir
new trope phrase – soloist
third phrase of antiphon – choir
etc.
antiphon verse – soloist
Repeat(s) of antiphon with (new) tropes

Another type of variety would be performance of a monophonic antiphon with polyphonic phrases substituted in place of some of those sections

20 For additional theorists' comments about singing and singers see Dyer, "The Voice in the Middle Ages," 254–58.

assigned to soloists. This could feature even more types of sound contrast by varying the kinds of polyphonic interpolations: *organum purum* in which the lower voice sustains the notes of the chant while the upper voice sings an elaborate, newly-composed phrase; or *discant*, in which both parts move note-against-note. The change from monophony to polyphony during performance would also mean the change from the sound of a large chorus to solo voices, and, according to Elias Salomonis, *organum purum* sections would also have brought a change in the pacing: whereas the choral monophony would have been sung at an even pace, the polyphonic sections would feature an irregular pace as the soloist on the top line freely embellished over the static lower line.[21] We could also imagine that on such occasions the soloist would include more of the colorful vocal sounds as described above.[22]

Polyphony

Polyphonic motets, freestanding compositions for two, three, and sometimes four parts, also were interpolated into the various sacred ceremonies from as early as the thirteenth century, and shortly afterward, this kind of compositional technique was applied to complete items of the Mass Ordinary and Proper. In all cases the performers normally would have been soloists, although it would appear that by the mid-fifteenth century, polyphony for special occasions may have had more than one singer per part. The question of whether polyphony was normally sung with soloists or with several voices on a line is not easy to determine, and in fact, is still being investigated. At the moment the evidence seems to support the opinion that the standard practice was for solo voices to perform all polyphony, but on some occasions two or three voices might share a line.[23]

Contrary to many modern re-creations of early music performance, there is no evidence that instruments normally participated along with voices in the performance of polyphony – either sacred or secular. Polyphonic music was performed either by all voices or all instruments (mostly in a secular setting),

21 Elias Salomonis, *Scientia artis musicae*, in GS, III.

22 For a colorful condemnation of the types of excesses indulged in by some soloists, see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, quoted in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 23.

23 Although fifteenth-century cathedral choirs often contained as many as twelve or eighteen singers, it is probable that normally they all sang together only on monophonic chant and hymns; for the polyphonic repertory soloists took turns. On this question in England and Rome see Andrew Hughes, "The Choir in Fifteenth-Century English Music: Non-Mensural Polyphony," in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on His 70th Birthday*, ed. G. Reese and J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969); Roger Bowers, "The Performing Ensemble for English Church Polyphony, c. 1320–c. 1390," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. S. Boorman, 161–92; and Richard Sherr, "Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the Sixteenth Century," *Early Music* 15 (1987), 453–62.

but not by a mixture (see below).[24] This practice extended also to the church organ. Although positive organs were found in churches and chapels from as early as the thirteenth century, they were never combined with voices. Their only association with voices would be to play an intonation to set the pitch for the singers, or to play *alternatim* verses – i.e. alternate with the voices in performing verses of psalms, etc. They also played separately for processionals and the like, as well as instrumental solos (instrumental elaborations of the sacred vocal repertory), but organs did not accompany voices until the late Renaissance.[25]

Secular Vocal Performance

Monophonic songs were a common part of daily life on all social levels. They were sung by peasants as well as by the upper classes, and by professional musicians. The performance could be by soloists or by groups, with or without the accompaniment of musical instruments.[26] The repertory included both poetry and prose, and subject matter that varied to match every type of occasion. There was a large quantity of repertory that was either transmitted in written form or learned by rote imitation, and among the professionals and some gifted amateurs, much of the material – both the text and the music – was improvised.

Accompanied Voice

The instruments most often depicted or mentioned in association with secular monophonic performance are the plucked strings, especially lute and harp, and some of the bowed strings, especially crwth, fiddle, and rebec.[27] The function of the instruments when accompanying voice would seem to have been largely improvisatory: they would improvise a prelude to set the mood of the text and the mode of the melody; improvise simple harmony to accompany the voice; play instrumental spacers between verses of the song; and add a coda as a way of finishing the performance.[28] The instrumentalist could be the singer himself/herself, or a separate

24 For an extended discussion of this issue see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

25 See Bowers, "The Performing Ensemble," 181.

26 See Walter Salmen, *Der Spielmann im Mittelalter* (Innsbruck: Edition Helbling, 1983). On the performance of French repertory, with or without instrumental accompaniment, see Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

27 Instrument preferences were regional: the crwth was favored in the British Isles, the harp in France, and the fiddle in Italy.

28 See the discussion under "Improvisation," below.

performer; examples of both practices are found in iconographic and literary sources. In one of Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, for example, the student Nicholas, alone in his chamber at night, sang the hymn "Angelus ad Virginem" to the accompaniment of his psaltery.[29] Countless literary sources describe a lover singing to his beloved to the accompaniment of a lute or harp which is played either by the suitor or by a companion. Jehan Maillart, in his *Roman du Comte d'Anjou*, describes a scene in which bowed and plucked instruments participated along with voices in a varied program of songs and dances: "some sang pastourelles about Robichon and Amelot, others played on vielles chansons royal and estampies, dances and notas. On lutes and psaltery each according to his preference played *lais* of love, descorts and ballads in order to entertain those who were ill."[30] That performing songs was one of the pastimes of a proper courtly young lady is recorded in the thirteenth-century romance of *Galeran de Bretagne*, in which a girl named Fresne lists her daily activities: "My heart, my lady, directs me to do no other office than to read my psalter and to embroider with gold threads or with silk, to hear romances of Thebes or of Troy, to play *lais* on my harp, to checkmate another at chess or feed my hawk on my wrist."[31]

Some dance songs were performed employing the practice of alternating soloist and group, similar to that described above for antiphon performance, in which a soloist would sing verses and everyone would join in the refrain. Dance songs were popular both for sacred and secular occasions. The largest existing repertory of sacred dances can be found at the end of the Florence copy of the Notre Dame repertory, which contains a set of over fifty sacred dance songs, mostly rondeaux, with devotional texts. At the beginning of this section of the manuscript there is an illumination containing five clerics standing in a circle without instruments, suggesting that the songs would be sung unaccompanied while dancing in the round.[32] Example 19.1 is the rondeau "Mors vite propitia" from that source. The text in italics is the common refrain sung by all dancers in answer to the changing verses sung by the leader.

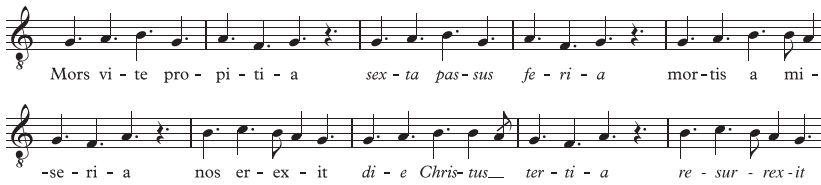
29 "Miller's Tale," in Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. Nevill Coghill (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951), 89.

30 Jehan Maillart, *Le Roman du Comte d'Anjou*, ed. M. Roques (Paris: H. Champion, 1931), ll. 11–18.

31 Quoted in Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300* (London: Dent, 1989), 103.

32 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (*I-Fl* plut. 29.1), fols. 463r–471v. For details about the manuscript, its date of origin, possession by the French royal household, and presentation to Cosimo de' Medici in 1461, see Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, "Magnus liber – Maius munus. Origine et destinée du manuscrit *F*," *Revue de Musicology* 90 (2004), 193–230. On the subject of liturgical dances see Yvonne Rokseth, "Danses Cléricales du XIII^{e} siècle," in *Mélanges 1945 des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1947).

Example 19.1 "Mors vite propitia," from Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1, fol. 464r. Facsimile, ed. Luther Dittmer (n.p.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.), vol. II. Text from *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Guido Dreves, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1886–1922), XXI: 40–41



The presence of dancing clerics in the manuscript illumination, as well as the subject matter of the songs, suggest that this type of vocal dance tradition was common in clerical circles, and it is known from literary and iconographic sources that sacred dance songs were performed by people of all classes. There is ample evidence of a similar dance-song practice in the secular world. Although the most common practice involved a soloist for the verses as described above, Jehan Maillart provides a description of a carol performance in which the verses were sung by several voices while the entire group sang the refrain: "Then the napery was taken up, and when they had washed their hands, the carols began. Those ladies who had sweet voices sang loudly: everyone answered them joyfully, anyone who knew how to sing, sang thus."[33] Some iconographic representations of vocal dances also include instruments, usually percussion. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco *The Effects of Good Government* (1337-39), on the wall of the Palazzo Publico in Siena, and Andrea di Bonaiuto's fresco *The Church Militant* (1365), in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, both show groups of dancers in a "round" (i.e. carol) formation. In these depictions the leader plays a tambourine and sings the verses, but apparently does not take part in the dancing.[34]

Rhythm and Vocal Inflection

As is the case with chant performance, the rhythm of monophonic songs written prior to notational developments at the end of the thirteenth century is still in question. This includes all of the well-known repertory: the trouvère and troubadour repertory from France; the *cantigas* and Sephardic songs of Iberia; the minnesang of Germany; as well as the small surviving

33 Maillart, *Roman du Comte d'Anjou*, ll. 2875–81.
34 For a discussion of the dance practice see McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 1989), 19–20.

repertory of secular and devotional songs from Italy and England. The notation for this repertory is borrowed from that for chant, and scholars have proposed a variety of rhythmic solutions, including: assigning to the neumes the durational values developed in later mensural notation; ignoring the neume shapes and assigning one of the rhythmic modes; assigning to the notes a rhythm derived from the meter of the poetry; and interpreting the neumes the same way they are interpreted in the Solesmes chant style. The problem is complex and the different solutions work with varying degrees of success depending on the language of the text; that is, a solution that fits troubadour texts and melodies may not work as well with the Italian *lauda*. Needless to say, the theories produce widely contrasting sounds, and the modern performer can choose from a number of published transcriptions that reflect these interpretations.[35]

As mentioned above, the late thirteenth-century Parisian theorist Johannes de Garlandia proposes mixing phrases of secular songs with sacred compositions,[36] which suggests that not only the vocal sounds but all of the basic performance techniques for sacred and secular music must have been quite similar. Once the solution is found for assigning durational values to the chant repertory, therefore, the same system may well apply to the rhythms of secular music. Combining Garlandia's statement with the fact that some of the secular notation sources include neume forms similar to those described above in the discussion of chant as being performed with vocal nuances, we can speculate that the secular repertory was also performed with a similarly wide variety of vocal inflections. Unfortunately, no medieval documents directly address the subject of secular vocal practices.

Instruments

During the Middle Ages musical instruments were occasionally classified and described as they are today, in terms of their material or sounding properties: woodwinds, brass, strings, and percussion (although those were not exactly the words used).[37] But medieval writers found that a more useful way of

35 The problems and their solutions are discussed in: Elizabeth Aubrey, "Non-Liturgical Monophony, Introduction"; "Occitan Monophony"; "French Monophony," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 105–14; 122–33; 134–43; Manuel P. Ferreira, "Iberian Monophony," in ibid., 144–57; J. Judith Cohen, "Sephardic Song," in ibid., 158–62; Blake Wilson, "Italian Monophony," in ibid., 163–72; Hubert Heinen, "German Monophony," in ibid., 173–80; and Paul Hillier, "English Monophony," in ibid., 181–89.

36 Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*; discussed in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 9.

37 A collection of some of the most important articles on medieval instruments and their performance can be found in McGee, *Instruments and Their Music in the Middle Ages*, Music In Medieval Europe (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

discussing them was to separate instruments into two categories: loud and soft, which had to do not only with their volume, but also their combinations, functions, and repertories.[38]

Loud Instruments

The loud instruments were those that usually performed out of doors: trumpets, percussion, shawms, and bagpipes. Trumpets functioned as heraldic instruments, and were the symbols of civic authority. Most cities and ruling noblemen employed sets of trumpeters who played long straight instruments (four to six feet in length, often referred to as *buisines*). The trumpeters were dressed in a uniform that identified their sponsor, and a banner with the sponsor's heraldic emblem was suspended from their instruments. They would precede their sponsors on all official occasions, announcing their presence, and would represent the city/ruler at festivals in other cities. Trumpeters also accompanied the military in the field, where they functioned as signalmen, relaying commands to the troops. In all of these functions they were sometimes accompanied by one or more percussionists who played tabor, nakers, and/or cymbals.

Within a community, players of smaller trumpets, often in pairs, were employed by nobles and elite citizens as a symbol of their social importance. They too wore uniforms and suspended banners from their instruments displaying the heraldry of their sponsor. Sets of smaller trumpets also were employed to embellish important banquets, where they called the guests to table and then signaled the entry of each course.[39] Nothing is known about the repertory of the trumpeters. The instruments were restricted to the overtone series, and it is thought that the larger instruments, which were mostly cylindrical, could play only the lower four partials, although the smaller instruments, being more conical, were probably capable of as many as eight partials.[40] Their functions strongly suggest that the sounds they made were in the style of fanfares, but whether they played in unison or improvised harmony or drones is not known.

The shawms were a bit more flexible than any of the other loud instruments in that they were not encumbered by a drone (as was the bagpipe), had

38 The classic reference for this division is Edmund Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954), 115–40.

39 On ceremonial instruments see Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice*, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge University Press, 1992), chapter 3; McGee, "Silver or Gold: The Color of Brass Instruments in the Late Middle Ages," *Historical Brass Society Journal* 17 (2005), 1–6; McGee, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), chapter 2.

40 See Peter Downey, "The Renaissance Slide Trumpet: Fact or Fiction?" *Early Music* 12 (1984), 26–33 at 26; Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 49.

a diatonic range of twelve to fourteen notes, and were nearly fully chromatic. By the late fourteenth century they were found in two sizes, treble and alto (often called "bombard"), with ranges a fifth apart. They were capable of performing most of the written monophonic and polyphonic repertory, but although their function continued to expand throughout the period, there is no evidence of them performing written polyphony until the mid- to late fifteenth century. In some locations shawms were also included in civic processions where they performed along with the trumpets. Most of the evidence from the fourteenth century associates them with dancing, where they occasionally performed with a bagpipe. They were among the instruments played by minstrels at the banquets of the Duke of Burgundy.[41]

By the late fourteenth century, shawm ensembles more and more were found as a set dance ensemble known in the current scholarly literature as the "alta cappella,"[42] first as a set of three shawms (ca. 1380), then in the early fifteenth century as two or three shawms with a slide trumpet, and later in that century as three shawms and a trombone.[43] The alta cappella improvised polyphonic dance music (see below) and by the mid-fifteenth century probably performed composed polyphony.[44] In the iconography the ensemble is often depicted performing for dancing in a large castle hall or out of doors.

Bagpipes are found in all areas of Europe, and are most frequently mentioned in conjunction with dancing, either as solo or in duet with a shawm. They are pictured in a number of different sizes, with one, two, or three drone pipes, and sometimes with no drones. In the earlier centuries they are mentioned and depicted in conjunction with all levels of society including banquets and feasts of the nobles, but by the fifteenth century they are found mostly in rustic settings. They had a range limited to eight to ten diatonic notes, few chromatics, and the presence of drone pipes severely limited their modal flexibility. Loud instruments are never found in the company of voices, and, with the exception of the bagpipe, were rarely played by amateurs.

41 See Bowles, "Instruments at the Court of Burgundy (1363–1467)," *Galpin Society Journal* 6 (1953), 41–51.

42 The term was invented by twentieth-century musicologists. The band was referred to as "loud minstrels" in England, "hauts menestrels" in France, "ministriles altos" in Spain, "piffari" in Italy, and "Pfeifer" in Germany. See Lorenz Welker, "'Alta capella,' – Zur Ensemblepraxis der Blasinstrumente im 15. Jahrhundert," *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 7 (1983), 146.

43 There is still considerable controversy over the issue of the slide trumpet. See Downey, "The Renaissance Slide Trumpet"; Duffin, "The *Trompette des Menestrels* in the 15th-Century *Alta Capella*," *Early Music* 17 (1989), 397–402; Herbert Myers, "Slide Trumpet Madness: Fact or Fiction?" *Early Music* 17 (1989), 383–89; and Polk, "The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance," *Early Music* 17 (1989), 389–97.

44 A substantial amount of circumstantial evidence suggests that the "alta cappella" performed written polyphony from early in the fifteenth century, but the strongest evidence is not until the end of the century. See McGee, *Ceremonial Musicians*, 222–29.

Soft Instruments

The soft instruments are all those not included in the above listing. They are found in a large variety of combinations and in association with a wide variety of functions: performing for dancing, playing vocal repertory, and accompanying solo monophonic singing. The category includes all of the keyboard instruments, the plucked and bowed strings, and all woodwinds except shawm. Keyboards included positive and portative organ, clavichord, and harpsichord. The plucked strings (lute, harp, cittern, citole, psaltery, dulcimer) differed from one another in size, numbers of strings, and the material from which the strings were made (gut or metal).[45] Bowed strings (rebec, vielle, fiddle, hurdy-gurdy, crowd/crwth), had between two and five strings and either flat or rounded bridges, and some had off-board strings (i.e., not passing over the fingerboard). Woodwinds included the whistle type (recorder, pipe, transverse flutes), and double reeds (douzaine, krumhorn, and bagpipe – the only instrument found in both loud and soft categories). Iconographic and literary sources make it clear that all of the soft instruments could serve as solo, or in ensembles of all possible combinations.[46] Performers could be professional or amateur; the courtly amateurs favored portative organ, clavichord, harpsichord, psaltery, lute, harp, and fiddle, whereas the remainder (positive organ and all woodwinds) were mainly played by professionals and peasants. We are unable to associate any particular repertory with any instrument or combination of instruments, although it is clear that they all participated in the dance repertory and shared the monophonic and polyphonic vocal repertory of the period.

It should be noted that drones and drone-like sounds were fairly common during the period; they were an inescapable part of some instruments (hurdy-gurdy, bagpipe), and easily implemented on others, including the two most popular instruments: lute and fiddle. Until the mid-fifteenth century, lutes had their four courses of strings arranged in pairs (either unisons or octaves) on a relatively narrow neck and were played with a plectrum, a construction that made strumming (i.e., drone-like sounds) easily available.[47] Some time after ca. 1430 the neck was widened and a fifth course, a solo high string, was added, making it easier for the instrument to be played polyphonically.[48]

45 There are a number of instrument names found in the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth century that cannot positively be identified. Some of these may simply be local names for instruments commonly known by another name. See discussion in McGee, *Instruments and Their Music*, xiii–xvii.

46 See Polk, "Ensemble Performance in Dufay's Time," in *Dufay Quincentenary Conference*, ed. A. W. Atlas (New York: Brooklyn College, 1976), 61–75, where these combinations are discussed.

47 Douglas A. Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (n.p.: Lute Society of America, 2002), 53.

48 Ibid.

Depictions of the bowed strings show as many with flat bridges as with rounded ones, and a number of the five-string fiddles had an off-board string that was to be plucked with the thumb of the left hand (a precursor of the later lira da braccio). Various possible tunings for bowed strings are provided by Jerome of Moravia, ca. 1280; in the mid-fourteenth century Berkeley Manuscript; and by Johannes Tinctoris, ca. 1487 – none of which completely agree with one another.[49] Jerome indicates that the two strings of a rebec were tuned a fifth apart, and provides three different tunings for the five-string fiddle (two of them with the off-board, plucked string) all of which have paired strings, again suggesting multiple sounds and a drone-filled performance.[50] During the fifteenth century, as courtly musical tastes gravitated in the direction of polyphonic music, those instruments that could adapt to the polyphonic repertory remained in favor, while those that had drones, limited range, or insufficient chromatic flexibility fell out of favor and were found mostly in rustic settings where monophonic practices still survived.

Although soft instruments often accompanied solo vocal performances of monophonic music throughout the period, and by the fifteenth century they performed polyphony most of which was music originally intended for vocal performance, there is little evidence that instruments and voices performed polyphonic music together. The earliest evidence for a mixture of voices and instruments in that repertory is not found until the sixteenth century.[51]

Improvisation

Improvisation was a basic part of much medieval performance, both vocal and instrumental. There are no surviving comprehensive instructions from the Middle Ages as to how one would improvise, but occasional references in theoretical and literary sources, as well as a few notated examples, provide sufficient information to give a general impression of what was done and when.

49 Jerome of Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*; modern edition *Hieronymus De Moravia O. P. Tractatus De Musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1935). On the "Berkeley Manuscript" (Berkeley, University of California, Music Library, 774 [*US-BEm* 744]), see Page, "Fourteenth-Century Instruments and Tunings: A Treatise by Jean Vaillant? (Berkeley, MS744)," *Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980), 17–35. For a discussion of Tinctoris' tunings, see Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De inventione et usu musicae*," *Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950), 19–26.

50 On the tunings see Page, "Jerome of Moravia on the *Rubeba* and *Viella*," *Galpin Society Journal* 32 (1979), 77–98 and McGee, "The Medieval Fiddle: Tuning, Technique, and Repertory," in *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600: Essays in Honor of Keith Polk*, ed. T. J. McGee and S. Carter, Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 31–56.

51 See McGee, "Florentine Instrumentalists and Their Repertory circa 1500," *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 29 (2005), 145–59.

Vocal Improvisation

Vocal improvisation took two general forms: (1) polyphonic – adding lines to already existent music; and (2) monophonic – improvising music for poetry. The first type must have been very close to what we see in the earliest written-out polyphony: the addition of a second line moving note-for-note above an already-existing one, beginning and ending on consonances. The most elaborate of this type of improvisation consisted of a sustained chant line while a soloist improvised lengthy passages above each note.[52] The earliest examples of this are applied to sacred music: parallel organum, in which the added voice part would parallel the melody throughout its length at the interval of an octave, fourth, or fifth;[53] and oblique organum, in which the added voice began each phrase on a unison, created short passages of dissonance as it moved by step to a parallel consonant interval, and then returned to the unison at the phrase-end. Another version of this technique, called "faburden," was popular in fifteenth-century England, in which one voice would improvise parallel fourths above a chant melody and another would sing a third or a fifth below it, resulting in a chain of sixth chords.[54]

The second type of improvisation is known principally in Italy as *cantare all'improvviso*, although it undoubtedly occurred in all of the other European countries, but perhaps to a lesser extent. In this tradition a singer would invent a vocal line while presenting poetry (and sometimes the poetry was also improvised), often accompanied by a harp, a lute, or more frequently a five-string fiddle. There are no surviving instructions or descriptions from the Middle Ages that indicate what kind of melodic line was improvised, nor in what way the instruments supported the vocalist, although the tunings and construction of the plucked and bowed string instruments suggest that much of it would have been a simple psalm-tone-type melody accompanied by drones.[55]

Instrumental Improvisation

For information about improvisation of instrumental music – which would have been dances, preludes, and postludes – we have a few commentaries,

52 A lengthy discussion of this type of improvisation can be found in Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 147–54.

53 The most elaborate form of this kind of polyphony was the simultaneous addition of multiple voice-parts an octave and fifth above the chant as well as a fourth and octave below.

54 On faburden see A. Hughes, "Mensural Polyphony for Choir in 15th-Century England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966), 352–69.

55 For additional discussion and speculation on this topic see Howard M. Brown, "The Trecento Fiddle and Its Bridges," *Early Music* 17 (1989), 311–29; Brown, "Fantasia on a Theme by Boccaccio," *Early Music* 5 (1977), 324–39; and McGee, "The Medieval Fiddle."

and some examples that probably were intended for instruments.[56] The very small extant repertory of dances consists of examples of some of the most popular dance types mentioned in the literature: carol, ductia, estampie, saltarello, trotto. All of these have multiple sections (*partes*), with common open and close refrains, and so it is possible to speculate as to the nature of the melodic types of all of these kinds of dances.[57] As for the non-dance improvised repertory, there are several examples of preludes, which indicate that the character, as well as the function, of these pieces was to outline the mode of the piece to follow (either vocal or instrumental) by setting out clearly the final and reciting tone. Beyond that rather general requirement, the examples seem to be fairly free, without melodic or motivic elements, and probably were performed without a regular or pulsing rhythm.[58] The late thirteenth-century theorist Johannes de Grocheio tells us that this kind of instrumental piece would serve to introduce a composition: "A good musician preludes every song and cantilena, and every musical form on the fiddle (vielle)." He also mentions that an instrumental coda was added at the end of certain compositions. In context Grocheio is describing the performance of adding a coda to an antiphon, but he speaks of this practice as being similar to that applied by fiddle players following a *cantus coronatus* or estampie.[59]

A separate improvisatory practice took place with reference to the courtly dance repertory in the late fourteenth century. In addition to the monophonic dances, a tradition of choreographed dances developed, beginning probably at the Burgundian court and spreading quickly throughout the remainder of Europe. These choreographed dances were accompanied by set musical accompaniments written to match the choreography in terms of length, that consisted of either a series of long notes (basse danse/bassadanza) or of passages in a variety of rhythms (ball/balli). In performance, one musician

56 That the examples are intended for instruments is entirely speculative. Very few of them are either labeled as such or presented in a context that would exclude vocal performance. They are all collected in McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*.

57 For transcription of all known medieval instrumental dances see McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*. For consideration of the dances as models for improvisation, see Wulf Arlt, "The 'Reconstruction' of Instrumental Music: The Interpretation of the Earliest Practical Sources," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. S. Boorman (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 75–100 and Arlt, "Instrumentalmusik im Mittelalter: Fragen der Rekonstruktion einer schriftlosen Praxis," *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 7 (1983), 32–64.

58 Discussion of this can be found in Thomas Binkley, "Aus Aufführungspraxis der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters – ein Werkstattbericht," *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977), 19–76. Examples of improvisation and ornamentation can be found in Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale 117 (*I-FZc* 117 "Faenza Codex"); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikhandschriften 3725 (*D-Mbs* Mus. 3725 "Buxheimer Orgelbuch"); and London, British Library, additional 28550 (*GB-Lbl* add. 28550 "Robertsbridge Codex").

59 Johannes de Grocheio, *De Musica*, 134, l. 139; 160, l. 255.

played the composed tenor while another improvised a rapid-moving treble and a third musician improvised a slower-moving line below the tenor.[60]

Ornamentation

Ornamentation refers to the addition of short passages to embellish an existing line. They were applied by vocal and instrumental soloists to both the sacred and secular repertory. These additions could take the form of quick "graces," added to a particular note, or "passaggi" (also called diminutions), notes added between existing notes.[61] Both types are referred to in the literature, but only the passaggi type is notated. The practice of ornamenting was widespread, but subject to regional traditions in terms of type and quantity. The Dutch theorist Johannes Boen (mid-fourteenth century) stated that people of the Low Countries did not subdivide (i.e., add passaggi) to the extent done by the English, French, and Italians.[62]

Graces

Included in the category of graces are: trills, vibrato, *comminutio* (the rapid subdivision of a note), tremolo, appoggiaturas, and the addition of upper and lower neighbors in a variety of patterns.[63] The purpose of the "graces" was to bring attention and emphasis to important notes in a passage.

Trill – Three different types of trills are described by Jerome of Moravia, involving intervals of up to a full step, performed at different speeds: the "open" trill involves a whole step above the written pitch and is performed at a slow speed for voice and at a medium speed for instruments; the "long" trill involves a half step above the written pitch, performed at a slow speed; the "quick" trill involves the same half step but is begun slowly and accelerates throughout its length. All trills are begun on the upper neighbor. For vocalists and most instrumentalists the trills involve the alternation of the principal note and an upper neighbor, but Jerome described a different practice for organists: the principal note is to be held while the note above is struck

60 For a discussion of the place of dance in medieval society see Jennifer Neville, "Dance in Europe 1250–1750," in *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250–1750*, ed. J. Neville (Bloomington Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 7–64. For a discussion of instrumental improvised performance see Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 163–210; and Duffin, "Ensemble Improvisation in the Fifteenth-Century Mensural Dance Repertoire," in *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600: Essays in Honor of Keith Polk*, ed. T. J. McGee and S. Carter, Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 195–233.

61 The terms "grace" and "passaggi" are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but both types of ornaments existed during the Middle Ages.

62 Quoted in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 89.

63 For an extended discussion of these ornaments, the sources of information, and their performance application, see McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, chapter 4.

repeatedly. He makes it clear that for vocalists the pitch of the upper neighbor need not be a full half or whole step.

Vibrato – Jerome includes what we would term vibrato in his discussion of trills. He calls it a "harmonic flower" and describes it as a "wave-like" sound that can be performed at the same three speeds as the trills. It is clear that "vibrato" is to be applied similar to other "graces," rather than as a constant presence, as in current performance practice.

Comminutio – This is the rapid subdivision of a note, which is applied to several adjacent notes in a phrase when each is at least the value of a breve.

Tremulo – This ornament is discussed under the terms *tremula* and *morula*, which is executed as a rapid pulsing of the voice, either in equal sounds (*morula*), or alternating loud and soft pulses (*tremula*).

Appoggiatura – Johannes de Garlandia describes two types of appoggiatura: preceding each note of a descending passage by gracing it with the pitch of the first note of the passage (limited to intervals no larger than a fifth); and preceding each note of a passage by a step, half step, or third, including either upper or lower auxiliaries.

Passaggi

The number of notes in a passaggio can vary from one to dozens. They were sometimes spoken of as "flowers" as a way of describing their function in dressing up or personalizing a melodic line. Arnulf of St. Ghislain (ca. 1400) describes them as the division of tones into semitones, and semitones into microtones.[64] Fortunately, in addition to discussions in theoretical sources, we have notated evidence of how and where these ornaments were added. For vocal music there are multiple versions of various monophonic and polyphonic compositions that include passages that are obvious ornamental additions. For instrumental music there are a few instrumental transcriptions of vocal music that, when compared to the vocal originals, provide the same information.

The most basic type of passaggio is the filling-in of an interval. This can be done simply by adding a single note to a melodic third, or elaborated by indirect progress (e.g., ornamenting an interval of a third with a passage that includes upper and lower neighbors of both written pitches), or further extended by by-passing the next several notes and constructing a running passage that extends to a later note in the passage. What is evident from the written information as well as from the notated examples is that the ornamental passages are mostly stepwise, and in polyphonic music they are

64 *Tractatulus de differentiis et gradibus cantorum*. Quoted in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 25.

by-and-large confined to the uppermost part. Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, some ornamentation was applied to lower parts, although the highest part received the most.[65] Placement is generally free, but the first note of a passage is usually avoided, and the penultimate note is usually decorated. There are some differences in the ornamental practices of different geographical areas: examples in the Faenza Codex[66] indicate that in the decoration of French music, fast ornamental passages usually are preceded by slower ornamental passages, whereas in the Italian examples the fast passages begin abruptly as bursts of energy. The Robertsbridge Codex[67] and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch,[68] of English and German origins respectively, are closer to the French practice. The same regional practices are evident in the variant vocal examples from these countries.[69]

Technical Issues

There are two additional technical issues that are a part of the performance of music in the Middle Ages: tempo and *musica ficta*. Both are essential to the subject but are far too complex to discuss in any detail here. What follows is simply an introduction to the subjects, outlining what are the issues.

Tempo

One of the most basic issues in performance has to do with the tempo at which one performs. Several treatises mention that the speed of chant was to vary relative to the importance of the feast, with the most solemn occasions receiving the slowest tempo. But there is no mention of how one measured any of those tempos. The earliest clear statement is from Ramos de Pareia, a late fifteenth-century theorist, who tells us that the basis of tempo was the heartbeat of a healthy man at rest: i.e. 60–80 beats per minute.[70] Ramos is most likely referring exclusively to polyphony, but the 60–80 tempo range does seem to be a general principle regarding the flow of music across the centuries. In order to apply that principle to medieval music, therefore, the performer needed to know only the note value to which that rate was assigned. Although somewhat general, this guide agrees with the kinds of

65 For a statement about ornamenting the tenor line in the fourteenth century see Page, "The Performance of Ars Antiqua Motets," *Early Music* 16 (1988), 147–64 at 162.
66 *I-FZc* 117. 67 *GB-Lbl* add. 28550. 68 *D-Mbs* Mus. 3725.
69 For more on this topic see McGee, "National Styles in Fifteenth-Century Embellishment," in *Music Fragments and Manuscripts from the Low Countries; Alta Capella; Music Printing in Antwerp and Europe in the 16th Century*, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 2 (Leuven: The Foundation, 1997), 131–46.
70 Ramos de Pareia, *Musica practica*, 1482. Facsimile ed. (Bologna, 1969). Modern ed. J. Wolf (Leipzig, 1901).

flexibility found in all other performance areas of medieval music with regard to vocal sounds, ornamentation, choice of instruments, etc. It provided a beginning tempo range that would be further refined by the text (i.e., its subject matter and ratio of syllables to the number of notes), and the nature of the musical line(s) (i.e., their melodic and rhythmic complexity). Originally, the counting note was the *longa* 𝅜, but over the centuries of the Middle Ages composers tended to write increasingly smaller values, which resulted in a slowing of the tempo to the point where the counting note was reassigned to the next fastest value. This process of reassignment of the counting note continued until by the early fifteenth century the counting note was assigned to the *semibreve* ◆. Although this, the basis of the system, is straightforward, the refinements were quite complex, involving a set of markings that temporarily reassigned the subdivision of the note values on different levels that served to slow or speed the tempo of a passage.[71]

One problem faced by a modern performer reading a transcription is to ascertain what was the shape of the original notation (i.e. the level of reduction), so that an informed decision can be made as to which note shape to assign the tempo guideline to. Fortunately, most modern transcriptions include such information at the beginning of the transcription and at all points of change.

Musica Ficta

Musica ficta refers to the use of unnotated chromatic intervals. Although composers often indicated when they wished chromatic alterations, there was also a tradition of altering notes that were not marked. There has been quite a bit of attention given to this issue in the scholarly world, with a number of theories put forward as to how this was done.[72] The basic issue involves the question of when would a musician alter a note by flatting or sharping it. The subject involves the hexachord system – the six-note scale developed to facilitate singing – and how one mutated from one to another in the course of a musical phrase. A few examples will explain a bit of what the subject involves:

71 For detailed discussions of proportional markings see Richard Sherr, "Tempo to 1500," in *A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. T. Knighton and D. Fallows, 327–36; Alejandro Planchart, "Tempo and Proportion," in *Performance Practice: Music before 1600*, ed. H. M. Brown and S. Sadie (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 126–44; and Alexander Blachly, "Proportion," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. R. W. Duffin, 510–32.

72 Discussions of *musica ficta* include: Andrew Hughes, *Manuscript Accidentals: Ficta in Focus* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1972); Margaret Bent, "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta," *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972), 73–100; K. Berger, "Musica Ficta," in *Performance Practice: Music before 1600*, ed. H. M. Brown and S. Sadie (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 107–25; Lucy E. Cross, "Musica Ficta," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. R. W. Duffin, 496–509.

(1) We know that in most cases a musician was expected to raise the penultimate note of a melody (e.g., in a final cadence f–g, the f would be sharped). But how often would this be applied to internal cadences as well?
(2) Since both b♮ and b♭ were equal members of the natural scale, what would cause the musician to select one over the other in any given melodic phrase?
(3) The topic also involves harmonic issues in polyphony, as for example, if there is an f held in one voice followed by a b in another, would the second singer flat the b in order to avoid the tritone? If the answer is "yes" and the f then moves to e, would that voice change the e to e♭ for the same reason?

This is but a small part of a complex issue that is still under discussion. Modern transcriptions usually mark the questionable placement of *ficta* by placing the flat or sharp above the staff rather than beside the note, allowing the performer to understand that the chromatic alteration is not in the original but suggested by the transcriber.

Conclusion

The performance practices of the Middle Ages allowed the musicians a great amount of flexibility in terms of vocal sounds, ornamentation, improvisation, instrumentation, tempo, and even the choice of chromatic inflection. Within certain guidelines, the performer was free to choose those elements that seemed most appropriate to the composition and the occasion, and that would personalize a performance. The investigation of medieval performance practices is a continuous process, with each new discovery often revealing additional areas to be considered. Over the last several decades scholars have made great strides in understanding those practices. At the same time, as the discussions above have pointed out, many topics are still under investigation and have yet to be resolved. It is a rewarding field of study, in that while it assists us in obtaining a more accurate picture of musical practices, it also contributes to the larger goal of understanding the past.

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Issues in the Modern Performance of Medieval Music

JOHN POTTER

The modern performance of medieval music is characterized by a plethora of practice that ranges from a specialist musicologically determined "authenticism" through re-enactors of medieval mystery plays and Meistersinger contests to the commercial exploitation of Gregorian chant as dance music. Between these points there is a dynamic performance culture, heavily represented by recordings and live performances, much of which would be impossible to predict from reading the other chapters in this volume. This chapter attempts to explain how this situation came about, and to examine some of the issues facing performers of medieval music in the early twenty-first century.

The Making of a Genre

Medieval music was slow to benefit from the late twentieth-century Early Music revival, the sheer historical distance generally requiring a greater leap of faith on the part of both performers and audiences in order to find common ground in the present. The comfortable assumptions of the Renaissance and Baroque revival were characterized by a renewal of music that was for the most part already known, or involved the rediscovery of music that was not dissimilar to existing repertoires. Medieval music had no such commercial base on which to build, and only gradually began to benefit from the expansion of the historical parameters of the Early Music movement as it moved increasingly (in both directions) into the mainstream. Even as late as the 1980s key texts were produced that dealt with Renaissance and medieval music – upwards of half a millennium of history – together in a single volume as though they were one and the same thing.[1] The periodizing terms are

1 Timothy McGee, *Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Performer's Guide* (University of Toronto Press, 1985; Scolar Press, 1990); Timothy McGee, ed., *Improvisation in the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2003); Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds., *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London: Dent, 1992; repr. Oxford University Press, 1998). The earliest publications of use to performers specifically concerned with medieval music include McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Ross Duffin, ed., *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*

themselves misleading, and to conflate them into one seems in retrospect like an attempt to sweeten the medieval pill by Renaissance association.

The idea that medieval music might be performable at all by musicians in the present has not always been as self-evident as we assume it to be. The history of medieval music was for much of the twentieth century the history of its musicology, and it is still true to say that although the gap between scholarship and performance varies both quantitively and qualitatively from time to time, the two disciplines are essentially separate. Scholars tend to aim for lasting historical truth of some sort, whereas performers operate in the moment with a different set of communicative goals. The modern existence of the remains of medieval actuality is due in the first instance to musicological acumen and perspicacity, without which performers would not have the wherewithal to create performances for modern listeners; but when the music existed only on paper in the form of scholarly editions, the intended audience was largely other scholars. This silent academic model is still at the root of many of the problems faced by the performer in the early twenty-first century: it was only in the last quarter of the previous century that performing musicians and the wider listening public felt free to explore an oral/aural model, liberating the music from modernist conceptions of "the score," and thereby making the music commercially viable alongside the Renaissance and Baroque music which were at the heart of the modern Early Music movement.

The performance revival was led by a number of charismatic performers from the post-war LP era, who brought both secular and sacred music to previously unimaginable audiences in Europe and the Americas. There had been a stuttering start to Early Music performance earlier in the century, often led by practical musicians with a scholarly or antiquarian interest in "the music itself," and the pioneers of the time had little interest in music before about 1500. The ideology of the musical mainstream was very much informed by a modernist aesthetic: performances were conceived in terms of reviving composers, and their surviving remnants were interpreted in much the same way as a modern score, the earliest "revivals" coming too late to benefit from the last vestiges of vocal improvisation that characterized nineteenth-century opera singing (and, probably, singing as a whole for many hundreds of years); by the first quarter of the twentieth century composers and conductors had in effect reduced the performer's role to that of interpreter, literally reading the

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); and Joseph Dyer, "The Voice in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

score and not adding to it.[2] The prevailing aesthetic disadvantaged the possible revival of pre-Renaissance music on at least two counts: much of the music was anonymous and so could not easily be accommodated within the composerly authority of the Western canon, and the further back one went the less the sources seemed to make sense in terms of a modern prescriptive score. The surviving sources were few and often fragmentary, with very little help from treatises and extra-musical commentaries. Not only was the survival of traces of the music very patchy, it was also possible that even had all the notated music survived, it might represent only a fraction of the musical culture. In the literal and literate twentieth century, musicians were slow to grasp that the oral culture which gave birth to musical literacy might have continued for many hundreds of years in tandem with it.[3]

From the 1950s onwards, however, the revival of specifically medieval music was given impetus by a number of key ensembles for whom the essential problem was not the paucity of the sources, but what to do with what survived. In an age where success is measured in recordings sold, most ensembles are identified by their unique sound signature, and once established this rarely develops very far – as to do so would compromise the performers' identity. This developmental conservatism is characteristic of the Early Music movement in general; the best performers almost inevitably became beholden to their own success, and in the process became identified in the minds of the listening public with what a medieval sound ought to be. New York Pro Musica, formed by Noah Greenberg and Bernard Krainis in 1952, created a version of the anonymous *The Play of Daniel*[4] which became a highly successful recording in 1958, using a vast and colorful array of instruments, and helping to set in train a particularly "instrumental" view of medieval performance.[5] In Germany, Studio der frühen Musik produced more than fifty LPs from the mid-1950s onwards, defining the repertoire that many groups in the USA and Europe would seek to emulate, and also promulgating a view of history which assumed a significant instrumental dimension. When founder Thomas Binkley returned to the USA in 1979 the baton was taken up in Germany by Sequentia, founded by Benjamin Bagby and

2 This issue is dealt with at length in the *Cambridge History of Musical Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); see also John Potter, *Tenor: History of a Voice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009, repr. 2010), 76–77.

3 The relationship between oral/aural/written/memorized and formulaic material is explored in Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, eds., *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005).

4 London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615).

5 *The Play of Daniel* and *The Play of Herod* were rereleased on CD as MCA D2 10102 in 1995. For the history of the NYPM see the organizational records of the ensemble held by the New York Public Library.

Barbara Thornton, both singers, who began to produce a similarly rich series of recordings (notably the works of Hildegard von Bingen), focusing on the early medieval period but with greater attention to vocal resources. In Britain David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London had produced the hugely successful *Music of the Gothic Era* in 1975, and Gothic Voices' recording of Hildegard von Bingen, *A Feather on the Breath of God*, appeared in 1982, to be rereleased on CD two years later. As CDs replaced LPs, Gothic Voices went on to produce the definitive (for the time) medieval discography mostly without instruments, in contrast to groups such as the Landini Consort or the Medieval Ensemble of London who, directed by instrumentalists, preferred mixed forces. The Hilliard Ensemble and the Orlando Consort, both *a cappella* groups, also released significant recordings of medieval music in the 1980s and 90s.[6] Each of these ensembles reflected the performance conventions and (to a greater or lesser extent) the scholarship of the time, and their recordings were subsequently overtaken by changing musicological conventions and the evolution of new performing styles. The repertoire changed more slowly, and each of these key ensembles bequeathed repertoire material that would become part of a modern performing tradition. *The Play of Daniel* became the most frequently performed and recorded of all medieval music-dramas, the Parisian twelfth-century music attributed to Leonin and Perotin became standard repertoire for many subsequent vocal ensembles, and the Hildegard recordings directly inspired the creation of many female ensembles, for whom the repertoire provided an entry into what had sometimes seemed an exclusively male preserve.

The musicians who made up these ensembles represented a pot-pourri of experience and expertise. All shared a similar excitement at discovering something new (perhaps caused in part by a sense of exclusion from the contemporary avant-garde). The driving force was usually a scholarly entrepreneur, who provided the performing materials and directed the performance. Musicians were not expected to improvise, and where music had to be re-created it was normally newly composed. It was, nevertheless, a very

6 Relevant discographies will be found at the following URLs:
New York Pro Musica: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/nypm.html
Studio der frühen Musik: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/binkley.html
Sequentia: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/sequentia.html.
Gothic Voices: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/gothic.html
Early Music Consort: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/munrow.html
Hilliard Ensemble: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/hilliard.html
Orlando Consort: www.medieval.org/emfaq/performers/orlando.html.
Thurston Dart released an LP of twelfth-/thirteenth-century Parisian music in 1967 (Fontana SFL14133); the Munrow *Music of the Gothic Era* is currently available on CD as Archiv 415 292–2 or as an MP3 download.

creative process, and part of the appeal of the music lay in the fact that so much was unknown and therefore amenable to creative problem-solving. In the case of the Early Music Consort of London, which we might take as an example of a highly successful medieval ensemble in the 1970s, various assumptions underlay the interpretative decision-making: in the first place, Leonin was assumed to have been a composer in the modern sense (in that the surviving manuscripts were thought to represent his creative genius in so far as we could access it) so the group expected to adhere as faithfully as possible to the perceived notes in the manuscript source; but the question of how to perform them required frequent excursions into the notational unknown. To a modern singer, sustaining a note for several pages at a time (as the Parisian organa seemed to require) means that several singers have to share the line, breathing alternately to keep the note going. This, of course, assumes that notes, rests, and breath capacity were the same thing in the twelfth century as in the twentieth. Much of the notation was still mysterious: those who sang with David Munrow will remember his mystification over the *plica*, and his characteristically pragmatic hiccup-like solution, the "lift-bang." Bells were added – possibly because iconographical evidence may have suggested the use of bells in church, and the added texture was thought to give the two-voice music more substance and variety (and in any case, the group had a percussionist who would otherwise have had nothing to do). James Bowman's countertenor is featured on the top line. There is no hard evidence that falsettists sang the upper voice in this music, but Bowman was the group's star singer, and the public perception associated the countertenor with Early Music (thanks largely to the pioneering work of Alfred Deller in the Renaissance repertoire). The performances, like all performances of medieval music, say as much about the time they were recorded as they do about the period they are intended to represent. There is no evidence at all for a voice like the modern high-performance, conservatoire-trained countertenor in the medieval period; it is just as likely that high parts that were not sung by boys' voices would have been sung in a light head voice without resorting to falsetto. We are unable to envisage this today as the result might approximate the sound of certain modern rock singers, a transgressive concept in Early Music institutions for whom the modern countertenor is a *sine qua non*.

Significantly, very few of the iconic groups of the late twentieth century were directed by singers. David Munrow, for example, was a multi-instrumentalist, Christopher Page was a lute-playing scholar, both essentially self-taught; both were happy to work with the voices that were available to them, and their recordings were judged to be among the finest examples of

medieval performances of their time.[7] Rival ensembles such as Michael Morrow's Musica Reservata, with the more strident, folk-influenced sound of soprano Jantina Noorman, were thought to be crude in comparison with what was fast becoming the accepted Early Music sound. None of the singers had actually researched the sound they were making; they simply continued to use a version of the technique that they brought to the music from the English choral tradition.[8] The sound of singers such as James Bowman and Emma Kirkby (whose singing of Hildegard on the first Gothic Voices album became almost synonymous with the genre) imprinted a neo-medieval sound on generations of performers and record buyers (closer to the present, the American ensemble Anonymous 4 had a similar effect). They represented the sound that record companies and record buyers associated with Early Music. There was also a particular musical device that captured the imagination of performers and public alike: the accompanying drone. Monophonic music has always been difficult to program; a world in which the main musical experience consisted of plainchant (and the equivalent of a symphony orchestra might be music sung in three parts) requires a lot of imagining. Drones help to make the music more acceptable to the modern palate. Like the countertenor, the historical evidence for them is slight, but the pairing of Emma Kirkby and a hurdy-gurdy was a creative idea to which countless early musicians would resort in the future, without questioning the strength of the historical evidence. One other element considered desirable – if not essential – was a reverberant acoustic. The Early Music Consort's 1975 Leonin was recorded in the chapel of Charterhouse School, and the Hilliard Ensemble chose Boxgrove Priory when they came to record Perotin in 1988. The two voices of Red Byrd (and its accompanying plainchant choir) chose the reverberant London church of St. Alban's, Holborn for their recordings of the Notre-Dame repertory.[9] In the case of the Hilliard recording the acoustic was further enhanced post-production using technology which ECM had helped to develop.

In all its essentials the Hilliard Ensemble Perotin recording kept to the performance parameters of the earlier Munrow Leonin (and used two of the

7 The Gothic Voices recording was one of Hyperion's best selling recordings in its entire history, and the CD regularly features in lists of the most popular Early Music recordings.

8 Jantina Noorman's experience was outside the English choral tradition, as her style was developed in consultation with Michael Morrow. See the interview in Anna Maria Friman, "Modern Performance of Sacred Medieval Music with Particular Reference to Women's Voices" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 2008): appendix, 77–90.

9 *Music of the Gothic Era*, Early Music Consort of London/Munrow Archiv 415 292-2; *Perotin*, Hilliard Ensemble ECM New Series 1385 837 751-2; *Magister Leoninus: Sacred Music from 12th Century Paris*, Hyperion CDA 66944; *Magister Leoninus II*, Hyperion CDA 67289; *A Scottish Lady Mass: Sacred Music from Medieval St. Andrews*, Hyperion 27299.

same singers) – there are no instruments, but Perotin's assumed notes are adhered to, and there are extra singers to sustain the chant tenor. The highest parts are taken by countertenor David James when they go too high for the Hilliard tenors. For concert programs the group increasingly preferred its standard four-voice lineup, which meant that pragmatic solutions had to be found for the impossibly long tenor lines. With the appearance of Craig Wright's work on the Notre-Dame repertoire, which suggested that the chant tenors might have been sung by only one singer, the group began to look at realizing the pieces with minimal forces.[10] This led to a second Hilliard Ensemble recording in 1996 in which the chant tenor is not conceived as a seamless line, but broken whenever the singer needs to breathe. This second recording, a live performance in Trinity College Chapel, Cambridge, is, like the others, of its time – the new musicology has been incorporated where it suited the pragmatic aesthetic of the ensemble.[11] Significantly, the earlier ECM recording is regarded as the classic Perotin album in part because of the sound, in which the acoustic and spatial distancing has become a sonic metaphor for the passing of time. At the turn of the century, Red Byrd's minimalist approach to Leonin benefited from Mark Everist's editorial decisions about rhythm and tempo, although the singers still stuck to the notated pitches.

The Creation of a Sound

The sound, then, was governed by a number of factors which have very little to do with the past. In the first place, the music had to be accommodated to the lineup of the groups which chose to perform it (a factor which also significantly influences other parameters: much early choral music has been recorded by ensembles that have one voice to a part, a world away from its choral origins). Then an acoustic had to be found (or created) which fulfilled the requirement for metaphorical and acoustic distance. There was little consideration of the historical appropriateness of the vocal sound – the singers may have reduced their vibrato and their loudness but otherwise they sang with a basic vocal disposition that was familiar to them from their work in other genres.[12] Even had the performers read all the available research into historical singing, however, they would still have had very little to go on. There are plenty of pictures of people singing, but only in very specific contexts (which do not include the provision of

10 Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).
11 *Perotin and the Ars Antiqua*, Hilliard Ensemble Hilliard Live 1 (1996), rereleased as Coro 16046 (2008).
12 David Munrow was one of the first to advocate minimum vibrato. See "David Munrow Talks to Alan Blyth," *Gramophone*, May 1974.

information for the benefit of future performers and scholars). Before the twentieth century it was never seemly for singers, especially women, to be depicted with their mouths open, and this severely limits the use of iconographical evidence as a source of information about vocal technique. The point is frequently made that larynxes have not changed over the last thousand years, and the conclusion sometimes drawn from this is that voices do not change over time. Ironically, this argument has been used to support a very diverse range of sounds and styles from the relatively "cultivated" sound of Oxbridge-educated groups such as Gothic Voices to the more "natural" sound of those such as Ensemble Organum. As far as we can tell (they don't survive in the fossil record) larynxes have indeed been essentially the same for the many thousands of years of homo sapiens, but the larynx itself has relatively little effect on the resulting sound of the human voice that we actually hear: it creates the basic raw, pre-linguistic sound that is then amplified and modified in the vocal tract. It is vocal tract behavior that gives each voice its distinctive character, and is particularly important in defining the difference between singing and speaking. Almost all successful professional Early Music singers have had extensive singing lessons, learning to manipulate their vocal tracts to produce the sound that we identify with modern Early Music. This sound (and its associated technique) is based on generic singing pedagogy which pre-dates the Early Music movement by several generations, but post-dates the medieval period by several hundred years. Modern professional singers are just that – very few specialize solely in medieval singing and so need an all-purpose technique that will enable them to sing Machaut, Mozart, and Messiaen on consecutive nights if necessary. The dependency of modern singers on their own established vocal persona, and the busy performing schedules of successful ensembles, may also mean that they rely heavily on edited editions rather than the time-consuming use of facsimiles. For most professional performers the result is more important than the process, a factor which tends to mean that only amateurs and students have the time and inclination to use facsimiles or to sing from partbooks.

The modern professional singer is therefore likely to have only a limited connection to his (or her) medieval counterpart. We probably now know most of what there is to know about medieval performance practice: it's not very much, and changes in contemporary performance styles generally owe more to reinterpreting (or ignoring) existing sources than to exploring new ones.[13] All modern singers who have had regular singing lessons with a view

13 McGee (*Medieval and Renaissance Music* and *The Sound of Medieval Song*) has documented the surviving information, though not everyone will agree with his interpretations. Christopher Page's monumental *The Christian West and Its Singers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010) identifies and documents the lives and functions of singers during the first millennium.

to becoming a "classical" singer of any sort are taught broadly the same thing: to produce a consistent tone supported on the breath, enhancing the sound by accessing specific resonances to give the voice more color and power. Although English Early Music singers sound quite different from most full-blown opera singers, the differences are of degree rather than substance; opera singers take the process to an extreme in order to be heard over big orchestras in large theatres, whereas medieval music is much more self-contained.[14] This basic model of "classical" singing can be dated with reasonable certainty to the nineteenth century, perhaps to the time when singing was first taught in institutions (the Paris Conservatoire from 1796 onwards and the music colleges that were founded later in the century in Britain and elsewhere). One of the characteristics of the model is a cultivated sound that adds richness and eliminates the inconsistencies of speech. There are no historical references to anyone in the medieval period having singing lessons that are remotely comparable to those that are the norm today. There was certainly discipline and pedagogy, but directed towards the memorization and clear articulation of the chant repertoire. Singers were not taught "technique," and clarity of diction appears to have been more important than consistency and beauty of tone. Without the enhancements generated by the equivalent of modern singing lessons the basic pre-nineteenth-century sound is likely to have been far closer to that of speech. With no recordings to inform them, the singers' only experience of music at all was in the presence of those making it, so any models to which they might aspire would be very localized and might sound perversely individualistic to modern ears. It would not have occurred to any medieval singer to describe themselves as soprano, alto, tenor, or bass: singers were simply singers and could not be easily categorized, in much the same way as singers of popular music today are not easily classified by voice type. Untrained singers in non-classical genres such as rock, pop, and folk music, singing in their own local accent, probably make a sound closer to that of a singer in the medieval period than does any modern classically trained musician.[15] While the Early Music revival is so heavily dependent on conventional singing pedagogy the chances of replicating a historical sound are slim, and are not increased by the tendency of musical institutions to recognize only styles that they are familiar with. Modern pedagogy and the profusion of potential models even out historical wrinkles and leave us with

14 See Helena Daffern, "Distinguishing Characteristics of Vocal Techniques in the Specialist Performance of Early Music (Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 2008). Daffern found that Early Music and opera singers use similar technical processes in a modern concert hall, though not to the same extent.
15 See John Potter, *Vocal Authority* (Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2006), 121.

a misleadingly standardized impression of historical actuality and a reluctance to take exploratory risks.[16]

Instruments and Players

In contrast to singers, instrumentalists are able to reconstruct an instrument and can justify key aspects of their playing technique through experiment, and, although this is not as simple as it may appear, it has enabled players to specialize in specific historical instruments. There are very few surviving medieval instruments, so makers set great store by iconography. The semiotics of medieval iconography are extremely complex, and (as with singers) there are no pictures of instruments which are specifically intended to inform the viewer about the nature of the instrument they depict. Pictures may give clues to the construction and playing technique, but the artist may well be trying to communicate something that is tangential to the needs of a modern player or maker.[17] String lengths, composition, and tension (and even the exact number) cannot be satisfactorily derived from a picture, nor can the length, tension, or composition of bows; the precise tuning and temperament or the bore of wind instruments can at best only be hinted at (contrast this with the modern obsession with electronic tuning aids). Instrumentalists are often depicted out of context – as angels, for instance – and playing positions may be adapted to fit the artist's own agenda. There is also the ever-present risk that modern assumptions will influence our interpretation: pictures of medieval lute and harp players often show them standing up, with no strap to support the instrument. To a modern player this makes little sense: you either sit down or you play with a strap if you stand up. The modern intuitive response may be right: perhaps the artist simply chose not to put in the strap. But if the artist *is* giving an accurate representation of a standing lutenist, then there are serious implications for playing technique: if your left hand is holding the neck as well as fingering the pitches, then your fingers need to be in contact with the strings at all times; too much virtuosity would

16 This is especially true of institutional funding bodies, who tend to stick to what they know. In the 1980s the Arts Council of England regularly toured new young ensembles under the auspices of the Early Music Network and would occasionally create new ensembles in order to maintain a medieval presence. The Medieval Vocal Project was one such initiative, and began to experiment with using instrumentalists as singers in order to avoid perpetuating the trained singer sound. The singers, mostly from the viol consort Fretwork, proved to be very agile and able to sing very high without resorting to falsetto (a very revealing insight). The experiment ended when the Network decided it was not prepared to risk touring untrained singers, who would not conform to the accepted ideas of what a medieval vocal group should sound like.

17 A research project which involved the construction of the instruments featured in Hieronymus Bosch's deeply symbolic *Garden of Earthly Delights* found them to be unplayable.

See www.guardian.co.uk/music/2010/nov/07/sam-leith-shocking-news-oxford.

risk dropping the instrument.[18] Fiddles too, show a wide variety of playing positions, all of which would condition attempts to reconstruct the playing of them. There are also descriptions of instruments for which we have no pictures, and which can lead to very creative responses from instrument makers. David Fallows was famously present at the invention of a perfectly viable "medieval" instrument, created in response to a request from Thomas Binkley. The instrument worked remarkably well, and was enthusiastically taken up by many amateur and professional players, until its history was revealed, whereupon "the bottom fell out of the *douçaine* market."[19]

The Performing Imperative

Modern performers are driven by a performing imperative that has little to do with the original musical context: none of the music would have been "performed" in a modern sense; there was no audience as we understand it, nothing resembling a concert or a modern stage. The music could only be heard in the presence of those making it, whether secular and sociable or sacred and liturgical; the consumption of modern performance is likely to be at home, disembodied and via loudspeakers. The relationship between medieval musicians and their listeners was surely a more intimate one, with little need for singers and players to impress their music on listeners by projecting it into large spaces or over-compensating for a recording. A major question for performers is the extent to which they acknowledge the underlying principles of musical creativity versus the letter of what is sometimes taken to be musicological law; and the computing of this equation can lead to risky, creative solutions or to performative sterility. What do you do with a source that is incomplete, or where our knowledge of the performance practice is insufficient to "re-create" a performance? Is the music then unperformable? If notes are vertically aligned are they are played together? Do similar rests and notes always have the same value and should they be performed within a rhythmic structure of some sort? Did players tune up, and all play in the same temperament? We have answers to these questions from our own experience, but not from the twelfth century. Perhaps the fact that the music generally does not align vertically means that the relationship between what we perceive as simultaneous musical events was actually much looser

18 See, for example, the reproductions in Edmund Bowles, *La pratique musicale au Moyen-Age* (Paris: Éditions Minkoff, 1983).

19 David Fallows, "Medieval Instruments," *The Gramophone* 59 (1981), 862–65. This is discussed at length in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Early Music Scholarship: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 144–45.

(such as a jazz musician or improviser might instinctively sense). How did the singers get the note? Did they actually start simultaneously, or are those strange sevenths at the beginning of so many pieces in the *Magnus liber* perhaps a way of tuning up? We simply don't know. As far as we can tell, performers have always been pragmatic musicians, doing what they can with the resources available to them in order to make a musical event work. This process was interrupted by the drive for "authenticity" and somewhat sidelined by the focus on composerly intent that characterized the Early Music movement in the late twentieth century; actual performance was overlooked in favor of what composers might be thought to have wanted, or a reductive interpretation of critical sources.[20] Many performers, however, increasingly see the lack of unambiguous historical information as a creative opportunity. A prime example is Benjamin Bagby's performance of *Beowulf*. Here, only a text of unknown date survives, with no notation and only the merest hints of how it might have been performed. By looking at the kinds of factors first-millennium musicians would have needed to address, Bagby has created a mode of performance that cannot represent any actual historical event, but instead reveals a performative process that connects directly with the mind of the medieval musician.[21]

The Limits of Musicology

These performative insights are malleable and in no way definitive, and therefore not susceptible to the rigors of conventional musicology. The performance revival has been umbilically connected to academia, however – the most obvious benefit of which has been the steady stream of musicological discovery, initially in the form of scholarly editions but increasingly including information about possible performance practices. The drawback for performers, even the increasing number who graduate from dedicated early or medieval courses, is that the academic environment is still very much a discipline of the word. This has several consequences for performers: there is a tendency to assume that written texts (articles, editions) are authoritative, and therefore the performative task is seen as interpretative rather than creative. The ideology of intellectual endeavor on the part of the creators of the music has also led to an assumption of ignorance on the part of

20 Portamento, for example, is rare in Early Music despite the overwhelming evidence for "straight" singing being an invention of the Early Music movement. By extension the default position for medieval music is "no portamento." See John Potter "Beggar at the Door: The Rise and Fall of Portamento in Singing," *Music & Letters* 87/4, 523–50.

21 Benjamin Bagby, "*Beowulf*, the *Edda*, and the Performance of Medieval Epic: Notes from the Workshop of a Reconstructed 'Singer of Tales,'" in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 181–92.

consumers, and a consequent mission to explain. Because the music (and especially the instruments on which much of it was played) was unfamiliar to audiences, performers willingly demonstrated their instruments, and provided copious program notes. The perceived need to educate audiences led to some bizarrely formulaic program-planning strategies from the 1970s onwards. The existence of multiple sources of a motet, for example, might result in several versions of the same piece being performed consecutively – or in the case of a strophic chanson one verse from each source. This is of purely musicological, rather than historical interest: one historical "fact" that we do know is that music in surviving manuscripts from different sources could not have been performed at the same time, so in these instances the modern need to explain and educate diluted the connection with actual history.

The debt that modern Early Music has to academia can be charted by the Early Music movement's periodic attempts to redefine itself. The first major reassessment came in the 1980s, with the group of scholars who contributed to the anthology edited by Nicholas Kenyon, *Authenticity and Early Music*.[22] Serious doubts were raised about the connection between musicology and actual history, though specifically medieval music had to wait until Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* before coming under close scrutiny. Leech-Wilkinson's revisionist account of the history of the medieval music revival concludes (as did Richard Taruskin before him) that we should celebrate the modernity of current performance practice, and be especially careful not to make historical claims that cannot be substantiated.[23] *The Modern Invention* documents the oscillating certainties associated at different times with either vocal or instrumental performance, pointing out that we *know* almost nothing about medieval performance practice, but that key elements of much modern performance practice are in reality reified musicological speculation.[24] *The Modern Invention* was a timely reminder of the different underlying premises of performative and musicological tasks: historical musicology is driven by text-based intellectual curiosity; performers deal with sound, which is irrecoverable and so not easily subjected to musicological scrutiny. Performers and audiences are interested in what the music sounds like today; its provenance is a secondary consideration.

It was a common complaint of Early Music singers in the last quarter of the twentieth century that universities and music colleges focused on the classical canon and neglected earlier music in general and medieval music in particular.

22 Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford University Press, 1988).
23 See, for example, Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past," in *Authenticity*, ed. Kenyon.
24 Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Early Music*.

The situation at the time of writing is much more encouraging for those who seek formal study, although so far the study of medieval music has not made the breakthrough that has occurred in Baroque music.[25] There are universities and conservatories specializing in Early Music (the Masters program at the Sorbonne, for example, the Early Music Department at the University of Indiana, or dedicated colleges in the German-speaking countries such as those at Bremen, Trossingen, or Basel). Many other institutions have Early Music pathways that encourage the performance of medieval music. This institutionalization of performance is not without its problems, and some of the most creative modern performers have had little time for academic questions. Many of the key figures in the creation of professional Early Music performance in the late twentieth century were not themselves taught how to do it: they *invented* the processes and means to achieve their artistic goals. This led to some very individual performers (contrast David Munrow and Michael Morrow, or Christopher Page and Benjamin Bagby, for example) all of whom shed priceless light on the creative process. The performances for which they were responsible were much more than the products of research, and depended on less easily quantifiable factors such as artistic judgment, personal charisma, and a spirit of individual creative inquiry. These are not elements that tend to flourish in institutions, which are often concerned with the measurement and grading of ability, and conformity to selected academic norms which may have very little to do with the world of professional performance.[26]

Beyond Academia

There are, of course, many manifestations of medieval music outside the academic environment, but one of the consequences of institutionalization is the marginalization of performance aesthetics that do not correspond to those thought to be academically sound. This is particularly evident in secular repertoires. In Germany, for example, there is a living tradition of Minnesang which functions not only without benefit of musicology, but for the most part outside the conventional concert tradition altogether: Minnesingers are to be

25 The rationale for a more rigorous approach to training has been forcibly put by Benjamin Bagby in "What is the Sound of Medieval Song?" *Early Music America* (Summer 2008), 44–50.

26 The problem of the constraints on individual creativity within academic institutions is not unique to early music but is part of a much wider trend towards the institutionalization of Western music. See, for example, Simon Keegan-Phipps, "The Educational Institutionalization of Folk Music: Déjà Vu in a Contemporary English Movement," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 39 (2007), 84–107, and Georgina Born, *Rationalising Culture: IRCAM, Boulez and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

found at fairs, street markets, and dedicated gatherings of like-minded musicians. The performers generally sing with a natural technique not unlike that of folk singers, and because they sing from memory their performances are part of a living oral tradition. Because their aim is primarily to entertain, they are not overly concerned with many of the issues important to more conventional performers, such as musical accuracy and fidelity to a text or composer. They almost always accompany themselves, and their instruments (and the accompaniments they create) may not strictly match their music in terms of conventional historical "authenticity." These performances do have a value, however, as well as connections to a performing past that more conventionally trained musicians may not experience. There are also performers who have managed to achieve academic legitimacy while maintaining a unique performing persona that is firmly connected with both present and past, and the future surely lies in musicians transcending the artificial rigors of the conservatoire.[27]

An irony of modern performance (given the Church's attitude to women) is that many successful medieval polyphonic vocal groups are female. The image of purity associated with light, vibrato-free female voices fits the modern marketplace very well, and a number of female ensembles have had a dramatic effect on the public perception of medieval music: the historical marginalization of women by the Church has become a creative opportunity in the present. As there is even less evidence for performance by women than there is by men, female singers have been able to invent an entire performing aesthetic that inevitably engages only selectively with musicology.[28] There is no question of reconstructing anything: women are almost invisible in the medieval polyphonic repertoire, yet groups such as the American Anonymous 4, the Scandinavian Trio Mediaeval and the French ensemble Dialogos (among many others) have come to articulate some of the most sophisticated and successful realizations of medieval music in the present. The entry of women into the medieval performance marketplace has been driven at least in part by the nature of the music itself. Many potential performers will have been drawn to Early Music by singing Renaissance music in the choirs of religious institutions (the cathedral choir tradition in Britain and in some German cities can

27 See Linda Marie Zaerr, "'The Wedding of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell': Performance and Intertextuality in Middle English Popular Romance," and Anne Azéma, "Une Aventure vous dirai: Performing Medieval Narrative," both in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence; also Friman, "Modern Performance."

28 Friman found that many women performers use musicologists to give their work an acceptability to a certain part of their audience, especially reviewers (who expect performances to be "informed"), but otherwise have little use for the detail of scholarship; she also found a marked tendency among female ensembles to use the lack of evidence as a creative opportunity rather than a constraint ("Modern Performance").

claim an unbroken link to the music of the sixteenth century). Groups such as the Hilliard Ensemble and the Orlando Consort were able to progress very quickly because they already had a lot of repertoire in common from their earlier experiences within the English choral tradition, and the composition of the group reflects a social history as well as a musical one. Singers from such backgrounds are more likely to go on to perform professionally and to record. Medieval music is at a disadvantage here: there is no medieval choral tradition and therefore no natural social grouping of singers that would offer the potential of music-making beyond the conventional SATB lineup.[29] Despite the increasing opportunities for girls to sing in what have previously been considered boys' choirs, many women singers will not have shared the opportunities given to young boy singers, and for this reason may not be instinctively drawn to later repertories. In the more equal-voiced earlier repertories, however (mostly ignored by church choirs), women singers have found very distinctive social and musical opportunities, and at the start of the twenty-first century are at the heart of the medieval performance "revival."

The Risks and Rewards of the Medieval Present

Many scholars and performers, and many of those who form the actual or potential audience for medieval music, would agree that perhaps the best we can hope for is a sense of responsibility to the past, an awareness that we cannot repeat or re-create it, but we can engage with it, respect it, learn from it, and perhaps recover from it something that relates to us in the present. Few of our conclusions will ever be more than tentative, as we *know* almost nothing for certain about medieval performance practice. For performers, the key is surely to do our own research as far as possible, so that we can at least be confident of the artistic veracity of what we do. There are few unmediated secondary sources, nothing that tells you what you want to know without coloring the evidence with "specialist" knowledge. There are many advantages to the increasing presence of medieval performance practice in universities and music colleges: there are fellow performers and historical resources that can be put to good use. But we should be aware of the transience of musicological fashion, and wary of the leveling effect of institutional music-making. We should also be aware of the current aesthetic and how we interact with it, and if successful in the marketplace we must be particularly careful

29 The success of sacred music repertoires in general is in part due to the fact that singers are often educated in an environment where it is routine to sing sacred music (secular music fares less well in these respects: there are no educational infrastructures that require secular music, so musicians grow up with relatively little knowledge of potential repertoires).

not to make (or imply) claims that cannot be substantiated. If the modern performance of medieval music has a place in the twenty-first century it will develop a living tradition of its own, but this will need to be constantly refreshed by returning to the evidence, and by taking nothing for granted.

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· 21 ·

Institutions and Foundations

ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART

The study of institutions and foundations and their connection with music during the Middle Ages should, by all rights, begin with late Antiquity. At the same time, it cannot begin before the conversion of Constantine in 312, and the edicts of Milan in 313 and Thessalonica in 380, the last of which established Christianity as the official religion of the empire and led to the institutionalization of the Church along imperial lines. For much of the three centuries that followed the Crucifixion and the reports of the Resurrection, and saw the establishment of the canonical New Testament, the Church survived as a series of separate, or at best federated, groups, often in sharp disagreement with each other on such fundamental matters as the very nature of Christ, and following traditions of worship that, although related to the practices of the Synagogue, had begun to take their own shape, which was not at all uniform across the different regions of the empire. Most of its liturgy, or as much of it as we can reconstruct from the earliest documents, took place in households, and only in the third and fourth centuries did it move to public buildings, sometimes owned by a given congregation, and later built by the newly Christianized emperors along the lines of the great basilicas of pagan times. The most recent study of this period, with a wealth of references to both primary sources and the secondary literature, is found in the early chapters of Christopher Page's *The Christian West*,[1] and an attentive reading shows that we cannot really refer to the Church as "an institution," or to "institutions" within the Church, until the fourth century. In this context it is worth also considering the evidence marshaled by James McKinnon in his essay on the rise of the gradual.[2] As McKinnon shows, while the evidence of psalm-singing in Christian meetings during the first three centuries, although sparse, is not entirely absent, virtually all of it is connected with the evening meal, which early on was separated from the Eucharist; while the pre-

1 Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
2 James McKinnon, "The Fourth-Century Origin of the Gradual," *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 91–106.

eucharistic service as described by Justin Martyr in the second century,[3] or by Tertullian in the *Apologeticum*, composed late in the second or early in the third century,[4] includes prayers and lessons, but no psalms and no singing. When Tertullian later described a pre-eucharistic service with actual psalm-singing he was writing after he had joined the Montanist heresy.[5]

In orthodox Nicene Christianity the beginning of what we would consider singing is connected with the rise of the office of lector and its gradual transformation into the office of cantor. McKinnon notes that the office of the lector as "a reader" was already established in the third century, but references to the cantor do not appear until the end of the fourth century.[6] This is consistent with the documentary and epigraphic evidence marshaled by Page, who traces with infinite care the development of the office of the lector and its evolution into that of the cantor in the third and fourth centuries. Page shows how the ministry of music apparently originates in the East, and notes the efforts of the fourth-century Synod of Laodicea to legislate the duties and prerogatives of the readers and singers (*psaltes*), and the extent to which this legislation had two principal aims: one was to adapt the roles of readers and singers from the relatively fluid tradition of household churches to the more structured monarchical organization of the official Church now run by the bishop and his *curia*, and the other was to control what was read or sung in the service at a time when the biblical canon was being settled.[7]

If the tradition of the reader and/or the cantor as a clerical office, albeit a lowly one, emerged in the East, the West did not lag behind by much. Lectors are mentioned in North-African sources in the third century, and the term cantor begins to appear in Western sources by ca. 344–60, with the Council of Laodicea.[8] Nonetheless, the evidence of Roman epigraphy collected by Page makes it clear that until the seventh century or even later, in Rome the prevalent title for that office was lector.[9] It is also noticeable that in the early centuries a very large number of these lectors were boys or adolescents. This might have been a survival from the era of household churches;

3 Justin Martyr, *Apologiae pro Christianis*, ed. Miroslav Marcovich, Patristische Texte und Studien 38 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 129–30; translation of the relevant passage in James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), no. 25.

4 Tertullian, *Opera*, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum, series latina 1–2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–4), vol. I: 150; translation in McKinnon, *Music*, no. 73.

5 Tertullian, *Opera*, vol. II: 792; translation in McKinnon, *Music*, no. 82; see also McKinnon, "The Fourth-Century Origin," 95–96.

6 McKinnon, "The Fourth-Century Origin," 96; see also Edward Foley, "The Cantor in Historical Perspective," *Worship* 56 (1982), 194–213.

7 Page, *The Christian West*, 89–95. 8 Foley, "The Cantor," 209–11; Page, *The Christian West*, 215.

9 Ibid., 122–29, see also the prosopographies on pp. 685–92.

possibly it had roots in biblical symbolism based on texts such as Matthew 18:3 and 21:6 (citing Psalm 8:3), as well as 1 Peter 2:2, and also it would have been part of a pedagogical program, where youths were at the same time taught letters and imbued with the proper doctrine by using biblical texts rather than pagan authors for their instruction.[10] The declaiming or singing of these passages in the service also provided these youths with a worthy goal that would serve to increase their zeal in learning both the letters and the doctrine itself. All this makes the most sense in the context of the household church, and it did survive into the early times of the more hieratic and centralized church, particularly in Rome, because many of the early Roman *tituli* were an outgrowth of the household churches of the Roman patriciate and remained for some time under the control of the founding families and their kin. By the seventh century, however, the readers and singers were adult members of the clergy, but echoes of the tradition of the youthful readers can be found in the early mentions of the Roman *schola cantorum*, which apparently developed from an orphanage.[11]

If the office of the lector is the ancestor of the solo singers of the later chant repertory, the ancestor of the choir is the congregation, or rather two segments of the congregation. One would be the faithful who came to the service and responded or provided a prescribed refrain to the reading or singing of the psalm and closed the prayers with the final Amen.[12] The other was a segment of that congregation consisting of urban ascetics, who lived either in isolation or in small groups or households, and would converge on the church at the times of the service and provide much of the chanted psalmody at the beginning and the end of the service, as well as the responses to the readings or the psalm-singing of the lector or cantor, often staying beyond the time when most of the clergy left the church and keeping extended vigils with those of the faithful who wished to remain. A vivid picture of their activity in Jerusalem in the late fourth or early fifth century is given in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*.[13] Their contribution to the liturgy is often referred to as part of what scholars call "the psalmodic movement" of the fourth century, originating in

10 This is reflected in St. Jerome's program for a young Roman woman, Paula, and that of St. Basil's sister Macrina, cf. Page, *The Christian West*, 142.

11 Cf. Joseph Dyer, "The Schola Cantorum and Its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages," *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 19–40.

12 This practice is referred to in sermons by Ambrose and Augustine among others, cf. the excerpts from Ambrose's *Explanatio psalmi xlv*, and Augustine's *In psalmum xl*, given in McKinnon, *Music*, nos. 277 and 357.

13 Egeria, *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. Ezio Franceschini and Robert Weber, Corpus Christianorum, series latina 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 67–71; translation of the relevant passages in McKinnon, *Music*, nos. 242–3; See also Page, *The Christian West*, 142–46, describing the possible social context of such ascetics.

the psalmody of the desert monks, and eventually sweeping into urban communities.[14] Page, however, cautions that this might be something of an illusion created by the interest of Christian authorities in the fourth century, men like Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine, to use the desert monks as both a model and a goad to prod their urban congregations to greater devotion, and that the psalmody of the desert monks probably had already a long tradition among urban ascetics.[15] Still, in terms of "institutions" the psalmody of these ascetics is not the product of an institution, even though, as Page surmises, many of these urban communities were loosely associated with the local churches and were recognized by other urban dwellers as a familiar phenomenon.[16]

In the search for an institutional context for music in the early Middle Ages, then, we must turn to two different but related communities, the clergy of the cathedrals and the monks of the monasteries that arose eventually from both the desert communities and the urban ones, when they came to be subject to one of the early rules. The cathedral clergies, each in their particular church, sought not only to establish the order of the liturgy in terms of a yearly cycle of readings (the order of the liturgy within a given service having been established by a long tradition), but also to compile and organize those elements of the liturgy that were to be sung in a manner similar to that by which the readings were compiled. This is documented most extensively for Rome on account of the short biographies of the popes collected in the *Liber pontificalis*.[17] To be sure, for the first six centuries the accounts of the accomplishments of the bishops of Rome, particularly in matters of the liturgy (which indirectly impinges on matters of music) are, if not entirely invented, based on long and uncertain traditions that might have been handed down orally and informally for centuries. These lives purport to inform the readers of such details as when the Sanctus or the Gloria were introduced in Rome, the Sanctus by Pope Xystus (ca. 120) and the Gloria by Pope Telesphorus (ca. 130), but the work of Peter Lampe shows that Xystus might be a mythical figure, while Telesphorus was probably a simple presbyter rather than a bishop.[18] Nonetheless, in these cases it is worth trying to separate what can be known from the legend. Xystus might be a fabrication, but the Sanctus

14 Cf. McKinnon, "The Fourth-Century Origin," 98–99. 15 Page, *The Christian West*, 133–37.
16 Page, *The Christian West*, 146.
17 Louis Duchesne and Cyrille Vogel, *Liber pontificalis, texte, traduction et commentaire*, 3 vols. 2nd ed. (Paris: Boccard, 1955–57); for the period up to 715 see also Raymond Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*. 2nd ed. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).
18 Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians in Rome in the First Two Centuries*, trans. Marshall Johnson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 397–412 and 512. He lists Telesphorus as an elder and as "uncertain," and entirely omits Xystus.

did enter the Roman liturgy at some point between the first century and the time when the surviving redaction of the *Liber pontificalis* was written around the middle of the sixth century, and its introduction probably followed the pattern of the better-documented introduction of the Agnus Dei under Pope Sergius I (687–701),[19] that is, one of the early Roman bishops ordered or encouraged its introduction. In a similar manner Bishop Venerius of Marseille (428–52) requested one of his presbyters, Musaeus, to compile a book with "responses apt to the liturgical season and the readings." This account comes from Gennadius, who describes what amounts to not just a collection psalms and responses for the year but an early sacramentary as well.[20] This is the opinion of Klaus Gamber,[21] and of Germain Morin, who believes that part of that sacramentary survives as a palimpsest in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Weissenburg 76.[22] These accounts illustrate institutional responses to the organization of the liturgy and therefore of whatever music was sung during the services, and at the same time they are entirely local, coming from the local bishop, and pointing to the new organization of the Church along monarchical or in the case of Rome itself imperial lines. In the case of Musaeus, the fact that one bishop makes the request and one presbyter executes it does not make the context less institutional. In this context it is worth contrasting the reception of two of the earliest repertories in Western music that can be ascribed to an author, the hymns of Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–67) and those of Ambrose (ca. 339–97). The hymns of Hilary were part of his own powerful polemic against Arianism, but not conceived as part of a specific liturgical tradition, and were written, if we can trust what is known of his life, in the east and during his travels on his way back to Poitiers after his eastern exile. It is true that their elaborate language might have militated against their preservation and diffusion;[23] only three fragmentary ones survive. Those of Ambrose were composed partly as a function of his

19 Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, 1: 376; Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, 86–87. The approximate date of introduction is supported by the mention of the Agnus Dei in *Ordo Romanus 1* (early eighth century), cf. Michel Andrieu, Michel, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1961–74), 1: 101, no. 105, indicating the singing of the Agnus Dei to accompany the breaking of the bread.

20 *Hieronymus*, *De viris illustribus*; *Gennadius*, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Ernst Cushing Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Altchristlichen Literatur 14 (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896), 88; Klaus Gamber, *Sakramentarstudien und andere Arbeiten zur frühen Liturgiegeschichte*, Studia Patristica et Liturgica 7 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1978), 33–34.

21 Klaus Gamber, "Das Lektionar und Sakramentar des Musäus von Massilia," *Révue Bénédictine* 69 (1959), 198–215.

22 Germain Morin, "Le plus ancient monument qui existe de la liturgie Gallicane," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 51 (1937), 3–12; also Alban Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch des lateinischen Kirche: Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5.–6. Jahrhunderts aus dem Wolfenbüttler Palimpsest Codex Weissenburgensis 76*, Texte und Arbeiten 26–28 (Beuron: Archabbey of St. Martin, 1936).

23 Cf. Lawrence Gushee and James McKinnon, "Hilary of Poitiers," Grove Music Online.

being bishop of Milan and were quickly incorporated into the liturgy. Interestingly enough, the surviving repertory of Ambrose's hymns is not much greater than that of Hilary: four hymns mentioned by Augustine are surely his,[24] and possibly some ten others, but his hymns, and countless imitations of them, became early on part of the liturgy, at first in Italy and later in all of Europe. Benedict of Nursia, when writing the rule for his monastery, refers to hymns, *tout court*, as *ambrosiana*.[25]

These mentions, together with a number of mentions in the *Liber pontificalis*, the best known of which are those referring to Celestine (422–32), who decreed that before the sacrifice the 150 psalms of David should be performed "antiphonally" by everyone;[26] Gelasius (492–96), who composed "hymns in the meter of St. Ambrose," as well as "prefaces and prayers for the sacraments;" Symmacus (498–514), who decreed that the Gloria in excelsis should be sung every Sunday at Mass; and Sergius I (687–701), who was placed as a youth with the precentor of the *schola* because he was studious and competent as a singer, and as pope decreed the singing of the Agnus Dei at the time of the breaking of the bread during Mass.[27] The *Liber pontificalis* is silent on the role of Gregory the Great in any of this, but from Gregory's own writings we have two small pieces of evidence. At the Lateran Council of 595 Gregory forbade deacons from assuming the role of cantors, since men were being promoted to that rank often merely on account of a beautiful voice,[28] and in a letter of 598 to John, bishop of Syracuse, describes Roman usage concerning the Kyrie and the singing of "alleluia" (not necessarily the Alleluia of the Mass), but without any indication that these usages were either instituted or changed by him.[29] Thus far, however, virtually all of the papal decisions, whether apocryphal or not, that affect music are basically "administrative" rather than "musical" decisions, which tells us something about the institutional context of the music. There is a document, however, that has generated a fair amount of controversy. It is the list of popes and three abbots who contributed to the liturgy and chant, copied as part of an *Ordo* concerning the

24 *Aeterne rerum conditor*, *Deus creator omnium*, *Iam surgit hora tertia*, and *Intende qui regis Israel*, cf. *Ambroise de Milan: Hymnes*, ed. Jacques Fintaine et al. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992).

25 Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English*, ed. Timothy Fry et al. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981), 202, 206, 208, 212; Benedict, *La Règle de Saint Benoit*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, 7 vols., Sources chrétiennes 181–86 plus one volume *hors série* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971–77), vol. II: 510, 520.

26 See James McKinnon, "The Fourth-Century Origin," 103–04.

27 Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, I: 371 and 376.

28 Gian Domenico Mansi et al., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1757–98); 53 vols. (Paris; Leipzig; Arnheim: Welter, 1900–1927. Reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlaganstalt, 1960–61), X: 434.

29 *PL*, vol. LXXVII: cols. 955c–958a.

prayers to be said during meals.[30] The manuscript was copied at St. Gall in the eighth century, but it probably reflects a seventh-century exemplar: the last pope mentioned is Martin I (649–55). Andrieu dismissed the list as useless, and little more than a fabrication,[31] which provoked a vigorous dissent by Bruno Stäblein, who considers it an important witness to the development of the chant in the seventh century.[32] Stäblein was arguing for the rise of Gregorian chant in Rome as a distinct form of papal chant, a view that is no longer held by chant scholars.[33] One need not accept his view to understand that nonetheless the list is an important document that, like the *Liber pontificalis*, contains a mixture of fact and legend. The list of popes who added to or reformed the chant is indeed not necessarily a legend but part of a tradition that viewed papal legislation of any kind as a form of stewardship and increase of the physical and spiritual patrimony of the church, as Page puts it, "a history of bounty rather than economy," as popes both increase the physical property of the Church and embellish its liturgy.[34] But at the end of the list, precisely at the point where we would expect it to be actually historical and not legendary, since it is closest in time to the writing of the exemplar of the St. Gall document, we encounter not more popes, but the names of three abbots, men otherwise unknown to history, but given the context of the entire *Ordo* surely belonging to one or another of the monasteries connected with St. Peter's basilica. What this tells us is that the writer of the exemplar was aware that some sort of important musico-liturgical activity had taken place in Rome in the late seventh century that involved not just papal decisions but the activities of musicians and/or liturgists connected with the basilican monasteries, the last of which, if Stäblein's astute reading of the text is correct, was then living and possibly known to the author of the exemplar.[35]

30 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex sangallensis 349 (hereafter *CH-SGs* cod. sang. 349), 104–18, ed. in Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, vol. III: 217–27, the relevant passages are given at 223–24.

31 Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, vol. III: 13–15.

32 Bruno Stäblein, "Der altrömische Gesang: Einführung," *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, ed. Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 54–57. See also S. P. J. Van Dijk, "The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Rome," *Sacris Erudiri* 12 (1961), 457–58, and Kassius Hallinger, "Die römischen Ordines von Lorsch, Murbach, und St. Gallen," in *Universitas: Dienst an Warheit und Leben: Festschrift für Bischof Albert Stohr*, 2 vols., ed. Ludwig Lenhart (Mainz: Grünewald, 1960), I: 469–70.

33 Stäblein, "Einführung," 4–5. 34 Page, *The Christian West*, 119–20.

35 See Peter Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), 129–30, showing that the author of the *Ordo*, as preserved in *CH-SGs* cod. sang. 349, is compiling information that reached him second or third hand. This, in fact, makes the mention of the three abbots all the more remarkable, since their names, unlike those of the popes that precede them, would be meaningless to a mid-eighth-century Frankish monk.

It is interesting to note that James McKinnon, using entirely different kinds of evidence, also came to a similar conclusion about the late seventh and early eighth century in Rome.[36] McKinnon interpreted this activity as the actual creation of the Proper of the Roman Mass, an interpretation that has been questioned by most other scholars,[37] but yet none of them question that there is evidence of considerable musical and liturgical ferment in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. It is possible that this ferment, rather than consisting in the actual creation of a repertory, as Stäblein and McKinnon saw it (albeit in different ways), might represent the systematization and regularization of a repertory that had accumulated over a number of years, going back perhaps to the fifth and sixth centuries in Rome – a systematization that may be a consequence, albeit delayed and slow-growing, of the rise of the stational liturgy in Rome, and the interaction between the clergy of the papal curia with those of the basilican monasteries of the city. This brings us to two particularly difficult questions: one is the rise of monasticism in the West in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the other is the relationship between monks and the cathedral clergies in the different regions.

The rise of monasticism in the West is a frighteningly large and complex topic that goes well beyond what can be attempted here. The principal figures – Ambrose, Cassiodorus, Paulinus, and Benedict in Italy; Enda, Finnian, Ciarán, Brendan, Columba, Aidan, and later Columban in Ireland and England; and Martin, Honoratus, and their immediate disciples in Gaul – are more or less well known. How their monasteries were organized and run is far more problematic. In Italy, with the exception of Cassiodorus' *Vivarium*, which is an exceptional case in that it was more of an intellectual center than a pure "prayer house," the models appear to have come from the Holy Land and Cappadocia, although with some influence from Egypt and northern Africa. In Gaul, the models appear to come largely from Egypt and northern Africa, while the Irish monasteries, both in the British Isles and later on the Continent, appear to be an independent tradition.[38] The Irish foundations, which originated in a society that had been largely untouched

36 James McKinnon, "The Roman Post-Pentecostal Communion Series," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, September 1990*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), 175–86; McKinnon, "The Eighth-Century Frankish-Roman Communion Cycle," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 179–227; McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later Seventh Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 356–74.

37 John Boe, "Review of *The Advent Project*, by James McKinnon," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002), 333–428; Peter Jeffery, "Review of *The Advent Project*, by James McKinnon," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), 169–79; and Andreas Pfisterer, "James McKinnon und die Datierung des Gregorianischen Chorals," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 85 (2001), 31–53.

38 A particularly useful summary appears in Benedict, ed. Fry et al., *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 42–64 and 113–120.

by the Roman conquest and remained basically tribal, were early on ruled by oral traditions,[39] but in the case of the Italian and Gallic houses each monastery had, by and large, its own rule, often derived from a number of documents of various origins, among them the rules of St. Anthony, Pachomius, St. Augustine, the *Regula magistri*, and St. Benedict, in various mixtures.

The relationship between monasteries and cathedrals probably varied also from region to region. Most of the early rules, including that of St. Benedict, tend to seek the isolation of the monks from the world around them; they are not, except in the exceptional case of the *Vivarium*, concerned with learning per se, but with prayer, the salvation of those within the community, and such work as allows the community to survive and create a surplus that can be used for charitable purposes. The welcoming of strangers and the hospitable nature that is a particular trait of Benedictine monasticism is simply an extension of the charitable aspect of its nature. In this respect, the nature of the urban monasteries in Rome and their connections with the different basilicas and *tituli* is rather an extension of what Page calls "the forgotten monasticism" of the fourth century, derived from the communities of urban ascetics noted by Jerome with some disdain and far more sympathetically by Egeria.[40] The relationship between monastery and cathedral apparently varied in the different regions. In the fifth and sixth centuries, a number of episcopal councils and synods issued rules concerning the *ordo psallendi* for their dioceses, clearly an attempt at achieving a certain uniformity in the liturgy of the region. Page cautions against over-interpreting these edicts, suggesting that at most they were intended to remove major anomalies between the churches of an archdiocese, leaving the local bishop a good deal of latitude based on local tradition.[41] This, in a way, parallels what Benedict does in his rule, which, unlike the *Regula magistri*, sets a number of general principles, and assumes that the individual abbot will use his own judgment and discernment.[42] In some areas of Europe one senses a certain friction between cathedral and monastery: at the first council of Braga in 561 the bishops indicated that there was to be one *ordo psallendi*, but was not to be mixed with monastic practices.[43] On the other hand, in southern Gaul many of the bishops came

39 Benedict, ed. Fry et al., *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 116, but cf. Columban's *Regula monachorum*, in G. S. Murdoch Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957).

40 Page, *The Christian West*, 142–43. 41 Ibid., 193.

42 Benedict, ed. Fry et al., *The Rule of St. Benedict*, 90–96.

43 Claude Barlow, *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 12 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950), 111: "Placuit omnibus communi consensu ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, et non diverse ac private, neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtae."

out of the monasteries.[44] At the same time, the most detailed early descriptions of the daily Office are both central Italian and nearly contemporary: chapters 32–55 of the *Regula magistri* and chapters 8–18 of the Rule of Benedict.[45] The situation in Rome in the sixth and seventh centuries is made even more complicated on account of the history of monastic institutions in Italy. Two waves of destruction disrupted virtually all the monastic traditions of the peninsula: the Lombard invasion of 568, and the Saracen attacks in the ninth century; both times Montecassino was destroyed, and after the Lombard attack it lay in ruins for a century and a half; so even though Gregory the Great knew the Rule of St. Benedict, there is no evidence that any of the Roman monasteries used it at the time. Nonetheless, there appears to have been in Rome and perhaps also in Naples and other Italian centers a symbiosis between the cathedral clergy and the personnel of a number of urban monasteries that allowed for the singing of choral psalmody at the beginning and the end of the Mass, almost as a prelude and postlude to it, a singing that might still have involved the congregation; while the psalmody between the lessons in the liturgy of the Word remained largely the province of the lector. The bits of evidence from Naples, from Vandal Africa, and from southern Gaul carefully collated by Page, appear to point in this direction; with the beginnings of a more institutionalized choral part of the liturgy being something of "an Italian tradition" accepted more readily by the bishops of southern Gaul who had been "radicalized by a period of monastic experience on the island of Lérins."[46]

There appear to have been a number of what probably amount to cathedral schools for the teaching of young clerics in Italy, north Africa, and southern Gaul in the period between 450 and 700. Many of these are known to us only by their reflection in the chronicles collated by Page, which present evidence very similar in nature to what we have from Rome. But the goal of all of these schools was to train the young to be clerics, and of course, a few of them with good voices became lectors or cantors. This, I think, was also the case in Rome; there, as in a number of other places, one of the institutions that provided a ready pool of potential clerics was an orphanage, and Joseph Dyer has made a compelling argument that the papal singers and the orphanage were essentially different institutions, even if one was a source of potential recruits for the

44 Cf. Page, *The Christian West*, 170–93.

45 Cf. Joseph Dyer, "Observations on the Divine Office of the Rule of the Master," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), 75; *La Règle du maître*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 105–07 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964–65), II: 172–263; *The Rule of the Master*, trans. Luke Eberle, intro. Adalbert de Vogüé (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 193–221; Benedict, *The Rule*, 203–25.

46 Page, *The Christian West*, 226; the evidence is marshaled and presented at 218–59.

other.[47] The confusion is probably also the result of later scholarship not making a sufficient distinction between *schola* as "school" and *schola* as "college of singers."[48] It is likely that in Rome, as elsewhere, members of what became the college of singers, who were after all well-educated clerics, taught some boys the necessary skills for a clerical career, and would of course notice and encourage those who also had good voices. Such a group of singers, with bureaucratic and quasi-military ranks as *primicerius*, *secundicerius*, and so on, probably existed in the papal curia in the sixth century, since traces of a similar group of singers can be found in Naples, ca. 500.[49] Such a group probably was a pool of clerics from whom the lector and singer of the day was chosen. What may have happened in Rome in the seventh century, particularly in connection with the stational liturgy, is that such a group, surely not of its own volition, but at the urging of higher clergy, was entrusted not only with the singing of the psalmody between the lessons in the liturgy of the Word, which was already their duty (or the duty of the one assigned to be the cantor or lector at a specific feast),[50] but of the choral psalmody at the beginning and the end of the Mass, the introit and the communion, which had been most likely the province of the basilican monks associated with the different churches of the city. The papal *schola cantorum* surely sang only when the pope officiated, and thus in the stational liturgy, and its presence assured a consistent performance of the papal liturgy in the different churches. Elsewhere in the city and the suburbican *tituli* the liturgy was still performed by the local presbyter with his own clergy and the monks affiliated with that church. Now, this arrogation of the choral psalmody by the *schola cantorum* probably led in the late seventh and early eighth century to a systematization of the Roman chant repertory, most of which probably was not only in existence but also had reached a certain degree of stability, at least in terms of the texts sung and possibly, in a general manner, of the melodic traditions. This could explain some of the phenomena that Van Dijk, Stäblein, and McKinnon discerned in the evolution of the repertory at this time, without calling for the "creation" of a "new" corpus of melodies. It would also stand to reason that the college of singers, in adopting a repertory that was probably the province of the basilican monks, would have sought the assistance

47 See Joseph Dyer, "The Schola Cantorum and Its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages," in *De Musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 19–40; Dyer, "Boy Singers of the Schola Cantorum," in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 19–36.

48 This is the argument Dyer develops in "Boy Singers," 24–32; also Page, *The Christian West*, 220 and 256–59.

49 Page, *The Christian West*, 215.

50 Traces of such assignment appear in the preliminary questions of the secretary to the singers in *Ordo* 1, cf. Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, 1: 79.

and advice of the abbots connected with the most important of the Roman basilicas, St. Peter's, which might also explain why the writer of *Ordo XIX* closed his list with three of these men. Peter Jeffery refers to the Roman office as "a heavily monasticized cathedral Office,"[51] and to some extent the singing of the choral psalmody in the stational Mass by the *schola cantorum* can be seen as part of this monastification. Echoes of this change might be heard in the seventh-century legend of the life of St. Brigid, who could hear Masses celebrated in other lands, and after hearing a Roman Mass sent clerics from Kildare to Rome to obtain the order of the Mass, but after some time she sensed that there had been changes and sent a second delegation.[52] Both Stäblein and Page mention this legend, and Stäblein over-interprets it;[53] what is probably behind the legend is the awareness by successive travelers from Ireland that some changes had taken place in the Roman liturgy. This is, as Page rightly notes, part of a continuing process from the far ends of Europe to establish the *Romanitas* of their traditions, something that apparently only the Visigothic kings of Iberia were immune to.[54]

The transmission of Roman chant and the Roman liturgy to the Franks in the century after the meeting of King Pepin and Pope Stephen II at Ponthion in 754 is essentially the transmission of the papal liturgy, which in terms of the Mass reflects the institutional changes in the function of the *schola cantorum* that probably took place in the seventh century and were firmly in place by the time of *Ordo Romanus I*. This probably resulted as well in changes in the function of whatever groups of singers the Frankish churches and the palatine chapels had. Given that by the eighth century there was considerable knowledge and use of the Rule of St. Benedict in Francia, albeit in a number of mixed rules, probably the most glaring differences were between the enormously complex Gallican rites of the Mass and the simpler Roman ones, which probably made greater use of choral psalmody.[55] The diffusion of the Roman rite and its chant in early Carolingian Francia, presented in its most nuanced

51 Peter Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), 101.

52 *Acta Sanctorum*, Februarii, I: 131; relevant passage also in Stäblein, "Einführung," 147; Sean Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*: Background and Social Value," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 113 (1989), 5–49.

53 Stäblein, "Einführung," 65–66; Page, *The Christian West*, 269.

54 Page, *The Christian West*, 261–80.

55 The little that is known of the Gallican Mass comes from the *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, ed. Edward Craddock Ratcliff, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 98 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1971), since the surviving liturgical books such as the *Missale Gothicum*, cf. editions by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes 5 (Rome: Herder, 1961), and Els Rose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), are essentially sacramentaries that seldom if ever provide even an incipit for anything other than the prayers.

form by Christopher Page, makes a particular point of indicating the extent to which the early focal points of Roman practice in the Frankish domains form a nexus of institutions connected to the Frankish kings by abbots and bishops who had blood ties with them and were part of their *fideles* in ways that went back to familiar and tribal traditions.[56] This would have provided, in the early decades of the transition, a group of centers where a commitment to the transition – which involved not only the learning of a large corpus of melodies, but dramatic changes in the outward forms of the liturgy as well as institutional changes – could be in a spirit of fidelity to the kingship itself in terms that were familiar to the Franks as a tradition of tribal and familiar solidarity.

This is not to say that there was not resistance, even within Carolingian dynastic circles. The Church hierarchies, historically, resist innovation, and this was a drastic innovation. Echoes of this resistance among the Frankish clergy and nobility, many of whom regarded the churches in their land as dynastic property, might be heard in the arguments that *Ordo XIX* seeks to refute,[57] and in the language of the later *Opus Caroli Regis*.[58] For that reason, as Page notes, the fastest and most thorough Romanization of the liturgy in Francia, apart from those centers that had strong ties of *fidelitas* to the kings, took place where everything remained to be done, including the conversion of the populations, largely in the eastern frontiers of the kingdom and the lands beyond.[59]

At the center, it was necessary to create new institutions that would serve as a source and an engine for the Romanization. In terms of the liturgy itself, these were the newly constituted *schola cantorum* of Metz, modeled after the Roman *schola cantorum* and the Palatine Chapel at Aachen. In the same manner a change took place in the monasteries, starting in the eighth but mostly taking place in the ninth century, that shifted some of the emphasis away from penance and prayer towards learning per se. This was clearly not the aim of the early monastic founders, who regarded asceticism, prayer, and withdrawal from the world as the primary tasks of the monastic community. The change came in part by the influence upon the Frankish court of Anglo-Saxon monks and clerics, who brought with them an insular interest in learning and an "intellectual entrepreneurship" inherited from Celtic monasticism. This influence, coupled with Charlemagne's interest in educating the clergy at all levels and aided by the

56 Page, *The Christian West*, 281–360.
57 Cf. Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 128–31; Page, *The Christian West*, 298–300.
58 *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia, II, suppl. (Hanover: Hahn, 1998).
59 Page, *The Christian West*, 331–39.

extraordinary administrative abilities of Alcuin of York, succeeded in changing subtly the intellectual climate of the monasteries in the course of the ninth century, a change further formalized by the Council of Aachen under Benedict of Aniane in 817.[60] It was also helpful that a number of the influential abbots of the eighth and ninth centuries were themselves members of the circle of *fideles* of the Frankish kings, and that, in terms of the Office rather than the Mass, the change from the Gallican rite to the Roman rite was probably less wrenching, since by the eighth century both shared a largely common basis in the dispositions of the rules of the master and of Benedict.[61]

In terms of music, the cathedral at Metz became in the ninth century the model used by the Carolingians to disseminate the new Romano-Frankish chant. It was regarded as the best representative of the transalpine Roman rite and its music even by John the Deacon, who Page characterizes as a "determined Frankophobe."[62] Equally important, on account of the rule established by the bishop (later archbishop) of Metz, Chrodegang, who had grown up in the household of Charles Martel and was a lifelong ally (and perhaps a blood relation) of Pepin, the cathedral of Metz became also the institutional model for other cathedrals and collegiate churches, and in this its influence extends to the end of the Middle Ages.

If the Cathedral of Metz serves as the model, musically and institutionally, for many of the cathedrals in France, and eventually in England as well, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, in a more distant and subtle manner the *cappella palatina* of the Carolingians, viewed as a clerical organization, serves as well as the model for the many princely chapels that eventually were to become musically important from the fourteenth century on.

Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches

The medieval cathedral and collegiate church, as derived from the Messine model and evolved in the tenth and eleventh centuries, consisted of a number of canons, each supported by a prebend. The income for the prebend came from an endowment, basically land as well as buildings, that was leased and, in the case of arable land, cultivated by tenant farmers or serfs. Depending on the

60 The best description of this change is contained in Joseph Dyer, "The Monastic Origins of Western Music Theory," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. László Dobszay et al. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), 199–225, especially 200–14.
61 Cf. Kenneth Levy, "Abbot Helisachar's Antiphoner," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995), 171–86, esp. 177–84; partial reprint in Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 178–86, and the letter from the Salzburg *Liber Traditionum* in Page, *The Christian West*, 318.
62 Page, *The Christian West*, 399. John's comments in his *Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita*, *PL*, vol. LXXV: cols. 91b–92a.

nature of the rule binding the canons, they lived in houses within the cathedral close, as was the case in Paris,[63] or in houses owned either by them or by the cathedral chapter but located throughout the city, as was the case in Metz under Chrodegang,[64] and later in Cambrai.[65] In the case of a number of English cathedrals that were reformed by Benedictine bishops, the canons lived in an actual cloister with its dormitory and refectory.[66] A number of canons held administrative offices as dignitaries or as holders of a *personatus*;[67] the names and definitions of a number of these offices varied between cathedrals and collegiate churches, and not all of them were always part of the administration everywhere; the list offered here, therefore, is a composite. The dean (*decanus*) was the spiritual head (archpriest, *archipresbyterus*) of the chapter, and functioned liturgically in place of the bishop (in a cathedral) when the bishop was absent. The provost (*praepositus*) usually was the officer that dealt with the relations between the chapter and the secular powers. The cantor early on had been the principal singer, but by the eleventh century was the chief liturgical officer, or in cathedrals where there was a chancellor, the officer who dealt with the sung parts of the liturgy. In either case he no longer was a "practical" musician and often was instead a man of letters.[68] The practical running of the musical establishment was done by the *succentor*. The chancellor was, like the cantor, a liturgical officer, but his purview was the word, and like the *succentor* in music, he not only made sure that the texts in the liturgical books were correct, but chose the readers and made sure that their enunciation was correct. In a cathedral where a choir school existed, the scholaster (*scholasticus*) oversaw the school and chose the *magistri puerorum*, often one for music and one for grammar and religion.[69] In some cathedrals there were a series of archdeacons who oversaw the administration of the parish churches in the different regions of the diocese.[70] A few cathedrals had

63 Cf. Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame de Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 27–29.
64 Page, *The Christian West*, 341–42.
65 Cf. Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 209–12.
66 Cf. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1963), 31–82.
67 There is no accurate English word for this term; the most accurate is "minor dignity."
68 This is also the case of the cantor in monasteries, although the office developed differently in monastic institutions. The best summary of the monastic development is Margot Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29–51.
69 In Cambrai the cathedral *scholasticus* oversaw not only the *maîtrise* of the cathedral but the semi-independent *magna schola* founded at the *Domus bonorum puerorum*.
70 At Notre-Dame in Paris there were three archdeacons (cf. Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 19); at Cambrai, with an immense diocese, there were five: of Cambrai (later galled Grand Archdeacon), of Brabant (or Hainaut), of Valenciennes, of Antwerp, and of Brussels (Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale 1046 (hereafter *F-CA* 1046), fols. 75r–89r).

an Official, who was the bishop's representative to the chapter and also a canon.

The canons were supposed to take part in the round of services, including the Mass and the Office, in the choir, either as celebrants, as altar assistants (deacon and subdeacon), or as the choir that chanted the psalmody. Chrodegang's rule shows a particular concern towards inducing them into performing these duties faithfully, mostly by coupling the provisions for meat and drink for the canons with their singing during the liturgical day, particularly in the major festivals.[71] This in itself is an early symptom of what was to come: the canons in most medieval cathedrals up to the fifteenth century, with the possible exception of some of the English Benedictine cathedrals, were often members of the nobility, and later, as Wright notes, "viewed themselves as high-ranking men of affairs ... some were teachers of theology at the schools ... and others members of parliament and the king's council,"[72] and were seldom present in the choir, something that became compounded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the practice of pluralism, where men simultaneously held canonicates in several cathedral or collegiate churches, sometimes residing in only one of them; sometimes residing in none, but rather in the papal curia or a secular court. This led early on to the appointment of a series of vicars – clerics who took the place of the canons, and whose role was to perform the liturgy of the cathedral in a regular manner.[73] These vicars were appointed at two levels: the first were the grand vicars, sometimes called minor canons, who held a small benefice, and whose task was to insure that the sacerdotal, diaconal, and subdiaconal parts of the liturgy were covered. Some of them, apart from benefices in the cathedral itself, held canonicates at dependent churches. Wright gives a detailed account of these in Notre-Dame, which adds up to twenty-eight such vicariates there, including men who had canonicates at St. Aignan and St. Jean le Rond.[74] At Cambrai there were nine, all called grand vicars, three of whom were to serve as priests, three as deacons, and three as subdeacons.[75] A number of them held canonicates at the collegiate church of Sainte Croix, which was closely affiliated to

71 Cf. Marin A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the* Regula Canonicorum *in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 80–82, and Page's comments in *The Christian West*, 342.

72 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 20; a particularly detailed and insightful study of a cathedral chapter in the late Middle Ages is Hélène Millet, *Les Chanoines du Chapitre Cathédral de Laon: 1272–1412*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 56 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982).

73 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 20, notes that the earliest of these vicars were installed at Notre-Dame in 868. For most cathedrals in Francia a similar situation can be posited.

74 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 18–19; these range in his list from the canons of St. Aignan to the subdeacon canons of St. Jean le Rond.

75 *F-CA* 1046, fol. 6r. Most of these men were ordained priests, and so their duties had become interchangeable by the fourteenth century, but the definition remained.

the cathedral. The second level consisted of unbeneficed clerks, called small vicars at Cambrai and other churches in Flanders and Brabant; clerks of Matins at Notre-Dame; and *heuriers-matiniers* at Chartres.[76] They ranged from tonsured clerks barely out of choir school to ordained priests who for whatever reason had never secured a benefice, and eked a living by singing in the services of the cathedral. They were appointed only for one year, usually on the feast of St. John the Baptist, and had to resign and be reappointed for each successive year, and could be dismissed for any infraction; although in reality by the late Middle Ages their service as singers was necessary enough that cathedral authorities would seek to discipline them rather than dismiss then outright. From the thirteenth century on it was these men (together with some of the grand vicars) who sang the bulk of whatever polyphonic music was cultivated in any of the cathedrals. The position of grand vicar usually provided holders with income for a modest living, but in the later Middle Ages many of these men also held small benefices, sometimes with cure and sometimes without cure (i.e., pastoral duties) in nearby parish churches. The situation was considerably more precarious for the small vicars, particularly those who were only in lower orders, although they could also obtain some small benefices as chantry clerks in some of the chapels or altars that were erected in the cathedrals.

The rise of side chapels, both as architectural additions and as simple side altars, began early in the twelfth century and continued well into the sixteenth.[77] They were founded by a private endowment that financed the actual construction in the case of the architectural additions, as well as providing funds for the celebration of Masses for a specific purpose, usually the salvation of the donors, and on specific dates. Some of these chapels were already part of the original design of the cathedral; a few were actually built onto the sides of the nave afterwards. Once the chapels and the altars were there it was also common from the thirteenth century on to endow "a chaplaincy" at a given altar, which provided the funds to support the celebration of yearly or weekly Masses in the manner described above. Most of these

76 Cf. Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 24–25; Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 144–54; Nicole Goldine, "Les heuriers-matiniers de la cathédrale de Chartres jusq'au XVI^{e} siècle. Organisation liturgique et musicale," *Revue de Musicologie* 54 (1968), 161–75.

77 For Notre-Dame see Marcel Aubert, *Notre-Dame de Paris, sa place dans l'architecture du XII^{e} au XIV^{e} siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: H. Laurens, 1929), 138–59; for Cambrai see André Le Glay, *Recherches sur l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1925), 34–38, and Andreas Pastoors, "Monographie de l'ancienne cathédrale de Cambrai," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 47 (1904), 109–14. Also, Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 1928 (hereafter *F-Lad* 4 G 1928) contains two copies of a printed list with a colophon dated 1759, giving a list of the chaplaincies, with their foundation dates and whether they belonged to the grand or the small vicars.

were low Masses, but occasionally a sung Mass was endowed, usually in plainsong but sometimes in polyphony. The most famous example of the later is the endowment of a polyphonic Ordinary by Guillaume de Machaut, to ornament the Saturday Lady Mass at Reims, which was celebrated at the altar of the *Rouelle*; an endowment that included the recitation of a prayer for the salvation of Machaut and his brother, and after their death a commemoration of them.[78] These chaplaincies and endowments provided a further source of income for the small vicars, who could then cobble a living from obtaining a few of them. This, however, was not always a possibility since the clergy of the cathedrals contained a large number of clerics, not necessarily musicians, whose task was to serve these chaplaincies: at Notre-Dame there were 57, later enlarged to 126;[79] at Cambrai there were nominally 57 chaplaincies, 30 of which were reserved for the vicars, and 27 others which were assigned each week by the canons.[80] A pattern can be observed in Cambrai, however, that indicates that when small vicars collated a chaplaincy, most often they stopped working as small vicars per se, although they surely continued their attendance in the choral liturgy.[81] Further, by the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century, a number of these chaplaincies were held by men who had never been vicars and even were held *in absentia* through privileges granted by the popes or the local lords. The beneficial careers of most of these singers, the majority of whom remain largely anonymous, have seldom been studied.[82]

The case of England, documented in careful detail by Roger Bowers,[83] is different. The singing vicars were largely laymen, and as such they could not count on an ecclesiastical career. This put a different complexion upon their activity, as music per se was the principal focus of their activity, which eventually had some consequences upon the repertory of music they created for the liturgy as well as the cultivation of certain kinds of polyphonic music in England.[84]

78 Ann Walters Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas F. Kelly. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 104–12.

79 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 21. 80 *F-CA* 1046, fol. 6r.

81 In the fifteenth century this becomes musically significant because it was the small vicars that sang the bulk of the polyphony.

82 There are a few exceptions to this, e. g., Eugénie Droz, "Notes sur M^{e} Jean Cornuel, dit Verjus, petit vicaire de Cambrai," *Revue de Musicologie* 7 (1926), 173–89, and André Pirro, "Jehan Cornuel, Vicaire à Cambrai," *Revue de Musicologie* 7 (1926), 190–203. A very compressed summary of what can be known about all the small vicars at Cambrai in the fifteenth century appears in Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 1: Appendix 2.

83 Roger Bowers, "Choral Institutions within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development, 1340–1500" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1975).

84 Cf. Roger Bowers, "Obligation, Agency, and *laissez faire*: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern*

By and large, the cultivation of music at cathedrals and collegiate churches until the fifteenth century meant plainsong, with a few instances of *cantus planus binatim* for certain occasions, and typically in these cases the polyphonic works are copied not in separate volumes but within the gradual, the antiphoner, or the processional as part of the normal plainsong repertory of the institution,[85] and, as Leo Treitler suggests, there was most likely a continuum between plainsong, polyphony added in performance, and polyphony that was written down.[86] One could perhaps add a further step to that continuum: polyphonic works, conceived as such, where the creation of a piece of polyphony is part of the nature of the work itself; that would be the case of the composition of the large-scale polyphonic Ordinaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where we begin to see the rise of the concept of "the work."

There are two cathedrals from which we have a substantial body of polyphonic music for the liturgy of the Mass and the Office before the fourteenth century, the Old Minster in Winchester in the eleventh century and Notre-Dame in Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[87] During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a number of other cathedrals – Amiens, Beauvais, Cambrai, Chartres, Noyon, and Sens, in France; Toledo and Santiago in Spain; and St. Andrews in Scotland – also included polyphony in their liturgies, but only on a very limited number of feasts; and with the possible exception of Chartres, where a polyphonic repertory existed already in the eleventh century, and perhaps St. Andrews, where a similar repertory appears to have existed in the twelfth, most of these polyphonic repertories were derived from the polyphony of Notre-Dame.[88] The most extensive borrowings are those of Toledo, represented in the

Europe, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 13–16, for a discussion of the consequences of this.

85 This is the case, for example, with the verse *Dicant nunc iudaei*, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 892, fols. 67v–68r (cf. Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester: Studien zum ältesten Repertorie polyphoniker Musik* [Hildesheim: Olms, 1968], 180–81); a Kyrie verse and three *Benedicamus domino* tropes in Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. 156 (cf. David Hiley, ed. *Moosburger Graduale* [Tutzing: Schneider, 1996], xxxv); and the relatively large repertory in the different entries in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989).

86 Leo Treitler, "*Cantus planus binatim* in Italy and the Question of Oral and Written Tradition in General," *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), 145–61.

87 The fundamental study of the Winchester polyphony is Holschneider, *Die Organa*, but see also Susan Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007), 13–15 and 60–74, and David Hiley, "Observations on the Derivation of Two Early Repertories of Polyphony," *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), 377–85. For Notre-Dame the fundamental study is Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, and Edward Roesner et al., eds., *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 7 vols. (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993–2009).

88 This appears to be the case in all or most of the northern French cathedrals mentioned above, and even in Compostela (cf. Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 278–81). A table of sources from Paris and elsewhere containing the Parisian organa appears in Roesner, *Les Organa et les Clausules à Deux Voix du Manuscrit de*

repertory in Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 20486 (*olim* Hh 167) (hereafter Ma), and at St. Andrews, represented in the repertory in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 628 Helmstedt (hereafter W_1), which incorporated virtually the entire Notre-Dame repertory as it existed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[89] The incorporation of these repertories represents an institutional reaction to the intellectual prestige of Paris in the thirteenth century rather than an impulse from within the institutions to produce polyphony for the liturgy. An exception to this is the celebrated eleventh fascicle of W_1, and the additions made here and there in the rest of the manuscript. Two of the additions, responsories for St. Andrew, follow the style and liturgical plan of the Parisian organa,[90] but a number of others have no parallel in the Parisian repertory; they are settings of Ordinary of the Mass chants, and in this they find their counterparts in the eleventh fascicle of the manuscript, which transmits organa to Kyrie verses, a Gloria trope, alleluias, one tract, fifteen proses, seven offertories, four Sanctus, and three Agnus Dei.[91] Here the presence of polyphony for the Ordinary and for the proses points to an insular tradition that goes back to the Winchester polyphony, and which can be traced in a few other fragments,[92] and is most likely a reflection of institutional traditions peculiar to the British Isles. In this context it is also worth noting that the collection of organa in the Winchester Troper has one anomalous trait, which must reflect a particular institutional decision, in the large group of organa to the tracts. The Lenten season was universally regarded as a season of penance, and any form of "ornament" was avoided,[93] and not until the fifteenth century do we again encounter polyphonic tracts.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst., *Le Magnus Liber Organi*, VII (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 2009), xliv–xlv.

89 The fundamental studies of W_1 are: Edward Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974); Roesner, "The Origins of W_1," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), 337–80; Mark Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W_1," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), 1–42.

90 Roesner, *Les Organa*, nos. 12–13; see also xlviii.

91 Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th – Early 14th Century*, RISM BIV[1] (Munich-Duisburg: Henle, 1966), 98 and 161–70.

92 Cf. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), vol. I: 25 and 33; Geoffrey Chew, "A Magnus Liber Organi Fragment at Aberdeen," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 (1978), 326–43.

93 The lone tract in W_1 is intended for the Saturday Lady Mass during Lent, and the penitential strictures of Lent were always softened slightly in that case. This might also be the case at Winchester: apart from the tracts for Ember Saturday in Advent and Holy Innocents, most of the others are for feasts of the Virgin and the Sundays from Septuagesima to Easter Eve, in a sense the most solemn feasts within Lent.

The Monasteries

With few exceptions, such as Cassiodorus' Vivarium and perhaps some of the Celtic monasteries, the monasteries of late Antiquity and pre-Carolingian Francia were not a natural milieu for intellectual achievement;[94] a few monasteries with celebrated founders have received much scholarly attention, but more because of their founders' fame than for their achievements as institutions where learning was pursued. The Monastery of St. Andrew established by Gregory the Great on the Caelian hill surely incorporated Gregory's own library, but it is an open question whether the library received much use during the seventh and eighth centuries. Even taking account of the large loss of manuscripts, a careful reading of Lowe's monumental list of early manuscripts reveals that learning per se was not a high priority in pre-Carolingian monasteries.[95] Even such a celebrated center as Lérins derives most of its fame from a number of monks and abbots who eventually became bishops, but most of these were members of the Gallo-Roman families who had received a good education before their stays at Lérins. In terms of music the influence of the late antique and early medieval monasteries consisted principally in the promotion and eventual regulation (in the Rule of the Master and particularly the Rule of Saint Benedict) of the daily *cursus* of psalmody,[96] and in the case of the urban ascetics in Jerusalem in Egeria's time and the urban monasteries in Rome in the sixth and seventh centuries the symbiotic relationship that they developed with the cathedrals and (in Rome) with several of the basilicas and the *tituli*, where they apparently provided the personnel for the chanting of the Hours and even of the Mass.[97] Some aspects of this relationship in the late seventh century are echoed, as discussed above, in the appearance of three abbots of one of the monasteries connected with San Pietro in Vaticano at the end of the list of men who had contributed to the development of the *annalis cantus* in *Ordo XIX*, and even if we take account of Peter Jeffery's evaluation of its worth,[98] the mention of three otherwise obscure abbots is a signal that there had been some important interaction between the papal singers and the monastic singers in the development of the yearly cycle of chant for the Mass and the Office.

94 Joseph Dyer, "The Monastic Origins of Western Music Theory," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), 200.

95 Elias Avery Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–72; reprint Osnabrück: Zeller, 1982).

96 Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," provides a particularly useful overview of this.

97 But there are also some signs of resistance to this in some regions, as one can sense in the canon of the Council of Braga cited above, p. 665 and note 43.

98 Cf. note 35 above.

The copying of books in pre-Carolingian monasteries was in some ways a consequence of the collapse of commercial scriptoria after the fifth century. Monasteries required at least the books necessary to conduct the divine Office, and were thrown upon their own resources in the centuries that followed the barbarian invasions. Still, rather than being thought of as an intellectual activity, this was regarded as manual labor, often given to the young and to those whose lack of strength precluded more strenuous work.[99] The change in Francia came in the wake of the Carolingian kings' concern with the education of the clergy. Their primary concerns at first were such matters as grammar and correct Latin, particularly since liturgical Latin remained conservative in spelling and presumably in pronunciation.[100] Charlemagne called to his court a number of important grammarians, Peter of Pisa, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Paul the Deacon. In this he also had help from a number of Anglo-Saxon missionaries; two of them, Willibrord (ca. 658–739) and Boniface (ca. 672–739), preceded the reign of Charlemagne, but brought to their work in Francia an attitude towards monastic learning developed in Britain by the work of Benedict Biscop (628–690), the founder of Warmouth and Jarrow, who five times during his life traveled to Rome to bring books for his monasteries, and Aldhelm (ca. 639–709), who had studied in the Canterbury of Theodore of Tharsus and Hadrian, and eventually Bede (ca. 672–735). But it was in Alcuin of York (ca. 740–804) that Charlemagne found a collaborator with the learning, the drive, and the administrative abilities to push forward his educational program. Alcuin had been educated in a cathedral school and had a genuine interest in classical learning, which he justified, as did Charlemagne, by reference to the early writings of St. Augustine and Cassiodorus. The renewal of the monasteries received a further impulse from the work of Benedict of Aniane (747–821), who for a time was at least nominally what amounts to the archabbot of all the Carolingian monasteries. Some of Benedict's reforms did not last long past the death of Emperor Louis the Pious in 840, but others, including adoption of the rule of St. Benedict as the virtually universal rule for Carolingian monasteries, had lasting influence: in its humane latitude, the rule provided an environment where Charlemagne's educational program could be effectively carried out. The institutional change brought into the intellectual life of the monasteries under Charlemagne had as its primary object the creation of a literate clergy who could perform the divine liturgy correctly

99 Dyer, "The Monastic Origins," 208–09, citing the *Regula Fereoli*; see also Sulpicius Severus, *Sulpicii Severi Libri qui supersunt*, ed. Karl Halm, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiaticorum latinorum 1 (Vienna: Gerold, 1886), 120; Frederick Russell Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954; reprint New York: Harper, 1965), 24.

100 Cf. Page, *The Christian West*, 202–06, 310–12, and 372–75.

and administer the possessions of the monasteries competently. At first the classics were studied, unlike the Bible and the Fathers, largely for their grammatical and rhetorical value, but eventually also as fodder for Christian exegesis, and in time an appreciation of them for their own sake was bound to take root. The change probably came most easily and first in those monasteries bound by ties of fidelity and patronage to the court, similar to the ties that Page notes between the court and a group of Frankish bishops.[101] Among these we must count Corbie, Fulda, Lorsch, Prüm, Reichenau, and St. Denis.[102] The important aspect of the change is that it opened the door for a number of monastic scholars to begin going beyond grammar, rhetoric, and logic to the study of texts dealing with the quadrivial arts, something that was largely absent from the early medieval monasteries except for the basic arithmetic necessary for the *computus* in determining the date of Easter. Probably at first the sources available to monastic scholars were florilegia and the work of early Christian encyclopedists, notably the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, but eventually some of Boethius' mathematical and musical writings came to be known, as well as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.[103] The early progression of this field of study in monasteries of the ninth and tenth centuries has been carefully traced by Joseph Dyer.[104] He shows how the writings of Aurelian of Reome (*fl.* 840–50) are based upon the sources that could be found in the monastic libraries of the seventh and eighth centuries: the Bible and the Fathers, Amalarius of Metz, the *Instituta* of Cassiodorus, and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore, but also with some material from Boethius' *De musica* and *De arithmetica*.[105] Remi of Auxerre (ca. 841–908), in his musical writings, deals almost exclusively with Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, and, unlike Aurelian's, his work has virtually no connection to the music of his own time.[106] Instead, Hucbald of St. Amand (ca. 850–930) and Regino of Prüm

101 Page, *The Christian West*, 302–03.

102 Bernhard Bischoff, "Das Benediktinische Mönchtum und die Ueberlieferung der klassischen Literatur," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 98 (1981), 165–90. Also published separately (St. Ottilien: Eos, 1981).

103 Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii De arithmetica*, ed. Henri Oosthout and Johannes Schilling, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 94A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of De institutione arithmetica* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1983); Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, *De institutione musica libri quinque*, ed. Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867; reprint Frankfurt a. M.: Minerva, 1966); Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, ed. and trans. Calvin Bower (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989). James Willis, ed., *Martianus Capella* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983); *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols., ed. William H. Stahl et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971–77).

104 Dyer, "The Monastic Origins," 218–25.

105 Lawrence Gushee, *Aureliani Reomensis Musica Disciplina*, CSM 21 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), identifies Aurelian's sources. See also Michael Bernard, "Texkritisches zu Aurelianus Reomensis," *Musica Disciplina* 40 (1986), 49–61.

106 Remi of Auxerre, *Commentarium in Martianum Capellam*, 2 vols., ed. Cora Lutz (Leiden: Brill, 1962–65).

(d. 915) use classical sources with considerable originality in an effort to organize the known repertory of chant in terms of the eight-mode system, but their intellectual frame of reference is a new awareness of classical texts on music rather than the older monastic tradition used by Aurelian.[107] Their work, together with the complicated and influential complex of writings known as *Alia musica*,[108] and the even more influential group of writings that are related to the *Musica enchiriadis*,[109] representing what Calvin Bower calls "the resolution to a musical theory in the tenth and eleventh centuries,"[110] are all the products of a monastic culture, as is the continuation of these kinds of studies by a series of German theorists of the eleventh and twelfth century, Berno of Reichenau,[111] Hermannus Contractus,[112] Wilhelm von Hirsau,[113] and Theogerus of Metz,[114] who sought to bind the intellectual tradition of speculative music theory even more tightly with actual musical practice. If at the beginning of this tradition stands the book collecting and the library of the early Carolingian court as well as Charlemagne's impulse in transforming the institutional culture of Frankish monasteries,[115] its continuation in the tenth and eleventh centuries was something of a necessity: as the different divisions and realignments of Frankish kingdoms played themselves out in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the central role of the court as an intellectual engine waned, and the tradition remained alive in the different monasteries. To be sure, the intellectual activity of those who engaged in the traditions of *musica*

107 Cf. Yves Chartier, *L'Oeuvre musicale de Hucbald de Saint-Amand: Les compositions et le traité de musique* (Saint Laurent: Bellarmin, 1995); Claude Palisca, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, trans. Warren Babb (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), 13–46; Regino of Prüm, "De Harmonica institutione," in *Clavis Gerberti: Eine Revision von Martin Gerberts Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum (St. Blasien, 1784)*, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorichen Komission 7 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 39–73; Michael Bernhard, *Studien zur Epistola de armonica institutione des Regino von Prüm* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979).

108 *Alia musica*, ed. and trans. Jacques Chailley (Paris: Centre de documentation universitaire, 1963).

109 Hans Schmidt, *Musica et scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981); Claude Palisca, ed., Raymond Erickson, trans., *"Musica enchiriadis" and "Scolica enchiriadis" Translated with Introduction and Notes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Nancy Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*: The Literary, Theoretical, and Musical Sources" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1984).

110 Calvin Bower, "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158.

111 Alexander Rausch, ed., *Die Musiktraktate des Abtes Bern von Reichenau: Edition und Interpretation* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1999); Hans Oesch, *Berno und Hermann von Reichenau als Musiktheoretiker*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Ser. 2, vol. IX (Bern: Haupt, 1961).

112 *Musica Hermanni Contracti*, ed. and trans. Leonard Ellingwood (Rochester, NY: Eastman School of Music, 1936); Richard L. Crocker, "Hermann's Major Sixth," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972), 19–37.

113 Denis Harbinson, ed., *Willehelmi Hirsaugensis Musica*, CSM 23 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

114 Fabian Lochner, "Dieter (Theogerus) of Metz and His *Musica*" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1995).

115 Cf. Bower, "The Transmission," 149–50.

speculativa, even when it had a practical connection, as is the case of the *enchiriadis* treatises, which were among the most widely copied texts of the tenth century, was the work of men who Dyer aptly characterizes as "a few ingenious Frankish monks who struggled to synthesize divergent elements of theory and practice into a new and coherent order."[116] At a different level monastic schools continued the older tradition of giving young oblates and novices the basic instruction in letters and in the practical aspects of music necessary for the performance of the divine service; this activity was carried out by the *armarius* or librarian, and involved teaching his charges the rudiments of reading and writing and the singing of the chant, largely by oral tradition, as well as the memorization of the entire psalter and probably a good number of chants. The "texts" used for this were not treatises dealing with *musica* but rather psalters and hymnals, often glossed.[117] This aspect of monastic musical practice and instruction had institutional roots that probably went back to the earliest coenobitical monasticism and continued well into the Renaissance. In this it probably did not differ much from the instruction offered in the *maîtrises* of the cathedrals and the collegiate churches, and remained the basis of the institutional practice of music in monasteries well after the center of gravity of the kind of intellectual investigation connected with *musica speculativa* moved from the monasteries to the universities in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Universities

The rise of medieval universities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is an outgrowth of cathedral schools rather than of monastic schools. Among the cathedral schools that boasted of the presence of influential teachers in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, a number of the most important ones, such as Reims in the years that Gerbert of Aurillac was there (despite the political troubles that surrounded his years at Reims) and Chartres under Fulbert (ca. 990 to 1028), who apparently had been in Reims with Gerbert as well, did not eventually evolve into a *studium generale*, while those in Bologna, Padua, and Paris did so. The reasons for this have never been examined in detail.[118]

116 Dyer, "The Monastic Origins," 225.

117 See Susan Boynton, "Medieval Musical Education Seen through Sources Outside the Realm of Music Theory," in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 52–62.

118 The fundamental study remains Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (London: Oxford University Press, 1964 [originally published 1895]), but see also Charles Homer Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1957); Hilde de Ridder-Simoens, ed., *Universities in the Middle Ages*, History of the University in Europe

Eventually the scientific curriculum, Boethius' *quadrivium*, found a place in the teaching, but it remained a relatively minor one, for the goal of the early medieval universities was to produce men capable of undertaking the study of philosophy, the law, and theology. Arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, as understood at the time, had some relevance to philosophy but little relevance to theology and the law.[119] Accordingly much of the instruction in *musica* at the universities was restricted to reading of books I–II of Boethius and little more; for example, the statutes of the university of Paris drawn up in 1215 by Robert de Courson allow for lectures on the sciences of the *quadrivium* only on feast days.[120] Nonetheless, the flowering of writings about music in thirteenth-century Paris, not simply expositions and glosses of Boethius, but the flow of treatises dealing with the problems of *musica mensurabilis* – the explanation and notation of the rhythmic systems of the new polyphonic music – appears to be heavily indebted to the intellectual climate of the university. Some of the writers of these treatises, John of Garland, Franco of Cologne, Lambertus, Jerome of Moravia, and Anonymous IV, most likely studied at the university, but it is another matter to assume, as does Nan Cooke Carpenter, that they might have taught *musica* there, or that the music studies at the university included the study of the new theories of rhythm and notation in terms of polyphonic music.[121] From the little that we know about the life of these authors, they also held positions in a number of churches, some of them outside of Paris, and would have been expected to provide singers and musicians in their churches with some practical instruction. Page makes a particularly cogent case that these men and others, who are called by Courson *magistri organorum*, were "composers," singers, and "theorists," and that their teaching was not so much university lectures but rather more like the teaching one finds in the medieval guilds, albeit contaminated by the modes of thought of the university teaching.[122] This might also be behind the nature of the survival of their works: while the legal and theological glosses survive in hundreds of copies, most of these treatises survive in less than a handful, and their transmission resembles that of the instructions for interval succession (discant or *contrapunctus*), viewed by Sarah Fuller as "traces of diverse aural teaching traditions" that "suggest

I (Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Jacques Verger, *Les universités françaises au Moyen Âge* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

119 Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 140–43.

120 Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chastellain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris: Delalain, 1889–97; reprint Brussels: Culture et Civilization, 1964), vol. I: 78–79.

121 Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 48–49. Carpenter's book remains useful although much of it is extremely outdated.

122 Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 151–53.

individual, local teaching strategies."[123] It is hardly surprising that the tradition continues in the shadow of the university in the early fourteenth century, or that the prominent exponents of the Italian counterpart of this French theoretical tradition, Marchetto da Padova, Johannes Ciconia, and Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, flourished in the vicinity of the university in Padua. But it is telling to note that Marchetto and Ciconia were in fact cathedral musicians and teachers, and only Prosdocimus, who was a doctor of arts and of medicine, was a university teacher. In most of these cases the university apparently provided a basic intellectual training and its surroundings created a milieu where the cathedral musicians were encouraged, in imitation of the philosophers and theologians, to produce written treatises that in their case included the practical aspects of counterpoint and notation. A number of these men, from Johannes de Garlandia in the thirteenth century to Johannes Tinctoris in the fifteenth, had university training, but it is telling that virtually none of them, with the exception of Prosdocimus, were university teachers. Among the later music theorists, Tinctoris was part of a princely chapel; Gaffurius, although late in life he was a university professor at the *studium* founded by Lodovico Sforza in Milan,[124] was a cathedral musician trained outside the universities; Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja might have taught early in his life at Salamanca, but his teaching activity in Bologna was famously and contentiously outside the university framework, although modeled upon university lectures;[125] and his pupil, Giovanni Spataro, was, like Gaffurius, primarily a church musician. The universities, then, as institutions, had an indirect effect upon the development of music in the central and late Middle Ages. The tradition of *musica speculativa* began in a few monasteries and continued in the universities, and when a tradition of writing upon matters of *musica practica* began in the thirteenth century, university treatises and lecture courses provided a model; the actual teaching and certainly the actual practice flourished in the vicinity of the universities but not really as part of their institutional life.

The Princely Chapels and Courts

The ancestor and prototype of all medieval and early Renaissance princely chapels is surely the *cappella palatina* of the Carolingians. And it is so in two

123 Sarah Fuller, "Organum – *discantus* – *contrapunctus* in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 489.
124 Francesco Degrada, "Musica e musicisti nell'età di Ludovico il Moro," *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro: Atti del Convegno internazionale, 28 febbraio–4 marzo 1983*, 2 vols. (Milan: Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1983), vol. II: 409–15.
125 Cf. Jeffrey Dean, "Bartholomeus Ramis de Pareia," Grove Music Online.

respects: it was associated with a specific place, the palace chapel in Aachen, but at the same time it had a peripatetic element that followed the imperial court in its almost constant peregrinations to different cities within the Carolingian realm. That the Palatine Chapel had its own musical traditions early on is something that Page notes when he discusses Aurelian of Reome's comments on the modal classification of the antiphon "O sapientia."[126] At the time, the role of the king's chaplains was to perform the divine liturgy in his presence or in such a way that he and his court could fulfill their liturgical duties and devotions in both a properly decorous and convenient manner. During the ninth and tenth centuries, in the case of the Palatine Chapel, this meant performing the liturgy following the Roman rite as understood north of the Alps, and with the Roman music as sung north of the Alps. In this respect, then, the Palatine Chapel and its singers were, together with the singers of places such as Metz and Corbie, in the forefront of what became the development of plainsong in northern Europe at the time. By the eleventh century, princely chapels generally were performing and singing the liturgy according to the established traditions and uses of a given locale, usually the diocese where the court was located.[127] This remained essentially the function of all royal and princely chapels until about the middle of the fourteenth century, and there is virtually no evidence that the music in those chapels was anything other than plainsong.

By the eleventh century, however, a different musical establishment begins to appear in princely courts: musicians, mostly instrumentalists, whose task was either basically heraldic – to signal the presence or arrival of the lord of the court – or to entertain the court at certain times, usually at meals. Over the centuries they are referred to by a considerable variety of names in the different regions of Europe: *juglar*, *joglar*, *jongleur*, *menestrel*, *Spielmann*, and so forth. At first it is very difficult to distinguish between all-purpose entertainers, musicians, animal trainers, mimes, and so on, and many of them were men and women traveling from court to court or village to village to present their acts. There is some connection between the rise of specialist instrumentalists and singers among this class of entertainers and the rise of vernacular poetry with the troubadours of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the troubadours, largely members of the nobility, could not be viewed as part of an institutional structure.[128] The minstrels (to use this term in its most

126 Page, *The Christian West*, 353–54.

127 There were exceptions to this, for example well into the fifteenth century the Burgundian chapel followed the use of Paris rather than those of Cambrai or Tournai, where the chapel resided for most of the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth.

128 The troubadours and the later trouvères lie beyond the scope of this study. John Stevens and Ardis Butterfield provide a very well considered overview of their historical and social context, s.v. "Troubadours, Trouvères," Grove Music Online.

generic sense), once they begin to be part of the servant class of a court, become part of the institutional structure of the court. The literature on these is immense, but because it is for the most part connected with institutional histories of the different courts, within these histories the roles and duties of the instrumentalists and singers devoted primarily to secular music are treated often only in passing.[129]

In the fourteenth century there is a subtle shift in the status of court musicians who are not chapel singers. A number of them, in Italy and France, left polyphonic music, some of it liturgical but for the most part secular. The main problem here is the almost complete absence of biographical information for many of them. In Italy Piero, Jacopo da Bologna, and Giovanni da Cascia worked, from what we can tell from the texts of their madrigals and *ballate*, at the court of Mastino II della Scala (d. 1351) in Verona. That is all we know about Piero, but Jacopo was later in the Visconti court in Milan, while Giovanni might have been organist at Santa Trinità in Florence. Judging from the idealized, but apparently accurate, portraits in the Squarcialupi Codex, neither Jacopo or Giovanni was a priest. In France the two most important composers of the first half of the fourteenth century, Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut, did not work as "musicians," but rather as "men of letters," royal secretaries and members of the chancery. But there are a number of names attached to polyphonic compositions, in manuscripts such as Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564,[130] and other late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sources, that appear to have been secular musicians attached to one or another of the royal and noble courts of France. In most cases virtually nothing is known of their lives and the attachments are teased out of mentions of noble lords or heraldic emblems in the texts they set,[131] while for others a small number of archival references do survive. We are probably dealing here with two or three generations of musicians following that of Machaut and Vitry, and though some of these

129 Cf. Maria Carmen Gomez Muntané, *La música medieval en España* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001); Gomez Muntané, *La música en la casa real catalano-aragonesa en los años 1336–1432* (Barcelona: A. Bosch, 1979); Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History*, Musicological Studies 32 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979); Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1939; reprint Geneva: Minkoff, 1972); John Bradley, "Musical Life and Culture at Savoy, 1420–1450," Ph.D. dissertation (City University of New York, 1992); Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge University Press, 1985); Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984; rev. ed. Oxford University Press, 2009); Ursula Günther, "Die Musiker des Herzog von Berry," *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963), 79–95.

130 *Olim* Musée Conde, MS 564 (*olim* 1047).

131 This is the case, for example, of Solage, the composer best represented (albeit mostly by *unica*) in the Chantilly manuscript; see Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, *Codex Chantilly. Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, MS 564*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), vol. 1: 131.

composers were surely clerics, their production was by and large entirely secular. The case of Jacob de Senleches might serve as an example. In 1382 he was a harpist in the service of Queen Eleanor de Aragon at the time of her death,[132] and a year later was in the service of Pedro de Luna, the future Benedict XIII, also as a harpist.[133] In both cases his work would have been that of a *joglar* or a minstrel. His music is among the most formidably complex music of the late fourteenth century, and in 1395 Benedict XIII granted him a canonicate at Saint-Martin de Tours. In his petition to the pope, Sencleches describes himself as a *clericus cameracencis*.[134] But his work for either the queen or the cardinal was apparently not that of a chapel singer. A number of others, Matheus de Sancto Iohanne, Jehan Symon de Haspre, Jehan de Haucourt, and Jehan Susay, were singers in the chapel of Clement VII and later Benedict XIII,[135] but later were connected, apparently not as chapel singers, with the French royal court and that of the Duke of Berry.[136]

What is behind this is a change in the way secular and religious lords supported music that took place in the course of the fourteenth century. For much of that century the chapels of most private lords not only were relatively small, but sang the divine Office (when they sang it rather than saying it) in plainsong. Their members were, so to speak, relatively low-paid employees of the court (with the exception of the lord's confessor or one or two other clerics who were regarded as "counselors"). The few minstrels, particularly in the case of lords who had an active liking for music, were as a rule better paid, and, as was the case in Burgundy, were considered "valets de chambre," which made them part of the immediate household.[137] They were often sent to the yearly minstrel schools, to learn new repertory and polish their performance.[138] Thus it is probably no surprise that a highly skilled composer who was also a harp player, such as Senleches, would choose to be a minstrel rather than a chaplain, even though he was apparently a cleric. The same might be the case with Solage (see note 131 above), if he is the Jehan Soulages who was a canon of Reims in 1388.[139]

132 Ursula Günther, "Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1964), 195.
133 Gomez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, 229–30.
134 Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 93, fol. 254r. Cf. Pervenche Briebglieb and Arlette Laret Kayser, *Suppliques de Benoît XIII (1394–1422)*, Analecta Vaticano Belgica 16 (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1973), 419.
135 Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, vol. I: 134. On Susay, Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 109, fol. 128v.
136 Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, vol. I, 136–37.
137 Cf. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, 123–130.
138 Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, 230.
139 Yolanda Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of the French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 128–29.

From the thirteenth century on, however, the Capetian kings of France, as well as the English kings, had begun to develop a policy of creating a court organization staffed with low-born but university-trained clerics, in an effort to impose the royal will upon the nobility,[140] a process that continued well into the fifteenth century.[141] The way they chose to reward their clerical administrators was through using whatever power and influence they had upon cathedrals and collegiate churches to provide benefices for these men. This is surely the way that men like Guillaume de Machaut and Philippe de Vitry began their ascent in their clerical (as opposed to "royal" careers). Prior to the thirteenth century, as a careful reading of Hélène Millet's study of the canons at the cathedral of Laon will show,[142] most of the canons of these cathedrals were members of the nobility, and the same can be teased out of the published volumes of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*.[143] The Avignon papacy, which was fundamentally a French court, began following the same model, particularly with the rise of the policy of reservation of benefices, where benefices held by members of the papal curia were to be collated by the pope rather than by the local chapter.[144] At first this policy affected only the higher colleges of the papal curia, the *promotores*, *abbreviatores*, and *scriptores*. But with the creation of a specific papal chapel in Avignon in the third quarter of the fourteenth century,[145] a circle of papal chaplains was created to officiate at papal ceremonies that included a group of singers who became essentially the pope's private chapel, as opposed to the *schola cantorum*, which remained in

140 Cf. Brigide Schwarz, "Über Patronage und Klientel in spätmittelalterlichen Kirche um Beispiel des Nikolaus von Kues," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 68 (1988), 285–310; Schwarz, "Klerikerkarrieren und Pfründenmarkt. Perspektiven einer sozialgeschichtlichen Auswertung des Repertorium Germanicum," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 71 (1991), 243–65.

141 This is carefully documented in Malcolm Graham Allan Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), and Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: The Universal Spider* (New York: Viking, 1971).

142 Hélène Millet, *Les Chanoines du Chapitre Cathédral de Laon: 1272–1412*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 56 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982).

143 Pierre Desportes and Hélène Millet, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae. Répertoire prosopographique des êveques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*. Tome I: *Diocèse d'Amiens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996); Pierre Desportes, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae. Répertoire prosopographique des êveques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*. Tome III: *Diocèse de Reims* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Vincent Tabbagh, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae. Répertoire prosopographique des êveques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*. Tome II: *Diocèse de Rouen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Henri Hours, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae. Répertoire prosopographique des êveques, dignitaires et chanoines de France de 1200 à 1500*. Tome IV: *Diocèse de Besançon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

144 A fundamental study of this, with extensive reference to earlier studies, is Hélène Millet, ed., *Suppliques et requêtes: Le gouvernement par la grace en occident (XII^e–XV^e siècle)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 310 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2003).

145 Franz X. Haberl, *Die römische "Schola Cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888; reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 23–25; Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual in Papal Avignon (1309–1403)*, Studies in Musicology 75 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1983), 49–57.

Rome.[146] It is at this point that papal singers began also to obtain the kinds of benefices that had been largely closed to singing men in cathedrals and collegiate churches in their lands – benefices that they could use not only as a source of current extra income through the *litterae de fructibus percipiendis* or privileges of absence, but as a living *in partibus* once their singing career in the papal chapel had come to an end. The onset of the Great Schism accelerated this process, as popes on both sides were in desperate need of financial resources and political support, particularly in regions where their authority was under attack. As the work of Javier Serra Estellés on the Spanish supplications to Clement VII shows, the late Avignonese papacy opened the floodgates to simony and bribery.[147]

The first generation of papal singers to take advantage of this institutional change is represented by a number of musicians whose works appear in the Chantilly Codex, and for whom we have some archival documentation, Matheus de Sancto Iohanne, Jehan Symon de Haspre, Jehan Haucourt, and Jehan Susay.[148] Matheus, who had served Enguerran de Coucy in England and Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, is documented in the papal chapel of Clement VII from 1332 to 1387. At his death, ca. 1391, he had benefices at Saint-Jean in Laon and Saint-Piat in Seclin.[149] Jehan Haucourt eventually became a canon of Laon, where there were also a number of musicians who had served Jean de Berry.[150] Jehan Symon worked for a time as a papal *scriptor*, and at his death in 1417 was a canon of Notre Dame in Arras;[151] while Jehan Susay was a canon of Evreux.[152]

A slightly later generation of papal singers who managed to obtain canonicates and prebends in a number of northern French churches (many taking advantage of their papal employment to hold a number of simultaneous benefices) eventually were also able, either by design or by simply following traditions learned in the service of the popes, to transform to some extent the institutional and liturgical culture of the churches to which they returned after serving in the papal chapel. In this they probably also made common cause with a number of musicians who had begun to filter into the chapters of

146 Cf. Haberl, *Die römische "Schola Cantorum"*, 17–19; Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, 47 and 54.
147 Javier Serra Estellés, "Acerca de las súplicas dirigidas a Clemente VII en Aviñón," in *Suppliques et requêtes*, ed. Millet, 193–205, esp. 194–95.
148 Cf. Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, I: 134.
149 Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 46–47; Andrew Wathey, "The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations," *Early Music History* 9 (1990), 147–51.
150 Yolanda Plumley, "Musicians at Laon Cathedral in the Early Fifteenth Century," *Urban History* 29 (2002), 19–34.
151 Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 105, fols. 148v–149r.
152 Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, registrum supplicationum 109, fol. 128v.

cathedrals and collegiate churches following service in the courts of the French royal family and the higher nobility, who from the second half of the fourteenth century had become patrons of polyphonic music, at first secular but increasingly also sacred.[153] The case of Cambrai and its environs in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is probably typical. During that period Gilles Flannel, called L'Enfant, Guillaume Du Fay, Jehan de La Croix, called Monamy, Mathieu Hanelle, Mathieu Thorote, Nicole Grenon, and Philippe Foliot were canons of Notre-Dame at Cambrai; Jehan du Riez, Jehan Wyet, and Vincent le Tavernier were canons of St. Géry; and Jehan Mauclerc was canon of Ste. Croix, both at Cambrai. Barthélemy Poignare, Jacques Ragot, Pierre Fontaine, and eventually Thorote, were canons of Notre-Dame in Arras; Jehan de Carnin, Jehan Dornart, and Jehan le Bonure were canons of St. Pierre de Lille. Gautier Libert was a canon of St. Piat in Seclin; and Jehan Rongh was a canon of St. Amé in Douai.[154]

In the cathedral of Cambrai, where the concentration of musicians among the canons was the greatest, there was also the unusual circumstance that Guillaume Du Fay had to spend more than a decade, between 1439 and 1450, in the cathedral because his position at the court of Savoy had become untenable on account of the schism between the Roman papacy and the Council of Basel. This resulted in a decided change in the nature of the musical repertory used in the cathedral, with a pronounced increase in the use of polyphony for the liturgy *in choro* and not just in the endowed services sung in side chapels.[155] The beginnings of such changes pre-dated Du Fay's arrival by more than a decade and can be traced to the arrival of Grenon as a resident canon in 1425. Symptomatic of this is that the master of the great and small vicars, essentially the singing men and liturgical staff of the church, had been a non-musician from 1399 to 1425, whereas from 1439 to 1441 and beyond, the master was virtually always a musician.[156]

153 In this case the repertories of French sacred music of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries are relatively opaque. Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115 and Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre 16bis reflect the repertory of the papal chapel in Avignon. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2216; Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici miscellany 213 are large anthologies of sacred, ceremonial, and secular music compiled in the Veneto in the 1420s and 1430s that do not give a clear view of the origins of their repertory or the route it took to the scribes. A good deal of this repertory is music composed in the papal chapel and a number of north Italian courts in the first three decades of the fifteenth century, but at the same time there is a considerable amount of northern French, Burgundian, and English music in these sources.

154 Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Institutional Politics and Social Climbing through Music in Early Modern France," in *Institutionalisierung als Process – Organisationsformen musikalischer Eliten im Europa des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Lodes and Laurenz Lütteken, Analecta Musicologica 43 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2009), 124–29.

155 Cf. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Connecting the Dots: Guillaume Du Fay and Savoy during the Schism," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 18 (2009), 11–32.

156 Planchart, "Institutional Politics," 132–34.

Still, the institutional inertia in Cambrai and elsewhere appears to have made the singing of polyphony *in choro* an exceptional procedure until the sixteenth century, and the polyphony was by and large restricted to the Ordinary. Cambrai's experiment in the 1440s with polyphonic music for the Propers, typified by Symon Mellet's copying of two large choirbooks with music for the Propers in 1449–50,[157] was apparently short-lived, since no trace of such practice can be found in the cathedral records after ca. 1480. But the surviving records, including choirbooks whose origins can be traced, point to the use of a polyphonic Ordinary on major feasts, such as had become the norm in most of the cathedrals and large collegiate churches by the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century.[158] Princely chapels, including the imperial and papal chapels, followed their own traditions, which varied with the tastes of the specific rulers. The papal chapel had its own internal tradition which was less dependent upon the whims of the individual popes,[159] but again here the compilation and creation of a consistent repertory of polyphony for its use did not take place until the 1480s and 1490s, as shown by Adalbert Roth,[160] which is consistent with what happened in most institutions at the time.

Foundations

One of the most powerful influences upon the development of music, particularly polyphonic music, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the rise of the idea of purgatory as a transitional stage where the souls of people who had died with venial sins upon their conscience suffered for an indeterminate but eventually finite time before being admitted into paradise, which even though of long tradition only became official doctrine following the teachings of Niccolò Durazzo, Thomas Aquinas,[161] and the canons of the Second Council of Lyons in 1272,[162] and was given a vivid presence in

157 Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 4656, fol. 30r; cf. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 225–26.

158 The only truly detailed study of this process anywhere is Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

159 But cf. Mitchell Brauner, "Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Papal Music and Musicians*, ed. Sherr, 167–74, and Richard Sherr, "A Curious Incident in the Institutional History of the Papal Choir," in ibid., 187–210.

160 Adalbert Roth, "Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel towards the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Repertory in Embryo," in ibid., 125–37.

161 Thomas Aquinas, *Contra errores graecorum*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Tournai: Declée, 1957), 109–13 (Durazzo); 173–74 (Aquinas); see also Jacques le Goff, *La naissance du purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981); English translation by Arthur Goldhammer: *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 284–86.

162 Ibid.; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XXIV: 42–50.

Dante's *Divina commedia* (1308–21). Since Carolingian times, founders and benefactors of monasteries and of collegiate churches had expected that the clergy of those institutions would offer prayers for the salvation of the founder's or benefactor's soul. But with the rise of confraternities in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century trade guilds, they began to endow services of suffrage for the souls of the members of the guild, and this custom was expanded to individuals, both clerical and lay, who had the means to institute and fund such endowments. These could be as modest as a single chanted antiphon on a given feast followed by a prayer for the benefactor, or as elaborate as a full Mass, with the proper illumination and the ringing of bells, which involved a considerable number of people as celebrants. Because the splendor and solemnity of the celebration were in themselves regarded as "a good work," they were considered to add to the efficacy of the suffrages offered in shortening the stay of the soul in purgatory, and this led to an increase in the demands for the use of chant and of polyphony in such services depending upon the financial resources available to the patrons who endowed them.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this was a universal practice in most of Europe, and the people who endowed such suffrages came from virtually all walks of life: the nobility and the upper clergy, who had resources to endow such services for their own spiritual benefit; the upper merchant class, which by the fifteenth century had similar resources as individuals of families; and the lower artisanal class who could endow such services through their guilds and confraternities. The situation in England in the fifteenth century has been described by Roger Bowers, and many of his conclusions can be applied to the late fourteenth century as well.[163] Studies of the practice on the Continent have not been carried out with any consistency. In describing the rise of polyphony at St. Donatian in the fifteenth century, Reinhard Strohm mentions one such endowment by the Italian merchant Dino Rapondi in 1417.[164] The terms of the endowment survive in the chapter acts of St. Donatian and are enormously detailed and extensive, requiring some four pages of close writing in the relatively large format manuscript in which they are entered.[165] The growth of the polyphonic repertory in Bruges, which Strohm rightly associates with such endowments, includes mostly individual antiphons before 1460, and an increasing use of Masses after 1460,[166] which follows the pattern one finds in churches in the Low

163 Bowers, "Obligation." 164 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 15.
165 Belgium, Bruges, Archief van het Bisdom, Reeks A 50, fols. 38v–40r.
166 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 29–30.

Countries, with the exception of Cambrai, where the increase of the repertory begins in the 1440s and has a different institutional origin.

The procedures used for such foundations varied within a limited number of possibilities. Apart from the continuing support of confraternities, which entered into an agreement with a given church and provided the funds for a given celebration each year on a continuing basis,[167] the most common manner was the granting of a specific amount of money that could be then invested and the proceeds used to pay for the celebration of a given Office according to the requests of the donor. This could be done by a living person, as was the case of Gilles Flannel, called L'Enfant, canon of Cambrai, who granted a sum of money to the cathedral in 1454–55, in order to raise the Feast of St. Sebastian to the rank of a double,[168] or the endowment, also at Cambrai, by Gilles Carlier of the lighting of candles during the singing (*decantatione*, implying polyphony) of the responsory "Homo quidam" in the nave of the church after compline in the feast of Corpus Christi and its octave.[169] However, such sums of money were more frequently left to the institution as a legacy in the last will of the founder. More durable, however, was for a benefactor, either a member of the local clergy or a lay person, to leave to the institution, in their will, a piece of real estate that would be leased and, in the case of vineyards and fields, cultivated by tenant laborers, and thus yield a substantial annual income that would then fund the services according to the directions of the testator. To this end a number of clergymen, as well as merchants, who were not normally landowners, tended to make in their last years purchases of such land as was available, sometimes pooling their resources, in order to provide the income for whatever foundations they sought to institute. This was the case of Guillaume Du Fay, who in 1470 and again in 1472 pooled resources with Gilles Dubois and then with Raoul Mortier, to purchase lands in Bersele and Wodeque that would provide the funds for the several foundations that he would eventually establish in his will and a few that he had established apparently on a year-to-year basis.[170] The complete records of such foundations are often extremely difficult to trace because the documentation for them was often recorded partially in a number of different places. Du Fay's case is typical of the problems of

167 Cf. Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 134–39; Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 60–73; Kristine Forney, "Music, Ritual, and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp," *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 1–57; this last dealing primarily with sixteenth-century traditions, which probably had roots in the fourteenth century.

168 Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 4661 (fabric) (hereafter *F-Lad* 4 G 4661), fol. 7v records the first receipt of 60s to this effect.

169 *F-Lad* 4 G 4661 (fabric), fol. 7v, 64s.

170 Cf. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Notes on Guillaume Du Fay's Last Works," *The Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), 60 and 64.

understanding such foundations. For a number of them, which he instituted out of his own funds and on a year-to-year basis, there is no record of the institution. Funds paid to the fabric for the lighting of candles or torches during the Easter morning Mass begin to appear in 1462–63,[171] the same year that Gilles Flannel gave the church 300 French *écus*, worth 600lb, for "certain devotions" in the chapel of Notre-Dame des Fiertes, in the cathedral.[172] But the beginning of Du Fay's celebration of the Mass and Vespers of St. Anthony of Padua in the Chapel of St. Stephen is recorded nowhere, although the comments both in his will and in the accounts of the executors indicate that they had been celebrated for some time during his life,[173] and their continuation was to be paid by funds from his legacy. The original record of the purchase of the lands in 1470 and 1472, surely a chirograph, does not survive, but all the lands given to the cathedral were administered by the office of the assize, and the first account that survives for that office after 1470, that for 1474–75, records the receipts from the lands purchased by Du Fay in Bersele and in Wodeque, each preceded by a short summary of where the lands were and what was their nature, who sold them, who bought them, and who the present tenants were.[174] The surviving accounts of the assize, until the time of the French invasion in 1579, include each of these entries, with the changing tenants and the income for each year, always with the small prefatory note largely unchanged. From the will it is clear that these monies were used to support a number of different foundations, but the description of what was to be done is only sketched in the will and passed over in silence in the accounts of the assize. The surviving obituaries of the cathedral supply further information: in Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale 39, an obituary for the choir of the cathedral in the form of a necrological calendar followed by summary description of some of the foundations, there appears on fol. 56v a description of Du Fay's foundation of a Marian Mass on August 5, while he lived, to be followed by obit after his death;[175] and on fol. 31v, on August 5 in the calendar, a description of the obit itself (that is, what was done after Du Fay died), with a detailed schedule of payments for all the participants and a note on the sources of the money. A second, fragmentary, obituary of the grand vicars,

171 Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 4669 (hereafter *F-Lad* 4 G 4669), fol. 15r, 6s.
172 Ibid., fol. 15v.
173 Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 1313 (hereafter *F-Lad* 4 G 1313), 73; cf. Jules Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai, ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame* (Paris: Damascène Morgand and Charles Fatout, 1880; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), 410.
174 Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 5431, fols. 4v and 23v.
175 On this see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 283–87, esp. 285; Rob C. Wegman, "*Miserere supplicanti*: Dufay, the Creation and Transmission of Guillaume Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum*," *The Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), 18–54; and Planchart, "Notes," 64–68.

connected with the chapel of St. Stephen: Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 2009,[176] indicates on fol. 6r some records of the Mass of St. Anthony of Padua, founded by Du Fay "in our chapel" (the chapel of St. Stephen was the chapel of the grand and small vicars, and Du Fay was buried there), indicating that a detailed description of the celebration appeared "at the end of the book" (*in fine librum*). The leaves with this description are lost, but something very close to what it must have contained can be found in the earliest account of the community of the grand vicars that survives from after Du Fay's death: Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 4 G 6749 (1500–01), fol. 5v, registers the yearly payment of 8lb 12s tournois, for the obit and all the other foundations by Du Fay celebrated in St. Stephen's Chapel, and described "at length" in the missals of the chapel.[177] The detailed expenses for the year in the same account, however, list, on fol. 9r, the payments for the composer's foundations: on 3 February a Mass for St. Waudru, on 10 February a mass for St. William, on Easter day a Mass in the chapel while the main Mass is celebrated in the choir, on 13 June a Mass for St. Anthony of Padua, the lighting of tapers every Saturday in the chapel when the "Salve regina" is sung in polyphony (*in decantatione Salve regina*), and for the twelve low requiem Masses celebrated on the second day of each month. The descriptions agree with what we know of Du Fay's provisions as mentioned in his will. It is important to note that the payments for the Masses for St. Waudru, St. William, and St. Anthony of Padua specify payments to the *socii cantantibus*, which indicate that they were sung in polyphony, and that for the Mass for St. Anthony of Padua indicates payments to the *magister puerorum* and the choristers, who in the will are required to sing in the Gloria of the Mass.[178] Thus the indications of the manner in which these foundations affected the performance of the liturgies, and the use of polyphonic music, are scattered in diverse sources, even in those few cases where all or the majority of the corresponding sources survive. In some cases, we can only draw an inference from the surviving material. For example, as noted above, Gilles Flannel founded an "augmentation" of the feast of St. Sebastian to the rank of a double in 1454–55. Given what we know about the institutional policies of the cathedral of Cambrai in the 1440s and 1450s, it would appear that most feasts of that rank were being celebrated with at least some polyphony. It is therefore suggestive that among Du Fay's surviving polyphonic

176 This is a collection of leaves from two obituaries, cf. Barbara Haggh, "Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral: Guillaume Du Fay's Foundations," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), 372–73.

177 Although a number of missals connected with St. Stephen's chapel survive, none of them post-dates Du Fay's death, and none has any descriptions of any foundations at all.

178 *F-Lad* 4 G 1313, 72.

Propers there is an Alleluia with an absolutely unique verse, "Sebastiani gratia."[179] The text has not been traced to any plainsong source, nor to any of the surviving Cambrai missals, but the music is that of Du Fay's setting of the Alleluia "O patriarcha pauperum" for St. Francis.[180] Cambrai did not celebrate St. Francis with anything other than the *commune confessorum*, and in fact Du Fay had written his polyphonic Propers for the saint to go with his collection of Franciscan music composed for the Basilica del Santo in Padua.[181] Creating a contrafactum for St. Sebastian, once his colleague Flannel had endowed the double for that saint, would have allowed Du Fay to include his work in the cathedral calendar.

Even the most cursory glance at the sections labeled "Pro luminarii sive assiziis festorum duplorum" and "obitus secundum ordinem kalendarii" in the accounts of the fabric of the cathedral shows between thirty and seventy yearly celebrations *in choro*, and these do not include the dozens of such celebrations – many of them with polyphonic music – in the side chapels, nor the several dozens of small endowments for Vespers that apparently included virtually always a polyphonic hymn with the choristers and their master, and "a motet."[182] By the third quarter of the fifteenth century, in a gradual process, endowments and foundations had altered the sound landscape of the cathedral of Cambrai, and probably almost every other northern French church, as well as many of the other cathedrals and collegiate churches throughout Europe, introducing a stream of polyphonic music which might have been greater or lesser depending on the wealth of the church and its surrounding environment, but which would have surely astonished anyone who had visited these same churches only a century earlier.

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179 Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 1375 (*olim* 88) (hereafter Trent 88), fols. 212v–214r. Guillaume Du Fay, *Opera Omnia* 04/09, ed. Alejandro Enrique Planchart (Santa Barbara, CA: Marisol Press, 2011), 8–11.

180 Trent 88, fols.192v–93r. Guillaume Du Fay, *Opera Omnia* 03/03, ed. Alejandro Enrique Planchart (Santa Barbara, CA: Marisol Press, 2011), 68–72. For the plainsong sources see Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien II*, *ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 703–05.

181 David Fallows, *Dufay*, rev. ed. (London: Dent, 1987), 182–91; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 143–44.

182 Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Choirboys in Cambrai in the Fifteenth Century," in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 138.

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· 22 ·

Notation II

LAWRENCE EARP

The notation of polyphony with distinct rhythms – a defining characteristic of European art music – began in Paris in the late twelfth century with the Notre-Dame school. The following chapter, which sketches the progress of rhythmic notation from its beginnings up to ca.1400, focuses principally on the central French development, but also takes account of the indigenous notational practices of Italy and England.[1]

Modal Rhythmic Ligature Notation

The notation of our earliest sources of Parisian *organa dupla* ingeniously borrowed figures from contemporaneous plainchant notation – representing single pitches as well as combinations of notes – to record two fundamentally different styles, *organum purum*, in which a rhapsodic duplum weaves its way above long extended notes of the cantus firmus, and discant, in which both voices are rhythmically measured.[2] A model of notational efficiency, the same stock of figures conveyed distinct rhythmic styles through the manner in

1 For surveys that include this entire period, see Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904); Friedrich Ludwig, "[Review of Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*]," in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 6 (1904–05), 597–641; Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953); Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1959; reprint New York: Pendragon, 1978); Joannes A. Bank, *Tactus, Tempo and Notation in Mensural Music from the 13th to the 17th Century* (Amsterdam: Annie Bank, 1972); Richard Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music: An Introduction* (London: Dent, 1983); Heinrich Besseler and Peter Gülke, *Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern 3/5 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1973); more recently, see Marie-Noëlle Colette et al., *Histoire de la notation du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Musique ouverte ([Paris]: Minerve, 2003); and Thomas F. Kelly, *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation* (New York: Norton, 2015). The standard large music dictionaries have more current detailed accounts: David Hiley and Thomas B. Payne, "Notation, §III, 2. Polyphony and Secular Monophony to c. 1260," in *NG2*, vol. XVIII: 119–29; Margaret Bent, "Polyphonic Mensural Notation, *c.* 1260–1500," in ibid., 129–40; Andreas Traub, "Notation. V. Modalnotation," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. VII: cols. 317–23; and Laurenz Lütteken, "Notation. VI.1–4. Mensuralnotation," in ibid., cols. 323–35. I am indebted to Margaret Bent, Karen Desmond, Michael Long, and Anne Stone for their critical readings of this chapter.

2 On modal rhythmic notation, besides the studies listed in note 1, see Ludwig, "Excurs II: Die der Darstellung des Rhythmus dienende Differenzierung in der Schreibung der Notengruppen in der Quadrat-Notation; die Herrschaft der modalen Rhythmen in den rhythmisch strengeren melismatischen Partien der Organa, in den ältesten Motetten in ganzem Umfang und in einigen Gattungen der 1 stimmigen Lieder," in

which the figures were deployed, whether in free combination or in regulated patterns. This "square notation" was placed on some of the earliest staves in the modern sense, with compressed horizontal lines drawn free of text-ruling lines.[3] Figure 22.1 shows a passage from the beginning of the verse of the Alleluia "Pascha nostrum" in the "Florence Manuscript," Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (finished 1248; hereafter *I-Fl* plut. 29.1).[4]

The beginning segment, with its widely spaced tenor notes, is set as *organum purum*, while the segment of close-packed tenor notes beginning at "nostrum" is discant. Figures utilized by the duplum voice in the *organum purum* section include individual pitches (square-note forms of the old *virga* and *punctum*), notes written together in ligatures (square-note forms of the old neumes *clivis*, *porrectus*, *climacus*, and *pes*), as well as "plicated" individual pitches and ligatures, marked by extra stems deriving from liquescent figures in plainchant. Vertical strokes appear at irregular intervals, some of them serving as pauses, others serving to coordinate text alignment in the two voices.[5] At "nostrum," the tenor begins to move at a regular pace, and now the figures in the duplum unfold in recognizable patterns: phrases begin with three-note ligatures (*scandicus*, *torculus*), followed by chains of two-note ligatures (either *pes* or *clivis*), with a few separate notes at phrase-ends, separated from the following phrase by a stroke indicating a pause.

The tenor is strictly regimented, an ostinato figure made up of two single notes and a rest, followed by three ligated notes and a rest. (The pattern begins with the second g of "nostrum"; the first ligature is split into a *pes* and a *punctum* to assure the correct placement of the liturgical text, the syllable "-strum.") Tenors in such discant segments may be organized as irregular

Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, ed. Luther A. Dittmer (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), vol. I.1: 42–57; Wolf Frobenius, "Longa – brevis," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972–), 4–6; Max Haas, "Die Musiklehre im 13. Jahrhundert von Johannes de Garlandia bis Franco," in *Die Mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, 89–159; Brian Gillingham, *Modal Rhythm*, Musicological Studies 46 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986); and especially Sandra Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Mensurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1991), which provides a thorough discussion of theorists and doctrine. Dorit Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250–1400*, Musicological Studies and Documents 46 (Holzgerlingen: American Institute of Musicology/Hänssler-Verlag, 1999) is a study of the philosophical and mathematical foundations of notational theory.

3 See Michel Huglo, "Règlement du XIII^{e} siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 121–33 and John Haines, "The Origins of the Musical Staff," *The Musical Quarterly* 91 (2008), 327–78.

4 On the date of the Florence codex, see Barbara Haggh and Huglo, "Magnus liber – Maius munus: origine et destinée du manuscrit *F*," *Revue de musicologie* 90 (2004), 193–230 at 225 and 230.

5 Such articulation marks also derived from plainchant practice; see Joseph Dyer, "A Thirteenth-Century Choirmaster: The 'Scientia Artis Musicae' of Elias Salomon," *The Musical Quarterly* 66/1 (1980), 83–111 at 105–10.



Figure 22.1 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana plut. 29.1, fol. 109r: Organum duplum, Alleluia v: "Pascha nostrum" (excerpt)

groups of single notes separated by a rest, or as short ostinato figures, such as the pattern seen in Figure 22.1.

The basic principle governing the more active rhythms of the duplum is the predictable location of points of arrival at the end of a ligature, which may mark the occurrence of a perfect consonance, the resolution of a cadence, or the end of a phrase. To explicate these intuitive principles, theorists laid out a system of schemata – the "rhythmic modes" – that epitomized the rhythmic practice of discant segments. A succinct summary of *sine littera* modal ligature notation, perhaps drawing on oral precepts, appears in early layers of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, thought to have been written in the 1230s.[6] The most

6 For an edition, translation, and discussion of the relevant passage, see Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997), 59–62, and the references given there; McKinnon's translation of the entire treatise is

important exposition of the system is the anonymous treatise "Habito de ipse plana musica," which has been dated variously from the 1240s to the 1270s: it is the principal source for the following summary of the six so-called "Garlandian" modes. A revision of this text in the 1280s was apparently the responsibility of one Johannes de Garlandia – apparently not the well-known grammarian – and until recently his name has most often been associated with the whole "Garlandian" complex of theory, enormously influential for the organization of later mensural treatises, among them Lambertus, Anonymous 1279, and Anonymous IV, culminating ca. 1280 in the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of Franco of Cologne.[7]

The first rhythmic mode (Figure 22.2) is made up of a series of long-short-long patterns, notated in chains of two-note ligatures, with the initial downbeat indicated by a three-note ligature or single pitch. This rhythm was utilized more than all others, such that Garlandian theory considered its even flow, the *longa recta* (two *tempora* in duration) followed by the *brevis recta* (one *tempus*), as the "correct" meter, or *recta mensura*. The second rhythmic mode is the opposite of the first, a series of short-long-short patterns, again notated in chains of two-note ligatures, with the final downbeat usually coming at the end of a three-note ligature.

The third rhythmic mode is indicated by an initial single note followed by chains of three-note ligatures. Garlandian valuation of this mode avoids any concept of meter: two breves combine durations to form a long (*longa recta*), but since a long before a long is "beyond measure" (*ultra mensuram*; see the fifth mode), that is, it is worth three *tempora*, breves closer to the end of a series must be performed longer to compensate, and thus the second breve's duration is doubled (Lambertus referred to this longer breve as the "other breve" [*brevis altera*], and this is the terminology that endured). The fourth rhythmic mode is the opposite of the third, standing as a placeholder to complete

in *SR*, 218–22. A distinction between notation *sine littera* (textless) and notation *cum littera* (with text) is a feature of Garlandian theory; see Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. Eric Reimer, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972), vol. I: 44 (chap. 2 §3). For a summary chronology of thirteenth-century notational treatises, see Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 92–102.

7 I retain the general attribution to "Johannes de Garlandia" here for ease of reference. The critical edition of the two essential text traditions is Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. Eric Reimer. A translation of the chapter on modal ligatures by McKinnon is in *SR*, 223–226. For discussion of Garlandian notational doctrine, see Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, vol. II: 43–68; and Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," *passim*. Pinegar regards the earlier treatise, "Habito de ipse plana musica," as an anonymous compilation, revised in the late 1280s for Jerome of Moravia's collection, and ascribed there to one Johannes de Garlandia; see also Pamela Whitcomb, "Teachers, Booksellers and Taxes: Reinvestigating the Life and Activities of Johannes de Garlandia," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 8/1 (1999), 1–13. As regards the influence of this treatise on subsequent writers, see the table comparing the order of chapters in several treatises in Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. Reimer, vol. II: 40.

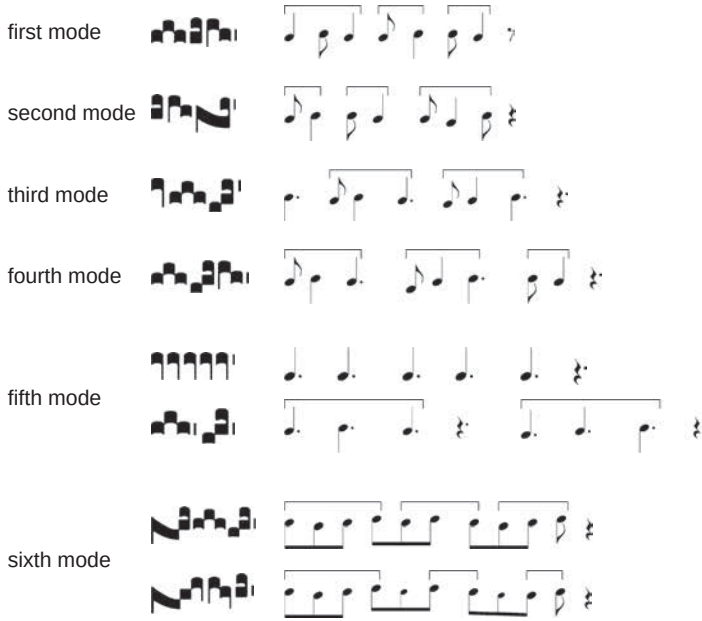


Figure 22.2 *Sine littera* ligature notation: the six rhythmic modes

a logical system. It has little practical application, since the resulting rhythm does not provide a suitable phrase ending. Its appearance in the theoretical system is a symptom of a theory that artificially codifies schemata long in practical use.

The fifth rhythmic mode, made up of a series of longs of three *tempora*, finds application mainly in tenor patterns, either in irregular groups, or patterned (two of many possibilities are given in Figure 22.2). The characterization of these longs as *ultra mensuram* ("beyond measure") in early Garlandian theory may derive from the presentation of plainchant *cantus firmi* in older discant segments as a series of long notes. Such undifferentiated longs were less important to the initial stages of mensural theory than the ongoing flow of the first mode: a long of two *tempora* followed by a breve of one *tempus*. In the 1280s, when Franco of Cologne codified a system that privileged triple meter over modal flow, he combined the old fifth and first modes and placed the new composite mode at the head of the series.[8]

8 See Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, CSM18 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 27; the passage is translated by Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 228; and discussed in Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 446–47.

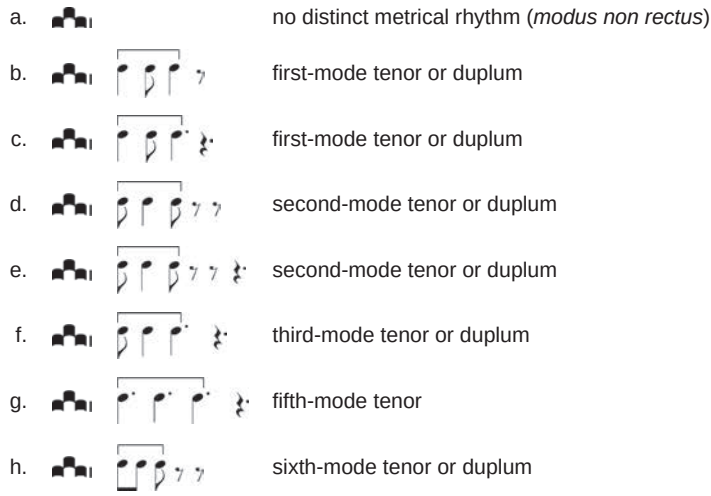


Figure 22.3 (a–h) Different valuations of a single figure in modal notation

The sixth rhythmic mode, finally, may be seen as the result of fracturing the first or second mode into a series of short notes, notated in chains of three-note ligatures, with the initial downbeat subsumed into a four-note ligature. Garlandian treatises advocate an alternative notation in ligatures with final plicas (discussed below).

The most striking characteristic of modal notation is that a limited number of figures stand for a wide variety of durations, all perfectly clear in a modal context. For example, a three-note ligature followed by a stroke indicating a rest can convey at least eight valuations according to context (Figure 22.3 [a–h]). Practical sources were quite content with this degree of ambiguity at least up to around 1250, perhaps a good bit later, for the system had the virtue of maintaining absolute purity and consistency of notational figures throughout all styles of organum; indeed, there was an elegant consistency of note forms throughout all musical notation, both measured and unmeasured.

Garlandian mensural theory, however, advocated artificial enhancement of the traditional ligature shapes to eliminate some of the ambiguities of the normal practice, by subtly changing the appearance of the beginning of a ligature.[9] For

9 Fritz Reckow, "Proprietas und Perfectio: Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert," *Acta Musicologica* 39 (1967), 115–43 at 118 and 127–28; Frobenius, "Proprietas," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972–); and Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 486–501. On the translation of "proprietas" as "property," see Haines, "Proprietas and Perfection in Thirteenth-Century Music," *Theoria: Historical Aspects of Music Theory* 15 (2008), 5–29.

example, if  indicates a first-mode pattern  , then the addition of a downstem at the beginning changes the "property" of the entire ligature into a second-mode pattern (an accidental property in the Aristotelian sense):  .

Further, by labeling the traditional ligature shapes of plainchant as "perfect," Garlandian mensural theory advocated the use of "imperfect" ligatures to clarify instances in which a ligature must be broken because of a unison pitch or syllable change. Thus,  if broken is clearer as a constituent element of a continuing pattern if written  , and if broken is clearer as  . The imperfect shapes do not alter the traditional durations, which still depend on the modal flow. It is probable, however, that Garlandian authority eased the way for the later acceptance of the artificial ligature shapes taught by Franco, for whom the term *perfectio* refers to whether or not only the last note of a ligature exhibits a standard plainchant shape, determining its valuation as a long or a breve. Both types of artificial ligatures proposed in Garlandian theory are rare in practical sources, apparently because other theorists soon proposed more durable solutions.[10] All of this argues that "early" Garlandian mensural theory is relatively late.

Textbook descriptions of the rhythmic modes may give the impression that music conceived under such constraints was monotonously repetitive. This is not at all the case, for composers were able to insert long notes at will by using single notes (sometimes graphically distinguished by a wider note head, the *duplex longa*), or by breaking up modal patterns (*fractio modi*). The most common means of inserting shorter notes into a given modal pattern was by means of the *plica*, the thirteenth-century square-note version of earlier liquescent neumes (*cephalicus* and *epiphonus*). While some forms, particularly plicated single pitches, may have indicated an embellishment (*longa florata*), plicas at the end of a ligature ingeniously allowed for an extra pitch ascending or descending, yet maintaining the patterned ligature chains crucial to recognition of the mode (an example can be seen in Figure 22.1, near the beginning of the discant segment: ).[11]

Some more complex instances of *fractio modi* use the thirteenth-century square-note form of the neume *climacus*, a series of descending notes now labeled *currentes* or *conjuncture*. In its standard form of three pitches  , it is a normal manner of grouping three descending notes, equivalent to the ligature  . More extended chains of *currentes*, however, can break up the

10 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 uses some Garlandian ligatures, with rests derived from Lambertus; see Reckow, "Proprietas und Perfectio," 142. Patricia Norwood, "Evidence Concerning the Provenance of the Bamberg Codex," *Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990), 491–504, places this source in the region of Paris, ca. 1275–1300.

11 On embellishments, see Edward Roesner, "The Performance of Parisian Organum," *Early Music* 7 (1979), 174–89.

modal flow, though as with ligatures the last note tends to be a point of arrival metrically, and hence faster notes occur at the beginning of the chain (a clear illustration of the fact that modal notation is not dependent on note shapes to differentiate rhythmic values). Truly problematic passages had to be taught and remembered.[12]

In sum, the modal system, with remarkable efficiency and compactness, was perfectly suited to the notation of all varieties of Notre-Dame *organum duplum* as recorded ca. 1225–ca. 1250. It was the impossibility of applying the notation to genres for which it was not devised that rendered it impractical in the long run.

Cum Littera Motet Notation

At the beginning of its history, the motet, an offshoot of Notre-Dame organum, is an entirely different matter from the perspective of notation. Through as much as the first sixty years of active development, the notation of texted motet voices was completely neutral as regards duration, a series of undifferentiated square forms of the old *virga* or *punctum*, each setting a syllable. Occasional *virgae* with double-width note heads (duplex longs) provide important specifics. In cases where there is a double notation of the music, both as a discant clausula in modal rhythmic ligatures and as a motet, the *sine littera* notation may appear to act as a key to the *cum littera* notation.[13] But many early motets lack the key, or at least such double notations are most often lacking in individual sources (only twenty-five of two hundred motets in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 1099 Helmstedt [hereafter *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.] have *sine littera* doubles in that manuscript). The theorists offer no help; though all of them distinguish longs and breves as simple figures in *cum littera* notation, in fact the practical sources do not, at least as late as the 1250s. The inescapable conclusion is that the rhythmic treatment of the earliest motets can be adequately derived from the declamation of the text itself, most often a sing-song (only later theorized as a rhythmic mode) that results from the alternation of strong and weak word

12 The theorist Anonymous IV paints a vivid picture of the oral practice of the early development and how difficult situations were handled; see Anonymous IV, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. Fritz Reckow, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 5 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967), vol. I: 49 §31–50 §5. The passage is translated in *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, trans. Jeremy Yudkin, Musicological Studies and Documents 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology/Hänssler-Verlag, 1985), 43; and Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 50–51 n. 30. For further discussion, see Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, 65–66.

13 On *sine littera* (discant) and *cum littera* (motet) notation, see above, n. 6; and Catherine Bradley, "Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript," *Early Music History* 32 (2013), 1–70.



Figure 22.4 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelf. 1099 Helmstedt, fol. 148r–148v. Motet "Gaudeat devocio / Nostrum" (excerpt)

accents organized by lines of controlled syllable-count and by the chiming of frequent rhymes. The opening of the motet "Gaudeat devocio / Nostrum" provides an example (Figure 22.4). (Figure 22.1 above gives the notation of the same music in *sine littera* discant notation.) The rhythmic patterns for the 7pp, 8p, and 5pp lines declaimed in the motetus voice are completely conventional, confirmed by dozens of examples; the broadened durations of the 4pp line before a cadence are assured by the syllable change in the tenor on "Nostrum," which arrives with the rhyming syllable of the word "fidelium" in the motetus.

Thomas Payne has convincingly argued that the creation of the motet was a product of collaboration between the composer Perotin and the poet Philip the Chancellor, seeing its conceptual beginnings in surviving "troped" forms

of Perotin's *organa quadrupla Viderunt* (1198) and *Sederunt* (1199).[14] One might push Payne's thesis further by locating the earliest notation of rhythm itself in the musical declamation of the rhythmic (not quantitative) poetry that was intensely cultivated at the end of the twelfth century, for poetic rhythm was available well before the ingenious but artificial development of modal ligature patterns to indicate rhythm in the largely untexted clausulae.[15] Thus the texted duplum voices of Perotin's *Viderunt* and *Sederunt* in *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., and the fragmentary texted four-voice *Sederunt* in Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 20486, preceded the familiar four-voice melismatic organa, and these prosulae can be considered surviving documents of the earliest compositional practice. Philip's poem, composed ad hoc, preserved the rhythms of Perotin's musical rhetorical units (*colores*) as they were worked out in rehearsal.[16] Initially, the other two organal voices (triplum and quadruplum) did not require separate notation, for they operated closely in tandem with the texted duplum through voice exchange and the application of musical analogues to rhetorical *colores*, and sang the same words as the duplum, as in a conductus. Once the work was complete, Philip's text alone was a suitably effective mnemonic to preserve it for performance. Such a scenario allows us to imagine Perotin's enormous *organa quadrupla* taking shape as a "work" within the constraints of the late twelfth century, perhaps years before the development of modal ligature notation.

The motet properly speaking soon developed to fix the advanced discant settings first heard in Perotin's *organa tripla*, for example, the "Ex semine" discant in the *Alleluia Nativitas*, rhythmized in Philip's poem "Ex semine Abrahe divino." It is here that the rigorous ostinato techniques seen in the tenor of Figure 22.1 first appear. Active creation of discant clausulae in the first years of the thirteenth century hastened the development of the conventions of ligature notation, which was a rational imposition on a pre-existing

14 Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Thomas B. Payne, Recent Researches in Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 41 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011), xi–xii, with editions of the organum prosulas, *Vide prophecie / Viderunt omnes*, 3–10 (two-voice) and 181–91 (four-voice); *De Stephani roseo / Sederunt*, 11–16 (two-voice) and 192–200 (four-voice), and its verse *Adesse festina / Adiuva me*, 17–27 (two-voice) and 201–15 (four-voice).

15 On the origins of modal rhythm in metric or rhythmic poetry, see Richard Crocker, "*Musica rhythmica* and *Musica metrica* in Antique and Medieval Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 2 (1958), 2–23; Margot Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises 'De rithmis,'" *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 164–90; Fassler, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony," *Speculum* 62 (1987), 345–74; Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 41 n. 11 and 134–36; and Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*, 29 and 53 n. 8.

16 On *colores*, see Guillaume Gross, "Organum at Notre-Dame in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Rhetoric in Words and Music," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 15 (2006), 87–108; and Gross, *Chanter en polyphonie à Notre-Dame de Paris aux 12e et 13e siècles*, Studia Artistarum, Études sur la faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). Gross, I believe wrongly, treats *colores* in terms of "absolute" music, independent of poetry.

and well-developed practice rooted in text declamation; the theory that logically organized the six rhythmic modes was of course later still.[17]

Franco of Cologne

By the last third of the thirteenth century several theorists proposed more refined rhythmic notations, and now well-organized treatises competed with one another to describe and even prescribe practice. All but one of these theorists continued to rely on the organizational concept of ongoing modal patterns, however. The key to greater flexibility lay in a new employment of the term "perfection," formerly associated with ligature shapes: in the 1270s Lambertus, in linking the term to the triple-*tempus* duration of the old "long beyond measure," evoked the Trinity, thereby lending an irrefutable argument to the priority of an overarching triple meter.[18] Lambertus did not take the step of jettisoning the rhythmic modes, however; indeed he pushed modal organization to an extreme, describing nine modes and insisting that the durations of notes in ligatures of more than three notes must reduce to a three-note modal unit.

Around 1280 or a little later, Franco of Cologne built on Lambertus and took the definitive step, creating a unified system of mensural notation capable of further development, at the same time rendering the old distinction between *cum littera* and *sine littera* notations irrelevant.[19] According to Franco, "the figures ought to indicate the modes and not, as some have

17 My hypothesis reconciles recent work on memory (Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), rhetorical *colores* (Gross, as note 16 above), rhythmic poetry (Fassler, as note 15 above; Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*; Ernest Sanders, "*Rithmus*," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995], 415–40), and earlier work on consonance (Sarah Fuller, "Theoretical Foundations of Early Organum Theory," *Acta Musicologica* 53 [1981], 52–84). This chapter does not allow the space to develop the proposal in detail (among its implications are a view that the discant segments in the earliest organa attributed to Leonin were not yet precisely measured); a first attempt at a summary is in Lawrence Earp, "Cathedral and Court: Music under the Late Capetian and Valois Kings, to Louis XI," in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. Simon Trezise, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 21–48 at 21–25. For an alternative view of the development of the rhythmic modes that presumes early written transmission, as well as the fundamental role of purely musical elements (unstable versus stable sonorities), see Roesner, "The Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*," in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1990), 41–74.

18 Lambertus/Aristoteles, *The "Ars musica" attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles*, ed. Christian Meyer, trans. Karen Desmond, Royal Musical Association Monographs 27 (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015). Pinegar addresses the link to the Trinity on several occasions; for example, see her "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 333 and 352.

19 Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, CSM 18 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974); trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 226–45. For a summary of arguments on the date of Franco, see Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 204 and 226–27.

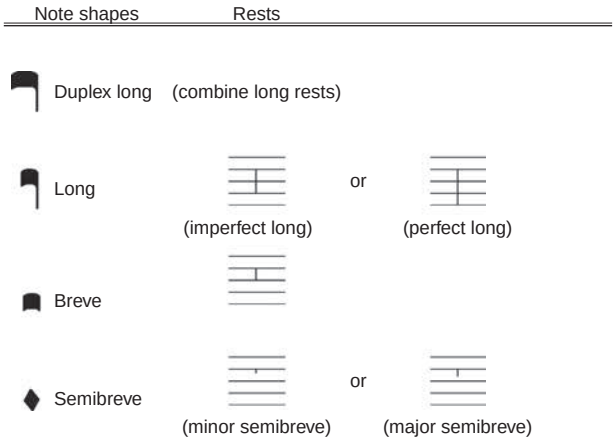


Figure 22.5 Franconian figures

maintained, the contrary."[20] Instead of the regular flow of modal patterns, henceforth each notational figure – single notes and ligatures alike – would carry an independent durational valuation as long, breve, or semibreve. In addition, Franco retained the duplex long, already in use as a simple figure since the earliest practical sources of Notre-Dame polyphony (Figure 22.5). That is not to say that Franco brings us to the modern state, orthochronic notation, in which the absolute proportional value of all figures is unambiguous. Rather, Franco calls for two qualities for each of the three note shapes derived from plainchant, the perfect or imperfect long (from the *virga*), the *recta* or *altera* breve (from the *punctum*), and the major or minor semibreve (the rhomboid shape found in the *climacus*).[21]

Franco's new interpretation replaced the Garlandian *recta mensura* – a *longa recta* followed by a *brevis recta* – with an overarching perfection in which a long is "imperfected" by a breve. Though the same rhythm results, the conceptual approach is strikingly divergent.[22] Further, by means of the sign of perfection

20 Trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 229. Compare the earlier view of Garlandia: "Unde figura est repraesentatio soni secundum suum modum" [a figure is a representation of sound according to its mode], Johannes de Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica*, ed. Reimer, vol. I: 44 (chapter 2 §2); see the discussion in F. Alberto Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," in *Die Mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 5 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 1984, 257–356 at 264; and Charles Atkinson, "Franco of Cologne on the Rhythm of Organum purum," *Early Music History* 9 (1989), 1–26 at 13–14.

21 The perfect and imperfect long correspond to the Garlandian long beyond measure and *longa recta*.

22 See Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," chap. 4; Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*, 35–47.

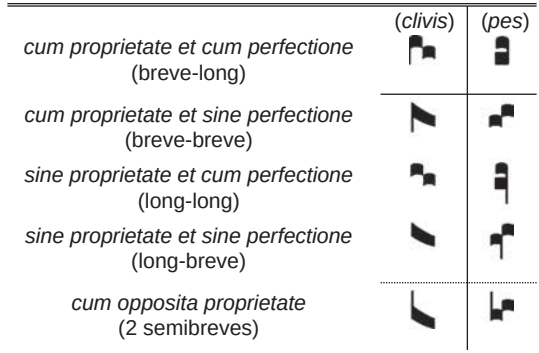


Figure 22.6 Franconian ligatures

or *divisio modi*, a short stroke between notes (soon replaced by a dot, to avoid confusion with a semibreve rest), it was easy to indicate novel patterns. For example, without the dot is , the old third mode (*longa perfecta*, *brevis recta*, *brevis altera*, *longa perfecta*); with the dot, is , the first long imperfected by the breve that follows, the second long imperfected by the breve that precedes. Such a mingling of the old first and second modes was impossible in the earlier notation.

At the level of breves and semibreves, simple rules dictate the valuation of either three (all equal) or two (minor-major) semibreves in place of a breve. No semibreve can appear singly, thus the operations of the primary level – the level formerly governed by the modes – do not yet transfer to the faster level of breve and semibreve. In other words, Franco does not imagine a breve "imperfected" by a single semibreve, nor can the second of two semibreves before a breve be considered a *semibrevis altera*.[23]

As in the Garlandian treatises, Franco's system of ligatures (Figure 22.6) distinguishes *proprietas* or "property" (the characteristic of the beginning of a ligature), but it only affects the valuation of the first note. Franco also retains the term *perfectio* or "perfection" to describe ligature forms – despite his previous appropriation of the term to characterize a superimposed triple

23 Franco's statement that "the valuation of semibreves and breves is the same as in the rules already given" (trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 232) has caused much confusion. Perhaps Franco means that the sum of semibreve values can serve to fill out perfections just as well as breves and longs; see Frobenius, "Semibrevis," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972–), 3a. As Bent has noted ("A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 4 [1978], 65–82 at 66), the problematic valuation of the semibreves in Franco later became the point of departure for three distinct treatments in France, Italy, and England.

meter – but now this quality refers to the shape of the end of a ligature, and only regards valuation of the last note. Any ligature "with property" and "with perfection," regardless of the number of notes, retains the normal shape of a regular two-note ligature given by plainchant with regard to its beginning and end, whether falling (*clivis*) or rising (*pes*); such a ligature strictly indicates a breve at the beginning and a long at the end. If there are notes in the middle, all of them are declared breves. The new consistency came at the cost of the purity of the old shapes, however. Now a simple three-note ligature in the old first mode () had to be notated "without property" to assure an initial long:  , while a three-note figure in second mode could not be indicated with a three-note ligature at all, because that would have called for a long as the middle note. Instead, the ligature had to be broken:  .

Another ligature form, *cum opposita proprietate* (with opposite property, abbreviated c.o.p.), was actually the first of the artificial ligature shapes widely utilized in practical sources, indicating various kinds of *fractio modi* in *cum littera* notation (there are several examples in *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.). Franco fixes the valuation as two semibreves (minor-major), and allowed this shape only at the beginning of a composite ligature. For example,  is parsed as two semibreves, the remaining middle notes breves, and the final pitch a long, determined by the presence of "perfection." Franconian rules for the valuation of ligatures were definitive: they applied until ligatures finally disappeared from musical notation in the seventeenth century.

With its overarching ternary meter, "perfection," which governs the corollary powers of "imperfection" and "alteration," coupled with a full complement of rests and rigorously consistent rules for ligature valuations, Franco's system allowed great flexibility. Instead of a uniform modal flow, Franconian theory subsumes rhythmic values into a "perfection," the value of a perfect long: "observe also that all the modes may run together in a single discant, for through perfections all are reduced to one."[24] Thus mode remained an organizing force, but it was now a matter of external observation, not necessarily immanent in the musical ductus itself. For a long time mode remained a useful horizon of expectation for underlying rhythmic organization in many genres, and as a part of the generally understood vocabulary of mensural theory.

24 Trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 238.

France from Petrus de Cruce to the *Libellus Cantus Mensurabilis*

The logical and flexible Franconian system, in a form somewhat expanded at the end of the thirteenth century by Petrus de Cruce, was the point of departure for far-ranging notational developments in Italy and England, as well as in France. Let us consider each country in turn, first the historically more consequential development in France.

To judge from treatises that began to appear in the 1320s, two issues preoccupied rhythmic theory in this period of transition, both of them bound up with the problem of interpreting semibreves: (1) an increase in the range of note values; and (2) efforts to accommodate duple meter. Tripla of motets attributed to Petrus de Cruce can have as many as seven semibreves in the space of a breve, the breve units separated as needed by dots of division (e.g., "Aucun ont trouvé / Lonc tans / Annun[ciantes]," Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 [hereafter *F-MOf* H 196], no. 254). Later, theorists report that an unnamed composer allowed up to nine semibreves per breve. The actual valuation of the shorter notes was left to the performer, who apparently realized them in groups of unequal twos (iambic or trochaic) and equal threes.[25] In modern editions, the most frequent realization of Petronian semibreves, as groupettes of equal short notes, is based on a mistranslation; it should be rejected, for it lacks context, with neither roots nor descent in notational theory.[26]

Petronian semibreves are not embellishments, for they carry syllables, and thus the speed of their delivery in performance could not have been faster than texted semibreves in earlier motets. As a consequence, the time required to enunciate so many syllables in the space of a breve entailed a palpable slowing

25 On the valuation of semibreves in this period, see Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962), 249–91; Frobenius, "Semibrevis"; Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), 35–47; Peter Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 115–24; Roesner, "The Music in MS fr. 146"; Robertus de Handlo, *Regule (The Rules)* and Johannes Hanboys, *Summa (The Summa)*, ed. and trans. Lefferts (Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Irmgard Lerch, "Mensuralnotation zwischen Ars antiqua und Ars nova," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2004), 5–38; and Heinz Ristory, *Denkmodelle zur französischen Mensuraltheorie des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, *Historische Darstellung*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen / Musicological Studies 81/1 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2004).

26 See the translation in Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 322–23, corrected in Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 35–47; see also Roesner, "The Music in MS fr. 146," 37 n. 173. Mistranslation of the same passage by Strunk was left uncorrected in McKinnon's revision, see *SR*, 274–75.

of the tempo. Paradoxically, a multiplication of fast values carried with it an increase in the duration of slow values.[27]

It is difficult to sketch the development of duple meter in the period leading up to the 1320s, apparently because academic music theorists in France were loath to sanction a meter not symbolically vouchsafed by the Trinity.[28] Yet in practice a handful of late thirteenth-century motets exhibit duple meter (two breves per long), for example "Amor potest / Ad amorem" (*F-MOf* H 196, no. 328), in which the upper voices often place four semibreves against two breves in the tenor.

Lambertus actually addressed the instance of two semibreves placed for a *semibrevis altera* (thereby designating the second breve in the pattern). He interprets two c.o.p. ligatures between two longs in triple meter: = or .[29] Franco found the very notion of two semibreves in place of a *semibrevis altera* absurd. Yet attention to such a counter-intuitive occurrence may be taken as indirect acknowledgement of a practice of binary rhythm that neither theorist was willing to accommodate in notational systems grounded upon the perfection of triple meter. Duple meter thus existed in performance for quite a long time before space was found for it in French notational theory.

Alongside Petronian motets and works in binary meter, there were also works that held to the old Franconian subdivisions, allowing only two or three semibreves per breve. In the face of this diversity, for the first time it became necessary to distinguish tempo according to style. For example, hockets called for fast-paced breves for their audible effect, because the semibreve rest could not be employed for durations smaller than the Franconian limit of three semibreves per breve. Some hockets were notated in longs and breves for clarity, requiring an even faster tempo in performance.

While the details remain murky, it appears that a bit before 1320 theorists entered upon two distinct paths in an effort to master these diverse practices. The first was a reactive approach, taking account of the range of durations in a work and categorizing performance by the tempo of the breve: slow for the Petronian style, fast for the Franconian style, and medium for whatever was

27 On the equivalent speed of fast notes in Franco and in Petrus, see Roesner, "The Music in MS fr. 146," 35a.

28 See n. 18 above; for Muris, see Johannes de Muris, *Notitia artis musicae . . .*, ed. Ulrich Michels, CSM 17 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), Bk. II: chap. 2, "De numeri ternarii perfectione," 67–70; the passage is trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 262–63. On hints of duple meter in early Italian notational theory, see n. 42 below.

29 Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode," discusses several examples; see also Frobenius, "Semibrevis," 2a; Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 210–11. Note that Lambertus allowed either trochaic (major-minor) or iambic (minor-major) readings of pairs of semibreves.

left, including duple meter pieces. Traces of this informal theory survive in Jacobus and in an otherwise unattested authority cited in 1326 by the English theorist Handlo, one Petrus le Viser.[30] The second path was a more proactive approach – truly an Ars Nova – creating a new system to resolve the nagging theoretical problems of triple and duple meter, as well as variable tempos, once and for all.

Thus there are two essential formulations of the early notational theory of the Ars Nova. Doctrines associated with Philippe de Vitry are more practical, accepting a varied *status quo* – the diverse works of the sort found in the *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 [hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146]) – and attempting to organize these materials, taking account of both old and new conventions.[31] For example, Vitriacan theory describes the old Franconian tempo still in use as *tempus perfectum minimum*, as exhibited in the *Fauvel* motet "Quant je / Bon vin / Cist chans" (*F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 45r), yet it also introduced the completely novel possibility of changing from triple to duple mensuration by means of red notation, as found in the tenor of the motet "Garrit gallus / In nova / Neuma," likely Vitry's own work (*F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 44v). While Vitriacan theory codified both triple and duple mensurations as regards longer values, it made do with set patterns for the shorter values, all still notated as unsigned semibreves (stems could signal exceptional rhythms). The normal valuations for the performance – the "prolation" – of the two, three, four, five, or six semibreves in *tempus imperfectum maior* are particularly important in practice, for they remain consistent throughout a large repertory of Ars Nova motets (Figure 22.7).[32]

The formal and synthetic theory that the mathematician and astronomer Johannes de Muris presented in the *Notitia artis musicae* (1321) is more radical, a bold vision ripe with potential for future development, but one less tied to

30 Jacobus of Liège, *Speculum musicae*, *liber septimus*, ed. Roger Bragard, CSM 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), chapter 17; Karen Desmond, "New Light on Jacobus, Author of *Speculum musicae*," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 9 (2002), 19–40. On Petrus le Viser, see Frobenius, "Prolatio," 3b–4; and below, n. 65.

31 On "renovation" vs. "innovation," see Lefferts, "An Anonymous Treatise of the Theory of Frater Robertus de Brunham," in *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, vol. III, ed. Michael Bernhard (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001). On Vitriacan teachings associated with the treatise *Ars nova*, see Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 293 and Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–86), 23–50. John Gray isolates the stable segments of the tradition, ultimately favouring a common source (now lost) for the extant traditions; see "The Ars Nova Treatises Attributed to Philippe de Vitry: Translation and Commentary," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1996), vol. II: 41–83. The view of fragmentary survival of a formal treatise by Vitry is further supported in Desmond, "Did Vitry Write an *Ars vetus et nova*?" *The Journal of Musicology* 32/4 (2015), 441–93.

32 On the term "prolation" (*prolatio*) in this sense, see Frobenius, "Prolatio," 7b–8; Frobenius, "Semibrevis," 7a; and Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 294–96.

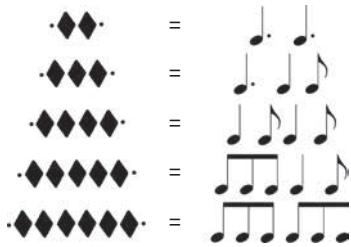


Figure 22.7 Unsigned semibreves in *tempus imperfectum maior* (Vitriacan doctrine)

contemporary practice.[33] In his *gradus* system, Muris logically extended Franco's basic principles of imperfection and alteration to the longest and shortest values, over four degrees unified through minim equivalence: maxima-long, long-breve, breve-semibreve, and semibreve-minim (the minim, soon accompanied by its rest, were new shapes needed for consistency, and allowed for full flexibility, making the old formulas for unsigned semibreves irrelevant). Each degree also admitted imperfect relationships (Figure 22.8). Muris's new system marks a dramatic advance: the boxed-in part of Figure 22.8 indicates the relationships codified in Franco (the rhythmic modes had governed perfect modus alone).[34]

A simply worded and less polemic formulation of Muris's tenets, the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis secundum Johannem de Muris* (ca.1345–50?), was very widely transmitted, and henceforth served as the practical foundation of notational theory.[35] Finally, several Italian treatises of the second half of the fourteenth century abstracted the most practical permutations of the *gradus* system, the so-called four prolations (Figure 22.9).[36]

33 For Johannes de Muris's self-identification as a musical amateur, see Johannes de Muris, *Notitia*, ed. Michels, 106 (§§2–4). Page, *Discarding Images*, 113 and 116, considers evidence that Muris did compose.

34 The tension between the two formulations of early Ars Nova notational theory is also seen in the fact that despite the invention of the minim stem and rest, departures from the established rhythmic patterns for unstemmed semibreves are surprisingly rare at first (cf. Rudolf Bockholdt, "Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis: Zur Entstehung der Mensuraltheorie der Ars nova," *Musikforschung* 16 [1963], 3–21). What does happen is that the standard patterns can now be split between voices, allowing for the easy notation of hockets that articulate periodic structures.

35 Michels gives full evidence for direct attribution of the *Libellus* to Johannes de Muris; see *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*, 27–33 and 39–40. Doubts are expressed by Jan Herlinger, "Music Theory of the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, New Oxford History of Music 3/1 (Oxford University Press, 2001, 244–300 at 287 n. 90 and Christian Berktold: Johannes de Muris, *Ars practica mensurabili cantus secundum Iohannem de Muris: Die Recensio maior des sogenannten "Libellus practice cantus mensurabilis*," ed. Christian Berktold, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 14 (Munich: Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1999), xxix n. 78.

36 Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 325.

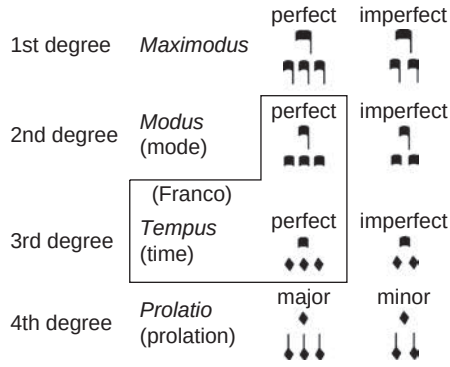


Figure 22.8 The *gradus* system of Johannes de Muris

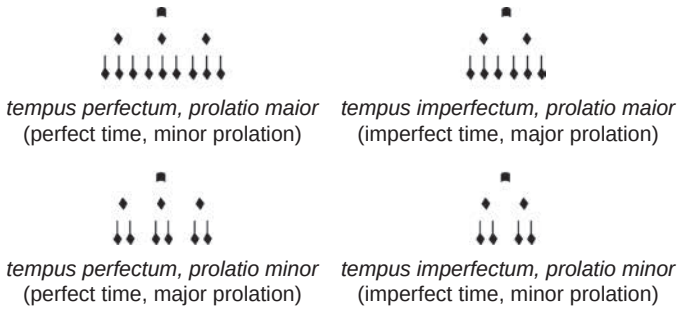


Figure 22.9 The four prolations, consolidated after the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* (ca. 1345)

To judge from contemporary reactions, Muris's most radical move was in positing that triple and duple systems could be reconciled, for with minim equivalence, three times two (a perfect larger unit and imperfect smaller units) and two times three (an imperfect larger unit and perfect smaller units) both equal six. This hypothesis, already present in the *Notitia*, is commonly known as *mutatio qualitatis*, the term applied in the *Libellus* (Figure 22.10). Jacobus and Marchetto (and others) forcefully argued that this doctrine ran counter to the received Franconian foundations of notational theory, in which an imperfect long has but two-thirds of the duration of a perfect long, and thus perfection and imperfection could never be reconciled (Figure 22.11).[37]

37 Christian Berger, *Hexachord, Mensur und Textstruktur: Studien zum französischen Lied des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 35 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 30–37 and Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*, 96–99. On Marchetto's objections, see below, n. 50.

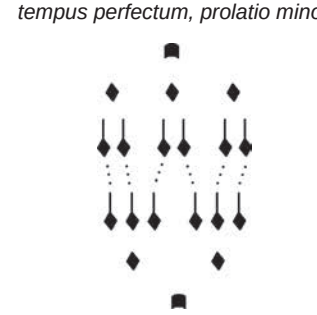


Figure 22.10 *Mutatio qualitatis* according to the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*

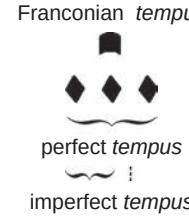


Figure 22.11 Incompatability of imperfect tempus within the Franconian tempus

It took quite a few years before the new notation was fully implemented in composition. Even Johannes de Muris himself was not fully on board in 1321, for despite the logic of the *gradus* system, with its four perfect and four imperfect degrees, detailed examples in the *Notitia* never go beyond the orthodoxy of triple meter grounded in the Trinity.[38] In fact, it took some twenty-five years, until the mid-to-late 1340s, before French notation had finally caught up to most of the potentialities latent in Muris's conception, a moment captured in the *Libellus*.[39] There were at least four aspects of the theory that were in flux in these interim years.

38 Michels, *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*, 35; Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*, 92–95.

39 *MachC* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1586), most of it copied by 1349, documents this moment; see Earp, "Interpreting the Deluxe Manuscript: Exigencies of Scribal Practice and Manuscript Production in Machaut," in *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, ed. John Haines, Musicalia Medii Aevi 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 223–40 at 236–37.

The first involves an uncertain interface with the earlier theory of tempo. In theory at least, the wide range of note values bound together by minim equivalence in the *gradus* system eliminated the need for tempo distinctions. For example, thanks to the development of the minim and its rest, hockets could now be notated in short values, opening up new possibilities of articulation – very soon realized – that had not been available to even the most modern of the *Fauvel* motets. In other genres, however, tempo distinctions maintained themselves for some time. Chronology alone does not explain why some Machaut *lais* are notated in *modus*, others in *tempus*; such disparities continue through the Ars subtilior into the early fifteenth century.

Second, consistent application of the rules of imperfection and alteration at the prolation level took many years to implement. Rhythms at the prolation level, now notated with stems and utilizing minim rests, tended to adhere to the old patterns for unsigned semibreves laid out in earlier Ars Nova treatises (Figure 22.7).[40] Systematic exploration of the many possibilities opened up by the application of imperfection (trochaic rhythms) versus alteration (iambic rhythms) are first seen in chansons of the 1340s. The monophonic virelais of Machaut, for example, are veritable *études* in prolation.

Third, practical exploration of the reconciliation between perfection and imperfection, called *mutatio qualitatis* in the *Libellus*, in which the breve of *tempus perfectum*, *prolatio minor* is equivalent in duration to the breve of *tempus imperfectum*, *prolatio maior* (Figure 22.10), is not seen until shortly before 1350 in the triplum and cantus of Machaut's rondeau "Rose, lis," which exhibit constant shifts between these mensurations. Even seventy years later, composers had not tired of this sort of rhythm – the modern understanding of the term "hemiola" – now notated unambiguously with coloration: it provides rhythmic drive in dozens of early fifteenth-century chansons, for example, Du Fay's rondeau "Ce moys de may."

Finally, the vastly expanded possibilities of imperfection found in the *Notitia*, as well as the first recognition of syncopation, are properties of the notational system that had indeed reached a sophisticated stage by the time of the *Libellus*, but which had vast further potential, to be explored later in the Ars subtilior.

The *Libellus* thus marks a "classic" state of mensural notation, the notation utilized in the works of Machaut and his contemporaries. This was the form of

40 Bockholdt, "Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis."

French notation that eventually spread to Italy and England, redirecting indigenous notational systems in those countries towards the principles of Johannes de Muris. It also remained as the durable core of mensural notation in the early fifteenth century, after the surface extremes of the Ars subtilior had been pruned away.

Trecento Italy

In the 1310s in France, the focus in practical works for advances in notation was on the metrical relationships of the long values, put to symbolic use in motets such as Vitry's "Garrit gallus / In nova / Neuma."[41] In Italy, the primary focus was on the performance of short values, the *fioriture* of the earliest madrigals. Judging from extant treatises, Italian theorists were ahead of the French in codifying duple meter, for early Italian notational theory did not hinder its own development by over-speculating on the mystical significance of the Trinity for musical rhythm.[42]

Although we lack practical sources for the earliest madrigals, an anonymous literary treatise, the *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis* (ca. 1330?), describes their rhythmic style: perfect time and *aere italico* (Italian air) prevail, contrasting with passages in *aere gallico* (French air), especially at the ritornello.[43] The national descriptors differentiate an Italian style of subdivision, emphasizing quick binary values, seasoned with a French style of subdivision emphasizing ternary values. It is thus no accident that passages juxtaposing segments in *sesquitertia* proportion (4:3) are distinctive features of some extant early madrigals transmitted by Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana, Rossi 215 (ca. 1350; hereafter *I-Rvat* Rossi 215).[44]

41 See Earp, "Cathedral and Court," in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. Trezise, 29–30.

42 Discussion of binary rhythm in an Italian context may extend as far back as the *Practica artis musice* by Amerus or Aluredus (1271), although Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships," 109–15, does not believe that Amerus deals with duple rhythm at all (see esp. 111–12 n. 18). For orientation to Italian notational theory, with discussion of all of the theorists, see Gallo, *La teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del xiii all'inizio del xv secolo*, Antiquae Musicae Italicae Subsidia Theoretica (Bologna: Tamari, 1966); an excellent more recent survey is Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 304–33. On the Trinity, see nn. 18 and 28 above.

43 Thorsten Burkard and Oliver Huck (eds.), "*Voces applicatae verbis*, Ein musikologischer und poetologischer Traktat aus dem 14. Jahrhundert (*I-Vnm* Lat. Cl. XII.97 [4125]), Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar," *Acta musicologica* 74 (2002), 1–34 at 18 (§6). For an English translation of the passage on madrigals, see Marco Gozzi, "On the Text–Music Relationship in the Italian Trecento: The Case of the Petrarchan Madrigal *Non al so amante* set by Jacopo da Bologna," *Polifonie* 4 (2004), 197–222 at 212.

44 Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 56, 81 and 86–87 and Huck, "'Modus cantandi' und Prolatio. 'Aere ytalico' und 'aere gallico' im Codex Rossi 215," *Die Musikforschung* 54 (2001), 115–30.

The first developed system of Italian notation is described in the *Pomerium* of Marchetto da Padova (ca. 1318–19).[45] As in Petronian notation, the Franconian *tempus*, the breve, is the point of departure, and short notes that constitute a breve value are demarcated by dots of division, called *pontelli*, or by larger note values. Marchetto, however, pays equal attention to triple and duple division of the breve, starting either with perfect tempus or with imperfect tempus (two-thirds as long, see Figure 22.11), and then organizing shorter values in a series of divisions that subdivide the breve by more and more unsigned semibreves. Although Franconian doctrines of imperfection or alteration continue to operate at the level of *modus*, that is, the relationship of longs and breves, there is no imperfection of the breve in a perfect *tempus*. (Also on the level of the perfect *tempus*, the second of a pair of semibreves is doubled, as if "altered," contrary to French rules, which permitted alteration only before a note of the next higher value: =). The system of Johannes de Muris cumulates minims, transferring imperfection and alteration to all levels, while the system of Marchetto maintains the Franconian breve as the constant, which is then further subdivided (Figure 22.12).

If a breve value in a division has fewer than the maximum number of semibreves, rules govern their valuation. For example, in *senaria perfecta*, Marchetto resolves as , calling such conventional valuations *via naturae* (by nature).[46] Other possibilities – *via artis* (by art) – are freely available, but must be tagged by stems. For example, could be indicated with . Because the *pontellus* crucially demarcates breve "bars," there can be no dot of addition. Values easily notated with the dot in French notation require single-pitch ligatures or other special shapes, such as a semibreve with oblique *cauda*. For example, in *senaria perfecta* or *duodenaria*, or may indicate . Further, syncopation across the tempus boundary is nearly impossible, though some Italian scribes utilized an elaborate single-pitch ligature shape to indicate in effect a tie across the *pontellus*.[47]

Another characteristic of Italian notation is the simple identification of a mensural division by means of a meter signature consisting of a letter or

45 Marchettus of Padua, *Pomerium*, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi, CSM 6 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961). The long section on divisions of the imperfect breve is trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 251–61. On the date see Herlinger, "Music Theory of the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," 279 n. 80. There is a lengthy overview of Marchettan notational theory in Gallo, *La teoria della notazione in Italia*, 39–49. On Marchetto's sources, such as the treatise of one Guido frater, see Gallo, *La teoria della notazione in Italia*, 25–35, and Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 308.

46 Passages *via naturae* are rare in extant practical sources; see F. Alberto Gallo et al., "La notazione 'italiana' del Trecento," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 39 (2004), 235–70.

47 Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 102–04.

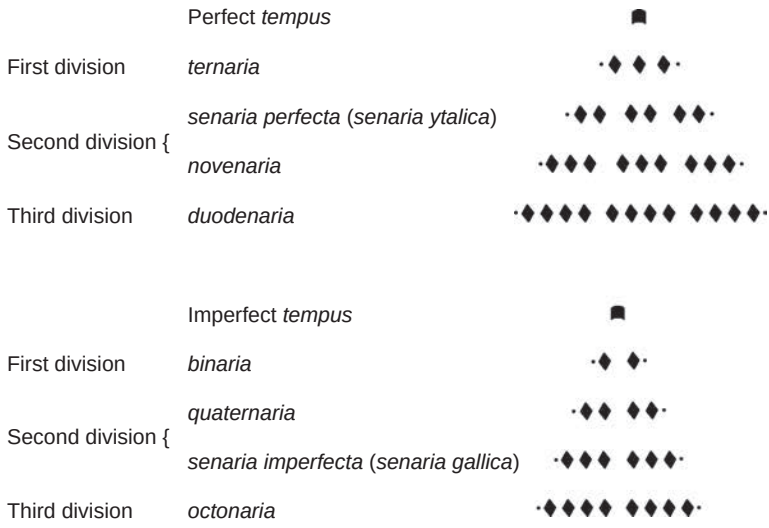


Figure 22.12 Marchettan divisions of the Franconian tempus

Perfect *tempus* divisions	
·t·	*ternaria*
·p· or ·sp· or ·y·	*perfecta, senaria perfecta, ytallica*
·n·	*novenaria*
·d·	*duodenaria*

Imperfect *tempus* divisions	
·q·	*quaternaria*
·si· or ·sg·	*senaria imperfecta, senaria gallica*
·o·	*octonaria*

Figure 22.13 Italian meter signatures

two (Figure 22.13), a convenience found in our earliest practical source, *I-Rvat* Rossi 215.[48] (Although French Ars Nova theorists proposed various meter signatures, for the most part they are absent in French sources until the very end of the fourteenth century.) Again, the early madrigal was well served, because simple meter signatures allowed both for easy changes of mensuration at the ritornello, and for the occasional alternation of "Italian" divisions (·d· and ·o·) with "French" divisions (·n· and ·sg·), a style termed *cantus mixtus* by Marchetto.

48 Marchetto urged use of ·p· (*perfectus*), ·i· (*imperfectus*), and, to distinguish different divisions of imperfect time, ·y· (*ytallica*), and ·g· (*gallica*). The names in Figure 22.13 are found in some later treatises; see Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 321.

As in France just before the Ars Nova, probably an informal theory of varied tempos initially organized the performance of short values; thus the proportional relationships among the divisions were more variable in practice than Marchetto acknowledged. Despite his authority, it appears that the varied practices he aimed at reining in were too intractable to submit in the end.[49] In Marchetto (Figure 22.12), the duration of the six *semibreves minimae* in *senaria perfecta* is a third longer than the duration of the six *semibreves minimae* in *senaria gallica*, because the Franconian imperfect breve, the point of departure for *senaria gallica*, is a third shorter than the perfect breve (Figure 22.11). Yet there are works in *I-Rvat* Rossi 215 that play on the potential durational identity of the divisions *senaria perfecta* and *senaria gallica* through minim equivalence, the *mutatio qualitatis* of the French system.[50]

Several other tempo relationships among the divisions are documented in the *Rubrice breves* (ca. 1350; see Figure 22.14).[51] Here the relationships between *duodenaria*, *novenaria*, *octonaria*, and *senaria gallica* are as in Marchetto, but the speed of the breve in *senaria perfecta* is one-and-a-half times faster, for the six semibreves in *senaria perfecta* move at the same rate as the first six of the twelve semibreves in *duodenaria*. Further, the breve of *quaternaria* stands completely apart, a bit faster than the breve of *senaria gallica* (the breve of *quaternaria* is imperfect with respect to the breve of *senaria gallica*, subtracting a third of its value).[52] In addition to the relationships set out in Figure 22.14, the *Rubrice breves* acknowledges a slower-paced *duodenaria* (with more than twelve semibreves in the division, as in the ritornello of Jacopo's madrigal "Non al suo amante"), a slower-paced *senaria perfecta*, and two additional tempos for *senaria gallica*, one of them fast enough to accommodate the practice of *mutatio qualitatis*.[53]

49 On Marchetto's authority for later theorists, see Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 316–18 and 332.

50 Marchetto was aware of the French speculation on *mutatio qualitatis* and forcefully opposed the notion; see Marchettus of Padua, *Pomerium*, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi, 160 (§35, 6–7) and 170–1 (§41, 1–12: "Destructio cuiusdam erroris"), trans. Strunk, rev. McKinnon, in *SR*, 253 and 256. The passage is discussed in Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 51–52; and Huck, "Notation und Rhythmus im Tempus perfectum in der Musik des frühen Trecento," *Analecta musicologica* 37 (2005), 41–56.

51 Giuseppe Vecchi, ed., "Anonimi *Rubrice breves*," *Quadrivium* 10 (1969), 125–34. Gallo entertains the notion of ascribing the treatise to Marchetto, see "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 318. M. Gozzi, "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation Part 1: Sections I–IV.1," *Recercare* 13 (2001), 5–78, provides a detailed discussion of this important treatise.

52 The precise relationship of *quaternaria*, not directly expressed in the *Rubrice breves*, follows Nino Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars nova," *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955), 57–71 at 59–60 n. 3 and Gozzi, "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation," 15.

53 For *Non al suo amante* and other practical examples of these tempo relationships, see Gozzi, "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation," 16; and Gozzi, "On the Text–Music Relationship," 205–12 and table, p. 222.

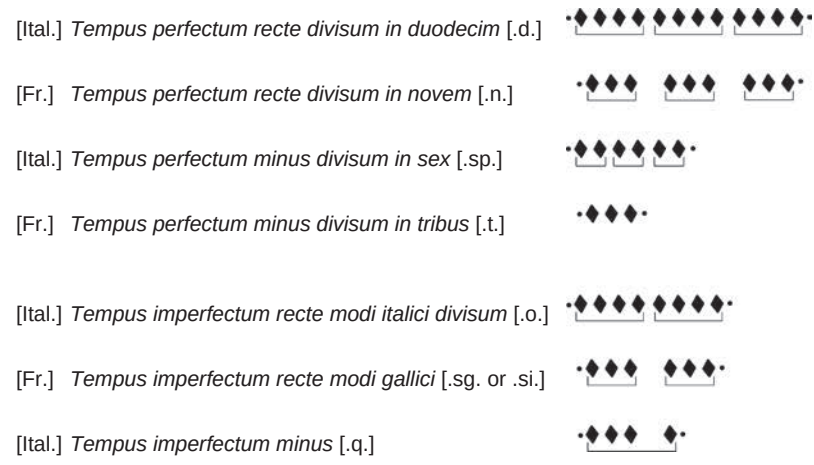


Figure 22.14 *Mensurae* according to the *Rubrice breves* (ca. 1350)

All of this changes again in the second half of the fourteenth century, as the Italian divisions were assimilated to the four patterns of tempus and prolation that Italians had distilled from the *Libellus* (Figure 22.9), observing minim equivalence and of course notating the divisions without *pontelli* (Figure 22.15).[54] The two remaining Italian divisions, *octonaria* and *duodenaria*, were obtained by translation into the so-called longa notation found in many late sources. Here scribes employed *modus* in combination with *tempus imperfectum prolatio minor* (thereby avoiding issues of imperfection and alteration), in other words doubling or tripling units of *quaternaria*, using *modus imperfectus* for *octonaria* and *modus perfectus* for *duodenaria*.[55]

Giovanni's madrigal "Nascoso el viso," for example, is found (1) in *I-Rvat* Rossi 215 in Italian notation with division signs, *pontelli*, and many unsigned semibreves; (2) in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26 (hereafter *I-Fn* Pancia. 26) in a French/Italian mixed notation without *pontelli*, the first part in *modus*, the second part in *tempus*;

54 Gallo, *La teoria della notazione in Italia*, 79–86; and "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 325. An example is Johannes Vetulus de Anagnia, *Liber de musica*, discussed in Gozzi, "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation," 17–20. Prosdocimus' late defense of the Italian system argues for still different relationships; see Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 320; and Gozzi, "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation," 20–22 and 44–50.

55 Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 63–92; Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 326. For a complete list of works in longa notation, see Gozzi, "La cosiddetta 'Longanotation': nuove prospettive sulla notazione italiana del Trecento," *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995), 121–49 at 124–25.

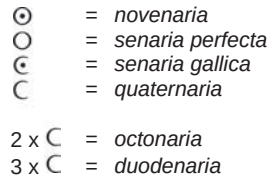


Figure 22.15 The Italian divisions and the four prolations

and (3) in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi codex; hereafter *I-Fl* Pal. 87) in Italian notation with division signs, *pontelli*, all minims with stems, and some passages in diminution.[56] The two later versions probably reflect the efforts of scribes independently interpreting and modernizing unfamiliar contexts found in now-lost early sources. Thus notational conventions, even the note shapes themselves, were subject to geographical and chronological variability. In many cases our only source for a given composition may be a botched translation of an earlier form, the attempt of a later scribe, not necessarily knowledgeable of the intent of an early source, to interpret and resolve ambiguous aspects, such as the older unsigned semibreves.[57]

French notation had something to learn from certain features of the Italian system, namely, its ease of notating proportional relationships that did not depend on a fixed minim value. But the French system, in dispensing with the need for *pontelli*, ultimately proved more suitable to an age increasingly invested in rhythmic complexity. Thus mixed notation, characteristic of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Italian sources, came to a milieu eager to expand notational possibilities, offering in a sense the best of both worlds. Ultimately, in the face of an increasing international influence and the simpler rhythmic style of the early fifteenth century, the practice of the *Libellus* would win the day.

England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, polyphonic notations in the British Isles from time to time received impulses from ongoing French developments: the modal ligature notation of Notre-Dame

56 Ibid., 143–44 and "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation," 65–73. "Nascoso el viso" is found in *I-Rvat* Rossi 215, fol. 18v–19r; *I-Fn* Pancia. 26, fols. 49v–50r; and *I-Fl* Pal. 87, fols. 3v–4r.
57 On the difficulty of later scribes in translating early notation, see Gozzi, "New Light on Italian Trecento Notation," 50–78; and Huck, "'Modus cantandi' und Prolatio."

organum, later Franco and Petrus de Cruce, and finally Ars Nova theory. By around 1400, the period of the Old Hall repertory, the English had fully absorbed French notation, even developing some of its aspects further. Yet the lamentably fragmentary remains of English music in this period also exhibit a variety of indigenous note forms and practices, reflecting a tension between coexisting notational systems. The general impression, gathered from a theory and practice that is replete with contradictions and inconsistencies, is one of a vibrant and variegated musical landscape.[58]

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 628 Helmstedt (1230s; hereafter *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.), alongside the fully-developed *sine littera* modal notation of Parisian organa, contains in its eleventh fascicle insular works notated *cum littera* with lozenge- or rhomb-shaped *puncta* (breves). Although we cannot be sure of the valuation of these rhombs in the 1230s, an English mensural notation with a predilection for trochaic patterns was established before 1260.[59] Three rhythmic patterns are especially common (Figure 22.16).

The famous *Sumer* canon (ca. 1260?), originally notated in chains of rhomboid breves (Figure 22.16b), was once thought to have been conceived in binary rhythm, later transformed into trochaic rhythm by the addition of downstems to odd-numbered rhombs (Figure 22.16a). Both forms are now considered equally valid indications of trochaic rhythm.[60] The pattern of Figure 22.16c long remained a distinctly English form of the third rhythmic mode, in which the first of a pair of breves is doubled in value, not the second. Known today as "alternate third mode," Anonymous IV describes it as an English practice.

Thus, when Walter Odington introduced Franconian notational theory to England around 1300 or a little later, there was a conflict with established

58 This account of English practices depends largely on Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, Studies in Musicology 94 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986), chapter 3, augmented by Lefferts' introduction to his edition of Robertus de Handlo, *Regule (The Rules)* and Johannes Hanboys, *Summa (The Summa)*. For overviews, see the foundational article of Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment"; and Roger Wibberley, "Notation in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Manuscripts of Fourteenth-Century English Polyphony*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison and Roger Wibberley, xix–xxviii.

59 Nicola Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York and London: Garland, 1994), 127–29. On the date of *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst., see Mark Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W_1," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), 1–42 at 32; and Rebecca A. Baltzer, "The Manuscript Makers of W1: Further Evidence for an Early Date," in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller and John Louis Nádas (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 103–20.

60 On the controversy concerning binary versus trochaic rhythm in chains of rhombs, see Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode"; and Losseff, *The Best Concords*, 118–20. Wibberley views subtle calligraphical distinctions in ligature notation as indications of durations, see "Notation in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries"; and the critique in Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 107–10.

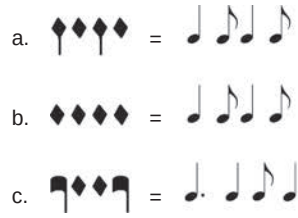


Figure 22.16 (a–c) Typical patterns of thirteenth-century English breves

English rhythmic preferences.[61] With Franco came the standard note shapes (long, breve and semibreve), rules for the imperfection of longs by breves, and the iambic patterns that result both from the alteration of breves, and, on a lower level, from the minor-major resolution of semibreve pairs. Yet there is evidence for a continuing tradition of trochaic performance of semibreve pairs, as well as binary alternatives to the third and fourth rhythmic modes.[62] In line with modifications associated with Petrus de Cruce, Odington described dots of division to separate groups of semibreves, up to seven in the space of a breve.

In 1326, Robertus de Handlo largely reaffirmed Franconian doctrines, including iambic semibreve pairs.[63] Without mentioning recent developments of the Parisian Ars Nova, Handlo introduces a number of authorities representing the diversity of contemporary doctrines as regards subdivision of the breve. Except for Petrus de Cruce, the names Handlo cites are unattested elsewhere.[64] One is Petrus le Viser, who, like Jacobus, distinguished slow, medium, and fast tempos of performance, depending on the allowed number of semibreves per breve. Unlike Jacobus, however, Petrus le Viser describes binary semibreves and breves in his medium tempo, and binary longs are an option in his lively tempo.[65] The difficulty of

61 Walter Odington, *Summa de speculatione musica*, ed. Frederick F. Hammond, CSM 14 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970); Walter Odington, *De speculatione musicae*, Part VI, trans. Jay A. Huff, Musicological Studies and Documents 31 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973).

62 See Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode," 257–62; Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 118–21; and Robertus de Handlo, *Regule*, ed. and trans. Lefferts, 173 n. 174. The trochaic tradition was not necessarily "anti-Franconian," since some commentaries on Franco, and the *Quatuor principalia*, attribute a trochaic reading of semibreves to Franco; see Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment," 66–67.

63 See Robertus de Handlo, *Regule*, ed. and trans. Lefferts.

64 Robertus de Handlo, *Regule*, ed. and trans. Lefferts, 17–28, discusses Handlo's authorities. For such an "additive" presentation of different theoretical positions in a historical series within a single treatise (cf. the series of treatises collected by Jerome of Moravia), see Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 294.

65 Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 115–16. We do not know if Petrus le Viser is reflecting solely English practice or Continental practice as well.

recognizing such distinctions, which can radically affect the valuation of unsigned semibreves in the surviving fragmentary remains of English music, remains a serious problem for scholars and performers alike.

The most important of Handlo's authorities is one Johannes de Garlandia (*fl.* ca. 1300–20, unrelated to thirteenth-century Garlandias), who extended Petrus de Cruce's limit of seven semibreves per breve up to nine. A small circle, or *signum rotundum*, clarifies subgroupings of semibreves within a tempus, subdividing ternary breves into three and binary breves into two. Garlandian "circle-stem notation" is thus an English development departing from the same fundamentals that produced Vitry's *tempus perfectum maior* in France and Marchetto's *novenaria* in Italy.[66]

Another Handlo commentator, Admetus of Orleans, attributes specific shapes for the short values to "singers of Navarre"; later English authorities reported in Hanboys (ca. 1375) had their own special shapes to make semibreves more variegated and explicit, whether altered or major (worth six minims), perfect (worth three minims), imperfect (worth two minims), or a single minim. Hanboys attributes one variety to W. de Doncastre, another to Robertus Trowell.[67] It is possible that the "Robertsbridge Codex" (London, British Library, additional 28550), a keyboard tablature fragment with three dances and three motets (two of them in *F-Pn* fr. 146 and probably by Vitry) employs a kind of circle-stem notation, reflecting one variety of English notation dating perhaps from the time of the captivity of French king John II "the Good," from 1357 until 1360.[68]

Practical notations in fourteenth-century English sources are often at odds with the theoretical descriptions. For example, there are two versions of the motet "Thomas gemma / Thomas caesus" (after 1295), in which trochaic rhythms are expressed in two manuscripts as chains of longs and square breves (first mode), and in another as pairs of semibreves (anti-Franconian ternary).[69] The latter version may be chronologically later, for in the fourteenth century, several sources for certain genres indicate the preferred trochaic rhythms by pairs of major-minor semibreves (no longer

66 The term "circle-stem notation" is Lefferts': *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 124–30.

67 Robertus de Handlo, *Regule*, ed. and trans. Lefferts, 262–73. Among the Franconian/Petronian notations found in the manuscript fragment London, Westminster Abbey, Westminster Abbey Muniments 12185, one motet exemplifies the notation of Johannes de Garlandia, another that of W. de Doncastre (for editions, see Robertus de Handlo, *Regule*, ed. and trans. Lefferts, 351–5 and 356–9, respectively). Trowell's system does not survive in extant practical sources.

68 The tablature may have been assembled for John II; see Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History*, Musicological Studies 32 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 16 n. 29. For that matter, the tablature may be French in origin.

69 Facsimiles of the three sources (all are fragmentary), may be compared in Harrison and Wibberley, eds., *Manuscripts of Fourteenth-Century English Polyphony*. For the notation in longs and breves, see pll. 128–29 and pll. 210–11; for the semibreve pairs, pl. 212.

rhomboid breves, but true semibreves, marking a shift to smaller note values). Around mid-century, the same pattern is expressed by chains of breves and semibreves. Lefferts finds that these two practical breve-semibreve notations coexisted with circle-stem notation for some fifty years (ca. 1325–75), primarily for use in cantilena and discant.[70]

Meanwhile, a new stream of theory had entered the picture. In 1351, the fourth book of the *Quatuor principalia* (now attributed to John of Tewkesbury) describes fully formed Ars Nova principles, essentially reflecting the level of development of the *Libellus*.[71] Here Tewkesbury established the minim as the fundamental value (thereby eliminating the Franconian tempus as the foundation of the system), introduced the *gradus* system with the four prolations and all their pertinent dots, as well as the properties of imperfection and alteration, *mutatio qualitatis*, and syncopation. Advocacy of these principles meant that the plethora of special figures utilized in contemporary English notations came in for strong censure, since Ars Nova rules obviated the need for most of them: indeed, evoking Ockham's razor, Tewkesbury states that it is foolish "to produce new shapes without necessity."[72]

Some twenty-five years later, Johannes Hanboys had a goal similar to that of Tewkesbury, to establish the *gradus* system and to censure the multiplication of unnecessary local practices. At the same time, Hanboys advocates a number of insular practices. We have already examined Hanboys' discussion of special shapes utilized in various dialects of circle-stem notation. Other innovations, attributed to Robertus de Brunham, include a variety of ways to indicate alteration by special square shapes for c.o.p. ligatures, and the *cauda hirundinis* (swallow-tail) applied both to semibreves and c.o.p. ligatures. The presence of the *cauda hirundinis* in practical sources shows that French rules had not met with immediate approbation in the English environment, for these special shapes sometimes indicate trochaic readings, at other times redundantly confirm the French practice of alteration.[73]

As to the *gradus* system, Hanboys went further than others in extending Johannes de Muris by laying out a system of eight figures subject to the maximum potential for imperfection and alteration. (If all relationships are

70 On the shift, see Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 100 and 102 (table); 130–42.

71 Trans. Luminata Aluas, "The *Quatuor principalia musicae*: A Critical Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Commentary," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1996). Lefferts studies earlier English contacts with the Ars Nova in "An Anonymous Treatise"; on Tewkesbury's knowledge of Vitry, see also Desmond, "Did Vitry Write an *Ars vetus et nova*?"

72 Trans. Aluas, "The *Quatuor principalia musica*," 690.

73 Lefferts, *The Motet in the Fourteenth Century*, 138–41; Robertus de Handlo, *Regule (The Rules)* and Johannes Hanboys, *Summa (The Summa)*, ed. and trans. Lefferts, 62–3 and 133 n. 117. Critique of the *cauda hirundinis* is also found in the *Quatuor principalia*; see Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment," 72 and Lefferts, "An Anonymous Treatise," 229.

perfect, Hanboys's largest value contains 2,187 minims, a duration twenty-seven times longer than Muris's 81-minim maxima; even at the quick rate of nine minims per second, such a note would last just over four minutes.) Well beyond the limits of practicality, Hanboys's system assumes an interesting place among fourteenth-century philosophical debates concerning the nature of continuity and infinity that formed a backdrop to notational theory.[74]

If a date of ca. 1370 for the motet "Sub Arturo plebs / Fons / In omnem" by Alanus could be sustained, it would appear that some English composers had fully assimilated French notational and compositional principles by then.[75] Still, there was resistance, for redundant indication of the alteration of minims by means of the *cauda hirundinis* is found in the notation of this work in its English source preserved at Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, HA 30: 50/22/13.15. With the repertory of the principal layer of the Old Hall Manuscript, London, British Library, additional 57950 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* add. 57950), which dates from ca. 1400 or a little before, and copied ca. 1413–15, with some later additions, assimilation of the French system is total.[76] Yet the English still had something important to contribute. It appears that by around 1400, perhaps earlier, as paper became a more common support, the English had introduced void notation. Active transmission of English music to the Continent in the early fifteenth century may have popularized the new practice, which took hold on the Continent from about 1420, and soon became universal.[77]

The *Ars Subtilior*

In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, music notation reached a fever-pitch of complexity not seen again until the twentieth century, more than five hundred years later.[78] It marked the most extreme refinement of the French style, already obliged to absorb foreign elements and for the moment lashing out, driving itself to ever more precipitous heights, fostered by artists forced

74 See Robertus de Handlo, *Regule (The Rules)* and Johannes Hanboys, *Summa (The Summa)*, ed. and trans. Lefferts, 48; Anne Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.M.5.24" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994), chapter 6; Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*, 102–45.

75 Any argument based on a date of this motet is probably moot, however: Bent ("The Earliest Fifteenth-Century Transmission," 86–88) has plausibly dated the motet in the 1410s on notational and stylistic grounds.

76 The dates are the recent view of Margaret Bent (personal communication).

77 Bent, "The Transmission of English Music," in *Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lüttolf (Munich: Katzbichler, 1973), 77–79.

78 For the term "Ars subtilior," see Ursula Günther, "Das Ende der Ars nova," *Musikforschung* 16 (1963), 105–20; beyond the surveys listed in n. 1 above, see Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy," chapters 2 and 5; Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*, 207–45; and Jason Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the Ars subtilior" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New England, Armidale, Australia, 2002).

by circumstances to be restless, celebrating their personal situations or their patrons with impossibly pretentious individuality; a last gasp. Ursula Günther saw this "Ars subtilior" as the expression of the religious and political confusion of the period of the Great Schism (1378–1417). In truth it is not so easy to set chronological boundaries: complications in rhythm began before 1378, and several examples of extreme rhythmic complexity postdate 1417.[79] Motivations for increasing complication have been found in mimesis, or in an exaggerated self-reflexivity, sometimes expressed in hyper-virtuosity, or even in deeply underlying shifts in philosophical outlook.[80] Despite a great diversity of notational techniques, some witnessed only by individual works, essentially two procedures created the sometimes bewildering rhythms characteristic of the style. One involves extended syncopation, the other an increase in cross-rhythms between voices.

In late medieval syncopation, counting – the regular accumulation of perfect or imperfect units according to the mensuration – is actually displaced for a time. It is subtly different from the modern concept of syncopation, in which surface accents are heard against a real or imagined pulse.[81] Already at a fairly early stage, syncopated passages could be integral to the structural core of a composition. For example, in Machaut's motet "Hareu! hareu! le feu / He las! / Obediens usque ad mortem" (ca. 1345), syncopation of the foundational tenor voice, first at the level of modus and later at the level of tempus, is a symbol of a constantly postponed death, against nature, a life driven on by the mere hope of love (Figure 22.17).

At the level of prolation, syncopation can serve more as an animating surface ornamentation probably added at a late stage of composition, easily obtained by dotting a semibreve here and in compensation changing a semibreve to a minim there. In Machaut, this is heard in the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus of

79 For late examples, see David Fallows, "The End of the Ars subtilior," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 20 (1996), 21–40.

80 The *locus classicus* is a ballade by one Guido, *Or voit tout en aventure* (with the refrain *Certes ce n'est pas bien fait*); for discussions of this work, see Günther, "Das Ende der Ars nova"; Stone, "Che cosa c'è di più sottile riguardo l'*Ars subtilior*?" *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 31 (1996), 3–31; and Tanay, "Between the Fig Tree and the Laurel: *Or voit tout en aventure* Revisited," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, 161–78.

81 The Berkeley Manuscript has a definition slightly expanded from the *Libellus*: "Unde sincopa est divisio valoris alicuius figura per partes separatas, que numerando perfecciones ad invicem reducuntur; vel aliter: sincopa est aliquarum figurarum ab invicem per intermedia divisarum ad invicem reduccio. Et potest fieri in modo, tempore, et prolacione" [A syncopation is a division of the value of any figure into separate parts, which are brought together by counting perfections. Or in other words, a syncopation is the due restoration one to another of any figures that are divided one from another by an intervening passage. Syncopation can occur in modus, tempus, and prolation]. Oliver Ellsworth, ed. and trans., *The Berkeley Manuscript: University of California Music Library, MS. 744 (olim Phillipps 4450)*, Greek and Latin Music Theory (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 176, ll. 13–18 (trans. on 177, slightly emended).



Figure 22.17 Displacement syncopation at the beginning of the *integer valor* and diminution sections in the tenor of Guillaume de Machaut, motet "Hareu! hareu! le feu / He las! / Obediens usque ad mortem" (ca. 1345)

the Mass and in some later songs.[82] By the late fourteenth century, extended passages that displace the regular count at the level of prolation often result in loose-jointed *melodie lunghe*, which make an effect very different from the sparkling ornamental syncopation heard in Machaut, let alone our modern hard-driving syncopation. Displacement may be effected by a single colored minim, or more often by use of a dot of division (dot of syncopation) that separates a minim from its surrounding context, indicating that the regular rules of *similis ante similem* (like before like is perfect), imperfection, and alteration are to be applied to a displaced passage (Figure 22.18).

The second procedure concerns the growing interest in cross-rhythms, involving either a cantus against a relatively steady pair of lower voices, or cross-rhythms between both cantus and contratenor against a generally steady tenor. Contrasting mensurations between voices effect some tame examples of cross-rhythms found in Machaut, for example, in the rondeau "Quant ma dame," with cantus in ☉, tenor in ☐, and contratenor in ○, all combined under minim equivalence.[83] Later examples are of course more complex, for example, Suzoy's "Pythagoras, Jubal et Orpheüs," which at various times combines all four prolations.[84] A double ballade by Senleches, "Je me merveil / J'ay plusieurs fois," exhibits rare independence among all three voices. Only at the

82 It is in this light that I interpret Machaut's statement in letter 33 of the *Voir dit* that he has not yet heard a certain composition (the rondeau *Dix et sept*) and is not accustomed to sending out compositions before he has heard them: some late surface adjustments in the notational picture needed to be heard in performance and adjusted if the aural effect was found wanting. See Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem)*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. Barton Palmer, Garland Library of Medieval Literature 106A (New York and London: Garland, 1998), 430–31.

83 Günther, "Polymetric Rondeaux from Machaut to Dufay: Some Style-Analytical Observations," in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1990), 75–108.

84 Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," 68; Everist, "A New Source for the Polyphony of the Ars subtilior: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 22069," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, 283–301.



Figure 22.18 Displacement syncopation in Anon., "Medee fu" (beginning)

shared refrain do the two texted voices work together, here in canon a breve apart, but identical rhythms are notated in ⊙ in one voice and in ○ in the other – a complication fully in tune with the self-reflective texts of this work. That the double notation is at the same time technically an unnecessary complication is a frequent occurrence in this repertory, reflecting a delight in ostentatious writing.[85]

Both syncopation and combinations of the four prolations realized latencies intrinsic to the French system since the time of Johannes de Muris; complex proportional durations, however, required new techniques, including the expansion of coloration and the invention of special note shapes, or, alternatively, new mensuration signs and numeric ciphers, often linked to explanatory canons.

Full coloration (indicated either by full red notes or void black notes) maintained its original significance, indicating the *sesquialtera* proportion. Thus, in major prolation, ⊙ ♦♦ = ⌜♦♦♦⌝ (𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥. = ♩ ♩ ♩). A reverse meaning may occur in minor prolation, in which ○ ♦♦♦ = ⌜♦♦⌝ (𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩ = 𝅗𝅥. ♩). In the typical context of *tempus imperfectum prolatio major*, a new development, void red coloration, normally signified the *sesquitertia* proportion (4:3) at the level of the minim, and *dupla* proportion (2:1) at the level of semibreve and breve. After 1400, such binary groups in major prolation were more often indicated by a change to the mensuration sign ☽, or, once Arabic numerals began to be widely used, by the numeral 2.[86]

85 Jehoash Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism in the Chantilly Codex," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, 133–59. On notational changes in Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (hereafter *I-MOe* α.M.5.24), showing the scribe doting over the written presentation, see Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy," chapter 3. Detailed consideration of "Je me merveil / J'ay plusieurs fois" is found in Stone, "The Composer's Voice in the Late Fourteenth-Century Song: Four Case Studies," in *Johannes Ciconia: Musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 179–87 and Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading and Performing Song," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 78 (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 72–95.

86 See Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs: Origins and Evolution*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Perhaps the most striking rhythmic complications involve proportional values indicated by newly invented note shapes. To a degree, there is a logic to the great variety of special shapes seen in the manuscripts. For example, the use of upstems for shorter notes and downstems for longer notes as a rule of thumb goes back to practices of the early fourteenth century in both French and Italian notation. Fortunately, the special shapes always represent fixed values: the workings of imperfection and alteration remain restricted to the "classical" doctrines codified in the *Libellus*.

Even if certain note shapes in a given composition are unique, a group of idiosyncratic short values usually substitutes for an orthodox larger value, for example as a passage in diminution before a cadence, and thus most often the idiosyncratic passage has a logical consistency that makes its valuation intuitive.[87] But special shapes employed within irregular rhythmic patterns ran the risk of corruption in transmission due to the absolute necessity of accurate details. For example, Senleches's "En attendant, Esperance conforte" maintains consistent shapes in *I-MOe* α.M.5.24, a manuscript with consistent notation throughout, probably because of its close connections to the composer Matteo da Perugia, but is inconsistent and corrupt in Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564 (hereafter *F-CH* 564), a manuscript that reflects the diverse usages of diverse exemplars.[88]

Several treatises lay out systems of special note shapes. The *Tractatus figurarum* (the earliest extant source was copied in 1391), employing additive principles for each individual shape, is the most elaborate. Although the treatise was widely copied, it had no practical impact, perhaps because many of the prescribed note shapes are extremely difficult to copy accurately. Only one of the shapes has been found in practical sources, and the reliability of the ascription of the *Tractatus* in one source to a well-known composer, Philipoctus da Caserta, is called into question by the fact that none of his extant songs utilize the system.[89]

87 For a sample of some ad hoc notational shapes and their signification, see Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 394 (on Paolo, *Amor da po* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568); or Gozzi, "La cosiddetta 'Longanotation,'" 144–46 (on Lorenzo, *Ita se n'era* in *I-Fl* Pal. 87).

88 See Stone, "Che cosa"; and J. Stoessel, "Symbolic Innovation: The Notation of Jacob de Senleches," *Acta musicologica* 71 (1999), 136–64. On multiple exemplars in *F-CH* 564, see Plumley and Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564, Introduction*, Collection "Épitome musical" (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

89 See Giuliano Di Bacco, "Original and Borrowed Authorship and Authority: Remarks on the Circulation of Philipoctus da Caserta's Theoretical Legacy," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Collection "Épitome musical" (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 329–64.



Figure 22.19 (a–c) Displacement syncopation in Zachar, "Sumite karissimi" (detail)

The most recherché of the Ars subtilior composers were capable of combining techniques, attaining degrees of rhythmic complexity that resist modern notation entirely. For example, Zachar's "Sumite karissimi," in a context of *tempus imperfectum prolatio maior*, has a passage of semibreves in hemiola (notated full red), syncopated by a single minim within a passage of *sesquitertia* proportion (noted void red). Thus there are actually two levels of displacement at work. In simple terms, this moment can be parsed by viewing the two segments in isolation (Figure 22.19a). Now the last minim of the *sesquitertia* passage is separated, displacing the intervening hemiola passage – which moves at the original minim rate – by a fractional duration (Figure 22.19b). The extraordinarily subtle intent, transparent in the original notation, is impossibly obscured in modern notation (Figure 22.19c).

Anne Stone sees such passages as notations that capture the sort of freedom found in the sensitive performances of virtuoso singers.[90] Yet it is also possible that luxated passages were introduced artificially at a late stage of composition, simply by separating a short value from a group, thereby occasioning displacement. Subsequent testing in performance vouchsafed the written effect as apropos. A self-consciously written mechanism might thus have driven performance.

To some extent, French works express proportional divisions of fast notes readily available to the early Italian madrigalists, possibilities revealed to French musicians perhaps through cultural exchanges at the Visconti court

90 Stone, "Glimpses of the Unwritten Tradition in some *Ars subtilior* Works," *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996), 59–93, discusses the example of "Sumite karissimi" in detail.

in Milan or at Avignon.[91] Specific influence is unclear, for the two systems were founded on very different premises – division of the breve in the case of the Italian, and minim equivalence of the four prolations in the case of the French. The Italian adoption of the four prolations brought minim equivalency; it did not, of course, preclude the usual techniques of canceling minim equivalency through proportions, indicated by special note shapes or (later) by meter signatures, or numerals in association with canons.[92] (In the fifteenth century, proportions even became a self-standing subject of notational theory.[93]) Thus many Italian composers fully participated in the Ars subtilior, though the French-based notation had consequences for the re-notation and performance of earlier Italian music. England too caught up quickly, for some works in the Old Hall Manuscript (*GB-Lbl* add. 57950; copied ca. 1413–15 with later additions) rival anything found in Continental manuscripts. Besides the use of solid and void red coloration, blue coloration is found in two works. Even more impressive is Sturgeon's motet "Salve mater / Salve templum," which in its tenor notation presents a mind-boggling example of the imperfection by a remote part of an altered breve within a syncopated passage that has a long that itself is imperfected by a remote part.[94]

*

All three regions, France, Italy, and England, exhibited diverse notational practices in the early years of the fourteenth century. All three experienced a flurry of theoretical activity in the early 1320s that attempted to make some sense of practice, whether to categorize it in broad terms or to prescribe a uniform notation. Yet in each instance, local practice was only partially tamed and continued to exhibit diversity until around mid-century, when new attempts were made to impose consistency. By then the superbly adaptable practice of the *Libellus* was codified and established in France, ready for export to solve problems elsewhere. Notations in Italy and England, despite their suitability for certain indigenous genres, had too many liabilities and could not stand up.

91 On Milan, see Huck, "Music for Luchino, Bernabò and Gian Galeazzo Visconti," in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, ed. Sandra Dieckmann et al., Musica Mensurabilis 3 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007), 247–58; and John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex (Codice Mancini): Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 3065: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, Ars Nova 1 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), introduction.

92 Prosdocimus among others criticized illogical and inconsistent special note shapes; see Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," 339.

93 Ibid., 334–56 and Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs*.

94 Discussed in Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 366–67; and, more logically, in Andrew Hughes and Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript*, 3 vols., CMM 46 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), vol. III: 37–38 (to No. 113).

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· 23 ·

Rhythm and Meter

JOHN CALDWELL

Rhythm and meter in medieval music have always been considered difficult questions, and to some extent are likely to remain so. The problems can be alleviated, however, if changes in the meaning of these and related words are borne in mind when considering contemporary texts, not only in relation to their period but also in relation to the genre of writing in which they appear. In their ordinary modern sense, in which they are used in the title above, rhythm and meter are related but distinct concepts. Rhythm may be thought of as made up of all those parameters that impinge on the progress of music through time – not just the durations of the notes but their relative impact as sensed through (for example) dynamic change, pitch, and where relevant the way in which sounds, vocal and/or instrumental, are combined. Meter on the other hand is a durational framework within which these parameters pursue their course; in post-Renaissance music it is usually expressed by means of a denominator defining a note value, and a numerator indicating the number of times that it occurs within a "measure." This meaning combines notions of both "meter" (*metron* or *metrum*) and "rhythm" (*rhythmos* or *numerus*) in ancient verse and music, and it achieved its classic musical expression in the fifteenth-/sixteenth-century concept of the *tactus*, a unit involving a strong and a weak "beat" in equal or unequal proportion. The *tactus* (also called by such names as "stroke" and *compás*) is the ancestor of the modern measure or "bar," the defining feature of "meter" in post-Renaissance music.

It is possible to have music without regular meter (and meter without a degree of regularity is a meaningless concept),[1] but it is not possible to have music without rhythm, even if it lacks a system of proportionally related time-values. Where meter is present, however, it gives structure to what might otherwise seem to be a featureless flow, and it affords the possibility of rhythmic counterpoint against a perceived regularity. Such counterpoint is

1 In some kinds of modern music changes of meter are so frequent as to negate any sense of regularity. One could regard such changes as essentially an aid to orientation in performance, as may also be, paradoxically, the use of regular barring in music that is not metrically organized.

as characteristic of verse as it is of most music; in fact music without meter could be considered as the equivalent of verbal prose, which might be rhythmically interesting but lacks a metrical framework. The fundamental question about many medieval repertories, therefore, is not whether they possess "rhythm," but whether in the first instance they are characterized by more-or-less precisely related time-values, and whether in that case they also possess meter.

In the following discussion, attention will be drawn first to the nomenclature that has been used to express the rhythmic/metric character of both music and verse, and this will be followed by a consideration of four repertories in particular: ecclesiastical chant; non-liturgical song; pre-mensural polyphony;[2] and mensural polyphony to about 1320. These divisions overlap somewhat, since ecclesiastical chant could be mensural or polyphonic or both, while some genres of sacred song might have a liturgical function: the boundaries adopted are therefore to some extent intuitive.

Terminology

The Greek word *rhythmos*, although it is said to derive from a word meaning "to flow," does not, in writings on music, have the overarching sense ascribed to it above, but describes rather the progress of music (and language and bodily movement) in terms of numerical proportions as between a downbeat (*thesis*) and an upbeat (*arsis*).[3] According to Aristoxenus of Tarentum (fourth century BCE), rhythms were to be classified as dactylic (1:1), iambic (2:1 or 1:2), or paeonic (3:2 or 2:3).[4] This concept resembles that of meter in verse, but meter alone could not create the sense of rise and fall that is essential to the perception of rhythm. Plato, considering dramatic recitation as essentially musical, refers only to rhythms, not meters, while Aristotle, adopting Plato's threefold classification of music into *logos*, *harmonia*, and *rhythmos*, argues that all three, singly or in various combinations, are relevant to *mimesis* or

2 The sense in which the word "mensural" is used will become apparent during the course of the discussion.

3 *Thesis* and *arsis* referred to the putting down and raising of the foot in dancing or marching. The extent to which *thesis* implied audible stress is debated. Another term for *thesis* was *basis*, and the Greeks also used the terms *ano* ("up") and *kato* ("down"). Latin writers used the terms *levatio* (also *sublatio*) and *positio*, used of the raising and lowering of the arm in beating time (Augustine) or of the raising and lowering of the voice (Martianus Capella). These are often said to have reversed the meanings of *thesis*/*kato* and *arsis*/*ano*, but given the ambiguity inherent in Greek usage itself this is by no means certain.

4 Artistoxenus, *Elementa Rhythmica*, II, 30, ed. and trans Lionel Pearson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 16–17; also A. Barker, trans., *Greek Medieval Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), vol. III: 185–89 at 189.

imitation.[5] The close association of music and verse may or may not mean that vocal music regularly adopted the time-values implied by the quantities of the syllables being set, but many later writers discussed rhythm purely in terms of syllabic quantities.

In the rhetorical tradition *rhythmos* was applied to ornamental prose and chiefly concerned the endings of sentences and clauses. As Aristotle put it: "The form of a prose composition should be neither metrical nor destitute of rhythm."[6] In classical Latin, *rhythmos* is usually translated as *numerus*, a word which also translates *arithmos* ("number"). The word was used in relation to verse and music as well as rhetoric, giving rise to one of the English senses of "number,"[7] but we can discount the ancient and indeed the medieval rhetorical tradition as a significant factor in the medieval understanding of musical rhythm.[8] It might have been applied to what is supposed to have been the non-metrical rhythm of plainchant, but it apparently never was.

As for *metron*, the term seems to appear first in a literary sense in Herodotus, reporting on oracular utterances given in the *tonos hexametros* or *tonos trimetros*, these being imitative respectively of Homer and of the tragedians.[9] Be that as it may, the term *metron*, "measure," became the standard tool for the analysis of verse, though the rigid schemes of late Antiquity proved inadequate as a description of, for example, ancient lyric poetry. The *metron* was a unit of two or more long and/or short syllabic positions, a certain number of which made up a "line" (*stichos*) or "period" (*periodos*) within which prosodic continuity was observed.[10] An alternative unit was the "foot," a term borrowed from rhythmic theory and sometimes corresponding to only half of a *metron*.

Two points should be emphasized. First, the schemes of the metrists were just that: patterns within which actual words were to be fitted. Sometimes the fit was not exact: for example a long syllable might well be placed in a short

5 Plato, *Republic*, 398c foll.; Aristotle, *Poetics* 1447a. Aristotle further says that language by itself (*logoi psiloi*), if in verse, will consist of one or more meters.

6 *Rhetorica* 1408b, transl. W. Rhys Roberts in *The Works of Aristotle*, ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), vol. XI: unpaginated.

7 Cf., e.g., Pope, "But most by numbers judge a poet's song" (*An Essay on Criticism*, II: 337).

8 Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, IX.iv.55–7 points out that rhetoric "will not descend to the snapping of the fingers" ("non descendet ad crepitum digitorum") and argues that rhetorical rhythm should be specially designated as "oratorius numerus."

9 *Historiae*, I.xlvii, lxii; V.lx (hexameter); I.clxxiv (trimeter). The word *tonos* suggests a kind of cantillated declamation. I am grateful to Jane Bellingham for these references. At around the same time, Gorgias of Leontini (ca. 485–380 BCE) called poetry "speech having meter" (*logon echonta metron*); cited in Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), vol. I: 48.

10 The "line" in Latin is *versus*, "verse," although this term is the linguistic equivalent of the Greek *strophe*, generally a longer unit. *Strophe* itself was a term referring originally to the "turning" of a dancing chorus in its performance of a dramatic lyric. A lengthy *strophe* might indeed possess the prosodic continuity referred to above, its subdivisions (printed as lines in modern editions) being *cola* or phrases.

"position"; or two short syllables could be made to fit into one long position, which in speech might not be an exact temporal equivalent. The "rhythm" of spoken verse, therefore, might differ in detail from the metrical scheme, but would not thereby necessarily conform to a musical conception of rhythm: indeed, it might well depart further from it.[11] Second, prosodic continuity was a technicality whereby the quantity of the syllables was determined not only within the individual word but in relation to the words preceding and following it. Within a line or period the words followed on from each other in a continuous stream, as it were, but this was interrupted when it came to an end.

Latin writers on meter (treated as a rule within the discipline of grammar) adhered on the whole to Greek principles. There is some dispute as to whether Latin versification was based originally on accent or on quantity, but classical writers assumed that verse was regulated by quantity alone.[12] The effect, however, was somewhat different from that in Greek, since the Latin accent, unlike the Greek, was essentially regulated by the quantity of the syllables. In a Latin word of two syllables, the accent fell on the first; in a word of more than two syllables the accent fell on the penultimate if this were long, and on the antepenultimate if it were not (cf. e.g. *caeléstis*, *dóminus*). Latin accent was conventionally described as "tonic," i.e., conveyed by the pitch of the voice, like the accent in ancient Greek; in both languages, however, pitch came to be replaced by "stress" (in speech-terms, the "expiratory" accent), and differences in quantity disappeared from ordinary speech.

Literary Latin verse was much less often intended for singing even than Greek, and only a few examples can be positively identified: Horace's lengthy *Carmen saeculare*, in Sapphic stanzas, was intended to be sung, as were the Christian hymns of St. Ambrose. The latter were widely imitated, originally in iambic meter like those of Ambrose himself, and later in a type of versification governed by accent and syllable-count, shortly to be described. In due course, hymn-writers made use of other classical meters, including the Sapphic stanza, and they too could be adapted to purely syllabic or syllabic/accentual schemes.

11 In Greek lyric poetry intended for singing, the substitution of long syllables for short is rare – some such "meters" are in any case *sui generis* – which has encouraged scholars to assume that their musical durations corresponded to those of the words. Concerning accent, see below.

12 The assumption that meters, at least in Latin, were also characterized by a regularly recurring stress or *ictus* seems not to be borne out by the evidence. While an element of alternation between "down" and "up" seems essential to the *rhythmic* quality of verse as spoken or sung, this would be a performative aspect of either, not a regulatory aspect of verse composition. Such terms as *ictus*, *plausus*, and *percussio* in classical Latin writers apparently refer to the marking of *both* parts of the rhythmic/metric foot: see, e.g., Augustine, *De musica*, II.xi.20, referring to feet of equal length but differing in *percussio*: "qui quanquam sint aequales tempore, non eadem percussione concordant."

Most Latin writers on music dealt with both meter and rhythm,[13] and as has been mentioned they encountered difficulties in distinguishing between them. The most sophisticated of these authors, St. Augustine, was fully conscious of musical issues, but even he discussed rhythm solely in terms of syllabic quantities. One of the differences, as he explains, was that rhythm was confined within no set bounds: a rhythm, once established, was contained solely by the needs of the musical phrase – or the feet of the dancers. Meter, on the other hand, was confined within the limits of a line (as defined above). At every line-end – and there were no examples in Latin of the lengthy periods of archaic Greek lyric – metrical continuity ceased. Another important distinction was that in rhythm, unlike meter, there was no possibility of putting a long sound in a "short" position: the established pattern of durations had to be strictly maintained.

While writers such as St. Augustine seem to have had in mind the sonorous reality of music, the term *musica* itself was as much used of speculative study – theory in its original and narrow sense – as of the art as practiced. (There has been some confusion over this, since *musica*, like its Greek forbear *mousikē*, was never confined solely to speculation. It was the noun *musicus* – Greek *mousikos* – that was restricted, until early modern times, to the student of music in its abstract essence, or at most to the composer.)[14] The "parts" of music – which included harmonics, rhythmics, and metrics – were thought of as abstractions – as indeed they must be, since they cannot be separated from each other in practice. As Cassiodorus, for whom *musica* was primarily a *disciplina* or branch of learning, put it:

> There are three parts of music: harmonics, rhythmics, and metrics. Harmonics is the study of music which distinguishes between high and low sounds. Rhythmics is that which investigates the combining of words, [that is,] whether their sound accords well or ill. Metrics is that which recognizes by demonstrable reason the measure of different meters, such as the heroic, the iambic, the elegiac, and so on.[15]

13 Boethius, whose *Musica* remained unfinished, is a conspicuous exception.

14 For the *musicus* as composer, see Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, c.xv; CSM 4, 167; Johannes ["Afflighemensis"], *De Musica cum tonario*, c.xvi; CSM 1, 109.

15 *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 144: "Musicae partes sunt tres: armonica – rithmica – metrica. armonica est scientia musica quae discernit in sonis acutum et gravem. rithmica est quae requirit incursionem [*var.* in concursionem] verborum, utrum bene sonus an male cohaereat. metrica est quae mensuram [*var.* mensuras] diversorum metrorum probabili ratione cognoscit, ut verbi gratia heroicon, iambicon, heleiacon, et cetera." Translation based on that in Richard Crocker, "*Musica rhythmica* and *Musica metrica* in Antique and Medieval Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 2/1 (1958), 2–23. It is likely that *armonica*, *rithmica*, and *metrica* here are not feminine singulars agreeing with *pars* (or with *musica* or *scientia*) but neuter plurals, "harmonic matters," and so on, corresponding to *ta harmonika*, etc., in Greek. (When in Greek the feminine singulars are used, the noun understood is usually *hē technē*, corresponding to *ars* in Latin.) The terms *musica rhythmica* and *musica metrica* do not exist, to the best of my knowledge, in medieval sources.

Cassiodorus here employs the word *mensura*, found already in St. Augustine, in order to qualify *metrum*, etymologically a synonym but restricted in meaning in Latin.[16] *Mensura* is derived from the participle of the deponent verb *metiri*, "to measure," from the same Indo-European root **me-* as the Greek *metron* and its cognates. This innocent-looking syllable spawned an enormous number of related words in Greek and Latin, including many of those having to do with taking thought as well as measuring (though not *mens*, "mind," and its cognates). *Modus* and its derivatives are thought also to descend from the same root; and while avoiding the pitfalls of undisciplined etymology it is worth pondering briefly on the early history of both *mensura* and *modus* as key terms in medieval discourse about musical rhythm.

Mensura became the overriding concept in medieval discussions of musical rhythm. Its use as a term in geometry (translating *metron*) had consequences for the understanding of rhythm as the division of time by analogy with the division of space. By the fourth century a new verb, *mensurare*, had been coined, and its derivatives are familiar to all in such expressions as *musica mensurata* and *musica mensurabilis*.

Modus is also a term of measurement, originally of capacity. It came to imply a regular rhythmic pulse – of the oars of a boat, for example – and hence a melody, presumably one with similar characteristics. Its derivative *modulari*, the root meaning of which is "to measure," similarly came to mean to sing or otherwise make melody. (Hence the ambiguity, surely deliberate, in St. Augustine's famous definition: "Musica est scientia bene modulandi.") *Modus* also means "manner" or "method," and in this sense too it came to have a musical significance. Boethius used it to translate *tropos*, a word used in late Antique theory for a scale in a particular tuning, and it was the word preferred by medieval theorists for their own versions of these scales. Thus it was adopted in the thirteenth century to describe certain rhythmic schemes that preponderated throughout a composition or a section of a composition.

16 *Mensura* in the Latin Vulgate translates *metron* in the famous words from the *Wisdom of Solomon*, 11:20: "Thou hast disposed all things in measure and number and weight." For Augustine see *De Musica*, ii.x.18: "recensere breviter mensuras partium in omnibus pedibus"; *Confessions*, xi.xxvi: "mensura temporis." Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* IX.iv.45) uses *dimensio*. Quintilian, like Aristoxenus, defines rhythm solely in terms of the temporal relationship between the parts: it is irrelevant to rhythm whether the dactylic foot has its short [syllables] first or second: only the time is measured, since the space between the rising and the falling is the same ("quod rhythmo indifferens dactylicusne ille priores habeat breues an sequentes: tempus enim solum metitur, ut a sublatione ad positionem idem spatii sit," ix.iv.48).

Ecclesiastical Chant

The term *cantus planus* came to be used of ecclesiastical chant in the thirteenth century in opposition to *cantus mensuratus* or *cantus mensurabilis*. Not all writers were happy with the implication that ecclesiastical chant was unmeasured. Johannes de Grocheio, early in the fourteenth century, opined that it was "not so precisely" measured, and Hieronymus de Moravia claimed that any kind of song must necessarily be measured, a view that can be traced back to the tenth century at least.[17]

The issue of measure in ecclesiastical song has been the subject of much controversy.

Carolingian and later writers were driven by two broad considerations: first that music, even as practised, should maintain the dignity of its status as *ars*; and second that a choir should be disciplined to sing together. These considerations impinged on a repertory that had been built up from diverse origins, the genres of which were associated with different levels of the hierarchical community. Ordained clerics were associated with public prayer (*oratio*) and reading (*lectio*); singing properly so called was the property of the cantores, both as soloists and as an elite choral body trained from youth; beyond that was also the contribution of the community at large – clerical, monastic, or to an increasingly limited extent lay. The inherited idioms ranged in origin from the heightened reading known as cantillation to popular hymnody; by the ninth century, however, all this had come to form a cohesive repertory of cantus ("song") which for convenience we are disposed to call "chant." It was, moreover, a repertory which had started to be written down in musical notation, a notation which gradually developed until by the mid-eleventh century it was capable of being unambiguous, at least as to relative pitch.

This cohesive repertory still embraced a wide range of idioms, associated largely with the different classes of performer already enumerated, and it is in this context that chant rhythm, invariably described in terms of *mensura*, should be considered. The higher clergy, and those to whom *lectio* was assigned, would have received the necessary training in grammar and rhetoric, and we may assume that in principle the "musical" rhythm of their performances was essentially that of a deliberate verbal rhythm. As the Middle Ages progressed, however, these performances became more and more assimilated to song: the tones of the prayers and the readings were written down in staff

17 Ernst Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972), 124; Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de Musica*, ed. Simon M. Cserba (Regensburg: Pustet, 1935), 180.

notation, and such items as the Preface of the Mass, the "Pater noster," the "Exultet," and various special lections, all acquired a considerable degree of elaboration. Nevertheless, the projection of the text remained the paramount consideration.

At the other extreme come the elaborate solo chants of the repertory, especially the Gradual, the Alleluia, the Tract, and the Offertory of the Mass, the property of the highly trained cantor and *schola*, some of whom could expect to receive a special payment for singing on certain occasions.[18] At an early stage the notation of these chants managed to convey a wealth of nuance, seemingly privileging the minutiae of performance practice over the mundane task of indicating the tonal progressions. It is from the details of these notations, taken in conjunction with statements about *mensura* in contemporary theory, that a strictly measured style of performance has sometimes been inferred. Yet the notations do not convey the impression of a rigid systemization, and the theoretical statements could well refer to a different environment. To the extent that these chants were entrusted to a single singer, strictly measured performances would be unnecessary and perhaps alien to the ethos of the repertory.

In between these extremes we have a large body of chant, the preserve of the wider community. It is at this level (and bearing in mind that the clerical or monastic school was the initial training ground for every level of the clerical order) that issues of mensural cohesion arise most prominently. By the ninth century, musical expectations had become extremely high. A monastic or clerical community was expected not only to be able to sing the entire psalter by heart, in proper musical form and together with its associated antiphons, but also to sing the choral parts of what had become elaborate responsories. The Mass Propers were the property of the *schola*, including its solo singers, but the community as a whole still sang the responses and the Ordinary of the Mass.[19]

The Roman *schola cantorum* was both a specialist body for the musical enhancement of the papal Mass and a training-ground for future singers.[20]

18 See Bishop Angilbert's dispositions at Metz: Jean-Baptiste Pelt, *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz* [IV]: *La liturgie*, *I (V^e–VIII^e siècle)* (Metz: Imprimerie du Journal Le Lorrain, 1937), 38–39.

19 See, e.g., Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* (revised French edition, Paris: Aubier, 1956), vol. II: 99, 115–16, 246; vol. III: 39, 265, etc. In the Franco-Roman Mass the clergy, or the monastic community, took the role previously given to the people, or to the people and clergy together. Since the *schola* was a part of the community, that did not exclude its participation, either together with or in alternation with the whole community.

20 *Ordo Romanus XXXVI* (= Mabillon IX, 1–6), previously cited by Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien: Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, *Part I: Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangformen*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1911), vol. I: 215: "Primum in qualicumque scola reperti fuerint pueri bene psallentes, tolluntur unde et nutriuntur in scola cantorum et postea fiunt cubicularii" (Michel Andrieu, *Les* Ordines Romani *du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. [Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense [vols. 11, 23, 24, 28, 29], 1931–61], vol. IV: 195).

The idea was copied in the major European centers at the time of their adoption of the Roman rite, and in due course such cathedral schools became the major vehicle of primary education. Their main competitors were the monastic schools, whose curriculum included of course the musical requirements of the liturgy; and when the monasteries came to be self-sufficient ecclesiastical communities, with monks in priestly orders, some degree of musical specialization, at least in the performance of the Mass, became inevitable there too. In all this, therefore, we must distinguish between a *schola* or its equivalent and the wider community, whether secular or monastic; and it is important to understand to which context a body of teaching relates.

Medieval theory of a practical nature, including its teaching on rhythm, is overwhelmingly orientated towards monastic requirements, and within them to elementary education and, beyond that, to the teaching of non-specialist monks. It follows, therefore, that its discussions of rhythm are concerned primarily with the performance of psalms and antiphons and, possibly, the choral sections of Office responsories. Very rarely can this teaching be related to the notational minutiae of early medieval chant-books, and on the whole it seems to have proceeded independently of neumatic notation.

A few well-known passages seem to suggest a wide application of rhythm and meter, in their classical senses, to musical performance. For example we have the following much-quoted lines from a poem by Alcuin, Charlemagne's educational "enforcer":

> Candida Sulpicius post se trahit agmina lector
> Hos regat et doceat certis ne accentibus errent.
> Instituit pueros Idithun modulamine sacro
> Utque sonos dulces decantent voce sonora,
> Quot pedibus, numeris, rhythmo stat musica, discant.[21]
>
> (Sulpicius the reader draws after him white-robed bands,
> To govern them and teach them not to err in [the placing of] accents.
> Idithun teaches the boys in sacred chant,
> And to sing the sweet sounds with sonorous voice;
> [And] to learn the various feet, numbers, and rhythm of which music consists.)

It might appear from this that these boys were being taught to sing ecclesiastical chant in the rhythms of classical verse; but the apparent connection between church song and classical metrics is really a poetic fiction. If the lines are to be taken as authoritative, as they surely are, it is much more likely

21 *Carmen* XXVI.36–40: Ernst Dümmler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, in MGH [Antiquitates] (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), vol. I: 246. Sulpicius and Idithun are nicknames for the relevant *magistri* of Charlemagne's Palace School; the biblical Idithun was one of King David's four chief musicians.

that the boys would have been taught singing and versification as strictly compartmentalized topics within their broad musical education.[22] Similarly tendentious juxtapositions occur in such treatises as the ninth-century *Scolica enchiriadis*, the tenth-century *Commemoratio brevis*, the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, and the various commentaries on them.[23] Yet these are simply analogies; in Guido's case in the context of chant composition, not primarily performance.

However, these analogies, in the case of the *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Commemoratio brevis*, are embedded within (or follow) extended discussions of "measure" in chant, and these must be taken seriously. Both authors insist on the distinction between short and long sounds, and that the latter are exactly twice as long as the former. The *Scolica* author says concerning the performance of chant: "Ac inprimis videndum, ut numerose quodlibet melum promatur."[24] To the pupil's inevitable question: "Quid est numerose canere?" it is answered that attention should be given to which *morulae* are longer and which shorter, just as ("quatinus uti") one notes ("attenditur") which syllables [of language] are long and which short.[25] He gives the pupil an example to imitate, written out in dasian notation and with long- and short-signs added in two extant sources. Although these manuscripts are not entirely consistent, it is abundantly clear that the longs and shorts do not reflect the quantities of the syllables; in fact it is expressly stated that the long values (*morulae*) come at the end of each of the three phrases (*membra*) of the antiphon quoted.[26] Finally comes the full answer to the original question: "Sic itaque numerose est canere, longis brevibusque sonis ratas morulas metiri, nec per loca protrahere vel contrahere magis

22 The many examples of neumes applied to classical metrical poetry in medieval manuscripts may indicate however that boys were taught metrics through the medium of song. Similar notations were applied to non-quantitative verse: see especially, *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum saec. IV–IX*, ed. F. Stella and Sam Barrett (Florence: Sismel – Edizioni dei Galluzzo, 2007); Barrett, *The Melodic Tradition of Boethius'* "*De Consolatione Philosophiae*," Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2011).

23 *Sc. ench.* 1: 388 (p. 86 Schmid): "et veluti metricis pedibus cantilena plaudatur"; *Comm. brev.* 352 (p. 177 Schmid): "quo certe omne melos more metri diligenter mensurandum sit"; *Micr.* c.xv; cf. Aribo Scholasticus, *De musica* (pp. 46–47 65f. Smits van Waesberghe).

24 "First it is to be noted that every melody should be performed rhythmically": Hans Schmid, *Musica et scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981) p. 86.

25 "Ut attendatur, ubi productioribus ubi brevioribus morulis utendum sit, quatinus uti, quae sillabae breves quaeque sint longae, attenditur . . . " Erickson translates (p. 51): "To make it understood where one must use longer and shorter durations we shall consider how and to what degree some syllables ought to be lengthened and which ought to be shortened . . . " But "Ut attendatur" is the direct answer to the question: "[To sing rhythmically is] to attend to [etc.]." It is a disadvantage of his transcription of the example that it puts the signs for shorts and longs over the syllables of the text rather than over the notes of the melody. ("Quatinus uti" can mean "in order to" in post-classical Latin, but that would require a subjunctive verb.) Vollaerts (see note 31) p. 205 conveys the intended meaning well.

26 Here is another misunderstanding: in Erickson's translation the feminine plurals "ultimae" and "reliquae" are taken to imply "syllabae," whereas from the context they must refer to "morulae."

quam oportet, sed intra scandendi legem vocem continere, ut possit melum ea finiri mora, qua coepit."[27]

There follows a discussion of tempo (*mora*), with an exercise in singing the given example at its original speed, then twice as slow, and then at the original speed again. The importance of maintaining a consistent speed is stressed, and there is a brief mention of the *distinctiones*, the phrases into which a chant should be divided and (perhaps) the written punctuation of the texts. Finally there are some rather obscure remarks about the appropriate choice of tempo, suggesting that in practice a fair amount of discretion could be used.

Armed with this interpretation, we can approach the *Commemoratio brevis* with a better chance of understanding its rather involved discussion. The author initially stresses the importance of "equality" in the performance of chant. This does not mean, as might be supposed, that all notes should be of equal duration: the equality he means is an equality of the basic durational unit. In slightly different language he emphasizes a strictly proportional relationship of short to long "momenta"; to paraphrase slightly, "all longs should be equally long, all shorts equally short, except at grammatical pauses, which in song should be interpreted with a circumspection similar [to that employed in reading?]."[28] While tempo may be changed within a chant, it should be done proportionally; and in *alternatim* singing, the same tempo (and the same pitch) should be used by each group of singers. But there is also consideration given to the possibility of varying both pitch and tempo according to the circumstances. He recommends the doubling in length of the first note of each psalm-verse, and the doubling of the last one or two notes; the antiphon should be sung at the same speed as the psalm except at the end, when it may be sung at half speed (but not after the Gospel canticles, which are sung slower in any case). Thus within any one chant or group of chants (such as the antiphon with its psalm or psalms) a strict proportionality should be observed; on the other hand, there can be some discretion as to absolute tempo for such a chant or chant-sequence.

References to versification in relation to chant in post-Carolingian authors are also analogical, as for example in the famous chapter 15 of Guido of

27 "And so this is what singing rhythmically is: to measure the correct values in terms of long and short sounds, and not to prolong or shorten them in places more than one should, but rather to constrain [each] note according to the law of scansion, so that the melody can end at the speed with which it began." The reference to scansion is again an analogy, not an invitation to interpret a text prosodically.

28 "Verum omnia longa aequaliter longa, brevium sit par brevitas exceptis distinctionibus, quae simili cautela in cantu observandae sunt": p.176 Schmid; p.102 Bailey. The preceding sentence requires the emendations made by Bailey, p. 102.

Arezzo's *Micrologus*. A detailed commentary on this text, which is primarily about the composition of chant, would be out of place here, but a few observations insofar as it concerns performance may be made, particularly as the most readily available English translation[29] is (I believe) misleading at one point; for it seems clear that the *morulae* are not "delays" separating one passage or neume from another, but the values attached to the notes themselves.[30] Guido's expression "cum ipsa metra canimus" ("when we sing actual meters") may well relate to the presence of neumes over such texts in medieval manuscripts. But although a few parallels with hymn-melodies have indeed been identified, it seems unlikely that the remark has any bearing on the performance of liturgical hymnody in general, as Vollaerts thought.[31]

That Guido's text was felt to be obscure is demonstrated by the several commentaries that it generated: two separate ones in Aribo's treatise, a further anonymous one, and the thirteenth-century English *Metrologus*.[32] This last adds for good measure supposed notational equivalents of various metrical feet, but these bear no relationship to any possible rhythmic practice. On the other hand the mensuration of chant remained a lively issue in the thirteenth century and beyond. Hieronymus de Moravia insisted that all chant should be measured, and suggested actual time-values for neumes of various lengths (however notated).[33]

John Hothby in his treatise *La Calliopea legale* proposed a hierarchy of values analogous to the polyphonic system of *modus*, *tempus*, and *prolatio*, although

29 *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, transl. Warren Babb, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 70–73; a note on p. 55 lists previous commentaries and translations.

30 "aliae voces ab aliis morulam duplo longiorem, vel duplo breviorem, aut tremulam habeant, id est, varium tenorem, quem longum aliquotiens litterae virgula plana apposita significat"; "some notes should have a value twice as long as, or twice as short as others, or a *tremula*; that is, they are of variable length, which if long is sometimes indicated by a horizontal stroke placed above the 'letter' [i.e. the written note]." Cf. Babb's version, ibid., 70, though this is to a certain extent supported by Aribo Scholasticus: *Aribonis De Musica*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, CSM 2 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951), 66; see also *Aribo De Musica* and *Sententiae*, ed. and trans. T. J. H. McCarthy (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2015), 100. Waesberghe, Vollaerts (see following note) and Babb all take the words "varium tenorem" to refer only to the *tremula*, but this does not seem to be demanded (or even suggested) by the syntax.

31 Jan W. A. Vollaerts, *Rhythmic Proportions in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 188. Vollaerts in his translation and extensive commentary on this chapter (168–94) is inclined to read more into it than the text will bear. His argument that the words "duplo longiorem vel duplo breviorem" (see previous note) imply three values (short, long, and double-long) is at best debatable. Moreover his view that Guido's references to the proportional relationship between "neumes" (the musical "feet" of his metrical analogy) inevitably lead to the temporal equivalence of neumes with different numbers of notes (notwithstanding the support of Aribo) seems to be misplaced. Cf. Babb's less tendentious translation here (*Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, 70); but also Aribo, *Aribonis De Musica*, 49.

32 For Aribo see note 30. The *Metrologus* and *Commentarius Anonymus* are ed. by Smits van Waesberghe, *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini*, Musicologica Medii Aevi 1 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1957), 59–92; 93–172.

33 Ed. Cserba, 180f. See my article "Plainsong and Polyphony 1250–1550" in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas F. Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6–31 at 10.

some details remain unclear.[34] Hothby refers to the use of the *minima* in the "Credo Cardinalis" and other chants, an observation borne out by numerous sources from the fourteenth century and later. One of the earliest sources of the "Credo Cardinalis" is in fact in two-part polyphony, which suggests that the simple polyphonic practice of the period influenced the performance of at least some chants.[35] The same may be true of the earliest mensurally notated plainsong hymns, the tunes for which in some cases survive in both monophonic and polyphonic form, usually in alternation.

It is certain that a metrical or quasi-metrical approach to the performance of liturgical chant survived beyond the Middle Ages and the Reformation up to the reforms of Solesmes (and other pioneers) in the second half of the nineteenth century, when a return to early medieval practice as then understood was promoted and finally accepted within the Church. In the context of a more sophisticated approach to cultivating an appropriate style for particular purposes, and especially in the context of alternation with polyphony, that understanding is now rightly being reassessed.

Non-Liturgical Song

The repertories to be considered under this heading are primarily vernacular (whether sacred or secular), but sacred and secular Latin song, including for example hymns and sequences, is also covered.

In both secular music and popular religious music simple metrical schemes must surely have predominated long before notation was reinvented in the post-Antique world. The first question then is to what extent they persisted into an era of written (and hence to some extent elitist) music prior to the adoption of mensural notation. The second question is what was the role of the versified text in shaping such metrical conventions as may have continued to exist. The answers, provisional though they must be, are dependent in large part on considerations of genre and language.

Liturgical hymns, for example, while they originated as popular religious songs, had by the time of their first notation evolved into something rather more sophisticated. Their Latin language had become incomprehensible to all but clerics and religious, and many of their melodies are characterized by note-groups that are difficult to accommodate if they are to be constrained

34 Caldwell, "Plainsong and Polyphony," 12. See now the improved edition of *Calliopea* by T. L. McDonald, with translation (CSM 42, 1997), 55–63; 122–28.

35 Cf. Giulia Gabrielli, Marco Gozzi, and Giacomo Baroffio, *Il canto fratto nei manoscritti della Fondazione Biblioteca S. Bernadino di Trento* (Provincia autonoma di Trento: Soprintendenza per i beni librari e archivistici, 2005), 40. The measured liturgical monophonies known in Italy as *canto fratto*, using a simplified form of full-black measured notation, persisted until the late nineteenth century.

within the rhythmic pattern of the verse itself. It seems likely that, prior to the reintroduction of the metrical interpretations referred to above, they were performed in exactly the same way as comparable melodies with prose texts, and by the same people, choirs of monks or nuns, and canons or their deputies. The simplified versification that substituted accent and syllable-count for regulation by syllabic quantity does not seem to have affected the character of the melodies, and in any case would not have contributed to any greater comprehensibility of the texts.[36]

The same must be true of "Notkerian" sequences, the texts of which are versified only in the sense of being governed by pre-existing melodic structures.[37] But in the post-Notkerian forms, and in comparable repertories of conductus and versus, the rise of verse-forms favoring accentual trochees above other rhythms, combined with a predominantly syllabic type of melody, would have facilitated the alternation of accented and unaccented beats in a metrically regular pattern. But even supposing the subordination of any note-groups on one syllable to such a pattern, there still arises the question of the actual rhythmic shape intended. Was the underlying meter duple or triple, and if the latter, was the predominating rhythm in the ratio 2:1 or 1:2?[38] A pragmatic solution to the latter question would be to accommodate groups of two or more notes on one syllable to the longer value, placing this first or second in the measure as the case may be. Such melodies as are actually written in a form of mensural notation, however, tend to adopt a uniform ternary rhythmic pattern.[39]

The same problems confront the interpreter of vernacular songs prior to the adoption of mensural note-forms in some repertories towards the end of the thirteenth century. Certainly some songs have a dance-like character suggestive of regular meter, in most cases probably triple meter, although that can never be proved. But what is to be said of the great bulk of non-dance-like songs written down in non-mensural notation? Many musicologists from the

36 Some quantitative meters, such as the iambic dimeter, the trochaic tetrameter, and the Sapphic stanza, were intrinsically isosyllabic (that is, having the same number of syllables in each line or stanza); they continued to be used alongside their purely syllabic (and partly accentual) substitutes. Other meters, especially the hexameter line and the elegiac distich, were not isosyllabic and had no non-quantitative equivalents. The circumstances inviting the elision of a syllable were the same in quantitative and non-quantitative verse, but the common practice of providing an extra note for an elided syllable would have provided a further disincentive to metrical interpretation.

37 This assertion, once controversial, is surely borne out by the distinctive features of Notkerian poetry. However, the rule of one syllable per melismatic note was never absolute.

38 I avoid the potentially misleading terms "iambic" and "trochaic" for this purpose.

39 For example those inserted into a Gradual of Salisbury Use, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Latin liturgical D.3 (*GB-Ob* lat. liturg. D.3), fols. 68v (*Amator hominis*); 70v (*Beate virginis*). The conveniently available repertory of Latin song of this type has been greatly increased by the publication of *Songs in British Sources c. 1150–1300*, ed. Helen Deeming, Musica Britannica XCV (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013), in which the melodies are presented as unstemmed note heads.

days of Aubry and Beck onwards have invoked the medieval theory of rhythmic modes (discussed in the next section) in an attempt to validate a rhythmic interpretation based on the versification of the text. This presupposed a ternary meter for virtually all song, although Beck himself often favored binary meter. Yet as John Stevens pointed out, the application of the theory to troubadour and trouvère melodies is "*on theoretical grounds entirely inappropriate*" (his italics).[40] His own preference was to accord each syllable of a text the same value, a procedure that allows for accentual variety while preserving the general sense of a regular alternation of strong and weak beats. One could describe this as isosyllabism (in a different sense from that used above, note 36), or simply a rather free application of the fifth rhythmic mode. In the early fourteenth century Johannes de Grocheio was to describe the *cantus coronatus* (apparently meaning by this what modern scholars refer to as the *grande chanson courtoise*) as consisting entirely of perfect longs.[41]

At this point a short digression on medieval versification seems necessary. Reference has already been made to "syllabic/accentual" schemes in Latin. Historically, these are the successors to quantitative schemes that in turn presuppose certain possible accentual patterns within the line.[42] Medieval Latin verse, when not itself quantitative, employed a similar or even greater variation of accent, sometimes even to the extent of wholly inverting the expected pattern. In due course, such "rhythmical" verse came to adopt conventions similar to those applicable to the Romance vernaculars.[43]

In French, for example, lines were governed primarily by an equality of syllable-count (or by a scheme of variable line-lengths repeated from stanza to stanza), their rhythmic character being determined by the accentual pattern at the end of the line only, or at the half-line also in the case of longer lines. In order to infer a regular succession of accented beats in an accompanying tune one must count back from the accented cadential syllable, either at the half-line or at the end of the line.[44] Similar conventions applied to verse in

40 John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 426.

41 Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften*, 130

42 For comments on classical Latin prosody and meter see above. I omit any discussion of rhyme, which is irrelevant to the present issues.

43 The standard work is still Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine medieval*, Acta Universitalis Stockholmiensis: Studia latina Stockholmiensis 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958). See also *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum saec. IV–IX* (note 22 above), and note 45 below.

44 In what is known as the lyric caesura a weak syllable at the half-line can be assumed to have carried a musical stress. At the line-end a weak syllable forms the second element of a "feminine ending" and is normally assumed to have been unaccented in a musical performance (although this is by no means necessarily true of post-medieval French music). Accentual patterns other than the regular alternation of strong and weak cannot normally be detected with sufficient certainty to justify their application to a melody, although the "dactylic" pattern / – – has often been assumed by musicologists and receives very occasional support from mensural sources (see note 47).

other Latin-derived languages (e.g., Occitan, Italian, and Galician-Portuguese), although the medieval and modern terminology used to describe them varies from language to language. Medieval Latin grammarians came to describe line-endings as either "iambic" (proparoxytone) or "spondaic" (paroxytone), corresponding to the masculine or strong ending (and also to the *verso sdrucciolo* or its equivalent in some languages) and the feminine or weak ending in the vernaculars.[45]

It would therefore seem that it is extremely dangerous to derive musical metrical schemes from principles of medieval versification. Indeed a still more basic question suggests itself: were the rhythms of vernacular or Latin songs determined by verse-rhythm at all? Did the length of a line even determine the length of the musical phrase? The most cursory consideration of post-medieval song would suggest that it is by no means axiomatic that it should do so, and a doubling of the penultimate syllable of the line has frequently been employed in modern transcriptions. But there has always been an underlying assumption amongst musicologists (as amongst classicists when considering the musical nature of ancient Greek melic verse) that tunes were firmly anchored to the versification of the texts, and it is true that if this assumption were discarded nothing useful could be said about the rhythm of medieval song.

The adoption in the later thirteenth-century of mensural note-forms in certain repertories does in any case suggest that the word–note relationship was usually quite strict. However, it is not always possible to assert that the notated mensural form was that of the original song. (The relatively late date of most manuscripts of medieval song, and especially those of troubadour song, not to mention the northern French provenance of most of them, raises the wider issue of the reliability of the melodies in general.) The late thirteenth-century Chansonnier Cangé, for example, re-presents in quasi-mensural form melodies found in other manuscripts in non-mensural notation.[46] Quite often there are other differences between the melodies concerned. It could be argued that the "Cangé" notation is indicative of recomposition in the light of current developments in polyphonic art-music,

45 See Margot Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises 'De rithmis,'" *The Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 164–90, esp. 180–83 on the *Poetria parisiana* of John of Garland. For the weakening of accent in middle French see Mildred K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1934), 82. Romance languages inherited the (sometimes altered) stress-accents of Vulgar Latin, but frequently eliminated weak syllables. In the German dialects stress retained a strong profile, even in lyric versification, but the implications of this for musical rhythm are unclear.

46 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 846 (*F- Pn* fr. 846), named after its eighteenth-century owner; facsimile and transcription ed. Jean Beck, 2 vols. (Paris and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927).

even though the actual notation is often ambiguous and far from up-to-date in mensural terms.[47]

We are probably on safer ground in assuming an intrinsically metrical (and normally ternary) scheme for the bulk of the *Cantigas di Santa Maria*, the great collection compiled by Alfonso X of Castile and León from materials written in the widespread literary language known as Galician-Portuguese. The notations are far from unambiguous, and they vary from one source to another, but there is little that cannot be accommodated to some form of regular meter, and the overwhelming impression is of an intention that this should be so. There is moreover a consistency about the repertory, and a limitation of chronological range, that is lacking in the less uniform selection of materials to be found in the Chansonnier Cangé.[48]

There is not the space here to investigate the specific problems associated with other repertories, of which the German *Minnesang* and the Italian *lauda* are amongst the most extensive. Needless to say, the issues are not uniform throughout any one repertory: the *laude*, for example, are of two quite radically different kinds, one rather simple, the other employing extensive melismas.

The non-mensural sources, together with such other evidence as exists, therefore leave interpreters with a variety of possibilities. One is to treat the melodies like plainsong, giving each note (not syllable) an equal value except for lengthening at phrase-endings or perhaps at the end of note-groups under a single syllable. Another is to give each syllable the same value, though with some relaxation wherever an extended note-group demands it. A third possibility is to adopt ternary meter, using either the 2:1 or the 1:2 rhythmic pattern, or the two together, reserving the longer syllabic value for larger note-groups whenever they occur. Simple melodies with dance-like implications clearly call for strongly marked, regularly placed accents, whatever the actual rhythm might be. Finally, additional freedom may be needed in those cases where extensive melismas are bound to disrupt any metrical regularity that might be appropriate for the melody as a whole. In the circumstances a "non-committal" transcription of the

47 In several cases, including Gace Brulé's *De bone amour* (fol. 41r), the Chansonnier Cangé indicates a dactylic rhythm; but the question then arises whether this is to be interpreted in binary rhythm or in the manner of the third polyphonic rhythmic mode. Dactylic rhythms could not be inferred from the versification and may well be due to scribal whim. See the transcription of this song (from a different source) and commentary in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, ed. Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot (New York and London: Garland, 1998), 256–57, 260–01.

48 A greater variety of metrical patterns has sometimes been inferred from the notations of the *Cantigas*, however. For a recent overview see Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Iberian Monophony," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 144–57.

melodic material is much to be preferred to a specific interpretation imposed on the user by the editor.

The interpretation of quasi-mensural sources is also fraught with difficulty, but here there is at least the opportunity of comparison with polyphonic music notated in some form of pre-Franconian notation, allowing one to infer (for example) more than one possible interpretation of the *ligatura binaria* within the same general context. Such parallels provide a useful control on attempts to understand each repertory in isolation, which can produce imaginative but in the nature of things essentially speculative interpretations.

Pre-Mensural Polyphony

This is an unsatisfactory expression, if only because the issue is whether, or to what extent, the polyphony to be considered is measured or not. It is used here, however, to describe polyphony up to (but not including) the first use of notational systems that indicate measure with reasonable clarity, that is to say to about 1230. Needless to say there is written music after that date of which this is not true, but the principal manuscripts of "Notre-Dame" polyphony (and monophony) are a watershed in the establishment of notated mensuration and will be discussed in the next section.

The earliest written polyphony of which we have knowledge is an extension of plainchant and evidently conformed to its rhythmic conventions. The samples in *Musica* and *Scolica Enchiriadis* presumably represent monastic practice and are compatible with performance by the monastic choir as a whole. The same is true of the examples given by Guido and John. But the non-theoretical sources of similar date, principally the Winchester troper, are written in a sophisticated neumatic notation that includes in the case of Winchester the use of "Notkerian" letters. This kind of music looks as though it could have been sung only by a small dedicated group, the monastic equivalent of the secular *schola*.[49] If my earlier arguments are accepted, this implies a flexible rather than a strictly measured rhythmic style of performance.

This flexibility may have been lost later on, but as long as polyphony remained essentially note-against-note (even in more than two parts) the

49 *The Winchester Troper*, [facsimile] ed. Susan Rankin, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2007). See also Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968); his plates include one from the fragmentary MS Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi latini 586 (*I- Rvat* Reg. lat. 586), from Fleury, showing an organal part in unheightened neumes.

prevailing conventions of plainchant performance are likely to have been followed – even when the music was not actually based on pre-existent plainchant. To the extent that plainchant itself succumbed to artificial rhythmization, so also, we may take it, did such "primitive" polyphony. But that principle could no longer hold with the introduction of multiple note-groups in one part against the single notes of another, nor even when short neumes of different lengths were intended to be combined.[50]

One apparent feature of all polyphony until the advent of the motet style in the early thirteenth century is the principle that syllabic change in all voices should be simultaneous. This clearly limited the compositional process and also predetermines the approach to rhythmic interpretation, assuming that it is true, as the evidence of the sources suggests.[51]

The seemingly wayward behavior of much twelfth-century polyphony in respect of the relationship between the parts creates enormous difficulties of interpretation. Where the writing maintains a consistent relationship between the parts – for example combining note-groups of moderate length in the upper part against single notes in the lower throughout a composition – a consistent procedure is readily adopted, probably in those circumstances an equal-note interpretation of the upper voice. But in other cases the same piece may contain passages of note-against-note syllabic polyphony, neume-against-neume melismatic polyphony, and sustained-note polyphony (single notes in the tenor being accompanied by short and long melismas in the upper part). It is difficult, if not impossible, to envisage a single methodology that can encompass all this diversity.

A good example of such extremes is to be found in the versus "De monte lapis scinditur," a Christmas song from one of the later so-called "St. Martial" manuscripts (though its actual place of origin is unknown).[52] The editions cited use a non-committal notation; van der Werf includes the manuscript barlines and adds paleographical notes. A rather simplistic solution would be to assign an equal value to every note of whichever part which has most of them at any one time; this is normally but not invariably the upper part, so the practical difficulties involved are not too great. Then the question is how the other part (normally the lower) is to behave at these points: the usual answer

50 In this discussion "neume" means a short group of notes, normally but not invariably fully ligated.

51 Texts are normally written below the lowest staff of a score only. Score-notation for polyphony arose in the latter part of the eleventh century and was normative until the early thirteenth, when it was retained for liturgical organa and conducti but discarded for the motet (except for the "conductus motet" and "organal motet").

52 London, British Library, additional 36881 (*GB- Lbl* add. 36881), fols. 19v–20v; *The Oxford Anthology of Music: Medieval Music*, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco and Nicholas Sandon (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 88–89; Hendrik van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music* (Rochester, NY: The Author, 1993), vol. II, 101–02.

to this is to aim for the maximum degree of consonance between the voices. For most of the piece the number of neumes or notes in the two parts is the same, but there are places where the same number of notes is differently neumated, and others where more than one neume in the upper part corresponds to a single note (or neume) in the lower. In addition there are two lengthy melismas in the upper part against a single note in the lower, in both cases on the penultimate syllable of a line of verse.

This solution can be made to work, but it is not entirely satisfactory, since melismatic sections (in the upper voice only or in both) seem to require a swifter delivery than those which are purely syllabic. It would be possible to treat syllabic passages as being in a prototypical mode 5 (consisting of perfect longs, occasionally broken into smaller values in the upper part), treating neumes elsewhere as indicative of more "fractured" modal patterns. There is some encouragement to do so in the occurrence now and then of arrangements of ligatures suggestive of the later system of "modal" notation (as on the penultimate syllable of *De monte lapis*, where the patterning in the neume-against-neume section is essentially that of mode 1 in both parts).

It is difficult, indeed impossible, to carry this through entire pieces in an objective fashion, although an attempt has been made to do so by Karp in his edition of the repertory.[53] But in order to preserve syllabic simultaneity as well as modal rhythm it is frequently necessary to change syllable in the middle of a ligature. For example at the very end of *De monte lapis* a conclusion in mode 1, which seems to be suggested by the ligation, requires the breaking of the final ligature if the last syllable is to coincide in both voices on a metrically strong (and ipso facto consonant) position. In a non-modal interpretation the final syllable can be assumed to begin on a dissonance, possibly prolonged, resolving on to a consonance, in this case a unison.

There are various contexts in which the breaking of ligatures (or neumes) can be inferred, but despite Karp's arguments they are not strictly comparable. The marginal melismatic notations of Notkerian sequences – if they are to be regarded as notations of the texted versions – would be one example; Notre-Dame clausulae (discant sections) in relation to their equivalent motets – again if the clausulae are considered as a shorthand notation for the motets themselves – would be another. In later medieval music cantus-firmus parts sometimes have to be broken up in order to

53 *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, ed. T. Karp, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). His version of *De monte lapis* is in vol. II: 82–85.

accommodate the texts provided for them. But the breaking of ligatures is virtually unknown in regular plainchant notation, and it has not been found necessary in most transcriptions of Notre-Dame organa, where for that matter many scholars have assumed a dichotomy of rhythmic styles in any case, as we shall see.[54] So for this reason if for no other Karp's transcriptions have not found general acceptance – which is not to say that the experiment was not worth making.

In the last resort it is impossible to devise objective criteria for the performance of most twelfth-century polyphony, but in view of the evidence for rhythmic inconsistency in later music it seems not unreasonable to apply this to the twelfth-century repertory as well. Mention should also be made of attempts to transcribe syllabic or nearly-syllabic sections in one or other of the rhythmic modes (other than the fifth) in the manner of the thirteenth-century motet. This is generally less convincing, as well as being anachronistic, and the resulting disjunction when melismatic sections occur is considerably greater than if a prototypical fifth mode is adopted in the syllabic passages.

Mensural Polyphony

The introduction of a system for indicating time-values did not immediately lead to an unambiguous notation for all polyphony (let alone monophony). The new method consisted in arranging ligatures into sequences characterized by the number of notes in each one in order to denote by convention a prevailing rhythm. These rhythms were described as *modi* (modes) and were ternary in the sense that "short" notes (*breves*) were grouped into threes. Two breves had the value of an "imperfect long" (*longa imperfecta*), and three of a "perfect long" (*longa perfecta*). Two perfect longs made up the value of a double long (*duplex longa*), and the effect of much of this polyphony, assuming a moderately fast speed, is of compound duple rather than simple triple time. The *tempus* or basic time-unit consisted of a *brevis recta*; the *brevis altera*, literally the second of a pair, was of double length (like the imperfect long) and was used in the third (and fourth, purely theoretical) modes.

In the earliest and most common enumeration of the modes, the first consisted of imperfect longs and breves in alternation, and was indicated by a three-note ligature, followed by as many two-note ligatures as were required

54 A brief discussion cannot do adequate justice to Karp's detailed arguments. They are presented in full, ibid., vol. 1: 29–58.

to complete a phrase.[55] Mode 2 consisted of breves and imperfect longs in alternation, and was indicated by a series of two-note ligatures, ending with one of three notes. The remaining modes were similarly encoded by purely conventional arrangements of ligatures and/or single notes.[56]

This notational method had a number of disadvantages, even assuming that only ternary rhythms were required. In principle it could apply only to melismatic music (but see above for the possible use of melismatic clausulae as a notation for motets). The rhythms once set up had to be preserved, at least up to the end of a phrase. It was possible to add extra notes or to subtract them in order to vary a prevailing rhythm, but this could lead to ambiguities. In fact it was soon noticed that the addition of notes (*fractio modi*) or their subtraction (*extensio modi*) could obscure the distinction between the modes, and this led to the perception that (for example) modes 1 and 5 were essentially identical (mode 6 therefore becoming mode 5 in Franco of Cologne's numbering).

Although the principal manuscripts of Notre-Dame polyphony make use of this notational system, its interpretation is not always clear-cut. The earliest theorists, for their part, introduced notational modifications to clarify ambiguities. For example Johannes de Garlandia, in order to illustrate the time-values themselves, already had recourse to the note-shapes denoting breve and long, while the three-note ligature (*ligatura ternaria*) used in connection with mode 2 was modified in shape to indicate the short-long-short rhythm. The three-note ligature was also used in tenor parts to indicate the first *ordo* of mode 5, its meaning being determined in that case by the context. In fact this theorist, the earliest to describe ligature-pattern notation, belongs to a period subsequent to, or at least represents a more advanced stage of development than, the principal manuscripts of Notre-Dame polyphony. It is possible that his treatise, usually dated ca. 1240, was written nearer to 1260.[57]

The Notre-Dame manuscripts themselves (only one of which seems to be incontestably Parisian in origin)[58] represent redactions of the repertory later than that of the composition of much of it. It is uncertain what was the state of the famous *Magnus liber organi* when it left the hands of its composer Magister

55 The phrasal unit was described by theorists as an *ordo*, this being first, second, etc. according to the number of times the rhythmic pattern was to be performed. Modes were described as perfect if the *ordo* finished on the next note after the last complete pattern (or on the next two notes in the case of mode 4). Imperfect modes, in which this extra note was not included, were not much used in practice.

56 For a full account of "modal ligature notation" see Lawrence Earp, "Notation II," chapter 22 in this volume.

57 For more information on Johannes de Garlandia and the treatise attributed to him, see Earp, "Notation II," p. 706 and note 6. That Johannes simply revised an existing treatise in the 1280s is entirely plausible.

58 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (*I– Fl* plut. 29.1), now dated ca. 1245–55.

Leoninus towards the end of the twelfth century, either in substance or notationally. It is tempting to regard the "Florence Manuscript" as a rationalization that brought the original two-part organa into line with the more up-to-date music that it contains: organa in three and four parts, some of it later attributed to one Magister Perotinus Magnus, conducti, separately collected clausulae, and a few motets. Other collections are still further removed from the original nucleus, though the St. Andrews manuscript may preserve older elements of style and repertorial selection.[59]

As their most recent editors have accepted, each manuscript of Notre-Dame polyphony needs to be handled separately and as a document of its own time rather than as necessarily being a faithful record of earlier practice. This is entirely compatible with a variegated transcription of the two-part organa, treating sustained-note sections as mensurally free in accordance with Franco's and Anonymous IV's description of them as *organum purum*; certain other imprecisely notated sections as partially free in accordance with theoretical accounts of a style known as *copula*; and transcribing discantus sections in "modal" notation in a metrically regular manner.[60] Earlier editors often attempted to apply modal rhythms to sustained-note sections as well, but since the ligation in these is mostly quite irregular (as in the "pre-mensural" repertory) their interpretations were bound to be subjective. The upper voices of organa in three or four parts are necessarily strictly measured throughout, but there is little indication that such strictness was applied in two-part organa before they fell out of use altogether.

As already noted, modal notation (more properly "ligature-pattern notation") could apply only to melismatic music; but that does not mean that the rhythmic modes did not prevail in other genres, such as conductus or motet, whether they were notated mensurally or not. Indeed, mode came to be the standard term for defining the nature of musical rhythm in the thirteenth century, and its ternary organization (whatever the actual durations) was taken as axiomatic.

The numerous self-standing clausulae in discantus style (originating no doubt as alternatives to existing sections of complete works) are written in ligature-pattern notation. The same is true of the melismatic sections of conducti, but not of their syllabically texted sections, nor of those conducti

59 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 628 Helmstedt (*D-W*, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.), now dated in the early 1230s.

60 See especially the edition of the "Florence Manuscript" by Mark Everist: *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, vols. II–IV (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 2001–03).

that are syllabically texted throughout.[61] The question then arises how texted conducti, and the texted sections of conducti with melismas, should be performed. As regards the latter, older editors often chose to interpret syllabic progression in the first or second mode (as previously noted in relation to pre-mensural polyphony), partly on the grounds that the untexted sections themselves were in one or other of these modes; but the deduction is logically fallacious and the results are often unsatisfactory. In fact the best "match" is often obtained by interpreting the syllabic sections in mode 5 and accepting that ligatures may have different values in this context. But for conducti texted syllabically throughout, given the analogy of contemporary motets, an interpretation in mode 1 or 2 may often be appropriate. The existence of later copies of some works in a more specifically mensural notation can sometimes provide a basis for editorial decisions, but the evidence should be used with caution, since there is always the possibility of subsequent reinterpretation.

The earliest motets are evidently derived from clausulae in discantus style, or in a few cases from the organal sections of *organa tripla* or *quadrupla*. So-called conductus motets shared the text between all voices, including apparently the pre-existent tenor, even though this might be notated in ligatures or as a single sustained note (in the case of organal motets).[62] The adapted use and reuse of materials is too complex an issue to be discussed fully here, but the point to be observed is that a great deal of the texted repertory can be interpreted rhythmically on the basis of parallel (not necessarily prior) material in melismatic form, retaining the tenor unchanged. By the time motets came to be composed independently of (or without the notational support of) discantus clausulae, scribes had begun to give more specific indications of the intended rhythm in the form of the notes and ligatures themselves.

We have seen that the theorist Johannes de Garlandia was already able to use note shapes to indicate specific time-values, and to modify the shape of a ligature to alter its meaning. The (black) square note with a tail descending to the right indicated a long; without the tail it was a breve. An elongated tailed note represented the double long, and both the long and the breve could be plicated – that is, given a *plica* or "fold" – to represent an additional higher

61 By "syllabic" is here meant what was described in the thirteenth century as *cum littera*; the writing is not necessarily syllabic in the strict sense, but proceeds on the basis of a rhythmically regular succession of syllables. In the same way "discantus" in this context does not refer to the rigidly note-against-note progressions adopted by theorists for teaching purposes but to the rhythmically controlled style that distinguished it (for example in the writing of Anonymous IV) from *organum purum*.

62 There are a few "pre-mensural" examples of organa troped in a single upper voice, and these are sometimes referred to as motets, but they do not carry the same mensural implications.

or lower pitch in addition to the main one.[63] A diamond-shaped note was a semibreve, two or three of which corresponded to the breve. Ligatures received modifications on the basis of a pre-existing "normal" shape associated with a "normal" meaning; one significant innovation was the use of an upward tail to indicate a pair of semibreves (or even a group of three semibreves if the ligature contained four notes).

Thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century manuscripts exhibit many ambiguities of notation, especially (but not solely) in contexts for which the theoretical sources provide no guidance. Stricter notational rules were drawn up by Franco of Cologne (possibly ca. 1280), but many scribes were either unaware of them or chose to ignore them, and a pragmatic approach needs to be taken to the interpretation of the sources. What is incontestable is that by 1300 all polyphony at least, and probably a great deal of monophony, was governed by strictly mensural principles, however it may have been notated.

New musical styles, and perhaps too the artistic cultivation of older but less sophisticated idioms, led in the early fourteenth century to further innovations and to the creation of new ambiguities. Two of the most far-reaching novelties were the introduction of binary *modus* (in contradistinction to the by now generalized ternary *modus*) together with a possible binary subdivision of the *tempus* or breve; and the introduction (or legitimization) of the *semibrevis minima*, literally the "least" semibreve. The situations that led to this rationalization are too complex to describe here, but the outcome was a set of four possible combinations of binary or ternary subdivision at the level of the semibreve (two or three minims) and breve (two or three semibreves). To these possibilities was added the duple or triple division of the long, creating *modus imperfectus* or *perfectus*; in addition the old *duplex longa*, renamed *maxima*, could be rounded out by an additional long note or rest to create a ternary musical organization known as *modus maior perfectus*. Imperfect *modus* (*minor* or *maior*) was often indicated by means of red coloration, while special signs were devised to indicate the four *prolationes* by which the smaller values could be organized.[64]

63 A ligature could also be plicated, giving rise to an alternative way of notating the sixth mode in ligature-pattern notation.

64 *Prolatio*, literally "setting forth," comes from the verb *proferre*, which had come into use as a musical term in the thirteenth century to indicate performance as distinct from notation (e.g., Franco, chapter 12, CSM 18, 76–77). The noun was used quite naturally to indicate any of the four ways of subdividing the breve: *minor imperfecta* or *perfecta*, and *maior imperfecta* or *perfecta*. Similar descriptions of *tempus* were possible, but eventually it was found convenient to limit its application to the division of the *brevis*, and *prolatio* by analogy to the division of the *semibrevis*.

These innovations, due primarily to Philippe de Vitry and Johannes de Muris, were achieved only gradually in practice. Initially the note-form of the *minima* (a diamond with upward tail) was not used if the intended rhythm conformed to a recognized pattern within the overall mensuration. Italian theorists and composers also introduced the binary division of *tempus* in the early fourteenth century, accommodating smaller values within a system of *divisiones* analogous to, but not identical with, the *prolationes* of the French.

The subsequent history of mensural theory and practice are beyond the scope of this chapter. The fourteenth century saw a greatly expanded interest in diminution and augmentation as structural devices (rhythmic diminution of a chant tenor at least was not new, but had been practiced only on a small scale), isorhythmic repetitions in any part, and the use of strict temporal proportions, largely but not exclusively to govern the relation between sections of music.[65] One thing remained constant, however, and that was the concept of *mensura* to define and govern every aspect of temporal relationships in music.

We have seen how important was the concept of *mensura* to early medieval theorists. Originally a geometrical and architectural term, it suggested a degree of precision that *metrum*, used in Latin almost exclusively in relation to versification, had lost. St. Augustine in his *Confessions* (XI.xxvi–xxviii) puzzled over the implications of attempting to measure time, using examples from both verse and music to illustrate the difficulties; his use of the term and that of Cassiodorus (in a passage copied by St. Isidore)[66] has been mentioned above. For both Carolingian and later theorists, *mensura* was a vital concomitant of "song," even ecclesiastical song, even though as already mentioned Johannes de Grocheio could describe the latter as "not so precisely measured."

The Carolingians had used such terms as *morula* and *momentum* to indicate a long or a short unit of musical time, and in the thirteenth century *mensura* came into use for that purpose, being applicable to the *brevis* or *longa imperfecta* (or *brevis altera*),[67] while the *longa perfecta* was described as "ultra mensuram." It also retained its abstract sense: "*Mensura* is a quantitative relationship

65 There has been a tendency in the past to over-emphasize the phenomenon of "isorhythm" (a not very satisfactory term denoting the repetition of durational schemes in different sections of a work) and even to invent the "isorhythmic motet" as a category, whereas the fundamental fact about a multi-sectional motet or similar work is the temporal relationship between its sections, whether or not these are in any strict sense isorhythmically related.

66 *Etymologiae* III, c.xviii.

67 Cf. *Discantus positio vulgaris* in CS I:, 94; some writers, however, included the *longa perfecta* amongst the *mensurae*.

exhibiting length and shortness in any mensurable song."[68] In the fourteenth century and later, the *brevis*, considerably expanded in length, became the *mensura* par excellence, invading dance theory (so that "measure" became almost a synonym for dance in Renaissance England), and leading ultimately to the modern use of the term, especially in the USA (cf. *mesure*, *misura* in French and Italian, *Takt* in German, "bar" in British English).

Perhaps also it is not altogether fanciful to detect the influence of Euclidian geometry, based on theorems governing the relationship between dimensions (rather than on numerical proportions), in the concept of *mensura* not as an absolute length of time but as one proportioned to another irrespective of performing speed.[69] And in the elaborate structures of the late medieval motet we can see temporal relationships extended from the smallest units of musical time to the building blocks of an entire composition. Long-range structures are evident in the "double-cursus" discantus clausulae of the Notre-Dame epoch and in their derivative motets; they find their ultimate expression in such works as John Dunstaple's "Veni sancte spiritus" and Du Fay's "Ecclesie militantis."

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68 "Mensura est habitudo quantitativa longitudinem et brevitatem cuiuslibet cantus mensurabilis manifestans": Franco, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, CSM 18, 25. (It was not easy to avoid circularity and tautology in scholastic definitions.)

69 For what little is known of the reception of Euclid in Carolingian times see D. Pingree, "Boethius' Geometry and Astronomy," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 155–61. The fragment published in Boethius, *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De Institutione Arithmetica Libri Duo, De Institutione Musica Libri Quinque, Accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, ed. Godofredus Friedlein (Leipzig: G. Teubner, 1867), 373–428, while not authentically Boethian, rests in part on MSS going back to the tenth century.

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· 24 ·

Tonal Organization in Polyphony, 1150–1400

PETER M. LEFFERTS

This chapter proposes to explore how the tonal organization of polyphony is to be understood across the span of two-and-a-half centuries from the early Gothic era in southern and northern France to the Ars subtilior in France, England, and Italy. It is a topic that cannot be compressed into a single linear history. Questions of tonal organization, inevitably technical, are dependent on idiosyncrasies of style involving texture, counterpoint, harmony, and melody over a myriad of genres, regions, and generations, in traditions both written and unwritten, simple and elevated. Moreover, they may be addressed at many different levels of detail. I cannot come close to covering it all. My approach in this chapter, therefore, will be to refer to a few music examples in each of three broad stylistic categories of musical construction – simultaneous style, tenor style, and song style – that will allow me to make some systematic points and illuminate some of the ways in which tonal behavior varies with chronology, geography, and genre.

*

To ask about tonal organization is to ask a modern question. It is one of those fundamental ways that we nowadays approach a work of music to understand its construction and effect, though it is at best "a particular and limited mode of engagement with medieval music."[1] So to be clear, by tonal organization in what follows I shall mean in the most general sense a piece's "tonal behavior, its way of working with tones . . . [including] its definition of the extent and content of music space, its choice of pitches, and its ways of favoring certain pitches and discriminating against others."[2] This behavior may or may not involve the projection of any consistent tonality – understanding this word in its broadest possible sense – or it may involve the expression of one, or more than one, consistent tonality in a work.

1 Michael Long, "Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61 (2008), 253–306 at 256.
2 Peter M. Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types in the Fourteenth-Century French Chanson," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995), 117–47 at 117.

The expression "tonal organization" is potentially understandable as close kin to "tonal coherence." The former is preferable because it is more neutral, and we need to be careful with our choice of words here: coherence is a judgment call, an evaluation or opinion originating in the eye and ear of the modern analyst. Assessing organization asks us to examine and describe, but I will not, in modern parlance, analyze.[3] And still fussing with language, let me also be clear that the word organized is not going to be taken by any means as the opposite of unorganized. Every work of polyphony is organized somehow; it has been deliberately put together in some way by the composer. We want sensibly to describe how it behaves in the sense of "what it does," that is, "how it seems to be organized" rather than "what makes it coherent."

I would caution, furthermore, that the medieval theory that we have in hand is merely one window onto praxis. We are not required to use or be limited by the terms, concepts, and approaches we find in medieval theory treatises and that a medieval musician might recognize and understand. We study what WE are curious about. We cannot know much about what they were curious about, or what they would have thought about us and our concerns. Pragmatically and honestly, we cannot recover the past as it was even if its surviving ideas and artifacts may energize, stimulate, and enrich our vision, our musical seeing, hearing, and performing, and our scholarly enquiry.

Not a closed book by any means, this issue continues to attract valuable discussion that intersects the conversation about tonal behavior. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, who has made important contributions to the scholarship on tonal organization, recently has been a powerful voice reminding us of the unrecoverability of the past, while acknowledging the seductive siren's call of that goal. "One may doubt the possibility of knowing adequately what a medieval view was, while still regarding its recovery as desirable."[4] He is

3 Analysis, in the jargon of today's music theory, is a modern preoccupation with trying to show how a piece is a deliberately shaped whole. Analysis aspires to the demonstration of organicism – an inner or functional coherence: see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "'Rose, lis' revisited," in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 249–62 at 250 and Joseph Kerman, "How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get Out," *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980), 311–31 at 311–314. Margaret Bent is rightly wary of assertions about coherence. She asks "Where in late-medieval polyphony is the evidence for such '[tonal] coherence,' in the sense taken as axiomatic, however ill defined, by modern analysts?" Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 21.

4 Leech-Wilkinson, "'Rose, lis' revisited," 251. For the fullest argument, see above all Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002). With appropriate caution he may hold a door open with a statement like this: "Of course we cannot know if this was also true in the Middle Ages, but on balance it seems more likely than not" ("*Modern Invention*," 210). But here he's talking about brain processing, and the assumption that it hasn't changed so much in a thousand years. This is, critically, an observation not about conscious mental life but about hard-wired physiology.

most concerned with the irrecoverable physical sounds of medieval music-making, but in the context of a general and thoroughly appropriate pessimism about the remoteness and inaccessibility of medieval life and thought, stressing its alterity – and throwing cold water on the rhetoric of performers and others about achieving authenticity in Early Music performance. In an essay that can be read in part as a rejoinder to Leech-Wilkinson, Michael Long positions himself as more optimistic. To radically condense a long and subtle thesis, he argues for the possibility of the recovery of a medieval mode of thought. His is an argument for our ability to recognize the use of laughter and absurdity to pedagogical advantage both then and now – the equation across time of the notion of "child's play." And the pedagogical object that spurs his meditation is a tonal game or puzzle.[5]

I would add here that we can more often say what was done (in the sense of what was notated) than why, or what the rejected alternatives were. Some facts are concrete. There are medieval cathedrals, and someone wanted them, someone designed them, someone made them, and someone paid for them. Generally speaking, tonal organization – at least partly as concrete as any surviving cathedral – is rich territory for exploring precisely the line between the confidently knowable and the forever lost in the mental life and the music-making of the medieval musician. In respect to understanding construction and effect, tonal organization speaks mostly to construction, the realm of what the composer did. In respect to effect we have to back away. This is surely stepping into the minds of medieval readers and listeners, and we can't know if a given work made only marginal sense (was coherent, was not incompetent) or was judged good to read and hear (was admirable, was pleasurable) when it was new. Still, in the present day we can learn from a close consideration of individual works and of bodies of compositions a great deal about the norms of tonal behavior, and at least the rough borders to the range of the possible, without simply ending up inventing the past.

*

There is no consensus approach to the study of tonal organization, no orderly step-by-step checklist that everyone follows; but it is not hard to assemble a set of uncontroversial initial considerations. I would begin with these questions for a single piece: is there a governing voice, one with compositional priority? Is there a single governing pitch or sonority, a tonal locus? Is there a governing scale or pitch collection, and how far beyond this collection, or,

5 Long, "Singing Through the Looking Glass."

indeed, beyond the diatonic, does the piece go? And we may next ask: is there tonal closure? Is there tonal consistency? Is there deviation and return? Is there a permanent shift? Is there any apparent tonal design or plan?

Beyond these initial concerns, a natural next step is to ask about the separate polyphonic voices, both individually and collectively. What is the range and tessitura of each, and the consequent total expanse of the gamut that the work occupies? How do they stand in relation to their final pitch (lying principally above, around, or below it)? Do the parts overlap in range, and if so, do they also cross over each other? Is there an average width of counterpoint maintained between voices? In three- and four-voice works, is there a consistent, essential structural duet unfolding in two voices, to which one or two additional parts are added, or is some other interrelationship identifiable? What are the languages (or the "grammars") of melody, harmony, and counterpoint? How consistently are they maintained? Do we find harmonic-contrapuntal successions that might justifiably be called directed progressions? Is there a vocabulary of stereotyped figures – cadential clichés – that bring melodic phrases and formal sections to a close? And do any of the tonal behaviors so identified seem to correlate with topics explored in medieval music theory treatises, such as the modes of medieval chant or the hexachords of the Guidonian hand?

Asking next about all of the pieces in a corpus of works enriches our agenda in myriad ways. Above all, of course, the collective approach allows for comparison. We can explore the norms and contraints of tonal organization that are established and evolve in respect to chronology, geography, and genre. We can determine, for example, that there are just two favored finals for the freely composed Italian Trecento motets (D and F), and that both monophonic and polyphonic French songs in major mode favor secondary cadences to the major third above or the minor second below the cantus final, and that as compositional space expands from about one octave ca. 1200 to about two octaves ca. 1400 in English polyphony, the English delight in parallel motion and imperfect consonances leads from counterpoint with parallel 5-3 sonorities to parallel 6-3, 10-5, and 10-6 sonorities. An accumulation of such descriptive data across a repertoire may not allow us to be able to explain a particular choice or direction taken by a composer in an individual piece, but it can enrich our understanding of what is conventional or what is original.[6]

6 See Lefferts, "Machaut's B-flat Balade *Honte, paour* (B25)," in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Leach, 161–74 at 161–63.

Tonal Organization in Works in Simultaneous Style

A standard and useful threefold division of medieval vocal polyphony – one that is of the greatest importance for issues of tonal organization – sorts multi-voice works into those composed in "simultaneous style," those composed from the bottom up in "tenor style," and those composed from the top down in "song style." The boundary between these three categories is permeable, but the distinction is usually clear enough for our purposes here.

Polyphonic works in the simultaneous style present a picture of homogeneity in rhythm, texting, and tonal organization. Written for two to four voices, they are primarily homorhythmic, and set a single text that is sung in rhythmic unison by all voices. This text may be rhymed, strophic, accentual Latin sacred poetry – as for instance in a versus, conductus, or English cantilena – or it may be the wordy text of a Mass Ordinary like a Latin-texted Kyrie, or the Gloria or Credo.

The corpus of over 250 two-voice versus and conductus of St. Martial, Compostela, and Notre-Dame constitutes the first large surviving body of freely composed polyphony from western Europe in simultaneous style. Though there are transcription problems involving local pitch alignment in the earlier pieces, and issues concerning rhythm and meter in the entire repertoire, from the point of view of large-scale tonal organization they comprise an unproblematic and very uniform body of material.[7] Above all, it is distinctive that they are almost all tonally closed compositions, and either tonally consistent or with clearly contrasting, tonally subordinate sections.[8]

The two voices in this repertoire share mostly the same range, about one octave, and repeatedly twine and cross. Both in the original score notation and in modern transcription the pair are clearly an upper and a lower voice; the former may rise a step or two higher, and the latter may fall a step or two lower, than their shared ambitus. Though as a rule they proceed in a manner suggesting that they were composed simultaneously, and may share motivic material, an occasionally more florid upper voice or particular melodic

7 Rhythm and meter play a role in projecting tonal focus, and thus in a modern transcription, redrawing barlines so that a downbeat becomes an upbeat or vice versa can entirely reshape our hearing of the local tonal hierarchy. The larger tonal layout identified at sectional boundaries, however, is not affected by this issue.

8 For rich discussions of the large-scale tonal organization of the polyphony of St. Martial and Compostela, see Sarah Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1969) and Fuller, "Early Polyphony," in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, The New Oxford History of Music, vol. II, rev. ed. (Oxford University Press, 1990), 485–556 at 528–53.

cogency in the lower voice may suggest that the lower voice has priority in a duet, and it may on occasion have been composed in its entirety before being set in polyphony.

Tonally, it is the lower voice that most often begins and ends on the same pitch, and the final note in the lower voice is the governing pitch in the tonal organization.[9] The finals in this repertoire include grave-register *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, and *G*.[10] Strikingly, however, an overwhelming majority, over 90 percent, use a final on *D* or *G*.[11] There is usually only one pitch collection (to a first approximation, diatonic without signature sharps or flats, diatonic with signature acute *b*♭, diatonic with acute signature *f*♯), with acute *b*♭, *f*♯, and the rare *e*♭ as notated pitch inflections; and we primarily find the projection of a single harmonic-contrapuntal locus (the final and the third, fifth, and eighth scale degrees above it).

A convenient modern shorthand for the tonal system, identifying the lower-voice final and pitch collection, uses syllables of the hexachord to mark the modality.[12] We say, therefore, that most versus and conductus are in *D-ut*, *G-re*, or *G-ut*. Here *D-re* and *G-re* each identify a tonal realm with a whole step below the lower-voice final and a whole step and a half step above it. The designation *G-ut* leaves the size of the interval immediately below the lower-voice final undefined, but specifies two whole steps above. This shorthand is not a perfect tool because the occasional appearance of signature acute *b*♭ and acute *f*♯ indicates that in a sense the gamut can be rotated flatwards or sharpwards; its three versions are in modern parlance the one-flat system, the natural system, and the one-sharp

9 Most of the small number of versus and conductus that are not tonally closed exhibit one or two alternatives at the start. Either the upper voice sounds the final (e.g., upper voice begins by sounding G under lower voice d in a G-final piece), or both voices, in a kind of tonal upbeat, participate in a rapid initial move from a non-final sonority to one built on the final.

10 Throughout this essay I shall use non-italicized letters to refer to pitch classes, and use a version of medieval pitch notation in which specific pitches in three octave registers in rising order (grave, acute, and superacute) are identified by means of italicized letter names (*A-G*, *a-g*, and *aa-gg*). By the fourteenth century these registers are extended to include the sub-grave (e.g., *FF*, *GG*; *GG* is *Gamma-ut*) and supra-superacute (*aaa*, *bbb*, etc.), a point I will return to below.

11 The *D*/*G* tonal orientation is a strong point of continuity of versus to conductus. Very broadly speaking there is a trend from *D* to *G* over time. In the earlier polyphony, over 35 percent of the pieces are in *D*, while in the Notre-Dame era, *D* pieces drop to closer to a quarter of the total. *G* pieces rise from around 55 percent to about two-thirds of the total.

12 This convention identifies a pitch with the melodic kernel around it by means of a hexachordal solmization syllable. *G-ut*, therefore, identifies grave *G* with a major third above, but does not define the interval below *G*; *G-re* identifies grave *G* with a minor third above and a whole step below; *G-sol* identifies grave *G* with a whole step below but does not specify the character of the third above; *G-fa* identifies grave *G* with a half step below and a major third above, and so forth. By the use of this convention I do not mean to imply that hexachords themselves in any way define or determine the tonal organization of individual melodic lines or a polyphonic complex of voices.

system.[13] This matters mostly for *G* pieces; "one-flat *G-re*" is redundant, but *G* pieces with *b*♮ will need to be further distinguished on occasion as natural *G-ut* or one-sharp *G-ut* works.[14]

Versus and conductus are texted vocal music setting regularly versified Latin poetry, and their tonal plans are tied tightly to the poetic structure and to the melismatic caudas that introduce or follow discrete lines and stanzas in the more elaborate pieces. This creates two kinds of opportunities that composers explore for the introduction of tonal contrast. First, over the span of one or more interior lines in the poetry, or one or more phrases in a cauda, we may find that composers shift pitch emphasis within the same collection or shift focus to a different pitch collection. Both possibilities project a temporarily different, ultimately subordinate pitch and harmonic-contrapuntal locus. Second, in some of the later works, over a larger time span, we find a permanent shift from one governing scale to another – in other words, a shift in modality – under the aegis of the same final.

Let me make this more concrete by laying out some facts about one large subset of the repertoire. In the 130 two-voice conductus that comprise the seventh fascicle, fols. 263–380, of codex Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (hereafter F), over three-quarters are tonally closed, and fewer than 10 percent use a final other than *D* or *G*. Twenty-five per cent are consistently on *D-re*, 15 per cent on *G-re*, and 30 percent on *G-ut*, while 20 percent use both *G-ut* and *G-re*. Almost without exception, those that mix modality make a distinctive global shift in the same direction, from *G-ut* to *G-re*.[15] The majority position is one of tonal closure and overall tonal unity, and *re*-finals on *D* or *G* are heavily favored (60 percent) over *ut* finals on *G* or *C* or *F*. Nonetheless over half of the *G* pieces spend part or all of their time organized around *G-ut*.

The mixture of modalities is – besides the limited number of finals – the most interesting single tonal feature of the versus and conductus repertoire.

13 Thus hidden in the statistics about *D* and *G* pieces is a necessary further distinction between *G-fa*, *G-ut*, and *G-re*. Signature *b*♭ and signed *b*♭ are highly uncommon in the St. Martial and Compostela repertoires, but it is certainly possible that some significant number of the *G*-final pieces in that earlier corpus were meant to be *G-re* rather than *G-ut* compositions. Notre-Dame-era sources are relatively liberal in their notation of signature *b*♭, and occasionally use signature *f*♯; *G-re* and *G-ut* pieces are both very common in the Notre-Dame repertoire

14 In the untransposed gamut, *G-ut* pieces might use both *b*♮ and *f*♯, or *b*♭ and *f*♮, or avoid the *b-f* sonority altogether. In one-sharp *G-ut*, the lower voice will mostly never reach as high as acute *f*♯, but the upper voice will use it extensively, and the *b–f* sonority will be *b–f*♯.

15 Exceptionally, the conductus *Soli nitorem* begins with a cauda in *G-re*, while the remainder of the work is in *G-ut*. One source of this conductus is F, fols. 327v–328v; a modern edition is *Two-Part Conductus, Unica in the Four Central Sources*, ed. Gordon Athol Anderson, Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia 5 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), no. J15.

Two examples will clearly illustrate this practice. "Gaude felix Francia" is a conductus of 1226 on the coronation and anointing of King Louis of France.[16] It has two textual stanzas of unequal length that are defined by rhyme, content, and specific verbal parallelisms, and their separate identities are highlighted by tonal organization. The first stanza is centered on one-sharp *G-ut*, and the second is on one-flat *G-re*.

I.		
Gaude felix Francia	7 a	*G-ut*
speciali gaudio	7 b	
felix es militia.	7 a	
Felix es et studio.	7 b	
Sed precellit omnia	7 a	
tui regis unctio.	7 b	
Quam regnans in gloria	7 a	
tibi donat.	4 c	
Qui solus in solio	7 b	
regni tonat.	4 c	
Cuius miseracio	7 b	
in misericordia	7 a	
te coronat.	4 c	
II.		
Felix regnum Francie	7 d	*G-re*
cuius donat	4 c	
regibus rex glorie	7 d	
qui tonat in nubibus	7 e	
oleum letitie	7 d	
pre suis consortibus.	7 e	
Quam coronat hodie	7 d	
In misericordie	7 d	
miseracionibus.	7 e	

16 "Gaude felix Francia" survives uniquely in the so-called St. Victor manuscript, which is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 15139, fols. 261–62; a modern edition is *Two-Part Conductus in Related Sources*, ed. Anderson, Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia 10 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1988), no. P3.

Within each stanza, local tonal shifts are exploited. For example, in stanza one, both couplets "Quam regnans in gloria/tibi donat" and "Qui solus in solio/regni tonat" move in the first line to a locus on *F-a-c* with *b*♮, and move back in the second line to *G-b-d*; in the second stanza, the entire couplet "Quam coronat hodie/in misericordie" emphasizes *F-a-c* with *b*♭. One striking tonal detail is the sole appearance in the piece of an acute *e*♭; this pitch in the upper voice sounds a fourth over acute *b*♭ at the precise moment of the rhythmic reorganization from first mode to second mode in the final cauda. We cannot be sure, but I strongly suspect that the effect was intentional – a tonal signal.

A second example of similar age, "Christi miles Christo commilitat," on St. Thomas of Canterbury, holds pride of place as the very last conductus of the 130 that comprise the seventh fascicle of F.[17] Its four couplets are linked into two pairs by assonance (consonants in the first pair, chris/cruc; and vowels in the second pair, o/a and e/i), a pairing reinforced by the prevailing tonal organization on one-sharp *G-ut* for the first four verses and *G-re* for the next four verses. For the closing line of the text, the invocation "Benedicamus Domino," the tonal organization apparently reverts to the initial one-sharp *G-ut*, but after rocking back and forth between local tonal foci on *G* and *A*, it makes its final cadence to a highly unusual place, on one-sharp *A-re*.

Christi miles Christo commilitat	*G-ut*
Christum sequens Christo cohabitat	
Christus crucis est sue baiulus	
Crucifixi crucem fert famulus	
Passum Thomas compassus sequitur	*G-re*
Passu firmo corona capitur	
Ergo fortis attolat debiles	
Solvat vinctos soletur flebiles.	
Benedicamus Domino.	*A-re*

17 "Christi miles Christo commilitat" survives uniquely in F, fols. 373v–74v; a modern edition is *Two-Part Conductus, Unica in the Four Central Sources*, ed. Anderson, no. J55. See also Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Annales Musicologiques: Moyen-Âge et Renaissance* 1 (1953), 9–63; repr. in Schrade, *De scientia musicae studia atque orationes*, ed. Ernst Lichtenhahn (Berne and Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1967), 152–211.

Down to the end of our time-period ca. 1400, simultaneous-style works, including English cantilenas and many English, French, and Italian settings of Mass Ordinary texts, amongst them the Gloria and Credo of Machaut's Mass, continue to show the same principal features of large-scale tonal organization as the earlier versus and conductus. That is, they are tonally closed, and they remain primarily within a single tonal sphere, identifiable by the last note in the lowest voice (even where the top voice has priority as the most cogent melody, as is often the case in English music). The most evident change is that the overall compositional space increases to as much as two octaves, and individual voice parts pull apart to occupy their own adjacent, overlapping registers. There is, as well, a modicum of increased tonal variety over interior textual and formal subdivisions. Signature system and the final in the lowest voice are still reliable markers of tonal organization, with finals on *F-ut* and *C-ut* becoming increasingly numerous in comparison to the formerly predominant *D-re*, *G-re*, and *G-ut*. The distinctive internal *ut-re* modality shift virtually disappears, though one fourteenth-century English cantilena, "Stella maris illustrans," provides a musically compelling instance on a fresh final and signature-system transposition: its first two double versicles are on one-flat *F-ut*, and its third and fourth are on two-flat *F-re*.[18]

At the outer boundary for tonal variety is a curious later fourteenth-century three-voice Latin-texted Kyrie from England, "Kyrie Cuthberte prece."[19] Notated in score in four discrete sections underlaid by a double-versicle text, it looks a great deal like one of the later fourteenth-century English cantilenas, which have some of the same rhythmic, metric, harmonic, contrapuntal, and formal features.[20] After beginning on *G-ut*, and proceeding

18 "Stella maris illustrans" survives uniquely in Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, 334/727, fol. 201r–v; a modern edition is *English Music For Mass and Offices (II) and Music for Other Ceremonies*, ed. Ernest H. Sanders, Frank Ll. Harrison, and Peter M. Lefferts, PMFC 17 [hereafter PMFC 17] (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1986), no. 33.

19 "Kyrie Cuthberte prece" survives uniquely in Durham, Cathedral Library, A.III.11, fol. 1v; a modern edition is *English Music for Mass and Offices (I)*, ed. Sanders, Frank Ll. Harrison, and Peter M. Lefferts, PMFC 16 [hereafter PMFC 16] (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1983), no. 8. This work is also of great interest for its indigenous, idiosyncratic circle-stem English notation with semiminims and *brevis erecta*.

20 Most tonally and formally comparable to "Kyrie Cuthberte prece" is the later fourteenth-century English cantilena *Generosa Iesse plantula*, a three-voice work in four sections, the first three centered on grave *G-ut* and the last up a fourth on acute *c-ut*. Less radical in terms of tonal inflections, it merely turns once to an F/B♭ region at the beginning of the third versicle. This cantilena has an overall range of two octaves, employs parallel 5-3s, 6-3s, and 10-5s, uses semiminims, and has sectional changes of mensuration (9/8, 6/8, 6/8, 9/8). *Generosa Iesse plantula* survives uniquely in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.978, fol. 3; a modern edition is PMFC 17, no. 47.

One other fourteenth-century English Kyrie, with form ABA′, has some comparable features including musical rhyme and a mensural shift from duple meter to compound duple meter in its final section. Tonally, however, it lacks a comparable permanent shift, as its sections are in *C-ut*, *F-ut*, and *C-ut*, an octave below "Kyrie Cuthberte prece." The Kyrie in question survives uniquely in London, British Library, additional 38651, fol. 2v; a modern edition is PMFC 16, no. 25.

through three sections in duple meter, each closing on *G-ut*, its final section makes a change of mensuration to compound duple meter and changes tonality to close a fourth higher on acute *c-ut*, with the top voice up on superacute *cc*. (Its four stanzas begin on G, B♭, A and F sonorities, respectively.) This work's tonal language is quite dramatically marked by strong sudden local tugs flatward to sonorities (they are not really separate tonalities or tonal regions) on B♭ and F, and sharpward to sonorities on D and A, especially by sharpward-inflected double leading tones in parallel fourths and fifths; one result is an extended pitch collection of thirteen steps around the cycle of fifths from E♭ to D♯, and another is closely sounding cross-relations between different voices in the same register.[21] The *ut-re* contrast we have seen elsewhere is here manifested repeatedly in the tug between *G-ut* and *G-re*, and between *c-ut* and *c-re*. "Kyrie Cuthberte prece" has explicit musical rhyme of the final bars of the first and fourth sections, with transposition of the latter up a fourth. Is it then "in G" or "in C"? A medieval musician accustomed to making judgments about chant modality on the basis of the ultimate final might say "in C." For us moderns, the question is best ducked by describing the situation as one of multiple tonal centers.

Stepping outside of the polyphonic mainstream for a moment, the closest parallels to "Kyrie Cuthberte prece" before 1400 involving double-versicle construction, multiple tonal centers, and musical rhyme with transposition are found in the (mostly monophonic) *lais* of Guillaume de Machaut.[22] Of his nineteen *lais*, only two are tonally closed and unified, and only four others have some internal contrasts but preserve tonal closure. The remaining thirteen all present their opening section in transposition up or down a fourth or fifth as the final section, and may have additional contrasting internal sections. Over half assert three, four, or five different local tonal goals.

Machaut's *lai* "Amours doucement" (no. 6), for example, has the genre's typical twelve-section construction, with melodies centered respectively on *G-ut*, *G-ut*, *G-re*, *G-re*, *b-flat-ut*, *f-ut*, *f-ut*, *G-ut*, *c-ut*, *G-ut*, and *c-ut*. The last of these sections is a transposition up a fourth of the first. Whether this piece has a single governing tonal center, and whether we should regard the initial *G-ut*

21 Comparable albeit less radical is the tonal language of the English cantilena *Stella celi extirpavit*, with its twelve-note compass from B♭ around to D♯, and its play with *G-ut* and *G-re*. This work survives uniquely in London, British Library, additional 57950, fol. 40v; a modern edition is *The Old Hall Manuscript*, ed. Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, 2 vols., CMM 46 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), vol. II: no. 55.

22 For a modern edition of the Machaut *lais*, see *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Schrade, PMFC 2–3 (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1956), II: 1–105.

or the ultimate *c-ut* as that center, are open questions. (We need to be able to ask Machaut.) No other pieces of fourteenth-century mensural music, monophonic or polyphonic, are quite so restless if their tonal pulse is taken at the principal cadences of internal sectional boundaries. "Kyrie Cuthberte prece," a tonal and formal cousin but not sibling to these *lais*, does not have the same variety at internal cadence goals but is more tonally labile within sections.

Tonal Organization in Tenor-Style Works

Defining simultaneous-style works as those that are fundamentally homogeneous in texting and in the character and relationship of voices, then, at the same high level of generality, tenor-style polyphony is heterogeneous, stratified and hierarchical, and offers composers different constraints and opportunities than freely composed works in respect to tonal organization. In the remarks that follow, I will concentrate on clausula and motet from the early thirteenth century forward. These are works, composed from the bottom up, whose composers erect a superstructure of pitch, rhythm, text, and melodic phrasing above a foundational voice called the tenor. Most tenors are wrenched from chant, having begun life as a melisma in the soloistic portion of a piece of responsorial psalmody; here that strand of chant is given rhythm and meter (but no text), and is repeated if desired, to create the underpinning for a more extended composition. Tenors themselves may or may not be tonally closed or consistent.[23]

In respect to tonal organization, there are certainly some unexciting clausulae and motets whose composers, eyes to the ground, merely explore the writing of correct consonant counterpoint from sonority to sonority according to the constraint of the tenor pitch at any given moment. Tenors from chant, however, are neither sacrosanct nor fixed in stone, and frequently are manipulated to some purpose, a device most securely demonstrable when the tenor's melody is restated one or more times in a work so that its internal consistency can be assessed. Pertinent here is that it is possible to impose greater tonal order – especially tonal closure – by the composer's manipulation of the tenor to tonal advantage. Emendation is typically done by cutting off or adding one or a few notes at the end of the last statement, or by making

23 Some tenors not drawn from responsorial melismas may have been invented or chosen for their strong tonal coherence, a feature in many English *pes* motets, for example, and in English and French motets based on short, tuneful, tonally closed secular songs. See, for example, the cantus firmus and *pes* motets in *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Sanders, PMFC 14 [hereafter PMFC 14] (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1979) and the motets on "Va dorenlot" and "Wynter" edited from Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 925 by Harrison in PMFC 17, "Supplement," no. 2 and no. 5.

a more extended partial repetition. Or the composer may delay the tenor's initial entry. And moreover, having selected and laid out a version of the tenor to work with, the composer may use harmonic choices to emphasize a tonal locus centered on its first or final pitch or centered around another tonal locus consistent with its principal tonal language.[24]

For an example that does double duty, showing us both tenor emendation and harmonic strengthening of tonal orientation, consider "Super te Ierusalem / Sed fulsit virginitas / T. Do / Primus Tenor," a four-voice motet written in England in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[25] Its tenor derives from the lengthy melisma found on the syllable "Do" of the word "Dominus" in the verse of the Christmas gradual "Viderunt omnes V. Notum fecit Dominus." As is often the case in the elaborate melismas of responsorial psalmody, "Do" begins with an embedded repetition establishing the overall shape xxy, with a short, rising link of a few pitches between the statements of x. The host gradual itself is in the fifth mode (authentic on F with secondary C); its "Do" melisma begins on acute *d* as a melodic upper neighbor to *c*, spins around *F-a-c-d* in reinforcement of the mode's primary tonal features, and then rises dramatically through the octave from grave *F* to acute *f*. Thus the overall tonal organization around *F-A-c* in the gradual and in this melisma is contradicted by the first note of the melisma. (Moreover, its last note is awkwardly high to make a close on.) After the extended treatment of "Do," the full word ends quickly; although there is some small variety in the readings in chant sources and clausulae, its next syllable ("mi") typically is set to acute *dc*, and the third ("nus") falls from *c* or *d* to *A*. Confronted with this material, composers of Notre-Dame-era organa, clausulae and motets using this popular melisma not only set "Do," but also, instead, "Domi" or "Dominus"; their works end variously on *A*, *c*, and *d*.[26]

24 For a more extended consideration of tonal organization in tenor-style works, see especially Crocker, "French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century" and "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Crocker and Hiley, New Oxford History of Music, vol. II, new ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 636–720, and Sarah Fuller, "Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut," in *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, ed. Lefferts and Brian Seirup, *Current Musicology* 45–47 (New York: The Trustees of Columbia University, 1990), 199–245.

25 The sources of "Super te/Sed fulsit," both fragmentary, are Worcester, Cathedral Library, additional 68, Frag. XX, fol. 2 and Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 [hereafter Mo], fasc. 4, fol. 105v. A modern edition of the complete motet is PMFC 14, no. 83. The three-voice version of this motet in Mo has had the Primus tenor, an essential countertenor, stripped off, leaving behind a plethora of harmonically unidiomatic unsupported fourths in metrically strong positions.

26 The Dominus clausulae in F and and in the manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmstedt (hereafter W_1) end on either *c* or *A*. In the Leoninian two-voice organum *Viderunt omnes*, the clausula on "Do" could be read as ending on the fourth *f* over *c*, or on the immediately following *d*/*d* unison upon the shift to the syllable "mi." The four-voice Perotinian *Viderunt omnes* makes

Uniquely, the composer of this motet chooses to use just the melisma's double versicle, xx, laying it out in two statements, i.e., xx xx. The segment x normally begins on acute-register *d* and closes on grave *F*, but here, uniquely again, the melody is trimmed each time at the beginning to start on *c*. Moreover, each statement of x, and of the link between them in each xx pair, has been given slightly different pitch content by inserting, repeating, or subtracting single pitches, including an added *G* before the final *F* at the midpoint and at the end, for a melodic stepwise descent to the final in the lowest voice. In addition, the tenor's *c* and *F* are consistently counterpointed with the countertenor's *F* and *c* (rarely with *a*), while *a* is matched with unison *a* (rarely with *c* or *F*) and *b♭* with unison *b♭* (rarely with *G* or *d*), and *G* and *D* are matched with *D* and *G* respectively (rarely with *b♭*). The cumulative effect of tenor and countertenor (and – when one of these is silent – of the other plus one or more of the two upper voices) is to radically reduce the possible harmonic variety and project instead a dense and consistent field of pitch and harmony on *F-A-c*, with secondary *G-b♭-d*.[27] Knowing the English propensity in this era for tonal closure, for four-voice writing where the two lowest voices entwine to make a single foundation for the upper parts, and for the projection of a consistent, limited, tertial-quintal contrapuntal-harmonic language that often does little more than rock back and forth between tonic and subtonic or supertonic harmonies (English *pes* harmony), I believe it is possible to identify a medieval musician's intention in "Super te / Sed fulsit." Its composer, striving for closure and consistency, manipulated the tenor and its harmonization with the clear purpose of making a closed tonal construct organized "on F."

*

Another issue raised in respect to tonal organization in organum, clausula, and motet involves the situation when a composer sets against the tenor a cogent melody possessing a strong, independent tonal logic and organization of its own. In such a situation the composer may have to relinquish control over aspects of the contrapuntal and harmonic language and may have to accept

a clausula out of the entire word "Dominus," beginning on chant tenor *d* in a *B♭-f* sonority and ending on tenor *A* in an *A-c-e* sonority. To briefly cite another instance, the great melisma on the "Tan" of "Tanquam" from the Christmas responsory *Descendit de celis v. Tanquam sponsus est*, which became a popular tenor, begins on *a* and is terminated variously on *G*, *F*, and *E* (i.e., somewhere in the briefer following melisma on "quam").

27 In a rare but not unique choice, the third above the final in "Super te / Sed fulsit" is present in the closing four-voice sonority (*F-a-c-f*). Counting thirds and sixths amongst the consonances, the texture is predominantly consonance, with dissonances (seconds, unsupported fourths) on weak beats only.

a tension between the tonal claims of the melody and the tenor.[28] The trick, of course, is to not do too much violence to idiomatic norms. A number of the more elaborate clausulae furnish dramatic examples: a clausula on the "Reg" of "Regnat" will illustrate the point.

The "Regnat" melisma originates in the verse of the "Alleluia v. Hodie Maria Virgo" for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This Alleluia is in the eighth mode (plagal on *G* with secondary *c*); "Reg," another xxy melisma, is bounded by *C* and *c* and firmly and frequently reiterates *G* as its tonal center. There are many tenor-style settings built on this popular melisma. The "Regnat" clausula that I have singled out is the second in a clump of five in W_1, fol. 59 (see Example 24.1).[29] It unfolds a memorable tune that spends the first two-thirds of its length arguing for *C* rather than *G* as its tonal focus. The first two phrases of the duplum form an ouvert-clos pair, and the next two phrases form an antecedent-consequent pair. Both of these lively, dance-like sets of phrases strongly project *C* as tonal center. To preserve their tuneful melodic integrity, the duplum lies not mainly above but entwined with and often under the tenor, and uncharacteristic dissonances are tolerated in the harmonic language. Ultimately, though, duplum and tenor coalesce on *G*. Here is one way that a tenor-style work can explore more than one tonal center.

A different kind of situation in which a tenor-style piece is made to accept a tonally foreign melody involves refrain citation. For instance, the musical-textual refrain "En non Diu que que nus die" appears multiple times in the thirteenth-century French motet repertoire (see Examples 24.2 and 24.3). Pitched on *a* or *e*, and located in an upper voice at the beginning or end, or split between these locations, it is found in four motets, where it is placed into counterpoint with five different chant tenors: "Eius," "Manere," "Omnes," "Oriente," and "Portare." The most impressive of these brief motets is "En non Diu que que nus die/Quant voi la rose espanie/T. Eius in oriente."[30] This

28 Melodic cogency and figural consistency can also trump or disguise good contrapuntal grammar in works in simultaneous style and song style.

29 For an edition and commentary on this "Regnat" clausula, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Franke Verlag, 1973), 497–573 at 519–20. A new edition is *Les organa et les clausules a deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelph. 628 Helmst.*, ed. Edward Roesner, in *The Magnus Liber Organi*, gen. ed. Roesner (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 2009), vol. VII: no. 125. On the "Regnat" tenor in general, see Norman Smith, "An Early Thirteenth-Century Motet," in *Music before 1600*, ed. Mark Everist (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 20–40.

30 "En non/Quant voi" is found in the portions of two central Parisian codices that were manufactured in the 1270s: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 (hereafter Ba), fol. 52 (no. 80), where the tenor is identified as "Nobis," and Mo, fasc. 5, fols. 145v–46 (no. 104), where the tenor is identified as "Eius." The discrepancy in the identification of the tenor occurs on account of the fact that the same melody is used in "Alleluia v. Dies sanctificatus" for Christmas and "Alleluia v. Vidimus stellam" for Circumcision. In the respective verses of the two Alleluias, the words "nobis venite" are set to the same two neighboring melismas as "eius in oriente," and these melismas are used as the tenor of the motet. In Wolfenbüttel,

Example 24.1 "Regnat" clausula from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelf. 628 Helmstedt (W_1)



Herzog-August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstedt (hereafter W_2), another Parisian music book that was made in approximately the same era, i.e., 1260–75, a torso of the motet is preserved in altered form as a Latin contrafactum a 2 stripped of its triplum and given a new text for the duplum ("Viam vident veritatis"), with its tenor again identified as "Eius" and a Latin text on the Magi (W_2, fols. 190v–91); for a modern edition see *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. Hans Tischler (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), no. 126.

Example 24.2 The refrain "En non Dieu que que nus die" used against two different tenors in the same motet



three-voice French motet of the mid- to third quarter of the thirteenth century has been aptly described as "one of the most closely-wrought motets in the whole repertoire."[31] Through careful manipulation and cutting of the tenor, its composer has managed to find a way to cite the refrain in full twice, and to introduce a close variant in the triplum at the exact midpoint of the piece (see Example 24.2).

The motet's tenor is drawn from the Circumcision plainchant "Alleluia v. Vidimus stellam," in whose verse there are nearby melismas on "*e*ius in ori*en*te." The Alleluia is in second mode (plagal on *D*), and these melismas both begin on *D* and stay close to it (ranging through *A-C-D-F-a*). Each melisma, however, is tonally open, the first ending on *C*, the second on *F*. Representing the two melismas as x and y, the motet composer has disposed them in a double statement, but not as xy xy. Rather, we find xx′ yy′. Moreover, the second statement of y (y′) is curtailed by three notes so as to close on *D* rather than *F*.

In the upper voices a palindromic structure emerges. Over the initial eight longs of the original notation the refrain is presented in the triplum. A canon

31 Christopher Page, liner notes for Gothic Voices, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell: Motets and Songs from 13th-Century France*, Hyperion CDA 66423 (London: Hyperion, 1990).

Example 24.3 The refrain "En non Dieu que que nus die" used against three different tenors in three additional motets



then unfolds between the upper voices over the next eight longs, spanning the xx′ joint in the tenor. At the midpoint of the motet, over the x′y joint, a related refrain is quoted in the triplum. Further on, the second half of the canon is reintroduced to span the tenor's yy′ joint. The motet concludes with the repetition of the eight longs of initial refrain material, now in the duplum. The truncated melisma y′ supports a partial restatement of the canon and the full restatement of the opening upper-voice counterpoint, and produces tonal closure. But the circularity and the density of artifice come at a price, namely, a higher than normal level of dissonance and some parallel unisons in the counterpoint.

In sum, tenor-style composition affords a variety of responses to the borrowed or invented foundational melody, as seen in the foregoing examples. Having chosen a tenor and given it a rhythmic-metric profile (a patterning that in itself carries tonal consequences), the composer can accept what it offers, take out the scissors and paste, or use harmony and counterpoint to narrow and focus the tonal organization; motivic-melodic facture may be subordinate to local tonal conditions or override them. Tenor-style works can, but do not have to, aspire to the tonal closure and consistency of works in simultaneous style. Beyond their reach are permanent transpositions and

shifts of modality. Exotic finals and tonal systems, and an extended pitch vocabulary, are only seen in a few Ars subtilior motets of the late fourteenth century with unique, invented tenors.[32]

Tonal Organization in Polyphonic Refrain Songs of the 1300s

Polyphonic refrain songs of the 1300s set texts in French, Latin, and Italian, and from the end of the century there are also surviving songs in English. (The Latin- and English-texted songs follow French traditions.) The third of our three types of pieces, these songs are neither intrinsically homogeneous in simultaneous style nor heterogeneous and built from the bottom up in tenor style. Rather, they start from the premise of construction from the top down, either polyphonizing a complete texted cantus (treble melody) or composing out simultaneously a cantus–tenor duet in which the cantus melody has compositional priority. In either case freely composed, these songs are mostly not tonally closed, reflecting what is also the normal state of affairs in elite monophonic secular song.[33] In a significant reorientation, the cantus final is the overall governor of tonality, so that we can most effectively identify tonal organization by the final, register, and tonal system of the cantus rather than the tenor.[34]

Evidence in the corpus of French polyphonic refrain songs (rondeau, virelai, ballade) bears witness to the origin of the genre as melody plus accompaniment where the relationship of voices is clearly unequal – a melody and a rhythmically independent, subordinate, untexted accompaniment – even where cantus and tenor occupy the same register and entwine with one another. Contrary motion is the rule, with skeins of

32 Two motets from the Chantilly Codex, Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564 (hereafter Ch) stand out for their employment of an artificial tenor with non-normative tonal consequences. The tenor of *Inter densas deserti meditans/Imbribus irriguis/T. Admirabilem est* (Ch, fols. 68v–69) uses all the pitches of the B-flat hexachord; the motet ends on *C-re*. *D'ardant desir/T. Nigra est sed formosa/Efus d'amer* (Ch, fol. 72v) has a rare middle voice tenor that is strikingly inflected, including a leap of an augmented second (*F* to *G*♯). The work uses a twelve-note pitch collection from B♭ around to D♯, including both members of the grave-register pairs *B*/*B*♭, *C*/*C*♯, *D*/*D*♯, *F*/*F*♯, and *G*/*G*♯; the motet ends on *D-re* in the lowest voice, with the tenor on *A*. For modern editions of these two motets, see *Motets of French Provenance*, ed. Harrison, PMFC 5 (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1968), nos. 29 and 32 respectively.

33 In earlier monophony, only seven of the thirty-six chansons by Adam de la Halle have tonal closure, for example. For these melodies, see *Trouvères-Melodien I-II*, ed. Hendrik van der Werf, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 11–12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977, 1979), 12: 483–680. A similar 20 percent of troubadour melodies are likewise closed; for these melodies, see van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays* (Rochester, NY: The Author, 1984). In polyphonic refrain songs, tonal closure was not common until the fifteenth century, and not even necessarily so then; for example, only two of the eight rondeaux in B-flat from this later era begin on cantus B♭ (Lefferts, "Machaut's B-flat Balade," 168).

34 Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types in the Fourteenth-Century French Chanson," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995), 117–47 at 119–20.

correct, motivically-decorated counterpoint unfolding until halted by clearly articulated cadences; principal cadences fall on the unison, or with the tenor sounding the fifth or octave beneath the cantus. The entanglement of voices varies (especially across time) from fully entwined to entirely separate with the tenor lying beneath.[35] Polyphonic Italian refrain songs (madrigal, ballata) appear to originate, conceptually at any rate, in the splitting apart and return of two voices singing the same text and melody; in early examples, cantus and tenor begin and end on a unison, and the tenor, a lower voice, often shadows the cantus in scarcely hidden parallel fifths. This vocal duet of nearly equal voices often features simultaneous declamation or imitation. Tonally, French and Italian songs are mostly consistent,[36] with short-term contrasts effected by change of register, tonal locus, and pitch inflections at structurally significant internal spots such as at the beginning of the *secunda pars* (at b in the form aabR) of the French ballade and at the beginning of the *piedi* (at x in the form RxxyR) of the Italian ballata and French virelai.

Study of the tonal organization of these songs, a vigorously pursued area of modern research, may begin either from the individual song, or from a body of songs. This is descriptive, not prescriptive work. We say what we see, and look for what possibilities are used widely or rarely or not at all. We try to pin down the conventional because "individual utterance can only be evaluated against a knowledge of conventional utterance, so far as we can recover that."[37] In fact, patterns emerge, but no "code," no single cookbook formula or prescription. For a taste of the collective approach, the two-voice ballatas of Landini provide a single relatively well-defined body of material with which to model this kind of work.[38] From the point of view of cantus melody and polyphonic duet, and taken as a group, they exhibit an illustrative cluster of tonal conventions.

To begin with, the set of cantus finals in the two-voice ballatas is quite limited, including only C, D, F, and G. Of these, D, F, and G appear at two pitch levels, and C at only one. Sorted by finals, D works outnumber C works

35 Lefferts, "Machaut's B-flat Balade," 169–72.

36 The shift of tonality in the ritornello of an Italian madrigal is the principal exception.

37 Bent, "The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York and London: Garland, 1998), 15–59 at 29. See also Long, "Landini's Musical Patrimony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 31–52, esp. 50–51 and Lefferts, "Machaut's B-flat Balade," 161–62.

38 My survey considers the ninety-one two-voice ballatas in the Schrade edition *The Works of Francesco Landini*, ed. Schrade, PMFC 4 (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1958). A more recent enumeration in Kurt Von Fischer and Gianluca D'Agostino, "Landini, Francesco," in *NG2*, vol. XIV: 212–21, cuts the number of his ballatas that survive only in a version a 2 to eighty-nine, counts nine in versions a 2 or a 3, and counts forty-two surviving only in versions a 3.

about two-to-one, and acute *c* and *d* finals predominate, comprising about two-thirds of all finals. Signatures almost exclusively identify the natural or one-flat system, with only a single work in the two-flat system, on *c-re*.

Sorting the cantus melodies of the two-voice ballatas into authentic and plagal, there are fifty-eight plagal and thirty-three authentic. This is a strong showing for authentic, pointing to a kinship with monophonic ballate and madrigals (and with French monophonic virelais). For instance, fourteen of the sixteen known Trecento monophonic ballate have authentic melodies. Among Landini's two-voice madrigals, five of nine have authentic cantus.[39] On the other hand, well over 90 percent of the four hundred odd French polyphonic refrain songs of this era have a plagal melody, as do forty-eight of Landini's forty-nine three-voice ballatas. Also in respect to authentic and plagal cantus melodies, a clear and logical pattern appears regarding notated pitch level. For the cantus finals used in two different octaves, authentic melodies are written using the lower, and plagal melodies are written using the higher; the same is true in French songs.[40]

In respect to *ut* and *re* finals, about two-thirds of the two-voice Landini ballatas are minor mode (*re*) and one third are major mode (*ut*). Thus $^4/_9$ are plagal minors, $^2/_9$ are authentic minors, $^2/_9$ are plagal majors and and only $^1/_9$ are authentic majors. And distribution varies by final. In major mode, the small number of *G-ut* and *F-ut* works comprises equal numbers of authentic and plagal melodies, while seventeen of twenty-one C melodies are plagal. In minor mode, thirty-three of thirty-nine *D-re* melodies are plagal, while seventeen of nineteen one-flat *G-re* melodies are authentic. Sorted in respect to authentic and plagal, well over half of all the plagals, indeed more than half of all the songs (major or minor), have plagal cantus melodies on acute-register *c-ut* and *d-re*. About two-thirds of all authentic melodies (*ut* or *re*) are notated on grave *G*, which plays the same role in the French repertoire.

A final cadence on the unison or octave is also tied to the authentic/plagal distinction. Cantus and tenor, each with the ambitus of about an octave, form an overlapping pair. In those with authentic cantus the tenor is plagal, and at the final cadence, the cantus descends by step while the tenor ascends by step so the voices close from the harmonic interval of a third to a unison. In those

39 Broadly speaking, the tonal features of the Landini refrain songs evolve toward greater cohesion. This claim requires us to see the move from a 1 to a 2 to a 3 as chronological at least in part. It seems credible that over time, in the composition of Trecento ballatas, monophony gives way to polyphony a 2 and then a 3, authentic melodies give way to plagal, and, in polyphony, authentic melodies harmonized at the final cadence by a close on the unison give way to plagal melodies harmonized at the final cadence by expansion outward to the octave.

40 Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types," 120–22.

with plagal cantus the tenor is authentic, and at the final cadence, the cantus ascends by a second or a third while the tenor descends by step so the voices close by the outward expansion of the harmonic interval of a fifth or sixth to an octave. Most of the small number of French songs with authentic cantus also have a final cadence at the unison, although another option not seen in Italian songs, with the tenor a fifth beneath the cantus, appears about 40 percent of the time.

Another strong tendency appearing in the two-voice Landini ballatas is the preference at important interior cadences regularly to associate certain other pitches (secondary tones) in specific registers with specific cantus finals, in alignment with the authentic/plagal and major/minor distinctions. For example, the strongest internal secondary cadence in a ballata is at the end of the piedi (the "xx" in the overall form RxxyR). Here, in minor plagal melodies, Landini shows a frequent preference for arrival of the cantus on the fourth below the final; in minor authentic melodies that lower register is out of play, and he drives for the fourth above the final. Major plagal melodies here tend likewise to the fourth below, but major authentics to the fifth above. These are statistical tendencies – frequent preferences, not mandates – but they are Landini's predominant choices. In marked contrast, French composers emphasize secondary tones in minor plagal melodies at the major second above or the minor third below the cantus final, and in major plagal melodies at the minor second below or the major third above. Neither set of secondary cantus goals is in any way modal.

Having laid out the foregoing groundwork, an insightful next step would be to isolate and examine just those two-voice Landini ballatas of a specific type (say, all of those with a minor plagal melody, acute *d-re* final, and secondary cantus goal a fourth below on acute *a*). Work of precisely this kind on the French refrain songs of a given tonal type has revealed other commonalities, such as rhythmic/metric figurations, standard melodic and contrapuntal progressions, and the varied composing-out of the same tonal framework. It is an equally valuable approach to gaining deeper insight into Landini's musical language. But I will go no further down that path in this chapter.

All in all, the polyphonic refrain songs are fairly consistent and conventional in matters of tonal organization, and over time the initially distinct Italian genres adopt the tonal and rhythmic-metric features of an international (principally French) mainstream style. There are, however, some wild outliers in the Ars subtilior song repertoire of the late fourteenth century in France and Italy, forming a small but very noteworthy group that offers instances of exotic and authorially self-conscious tonal behavior. Given their tonal

novelty, these songs pose the question: are they useless for understanding most tonal behavior, or can they perhaps help us to understand better the normal? I stand with those who believe that one can safely look to "some extreme paradigmatic demonstrations" to reveal underlying conceptual frameworks.[41] And further, I must confess to being a firm believer in the fact that most unusual works have unique solutions. But careless or interfering scribes, or the loss of a critical piece of unwritten knowledge, might make a puzzle unsolvable. And perhaps some tonal puzzles are deliberately unsolvable or ambiguous, such as Ser Lorenzo's "Diligenter advertent cantores."[42]

An intellectual context for the wild outliers is offered by a body of innovative music theory from the same century. For example, a few songs exploit extremely low or high registers.[43] This vertical enlargement of musical space has its counterpart in the work of theorists who expand the nineteen-step diatonic gamut running from *Gamma-ut* to *dd* by adding a lower register, the sub-grave ("gravis inferioris") and a higher register, filling out the superacute with *ee*, *ff* and *gg* and moving into a third octave, the supra-superacute ("superacutis acute"), beginning with *aaa* and sanctioning upward extension without end ("et sic ascendendo ad placitum").[44] And whereas the diatonic gamut has just seven pitch classes (eight, if we count acute *b*♭ in addition to acute *b*♮), these outliers exploit an enriched vocabulary of inflected pitches that brings the number of distinct pitch classes being sung up to as many as fourteen, fifteen, and seventeen (see below). Such enrichment of the gamut with more inflected pitches, available in more registers, has its theoretical counterpart in a lively if esoteric effort to account for such inflections rigorously whether they emerged in monophony or polyphonic practice, or rather instead as a consequence of the more abstract, systematic generation and

41 Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta*, 18.

42 Long explores the context of "Diligenter" in "Singing Through the Looking Glass." He deliberately offers no solution to this puzzle, but believes that musicians did sing it by forcing one or another resolution of its cruxes.

43 Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types," 122–23.

44 For the expression "gravis inferioris" see the anonymous mid-fourteenth-century treatise *Quoniam in antelapsis temporibus*, part 1 (Oliver Ellsworth, *The Berkeley Manuscript* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984], 54). For "superacutis acute" and "ascendendo ad placitum," see the anonymous monochord treatise in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi latini 1146, fol. 27. The license to climb higher is also reflected in another anonymous theorist's discussion of compound intervals larger than the octave extending infinitely and beyond the capacity of the voice: "et sic in infinitum procedendo quos tamen vox nostra attingere non posset"; see Christian Meyer, "L'enseignement de la musique à Paris au XV^{e} siècle: Un témoin inattendu: la compilation de Georgius Erber," in *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, ed. Michael Bernhard (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), vol. III: 305–28 at 327.

exemplification of pitch and interval in learned treatises.[45] Theory seems to have outrun composers in this era, and it may well be that some extraordinary songs were written to put speculation into practice.[46]

Some unusual tonal features in the refrain songs have already been seen in simultaneous-style and tenor-style works. For instance, there are evidently songs with multiple tonal centers.[47] Further, the concept of signature system retains its value as a descriptive and evaluative template, but to the natural, one-flat, and one-sharp systems we must here add transpositions to two-flat, two-sharp, and three-flat systems, along with the possibility of two locations for a final an octave apart in the same system.[48] More straightforwardly, we find the joint transposition of system and final up or down an octave: the Zachar ballata "Deduto sey" is notated an octave below normal with cantus final on grave *C* and tenor final on sub-grave *CC*; the Solage rondeau "Fumeux fume" is also written an octave lower than normal, transposing down the one-flat system, with cantus final on grave *F* and tenor final on sub-grave *FF*; and in the other direction, the Rodericus ballade "Angelorum psallat" is essentially written an octave higher than usual, with upward transposition of the three-flat system, and with cantus final on superacute *bb♭*, harmonized at the twelfth below on grave *E♭*.[49] Finally, we can find examples where the pitch center remains fixed while the signature system changes, yielding the permanent modality-altering *ut-re* shift encountered above. Machaut's rondeau "Rose, lis," with its turn from *D-ut* to *D-re*, is but one instance.[50]

Some tonal effects, however, are exclusively the provenance of the polyphonic refrain song. In the anonymous Latin ballade "Ut pateat evidenter" there is, for example, the repetition of motive at the same place in the staff,

45 See Lefferts, "A Riddle and a Song: Playing with Signs in a 14th-Century Ballade," *Early Music History* 26 (2007), 121–79 at 126–39.

46 For example, part 1 of the treatise *Quoniam in antelapsis temporibus* proposes to account for fourteen pitches from C♯ around to G♭, especially emphasizing additions in the grave register (Ellsworth, *The Berkeley Manuscript*, 32–109). The parallel to the tonal behavior of the songs "Fumeux fume" and "Le mont Aon" (to be mentioned below) and the motet *D'ardant desir* (mentioned above) is suggestive.

47 On multiple tonal centers, see Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types," 130–32, and, at greater length, in Yolanda Plumley, *The Grammar of Fourteenth Century Melody: Tonal Organization and Compositional Process in the Chansons of Guillaume de Machaut and the Ars subtilior* (New York: Garland, 1996) and Jennifer Bain, "'Messy Structure'? Multiple Tonal Centers in the Music of Machaut," *Music Theory Spectrum* 30 (2008), 195–237.

48 Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types," 125–27.

49 The Zachar ballata "Deduto sey" was published as an opus dubium of Ciconia in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, PMFC 24 (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1985), no. 42. For modern editions of "Angelorum psallat" (Ch, fol. 48v) and "Fumeux fume" (Ch, fol. 59), see *French Secular Music*, ed. Gordon Greene, 4 vols., PMFC 18–21 (hereafter PMFC XVIII–XXI) (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1981–87), vol. XIX: no. 77 and no. 98.

50 See Lefferts, "Signature Systems and Tonal Types," 132–33.

with shifting coloration effected by pitch inflections that go all the way around from acute *d*♯ to acute *c*♭ before tonal order is restored.[51] The Solage rondeau "Fumeux fume" and the anonymous ballade "Le mont Aon" explore another means to make a dramatic tonal detour, plunging flatward to *g*♭ by the use of descending rhythmic-melodic sequences before rising again in register and returning to their governing tonality.[52] Moreover, there are subtleties of tonal organization in refrain songs of the Ars subtilior that, while abnormal, are not nearly so aurally dramatic as the diversions just mentioned. Considering secondary tones to make this point, the cantus melody of "Fumeux fume" arrives at this rondeau's medial cadence in an unusual place a fifth below the final, i.e., on grave *B*♭ (harmonized, moreover, at the underfifth with sub-grave *EE*♭), and the Rodericus ballade "Angelorum psallat" makes its pre-refrain cadence in the cantus on superacute *aa*♭, an unusual goal a major second below the final (albeit harmonized in standard fashion at the octave beneath). Such choices for tonal targets, though not necessarily startling to modern ears, represent marked divergence from strong norms when seen against the backdrop of a large body of contemporaneous works.

Like Ser Lorenzo's monophonic tonal puzzle "Diligenter advertent cantores," the most tonally playful polyphonic songs often make textual references to themselves.[53] Sometimes these references are explicit and at length, but puzzlingly abstruse (e.g., "Diligenter" itself, or "Ut pateat evidenter"); and other times clearly pertinent and probably intentional, although short. Zachar's extraordinarily low-lying ballata "Deduto sey," for example, sets the phrase "in gran profundo," and "Le mont Aon" has the phrase "ou resonnent les douçours d'armonie." With "Fumeux fume" we know we have a piece written for a clique ("l'ordre des Fumeux") who likely understood its tonal peculiarities as a kind of musical "fumeuse speculacion." "Angelorum psalat" has a text that contrasts the heavenly delight of angelic music-making with the consequences of Eve's sin and Lucifer's fall "in profundum abissi inferi"; given all the tonal, notational and rhythmic-melodic peculiarities of this piece, I would risk saying that there is

51 For an edition and discussion of "Ut pateat evidenter," see Lefferts, "A Riddle and a Song," 121–79.

52 For a discussion of "Fumeux fume" and "Le mont Aon," see Lefferts, "*Subtilitas* in the Tonal Language of *Fumeux fume*," *Early Music* 16 (1988), 176–83. A modern edition of "Le mont Aon" (Ch, fol. 22v) is PMFC XVIII: no. 22.

53 For recent work on refrain songs that refer to their own notation or to their proportional unfolding, see Anne Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs and Their Readers in the Late Fourteenth Century," *Early Music* 31 (2003), 180–94 and Jehoash Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism in the Chantilly Codex," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 133–59.

a particular medieval compositorial sensibility at work in it, namely, a delight in an evocation of fiendish difficulty.

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The foregoing overview of tonal organization in simultaneous-style, tenor-style, and song-style works is one way to lay out the territory. In identifying tendencies, constraints, and developments in these modes of composition it has stayed on the highways, avoiding the tempting byways and fascinating cul-de-sacs except for a few odd works. Oddly constructed works, however, can draw our attention to the considerations and choices of medieval composers; we can look in the direction they indicate and recognize a sensibility – a concern, not wholly alien to ours, for tonal matters.

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Liturgy and Plainchant, 1150–1570

ROMAN HANKELN

The period from the beginning of the Gothic era until the Protestant Reformation marks the heyday and autumn of the Middle Ages. It is characterized by profound cultural changes, political crises, and, in consequence, highly divergent developments in Western ecclesiastical music. While its polyphony climbs a first peak of artistic glory, its plainchant has been described as in decline. When the golden chapters of modal organum, isorhythmic motet, and polyphonic Mass Ordinary open themselves in modern textbooks of music history, plainchant evaporates into footnote remarks about tenors. Historical reality obviously looked different. Pope John XXII's *Constitutio Docta SS. Patrum* (1324/25) emphasized the normative role of plainchant for church music. Thus ennobled it did only halfway ossify into a monument. From no other epoch do larger numbers of sources and new plainchant compositions survive. Indeed, the transformations, innovations, and creations of that age formed much of the image of that "Gregorian chant" which reached chant restoration in the nineteenth century. (As a time limit of this chapter, I have chosen – rather traditionally – the results of the Trent Council, Pius V's missal and breviary of 1568 and 1570. In plainchant, however, as recent research emphasizes, the Middle Ages continued far into early modern Europe.[1])

Orders

The first two centuries of this age are characterized by a thrust for reform resulting in the foundation of numerous new orders. The earliest, the Carthusians and the Cistercians, came into being already at the end of the eleventh century, and still followed the traditional contemplative monastic

1 See John Caldwell, "Crossing the Tridentine Divide: Continuity and Change in Liturgical Chant, 1300–1900," in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), 105–32 and Theodore Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, 2 vols. (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2005).

concept. But soon those orders accentuating the active life appeared. Their members worked as preachers, as teachers, or in the service of pilgrims, the sick, and poor in direct contact with lay environments: Augustinian canons regular, and the mendicant orders (among them the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Carmelites, for example). All these orders created their own codifications of liturgy and chant. (The most individual case is perhaps that of the Brigittine order, founded in ca. 1346 by St. Bridget, d. 1373, at Vadstena, Sweden, for nuns and brethren. The nuns observed a special liturgy, called *Cantus sororum*. Many of its chants were newly written by its compiler Petrus Olavi, d. 1378.[2])

The history of the Benedictine order is characterized by several attempts at reform during the period (papal initiatives, in 1215 and 1336, aimed at a stricter, centrally controlled observance).[3] From the time of abbot Wilhelm (1071–91), and during the twelfth century, the monastery of Hirsau in the Black Forest acted as a center of reform in southern Germany, Austria, and Bohemia.[4] In the aftermath of the Council of Constance (1414–18) Melk on the Danube became a new center of Benedictine reform (among others). It adopted the liturgical customs of Sacro Speco and Santa Scolastica, the two Benedictine houses at Subiaco where a monastic version of the secular Roman curial liturgy (see below) was observed.[5]

The centuries of the new orders are characterized by the revision, systematization, and codification of liturgical customs, chants included. Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans established master exemplars which enabled the maintenance of uniform liturgy and chant in all convents attached to these

2 Carthusians: Jurij Snoj, "Graduals from the Charterhouses Žiče (Seiz) and Bistra (Freudenthal)," in *Papers Read at the 13th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Niederaltaich/Germany, 2006. Aug. 29 – Sept. 4*, ed. Barbara Haggh and László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Institute for Musicology, 2009), 571–88. Augustinian canons: Franz Praßl, "Zur liturgischen Herkunft des Antiphonars A-VOR 287," in *Dies est leticie: Essays on Chant in Honour of Janka Szendrei*, ed. David Hiley and Gábor Kiss (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2008), 429–61 (Salzburg-network in Austria), Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge University Press, 1993) (France). Carmelites: James Boyce, "From Rule to Rubric: The Impact of Carmelite Liturgical Legislation upon the Order's Office Tradition," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 108 (1994), 262–98. Brigittines: Volker Schier, "The Cantus Sororum: Nuns Singing for Their Supper, Singing for Saffron, Singing for Salvation," in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. Dobszay, 857–70.

3 See the summary in Robert Klugseder, *Quellen des Gregorianischen Chorals für das Offizium aus dem Kloster St. Ulrich und Afra Augsburg* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2008), 112–14 and 24–28.

4 Janka Szendrei, "Prager Quellen zum Hirsauer Choral," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, Sopron, Hungary, 1995*, ed. Dobszay, 555–74, describes the influence of Hirsau reform at St. George, Prague.

5 The relationship between the Subiaco chant-tradition and that of the reformed Austrian and southern German monasteries is analyzed in Klugseder, *Quellen des Gregorianischen Chorals*, 138–55.

orders.[6] Well known is the regulative approach to plainchant especially of Carthusians, Cistercians, and Dominicans, which resulted in musical/textual abbreviations and simplifications. The numerous additions to the traditional core repertory of the previous centuries (tropes, sequences, new Ordinary melodies, and Alleluias) were shunned.[7]

Dioceses

Parallel to the liturgical regulations of the orders, codifications of diocesan uses grew in number. Liturgical compendia made the structure and content of rituals and ceremonies transparent and controllable. Noted missals and breviaries became numerous in the twelfth century.[8] Most early ordinals come from the thirteenth.[9] After the invention of printing technique in the middle of the fifteenth century, dioceses competed with each other in publishing their inherited "own" liturgies in carefully prepared – but maybe also somewhat idealized – editions.[10] (Retrospective anthologies are also known from monasteries around 1500, in the context of what has been called "monastic historism." Famous is the monumental collection of sequences collected by Frater Joachim Cuontz at St. Gall in preparation of Notker's jubilee and beatification in 1512.[11])

Due to special combinations of ecclesiastical and political circumstances, some diocesan uses received a nearly "national" status from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards, as is known for the famous use of Salisbury (Sarum), the use of Esztergom (Hungary), or that of Nidaros (today Trondheim, Norway, an archbishopric since 1152/3.)[12] Prague became a cultural center of European dimensions under the regency of emperor

6 The original Cistercian master exemplar still exists (Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 114), but in a fragmentary state. Lost are the originals of the master exemplars of the Franciscan (ca. 1253/55) and the Dominican (1254) order (two thirteenth-century copies for the Dominican liturgy still exist, however: Roma, Santa Sabina XIV L1, and London, British Library, Add. Ms. 23935), see Michel Huglo, "Liturgische Gesangbücher," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. V: cols. 1412–37 at 1428–29. See also the contributions in Leonard Boyle, Pierre-Marie Gy, and Paweł Krupa, eds. *Aux origines de la liturgie Dominicaine: Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1* (Paris; Rome: École française de Rome, 2004). Also, the Carthusian liturgy was probably controlled by (now lost) master exemplars; see David Hiley, "Der Gregorianische Gesang bei den Kartäusern und im Kloster Prüll," in *1000 Jahre Kultur in Karthaus-Prüll. Geschichte und Forschung vor den Toren Regensburgs. Festschrift zum Jubiläum des ehemaligen Klosters* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1997), 236–43 at 237.

7 Hiley and Huglo, "Choralreform," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. II: cols. 848–63 at 850–51.

8 Huglo, "Liturgische Gesangbücher," 1426f.

9 Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 320; 325.

10 László Dobszay, "Offizium," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. VII: 593–609 at 602; 604. Barbara Haggh, "Reconstructing the Plainchant Repertory of Brussels and Its Chronology," in *Musicology and Archival Research*, ed. B. Haggh, F. Daelemans, and A. Vanrie, 177–212 at 197–198.

11 Andreas Haug, "Sankt Gallen," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. VIII: cols. 948–69 at 959f.

12 Esztergom: Dobszay, "The System of the Hungarian Plainsong Sources," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1985), 37–65. Sarum: Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 583–84. Nidaros: Gisela Attinger, *A Comparative Study of Chant Melodies from Fragments of the Lost Nidaros Antiphoner* (Oslo:

Charles IV (1355–78) and its first archbishop, Arnestus of Pardubice (1343/44–64).[13]

In 1278, after several revisions of the liturgy of the papal court (*curia*), which had been taken over after a further revision from the Franciscans, Pope Nicholas III (1277–80) abolished the books of the Old Roman use and introduced the curia/Franciscan books (with their square notation) in Rome.[14] Compared with the elaborate monastic or other secular rites, Roman curial practice was much more succinct. (The members of the papal curia recited, for example, a secular Office in private).[15] With the Franciscan friars, the Roman curial liturgy in its revised form was carried throughout Europe. Even if its complete implementation in Rome seems to have been slow, and non-Roman dioceses were not obliged to adopt it, the rite became widespread during the fifteenth century.[16] At the beginning of the sixteenth century criticism once again aimed at a purification of the Office. Cardinal de Quiñones' breviary, approved in 1535 (but prohibited in 1568), was designed for private recitation. Practically all chants were expelled. Liturgical reorganization in the context of the Trent Council (1545–63) aimed at a balance between the solemn festal liturgies and the weekly rhythm of the ferial psalter. As a basis the Roman curial office was reinstalled, but the traditional festal calendar was shortened; medieval additions were abolished or no longer obligatory. Proper chants for many local saints' offices disappeared as well as most tropes and sequences (in the Mass only four remained: "Victimae paschali laudes," "Veni sancte Spiritus," "Lauda Sion," and "Dies irae"). With the exception of those older than 200 years, all uses had to follow this model.[17] The reformed liturgy was codified in Pius V's printed breviary and missal of

Unipub forlag; Akademika, 1999); Gisela Attinger and Andreas Haug, eds. *The Nidaros Office of the Holy Blood: Liturgical Music in Medieval Norway* (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2004); Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug, eds. *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and its European Context* (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006). Roman Hankeln, "Eystein's Liturgy and Its European Music," *Archbishop Eystein as Legislator: The European Connection* (Trondheim: Tapir, 2011). For sources from the Swedish, Finnish, and Danish dioceses see the writings of Ann Marie Nilsson, Ilkka Taittoo, Knud Ottosen's homepage www.liturgy.dk/, and Jan Brunius, ed., *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden: An International Seminar in Stockholm 13–16 November 2003* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2005).

13 See the articles in *Miscellanea Musicologica* 37, 2003. Charles Brewer, "The Mensural Significance of Bohemian Chant Notation and Its Origins," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. Dobszay et al., 55–68.

14 Morné Bezuidenhout, "The Old and New Historical Views of Gregorian Chant: Papal and Franciscan Plainchant in Thirteenth-Century Rome," *Revista de musicologia* 16 (1993), 883–900, gives a summary of these developments.

15 John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 125. Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 321.

16 Ibid., 595–96.

17 Dobszay, "Offizium," 606. Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 310–11.

1568 and 1570. (Among the chant-books which followed, the Medicean gradual of 1614–15 is surely the most famous.[18])

Lutheran and English reformed rites of the sixteenth century were of course in a distinguished theological contrast to the Latin traditions. Lutheran doctrine did however not intend a total replacement of traditional Latin culture. German Protestant *Chorordnungen* which followed Luther's *Formula missae* (1523) retained considerable parts of traditional chant repertoire in Latin.[19] (A striking example is a paper manuscript with numerous Latin antiphons and hymns for the lesser services of the Protestant liturgy at St. Egid, Nuremberg, dated 1724![20]) More accentuated was the break with tradition in the vernacular liturgy for the Church of England after the Act of Supremacy of 1534 (even Quiñones' breviary had some influence on Archbishop Cranmer's planning), but here also elements of tradition were taken over.[21] The continuity of plainchant (in Latin or with vernacular retextings) seems to be of interest for the Nordic countries with their general lack of complete sources. Niels Jesperssøn's gradual (1573) had a central position for the Protestant church of Denmark and Norway.[22] It has been called the Danish equivalent of Lucas Lossius' *Psalmodia* ... 1553,[23] which is true for its kind of repertoire (plainchant and chorales) but not for its melodies. Comparison shows that the plainchant melodies of these prints must have been chosen from different local traditions.[24]

Liturgy

Relevant for the history of plainchant (and ecclesiastical music in general) is the growing split between communal and private execution of the Divine Office. Monks and regular clergy celebrated in principle the full daily round, usually with plainchant. Secular clergy, on the other hand, performed only

18 Facsimile: Giacomo Baroffio and Manlio Sodi, eds. *Graduale de Tempore / de Sanctis iuxta ritum sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae, Editio Princeps (1614 / 1614–1615)*, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editio Vaticana, 2001).

19 Otto Brodde, "Evangelische Choralkunde (Der gregorianische Choral im evangelischen Gottesdienst)," in *Leiturgia: Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg, vol. IV: *Die Musik des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes* (Kassel: Stauda, 1961), 343–555 at 353.

20 Karlheinz Schlager and Theodor Wohnhaas, "Lateinische Antiphonen aus der evangelischen Reichsstadt: Das Inventar des Nürnberger Egidien-Antiphonars von 1724," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1999), 62–76.

21 Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 166–67.

22 Erik Abrahamsen, Erik Dal, and Henrik Glahn, eds., *Niels Jesperssøns Graduale 1573* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1986).

23 Robin Leaver, "Lutheran Church Music," Grove Music Online.

24 Marièl Eikeset Mundal, "Niels Jesperssøns Graduale 1573: Plassering i europeisk kyrkjemusikalsk tradisjon og nyskaping" (Master's dissertation, Trondheim University, 2011).

the day Hours with music, and recited the nocturnal services. (If itinerant, even monks might recite all services.[25]) From the thirteenth century onwards at the latest, the practice of the so called "private" Mass – celebrated by the priest alone (apart from a server) and silently – began to affect the solemn High Mass. By reciting all texts (chant texts inclusive) the celebrant took over all relevant liturgical functions of the *schola*.[26] Active lay participation in liturgy was not intended (and for Catholics this did not change with the Trent Council). During Mass, laymen were spectators of a numinous ritual, standing (or leaning on their staves) in the nave, often in front of a large choir screen which covered choir and altar partly or completely from their view.[27] Congregational chants in Latin or the vernacular had the character of exception or interjection: *Kyrieleis*-acclamations in Litanies, *leise*-chants like "Christ ist erstanden," or the chants performed during and/or after consecration.[28]

At schools larger possibilities of lay participation existed due to their usual link to parish churches. Schoolmasters were obliged to perform liturgical chant during various services with their classes.[29] At larger ecclesiastical institutions, choirboys took over important functions.[30] As is well known, composers of polyphonic music grew up in these pedagogic contexts, and many were still attached to them during their later careers.[31] Endowments provided by the clergy in larger urban ecclesiastical institutions secured the

25 Andrew Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford University Press, 2001), 31–96 at 33. Dobszay, "Offizium," 604.

26 Josef Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 1949), vol. I: 135f. Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 1979), 102ff.

27 Ibid., 97–101. But see Jacqueline Jung, "Seeing through Screens: The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame," in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2006), 184–213, about the framing function of these screens.

28 Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, II: 262. See Wolfgang Suppan, "Das geistliche Lied in der Landessprache," in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, ed. K. Fellerer vol. I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum*, 353–59 for the role of vernacular chants in Latin liturgy.

29 See Klaus Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1969), 589–96 (Germany), Janka Szendrei, "Ungarn," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. IX: cols. 1122–27 at 1122–23 (Hungary), Caldwell, "Crossing the Tridentine Divide," 176–77 (England).

30 Dobszay, "Offizium," 603f. Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 165–169; 180–184. Joachim Angerer, *Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung der Melker Reform: Studien zur Erforschung der Musikpraxis in den Benediktinerklöstern des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), 42; 44.

31 Barbara Haggh, "Guillaume Du Fay and the Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral in the Fifteenth Century," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. Dobszay et al., 549–69 at 550f. (Du Fay); Craig Wright, "Antoine Brumel and Patronage at Paris," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ian Fenlon (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 37–60 (Brumel).

education of boys from lower levels of society, who, during their stay, served as singers and/or acolythes in liturgy.[32] The numerous plainchant treatises known from the high and later Middle Ages were written in order to provide materials for these pedagogic contexts.[33]

During the century of the Councils of Basel and Constance, lay participation seems to have gained larger space in liturgy. Tropes in the vernacular to Mass Proper and Ordinary chants indicate this. Many of these pieces continued to be sung in Protestant contexts.[34] The trend towards translations of Latin liturgical texts is considerably older than the Protestant Reformation. At least fifty German breviaries from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of them made for convents of nuns, are mentioned by Stephan, who gives a *catalogue raisonnée* of two noted Office sources from such nunneries.[35] Early Reformation retextings of traditional plainchant melodies are numerous.[36]

The belief in the efficacy of intercessory prayer led (among other reasons) to a considerable quantitative increase of additional prayers, commemorations, services, Masses, Offices, and processions, often dedicated to a special intention. The result was a decisive increase in the number of priests, and an overload of liturgical duties for monks, clerics – and *scholares*. In larger churches, Masses were celebrated almost simultaneously, or in Mass series with the same intention.[37] Private initiatives, foundations, and endowments of individuals or confraternities played a major role in the formation of the liturgical calendars at the larger ecclesiastical institutions.[38] (Wright speaks of about 600 votive services at Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris around 1500.[39])

32 Lewis Baratz, "St. Gudula's Children: The *Boninfanten* and *Choraelen* of the Collegiate Church of Brussels during the *Ancien Régime*," in *Musicology and Archival Research*, ed. B. Haggh, F. Daelemans, and A. Vanrie, 214–305.

33 Joseph Dyer, "Chant Theory and Philosophy in the Late Thirteenth Century," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. Dobszay et al., 99–117 at 100–01.

34 Christina Hospenthal, "Musik und Text in deutschsprachigen Tropen," *Revista de musicologia*, 16 (1993), 856–71. Charles Brewer, "*Regina caeli letare / Alle- Domine*: From Medieval Trope to Renaissance Tune," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. Dobszay et al., 431–48 at 435f. See also Adolar Zumkoller, "Augustiner-Eremiten," in *MGG2*, Sachteil, vol. 1: cols. 1033–39 at 1035.

35 Rudolf Stephan, *Teutsch Antiphonal. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Chorals im 15. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gesänge und des Breviers* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 17–19; 20–21.

36 Konrad Ameln et al., eds., *Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik*. 1. Band, *Der Altargesang*. 1. Teil, *Die einstimmigen Weisen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1941) is an edition of the German material. For Hungary see Ilona Ferenczi, "Das Psalterium Strigoniense (1515) als eine Quelle der ungarischsprachigen Graduale," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. L. Dobszay et al., 579–85.

37 Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, 102.

38 Haggh, "Guillaume Du Fay and the Evolution of the Liturgy," 563, with focus on Cambrai cathedral.

39 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 183.

Earlier local or universal introduction of feasts of higher rank continued in such quantities that the traditional Order of Sundays and the normal celebration of the weekday-cycle were hampered.[40] Among them the feast of Corpus Christi (universal from 1264) is still the best known. It was introduced as an answer to the heretical movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Albigensians; Catharans) which denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. For ordinary people, the feast was (and still is) especially prominent because of its large procession, which, like that on Palm Sunday, encompassed the whole city.[41] Famous is its sequence "Lauda Sion" which borrows its melody from the Victorine sequence "Laudes crucis attolamus." Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) has been accepted as its text author. (His authorship for the famous prose Office "Sacerdos in eternum" has been rejected. Both the Office and the other Mass Proper chants are borrowed from traditional chant.[42])

At the end of the Middle Ages the veneration of the Virgin had become practically a perpetual observance. Apart from the solemn annual feasts (*Purificatio*, *Annunciatio*, *Assumptio*, *Nativitas*, *Visitatio*, *Conceptio*, *Presentatio*, etc.) numerous other ceremonies were observed, among them a complete Marian Office, Mass, and Hours on Saturdays.[43] At Notre Dame the most frequently performed Marian liturgy was that of the Little Office of the Virgin (*officium parvum*), which was celebrated on many days of lesser liturgical rank in addition to the standard liturgy.[44]

Chant Practice

A rationalized performance of liturgical chant became the norm. Offertory- and communion-verses generally fell out of use from the twelfth century onwards. Before psalm-recitation during Divine Office, only the incipit of the antiphon was intoned, the full antiphon was sung after the psalm.

40 Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 53. See the accounts for Notre-Dame, Paris, in Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 70–81; 121–28.

41 Detlef Altenburg, "Die Musik in der Fronleichnamsprozession des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), 5–24 at 5–6; 10.

42 Thomas J. Mathiesen, "The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi in the *Regimen Animarum* at Brigham Young University," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), 13–44 at 21; 24ff.; 29 (Office); Franz Stein, "Ordinariums- und Propriumsgesänge neuer Feste," in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, vol. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum*, ed. K. Fellerer, 273–77 at 273–74 (Mass).

43 See Anne W. Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 299–301.

44 Rebecca A. Baltzer, "The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. M. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer, 463–84.

The repetition of the choir-part in graduals was omitted. To conclude, the choir joined in at the end of the solistic verse.[45]

Memory-based transmission and teaching of chant were increasingly replaced by staff notation which, invented during the eleventh century, became a standard in France, England, and Italy during the twelfth century.[46] In Austria and Germany staffless neumes continued to be used (not without modernizations) until the fourteenth century.[47] The development of the large choirbook format from the thirteenth century onwards enabled groups of singers to perform from a written document during liturgy.[48]

Two types of staff notation were widely used: square notation (western Europe, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carthusians, Premonstratensians), and Gothic notation (Germany, Slavic and Baltic countries, Cistercians).[49] They were also adapted for printed editions of plainchant from the 1470s.[50]

Conrad of Zabern's *De modo bene cantandi* (1474) is the first comprehensive manual on performance practice known from the Middle Ages. Conrad linked the performance tempo to the solemnity of the feast (the higher the feast's status, the slower the tempo) – a traditional principle – and demanded that every note should have the same length in chant (in contrast to measured music), an indication of the influence of mensural polyphony on chant

45 Hiley and Huglo, "Choralreform," 850–51. Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien: Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, Part I: *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 88–89. Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 105 (intonation).

46 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 389.

47 Franz Praßl, "Choralhandschriften österreichischer Augustinerchorherren im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Gregorianik. Studien zu Notation und Aufführungspraxis*, ed. Thomas Hochradner and Franz Karl Praßl, Musicologica Austriaca 14/15 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996), 9–32.

48 Michel Huglo, Notated Performance Practices in Parisian Chant Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century, in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32–44 at 42.

49 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 390–91; 595; 610; 614.

50 See for the earliest prints Raphael Molitor, *Deutsche Choralwiegendrucke. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Chorals und des Notendruckes in Deutschland* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1904), pll. II, III, VII, and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 395–96. Numbers of missals, antiphonaries, graduals etc. are given in the RELICS database of Michigan University ("statistics / books by classification"): http://quod.lib.u;mich.edu/r/relics/. See also the contributions in Giulio Cattin, Danilo Curti, and Marco Gozzi, eds., *Il Canto plano nell'era della stampa: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi sul Canto Liturgico nei Secoli XV–XVIII, Trento – Castello del Buonconsiglio, Venezia – Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 9–11 ottobre 1998* (Trent: Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1999). See Janka Szendrei, "Die Geschichte der Graner Choralnotation," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988), 5–234 and Szendrei, "Linienschriften des zwölften Jahrhunderts auf süddeutschem Gebiet," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. L. Dobszay et al., 17–30, about notational systems in Hungary, southern Germany, and Austria. For Poland, see Elżbieta Wittkowska-Zaremba, ed., Notae Musicae Artis: Musical Notation in Polish Sources, 11th–16th Century (Krakow: Musica Iagellonica, 2001). About Baltic sources in general see Victoria Goncharova, "Latin Chant Manuscripts in Library Collections in the Baltic Countries and the Ukraine," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993*, ed. L. Dobszay, 321–66. 1995.

performance, which – as "cantus planus" distinguished from "cantus mensuratus" – usually followed equalistic conventions.[51]

Polyphonic performance of plainchant, in a simple improvised form, had been a long-practiced custom, and continued to be. Even Cistercian monasteries participated, and there is, despite official prohibition, evidence for organs here, and from Benedictine monasteries of the Melk-reform, during the fifteenth century.[52]

Chant Genres

Mass Propers for new feasts were often assembled from the *Commune*; usually only an Alleluia and a sequence were newly written.[53]

The history of the sequence enters its high medieval phase in Paris during the first half of the twelfth century with an innovative repertoire of rhymed sequences created at the Augustinian abbey of St. Victor.[54] A model for many other pieces has been the sequence "Laudes crucis attolamus," already mentioned (ca. 1109).[55] The famous "Dies irae" originated probably in

51 Joseph Dyer, "Singing with Proper Refinement from *De modo bene cantandi* (1474) by Conrad von Zabern," *Early Music* 6 (1978), 207–27 at 211, John Caldwell, "Plainsong and Polyphony, 1250–1550," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9ff., Karlheinz Schlager, "Ars cantandi – Ars componendi. Texte und Kommentare zum Vortrag und zur Fügung des mittelalterlichen Chorals," in *Die Lehre vom einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, ed. Thomas Ertelt and Frieder Zaminer, Geschichte der Musiktheorie 4 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 264 (Hieronymus de Moravia). See ibid., 271 about another trait of influence from polyphony on plainchant, the occasional habit of sharpening the subtonal step before D- and G-final to a subsemitonal one.

52 Angerer, *Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung der Melker Reform*, 100; Paweł Gancarczyk, "Cantus Planus multiplex in Polen: Von einer mündlichen Tradition zur Notenschrift," in *The Past in the Present: Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest and Visegrád, 2000*, ed. L. Dobszay, vol. II: 483–95; Séverine Grassin, "Cistercian Polyphonic Repertoire of the 14th Century: Past, Present, Future," in *The Past in the Present. Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest and Visegrád, 2000*, ed. Dobszay, vol. II: 497–513; Hubert-Gabriel Hammer, *Die Allelujagesänge in der Choralüberlieferung der Abtei Altenberg: Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zisterzienserchorals* (Köln: Volk, 1968), 16.

53 Haggh, "The Aostan Sources for the 'Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis' by Guillaume Du Fay," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. Dobszay et al., 355–75, and Szendrei, "*Crucem sanctam*. Ein ungarisches (?) Proprium für die Heilig-Kreuz-Messe," in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. L. Dobszay, 607–20. For an edition of Alleluias after 1100 see Schlager, ed. *Alleluia-Melodien II ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).

54 Fassler, *Gothic Song*. About the attitudes of the orders towards sequences see Fassler, "Music and the Miraculous: Mary in the Mid-Thirteenth-Century Dominican Sequence Repertory," in *Aux origines de la liturgie Dominicaine: Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1*, ed. L. Boyle, P-M. Gy, and P. Krupa, 229–78 at 258–59.

55 See Haggh, "Reconstructing the Plainchant Repertory of Brussels and its Chronology," in *Musicology and Archival Research*, ed. B. Haggh, F. Daelemans, and A. Vanrie, 177–212 at 203–05 about late contrafacta. Sequence compositions by Du Fay are discussed in Wright, "A Sequence for the Dedication of the Cathedral of Florence: Dufay's(?) *Nuper almos rose flores*," in *Cantate domino: Musica nei secoli per il Duomo di Firenze; atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 23–25 maggio 1997)*, ed. Piero Gargiulo,

a Franciscan context during the late twelfth century. (The ascription of the text to Thomas of Celano is doubtful.[56])

Composition of Mass Ordinary chants received much attention and continued well into the sixteenth century and later. Involved were especially Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary.[57] The practice of assembling monophonic ordinary pieces into a cycle unified by common motifs (fourteenth century) antedates that of the polyphonic ordinary cycle.[58]

The catalogs of Miazga (Poland) and Baroffio/Kim (Italy) show a wave of new composition of the Creed especially in the fifteenth and the eighteenth century. Still famous today is *Credo* Vat. III from the fifteenth century. This and other Creeds were often transmitted with a variant of mensural notation called "cantus fractus" which has recently received larger scholarly attention.[59]

Tropes to Proper chants generally fell out of use, but survived in certain areas up to the sixteenth century.[60] New tropes to the Mass Proper and Ordinary take up the general trend to song-like regular forms in text and music.[61]

Texting of pre-existent melodies continued far beyond the Reformation, and was especially popular in new saints' Offices. The different techniques employed deserve systematic comparative studies which include also the various approaches in the vernacular, before and after the Reformation.[62]

Gabriele Giacomelli, and Carolyn Gianturco (Florence: Edifir, 2001), 55–67; and Haggh, "Guillaume Du Fay and the Evolution of the Liturgy," 565.

56 Cornelius Vellekoop, *Dies ire dies illa: Studien zur Frühgeschichte einer Sequenz* (Bilthoven: Creyghton 1978), 186–87.

57 Gábor Kiss, *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa. Repertoire-Übersicht und Melodienkatalog*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010).

58 Ibid., 29.

59 Caldwell, "Crossing the Tridentine Divide," 118. Marco Gozzi, "Il canto fratto nei libri liturgici de Quattrocento e del primo Cinquecento: L'area trentina," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 38 (2003), 3–40 at 12ff.

60 Karp, "Some Notkerian Sequences in Germanic Print Culture of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries," in *Western Plainchant in the First Millenium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music*, ed. Sean Gallagher et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 399–428.

61 Janka Szendrei, "Tropenbestand der ungarischen Handschriften," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, ed. Dobszay et al., 297–325 at 308–13. Bodil Asketorp, "Beobachtungen zu einigen späteren Introitustropen," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 19*, ed. László Dobszay et al., 371–92. Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "*Genitor summi filii*: A Remarkable Career of a Sanctus Trope," in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. L. Dobszay, 753–66. Giacomo Baroffio, "I tropi nei codici Italiani. Orientamenti bibliografici e inventario sommario dei manoscritti," *Rivista liturgica* 91 (2004), 555–96 gives a list of more than 270 manuscripts of Italian provenance with tropes, from the ninth to the nineteenth century.

62 Brewer, "*Regina caeli letare / Alle- Domine*," 440ff.; Gunilla Björkvall, "The Continuity of a Genre: Offertory Prosulas in Cambrai B. M. 172 (167) from the Twelfth Century," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 19*, ed. Dobszay et al., 359–70; Brodde, "Evangelische Choralkunde," 425; Roman Hankeln, "St. Olav's Augustine-Responsories: Contrafactum Technique and Political Message," in *Political*

A series of later manuscripts with liturgical songs ("cantiones") survives. Famous, for example, is a gradual (1370) with a cantiones-collection for the boys of the collegiate church of St. Castulus, Moosburg.[63] Most of these chants are stylistically linked to their predecessors from the twelfth century.[64]

Linked with the votive and commemorative observances in honor of the Virgin mentioned above is the increasing production of Marian antiphons. Best known from thirteenth-century Franciscan and Roman use are "Regina caeli," "Alma redemptoris mater," "Ave regina celorum," and "Salve regina," all of them of non-Gregorian style.[65] A special branch of antiphons honoring the Virgin is constituted by antiphons on texts taken from the biblical Song of Songs. The older layer of these pieces functioned in connection with psalms or canticles of the traditional solemn Marian feasts. Later layers were used as more independent pieces without a psalm in commemorations and/or processions, or maybe even in contexts of private devotion. Some late examples show a quite remarkable, florid style.[66]

An anthology of antiphons, cantiones, tropes, sequences, Alleluias, *leichs*, and motet voices (today Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, codices germanici monacenses 716, hereafter *D-Mbs* cgm 716) may be taken here as an example for many late medieval collections dedicated to Marian devotion. This paper manuscript, once part of the library of the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee, may have had its roots in a Bohemian Cistercian context in the middle of the fifteenth century. Besides the interesting collection of later *Canticum Canticorum* antiphons, its most advanced pieces are Latin retextings of *leich*-melodies, among them two composed by the Middle High German poet Heinrich of Meißen ("Frauenlob," d. 1318).[67]

The plainchant repertoire with the most vigorous unfolding was without doubt that created for the Divine Office in honor of local saints. Hundreds of

Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints' Offices, ed. R. Hankeln, 171–99; Stephan, *Teutsch Antiphonal*, 133–59.

63 Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. 156 ("Moosburger Graduale"); Bavaria, facsimile: *Moosburger Graduale: München, Universitätsbibliothek, 20 Cod. ms. 156, Faksimile*, ed. David Hiley (Tutzing: Schneider, 1996).

64 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 250.

65 Ibid., 104–08; Marie-Noël Colette, "Le Salve Regina en Aquitaine au XII^{ème} siècle: l'auteur du Salve," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary 3–8 September 1990*, ed. Dobszay et al., 521–47.

66 Jürg Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes. Vertonungen des Canticum Canticorum vom 9. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), vol. 1: 59–99.

67 Brewer, "The Antiphon Cycle from the Canticum Canticorum in Vyšší Brod, 1 VB 42," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th meeting, Esztergom and Visgrád 1998*, ed. Dobszay, 97–118 at 113 (provenance); Hankeln, "Eine Tegernseer(?) Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext. Zu Zusammensetzung und Stil des Repertoires von D-Mbs cgm 716," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 37 (2003), 111–31.

saints' Offices are still preserved. Office cycles include regularly a set of about thirty pieces, antiphons and responsories, and normally also hymns which, in Roman and secular use, were not regarded as a proper part of the Divine Office before the twelfth century. They were now again written in large numbers and/or came with the orders in the areas of later mission.[68] Earlier research has focused on so called "rhymed" Offices (their chant-texts have regular rhyme and accentual alternation).[69] Pieces of this kind could easily be used as a basis for contrafacta in honor of related (or non-related) saints.[70] But some important later Offices still use prose texts (a comprehensive overview of these Offices is not available).[71]

Saints' Offices from the tenth century onwards arrange their chants in the numerical order of the modes. This has been criticized as a mechanical practice. The numerical principle is, however, well known from the sequences of psalms in the Divine Office, and some series of post-pentecost Alleluias. The literary acrostic is a related principle.[72]

Style

The last pages of this chapter summarize recent analyses on Office chants, especially antiphons. These chants, as numerous as they might be, do of course not represent the totality of late medieval chant production. Given the embryonic state of chant analysis in general, and the absence of comparative

68 Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 32. Carl-Allan Moberg, *Die liturgischen Hymnen in Schweden* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1947) is a case study for Sweden.

69 The most comprehensive overview about the versified office is Hughes, *The Versified Office: Sources, Poetry, and Chants*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies 97/1 (Lions Bay, BC: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2011–12), which unfortunately appeared after completion of this chapter. See especially his discussion of recent approaches to stylistic issues in "Conclusion II," vol. II: 491–518. See also Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office." Hughes' database is a key tool for the repertoire: *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research*, vol. I: Texts, vol. II: Sources and Chants (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994–96). See also the editions in the series HISTORIAE, Musicological Studies 65/1 et seq. (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music). Melody incipits are also available at the "Offices of the Saints" database at Regensburg University: www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/ phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/index.htm. Choose "Databases (interactive)."

70 See Wagner, "Zur mittelalterlichen Offiziumskomposition."

71 See Janka Szendrei, "On the Prose Historia of St. Augustine," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography. Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. M. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer, 430–43; Hiley, "The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001), 23–37; Hiley, "The Office of the Transfiguration by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (1122–1156) in the Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 17716," in *Procession, Performance, Liturgy, and Ritual: Essays in Honor of Bryan R. Gillingham*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), 224–40.

72 Karlheinz Schlager, "Reimoffizien," in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, vol. I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum*, ed. K. Fellerer, 293–97 at 297. Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 87; László Dobszay, "From 'Crudelitas' to 'Credulitas': Comments on Saint Stephen's Historia Rhythmica," in *Political Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints' Offices*, ed. Roman Hankeln, 93–106 at 94; Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, 106.

studies covering all genres, this might however be helpful, in order to give some idea about plainchant style during the high and later Middle Ages.[73]

Previous research observed differences between traditional Frankish-Roman Office chant and the later repertoire. It is not quite clear when these changes occurred, but first analyses of the traditional repertory of prose Offices from Sanctorale and Temporale hint at a gradual stylistic split from the tenth century onwards.[74]

Besides the numerical modal order, poetic text-structures (regular rhyme; accentuation) still figure in previous research as the most obvious stylistic hallmarks of later Offices. A growing interest in semantic connections between words and music has been observed in the later repertoire (word-painting; word emphasis), but not systematically studied.[75]

Main *musical* differences between Offices from Frankish-Roman chant and the later layers might be summarized like this:

1) Later antiphons lose their attachment to the traditional antiphon-types; responsory verses are written freely.[76] The earlier practice of constructing melodies as series of melodic formulas has been replaced by free melodic movement confined only by predefined ambitus segments.[77] (There exists some probability, however, that further study might reveal new formulaic elements also in the later Offices; see below.)[78]
2) Later Office chants often employ a larger ambitus than those from the Frankish-Roman repertory. Emphasis lies on octave frames, subdivided into segments of a fifth and fourth in the authentic, a fourth and fifth in the plagal modes. This new tonal feeling is reflected in the innovative modal concepts of the eleventh century (Guido of Arezzo, d. after 1033; Hermannus Contractus, d. 1054), and seems to be interrelated with the

73 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 46f.; Rudolf Flotzinger, "Zur Melodiebildung der Notre-Dame Organa," in *The Past in the Present. Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest and Visegrád, 2000*, ed. Dobszay, vol. II: 515–27 at 520.

74 Dobszay, "The Histories of the Pre-Lenten Period," in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. Dobszay, 565–81; Hiley, "Style and Structure in Early Offices of the Sanctorale," in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music: Written in Honor of James W. McKinnon*, ed. Sean Gallagher et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 157–79.

75 Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 95.

76 Compare the later groups of antiphons in László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, eds., *Antiphonen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999). Later responsory verses are analyzed in James Boyce, "Rhymed Office Responsory Verses: Style Characteristics and Musical Significance," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, Sopron, Hungary, 1995*, ed. Dobszay, 99–121.

77 Dobszay and Szendrei, *Antiphonen*, 25*.

78 See also Hiley, "The Office of the Transfiguration by Peter the Venerable," 235.

contemporary practice of parallel organum.[79] Central notes with tonal "gravitational" force (Hiley) are established: final; upper fifth; upper octave.[80] From the tenth century onwards responsory verses show a tendency to modify their cadences in order to finish their melody on the final.[81] Some features, as for example stereotyped cadencing on final and upper fifth, contribute to the stability of this tonal frame. (The so-called subtonal "Gallican" cadence, well known from sequences, is an example.) Even the major part of single words or word units of a piece may begin and/or end with the central notes (a technique known already from Hermannus Contractus).[82] Example 25.1 shows the beginning of the first antiphon of St. Francis' Office (written by Julian of Speyer, d. ca. 1250) The piece shows a clear tonal D-a-d structure. Four of thirteen word units begin and/or end with one of these notes (1, 3, 8, 13), and four with two of them (2, 4, 5, 11). This tonal structure is so firmly established that the intermittent expansion of the F-level (end of third, fourth and start of last phrase) can be heard as a distinct contrast. The melodic design chosen is quite linear, practically without leaps.

3) All the features mentioned above contribute to a quite stable tonal framework, resulting in an impression of predictability. This receives occasionally a contrast by non-Gregorian melodic features: frequent leaps of intervals larger than a third, mono-directional combinations of third-leaps, scales crossing intervals larger than a fourth. Leap-combinations of different kinds of intervals and direction, occasionally interrupted by steps, lead to melodic lines in zigzag fashion. These features are often employed in combination.[83]

A certain counterweight to this increased melodic dynamic can be found on the higher level of overall form. Regular repetition of melodic segments, or

79 Ibid., 232.

80 This has also been observed among later hymn melodies: Hiley, "Zur englischen Hymnenüberlieferung," in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter. Überlieferung – Ästhetik – Ausstrahlung*, ed. Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 199–214 at 212. See the statistics in Peter Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftliche Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Ricke, 1962), 47–48.

81 Hiley, "The Office of the Transfiguration by Peter the Venerable," 229f.

82 Hiley, "Das Wolfgang-Offizium des Hermannus Contractus – Zum Wechselspiel von Modustheorie und Gesangspraxis in der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Offizien des Mittelalters. Dichtung und Musik*, ed. Walter Berschin and David Hiley (Tutzing: Schneider, 1999), 129–42 at 138.

83 Hankeln, "Old and New in Medieval Chant: Finding Methods of Investigating an Unknown Region," in *A due: Musical Essays in Honour of John D. Bergsagel and Heinrich W. Schwab*, ed. Ole Kongsted et al. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008), 161–80 at 172–79. See Hiley, "The Office of the Transfiguration by Peter the Venerable," 234–35. About comparable stylistic criteria in Kyrie chants, see Gábor Kiss, "The 'liedhafte' E-Melodik," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40 (1999), 315–24 at 319.

even their sequence, is rare, however, in the Office repertoire. A striking, but exceptional, example (see Example 25.2) might be cited from the anthology mentioned above (*D-Mbs* cgm 716, second half of the fifteenth century).[84]

The example might look like one of the vocal exercises (*exercitia vocum*) known from medieval practical-pedagogical sources,[85] but the stunning mimetic quality of this sample, the rise on "surgam" ("I will rise now") and the undulating sequence over "et circuibo civitatem" ("and I will go about the city,") will not go unnoticed.[86] Rare examples of this kind show a play with musical elements treated as definite entities (or "modules"), a strategy known from polyphonic compositions since the Notre-Dame period.[87]

Antiphons like that in honor of St. Francis, cited above, characterized by their hymn-like melodic straightforwardness, have been stylistic trend-setters for many others, from the thirteenth century onwards. Neumatic (or even syllabic) setting of short verses results here in a sequence of phrases of nearly identical length. Their melodies, firmly linked to the central notes of the scale, follow generally arch-like patterns. (Deviations from this scheme lead to contrast or even stagnation: see the second phrase of Example 25.1.)[88] It must have been the simplicity and inherent balance of this model which contributed to its popularity. Guillaume Du Fay's famous Office for the *Recollectio festorum beate Marie Virginis* (1457) still follows this stylistic model in general – maybe with an even more restrained attitude (see Example 25.3).[89]

Du Fay's fifth Matins antiphon, in authentic F-mode, is an example for the firm establishment of a tertian structure, especially in F-mode melodies. In combination with regularly employed b♭ (even a subsemitonal step to the final is possible) for us an unmistakably un-Gregorian touch emerges (which seems to be responsible for the unbroken popularity of pieces like *Credo* Vat. III).[90]

84 See the complete piece in Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes*, vol. II: 24.

85 Huglo, "Exercitia vocum," in *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Janka Szendrei and Hiley (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), 117–23.

86 See Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes*, vol. I: 93–94.

87 Flotzinger, "Zur Melodiebildung der Notre-Dame Organa," 526. Mass Ordinary chants are richer in that respect; see the examples in Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe*, 85, mel. 47; 87; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 165, Sanctus 98.

88 See Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 67.

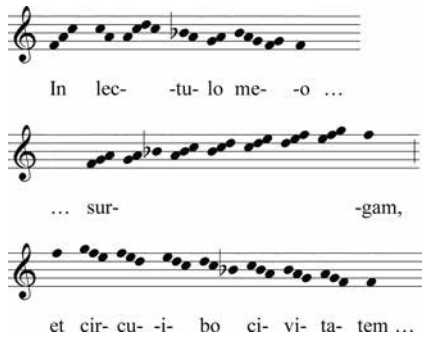
89 Haggh, "Guillaume Du Fay, Teacher and Theorist, and His Chant for Cambrai Cathedral," in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred, Hungary, 2004. Aug. 23–28*, ed. L. Dobszay, 817–44, analyzes the office with regard to the composition theory of Guido of Arezzo.

90 Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 70 gives an example from the St. Francis-Office. About this tonal structure in other genres see, for example, Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 238–39 (Benedicamus-songs); Schlager, "Hymnen," in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, vol. I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum*, ed. K. Fellerer, 282–86 at 285 (hymn). Remarkable is the occasional prominence of "b" (instead of the earlier "a" or "c") as the upper part of the E-(G)-b structure of the authentic E-mode. An example can be studied in Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe*, 58, mel. 151 (fourteenth century).

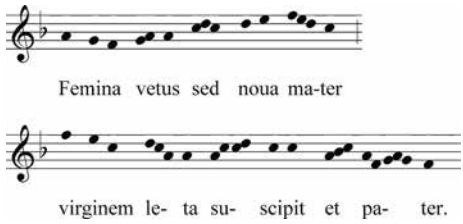
Example 25.1 Antiphon from St. Francis-Office, ed. Hilarin Felder, *Die liturgischen Reimofficien auf die Heiligen Franciscus und Antonius gedichtet und componiert von Fr. Julian von Speier (d. ca. 1250)* (Freiburg: Universitäts-Buchhandlung Veith, 1901), xv



Example 25.2 Antiphon "In lectulo meo" – excerpt, from Jürg Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes. Vertonungen des Canticum Canticorum vom 9. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), II: 24



Example 25.3 "Femina vetus," Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, Impr. XVI C 4, fol. 164r



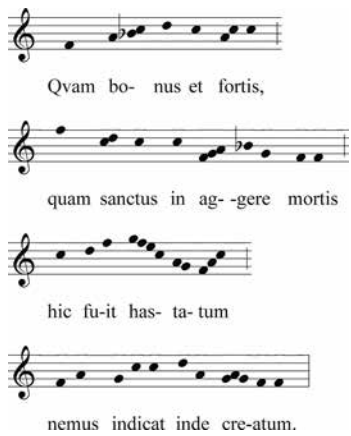
Du Fay's restrained, "classicist" stylistic position becomes especially clear if compared with a group of German Offices, composed as early as the twelfth century. They stand at the other end of the scale of stylistic alternatives observed so far among non-Gregorian Office antiphons. Example 25.4 is taken from the Office in honor of Charlemagne, composed at Aachen 1170–1180.[91]

Due to their identical modality, both antiphons share melodic gestures with each other. (See the ascent to the c-level, the touch on high d, plus further ascent to the upper octave f in the first phrases, or the final cadences.) A great difference lies however in the much higher melodic dynamic of the present piece. Du Fay composed a stepwise melody, occasionally employing leaps of – exclusively – thirds. Charlemagne's melody is, in contrast, characterized not only by a series of larger leaps (fourths, fifths), but also by the speed with which it covers large portions of ambitus. (The whole octave is cruised in six notes at the start of the second phrase, an interval of a ninth, g–F, in a *currentes*-like descent in the third phrase.)

First tests of melody style indicate that it is not legitimate to assume a linear "evolution" – from "simple" to more "developed" for example – among antiphons for saints' Offices from the eleventh to the fifteenth century.[92] Melodically, most dynamic are indeed the compositions of Hermannus Contractus (d. 1054).[93] In the twelfth century Charlemagne's

91 See Michael McGrade, "Affirmations of Royalty: Liturgical Music in the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary in Aachen, 1050–1350" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago [Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1998]), chapter four, for the context.
92 See Hankeln, "Zur musikstilistischen Einordnung mittelalterlicher Heiligenoffizien," in "Lingua mea calamus scribae. Mélanges offerts à madame Marie-Noël Colette," ed. Daniel Saulnier, Katarina Livljanić, and Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, *Études grégoriennes* 26 (2009), 147–57.
93 See the editions in vols. 7, 10 and 22 of the HISTORIAE series.

Example 25.4 "Quam bonus," Aachen, Domarchiv (Stiftsarchiv), G 20, fol. 26v



antiphons and abbot Uodalskalk's (1126–51) cycles in honor of Ulrich and Conrad of Augsburg still show this attitude (a style comparable to that of Hildegard of Bingen, d. 1179).[94] These twelfth-century south-western German examples may be exceptions. The office in honor of Thomas Becket (before 1193) is melodically already more frugal.[95] Cycles from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries all in all seem to follow the regularity of rhymed Offices of the thirteenth century à la Francis, and Elisabeth.[96] But it is on this very late field that most work still remains to be done.[97] Further analytic expeditions in this vast area, and especially the almost unexplored responsory-territories, are needed.

94 Transcription in Friedrich Dörr, Karlheinz Schlager, and Theodor Wohnhaas, "Das Ulrichsoffizium des Udalschalk von Maisach. Autor – Musikalische Gestalt – Nachdichtung," in *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg 890–973. Seine Zeit – sein Leben – seine Verehrung. Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, ed. Manfred Weitlauff, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte 26–27 (1992–93). (Weißenhorn, 1993), 751–82; see also Karlheinz Schlager, "Hexameter-Melodien," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993*, ed. L. Dobszay, 629–34. Another Augsburg Office, that for Simpert, shows the same stylistic features. Its earliest sources known so far come from the fifteenth century (see ed. Klugseder, series HISTORIAE vol. 13). For Hildegard see Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes*, vol. 1: 97f.

95 Transcribed in Kay Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

96 See Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 77–78. On Elisabeth: see ed. Haggh, series HISTORIAE, vol. 1.

97 See the desiderata in Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," 95.

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· 26 ·

Early Polyphony

JAMES GRIER

Between the end of the ninth and the end of the twelfth centuries, the practice of singing and composing polyphonic music came to flourish across the Latin West. The evidence from this period indicates several distinct practices: improvised choral polyphony, written liturgical polyphony that could have been sung by either chorus or soloists, and polyphonic lyric song for soloists. The first occurs exclusively in theoretical treatises, chiefly the *Enchiriadis* treatises and the *Micrologus* of Guido d'Arezzo. Both *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Micrologus* provide the general theoretical background for the singing of plainsong, to which each author appends a treatment of polyphony; and both treatises enjoyed wide circulation throughout western Europe until the end of the fifteenth century.[1] Fritz Reckow notes that not only Guido's treatise but also his precepts about polyphony continued to attract commentary into the fourteenth century, and he deduces therefrom that polyphony similar to that described by him was still being sung at the end of the Middle Ages.[2]

The large repertory of polyphony originating in Winchester, a smaller collection in Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral, s. s. (*E-SC* s.s., hereafter "Codex Calixtinus"), and several fragments, all from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attest that the singing of liturgical polyphony was both widespread and varied. The Winchester repertory, preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473 (hereafter *GB-Ccc* 473), written in the early eleventh century, contains polyphonic settings of liturgical chants for both Mass and Office, particularly Tracts, Alleluias, and Office responsories. The Codex Calixtinus, probably produced in France in the middle of the twelfth century

1 For a list of manuscripts that contain *Musica enchiriadis*, see *Musica et Scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, ed. Hans Schmid, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 3 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), vii–viii; for Guido's *Micrologus*, see Guido d'Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, CSM 4 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955), 4–71.

2 Fritz Reckow, "Guido's Theory of Organum after Guido: Transmission – Adaptation – Transformation," trans. Adelyn Peck Leverett, in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone, Isham Library Papers 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1995), 395–413.

for use at Santiago de Compostela, features a liturgy for Saint James the Greater, to whom the cathedral there is dedicated, with polyphonic settings of responsorial chants for Mass and Office. It also transmits polyphonic sacred lyric songs that bear a strong stylistic resemblance to the *versus* repertory cultivated in twelfth-century Aquitaine. The Aquitanian repertories and those of the Codex Calixtinus constitute the earliest known examples of virtuosic polyphonic music for soloists that reached a high point in the polyphonic music practiced at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris during the thirteenth century.

Improvised Choral Polyphony

The two principal witnesses of this practice, as noted above, are *Musica enchiriadis*, written sometime in the second half of the ninth century, and Guido d'Arezzo's *Micrologus*, from the late 1020s.[3] Discussion of the polyphony described in *Musica enchiriadis* must begin with the extraordinary gamut presented there.[4] (See Example 26.1.)

First explicated by Philipp Spitta, the gamut consists of symmetrical tetrachords, each containing a central semitone surrounded by two tones.[5] Each note of the tetrachord carries a name derived from the Greek ordinal numbers, protus, deuterus, tritus and tetrardus from lowest to highest, and the treatise

3 On *Musica enchiriadis*, see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "La place exceptionnelle de l'Ars Musica dans le développement des sciences au siècle des Carolingiens," *Revue Grégorienne* 31 (1952), 81–104 at 95–99; Nancy Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis:* The Literary, Theoretical, and Musical Sources" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1984), 511–16; and Dieter Torkewitz, *Das älteste Dokument zur Entstehung der abendländischen Mehrstmimmigkeit*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 44 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), 11–16, 101–21. On Guido's *Micrologus*, see Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino eiusque vita et moribus* (Florence: Olschki, 1953), 13–24; and Claude Palisca, "Introduction," in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, trans. Warren Babb, Music Theory Translation Series 3 (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 50–51.

4 *Musica enchiriadis* 1, ed. Schmid, 4–5.

5 Philipp Spitta, "Die Musica enchiriadis und ihr Zeitalter," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1889), 443–82. See also Ewald Jammers, *Anfänge der abendländischen Musik*, Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 31 (Strasbourg: Librairie Heitz, 1955), 60–70; Michael Markovits, *Das Tonsystem der abendländischen Musik im frühen Mittelalter*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft series 2, 30 (Bern and Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1977), 76–78; Hans Eggebrecht, "Die Mehrstimmigkeitslehre von ihren Anfängen bis zum 12. Jahrhundert," in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, v: *Die mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit*, ed. Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 9–87 at 18–23; David Cohen, "Metaphysics, Ideology, Discipline: Consonance, Dissonance, and the Foundations of Western Polyphony," *Theoria* 7 (1993), 1–85 at 12–14; Christian Kaden, "Tonsystem und Mehrstimmigkeitslehre der *Musica enchiriadis*: Theoretische Spekulation oder pädagogische Handreichung?" in *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz, and Michael Walter, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 42 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 75–87; Ernst Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 13 and 44 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975 and 2002), vol. II:13–33; and Charles Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music*, AMS Studies in Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 118–23.

Example 26.1 The *Enchiriadis* gamut



assigns to the protus, deuterus and tetrardus a symbol derived from the dasia, itself a grammatical symbol (the tritus uses its own symbol).[6]

The gamut comprises a series of these tetrachords, each separated by a tone of disjunction between the tetrardus, the highest note, of one tetrachord, and the lowest note, protus, of the next. This collection contains no diminished fifths, but an augmented fourth does lie between the tritus of each tetrachord and the deuterus of the tetrachord above, and an augmented octave between the tritus of each tetrachord and the deuterus of the second tetrachord above. Willi Apel notes that this gamut permits any transposition by a fifth to preserve its exact intervallic content, and so, in all likelihood, it was created to facilitate parallel organum at the fifth.[7]

Lincoln Bunce Spiess suggests that this gamut applied only to the organal voice, and only for parallel organum at the fifth.[8] This statement presupposes the existence of the gamut that appears in tenth- and eleventh-century treatises such as those of Hucbald of Saint Amand and Guido, which presumably the principal (i.e., pre-existing) voice uses.[9] There, the notes B♭, a ninth below middle C, and F♯ and C♯, a fourth

6 *Musica enchiriadis* 2, ed. Schmid, 6–7. On dasian notation, see Hubert Unverricht, "Die Dasia-Notation und ihre Interpretation," in *Ars musica, musica scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 126 (Cologne: Verlag der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Rheinische Musikgeschichte, 1980), 444–48; Phillips, "The Dasia Notation and Its Manuscript Tradition," in *Musicologie médiévale: Notations et séquences*, ed. Michel Huglo (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1987), 157–73; Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren von Boethius bis zum 12. Jahrhundert," trans. Gudrun Tillmann-Budde, in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, IV: *Die Lehre von einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, ed. Thomas Ertelet and Frieder Zaminer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 293–623 at 305–25; Barbara Hebborn, *Die Dasia-Notation*, Orpheus Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 79 (Bonn: Orpheus-Verlag, 1995); and Andreas Ostheimer, "Die Niederschrift von Musik mit Dasiazeichen: Untersuchungen zur praktischen Anwendung eines 'theoretischen' Schriftsystems," *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 28 (1999), 51–72.

7 Willi Apel, "The Earliest Polyphonic Composition and Its Theoretical Background," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 10 (1956), 129–37 at 129–30.

8 Lincoln Spiess, "The Diatonic 'Chromaticism' of the Enchiriadis Treatises," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12 (1959), 1–6 at 3.

9 Hucbald of Saint Amand, *Musica*, ed. Yves Chartier, in *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand: Les compositions et le traité de musique*, Cahiers d'Études Médiévales, Cahier spécial 5 (n.p.: Bellarmin, 1995), 136–213; sections 23–24 at 162–93; and Guido, *Micrologus*, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 2–3 at 93–102. See also the early eleventh-century treatise Pseudo-Odo, *Dialogus*, ed. Martin Gerbert in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica*, 3 vols. (St. Blasien: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784 [repr. Hildesheim, 1963]), vol. I: 251–64; section 2 at 253a–b. On this gamut in general, see Markovits, *Das Tonsystem*, 73–79; and Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus*, 152–57, 212–14, 219–21.

and an octave above middle C respectively, all of which appear in the *Enchiriadis* gamut, do not occur. Hucbald clearly derives his gamut from Boethius, whose writings the author of *Musica enchiriadis* knew, but no ninth-century treatise (i.e., one earlier than or contemporary with *Musica enchiriadis*) presents such a gamut.[10]

Spiess's observation, therefore, regarding the applicability of the gamut to the organal voice alone, cannot be sustained, particularly in the face of its use, together with the attendant dasian symbols, for chants without organal accompaniment, the antiphons that illustrate chapter 8, for example.[11] In fact, Spiess himself points out that the principal voice cannot use B♭ a second below middle C, a note found on the tenth- and eleventh-century gamuts just mentioned, because the organal voice a fifth below would sing E♭, a note that is absent from the *Enchiriadis* gamut and those of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[12] This gamut therefore, like those in the tenth- and eleventh-century sources, is simply a theoretical construct to validate the selection of pitches arbitrarily made available to the singer. In the *Enchiriadis* treatises, the justification for the form this particular gamut takes is the singing of organum in parallel fifths.

The practice of polyphony the treatise describes expressly reflects the limitations of this gamut. The author begins by defining the same three consonances as Boethius, perfect fourth, fifth and octave, and then showing voices moving in parallel, first at the fifth, then at the octave below.[13] He does not identify these arrangements as polyphony, for which he uses *organum* and *diaphonia* as synonyms: "This is what we call the song of diaphony or, customarily, organum" ("Haec namque est, quam diaphoniam cantilenam vel assuete organum nuncupamus"),[14] but rather as exemplification of the

10 Anicius Manlius Severinus. Boethius, *De institutione musica*, ed. Gottfried Friedlein, in *De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, *De institutione musica libri quinque*, *accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867 [repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1966]), 175–371; section 1.20 at 206–12. For references to Boethius and a quotation from *De institutione musica* 5.9 (ed. Friedlein, 358–60), see *Musica enchiriadis* 16, ed. Schmid, 43–47; also *ibid.* 19, ed. Schmid, 59.

11 *Musica enchiriadis* 8, ed. Schmid, 16–19. The treatise precedes each of these with a brief melody set to the text "Alleluia," as if these are verses for that chant, but Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*," 424–40, correctly identifies them as antiphons for the Divine Office. Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, II: 26–27, notes that none of the monophonic melodies uses notes beyond the tenth C–E an octave below middle C to a third above, and so does not invoke the notes B♭ and F♯ a step in either direction beyond the used range. Nevertheless, the problem still arises with the dichotomy B♮/B♭ a second below middle C, both of which Hucbald's gamut countenances, where *Musica enchiriadis* would permit only B♮. Cf. ibid., II: 27–31, where Waeltner suggests that either B♮ or B♭ could appear at this point in the *Enchiriadis* gamut.

12 Spiess, "The Diatonic 'Chromaticism,'" 5.

13 *Musica enchiriadis* 10, ed. Schmid, 23–27; Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.7, ed. Friedlein, 194.

14 *Musica enchiriadis* 13, ed. Schmid, 37.

consonances. The author later removes all doubt, however, when he first states that diaphony "is common in all consonances" ("omnium simphoniarum est commune"), that is, octave, fifth and fourth, and then provides an illustration of compound organum at the fifth below, with both voices doubled at the octave.[15]

Because of the gamut's construction, all examples at the fifth below need no explanation, but the treatment of the octave does pose a problem for our author. The initial definition is conventional, labeling notes an octave apart as "equal-sounding" (*aequisonus*), the term Boethius uses,[16] and later, after noting that "each sound creates the sound of the octave at the eighth note from itself on either side" ("sonus quisque in utramque partem ad octavum a se sonum diapason resonat"), the author characterizes the octave as the "consonance more perfect than the others" ("perfectior ceteris consonantia").[17] Two examples of parallel motion at the octave suggest that he tacitly acknowledges the incompatibility of these statements with the *Enchiriadis* gamut: in the first, the manuscript tradition indicates that the dasian symbols apply to the principal voice alone, while in the second, they do not appear at all.[18]

But when the author discusses the quality of the three consonances, the structure of the gamut generates problems. After first stressing that the series of pitches renews itself at the octave, he observes that notes a ninth apart "are found to be the same" ("idem inveniuntur"), but not those an octave apart. In other words, notes a ninth apart invariably fall in the same position on their respective tetrachords, whereas notes an octave apart do not. Still, by a "marvelous mutation" ("mutatione mirabili"), octaves become the same ("idem fiunt"), presumably because octave equivalence supersedes the augmented octaves of the gamut.[19] The admission that octave equivalence is lacking in the gamut (as opposed to the author's earlier claims about the octave), in contrast to the phenomenon of equivalence at the ninth, anticipates, I believe, the treatise's parallel treatment of equivalence at the fifth, which immediately follows: "it is necessary that the

15 Quotation: *Musica enchiriadis* 13, ed. Schmid, 37. Illustration of compound organum: ibid. 15, ed. Schmid, 41–43.
16 *Musica enchiriadis* 10, ed. Schmid, 26–27; Boethius, *De institutione musica* 5.11, ed. Friedlein, 361.
17 *Musica enchiriadis* 11, ed. Schmid, 31.
18 First example, doubling at the octave below: *Musica enchiriadis* 10, ed. Schmid, 27, and *apparatus ad descr.* 4. Second example, doubling at the octave below and above: *Musica enchiriadis* 11, ed. Schmid, 32, and *apparatus ad descr.* 2. In technical writings such as this, one must exercise caution in attributing the precise form of the diagrams that appear in the manuscripts to the author of the treatise. Any scribe, extrapolating from the text, may alter the diagrams found in the exemplar to accord with the provisions of the text.
19 *Musica enchiriadis* 11, ed. Schmid, 32–34.

fifth sounds always emerge of the same condition" ("necesse est quintos semper sonos eiusdem conditionis emergere"), illustrated by a second example of parallel motion at the fifth below.[20] Like notes a ninth apart, those separated by a fifth also occupy the same position on their respective tetrachords.

To this point, the treatise appears to describe the practice of parallel organum carefully restricted to two of the Boethian consonances, perfect fifth and octave. The former exploits the purposeful design of the gamut, while the latter requires its suspension. The tension between these two modes of supplying polyphony rises to the surface in one final example of compound parallel organum, mentioned above, at the fifth below in which both voices are doubled at the octave. Dasian signs appear before only one of the voices, as the gamut cannot apply to those voices doubled at the octave.[21] In any case, these difficulties arise purely from the artificial and deliberate confection of the gamut to avoid all diminished fifths, but in the process creating augmented fourths and octaves.

The artificiality of the *Enchiriadis* gamut, whose structure the author admits compromises octave equivalency, becomes the justification for the treatise's version of organum at the fourth below, which has come to be known as "oblique" organum.[22] The first two examples of this arrangement present, without comment, an organal voice that moves in parallel with the principal voice a fourth below until converging with the principal voice on a unison at the cadence.[23] When the treatise returns to this type of organum, using the rhythmic song "Rex caeli," which had appeared earlier in the treatise in monophonic form to exemplify the application of the dasian symbols, the author notes that the gamut does not contain only perfect fourths, but that the tritus of each tetrachord forms an augmented fourth with the deuterus in the tetrachord above.[24]

20 *Musica enchiriadis* 12, ed. Schmid, 34. See Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 39–40.

21 *Musica enchiriadis* 15, ed. Schmid, 42. The manuscripts place the dasian symbols before the top voice, the organal voice doubled at the octave above. Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*," 451–63, suggests, correctly, I believe, that these signs actually apply to the voice below, the principal voice. If they are taken with the top voice, the first note of the principal voice would be F♯ a fifth below middle C, a note that does not appear on the *Enchiriadis* gamut. If they are taken with the second voice from the top, as Phillips suggests, both it and the voice below, the organal voice at the fifth below, fit the gamut.

22 Eggebrecht, "Die Mehrstimmigkeitslehre," 23–26, calls it "artificial organum."

23 *Musica enchiriadis* 13–14, ed. Schmid, 37–41. The two examples (pp. 38–39) are identical with the exception that in the second one, both voices are doubled at the octave, the principal voice below, the organal voice above.

24 Oblique organum on *Rex caeli: Musica enchiriadis* 17–18, ed. Schmid, 49–52. Monophonic version of *Rex caeli*: ibid. 7, ed. Schmid, 11–13. Further on *Rex caeli*, see Phillips and Huglo, "The Versus *Rex caeli* – Another Look at the So-Called Archaic Sequence," *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 5 (1982), 36–43. On the use of the gamut as the pretext for this style of organum, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 26–31.

Example 26.2 Hypothetical gamut consisting of perfect fourths



This observation is groundless, of course, resulting from the *Enchiriadis* gamut, which is simply a theoretical construction. Just as it is possible to obtain octave equivalence and to construct a gamut without diminished fifths, two goals the author of *Musica enchiriadis* achieves, it is also possible to create a gamut that avoids all augmented fourths. (See Example 26.2.)

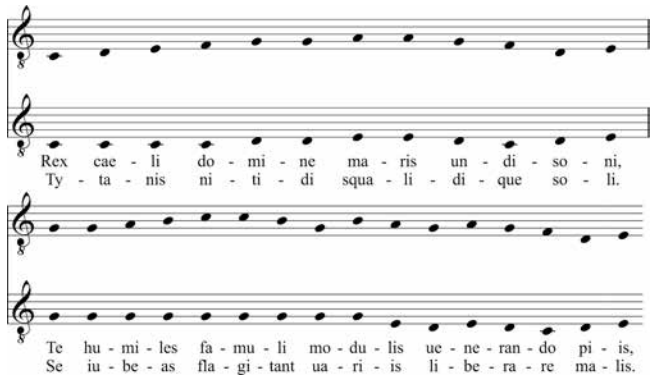
This gamut uses the same tetrachord as the *Enchiriadis* gamut, with the semitone in the middle, but it starts on A instead of G, and arranges the tetrachords in conjunct, as opposed to disjunct, fashion. All fourths are perfect, but a diminished fifth falls, naturally, between the deuterus of one tetrachord and the tritus of the tetrachord above, and a diminished octave between the deuterus of one tetrachord and the tritus of the tetrachord two above. I would submit that this gamut is no less viable than that proposed by the author of *Musica enchiriadis*.

Since, therefore, parallel organum at the fourth below is just as practicable as organum at the fifth or octave below, the oblique organum that *Musica enchiriadis* describes must represent a living practice as opposed to a theoretical construct. As noted above, the style features parallel motion at the fourth below and cadences at the unison. In addition, all the phrases in "Rex caeli" (see Example 26.3) and all but the first example (which begins on a fourth) of oblique organum on the verse "Tu patris sempiternus" from *Te deum* begin on the unison.[25]

The treatise explains these cadences on the unison by stipulating that the organal voice cannot descend below the tetrardus of any tetrachord because the note below, the tritus, forms an augmented fourth with the deuterus of the tetrachord above, as previously mentioned.[26] Ernst Ludwig Waeltner coined the term "limiting tone" (*Grenzton*) to describe this treatment of the organal voice, and suggests that the choice of pitch for this note depends on the cadence type employed by the principal voice.[27]

25 "Rex caeli": *Musica enchiriadis* 17–18, ed. Schmid, 49–52. "Tu patris sempiternus": ibid., 18, ed. Schmid, 53–55.
26 *Musica enchiriadis* 17, ed. Schmid, 48–49.
27 Ernst Waeltner, "Der Bamberger Dialog über das Organum," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1957), 175–83 and *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 52–56. Eggebrecht, "Die Mehrstimmigkeitslehre," 28–30, identifies F as a potential limiting tone in addition to C and G, tetrardus of the two lowest tetrachords, but this suggestion is not supported by *Musica enchiriadis*.

Example 26.3 "Rex caeli," *Musica enchiriadis*



This provision, however, results directly from the structure of the gamut, which we have already identified as a theoretical construct, and its constituent augmented fourths. It is entirely possible, however, that the concept of a limiting tone, below which the organal voice cannot move, existed in practice.[28] In that case, the explanation offered by *Musica enchiriadis* posits a theoretical solution (the limiting tone) to a problem (the augmented fourths of the *Enchiriadis* gamut) created by a theoretical construct (the gamut), none of which would arise in the absence of the gamut. I suggest, therefore, that the *Musica enchiriadis* here describes a practice of organum that features parallel motion at the fourth below and a cadence on the unison. Most phrases also begin on the unison and move by oblique or contrary motion to the fourth.

I characterize the organum of the *Musica enchiriadis* as improvised choral polyphony.[29] That is, the treatise attempts to provide a series of theoretical rules to regularize the practice of extemporaneously adding a second part to a pre-existing chant either in parallel or oblique motion. The evidence for designating it as choral arises from the examples chosen to illustrate the practice. Several employ a verse from the *Te deum* while one uses a verse from Psalm 103. The melodies for both are tones that would be sung chorally in the Divine Office.[30] The verse "Rex caeli" and its liturgical context remain obscure, and so it is impossible to propose a firm performance convention

28 Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II :189–90.
29 Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 192, understands the practice not as a guide to the improvisation of an added organal voice but instead as a manner of executing the chant.
30 On the *Te deum*, see Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*," 445–49; on Psalm 103, see ibid., pp. 451–63.

for it.[31] Lastly, the example given with the text "Alleluia" uses the melody of the ēchēma (with text "Nonenoeane") for mode 1.[32] The tonaries supply these melodies (one for each mode) as representative examples of melodic motion in their respective modes. I suspect that the use of this chant in *Musica enchiriadis* is simply exemplary. Where we can ascertain the context, therefore, of the examples of organum provided in *Musica enchiriadis*, these chants formed part of the choral singing in the Office.

With a few minor modifications, these principles for the creation of organum occur in several other texts associated with *Musica enchiriadis*, including its frequent companion, *Scolica enchiriadis*.[33] These treatises, then, largely agree on two styles of organum: parallel organum restricted to the Boethian consonances of perfect fifth and octave, and oblique organum that predominantly consists of parallel motion at the fourth, cadences on the unison and frequently begins on the unison. The dissemination of these texts and their teachings indicates that these styles remained current from at the least the mid-ninth century until well into the eleventh, by which time Guido d'Arezzo had taken up the subject in his *Micrologus*.

Although Guido's description of organum echoes many aspects of that found in *Musica enchiriadis*, he introduces two important concepts.[34] First, he regulates the pitch collection in use through the gamut, mentioned above, that gained currency in the tenth century, principally in the writings of Hucbald and, continuing into the early eleventh century, the *Dialogue* of Pseudo-Odo, and probably reflects accurately usage in contemporary plainsong, as opposed to the theoretical construct the author of *Musica enchiriadis* proposed as a gamut (see Example 26.4). And second, he introduces the term *occursus* (literally, "running together") to describe the cadence on the unison that ends phrases in oblique organum.[35]

Like the author of *Musica enchiriadis*, Guido begins his discussion of polyphony by using parallel motion to exemplify the consonance of the octave, but

31 Phillips and Huglo, "The Versus *Rex caeli*;" and Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*," 463–65.

32 Phillips, "*Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*," 465–68. On the ēchēmata, see Michel Huglo, *Les tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie ser. 3, 2 (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1971), 383–90; and Terence Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant*, Studies and Texts 28 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974); the ēchēma for mode 1, Huglo, *Les tonaires*, table between 384 and 385; Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas*, 48.

33 *Scolica enchiriadis*, ed. Schmid, 60–156, of which part two (ed. Schmid, 90–115) concerns polyphony. Other treatises in Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. I: 39–87; and Schmid, ed., 187–232. For commentary, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 61–126 and, on the extended example from the Paris treatise, 261–88.

34 For a comparison between Guido's tenets and those of the earlier treatises, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 148–228.

35 Guido, *Micrologus* 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 204–06. See Eggebrecht, "Die Mehrstimmigkeitslehre," 34–36.

Example 26.4 Guido's gamut in tetrachords



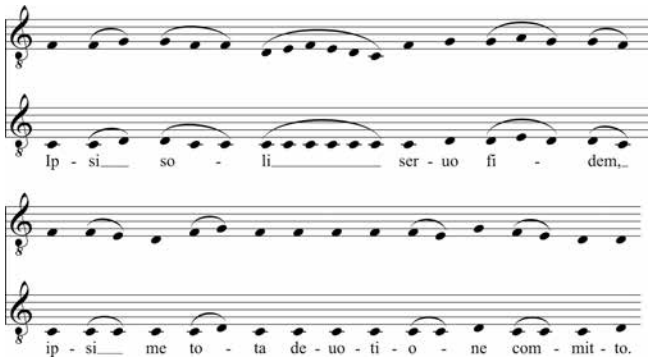
later specifies that parallel organum employs only the interval of a fourth, although he permits doubling of the organal voice at the octave above.[36] He then moves the discussion from parallel to oblique organum with this statement: "Superior nempe diaphoniae modus durus est, noster vero mollis" ("The style of polyphony just mentioned, to be sure, is hard, but ours is soft").[37] The distinction between "soft" and "hard" would seem to depend on the allowable intervals, since Guido immediately lists those found in "our soft" style (major second, minor and major third, and perfect fourth, of which the minor third is least frequent and the perfect fourth most common, but not minor second or perfect fifth), whereas the "hard," parallel style permits only the perfect fourth.[38]

He devotes the rest of his description of polyphony to this oblique style, whose chief characteristics, like that in *Musica enchiriadis*, are the predominant use of motion in parallel fourths and a cadence on the unison. Some phrases end on the fourth because it is "more pleasing" ("diastesseron succentus plusquam occursus placet"),[39] but the final cadence should always fall on the unison (see Example 26.5).[40]

Phrases open with equal frequency on the unison and a fourth.[41] Guido stipulates further that, in view of the chromatic inflection available in the gamut at B♭/B♮, the organal voice accompanies the latter with G and the former with F.[42] Finally, to achieve the *occursus*, he invokes the same principle of the limiting tone as *Musica enchiriadis*, also related to tetrachord theory, but clearly embracing a different arrangement of the tetrachords within the gamut.

36 Guido, *Micrologus* 5, 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 107–13, 196–201, respectively. See Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II:132–38.
37 Guido, *Micrologus* 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 201.
38 Guido, *Micrologus* 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 201–2. On the significance of his choice of intervals, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II:138–40.
39 Guido, *Micrologus* 19, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 210.
40 Guido, *Micrologus* 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 204.
41 Guido, *Micrologus* 19, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 209–13. Phrases that begin on a unison include the two last phrases of the antiphon *O sapientiae*, with text "veni ad docendum nos viam prudentiae," ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 211.
42 Guido, *Micrologus* 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 206–07.

Example 26.5 "Ipsi soli," Guido, *Micrologus*



Whereas *Musica enchiriadis* states that the tetrardus in each tetrachord forms the limiting tone, and identifies G and C a fourth and octave, respectively, below middle C in this capacity, Guido names the tritus as the limiting tone and his examples show F and C a fifth and octave below middle C, and in one extraordinary case, B♭ a second below middle C, fulfilling this role.[43] He nowhere provides a full exposition of his tetrachord theory, but he does name the pitches that comprise two tetrachords, one of finals, D-E-F-G, and the superacute, A-B♭-B♮-C-D.[44] From this information, and the identification of C, F and B♭ as tritus (this last by implication), we can infer the structure of tetrachords within Guido's gamut outlined in Example 26.4 above.

As in *Musica enchiriadis*, most of Guido's examples of polyphony use antiphons from the Divine Office that are therefore sung chorally.[45] One chant forms part of the texted sequence "Rex omnipotens" ("Victor ascendit") and one uses the text of the standard Latin formula for mode 6 conventionally

43 Tritus as limiting tone, Guido, *Micrologus* 18, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 203–05; examples, ibid. 19, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 209–13, the last of which, on the text "Venite adoremus," uses the limiting tone of B♭. Eggebrecht, "Die Mehrstimmigkeitslehre," 37–38, identifies G as a limiting tone, but no example in the *Micrologus* justifies this designation. On Guido's use of the limiting tone and how it facilitates the *occursus*, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 140–47, 156–70. For a comparison of the treatment of the limiting tone in *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Micrologus*, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 149–60, 192–203.

44 Superacute, Guido, *Micrologus* 2, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 94; finals, ibid. 11, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 146.

45 See the index of chants by Alejandro Enrique Planchart in *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, ed. Palisca, 199–208. On the examples in *Musica enchiriadis* and *Micrologus*, see Waeltner, *Die Lehre vom Organum*, vol. II: 223–28.

found in tonaries ("Sexta hora sedit super puteum").[46] These two treatises, then, and their attendant texts, attest two practices of improvised choral polyphony, one that uses parallel motion and the other oblique, applied, for the most part, to the antiphons of the Divine Office.[47] The dissemination of these treatises and their tenets suggests that these practices remained current from at least the middle of the ninth century through the eleventh and quite possibly beyond, to the end of the Middle Ages.

Liturgical Polyphony in the Winchester Troper, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473

The earliest repertory of practical polyphony, that is, polyphony preserved in musical notation as opposed to theoretical descriptions, and the only large collection of liturgical polyphony that predates the Notre-Dame repertory of the thirteenth century, occurs in the Winchester troper, *GB-Ccc* 473.[48] The scribe has grouped the organal voices alone, written as monophony, in a series of libelli beginning at fol. 135r, which bears the rubric "Incipiunt melliflua organorum modulamina Super dulcissima celestia preconia" ("The melodies of the organa that flow like honey over the sweetest heavenly pronouncements begin"), through the end of the codex at fol. 198v.[49] The principal genres here recorded include chants and tropes from the Ordinary of the Mass, tracts, sequences, Introit tropes and Alleluias (these last four all Mass Proper chants), and responsories together with a few invitatories and processional antiphons for the Divine Office. The full realization of the two-voice polyphony, therefore, depends on the simultaneous singing of these organal voices

46 Guido, *Micrologus* 19, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, 212–13. On the Latin formulas, see Huglo, *Les tonaires*, 383–90; and Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas*; the formula for mode 6, ibid., 88.

47 Sarah Fuller, "Theoretical Foundations of Early Organum Theory," *Acta Musicologica* 53 (1981), 52–84 at 60.

48 Facsimile: Susan Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction*, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 2007). The other Winchester troper, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775 (hereafter *Gb-Ob* Bodley 775), contains only monophonic chant. The best general discussion of both manuscripts is Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). On the fragmentary collections of polyphony from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Jacques Handschin. "L'organum à l'église et les exploits de l'abbé Turstin," *Revue du Chant Grégorien* 40 (1936), 179–82, and 41 (1937), 14–19; 41–48; Marion Gushee, "Romanesque Polyphony: A Study of the Fragmentary Sources" (Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1964); and Wulf Arlt, "Stylistic Layers in Eleventh-Century Polyphony: How Can the Continental Sources Contribute to Our Understanding of the Winchester Organa?" in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Rankin and Hiley (Oxford University Press, 1993), 101–41.

49 For an overview of the contents of these libelli, see Rankin, ed. *The Winchester Troper*, 61b, and, for a detailed inventory, ibid., 92–96. See also Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester: Studien zum ältesten Repertoire polyphoner Musik* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 32–34 (a list of the organa in order of the liturgical year) and 40–60 (a detailed inventory).

with the requisite liturgical chants for these items, many of which occur elsewhere in *GB-Ccc* 473 and its companion *GB-Ob* Bodley 775.

The physical separation of the voices in these sources presents no real obstacle to their successful combination in polyphony. Later instrumental music conventionally uses separate parts, and vocal polyphony too presented the individual voices of a polyphonic texture as monophony, first from the late thirteenth century in so-called "motet notation," where the voices to be combined occupy a single page or opening, and later from the end of the fifteenth century in separate partbooks. So, at various times in history, singers have been able to create polyphony successfully without being able to see the entire texture in score format. Whereas this more recent music relies on rhythmic notation to generate the alignment of the voices, the Winchester polyphony employs a note-against-note texture that guarantees the coordination of the two voices.[50] Moreover, the mature singers of the choir at Winchester would certainly have been able to sing from memory the liturgical chants to be combined with the organal voices.

There remains some question of the precise mode of performance employed for these pieces, and that question bears on essential issues related to the musical style of the polyphony. In contrast with the examples of polyphony in *Musica enchiriadis* and Guido's *Micrologus*, which emphasize liturgical items that are sung chorally, such as antiphons for the Office, the Winchester repertory contains a large number of items in which solo singing predominates, principally the Alleluia of the Mass and responsories for the Office.[51] Yet, the organa set the whole of the chant, refrain and verse, unlike the liturgical polyphony in Codex Calixtinus and the Notre-Dame repertory, in which only the solo sections of the chant (i.e., the solo incipit of the refrain, and the bulk of the verse) receive polyphonic treatment.[52]

I presume that the musical community at Winchester would perform the chant in the conventional way, with soloists singing the incipit of the refrain and most of the verse, while the choir sang the rest of the refrain and possibly the concluding phrase of the verse. The question remains as to whether the organal voice received the same treatment or was sung throughout by either soloists or chorus. The distribution of scribal responsibilities in *Gb-Ccc* 473 suggests that the book was compiled for, and

50 Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, 94; and Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 61a.
51 Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 63b.
52 On the Codex Calixtinus, see below. On the Notre-Dame repertory, see Edward Roesner, "The Performance of Parisian Organum," *Early Music* 7 (1979), 174–89.

possibly by, a solo singer.[53] Holschneider notes that the same scribe wrote the sequences and organa, and Rankin refines this observation by identifying two principal scribes, a text scribe who wrote no music and a music scribe who provided the music for those chants whose texts the text scribe entered but who also wrote both music and text for the sequences and organa.[54] If the needs of a solo singer generated the book's production, it seems most likely that the organal voice was sung by a soloist, or perhaps by a small group of soloists, throughout, and the distinction between the solo and choral sections arose through the conventional rendition of the chant.[55]

Further, the preservation of these organal voices in writing indicates something of their special status, independent of the status of the singer or singers who may have created them or inspired their creation. Rankin argues convincingly that the organa most likely originated in the living performance tradition at Winchester.[56] Nevertheless, the musical community chose to record these particular realizations, whether as models for subsequent extemporizations or as fixed embellishments to the chant. These two factors, then, the reification of the organal voices in writing, and the preoccupation of this repertory with music in which solo singing plays a dominant part, suggest a marked departure from the improvised choral polyphony that Guido and the author of *Musica enchiriadis* attempted to regulate with their stipulations. And these two factors cast doubt, therefore, on what can only be considered a brilliant hypothesis, the application of the theories expressed in *Musica enchiriadis* and Guido's *Micrologus* to the Winchester polyphony in order to propose transcriptions of the organal voices.

Ewald Jammers first suggested that the Winchester organa employed as its prevailing texture parallel motion at the fourth below, similar to the

53 Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, 29; and Rankin, "Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Organum," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, ed. S. Rankin and D. Hiley, 59–99 at 99. Holschneider closely associates the production of *GB-Ccc* 473 with Wulfstan, cantor at Winchester in the late tenth century, *Die Organa von Winchester*, 76–81; see also Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes*, vol. 1: 25–33. Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 7a, dates *GB-Ccc* 473 later than Wulfstan's lifetime, and so denies the possibility of his direct participation; for more on Wulfstan, see also ibid., 14b–15b, and 73b–74a, where Rankin suggests a link between Wulfstan and the practice that lies behind the music in *GB-Ccc* 473.

54 Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, pp. 17–18; Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 19a–21a on the principal text hands, and 25b–35b on the principal music hand; also 39a–40a and 45a–46b; on the contributions of other scribes to the organa, 61b–62a. The copying of the sequences parallels the situation in the contemporaneous Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1121, from the abbey of Saint Martial in Limoges, in which Adémar de Chabannes, the music scribe of the rest of the manuscript, assumed complete production of the sequentiary; see James Grier, "The Musical Autographs of Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034)," *Early Music History* 24 (2005), 125–68 at 134–40.

55 Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 63b, states, "the practice of singing polyphonically was one which could only be carried out by soloists."

56 Rankin, "Winchester Polyphony," 97–99; and Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 62a–63b.

polyphony described in these two treatises.[57] He based his argument on his interpretation of the relative motion of the voices, noting that placing the contrary motion of the organal voice at the cadences would result in final sonorities on the octave, if the organal voice lies a fifth or fourth above the chant, or on the fifth in some cases when the organum customarily moves a fourth above.[58] Jammers, by proposing that the organal voice usually moves in parallel motion with the chant at the fourth below, could then stipulate that most cadences could fall on the unison.

Andreas Holschneider refined this suggestion in response to two observations he made. First he remarked that the organum seemed to stand on the same pitch while the chant moved to form a unison with it at the end of a phrase, similar to the limiting tone structure exposed in *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Micrologus*. Second, he noted the chronological proximity of the latter to the Winchester polyphony, which he takes as justification for transcriptions of the organa that emulate the style of Guido's polyphonic examples.[59] Holschneider's hypothesis, then, involves the ingenious coordination of his critical assessment of the motion of the organal voice (based on his analysis of the notation) with Guido's contemporary theoretical account; and it has found adherents, most notably Susan Rankin.[60] My skepticism arises from two sources: the implication of the *litterae significativae* that occur at the beginning of several of the organa, and the degree of historical and musical connection between the polyphony described in the *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Micrologus* and the organa in *GB-Ccc* 473.

Litterae significativae occur widely in chant manuscripts of the Latin West from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[61] They indicate pitch and rhythmic relationships, offer suggestions for the manner of performance, and affect other aspects of the chant. Those at the opening of the organa specify relative pitch information, and provide important information regarding the relationship between the organum and the chant it accompanies.[62] Holschneider shows that twelve organa begin with the letter *l* (*leuare*), to three of which the scribe has added the letter *s* (*sursum*), both of which mean "higher"; twelve with the letters *io*, *iv*, or *ios* (*iusum*, "lower"); and five with the letters *e* (*equaliter*) or *m* (*mediocriter*), both meaning "the same." He further notes that

57 Jammers, *Anfänge*, 11–21. 58 Ibid., 12.
59 Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, 119–27.
60 Rankin, "Winchester Polyphony," and Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 67a–74b.
61 On the use of *litterae significativae* in *GB-Ccc* 473, see Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, 84–87; Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes*, 1: 64–66; and Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, 30b–31b. For an edition of the letter by Notker Balbulus in which he defines their meaning, see Jacques Froger, "L'épitre de Notker sur les 'lettres significatives': Édition critique," *Études Grégoriennes* 5 (1962), 23–71.
62 Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, 96–102.

these signs can carry only relative meaning, as I attempt to reflect with the comparative in my translations, usually in relation to the preceding note or passage. Since these signs occur at the opening of the piece, they obviously cannot refer to anything that preceded them, and, equally obviously, as organal voices they can only refer to the chants they accompany.

Moreover, they often signify something unusual or potentially unforeseen in the melodic motion, and I would assign that meaning to these signs. If these twenty-nine organa are special cases whose opening requires the relative information provided by the *litterae significativae*, then what might an eleventh-century singer, or a modern scholar, assume about the opening of the other organa? Because the *litterae significativae* divide evenly between those that begin above and those that begin below the chant (twelve each), and because a handful (five) begin on the unison, I believe it is dangerous to assume that any of these three relations constitutes the norm to the exclusion of the other two. A Winchester organal singer might know how to begin the organal voice either from his knowledge of the music or from his assessment of the motion described by the organal voice in the neumation. It was from this last body of evidence that Jammers and Holschneider commenced their arguments.

To reconcile the issue, Holschneider turns to Guido's recommendations, as noted above, and transcribes the other organa with openings that will generate parallel motion at the fourth below and cadences on the unison, usually beginning on the fourth below. But Guido never begins a passage of organum, either an opening or an internal phrase, with the organal voice above the chant, always a fourth below or on the unison. If these are the only two possibilities, it is clear that scribes, at Winchester for example, would need to specify where the organal voice exceptionally begins above the chant. The other designations, then, below and on the unison, simply distinguish between the two "normal" openings where, presumably, the motion of the organal voice would suggest a different opening. In the unspecified cases, the organal voice would begin below the chant or on the unison according to its motion relative to the chant.

The lack of any strong connection other than chronological proximity between Guido and Winchester, however, casts doubt on these assumptions. As I note above, Guido's principal concern was to build on the descriptions of polyphony in *Musica enchiriadis* to stipulate the procedures for the addition of an improvised organal voice to chants sung by the choir. This practice apparently remained current in western Europe through the end of the Middle Ages. The Winchester polyphony, on the other hand, largely consists of chants in which the soloist sings significant portions, and the unequivocal association

of solo singers with the repertory further suggests that these organal settings arose from a far different creative impulse, one that justified its recording in written notation. I would see, in the organa preserved in *GB-Ccc* 473, the beginnings of a virtuoso repertory of solo polyphony that achieved its full flower in Paris at Notre Dame during the thirteenth century.

In summary, the Winchester polyphony sets a variety of liturgical genres, many of which contain extensive passages for the soloist. I suspect that the organal voice was sung by a soloist or small group of soloists while soloists and choir alternated in singing the chant in the usual fashion for each genre. The polyphony exhibits predominantly note-against-note texture, and the organal voice could begin above, below or in unison with the chant in equal probability. As brilliant a hypothesis as that proposed by Holschneider is, I do not believe that more specific observations about the style of the polyphony are possible.

Lyric Song and Solo Polyphony in Aquitaine

Throughout Aquitaine during the twelfth century, there flourished a predominantly sacred repertory of lyric song with rhymed, rhythmic texts. Tables 26.1 and 26.2 list the manuscript witnesses of this repertory of *versus*, and organize them in rough chronological order.[63]

These manuscripts contain both monophonic and polyphonic examples of *versus*, as well as several other types of pieces, including polyphonic settings of texted sequences (called *prosae* in Aquitaine), tropes of the Ordinary of the Mass, troped Epistles, and liturgical dramas. Although several of the manuscripts had reposed in the monastic library of the abbey of St. Martial in Limoges (those in *F-Pn* lat. 1139, 3549 and 3719), I originally agreed with Sarah Fuller that the abbey did not serve as a center for the repertory's practice.[64]

As I pointed out, however, the *versus* repertory does exhibit special consideration for the cults of Saint Nicholas and Mary Magdalene, two Eastern

63 Sarah Fuller, "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony: A Study of the Sources," *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979), 5–26, and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria," *Musica Disciplina* 44 (1990), 5–56. For a detailed inventory of the sources, see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969), vol. II: 368–404. Facsimiles: Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1139*, Veröffentlichungen Mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 14 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987); *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3719*, Veröffentlichungen Mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 15 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987); and *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3549 and London, B.L. Add. 36,881*, Veröffentlichungen Mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 16 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987)

64 Fuller, "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony," and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 52–56.

Table 26.1 The manuscript sources of the Aquitanian *versus* repertory

			Fuller's sigla
1139a =	fols. 32–39, 48–79	of *F-Pn* lat. 1139	A-I
1139b =	fols. 40–47	of *F-Pn* lat. 1139	A-II
3549 =	fols. 149–169	of *F-Pn* lat. 3549	B
3719a =	fols. 15–22	of *F-Pn* lat. 3719	C-I
3719b =	fols. 23–32	of *F-Pn* lat. 3719	C-II
3719c =	fols. 33–44	of *F-Pn* lat. 3719	C-III
3719d =	fols. 45–92	of *F-Pn* lat. 3719	C-IV
36881a =	fols. 1–16	of *GB-Lbl* add. 36881	D-I
36881b =	fols. 17–24	of *GB-Lbl* add. 36881	D-II

saints whose devotion in the West began in earnest with the return of the first crusaders in the twelfth century. Evidence that has subsequently come to my attention indicates that both saints occupied significant places in the liturgy at Saint Martial during the eleventh century. In addition to the items for the Mass I already identified, a Mass for Saint Nicholas appears in the eleventh-century collectar *F-Pn* lat. 895, fol. 159r; and a complete Office for Mary Magdalene in the early eleventh-century antiphoner *F-Pn* lat. 1085, fol. 78v.[65] The accumulation of this evidence suggests that monks at St. Martial did, in fact, participate in the practice and collection of these songs, and possibly their creation as well.

The texts address a variety of sacred issues, most often the theological significance of events in the life of Jesus, although his mother Mary also plays a significant role, and some of these incorporate a form of the text "Benedicamus Domino," the dismissal formula for the Office.[66] A small number set secular texts that deal with carnal love, some in very graphic terms.[67] The texts use regular rhyme schemes and accentual meter,

65 On the Office for Mary Magdalene in *F-Pn* lat. 1085, see Grier, "The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century: Paris, BNF lat. 1085," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 179–204 at 180–81.

66 There is no satisfactory general treatment of the texts of the repertory. For an analysis of two sacred examples, see Grier, "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1023–69 at 1033–47. On the Marian content, see Rachel Golden Carlson, "Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Song in Aquitanian 'Versus,'" *Music & Letters* 84 (2003), 527–56. On the "Benedicamus Domino" *versus*, see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. 1: 22–26; 148–78; and Barbara Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), vol. 1: 5–93.

67 For an analysis of one secular *versus*, see Grier, "A New Voice in the Monastery," 1047–66.

Table 26.2 Chronological strata of the Aquitanian *Versaria*

Early	Middle	Late
3719b	3719c	36881a
1139a	3719d	36881b
1139b	3549	
3719a		

characterized by syllable-count and the placement of the final accent in the line.[68] Monophonic and polyphonic *versus* share literary style and most aspects of musical style, something that is obscured by the fact that most scholars have treated them separately.[69] Several monophonic *versus* were converted to polyphony by the addition of an upper voice, thus bringing into the polyphony the same text and the musical style of the monophony. But those pieces that apparently originated as polyphony preserve the same textual characteristics and, to a large extent, the musical style of the monophony, especially structural and tonal considerations at the level of the phrase and the strophe, which usually coincides with the poetic stanza. Here, however, I treat the polyphony alone.

The scribes of all the middle and late sources, as defined in Table 26.2, and two of the early sources, *F-Pn* lat. 1139b and 3719a, wrote the polyphony in score format, clearly marking an upper and lower voice, both of which sing the same text, written below the lower voice. The horizontal placement of the neumes above the text indicates the alignment of the two voices, although when both voices sing more than one note for a given syllable, and each voice has a different number of notes (e.g., three in the

68 On medieval accentual meters in general, see Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), and Dieter Schaller, "Bauformeln für akzentrhythmische Verse und Strophen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 9–21. On the versification of the *versus*, see Hans Spanke, "St. Martial-Studien II," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56 (1932), 450–78; Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd series no. 18 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1936); and Giorgio De Alessi, *Repertorio metrico del MS Paris, B.N., Lat. 1139 (sezione antica)*, Istituto di Filologia Romanza, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia Torino 1 (Turin: Giappichelli, 1971).

69 A case in point is the fact that the two most important studies of the repertory are the dissertations of Leo Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967) and Sarah Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," which treat the monophony and polyphony, respectively. I treat them as closely related components of a unified repertory in my dissertation, "Transmission in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985). I analyze three monophonic *versus* in "A New Voice in the Monastery."

upper voice to two in the lower), the alignment within the syllable is subject to debate. All manuscripts contain lines, more or less vertical in orientation, that indicate the relationship between the voices and the text, but many uncertainties remain that can only be resolved in performance.[70] Several pieces in two of the earliest sources, *F-Pn* lat. 3719b and 1139a, are written as monophony, but scholars have reconstructed the polyphony by combining the music of two successive poetic stanzas into a two-voice texture, for which technique Sarah Fuller coined the term "successive notation."[71] The alignment of the voices derives from the identity of the poetic meter in each stanza.

Among the many important insights offered by Fuller in her dissertation, perhaps the most significant is the observation that a single musical style dominates the repertory, that of the *versus*, and that the other types of pieces all exhibit their own distinctive style.[72] In the *versus*, musical structure closely follows that of the poetry: phrase-ends coincide with line-ends and larger structures reflect the poetic unit of the stanza. Some pieces employ a strophic structure, repeating the same music for each poetic stanza, and others a double-cursus structure, in which successive pairs of stanzas share the same setting.[73] Most pieces establish firm tonal centers with frequent cadences on the final and limited tonal contrast through cadences on other notes.[74] Syllabic or mildly neumatic textures dominate, while the chief melodic embellishment occurs at the cadence, where melismas frequently fall on the last stressed syllable of the line. Example 26.6 provides one strophe from "Veri solis radius" that illustrates these features.[75]

70 Marianne Danckwardt, "Zur Notierung, klanglichen Anlage und Rhythmisierung der Mehrstimmigkeit in den Saint-Martial-Handschriften," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984), 31–88 at 31 and 58–61.

71 Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony – A Reappraisal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971), 169–92.

72 Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," esp. vol. I: 3–34 and 210–58.

73 Arlt, "*Nova cantica*: Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10 (1986), 13–62, comments on the variations found in these repetitive forms. An example of a strophic piece: "Annus nouus" (Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. III: 2–3). A double-cursus piece: "Veri solis radius" (Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. III:11–16).

74 E.g., in "Omnis curet homo" (Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. III: 87–90), every prominent cadence falls on the final, G, whereas in "Veri solis radius," stanzas 3–4 cadence on G, offering tonal contrast with the cadences of all the other stanzas, which fall on D, the final.

75 I transcribe Example 26.6 from *F-Pn* lat. 3549, fols. 149v–150r. The entire piece occupies fols. 149r–150v. *F-Pn* lat. 3549 gives only the odd stanzas, omitting the second stanza of each double-cursus pair. The full text occurs in *F-Pn* lat. 3719a (fols. 16v–18v) and *GB-Lbl* add. 36881a (fols. 5v–7v). (The piece also occurs in *F-Pn* lat. 3719d, fols. 54r–57v, from which Fuller transcribes "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. III: 11–16.) I change two readings from those found in *F-Pn* lat. 3549: in the text, I restore "patris," found in *F-Pn* lat. 3719a and *GB-Lbl* add. 36881a, for "patri," and in the music, I supply the reading of *GB-Lbl* add. 36881a for the setting of "mense fertili." On both passages, see Grier, "The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), 250–88 at 260–62.

Example 26.6 "Veri solis radius," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 3549, fols. 149v–150r, stanza 7



This music marks a radical departure from the polyphony described in *Musica enchiriadis* and Guido's *Micrologus*, as well as the Winchester organum, insofar as we understand its style. The principal difference lies in the relationship between the upper and lower voices. The two move normally in contrary motion and the upper voice carries more of the embellishment when the two voices do not move in note-against-note style.[76] For example, at the phrase "nec adesse meritus," the upper voice sings several binary neumes on individual syllables, while the lower voice proceeds syllabically. Although the upper voice generally remains higher than the lower voice in pitch, the two

76 The best general discussion of the style remains Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," especially vol. 1: 210–309. See also Jens Bonderup, *The Saint Martial Polyphony – Texture and Tonality: A Contribution to Research in the Development of Polyphonic Style in the Middle Ages*, trans. Stephanie Olsen and Jean McVeigh, Studier og publikationer fra Musikvidenskabeligt Institut Aarhus Universitet 4 (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1982), 43–52, who exhaustively analyzes the contrapuntal relationships between the two voices, and Danckwardt, "Zur Notierung, klanglichen Anlage und Rhythmisierung," who points out the symmetrical voice leading characteristic of the style.

frequently cross, often using the symmetrical voice leading noted by Marianne Danckwardt. This feature contributes to the independence of each line within the texture.

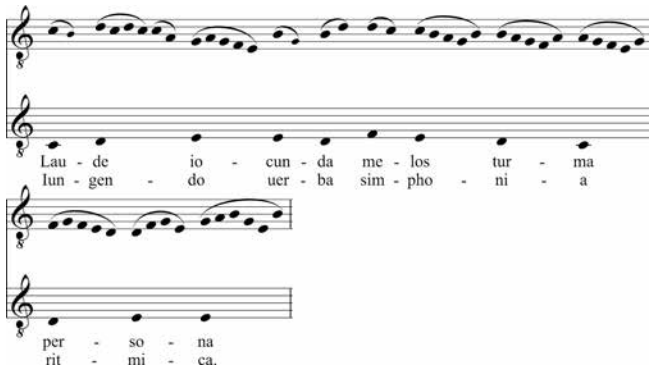
On the last two lines of the stanza, "immoratur penitus legis agro sterili," the phrase broadens out with a series of binary neumes in both voices and a melisma in the upper voice on the first syllable of "agro," before the principal elaboration of the phrase occurs, in the cadential melisma on "sterili." Because the poetic meter uses proparoxytone throughout (that is, the final accent of the line falls on the antepenultimate syllable), the cadential melisma actually spreads over the three final syllables. On the first, stressed syllable of "sterili," both voices move in contrary motion, note-against-note, reserving symmetrical voice leading for the penultimate neume of the melisma. The unstressed penultimate syllable begins with an octave, and, in a gesture that became characteristic of two-voice polyphony in this era, the upper voice descends to meet the lower while the latter sustains the lower note of the octave. They end the syllable on a third, which, on the final syllable, collapses to a unison, here embellished with a two-note appoggiatura in the upper voice, also a distinctive gesture in this repertory.

This upper voice achieves a completely different effect from that created in the earlier styles of polyphony discussed above. Like those upper voices, it offers harmonic embellishment of the lower voice, but it goes a good deal beyond them in providing melodic embellishment through melismatic extension. It also creates a genuinely independent voice by consistently moving in contrary motion with the lower voice, whether in note-against-note texture, or in the occasional instance where the lower voice sustains a single note below a melisma in the upper voice. Also, the frequent exchange of register between the two voices serves to heighten their independence. Hence, I would propose that this repertory originated as a vehicle for solo, virtuosic singers in Aquitanian monastic communities, perhaps first at St. Martial, but eventually elsewhere.

The independence with which these voices proceed naturally requires a greater variety of intervallic relationships than the predominant perfect fourths of *Musica enchiriadis* and Guido's *Micrologus*. Virtually all harmonic intervals between the unison and the perfect fifth occur, with the possible exception of the tritone. Among larger intervals, only the octave appears with any frequency; sixths and sevenths are virtually unknown.[77] Within this variety, a definite hierarchy emerges. Clearly most important are the unison,

77 Bonderup, *The Saint Martial Polyphony*, 81–89, gives a detailed treatment of harmonic intervals used in this repertory.

Example 26.7 "Laude iocunda," *F-Pn* lat. 3549, fol. 157v, stanza 1



perfect fifth, and octave, which predominate at the beginnings and endings of phrases, and at other key structural points within the phrase. The perfect fourth and the third, major or minor, occupy an intermediate status as consonances. They set individual syllables (e.g., the fourth on the third syllable of "primogenitus" or the minor third on the second syllable of "humili"), but they generally fall on weaker positions within the phrase between moments marked by the stronger consonances. Major and minor seconds unequivocally function as dissonances, either in passing motion (e.g., on the fourth syllable of "primogenitus") or as appoggiature (e.g., on the third syllable of "meritus").

The polyphonic *prosae* offer a very different texture, as Example 26.7 shows. It presents the opening stanza of "Laude iocunda," for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.[78] The lower voice comprises the monophonic melody of the *prosa*, which, as is conventional in this repertory, moves syllabically, while the upper voice provides a melismatic embellishment of each syllable. Most of these melismas begin with a lesser consonance or dissonance that moves to a stronger consonance (e.g., the third syllable of "iocunda" and the first of "melos," which progress 6–8 and 6–5).[79] On two occasions, the first syllable of "Laude" and the second of "iocunda," the upper voice uses a liquescent to aid in pronunciation (of the diphthong "au" in the first case and the combination of consonants "nd" in the second), each time moving

78 I transcribe Example 26.7 from *F-Pn* lat. 3549, fol. 157v, which contains the complete polyphonic setting. The piece also occurs in *F-Pn* lat. 3719d, fol. 53r–v, from which Fuller transcribes "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. III: 145–46.
79 Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. I: 161.

from a strong consonance to a weaker sonority (8–7 and 5–3, respectively). Most pungent of all is the setting of the penultimate syllable, the second of "persona," which opens with a major second that resolves to a unison, D-E above the E of the lower voice. The upper voice thus echoes the cadence of the monophonic chant, D-E-E.

The voices evince contrary motion to a certain degree, but sometimes move in parallel, as at the opening of the strophe, where the first two syllables open with an octave, and the passage from the second syllable of "melos" through both syllables of "turma," which moves sequentially through a series of 6-5 progressions. As Fuller points out, then, the polyphonic settings of these older, tenth- and eleventh-century *prosae* evince a completely different contrapuntal style from that of the *versus*, sharing only the hierarchy of the harmonic intervals and the occasional use of contrary motion.[80] Newer *prosae*, such as "Arce siderea," employ a style that closely resembles the *versus*.[81] Because the polyphonic *prosae* do not present a unified style or a large enough group to constitute a genre comparable in importance to the *versus*, in the way organum and conductus relate in the Notre-Dame repertory, I, like Fuller, classify them as one of several subordinate groups within the *versus* repertory, although admittedly the most important of these.

I reserve a final brief comment for two competing hypotheses, proposed by distinguished musicologists, about the rhythm employed in this repertory. Bryan Gillingham extrapolates the musical rhythm from the poetic meter, while Theodore Karp derives it from the configuration of the neumes through analogy with the modal rhythm of the Notre-Dame repertory.[82] Both invoke complex argumentation that cannot receive a just account in the space allotted here, and both theories deserve a full critique.[83] My doubts about them arise from issues of consistency. In the poetry, the accents, other than the final one of the line, do not occur with adequate consistency to equate poetic accent with rhythmic duration. Similarly, the music scribes of these manuscripts do not consistently

80 Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. I: 148–78.

81 Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. I: 157–59; 162–67. "Arce siderea": ibid., vol. III: 158–62.

82 Bryan Gillingham, *Modal Rhythm*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 46 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986); Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 44 (Henryville, PA; Ottawa; and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984); commentary in Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony – A Catalogue Raisonné," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam*, 2 vols., Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 39 (Henryville, PA; Ottawa; Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), vol. I: 211–62. Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

83 For a detailed discussion of Karp's edition and a comparison with that of Hendrik van der Werf (*The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origins of Western Polyphony*, 2 vols. (Rochester, NY: The Author, 1993)), see Richard Crocker, "Two Recent Editions of Aquitanian Polyphony," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3 (1994), 57–101.

impose the neumatic shapes that would suggest modal rhythm. I therefore reserve judgment on these two hypotheses.

The twelfth-century Aquitanian *versus* repertory emerges from the sources as a dynamic body of song in which personal expression, both poetic and musical, achieves a high order. Concordant versions of the same piece in different witnesses exhibit significant musical variation that, in my opinion, corresponds to the kind of variation one might have heard in contemporary performances.[84] These combine with the distinctive musical style and the poetic qualities of the text to provide a highly personal reflection on the theological issues, principally Christological, of the greatest interest to the monks who created, practiced and listened to this collection of song.

Sacred Music in the Codex Calixtinus

The Codex Calixtinus contains a variety of items designed to promote the cult of Saint James the Greater at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, his putative burial place, and to advocate pilgrimage to the site.[85] The musical items include a complete Mass and Office for the saint's feast day (fols. 101v–139v) and a collection of polyphonic items, principally responsorial items from the Mass and Office, and sacred, lyric pieces very similar in style to the Aquitanian *versus* just discussed (fols. 185r–190v), all related to the liturgy for

84 Grier, "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 373–427.

85 Facsimile: *Codex Calixtinus de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* ([Madrid]: Kaydeda, [1993]). Edition of the texts: Klaus Herbers and Manuel Santos Noia, *Liber sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus*. ([Santiago de Compostella]: Xerencia de Promoción do Camiño de Santiago, 1998). On the codex in general, see Christopher Hohler, "A Note on *Jacobus*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972), 31–80; Manuel Díaz y Díaz et al., *El códice calixtino de la catedral de Santiago: Estudio codicológico y de contenido*, Monografías de Compostellanum 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Estudios Jacobeos, 1988); André Moisan, *Le livre de Saint Jacques ou* Codex Calixtinus *de Compostelle: Étude critique et littéraire*, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Age 21 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1992); the essays collected in John Williams and Alison Stones, eds., *The* Codex Calixtinus *and the Shrine of St. James*, Jacobus-Studien 3 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1992); José López-Calo, "Datación y autenticidad del Códice Calixtino: Aportaciones musicológicas," in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos viii–xiii: 16–19 septiembre 1982 actas*, Cursos y Congresos de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela 36 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 173–92 at 185–88; and López-Calo, *La musica en la catedral de Santiago*, *vol.* v: *La edad media* (La Coruña: Diputación Provincial de La Coruña, 1994), 307–17. On the history of the cult, see J. Guerra Campos, "Notas críticas sobre el origen del culto sepulcral a Santiago en Compostela," *La ciencia tomista* 88 (1961), 417–74, 559–90; Díaz y Díaz et al., *El códice calixtino*, 15–32; and López-Calo, *La edad media*, 43–61. On the music, see Peter Wagner, *Die Gesänge der Jakobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela*, Collectanea Friburgensia, neue Folge 20 (Freiburg: Kommisionsverlag, Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1931); Paul Helmer, *The Mass of St. James: Solemn Mass for the Feast of the Passion of St. James of Compostela According to the Codex Calixtinus*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 49 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1988), 30–31; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*; Van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*; López-Calo, *La edad media*; and the essays collected in José López-Calo and Carlos Villanueva, eds., *El códice calixtino y la música de su tiempo* (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2001).

Saint James.[86] Scholarly opinion now suggests, on the basis of the musical notation and the illuminations, that the manuscript originated in central France during the middle of the twelfth century.[87]

Some of the sermons and texts bear attributions to Pope Calixtus II (reigned 1119–24), to which the manuscript owes its designation, and the scribe attributes most of the musical items also, principally to contemporary French scholars and ecclesiastics; modern scholarship now dismisses most of these.[88] The one attribution that may hold a shred of truth is that to "magister Albertus parisiensis" before the "Benedicamus" *versus* "Congaudeant catholici" (fol. 185r). This may refer to the singer of the same name who worked at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris during the mid-twelfth century.[89] Because the polyphonic style of the responsorial items in Codex Calixtinus exhibits similarities with analogous items in the Notre-Dame repertory, and because Albert may have been involved with the early practice of polyphony at Notre Dame, some connection may exist between the music at Notre Dame and Santiago de Compostela, and so support the attribution to Albert.

The opening of "Misit Herodes," the Gradual for the Mass of Saint James attributed to Ato, bishop of Troyes, illustrates the similarities between the styles of the liturgical polyphony in the Codex Calixtinus and of the Notre Dame organum (see Example 26.8.)[90] First, the excerpt covers only the solo incipit of the refrain, precisely as is the practice at Notre Dame for this type of piece.[91] Second, the overall style resembles a less florid version of that found in the Notre-Dame *organum purum*. The lower voice sustains the notes of the chant while the upper voice provides melismatic embellishment that is somewhat more restrained than that found in the Notre-Dame practice.

86 On the similarities and concordances between the two repertories, see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. 1: 86–90.

87 Hohler, "A Note on *Jacobus*"; Díaz y Díaz et al., *El códice calixtino*, 72–81, 309–30; Moisan, *Le livre de Saint Jacques*, 233–36; López-Calo, *La edad media*, 82–96; and Díaz y Díaz, "Nuevas perspectivas del Calixtino," in *El códice calixtino*, ed. J. López-Calo and C. Villanueva, 43–51.

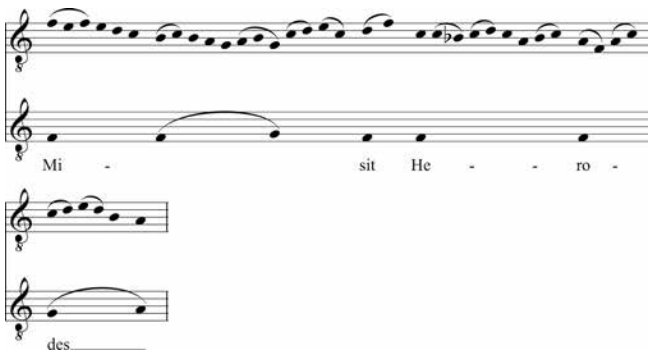
88 Díaz y Díaz et al., *El códice calixtino*, 106–10, 116–17, give all the attributions in the context of their inventory of the codex. See also Hohler, "A Note on *Jacobus*," 48; Helmer, *The Mass of St. James*, 30–31; André Moisan, *Le livre de Saint Jacques*, 221–23; López-Calo, "Datación y autenticidad" 185–88; and López-Calo, *La musica*, 307–17.

89 Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 278–81 and Edward Roesner, "The *Codex Calixtinus* and the *Magnus Liber Organi*: Some Preliminary Observations," in *El códice calixtino*, ed. López-Calo and Villanueva, 147.

90 I transcribe Example 26.8 from Codex Calixtinus, fol. 189r; the entire piece occurs on fol. 189r–v. See the transcription in Helmer, *The Mass of St. James*, 171–80. On the similarities in the two styles, see Roesner, "The *Codex Calixtinus*," 157–61.

91 Roesner, "The Performance of Parisian Organum.

Example 26.8 Gradual "Misit Herodes," Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral, s.s. ("Codex Calixtinus"), fol. 189r



Aspects of the upper voice and its relation to the chant in the lower voice also resemble the polyphonic *prosa* "Laude iocunda" in the Aquitanian repertory.

In particular, the upper voice tends to move from lesser to greater consonance during the melisma, on the second syllable of "Misit," for example, which progresses 6–8, or the second syllable of "Herodes," which moves 3–5. When both voices have more than one note and an unequal number of notes for a syllable, the notation alone cannot determine the alignment, as in the Aquitanian repertory. For example, the setting of the first syllable of "Misit," especially the precise relationship between the notes of the binary neume in the lower voice (F-G) and the upper voice, raises issues that the notation cannot reconcile and no theory of consonance will easily remedy. Consequently, I present my transcription as a tentative reconstruction.

The clergy of Santiago de Compostela appear to have enlisted their counterparts in central France to create sacred music that incorporated the latest musical styles from Paris and Limoges for the purpose of venerating the saint buried at the city's cathedral and of promoting his tomb as a pilgrimage destination, and the attendant cult. Both categories of music, the liturgical responsories and the sacred lyrics, seem to have been sung by soloists, and both types evince a growing interest in virtuosic display. These attributes would reach their apogee in the Notre-Dame repertory of the thirteenth century.

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Polyphonic music during the Central Middle Ages, from the second half of the ninth to the end of the twelfth centuries, achieved various forms in order to fulfill a number of functions. The austere, note-against-note organum of the *Enchiriadis* theory treatises and the *Micrologus* of Guido d'Arezzo provided relatively simple guidelines for the improvisation of polyphony on chorally sung items of the liturgy. The ongoing circulation of these texts until the end of the Middle Ages suggests that this practice may have continued throughout the era for this category of chants. The musical community at Winchester, however, applied polyphony to chants of the Mass and Office that contained extensive passages sung by the soloists, including Tracts and responsorial chants. The music predominantly employs note-against-note style, and so the added voice principally supplies harmonic embellishment to the chant.

Bolder experiments took place in Aquitaine and the music transmitted by the Codex Calixtinus during the twelfth century. In these repertories, solo polyphony assumes the central focus, establishing key precepts in the relationship of the two voices that became prevalent in polyphony of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These include a preference for contrary motion, often taking the form of symmetrical voice leading, and the principle of moving from dissonance or lesser consonance to greater consonance, thus implying a hierarchy of harmonic intervals, with the unison, perfect fifth and octave occupying the top positions on the pyramid. Simultaneously, the two voices achieve much greater independence, in comparison with the Winchester organum, and so provide vehicles for individual expression in music, mirrored, in the lyric song of Aquitaine and the Codex Calixtinus, by personal expression in the text regarding central doctrinal and theological issues. These repertories exhibit a great deal of confidence in the suitability and capacity of individuals to express themselves both within the liturgy and without on issues of the greatest importance to them.

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· 27 ·

Notre Dame

EDWARD H. ROESNER

Introduction

Take note that Master Leoninus, so it used to be said, was (*fuit*) the best *organista*, who made the great book of polyphony (*magnus liber organi*) on the gradual and antiphonary to enrich the Divine Service. It was in use up to the time of the great Perotinus, who produced a redaction of it (*abbreviavit eundem*) and made full many better clausulae, that is (*sive*), *puncta*, since he was (*erat*) the best *discantor*, and better (at discant) than Leoninus was (*erat*) – this, however, (is) not to be said regarding the subtlety of organum, etc. Indeed, the selfsame Master Perotinus made the best *quadrupla*, such as "Viderunt" and "Sederunt," with an abundance of musical *colores*; likewise, the noblest *tripla*, such as "Alleluya, Posui adiutorium" and "Nativitas", etc. He also made three-voice conductus, such as "Salvatoris hodie," and two-voice conductus, such as "Dum sigillum summi patris," and also, among many other things, monophonic conductus, such as "Beata viscera," etc. The book, that is, the books, of Master Perotinus were (*erant*) in use up to the time of Master Robertus de Sabilone, and in the choir of the Paris cathedral of the Blessed Virgin, and (then) from his time up into the present day.

So wrote the English music theorist Anonymous IV, couching his remarks in the language of formal scholastic discourse.[1] His account was

1 Anonymous IV also comments on "the book, that is, the books" later in his treatise, adding *organum in duplo* to his list of its contents. Latin text in *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. Fritz Reckow, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), vol. I: 46, 82. See the study by Rob C. Wegman, "The World According to Anonymous IV," in *'Qui musicam in se habet': Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, AIM Miscellanea 9, ed. Bonnie Blackburn, Stanley Boorman and Anna Zayaruznaya (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015) 693–730. (I am grateful to Professor Wegman for allowing me to read and cite his article prior to its publication.) All translations are mine, apart from passages of scripture, which follow Douay-Rheims. I understand *organista* here to connote a creator of polyphony; see "Organista -ae," in *Lexicon musicum latinum medii aevi*, ed. M. Bernhard, 2 vols. in 13 fasc. to date [2013]. (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften/C. H. Beck, 1995–2012), vol. II, fasc. 13: cols. 748–49 (cf. "Discantor -oris," ibid., vol. I: fasc. 8, cols. 1000–01). The terms clausula and punctum would seem to refer to passages that differ in some way, possibly in length or idiom, but I translate *sive* as "that is" (i.e., "or") because Anonymous IV appears often to use them interchangeably (see esp. Wegman, "The World According to Anonymous IV," n. 71, and cf. S. Schmalzriedt et al., "Clausula," and K.-J. Sachs, "Punctus," both in the *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. H. H. Eggebrecht et al. [Wiesbaden and Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1971–]).

written as much as a century after the emergence of the music it describes, and far from Notre-Dame de Paris, where the so-called *magnus liber organi* was presumably compiled and where it is said to have been long in use. His remarks thus bear eloquent witness to the remarkable durability and ongoing celebrity of what has come to be known as "Notre-Dame polyphony."[2]

It would be difficult to overstate the historical significance of the polyphonic tradition cultivated in Paris during the latter part of the twelfth century and for much of the thirteenth. The music collected in the *magnus liber organi* constitutes the earliest-known body of polyphony to achieve a degree of stability and a breadth of circulation comparable to that attained by the "Gregorian" chant established some four centuries earlier. Throughout Europe polyphony in the twelfth century was, as before, in large measure generated ad hoc in performance by singers following a few general precepts, local custom, and the singer's personal mode of delivery. These creations *were* performances first and foremost: those preserved in writing, whatever their merit as works of art, are more "records" of performance or demonstrations of what a performance might be than they are "finished" compositions. Comparable practices doubtless obtained within the Notre-Dame tradition, possibly throughout its history but especially during its early decades. However, the polyphony that Anonymous IV associates with Leoninus and Perotinus is inherently less ephemeral than those other musics. It was committed to parchment wholesale, and not only preserved and transmitted in musical notation but also conceived in writing for much of its history. The presence of notation stabilized the repertory, but at the same time it fostered the recasting of existing works, the composition of new ones, and exploration of the compositional possibilities inherent in the polyphonic idiom. For the first time we can speak of polyphonic "compositions" as such, and of composers to whom they might be attributed. For the first time we find music conceived for more than two self-sufficient voices. For the first time, too, texts in the vernacular were afforded polyphonic treatment, and courtly song was brought within the purview of the ecclesiastical and academic world of "literate" music.

It was in the Notre-Dame tradition that *rhythm* was accorded a place of paramount importance within the musical fabric. How music flowed

Anonymous IV seems to distinguish between the perfect tense (e.g., *fuit*, "was") and the imperfect (*erat*, "was," with the potential connotation "used to be").

2 For reservations regarding the notion of a "Notre-Dame School" see Nicola Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland, 1994), chapter 1: "The Myth of Notre Dame."

through time became a matter not only of affective rhetorical delivery, but also of structure and design; an element that, like pitch, could be systematically explored and strategically manipulated. So fundamental to the Notre-Dame idiom was the control of rhythm that the tradition as a whole came to be known as *musica mensurabilis*, "measurable music." The coherent rhythmic language of Notre-Dame and the contrapuntal textures in which it was deployed laid the foundation for the musical practice of the next several centuries. And the musical notation devised to communicate that rhythm became the basis of the rhythmic signs in use to this day.

The earliest surviving manuscripts preserving the Notre-Dame repertory date from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The same period saw the appearance of the first in a series of theoretical treatises that synthesized the tradition and refined its musical notation. This theory both regularized and shaped the tradition in Paris while facilitating the wider dissemination of the repertory. It is the earliest body of polyphonic theory to be based on the observation of actual compositions and to guide singers in re-creating music from written texts, not just in creating polyphony extempore. Taking its inspiration from the academic traditions of the Paris schools, this theory, like the music it elucidates, achieved "classic" status, becoming an *ars antiqua* that was a platform for experimentation, launching the radical expansion of the Paris style that would take place towards the end of the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth.

The Notre-Dame repertory circulated throughout Europe. To judge from the surviving manuscripts and other witnesses, the music was present in several of the great cathedrals of France (Sens, Beauvais), Britain (St. Paul's in London, Worcester, St. Andrews in Scotland), Spain (Toledo), and perhaps even Sweden (Linköping). It was known in the chapels of Edward I of England, Charles V of France (and undoubtedly in that of Louis IX a century earlier), Boniface VIII in Rome, and Clement V in Avignon; and in monastic and other religious communities as far flung as Spain (the Benedictine monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, the Cistercian royal convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos) and Poland (the Poor Clare convent of Blessed Kinga in Stary Sącz, near the Carpathian Mountains). Both in Paris and elsewhere the presence of this music served as a springboard for local creative activity.

We do not know when the Notre-Dame tradition began to take form. Documentary evidence confirms the performance of polyphony in two, three, and four voices at the cathedral during the late 1190s, and the musical sources from the thirteenth century include compositions that can be dated to

the 1160s and 1170s.[3] It is tempting to associate the genesis of the tradition with the building of the gothic cathedral of Notre-Dame, and to suppose that the idiom was shaped by the ambience of this grand structure.[4] Now work on the cathedral commenced ca. 1163, but by the late 1170s the choir, where much of this music would have been sung, had not yet even been vaulted, and the high altar was not consecrated until 1182. During the construction of the choir the liturgy was celebrated in what had been the nave of a demolished ninth-century church dedicated to the Virgin, the remains of which stood on the site, which had served as the episcopal seat after the older cathedral of St. Stephen fell into ruin. Thus Notre-Dame polyphony, if it was practiced then, was heard in what was effectively a construction site. But it is not at all improbable that the roots of the tradition were already established at the time, reaching back to idioms cultivated in the older church and subsequently carried over into the new cathedral when it was ready for ritual use. In these new surroundings those idioms would have been shaped and honed in response to their new environment, stabilized in discrete compositions, and committed to notation.

Paris was the most important economic and intellectual center north of the Alps, and the seat of burgeoning royal power and ecclesiastical prestige. It provided a nourishing environment in which the new polyphonic tradition might flourish, its schools and the intellectual ferment they engendered stimulating creativity in all the arts, and its book trade encouraging expression to take literate form.[5] There was significant musical creativity at the cathedral of Paris well before the generations of Leoninus and Perotinus. This is particularly to be seen in the work of two cantors (in the twelfth century the cantor was the dignitary responsible for overseeing the musical aspects of the liturgy, among his other duties). Adam Precentor (Adam of St. Victor), cantor

3 For some early evidence of musical activity see Michel Huglo, "Les débuts de la polyphonie à Paris: Les premiers *organa* parisiens," in *Forum musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte* 3 (*Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*), ed. W. Arlt (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 93–163. For other dates see Jacques Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre-Dame," *Acta musicologica* 4 (1932), 5–17, 49–55, 104–105; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Ernest H. Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam, von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies 49/1–2 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), vol. II: 505–30.

4 On the construction of Notre-Dame see Caroline Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame in Paris," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 540–69.

5 On medieval Paris see Jacques Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris, de la fin du siège de 885–886 à la mort de Philippe Auguste*, 2nd edn., ed. M. Fleury (Paris: Hachette, 1997); and Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris, de la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V* (Paris: Hachette, 1972). On the book trade see the first three chapters of Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati, Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Production in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller/Brepols, 2000). For a comprehensive study of the musical culture of Notre-Dame within the context of the cathedral and the city see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*.

from 1107 to ca. 1133, played a central role in the creation of the "new" sequence repertory that became as "classic" as the polyphonic corpus of a few decades later.[6] These sequences betray some of the same stylistic predilections and modes of composition as the later polyphonic repertory, and may have helped shape the musical sensibility found there. Adam's successor, Albertus Stampensis (cantor ca. 1133–ca. 1177) is probably the "Magister Albertus parisiensis" whose name is attached to the conductus "Congaudeant catholici" in the mid-twelfth-century Codex Calixtinus.[7] Among numerous other liturgical books Albertus bequeathed to the cathedral chapter were two *versaria*, collections of conductus and similar pieces.

In his *Policraticus* (finished 1159) John of Salisbury remarks on singers who degrade the liturgy with an "effeminate" and "wanton" delivery (*mulieribus modis*, *lasciuientis uocis luxu*).[8] Such singing, he says, uses "exceeding dulcet melodies, intoning and chiming in, harmonizing and dropping out, intermingling and chirping (*cum praecinentium et succinentium*, *concinentium et decinentium*, *intercinentium et occinentium*)," and it exhibits "fleetness in ascent and descent, in the dividing or doubling of 'notes' (*notularum*) and in the replication of phrases and the reconciling of different ones to each other (*replicatio articulorum singulorumque consolidatio*)." As a consequence, "the high or highest [pitches] are so balanced (*temperantur*) by the low or still lower that the ears lose their power to distinguish." Polyphony is not explicitly mentioned, nor is Paris. But John had studied in Paris for a decade, 1137–1147, in the immediate vicinity of the (old) cathedral, and must have been familiar with its liturgical practices. It is difficult not to infer polyphony from his description. Supporting this conclusion is a passage in the *summa* written a half century later by the Paris master Robert of Courson, which employs similar language to condemn "wanton" *magistri organici* who parade their "tawdry and wanton stuff (*scurrilia et lascivia*)" in the liturgy. Robert affirms, however, that if "some sing polyphonically (*decantent*) in organum on a feast day in keeping with local liturgical custom, they may be tolerated – provided they avoid tawdry 'notes' (*scurriles notule*)."[9] If such organum was being produced in the cathedral of

6 See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 274–78; Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Fassler, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony," *Speculum* 62 (1987), 345–74.

7 See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 278–81.

8 John of Salisbury, *Ioannis Saresberiensis policraticus I-IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 118 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 48–49: lib. 1, 6, ll. 69–89.

9 For the full text of this passage and a slightly different translation see Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 145–46. *Notula* connotes a "little *written* note," but it might also refer to a "familiar tune" or "ditty," which seems the more likely meaning in this context; see, for example, Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica, kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*,

Paris decades before work on the gothic edifice got under way, it was probably created in performance by singers who worked together over the course of the annual liturgical cycle, possibly for years on end. This would have been a fertile ground in which a distinctive musical idiom might establish itself.

The *Magnus Liber Organi*

Anonymous IV's remarks on the *magnus liber organi* are asides in a treatise concerned with the technical aspects of Notre-Dame polyphony. The detail he offers notwithstanding, his words are far from unambiguous. Two examples: "Discant" could connote a particular polyphonic idiom (music in which all the voices are rhythmically active), a voice added to another part, or a group of genres, among them conductus and motet; it is sometimes used to refer to polyphony itself or singing in polyphony (this is how Robert of Courson appears to employ it).[10] "Organum" also has different but related meanings, some of them overlapping with "discant": polyphony in general, a polyphonic line, a specific genre of polyphony, and, independent of genre, a polyphonic idiom (florid melody in the upper voice or voices over a sustained note).[11] The *liber*, or "book," was a collection of *organum generaliter dictum*, polyphony of all sorts and genres: Anonymous IV mentions organum (the genre) in two, three, and four voices, and conductus in one, two, and three voices (in a bit of scholastic sleight of hand, monophonic conductus becomes *organum simplex*, a single line of organum). His description is confirmed by the manuscript witnesses to the Notre-Dame tradition, which contain these genres, indeed the very works he cites.[12] Anonymous IV was likely describing a specific manuscript, but the *magnus liber* was in fact something slightly different, a repertory in constant flux rather than a settled group of compositions, with every manuscript presenting a different take on it. Thus, most of the comprehensive manuscripts known today include a genre not mentioned by Anonymous IV, the motet.

Organum – polyphony – had been in existence since the ninth century, if not before. In the Notre-Dame tradition organum became a polyphonic genre with clearly defined features, setting a liturgical plainchant "held" by the *tenor* line in two, three, or four voices: *organum duplum* (or, *in duplo*), *triplum*, *quadruplum*. (Duplum, triplum, and quadruplum can also refer to the upper

ed. Erich Reimer, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), I, 97: ch. XVI, 16–17.

10 See "Discantus -ut *et* -i," in *Lexicon musicum latinum medii aevi*, vol. 1, fasc. 8: cols. 1001–14.

11 See Reckow, "Organum," in the *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*.

12 See Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, I, 35: chapter 1, 1.

voices that embellish the plainchant in the tenor.) We shall devote much of this chapter to this genre. Conductus is less defined as a genre, to judge from the varied repertory collected in the *magnus liber* sources. These conductus consist primarily of settings of newly composed poetic texts, not texts drawn from the "official" liturgy or, for that matter, from the trope and sequence repertories. With few exceptions all the musical lines are newly composed as well. They are poems first and foremost, rhyming, rhythmic, usually strophic songs set to "new" music, not plainchant. Some have refrains. Their musical presentation is largely governed by the design of the poem, and the character of their melody is shaped by the need to project its content in a rhetorically compelling way. Some are expressly liturgical in function, intended to accompany a ritual action. Thus "Salvatoris hodie," ascribed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV, was sung at Mass in Beauvais (and most likely in Paris) on the feast of the Circumcision (1 January), the first strophes performed before the reading of the Gospel, the final ones afterwards.[13] Some conductus have the words "Benedicamus Domino" as a refrain, and might have been used to replace or complement the Benedicamus at the close of Vespers. But many have no clearly defined function: they might address religious themes such as the Nativity or a newly canonized saint, or the death of a political figure, or moral issues such as greed or hypocrisy. A few are frankly secular, concerned with spring, love, or drinking. While most organa have demonstrable ties to the liturgical practices of Notre-Dame, it is by no means certain that all or even most of the conductus in the *magnus liber* sources originated in Paris. The conductus will be examined in greater detail in the context of other Latin song in Chapter 34.

Like organum and conductus, the third major genre included in many of the *magnus liber* sources, the motet, has analogues and antecedents that reach far back in time, although the factors that shaped it are fundamentally different from those precursors. As a distinct genre the motet appears to have emerged around 1200, well after the establishment of the Notre-Dame tradition. In a sense it combines the attributes of organum and conductus: the motet is based on a bit of plainchant in the tenor, but the voices above it carry newly created text. Many of its earliest examples were created by adding new text to the upper voice or voices of already existing compositions, in almost all cases to discrete portions of organa, in a manner reminiscent of the prosulae composed for melismatic plainchants. At the close of this chapter we shall consider Perotinus's two *quadrupla* in versions with added motet texts. Over

13 See the rubrics in Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1970), Editionsband: 114–15.

the course of the thirteenth century the motet came increasingly to occupy the attention of composers, and by the second half of the century it had become a powerful vehicle for experimentation and stylistic change. It will receive a comprehensive treatment in Chapter 31.

The *magnus liber* survives in four comprehensive manuscripts, all copied around the middle of the thirteenth century, some possibly a decade or two earlier or later. By far the largest and most encyclopedic is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (hereafter F), a splendidly illuminated book made in Paris.[14] Also probably copied in Paris is Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 1099 Helmstedt (W_2).[15] The other two books, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 628 Helmstedt (W_1)[16] and Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 20486 (Ma),[17] are "peripheral" in origin: W_1 was compiled for St. Andrews in Scotland, Ma most likely for Toledo. There are also nine fragmentary sources containing *organum duplum* specifically, two others with *tripla*, and a large number of others devoted primarily to conductus and motets. In addition, portions of the repertory are included in other kinds of books, such as the Circumcision Office from Beauvais preserved in London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (perhaps the oldest musical witness to the Notre-Dame tradition),[18] and a number of German chant manuscripts and songbooks.[19] Library catalogs and other archival documents bear witness to the existence of numerous other copies that have been lost.[20] Each of the principal sources transmits the Notre-Dame corpus in a somewhat different form. Thus F, W_1, and Ma only

14 Facs. in Luther Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29,1*, 2 vols., Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 10–11 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1966–67]); and Roesner, ed., *Antiphonarium seu magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario: Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1*, Codices illuminati medii aevi 45 (Munich: Helga Lengenfelder, 1996).

15 Facs. in Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206)*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 2 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960).

16 Facs. in J. Baxter, ed., *An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628)*, St. Andrews University Publications 30 (London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1931); and Martin Staehelin, ed., *Die mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W_1:Vollständige Reproduktion des "Notre Dame"-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).

17 Facs. in Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Madrid 20486*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 1 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1957).

18 The Office is ed. in Arlt, *Festoffizium, Editionsband*; facs. of the fascicle devoted largely to Notre-Dame polyphony in Mark Everist, ed., *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79–94v)* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1988).

19 For a list of manuscripts transmitting *organa dupla* see *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, general editor Roesner, 7 vols. in 8 (Les Remparts: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993) (henceforth, *MLO*), VII: xliv-xlv; for the *tripla* and *quadrupla* sources see *MLO* I: lxx-lxxxi.

20 See Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 380–99; and Haggh and Huglo, "*Magnus liber – Maius munus*: Origine et destinée du manuscrit *F*," *Revue de musicologie* 90 (2004), 193–230, App. 1.

contain works with Latin texts, while W_2 also includes motets and conductus with French texts. W_1 does not transmit motets, while Ma has no *organa tripla* or *dupla* (although it may have at one time – all of the principal manuscripts have sustained losses of one sort or another). F and W_1 include extensive collections of independent clausulae – settings of small portions of complete organa, probably among the things Anonymous IV refers to as "clausulae and *puncta*" – but the other two manuscripts do not. Although it has occasionally been suggested that one or another of these books preserves the work of Leoninus or Perotinus specifically, it is far more likely that each contains many layers of repertory, some of it worked over by generations of musicians, and that each book transmits the Parisian repertory in the form it existed at the time and place it was copied, and reflects the needs and tastes of the institution for which it was compiled.

The *magnus liber* sources are carefully organized collections, all following the same overall plan. Four broad strategies are simultaneously at work: (1) compositions with the greatest textual and musical "authority" (settings of scripture, strictly liturgical texts, and plainchant) precede those whose texts and musical foundations are newly composed; (2) works with a larger number of voices precede those with fewer voices; (3) widely disseminated works are likely to come before works unique to a particular manuscript, and more established genres are likely to precede younger ones; (4) works with Latin texts come before compositions in the vernacular. Each manuscript integrates these strategies in its own way, depending on the circumstances of copying, such as how multiple scribes interact with each other. And W_2, like some late sources, introduces a fifth layer of organization for some of its contents: alphabetical order.

The work of a single scribe, F affords a particularly clear picture of how the *magnus liber* was compiled. The first five of its eleven fascicles are devoted to organum, settings of plainchant, most using texts drawn from scripture. Four-voice organa precede works for three voices; then come organa for two voices, followed by collections of two-voice clausulae. (A group of three-voice clausulae, now incomplete, follows the *organa tripla*, with additional pieces spilling over onto pages left blank following the *quadrupla*.) Within each group the works are arranged in the order of their use in the annual liturgical cycle, with compositions for the Commune sanctorum following more "proper" organa. Where the corpus is large enough, as in the *organa dupla* and two-voice clausulae, Office organa precede settings of Mass chants. The two-voice clausulae are themselves grouped into smaller collections that follow each other in descending order of musical complexity, each collection in turn arranged in liturgical sequence. The five organum fascicles

are followed by two fascicles of conductus, with works for three voices preceding those in two parts (a tiny collection of four-voice conductus are placed after the *organa quadrupla* in fascicle 1), with elaborate compositions preceding more modest ones, and with more widely disseminated pieces preceding unica. Then come two fascicles of motets with Latin texts, three-voice works first, then pieces in two parts, the former arranged in liturgical order based on the underlying chant melody, the works in two parts seemingly more loosely organized.[21] The two final fascicles contain monophonic conductus: the first group follows the same principles as the polyphonic conductus; the second group is devoted to simple refrain songs not found in the other *magnus liber* sources.

Master Leoninus (Leo), who "made" the great Parisian *liber organi*, can be identified with some assurance as a canon of Notre-Dame who attained a prominent position within the cathedral hierarchy.[22] He was likely born in the 1130s and active between the 1150s and ca. 1201. He was known as a poet of some sophistication, but the only witness to his musical activity is Anonymous IV. Leoninus has often been associated with *organum duplum* specifically, and with the sustained-tone idiom in particular.[23] Anonymous IV, however, says only that he made the book of polyphony, that he was the *optimus organista* (the "best crafter of polyphony"), that his grasp of the "subtlety of organum" was greater than that of the somewhat later Perotinus (it is not clear what "subtlety" means, or what "organum" connotes in this context), and that Perotinus, better with discant, made a new and, he suggests, improved "edition" of the collection. We can infer that Leoninus worked in writing – indeed, he may have been the person or one of those who initially gathered the collection and committed it to notation. No specific works are ascribed to him, but we might suppose that he worked in all polyphonic genres and idioms then cultivated at Notre Dame.

21 Catherine Bradley, "Ordering in the Motet Fascicles of the Florence Manuscript," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 22 (2013), 37–64 examines the arrangement of works in the two motet collections of F. Her data reveal a close and suggestive relationship between these motets and the liturgical cycles of the organa and independent clausulae.

22 Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986), 1–35. See also Rudolf Flotzinger, *Leoninus musicus und der Magnus liber organi* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003). Cf. the perspective in Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer*, Reading Medieval Culture (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 141–52; and Holsinger, "The Ovidian Verse Epistles of Master Leoninus (ca. 1135–1201)," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 239–54.

23 E.g., Friedrich Ludwig, "Die liturgischen Organa Leonins und Perotins," in *Riemann-Festschrift: Gesammelte Studien* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1909), 200–13; Helmut Schmidt, "Zur Melodiebildung Leonins und Perotins," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1931), 129–34; and William Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, Yale Studies in the History of Music 2 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954).

Both less and more is known about the great Master Perotinus (Petrus).[24] He has been identified with the theologian Petrus Cantor (of Notre-Dame, died 1197, surely too early for him to be our man) and Petrus Succentor (of Notre-Dame, active ca. 1207–1238). The latter is an attractive candidate, since his dates are congruent with what is known of Perotinus, and since as succentor Petrus would have overseen the liturgy, including its song, and have been responsible for maintaining the service books. But this identification remains pure speculation, since it rests on the unproven assumption that Perotinus, like Leoninus, held a high-ranking position in the hierarchy of Notre-Dame. What we know of him is gleaned from the compositions ascribed to him by Anonymous IV. The two *quadrupla* are provided for in episcopal decrees from 1198 and 1199 reforming the liturgies of Circumcision and St. Stephen. The motet texts attached to the *quadrupla* in some sources and the text of the conductus "Beata viscera" are attributed to the theologian, poet, and perhaps composer Philip, born ca. 1160, Chancellor of Notre-Dame from 1218 to his death in 1236.[25]

Several of Perotinus's works appear at the beginning of collections, testifying to the esteem in which they were held – and perhaps to his input in shaping or reshaping the *magnus liber* into the form(s) that have come down to us. Nearly all his known works are conceived in the polyphonic idiom of discant (I would include here the *organa tripla* and *quadrupla*, in which the upper voices move in discant, rhythmically active counterpoint, above sustained tenor notes), in keeping with his reputation as the *optimus discantor* (the "best crafter of discant"). But his musical activity, like that of Leoninus, undoubtedly embraced the full range of genres and styles found in Notre-Dame polyphony. His "edition" of the *magnus liber* entailed the reworking of numerous passages, introducing "full many superior clausulae and *puncta*." We should assume that these included not only works like the independent clausulae collected in F and W_1 but also innumerable smaller "clauses and periods," phrases, and even single gestures. This work could have involved conductus as well as organa. This redaction has often been thought of in terms of a "tightening" of the expansive polyphony supposed to have been created by Leoninus. Numerous clausulae do indeed shorten and sometimes simplify passages that are longer in the complete organa.[26] But many of what

24 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 288–96; Flotzinger, *Perotinus musicus*; and Jürg Stenzl et al., *Perotinus magnus*, Musik-Konzepte 107 (Munich: Richard Bomberg, 2000).

25 See esp. Thomas Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School," 5 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1991).

26 Cf. Waite, "The Abbreviation of the *Magnus liber*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961), 147–58; and Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," in *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Helmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 241–49.

are presumed to be the sorts of clausulae composed by Perotinus are in fact longer and more complex than the music they might replace. By no means do many of them serve to "abbreviate" the *magnus liber* in the usual sense of the word.

Every one of the surviving *magnus liber* sources has its own notational dialect, suggesting that the musical orthography was flexible in a manner not unlike the variable spelling in verbal texts. Perotinus' redaction doubtless involved a modernization of the musical notation (and of the rhythm it recorded) in accordance with the evolving theoretical doctrine. One can observe such updating in some of the manuscripts; in W_2, for example. About Master Robertus de Sabilone nothing certain is known beyond what can be surmised from Anonymous IV's passing allusions to him as one of the most active teachers among a host of singers, scribes, and music theorists working with the *magnus liber organi*, and to his "most delicious" approach to the singing of the Notre-Dame melos.[27]

Musica Mensurabilis: Rhythm and Idiom

The seminal figure in the theoretical tradition that grew up around the Notre-Dame repertory is Johannes de Garlandia, writing perhaps in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Johannes's *De mensurabili musica* was the springboard for the work of Anonymous IV, which in essence is an elaborate peroration on it; for the so-called St. Emmeram Anonymous, who distilled the Garlandian doctrine into a terse didactic poem festooned with an overwhelming array of glosses; and for Franco of Cologne, whose influential *Ars cantus mensurabilis* overhauls and reformulates Johannes's doctrine.[28] Johannes's treatise itself survives in multiple versions, bespeaking the intense speculative activity it engendered.

Johannes is primarily concerned with the measurement of time, with rhythm, and with the relationship among polyphonic lines as they proceed in an orderly rhythmic flow. Notre-Dame polyphony is a *musica mensurabilis*,

27 Anonymous IV, *Musiktraktat*, I, 50. Wegman, "World According to Anonymous IV," n. 70 offers a possible identification of this shadowy figure.

28 Eds. in Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia*, I; Anonymous IV, *Musiktraktat*, I; J. Yudkin, ed., *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram, Complete Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); and Franco of Cologne, *Franconis de Colonia ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, CSM 18 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1974). Cf. the texts of Johannes de Garlandia and Franco of Cologne included in Jerome of Moravia, *Hieronymi de Moravia tractatus de musica*, ed. Christian Meyer and Guy Lobrichon, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis 250 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012). For a comprehensive study of the tradition see Sandra Pinegar, "Textual and Contextual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1991).

inherently "measurable" in temporal terms.[29] Rhythmic measure is defined through *patterns* of long and short values, rhythmic modes regulating the flow of *longae* and *breves* (henceforth, *L* and *B*). These modal patterns establish which notes in a line are *L* and which *B*, and define the length of these values relative to each other, establishing how long "long" is relative to "short." The mode can be identified though its notation. If the line is melismatic (*sine littera*, "without text"), its rhythmic mode can be recognized by the way notes are bound together into "ligatures," figures whose shapes derive from the orthography of plainchant neumes. In Johannes's first rhythmic mode, *L* and *B* alternate in a 2:1 ratio, yielding an overall ternary organization of the flow; the *sine littera* notation shows a three-note ligature read *L-B-L* followed by a string of two-note figures, each read *B-L*. In mode 3, a single *L* is followed by a string of three-note ligatures, each read *B-B-L*, the values standing in the ratio 3:1:2:3 (again, implying a ternary measure). Note that the modes can present different sizes of *L* and *B*, and that a duration deemed a *B* in one mode is thought of as a *L* in another. Note also that the three-note ligature connotes different values depending on the mode in which it appears. If there are impediments to grouping in ligatures, such as syllable changes, rests, or repeated notes (*cum littera*), the mode becomes difficult to deduce. Not only modes 1 and 3 but all the modes are conceived in terms of an overarching ternary flow, with which they all coordinate, permitting the use of a different mode in each voice of the polyphonic fabric. There is no provision in the modal system for duple meter. Johannes describes six rhythmic modes; other theorists posit different numbers: Franco recognizes five; the theorist Lambertus, seeking to incorporate short values shorter than the *B* (*semibreves*) in his system, presents nine; some others suggest seven.

Now the rhythmic modes are abstractions, syntheses of the kinds of temporal motion to be found in *musica mensurabilis*. They reduce the rhythmic vocabulary to its simplest common denominator, organizing and constraining a looser, perhaps unruly practice into a closed, coherent, and efficient system. Once the modal doctrine was formulated and absorbed into musical practice, a composer might have conceived his work in terms of the strict modal patterns. But for much of the Notre-Dame repertory the rhythmic flow, while tending towards repetitive rhythms and a ternary pulse, was more flexible than the modal doctrine might suggest, drawing on a broader range of durations and a wider rhythmic vocabulary overall. A composition "in" the

29 For a fuller discussion see Roesner, "The Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*," in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. E. K. Wolf and E. H. Roesner (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1990, 41–74) and Roesner, "Johannes de Garlandia on *Organum in speciali*," *Early Music History* 2 (1982), 129–60.

first rhythmic mode might proceed in what is a more-or-less "trochaic" flow, but that does not mean that the lines unfold mechanically in alternating *L* and *B*. Some ternary units may have a single note, others may have three or more. The actual durations of *L* and *B* might be stretched or contracted in performance. And, the musical notation is likely to be much less regular and much more ambiguous than the straightforward schemes offered by the theorists. To make the notation less ambiguous, Johannes and others proposed sundry modifications to the conventional shape of some ligatures and wrote *B* and *L* as *punctus* and *virga* in *cum littera* passages, but few scribes used these modifications consistently, and rarely if at all before the second half of the thirteenth century.

The theorists found ways to integrate the seeming "departures" from the strict modal patterns into the system. *Fractio modi* describes the breaking up of individual values in the pattern into smaller units (a *B* into two *semibreves*, for example). A line in which two or more notes of the pattern are replaced by a longer note or by a group of shorter ones (*L-B* replaced by a single ternary *L* or by three *B*, for example) is said to exhibit *reductio modi*. If the line shifts from one mode to another in mid phrase (for example, from mode 1 to mode 3, *L-B B-B-L*), modal *admixtio* is present. And if no underlying pattern can be inferred in a line, Anonymous IV classifies it as being in *modus communis*, or *modus permixtus*, a "mode" that Johannes terms *modus non rectus* (a "mode not regulated [by modal pattern]"). These and other artifices testify to the fact that the modal *system* is an attempt to systematize, regularize, and impose a grammar on an already existing rhythmic *language*.

How the Notre-Dame rhythmic language and the theoretical system that it spawned came into being and why they took the forms they did will perforce remain a matter of speculation. William Waite saw both the system and the rhythmic language it represents as modeled on the poetic theory of Late Antiquity, and on Augustine's *De musica* in particular.[30] (It is tempting to equate the modes with poetic meters, and many scholars have done so, but there is no good evidence to support this.) Margot Fassler sees medieval rhythmic poetry and its treatment in texts such as the *Parisiana poetria* by the grammarian Johannes de Garlandia (not to be identified with the contemporaneous music theorist) as forces shaping the Parisian rhythmic idiom.[31] Anna Maria Busse Berger argues that modal rhythm and its patterns are elements in

30 Waite, *Rhythm*. He ascribed both the introduction of modal rhythm and the creation of the modal system to Leoninus specifically. See also Flotzinger, "Zur Frage der Modalrhythmik als Antik-Rezeption," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 29 (1972), 203–8.

31 Fassler, "Role of the Parisian Sequence"; Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises 'De rithmis,'" *The Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 164–90.

the medieval *ars memoriae*, tools and the musical materials shaped by them that were used in the creation and transmission of the repertory in an ongoing oral milieu.[32] I have suggested that the rhythmic language developed spontaneously out of the music itself, from elements and forces within the polyphonic fabric, above all from the interplay between a systematic deployment of consonance and dissonance and an economical, tonally directed melos, and that the resulting "proto-modal" rhythmic flow was subsequently codified by theorists steeped in scholastic modes of thought.[33] It is conceivable that all these factors contributed to the emergence of this rhythmic practice and played a role in shaping its presentation in notation and its theory.

Johannes de Garlandia defines three polyphonic idioms obtaining in *organum generaliter dictum*, that is, in *musica mensurabilis*: *organum in speciali* (organum "in particular"), copula, and discant. They are distinguished by the relationship of the voices to each other and by the nature of the rhythmic flow in each voice. Discant is polyphony in which all voices are rhythmically active, each voice moving in one of the rhythmic modes.[34] Organum is the opposite of this: the tenor voice is *immensurabilis*, sustained, held beyond the limits of modal "measure"; the other line, the duplum or *organum per se*, as Johannes calls it, is rhythmically active, but moves in the essentially non-patterned, hence "unregulated" flow of *modus non rectus*.[35] (This idiom, organum "in particular," would appear to qualify as *musica mensurabilis* because of the "measure" deriving from the overall temporal equivalence of one voice to the other.) Aptly named, copula is described as existing "between organum and discant": the tenor is sustained, hence inherently without measure, while the rhythmically active duplum flows in a *modus rectus*, in accordance with one or another of the rhythmic modes.[36]

32 Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), esp. chapters 4–6; and Busse Berger, "Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony," *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996), 263–98. See also the many-sided approach to the interrelationship between orality and writing in the production and dissemination of medieval music in Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. chapter 10: "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Music of the Middle Ages."

33 Roesner, "Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*." See also Treitler, "Regarding Meter and Rhythm in the *Ars antiqua*," *The Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979), 524–58.

34 Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia*, ed. Reimer, I, 74–88: chapter XI; cf. the Garlandia text in Jerome of Moravia, *Hieronymi de Moravia tractatus de musica*, 199–210.

35 Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia*, ed. Reimer, I, 88–89: chapter XIII; but cf. the text in Jerome of Moravia, *Hieronymi de Moravia tractatus de musica*, 210. See Roesner, "Johannes de Garlandia" (cf. Jeremy Yudkin, "The Rhythm of Organum Purum," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), 355–76 for a different assessment of Garlandia's text). Johannes speaks of combining the *organum per se* "*cum alio*," the organum voice itself "with the other voice," i.e., with the tenor. This has often been erroneously taken to refer to three-voice polyphony.

36 Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia*, ed. Reimer, I, 88: chapter XII; Jerome of Moravia, *Hieronymi de Moravia tractatus de musica*, 209–10. See Yudkin, "The *Copula* According to Johannes de Garlandia," *Musica Disciplina* 34 (1980), 67–84.

These distinctions among polyphonic idioms will prove useful in the discussion of Notre-Dame organum to follow. All three idioms can be found in organum and, to some extent, in conductus. In fact they exist independent of genre. And, although Johannes discusses them only in terms of two-voice polyphony, they are also valid for music in three and four parts. Like the rhythmic modes that are a basis for distinguishing among them, they themselves are abstractions, theoretical constructs. One of these idioms need not persist throughout a composition or even a discrete part of one. A section of an organum in discant might end with an extended cadential flourish in *organum in speciali* or copula. Indeed a single phrase cast in a sustained-tone texture might shift from organum "in particular" to copula and back again, all within the span of a few ligatures.

Johannes's threefold classification was taken up by other theorists, but those other writers did not always apply it in the same way.[37] Thus Franco and, following him, Anonymous IV combine Johannes's two sustained-tone idioms into a single category, *organum purum*. Copula, especially, took on a number of different connotations. Johannes himself appears to restrict the scope of his definition by describing the moving voice as proceeding in paired phrases with similar rhythms and melodic gestures. Anonymous IV seems to apply the term to sustained-tone passages in *organa tripla* (and, presumably, *quadrupla*) – appropriately enough, since the upper voices in such works ordinarily move against each other in the manner of discant. Franco employs it for certain kinds of formulaic, cadenza-like passages that might be used to close a composition, grouping these with such other contrapuntal artifices as hocket and voice exchange. Lambertus presents a twofold definition of copula: music "between organum and discant" and, in addition, hocket.

Notre-Dame Organum

The singing of organum at Notre-Dame was a well-regulated practice. The genre was restricted primarily to the embellishment of responsorial plainchant, and was reserved for the major festivals of the ecclesiastical year. In this regard it differs from most other polyphonic traditions of the period, which tended to be more "inclusive" in their repertories, but it does resemble

37 See "Copula -ae," in *Lexicon musicum latinum*, I, fasc. 6: cols. 719–27; Reckow, "Organum" and "Copula," both in the *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*; Reckow, *Die Copula: Über einige Zusammenhänge zwischen Setzweise, Formbildung, Rhythmus und Vortragsstil in der Mehrstimmigkeit von Notre-Dame*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse 1972/13 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972); and Yudkin, "The Anonymous of St. Emmeram and Anonymous IV on the Copula," *The Musical Quarterly* 70 (1984), 1–22.

what is known of the practices at Chartres and some other French cathedrals in the earlier twelfth century. The Parisian tradition is unprecedented, however, in the scale on which it was delivered and the level of virtuosity it cultivated: Notre-Dame organa are ambitious creations, demanding of both the *organistae* who produced them and the liturgical time in which they were sung.[38] The size of the extant repertory is also unprecedented: the *magnus liber* in its various surviving copies includes polyphonic renderings of more than 100 plainchants, most of them extant in multiple versions, more than 200 distinct complete organa, and hundreds more independent clausulae that set only smaller portions of chants, some of them many times over.[39]

The *magnus liber* includes polyphony for many of the most festive days of the church year, for feasts ranked *annuale*, duplex, semiduplex, and nine lessons at Notre-Dame. There can be no doubt that most if not all of these organa originated in Paris: the collection as a whole closely reflects the Parisian ecclesiastical calendar: thus, numerous feasts of particular importance to Paris are represented, such as St. Denis (the Roman missionary to Paris, martyred ca. 250, October 9), the Finding of St. Stephen (the co-patron of the cathedral, whose relics were in its treasury, August 3) and the Finding of the Relics (December 4).[40] Notre-Dame is dedicated to Mary's Assumption; the feast of her Assumption (August 15), celebrated by the cathedral at *annuale* rank and thus equivalent in stature to Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, is enhanced with settings of multiple Alleluias. Also present is polyphony intended for processions specific to the Parisian stational liturgy and its ecclesiastical map. Throughout the collection the chants set in polyphony,

38 The most comprehensive study of Notre-Dame organum is Reckow, "Das Organum," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, erste Folge*, ed. Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke, 1973), 434–96. Complementing this is Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik*. For the *tripla* and *quadrupla* see Guillaume Gross, *Chanter en polyphonie à Notre-Dame de Paris aux 12e et 13e siècles*, Studia artistarum 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). For the *organa dupla* see Roesner, "Who 'Made' the *Magnus liber*?" *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 227–66; and Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge, mit Beiträgen zur Frage der sogenannten Notre-Dame-Handschriften*, Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 8 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1969).

39 The repertory is cataloged in Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2nd, "erweiterte" ed., ed. L.A. Dittmer et al., 2 vols. in 3, Musicological Studies 26 (Hildesheim; New York; Henryville, PA: Georg Olms; Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964–78) (Bd. 1/1, *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, originally published Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910) and Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: The Author, 1989). Flotzinger, *Discantussatz* includes a useful catalog of discant passages and independent clausulae. The organum repertory is ed. in *MLO*; and in Hans Tischler, ed., *The Parisian Two-Part Organa: The Complete Comparative Edition*, 2 vols. (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1988). See also Tischler, ed., *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 2 vols. in 3 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).

40 On the Reception of the Relics see Baltzer, "Another Look at a Composite Office and Its History: The Feast of *Susceptio reliquarum* in Medieval Paris," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113 (1988), 1–27; and Wright, "The Feast of the Reception of the Relics at Notre Dame of Paris," in *Music and Tradition: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. A. Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 1–13.

the Alleluia, gradual, etc. for a specific feast, are nearly always in agreement with those prescribed in the Parisian liturgical books, and with those reflecting the use of Notre-Dame itself in particular.[41]

In the Mass, polyphony might be provided for the gradual and Alleluia, in the Office for the great responsory sung at First Vespers, the Benedicamus Domino at the close of Vespers, the ninth responsory of Matins, and often the third and sixth responsories as well (i.e., for the final responsory in each Matins Nocturne). On some occasions organum might also be used in the responsory at Second Vespers. All the organa sung in the Mass and Office follow or prepare for a liturgical reading, the chapter at Vespers, the lessons at Matins, the Epistle and Gospel at Mass. They are sung during moments in the service when no ritual action is taking place: the chant serves as a commentary on the reading and the occasion, with the music thrown into relief. The gradual "Viderunt omnes," for example, sets Psalm 97:3–4 and 2, "All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God. Sing joyfully to God, all the earth. The Lord hath made known his salvation: he hath revealed his justice in the sight of the Gentiles." When sung at Mass on Christmas Day, the gradual follows and engages in a dialectic with the Messianic vision of the bringer of "good tidings" in Isaiah 52:6–10 and Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews 1–10, on God's acknowledgement of his son and heir. When sung a week later in the feast of the Circumcision, "Viderunt omnes" follows Isaiah 9:6–7, foretelling the advent of Christ as king and successor to David, imparting a slightly different hue to the gradual's message. The Alleluia that follows "Viderunt omnes," "Dies sanctificatus," introduces the "good tidings" of the Gospel: "Alleluia! A holy day has shone upon us: come ye nations and adore the Lord, for today a great light has descended upon the earth," preceding the reading of John 1:1–14 at Christmas; Luke 2:21 at Circumcision. The Benedicamus Domino is a blessing that follows the Magnificat (Luke 1.46–55) and the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9–13) to close Vespers.

The Mass and Office organa were sung in the choir, largely sequestered from the congregation once the choir screen had been installed in the new

41 See the liturgical assignments for the *organa dupla* in Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 259–64, and Wright's discussion of Notre-Dame liturgical practice, passim. Still valuable if used with care are Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus liber organi*," *The Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963), 311–30; and Husmann, "The Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi* and the Paris Churches St. Germain l'Auxerrois and Ste. Geneviève-du-Mont," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963), 176–203. See also Huglo, "Principes de l'ordonnance des répons organisés à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de musicologie* 83 (1997), 81–92; and, esp. with regard to processions, Baltzer, "The Geography of the Liturgy at Notre-Dame of Paris," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. T. F. Kelly, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2 (.Cambridge University Press, 1992, 45–64); and Baltzer, "How Long was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?" in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. B. Gillingham and P. Merkley, Musicological Studies 113 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 118–43.

cathedral. When organum was used within a procession, the responsory or antiphon that was "organized" was not linked to a liturgical reading; nor was it done out of sight. In the processions following Terce the choir went out of Notre-Dame to the adjacent baptistery of St.-Jean-le-Rond and the oratory of St.-Denis-du-Pas, then re-entered the cathedral and made a station before the choir screen before entering the choir, ending the ceremony, and starting Mass. At the station before the choir screen a responsory was sung, its verse delivered in organum on important feast days. Processions that went to more distant locations used organum in a similar fashion, some in the destination church, others upon returning to Notre-Dame. A handful of processional chants, those sung on the feasts of the Purification of the Virgin, Easter, and Pentecost, were given their own polyphonic treatment. Most settings, however, were drawn from organa already present elsewhere in the liturgy.

It is not only processional chant that was sung in organum outside the walls of Notre-Dame. On the feast of St. Eligius (December 1), for example, the cathedral clergy proceeded to the Benedictine priory of St. Eloi, nearby on the Île de la Cité, to celebrate Terce, Mass, and Sext together with the local monks. The verse of the processional responsory was sung in organum by the Notre-Dame *organistae*, and so also were the gradual and Alleluia at Mass. Settings of all three chants are found in the organum manuscripts.

With virtually no exceptions only the solo portions of the chant receive polyphonic treatment; the remainder is to be sung in plainchant. The organum sources transmit polyphony alone; the chant is to be found in graduals and antiphonaries. Thus the *magnus liber* is a soloist's book, a cantatorium of sorts. In the case of the gradual "Viderunt omnes" polyphony is provided for the first two words of the respond ("All have seen") and the verse up to the final choral ending ("The Lord hath made known his salvation: in the sight of the Gentiles he hath revealed [his justice]"). For the Alleluia the opening word is sung in organum, but not its repetition with the concluding jubilus; and so is the verse up to the choral termination. For the great responsory the solo incipit of the respond receives organal treatment; so also does the complete verse and also, in many examples in F and W_2, the doxology. (As we have seen, the practice was somewhat different when the responsory was sung in a procession.) As with the doxology, F and W_2 often supply additional polyphony for the repeat of the respond or Alleluia following the verse. W_1 includes no polyphony for either the repeat of the respond or the doxology: either these were to be sung entirely in plainchant or the opening respond setting was sung again and the Gloria Patri text was overlaid onto the music for the verse. In the case of the Benedicamus Domino the

versicle receives polyphonic treatment; the response, usually sung to the same melody, is delivered in chant.

Organum was an exclusively vocal practice. It is not impossible that other churches in France and elsewhere supported singers with an organ when performing the music of Notre-Dame, particularly on the tenor, but there is no evidence of an organ at Notre-Dame before the 1330s.[42] As many as six "soloists" might have been involved in presenting the organum, depending on the rank of the feast, in addition to the larger chorus singing the portions of the work that remained in plainchant. The upper voice or voices are florid and virtuosic, and followed a performance tradition that allowed great temporal flexibility. Moreover, the musical notation often allows a given ligature to be interpreted in several different ways, all of them "correct." Taken together, these conditions would have posed enormous challenges to multiple singers on a line, whether working from notation or singing entirely without the aid of writing, and especially so in sustained-tone passages. Of necessity, then, if for no other reason, one singer took each of the upper parts, with the other soloists joining forces on the tenor. In *annuale* feasts six singers were used, five of whom took the tenor line in *organum duplum*, four in *triplum*, and three in four-voice organum. In duplex feasts, four soloists were used; in services of somewhat lower rank, three or two. Thus Perotinus' *quadruplum*, "Viderunt omnes," would have had three singers on the tenor at Christmas, but only one when the gradual was sung at Circumcision. If an *organum duplum* setting of "Viderunt omnes" were sung instead, there would have been five on the tenor at Christmas, three at Circumcision.

Although Leoninus and perhaps Perotinus were prominent figures in the cathedral hierarchy, the *organistae* of Notre-Dame were mostly drawn from the ranks of the unbeneficed clerks of Matins, singers paid by the service and subject to annual review.[43] Many had been choirboys whose education was supported by the cathedral chapter. Some would have been quite senior; but many were young in years, which may help to explain the sorts of abuses remarked on by John of Salisbury and Robert of Courson; but their experience with the musical practice at Notre-Dame is likely to have been long and deep.

An overview of the organum repertory can be gleaned from the contents of F. The manuscript contains some 109 *organa dupla*, 29 *tripla* and *quadrupla*, and 486 independent clausulae: 470 for two voices, 15 for three voices, and one for four. In all likelihood the corpus was originally substantially larger, since

42 Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, chapter 4, esp. 144.
43 See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 20–27, 322–24; and Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, chapter 6.

several additional three-voice organa and clausulae, and a large number of clausulae for two voices, appear to have been lost from the manuscript. Some ninety-eight plainchants are set in *organum duplum*, thirty-four for the Office, fifty-nine for the Mass, and five of the Benedicamus Domino; the *tripla* include settings of four additional responsory plainchants and two further Benedicamus melodies. W_1 includes *organa dupla* for two more responsory chants, but these were almost certainly composed at or for St. Andrews in Scotland. A handful of additional chants receive *triplum* settings in other sources. Of the Office organa in F all but six are great responsories for Vespers and Matins; all but one of the remainder are intended specifically for processions. More than two-thirds of the Mass chants set in polyphony are Alleluias.

These data do not present the whole picture of the repertory, however. Some chants are given more than one setting in F: there are two *duplum* renderings of the gradual "Viderunt omnes," of the processional verse "Crucifixum in carne," and of "Alleluya, Hodie Maria virgo" – all for *annuale* feasts. Presumably, these were used at different points in the liturgy, the principal feast and its octave or as a surrogate for an Office responsory, for example. F also contains settings of "Viderunt omnes" and "Crucifixum in carne" and many other plainchants not only for two voices but also for three or four. These are doubtless the work of different musicians, and likely originated at different points in the history of the Notre-Dame tradition, some of them possibly also at different locations. They are alternatives that the *organistae* consulting the manuscript could choose between, depending on the resources available and other ad hoc performance conditions.

Within the *duplum* repertory itself few organa transmitted in more than one manuscript do not differ from copy to copy to a greater or lesser extent. One of the rare exceptions is the responsory "Gaude Maria virgo," transmitted with little variation in four manuscripts. The two-voice setting of the responsory "Descendit de celis" presents a very different picture: W_1 and F offer the same music for the respond, but their verses are well-nigh independent of each other. Typical of much of the repertory is the transmission of "Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum," in which all four manuscripts agree only at the very beginning of the verse, whereas elsewhere W_1 agrees now with F, now with W_2, and often with no other source.[44] A passage in *organum purum* – the sustained-tone idiom, whether organum "in particular" or copula – in one copy might be replaced by one in discant in another, or occasionally by

44 See the discussion of this Alleluia and its broader context in Roesner, "Who 'Made' the *Magnus liber*?" 235–46.

different sustained-tone material. More commonly, however, one discant clausula may replace another. Extended cadential gestures in *organum purum* may be added, removed, or replaced by other stock formulas. There is no consistent pattern of variation among the manuscripts from one organum to the next, although overall W_1 tends to have more and longer passages in *organum purum* than other sources. The W_1 version of "Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum," for example, is entirely in *organum purum* until the final clausula.

Further complicating this picture is the fact that much polyphonic material is shared among the settings of different plainchants, sometimes in one copy only, sometimes in all extant versions.[45] These interrelationships are especially marked among the Alleluias, the majority of which set melodies that are themselves shared by two or more plainchants. Perotinus' three-voice organum on "Alleluya, Nativitas" is also found with four other texts, making this work for the Nativity of the Virgin appropriate for Mary Magdalene, St. James, All Saints, and the Common of Virgins. But more often clausulae from one organum are simply taken over into another that sets the same chant melody. "Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum" shares its tenor melody with "Alleluya, Posui adiutorium," and the different versions of their two-voice settings, four of "Adorabo," five of "Posui," share a complex web of material. Remarkably, the W_1 settings of the two organa, each of which shares material with other versions of both organa, are largely independent of each other. "Alleluya, Post partum virgo," found only in F, appears to be cobbled together almost entirely out of clausulae and other bits from two other Alleluia organa that use the same chant melody, "Assumpta est Maria" and "Per manus autem apostolorum," each of which itself survives with its own complex of multiple versions. Thus within "Alleluya, Assumpta est Maria," F and W_1 each have polyphony not found in the other sources; W_2 has little that is unique; and W_1 is entirely in *organum purum* up to its final clausula while the other sources make extensive use of discant, much of it involving repetition of the tenor melody (including a setting in F of the jubilus, a remarkable break from convention, a clausula in F and W_2 that repeats the tenor melody in diminution, and a W_2 clausula that repeats not only the tenor melody but also its text).[46]

45 Many of these interrelationships are displayed in the "comparative" ed. of the repertory in Tischler, *Parisian Two-Part Organa*; and are cataloged in N. E. Smith, "The *Clausulae* of the Notre Dame School: A Reportorial Study," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1964); and in van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*. However, many of the smaller instances of shared material remain uncataloged. See esp. Smith, "Interrelationships among the Alleluias of the *Magnus liber organi*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972), 175–202; and Smith, "Interrelationships among the Graduals of the Magnus Liber Organi," *Acta Musicologica* 45 (1973), 73–97.

46 See Smith, "Tenor Repetition in the Notre Dame Organa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966), 329–51.

The sharing of polyphonic material is not limited to organa built on the same plainchant or even belonging to the same genre. A large corpus of duplum melody recurs throughout the two-voice repertory, especially in sustained-tone passages. Some of this material functions in specific ways, as intonations or cadential formulas, or as connective tissue that links passages of more "independent" melody. There are also gestures, ranging from brief snippets to discrete phrases or groups of phrases that recur in a variety of functional roles, pure melody that could be pressed into service as desired. Comparable, if stylistically different, material is found in music for three and four voices. These elements are probably what Anonymous IV had in mind when he wrote of the "abundance of musical *colores*" in Perotinus' *quadrupla* – figures of musical speech, as it were, facilitating the affective delivery of the musical content.[47] Along with the larger, self-contained sections into which the organa are divided, some of these smaller, less "structured" melodic elements are likely to have been among the "full many superior clausulae and *puncta*" that Perotinus is said to have introduced in place of similar touches of musical rhetoric that had originated with Leoninus and other *organistae*.

Taken together, these factors make it difficult at best to determine which if any of the extant versions is the earliest, and indeed raise doubts in many cases about the usefulness of such notions as "earlier" and "replacement." As often as not, variations from copy to copy are likely to have resulted from different *organistae* working independently of each other but drawing on a shared body of practice. Each version is a "take" on the "same" organum as it existed at the time and place of copying, and each is worthy of consideration in its own right.

Much of the melodic grist used throughout Notre-Dame polyphony, and in *organum purum* most obviously, is collected and arranged systematically in the so-called Vatican Organum Treatise, dating perhaps from the second quarter of the thirteenth century (and thus contemporaneous with the earliest musical sources).[48] A compendium of melodic gestures, it can be understood as a complement to the rhythmic grammar presented by the *musica mensurabilis* treatises – in effect, as a grammar of Notre-Dame melody. Indeed it might even be seen as something of an alternative mode of transmission for the Notre-Dame tradition, presenting not individual works but the building blocks out of

47 The *colores* are discussed by Johannes in *Johannes de Garlandia*, ed. Reimer, I, 88–91: chapters XIV–XVI. See also "Color," in the *Lexicon musicum latinum medii aevi*, cols. 550–56; and in Gross, *Chanter en polyphonie*.

48 See esp. Steven Immel, "The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined," *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 121–72; and Frieder Zaminer, *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat (Ottob. lat. 3025): Organum-Praxis der frühen Notre Dame-Schule und ihrer Vorstufen*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1959). For a facsimile and transcription see Irving Godt and Benito Rivera, "The Vatican Organum Treatise – A Colour Reproduction, Transcription and Translation into English," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam, von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies 49/1–2 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), II: 264–345.

which an *organista* could create any work. If the Vatican Treatise is a collection of melodic elements, the collections of independent clausulae included in some manuscripts gather organum polyphony that is larger in scale, for the most part, and different in nature: unlike the Vatican bits the clausulae are assigned to specific organa, and usually could be fitted into the complete organa found in the same book. Moreover, the Vatican examples convey only the melody of the duplum line, their notation remaining neutral with regard to rhythm; but the independent clausulae present all aspects of the polyphonic fabric, including how the voices move together through time. They are "finished" compositions, not raw materials for composition. And, the overwhelming majority of independent clausulae use the idiom of discant, not *organum purum*.

W_1 contains two cycles of two-voice clausulae, F has four, and another is included in the miscellany of Parisian and peripherally related compositions in the so-called St. Victor manuscript.[49] The great majority are settings of Mass chants: only three Office chants are represented in significant numbers (although all three happen to be for *annuale* feasts, the selection of material for treatment as independent clausulae appears to have been less dependent on its liturgical prominence than on the character of its melody). There is considerable overlap among these collections, especially between the first cycle in F and the two W_1 cycles, but each collection has its own profile in terms of the choice of tenors set, the scale and elaborateness of its settings, the number of unique clausulae, the presence of motet concordances, and so on.[50] Although most independent clausulae are conceived in discant, many include cadential extensions in *organum purum*. The great majority are settings of tenors that are also treated in discant in the complete organa. Some clausulae organize the tenor into repeating rhythmic patterns, some interacting with the duplum in intricate and subtle ways; others are simpler in conception, disposing the tenor into a series of rhythmically undifferentiated *L* or duplex *L* that derive their phrase structure from that of the duplum. Some are shorter than the corresponding passage in the organum, and indeed can be understood as "abbreviated" versions of longer, more melismatic settings. But

49 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 15139; facs. in E. Thurston, ed., *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris lat. 15139*, Studies and Texts 5 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1959); ed. of the clausulae in Stenzl, *Die vierzig Clausulae der Handschrift Paris Bibliothèque nationale latin 15139 (Saint Victor-Clausulae)*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft II/22 (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1970). The most detailed study of the manuscript is Fred Büttner, *Das Klauselrepertoire der Handschrift Saint-Victor (Paris, BN, lat. 15139): eine Studie zur mehrstimmigen Komposition im 13. Jahrhundert* (Lecce: Milella, 2011). See the comprehensive studies of the clausula repertory in Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula," 2 vols. in 3 (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1974); and Flotzinger, *Discantussatz*.

50 See the list of clausulae transmitted as motets in Smith, "From Clausula to Motet: Material for Further Studies in the Origin and Early History of the Motet," *Musica Disciplina* 34 (1980), 29–65.

many are of comparable length or are significantly longer than what is found in the organum.

The independent clausulae were clearly intended for use within larger organa. However well crafted and complete in themselves many of them may be, they make no sense standing alone. Some clausulae are copies of music already present in one or another version of the complete organum. When this occurs within the same manuscript, it is surely the inevitable consequence of compiling a large collection from more than one exemplar. Many segments of plainchant are set several times over; in a few cases there are more than ten compositions on the same tenor within a single manuscript. These multiple settings, like the multiple settings of the complete organa, afforded a variety of stylistic options from which to choose. Moreover, they permitted the *organista* to string together groups of clausulae on the same melody, in the manner of the discant clausulae in the organa that repeat the tenor.

Within the repertory of independent clausulae as a whole, works with concordances in the form of motets could have served as guides to the rhythm and contrapuntal framework of their motet counterparts, since their *sine littera* notation offers much clearer indications of the intended rhythm than the *cum littera* notation of the motet could provide. (In the case of the clausulae in the St. Victor manuscript, this may even have been their primary function, since they are accompanied by the text incipits of their motet concordances in the margin.) The motet in its earliest stages of development might itself be understood as another form of independent clausula, one that would take off on its own and morph into a different genre. In any event the enormous corpus of clausulae bears witness to the interest in the encyclopedic gathering and organizing material that is so much part of the scholastic mindset. And it is a sign of the esteem in which the Notre-Dame tradition was held that this material, some of which had effectively been replaced by "superior" compositions, was nevertheless deemed worthy of preservation.

Organum Duplum: Four Case Studies

"Viderunt Omnes"

The gradual "Viderunt omnes" is found in F, W_1, and W_2 at the beginning of their cycles of *organa dupla* for the Mass.[51] F, as we remarked earlier, has two organa on this chant, the first for Christmas, the other presumably for

51 "Viderunt omnes" is ed. complete in *MLO* III, no. 1, *MLO* VIA, no. 16, and *MLO* VII, no. 15. Cf. Tischler, *Parisian Two-Part Organa*, II, M 1.

Circumcision. The two F settings share a certain amount of music (including the organum for the opening respond, which is given only once in the manuscript), and the versions in the other two sources also have polyphony in common with one or both of them, as well as with each other. Each of the four, however, differs from the others in substantial ways. Example 27.1 presents the polyphony for the opening respond as found in W_1.[52] "Viderunt" and "omnes" are treated as separate clausulae, the first in *organum purum*, the second in discant. "Viderunt" begins with an intonation formula common to several organa, first establishing consonance between the voices, then exploring and developing the progression from dissonance to consonance, employing increasingly wide-ranging melodic variation. After a strong cadence to introduce the second syllable of "Viderunt," the character of the duplum changes: the short but open-ended gestures and elastic rhythms of the opening are succeeded by a line that is more long-breathed, and that moves in the stricter measure of the first rhythmic mode. This idiom is maintained up to the cadence on the second, final note of "-runt," after which the clausula concludes with a brilliant descending flourish and a series of cadential gestures, most once again in free rhythm. In Johannes de Garlandia's vocabulary, "Viderunt" moves from organum "in particular" to copula, then back again to organum, using the rhythmically more elastic idiom to introduce and articulate the clausula. The clausula on "omnes" pits a loosely treated rhythmic mode 1 in the duplum against mode 5, movement in all *L*, in the tenor in a contrapuntal relationship that progresses to a consonance on each ternary "beat," then closes the clausula (and the respond polyphony) with an extended cadential flourish in *organum purum* (organum "in particular," again) on the penultimate tenor note.

W_2 and F are largely in agreement with the W_1 organum for "Viderunt omnes." But the music that W_2 and the two F settings offer for the repeat of the respond after the verse differs, not only from that of the opening respond but also from each other: F-1 (the setting for Christmas) has one version; F-2 (for Circumcision) and W_2 (for Christmas, probably also to be sung at Circumcision) offer a different one. Both versions are based in part on the music of the opening respond, shortening the *organum purum* on "Viderunt": the music in F-2 and W_2 reduces it to a bare outline, moving in simple, virtually note-against-note discant; F-1 replaces everything after the formulaic opening with terser, simpler *organum purum*. The two versions also have

52 In the examples, ligatures are indicated by brackets or broken slurs, depending on the figure. The plica (an unwritten note that derives its value and pitch from the preceding note) is shown as a small note tied to its parent. A wedge connotes a rest that is not precisely measured, but that is of substantial length. When appropriate for the particular example, precise durations suggested by the notation in *organum purum* passages are given above the staff as "ficta" rhythms.

Example 27.1 "Viderunt omnes," respond, after Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (W_1), fol. 25r



different discant renderings of "omnes": F-1 provides a setting in which both tenor and duplum flow in the first rhythmic mode, but the tenor is sung twice; F-2 and W_2 have a setting using a first-mode duplum against a fifth-mode tenor – but both clausulae employ the same extended cadential gesture in

organum purum, a different one from that used in the opening respond. W_1 does not provide new music for the repeat of the respond.

If the opening respond of "Viderunt omnes" is essentially the same in all the sources, the four states of the verse present a different picture. Leaving aside differences in detail (not all of them trivial), the following outline displays the interrelationships among the four verses (passages in discant are italicized, and concordances with independent clausulae are noted).

"Notum fecit": (1) F-1 and W_1; (2) F-2 and W_2
"*dominus*": (1) F-1 and W_1; (2) F-2; (3) W_2, F independent clausula, W_1 independent clausula
"salutare *su*um": all
"ante conspectum": (1) F-1, W_1, and W_2; (2) F-2
"gentium *revelavit*": (1) F-1 and W_1; (2) "*gentium revelavit*": F-2 and W_2

In brief, there is one setting that is largely shared by F-1 and W_1, to which F-2 and W_2 are related to varying degrees and in different ways. Since all three manuscripts are late witnesses to the evolution of this music, it seems best to resist the temptation to arrange the four settings in some sort of chronology or to place them on a family "tree." It also seems prudent not to ascribe any of them to a particular musician, apart from the scribes who copied them.

The reworking of "Viderunt omnes" was not limited to these four versions. No fewer than twenty-four compositions setting individual segments of the gradual plainchant, some existing in multiple states themselves, are included in the clausula collections of F and W_1.[53] "Omnes" has, besides the three settings present in the organa, two clausulae in W_1 and seven in F – seven independent clausulae in all, taking concordances into account. For "dominus," besides the three in the organa and again taking concordances into consideration, there are fourteen additional independent settings: W_1 transmits nine, F fourteen, including one that cobbles together what are in effect separate clausulae on "dominus" and "salutare." F also preserves one independent clausula each for "su[um]," "ante conspectum," and "conspectum gentium." The bit on "salutare" and the clausulae on "ante conspectum" and "conspectum gentium" would have the effect of shortening or "abbreviating" the organum, were they to be inserted into it in place of the polyphony already there. Several of the twenty-one clausulae on "omnes" and "dominus" would produce the opposite result, since they are significantly longer than the music

53 Ed. in *MLO* v, nos. 19–36, 227–28, 343–44, 458–59; and *MLO* vii, nos. 53–59 and 88–91. The numbers assigned to clausulae (e.g., *Dominus* no. 8) are those in Ludwig, *Repertorium*.

in the organa. One of the "omnes" clausulae, for example, states the tenor four times, quadrupling the length of the passage, and another, five times.

Several of these clausulae appear to be systematic explorations of the stylistic and formal possibilities inherent in discant, as may be seen in the samples in Example 27.2.[54] Many organize the tenor into a recurring rhythmic pattern, or *ordo*, establishing a firm structural foundation on which to craft the duplum. "Dominus" no. 3 (Example 27.2a) arranges the tenor into four-beat rhythmic cells alternating *duplex L-L-L* rest with *L-L-L-L* rest. The tenor is matched by duplum phrases of corresponding length, grouped into antecedent/consequent pairs that unfold systematically in variation and development. "Dominus" no. 8 (Example 27.2b) explores the contrapuntal possibilities offered by the systematic overlapping of duplum phrases with tenor *ordines* disposed, again, in four-beat rhythmic cells, this time moving entirely in *L*. "Dominus" no. 9 (Examples 27.2c and d) arranges the tenor in a more extended pattern and has the duplum move note-for-note with it: in F the musical notation calls for the rather angular "iambic" flow of the extended second (or third) rhythmic mode; in W_1 the same contrapuntal fabric is presented in the more fluid "trochaic" first mode, imparting a wholly different character to the clausula. In "Nusmido" (Example 27.2e) the clausula proceeds modestly enough with the tenor moving in an unpatterned series of *L*, but the tenor presents the chant melody in retrograde. And in what might be taken as a probe of the boundary between *organum purum* and discant, "Omnes" no. 4 (Example 27.2f) blends movement in strict rhythmic measure with the systematic deployment of a rhythmically "free" melodic cell, and concludes with a cadential flourish in copula that is more than three times longer then the body of the work (the cadential flourish is present in F but not in the W_1 copy of the clausula). Which if any of these clausulae might be ascribed to Perotinus, the "best *discantor*," and which to Leoninus, the "best *organista*," or to any of the numerous other musicians who doubtless were involved in the evolution of this repertory is a matter of speculation.

"Cornelius, Cum Orasset"

"Different" settings of a given plainchant often have much in common, revealing subtle interrelationships. The responsory *Cornelius* offers an interesting case in point.[55] The plainchant on "[Glo]-ria" in the doxology is set in *organum purum* in the complete organum, but in spare discant in the brief independent clausula, "Ria," like the complete organum found only in

54 Ed. in *MLO* v, nos. 30 (2c), 36 (2e), 19 (2f); and *MLO* vii, nos. 55 (2a), 98 (2b), 99 (2d).
55 Ed. in *MLO* ii, no. 14, and v, no. 306. Cf. Tischler, *Parisian Two-Part Organa*, i, O 14.

Example 27.2 Independent clausulae for "Viderunt omnes"

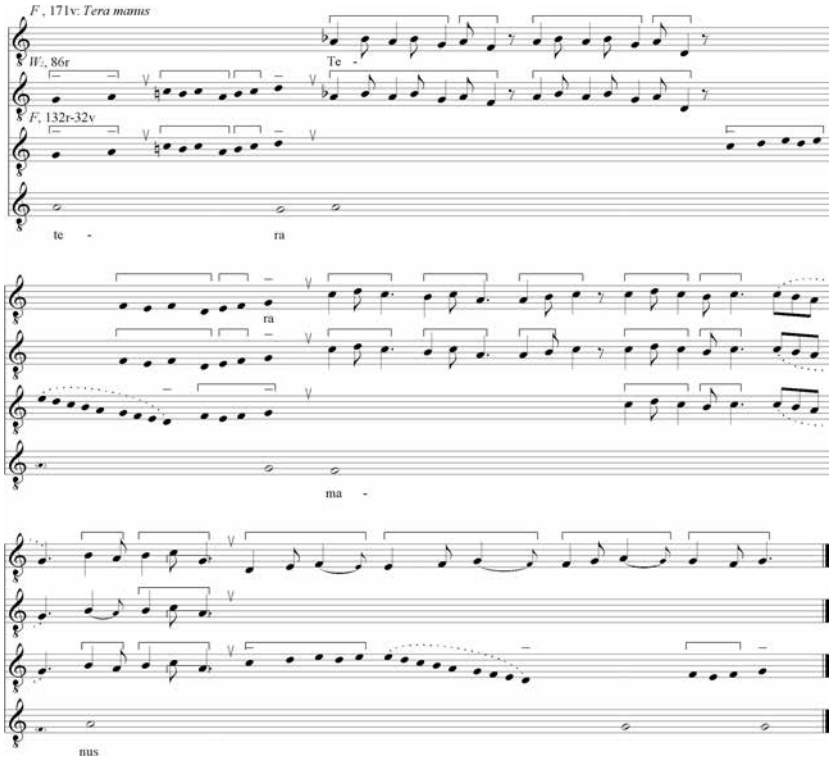


F (Examples 27.3a and b; the clausula does not include music for the first tenor note of "-ria"). The two compositions have identical contrapuntal profiles. In the organum, the duplum uses the same melodic gesture as had been heard over the preceding tenor note, *g*, here leaping down from the opening simultaneity on *a* to *d*. It then proceeds to a four-note descending figure that

Example 27.3 From the doxology of "Cornelius, cum orasset"



Example 27.4 "[dex]-tera manus" from "Gloriosus, Dextera tua"



launches a formula presented three times (three four-note gestures, consisting of a decorated pitch, a descent, and an ascent). Each iteration of this formula brings the line to the next tenor/duplum simultaneity. The formula is a musical *color* that recurs throughout the organum repertory (another such *color* is the sequential figure leading from "Glo-" to "-ri-" at the beginning of Example 27.3a – it can be found, for instance, at the close of Example 27.4, above). Is the clausula a reduction of a more expansive original conception or the original form of the passage, fleshed out in the organum by means of the systematic deployment of a stock melodic gesture? If the clausula is a remnant from the earlier form of the work, would a different *organista* necessarily have used the same formula to expand it? Might the clausula be a kind of shorthand redaction (an *abbreviatio* in both senses of the word) that an informed singer or scribe could present either as written or in a different way in keeping with his own inclinations?

"Gloriosus, Dextera Tua"

More complex is the relationship among the three states of "[dex]-tera manus," in the verse of the gradual *Gloriosus*, set in organum in F and W_2, and as an independent clausula, "Tera manus," in F.[56] The plainchant at "-tera" has four notes, *a g a g*, and three at "manus," *f a g*. The first two notes are set identically in the two organa as a single phrase that might be read in the sixth rhythmic mode, that is, as a series of *B*. The independent clausula begins with the third and fourth tenor notes, *a g*, like the two preceding ones. Here W_2 and the clausula are concordant, while the F organum offers a different polyphonic rendering, but one that nevertheless concludes in the same way as the other two: where F uses a virtuoso flourish to descend to low *d*, W_2 and the clausula offer a pair of matching phrases strictly measured off in the first rhythmic mode. These two approaches to setting tenor *a g* exemplify the difference between organum "in particular" and copula. It is noteworthy that the closing gesture in W_2 and the clausula is the same as the progression from "te-" to "-ra" in W_2 and the F organum: that is, it is another stock *color*. At "manus" the three versions agree, presenting copula-like material, except at two places. One is at the beginning, where the F organum does not include the related opening phrase found in the other two versions. The other is on the final tenor note of the passage, where the F organum and clausula proffer different cadential extensions: the organum repeats the brilliant *color* it had employed to close "-tera," while the clausula draws on a different *color*, the one that introduces "-ria" in Example 27.3a, above.

Thus the F clausula is essentially the same composition as the W_2 setting, but telescoped at the beginning and expanded at the end. The F organum offers the most florid state of the work, not only through its use of the virtuoso formula, but also through its omission of the first of the two copula phrases, a pair clearly conceived as a unit. There is nothing to suggest that any of the three versions of this passage is the "original" form of the piece: each omits something, and each uses stock formulas that reflect the tradition to which the copy bears witness. Some elements may have entered or left during an oral phase in the genesis and transmission of the organum, others during a written phase, some early in its textual history, others later – as late, even, as the copying of the very manuscript in which we find them.

"Alleluya, Assumpta Est Maria"

Interrelationships among the different versions of the opening "Alleluya" in "Alleluya, assumpta est Maria" are somewhat less clear-cut, but they are

56 Ed. in *MLO* IV, no. 41, *MLO* VIB, no. 44, and *MLO* V, no. 213. Cf. Tischler, *Parisian Two-Part Organa*, II, M 41.

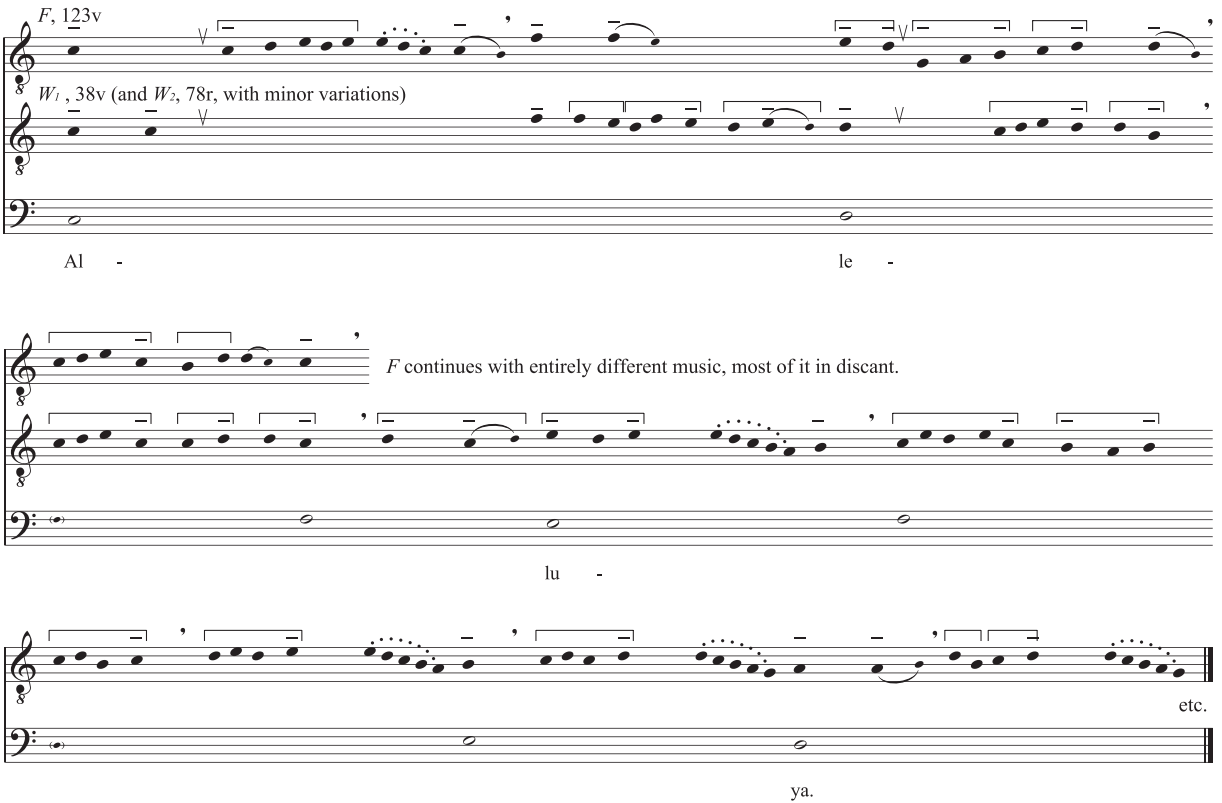
present nonetheless. The passage under discussion survives in F, W_1, and W_2 (Example 27.5; a fragmentary copy now in Nuremberg commences towards the end of the passage, and appears to be largely concordant with F).[57] W_1 and W_2 are essentially the same composition; F stands quite apart from them – decidedly so, since after the third tenor note F proceeds in discant where the others continue in the organum "in particular" used in all three manuscripts to this point. But the two versions of the opening build on the same contrapuntal framework. The formulaic flourish at the beginning of F that elaborates on the intonation pitch, *c*, is not present in the other version, but in the following, complementary duplum phrase both versions follow the same overall melodic course – if traversed in more elaborate fashion in W_1 and W_2 than in F – to arrive at the same strong cadence. In the following phrase the two versions use different melodic cells to reach the same goal, *d*, and then they leave it in similar fashion. Both the versions next draw on a variant of the preceding phrase from W_1 and W_2 to achieve a cadence on *c*, after which F and the other version proceed along independent paths. One has the impression in this opening that two singers or two cantorial traditions were responding to a common pre-performance stratagem. That plan would have included a contrapuntal outline and a set of melodic formulas that might be drawn upon to flesh it out in one or another of perhaps several alternative ways. If the clausulae of Example 27.2 suggest "composition" and, perhaps, notation as factors influencing the shape of the musical text, this "Alleluya" implies the flexible world of ad hoc performance, with on-the-spot decisions subsequently recorded, possibly by the *organista* himself, and from there passing into the broader written tradition.

The *Tripla* and *Quadrupla*

Most organa for three and four voices set the same plainchants as the *organa dupla*, and are products of the ongoing reformulation and transformation of the organum repertory that we have been observing in the two-voice works. With very few exceptions those organa that set "new" chants are found in only one manuscript. Some of these new organa may have been composed too late to have entered the broader transmission. And some, at least, may have been created to meet the particular needs of the institution for which the book

57 Ed. in *MLO* IV, no. 33, *MLO* VIB, no. 31, and *MLO* VII, no. 32. Cf. Tischler, *Parisian Two-Part Organa*, II, M 33. For the Nuremberg fragment (Stadtbibliothek [*D-Nst*] Inc. 304 2°) see Peter C. Jacobsen, "Ein neues Fragment zum Magnus liber organi," in *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 7, in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, I. *Philologisch-historische Klasse*, *Jg. 2006* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2006), 149–66.

Example 27.5 “Alleluya” from “Alleluya, Assumpta est Maria”



containing them was compiled. "Alleluya, Vox sancti Bartholomei," preserved incomplete in a fragment now in Basel, was doubtless intended for the procession from Notre-Dame to the monastery of St. Barthélemy on the Île de la Cité on the saint's feast day (August 24), when the Alleluia was sung in polyphony by the *organistae* of the cathedral (the gradual preceding it was sung in plainchant by the monks of St. Barthélemy).[58] The responsory "Abiecto, rigat ora lacrimis," in the late Montpellier codex, was sung on the feast of Guillaume of Bourges (January 10), which began to be celebrated in Paris ca. 1228.[59] And the responsory "Iacet granum," found only in F, is a late addition to the repertory intended for the feast of Thomas of Canterbury (December 29), present in Parisian calendars from early in the thirteenth century, and also, perhaps, sung on his Translation (7 July), established in Paris in 1228 with a provision for the use of organum.[60]

There are only three *quadrupla* known, all found (or once found but now lost) at the beginning of each of the principal Notre-Dame manuscripts.[61] The corpus may never have been larger (in like fashion there are only three conductus in four voices known, all in F). The graduals "Viderunt omnes" and "Sederunt principes" are ascribed to Perotinus, and have a *terminus ante quem* of 1198 and 1199 (they may have been composed in those very years). The third *quadruplum* may also be Perotinus' work: it is an independent clausula, *Mors*, intended to be sung in "Alleluya, Christus resurgens" on Wednesday within the octave of Easter. An *organum duplum* setting of this Alleluia exists: since the feast had duplex rank, there would have been four singers rendering the organum, making insertion of the clausula into it entirely plausible.

Consistent with their larger number of voices and richer polyphonic texture most *tripla* and *quadrupla* are conceived on a grander scale than the *organa dupla*. One might suppose that they would have been intended for the highest-ranking feasts, but that is not necessarily the case: the three-voice setting of the responsory "Terribilis est locus iste," for example, was used on the octave of the Dedication of the Church, while the *organum duplum* setting was sung on the main feast.[62] On the whole the *tripla* and *quadrupla* are more stable than

58 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek F.x.37; facsimile, edition, and discussion in Arlt and Max Haas, "Pariser modale Mehrstimmigkeit in einem Fragment der Basler Universitätsbibliothek," in *Forum musicologicum: Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte* 1, ed. Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke, 1975), 223–72, esp. 268–72. See also Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 340–41.

59 In Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196; facs. and ed. in Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1935), no. 207. Cf. the edition in *MLO* I, no. 49.

60 *MLO* I, no. 12; Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 265–66.

61 Ed. in *MMO* I, nos. 1–3, q.v. for information on dating and attribution.

62 Ed. in *MLO* I, no. 36. For the two-voice setting see *MLO* II, no. 31.

their *duplum* counterparts, showing relatively little of the wholesale variation from copy to copy we have seen in the two-voice repertory. Their stability is reflected, too, in the small size of the independent clausula repertory – if the imperfect state of the collection in F permits us to reach such a conclusion. The stability may suggest a relatively late time of origin in the history of the Notre-Dame tradition, but it is also possible that composition in more than two parts was inherently less prone to large-scale variation.

Considering the novelty of composition in more than two parts, one might suspect that *tripla* and *quadrupla* would have been created by adding lines to already existing *organa dupla*. Such is only infrequently the case, however, and when it does occur, it is mostly limited to passages of discant. Thus the three-voice responsory "Gaude Maria virgo" retains the discant clausulae from the *organum duplum* setting, adding a third voice that matches the duplum line phrase-for-phrase, but replacing the *organum purum* sections with new sustained-tone polyphony.[63] It may not be a coincidence that this work is known only from a somewhat "peripheral" source, the Circumcision Office from Beauvais. The unique three-voice setting of the gradual "Hec dies" in W_1, which also draws on some of the discant clausulae in the *organum duplum* setting, is certainly of peripheral origin.[64] In most Parisian examples of such adaptation it is rarely more than a single clausula or a part of one that is involved.

Like the *organa dupla* the *tripla* and *quadrupla* are divided into more-or-less self-contained clausulae in discant and *organum purum*, the choice of idiom depending on the nature of the tenor melody. Also like the *dupla* the *organa tripla* not infrequently share material, above all in passages of *organum purum*. But the nature of the *organum purum* melos is different from much two-voice organum: most of the upper-voice material is in the idiom of copula rather than organum "in particular" – that is, there is relatively little distinction between the upper voices in *organum purum* and those in discant. The primary reason for this may be practical: because the upper voices must coordinate with each other, they are obliged to eschew the florid melody and rhythmic flexibility of organum "in particular." The upper voices are likely to move in phrases of corresponding length and style, and to be in the same range, often crossing each other, often exchanging positions, first one on top, then the other. This results in numerous examples of voice exchange, canonic interplay and imitation, and similar tactics, all of which are among the *colores* described by Johannes de Garlandia.

63 Ed. in *MLO* I, no. 48. Cf. the two-voice setting, ed. in *MLO* II, no. 5, *MLO* VIA, no. 3, and *MLO* VII, no. 4.
64 Ed. in *MLO* I, no. 47.

The opening respond of Perotinus' four-voice setting of "Viderunt omnes" illustrates many of these traits. The three upper voices move in discant with and against each other, all in the same range above the tenor. The organum unfolds expansively, systematically repeating, varying, and interweaving the melodic *colores* being deployed, and moving them from voice to voice in changing combinations to generate an intricate and elaborate polyphonic web (Example 27.6a). In many passages of *organum purum* the "discant" operating in the upper voices functions well-nigh independently of the tenor, one or two of the voices moving in the fifth rhythmic mode while the remaining voice(s) flow(s) in the first mode (Example 27.6b). The upper parts tend to fall into regular four-beat phrases or the like; these sometimes systematically overlap in the manner of some two-voice discant clausulae to generate a seamless polyphonic fabric over the tenor. The extended opening passage in Example 27.6a plays with dissonance, first establishing a consonant foundation, then exploiting the sharp dissonance of a major 7th, repeatedly returning to it to strengthen the progression to consonance that follows. This is akin to the strategy used in the two-voice setting shown in Example 27.1, above, although it uses different means and unfolds over a longer span. So also is Perotinus' introduction of rhythmic tension at important moments, such as a change of syllable: "[Vi]-de" is preceded by a passage in hocket (not shown), and "[Vide]-runt" by a flourish that introduces organum "in particular," but adapted to the demands of a multi-voice environment.

When florid melody is used in the upper voices of a *triplum* or *quadruplum*, as in Example 27.6b, it is most often used as a cadential flourish. It often takes the form of large fixed formulas that are worked out with the same compositional planning as one encounters in the copula. A number of these *colores* travel from work to work: three such are given in Example 27.7, all taken from the respond of "Descendit de celis" but also found in similar positions in other *tripla*.[65]

In the passage in Example 27.7a, which articulates the change of syllable from "[De]scen-" to "-dit," the upper voices move in what are essentially parallel fifths up to the close, the initial progression from *f*/*c* to *d*/*a* having been launched with a small decorative flourish in the duplum. Example 27.7b closes the setting of "Descendit": contrary motion between unison and fifth leads to a brief canonic interplay featuring a quick descending run that leads to a biting and deliberately prolonged dissonance between the upper voices, which resolves with the final tenor note. Example 27.7c, which brings the respond polyphony to its conclusion, is in two stylistically different parts: first

65 Ed. in *MLO* I, no. 5.

Example 27.6 From Perotinus, "Viderunt omnes," after Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 [F], fol. 1r



an extended flourish exploiting contrary motion, retrograde, and sequence, ending where it began, then a flourish that uses parallel motion and simultaneous runs that move from unison to fifth, finally resolving through contrary motion to an octave.

Example 27.7 Cadential formulas in "Descendit de celis," after Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 [F], fol. 17r–17v



Like some of their two-voice counterparts, many of the discant clausulae in the *tripla* figure prominently in the early history of the motet. So also do the three *quadrupla*, albeit not all in the same way. *Mors* was reworked as a motet several times, spawning progeny that were cultivated throughout the thirteenth century.[66] In the case of the two four-voice organa it is not only the discant but also the *organum purum* clausulae that were converted into motets through the addition of new texts, elaborate prosulae that are likely the work of the theologian and poet, Philip the Chancellor.[67] The entire polyphonic complex of "Sederunt principes" becomes a giant "motet organum"; and the two clausulae that make up the polyphony for the respond of "Viderunt

66 See the "comparative" ed. in Tischler, *Earliest Motets*, no. 39, and the list of concordances in Smith, "From Clausula to Motet."

67 Ed., with translations of the texts and commentary, in Philip the Chancellor, *Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Payne, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 41 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011), nos. 1 ("Viderunt omnes"), 2–3 ("Sederunt principes"), and Appendices 1–3. See also the "comparative" eds. in Tischler, *Earliest Motets*, nos. 94–95 and 96–97, and the discussion in Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," I: chapter 4; cf. the eds. of the "organum motets" on *Viderunt omnes* in Gordon Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt* [sic] *1099 (1206)*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies 24/1–2 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968 and 1976), I: 219–24 (commentary) and II: 113–25 (editions).

omnes" are converted into a pair of motets, one in *organum purum*, the other in discant. Unlike the compositions on *Mors* and other early motets these "motet organa" sustained little reworking. They may be among the earliest of all motets, written shortly after the composition of the *quadrupla* themselves.

The two motets on "Viderunt" and "omnes" are thematically linked, providing an elaborate dialectic with each other, with the underlying gradual text, and with the scripture readings that preceded them in the liturgy. "Vide prophetie" tropes the sound and sense of the tenor text ("Viderunt": "They [all the ends of the earth] have seen," "Vide": "See!") and glosses the Nativity theme: "See the result of the fulfilled prophecy," going on then to recount elements of the Christmas story with reference to the Old Testament prophecies of the coming of Christ and concluding with a reference to the Resurrection that again tropes the tenor text: "post triduum vivere mortuum viderunt" ("after the period of three days they saw the dead live"). "Homo cum mandato" picks up on this last thought: it tropes the tenor text ("omnes": "all [the ends of the earth]," "homo": "man[kind]") and speaks of man's fall and redemption ("Man, even though you disobeyed the order given you ... God redeemed you through his own son"), bringing to the fore the larger theological significance of the birth of Christ. The motet ends, fittingly, with the trope word "omnes" taken over from the tenor text. Like the original *quadrupla* these adaptations can be understood as another phase in the ongoing recasting of the corpus of Notre-Dame liturgical polyphony. It is a phase that would transform the tradition and take it in new directions.

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· 28 ·

Liturgical Polyphony after 1300

KARL KÜGLE

Origins

From the perspective of the thirteenth century, the accumulation of polyphonic settings for the Mass Ordinary during the fourteenth century appears as an anomaly. Till then, musical creativity in the context of the service was focused primarily on those parts of the liturgy that change throughout the year, the Mass Proper and the relevant parts of the Office, not the Ordinary which remains unchanged throughout. By the end of the long fourteenth century (ca. 1420), however, a vast repertoire of newly composed, polyphonic Ordinary settings not only had come into being but in fact was disseminated rapidly throughout Latin Christendom. This new development soon led to the constitution of a new genre, the "Mass cycle" – a genre that counts among its representatives some of the most famous compositions of European music history.[1]

Before delving into various aspects of the repertory and exploring some potential reasons for its genesis, it seems apposite at first to take a look at the history of the components of the Mass Ordinary, and their music, up to the early fourteenth century. Unlike what is suggested by the later notion of a "cycle," the individual parts actually are quite heterogeneous both in terms of their formal structure and their position and history within the liturgy. Having accreted into their present form over many centuries, the developments of the fourteenth century, too, played a significant role in the genesis of the Mass as we know it today. Another important point to remember is that the five "movements" of the Mass do not (nor did they) follow one another directly when performed within the Roman Catholic rite,

1 For a critical review of the historiography of the Mass "cycle," see Andrew Kirkman, "The Invention of the Cyclic Mass," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001), 1–47, and the more detailed discussions in Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). For general information on the history and development of the Catholic liturgy, see Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997). A comprehensive study of polyphonically notated settings of the Mass Ordinary before ca. 1300 is available in Max Lütolf, *Die mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze vom ausgehenden 11. bis zur Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Bern: Kommissionsverlag Paul Haupt, 1970).

as one might presume from modern concert performances; instead, they appear(ed) interspersed between other (monophonic) items, as they still do in the relatively rare instances where a Mass cycle is heard within the full context of the Roman Catholic liturgy. Any polyphonically sung parts of the Ordinary would thus have taken on a very special quality in the context of a Mass otherwise celebrated in plainchant.

The first item of the Mass Ordinary, the Kyrie, is sung right after the Introit and forms part of the very opening of the Mass. It is one of the few Greek-language leftovers in the Roman liturgy, and harks back to early Christian times. Its roots go as far back as pre-Christian acclamations of the imperial majesty in the Roman empire. The ninefold form, consisting of three repeats of the "Kyrie eleison" ("Lord, have mercy"), the "Christe eleison" ("Christ, have mercy") and again thrice the "Kyrie eleison," probably dates to Frankish times; it first appears in tenth-century chant sources.[2] Because of its extremely short text, the Kyrie is prone to troping, and it invites melismatic settings. There are a number of notated polyphonic elaborations of the Kyrie pre-dating the fourteenth century. All of them, however, are associated with troped Kyries, exemplifying the aesthetic affinity of festive verbal elaboration (troping) of a liturgical item with sonically enhancing its performance through the addition of polyphony (both are festive elaborations of the liturgy). In this context, we also should allow for the possibility, indeed the virtual certainty, of unwritten polyphonic performances of monophonically notated Kyries on suitable days of the liturgical year. Untroped Kyrie settings in notated polyphonic elaboration, however, as are now standard, only emerged during the fourteenth century.

In contrast to the crystal-clear poetic structure of the Kyrie, the Gloria is an extended, irregular prose text that does not lend itself easily at all to any subdivisions based on either content or form, nor is it particularly well-suited for troping.[3] Like the Kyrie, its text – at least in the form still used today – first appears in Frankish sources of the tenth century. Also like the Kyrie, the Gloria first attracted (notated) polyphonic elaborations first and foremost in its troped versions. Notably, the Gloria with the trope "Spiritus et alme" in praise of the Holy Virgin was performed and notated (occasionally) in

2 For an overview of monophonic melodies of the Kyrie, see Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1955).

3 Nonetheless, see Klaus Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967) and Thomas F. Kelly, "Introducing the *Gloria in excelsis*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984), 479–506, for two studies of troped Gloria versions and their importance for the early history of the Gloria.

polyphony.[4] While such written-out embellishings remained relatively scarce, they may in conjunction with unwritten polyphonic performances have helped prepare the ground for the practices of the fourteenth century, when the (now mostly untroped) Gloria became by far the most frequently chosen part of the Ordinary to be elaborated in mensurally notated polyphony, at least as far as the surviving sources inform us. Performed immediately after the Kyrie, the festive splendor of the sounds of the Gloria (especially when cast in polyphony) now provided a suitable introduction for the two ensuing readings, the Epistle and the Gospel, which together form the core of the liturgy of the Word. Furthermore, the Gloria's opening words are identical to those sung by the angels celebrating the Nativity of Christ (Luke 2:14), arguably making the Gloria a most suitable text for performance in a medium that was understood as an earthly approximation of the celestial sounds otherwise inaudible to human ears. Nevertheless, as in the case of the polyphonically elaborated untroped Kyrie, the new interest in polyphonically setting the untroped Gloria is germane to the fourteenth century, indicating a profound cultural shift.

The Credo is yet another lengthy, irregularly structured prose text. With an even higher syllable count than the Gloria, it is the longest text in all of the Ordinary and is heard right after the two readings. Gloria and Credo together thus open and close the liturgy of the Word. This liturgical association may have been one of the reasons for the growing tendency of late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century scribes and composers to create Gloria-Credo pairs (both codicologically speaking, grouping musically unrelated settings next to each other, and musically, by introducing motivic or textural links shared between the two movements). Unlike Kyrie and Gloria, however, the Credo was a relative newcomer to the Mass. In chant sources we often find it copied without notation at all (!) and separately from the other Ordinary chants, which are typically clustered in a single fascicle and ordered by liturgical genre (i.e., all Kyries followed by all Glorias and so forth, as opposed to the K–G–C–S–A pattern we expect today). This codicological *status a parte* may be grounded in the Credo's position as a relative Johnny-come-lately in the liturgy. It also suggests a rather simple (default) mode of performance, not even warranting or necessitating the extra effort of adding notational symbols to encode the performance of the liturgical text. In fact, the Credo's full

4 For a study of settings of the Gloria *spiritus et alme*, see Bernhold Schmid, *Der Gloria-Tropus Spiritus et alme bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988). An overview of monophonic Gloria melodies is given in Detlev Bosse, "Untersuchungen einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum Gloria in excelsis deo" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Erlangen, 1954). See also Nicolas Schalz, *Studien zur Komposition des Gloria: Musikalische Formgestaltung von der Gregorianik bis zu Monteverdi* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980).

integration into the Mass seems only to have gotten under way during the fourteenth century, triggering a host of newly composed polyphonic as well as monophonic settings (the latter often either notated mensurally or in an admixture of measured and unmeasured notations called *cantus fractus*).[5] Due to their length, Credo settings are rarely if ever troped, and both Gloria and Credo settings tend to be syllabic.

The two remaining parts of the Ordinary, the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei, belong to the liturgy of the Eucharist. The Sanctus immediately precedes the reading of the canon, the transubstantiation and the elevation of the Host. Its text, too, is cast in prose, but – like the Kyrie's but unlike the Gloria's and the Credo's – it is relatively short. Also like the Kyrie's, it has clear subdivisions generated by the twofold repeat of the words "Hosanna in excelsis," introducing a parallelism between the "Pleni sunt" and the "Benedictus qui" which results in an ABB or ABB′ pattern. Like the Kyrie, the Sanctus attracted a great deal of artistic attention early on, including a relatively large share of troped as well as polyphonically notated elaborations, perhaps because it, too, like the Gloria, begins with words performed by angels in the Bible.[6] Numerous Sanctus chant melodies were composed until well into the fifteenth century; the earliest melodies date from the tenth century, the earliest polyphonic renditions from the twelfth. The earliest mensural settings appear during the fourteenth century; troped versions do occur, but – as in the case of Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo – preference is given to the untroped liturgical text in the polyphonic elaborations of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[7]

The Agnus Dei shares with the Kyrie the threefold verbatim repeat of its text, creating a structural parallel between the two. It is performed after the fraction of the Host and as such functions as a counterpart to the Sanctus, framing the liturgy of the Eucharist much in the way Gloria and Credo frame the Liturgy of the Word. Like the Sanctus, the Agnus, too, was the focus of intense monophonic compositional activity until well into the fifteenth

5 For a general discussion of monophonic Credo melodies, including many in *cantus fractus*, see Tadeusz Miazga, *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo der römisch-katholischen lateinischen Kirche: Eine Untersuchung der Melodien in den handschriftlichen Überlieferungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der polnischen Handschriften* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976). On the phenomenon of *cantus fractus*, see, more recently, Marco Gozzi, "Alle origini del canto fratto: il 'Credo cardinalis,'" *Musica e storia* 14 (2006), 245–301.

6 Isaiah 6:3. The text as a whole is a cento of Isaiah 6:3 and Matthew 21:9.

7 For a study of monophonic Sanctus melodies, see Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Walter Ricke, 1962). For early polyphonic elaborations of the Sanctus, see, once again, Lütolf, *Die mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze*.

century, generating a rich variety of troped versions with polyphonic settings appearing additionally from the twelfth century onward.[8] In the fourteenth century, again, the untroped Sanctus is the version that usually is elaborated in mensural polyphonic settings. Moreover, Sanctus and Agnus, like Gloria and Credo, tended to be paired by scribes or to be derived from one another, again presumably due to their position within the liturgy. However, Sanctus-Agnus pairs are found much less frequently than Gloria-Credo pairs. In absolute numbers, too, Sanctus, Agnus, and Kyrie settings are vastly outnumbered by polyphonically notated Gloria and Credo settings which constitute the bulk of the fourteenth and early fifteenth-century repertoire.

The "Ite missa est" is the very final item of the Ordinary, and of the Mass. It is pronounced by the celebrant, and answered with the response "Deo gratias" by the congregation. Polyphonic elaborations of the Ite missa est itself are very unusual; the only known, but all the more famous, example is the Ite missa est that closes the Machaut Mass.[9] More commonly found are motets that paraphrase the Ite missa est or, more commonly, the Deo gratias. They constitute a subgenre within the corpus of fourteenth-century motets, but disappear in the course of the early fifteenth century. A possible explanation for this phenomenon might be that a topically or calendrically suited motet was customarily sung to close out the service when it was festive enough to be elaborated by polyphony. In the absence of such a motet on a given day, a Deo gratias setting in particular could have served as an elegant substitute. In that case, the Ite missa est, sung by the celebrant, would have functioned as a cue for the motet, similar to the intonations of Gloria ("Gloria in excelsis Deo") and Credo ("Credo in unum Deum"), which in the Middle Ages also were sung by the celebrant and therefore were not usually set polyphonically but would have been followed by the singing in polyphony of the remaining text.

Figure 28.1 shows an example of such a motet. Alongside a tenor with the caption "Ite missa est" (eighth staff from the top of the page in the right-hand column of the facsimile) we hear a texted voice, the motetus (visible in the uppermost to seventh staff from the top in the right-hand column),

8 For a study of monophonic melodies for the Agnus Dei, see Martin Schildbach, "Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Erlangen, 1967). For early polyphonic elaborations, see Lütolf, *Die mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze*.

9 The reason why Machaut chose to set this text would no doubt warrant a separate study. For further information on this unusual piece, see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut at Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), chapter 9; Roger Bowers, "Guillaume de Machaut and His Canonry of Reims," *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 1–48.



Figure 28.1 An *Ite missa est* motet (Tournai, Bibliothèque du Chapitre de la Cathédrale, A 27 [*olim*: 476], fol. 33v). With kind permission of Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale, Tournai

delivering an admonitory text cast in a clerical tone and pronounced in the liturgical language (Latin). It addresses a group of "domini potentes" (third and fourth staff) and entreats them to help the poor and indigent, and avoid greed and excess. These "mighty lords" are probably members of the French royal house and their courtly entourage, although further research will be needed to firm up such a claim which for now must remain speculative. The triplum, the uppermost voice (left-hand column and lowermost three staves), in turn sings a "courtly-love" text in French where an "I" is reflecting upon the need for modesty and humility in the service of "ma dame" (fifth staff from top in the left-hand column). This is a conventional enough topos but one that eloquently conveys very much the same message of self-restraint as the motetus, now in an internalized form using the first-person-singular register typical of courtly verse. Moreover, "ma dame" may – and probably indeed ought to in the present case – be read as the vernacular address proper to Our Lady. Taken together, then, the three voices articulate and stage precisely the ideal sentiment of a pious nobleman or noblewoman who has just followed a splendid, spiritually purifying celebration of the Mass embellished by mensural polyphony. While the tenor pronounces the liturgical text in a mantra-like repetitive rhythmic and melodic pattern, the preacher-like clerical voice of the motetus sternly exhorts the listeners, speaking to them in a solemn but imperative mode. Simultaneously, the self-reflecting "I" of the triplum is already internalizing the message, actively ruminating on possible ways to apply the ideals required by the preacher's voice in the world of the courtier.

Speculating further on the origins of Mass Ordinary settings in polyphony, the motet, and specifically the Ite missa est motet of the Tournai Mass together with other similar settings, now lost, may in fact have been one of the key stimuli behind the evolution of polyphonic Mass Ordinary settings during the fourteenth century in the first instance. The decades around 1300 witnessed an intermingling of the "secular" and "clerical" cultures that had developed in relative isolation from each other in earlier times. This phenomenon was particularly pronounced at those courts and in those (major) cities of western and southern Europe where university-trained clerics entered the households of royalty and high aristocratic families in increasingly large numbers. The pioneering institution and therefore the *locus classicus* of this pivotal turn was the French royal court under King Philip IV (r. 1285–1314). Depending on their specific talents, clerics in the households of courtly rulers evidently applied themselves not only as bureaucrats and secretaries, but also served as court poets (and propagandists), composers, and singers; the careers of Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut are the best-researched and

best-known examples of this new and much larger development.[10] Apparently the new musical genres (motet and conductus) and notational technologies (mensural symbols) developing and cultivated among university-based clerics ("literati") in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century also held strong appeal among their courtly patrons, leading to a stylistic transformation of the motet and the development of the mensurally notated, monophonic and polyphonic chanson in the early fourteenth century. The evidence of the polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary suggests that the musical technologies developed for these genres were also applied to setting the Ordinary, and at more or less that same time. Moreover, settings of the Ordinary might have been more in tune with the spiritual needs of lay people; unlike clerics whose interest would naturally have been drawn to the topical and theological specifics of each feast day in the liturgical calendar, lay persons may have been better served by having their attention focused on a limited set of basic dogmatic texts such as the Gloria or the Credo. The explosive growth of lay piety was greatly stimulated by the enormous appeal of the mendicant orders, notably the Dominicans and the Franciscans, during the period under consideration. Both orders promoted standardized and relatively succinct versions of the Mass, and their influence on lay piety in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century can hardly be overestimated; suffice it to say that a Dominican was usually the personal confessor of the king of France, and a Franciscan of the French queen. The restricted amount of time available to lay people for religious exercises if compared to their clerical counterparts must also have played a role, notably in the marked preference for the relatively shorter, untroped texts, and syllabic or neumatic settings. Some of this loss was probably compensated in the eyes of contemporaries by the sonic splendor conveyed by polyphony, not to mention the additional cost associated with maintaining clerics trained in the highly specialized practice of performing mensurally notated polyphony. Thus, being able to afford or endow a polyphonic rendition of all or parts of the Mass Ordinary for a given occasion would automatically have put the high social position of the patron on display while also constituting a form of alms-giving by providing employment for the lower-ranking clerics who typically performed the musical settings.[11]

10 For their biographies, see, most recently, Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011) (Machaut) and Karl Kügle "Vitry, Philippe de," in *MGG2*, Personenteil, vol. XVII: 58–67 (Vitry).

11 See Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, 167–76, for a more detailed discussion of the influence of the mendicant orders on the shape of the Mass Ordinary. The growth in lay piety in turn was further stimulated by the newly established doctrine of purgatory, as Kirkman points out.

The compositional links between the new Ordinary settings and the co-existing or pre-existing genres of conductus, motet, and chanson are reflected in the (modern!) classifications of Ordinary settings by compositional texture into pieces in "simultaneous" or "conductus" style, "discant" or "chanson" style, and "motet" style, identifying compositional paradigms that fourteenth-century composers might indeed have applied consciously to the setting of the Ordinary texts.[12] When we take into account the multiple political and personal links and overlaps between the upper echelons of the aristocracy and the clergy, the rapid adoption, hybridization, and dissemination of the same set of new polyphonic techniques, styles, and genres developed by and for that very audience, and their transfer onto the various types of Ordinary settings, can hardly surprise: clearly, the point was to clothe the words of the liturgy in the same spectacular sonic garb that an upper-crust audience had become accustomed to from other occasions. Furthermore, given the amount of training needed for singers to make and perform the new Ordinary settings (and other pieces in "Ars Nova" style), and the social and economic capital required for providing them with an income in the form of suitable endowments and church prebends, the new repertoire probably served as a marker of social distinction early on, accounting for its considerable prestige. As a particularly festive and socially exclusive way of celebrating the liturgy, its rapid dissemination over all of Europe in the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century – a time of great social and economic upheaval, but also of immense opportunity for those eager to seize wealth and power, and thus to raise their social status to greater heights – seems nothing more than logical.

12 Introduced in Friedrich Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), 417–35, and slightly adapted in Hanna Stäblein-Harder, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, CMM 29 (edition) and Musicological Studies and Documents 7 (critical text) (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1962). For a further typological reading of the repertoire through an analytical lens, see Kevin N. Moll, "Structural Determinants in Polyphony for the Mass Ordinary from French and Related Sources (ca. 1320–1410)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1994) and Moll, "Paradigms of Four-Voice Composition in the Machaut Era," *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003), 349–86. Moll used the terms "paired upper-voice texture" and "cantilena texture" in lieu of "motet style" and "chanson style," which he later supplanted by "multiple two-voice paradigm" (for motet style) and "expanded two-voice procedure" (for chanson style). The notion of "motet style," understood by Moll as multiple two-voice composition where three-voice structures are achieved through mutual superimposition of two two-voice pairs that share a single tenor voice, is supported by the treatise "Quicumque voluerit duos contrapuncti" discussed in Jared Hartt, "Rehearing Machaut's Motets: Taking the Next Step in Understanding Sonority," *Journal of Music Theory* 54 (2010), 179–234, at 179–87. For a general discussion of late medieval counterpoint, see Margaret Bent, "The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis," in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998), 15–60. Our analytical understanding of the liturgical repertoire after 1300 might profit from further research taking into account the role of memory in late medieval compositional practices first put forth in Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

Sources

Unlike earlier sources of polyphony where the Office or the Mass Proper play the most prominent roles, the manuscripts devoted to sacred polyphony that were copied after 1300 almost exclusively transmit Ordinary settings, at least as far as (para-)liturgical music is concerned; the other genres usually transmitted alongside Ordinary settings are motets and polyphonic chansons. The manuscripts containing Ordinary settings can be grouped into two types. The first type comprises sources transmitting (pseudo-)cycles – small fascicles that place a single setting of each Ordinary item next to each other following the sequence of the liturgy. These were probably most often put together either as exemplary models, or for a particular but recurring occasion, such as a Lady Mass. The other basic source type consists of largish collections (*libri motetorum*) that typically assemble very diverse material – often over a considerable period of time. There, Ordinary movements tend to appear in batches, at times ordered by liturgical genres.

A pseudo-cycle is generated when, in fact, we are dealing with a grouping of Ordinary settings following one another, as would be the custom in chantbooks, except that in lieu of a group of Kyries, Glorias, and so forth, we would encounter just one setting of each kind, giving the impression of an intentional cycle to the modern reader; while earlier musicologists in search of the "Ur-cycle" were keen to search for internal relationships among them, from today's vantage point such links, if present, do not necessarily appear any longer as meaningful as they seemed then, and – at least for the long fourteenth century – any suggestions of intentional cyclicity should be treated with utmost caution unless demonstrated otherwise. The *locus classicus* for this debate is the Machaut Mass, which offers a mix of both internal and external characteristics that seemingly suggest an intended unification across sections, such as the choice of proportional settings for four out of the six movements, or the presumptive purpose of its compilation (or composition) for the Lady-Mass-cum-anniversary foundation at the Rouelle altar in Reims cathedral, without there being any conclusive evidence to preclude that we are not simply projecting a later set of aesthetics onto this extraordinary group of Ordinary settings.[13]

13 See, e.g., Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass*; Anne Walters Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas F. Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 100–39; Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut at Reims*; Owen Rees, "Machaut's Mass and Sounding Number," in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 95–110; Bowers, "Guillaume de Machaut." Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), Introductory Study Volume, 153–58, identifies and discusses composite cycles in the early Quattrocento manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15 (copied in the 1420s and 1430s). The first surviving

The *liber motetorum*, on the other hand, unites motets and Mass movements in the first instance, highlighting the genetic relationship between the two genres, and is typically supplemented by polyphonic chansons that were added to the primary corpus of motets and Mass movements in a secondary copying stage. *Libri motetorum* are quite modest artifacts, as opposed to luxury manuscripts, although (as always) there are exceptions to that rule, i.e., Mass movements that found their way into de luxe collections.[14] As workaday sources, the *libri motetorum* were most often compiled by one or two main scribes, typically a singer or cantor at an important cathedral or collegiate church or at a (court) chapel, and his successor or student, who jointly kept collecting material suitable for the embellishment of the liturgy over a prolonged period of time.

The two most prominent single collections of polyphonic Mass settings from the fourteenth century, the manuscripts Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115 (*I-IV* 115) and Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre 16bis (*F-APT* 16bis), are precisely such *libri motetorum*.[15] Most of the repertoire of *I-IV* 115 consists of Gloria and Credo settings, aside from motets, and the bulk of the collection seems to have been imported around 1360 from the collegiate church of St. Aignan in Orléans, an institution with strong links to the French crown. Also from about mid-century dates the "Mass of Tournai," a pseudo-cycle linked to Ivrea by a joint Ite missa est motet and probably copied for Tournai cathedral (see above, Figure 28.1).[16] Tournai was a territory directly subordinated to the French crown and therefore also had strong links with the Valois kings and their extended family. The precise origins of a second northern pseudo-cycle, the "Sorbonne Mass," remain to be ascertained, but the fragment seems linked to the county of Burgundy in the Holy Roman Empire (now roughly equivalent to the French region of

cycle as understood by the modern meaning of the word, i.e., incontrovertibly sharing a single compositional device throughout its five polyphonically elaborated sections, is the anonymous English Caput Mass; it is unified by a shared cantus firmus. On the Caput Mass (dated to the 1440s) and its influence, see Anne Walters Robertson, "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the Caput Masses and Motets," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006), 537–630.

14 Such as the Machaut manuscripts or the fascicle made up of seven Gloria and Credo pairs accompanied by three single Gloria compositions in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9 (*I-Tn* J.II.9), fols. 29r–57r. For quick information on the Machaut manuscripts, see the relevant sections in Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland, 1995); on *I-Tn* J.II.9, Isabella Data and Karl Kügle, eds., *Il codice J.II.9 – The Codex J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* (Lucca: LIM, 1999) and, most recently, Karl Kügle, "Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (2012), 637–90.

15 For further information on these two manuscripts, see Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997) (Ivrea) and Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) (Apt).

16 See Jean Dumoulin et al., *La messe de Tournai* (Tournai and Louvain-la-Neuve: Oleffe, 1988).

Franche-Comté) whose rulers also enjoyed very close familial ties with the French royals.[17] The links of Guillaume de Machaut with the Luxembourg and Valois dynasties are well known; while current research suggests that the composition of Machaut's Mass originated with a private foundation by Machaut and his brother at Reims cathedral to care for their souls in the afterlife, the composer in all likelihood emulated the customs of courtly society when creating this extraordinary conglomerate of pieces. The Mass survives in five copies within the narrow and mutually related circle of the Machaut manuscripts (*A*, *B*, *Vg*, *E*, *G*).[18] All hail from the milieus in the wider or nearer orbit of the French crown; the enigmatic "Ite missa est" can also be found in an isolated source from Padua.[19] The Trémoïlle fragment, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23190 (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 23190), also firmly associated with the courts of France and Burgundy, united a large motet collection with a sprinkling of Mass settings.[20] All this suggests that the highest French nobles and their social followers were single-handedly responsible for the creation of the genre, and much of its dissemination, certainly in its early phase (until about 1380).

Outside France, the repertory of the English royal chapel, as preserved in the (largely intact) Old Hall manuscript (London, British Library, Additional 57950 (*GB-Lbl* Add. 57950)) and the H6 fragments[21] also included a very large number of Mass settings, attesting to the swift appropriation of the new repertory by the Plantagenet kings.[22] It is significant to note that purely

17 Frédéric Billiet et al., *La messe de la Sorbonne* (Paris and Vatican City: PUPS and Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012).

18 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1584 (*F-Pn* fr. 1584 [*MachA*]); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1585 (*F-Pn* fr. 1585 [*MachB*]); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ferrell-Vogüé Vg (Ferrell 1) (*GB-Ccc* Vg [Ferrell 1] [*Mach Vg*]); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 9221 (*F-Pn* fr. 9221 [*MachE*]); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 22546 (*F-de Pn* fr. 22546 [*MachG*]).

19 On the "Paduan fragments," see most recently Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006).

20 Margaret Bent, "A Note on the Dating of the Trémoïlle Manuscript," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan R. Gillingham and Paul A. Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 217–42.

21 The "H6 fragments" consist of various fragments, all from a single original manuscript, which may have been a royal choirbook. The various surviving fragments can be found under the following library shelfmarks: Canberra, National Library of Australia, Nan Kivell Collection 4052/2/1 (*AUS-CAnl* 4052/2/1); Cambridge, University Library, additional 4435 (*GB-Cu* add. 4435); Cambridge, University Library, additional 5963/8 (*GB-Cu* add. 5963/8); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, circ. 526–1923 (*GB-Lva* circ. 526–1923); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Don. b. 31 (*GB-Ob* Don b. 31); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Don. b. 32 (*GB-Ob* Don b. 32); Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. 267 (*GB-Omc* lat. 267); Oxford, University College 192 (*GB-Ouc* 192); Wells, Wells Cathedral, X4/34/3 (*GB-Wc* X4/34/3); Cleveland (OH), Case Western Reserve University, Kelvin Smith Library, Spec. Coll. 3 Lge/ML431.D24 (*US-CLwr* Spec. Coll. 3 Lge/ML431.D24).

22 Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969); Bent, "The Progeny of Old Hall: More Leaves from a Royal English Choirbook," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) In memoriam: von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Luther Dittmer (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 1–54 and Bent, "Old Hall

ecclesiastical institutions in fourteenth-century England such as cathedrals and abbeys, in contrast, seemed to have given preference to the motet, of which a rich repertory has been reconstituted, thereby siting the polyphonic setting of the Ordinary once more among the (lay) nobility. In the Low Countries, fragments now in Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Leiden suggest that polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary were part of the standard courtly musical *habitus* at the court of Holland-Zealand-Hainaut by the end of the fourteenth century, and beyond in important cities such as Utrecht.[23] The cultural pattern set by the local nobles was emulated by wealthy clerics and lay persons, as well as prestigious cathedral and collegiate chapters including Cambrai, Bruges, or Reims (Machaut), often taking the form of special endowments for, e.g., the Holy Virgin ("Lady Mass").[24]

In the south, the "Mass of Toulouse," another pseudo-cycle, stands next to a cluster of fragmentary sources from what is now northern Spain, deriving from the former kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, which were closely linked dynastically with each other as well as with France.[25] The Aragonese aristocracy also produced an influential cardinal, Pedro de Luna (appointed cardinal in 1375 and, as Benedict XIII, pope from 1394 to 1423), raising the question of the role of the papal chapel and of Avignon in the creation and dissemination of liturgical polyphony in the fourteenth century. Perhaps surprisingly, the only source of Mass music that can actually be linked with the Avignon papacy is *F-APT* 16bis; the source is dated ca. 1415 and probably was the work of a singer in Pedro de Luna's chapel. Beyond that, much has been said but very little actually is known about the musical patronage of the Avignon popes; despite the high birth and pronounced cultural profile of *some* of the Avignon popes (Clement VI, Gregory XI, Clement VII), there are no liturgical

Manuscript," in *NG2*, vol. XVIII: 376–79. For the close cultural links between the French and English aristocracy at the time, see Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

23 The three counties of the Holy Roman Empire (Holland, Zealand, Hainaut) were united in personal union from the late thirteenth century. Their rulers, too, enjoyed close dynastic ties with both France and England. On the fragments, see, most recently, Rob C. Wegman, "New Light on Secular Polyphony at the Court of Holland in the Early Fifteenth Century: The Amsterdam fragments," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 102 (1992), 181–207, and Eliane Fankhauser, "A Collection of Collections: New Insights into the Origins and Making of the Utrecht Fragments, NL-Uu 37.I," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 64 (2014), 3–29.

24 For the repertoire of Cambrai cathedral, see Irmgard Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987). On Bruges, see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). For Reims, see Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut," Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut at Reims*, and Bowers, "Guillaume de Machaut."

25 Michel Huglo, "La messe de Tournai et la messe de Toulouse," in *Aspects de la musique liturgique au Moyen Âge*, ed. Christian Meyer (Paris: Créaphis, 1991), 221–28; Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, *La música en España medieval* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), chapter 5; David Catalunya, "Music, Space and Ritual in Medieval Castile, 1221–1350" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Würzburg, 2016).

settings at all that can firmly be associated with them, in contrast to a fair number of motets and chansons. Equally little is known about the music in the chapels of the Avignon cardinals. This contrasts vividly with the situation in Italy, where high prelates (e.g., Pietro Filargo, archbishop of Milan and later Pope Alexander V; Francesco Zabarella of Padua; Angelo Correr [Pope Gregory XII]; Pietro Emiliani, bishop of Vicenza) and their secular protectors and patrons (the Visconti of Milan for example) can now be associated with much, indeed most, of the music that survives from the period around 1400.[26] The precise kind and amount of liturgical polyphony heard at Avignon, therefore, remains a mystery, at least until the period of Pedro de Luna, which is very late indeed. On the contrary, one of the early Avignon popes, John XXII, even made explicit statements against using overly "modern" music in the liturgy, which he associated with lasciviousness and moral corruption.[27] Even in the case of the aforementioned three "art-loving" popes, a distinction must be made between the (very conservative) pontifical liturgy and the (informal) projection of the political and cultural power and savoir-faire of the papacy in the form of motets and chansons.[28] The chapels of some cardinals may be another matter, of course, but the cliché of Avignon as a center of polyphony for the *Mass*, at least, should be treated with caution until much more research has been conducted.

The Italian peninsula, on the other hand, has recently emerged as perhaps the most important site for the cultivation of Mass polyphony – or at least the creation of sources of it – in late medieval Europe.[29] Much of this probably is again owed to the adoption or emulation of French cultural mores among the leading aristocratic families, often including direct dynastic ties, as in the case of the Visconti of Milan. Such ties also explain the creation of a set of Gloria and Credo pairs in codex *I-Tn* J.II.9, a repertoire linked to the Lusignan monarchs of Cyprus but preserved for the Avogadro family of Brescia during the early Quattrocento.[30] The strength of humanist ecclesiastical patronage in turn is in particular evidence in Padua and the surrounding Veneto, where

26 Anne Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*: Francesco Zabarella's Patronage of Johannes Ciconia," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1996), 153–68; Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2003 [facsimile] and 2005 [commentary volume]); Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments"; Bent, "What Is Isorhythm?" in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner* (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 121–43.

27 On this *cause célèbre*, see most recently Franz Körndle, "Die Bulle *Docta sanctorum patrum*: Überlieferung, Textgestalt und Wirkung," *Die Musikforschung* 63 (2010), 147–65.

28 Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, 101–22.

29 Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments"; Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 52 (2009), 39–74.

30 Kügle, "Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior."

local aristocrats, prelates of patrician lineage, and an international university community supported musicians like Johannes Ciconia and collected music on a grand, even obsessive scale, such as the circle responsible for compiling manuscript *I-Bc* Q15.

The practice of collecting and (presumably) performing polyphonic settings for the Mass Ordinary becomes visible in Central Europe during the early fifteenth century. This development probably was stimulated through the intensified cultural exchanges and political and religious upheavals of the later fourteenth century and the ensuing Conciliar Period. It is reflected in such monumental collections as the lost Strasbourg manuscript, the famous Trent codices, or the St. Emmeram codex associated with Vienna and Regensburg, to name but the most outstanding examples.[31]

Compositional Challenges

Setting large-scale irregular prose texts (Gloria, Credo) presented a peculiar difficulty for late medieval musicians who were accustomed to working with regularly structured, strophic texts as found in the contemporary genres of notated polyphony – conductus, motets, and the various types of chansons – but also in large-scale vernacular and Latin narrative texts.[32] The lyrical genres jointly formed the potential reference points against which Ordinary settings could be, and were, anchored and developed in terms of possible poetic and musical textures. In the case of the Kyrie, the Sanctus, and the Agnus Dei, such a periodicity could be constructed relatively easily through the internal structure of the liturgical texts. Conversely, when setting the Gloria and the Credo, composers had to confront highly irregular syllable-counts and unbalanced internal subdivisions. The text of the Gloria, for example, begins with the words spoken by the angels to the shepherds at the birth of Christ

31 See Lorenz Welker, *Musik am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter: Die Handschrift Strasbourg, olim Bibliothèque de la Ville, C. 22* (Habilitationsschrift [unpublished], University of Basel, 1993); Peter Wright, "On the Origins of Trent 87_1 and 92_2," *Early Music History* 6 (1986), 245–70; Reinhard Strohm, "Zur Entstehung der Trienter Codices: Philologie und Kulturgeschichte," in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 11–20; Wright, "Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser's Collection," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 247–332; Strohm, "Intentions to Transmit: Cultural History and the Early Trent Codices," in *Music and Culture in the Age of the Council of Basel*, ed. Matteo Nanni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 135–48; Wright, "Trent 87 and 92: Questions of Origin, Repertory and Physical Make-Up," in *Music and Culture in the Age of the Council of Basel*, ed. Matteo Nanni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 111–33; and Ian Rumbold and Peter Wright, *Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book: The St Emmeram Codex and Its Contexts* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009).

32 The preference for versified settings is also evident in the countless late medieval rhymed Offices, whose heyday arguably falls into the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, thus encompassing the period under consideration here.

(Luke 2:14). This is followed by a passage in the first person plural where "we", i.e., the community of the faithful, praise "the Lord God, King of Heavens." About one-third through the text the focus shifts to Christ, emphasizing his qualities as the Redeemer. The final third of the text discusses Christ as part of the Trinity ruling in Heaven. The possible internal subdivision into three roughly equal sections stands in contrast to another possible division of the text into two halves at the approximate midpoint, or smaller sectional subdivisions.

The Gloria setting "Peliso" from *F-APT* 16bis, for example, divides the Ordinary text into seven segments and the Amen. Taken together with the intonation, this yields a nicely symmetrical structure of 1 (intonation) + 7 (individual semantic/syntactic text units) + 1 (melismatic Amen section). The central (fourth) segment is given to the text "Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram" (see excerpt; the Qui tollis begins in the fourth system, at m. 69), thereby emphasizing the redemptory aspect of Christ as the Lamb of God, as expressed in the course of the Gloria (Example 28.1).

Conversely, the composer of the Gloria "Loys" transmitted in both *F-APT* 16bis and the slightly earlier *I-IV* 115, chose quite a different articulation of the Ordinary text (Example 28.2). Both texted upper voices are interlinked in such a way that the flow of the upper voices against the slow-moving tenor never ceases. The setting is cast in a "through-composed" mold that derives from the motet.[33] It is punctuated by a hocket texture on the word "nostram" (third system of the music example) that returns later on the word "Amen". If this hocket placement stresses the words "deprecationem nostram" and "Amen" and thus may be taken as an interpretation of two key aspects of the Gloria text (the prayer to the Redeemer, the saint in question, and the acceptance of God's/their counsel), the color/*talea* structure of the piece (indicated in the transcription at the bottom of the second and third system) seems unrelated to the distribution of the liturgical text over that foundation.

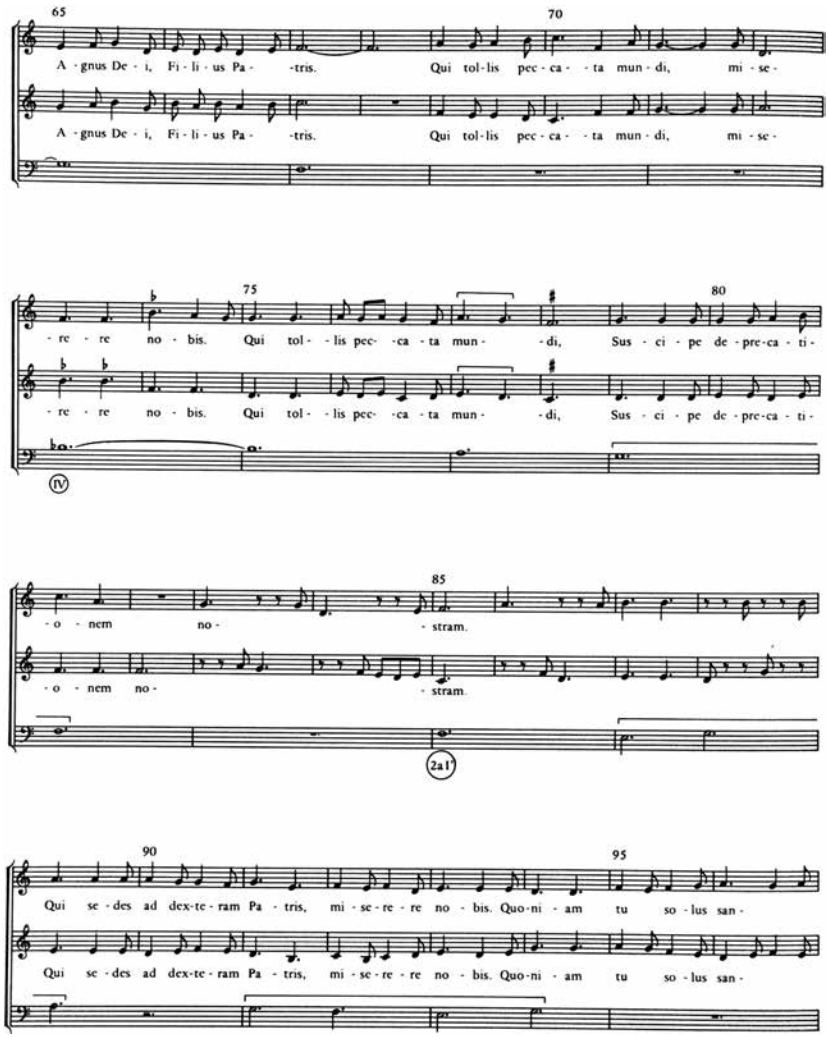
The Credo text focuses on God the Father, then the Son, his Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, finally addressing the Holy Ghost and eventually the community of the faithful, suggesting a threefold subdivision. But there are many other suitable choices to create sectional subdivisions in that

33 Indeed, the Gloria shares its tenor verbatim with that of a motet for a prominent Franciscan and member of the French royal clan, St. Louis of Toulouse. The chant melody (or at least its text) in turn corresponds to an antiphon from the Office of St. Louis of Toulouse. See Alice V. Clark, "*Concordare cum materia*: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1996), 99 and 252. The motet – and perhaps the Gloria, too – would have been eminently suited to be sung at Mass on the feast of St. Louis of Toulouse (19 August).

Example 28.1 Gloria "Peliso" (Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre 16bis), PMFC 23a, no. 31, mm. 45–96 = pp. 113–14



Example 28.2 Gloria "Loys" (Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre, 16bis and Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115), PMFC 23a, no. 29, mm. 65–96 = p. 106



text as well, and many, if not all of them, were used, presenting as much an opportunity as a challenge to a composer.

Musically speaking, the model of simultaneous motion of voices as developed in the conductus, with its somewhat archaic – or, rather, time-honored – flavor to fourteenth-century ears, offered a relatively straightforward

Example 28.3 Kyrie "Chipre" (*I-IV* 115 and *F-APT* 16bis) mm. 1–40 = PMFC 23a, p. 64



solution, as did the adoption of the texture of the polyphonic chanson developed during the fourteenth century. Example 28.3 shows a Kyrie setting moving largely in parallel homorhythmic motion reminiscent of late thirteenth-century conductus settings; for an example of a texture similar to that found in contemporary settings of *formes fixes* poetry see Example 28.1.

While the hierarchy of the three voices amongst each other is, of course, very different in conductus and chanson, as is the resulting rhythmic and melodic profile of each voice, both options allowed the composer the maximum degree of freedom when dividing up the liturgical text as long as its

Example 28.4 Credo: Patrem ab eterno (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, B 1328), PMFC 23b, mm. 1–18 = p. 313



semantic and/or syntactic units were preserved. Tropes can also be inserted and accommodated easily this way.

The motet offered more complex problems, but also quite different opportunities, such as adding a second text to the liturgical one, as we can see in Example 28.4, taken from a monumental Credo setting from the Cambrai fragments (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, B 1328 [*F-CA* B 1328]) that adds an extensive trope in the form of the triplum voice of a contemporary motet over a canonic middle voice (motetus) carrying the Ordinary text over an isorhythmically designed tenor presumably taken from a chant articulating the words "Talis est" ("he/she/it is such"). In this setting, the Ordinary text is fully integrated into a motet. Using a suitable tenor, for example from an Office, permitted a constructive – if usually inaudible – semantic link with

Example 28.5 Machaut, *Mass*, excerpt from Credo, mm. 1–15, from Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 194



other settings, as also shown earlier in the case of the already mentioned Gloria "Loys" (Example 28.2).

On the other hand, as we can also see in Example 28.2, fitting the liturgical texts of Gloria and Credo into the patterned rhythmic structure of the tenor preferred in the fourteenth century (proportional or "isorhythmic" motet)[34]

34 For a critique of this established but highly problematic term, see Bent, "What Is Isorhythm?"

without distorting other elements of the internal balance, such as the declamation speed of the text, presented a challenge. Machaut, too, who hardly flinched from architectural experiments, seems to have capitulated to this difficulty, choosing rhythmically patterned tenors only for the Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus, and Ite missa est of his Mass, while setting Gloria and Credo (see Example 28.5) in a conductus-like style (which actually is quite an unusual choice if compared to the bulk of the repertory).

A Functional Repertoire

The fourteenth-century motet in particular is characterized by an extremely tight-knit structure that allows relatively little flexibility both in terms of the pitch content of a given piece and in terms of its rhythmic elaboration and formal shape once the tenor design was chosen. The genre also required that all these components were notated as precisely as the notational system would allow. *Mutatis mutandis* the same may be said about the fourteenth-century chanson, where stable parts such as cantus and (usually) tenor coexist with non-essential parts such as tripla or contratenors that might be changed or left out, but all within well-defined genre expectations determined by the musico-poetic conventions of the *formes fixes*. Conversely, the composers of the Mass Ordinary were faced with a multidimensional design problem, having to deal with (mostly) irregularly structured prose texts that could neither be matched to any of the established *formes fixes* nor easily be mapped onto the temporal grid of a motet. Consequently, pragmatic solutions were found that hybridized aspects of chanson, motet and conductus. This seemingly nonchalant, even hodgepodge, attitude may be surprising to us, but in fact is highly typical of liturgical music, which first and foremost functions as an embellishment of the service rather than an aesthetic conceit or an autonomous structure in its own right, making liturgical music the ultimate in functional music as it were. Accordingly, the stability of liturgical settings in various branches of the transmission may vary considerably more than would be applicable to (or acceptable in) motets and chansons. An excellent example is the "Gloria qui sonitu," a troped setting that survives in a very large number of sources, attesting to its popularity, but also in a bewildering variety of textual variants.[35]

35 See the edition in Giulio Cattin et al., eds. *French Sacred Music*, 2 vols., PMFC 23a and 23b (Monaco: Oiseau-Lyre, 1989), 88–97.

"Amen" sections in particular tend to exhibit a surprisingly wide range of *mouvance*. Most often structurally separated from the preceding text by a double bar and a cadence, any Amen could in principle be combined with any modally compatible Gloria or Credo setting. There are abundant reworkings in some cases of the same piece, raising the question to what extent the notations that have come down to us actually reflect performances and to what degree the notated texts are merely contrapuntal skeletons or signposts for strongly improvisational performances.[36]

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36 For some case studies, see Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115*, chapter 4, and Kügle, "A Fresh Look at the Liturgical Settings in Manuscript Ivrea, Bibl. Cap. 115," *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993), 2452–75.

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· 29 ·

The Emergence of Polyphonic Song

MARK EVERIST

Two chapters in this history of medieval music would appear to map out the boundaries of secular song either side of 1300: vernacular monody in the thirteenth century and polyphonic song in the fourteenth. But such a view of the subject barely begins to take account of the complexity of musical and poetic continuity and change in the period between ca. 1270 and ca. 1330, the time so frequently circumscribed as falling between the polyphonic rondeaux of Adam de la Halle and the secular output of Guillaume de Machaut. This chapter attempts to bring together material germane to the state of polyphonic song thirty years either side of 1300, and to propose ways in which it might be interpreted.

Even outlining the scope of the issue poses significant problems: it is possible to pose a question along the lines of "how did the *grands chants* of the trouvères develop into the *formes fixes* of Machaut and his contemporaries?" – but such a formulation fails to take account, for example, of the longevity of trouvère composition and of the fact that Adam de la Halle composed not only *grands chants* but also polyphonic songs that were copied in the same manuscript of his collected works.[1] It further identifies Machaut as an agent of change in this history, a position that may be as much the result of manuscript preservation as of any compositional innovation.

Explanations for the emergence of polyphonic song, then, have taken a number of forms, and all address the question in different ways. The master-genius trope is difficult to avoid, and even if it was articulated most clearly half a century ago, its power is undeniable. When Sarah Jane Williams attempted to account for the emergence of polyphonic song she did so quite simply by attributing the phenomenon to Machaut's genius.[2] And even in the

1 All of Adam de la Halle's musical and lyric works are copied, genre by genre, in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25566 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 25566). For the *grands chants* see John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 29–64; the complete musical works are edited in *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Hale (Chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux, motets)*, ed. Nigel Wilkins, CMM 44 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1967).

2 Sarah Jane Manley Williams, "The Music of Guillaume de Machaut" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1952).

discipline's standard online dictionary, one can still read echoes of a similar view.[3] Other views simply denied the existence of any material surviving between the work of Halle and Machaut: Wulf Arlt wrote effortlessly of the *lacune* between the work of the two composers,[4] and Ardis Butterfield pointed to a single song by Jehannot de l'Escurel, "A vous douce deboinaire," in the manuscript containing the single notated copy of the *Roman de Fauvel*[5] which she considered "*the* potent combination of melisma and polyphony which appears to create *singlehandedly* the sound world of the fourteenth century" [emphasis on 'singlehandedly' added], and thus ignored most of the material to be discussed in this chapter.[6]

The subject has been treated more imaginatively by those who seek to understand the question in terms of oppositions between the urban and the rural, instrumental and vocal. For example, Laurence Gushee suggested that the lower parts of Machaut's (or anybody else's) polyphonic chansons could well have been a response to the instrumental skills of a purely urban minstrelsy. Gushee's comments were designed as an alternative to the idea that polyphonic songs were "the product of a more-or-less continuous historical development (say, from the motet) for which much of the manuscript evidence has vexingly disappeared, or as the highly original and daring discovery of a musical genius."[7] His comments were clearly predicated on the assumption that the two lower parts of a three-part chanson were conceived instrumentally, and while that view was largely uncontentious in 1974, more recent scholarship has challenged the axiomatic basis of that claim. This does not vitiate a more general claim, however, that some sort of improvisation "for which much of the manuscript evidence has vexingly disappeared" that relied on vocal performance might have played an important role in this history.

Christopher Page reconsidered some of Gushee's ideas, and showed, via a rereading of Jerome of Moravia and Pierre de Limoges, how a *viellator* around 1300 could have assimilated a repertory of both *aristocratisant* trouvère songs and *popularisant* dance songs together with instrumental techniques for their polyphonic performance and a rudimentary

3 David Fallows, "Formes Fixes," Grove Music Online.
4 Wulf Arlt, "Machaut in Context," in *Guillaume de Machaut, 1300–2000: Actes du colloque de la Sorbonne 28–29 septembre 2000*, ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet and Nigel Wilkins, Musiques / Écritures: Études (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 155.
5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146).
6 Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guilllaume de Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 49 (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 285.
7 "Two Central Places: Paris and the French Court in the Early Fourteenth Century," in *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974*, ed. Hellmut Kühn and Peter Nitsche (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980), 147–48.

understanding of counterpoint.[8] Page's two examples ("Dex est aussi comme li pelicans" and "De bone amour") are non-metrical and metrical experiments respectively into how this combination of skills might function, and represent a practical but ultimately speculative endeavor.[9]

Perhaps the most sophisticated approach to the question of how polyphonic song emerged in the form that it is now known by around 1330 is Lawrence's Earp's engagement with the "switch in the priority of genres" between Halle and Machaut. By this he meant that the higher style of trouvère poetry, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been restricted to monophonic musical treatments while the lower styles – *pastourelles* in particular – had found their way into French motets, was now, in the early fourteenth century, the basis for polyphonic settings.[10]

It seems clear that there is never going to be a single answer to how polyphonic song emerged in the first third of the fourteenth century, in the same way that it is possible to comment on the creation of the early motet, for example. But an important step forward will be to outline the sources that might be germane to such an inquiry; for those who have attempted to provide answers to the question have rarely taken account of the wide range of surviving material. The discussion initially focuses on works derived from the tradition of dance song and the rondeau and then moves on to those that have more to do with the AA′B structures of the *grand chant* of the trouvères and the ballade tradition.[11]

Rondeau Traditions

Adam de la Halle's polyphonic songs are well known, have been edited in a modern edition,[12] and figure regularly in general accounts of thirteenth-century music. Halle is an important figure in the history of thirteenth-century music not least because of the range of musical genres in which he composed. In addition to the sixteen polyphonic songs of importance, he also wrote prose works, *grands chants*, *jeux-partis*, and a small number of

8 Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (London and Melbourne: Dent, 1987), 53–76.

9 Ibid., 72 and 74 respectively.

10 Lawrence Earp, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 101–31. See also Earp, "Genre in the Fourteenth-Century French Chanson: The Virelai and the Dance Song," *Musica Disciplina* 45 (1991), 123–41.

11 The AA′B formulation relates clearly to the musical structure of the ballade, which is also frequently abbreviated to AaB (where the repeat of the A section involves new poetry). The former overlaps with, but does not subsume, the latter.

12 Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Hale*.

motets; he may also have written – or been involved with selecting – the *refrains* interpolated in the romance *Renart le Nouvel*, copied in the manuscript that contains all his musical and literary works, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25566 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 25566).

Until relatively recently, Halle's polyphonic songs were thought to be the only examples of their type, making any sort of comparison impossible. The four concordances in the manuscript Cambrai, Mediathèque municipal, B 1328 (hereafter *F- CA* B 1328) match the first four works in *F-Pn* fr. 25566, but despite some key differences between the readings in the two sources, they add no new compositions to the repertory. More recently, a collection of texts copied in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque National, fonds français 12786 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 12786) with space for three-part notation has been identified, which has permitted the identification of an additional thirty-four rondeaux; in addition, a further four rondeaux in *F-Pn* fr. 12786 are the same as four in *F-Pn* fr. 25566. And although the music of most of the works no longer survives, the repertory of score-notated rondeaux accordingly rises from sixteen to fifty.[13]

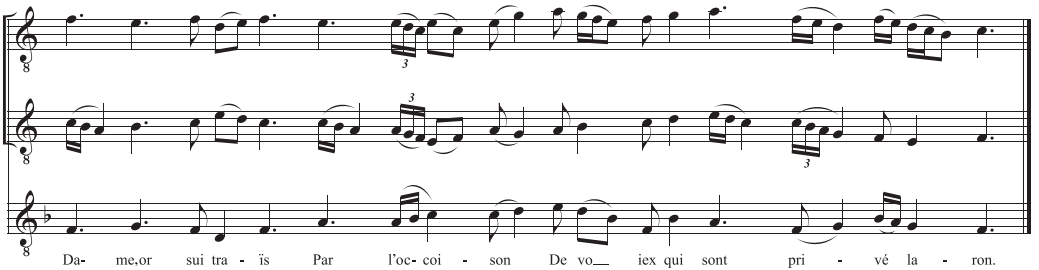
With the exception of two texts that defy categorization, the polyphonic songs by Halle and in *F-Pn* fr. 12786 are all rondeaux, mostly *rondeaux simples* (with a two-line *refrain*) and *rondeaux tercets* (a three-line *refrain*). The compositions are notated in score with mensural notation and are in predominately a note-against-note style. Halle's rondeau no. 7, "Dame, or sui traïs," is a good example of the repertory (Example 29.1).[14]

A *rondeau tercet*, the *refrain* is "Dame, or sui traïs / Par l'ocoison / De vo iex qui sont privé laron," and this is the part of the lyric set to music, since the rest of the poetry simply repeats the music in the manner ABaAabAB. Cadences fall at the end of the first section (the first line of the *refrain*) and at the end of the music (the end of the third line of the *refrain*). Although the rhythm of the music is configured in a largely modal way (mode 2 with most perfections exhibiting an underlying brevis–longa pattern) the declamation of the text in this example is more varied, as it mixes the presentation of syllables between modal (longa–brevis) patterns (perfections 3, 6–9 and 12) and a declamation based around the *longa perfecta* (perfections 1–2, 4–5 and 10–11). This is largely atypical of the repertory, in which strictly modal declamation follows the meter of the music.

13 Mark Everist, "The Polyphonic *Rondeau c.*1300: Repertory and Context," *Early Music History* 15 (1996), 59–96.

14 *F-Pn* fr. 25566, fol. 33v, edited (along different lines to those proposed here) in Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Hale*, 54.

Example 29.1 Adam de la Halle, rondeau no. 7, “Dame, or sui traïs”



Example 29.2 Monophonic rondeau, "Dame, or sui traïs"



Example 29.3 Adam de la Halle, "Dame, or sui traïs," contrapuntal summary



"Dame, or sui traïs" is the only Halle rondeau with a monophonic concordance. The middle voice is found in an unmeasured notation in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginenses Latini 1490 (hereafter *I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 1490) (Example 29.2).[15]

Whether the monody pre-dated the polyphonic rondeau or vice versa is an open question, but the presence of the middle voice in a monophonic concordance aligns with the consistent sharing of the middle voice with *refrains* found with music in romance and other repertories. It is furthermore a representative of a further music-poetic trajectory in the period between Halle and Machaut – or possibly an immediate precursor of the former depending on what view is taken of the relationship between the monophonic rondeau and Halle's polyphony: one in which the middle voice of a three-part texture is the one to survive on its own, and that might point either to a pattern of reworking monodies in three parts or stripping down three-part works to monodies. The surviving material does not permit a judgment, however. There are around 200 surviving monophonic rondeau poems with music that survive in contexts as various as the *Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* or Halle's collected works.[16]

The contrapuntal style of "Dame, or sui" reveals a preponderance of fifths and 8-5 sonorities at cadence points (Example 29.3).

The only exception is the beginning of the B section which starts on a 5-3, but the local movement shifts this to a simple fifth almost immediately as comparison with the edition (Example 29.1) shows. Intermediate sonorities

15 Fol. 55v.

16 The poetry is edited in Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe: Collationnement, introduction, et notes*, Bibliothèque française et romane, D:3 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969). For the music, still the only edition and study is Friedrich Gennrich, ed., *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII., und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien*, 3 vols. [1] Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 43 (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921); [2] Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 47 (Gottingen: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1927); [3 (titled *Das altfranzösische Rondeau und Virelai im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*)] Summa musicae medii aevi 10 (Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1963)

within the phrase mingle perfect consonances (octaves, fifths, 8-5s) with 5-3 configurations, clearly indicating the stability of the perfect consonances at cadences and the instability of the 5-3.

In terms of score-notated rondeaux that fall between those of Halle and the rondeaux of Guillaume de Machaut, two groups of pieces are key. Two works in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection de Picardie 67 (hereafter *F-Pn*, Collection de Picardie 67) – "Helas! tant vi de mal eure" and "J'ai desir de veoir" – may with profit be considered alongside Jehannot de l'Escurel, "A vous douce deboinaire," already mentioned. Although some details about the life of Jehannot de l'Escurel give a context to his only polyphonic song, and the fact that it is copied in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146) gives a more-or-less precise date of copying for "A vous douce deboinaire," very little is known of the musical or poetic environment of the two rondeaux in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67.[17]

Example 29.4 shows the first of the two rondeaux from *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67, "Helas! tant vi de mal eure," and L'Escurel's "A vous douce deboinaire."

In terms of duration, the two works are almost equal: twenty-one perfections in "Helas! tant vi de mal eure" and twenty in "A vous douce deboinaire," equally divided between the two sections in both cases. Treatment of the text is similar in both cases: both works depart radically from the norm of modal declamation found in Halle's songs, and place syllables up to three longae apart (as in the case of the opening melisma in "Hélas! tant vi de mal eure") but also – at the beginning of the second section of "A vous douce deboinaire" – present a strict mode 1 declamation in the opening perfections. In terms of modal declamation, the two songs in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 depart more from the norms found in Halle than does l'Escurel's.

Their vocal scoring marks out the two *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 songs and "A vous douce deboinaire" both from Halle and the next generation of songs from the pen of Machaut and his contemporaries. Broadly speaking, Machaut's cantus and tenor lines are conceived in different registers, a tessitura that is not compromised even where there is a level of overlap between the voices, while the vocal scoring of Halle's rondeaux falls into no fewer than four different configurations. The l'Escurel and Picardie works are

17 "A vous douce deboinaire" is edited in *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*, ed. Nigel Wilkins, CMM 30 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), 1; the two songs in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 in Everist, "'Souspirant en terre estrainge': The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music History* 26 (2007), 6–7.

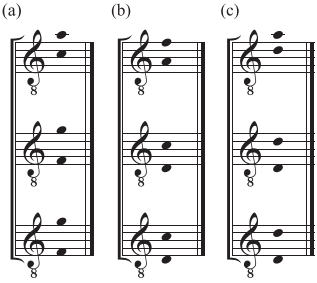
Example 29.4a Anonymous rondeau, “Helas! tant vi de mal eure”



Example 29.4b Jehan de l'Escurel, "A vous douce deboinaire"



Example 29.5a, b, and c Comparative vocal scoring of (a) "Helas! tant vi de mal eure," (b) "J'ai desir de veoir" and (c) L'Escurel, "A vous, douce deboinaire"



remarkably consistent: they place the two lowest voices in a similar range, which is demonstrably lower than that of the top voice (see Example 29.5).

They share this scoring with five only of Halle's rondeaux, but this is by no means the latter's preferred practice. In the largest proportion of his works, the two upper voices share a comparable tessitura which is markedly higher than that of the lower voice.[18]

Another group of works with links to the rondeau are important staging posts between Halle and Machaut, or between the lyrics of the trouvères and those of the fourteenth century. A significant number of motets from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards make use of rondeau structures, and, although such pieces are found widely across the sources for the motet, fall into two principal groups: a collection of so-called rondeau-motets found largely in the motet collections in the chansonniers Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 844) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12615 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 12615), and a number of motets built on rondeau tenors found in the last two fascicles of Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 (hereafter *F-MOf* H 196) and in Turin, Biblioteca Reale, vari 42 (hereafter *I-Tr* vari 42).

Rondeau-motets are usually in two parts with the upper voice (*motetus*) in the form of a rondeau, and the plainsong tenor configured to match.[19] "Mes cuers est emprisone / Et pro [suo]" is a typical example (see Example 29.6).[20]

18 Everist, "Polyphonic *Rondeau*," 94–95.

19 See Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music & Letters* 69 (1988), 1–22; reprinted in *Ars Antiqua: Organum, Conductus, Motet*, ed. Edward H. Roesner, Music in Medieval Europe (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), unpaginated.

20 There is an edition in *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. Hans Tischler, 3 vols. (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1982), II: 1463.

Example 29.6 Anonymous motet, “Mes cuers est emprisone / Et pro [suo]”



The eight-line rondeau describes the ABaAabAB structure typical of the *rondeau simple*, known from Halle into the fifteenth century, and the composer takes no more than eight notes from his plainsong, assigning four to the A section of the rondeau and four to the B section. The eight rondeau-motets in *F-Pn* fr. 844 and 12615 follow exactly this pattern, with three of them sharing parts of the same plainsong in the tenor and similar literary tropes in the poetry; they clearly form a cycle. The musical and poetic effect of this practice is to create two-part polyphonic rondeaux. The poetry and upper voice are regular, and the manipulation of the tenor creates an exact parallel in the lower voice. Traces of this practice can also be seen in other motets from slightly later in the century (if the chansonniers may be dated ca. 1270), but with nothing like the consistency found in *F-Pn* fr. 844 and 12615.

The two-part rondeau-motets, with their melismatic tenors and single upper-voice text, in some ways look forward to the texture of the fourteenth-century two-part chanson where the cantus similarly carries the text, supported by a melismatic tenor. But an important, and different, repertory that impinges on the emergence of polyphonic song around 1300 is the series of motets built on French tenors.[21] A significant proportion of this repertory took the structures of their tenors and built corresponding repeating patterns in the upper voices that created something that – in musical terms at least – resembled a polyphonic chanson. In other words, an ABaAabAB rondeau structure, for example, would not only occur in the tenor but in part or all of the entire contrapuntal network, while at the same time preserving the work's polytextual character and the conventional treatment of overlapping phrases that had characterized the motet almost since its inception. Some of the composers who were attempting to bring the chanson into proximity with sophisticated polyphony thus developed their ideas via the well-established principles involved in motet composition rather than via those found in polyphonic chansons known from Halle and his successors. Abandoning their colleagues' attempts to set a single lyric, they concentrated on creating repeating polyphonic structures within the context of the polytextual motet.

There are a total of twenty-six motets based on French tenors, a significant subset of the repertory of motets in the twenty years either side of 1300.[22] Of these, almost a third made use of the tenor's song-structures in building

21 See Everist, "Motets, French Tenors and the Polyphonic Chanson ca.1300," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 365–406.

22 This number may be compared with the figures for the seventh fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196 (forty-nine), its eighth fascicle (forty-two) and *I-Tr* vari 42 (thirty-two).

their upper voices, and in some cases composers went as far as making this usage a fundamental compositional precept. The consequence of this practice was the appearance of polyphonic structures where the patterns of musical repetition found in the tenor informed all three voices of the texture.

"Au cuer ai un mal / Ja ne m'en repentirai / Jolietement" exhibits many of the practices exhibited in a fragmentary fashion in the motets just discussed, but involves almost the entire composition in contrapuntal structures that arise out of the patterning of the tenor.[23] It is based on a tenor in the form of a regular eight-line rondeau. The edition of the work is laid out so that the repetitions of the tenor are clear (see Example 29.7).[24]

"Au cuer un mal" constructs its upper voices in dialogue with the tenor, and sets up a wider range of reference in its melodic working by permutating up to six different phrases.[25] While the tenor is labeled conventionally ABaAabAB, the six upper-voice melodic phrases are labeled α to ζ.[26]

The tenor repetitions of the *refrain* at the beginning and end of the motet (syntagms I and VI) are accompanied by matching phrases in the triplum: α accompanies the A section and β the B section. The B section of the tenor is also matched in the same syntagms by the γ phrase in the motetus. However, the A section of the tenor is accompanied in the opening *refrain* by the ε phrase in the motetus, but this is replaced by the ζ phrase in the closing A section. In other words, the B section of the *refrain* is identical in all three voice parts, whereas the A section is identical in the triplum only, but also involves a motetus phrase (ζ) that has already been heard elsewhere in the motet.[27]

23 Sources for "Au cuer ai un mal" are *F-MOf* H 196, fols. 283v–284v; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (*D-BAs* Lit. 115), fols. 32r–32v; *I-Tr* vari 42, fols. 24r–24v; *F-B* 1, 716, no. 32; *GB-Ob* Douce 139, fol. 179v; edition in Tischler, *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols. [vol. IV ed. and trans. Susan Stakel and Joel C. Relihan], Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2–8 (Madison, WI: A.R. Editions, 1978–85), vol. III: 78–79. The very close musical similarities between the *refrain* in the tenor and in *Renart le nouvel* (three versions in two sources) and *L'abeïe dou chastel amoureus* are clear in the editions given in Ibos-Augé, "La fonction des insertions lyriques dans des œuvres narratives et didactiques aux XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles," 4 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III, 2000), vol. II: 110–11. See also the discussion of the melodic implications of the *refrain* in Gaël Saint-Cricq, "Le motet du XIII^{e} siècle, corps mixte," *Analyse musicale* 54 (2006), 16–22.

24 Van den Boogaard (*Rondeaux et refrains*, 183) suggests that the opening line of the motetus shares its text only with the end of the *triplum* of "Jolieté et biauté / Vetus vaticinium / Agmina." Whether the two texts are really examples of a single *refrain* is open to debate: the text in the latter work is "Ja ne m'en repentirai / D'amer bien par amors."

25 *F-MOf* H 196 and *I-Tr* vari 42 give the incipit of the tenor text only, which is here provided from *D-BAs* Lit. 115 and *GB-Ob* Douce 139. In perfections 18 and 24 of the triplum, *I-Tr* vari 42 has variants (1) that end phrases on *d* and *g* respectively, and (2) that challenge the melodic integrity of the δ fragment in syntagms III and IV.

26 Although there are marked similarities between the music of the tenor in paradigm B and in the beginning of paradigm A, and occasionally therefore in the upper parts, Example 29.7 preserves the eight-line structure of the rondeau based on the different text in its B and b sections.

27 This is typical of a large amount of the melodic working in this motet. Here, the ζ fragment also appears above the same section of the tenor in syntagm III.

Example 29.7 Anonymous motet, "Au cuer ai un mal / Ja ne m'en repentirai / Jolietement"



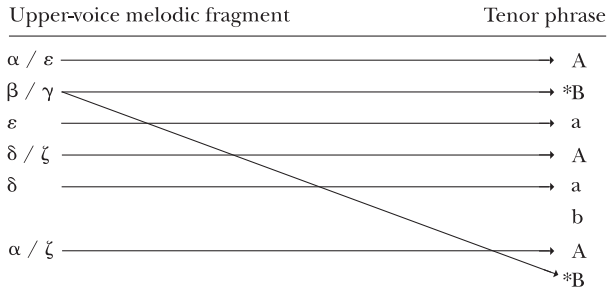


Figure 29.1 "Au cuer ai un mal": melodic relationships

The complete set of relationships that govern the distribution of upper-voice musical phrases against the tenor may be expressed in a diagram (Figure 29.1), which shows that the second and eighth limbs of the rondeau (the B sections of its *refrain*) are the only combinations of motetus, triplum and tenor to repeat in the work (they are marked with an asterisk); it also identifies the antepenultimate b phrase of the rondeau as one where no material is reused, where the triplum and motetus are newly composed and do not mirror the tenor.

"Au cuer ai un mal" assembles a number of fragmentary upper-voice correspondences with the tenor and employs them to saturate almost the entire polyphonic fabric. Within this short piece, the composer – in addition to using δ and ε alone above the tenor – creates no fewer than four different pairs of contrapuntal permutation (α/ε; β/γ; δ/ζ; α/ζ) with only one of these (β/γ) being used more than once, and then clearly to articulate the return of the *refrain* and hence the end of the entire motet.

The relationship between the phrasing of the upper voices and the tenor in "Au cuer ai un mal" has affinities with "Tout solas et toute joie – Bone amour – Ne me blasmes," which is preserved in the eighth fascicle of F-MOf H 196 and in I-Tr vari 42;[28] even where there are clear melodic parallelisms, the phrases of the motetus never match those of the tenor, exactly as one would expect to find in the classic mid-thirteenth-century motet. Also similarly to "Tout solas," there are occasional places where one of the upper voices shares a phrase-ending with the tenor: the triplum in "Au cuer ai un mal" articulates the beginning of the first B section and the last A section of the tenor with clearly articulated phrases. Although there are moments in "Au cuer ai un mal" where the traditional asymmetries and overlaps that

28 See Everist, "Motets, French Tenors," 374–80.

characterize the motet are abandoned in favor of the simultaneous phrasing that characterizes polyphonic song (perfections 6 and 30 are examples), the overall relationship between phrase, poetic line, and voice part remains typical of its genre.

"Au cuer ai un mal" and the rondeau-motet "Mes cuers est emprisone" show how the rondeau was assimilated to the motet in radically different ways. "Mes cuers est emprisone" is a case study in simplicity, simply marrying a voice part with poetry in the form of a rondeau to a fragment of plainsong in its tenor. By contrast, "Au cuer ai un mal" is a formidable undertaking, building the equivalent to a polyphonic rondeau above its vernacular tenor by replicating its structure in its upper parts, but going on to permutate phrases within this overall conceit to create a work of stunning complexity.

Ballade Traditions

Coterminous with the later phases of the trouvère tradition, and in some cases preserved in the same manuscripts, were a large number of two- and three-part motets that made use of what might be called ballade structures in their upper voices. To look at such a motet as "Hui main au doz mois de mai / [Hec Dies]" is to witness very similar processes to those in action in the rondeau-motet discussed earlier (Example 29.8).[29]

Here the A section comprises the first two musical phrases and lines of poetry ("Hui main au doz mois de mai / Desouz le solau levant") and the A′ section the third and fourth phrases and lines of poetry ("En un vergier m'en entrai / Desous un pin verdoiant"); in total 2 × eight perfections. The B section occupies the remainder of the piece, approximately twenty-four perfections (the mensuration of the final cadence is far from clear). The tenor in one of the motet's sources (*F-MOf* H 196) carefully replicates the structure of the upper voice in the same way as the rondeau-motet.

This is the point at which "Hui main" deviates from the patterns found in the rondeau-motet. Most important is the fact that the motet shares its musical material with a clausula in the fifth fascicle of the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (*I-Fl* plut. 29.1). Unless one were to hypothesize that the clausula is an untexted version of the motet, it has to be accepted that the AA′B structure of the upper voice is a feature of the original clausula and not part of the composition of the motet. But critically, in the clausula, the tenor follows the musical text of the plainsong and is not rewritten to align with the repetitions in the upper voice. Such

29 An edition of the work is found in Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. III: 6.

Example 29.8 Anonymous motet “Hui main au doz mois de mai / [Hec Dies]”



a procedure is followed in all versions of the motet except the one in the sixth fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196 where the pitches of the tenor are adjusted to match the patterns of the upper part, and these are the ones given in the example. The conclusion that follows from the presentation of this data is that that AA′B structure in the upper voice of the clausula and in the concordant sources for the motet was not only recognized by the compiler of *F-MOf* H 196 but served for him as the basis of a reworking of the motet that created an exact match between tenor and motetus – as seen in Example 29.8 – that was not there in the earlier versions of the work.[30]

Other examples point to a closer relationship between monophonic song in what would later be called ballade form and the motet. In "Onques n'amai tant / Sancte Germane," for example, the first half of the piece consists of two statements of the same music in both motetus and tenor, followed by a freer section – overall an AA′B structure (Example 29.9).[31]

Here the motet is found not only in the large motet collections in the manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstedt (hereafter *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099), but also in the motet collections appended to the chansonniers *F-Pn* fr. 844 and 12615. The motetus is also, however, found in two chansonniers in exactly the same form as other songs in the manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 20050 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 20050) and *I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 1490, and in these two cases the song is attributed to Richard de Fournival, who died no later than 1260. In "Onques n'amai tant / Sancte Germane," then, it seems that, rather than the AA′B structure arising out of a pattern developed in the original clausula and then appropriated as a ballade-type song, either the piece was written *ab initio* as a two-part motet with ballade features or the monophonic song was reworked as the motetus of the piece and the tenor adjusted to fit.[32]

Sitting slightly aside from the motets that make use of AA′B structures in their upper voices and/or tenors is "Bien m'ont amours / Tenor." This is unique in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 846 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 846), the so-called "Chansonnier Cangé," and is therefore important in terms of chronology as will be seen in the next section. Other characteristics mark it out from the motets so far discussed: the tenor is unidentified and may well be newly composed; the counterpoint from perfections 5–6 (section A) and 13–14 (section a) is repeated in the middle of the B section;

30 For a full account of the compositional history of "Hui main au doz mois de mai – [Hec Dies]," see Gaël Saint-Cricq, "Formes types dans le motet du XIII^{e} siècle: étude d'un processus répétitif," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southampton, 2010), II: 67–70. Full details of sources and textual variants are given there.

31 Edition in Tischler, *The Earliest Motets*, vol. II: 1019–23. 32 Ibid., vol. I: 116 and vol. II: 83–87.

Example 29.9 Anonymous motet, “Onques n’amai tant / Sancte Germane”



there are two stanzas to the poem; and the work is found at the end of the collection of poems beginning with the letter "B" in a manuscript ordered alphabetically (Example 29.10).[33] In some respects, then, "Bien m'ont amours entrepris" has much in common with the motets just discussed. In other ways, however, it veers closer to a polyphonic ballade, notated in parts.

Unlike the rondeau, there are negligible traces of score-notated polyphonic ballades, and the one example that survives is problematic but intriguing. "Volez oyer le castoy" is found in the manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8 (hereafter *GB-Ccc* 8) in a heterogeneous collection of material preserved in a highly fragmentary form.[34] The song may fortunately be reconstructed in its entirety (Example 29.11).

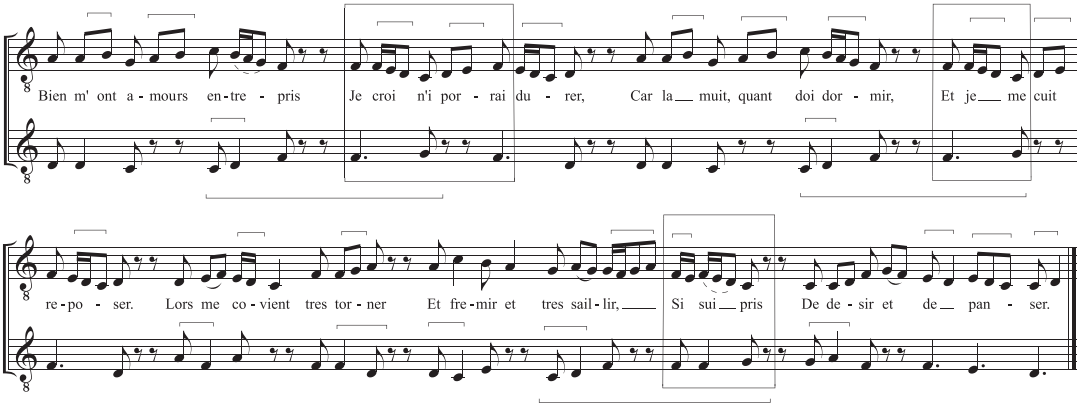
This is a far cry, however, from the consistent score-notated works found in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 or even l'Escurel's "A vous douce deboinaire." In "Volez oyer," the tenor alone describes what would later be called a *baladelle*: an AaBb structure. But even here, although the A and a sections are musically identical, this is not the same in the B and b statements, where the beginnings of the two sections differ and only coincide at the words "va proyant" in the B section and "[camou-] sete" in the following one. But most of the tenors of the two B sections are the same.

The same cannot be said for the upper voices, where the correspondences are fragmented (marked in boxes in Example 29.11). In the two A sections, only the very first perfection of each section is picked out for melodic repetition in both voice parts, and there is a similar feature at the mid-point of the B and b sections (perfections 21 and 33). Most striking perhaps is the end of the two B sections where the final perfections of all three voice parts are nearly identical, but not sufficiently so for the final sonority to be the same; thus the B section ends with a doubled fifth whereas the b section – and the end of the piece – ends with an 8-5. Exactly the same happens in the A and a sections.

33 There is a facsimile of the first in *Reproduction phototypique du chansonnier Cangé: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Français No 846*, ed. J. Beck, 2 vols. Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, 1; Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères, 1 (Paris and Philadelphia, 1927), vol. I, fols. 21v–22r; and a serviceable edition ibid., vol. II: 49 (see also Everist, "The Horse, the Clerk and the Lyric: The Musicography of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130, no. 1 [2005], 136–53 at 141 and 149–50 for an attempt to position this work in the history of early polyphonic song).

34 For an account of the codicological and generic context of the music in *GB-Ccc* 8, see Amy Williamson, "Genre, Taxonomy and Repertory in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony" (M.Mus. dissertation, University of Southampton, 2009), 37–45. There is a facsimile of "Volez oyer" in John Stevens, "Corpus Christi College MS 8," in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 59–62, and an edition in *Five Anglo-Norman Motets* ed. Everist (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 1985) that the current one supersedes.

Example 29.10 Anonymous polyphonic ballade “Bien m’ont amours / Tenor”



Example 29.11 Anonymous polyphonic ballade "Volez oyer le castoy"



Chronology

If it is possible to describe the surviving musical material for polyphonic song in the years around 1300, and the relationships between the techniques found there, gaining any greater chronological precision is more challenging. Consequently, the description of ballade and rondeau traditions in the previous section has largely avoided any sort of comment on diachrony or synchrony. But such a commentary may be developed from the dates of the manuscripts in which the material is found. And while the dates of some sources – *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 for example – remain opaque, and while some practices – the instrumental performance of the monophonic chanson – are too broad to insert into any diachronic scheme, others permit

some suggestions about the exact date and the order in which the material was copied and perhaps composed.

Current opinion places the copying of *F-Pn* fr. 146 before 1317, which may indicate a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of l'Escurel's "A vous douce deboinaire."[35] L'Escurel's biography may suggest a date of composition before 1304. The manuscript containing Halle's collected works was copied after 1291 and perhaps before 1297, but this says relatively little about the dates of composition for the polyphonic rondeaux which are taken as a boundary for the exploration of early polyphonic song.[36] A good reason, however, for giving "Bien m'ont amours" serious attention is the fact that its manuscript source, *F-Pn* fr. 846, may be placed with some confidence either in 1297 or 1307.[37] This is significantly later than the related motets with AA′B structures found in *F-Pn* fr. 844 and 12615, the sixth fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196 and *D-W* 1099, all of which may be assigned to the 1260s or 1270s. The largely exclusive location of the motets based on French tenors in the later fascicles of *F-MOf* H 196 and *I-Tr* vari 42 allows this type of activity to be placed rather late in the cycle, perhaps later than the compilation of *F-Pn* fr. 146 and even into the 1320s.[38]

Such an epistemology clearly does not permit the precise dating of key parts of these repertories, nor does it, in many cases, even allow any precise sense of diachronic sequence. However, it is possible to outline three broad phases in the changes that took place in the elision of sophisticated polyphonic composition with vernacular poetry in the period from ca. 1270 to ca. 1320. The first of these includes the motets that exploit song structures in the *corpus ancien* of *F-MOf* H 196, those in *D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099, and rondeau-motets and other works in the chansonnier *F-Pn* fr. 12615. This could also well include the score-notated rondeaux by Halle and those in *F-Pn* fr. 12786. With some margin for error at beginning and end, this would circumscribe a period from ca. 1260 to ca. 1290. A second phase encompasses material from around 1300, and includes l'Escurel's "A vous douce deboinaire" and "Bien m'ont amours entrepris"; it might also include Jerome of Moravia's description of the instrumental performance of trouvère song, but he was almost certainly describing practices that went back earlier in the thirteenth century. And a third phase includes the motets in the later fascicles of *F-MOf* H 196 and in *I-Tr* vari 42.

35 Everist, "Souspirant en terre estrainge," 10–11. 36 Everist, "Polyphonic Rondeau," 59–60.
37 Everist, "The Horse, the Clerk and the Lyric," 149–50.
38 Everist, "Motets, French Tenors and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300," 369–71.

Even such ragged phases as these leave some works and groups of works unexplained. Exactly where one places the two rondeaux in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 depends on how the internal musical and poetic features are interpreted. They could be placed anywhere within or between phases two and three, i.e., between ca. 1300 and ca. 1320, or even later. Furthermore, and this is almost inevitable given the manuscript environment in which it is found, the Anglo-Norman song, "Volez oyer" defies any attempt at chronological precision.[39]

Mapping Polyphonic Song

"Volez oyer," however difficult it is to assign it a date, tells us much about its provenance, and in general terms it is possible to say more about the geography of the emergence of polyphonic song than about its chronology. Figure 29.2 is a map of north-western Europe with all the evidence that has so far been adduced displayed.

Centered on Arras, then, are the polyphonic chansons attributed to Halle and related works. Correspondingly, l'Escurel's single polyphonic song and Jerome of Moravia's and others' instructions for the polyphonic performance of trouvère song are based firmly on Paris. Problems arise with the chansons in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67. The evidence as to where these songs were copied, let alone composed, is slender indeed. Their presence in the Collection de Picardie in the Bibliothèque nationale de France argues for an origin in that region. In the Middle Ages, Picardy was an enormous region that encompassed more or less everything north of Paris including most of Dutch-speaking Flanders. The manuscript of the songs was brought into the Collection de Picardie in the eighteenth century, when Picardy was much more akin to the modern region, and that is the basis for the identification of their provenance in Figure 29.2.[40] This is complex reasoning, and this is therefore one of the more tenuous groupings here. In contrast, the place of origin of Clément, the Monk of Lessay from whom Johannes de Grocheio apparently learned so much, is almost too easy to identify.[41] It is a long way from what is emerging as a fairly consistent area of activity, and there is no guarantee at all that in his conversations with Grocheio, he was really talking about his home town.

39 For a fuller account of how the two songs in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67 might be placed among other works and repertories, see Everist, "Souspirant en terre estrainge," 40–41.
40 Julien Marival and Bertrand Dalin, *Picardie*, Tranches de France (Paris: Déclics, 2008).
41 Christopher Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993), 17–41.



Figure 29.2 Annotated map of north-western Europe

So far, Figure 29.2 has mapped isolated points of activity: particular areas or cities where particular facets of this intriguing musical culture may be located. The picture may be developed by superimposing some repertories that seem to imply lines of transmission. The rondeau-motets, preserved in the "Chansonnier de Noailles," probably originate in the County of Artois but the techniques found there also seem to have been echoed by similar experiments in parts of the Montpellier codex, copied in Paris. The AA′B motets that seem to originate in the sixth fascicle of Montpellier and in W_2, but that are also found in the "Chansonnier de Noailles" and related sources, may also be considered here. They also link Paris with Artois,

two of the locations already seen to be of importance. Figure 29.2 assumes – and the evidence exists for the claim – that the rondeau-motet spawned those examples found in Paris, and the relationship is expressed as monodirectional. It is not possible to make the same assumption for the much more diffuse collection of motets, and this is therefore marked as bidirectional.

As in the case of the rondeau-motet, there is a line of transmission from Paris to Liège in the motets that build upper-voice chanson structures above vernacular tenors. There is both a sufficient overlap in the concordance base between the seventh and eighth fascicles of *F-MOf* H 196 and *I-Tr* vari 42, and there are grounds for thinking that such experiments were made in both Paris and somewhere in Wallonia, probably Liège.

Although two key representatives of the ballade transition, "Volez oyer" and "Bien m'ont amours entrepris / Tenor," pose problems in terms of chronology, they offer valuable clues to their provenance. But the provenances they propose stand well apart from all those so far discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, the two works – despite their stylistic and generic similarities – are placed almost as far apart from each other as possible, and much further apart from any locations outlined in this study.

The language of "Volez oyer" is so ubiquitous that it tells us little more than that the piece must have been composed in the British Isles. This alone is important, since it is the first time that this study has crossed the Channel. A little more detail is forthcoming by way of the English song in the same manuscript, "Worldes blisse," which the philologist Eric Dobson, and his successors in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, argued came originally from the East Midlands but was copied somewhere in Essex.[42] It is reasonable then to assume that "Volez oyer le castoy" was therefore copied in Essex, and quite possibly originated there as well. This is awkward evidence to handle, certainly, but sufficient to place this fascinating song at enough of a distance to map it convincingly.

Mapping "Volez oyer" puts it at some remove geographically from "Bien m'ont amours entrepris," preserved in *F-Pn* fr. 846. The manuscript has been shown to form a pair with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France,

42 Frank Ll. Harrison and Eric J. Dobson, *Medieval English Songs* (London: Faber, 1979), 194. See also Angus McIntosh et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), vol. IV: 149 and 227.

fonds français 1376 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 1376), which includes two romances: *Florimont*, by Aymon de Varennes and *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes. The two manuscripts match in terms of size, layout, decoration, and historiation. Critically, they are both comparable with the breviary prepared for the abbey of Sainte-Bénigne in Dijon. Not only was the "Chansonnier Cangé" Burgundian in origin, it may also be located more precisely in Dijon, since both books may have been prepared for Aymon, the younger son of Amedée V of Savoy in 1297. Presenting a patron with a book where the author shares the same name – Aymon de Savoie, Aymon de Varennes – was a common practice in the Middle Ages, and these details cement the connection between *F-Pn* fr. 846 and Burgundy, or lands even further to the south-east.[43]

The emergence of polyphonic song in the half century either side of 1300 is a complex issue that depends on a large number of varying, and in many cases temptingly unique, works. Problems of chronology are acute, and even if those of topography permit a lightly less blurred picture, the image is far more opaque than that of, say, the twelfth- and thirteenth-century conductus, or even that of fourteenth-century Mass composition.

One thing seems clear: that there is no single trajectory that can account for the kaleidoscopic range of attempts to bring the vernacular poetry of the trouvères into alignment with the sophisticated polyphony that characterizes clausula, motet, and *conductus cum caudis*. No single figure may be credited with anything more than perhaps a single technical advance (non-modal declamation in the case of the two songs in *F-Pn* Collection de Picardie 67, or the combination of rondeau and motet tenor in the rondeau-motet in *F-Pn* fr. 12615 and related sources, for example). And it is difficult to assemble the various pieces of the jigsaw enumerated in this chapter into any sort of coherent "project" – any sort of combined effort by a number of musicians at different times and places – that sought to achieve what is visible only with hindsight.

A fragmented picture of music history begins to emerge alongside other competing portraits of the period: the rhythmic changes to organum and conductus as they reached the end of their active, composition-driven, lives

43 Alison Stones, "The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and Their Artistic Context," in Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, eds., *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes: The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), vol. I: 256–57; and Kathleen W. Ruffo, "The Illustration of Noted Compendia of Courtly Poetry in Late Thirteenth-Century Northern France" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 61–64 and 125–82.

around 1300, the development of rhythmic theory that results in the treatises known collectively as Ars Nova, and the appearance – perhaps for the first time – of composers whose biographies may be tied to an understanding of changes in musical style. And if these terms – biography, style, composition – sound equally conservative and modern, this is testimony to the depth and breadth of musical and poetic creativity that marked out this key moment in artistic history.

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· 30 ·

Vernacular Song III: Polyphony

ELIZABETH EVA LEACH

By the second third of the fourteenth century, vernacular song had made the transition from a period of experimentation to one of generic stability that was to last well into the next century. The refrain forms called in French ballade, rondeau, and virelai, whether texted in French or not, became the dominant forms of vernacular song and are musically differentiated depending on whether the refrain section of the music comes at the beginning as well as the end (as with virelai and rondeau), has its own musical section at the end that never carries other text (as with the simplex ballade) or forms the entire musical substance of the work (as with the rondeau).[1] The history of fourteenth-century song is thus traditionally a history of these forms, their taxonomy, and the interplay of their musical and textual organization, together with a brief account of other song types, such as the madrigal, the caccia or chace, and the *lai*. *Grove* and *MGG* both offer full, illustrated descriptions of rondeau, virelai, and ballade; they define the chace and differentiate it from the caccia; they inform their readers that the Italian ballata form is cognate not with the ballade but with the virelai; they chronicle the rise (and fall) of the fourteenth-century madrigal and *lai*. As these facts are well known and readily available, this chapter will focus instead on the cultural work done by song in this period, and in particular on the kinds of human uses song served – its potential for social, political, and musical commentary, and its use as affective consolation, ethical pleasure, and singerly play.

Four main sections follow. The first two sections discuss elements of song's cultural work that were more novel in this period: first, the rise of the vernacular poet and – piggybacking on the poet – the composer figure; second, the related increased textualization of culture and the implications of this for the oral arts of poetry and song, pinpointed in the thematization of music and singing within song itself. The third and fourth sections examine fourteenth-century song in broader social and political terms, and for its relation to the central organizational category of gender. While the engagement of song with

1 The rare type called the duplex ballade has no dedicated refrain section in the music.

social and political issues in the court context was nothing new in the fourteenth century, the specific combination of various fourteenth-century political situations with the new stylistic and generic aspects of music in this period led to some specific outcomes as discussed below.[2]

Together these first four sections display the new vitality and centrality of song within the top levels of the temporal organizing structures of fourteenth-century European society.

Subjectivity, Writing, and the Vernacular Author

The historical trace of fourteenth-century songs is dominated numerically by two figures: Francesco Landini and Guillaume de Machaut.[3] Of these two figures, that of Machaut looms larger, since his cultural reach extends beyond songwriting to encompass other musical genres and pure poetry – lyric and narrative. He was one of the most famous and well-regarded authors of his day, and was the first vernacular writer to be termed a "poète."[4] The perception of Machaut as an author results from his own projection of his creative subjectivity through his work, especially in his attention to the making of books – what Sylvia Huot has called his "scribal poetics."[5] But in the general fourteenth-century move "from song to book," song was not silenced, but instead given better textual representation, more central cultural placement, and a longer shelf life.[6]

Late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century song collections had already moved in the direction of an increased focus on vernacular authorship.[7] The compilers of trouvère chansonniers not only organized the collections

2 I do not attempt to impose chronological limits on my discussion here, since the issue of chronology is fraught. I prefer to see the so-called Ars subtilior as a particular kind of Ars Nova, and do not assume chronology based on a teleology of increasing notational complexity. I will thus treat the songs of this period (the generation of composers working during Machaut's lifetime, even if their working lives extended beyond his) in the undifferentiated way in which they appear in the sources.

3 Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, Garland Composer Resource Manuals 36 (New York: Garland, 1995) and Michael P. Long, "Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite," *Early Music History* 3 (1983), 83–99.

4 See Kevin Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 7–9.

5 Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987); see also Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator* 13 (1982), 400–14. Before Machaut, the works of the trouvère Adam de Halle had been collected together, possibly at the author's own instigation.

6 Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge University Press, 2002); see also Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 26 (Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience*, Studies in Book and Print Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

7 See Huot, *From Song to Book*, chapter 7.

by author, but also prefaced author sections with *vidas* (and specific pieces with *razos*), which derived the life of the poet from the *je* of the song.[8] Once the figures of scribal compiler and author were merged into a single figure, as they were in Guillaume de Machaut, the change from song to book meant that the same wish to read the *je* as relating directly to the poet affected the status of lyric truth. Bound closely with musical performance, thirteenth-century lyric had been given its truth by being the direct communication of the singing body of the performer.[9] In the fourteenth century, the written lyric (with or without musical notation) became potentially orphaned from its singing body, and the projection of authentic *sentement* became the index of a new kind of truth anchored in writing.[10] The move from song to script is also one from singing to *sentement*. The problem of how to compose at once from *sentement* and on command for patrons or audiences thereby emerges as a new topos, whose discussion in itself attests to authenticity of *sentement*.[11]

Machaut not only exploits song to explore the topos of authenticity in *sentement*, but also problematizes it further by combining it with the issue of the proper relation of music to joy and the ethical power of music to console.[12] The *je* of his ballade "Pour ce que tous" (B12) threatens in its refrain to stop singing, a rhetorical move familiar from the *je* of many troubadour songs where the singer's future silence will reflect the pain of loving an unresponsive lady.[13] But in B12 it is the audience's lack of love for his songs – not directly his lady's lack of love for him – that will silence the poet-composer *je*.[14] The audience's complaints point up the implied contradiction between the need that song enact the authentic *sentement* of the

8 See Gregory B. Stone, *The Death of the Troubadour: The Late Medieval Resistance to the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), chapter 5. Despite their derivation, some details of *vidas* can be shown to tally with historical evidence for the lives of the authors; see Elizabeth Poe, "The *Vidas* and *Razos*," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 185–97.

9 Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Le nouveau lyricisme (XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)," in *Précis de littérature française du Moyen Âge*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983), 275–92.

10 See ibid., 287.

11 Ibid., 285–86; Butterfield, "Lyric and Elegy in *The Book of the Duchess*," *Medium Aevum* 60/1 (1991), 33–60; Cerquiglini, "*Un engin si soutil*": *Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture au XIVe siècle*, Bibliothèque du XV^{e} siècle 47 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985); and Nicolette Zeeman, "The Lover-Poet and Love as the Most Pleasing 'Matere' in Medieval French Love Poetry," *Modern Language Review* 83/4 (1988), 820–42.

12 See Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 82–131 and Leach, "Music and Verbal Meaning: Machaut's Polytextual Songs," *Speculum* 85/3 (2010), 567–91.

13 Most famously, the tornada of Benart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta* promises authorial silence; see Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 130–31.

14 See Leach, "Singing More about Singing Less: Machaut's *Pour ce que tous* (B12)," in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), 111–24 and Anne Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs and Their Readers in the Late 14th Century," *Early Music* 31/2 (2003), 180–95.

singer (who is indeed sorrowful because his lady doesn't love him) and the courtly-aesthetic requirement that professionally produced music and poetry inspire joy. Further contradiction and paradox pervade the musical aspect of this song: the refrain expressing the lover's stated intention to sing *less* has the largest note values in the song and is a ninth line when Machaut's simplex music ballade stanzas usually have only seven or eight; it is also a citation from a song by another author, so the singer here does not even verbalize his *sentement* through his own song (see Example 30.1).[15]

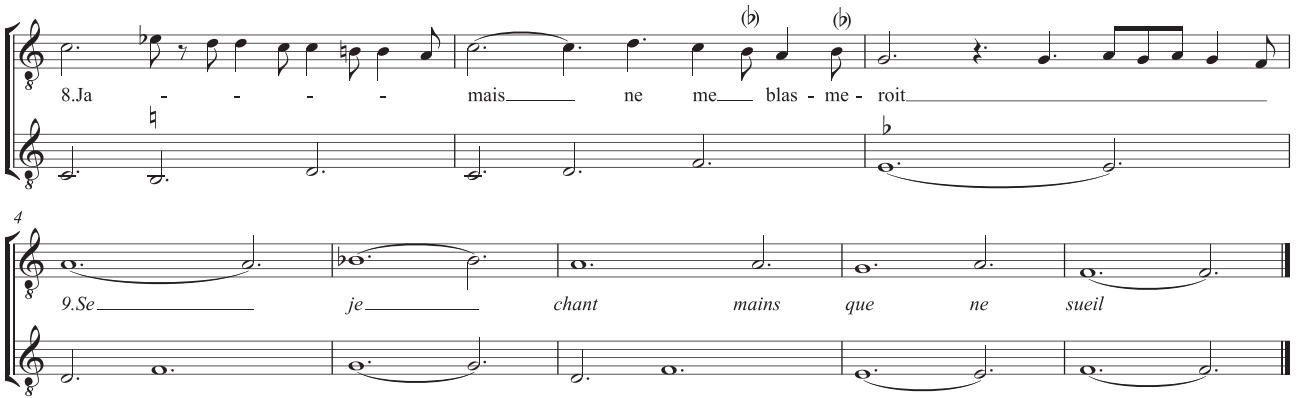
B12 is among a small but significant number of Machaut's songs that are about their own genesis, obsessed with their own textuality in a manner akin to the similarly obsessively involuted textuality in the narrative poems *Remede de Fortune* and *Voir dit*, both of which participate in, and extend, the practice of interpolating music into narrative. In both cases, interpolated songs serve to further the projection of a *je* that is self-identified as a composer-poet, successful in this regard in almost inverse proportion to his failure as a lyric lover.[16]

While the songs of other composers from the fourteenth century are not integrated, like Machaut's, into a scribally organized complete *oeuvre* that reflects on the problems of poetics and large-scale issues of courtly doctrine, specific individual songs similarly thematize the singer-composer's status as a musician or draw attention to the relation between the poetic *je* and the song's composer-performer.[17] For example, although a relatively small number of songs by the singer, composer, and harpist Jacob Senleches have survived, they show a marked preponderance of interest in self-conscious reflection on the nature of song composition, the employment of musicians, and the role of rationality in notation. Senleches's surviving works, for example, include the ballade "Fuions de ci," a lament for the death of a patron that is also an implicit lament for the concomitant unemployment of her court musicians; further works by Senleches will be discussed below.[18]

Other songs evoke authorial subjectivity through punning reference to the name of their composer in their verbal texts. Jean Vaillant's polytextual rondeau "Ma dame / Tres dous amis / Cent mille fois" presents simultaneously a dialogue between a male lover and his lady.[19] The lady's voice – uppermost

15 "Pour ce que tous" (B12) is in fact the only nine-line ballade Machaut set to music, and the only non-duplex ballade set to music in his entire output not to have either 7 or 8 lines.
16 See Cerquiglini, "*Un engin si soutil*" and Leach, "Death of a Lover and the Birth of the Polyphonic Balade: Machaut's Notated Balades 1–5," *Journal of Musicology* 19/3 (2002), 461–502.
17 See the various essays in the companion volume of *Il codice Squarcialupi: MS Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Florence: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), especially Luraghi, "Le miniature."
18 CMM 53/1: no. 89. 19 Ibid.: no. 118.

Example 30.1 Guillaume de Machaut, ballade “Pour ce que tous” (B12), ll. 8–9 (pre-refrain and refrain)



in the texture – says "C'est que toudis loyalment t'ameray / Pour ce que t'es en tout noumé vaillant," which can be translated as "I shall always love thee loyally, since in all things thou art called worthy," or "thou art called 'Vaillant.'" Solage's ballade "Calextone" also names its composer in the last line of its refrain, punning on his name's homophony with the southern form of the word "Solas" (pleasure), and here the composer's name is not the only one that the song encodes: the ballade is one of two by Solage that have an initial acrostic referring to one "Cathelline."[20] While only one stanza of "Calextone" survives, the other ballade with the acrostic, "Corps feminin," survives with three, giving the more extensive identification "CATHELLJNE LA ROINE DAMOUVRS" (Catherine, the Queen of Love).[21]

Although there exist fourteenth-century musical documents such as the interpolated *Fauvel* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr.146) and the Machaut manuscripts, which attest to a scribal interest in the book as a whole and reflect authorial initiatives in contemporaneous literary culture, such as the single-author collections of Jehan Froissart, Christine de Pizan, and Eustache Deschamps, songs of this period are more typically copied into mixed anthologies that reflect scribal poetics less clearly, if at all. But just as individual songs can reflect aspects of authorial subjectivity despite occurring outside scribal-authorial collections, certain individual songs similarly explore textuality by exploiting writing – musical notation – as the generating force behind their composition. In such songs the visual appearance of the notation becomes integral to its meaning – not just a means of transmission but part of the point of the song, the medium as message. This kind of "prescriptive," intellectual notation can be seen in elaborate rhythms, especially those incorporating proportional rhythmic change cued by graphic signs or Arabic numbers. It is also visible (quite literally, and often not at all audible) in the use of verbal canons, which provide a necessary written key to the decoding of the notation (and thereby to the performance).[22] In some pieces the song or the notation itself speaks as a *je*, performing a poetic text

20 The refrain text is "Joieux recept et amoureus soulage." CMM 53/1: no. 94. Solage is the first composer known to have a scribal attribution performed by a rebus using a musical note (solmized "sol," and thus completed by the letters "a-g-e" that follow). On Solage's obsession with naming, see Gilles Dulong, "En relisant Solage," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 45–61 at 53–55.

21 The acrostic precludes a refrain in these ballades, but it would still have been possible that "Calextone" retain the word "solage" as the terminal rhyme word of each stanza.

22 See Ursula Günther, "Fourteenth-Century Music with Texts Revealing Performance Practice," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman. Cambridge University Press, 1982, 253–70.

that describes the playing and singing of the piece being played and sung, emphasizing the song's textuality.[23]

Four famous picture songs that have survived – pieces of "visual music" – epitomize the incorporation of the visual as a meaningful element of musical composition. Baude Cordier's "Belle, bonne, sage" is a literary heart offered most visually to the lady as it is sung to her.[24] The notation of "La harpe de melodie" by Jacob Senleches depicts a harp whose strings represent the pitches to be sung. The canon by which the third voice may be realized from the first is wrapped in a red-texted rondeau around the harp's soundpost.[25] The canonic songs "Tout par compas" (a rondeau by Baude Cordier) and "En la maison" (an anonymous ballade), whose amorous texts make punning reference respectively to a pair of compasses and Daedalus' labyrinth, both have staves drawn descriptively into a circle, which "En la maison" wraps into a maze.[26]

Despite the differences in their transmission history, then, the works of Machaut and those of his contemporaries seem to share a common interest both in their own textuality and in the self-conscious and (seriously) playful projection of authorial subjectivity. However, Machaut's more thoroughgoing interest in the preservation of his own works for posterity seems to be marked as a successful project by the fact of the composition of a musical *déploration* that mourns his death, the first sung commemoration of one composer for another. The song, ascribed in its unique copy in the "Chantilly Codex" (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564 (*olim* 1047); hereafter Ch) to the otherwise unknown F. Andrieu, sets two ballade texts by Eustache Deschamps ("Armes, amours" and "O flour des

23 The use of musical canons or extended passages of musical imitation to "fix" the work is analogous to the much earlier use of end rhymes and authorial anagrams in vernacular poetry. See Stone, "Music Writing and Poetic Voice in Machaut: Some Remarks on B12 and B14," in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), 125–38.

24 See Yolanda Plumley and Stone, "Cordier's Picture Songs and the Relationship between the Song Repertoires of the Chantilly Codex and Oxford 213," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Plumley and Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 302–28 and, for an image, Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 115 (figure 3.1).

25 See Reinhard Strohm, "'La harpe de melodie' oder Das Kunstwerk als Akt der Zueignung," in *Das musikalische Kunstwerk: Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Danuser, H. de la Motte-Haber, S. Leopold, and N. Miller. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988, 305–16. That the two texted voices derive from the same notation makes this a chace of a kind, although as it is formally a virelai, modern writers tend to call it a canonic virelai. Thoroughgoing musical imitation animates three of these four picture songs, further adding to their intellectual "writerliness." See also Leach, *Sung Birds*, 116 (figure 3.2).

26 On "Tout par compas," see Plumley and Stone, "Cordier's Picture Songs," and Leach, *Sung Birds*, 117 (figure 3.3). On "En la maison," see Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001); Leach, *Sung Birds*, 118 (figure 3.4); and Leach, "The Fourteenth-Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist, 87–103 (notes 382–86) (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Example 30.2 F. Andrieu (music) and Eustache Deschamps (text), double ballade (*déploration* for the death of Machaut), opening of refrain



flours") simultaneously to different voices of a four-part ballade.[27] The refrain text, which is identical verbally in both texted voices, asks Orpheus and all those who hold the noble art of music dear to weep for "La mort Machau, le noble rhetorique" (the death of Machaut, the noble rhetorician). The held notes that set the opening four syllables of the refrain provide a moment of focus for listeners within the texture; see Example 30.2).[28] Other intertextual

27 CMM 53/1, no. 2. The identification of F. Andrieu with "Magister Franciscus," composer of a ballade that cites Machaut's *Phyton* (B38), has been proposed. See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 386 n. 95.

28 See Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 263–325. On another use of held notes in the refrain as a point of focus, see the section "Political and Social Functions of Song at Court and Beyond," below.

references in Deschamps's two poems carefully but obliquely refer to some of Machaut's own lyrics, one of which (the invocation of Alpheus and Arethusa, evoking an early self-*déploration* by Machaut) in turn makes an oblique reference to a song competition in Book V of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – apt for a song so clearly modeled on textual and musical aspects of the sung poetry of the person whose death it mourns.[29]

The composition of a song lamenting the death of a composer of songs and requiring Orpheus to weep for a man who compared himself to Orpheus in his own works exemplifies the self-conscious participation of fourteenth-century songs in a further aspect of music's cultural work in this period: the thematization of song and music within song itself.

Songs about Music and Musicians

In the *Prologue* to the later manuscripts of Machaut's collected works, *Musique* is personified and depicted in the opening miniature as one of the three children of Nature that the Goddess brings to Machaut to help him in the practice of his work.[30] While it might be no surprise that such a self-conscious author-figure as Machaut personified music in this way, a small but significant number of songs within the broader fourteenth-century tradition of song composition do the same.

For example, in the anonymous ballade "Plus ne put Musique," Music is similarly personified as a noble lady, with Orpheus described as her secretary. This relation fits easily with Machaut's self-projection as a latter-day Orpheus and his professional status as a royal secretary. Secretarial employment, like Machaut's earlier role of almoner, seems to have had much greater links to the cultural life of a court than might readily be assumed today.[31] That among the closest advisors of a king or other noble might be an individual with both counseling and scribal responsibility, and also able to make high-quality poetry and music, is indicative of the intimate and powerful role of music

29 Machaut inserts part of this section – the tale of Proserpina – into the middle of the tale of Orpheus in *Confort*, ll. 2353–516. The musical setting, similarly, uses aspects of his songs and also appears to quote the tune from the second line of the ballade "Dame qui fust," an anonymous work based on Machaut's "De Fortune" (B23); see Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*, 311–12 and Leach, "Dead Famous: Mourning, Machaut, Music, and Renown in the Chantilly Codex," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 63–93.

30 On the *Prologue* images see Dominic Leo, "Authorial Presence in the Illuminated Machaut Manuscripts" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2005), 217–39 and McGrady, "Guillaume de Machaut," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 109–22.

31 See Leach, "Guillaume de Machaut, Royal Almoner: *Honte, paour* (B25) and *Donnez, signeurs* (B26) in Context," *Early Music* 38 (2010), 21–42.

within medieval courts.[32] And Lady Music in "Plus ne put Musique" is in particular need of the counsel of Orpheus because she is suffering the onslaughts of prideful ignorant people whose voices drive the lovers of music mad. Forming part of a subset of songs that are specifically about music, "Plus ne put Musique" is one of several songs from this period to use the personification of music as a noble lady in order to sing a lament – a genre traditionally associated with women – decrying the contemporary state of music. In such songs, the musicalization of the ballade text itself forms part of the argument about the state of music, adding an ironic twist, exemplifying the problem, or providing evidence of music's potential for rationality and goodness.

"Plus ne put Musique," for instance, presents all four of the mensurations available in Ars Nova notation in succession in its A section, providing a fine exemplification of the possibilities for rational and ordered song. Or does it? On a different reading it might be interpreted as exemplifying the kind of music apt to send Music's lovers mad, chopping and changing its mensural organization every six breves, culminating in the simultaneous use of different mensurations in the refrain, whose final melisma is playfully chaotic (but ultimately ordered; see Example 30.3 where the boxed section in the tenor is notated in duple time whereas the other parts remain in triple time).[33] But perhaps if the singers indeed love music and are trained in *musica*, they will negotiate these changes and the counterpoint with no trouble; only those who are ignorant will get the song wrong enough to turn it into dissonant shouting. As with many fourteenth-century songs about songs, whether they seem to praise or blame songs, composers, and singers, the subject position is slippery, and the relation of the lyric *je* to the singer or singers of the text and melody is open to multiple interpretations.

Other songs in Ch set their singers rather complex tasks of notational decoding in order to sing words that condemn the very same abuses of notational and singerly practice that they arguably exemplify. "Or voit tout en aventure," by a composer called only "Guido" (and thus sharing a name

32 See Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380* (Oxford University Press, 2001), chapters 5–6.

33 The interpretation of this and other music-themed songs in Jehoash Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism in the Chantilly Codex" sees all of them as exemplifying the music they critique. Diametrically opposed interpretations can be observed between Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's 'Sus une fontayne,'" *Music & Letters* 82/3 (2001), 361–90 and Jason Stoessel, "The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of the *Ars subtilior*," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 179–202; or between Stone, "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song: Four Case Studies," in *Johannes Ciconia: Musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 169–94 and Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading, and Performing Song," in *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 72–95.

Example 30.3 Anonymous, ballade “Plus ne put Musique,” refrain



with the most famous music theorist of the Middle Ages, Guido of Arezzo), has its singers lament the music "a la nouvelle figure" (using new figures) that is "en contraire/De bon art" (contrary to good art), concluding in each stanza's refrain that "Certes, ce n'est pas bien fayt" (certainly this is not well done), yet the song is full of such new graphic note shapes.[34] Is it, therefore, "well done" or not? It certainly begs our judgment and forces engagement with the issues.

Similar, on the face of it, is Jacob Senleches's double ballade, "Je me merveil / J'ay pluseurs fois," in which two singers deplore the state of contemporary music-making.[35] Their shared refrain text – which amounts to an exclamation that every Tom, Dick, and Harry is having a go at creating songs – is presented as a musical canon, whose status as exact imitation is obscured by the two lines being notated differently, despite singing the same music. Given that the voices are also copied (as usual for songs in this period) in parts, there is no way that the canon can be spotted until the song is sung. These singers lament the fact that the uncultured are having a go at producing songs like this. How the notational aspect of the refrain in Senleches's ballade affects the interpretation of the subject position of the singers, the textual *je*, or its composer-poet has been disputed by scholars: it is perhaps safe only to say that it serves to demand an interpretation from those reading, listening, and/or singing.[36] In my own reading the singers of Senleches's double ballade become a multiple, real, and human version of the Lady Music described in "Plus ne put Musique" (see above) or voiced in Landini's madrigal, "Musica son / Già furon / Ciascun," whose texts bewail the neglect of music and other virtues, the omnipresence of ignorance, and the fact that everyone thinks they can compose.[37]

Matheus de Sancto Johanne's ballade "Science n'a nul enemi" also presents a text that judges things as not being well done, and condemns ignorance: "knowledge has no enemy if it's not those who are ignorant," says the song. Ironically such ignorant asses are goaded onwards in the refrain as the traditional Middle French locution for goading beasts of burden ("Hay

34 Dorit Tanay, "Between the Fig Tree and the Laurel: *Or voit tout en aventure* Revisited," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 161–78, has read this song as offering at once an exhilaration over liberation of notational system and despair over loss of truth in human language, using the similarly bifurcated self-reflection found in Petrarch's *Secretum*. On the ironic text, see also Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha. M. 5. 24" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994) and Günther, "Das Ende der *ars nova*," *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963), 105–20.

35 See Stone, "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song," and Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production."

36 For a fuller analysis, see Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production." My interpretation differs from that found in Stone, "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song," 179–88.

37 Michael P. Long, "Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite," *Early Music History* 3 (1983), 83–99 at 93.

avant!") pops up in all voices over a pedal note before the refrain concludes that "we thus say it is really well done" (Example 30.4).[38] As music theorist and choir trainer Guido of Arezzo tells singers in the metrical prologue to his widely copied *Regulae*, only the mere cantor – the one lacking the "science" that defines the true musician – would prefer the loud bray of the ass to the song of the nightingale.[39] Matheus's song pushes exactly Guido of Arezzo's point – the ignorant are the enemies of true "science" and envy those in the know.

While the invocation of a theoretical subtext in Matheus's ballade is merely implied by the goading of the asses, it is made explicitly in those fourteenth-century songs whose texts name Philippe de Vitry and Marchetto of Padua as specifically theoretical authorities for singing and notation. Since the High Middle Ages music theory had possessed a strong written literature with a clear chain of authority, but only in fourteenth-century music do these figures of music theory begin to be referenced explicitly within performed songs. Philippe and Marchetto represent respectively the key theorists of the French and Italian traditions of mensural notation that twentieth-century musicology denominated under the headings Ars Nova and Trecento.[40] Guido's "Or voit tout," already mentioned above, pits the good example of Philippe against the "contrefait" (contrary doing) of Marchetto which "n'a mesure" (has no measure).[41] The same two authorities are used as a parallel pair of masters in a text that was set to music twice – as a madrigal and a caccia – by Jacopo da Bologna. "Oselletto selvaggio per stagione" compares the song of a small, melodious, seasonal bird (a nightingale) to the shouts of the perennial upstarts who presume to make ballate, madrigals, and motets, overweening to think themselves so many little Phillippes and Marchettos. The text concludes that when there are too many little masters there can be no disciples. Jacopo's two songs with this text criticize singers who have the temerity to compose in the latest styles without the requisite knowledge of the art of music, alleging that they are merely shouting (subtextually, again,

38 See Richard Holbrook, "Hez! Hay! Hay Avant! and Other Old and Middle French Locutions Used for Driving Beasts of Burden," *Modern Language Notes* 20/8 (1905), 232–35.

39 See Guido of Arezzo, *Guido D'Arezzo's Regulae Rithmice, Prologus in Antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michahelem: A Critical Text and Translation*, ed. Dolores Pesce, Musicological Studies 73 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999) and Leach, *Sung Birds*, 46–48.

40 On the questionable relevance of the term Ars Nova to the Italian repertoire, see David Fallows, "Ars nova," Grove music online.

41 "Contrefait" is often translated as "counterfeit" but it did not have straightforwardly negative connotations in this period. See Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late-Medieval France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), chapter 3, "The Vocabulary of Likeness at the Late Fourteenth-Century French Court."

Example 30.4 Matheus de Sancte Johanne, ballade "Science n'a nul enemi," opening of refrain



the loud bray of Guido of Arezzo's ass, rather than the sweet sound of the nightingale). By contrast the good singers of the music of the good composer picture their own skill as human nightingales.[42]

42 See the fuller argument in Leach, *Sung Birds*, 84–90 and 178–79.

The emphasis on the sweet, artful song of the nightingale as opposed on one hand to the loud ass-like shouts of poor singers and on the other to the repetitive and boring songs of human cuckoos is a theme taken up in a number of songs from the fourteenth century.[43] Most famous and widest transmitted among these is one by a composer already mentioned above for his punning insertion of his own name into a polytextual rondeau, Johannes Vaillant. Vaillant's "Par maintes foys" depicts a nightingale marshaling an army of birds to kill the cuckoo. The cuckoo's song and the nightingale's virtuoso melodies are both depicted musically. That the same composer might be responsible for a song with a self-consciously authorial, writerly, and textualizing song, and another that instead celebrates singerly authority need not be seen as contradictory once it is realized that composers form a specialized subcategory of singers in this period, perhaps sometimes merely notating a performance "composed" through virtuoso improvisation.[44] Vaillant himself is known to have run a music school in Paris, and he probably viewed the making of a song in sound by a singer and the making of a song in notation by a composer or scribe to be rather closely related activities.[45]

Senleches, too, composed a song contrasting the nightingale and cuckoo: "En ce gracieux temps" has the narrator wandering from one glade to another and rejecting the cuckoo's song – depicted musically with repetitive rhythm and static harmony in the virelai's verses – in favor of the nightingale's contrapuntally complex, syncopated melody in the refrain (see Example 30.5). Senleches composes as a performer – a singer and harpist – whose sympathy for the nightingale is both oral and written. This interaction between the oral and the written in late-medieval musical culture seems to motivate much of the interaction between the meaning of the notation and the meaning of the poetry in song, even if it is not accessible to anyone but those who both see the notation and poetry, and hear the song. Elsewhere I have posited the idea that an important part of the cultural work of song took place among singers themselves, in rehearsal – a space whose importance tends to be minimized in both cultural perception and musicological writing today.[46]

A further singerly refraction of music's fourteenth-century acquisition of its own literate status and written canon is an increase in the self-conscious use of

43 See Virginia Newes, "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale: Patterns of Mimesis and Imitation in French Songs of the Late Middle Ages," in *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Music/Grenzbereiche in der Musik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Karl Kügle and Lorenz Welker (Münster: American Institute of Musicology, 2009), 131–55 and Leach, *Sung Birds*.

44 See Stone, "Glimpses of the Unwritten Tradition in Some *Ars subtilior* Works," *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996), 59–93.

45 See also Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production" and Christina Story, "Music and Musicians in the Court and City of Paris during the Reign of Charles VI (1380–1422)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Royal Holloway University of London, 2008), chapter 2.

46 See Leach, "Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production."

Example 30.5 Jacob Senleches, virelai “En ce gracieux temps”: Nightingale in the refrain



citation of songs and their texts in other songs and their texts. While citation of neither text nor music requires a literate state for the song in question, the practice is associated with aspects of learning, glossing, and the use of florilegia, which emphasize music's definitive move into literate territory (without, of course, relinquishing its oral and sonic components and transmission possibilities).[47] Singerly self-referentiality bridges the oral and literate dimensions and enables singer-composers to praise music both as a sung practice and as a means of "making" (that is, composition; whether oral, literate, or mixed). Such praise of music is unsurprisingly also thematized in the song repertoire. For example, Johannes Suzoy's "Pitagoras, Jabol, et Orpheüs" praises these three figures as the "first fathers of melody" and bids the hearers of the song to praise them for their "science" and mastery because they prove that music is the "fountain of all honor and of sovereign love."[48] The promotion of music's renown, and, through music's renown, the renown of the composer who has written the song in praise of music, replicates for music itself the manner in which composers used song to promote the political fame and renown of living figures, whose temporal powers they served.

Political and Social Functions of Song at Court and Beyond

The increased textualization and individualization of vernacular authorship in fourteenth-century society is associated with change in attitudes to posterity more broadly. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet discusses how an essentially oral

47 On intertextuality and citation see Wulf Arlt, "Intertextualität im Lied des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), vol. I: 287–363; Kevin Brownlee, "Literary Intertextualities in the *Esperance* Series: Machaut's *Esperance qui m'asseüre*, the Anonymous Rondeau *En attendant d'avoir*, Senleches' *En attendant esperance conforte*," in *Musik als Text*, ed. Danuser and Plebuch, vol. I: 311–13; and Brownlee, "Literary Intertextualities in 14th-Century French Song," in *Musik als Text*, ed. Danuser and Plebuch, vol. I: 295–99. See also Leach, "Fortune's Demesne: The Interrelation of Text and Music in Machaut's *Il mest avis* (B22), *De fortune* (B23), and Two Related Anonymous Balades," *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 47–79; Plumley, "Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson," *Music & Letters* 84 (2003), 355–77; Leach, "Grafting the Rose: Machaut, the *Ars subtilior*, and the Cyprus Balades," in *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Music/ Grenzbereiche in der Musik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Karl Kügle and Lorenz Welker (Münster and Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2009), 195–219; and the various essays in Suzannah Clark and Leach, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned. A Festschrift for Margaret Bent's 65th Birthday*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005). On Vitry's use of florilegia, see particularly Andrew Wathey, "*Auctoritas* and the Motets of Philippe de Vitry," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 67–78.

48 "Musique est fontayne/De tout honnour et d'amour souverayne" (ll. 7–8). CMM 53/1, no. 105. At least three sources transmit this piece; see Mark Everist, "A New Source for the Polyphony of the *Ars subtilior*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 22069," *in A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 283–301. A poetry treatise credits "Jehan de Susay" as still living; see M. Langlois, ed., *Recueil d'Arts de séconde rhétorique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902).

transmission route, which personified Fame as a bird, with plumage of eyes and ears and mouths, flying round the world and spreading the word, was replaced by the Ovidian story of Pegasus' hoofprint causing a fountain of poetic inspiration to spring from the Muses' mountain: "La plume de l'oiseau est devenue plume du poète" (the feather of the bird has become the poet's quill-feather pen).[49] Poets not only sang of arms and of the man, but also wrote about the deeds of their living patrons (notables, whose names are literally "worth writing down"). The fourteenth century witnessed a marked increase in the celebration of contemporaries through hyperbolic comparison with named worthies of the past.[50] Poems employing this technique – drawn from the related *Ubi sunt* tradition – work via medieval habits of artificial memory, cuing a catalog of well-known stories by single keyword references – in this case famous names.[51] One song text even turns the list of famous dead authorities into an acrostic, giving the name of the living patron proposed as worthy of their company: Jacquemart le Cuvelier's ballade "Se Galaas" names Galaas, Arthus, Samson, Tristan, Ogier and Namon, spelling out the dedicatee's given name, Gaston. His cognomen "Phebus" (Phoebus) is declaimed emphatically in the refrain (see Example 30.6).[52]

Patrons who employed professional poets to (pro)claim their fame increased the power of both writing and writers, allowing poets to claim renowned status also for themselves, despite lacking the necessary social status to excel in the traditional markers of fame: arms or love. If the poet was also a professional singer and composer, fame of patron and poet could circulate as a performance in sound, inscribing itself into natural human memory, and/or – given the increasingly textualized culture of the court – as a visual performance, inscribed in *notae* on the artificial memory of parchment. Poet-composer-performers could link their own names to those of patrons, preserving both, as seen above in the acrostic that names Cathelline while the refrain rhyme names the composer, Solage.

While Gaston took Phebus as an additional name, and (its punning potential notwithstanding) Solage, too, may be a genuine name, some songs seem to be hiding particular nobles entirely behind generic courtly personifications.[53] Evidence for personifications "hiding" real historical figures is available from

49 Cerquiglini-Toulet, "*Fama* et les preux: nom et renom à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 24 (1993), 35–44 at 44. See also Leach, "Dead Famous."

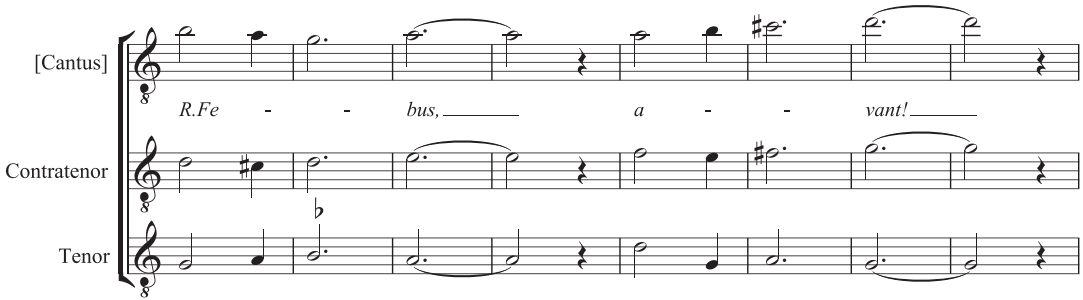
50 See Cerquiglini-Toulet, "*Fama* et les preux."

51 On the *Ubi sunt* tradition, see Mariantonia Liborio, "Contibuti alla storia dell' 'Ubi sunt,'" *Cultura Neolatina* 20 (1960), 141–209.

52 Whether this was written for Gaston Phebus at his own court or was a gift from a visiting noble is difficult to assess.

53 On the possible identity of Solage, see Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 103–68 at 128–29.

Example 30.6 Jaquemart de Cuvelier, ballade “Se Galaas,” opening of refrain



narrative poetry of the period: Dame Bonneürté has been identified with Bonne of Luxembourg in Machaut's *Jugement du Roy de Navarre* and Sens with Guillaume de Melun, archbishop of Sens in Gace de la Buigne's *Roman des deduis*.[54] Given the propensity in this period for tournaments, feasts, and festivities with noble play-acting, this might indicate that noblemen and women represented certain personified characters in courtly performances that almost certainly would have included poetry and music.[55]

The text of the two-part virelai "Fait fut pour vous" possibly exemplifies this technique: it tells a listener that Plaisance has made this virelai, directs him or her to show it to Solas, and to tell Tres Doulcz Confort that Bel Acuel and Deduit greet him (Solas), whatever time of day or night it might be.[56] Two other virelais containing similar groups of personifications share a particular musical tag associated with the character "Plaisance." In "Va t'en mon cuer," where the *je* sends his heart into "that noble company where, without fail, thou [the *je*'s heart] wilt find Deduit, Plaisance, and Solas," the word "Plaisance" has the same musical profile (Example 30.7a) as the extrametrical initial invocation of the same personification's name in the virelai "Or tost" (Example 30.7b), which survives in many sources, including in fragments from Mons and Cambrai.[57] This latter virelai is ascribed to "Pykini," a composer most recently identified with one Nicolas de Picquigny, chaplain from 1364 to 1389 at the Brabant court of Johanna of Brabant and Wenceslas of Bohemia, whose personal badge was the parrot that is mentioned in the text of the song.[58] Wenceslas' and Johanna's court was known not only for its spectacular and lengthy courtly festivities, but also for Wenceslas' interest in poetic composition: some of Wenceslas' lyrics were incorporated into Froissart's Arthurian romance *Méliador*, and at least one of these survives with a musical setting.[59] It seems possible that Wenceslas at

54 See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 25f. n. 94 and Raymond Cazelles, *Société politique, noblesse et couronne sous Jean le Bon et Charles V* (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 402–03.

55 See Vale, *The Princely Court*, Part II.

56 This final line, of course, links to the virelai "Soit tart," and thereby into a nexus of intertextual citation. This makes it easy to associate with the high literacy of elite courtly exchange. See Welker, "*Soit tart tempre* und seine Familie," in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebuch, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), vol. 1, 322–34 and Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game in the Late 14th-Century Chanson," *Early Music* 31 (2003), 20–40.

57 See Leach, *Sung Birds*, 152–56 and details on www.diamm.ac.uk.

58 Remco Sleiderink, "Pykini's Parrot: Music at the Court of Brabant," in *Musicology and Archival Research / Musicologie et Recherches en Archives / Musicologie en Archiefonderzoek*, ed. Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans, and André Vanrie (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief / Archives générales du Royaume, 1994), 358–91.

59 Wenceslas' poem "Fuiés de moy" exists in a widely copied musical setting, ascribed in one source to "Alain." For a complete list of musical sources see Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), 240. See also Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs 1415–1480* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 168 and Valeria Sargeni, "Una nuova fonte di polifonia trecentesca in lingua francese conservata nell'Archivio storico comunale di Todi," *Esercizi: Musica e spettacolo* 13 (nuova serie 4) (1994), 5–15.

Example 30.7 Two virelais invoking Plaisance
a: "Plaisance" in Anonymous, "Va t'en mon cuer"



least wrote the text of "Fait fut," as well as that it, "Va t'en mon cuer," and "Or tost" formed part of the soundscape of his court.[60] Whether the duplication of the musical tag for Plaisance in these two songs means that this personification was used for Wenceslas or not, would require additional archival investigation to ascertain.

For songs to function in this way necessitated their drawing on the complex relations between lyric and narrative in this period. The citation of figures drawn from history, myth, and the Bible, as well as personifications drawn from the *Roman de la Rose* and vernacular lay devotional literature, are found frequently in the texts of songs of this period. Given the ability of music to

60 See Vale, *The Princely Court*, 193–200. The playing of Arthurian roles is mentioned specifically (193).

Example 30.7 (cont.)

b: "Plaisance" in Pykini, "Plaisance / Or tost"



linger in memory, it seems likely that many of these songs served as part of the ethical education of courtiers, epitomizing the salient features of lengthier discussions in narrative works, allowing courtiers to retain and bring once more to mind ethical reflection that had the additional advantage of being significantly inflected by music's affective powers.

Given his concern to bring his collected works together within a single book, it is no surprise that Machaut appears to use his lyric works in such a way as to reprise key features of the courtly doctrine found in his own narratives. "Donnez, signeurs" (B26), for example, brings to mind several discussions of the largesse of Machaut's only known employer, King John of Luxembourg; its companion ballade "Honte, paour" (B25) similarly gathers characters found among the allegorical courtiers in the *Jugement dou roy de Navarre*.[61] In such cases a song may serve as an opportunity for contemplation and ethical reflection as well as pleasure. Although amorous topics still predominate in the songs of this period, the doctrine promoted tends to recommend steadfast hope, secrecy, and ongoing loyalty – that is, inaction – effectively channeling affect into musical pleasures so as to avoid the social difficulties that active amorous pleasures might have engendered. Some critics have even argued that Machaut effectively transformed Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* into a "Consolation of Poetry" (and, if this is the case, I would argue, specifically of *musical* poetry) as a means of making the theological insights of the earlier author relevant to the specific social situation of the noble men and women who inhabited late medieval courts.[62] Various aspects of late medieval songs can be seen as reflecting a contemplative musical use: the importance of visual aspects of notation (making the song an object of visual meditation even for those who don't need to, or can't read the notation); the use of aurally attractive features such as sequences, birdsong imitations, and so on; and the use of aurally mystifying features, such as

61 For a full discussion, see Leach, "Guillaume de Machaut, Royal Almoner," especially ex. 1 on p. 29. Many of Machaut's motets present allegorical characters from the *Roman de la Rose* and stories from the moralized Ovid, which they juxtapose with the liturgical texts and situations cued in the tenors. See, for example, Brownlee, "La polyphonie textuelle dans le Motet 7 de Machaut: Narcisse, la *Rose*, et la voix féminine," in *Guillaume de Machaut: 1300–2000*, ed. Cerquiglini-Toulet and Nigel Wilkins (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 137–46 and Brownlee, "Fire, Desire, Duration, Death: Machaut's Motet 10," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Clark and Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 79–93.

62 See Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," *Modern Philology* 100 (2002), 169–95. Sarah Kay offers the opposite emphasis, seeing the transcendence of Hope and Poetry as ultimately the plaything of Fortune: see Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) and Kay, "Touching Singularity: Consolation, Philosophy, and Poetry in the French *dit*," in *The Erotics of Consolation: Desire and Distance in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine E. Léglu and Stephen J. Milner (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 21–38.

polytextuality, that send the listener back to the text, which in turn sends the reader back to the song, either in memory or in a fresh performance.[63]

That poetry – especially when sung – could have an ethical and didactic purpose was a commonplace of all different contexts for literate medieval education, whether at court or outside. The rondeau "Tres dous regart," whose notated form only survives (missing two lines of text) in the early fifteenth-century Modena manuscript,[64] is found complete in several fourteenth-century copies of a dialogue treatise designed to teach Anglo-French to future household clerks while they were studying in Oxford.[65] In the context of the treatise, this simple but elegant two-part piece is sung by the master and his valet while they travel together on horseback. In the context of the classroom, one could imagine such a song being sung by the aspiring clerk and his teacher as an aid to the impartation of French vocabulary and vowel sounds, as well as being both enjoyable to sing and an accomplishment in itself.

The Gender of Song and Gender in Song

One further social aspect that is both reflected in, and constructed by, song in this period is the category of gender. Given that the bulk of song texts continue to be those that have been termed from the nineteenth century "courtly love" texts, most present a male *je*, who speaks in the first person either to or about a female love object. Many of the recent critical views of such love poetry's gender relations thus continue to be relevant to fourteenth-century songs: the songs are often a picture of homosocial male striving in which the singing man uses the pretext of the woman as a token of exchange with which to display his skill in the courtly (or professional poetic) good of eloquence. When set to music, song might therefore offer male nobles a vicarious form of other kinds of competitive pleasures.[66] Such striving is pictured rather more literally when Machaut sets as a double ballade his own poem and that of Thomas Paien in "Quant Theseus / Ne quier" (B34).[67] In the context of the *Voir dit*, which describes the composition of B34 and contains its text, Thomas is ostensibly a rival lover. But it becomes clear from the

63 For a fuller exposition of this idea, see Leach, "Music and Verbal Meaning."
64 Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (*I-MOe* α.M.5.24).
65 See Leach, "Learning French by Singing in Fourteenth-Century England," *Early Music* 33 (2005), 253–70. For an edition of the treatise, see *Manières de Langage (1396, 1399, 1415)*, ed. A. M. Kristol, Anglo-Norman Texts 53 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1995).
66 On music as a substitute for hunting, see Leach, *Sung Birds*, chapter 4.
67 See Leach, "Machaut's Balades with Four Voices," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10/2 (2001), 47–79 and Leach "Machaut's Peer, Thomas Paien," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 18/2 (2009), 1–22.

comments in the *Voir dit*, and from what we know of the historical Thomas Paien, that the competition is not one of love, but rather one of rival royal secretaries, showing off their poetic skills, probably for the entertainment of Jean, Duke of Berry in the period before his English exile of 1360.[68]

This picture might fit an all- or predominantly male audience and male singers, in which context even the staging of a feminine voice can construct masculinity and/or become an aspect of antifeminism (as, for instance, in songs which present an unfaithful female lover). Machaut's ballade "De Fortune" (B23) is voiced by a lady who wishes not only to praise Fortune for giving her such a wonderful lover, but also to blame Fortune for making him, as she believes, unfaithful.[69] However, at the end of the poem she berates herself for the unworthiness of this thought, vacillating between thinking ill and good thoughts about her lover. By implication the ballade surreptitiously posits an equation between the potential changeability of the feminine *je* and that of the Goddess Fortune.[70]

Machaut's "De petit po" (B18) is similarly voiced by a lady, but here this is a lady whose coldness towards her lover – strategic coldness proper to ladies who love honorably – has resulted in him believing the "mesdisans" (gossips), who have told him that she has stopped loving him.[71] The third stanza contrasts her lover's credulity with her own disbelief of those who have spoken basely of him to her, concluding that he can never have loved her properly in the first place. In the course of asserting her own loyalty and probity, this lady's criticism of her lover betrays her actual lack of both qualities. As with B23 – and more explicitly in the *Voir dit* – the lady is assimilated to Fortune and love is shown to lead to life in Fortune's sway for men and women alike.[72]

68 Ibid.

69 Leonard Johnson comments that "we are not told exactly what her 'desconfiture' is, but one can only assume that it is some amorous *mis*fortune, perhaps her lover's absence" ("'Nouviaus dis amoureux plaisans': Variation as Innovation in Guillaume de Machaut," in *Musique naturelle et musique artificielle: In memoriam Gustave Reese*, ed. Mary Beth Winn [Montreal: Ceres, 1979], 11–28). That it is more than this is, I think, connoted by the relationship between the two texts, which implies a change (reported, if not real) in the man's love.

70 Such an assimilation to Fortune of inconstant lovers – swayed by hearsay – is seen further in the *Voir dit*.

71 The relation between largesse and honor is highly gendered in Machaut's courtly doctrine. For women in private amorous contexts, keeping good one's honor involves being "large en refus"; for men in public political contexts giving freely of gifts, land, money, represents honorable largesse. The paired advice ballades "Honte, paour" (B25) and "Donnez, signeurs" (B26) contrast these kinds of largesse most thoroughly. See Leach, "Guillaume de Machaut, Royal Almoner."

72 See Catherine Attwood, "The Image in the Fountain: Fortune, Fiction and Femininity in the *Livre du Voir Dit* of Guillaume de Machaut," *Nottingham French Studies* 38 (1999), 137–49 and Huot, "Reliving the *Roman de la Rose: Allegory and Irony in Machaut's Voir Dit*," *in Chaucer's French Contemporaries: The Poetry/Poetics of Self and Tradition*, ed. R. Barton Palmer (New York: American Musicological Society, 1999), 47–69.

Women seem to have had an important role in the cultural life of the courts in this period, especially in northern France and England, and it has been argued that certain aspects of Machaut's poetic doctrine are designed to offer music and poetry as consolation that does for both sexes, but might have had an especially important role for women. The relation between the sexes becomes a particular point at issue in Machaut's second *Jugement* poem, the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, in which Lady Goodness confronts the narrator Guillaume at the opening of the *dit* and demands that he reopen the debate of his earlier poem, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, on the basis that it is a slur on ladies to have ruled in favor of a knight (the debate centers around who has more grief, a knight whose lady has left him for another, or a lady whose lover has died). As *Navarre* progresses it morphs swiftly from a consideration of this kind of question to a competitive anatomizing of responses to grief in which men are apt to externalize it and distract themselves with chivalric exploits (or be driven to distraction by madness), whereas women internalize it and experience their suffering bodily (even to the point of death).[73] The larger point of *Navarre*'s palinode, however, is that all of this suffering can be commemorated and eternalized in musical poetry, which functions as the ultimate joyful *Souvenir* and can cope not only with unfaithfulness but with death as well. Sylvia Huot sees this as a more radical revision of Boethius than Machaut had presented in the earlier *Remede*.[74] Machaut's musical poetry offers – to men and women alike – a form of distraction that has all the potential for the sublimation of pain that can be found in madness (a symbolic male death) or death (the female response to suffering), but represents instead the "truly salvific symbolization of the self through poetic language."[75]

The proof of this salvation is the appending of a lyric lai to some manuscript sources of *Navarre*.[76] The *Lay de Plour*, "Qui bien aimme" (L22/16) offers a model of noble suffering and acts as a serious sonic and visual *Souvenir*. The incipit text acts as a motto for the whole act of remembrance since it cites "one of the most widely cited refrains from either the thirteenth or fourteenth century," *Qui bien aimme a tart oublie* ("Whoever loves well, forgets slowly.")[77] This piece of proverbial wisdom allows the singer

73 Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," 179–80.

74 Ibid., 181. For a different (but in my view complementary) reading, see Kay, *The Place of Thought*.

75 Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," 193.

76 In Machaut manuscript *A* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1584; hereafter *A*), however, the lay is moved back into the musical lai section – perhaps for copying reasons, perhaps to pair it with its original partner in Machaut manuscript *C* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586; hereafter *C*), the *Lay mortel* (see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 265–66). I would interpret this not as a rejection of its place as the denouement of *Navarre*, but as indicative of the heightened sense of the whole book that *A* promotes; see ibid., 275–80.

77 Machaut, *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke*, ed. Friedrich Ludwig, 4 vols. (Leipzig and Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926–54), vol. II: 34; vdB 233, no. 1585. See also Butterfield, *Poetry*

to draw the audience into a sententious, communally agreed act of remembering her beloved.[78]

Having stated the function of the music proverbially, the lai's opening image of the continued presence of painful memories is of a fire that never goes out. In the *Lay de plour*, like a fire that cannot be put out, the arrow of Love in the lady's heart cannot be pulled out. In the second and third stanzas this wooden shaft transmogrifies into a partially uprooted tree, and the element of fire is countered with water – the water of tears that nourish the tree whose leaves thus continue to grow.[79] The final stanza typically presents the melody of the first notated a perfect fifth higher, transforming without actually changing (that is, transposing) its melody, making the final stanza higher, more elevated, more of a vocal stretch for the performer. The text ends similarly by transforming death into eternal life, invoking the Christian God ("Vray Dieu") to look on the lady and her beloved "with such a loving look, that in a book we might be alive."[80] Ostensibly the singing lady desires that she and her dead beloved be written into the eternal book of life, but the implication is that a much more immediate memorialization and eternalization is being achieved in the book of Machaut, the book that the reader or singer could physically be holding.[81] This "tree" (many medieval book bindings were made of wood) is certainly uprooted but continues to flower – with the rhetoric of words and colors of pictures – nourished by the memory of

and Music, 246–52, 335 n.49; Karp, "Borrowed Material in Trouvère Music," *Acta musicologica* 34 (1962), 87–101 at 100. See also Newes, "Machaut's *Lay de plour* in Context," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Music: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Clark and Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 123–38. Machaut himself used it in the *Remede*, *Voir dit* (several times), and a motet. It appears in *Remede* (l. 4258) as the lover promises to remain true in life or death (that is, in the situation of either *Jugement*'s knight or lady), and in *Voir dit*, 122 (letter 10), 394 (letter 30), and 506 (l. 7372), where it forms the antipode to the large "cry" of Guillaume: "Longue demouree fait changier ami." Machaut cites it again in "He! Mors / Fine" (M3), where it relates to death, not necessarily of the lady herself, but rather of the lover's love or feelings; see Jacques Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets," *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86 at 17–19 and Boogaart, "Observations on Machaut's Motet *He! Mors/Fine Amour/Quare non sum mortuus*," in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretation*, ed. Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), 13–30, especially 18–19.

78 And this is regardless of whether the singer is a biological or prosopopeic (fictional) woman.

79 Huot, *Madness in Medieval French Literature: Identities Found and Lost* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 184–86. Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present," 20–21 and Isabelle Bétemps, "Les *Lais de plour: Guillaume de Machaut et Oton de Granson*," in *Guillaume de Machaut: 1300–2000. Actes du Colloque de la Sorbonne 28–29 septembre 2000*, ed. Cerquiglini-Toulet and Wilkins (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 95–106 at 102–03 noted independently that this image is based on a chanson by Thibaut de Champagne. Within *Navarre* itself, Charity uses the analogy of a tree that is grafted to describe marriage (see ll. 2463–68 and Huot, *Madness*, 148).

80 L22, stanza 12, l. 16: "Qu'en livre soiens de vie." The lay ends with an unnotated "Amen" before the explicit in manuscript *C*, fol. 189r. As *livre* and *livré* would be identical in the unaccented French script of this period, at least visually (that is, in the book), the text hopes that the lady and her lover might be brought back to life by both (Christian) deliverance and (oral/performative) delivery.

81 See Newes, "Machaut's *Lay de plour*," 131; Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," 185.

the audience and/or performer. Machaut thus refutes Boethius' point that poetry prolongs desire and suffering, with the idea that poetry instead prolongs the life of the person identified with suffering in "the sublimated, aestheticized image of the poetic subject."[82]

The beloved – in the *Lay de plour* a man, but more often a lady – thus becomes a fetish that embodies the absolute at both ends of a spectrum from death to life, from torment to bliss, and from Fortune to Goodness. For the loving subject to access the right end of that spectrum and avoid suffering he has to change the lady from the tempting and taunting external object of desire into an internal object of contemplation in which she is "the fantasy of once and future wholeness and perfect love in which memory and hope become one."[83] Music offers the perfect focus for this internal mental control over time. Hopeful loving avoids both feminine suffering's bodily death (which focuses the mind on the past) and the symbolic masculine death (which focuses on present gratification) because it preserves the past while looking with Hope to a future. In performance arts like poetry and music, writing unites the past, present, and future. The notation of a song or a poem preserves a trace of past performance and also carries hope for future performance. By the mid-fourteenth century, however, changes in reading practices were beginning to threaten this equation, at least for poetry without musical notation. Although reading aloud was still the norm, there was the increased possibility of, and recourse to, silent reading.[84] Mental but silent "performance" removes both the future temporality of written literature and its potential ethical component because it evades its social aspect. Conversely, sung poetry, especially that deploying polyphonic music in a period when the absence of scores makes it difficult (if not impossible) mentally to read a working multi-voiced construction for the separately notated vocal parts, remains an unequivocal promise both of future performance – an embodiment of Hope – and of future social interaction. Huot says of Machaut's poetry that it "erase[s] the very distinction between past and future, memory and hope," but this is even truer of poetry with musical notation, because such notation is not musical presence per se, but is both present trace and present promise.[85] When a song deals directly – through its poetic text – with the pain of love, it acknowledges it and transforms it by displacement; it opens up a gap between the musical representation of

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., 192. See also Zeeman, "The Gender of Song in Chaucer," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 29 (2007), 141–82 at 148 on the woman as the Lacanian "petit objet a," which stands for the object of desire.

84 See Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*, Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

85 Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," 195.

suffering and the suffering individual him- or herself, all the more so when the song is clearly a prosopopeia, with a known gap between the male composer's identity, the feminine lyric persona, and the vocally performing person(s) (whether male or female).[86]

Despite Machaut's particular emphasis on the slipperiness of gender and the value of music and musical consolation to both sexes, music continued to be personified as a woman, and certain aspects of music could be, for specific writers in certain contexts, as in earlier and later centuries, problematically feminine in the sense of being beautifully dangerous and aurally seductive. These concerns surface most often in non-musical literature, especially that which is moralizing, and typically draw on the figure of the siren, which centrally represents dangerously seductive song from the Odyssey onwards.[87] Nicolette Zeeman has noted how Chaucer, in his later poetry, frequently thematizes the abject vulnerability of male singers, to whom brutal things happen.[88] The focus of Chaucer's analysis and anxiety seems to be not only on the often hyperbolic expressions in songs that frequently blur the religious and erotic, but also the artfulness and self-delight of the singers, a factor which leads to them often presenting unstably differentiated sexual identities, such as being any combination of highly sexed, an infantilized male, an aged lover, effeminized, or homosexual. As Zeeman concludes, "it is my proposition that for Chaucer the arts of affect – and in particular the performance of secular and religious love song – are a means of staging the unstable differentiations of sexual identity."[89]

Zeeman's reading of Chaucer seems to fit the glimpses of anxiety that surface in the work of individual music theorists in the fourteenth century when they depart from traditional topics and discussions to say something singular. In such cases, femininity serves as a reliable category with which to denominate those things in music that were deemed ethically problematic or in need of special handling.[90] Sometimes the surface integument seems positive, as when Arnulf of St. Ghislain praises a group of female singers who are able to make free division of tones into semitones "with a sweet-sounding throat," and to divide semitones themselves into indivisible microtones, comparing them to goddesses and earthly sirens, who "enchant the bewitched

86 Ibid.: "The gap that is opened between the suffering individual and the poetic [and, I would add, musical] representation of suffering grants some breathing space."
87 See Judith Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2005), especially the introduction and chapter 1.
88 Zeeman, "The Gender of Song." 89 Ibid., 145.
90 See Leach, "'The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly While the Fowler Deceives the Bird': Sirens in the Later Middle Ages," *Music & Letters* 87 (2006), 187–211 and Leach, *Sung Birds*, chapter 5.

ears of their listeners and they steal away their hearts, which are for the most part lulled by this kind of intoxication, in secret theft."[91] But here the siren comparison arguably signals both caution and the presence of a subtext, in this case drawn from Alan of Lille's famous *Complaint of Nature*, whose focus is on the sinful irrational sexuality (and language) of humans. Irrational humans are mere animals and the comparison of the singers Arnulf's treatise describes as larks and sirens brings a more negative perspective to his praise of the sweetness of their music and their femininity.

Elsewhere in fourteenth-century theory the perception of divisions smaller than the semitone is similarly described in terms that imply that it is feminine or – if worrisome – feminizing. (The trope by which the disapproval of singing by men typically characterized their singing as feminine or effeminate was already venerable by the fourteenth century.)[92] The debate over the correct sizing of semitones (whose unequal division of the tone was theorized in a way that necessitated the description of a very small interval) was bound up with the important role of the semitone in the "directed progression" – the "cadence" formula that became central to the articulation of musical phrases in this period.[93] This formula, by those who viewed it positively, was legitimated through recourse to Aristotelian physics, although even in those terms it was about the imperfect seeking its perfection, much as the imperfect (feminine) is perfected (masculine) by her proximity to the perfect (for example, by submitting to male power as in marriage, family structure, or law).[94] But the necessity that it created for singers to conceptualize the placement of solmization syllables where they did not ordinarily lie in the regular gamut (in our terms, to "add accidentals") is what music theorist Johannes Boen refers to when he says "it must be noted more subtly that modern usage admits the said letters in *claves* [i.e., pitches] outside the nature of the manual monochord only for consonances or the wantonness of the song itself [*lasciviam ipsius cantus*] – for men did not formerly pant after so many wantonnesses [*lasciviis*] in the practical performance of a song as they do now." The novelty of sharpened leading notes and their irregular subdivision of the gamut seems to have prompted those who supported the innovation to devise

91 Christopher Page, "A Treatise on Musicians from *?c.* 1400: The *Tractatulus de differentiis et gradibus cantorum*," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1992), 1–21.

92 The famous quotations from Aelred of Rievaulx and John of Salisbury draw in critiques already present earlier. See the quotations assembled in Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style according to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), chapter 2, and James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

93 See Sarah Fuller, "Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in *Ars Nova* music," *Journal of Music Theory* 36/2 (1992), 229–57.

94 See David Cohen, "'The Imperfect Seeks its Perfection': Harmonic Progression, Directed Motion, and Aristotelian Physics," *Music Theory Spectrum* 23/2 (2001), 139–69 and Leach, "Reading and Theorizing Medieval Music Theory: Interpretation and Its Contexts," *Music Theory Spectrum* 33/1 (2011), 90–98.

strategies to rationalize and legitimate it, while those who warn of its potential for aural seduction tapped into a ready stock of criticisms that depended on the antifeminist misogyny of sections of the medieval clerisy.[95]

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95 See Leach, "Gendering the Semitone, Sexing the Leading Tone: Fourteenth-Century Music Theory and the Directed Progression," *Music Theory Spectrum* 28/1 (2006), 1–21. For an alternative view, see Fuller, "Concerning Gendered Discourse in Medieval Music Theory: Was the Semitone 'Gendered Feminine?'" *Music Theory Spectrum* 33/1 (2011), 65–89 and Leach, "Reading and Theorizing Medieval Music Theory."

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· 31 ·

The Thirteenth-Century Motet

REBECCA A. BALTZER

The motet appeared on the musical scene in Gothic France in the early thirteenth century, most likely in Paris itself. At the time of its birth, the primary genres of polyphony were organum and conductus. Not surprisingly, in its early years the motet shows connections to both, but it ultimately achieved independence by differentiating itself from both. Though the motet underwent many transformations over time, it remains one of the longest-lived genres in the history of music, with examples still being composed today.[1]

From a twenty-first-century perspective, the early thirteenth-century motet with Latin text can be thought of as a polyphonic prosula. Just as the melismas in responsorial chants proved irresistible to church musicians to try their skill at syllabic texting that troped the meaning of the parent chant, thereby creating a prosula, so did melismatic discant passages in Notre-Dame organa prove attractive to the idea of adding a tropic text to the upper voice(s) to create a motet. The earliest Latin motets nearly all bear a tropic textual relationship to their chant source, and it is assumed that they could be interpolated into an actual performance of an organum as appropriate.[2]

In Example 31.1, the two-voice Latin motet "Clamans in deserto" with tenor "Johan(ne)" (motet 379 in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (*I-Fl* plut. 29.1) [hereafter F], fol. 409v) is based on a two-voice clausula in F, fol. 164v, whose tenor chant comes from the "Alleluya Inter natos mulierum" for the Mass on the Nativity of John the Baptist, June 24. Specific biblical text referring to John the Baptist is incorporated into the

1 Descriptions and bibliography (including editions) on the manuscript sources mentioned in this chapter can readily be found in Ernest H. Sanders and Peter Lefferts, "Motet, §I: Middle Ages: 1. France, Ars Antiqua. 2. England, 13th and Early 14th Centuries," Grove Music Online. In this chapter, transcriptions and translations are my own.

2 See Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Colk Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 112–28.

motetus text from Matthew 3:3 (*Vox clamantis in deserto; parate viam Domini; rectas facite semitas eius*).

The chant tenor (M 24) reads: *Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major Johanne*. ("Among those born of women, none is greater than John [the Baptist]," cf. Luke 7:28.)

Clamans in deserto,	6p	Crying out in the desert,
docens in aperto,	6p	teaching in the open air,
vias Domini sub certo	8p	preparing the way of the Lord
parans tramite,	5pp	on a steady path,

summi preco regis,	6p	herald of the highest King,
nove lingua legis,	6p	voice of the New Law,
rector gregis,	4p	guide of the flock,
dux celestis semite	7pp	the leader of the heavenly path

prodit ex effeta,	6p	goes forth from barren stock;
partu sterilis fit leta,	8p	by the birth the barren is made joyful;
culpe fomite	5pp	liberated from the kindling of guilt,

proles libera,	5pp	the offspring washes
agnum lavat mundum,	6p	the Lamb of the world,
emundantem mundum,	6p	He who, cleansing the world,
qui expurgat scelera.	7pp	casts out sins.

Until the last three lines, the text refers to John himself and his birth from Elizabeth's previously barren womb. John, the Precursor, baptized Christ, the Lamb, who in turn cleansed the world. Typical of a clausula-related motet, the text lines do manifest some end-rhyme but do not have the poetic regularity found in the Latin conductus or the contemporary Victorine sequence, since the clausula phrases were not conceived with text in mind. In the motet copy, some of the duplum's first-mode rhythms are slightly readjusted for the syllabification of the motet (e.g., mm. 26 and 30). The tenor moves in the most frequently used fifth-mode pattern of three ternary longs followed by a ternary long rest. While the clausula has a stereotyped organal cadence that is omitted in the motet, this would be no impediment to including the motet in a performance of the M 24 organum. We will return to subsequent versions of this clausula/motet complex below.

Example 31.1 "Johan(ne)" no. 3 clausula (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 [F], no. 148, fol. 164 v) and motet "Clamans in deserto" (F, fol. 409v)



Probably with the example of some discant passages from three-voice organa that were made into motets (such as Perotin's "Ex semine" clausula from his *Alleluia Nativitas*), it soon occurred to composers to add a triplum voice over the tenor and duplum of a two-voice original. Initially, such a triplum was conceived to phrase with the duplum/

Example 31.1 (cont.)



motetus and to use the same text, leading to what was christened in the twentieth century as the conductus motet, because its two upper parts, written in score, resembled a conductus with shared text. (Some scholars prefer the designation "three-voice monotextual motet" as more apt.)

One example originating before mid-century is the Latin conductus motet "O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem," which appears in three

Example 31.2 Latin conductus motet "O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem" (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstedt [W_2], fols. 125–26)



manuscripts and which, not surprisingly, has no associated clausula (see Example 31.2).[3] Its two upper parts are unusually regular for a motet, consisting entirely of four-measure phrases, because its text has regular line lengths in the manner of a conductus poem:

3 Motet 448, found in MS F, in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Guelf. 1099 (*D-W 1099)* (hereafter W_2), and in Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départmentales, 3.J.250 (hereafter *F-CECM* 3.J.250).

Example 31.2 (cont.)



O Maria, maris stella,	8p	O Mary, star of the sea,
plena gratie,	5pp	full of grace,
mater simul et puella,	8p	at once both mother and maid,
vas munditie,	5pp	vessel of cleanliiness,
templum nostri redemptoris,	8p	temple of our Redeemer,
sol iusticie,	5pp	sun of justice,
porta celi, spes reorum,	8p	gate of heaven, hope of sinners,
thronus glorie,	5pp	throne of glory,
sublevatrix miserorum,	8p	sustainer of the wretched,
vena venie,	5pp	vein of pardon,

Example 31.2 (cont.)



audi servos te rogantes,	8p	hear your servants calling you,
mater gratie,	5pp	Mother of grace,
ut peccata sint ablata	8p	that our sins may be taken away
per te hodie,	5pp	by you this day,
qui te puro laudant corde	8p	we who praise you with a pure heart
in veritate.	5pp	in truth.

The poetic lines display an absolutely correct first-mode declamation of the text until the last word of the final line (*veritáte*), which we would expect to be accented on the penultimate syllable (to create a 5p line) but whose musical rhythm is made to match all the other five-syllable groups, which have an antepenultimate accent (*in verítate*, 5pp). This final word connects tropically with the tenor word *Veritatem*, which is the second word of the Gradual chant "Proper veritatem" with verse *Audi filia*. The motet both praises and petitions the Virgin.

A contrafact of this motet, "Glorieuse dieu amie / Veritatem" (motet 450, unique to W_2, fol. 135), is a rare example of an early French motet with text that is sacred in subject matter, also in praise and petition of the Virgin. But such examples are a distinct minority, probably because vernacular texts had no place in the liturgy.

Nonetheless, "O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem" proved to be an enormously popular motet, found in one form or another in sixteen extant manuscripts and in citations by nine music-theory treatises. Most importantly, it became a Latin double motet with the replacement of the conductus-motet triplum by a newly composed text and melody in the sixth rhythmic mode. This version is found in three of the major manuscript sources from the second half of the thirteenth century[4] (see Example 31.3, from Mo, fascicle 4, fols. 88v–90r) with the following triplum text (motet 449):

O Maria, virgo davidica,	O Mary, Virgin of David's line,
virginum flos, vite spes unica,	flower of virgins, the one hope of life,
via venie, lux gratie,	way of pardon, light of grace,
mater clemencie,	Mother of mercy,
sola iubes in arce celica,	only you in the arc of heaven command
obediunt tibi milicie,	that the hosts obey you;
sola sedes in throno glorie,	you alone sit on the throne of glory,
gratia plena fulgens deica.	shining full of grace, divine.
Stelle stupent de tua facie,	Stars are stunned by your countenance,
sol, luna, de tua potentia;	the sun and moon, by your power;
que luminaria, in meridie	by the light of your face
tua facie, vincis omnia.	at midday, you conquer all.
Prece pia mitiga filium,	With pious prayer soften your Son,
miro modo cuius es filia,	of whom you are miraculously the daughter;
ne iudicemur in contrarium,	may we not be judged in opposition,
sed det eterna vite premia.	but may he give the reward of eternal life.

All triplum lines end with an antepenultimate accent, though the number of syllables per line varies from 6pp to 11pp, with 10pp the most frequent. With its fifth-mode tenor, first-mode motetus, and the busier sixth-mode triplum whose phrases do not rest with those of the lower parts, this Latin double motet is characteristic of its type in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

But let us return to developments in the vernacular motet in the earlier thirteenth century. Leaving the confines of manuscript F, the music of the motet "Clamans in deserto / Johanne" of Example 31.1 appears with three

4 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521, known as the "La Clayette Codex" (hereafter *F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 (*D-Bas* lit. 115) (hereafter Ba); and Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 (*F-Mo* H 196 (hereafter Mo)).

Example 31.3 Latin double motet "O Maria, virgo davidica / O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem" (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine H 196 [Mo], no. 52 [Fasc. 4], fols. 88v–90r)



other texts in six other manuscripts.[5] The version of this motet that travels most widely has the French text "Ne sai que je die" (motet 380, W_2, fol. 219 bis verso). Its text is a complaint expressing dismay about society's many sins and lack of courtliness. While such texts are frequent in Latin motets, they

5 One is a Latin contrafact, "Cecitas arpie fex ypocrysie," in W_2, fol. 191v, which makes a second and unusually late appearance in the *Roman de Fauvel*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 (*F-Pn* fr. 146) (as "Veritas arpie," fol. 13v). Its text is a polemical Latin rant about greed and hypocrisy in society and particularly in the Church. Though it and "Ne sai que je die" both appear first in W_2, each was probably composed with no awareness of the other.

Example 31.3 (cont.)



occur far less often in the vernacular. Here small variants in the melody suggest that "Ne sai que je die" may have arisen directly from the clausula version without reference to the Latin "Clamans in deserto."[6] (See Example 31.4 and compare with Example 31.1, especially mm. 17 and 20.)

6 On the other hand, Catherine A. Bradley has proposed a reversal of the usual pattern, suggesting that the "Johanne" clausula and "Clamans in deserto" may be transcriptions of the French motet, as she has established in a few other cases. See her "Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript," *Early Music History* 32 (2013), 1–70, esp. 68 n. 180.

Example 31.3 (cont.)



Ne sai que je die,	I don't know what to say–
tant voi vilenie	I see such Villainy
et orgueill et felonie	and Pride and Treachery
monter en haut pris	rising in high esteem;
toute cortoisie	all Courtesy
s'en est si fouie,	has fled away,
qu'en tout ce siecle n'a mie	so that in all this world there is
des boens dis,	no more good speech,
quar ypocrysie	because Hypocrisy
et avarice s'amie	and Avarice, her friend,
les ont si soupris	have taken by surprise
ces qui plus ont pris.	those who have more reputation.
Joie et cortoisie	They hold Joy and Courtesy
tienent a folie,	to be foolishness,
mes en devrie font pis.	but behind one's back they do worse.

Only slightly later than the W_2 copy, "Ne sai que je die" appears in London, British Library, additional 30091 (*GB-Lbl* add. 30091), fol. 3, with single longs and breves distinguished in the notation, and similarly

Example 31.4 French motet "Ne sai que je die / Johanne" (*D-W* Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. [W_2], fol. 219 bis verso)



in Mo 6, fol. 235. (The square-note longs have a descending tail and the breves do not.) This was a major step in the development of rhythmic notation, for it allowed a syllabically texted motet voice to be sight-read without reference to a clausula version or to trial-and-error experiment. It also meant that new motets did not have to adhere strictly to the

paradigms of the six rhythmic modes, which had developed to indicate rhythms in melismatic (rather than syllabic) polyphony. These notational changes spurred a dramatic increase in the number of motets as the leading genre of polyphony in the second half of the thirteenth century.

But unlike "Ne sai que je die," French-texted motets in the thirteenth century soon concentrated on two subject-types found in monophonic trouvère songs – the love song (*canso/chanson*) expressing desire for the beloved, and the *pastourelle*, describing an encounter between a knight (or cleric) and a shepherdess in a rural setting. The latter type is more frequent in motets than in trouvère songs. With the newly composed triplum *Quant vient en mai*, the motet "Ne sai que je die / Johanne" becomes a French double motet in Ba, fol. 44, and Mo 7, fol. 305v (no. 274). This new triplum (motet 382) has a pastourelle text narrated in the first person:

Quant vient en mai k'erbe va verdoiant,	When in May the grass begins greening,
que tuit amant doivent amors chanter,	when all lovers must sing of love,
lors chevauchai par deles un pendant	then I was riding along a slope;
truis pastoure samblant fait deplourer.	I found a shepherdess pretending to cry.
Je li requis qu'a moi deist son penser	I asked her to tell me her thoughts
et que de nule rien ne mi alast celant.	and that she hide nothing from me.
Ele respont tout maintenant,	She answered immediately,
Dolent sui, que je vif tant;	"I am sad that I have lived so long;
bien sai, k'autre veut amer	well I know that Robin wishes to love
Robin, que je li vi Marot mener	another, for I saw him lead Marot
par la main [a]u bois parfont pour jouer.	by the hand to the deep woods to play.
He, Diex, bien sai de voir qu'ele s'en	Oh, God, well I know in truth, that she
vodra vanter;	will want to brag about it;
mes samedi, se je le puis encontrer	but Saturday, if I can meet him
droit a la velle a li vodrai parler,	right near the vale, I want to talk to him,
coroie et gans blans et bourse li douner	and give him a belt, white gloves, and a
pour li racorder,	purse to reconcile him,
pipe pour muser.	and a bagpipe to play.
Se de s'amour puis avoir son otroi,	*If I can have the gift of his love,*
je voudrai baler.	*I shall want to dance."*

With its appearance in the seventh fascicle of the Montpellier manuscript (Example 31.5), this clausula-related motet thus endured throughout the second half of the thirteenth century. In Mo fascicle 7, "Quant vient en mai" shows a further stage of rhythmic developments: it subdivides the sixth-mode breve into triplet semibreves, each with its own syllable of text (see mm. 20–22), whose frequency implies a slowing-down of the tempo. In modern

Example 31.5 Franconian French double motet "Quant vient en mai / Ne sai que je die / Johanne" (*F-MOf* H 196 [Mo], no. 274 [Fasc. 7], fols. 304v–306v)



transcription this is best represented with the ternary (or perfect) long now as a dotted half note and the breve as a quarter note. This is labeled "Franconian" notation by modern scholars, since it is done according to the system outlined in Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of ca. 1280.[7]

7 For some other case studies of individual motets or motet complexes through the thirteenth century, see Norman E. Smith, "An Early Thirteenth-Century Motet," in *Models of Musical Analysis: Music before 1600*, ed. Mark Everist (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), 20–41; Sylvia Huot, "Languages of Love: Vernacular Motets on the Tenor *Flos Filius Eius*," in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas*

Example 31.5 (cont.)



Kelly, ed. Keith Busby and Norris J. Lacy (Atlanta and Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 169–80; Baltzer, "The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*: Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford University Press, 1996), 17–27; Gerald R. Hoekstra, "The French Motet as Trope: Multiple Levels of Meaning in *Quant floriste la violete/El mois de mai/Et gaudebit*," *Speculum* 73 (1998), 32–57; Christopher Page, "Around the Performance of a 13th-Century Motet," *Early Music* 28 (2000), 343–57; Alejandro E. Planchart, "The Flower's Children," *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003), 303–48; and Suzannah Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16 (2007), 31–59.

Example 31.5 (cont.)



The last rhythmic mensural development in the thirteenth-century motet on the Continent led to the so-called Petronian motet, named after the musician Petrus de Cruce or Pierre de la Croix of Amiens. In this type of motet, the breve may be divided into as many as seven to nine semibreves, each with its own syllable of text. (See Example 31.6, which gives the beginning of a motet ascribed to Petrus.) Again the overall declamation of the motet must slow down to accomodate the lengthy text of the French triplum voice, which almost has the character of recitative. A Petronian motet represents the most

Example 31.5 (cont.)



extreme rhythmic stratification found in the thirteenth-century motet, with a slow-moving tenor, a busy motetus voice, and the notably more active triplum. This rhythmic combination allows a considerable amount of passing dissonance.

Though this chapter might imply otherwise, the current state of research does not allow us to say that the motet as a type of composition developed in a straight line through the thirteenth century; it seems more like a sprouting of varieties that are often practically simultaneous rather than sequential.

Example 31.6 Petronian French double motet "Aucun ont trouvé / Lonc tans / Annun[tiantes]," mm.1–7 (*F-MOf* H 196 [Mo], no. 254 [Fasc. 7], fols. 273–275)



Because several of the earliest manuscript sources are organized by genre in fascicles with a descending number of voice-parts (four voices first, then three, two, and one voice), and, within fascicles, either liturgically by tenor or alphabetically by upper voices, this hierarchy cannot be relied upon as a chronological determinant. In manuscript sources made no later than the 1250s we find great diversity: two-voice Latin motets, two-voice French motets (French duplum, Latin chant tenor), and three-voice motets with one or two different Latin texts, with one or two different French texts, or even with one Latin and one French text. In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, there are even some two dozen four-voice motets, mostly French triple motets (in Mo fascicle 2 and *F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521).

Once the French motet appeared on the scene (no later than the 1220s), it became both more numerous and more subject to experimentation than the Latin motet, always in view of contemporary trouvère song. A dozen or so motets employ a motetus voice found elsewhere as a monophonic trouvère song. Some fifteen French motets (together with a single Latin one) have been found in their motetus voice to exhibit an AAB formal pattern, a favorite

stanza form in trouvère songs; at least two of these fifteen have an associated clausula in F, where such patterns are quite untypical.[8]

Although the French motet is considered the educated cleric's response to monophonic trouvère song, the interaction was not entirely one-way. There are thirteenth-century accounts of public celebrations in which young girls sang "chansons and motets" in the city streets.[9] We may infer from such reports that the motets thus performed were monophonic dupla or motetus voices, without their tenors. This idea is supported by the way some two-voice French motets are copied in several notated trouvère chansonniers[10] – either with their tenors missing altogether or so garbled that they could not be used with the motetus voice.[11] It is as if the chansonnier scribes knew the tenors were supposed to be there but considered them non-essential in performance. This contrasts with the careful notation of tenors in manuscripts of polyphony.

Another interaction between French motets and monophonic trouvère songs involves the use of *refrains*. A refrain is "a short phrase of poetry that reappears in more than one literary or musical context; the intertextuality may relate to the poetry or to the poetry and music together."[12] Refrains can be found in romances, trouvère songs, and motets; in the latter, "refrains circulate with either both words and music or with the text alone."[13] A possible example of a refrain in a motet triplum is found at the end of "Quant vient en mai" above (see Example 31.5 at the text in italics); though it is labeled a refrain in the standard catalog of refrains by van den Boogaard, he lists no concordance.[14] A refrain may occur at the beginning, middle, or end of a motet, and some motets (known as *refrain centos*) employ multiple refrains.

8 These motets and their implications are discussed in Gaël Saint-Cricq, "A New Link between the Motet and Trouvère Chanson: The *Pedes-cum-cauda* Motet," *Early Music History* 32 (2013), 179–223, and in Saint-Cricq's "Formes types dans le motet du XIII^{e} siècle: Étude d'un processus répétitif" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southampton, 2010).

9 See Catherine Parsoneault, "The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2001), chapter 5, 153–214, esp. 156ff. and 176–83.

10 E.g., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844, the "Chansonnier du Roi" (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 844) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12615, the "Chansonnier Noailles" (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 12615).

11 See Mary E. Wolinski, "Tenors Lost and Found: The Reconstruction of Motets in Two Medieval Chansonniers" [*F-Pn* fr. 844 and *F-Pn* fr. 12615], in *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996), 461–82.

12 Mark Everist, "The Thirteenth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 82.

13 Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 3 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 55.

14 Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), no. 1665. Modern scholars regard van den Boogaard's criteria for refrains as too broad. See Jennifer Saltzstein, "Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority, and Origins," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010), 245–79.

Sometimes a refrain is divided, with part at the beginning of a motet voice and the other part at the end. This type has been called a *motet enté*, after the monophonic examples labeled as such in the chansonnier *F-Pn* fr. 845, but there is controversy about the use of this term.[15]

During the middle and second half of the thirteenth century, some French motets again teetered on the edge of becoming polyphonic chansons. In the Chansonnier Noailles (*F-Pn* fr. 12615), eight two-voice rondeau-motets have a motetus voice that is structured like an eight- or a six-line rondeau, and their chant tenors are altered to accommodate its repetition of refrain lines. These works are possibly compositions from Artois, where trouvère song particularly flourished. While other motets in Mo with three voices sometimes experiment with rondeau-like musical repetition in the upper parts, they are constrained by the use of plainsong tenors.[16] Here it is worth remembering that in the three-voice rondeaux of Adam de la Halle, the middle voice is the primary one, but all three voices homophonically sing the same text.

Other experimental motets are three-voice triple motets, built on a French-texted tenor with repetitive characteristics, not on a fragment of plainchant. More than thirty motets with French tenors survive in Mo (where some are *unica*), Ba, and the Turin Motet Manuscript (Turin, Biblioteca reale, vari 42 [*I-Tr* vari 42]). The upper parts may or may not reflect the tenor structure, but they retain the polytextuality characteristic of the motet.[17] Three have tenors labeled *Chose Tassin*; another has *Chose Loyset*; the implication is that they were composed by or associated with musicians named Tassin and Loyset. Another has a tenor that is a Parisian street-cry selling new strawberries and mulberries (Mo no. 319, fol. 368v). This and several other motets in fascicles 7 and 8 of Mo (nos. 256, 258, 294, and 334) have a distinctly urban and bourgeois flavor, with texts that tell of young men carousing, drinking, and singing in Paris. But the few Latin texts are overwhelmingly in honor of the Virgin, even if they are paired with a French triplum in praise of a clearly secular woman.

In the early years of the motet, developing a characteristic format for the genre on a manuscript page proved troublesome. Organa and conductus were written in score, whether for two, three, or four voices. But the early motet was not suited to a score format, largely due to the great difference between

15 See Everist, *French Motets* and Butterfield, "'Enté': A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in 13th- and 14th-Century Music and Poetry," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 67–101.

16 Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music & Letters* 69 (1988), 1–22 and Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 90–108.

17 Everist, "Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 365–406.

the melismatic tenor, which could be compressed into a small space, and the syllabically texted upper part(s), which required significantly more space. In the manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codices Guelferbytani 628 Helmstedt (*D-W* Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. [hereafter W_1]), compiled ca. 1230 for St. Andrews in Scotland, the only motets (which we know to be conductus motets from other copies) were copied *without* their chant tenors and so appear to be conductus in score. We can imagine that the editor wanted to include these up-to-date Parisian pieces but felt it necessary to modify them into a more readily recognized type of composition for an insular locale.[18]

Three attempts to notate motets in score survive from the 1240s. *F-CSMad* 3.J.250 and the middle section of London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615), both of which come from Paris, preserve conductus motets with all three parts in score and the text written only under the tenor part. But the tenor, notated in ligatures, has far fewer notes than the upper voices and their syllables, and it is unclear how the tenor would fit with them and sing the text. The insular manuscript containing the Summer Canon (London, British Library, Harley 978) likewise includes a motet for three voices in score with the text under the tenor part, but the scribe broke up the tenor ligatures into single notes and repeated pitches to match the number of syllables. He then wrote the tenor again in ligatures at the end of the piece. Such attempts proved impractical.

In the later 1240s and 1250s, the scribes of F, W_2, and the Munich fragments[19] adopted an easier "monophonic" format of successive parts: two-voice motets had the motetus followed by the tenor; in conductus motets, the tenor was still written after the motetus and triplum, which were in score; and in the few double motets, the two upper parts were written successively with the tenor following. But this was not a performance format, because not all parts were necessarily visible on the same page.

Just after mid-century a significant change occurred when, likely under the influence of trouvère chansonniers as well as text and liturgical manuscripts, a two-column format was adopted (see for instance, *F-Pn* fr. 844, which contains motets as well as trouvère songs). In the collecton of double and triple motets *F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521, from the 1270s, the parts are still written successively, spilling from one column to the next and from one folio to its

18 For more on the date and peculiarities of W_1, see Baltzer, "The Manuscript Makers of W_1: Further Evidence for an Early Date," in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata et al. (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 103–20.

19 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikhandschriften 4775 and fragments from the library of Johannes Wolf (hereafter *D-Mbs* Mus. 4775).

verso. The breakthough took place possibly in the small collection of double motets appended to the treatise of Magister Lambertus, or Pseudo-Aristotle (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 11266, hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 11266). With the tenor written in a single line across the bottom of the page, the editor/scribe first wrote the two upper parts successively in two columns above the tenor, but by the third opening he began to write the upper voices in *parallel* columns – triplum on the left, motetus on the right – that continue this way until the end of the piece. This was a true performance format, since all three parts would reach a page-turn at the same moment.

Similarly, in the Old Corpus of Mo (ca. 1275–85), a double-page opening instead of two columns is used for the double motets of fascicles 3, 4, and 5: the triplum is on the left page, the motetus on the right, and the tenor across the bottom of both. The four-voice motets of fascicle 2 use a double-page opening with two columns on each page: quadruplum and triplum on the left, motetus and tenor on the right. The two-voice motets in fascicle 6 seek to maintain (sometimes unsuccessfully) a format in long lines with the tenor on the bottom staff and the motetus filling the staves above it.[20] In each fascicle the page-turns are reached simultaneously by all the parts. Fascicle 7 (1290s) and fascicle 8 (after 1300) returned to the two-column format of parallel triplum and motetus parts with the tenor across the bottom. Motets in Petronian style are immediately apparent because the triplum column takes up much more space on the page. The most successful manuscript making use of the two-column performance format with tenor across the bottom is Ba (ca. 1280). It is calibrated so precisely (which implies a very precise exemplar) that *each line* of music in the parallel columns of the two upper parts ends on the same beat, in addition to the simultaneous page-turns of all three parts. With its fairly large page-size, easily readable by three performers, Ba is probably the most sight-readable collection of thirteenth-century motets.[21] It took half a century for the genre of the motet to achieve this presentational clarity in a recognizable format, different from those of organum and conductus.

Although the motet flourished in Britain as well as on the Continent, no insular manuscript source survives complete from the thirteenth century: all are fragmentary, with a consequently smaller repertory.[22] Probably because

20 For a discussion of the difficulties of tenor placement on this page layout, see Parsoneault, "The Montpellier Codex," chapter 2, 30–72, esp. 56ff.

21 See Patricia P. Norwood, "Performance Manuscripts from the Thirteenth Century?" CMS *Symposium* 26 (1986), 92–96.

22 Ernest H. Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, PMFC 14 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979).

there was little in the way of an English vernacular song tradition when compared to that in France, motets from England are overwhelmingly in Latin, with sacred texts. They show a marked preference for the note-against-note discant style and a correspondingly greater use of imperfect consonances – even for an F-Lydian modality, all in contrast to the French trend towards an increase in rhythmically stratified voice parts. Perhaps half of the surviving insular motets employ a tenor cantus firmus or chant, but others are works on a *pes*, a tenor-like part (or sometimes two parts) often built on an ostinato. The upper parts show a greater preference for the conductus motet style, with both parts singing the same text, but there are also Latin double motets and even motets for four parts. Characteristic is the use of voice-exchange between two upper parts; sometimes the tenor participates also, resulting in a *rondellus* technique with a systematic exchange of material in clearly marked-off sections of the motet:

triplum:	a	b	c
motetus:	b	c	a
tenor:	c	a	b

All of these stylistic features – discant style, imperfect consonances (including parallel 6-3 chords), a clearly recognizable tonal center, and the absence of rhythmic and textual complexity – persisted as ingredients of the motet in England from the thirteenth right into the fifteenth century.[23] Then, this characteristic English style was rediscovered by musicians and listeners on the Continent and recognized as a distinct "new" sound, which they labeled the *contenance angloise*, sparking new developments in the sonority and style of the motet in the Renaissance.

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23 See Peter Lefferts, "England," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 107–20, esp. 118–19 and Ernest H. Sanders and Peter Lefferts, "Motet, §I: Middle Ages: 1. France, Ars Antiqua. 2. England, 13th and Early 14th Centuries," Grove Music Online, *passim*.

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· 32 ·

The Fourteenth-Century Motet

ALICE CLARK

The motet is one of the most important genres of polyphonic music in the medieval world. It may also be the most difficult one for modern scholars to define. The classic fourteenth-century examples studied in undergraduate surveys come from France, the home of most surviving motets, and are composed by individuals such as Guillaume de Machaut and Philippe de Vitry. These motets are based on a fragment of chant, disposed in a repeated rhythmic pattern in the tenor. Above that voice there are usually two others, each with its own text, moving at a faster rhythmic level. The result is a kaleidoscope of texts and melodies that resists easy apprehension by ear but embodies medieval attitudes about the priority of inaudible harmonies.

The complete story of the motet in the Middle Ages, and in the fourteenth century in particular, is more complex, and more interesting. Not only are there motets from medieval France that don't completely fit that description; flourishing motet traditions existed in England and the Italian peninsula that differ from the French style and from each other in significant ways. Margaret Bent has argued convincingly that we cannot take the traditional view of the French type as a norm. It does, however, dominate the surviving sources, and as the closest relative to the earliest motets of the thirteenth century and a major ancestor of the final examples of the medieval motet in the fifteenth, it provides a useful starting point.

The Fourteenth-Century Motet in France: An Insider Art

Students and scholars are encouraged to separate the motet of the fourteenth century from that of the thirteenth not only for convenience, but because of gaps in surviving sources. Despite those gaps, it is possible to see broad generic continuity from the earliest motets through the fourteenth-century French examples, and into the fifteenth century. Common (but not ubiquitous) stylistic features include the frequent use of chant-based tenors, the presence of multiple texts in the upper voices, and the use of repeated rhythms in the lowest voice as a primary structural device. Nevertheless, there are

shifts in style and conception that can make it convenient to give separate attention to the fourteenth-century examples. These works, perhaps more than any others, exemplify an ideal of medieval music focused as much on inaudible harmonies as on musical sound. According to Boethius' *De institutione musica*, the highest forms of music, such as *musica mundana*, the "music of the spheres," could not be heard, though we can use audible music to study them. That combination of audible and inaudible harmony can be seen in the medieval motet.

New Symbolic Possibilities

First of all, tenors that use chant fragments borrow from a different set of materials than before. The earliest motets were built on solo portions of responsorial chants such as Graduals and Alleluias, in keeping with the motet's origin in organum settings of the Notre-Dame school. By 1300, however, the motet had long lost any real connection with liturgical polyphony, and composers began to use a wider range of chant materials.[1] The liberation of the motet from its liturgical birthplace does not change the reality that the selection of a tenor from a piece of chant was still most often the first step in the creation of this type of motet. Modern scholars at first saw this as simply a motto-like connection, focusing their attention on more specifically musical, and especially rhythmic, issues; this approach led to much important work, such as Ernest H. Sanders's magisterial essay for the Schrade Gedenkschrift.[2] Sarah Fuller's work on harmonic questions springing from the pitch content of these tenors has been very influential.[3]

Many recent writers, on the other hand, have looked for more complex intertextual connections, examining motet texts and tenors in light not only of each other but also of the various literary and liturgical contexts that can be brought to bear. The intermingling of sacred and secular in many motets may seem strange to modern readers, but it was a common aspect of medieval culture, apparent in the intersections of *fin' amors* and Marian devotion or the use of eroticized imagery in mystical texts. Here it sparks the creative energy of motet creators in many ways. Some of the

1 Gordon A. Anderson, "Responsory Chants in the Tenors of Some Fourteenth-Century Continental Motets," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), 119–27.

2 Ernest H. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke, 1973), 1: 497–573; reprinted in Sanders, *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries: Style and Notation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

3 See "On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Some Preliminary Reflections," *Journal of Music Theory* 30 (Spring 1986), 35–70, and "Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut," *Current Musicology* 45–47 (1988), 199–245. For an effort to extend her work, see Jared C. Hartt, "Rehearing Machaut's Motets: Taking the Next Step in Understanding Sonority," *Journal of Music Theory* 54 (2010), 179–234.

most interesting examples of this work deal with motets by Guillaume de Machaut whose upper voices are French lovers' complaints. Kevin Brownlee and Margaret Bent, for instance, read the tenor of Machaut's "Amours qui a le pouoir / Faux Samblant m'a deceü / Vidi Dominum" (M15, the fifteenth of his surviving twenty-three motets) as a kind of redirecting device, by its biblical associations showing the narrator the proper path to take. The tenor is therefore opposed to the allegorical character False Seeming, evoked in the upper voices and taken from the *Roman de la rose*, one of the most popular and most influential literary works of the Middle Ages.[4] In other cases, tenors taken from chants used for Lent and especially Holy Week underpin motets with secular French texts, forcing a connection of some sort between the sufferings of Christ and those of a (usually) male narrator at the hands of his Lady.

Most fourteenth-century motets by composers other than Machaut are texted in Latin, not French. Some of these are clearly devotional, and some may even have a liturgical or paraliturgical role. Others apparently serve some form of celebratory or admonitory function. In these cases, the tenor source can refer to a saint, or a saint's living namesake, relative, or other connection, or it can make some other point.

Whether written in Latin or French, whether they celebrate popes, praise saints, or complain about Fortune, motets from fourteenth-century France are full of intertextual connections with other motets and literary works, with the biblical and liturgical contexts of their tenors, and with the specific circumstances under which they were created. Many scholars have identified other links between individual motets and groups of motets, as well as links with other literary works.[5] Motets can also be drawn into larger narratives, as can be seen in studies of Machaut's motets and those of the *Fauvel* manuscript

4 Kevin Brownlee, "Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir / Faux Samblant m'a deceü / Vidi Dominum*," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 1–14 and Margaret Bent, "Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 15–27.

5 For a sampling of this kind of work, see Bent, "Words and Music in Machaut's Motet 9," *Early Music* 31 (2003), 363–89; Jacques Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets," *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86; Brownlee, "Fire, Desire, Duration, Death: Machaut's Motet 10," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 79–93; Sylvia Huot, "Patience in Adversity: The Courtly Lover and Job in Machaut's Motets 2 and 3," *Medium Aevum* 63 (1994), 222–38; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 109 (1982), 1–22; Yossi Maurey, "A Courtly Lover and an Earthly Knight Turned Soldiers of Christ in Machaut's Motet 5," *Early Music History* 24 (2005), 169–211; and Anna Zayaruznaya, "'She has a wheel that turns . . . ': Crossed and Contradictory Voices in Machaut's Motets," *Early Music History* 28 (2009), 185–230, as well as her *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet*, Music in Context (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146, henceforth *F-Pn* fr. 146 or *Fauvel*).[6]

Much of this cannot be heard, at least by ear on first hearing. The fourteenth-century French motet is perhaps the ultimate insider's art, creating symbolic webs of text and music that interact with one another, and with other works of literature and music, in interesting ways. Indeed, sometimes it almost appears that the creators of these motets are purposefully obtuse, trying to prevent the casual reader or listener from receiving the full benefit of the piece. This attitude may seem strange to a modern listener, but it is in keeping with the medieval idea that the highest forms of music are unheard. Sounding music is our point of access to such harmonies, but it is also inferior to them and necessarily incomplete. In a sense, then, the motet is the quintessential medieval musical genre, giving us insight through sound to a wealth of inaudible harmonies, or, as Julie Cumming has described it, creating concord out of discord.[7]

Understanding such pieces calls for what Bent has articulated as a kind of listening outside the real-time aural experience of musical performance.[8] While Christopher Page has argued that such an intellectualized approach to the medieval motet can be overstated,[9] the tension between the reality of time-bound performance and hearing and the existence of important features that cannot be experienced within the limits of real time seems to give creative life to the motet in the fourteenth century. These are indeed sonic works, designed to be apprehended, and presumably enjoyed, as sound, but there is also clearly a glorying in inaudible details and subtle connections. This paradox is perhaps not unlike the proliferation of gargoyles and grotesques in the upper reaches of late medieval buildings, invisible to the naked eye: the only ones who know they are there are those who put them there, those they told, and God. So the motet can be seen as having interlocking circles of audiences, from the most deeply entrenched insiders, aware of all the audible and

6 For Machaut, see especially Anne W. Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Thomas Brown, "Another Mirror of Lovers? Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001), 121–33. On *Fauvel*, see among others Bent, "Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?" in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 35–52; Emma Dillon, "The Profile of Philip V in the Music of Fauvel," in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Bent and Wathey, 215–31; Robertson, "Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 52–81; and Edward H. Roesner, "Labouring in the Midst of Wolves: Reading a Group of *Fauvel* Motets," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 169–245.

7 Julie E. Cumming, "The Aesthetics of the Medieval Motet and Cantilena," *Historical Performance* 7 (1994), 71–83.

8 This is most explicitly articulated in "Words and Music in Machaut's Motet 9."

9 See especially *Discarding Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

inaudible subtleties, to the casual listener who may simply enjoy (we hope) the kaleidoscopic play of sound.

Motets as Sound

While thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century motets both tend to be based on a repeated rhythmic pattern in the tenor part, that pattern, sometimes called a *talea*, or cutting, by medieval writers, tends to be significantly longer in the fourteenth-century motet than in earlier examples. This structural procedure is often called "isorhythm," a term invented by Friedrich Ludwig at the turn of the twentieth century. The system of rhythmic notation associated with Philippe de Vitry, which created a wider range of note values in the upper voices than had been previously available, allows each tenor pitch to be drawn out far longer than previously, creating a stark contrast with the more rapid motion of the upper voices.

The notion that a long-note repeated rhythmic pattern in the lowest voice is intended to be heard goes against our modern listening habits, but it would seem to be confirmed by the proliferation of diminution sections in many fourteenth-century motets. In these sections, the tenor is mensurally altered, usually by reading each note as the next smaller value (e.g., a long as a breve), which most often creates a 2:1 or 3:1 relationship, though more complex alterations are possible. The shift created by a diminution section can be heard clearly, as a texture previously stratified between faster-moving upper voices and a long-note tenor shifts to one of more equal parts as the tenor's rhythmic level is changed, and it can provide a satisfying rhythmic climax to conclude the work.

Just as the composition of a motet of this type moves from the lower voices to the upper, a kind of bottom-up rather than top-down mode of listening may also be appropriate. This can be seen not only in the tenor's *talea* structure and the use of diminution in some motets, but also in other ways. For instance, where a fourteenth-century motet has a fourth voice, it is usually a contratenor that moves in basically the same melodic range and on the same rhythmic level as the tenor, with a repeated rhythmic pattern of comparable length to the tenor *talea*. This two-part framework provides more sonic weight to the bottom of the texture, and often tenor and contratenor interact in interesting ways.

Tenor *taleae* may also be reflected in the upper voices, especially by hocketing or other types of striking recurring rhythms, or by the use of long notes and rests at regular intervals, creating regular phrase-ends that fall close to (but normally overlap with) the end of each tenor *talea*. Taking this principle of *talea* reflection to its logical extreme leads to upper-voice

rhythmic repetition that encompasses the entire motet, a phenomenon some call "panisorhythm."[10] Whatever variety of upper-voice *talea* reflection is used, it seems to function in part to draw the listener's attention to the tenor structure by a kind of "overlining," placing the repetition in a more easily audible part of the musical fabric. Unlike rhythmic repetition, melodic repetition in the upper voices is uncommon, but in a few cases Machaut uses it as yet another aid to the listener.[11]

There are some motets in this repertory without identified chant sources, but most of those have tenor melodies that are at least created in the style of chant, and they are generally treated similarly by the composer. The primary exceptions are three motets by Guillaume de Machaut based on secular songs, which form the last examples of a small but important group of song-based motets. These have recently begun to attract increased scholarly attention, and Mark Everist has argued that the secular-song motets written around 1300 form a critical part of the development of the polyphonic secular song.[12]

Composers

What seems to allow many of the new emphases of the fourteenth-century motet to take place is a conceptual shift from an essentially collaborative or sequential process to a work with a single creator. While in the thirteenth century the motet is among the most ephemeral types of music, continually reworked as texts and melodies are added, subtracted, and altered, a fourteenth-century motet, once completed, is largely left alone, aside from minor surface changes in melody and rhythm. Untexted contratenors or solus tenors are occasionally added, but texted voices almost never. Similarly, voices are almost never removed or retexted, though one French motet was given new Latin texts in an English manuscript. (This is "Se päour / Diex, tan desir / Concupisco," which appears as "Domine, quis habitabit / De veri cordis / Concupisco" in Oxford, Bodleian Library, E Museo 7.) When fourteenth-century writers sat down to create a motet, then, they effectively had before them a blank page.

We are fortunate that this shift brings with it the names of a few composers, especially those of Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–77) and Philippe de Vitry

10 Willi Apel, "Remarks about the Isorhythmic Motet," in *Les colloques de Wégimont II: L'Ars nova*, ed. Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune and Paul Collaer (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959), 139–48, and Ursula Günther, "The 14th-Century Motet and Its Development," *Musica Disciplina* 12 (1958), 27–47.

11 Alice V. Clark, "Listening to Machaut's Motets," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004), 487–513.

12 The most complete study to date of Machaut's secular-song-tenor motets is Jared Hartt, "The Three Tenors: Machaut's Secular Trio," *Studi musicali* 38 (2009), 237–71. On the relationship between secular-song-tenor motets and the development of the polyphonic secular song, see especially Mark Everist, "Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300," *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 365–406.

(1291–1361), but the bulk of the repertory remains anonymous. What we do know about composers of motets in France suggests the genre is mostly associated with court circles, and specifically with the administrative class. Vitry, for instance, served the duke of Bourbon and the French king in various positions, and, like others of his class, he was rewarded for his government service in part by receiving church offices, ending his days as bishop of Meaux. This pattern of employment means that motet composers were not directly tasked with either the performance or the composition of music, and their artistic output was therefore not constrained by job responsibilities. The resulting motets are not usually liturgical, though there are some exceptions, and some motets with sacred texts could be used during worship services as paraliturgical works or as devotional works outside the organized liturgy. More often, however, motets celebrate or admonish historical figures, comment on current events or ideas, or meditate on the subject of love.

Machaut's motets are especially likely to be lover's complaints: of his twenty-three motets, nineteen have French upper-voice texts. It is in these, however, where the intersections between what our culture tends to separate as sacred and secular are most fruitfully, or perhaps for us most troublingly, present. It is for that reason that Anne Robertson can locate a narrative of a spiritual journey within Machaut's motets 1–17, linking them with Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*, a religious text well known in the late Middle Ages.[13] This effort to locate ordering principles and an overarching narrative in a group of motets is encouraged by Machaut himself, whose first motet speaks of "when love first came to me." Thomas Brown, while acknowledging the usefulness of Robertson's proposed ordering, suggests looking at motets 1–20 as a group, with motet 10 serving a midpoint function similar to that of the *Roman de la rose*, though the motets as a whole do not tell the *Rose* story sequentially.[14] Here, as elsewhere in the motet literature, different interpretations may be able to coexist.

Sources and Chronology

The repertory of motets from fourteenth-century France is largely clustered in two groups of sources: one surrounding the best-known manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* (*F-Pn* fr. 146), transmitting a repertory from before ca. 1320, and another including the large mid-century collections of Machaut and the Ivrea codex (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115).

The *Fauvel* manuscript is not a musical anthology, but a royal *admonitio*, a multifaceted source that combines music with images and both narrative and

13 Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. 14 Brown, "Another Mirror of Lovers?"

lyric text. It does, however, provide the largest group of motets between the latest fascicles of the Montpellier codex (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine, H 196), compiled at the turn of the century, and the mid-century sources. The thirty-four motets included in this narrative, all with Latin texts, range from older works to those employing the most up-to-date rhythmic and formal principles, and many are either composed or modified specifically for their use here. Some of the *Fauvel* pieces also appear in purely musical sources, most notably the Brussels rotulus (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 19606).[15]

Machaut's motets 1–20 appear in his first complete-works manuscript, with only one exception, so they were all composed by ca. 1350.[16] All tenors are given text incipits within the Machaut complete-works manuscripts, though they may lose them in other sources. Machaut's apparent concern for naming his tenors, even if no external source can be identified, seems to be stronger and more consistent than for other composers, and it leads scholars to show how those tenor texts participate in the symbolic web of the whole. The final three motets, all four-part works in Latin, are present from the 1370s and can be linked to Machaut's years as a canon of Reims Cathedral.[17]

The largest surviving single source of motets from fourteenth-century France is the Ivrea codex, with thirty-seven works. Karl Kügle has argued that the manuscript was copied in Ivrea in the 1360s, but its repertory is earlier and comes from central France.[18] Related to it is the Trémoïlle fragment (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 23190), a bifolio that includes two motets and an index listing over seventy motets, many of which can be identified as concordances with Ivrea.[19] Concordances with the Ivrea

15 On the origins and contents of *F-Pn* fr. 146, see the introduction to *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146*, ed. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), as well as *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Bent and Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). On the Brussels rotulus, see Karl Kügle, "Two Abbots and a Rotulus: New Light on Brussels 19606," in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Cannata et al., Miscellanea 7 (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 145–85.

16 This is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1586, known as Machaut MS C. See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, Garland Composer Resource Manuals (New York and London: Garland, 1995) for further information on all the Machaut manuscripts, at least two of which seem to have been compiled under his influence. On the Ferrell-Vogüé manuscript, see the introductory study by Earp with Domenic Leo and Carla Shapreau to *The Ferrell-Vogüé Machaut Manuscript*, DIAMM Facsimiles 5 (Oxford: DIAMM, 2014).

17 Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*.

18 Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars nova Polyphony*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen / Musicological Studies 69 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997).

19 Bent, "A Note on the Dating of the Trémoïlle Manuscript," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Musikwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen / Musicological Studies 53 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 217–42.

repertory can also be found in the last gathering of the Chantilly Codex (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564).[20] The few other motets in that source, along with the three of the Modena Manuscript (Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24, copied in northern Italy in the early fifteenth century), effectively mark the end of the French fourteenth-century repertory.

It can be difficult to create any reasonable chronology of works, or, by implication, of stylistic development. Manuscript dates can provide termini of sorts, but only for groups of pieces, not individual ones, and it is clear that some pieces were copied decades after their composition. Moreover, in the case of Machaut's motets, there is ample reason to believe their manuscript ordering is purposeful rather than chronological, as was once assumed. While a small group of motets can be linked to specific events, even this information sometimes is often either subject to question or leads us to a range of dates rather than a single specific occasion. Study of manuscripts and scribal practices can nevertheless provide insights, as can be seen in Anna Zayaruznaya's use of text underlay in hocket passages to consider broader issues of compositional design.[21]

Aside from Machaut, attribution is similarly difficult. A few motets can be securely assigned to Philippe de Vitry, lauded in his own time and since for his work, but many of the works linked to him by modern scholars have only the most tenuous of proof, if that, of his authorship. Andrew Wathey's work with fifteenth-century humanist sources has given new support to some attributions, but many others remain conjectural.[22] Almost no other composers are named, and those few who are tend to be all but unknown except for these motets. Scholars have therefore inevitably attempted to base attribution and chronology on notational and stylistic characteristics – a risky enterprise, but natural given our lack of other evidence.

The Fourteenth-Century Motet in England: A Fragmentary Heritage

The English motet receives much less attention than the French type, in part because of its more fragmentary survival. For French motets we have several

20 For more information on the various theories of the origin of this source, see the introduction to *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, MS 564*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, 2 vols, Épitome musicale (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

21 "Hockets as Compositional and Scribal Practice in the *Ars Nova* Motet – A Letter from Lady Music," *Journal of Musicology* 30 (2013), 461–501.

22 See especially Wathey, "The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," *Early Music History* 12 (1993), 119–50.

major sources that provide a large number of complete works, some of which can be securely linked with known composers. None of this can be said for the situation in England, where no complete manuscript containing polyphonic music survives from before the fifteenth century, and many of the pieces that do survive are not only anonymous but often fragmentary.[23] Nevertheless, what does survive gives evidence of a flourishing tradition, and one distinct from its counterpart across the Channel. Within this body of English motets, Peter Lefferts sees a shift in notation and style around the turn of the fourteenth century. These changes are apparently connected to analogous developments on the Continent, so the tale of continuity and change from the thirteenth century to the fourteenth that we have already seen in France is to some extent present here as well.

While such features as the use of chant-based tenors, repeated rhythmic patterns, and polytextuality are broadly characteristic of the motet as practiced in France in the fourteenth century, they are not so regularly found in England, where a greater variety of stylistic possibilities obtains, with a narrower range of subjects. Motets in England use Latin texts almost without exception, and nearly all are sacred works at a time when French motets with Latin upper-voice texts are often hortatory or topical in nature and French amatory texts are also common. Indeed, the presence of French and/or secular texts in a motet in an English source immediately raises the question of Continental influence, if not origin. Within this general field, a shift can be seen from the thirteenth century, when Marian subjects predominate, to the fourteenth, when motets are more often created in honor of other saints and events in the life of Christ; this may reflect an increase in ceremonial opportunities also visible on the Continent at this time or the popularity of cantilena or song-like settings in honor of the Virgin, or some combination of the two.

Where chant-based tenors appear, they tend to use whole chants, or at least significant sections, rather than the fragments characteristic of the French composers. In such works the upper-voice texts tend to trope the chant, sometimes also echoing its vowel sounds; this technique is also visible in the earliest motets, but it had fallen out of favor in France before the end of the thirteenth century. Such troped chant settings can be seen as distinct from motets, but the two genres overlap in the early fourteenth century, and both share the kind of stratified texture that Lefferts sees as the most significant marker of the English motet.

23 The fundamental study of the English motet is Peter Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, Studies in Musicology 94 (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1986), on which much of this section is based.

Whether the tenor be chant-based or free, the structural use of repeated rhythmic patterns or *taleae* in the tenor is not common, though some English motets are built over a *pes*, a short repeated melodic pattern not based on chant. Indeed, repeated melodies in general are much more common than is the case in France. Another frequently-used technique is voice exchange or rondellus, where a melody appears first in one upper voice, then another, usually with the same or related text. A pair of rondellus-related voices is often combined with an untexted lower-voice pair that similarly exchanges musical material and therefore shares the function of a tenor, creating a four-voice texture that consists of two pairs in voice exchange. Where the lower-voice pair includes a chant tenor, the chant used itself often has a repeating melodic structure, such as that of the sequence, but such tenors are often freely composed without pre-existent musical material. Motets of this type may have as many as five sections of voice exchange, but those sections are of different lengths, so the structural principle cannot be easily compared to the *talea* structure used in France. In these motets, then, specifically English compositional techniques are used in the service of a particularly English motet type.

Another common type includes periodic phrase structure, creating a staggering of phrases among the voices and resulting in a continuous texture like that of the motet in France, but in a less rigorous fashion than the regular *talea* structure of French motets. Moreover, the texts of such motets tend to be declaimed together, even where each voice has its own text, which creates a kind of parallelism not usually found in the motets of Machaut, Vitry, and their contemporaries. Many such works in three parts have a medial tenor, moving between separately texted duplum and triplum, rather than the lower-voice tenor found on the Continent; four-voice motets often share the two-pair texture we have already seen in the voice-exchange motets.

From melodic repetition, whether in the form of a *pes* or voice exchange, to the use of tenor assonance to parallel declamation of text, English motets seem to demonstrate a greater concern for pleasing sound than the interest in inaudible harmonies that apparently motivates many French composers. These pieces focus on repetitions of melody rather than rhythm, and in the upper voices melodic repetition tends to be combined with textual repetition or similarity. Where it occurs in lower parts, it moves on the same rhythmic level as the upper voices, and it is often either correlated with voice exchange in the upper voices or, as in the case of a *pes*, is short enough to be easily apprehended. All of these features suggest a concern for the casual listener, where the stratified texture and repetition of long-note rhythms present in motets created by French composers, while also audible, would seem to require more focused attention. This is not to

say that intellectual subtleties are completely lacking from English motets, or pleasing sounds from French ones, but the balance of interest seems to distinguish the two approaches to motet writing in the fourteenth century.

There is, however, ample opportunity for mutual exchange and influence, especially later in the century, as English nobles and their chapels made their way to France and noble, even royal, French captives spent considerable time in England. From mid-century, the incursion of French works is clear: motets from French sources are found in fragments from the English Benedictine house at Bury St. Edmunds (Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Museo 7) and from Durham Cathedral (Durham, Cathedral Library, C.I.20), where they are combined with other works either from the Continent or showing French influence along with English traits. Moreover, the English motet *Sub Arturo plebs / Fons citharizancium / T. In omnem terram* not only survives in two Continental sources (the Chantilly Codex and the early fifteenth-century manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15, henceforth *I-Bc* Q15), but also shares features with other "musician motets," a group consisting otherwise of French works celebrating (and naming) living musicians.

Perhaps one reason for the differences between French and English approaches can be found in their different institutional associations. Most of what we know about the motet in France is more or less linked to circles connected to the royal and noble courts. While Machaut ended his life as a cathedral canon and Vitry as a bishop, those ecclesiastical positions were rewards for governmental service, as was common in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the cultivation of the motet, and indeed polyphony in general, in England is much more clearly monastic, including the Benedictine foundations at most cathedrals. This monastic origin is surely the reason for the more clearly religious function of the resulting motets, which may serve in the location of their chant source (if they have one) or as a substitute or free interpolation within the liturgy. In the second half of the fourteenth century, royal and noble chapels, as well as collegiate foundations and other secular churches, seem to become more important in England, which may echo the apparent increase not only in the presence of French motets but also of English motets using Continental styles and procedures.

The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet: A Civic Heritage from the Veneto

A small but significant group of motets also survives from Italy during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and these works, like the English

group, differ in some ways from the genre as practiced in France. Italian motets are not only numerically fewer than their French counterparts, but they frequently appear in fragmentary sources and often fragmentary states, which makes it difficult to publish and perform them. Moreover, many of these motets are anonymous, at least until we reach the turn of the fifteenth century and the works of Johannes Ciconia, and then Guillaume Du Fay. Still, the surviving evidence shows an important tradition of motets, particularly from the Veneto from the middle of the fourteenth century; these works are mostly of a ceremonial nature, honoring bishops, cities, and a series of Venetian doges. Where Italian motets are written in honor of saints, Bent argues that they still more likely have a civic than a liturgical function, and Benjamin Brand has shown how the political and spiritual intersect in one example.[24]

Italian motet tenors are generally untexted and slower-moving than the two voices above them, which leads to a texture not unlike the French motet. Italian tenors, however, are not usually based on chant, and they do not use a repeated rhythmic pattern like the French *talea*. Where repetition exists, it is generally limited to a large-scale division into halves where the rhythm of the first half is repeated exactly in all voices. The tenor underpins a duet whose voices tend not to be differentiated in declamation or rhythmic level, unlike the French triplum and motetus, but they usually share the same range and often a single text as well, though bitextual examples do exist. This type of accompanied duet texture Bent suggests may derive more from the caccia, where two voices move in canon over a slower-moving line, than from the French motet of the thirteenth century.

Here as in England the transmission of French works leads to some influence, even hybridization, late in the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. This combining of Italian and French traits has traditionally been attributed mostly to Johannes Ciconia, a native of Liège who spent much of his career in Italy. Bent argues, though, that many of the apparently French features in Ciconia's work actually appear not to come from the composer himself, but from the scribe of the manuscript *I-Bc* Q15, who early in the fifteenth century added French-style contratenors to otherwise largely Italianate motets to create the hybrids that we now know.[25] This scribe's work may actually have influenced the composer who apparently did successfully fuse the Italian and French motet styles: Guillaume Du Fay, beginning with "Vasilissa ergo gaude" in 1421.

24 The basic introduction to the genre is Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento VI*, ed. Giulio Cattin (Certaldo: Polis, 1992), 85–125. See also Benjamin Brand, "*Viator ducens ad celestia*: Eucharistic Piety, Papal Politics, and an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), 250–84.

25 Bent, "A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), 183–201.

Another repertory that brings together Italian and French traits is that found in the Cyprus Manuscript (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9). Nearly all of the forty-one motets in this source, eight of which have French texts, are four-voice pieces with contratenors, and in many cases they also have some form of structure based on rhythmic repetition in the lower voices. These features, combined with the Francophile court culture that operated under the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, has led most to see these motets as essentially French. Margaret Bent has shown, however, that they can be seen as fundamentally Italianate in style: like the Veneto motets, their contratenors are not essential to the counterpoint of their motets and can therefore easily be omitted, and they tend to have such Italian features as equal upper voices, freely composed tenors, and simple rhythmic repetition, with two or three sections of exact rhythmic repetition over a single statement of the tenor melody.[26] Karl Kügle has connected two singers from Cambrai to the Cypriot court and, quite possibly, to the manuscript and its repertory.[27]

Du Fay and the End of the Medieval Motet

Just as Du Fay brings together Italian and French traits in an important group of motets, in other pieces he seems more influenced by English models that treat a single Latin sacred text in a more equal-voiced texture, either without reference to chant or paraphrasing it in the top voice. This Latin equal-voiced style becomes the motet as most singers of our time know it, a genre that perhaps reaches its pinnacle in the works of Josquin des Pres and his contemporaries and successors. But the medieval motet does not die as soon as this early modern type was born: fifteenth-century composers continued on occasion to write motets with stratified textures, tenors taken from chant fragments, repeated rhythmic *taleae*, and even multiple texts. Moreover, the idea of using chant, or other borrowed tunes, in the tenor as a structural and symbolic basis for music with other texts continues in the cyclic Mass Ordinary, which in some ways takes over the role the motet had held as the highest marker of compositional skill.[28]

26 Bent, "Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript," in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9: Report of the International Musicological Congress, Paphos 20–25 March, 1992* . . . ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Musicological Studies and Documents 45 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänssler-Verlag, 1995), 357–75.

27 Kügle, "The Repertory of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9, and the French Tradition of the 14th and Early 15th Centuries," in *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, ed. Günther and Finscher, 151–81.

28 On fifteenth-century developments, see Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Conclusion: What Is a Motet?

We have seen single-texted and multi-texted works, Latin and French texts, myriad subject matters, chant-based and free tenors, and a wide variety of approaches to texture and structure. It would be easy to conclude that no single description is possible for the fourteenth-century motet, and medieval theorists are of little help, since they tend not to be terribly interested in issues of generic classification. To complicate the matter further, the index of the Trémoïlle fragment includes in its category "motets" examples of the *chace*, a type of French song based on two imitative voices over a tenor, and Mass Ordinary movements, neither of which modern scholars would classify as motets.

Peter Lefferts has suggested that the use of a stratified texture, where a slower-moving lower part (or a pair of such parts) without text serves as a foundation for faster-moving, texted upper parts, may begin to describe the motet in a way the scribe of the Trémoïlle fragment might understand, since that type of texture is also characteristic of the *chace* and the fourteenth-century Mass movements that are included in that index.[29] Bent also compares some features of the Italian motet to the caccia, an imitative genre similar to the *chace*, citing in part a fourteenth-century treatise that does likewise, so at least one medieval author also saw such a connection.[30] That would suggest that bitextuality and chant-based tenors disposed in repeated *taleae* are indeed not essential to the motet, though those features are in fact present in most examples from medieval France. A definition based on texture still might not account for all examples from England, though it would describe the French and Italian motet types reasonably well.

Ultimately, to the medieval mind, a motet may have been what the term itself implies at its most basic level: a piece of polyphonic music with words (French *mot*) that isn't something else, such as a Kyrie setting or a ballade. While there may be further common characteristics within and between national traditions, perhaps nothing else is truly necessary. Such terminological inexactness might distress modern scholars and students, but it is in keeping with the surviving reality.

How were motets used? In many ways we don't have much more than common sense, with all its attendant flaws and dangers of anachronism, to guide us. Too often we don't even know who wrote motets, or, for

29 Lefferts, *The Motet in England*. 30 Bent, "Some Aspects of the Motets in the Cyprus Manuscript."

well-known figures such as Machaut, employed mostly as a royal secretary rather than as a musician, why they did so. Johannes de Grocheio tells us that motets are used in celebrations of clerics (*litterati*), as opposed to the rondeau (*rotundellus*) used in lay celebrations, but this gives us very little concrete information.[31] English motets with liturgical texts could clearly be used in worship, but, while those with more general religious texts could also be used as paraliturgical or devotional works, there is usually little or no information on precisely where they might be performed.

Motets that can be linked with specific events still tend to tell us very little about the precise nature of their performance. Even where a motet's context and intended message can be as specifically localized as Andrew Wathey has done with Vitry's "Petre clemens / Lugentium siccentur / Non est inventus similis illi," little can be known definitively about the precise circumstances under which the motet would be performed.[32] There are some exceptions, such as Machaut's motet 23, which Anne Robertson has argued was created for and used in a commemoration of the Virgin Mary held after Compline in the Cathedral of Reims, and the Cyprus motets, which Karl Kügle has suggested were for domestic liturgical use.[33] Mostly, though, we are left to wonder. It does seem clear, however, that motets could be reused. For instance, Andrew Wathey has described how "Ludowice prelustris francorum / Servant regem / Rex regum et dominus dominantium," a motet celebrating Louis X of France transmitted in the *Fauvel* manuscript, was reused in a later source compiled for the marriage of the future Edward III of England; here the Louis named is not the living king but the saintly ancestor Louis IX, through whom Edward claimed the French throne for himself.[34]

But much of this still leaves us with as many questions as answers. In the end the motet continues to fascinate in part because of the things we do not, even cannot, know. That may make it the ultimate form of sounding music from the Middle Ages, an effort to reflect in some dim way the cosmic harmonies that are beyond our grasp, but toward which we continually reach.

31 Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993), 17–41.
32 On the Vitry motet, see Wathey, "The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," *Early Music History* 12 (1993), 119–50.
33 Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims* and Kügle, "The Repertory of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9."
34 Wathey, "The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 1–29.

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· 33 ·

Latin Song I: Songs and Songbooks from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century

HELEN DEEMING

Introduction

Outlining the history of medieval Latin song through a study of the manuscript books which contain it is illuminating in several respects. First, in the virtual absence of any other contemporary evidence attesting to the composition or performance of songs – aside from a few documentary or literary references which are overwhelmingly vague, subjective, and lacking in precise details of poetry and music – these collections are usually the sole medieval mediators of repertories of song and practices of singing. Secondly, the varied and challenging nature of these songbooks is not well known and has for generations been misrepresented by the preferences of editors, scholars, and to some extent performers. Thirdly, examination of the many shortcomings of medieval songbooks – their partial, retrospective, and fossilizing tendencies, and above all their representation of only a fraction of the songs in circulation at the time of their preparation – offers a platform from which to investigate unwritten and "semi-written" practices: songs that circulated entirely without written support, and the many songs whose texts were preserved in writing without their melodies.

This chapter focuses predominantly on Latin, non-liturgical, monophonic song, though all three parameters can be called into question.[1] The materials under discussion – both the songs themselves and the books that preserve them – frequently invite us to make connections across linguistic, functional, and musical categories, often indeed questioning the modern assumptions that have led to the establishment of these categories. The intersections between Latin and vernacular are pervasive and complex across the history of medieval

1 In writing this introduction, I find myself in much the same position as John Stevens, who tackled many of the same problems in the introduction to his invaluable *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge University Press, 1986). Though similar dissenting voices are manifest in some subsequent works of reference (most notably in David Fallows, "Sources, MS § III: Secular Monophony," Grove Music Online), a tendency to retain the problematic categories of language, function, and musical texture is still strongly apparent in recent scholarship.

song: songs in several languages nestle side-by-side in manuscripts from an early date, and the practice of contrafactum was frequently employed to substitute a song text in one tongue for one in another, a phenomenon that worked in both directions between Latin and vernacular languages. Macaronic songs, though less frequently encountered than contrafacta, are nevertheless present in some of the earliest manuscript witnesses.[2] A clear separation between liturgical and non-liturgical song is equally hard to sustain, since the original function of any given song is not always specified in the source that records it, nor should we exclude the possibility that a song's function could change during the period that it was sung, or that it may have had multiple functions from its inception. Styles and techniques, both poetic and musical, are shared between songs that are known to have had a liturgical function and those that did not, and both manuscript organization and chronological and geographical concurrence reinforce the sense that "liturgical" and "non-liturgical" song composition proceeded for much of the Middle Ages in parallel.[3] Though the boundary between monophonic and polyphonic song might appear at first glance to be more rigid, there are numerous examples of songs with multiple medieval identities, circulating in some sources as monodies and simultaneously elsewhere in two- and three-voice settings. Moreover, once again the scribes responsible for the collation of medieval songbooks very often showed themselves far less concerned than are modern scholars to maintain distinctions on the grounds of musical texture or genre. Even the largest and best-known repertory of medieval Latin songs – the conductus associated with twelfth- and thirteenth-century Paris, examined in more detail in Chapter 34 – resists too strong an adherence to the categories that historiography has forced upon it: its songs are found in settings for one, two, three, or four voices, many individual songs appearing in several of these guises, and its most significant witness, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, unites the songs with examples of all of the other musical genres favored in contemporary Parisian circles, between the covers of a single book.[4]

2 For example, the Latin dawn-song *Phebi claro* with its Provençal refrain "L'alba par" in the tenth-century manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini 1462 (*I-Rvat* Reg. Lat. 1462); for discussion see Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1968; third edition 1996), 170–72; see also John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 205.

3 Peter Dronke's observation, originally made in 1968, that "in a far-reaching sense, medieval secular and sacred song can be seen as two strands of a single tradition" has not been refuted, though scholarship has nonetheless tended to continue along divided lines; see *The Medieval Lyric*, 23.

4 The monumental catalog of conductus prepared by Gordon A. Anderson is partly flawed by such categorization: conductus are classified as "four voice," "three voice," etc., but individual catalog entries for particular songs often show them to belong to several different categories when they appear in different manuscript locations; "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," *Miscellanea musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 6 (1972), 152–229; 7 (1973), 1–81. A new digital catalog of conductus is now available at http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/.

Other presumptions bequeathed by the scholarly legacy of a century and a half of research into medieval music have gradually been recognized as outmoded and abandoned by scholars, though they are sometimes still perpetuated in performances and recordings. The classification of songs into "sacred" and "secular" – and sometimes even further into thematic categories such as "amorous," "divine," "moral," and "trivial" (the sections employed by E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick in 1907 in one of the earliest modern anthologies of medieval English lyrics)[5] – has long been regarded as problematic. Not only did the compilers of medieval songbooks tend to avoid any such classification in the organization of their contents, but several individual songs have proved susceptible to interpretations that make opposing claims for either a spiritual or a worldly inspiration.[6] The tendency of early text and music editors to present medieval song in such ways is perhaps understandable as a desire to offer to the uninitiated reader or singer a frame of reference modeled on the more sharply differentiated musical traditions of later eras; the continuation of this tradition in some (though by no means all) recent performing and recording endeavors suggests that a thematic "hook" is still often regarded as the most desirable way to present the repertory to contemporary listeners. Literary and musical history have long been shaped by reference to the lives and works of great authors and composers, leading to the neglect of much anonymous medieval song (the majority), and an overemphasis on works that could be attributed to named individuals. In the wake of postmodern deconstruction of the notion of the author, those pockets of medieval song that are attributable (principally, the works of Guillaume de Machaut and certain of the trouvères) have come to be re-examined as idiosyncratic (and in the latter case, problematic) anomalies within a culture that seems to have placed little value on preserving and perpetuating the names of individual songs' creators.[7]

5 *Medieval English Lyrics*, ed. E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick (London: A. H. Bullen, 1907; reprinted 1966).

6 One notorious example is the English lyric, "Maiden in the Mor Lay," apparently the source-melody for the Latin contrafactum "Peperit virgo" in the Red Book of Ossory; the arguments are summarized in Stevens, *Words and Music*, 182–84. See also *Medieval English Songs*, ed. E. J. Dobson and F. Ll. Harrison (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), no.16, who provide music for both songs by fitting them to the melody of another, "Bryd One Brere," and most recently Thomas G. Duncan, "The Maid in the Moor and the Rawlinson Text," *The Review of English Studies*, new series 47, no. 186 (May, 1996), 151–62.

7 Indeed, the sense of many medieval songs as products of single creators is difficult to sustain, especially in the light of the differences – addressed later in this chapter – that may manifest themselves between different manuscript versions of ostensibly the same song. The problems adhering to attributions of songs to named trouvères, largely relating to the chronological hiatus between the supposed time of composition and the time at which names begin to be attached to the songs, as well as the difficulty of knowing whether an attribution refers to the poetry, the music, or both, are summarized in Chapter 12; for Guillaume de Machaut, an author who is anomalous by virtue of his exerting positive control over the preservation and perpetuation of his *oeuvre*, see Chapter 30.

Latin monophonic song has perhaps suffered more than most medieval repertories from sustained neglect: ignored by traditional musical scholarship that has prioritized medieval polyphony in an evolutionary narrative of musical development, and further denied the championing accorded to vernacular song by scholars intent on tracing national literary histories, its music remains even now only partly available in reliable modern editions and its sources incompletely or inaccurately cataloged. The texts of the songs have fared better than the music: many song texts were edited in comprehensive editing projects of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, though often with barely a mention of the existence of musical notation in the sources, still less any serious attempt to edit it.[8] Manuscript catalogers as much as textual editors were responsible for playing down or even ignoring the musicality of song, regularly neglecting to record any information about the presence of musical notation in catalog descriptions of songbooks. Consequently destined to register only the faintest trace on the disciplinary radar of musicology, medieval Latin song has fallen further between the gaps of the disciplines in the modern academy, on the peripheries of both modern languages and classical studies. Overcoming these obstacles has been the work of several generations and is still ongoing; even as it proceeds, however, this work is making possible for the first time a less hindered appreciation of the quantity and nature of Latin songs and songbooks in the Middle Ages, access to complete manuscript descriptions, facsimiles, and increasing numbers of reliable editions of text and music, and finally reasonable and considered judgments about the vast territory of unwritten song and the didactic, mnemonic, and performance practices that lay behind it.

The Nature of Medieval Song

The problems with providing an overview of medieval song begin with questions of definition, for which medieval terminology provides little guidance. Almost all of the Latin terms for song used by medieval writers – from the broadest (*cantus*, *carmen*, *cantio*, *canticum*) to the apparently more specific (such as *versus*, *conductus*, *ritmus*, *metrum*, *planctus*) – are used interchangeably and flexibly, so that it is inadvisable to place too much weight on perceived generic distinctions that they might signify in any given context.[9] In its most basic sense, the

8 *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. C. M. Blume and G. Dreves, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1886–90 [vols. 1–8]; Leipzig: Reisland, 1890–1922 [vols. 9–55]); see also the index prepared by Max Lütolf, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi: Register*, 3 vols. (Bern: Francke, 1978).

9 The medieval usage of the term "conductus" is explored in Chapter 34; for discussion of some other terms, see Stevens, *Words and Music*, 50–51.

term "song" encompasses anything that was, or was intended to be, sung, though such an umbrella covers an impossibly large and diverse domain of musical and poetic activity. It might be reasonable to place into separate categories the singing of long narrative, epic, and heroic verse, and that of shorter, self-contained lyrics – as this chapter does, largely excluding the former – though the boundary between the two is not clear in every case.[10] Moreover, it is not possible to establish a definitive list even of the latter category, since many songs of this type must have circulated in purely oral form, and many others were written down as texts but without musical notation. Even those that do survive in written form must be treated carefully: the desire to establish definitive "texts" (derived from the traditional methods of textual criticism) has misrepresented songs, which are frequently found in many different versions, none having any more authority than any other. Such versions point to songs' fluid rather than fixed nature, as items to be re-created and perhaps reinvented each time they were sung: as examples in this chapter will demonstrate, this vital, performative aspect (for which Paul Zumthor has coined the term "*mouvance*"/"mobility") occasionally looms into view through careful consideration of the written traces that are all that remain to us.[11]

From the earliest songbooks, examples of both metrical (quantitative) and rhythmical (syllable-counted) Latin verse coexist, and both are considered in this chapter.[12] The former, often referred to – then and now – as *metra*, include the lyrics of classical authors as well as medieval compositions adopting metrical forms derived from classical Latin. Metrical verse, based on the classical quantities (long and short syllables), began to be supplemented with structures based on accent and lines of defined numbers of syllables: these forms were known as *rhythmi* (or *ritmi*) from an early date. For both *metra* and *rhythmi*, musical as well as poetic structures fall into a small number of identifiable categories. Many Latin songs are strophic, having a single melody repeated for each stanza (each of which must therefore possess the same or a very similar metrical or rhythmical pattern); in strophic songs, the music is usually written out only for the first stanza, with remaining stanzas written below, without alignment to the melody. A few songs are "through-composed," having no structural repetition of the music but rather a single melodic shape that

10 The distinction is problematic in the case of series of lyrics gathered together as narrative cycles or where lyrics are interpolated within narratives, such as romances.

11 Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972); Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix: de la "littérature" médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1987).

12 The best discussion of the relationship between medieval quantitative and rhythmical poetry is still Dag Norberg's 1958 *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, available in English as *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, translated by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly, edited with an introduction by Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004).

encompasses the whole song; such musical forms tend to be used for short poems that are not themselves arranged into stanzas of repeating patterns. Finally, a large group of songs is composed according to principles of progressive repetition, in which a musical component is repeated one or more times with different textual units, before another musical component is introduced. The liturgical sequence is the clearest example of this form, generating (in the simplest examples) a musical form describable as AABBCC, etc; the same construction is, however, used for many songs that have no liturgical connections, and also lies behind the more complex and irregular schemes of progressive repetition to be found in other genres, such as the Latin and French *lai*, German *leich*, and instrumental *estampie*.

Latin Songbooks from the Ninth Century to the Thirteenth

For at least the first two and a half centuries of musical notation, songbooks were compiled in clerical environments. The skills of writing (especially writing musical notation) and the resources for book production were to be found exclusively in monasteries and other religious houses until the twelfth century, and the clergy remained the most prominent producers of books for some time thereafter. These early songbooks, contrary to what might be expected, do not give an impression of insularity: Latin songs seem to have circulated around the Continent from a very early stage and snatches of vernacular lyrics and melodies in these books also suggest clerical exposure to musical currents beyond the cloister walls. What is most interesting about early songbooks, though, is that almost all include songs within larger collections of non-musical texts. In some cases, this may have resulted from practicality: a few songs added on the blank pages of another book, for want of anywhere else to put them; but in other cases, there seems to have been a deliberate and careful juxtaposition of songs with other materials, suggesting that songs could have formed part of associative reading practices in such compendia. Fitting in to an established tradition of *florilegia* – compilations of extracts from patristic or classical writers – songbooks could enshrine songs as items to be contemplated by monastic readers. Though not all songbooks under consideration here seem have to been designed for such uses, none can clearly be considered a performer's copy: the functions of writing (especially music writing) remained those of preservation and recording, a support to but not a replacement of the oral and mnemonic transmission processes employed by medieval singers.

The well-known manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1154 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 1154), often referred to as the earliest notated collection of songs, and originating in late ninth- or early tenth-century

Aquitaine, might seem the best place to start in a history of medieval Latin song. Nevertheless, there are good reasons for casting the net a little wider and considering a number of earlier and contemporary manuscripts without notation that may nonetheless be regarded as songbooks. Concordances of poetic texts and similar combinations of material between these unnotated books and later sources with notation seem to confirm their nature as songbooks, albeit ones for which musical notation – whether through lack of desire or of facility – was never provided. Among these, Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare 88 (hereafter *I-VCd* 88) includes a selection of truncated poems by authors of late Antiquity, many of which appear in notated manuscripts of the following century in similarly or identically abbreviated form.[13] Bern, Burgerbibliothek 455 (hereafter *CH-BEb* 455), like *F-Pn* lat. 1154, originated as a purely literary document to which musical notation was added at some point in the tenth century.[14] As well as some concordances, there are also general similarities in the two manuscripts' combinations of materials: both include hymns, late Antique *metra*, and *rhythmi*, and the scribes of both display a preference for the term "versus" as a descriptor for all these forms.[15] From such books, a context for the otherwise exceptional *F-Pn* lat. 1154 may be ascertained, and some sense of the range of possible reasons for writing down song (whether words alone, or by adding neumes to words) may be gained.

These few songbooks collectively display all the essential elements of early medieval Latin song culture: the intermingling of sacred and secular, the use of both metric and rhythmic verse, and the setting of poetry both by authors of the distant past (classical and late Antique) and of more recent Carolingian generations. The whole manuscript of which the song collection in *F-Pn* lat. 1154 forms part includes a sequence of prayers and a litany of the saints alongside parts of Isidore's *Synonyma*; among the songs themselves are *versus* in praise of saints, hymns with liturgical designations, and secular songs on moral and political topics.[16] *CH-BEb* 455 similarly incorporates an incomplete hymnal in

13 Sam Barrett, "Review: Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*. Turnhout, Brepols, Publications of The Journal of Medieval Latin, 7, 2007," *Early Music History* 28 (2009), 241–49 at 248 n. 7.

14 Sam Barrett, "Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 1154," *Early Music History* 16 (1997), 55–96 at 86–90 and 93–95.

15 Detailed discussion of *CH-BEb* 455 and other unnotated collections with connections to *F-Pn* lat. 1154 in particular may be found in Barrett, "Music and Writing," 65–73. Further study of *F-Pn* lat. 1154 may be found in Barrett, "New Light on the Earliest Medieval Songbook," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 9–34.

16 A full list of the songs with their revealing rubrics may be found in Barrett, "Music and Writing," 62. Of this manuscript, Peter Dronke remarked that "already before 900 we see heroic, elegiac, philosophical and personal themes taking their place alongside religious ones in a monastic musical repertoire"; *The Medieval Lyric*, 27.

its total contents, as well as *versus* on the subjects of Christ and the saints, didactic songs for the teaching of meter, and songs in honor of secular rulers.[17] The presence of liturgical songs in both manuscripts, extracted from the ritual context in which they were presumably sung, is a clear indicator that interest in such items – and in writing them down – was not limited to the compilers of chant-books, and their juxtaposition with avowedly non-religious songs, using apparently similar musical and poetic registers,[18] is testament to the interconnectedness of sacred and secular song from the earliest notated sources.[19]

CH-BEb 455 draws attention to its status as a teaching collection, with rubrics detailing the meters of some of the verses, and textual and musical annotations in the hand of the Laon schoolmaster, Adelem; a didactic function has also been posited for other notated songs in ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts. The potential both of music and of its notational signs to aid students' understanding and memorization of metrical forms may be one explanation for the occurrence of neumes along with metrical verse in such manuscripts, and this explanation is commensurate with some of the theories put forward in relation to the early functions of neumes in liturgical manuscripts. The *metra* from Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* were most frequently treated in this way, though quantitative verse by other late Antique writers, as well as classical works such as Horace's *Odes*, were also drawn upon.[20] A revival of interest during the Carolingian Renaissance in the literature of the ancient world also led to a striking tendency for certain classical texts, or sections therein, to be set to music.[21] A large group is formed by speeches within epics, and of these, many are laments by female characters, which seem to have been singled out for singing because of their deeply affecting emotional character.[22] At the same time, the use of these

17 Barrett, "Music and Writing", 70–71.

18 The assessment of the musical techniques in use is of course hampered by the nature of the neumatic notation which cannot be transcribed precisely: nonetheless, recently developed methodologies have enabled scholars to recover a good deal of information from the musical signs, as discussed below.

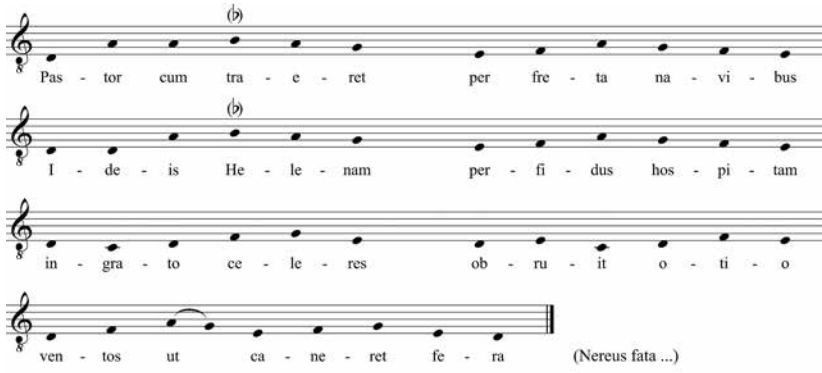
19 For more detail on contemporary liturgical song composition, see Chapters 9 and 10 above, on trope and sequence. Further evidence in support of the claim that the composition – or at least the notating – of sacred and secular music were largely contemporary endeavors may be the presence of non-liturgical music among the very first notations (for which see "Table 4: 9th-Century Examples of Neumes," in David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, "Notation, §III, 1: History of Western Notation: Plainchant," Grove Music Online.

20 The surviving notations for the poetry of Horace have been edited by Silvia Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia, Band III (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002); an extensive review by Sam Barrett, setting this work in context and assessing its methods, may be found in *Early Music History* 23 (2004) 285–305.

21 These notations are surveyed in Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

22 Ziolkowski, "Women's Lament and the Neuming of the Classics," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts, Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 128–50.

Example 33.1 "Pastor cum traeret" (Horace, *Odes*, 1.15) from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 7979, fol. 2v



When the treacherous shepherd was dragging off his hostess Helen across the strait on Idaean ships, Nereus stilled the quick winds to reluctant idleness as he sang his savage prophecies.

speeches in rhetorical education, as models of expressive writing, is also a possibility, as is the provision of neumes for these passages primarily as a way of marking them out visually on the page (in effect, serving the function of speech-marks).

Only in recent years have systematic and credible attempts to transcribe and interpret the neumes in these early song manuscripts been made. For the most part, the neumes convey no specific information regarding pitch or even intervals between notes, though sufficient songs survive in later copies using more readily transcribable notations for some sense to be gained of the earliest neumed songs. Example 33.1, "Pastor cum traeret" (Horace, *Odes*, i.15), was transcribed by Silvia Wälli from an eleventh- or early twelfth-century manuscript using heightened Aquitanian notation, which makes most of the intervals clear (though the precise pitch of some notes remains debatable: here, the fourth note in the first and second lines of the example may be a B♭ or even C).[23] For manuscripts without pitch-specific notation, Wälli's transcription method consists of laying out the texts with the syllables separated and underlaid with scansion marks, and then overlaying a diplomatic transcription of the neumes: though this does not amount to a performable edition, it

23 Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften*, 185. All translations are my own.

facilitates observations on the character of the melodies, such as the frequency and placement of melismas, the degree of correspondence between neume forms and metrical positions, and the repetition of melodic patterns (though of course unheightened neumes do not differentiate between a repetition occuring at the same pitch level and one that is transposed). Detection of these features relies on visual recognition: in a transcription method more recently developed by Sam Barrett, the neumes are converted into an alphanumeric series, which makes the melodic strings searchable electronically.[24] This system – whilst it cannot represent all aspects of the neumatic information, particularly any sporadic or inconsistent heightening – nonetheless greatly increases the potential for surviving song melodies to be analyzed in their own right and compared to one another.

Wälli's edition of "Pastor cum traeret" has brought to light the close connection between this melody and the hymn "Inventor rutili" with text by Prudentius;[25] the parallel connection between the Horatian "Est mihi nonum" and the hymn "Ut queant laxis" (later brought to prominence because of Guido d'Arezzo's use of it as an aid to learning the solmization syllables) has long been known, and this additional example reinforces the suggestion that links between classical neuming and the hymn tradition may have been part of more widespread interpenetration of secular and religious song in the first centuries of musical notation. Examples are to be found in the realm of the sequence, whose distinctive musical construction is found equally in connection with devotional and worldly texts from as early as the ninth century,[26] and in the genre of the *planctus* (often, though not always, bearing the hallmarks of a similar musical form to the sequence), whose register of formal lament was employed in relation to contemporary statesmen and biblical figures alike.[27]

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The continuation of all of the early elements of Latin song culture well into the eleventh century is attested by several songbooks, among which the best-known is the so-called "Cambridge Songs," Cambridge, University Library, Gg. V. 35 (hereafter *GB-Cu* Gg. V. 35).[28] The modern appellation is

24 See *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum (Saec. IV–IX)*, I, directed by Francesco Stella, edition by Sam Barrett and introduction to the manuscripts by Patrizia Stoppacci (Florence: Sismel, 2007).

25 Further discussion of the two melodies is found in Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften*, 96–98, 185, and 279–86.

26 See Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, 39–41.

27 Janthia Yearley, "A Bibliography of Planctus," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981), 12–52.

28 For a recent edition and translation of the songs, see *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensis)*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (New York: Garland, 1994). See also Jeremy Llewellyn, "The Careful Cantor and the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

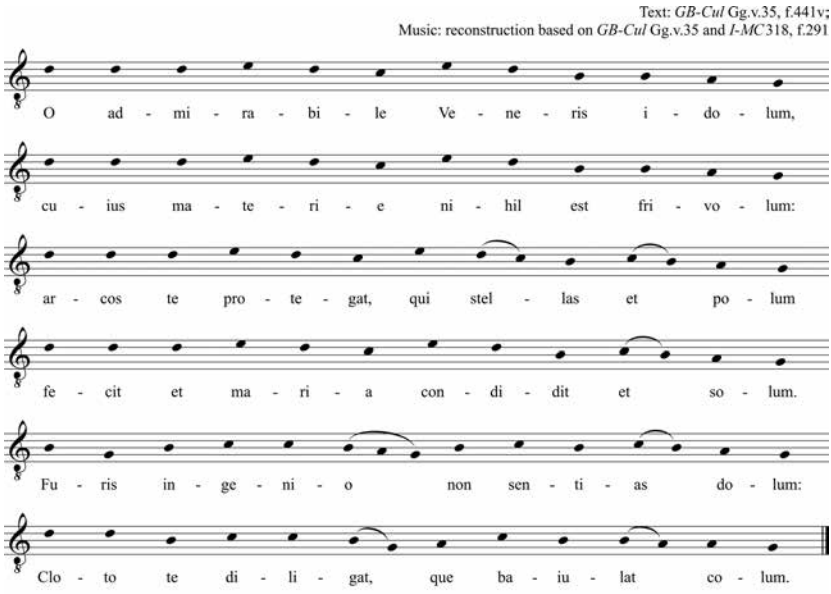
misleading, in that it designates the present location of the songbook and not its likely place of origin, the abbey of St. Augustine in Canterbury. This book has a decidedly retrospective and international character: assembled within it are passages of Virgil and Statius, poems of late Antique Christian authors such as Prudentius, and Latin works of medieval poets of German, French, and Italian origin; its copy of Boethius' *Consolation*, moreover, is glossed in Latin and Old English. The manuscript was probably assembled in the 1040s and may have been copied from a tenth-century German exemplar; only two songs in the main part of the manuscript were supplied with neumatic notation, and this paucity may reflect the state of the source manuscript. A lost leaf from the Canterbury copy was recovered in 1982, adding a further handful of neumed items, all of them Boethian *metra* whose notation may have been supplied by the Canterbury scribe rather than copied.[29] As with the earlier songbooks, a variety of thematic concerns is apparent: poems mentioning secular leaders rub shoulders with erotic verses and those in praise of nature. Among the latter is the widely transmitted "Aurea personet lyra," a song on the nightingale preserved without neumes here, but found elsewhere in notated copies, including an anonymous music-theory treatise of the twelfth century, which record a melody displaying clear elements of sequence form.[30] The melody of one of the two neumed songs in the main part of *GB-Cu* Gg. V. 35, "O admirabile Veneris idolum," can be recovered from Continental sources that preserve its contrafactum, "O Roma nobilis": one possible reconstruction is presented in Example 33.2.[31] The other neumed song, "Caute cane, cantor care," lacks a more precisely transcribable concordance, but is an inescapably musical

29 See Margaret T. Gibson, Michael Lapidge and Christopher Page, "Neumed Boethian *metra* from Canterbury: A Newly Recovered Leaf of Cambridge, University Library, Gg. V. 35 (the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript)," *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983), 141–52, esp. 147–50 (part of Page's contribution on the musical notation of the leaf).

30 The fragmentary treatise, in Latin with interleaved French commentary, was edited by Adrien de la Fage, *Essais de diptérographie musicale* (Paris: Legouix, 1864); it is designated "ANOFRA 3" in the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* database, www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/ (accessed February 12, 2015).

31 The version of *O Roma nobilis* in Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 318 (hereafter *I-MC* 318), fol. 291 is notated on lines with letters that indicate the solmization syllable of each note: it is therefore unambiguous with respect to pitch. This reconstruction starts from the Montecassino version, but then takes account of the spacing and choice of neumes in *GB-Cu* Gg. V. 35 in order to determine melodic direction and placement of melismas. A facsimile of the Montecassino page is in J. A. Westrup, "Medieval Song," in *The New Oxford History of Music II: Early Medieval Music up to 1300*, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), opposite p. 221; a facsimile of the relevant page of *GB-Cu* Gg. V. 35 is in Thomas C. Moser, *A Cosmos of Desire: The Medieval Latin Erotic Lyric in English Manuscripts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), fig. 3. Another musical transcription, that takes into account a third source of the melody, is in *Secular Medieval Latin Songs: An Anthology*, ed. Bryan Gillingham (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1993).

Example 33.2 "O admirabile Veneris idolum" (*Cambridge Songs*)



O wonderful image of Venus, in whose substance nothing is trifling: may the ruler who set the stars and the poles, and who established the seas and the land, protect you. May you not undergo deception through a thief's wiles: may Clotho who holds the spindle [of the thread of life] look kindly on you.

product, permeated as it is with musical language, the sonorous effect of dense alliteration, and an exhortation of the singer to sing:[32]

Caute cane, cantor care;	Sing carefully, dear singer;
clare conspirent cannule,	let reeds blow together brightly,
compte corde crepent concinnantiam.	let strings jangle a harmony elegantly.
Carpe callem commodam,	Take an easy path,
convalles construe.	bridge valleys.
Caput, calcem, cor coniunge,	Join head, heel and heart together,
calles, callens corporales.	skilful in the paths of the body.
Cane corda, cane cordis,	Sing with one string, sing with several,
cane cannulis Creatore.	sing with reeds to the Creator.[33]

*

32 It is unsurprising, therefore, that one performing ensemble has made a speculative reconstruction of the piece: *Lost Songs of a Rhineland Harper, X & XI Centuries*, Sequentia, dir. Benjamin Bagby.

33 The word "cannula" (here used in the plural forms "cannule" and "cannulis" and translated "reeds") can also be translated "windpipes": the poet appears to be tracing a metaphor of the human body as musical instrument, with sinews for strings, and windpipes for reeds.

It is tempting to give some weight to the statement of an early twelfth-century music theorist that "even if new compositions are now not needed for the Church, still we can exercise our talents in putting to music the rhythms [*rhythmis*] and threnodic verses of the poets [*lugubribus poetarum versibus*]";[34] for though liturgical composition far from ceased after 1100, the quantity of secular song that was recorded in writing greatly increased during the twelfth century. By 1200, nearly all manuscripts of song made use of pitch-specific notations, giving us a much clearer appreciation of their musical content, but also presumably reflecting new modes of transmission in their own time, since these notations made it possible for musicians to create performances that started from written copies, without prior aural knowledge of the melodies. Secular songs in vernacular languages came to be notated with rising frequency in the twelfth and especially thirteenth centuries, and the regular contacts between Latin and vernacular song, particularly through contrafacta, thus became much more visible. The twelfth century also gave birth to a trend in song-making, now referred to as *nova cantica* and described at greater length in Chapter 5, whose features of poetic and musical style were shared across languages and genres and identifiable in pockets of song composition across the Continent for the next two centuries.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 3719 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 3719), one of four manuscripts containing *versus* associated with the abbey of St. Martial in Limoges, is in fact made up of a number of booklets, and contains the work of at least four main music-scribes. The booklets include liturgical music, including items of the Mass Ordinary, tropes, *prosae* and Office chants, alongside polyphonic settings and secular and sacred *versus*. The devotional song "Uterus hodie" (Example 33.3) bears many of the hallmarks of the Aquitanian *versus* tradition: its text, firmly rooted in a range of Old Testament references overlaid with layers of Mariological and Christological exegesis, adopts a four-stanza strophic form with a brief refrain that takes the form of an exclamation summarizing the song's central theme of the miraculous birth. Its musical structure of initial repetition followed by contrast (schematically, AABC) is also typical, as is its modality: the final G exerts a pull on each line of the melody which is only reinforced by its evasion in favor of B at the end of all three lines of the verse. The ultimate arrival of G at the end of the refrain is further emphasized by the melody's sole descent to the F below, which is heard at the end of the song's only substantial

34 From the treatise *De Musica* by John (of Afflighem?), in *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music*, trans. Warren Babb, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1978), 137.

Example 33.3 "Uterus hodie" (Aquitanian *versus*)



1. Today the womb of the Virgin brought forth a flower, but lust did not consume the mother as she gives birth, she who, ever virgin, shied away from man: O wondrous birth! 2. From the rod of Jesse comes forth a branch, and from the little branch, a flower, Christ, springs out, whose cedar is raised high in Lebanon: O wondrous birth! 3. This flower, foretold by the pen of David, proceeding like a bridegroom from the royal bed-chamber, has anointed the age with heavenly balsam: O wondrous birth! 4. This flower is in Zion, the rose did not wither, and in Jerusalem, the lily was dazzling white, and on the cross, he soothed the cheeks of the turtle-dove: O wondrous birth!

melisma, a musically rhetorical gesture coinciding with the exclamation in the text. Throughout the song, the principal sonority formed by the third G-B is contrasted by a counter-sonority that emphasizes A and C (with F added in the refrain): this sonorous focus is extended in the third line, which rocks between a series of thirds, descending by step (CEC, BDB, ACA in reduced form). In a detailed analysis of the song's text and music, Rachel Golden Carlson has argued for an exegetical reading that hears the music's goal-directed motion as a sonorous parallel to the genealogical progression referred to in the Jesse's rod topos of the text.[35]

The importance of the survival of particular manuscripts in the construction of modern understanding of medieval song can be demonstrated by a comparison between two of the most talented and individual songwriters of the twelfth century. The music of Peter Abelard (1079–1142), originally

35 Rachel Golden Carlson, "Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Song in Aquitanian 'Versus'," *Music & Letters* 84 (2003), 527–56 at 541–48.

encompassing love songs, liturgical hymns and six *planctus*, is almost all lost: the melody for only one of his hymns composed for Heloise's convent of the Paraclete survives (that of "O quanta qualia"), and though neumed copies for all six of the *planctus* are extant, only one is also preserved in a staff-notated and thus transcribable copy.[36] The testimony of this thirteenth-century witness to "Dolorum solatium" would suggest that Abelard's music rivalled his poetry for its individual, contemplative and ecstatic qualities, but the limited nature of the evidence has hampered his reputation as a composer.[37] Similar qualities of verse and music are much more often attributed to Abelard's near contemporary, Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), whose music survives in much greater quantities. Our knowledge of Hildegard's musical output, however, relies on just two manuscript witnesses (one compiled during her lifetime, the other in the decades after her death):[38] had either or both been lost, Hildegard's musical voice would be as silent to modern ears as is Abelard's.

The so-called "Later Cambridge Songbook," Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17(1) (hereafter *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17[1]), dating from the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, is an enigmatic document. The songbook consists of eight leaves of parchment, bound in the later thirteenth century as guard-leaves to an unrelated theological manuscript; there is nothing to indicate whether the song collection is complete as it stands, or once formed part of another, larger book.[39] Nor is any reliable evidence of its origin available, since its casual handwriting and notational forms cannot be associated with any particular scriptorium or region, and many of its songs are to be found in concordant sources from across Europe. Its presence in England by the time it came to be bound with a book bearing the name of a Leicester cleric is the sole evidence on which the songbook has traditionally been regarded as English, though it is also possible that the booklet could have been copied on the Continent and crossed the English Channel during the first decades of its existence.[40] Almost everything about

36 Lorenz Weinrich, "Dolorum solatium: Text und Musik von Abaelards Planctus David," in *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard*, ed. M. Stewart and D. Wulstan (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003).

37 Some context for Abelard's planctus, along with discussion of Heloise's relationship to the lament genre, are found in Ziolkowski, "Women's Lament," 142–43.

38 Both available in recent facsimiles: *Hildegard of Bingen: Symphonia harmoniae caelestium revelationum: Dendermonde, St. Pieters & Paulusabdij Ms Cod. 9*, ed. Peter van Poucke (Peer: Alamire, 1991) and *Hildegard von Bingen: Lieder: Faksimile Riesencodex (Hs. 2) der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, fol. 466–481v*, ed. Lorenz Welker (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998).

39 See the detailed study of the manuscript by John Stevens, completed posthumously by a number of his colleagues and published with a facsimile as *Later Cambridge Songs: An English Song Collection of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

40 Cross-Channel circulation of songs and songbooks has already been signaled in relation to other thirteenth-century manuscripts: see Helen Deeming, "The Song and the Page: Experiments with Form and Layout in Manuscripts of Medieval Latin Song," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 15 (2006), 1–27 at 16–17

the manuscript's production seems unprofessional: lines for text and staves are drawn freehand, often very roughly, the handwriting and notation are messy, sometimes to the point of illegibility, and there are both blank staves and gaps above some texts, for music that was never added. Nevertheless, the musical content of the collection is striking: it contains songs in two and three voice-parts as well as monophonic songs; one song has a macaronic text in Latin and French, and many songs feature extended florid melismas that set them apart from the largely syllabic textures prevailing in other contemporary collections. These elaborate settings, which in some cases seem to have required the music-scribe to invent his own notational forms, are exemplified by the refrain of "Diastematica vocis armonia," shown in Example 33.4.[41] Stevens has speculated that these forms may be an attempt to record particular virtuosic performances of the songs' basic frameworks: a comparison between lines 1 and 3 ("Diastematica . . . " and "Musica . . . ") demonstrates this point, as both clearly share the same melodic outline but have elaborated upon it in different ways. Such apparent records of vocal virtuosity are especially fitting in this song, which urges the singer to draw upon the full resources of his craft ("melodious new songs in metrical and rhythmical verse," going on in the subsequent stanzas to describe the musical intervals).[42] But the florid readings found in the Cambridge manuscript also raise the possibility that apparently simpler settings (such as the *versus* in Example 33.3 above) might have been taken as the basis for similar elaboration when performed by contemporary singers.[43]

The thirteenth-century manuscript whose contents have been known since the nineteenth century as the *Carmina Burana* recalls, at a surprisingly late

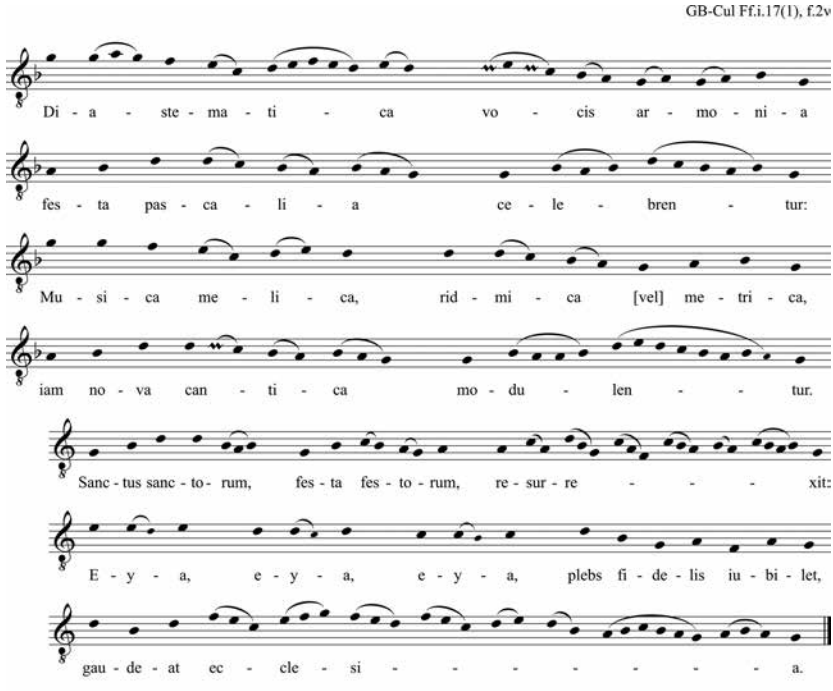
and the references there. On connections between England and the Continent in the sphere of polyphonic music, see Mark Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction in Music, c. 1170–c. 1300," *Revue belge de musicologie* 46 (1992), 5–22. See also Bryan Gillingham, "The Provenance of Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17 (1)," in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), 229–46.

41 The manuscript contains numerous examples of notational "hapax legomena": see Stevens, *Later Cambridge Songs*, 12–16. One form used extensively here (but also found in other English manuscripts) is what Stevens termed the "wave-note," represented in Example 33.4 by the wavy forms on "*vo*cis" and "*can*tica."

42 For translation of the full text and commentary on different interpretations, see Stevens, *Later Cambridge Songs*, 73–75; my translation renders "armonia" as "harmony" without necessarily implying polyphony, since the medieval concept of "harmony" was a broad one. In line 3, the manuscript erroneously reads "ridmica *in* metrica": I have substituted "vel," though Stevens rightly points out that the additional syllable is superfluous both metrically and syntactically (even though a note is clearly provided for it in the melody).

43 See Susan Rankin, "Taking the Rough with the Smooth: Melodic Versions and Manuscript Status," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Historiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), 213–53, especially 221–26.

Example 33.4 "Diastematica vocis armonia" (*Later Cambridge Songs*)



With the intervallic harmony of the voice may the feasts of Easter be celebrated: may new songs now be sung to melodious music, rhythmical [or] metrical. [Refrain] Holy of holies, feast of feasts, He has risen: Eya, eya, eya, let the faithful people shout for joy, let the Church be glad.

date, many of the issues that confront us in relation to the earliest song manuscripts.[44] Its precise origins are difficult to establish, though it is almost certainly German; it is a retrospective collection, gathering Latin poetry of the previous century, and its sparse musical notation takes the form of unheightened neumes, impossible to transcribe reliably. Only nine items have been provided with notation, though the music for some thirty of the songs can be found in concordant sources. More than half, however, are unique to this manuscript, meaning that the chances of recovering their melodies are negligible unless new sources come to light. The songbook's contents are eclectic,

44 See the critical edition by Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann and Bernhard Bischoff: *Carmina Burana* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1930–70). For a recent study of the manuscript, see Gundela Bobeth (translated by Henry Hope), "Wine, Women, and Song? Reconsidering the *Carmina Burana*," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, 79–115.

including devotional materials and love songs as well as moral-satirical and genuinely secular songs, though it is for its "Goliardic" poetry that it is best known. Songs by several of the Goliardic poets, such as Hugh Primas and the Archpoet, are included (though the poems are not attributed to authors here) and the poetic form of thirteen-syllable rhyming lines (sometimes called "Goliardic stanzas" or *Vagantenstrophen*) is pervasive. Though Walter of Châtillon is the only author named in the manuscript, poetry by several of the twelfth century's most renowned poets, many of them connected to the fledgling universities (not least Peter of Blois and Philip the Chancellor), is also present.

The melodies for some of the songs in *Carmina Burana* can be found among the corpus of Parisian conductus, explored at greater length in Chapter 34, and evidence throughout the thirteenth century points to a continued and broad circulation of certain "international" Latin songs. Walter's "Frigescente karitatis," found without notation in *Carmina Burana*, appears with a stave-notated melody in an English manuscript of the thirteenth century (the same manuscript that preserves Abelard's "Dolorum solatium"), and again without notation in a book from Santa Croce, Florence, where two verses have been added denouncing the state of contemporary Rome.[45] John Stevens has explored the geographical peregrinations of "Samson dux fortissime,"[46] the song that opens London, British Library, Harley 978 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Harley 978), an English songbook whose most famous member, "Sumer is icumen in," has all but eclipsed its companion songs, among which several remained unpublished until 2013.[47] In some cases, melodies of well-traveled songs were put to new uses with alternative texts: in one example, the liturgical sequence "Laudes crucis attollamus", originating at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, was supplied with the new texts "Inter flores electorum" and "Recitemus per hac festa," in praise of the English saints Alban and Kyneburga, respectively. The contrafacta are preserved not in liturgical chant-

45 For an edition of the song from the English manuscript, see *Frigescente karitatis*, ed. Helen Deeming (Plainsong & Medieval Music Society Online Editions, www.plainsong.org.uk/publications/pmms-online-editions/, accessed February 12, 2015); for transcription and brief discussion of the Santa Croce additions, see Charles T. Davis, "The Early Collection of Books of S. Croce in Florence," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), 399–414 at 402 and 411.

46 "*Samson dux fortissime*: An International Latin Song," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 1 (1992), 1–40.

47 The bibliography on Harley 978 (especially *Sumer is icumen in*) is too vast to be listed here, but most is listed in Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); another recent assessment of the manuscript is Helen Deeming, "An English Monastic Miscellany: The Reading Manuscript of *Sumer is icumen in*," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song*, 116–140. The previously unpublished songs from Harley 978, along with all notated songs in British manuscripts of the period, were included in *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150–1300*, ed. Helen Deeming, Musica Britannica 95 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013).

books but in miscellaneous collections of devotional items, and thus may not have had a strictly liturgical function themselves.[48] More radical transformations of songs' identities are not hard to find: several Latin songs attributed to Philip the Chancellor are found with vernacular contrafacta (in Old French, Provençal, and German) and it is not always possible to tell which originated first.[49]

Despite the evidence of these international songs, and the pre-eminence of Parisian music during the thirteenth century, local traditions of song-making and song-collecting continued to flourish throughout the Middle Ages. A songbook that encapsulates many of the themes of this chapter, reflecting both cosmopolitan and local musical currents, is London, British Library, Egerton 274 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274), dating from the end of the thirteenth century and originating in northern France.[50] This songbook in particular repays close attention to its physical form, for its diverse contents have often been treated separately without heed to their manuscript neighbors. The book consists of six separate fascicles, the work of perhaps four different scribes, and may not have originated as a single entity, though they were united by the fourteenth century, when a number of revisers made extensive alterations to the melodies and texts of some of the songs. The first fascicle opens with a rubric ascribing its songs to Philip the Chancellor: the authority and scope of the rubric has been debated but this part of the manuscript remains one of the principal sources for establishing the canon of the Chancellor's lyrical works. Alongside the monophonic and polyphonic conductus in this fascicle are two-voice motets and one *motetus* voice, isolated from its polyphonic foundation and presented as a monophonic song; there follow in fascicle II (copied by the same hand) three troped Kyries, two Glorias, and six liturgical sequences. The third and fourth fascicles, which are also related by scribal hand and decoration, contain further Latin devotional songs followed by eighteen trouvère chansons, to which a later hand has added authors' names. These chansons, together with

48 Helen Deeming, "Music, Memory and Mobility: Citation and Contrafactum in Thirteenth-Century Sequence Repertories," in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, vol. 2: *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Culture*, ed. Giuliano Di Bacco and Yolanda Plumley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 69–85.

49 Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 28 (1987), 563–92 (reprinted in his *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages* [Aldershot: Ashgate Variorium, 1991]).

50 On this manuscript, see Pamela Whitcomb, "The Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274: A Study of Its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory in Thirteenth-Century France" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2000) and Deeming, "Preserving and Recycling: Functional Multiplicity and Shifting Priorities in the Compilation and Continued Use of London, British Library, Egerton 274," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song*, 141–62.

the Chancellor's songs in fascicle 1, have attracted the most attention and both have often been treated independently of the book's totality. Two long Latin narrative poems without notation follow, and the final fascicle includes processional chants drawn from the liturgy. Even before the sections came together in their present arrangement, we have evidence of text- and music-scribes copying different genres shoulder-to-shoulder, and for at least one reader – who assembled the fascicles – there was some logic to uniting them. Furthermore, the erasures and revisions of several fourteenth-century scribes suggest that the songs remained in use (albeit in sometimes drastically altered forms) for a considerable time.

From the other side of the Channel, the manuscript London, British Library, Arundel 248 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248), written in England around 1300, is (like many songbooks) a largely non-musical book, with fifteen musical items sandwiched between sermons and doctrinal literature.[51] Its songs are in three languages, reflecting the linguistic situation in England during the two centuries after the Norman Conquest, and overwhelmingly devotional in theme. In three cases, songs are provided with two alternative texts in the manuscript, in each case a Latin text preceding another in French or English. Two further pieces in the manuscript are known to have contrafacta elsewhere, and in two cases, rubrics are used to signal the songs' relationships to an original melody. As a testament to the compositional skill of the poets and musicians responsible for Latin song at the end of the thirteenth century, "Flos pudicitie" (Example 33.5) especially stands out. It takes the form of a lyric *lai*, a form related to the sequence insofar as it involves some progressive repetition, though often highly irregular.[52] Its G final and compass embracing the octave above plus the note below the final are idiomatic, as is its contrasting of a main sonority (the G-B-D triad) with a counter-sonority (F-A-C), most apparent in the final stanza as the melody approaches its ultimate tonal anchoring. An intense degree of poetic patterning is apparent throughout: long lines are subdivided into very short rhyming units, sometimes as short as three syllables (e.g., 7a *O pia / Maria … tu cunctis / miseris …* and 7b *erige / dirige … ad pia / gaudia …*) and often exploiting the tendency of Latin

51 This figure counts several pairs of contrafacta each as two separate items; it also includes the incomplete *Alleluia V. Virga ferax*. Further exploration of this manuscript may be found in Helen Deeming, "Isolated Jottings? The Compilation, Preparation, and Use of Song Sources from Thirteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2014), 139–52.

52 This is a particularly complex example, not least because text, music and scribal placement of enlarged capital letters are sometimes at variance in indicating the stanzaic structure of the song; see Helen Deeming, "Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes," *Scriptorium* 60 (2006), 38–59 at 55–57. An alternative interpretation is presented in the edition by Ann Buckley, *Old French Lyric Lais*, 2 vols. (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 1990–92), vol. II: 8–9; see also Stevens, *Words and Music*, 80–83 and 178 n.54.

Example 33.5 "Flos pudicitie" (London, British Library, Arundel 248)



inflection to create identical verbal suffixes (e.g. 3 *Virtutibus / ornantibus / ac moribus / vernantibus*). In "Flos pudicitie," this dense patterning on a verbal level is regularly matched by similar figuration in the melody: stanza 3's four short poetic components are set with four matching musical motives, and the pairs of rhyming trisyllables in stanza 7 make use of a motive that is then repeated a tone lower. The manuscript records numerous slight differences between repeated versicles (shown in Example 33.5 above the main stave), which hint at the kinds of flexibility song melodies may have had in performance. Further flexibility is demonstrated by the appearance of the French contrafact "Flur de

virginité," underlaid below the Latin to the same melody; perhaps inevitably, the dense text–music relationships apparent in the Latin song are not exhibited to the same degree in the French version, and the difficulties of underlaying two texts to the same melody defeated the Arundel scribe at times. Lastly, the song's rubric, "*Cantus de domina post cantum Aaliz*," suggests a relationship to a pre-existing secular tune, though no other song using this melody has yet been discovered. In an age when the Parisian conductus might seem to be dominating the European landscape of Latin song, *unica* such as "Flos pudicitie" could be seen to point to a counter-culture of song-making, deeply rooted in the recent techniques of *nova cantica*, yet evoking inter-linguistic and inter-generic connections and methods of assembling songs in books that are a constant throughout the history of medieval Latin song.

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Postscript: A Note on Performance and Rhythm

The question of the rhythm of medieval song has loomed large in the scholarship of the twentieth century; it has recently been observed that studies of monophonic genres, both vernacular and Latin, "almost inevitably [risk] being swamped by debates on "rhythm" (although "mensurability" might be a better term)."[53] Since the matter is unavoidable both for performers and for anyone presenting editions of medieval songs, such as those provided in this chapter, it is fitting that the arguments be briefly summarized here (though much fuller discussion is to be found in the literature cited). Until the notational practices of the Franconian school made possible the differentiation of note lengths by the shapes of the individual notes themselves (the *longa* took the form of the plainchant *virga*, a square with tail to the right, whereas the *brevis* resembled the *punctum*, a square without a tail) the only system of rhythmical notation available to medieval scribes was that of rhythmic modes, found in Parisian manuscripts from the early thirteenth century.[54] This system relied on combinations of ligatures, the symbols originally employed in chant notation to indicate notes to be sung to the same syllable, essentially the equivalent of the slur in modern notation of vocal music. When the modal system was first deployed, it was for the highly melismatic Parisian

53 Jeremy Llewellyn, "Melismatic Monuments," *Early Music* 38 (2010), 135–36; the remark here referred specifically to the monophonic conductus and was made in the context of a review of Jann Cosart, ed., *Monophonic Tropes and Conductus of W_1*.

54 The fundamentals of the various notational systems are described, with examples, in the following chapters of Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1957; reprinted Pendragon Press, 1978): "Secular monophonic notation," "Modal notation," "Franconian notation".

organa, so that a conflict between the two functions of the ligatures – the new function of denoting rhythmic configurations and the original one of indicating syllabic alignment – scarcely ever arose. It is telling, though, that the modal system was never employed during the thirteenth century for the notation of syllabic music, such as conductus or other monophonic songs, presumably because musicians could not ignore the long-standing principle that ligatures related to the disposition of syllables.[55] All syllabic music before the advent of mensural forms of notation thus made use of single notes that were incapable of transmitting any rhythmic information.

This much is largely agreed upon by scholars and editors of medieval syllabic repertories. Where opinions diverge, however, is over the question of whether a rhythmic profile was *intended*, even where not notated, and if so, by what means we may attempt to recover this profile in the face of the rhythmically neutral notations. Various forms of evidence have been adduced to support the proposal that syllabic songs had, in their original form, defined rhythmic characters. Among the repertory of Parisian conductus, some syllabic songs included substantial melismatic passages (sometimes referred to as *caudae*), and in some sources, the notation changes from non-rhythmic to modal as the texture shifts from syllabic to melismatic. Accordingly, some have argued that the modal character of the *caudae* may apply equally to the syllabic portions: this proposal is considered in more detail in Chapter 34. A second hypothesis, applying particularly to the syllabic music emanating from the same circles as modally notated polyphony, is that the strong rhythmic patterns that characterize that polyphony must have been felt in other coexisting musical genres. Editors following this line of argument have consequently applied the patterns of modal rhythm to the songs, usually starting from the prevailing accentual patterns in the texts and matching these – as far as possible – to one of the six rhythmic modes. Detractors have pointed out that the texts in question rarely offer accentual patterns that correspond neatly to modal ones, and that consequently different scholars may propose different rhythmic solutions for the same song.[56] A related

55 Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997), 5: "The ligature notation could not be used for the syllabic passages of conducti. Musicians of the thirteenth century interested in measured music at the cutting edge of the art were highly sensitive to the appearance of the notations they employed and would have thought it improper to break the rule, founded upon plainchant practice, whereby a ligature controls the melodic material for one syllable only."

56 Some idea of the subjective nature of this exercise is apparent not just between different editors' interpretations, but also occasionally in individual editors' changes of heart: see Hans Tischler's *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition Revisited* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), a volume of corrections and alterations to his own *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols., CMM 107 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology and Hänssler Verlag, 1997).

proposition is that the accentual "rhythm" of the texts can be read directly to generate a musical rhythm, whether or not this happens to correspond to the regularity of one of the rhythmic modes. This theory has the advantage of allowing for much more flexibility and irregularity in the texts, as well as being arguably more naturally applicable to repertories of syllabic music beyond those closely associated with environments where modal rhythm predominated. However, the history of song in its broadest sense might suggest that subjugation of poetic accent to musical rhythm, with the consequent distortion of the former, is standard practice across a wide range of genres and time periods. Another form of evidence invoked to support the "rhythmic hypothesis" is that of late copies of twelfth- or early thirteenth-century songs, inscribed at a time when the mensural or Franconian system of notation had taken hold: some scholars have held that the rhythmic profile revealed in these later rhythmically notated copies must also have adhered to the songs from the time of their composition, though obscured in the earliest sources because of the lack of a notational system adequate to express durational values in syllabic music. Such a hypothesis proves difficult to sustain on historical grounds: there can surely be no way of knowing whether such late copies make visible a rhythmic profile that had been inherent in the song throughout its transmission history, or whether they represent later fashions of rhythmic singing (and hence notating) that were applied, *ex post facto*, to earlier melodies.

The lack of consensus on the rhythmic interpretations of medieval songs, in any language, is apparent from the range of editorial approaches in current use. Among Latin songs, for instance, modal, isosyllabic, and non-rhythmic editions are all available, and arguably each has its place in indicating to performers the range of possibilities that might have been employed by medieval singers, and that can be adopted in modern performances.[57] Rhythmically non-commital editions have the benefit of representing most directly the notation of medieval sources, though proponents of the various theories mentioned here argue that such editions are irresponsibly blind (or deaf) to other forms of information that may have indicated rhythm to the medieval reader of those sources. Christopher Page answers such criticisms

Much fuller discussion of the issues at stake in relation to poetry and music, along with full bibliography, may be found in Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, *passim*.

57 Modal transcriptions of Latin songs may be found in *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson; largely isosyllabic ones in *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Ernest H. Sanders, PMFC 14 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979) and non-rhythmic ones in Stevens, *Later Cambridge Songs*, and Stevens, *Words and Music* (though in both publications he set out his reasons for preferring isosyllabic performances).

thus: "Such transcriptions are not an abnegation of editorial responsibility; they signal that the range of possible rhythmic solutions is very wide, acknowledge that some of them are too fluid to be caught in any kind of notation, medieval or modern, and summon performers to a new engagement with this enticing repertoire."[58]

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58 *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, 67. The present writer's edition, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150–1300*, adopts a rhythmically neutral approach, on the basis that this allows singers the liberty to explore different options without conferring unwarranted authority on any particular alternative; such a view is shared not only by Page but by Elizabeth Aubrey (see her *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 240–54) and Mark Everist (for discussion relating specifically to the *cum littera* passages of *conductus cum caudis*, see his "Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic 'Conductus cum caudis': The Metz Fragment," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 [2000], 135–63, esp. 138–40).

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· 34 ·

Latin Song II: The Music and Texts of the Conductus

THOMAS PAYNE

Any attempt to define the conductus beyond "a medieval monophonic or polyphonic musical setting of a (usually) Latin text" is destined to run into trouble, as there is no description that can reduce the conductus to a definition that would regularly distinguish it from the wider scope of medieval Latin song.[1] As a genre that enjoyed both widespread dissemination and a lengthy period of combined cultivation and preservation, the conductus, therefore, needs to be approached with a degree of caution. Works now typically associated or specifically labeled with the term appear widely throughout Europe from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries, and these present a broad range of responses, along with sometimes complex entanglements, to characteristics and associations with other forms of medieval song.

Similarly, it is difficult to tie the conductus as a whole to a particular function during the entire reign of its existence or in the various places that made use of it,[2] since the employment of such pieces could vary regionally as well as chronologically, and what initially may have denoted purpose becomes a less restrictive generic marker in some contexts. Although several appearances of the term from the earliest to latest sources imply that conductus[3] could be used to introduce, accompany, or follow acts of procession or movement in a liturgical environment, the word also appears attached to songs that offer no clear evidence of such activity. What results is a name that ultimately fails to denote anything more specific than other, equally imprecise labels such as *versus*, *cantio*, *carmen*, *or cantilena*; in other words, song broadly construed.

1 For a thorough survey of the use of the term, see Fritz Reckow, "Conductus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 1–11.

2 Notable attempts include Frank Ll. Harrison, "Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly Discovered Source," *Acta Musicologica* 37 (1965), 35–48; Brian Gillingham, "A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkeley, Musicological Studies 53 (Ottawa: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1989, 100–17; also published in *The Musical Quarterly* 75 (1991), 59–73; and Nancy van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Brill Studies in Intellectual History 57 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 37–53.

3 The masculine, fourth-declension form of the plural is used throughout this chapter. Medieval sources vary widely in the way they construe the gender and declension of this noun; see Reckow, "Conductus," 1.

There is also the occasional collision of some conductus with other generic terms that may imply specific functions, such as *sequentia*, *prosa*, or *tropus*. Nevertheless, if one is willing to entertain a certain amount of flexibility, the wide range of designs, approaches, and responses that arise among musical specimens clustered under the general rubric of the conductus can be explored with profit and interest.

Despite the problems of definition and purpose, certain characteristics of pieces generally assumed under the mantle of the conductus can be provisionally identified, although they are not necessarily limited to it alone, and in every instance there is some exception to these attempts at stricture. Perhaps the most stable characteristic of the musical corpus as a whole is the presence of a single text, nearly always in Latin. Most typically these words are cast in the newer organizational schemes of rhythmical, as opposed to metrical, poetry that began to proliferate especially widely beginning in the late eleventh century. The overwhelming majority of conductus texts, moreover, do not correspond with items found among standard components of the Mass and Office liturgy, and the subject matter and tone of the lyric lean more towards serious, devotional, or religious themes, rather than satire, frivolity, or secular concerns. Lastly, the music tends to be newly and freely composed. It relies for the most part on no pre-conceived musical "authority," no cantus firmus, no liturgical chant, to support the structure and aid, complicate, or dictate the writing of the composition.

For each of these qualities, though, there are exceptions. Occasional specimens, such as the following from the collection of the so-called "Later Cambridge Songbook" (Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17[1]), may feature vernacular or macaronic texts:[4]

Exultemus et letemur,
Nicolaum veneremur.

4 Reference numbers for specific pieces are taken from Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," *Miscellanea Musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 6 (1972), 152–229; 7 (1973), 1–81. Less inclusive catalogs are available in Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, PA: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981), 130–256; and Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre Dame-Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1939). For newly discovered sources that postdate Anderson's catalog, see Mark Everist, "Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic *Conductus cum caudis*: The Metz Fragment," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 (2000), 135–63, note 9. All these resources are now superseded by the online database *CPI Conductus: Cantum pulcriorem invenire*, an ongoing research project headed by Mark Everist of the University of Southampton and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the United Kingdom. See http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/#m-columnbrowser@||m-informationcontrol@url=html/home.php (accessed February 11, 2015). The standard edition of the larger repertory of conductus, with significant portions of the pieces presented in disputed rhythmic readings, is the still incomplete Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*. For further designations of vernacular texts as conductus, see Reckow, "Conductus," 5–6.

Eius laudes decantemus
– *et suef aleis* –
decantando predicemus
– *et si m'entendeiz*.[5]

Furthermore, a handful of conductus poems are not rhythmical but metrical in their poetic organization, while another small clutch are in prose, and several texts can be identified as Proper or Ordinary liturgical items, including sequences. Similarly, although an aura of seriousness pervades the repertory as a whole, there are times when the degree of gravitas may be less than substantial, as in this example from the Parisian repertory:

Hac in die salutari
monet plausu renovari
novus annus circulari
ductu renovatus.
Movet annus suscitari
gaudium renatus.
Hoc in an-, hoc in an-,
hoc in, hoc in, hoc in an-,
hoc in, hoc in, hoc in an-,
hoc in, hoc in, hoc in anno.[6]

Finally, the presence of works that share their music with other Latin, French, or Occitan songs, as well as several exceptional pieces with segments that incorporate plainchant in the manner of the Notre-Dame *clausula*,[7] indicate that the music was not always crafted completely from scratch. The conductus, therefore, positively refuses to be pigeonholed.

In an attempt to give some shape and focus to the ensuing discussion of this multivalent and widespread genre, this study concentrates primarily on the repertory of conductus that has been traditionally associated (with varying degrees of applicability) with the Parisian cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. Centering the discussion on this particular corpus provides a useful point of departure, since it achieved the widest range of transmission of all collections of conductus. It has also the benefit of a surviving body of contemporaneous musico-theoretical commentary, and its examples provide the most telling

5 From *Exultemus et letemur* (P24): "Let us rejoice and be happy, let us venerate Nicholas, let us sing his praises – *and keep it down* – let us proclaim in singing – *and let me be heard.*"
6 From *Hac in die salutari* (J45): "On this beneficial day, the new year, being renewed, announces its renewal by the striking up of a ring dance. The year, reborn, causes joy to be rekindled. In this ye-, in this ye-, in this, in this, in this ye-, in this, in this, in this year."
7 On these, see Manfred Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula," *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953), 65–103; Falck, "New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23 (1970), 315–26.

awareness of the new trends in musico-poetic craftsmanship that distinguished the genre.

It is important to affirm from the outset that, unlike the repertory of Notre Dame organum (and to a certain extent the early motet), the body of conductus preserved in these same sources cannot demonstrate as cogent a connection to Paris or its cathedral. Works in these manuscripts offer evidence of creation not only in the capital, but in France as a whole and in countries beyond. Poets identified as authors of several conductus texts, such as Philip the Chancellor, Alain de Lille, and the well-traveled Peter of Blois and Walter of Châtillon, demonstrate that, although Paris can be posited as a venue for a number of these creations, works with claims for origin in other locales, particularly England, are also preserved in this collection.[8] Datable events that have been drawn from approximately thirty-five texts suggest a period of attention to the genre that extends from the 1160s to approximately 1240, and the circumstances they treat likewise argue for a wider scope than is usually accorded to the Parisian liturgical organum and its accretions. In the case of the conductus then, Paris may serve just as notably as a repository for such works rather than a point of creation – a characteristic highly fitting for its place as an intellectual, religious, cultural, political, and artistic hub – and the terms "Parisian" and "Notre Dame" appear here solely for the sake of convenience and familiarity when discussing these pieces.

About 276 pieces in one to four musical voices that correspond to the general characteristics of the conductus treated above appear in the four larger codices now associated with the music of the Notre-Dame school. The relevant sources are: (1) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (hereafter F); (2) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter W_1); (3) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter W_2); and (4) Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 20486 (hereafter Ma). Most of the works in these manuscripts are preserved in fascicles dedicated especially to the species, although in each case an occasional motet or organum appears nestled among conductus, and sometimes the reverse occurs. Of these four sources, F provides the lion's share of pieces, with some 262 works disposed into four different fascicles (the first, sixth, seventh, and tenth divisions of this manuscript) organized primarily by descending number of voices (3 for four voices, 55 for three, 125 in two parts, and 79 monophonic works, respectively). Excluded from this cache are the 60 monophonic Latin refrain songs in the

8 See Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction in Music, c. 1170–c. 1300." *Revue belge de musicologie* 46 (1992), 5–22 for some important caveats involved in such claims; see also the discussion in Nicola Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (Hamden, CT: Garland, 1994).

eleventh fascicle of F, and the much smaller repertory of prosulas (twelve poems) written to fit the pre-existing music of certain organa or the closing melismatic segments (caudae) of several conductus. These particular works demonstrate singular properties and generic distinctions that place them outside the scope of this particular discussion.[9] The remaining three sources offer considerably smaller collections overall (W_1 102, Ma 60, W_2 31) and together add only 14 pieces not found in F (W_1 8, Ma 4, W_2 2).

Just as the conductus displays great latitude in its classification, the texts that underlie these pieces are similarly multifaceted in their construction. As already indicated, a few prose texts pop up among the Parisian conductus, and the majority of these also borrow the words – though not the melodies – from liturgical items, such as the *Pater noster* (G2), or *Ave Maria* (G7). The remainder of the lyrics, though, are poetic, and of these only a handful exploit the principles of constructing metrical poetry handed down from classical Antiquity. In fashioning a metrical poem (*metrum*), poets ordered the words in each line according to a variety of schemes or meters. In these configurations, various successions of syllables of two different temporal quantities, long and short, determined the meter for a poem. In building *metra*, poets would group certain combinations of long or short syllables together to form poetic feet made up of iambs, trochees, dactyls, spondees, or other configurations, and combine these feet together to produce a series of lines or larger designs.

Syllabic quantity as it was used in *metra* is worth clarifying. Modern English speakers often equate the relative strength of a syllable's accentuation within a word (quality) with the metrical concept of length (quantity): a stressed syllable is long, an unstressed one short. In Latin quantitative verse, however, these may be entirely different entities. There is no automatic correlation of long syllables with stressed ones or short syllables with unstressed; the length of a particular syllable can be wholly independent from its accent. Furthermore, syllabic quantity is often contextual in metrical poetry; its duration frequently depends on the content of the surrounding words, and it is a typical practice in some meters to allow substitutions for the elements of a foot, such as a long syllable for two short ones or vice versa. This means that different lines of poetry in the same meter may vary considerably in the number of syllables that made them up.[10]

9 For a recent assessment of some of the prosulas, see my "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 220–38. An edition and discussion of this repertory is included in *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Thomas B. Payne, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 41 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011).

10 For further information, consult A. Rigg, "Latin Meter," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, 13 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982–89), VII: 371–76; Richard Crocker, "Musica Rhythmica and Musica Metrica in Antique and Medieval Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 2 (1958), 2–23; and the excellent introduction in John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance*

In contrast to these rare specimens of *metra*, the majority of Parisian conductus utilize the more recent constructional capabilities of rhythmic poetry *(rithmus)* to arrange their texts. Poetry composed according to the properties of *rithmus* allows the numbers of syllables within a poetic line and the quality of syllabic accents to play the prominent roles in defining the verse scheme. Accentual patterns in Latin *rithmi* are coordinated with a two- or sometimes three-syllable rhyme that regularly closes the poetic line. Two such formations occur routinely in Latin rhythmical poetry: the first is a paroxytonic accent (p), where the line's penultimate syllable (the paroxytone) both receives a primary stress and launches a bisyllabic rhyme. The second accentual pattern is proparoxytonic (pp), and accords weight to the antepenultimate syllable of the verse, which may either initiate a three-syllable rhyme, or – as is more frequent – immediately preface a rhyme of two syllables.

The following example shows an exceptional case among the Parisian conductus that brings these two concepts together in a single short poem and thus may illustrate them both. "Salve sancta parens patrie" (J58) is a *rithmus* by virtue of the fact that each of its three long lines is composed of fifteen syllables and ends with a paroxytonic (p) accentual pattern that corresponds with the single "o-rum" rhyme used throughout the poem. On the other hand, the disposition of syllabic quantity here also happens to comply with principles of classical metrics to form three lines of dactylic hexameter: six poetic feet composed either of trisyllabic dactyls (long-short-short) or two-syllable spondees (long-long), with the last two feet regularly composed of a five-syllable unit of a dactyl plus either a spondee or a trochee (long-short):

> Salve, sancta parens, patrie lex, forma bonorum,
> Virtutis speculum, recti via, regula morum.
> Carnis ab exilio duc nos ad regna polorum.[11]

Another important feature of *rithmi* provided by this example shows that, outside of the stress placement in the rhyme at the line's end, the succession of accented or unaccented syllables earlier in the line is not subject to regularity. A given poem may therefore exploit an unbending arrangement of accents for any or all of its lines or it may refuse to conform to a perceptible system. Further possibilities allow a poem to feature a variety of line-lengths and

and Drama, 1050–1350, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 413–23. Other important treatments include Margot Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises 'De rithmis,'" *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 164–90 and Ernest H. Sanders, "Rithmus," in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 415–40 (the latter offers some useful correctives to the former).

11 "Hail, holy Mother, law of heaven, image of the good, mirror of virtue, path of the upright, model of behavior. Lead us from the exile of the flesh to the kingdoms of the heavens."

rhyme schemes, and rhymes within lines may complicate the assessment of the poetics. A stanza from perhaps the most ostentatiously fashioned *rithmus* in the Parisian corpus, "Parit preter morem" (E12), given below with its rhyme scheme and a rhythmical line analysis by syllable number and accent pattern, shows how intricate, even playful, certain details of lyrical design may be, and how the complexity of the arrangement may sometimes prove elusive to dissection or provide for multiple interpretations.

Parit, preter morem,	a	6p
creata creatorem,	a	7p
retinens pudorem	a	6p
virgineumque florem.	a	7p
Sic floruit que respuit	b (b+b) 8pp (4pp+4pp)	
omnem virga rorem;	a	6p
sic patuit quod latuit	b (b+b) 8pp (4pp+4pp)	
Ade per uxorem.	a	6p
Retinens verum dei decorem,	a	10p
deitatis sue deus honorem,	a	11p
toga carnis induit. Indiguit	b (b+b) 11pp (7pp+4pp)	
et inter servos viluit,	b	8pp
nec ideo minorem	a	7p
dat deitas splendorem;	a	7p
sed qui lux est et fuit	b	7p
per nubem carnis pluit	b	7p
roris sui dulcorem,	a	7p
qui mentes nostras huit	b	7p
tenebras quoque luit.	b	7p
Dei fundens amorem,	a	7p
qui struit non destruit,	b (b+b) 7pp (3p+4pp)	
immo restituit	b	6pp? 6p?
statum antiquiorem.[12]	a	7p

12 "She, the created, bore the creator contrary to custom, retaining her purity and virginal flower. Thus flourished the shoot that rejected all moisture; thus she disclosed what had lain hidden through Adam's wife. Retaining the true dignity of a god, God clothed the honor of his godliness with a covering of flesh. He impoverished himself and lowered himself among his servants, and even so his godliness presents no lesser brilliance; but he who is and was the light rained through the cloud of flesh the sweetness of his dew that saturated our minds and purged the shadows. Diffusing the love of God, he that creates does not destroy, but rather restores our earlier condition."

In constructing larger assemblages of lines, conductus poems typically rely on multi-strophic designs. Although approximately sixty-eight poems in the Parisian repertory (just under 25 percent) survive as single stanzas, and though just over half of these – thirty-seven – are uniquely preserved (which frustrates attempts to assess their intended structure), the remainder present a number of different ways to coordinate their lines on a higher organizational level. All of the categories pose distinct strategies for unfolding the verbal and musical elements of the songs.

Six different types of musico-poetic organization occur on the strophic level within the Parisian conductus. Four of them directly mirror the textual component in their musical settings. They include: (1) monostrophic designs, in which there is no ostensible division of the larger text into stanzaic units; (2) strictly strophic forms, where the same recurring block of music is repeated to accompany a series of identically formulated poetic stanzas; (3) works that recall the formal patterns of the liturgical sequence or the secular *lai*, where discrete groups of two, three, or occasionally more stanzas restate differing poetic and musical patterns within the framework of a larger piece (e.g., AA, BB, CC); and (4) through-composed settings of multi-strophic poems that display no unifying poetic or musical identity among stanzas.

Alternatively, disparities between the design of music and words can produce mixtures of the above arrangements. Such practices are evident in: (5) through-composed strophic conductus, where identically fashioned textual strophes are answered with differing music; and (6) strophic sequences, to borrow the terminology used by Hans Spanke,[13] where the musical repetition of individual stanzas in the manner of a sequence or lai is applied to a poem with a strictly strophic textual outline.

When one adds to these constructions such poetic conceits as the occasional presence of refrains, the employment of rhetorical figures, and the ability to present simple or complex rhyme schemes that may affect the poem as a whole, the possibilities for variety in the construction of conductus poetry is endless. As just one example of a particularly elegant poetic design, the strophically organized "Verbum pater exhibuit" (E5)[14] presents a scheme in which the last line of each of its six stanzas is repeated as the first of the following strophe, and the entire poem closes with a verbatim recapitulation of line one. This interconnected strophic arrangement is then

13 Hans Spanke, "Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3rd series no. 18 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1936), 76–77.

14 Published in Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, I: xliii–xliv (text); 125–26 (music).

further consolidated, not only by the use of just two different rhyme sounds within each of its eight-line stanzas, but by a disposition where each pair of strophes exchanges its rhymes in the pattern *ababbaab*, *babaabba*. As a result, the opening *a* rhyme remains unchanged throughout the whole poem; and since a new *b* rhyme is only introduced in alternate strophes, this forty-eight-line poem makes use of only four different rhyme sounds during its entire course.

As with poetic design, the content of the various texts in the Parisian conductus repertory is widespread in scope. Although the repertory is heavily weighted with meditations on religious topics, oftentimes fortified by biblical, patristic, and sometimes classical references, not all of it is categorically sacred in tone. Such a panoply of treatments can complicate the desire to associate these conductus solely with ecclesiastical celebrations, as replacements, additions, insertions, or accompaniments to canonical liturgical texts. Hence any effort to straightjacket the Parisian conductus in terms of its function continues to pose great difficulty. Even for those poems that do offer liturgical texts, or which conclude – as do some – with references to the "Benedicamus Domino," it is not always apparent that such pieces regularly took their expected places within a ceremony.

The issues that Parisian conductus texts may address are manifold, and single poems may share multiple themes. Although references to specific festivals of the Church year, such as Christmas, Circumcision, Easter, and Pentecost, may sometimes be identified, a lion's share of the repertory is given over more generally to the mystery of the Incarnation of God as Man. Frequently this topic is treated either as a remedy for the curse of original sin, as part of an exegetical treatment on the change in covenant from the Old Testament to the New (sometimes with scathing anti-Semitic charges against Jews), or as a meditation on the enigma of the birth of Christ to a virgin. Mary herself, not surprisingly, also appears as a focal point in a significant number of poems, typically as an intercessor whose aid is beseeched after a litany of praise.

Lesser saints, too, have conductus texts devoted to their acclaim, and these may include such venerable candidates as Stephen, Nicholas, Denis, and Germain, as well as more recent inductees such as Anthony of Padua, Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, Thomas of Canterbury, and William of Bourges. Other encomia may treat contemporaneous religious and temporal authorities such as popes, bishops, and clergy, or the royalty and aristocracy of France, England, or the Empire, whether it is to celebrate their installation into office, their ascendancy to the throne, or to mourn their death in the manner of a *planctus*.

Further departures from outright religious or liturgical themes appear in a large number of poems that offer stringent, occasionally even brutal castigations of the iniquitous state of mankind in all walks of life. Such treatments may rely on the threat of the Last Judgment to rail against sin or vice, or they may address malfeasance within the clergy, the Church, or the secular world. In opposition to these admonitory lyrics are ones that offer exhortations to pursue good behavior. Usually these press the need for repentance, or warn against greed, corruption, or other offenses, whether addressed to mankind generally or to specific levels of society.

In addition to those works that suggest a date of composition by their references to the investiture, coronation, or the passing of clergy or royalty, there are other poems that appear to have been prompted by specific historical events, such as the call to the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29), the victory over English forces by the French at the port city of La Rochelle in 1224, the loss of a crucifixion relic (a nail) from the abbey of St. Denis near Paris in 1233, or the mourning of a massacre of the student clergy by French nobles in Orléans in 1236.[15] Further poetic strategies arise in texts that mimic the conceit of the vernacular *jeu-parti* by centering on a point of disputation. These altercations may feature such agents as the Virgin Mary complaining to the Cross or two Greek philosophers contemplating the sorry state of modern corruption, but more usually the debate arises between allegorical personifications such as the Body and Soul, the Heart and Eye, the Virtues and Vices, and even a complaint made by other members of the body against the Stomach.

Likewise there are texts containing apostrophes to Hypocrisy, Zion, England, the Cross, Charity, Truth, or the Soul, as well as God, Christ, or Mary; while others presume to adopt the voice of Christ himself or his personified church. A few further pieces – as seen above – offer invitations to dance, an attribute usually connected with Christmastide or the feast of the Circumcision on January 1. Lastly there are the rare poems with incontestable secular themes, including meditations on love, within the Parisian conductus. Although there is always the temptation to allegorize the types of utterances contained in the following stanza, the possibility that they could have been assessed literally cannot be dismissed out of hand.

Odor florum iuvenem
renovans amore.

15 Datable works are assessed in Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam, von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, 49/1–2 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), II: 505–30; and Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," *Current Musicology* 64 (2001), 104–51.

Multa secum cogitans,
florem tangit ore.
Flexo genu gratulans
floris in honore,
florem carpit manibus.
Non [est] tempus more.[16]

All these verbal conceits within the conductus – formal, rhetorical, and thematic – provide an assortment of constructions that the accompanying music may emulate or oppose, while at the same time offering its own set of organizational approaches. Franco of Cologne's emblematic observation that "one who wishes to make a conductus should first invent (or 'find') the most beautiful melody one can"[17] barely conveys the wealth of musical strategies that conductus composers could employ. Just as Notre-Dame organum provided for various modes of interplay between a liturgical chant and its added polyphony (*organum purum*, discant, and copula, for example), descriptions of the Parisian conductus within the theoretical literature that blossomed within the latter half of the thirteenth century present their own taxonomies to describe how its music and texts could interact. By the time of their collection in the four main codices, two main stylistic and notational earmarks are palpable in the Notre-Dame conductus repertory, each based on the relative extent of musical elaboration in relation to the setting of the text. Either of these procedures appears to be available for use independently from the formal or thematic designs of the words they set, or the number of vocal parts the songs may employ.[18] Some conductus present simple, relatively unadorned settings of their texts, where each syllable is set to a single note or a small group of notes. Others present extensive segments of melismatic writing over single syllables. These melismatic portions, after the testimony of a number of theorists, are known as *caudae* (tails), despite the fact that they may occur anywhere within the setting of the poem from start to finish.

Conductus with caudae (*cum caudis*) are also typically distinguished from those without (*sine caudis*) by the manner of notation used in these segments. Melismatic notation in the Parisian repertory is described as *sine littera*, while those segments that set the text essentially syllabically are characterized as *cum*

16 *Flos in monte cernitur* (F10), Strophe 11: "The scent of the flowers is reviving the youth with love. Imagining many things to himself, he touches the flower to his mouth. On bent knee, rejoicing in the flower's honor, he plucks the flower with his hands. There is no time for delay."

17 Franco of Cologne, *Franconis de Colonia: Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, CSM 18 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 73–74: "Qui vult facere conductum, primo cantum invenire debet pulcriorem quam potest."

18 The following taxonomies derive primarily from Anonymous IV; see Anonymous IV, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. Reckow, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1: 46, 82.

Example 34.1 "Fraude ceca desolato" (G4), opening of strophe II, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (F), fol. 263v



Example 34.2 "Hac in die Gedeonis" (H26), end of strophe II, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 311v



littera. In the polyphonic works in particular, the *sine littera* components of the conductus *cum caudis* – i.e., the caudae themselves – are further distinguished by their symptomatic use of a notational practice that communicates the rhythmic durations of notes by grouping them into ligatures. This ability to inscribe measurable music (*musica mensurabilis*), underpinned by fundamental organizational patterns known as rhythmic modes, is perhaps the most progressive and novel feature of the Parisian corpus overall, and its implementation within the caudae of the polyphonic conductus presents numerous examples of compositional workmanship to rival any specimen of Notre Dame organum or motet. In fact, as the theorist Anonymous IV relates,[19] even *organum purum* style (where a florid melisma in one voice is supported by a single note in another) can sometimes be identified in certain patches of some of the more elaborate polyphonic conductus (see Example 34.1). This technique is especially prominent in formulaic designs featuring strings of descending diamond-shaped notes (*conjunctura* or *currentes*) that serve to delimit significant cadential divisions within a piece (as in Example 34.2).[20] All in all, the Parisian conductus consolidate musical developments as singular and striking in their novelty as the other pieces that accompany them in the main manuscripts.

19 Ibid., 82.

20 See Everist's thorough study of this specific type of figure and its significance in "Tails of the Unexpected: The *Punctus organi* and the *Conductus cum caudis*," in *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance: Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs zum 80. Geburtstag*, Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Berlin (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010), 1–35.

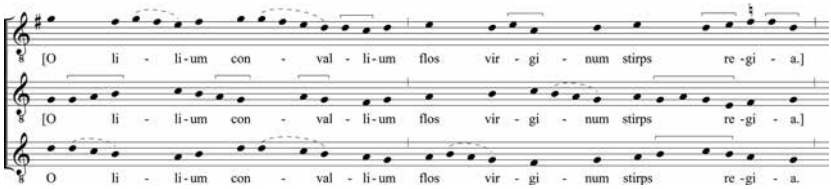
Just as *organum purum* segments of Notre Dame *organa dupla* have provoked a deal of contention on the question of their rhythmic interpretation, similar disagreements hold true for the *cum littera* portions of the Parisian conductus. There is always a certain level of ambiguity even in the transcription of *sine littera* discant in the Notre Dame repertory, whether it be the choice of rhythmic mode, the rendering of passages of *fractio modi* that subdivide the lengths of a given modal pattern, or the duration of rests when all parts cadence simultaneously, for example. This imprecision increases dramatically in the *cum littera* sections of the conductus, since at the time of their copying the main sources display no extant system to specify categorically the rhythms of syllabically texted passages.

As a result, various schools of thought have arisen on how these *cum littera* sections are to be represented in transcription and delivered in performance.[21] Some scholars argue that the accentual patterns in the text should be executed according to the blueprint of the rhythmic modes. Primary justifications for this approach rely either on the use of occasional, later redactions of the Parisian conductus with mensural values for the texted sections, or on those exceptional instances where the same music appears in both *sine* and *cum littera* contexts within a single piece. Others, by assessing the contemporaneous theoretical literature on the characteristics of Latin *rithmi*, prefer each syllable to be declaimed isochronously in longs (usually transcribed as a dotted quarter note) and divided when necessary into ternary subdivisions. Both of the two methodologies have their steadfast adherents and detractors as well as their own strengths and weaknesses, points made readily apparent when these opposing views are compared. As a result, the lack of consensus has provoked some scholars to allow for a range of possibilities by presenting the *cum littera* portions without prescribed rhythms in a manner analogous to the methods now favored for medieval sacred and secular monophony. This is how the examples are presented here.

Lastly, even the coordination of ligatures to syllables may be debatable in some *cum littera* sections of polyphony. In Example 34.3, for instance, from the opening of the three-part "O lilium convallium" (F18), a uniformly consonant harmony results when the final notes of the ligated groups are allowed to convene over the syllable they decorate. The result suggests that this type of interpretation may sometimes be preferable to the typical editorial practice of aligning the beginning of each *cum littera* ligature with

21 The most recent and thorough assessments of the rhythmic conundrum appear in Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985), 439–69 and Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997). See also above, chapter 33.

Example 34.3 "O lilium convallium" (F18), opening, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 241r



its underlaid syllable.[22] But this type of rendering – one that can significantly affect the harmonic assessment of a particular texted passage – does not always result in the same degree of consistency, whether applied throughout the repertory or even within a single piece. It therefore seems inescapable that certain key issues of interpretation and communication will remain intractable for the Parisian conductus.

Yet despite such interpretative dilemmas, this genre still has much to communicate. A specific example, the well-known "Dic Christi veritas" (C3), a strophic, three-voice setting of a *rithmus* whose first stanza of three is given below, may serve to illustrate ways in which the various discursive modes of text and music may intertwine within a piece.

Dic, Christi veritas.
Dic, cara raritas.
Dic, rara caritas.
Ubi nunc habitas?
Aut in valle visionis,
aut in throno Pharaonis,
aut in alto cum Nerone,
aut in antro cum Theone;
vel in ficella cirpea
cum Moÿse plorante,
vel in domo Romulea
cum bulla fulmi*nan*te?[23]

22 For more information on this topic, see Reaney, "A Note on Conductus Rhythm," in *Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress: Köln 1958*, ed. Gerald Abraham et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 219–21; Sanders, "*Sine littera* and *Cum littera in Medieval Polyphony*," in *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates, in collaboration with Christopher Hatch (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 215–31; and Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of St. Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), esp. 1: 34–58, 108–10.

23 "Speak, truth of Christ. Speak, dear rarity. Speak, rare charity. Where now do you dwell? Is it in the valley of vision [i.e., Jerusalem], or on Pharaoh's throne, or on high with Nero, or in the cave with Theon? Or are you in the basket of rushes with the weeping Moses, or in the house of Romulus with the bull that

The strophe itself consists of twelve lines that divide evenly into three units of four, a segmentation emphasized by the larger syntactic divisions within it, its use of anaphora ("Dic," "Aut," "vel" . . . "cum") that changes at these same strategic points; the succession of varying rhymes (aaaa, bbcc, dede), and its poetic structure: 4(6pp)+4(8p)+2(8pp+7p). These same divisions are flaunted musically by three caudae of comparable length (between 8 and 12 longs in duration) on the first syllable of each quatrain (signaled by underscoring in the above text), and a much-extended terminal melisma on the penultimate syllable of the strophe (roughly 44 longs, allowing for varying interpretations of rests), which is then closed by paradigmatic descending organal cadential formulas in the two upper parts.

The remaining two strophes are then sung to the same music as the first, and mirror it formally with corresponding syntactic, rhetorical, and rhyme divisions as in Strophe 1. Meanwhile, the *cum littera* setting of the strophe's lines also complies with the aforesaid structure, as the two outer quatrains set the opening (and sometimes closing) syllables of each line with extended note shapes or single ligatures of two or three pitches. These ornamented phrases contrast strongly with the much more consistently syllabic disposition of the central portion of the stanza and thus serve to frame this inner section. Yet with all of its elaborate musico-poetic interconnections, *Dic Christi* only begins to enumerate the myriad ways a conductus might operate within the surviving repertory. On either side of this example are pieces that present more modest workmanship, as well as ones that surpass it in intricacy.

About seventy-nine conductus, approximately 29 percent of the Parisian repertory, contain no appreciable caudae. Such works occur in monophonic settings (twenty-eight examples) as well as polyphonic arrangements in two, three, and four voices (twenty-two, twenty-eight, and one specimen[s], respectively). A majority of these, furthermore, are strophic (forty-four) while twenty-one have only one extant stanza; the other formal poetic schemes are represented by significantly lower totals.[24] The bulk of this portion of the corpus thus forms a collection of relatively simple settings, comparable in many ways to the larger repository of vernacular songs by the troubadours and trouvères and a broad segment of the repertory of Latin *rithmus* settings overall.

Some of these works (in both monophonic and polyphonic guise) have indeed been identified as contrafacta of other Latin, Occitan, or Old-French songs.[25] A

strikes like lightning?" The piece is available in Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 1: xxv–xxvi (text); 50–52 (music).

24 Six are sequences, four are strophic sequences, and another four are through-composed.

25 Three in Latin, seven in Occitan, and twelve in Old French.

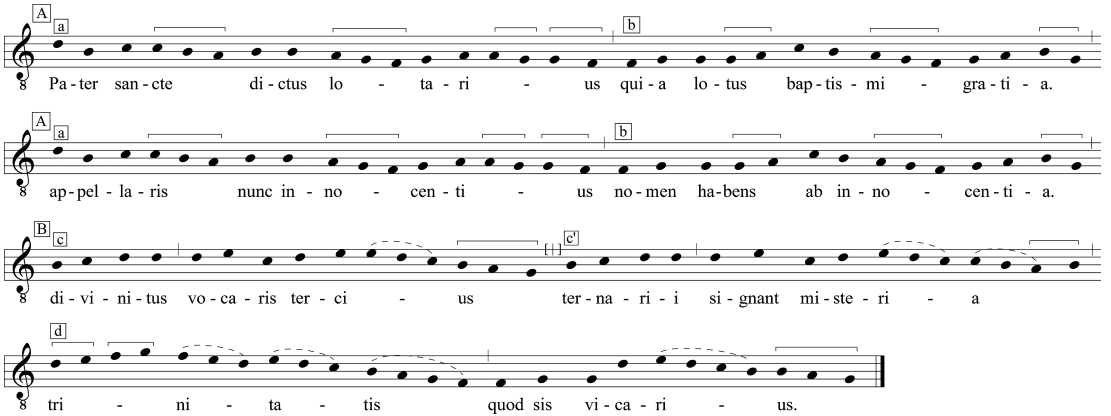
further significant number of works *sine caudis* (forty-six, about 58 percent of the total) are in an AAB form where the opening music (or a minor variant of it) is immediately repeated before continuing with contrasting material for the rest of the stanza. This AAB pattern is earliest observed in about one-third of the extant troubadour songs, and it so dominates other, related repertories that it has been estimated that about half of the surviving corpus of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin song offers some type of reference to this scheme.[26]

As an illustration of a conductus that displays many of these collected attributes, Example 34.4 offers the melody and first strophe of "Pater sancte dictus Lotarius" (K61), a poem in four stanzas attributed to Philip the Chancellor and datable to around 1198, since it celebrates the recent investiture of Pope Innocent III (reg. 1198–1216).[27] The musical setting, though, is not apparently new, since the melody corresponds to the (presumably earlier) love song "Douce dame, gres et graces vous rent" by the trouvère Gace Brulé.[28] The music of the first system of this example, which sets the opening two lines of this seven-line, 10pp *rithmus* in an antecedent–consequent cadential relationship (ab), is repeated exactly in the following system for lines three and four, forming the larger AA parallelism. The remainder (B) then contrasts with this initial presentation by offering a less usual further bout of repetition. Here the following two lines contained in the third staff (cc′) are also identical except for their cadences, which first close on the final and then on the third above. The music then wraps up with a more ornate final phrase (d) extending to an upper *g′* that reaches the highest point of the entire melodic line, and where all but four of the syllables are set neumatically, before it closes with the final, lower *g*.

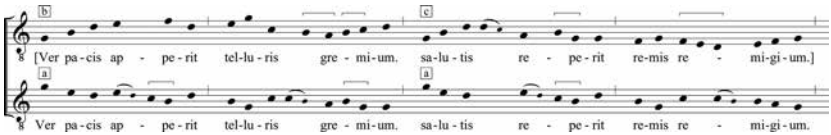
This formal delineation, where the opening (or sometimes other) lines are disposed in a repeated pattern, may offer further complexities when such a conductus is found in a polyphonic setting. In some cases the treatment of the opening AA portion of the melody (usually confined to the lowest voice of the multi-part complex) can dilute the level of repetition by setting the similar phrases to different upper lines. Such a strategy can be seen in Example 34.5, taken from "Ver pacis aperit" (J32) – another contrafact of a trouvère song, the Latin text of which is attributed to Walter of Châtillon, and which invokes the coronation of King Philip Augustus of France in 1179.

26 See Spanke, "Beziehungen," 142–47; Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 120; and Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 146.
27 Holy father, [once] named Lothario ["washer"] because you were cleansed [*lotus*] by the grace of baptism, now you are called "Innocent," deriving your name from "innocence." By God's will, you are also "the third." Threes signify divine mysteries, because you are the minister of the Trinity.
28 RS 719; entry 65–31 in Robert W. Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs 31 (University, MI: Romance Monographs, 1979).

Example 34.4 “Pater sancte dictus Lotarius” (K61), strophe 1, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 440r



Example 34.5 "Ver pacis aperit" (J32), opening, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 355r



Alternatively the setting may underscore the repeated A phrases with identical music in all the upper parts. Such a technique is visible in Example 34.6, the opening of "Veris ad imperia" (F11), a conductus setting from another preexisting melody. In this particular case the fourfold opening repetition features an exchange of parts in the two higher voices.

Not all conductus *sine caudis* are as modest in facture as the strophic examples just presented. Some exhibit consistently ornate *cum littera* settings throughout or offer short neumatic extensions to punctuate individual lines, while others have more intricate schemes of musical repetition throughout their strophes. A few, in contrast, recall the structures of the sequence, or are completely through-composed from start to finish. Yet it does appear significant that the bulk of datable conductus in this simpler style, with less ornate *cum littera* sections, strophic organization, and the frequent use of opening repetition schemes, tends to inhabit an earlier layer of the repertory prior to ca. 1200.[29] By the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Anonymous IV was even to suggest that such pieces were pedestrian, if not outmoded, when he remarked that the conductus *sine caudis* "was once much used among lesser singers."[30]

What did impress this theorist were the collections of Parisian conductus that feature caudae. These form the majority of the repertory with 197 examples.[31] Among them, Anonymous IV seemed especially taken with the polyphonic specimens.[32] In these pieces, the rhythmic profile provided by polyphonic *sine littera* notation allows their caudae to contribute significant additional musical resources to the presentation of each work. Monophonic conductus *cum caudis*, in contrast, despite their excellence in other musical and poetic domains, do not appear as indicative of the newer rhythmic trends.[33] Few melismas throughout this segment of the corpus point to extensive or

29 Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 121, 131.
30 Anonymous IV, *Musiktraktat*, I: 82: "quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores."
31 Two works *cum caudis* are in four voices, 51 are monophonic, 33 are in three voices, and 111 in two.
32 Anonymous IV, *Musiktraktat*, I: 82.
33 For a recent assessment of a series of moralistic monophonic conductus attributed to Philip the Chancellor, see Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne, *Homo considera: La pastorale lyrique de Philippe le Chancelier, une étude des conduits monodiques*, Studia artistarum: Études sur la faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

Example 34.6 “Veris ad imperia” (F11), opening, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 228v



Example 34.7 "Turmas arment christicolas" (K41), opening, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fols. 431v–432r



unequivocal use of rhythmic modal patterns. Rather their rhythmic profile is much more ambiguous, and it is not hard to uncover phrases that recall the melismatic melodic formulas of *organum purum*.[34] Such features are visible in Example 34.7, from the opening of "Turmas arment christicolas" (K41), a work that has been placed around 1192–97, and which remains one of the most elaborate of the monophonic Parisian conductus.

In addition to the ability of caudae to articulate the outward structure of a text (as seen above in connection with "Dic Christi veritas"), the allocation of material within a polyphonic cauda may substantially refine the organizational fabric of a conductus. Caudae may proliferate anywhere in a piece. Usually the largest are found either at the start or end of a work, and if both are present the concluding cauda usually outstrips the opening one. Furthermore, through-composed conductus with multiple strophes may also include sizeable internal caudae to articulate stanzaic or syntactic divisions. Although some caudae seem determined to avoid internal musical interrelationships, while in a few other cases the formal clarity of an entire conductus may be measurably strengthened by the reuse of caudae in whole or in part in different portions of a piece, it is much more common to find these melismas articulating their own internal structures through a variety of reiterative schemes. Identity between *cum* and *sine littera* portions of a conductus is relatively rare and therefore a special event when it occurs.

Many types of melodic repetition within caudae are common to gestures already encountered in *cum littera* sections. In the more elaborate through-composed conductus in particular, which are often less prone to repetition within their *cum littera* sections, melodic recurrences in caudae can offset this lack of musical correspondence. Pairings of phrases with antecedent–consequent relationships are especially common, as in the final cauda of "Flos de spina procreatur" (H29), given in Example 34.8.[35] There is even further play within this specimen, as the upper voice takes advantage of the option to restate its own material in tandem with the lower. Additionally, sections "a" through "c′" have related lengths (of 8 or 4+4 longs) with the role of the

34 Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 123–28.
35 The second phase (a′), absent in F, is supplied from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek (*CH-SGs*) cod. sang. 383.

Example 34.8 “Flos de spina procreatur” (H29), final cauda, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 305v



higher voice constantly switching within each phrase. The last system, though, contrasts with this by first breaking into a three-long utterance only to follow with shorter phrases prior to the grand cadence. Voice exchange, as seen before in "Veris ad imperia" (Example 34.6), also appears conventionally in caudae as a gambit to complicate literal repetition within a set of voices (see Example 34.9, which closes "Hec est dies triumphalis" [H12]). When such a strategy unfolds over successively changing phrases in a cauda, canonic imitation may result, as in Example 34.10 from "Clavus pungens acumine" (J39).

All the illustrations so far contain phrases that cadence simultaneously. Thanks, though, to the advantages of *sine littera* notation, which allows the simultaneous combination of phrases of different lengths, additional resources become available. In the opening cauda of "De monte lapis scinditur" (D2), given as Example 34.11, the melodic gestures are dovetailed throughout to create a seamless flow of polyphony. Such means for unfolding phrases is not available for *cum littera* sections, and presents a constructive device with increasing visibility in polyphonic conductus *cum caudis* datable near or after the year 1200.[36] Furthermore, despite the independence each voice part displays in the discourse, this cauda exhibits a relative economy of material. It compiles short melodic fragments on different pitch levels and in changing vertical combinations to produce quick snatches of imitation, canon, and other types of musical recollection throughout its course.

The types of melodic construction in the examples of caudae given here are practices familiar from a number of *organa quadrupla* and *tripla*, and the melodic and rhythmic coherence of such arrangements was well regarded by contemporaneous theorists. In addition to praising their beauty, Anonymous IV characterized such gestures as *colores*, a term derived from contemporaneous rhetorical and poetic theory, and the treatise of Johannes de Garlandia, in turn, used this designation to signal melodic repetition in conductus as well as three- and four-part organa.[37] Clear analogies are therefore possible in the consideration of how musical gestures and figures of elocution may achieve similar ends.[38] Correspondences between the two affirm that the music of the

36 Sanders, "Style and Technique," 505, 508–09; Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 134–38.

37 Anonymous IV, *Musiktraktat*, 1:46, 82; Johannes de Garlandia, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, ed. Erich Reimer, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 1: 95.

38 See Guillaume Gross, *Chanter en polyphonie à Notre-Dame de Paris aux 12e et 13e siècles*, Studia artistarum: Études sur la faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), for a thorough examination of musical and rhetorical correspondences in the context of the *quadrupla* and *tripla*; Rillon-Marne, *Homo considera*, offers an analogous treatment geared towards monophonic conductus.

Example 34.9 “Hec est dies triumphalis” (H12), end of final cauda, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 266r



Example 34.10 “Clavus pungens acumine” (J39), strophe 1, final cauda, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 358v



Example 34.11 “De monte lapis scinditur” (D2), opening cauda, *I-Fl* plut. 29.1 (F), fol. 204r



conductus contains a rhetoric of its own that is just as essential as that of its texts to the elucidation of a particular piece.

The peak of development for the Parisian conductus seems to have reached a head shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century. The significant clarification of technique it offered to settings of *rithmi* was not enlarged significantly after this point, and by the early fourteenth century the theorist Jacques de Liège lamented the decline of the genre.[39] Yet pieces within this body of works continued to circulate widely, both with and without their music and with upper voices added or subtracted, for some time afterward. Some later transmissions of Parisian conductus, moreover, were updated to reflect new developments in the notation of rhythm. This is particularly evident in the musical redaction of the *Roman de Fauvel*, executed in Paris itself in the second decade of the fourteenth century.[40] Such a refashioning relieves the *cum littera* sections of some of their earlier rhythmic ambiguity, but there is no way to be certain these arrangements correspond to earlier performance practice or reflect newer aesthetics of musical rhythm associated with the development of such genres as the motet.[41]

Even so, the taste for single-texted, newly made Latin songs did not disappear, and a number of sources continued to offer new works of various stripes. The Spanish Las Huelgas manuscript,[42] for example, offers several unique and indigenous conductus nestled among examples from the Notre-Dame sources; and similar types of collections, such as the *Carmina Burana*, Engelberg, and Moosburg codices, are available from German-speaking lands.[43] One of the latest sources of all to transmit conductus, a sixteenth-century copy of the Circumcision Office of Le Puy in France, shows that the old tradition of conductus serving as ceremonial tropes never lost ground in

39 Jacobus of Liège, *Jacobi Leodiensis: Speculum musicae*, ed. R. Bragard, 7 vols., CSM 3 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), VII: 89.

40 See Roesner et al., *The Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 146* (New York: Broude, 1990) and Lorenz Welker, "Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductus in BN fr. 146: *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt*," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 615–36.

41 On this point, see Everist, "Reception and Recomposition."

42 Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas [Hu]. See Nicholas Bell, *El códice musical de las Huelgas: Un Estudio Complementario del Facsímil*, Colección Scriptorium 7 (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2004).

43 Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek 314; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 20 Cod. ms. 156; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660. See, for these, Benedikt K. Vollmann, *Carmina burana: Texte und Übersetzungen mit den Miniaturen aus der Handschrift und einem Aufsatz von Peter und Dorothee Diemer*, Bibliothek des Mittelalters 13 (Frankfurt-am-Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987); Wulf Arlt and Matthias Stauffacher, eds., *Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 314*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler 2 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1986); and David Hiley, ed., *Moosburger Graduale: München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2°Cod. ms. 156: Faksimile mit einer Einleitung und Registern*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996).

Example 34.12 "Salve mater misericordie" (O15), line 5, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591, fol. 1r



some locales,[44] whereas in Italy the few surviving pieces to recall the conductus are primarily liturgical in association and intent.[45]

A distinct exception to any claim of stagnation, however, is England, which demonstrates a particularly idiosyncratic response to the conductus. Although

44 For an overview, see Arlt, "The Office of the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography: Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (Oxford University Press, 2000), 324–43.

45 For some candidates, see, for a start, F. Alberto Gallo and G. Vecchi, eds., *I piú antichi monumenti sacri italiani: 1. Edizione fotografica*, Monumenta lyrica medii aevi italica 3: Mensurabilia, part 1 (Bologna: Universitá degli studi di Bologna, 1968).

the fragmentary state of most English sources of medieval music hampers a full assessment of the repertory, what remains shows that English composers of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries imprinted the conductus with traits unknown from other repertories. In particular, the contrapuntal technique of rondellus, in which sections of a three-voice complex exchange their material serially among all the parts, expands upon the Continental practice of voice exchange to offer a distinctly Insular take on musical construction (see Example 34.12).[46] Its use here also confounds the distinction seen elsewhere between *cum* and *sine littera* sections and emphasizes a preference for full triadic harmony to an extent unmatched in other polyphonic repertories.

In the end, it will likely always prove difficult to measure just exactly what a conductus could be, how it was used, or what features it might exhibit. But in their most typical embodiment as newly crafted musical settings of some truly spectacular examples of Latin lyric poetry, they provide further affirmation of the remarkable exuberance of medieval musical creativity in the partnership of word and sound.

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46 The example is transcribed from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591 (*GB-Ob* Wood 591).

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· 35 ·

Trecento 1: Secular Music

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT

Given the deep roots established by the Notre-Dame school and monophonic traditions such as the trouvères, it is not surprising that innovative music grew and flourished in fourteenth-century France. But given the seemingly bare soil that preceded it, the quality and variety of polyphonic music that blossomed in fourteenth-century Italy is remarkable. Unwritten secular traditions of monophonic music-making are well documented in the writings of Dante and other authors of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. And a few polyphonic sacred pieces had already been written down in the preceding decades (discussed in Chapter 36). But no secular polyphony survives from before approximately 1340 and even that music only comes down to us in manuscripts copied decades later. Many of these early pieces, however, were still popular enough to be copied into manuscripts from as late as 1420. Thus, a conventional view that sees the Ars Nova traditions of France and Italy as operating in parallel obscures the fact that the latter was coming into maturity at almost the same time as the masters of the former were beginning to fade. "Trecento," literally meaning three hundred but actually signifying the 1300s, is thus a misnomer for a period that really came into being around mid-century (just before the arrival of the Black Death in 1348) and has a stylistic continuity into the early 1420s (or roughly the end of the Great Papal Schism in 1417). But no better term has arisen to replace it, and, at least in the non-Italian-speaking world, the cognitive dissonance of the name is easily suppressed.[1]

Overview and Evidence

In Italy, even more than in the rest of Europe, the terms Ars Nova and Trecento lump together a hodge-podge of musical styles that in many cases have little to

1 This and the following chapter focus on the history of Trecento music with scant discussion of the modern historiography of the period. On the latest thoughts about how modern scholarship has shaped our views of the past, see John Nádas, "Una riflessione generale sulle nuove fonti musicali a cinquant'anni dall'inventario di Kurt von Fischer," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 7 (2009), 3–17: an article which is flawed only in the typically understated role that Nádas gives himself in the history of establishing our knowledge of the period.

do with each other. Canonic hunting songs (cacce) with complex Francophilic Ars subtilior works. Isorhythmic dedicatory motets with bucolic madrigals. Monophonic ballate with troped polyphonic Sanctus. The diversity of Italian traditions in the Trecento has been attributed to its decentralized, city-state-based political system or its narrow, rugged geography. But as much as these factors may have helped isolate various traditions to grow independently, given that the political conditions in Italy (and obviously the geography) remained the same for centuries before and after the fractured musical style of the Trecento, we simply cannot know why such a diversity of styles coexisted and shared so many traits.

Polyphonic music of Trecento Italy is found in a very few intact (or largely intact) codices, mainly of Florentine origin, as well as in many more fragments, the remains of once much larger manuscripts, and in isolated pieces mostly added later to chant manuscripts. The works in the intact manuscripts are overwhelmingly secular and therefore are the principal sources for the discussion in this chapter.

By far the most often turned to manuscript for knowledge of Trecento secular music is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (*I-Fl*), Palatino 87, commonly called the "Squarcialupi Codex" after its fifteenth-century owner, the organist Antonio Squarcialupi. A monumental collection of 352 songs (147 unique) on 216 folios, *I-Fl* Pal. 87 is rightly famous for its systematic collecting, careful preparation, and beautiful decorations, including highly detailed, illuminated portraits of the composers of its songs.[2] The book is nearly unique for the period in being a carefully illuminated manuscript containing innovative polyphonic compositions; most sources that are similarly richly decorated contain plainsong, that is, music that was highly unlikely to go out of style. The manuscript is organized into separate sections for each composer proceeding in roughly chronological order, reminiscent of earlier Italian monophonic song collections.[3] The manuscript was copied at the Florentine scriptorium of S. Maria degli Angeli but beyond that its early history is a mystery. The source is named for the mid-fifteenth-century

2 Facsimile edition, *Il codice Squarcialupi: MS Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Florence: Giunti Barbèra and Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992). Among the many significant essays in the commentary volume, Nádas, "The Squarcialupi Codex: An Edition of Trecento Songs, *ca.* 1410–1415," 19–86, stands out for its comprehensive nature. The number of unique songs differs from Nádas' count of 150 because of three new discoveries, Francesco's ballatas "Per la belleça" in Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, flyleaves in Inc. C.VI.5 (discovered by Stefano Campagnolo) and his "Viditi, donna" in Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, CV (104); and Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal "Quando veg'io" in Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.

3 A significant exception to this organization is the blank section set aside for Paolo da Firenze which comes far too early for this still-living composer; see the discussion of Paolo below.

organist who was an early owner, but who did not have a hand in compiling it. A coat of arms on the first page has resisted identification. That the same coat of arms appears on the beginning of the section dedicated to Paolo da Firenze (along with the fact that the section was left blank) had led to the suspicion that the manuscript was owned by his, presumably well-to-do, family. Alas, this idea was shattered by the discovery of Paolo's will, showing him to be a man of very modest means.[4] Although there was formerly much disagreement about the dating of the production of the manuscript, ranging as late as Nino Pirrotta's suggestion of 1440, today a consensus has formed for the dates around 1410–15; that is, retrospective with regard to the bulk of the music but still within the active life of its most recent composers.

Because of its monumental stature and careful preparation, the Squarcialupi Codex has often stood in as a representative of all Italian Trecento manuscripts, yet it has particularities that make it more unusual than typical. No other source is nearly so rigorous about separating sacred from secular music and Italian song from French. The manuscript elevates Tuscany to an extent unsurpassed in other sources. Only two songs are in French, and one of them, Bartolino's "La douce çere," is a typical madrigal, retaining a strong Italian character despite its language. Florentine composers dominate the collector's musical selections after the earliest gatherings. Francesco da Firenze (Landini) has nearly his complete works in the manuscript. Other composers, such as Andrea de' Servi (Andreas horghanista de Florentina), who is represented by twenty-nine pieces, are virtually unknown from any other Tuscan source and completely unknown in northern sources. Even composers well-known from other manuscripts have had their works selected with particular editorial tastes in mind. For instance, the compositions of Magister Çacherias selected for *I-Fl* Pal. 87 are so much more conservative in style than the rest of the composer's output that for many years he was thought to have been a different man from the more adventurous Antonio Zachara da Teramo seen in other sources. Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that *I-Fl* Pal. 87 is an entirely conservative and nationalistic source. Non-Italian influences have crept into the manuscript. Many pieces are written with French notational systems in mind, even in cases where other sources show us that versions written in the local Italian notation existed.[5] Further, two presumably foreign composers, Egidius and Guilielmus de Francia, receive a few pages in the book.

4 Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), 203–46.

5 Stefano Campagnolo, "La tradizione delle musiche dell'Ars Nova italiana: particolarità della trasmissione," in *Problemi e metodi della filologia musicale: Tre tavole rotonde*, ed. Stefano Campagnolo (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2000), 3–10; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), 140.

A far less systematic collection of works is the "London Codex" (*GB-Lbl* add. 29987).[6] The manuscript bears the arms of the Medici on its first folio, but this is almost certainly a much later addition, possibly to increase its sale value. The manuscript collects secular polyphony, monophonic instrumental dances, and a small collection of sacred music that may have originally been much larger (see Chapter 36).

The "Squarcialupi Codex" was organized around a model resembling the organization by composer of the troubadour manuscripts of the thirteenth century. Several of these manuscripts, including one of the two most substantial musical sources, were early fourteenth-century northern-Italian compilations.[7] That this organizational strategy had already made the leap to polyphonic music is evident in an earlier Tuscan manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (*I-Fn*) Panciatichiano 26, probably copied in the 1390s. It is a collection of works by Jacopo, Piero, Giovanni da Cascia, and the Florentine composers Lorenzo, Donato, Gherardello, and particularly Francesco. To this main collection, a single gathering of French pieces was added along with several French pieces at the bottoms of pages. Like most of the intact principal sources, *I-Fn* Pancia. 26 seems to be the work of several different scribes working together on the project,[8] though similarities among the hands have brought back the previously dismissed possibility that it could be primarily the work of a single scribe whose hand changed over a long period of working with the source.[9]

Several fragments attest to a style of manuscript collecting that mixed native Italian music, generally at the tops of pages, with additions in Italian and French at their bottoms. The manuscript that both survives intact and is most representative of this mode of collecting is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds Italien 568 (*F-Pn* It. 568) (*Pit*), a collection from the first decade of the fifteenth century originally belonging to the Capponi family. The paper manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771 (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771 ["Reina Codex"]) separates its Italian and French contents into two distinct parts (a barely related final section from the 1430s or 1440s represents the purely Francophilic tastes of that period).[10]

6 Published in facsimile by Gilbert Reaney, *The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987*, Musicological Studies and Documents 13 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), with a significant error: recto pages appear as verso and vice versa.

7 Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1985), 19–20.

8 Ibid., 80.

9 Thomas Brothers, "Flats and Chansons in MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi 26," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 263–82, esp. 274ff.

10 Nádas, "The Reina Codex Revisited," in *Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. Stephen Spector (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1987), 69–114.

This source has been associated with northern Italy, but attempts to place it more securely in the Veneto (before the addition of the final section) or Padua in particular are largely unconvincing.

Despite much of it being used as covers for archival documents in Lucca, the "Mancini Codex" (Lucca, Biblioteca-Archivio storico comunale [*I-Las*] 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta" [*I-PEc*] 3065) probably originated in the north, with Padua and/or Pavia being likely centers of copying and gathering of song, before being completed in Tuscany.[11] It is the most important source for the secular compositions of Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370–1412) and holds a significant number of works by other *fin-de-siècle* composers including Bartolino da Padova, Antonio Zachara da Teramo, Antonello Marot da Caserta, and Antonio da Cividale. The collector was also interested in French-texted pieces, and their placement at the tops of pages indicates that they were not considered less important or supplemental to the Italian compositions.

Frank D'Accone's discovery of the palimpsest manuscript, Florence, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo (*I-Fsl*) 2211, and Andres Janke's and John Nádas' work on it since have added another view of Florentine musical collecting.[12] Reused in the early sixteenth century to compile a list of Church landholdings, the music of the original manuscript was scraped off, the pages were reordered, and most of the underwriting is obscured by unrelated texts. Digital image manipulation has allowed approximately 120 pieces to be identified by concordances, but almost 90 other pieces are either unica (most likely) or still await identification. Like other Tuscan sources, *I-Fsl* 2211 preserves music of the oldest generation of composers, and like *F-Pn* It. 568 has a large collection of French songs, but unlike the other sources it collects both a later repertory of Italian composition (probably reflecting its later date of compilation) and also many motets of French and international distribution.

Although secular music from the early and middle of the fourteenth century is extremely important to our understanding of the development of a tradition in Italy that is largely independent of French models, the music of these traditions is found in the fewest number of surviving sources. The most complete and important of these sources is the Rossi Codex, today surviving as two fragments, one in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana (*I-Rvat*), Rossi 215 and one in the small town of Ostiglia (*I-OS* Mus.

11 Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex (Codice Mancini). Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1990), 34. See also their article, "Two Newly Discovered Leaves from the Lucca Codex," *Studi musicali* 34 (2005), 3–23.

12 Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'*ars nova* italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," *Studi musicali* 13 (1984), 3–31. Andres Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016).

rari B 35). The codex contains madrigals, monophonic ballate, and cacce. The badly damaged "Mischiati Fragment" (Reggio Emilia, Archivio di stato, Archivio Comune Re, Appendice, Miscellaneo storico-letteraria, Frammenti di codici musicali, no. 16) is the only other significantly sized collection from the Rossi period, containing among its five pieces three otherwise unknown cacce and a monophonic ballata.[13] Finally, the notation of an untexted copy of Giovanni da Cascia's madrigal "La bella stella" in the music theory manuscript Seville, Biblioteca Colombina de la Institución Colombina, 5.2.25 seems of an older style even than that of the Rossi Codex, despite the otherwise later date of the musical interpolations in the source in Seville.

Far more numerous than the grand codices of Trecento music are fragments of one to ten leaves, mostly originally from larger manuscripts. Many of them contain both secular and sacred music; thus, the most significant of those are discussed in Chapter 36. Among the most important of the purely secular fragments are *I-Fn* Incunaboli F.5.5 and Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, "Luigi Cherubini," Cassa forte 74 (*olim:* D 1175), two collections that continue the Tuscan collecting tradition of favoring the music of Francesco along with the older composers Jacopo and Giovanni. A fragment owned by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti and Chicago, Newberry Library (*US-Cn*), Case MLo 96.P36 (formerly owned by Edward Lowinsky) are two other Tuscan fragments that exclusively contain the works of the later composer Paolo da Firenze (see below). Two fragments from the mainly sacred Paduan fragments (more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 36) give a sense of northern Italian collecting tastes. Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte 14 (formerly in Domodossola) is quite different from its Tuscan contemporaries, containing three Italian works of Johannes Ciconia along with pieces by two otherwise unknown Paduan composers, Jacobus Corbus de Padua and Zaninus de Peraga de Padua. Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1115 includes two works by Ciconia (one in French), two French pieces (one unidentified), along with a piece by Antonellus de Caserta and an anonymous ballata ("Se per dureça") that was contrafacted as a sacred piece in Florence.

No mention of Italian secular collections would be complete without mentioning the substantial transmission of French polyphony in manuscripts written in the peninsula. The Ars subtilior manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24 is certainly of Italian origin

13 Marco Gozzi and Ziino, "The Mischiati Fragment: a New Source of Italian Trecento Music at Reggio Emilia," in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, ed. Sandra Dieckmann, et al. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2007), 281–314.

(see Chapters 36 and 37). There is evidence (including its six-line staves) that one of the other major Ars subtilior manuscripts, Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564, was copied in Italy, as may have also been the case for one of the major motet sources, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115.[14] Also significant are the fragments Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 596, busta HH2[1]; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, busta 75 n. 26; and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, [Crypt.] Lat. 219 (*olim* E.β.XVI). The first of these contains exclusively French secular music, while the latter two mix French and Italian music. To date no one has systematically scrutinized the many French-texted pieces that appear exclusively in Italian or Italian-derived sources to see if they might not be imports, as has generally been assumed, but instead evidence of the local tradition of French-texted composition which the literary sources and fifteenth-century manuscripts suggest flourished side-by-side with Italian composition.

The majority of Italian songs are texted in all parts and take particular care to place individual syllables directly under the notes to which they are to be sung. This texting can be seen in contrast to the French repertory where tenors and tripla are less often texted. Literary accounts on the other hand reveal that solo performances with instrumental accompaniment also were common. Women were involved in all aspects of vocal performance, and even though there was no standard frequency for particular notes in the Trecento, any notion that high cantus parts were intended primarily for boys or male singers in *falsetto* cannot be supported by accounts of performances. Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato's "Paradiso degli Alberti" of 1389 reports that Francesco da Firenze's ballata "Or su, gentili spirti" was sung by two women and a man.[15] Evidence for female performance on instruments or of sacred music is less clear but not in any way absent. Valentina Visconti, daughter of Giangaleazzo, first Duke of Milan, was a gifted harpist herself and had a maidservant who also played the instrument.[16] The character of Fiammetta in Boccaccio's *Decameron* played the fiddle (as does the Virgin Mary in the *Ave Mater* probably by Marchetto da Padova). Some of the sacred sources were intended for women's use or contain music also found in manuscripts for women, including the partially polyphonic manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q11, which was written for female

14 Karl Kügle, "Codex Ivrea, Bibl. cap. 115: A French Source 'Made in Italy'," *Revista de Musicología*, 13 (1990), 527–61.

15 The recording in Timothy J. Roden, Craig Wright, and Bryan R. Simms, *Anthology for Music in Western Civilization* (Boston: Schirmer/Cengage, 2009), 124/Track 2.8 re-creates this performance setting.

16 André Pirro, *La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI, 1380–1422* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1930), 12 and 26.

monastics, and a high-range three-voice Gloria partially surviving in the Paduan manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. pat. lat. 229 was also sung at an Augustinian Abbey in Flanders.

Secular Musical Forms

Unlike the continuous polyphonic traditions of France which continue seamlessly from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, the Italian Ars Nova proper begins almost out of nowhere sometime near the middle of the fourteenth century with the earliest polyphonic pieces of Piero, Jacopo, Giovanni da Firenze, and other composers whose names have been lost to us. The three main forms of Italian Trecento music were all established at or about mid-century: the canonic caccia, whose importance would quickly wane but never disappear, the madrigal, and, first as a monophonic form, then polyphonic, the ballata.

The madrigal is the most quintessentially Italian of all medieval forms. A madrigal is usually a two-voice work made up of two sections each roughly similar in style. The terzetto or first section is often slightly longer, perhaps setting two sets of three seven or eleven-syllable lines, while the second section, the ritornello, is generally a couplet.[17] Three-quarters of all the early madrigals have a change in meter beginning at the ritornello, and almost half of those that do not switch meters still have some other significant rhythmic change at that point such as introducing triplets or semiminims in place of passages of minims. Most madrigals have two texts for the terzetto and a single text for the ritornello; judging by the poetic sources of madrigals (some of which were never set to music), the terzetto was repeated before singing the ritornello, creating an aaB form. The tenor is usually melodic in character while the upper voice is more florid. That the upper voice in the earliest madrigals sometimes ornaments a series of parallel consonances (usually fifths) suggests that the form may have its origins in an improvised tradition following set formulas.[18] Another distinguishing feature of the madrigal is the uneven speed at which text is deployed. Most lines begin with a melisma on the opening syllable before proceeding rapidly through much of the remainder of the text. The penultimate syllable usually has an equally long melisma ending on the final syllable and the cadence. Both the

17 The diversity in the number of lines and rhyme schemes of madrigals and ballate far exceeds that of the musical forms. Several examples appear in Gozzi, "The Trecento," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 136–60.

18 Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta Musicologica* 64 (1992), 165–76.

opening line and the ritornello of Giovanni da Cascia's "Più non mi curo" (Example 35.1) demonstrate the text setting and rhythmic changes typical of the Trecento madrigal, though like almost every piece from the period it violates some norms: the extended sequence in mm. 10–13 decorates a series of parallel octaves, not fifths, and the two texts for the ritornello suggest the piece's form as abab or aabb rather than the more typical aaB.

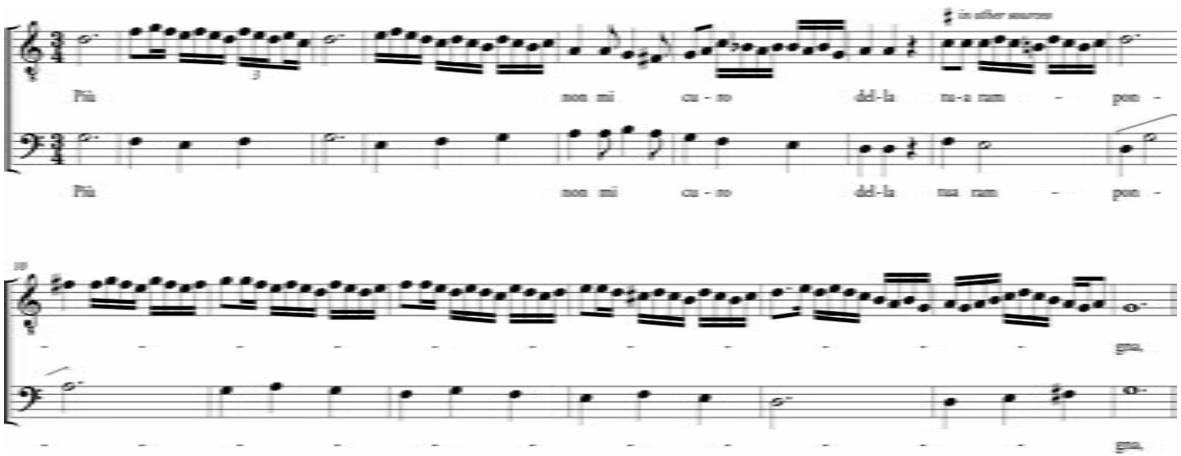
The caccia was a canonic form in three voices (of which only the upper two were usually imitative).[19] Caccia texts refer to hunting or fishing; the canonic lines that rush after one another evoke the spirit of the chase. These subjects lend themselves to peppering the text with onomatopoetic calls such as the barking of a dog (often named Dragon). Later in the piece (such as at the ritornello), it is often revealed that the object of the hunt is not in fact a fox or other animal at all, but rather a beautiful woman found in the woods. Though fewer than thirty cacce survive, it was still more common than its rarer French cousin, the chace. A hybrid form was also common in Italy, taking the canonic principle of the caccia and merging it with the poetic form and the terzetto/ritornello sectional divisions of the madrigal. In both genres, the two canonic voices enter at the unison and, unlike later canonic or imitative works, there was no even vaguely standard number of beats between the first and second entrances. Instead the second voice tends to enter at the first moment – always on the downbeat of a breve – when the first voice has wandered down a perfect fifth (for downward motion from the opening is a hallmark of the caccia). This moment may come rather quickly or as late as fourteen breves later, and some pieces seem to delight in taunting the listener's expectations by moving around near the note that would trigger the second voice's entrance without reaching the point until much later. The earliest cacce, found in the recently discovered Mischiati Fragment, do not follow this rule, suggesting that it did not appear until after mid-century.[20]

Like the caccia and the madrigal, the ballata first appears in musical settings around the middle of the fourteenth century. But unlike the other two forms, the ballata first appeared as an exclusively monophonic form and only later developed into a two- and then three-part form. The ballata has two formal sections set to different music, though, unlike the madrigal, both sections are usually in the same meter. The two sections are generally performed in the form

19 An exception is Lorenzo da Firenze's "A poste messe," where all three voices sing the same theme six breves apart. The ritornello consists of a single line, which, though it outwardly appears as if it should also work as a canon (due to its emphasis on the notes A and E), has been shown by computer-aided tests to be overly dissonant at all possible temporal intervals.

20 *Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce*, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1961), xvi. For statistics backing up this behavior of cacce, I am indebted to conversations with, and a seminar paper by, Elise McCall, an undergraduate at M.I.T.

Example 35.1 Giovanni da Cascia, “Più non mi curo,” first phrase from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Central, Panciatichiano 26



AbbaA where capital A represents a refrain text or *ripresa*, lower-case a represents a new text to the metrical scheme and musical setting of the *ripresa* called the volta, and the b sections are the *piedi* which are different in rhyme, feet, and music from the A section. As its name stems from the Italian verb *ballare*, "to dance," it originally required a singing dancer if Dante's description of the form in *De vulgari eloquentia* can be trusted. The ballata is featured in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, completed just after the arrival of the Black Death (1348). At the end of each day's storytelling, a ballata appears, often with a woman singing, a man playing a lute, and other characters dancing.

The monophonic ballate of Gherardello da Firenze, Lorenzo da Firenze, and Niccolò da Perugia tend to sketch out a large-scale terraced descent in both the A and B sections, usually of a fourth, a fifth, or an octave. Between the end of the *ripresa* and the beginning of the *volta*, the voice usually leaps up an octave.[21] When it does not, the leap is a seventh or major sixth; that is, there is still enough of a change in register to make room for a new descent. These trends are less pronounced in the earliest ballate of the Rossi Codex, with descents of a major second also being popular, though in only one case is the cadence note above the initial note.

By the late Trecento, the polyphonic ballata in two and three voices became the dominant secular form of Italian composition. Of Francesco's output of 155 pieces, 140 are ballate, of which 91 are for two voices and 49 are for three.[22] One-third of all ballate have both open and closed (first and second) endings, a trait that is often thought to imply French influence in borrowing from the virelai, which has the same form but nearly always uses two distinct endings. Yet the evidence is mixed whether the polyphonic ballata was originally conceived without first (*aperto* or *ouvert*) and second (*chiuso* or *clos*) endings and only acquired them after contact with the French works. On the one hand, none of the early, monophonic ballate have these endings, and all five of the ballate attributed to Egidius and Guilielmus de Francia do have them. On the other hand, Bartolino da Padova, a moderately late composer and a northerner – and thus presumably more susceptible to French influence – who was praised by the poet Prodenzani for his "Rondel franceschi," used these endings only once in his twenty-seven ballate. Even this piece does not follow the norm, found also in the virelai, of allowing the work to cadence a step lower on the *clos* ending, but rather merely gives some decorations to the penultimate breve of the tenor.

21 Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 22–23.

22 The ballata *Fortuna ria* has a three-voice version in addition to four sources with two voices. See Cuthbert, "Palimpsests, Sketches, and Extracts: The Organization and Compositions of Seville 5-2-25," *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento* 7, 63–66.

Notation

Several different notational systems were in use simultaneously in Trecento Italy. All of them are descended from the innovations of Franco of Cologne and use basically the same rules for notating maximas, longas, breves, and ligatures. The most commonly used notational system, especially at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth, was the French system described in Chapters 22 and 23. However, even as late as 1420 the French mensuration signs used in Italian manuscripts did not always conform to the model of four signatures (𝅜, O, 𝄡, C) where the external shape signified perfect or imperfect tempus and the presence or absence of a dot indicated major or minor prolation (respectively). Instead, regional dialects in the use (or absence) of mensuration signs reigned.[23]

The French or international system can be contrasted with the "mode [of notation] used only by the Italians" as Prosdocimus de Beldemandis calls it. The Italian or Marchettian system treats the breve as a largely fixed unit and the minim, worth between one-fourth and one-twelfth of a breve, as fixed within the prevailing metrical scheme called the *divisio* or division. Within most *divisiones*, the value of a semibreve could vary from one division of the breve to another (in most modern transcriptions this means from measure to measure), or even within a breve division. For instance in a *divisio* called *duodenaria*, where the breve is worth twelve minims, the semibreve can be worth between two and eleven minims depending on the context. This flexibility of the semibreve can make modern transcriptions difficult, but opened up an immense variety of rhythmic possibilities that great composers exploited in their pieces. After mid-century, a collection of new note forms gave greater precision to the notation of mensural music, from oblique-stemmed semibreves taking the role of French dots of addition, to one-pitch ligatures creating syncopations across tempus boundaries, to arrow-tipped minims representing notes smaller than semiminims. By the second decade of the fifteenth century, Italian notation was in steep decline with Prosdocimus noting that the Italians "also embraced the art of the French, probably no worse than the French, to the extent that they neglected their own art, thinking the French manner more beautiful."[24]

23 See Jason Stoessel, "The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of the *Ars subtilior*," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 179–202 and Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 225.

24 For an edition of the treatise see Claudio Sartori, *La notazione italiana del trecento in una redazione inedita del "Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum" di Prosdocimo de Beldemandis* (Florence: Olschki, 1938) and the translation by Jay A. Huff, *A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner* ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

Italian Ars subtilior compositions tend to be written with French notation, though the preference for inventing new note shapes instead of repurposing *puncti* and coloration seems a particularly Italian trait.

Composers

Although the earliest polyphonic works of the Trecento come down to us largely anonymously, after the middle of the century many of the most significant works were being composed by men whose names survive in sources from near the end of the century and into the fifteenth. The most significant early composers were from the north of Italy, but towards the end of the Trecento the gravity of secular composition had shifted to Florence. (Johannes Ciconia and Antonio Zachara da Teramo, important composers of both sacred and secular music, are discussed in Chapter 36.)

Early Composers: Piero, Giovanni, and Jacopo

Three early composers, Magister Piero, Giovanni da Cascia, and Jacopo da Bologna, flourished in the northern courts of Verona and Milan probably from the 1340s to the 1360s. Their works – almost exclusively madrigals, cacce, and hybrid forms combining the two – make clear that they moved in similar circles, since they honored the same women in their works and in two cases set the same text ("Con bracci assai" by Giovanni and Piero and "Sì com'al canto" by Piero and Jacopo). The three men, along with King David and monks from various orders, are depicted together in a miniature found in a manuscript from Bologna.[25] Little or nothing is known about any of their lives beyond the details of service that can be gleaned from names embedded in their works dedicated to the della Scala and Visconti families.

Their musical styles have largely been described in the sections on the madrigal and caccia above, since their works became the models for both northern and Tuscan composers of the future. Jacopo da Bologna's music was more widely copied, and presumably sung, than that of his slightly older contemporary Giovanni, yet it may have been less directly influential on later composers. His music abounds in melodic gestures that appear rarely elsewhere in the Trecento. However, his transitions between phrases, especially employing untexted passages in the tenor, do seem to have been influential and appear in some pieces by Francesco, Paolo, and especially Bartolino.

25 Fischer, "'Portraits' von Piero, Giovanni da Firenze und Jacopo da Bologna in einer Bologneser Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts?" *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973), 61–64.

Francesco da Firenze

By the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the center for new composition had shifted southward to Florence. Though the proportion of intact surviving manuscripts compared to all sources tends to overstate the Florentine Republic's importance in fourteenth-century music, its premiere status among musical centers of the late Trecento cannot be doubted. The most popular and widely transmitted composer of the fourteenth century was the blind organist Francesco da Firenze (ca. 1325 or more likely 1335 to 1397), commonly called Francesco Landini today. He was organist at the monastery of Santa Trinità in 1361, and after 1365 was affiliated with the church of San Lorenzo where a lavish tomb was prepared after his death. Francesco's fame was well established by the time of his death. According to the Florentine chronicler Filippo Villani he received the "corona laurea" as poet laureate in Venice, probably sometime in the 1360s. He was famed as a singer, organist, composer, and instrument builder. As a philosopher, Francesco is known to have supported the teachings of William of Ockham against his detractors in an extended poem in praise of Ockhamist logic.[26]

Although the surname Landini was appended to Francesco by 1589,[27] it only gained widespread acceptance in the eighteenth century. It does not appear on any of the manuscripts of his music, nor his tombstone (rediscovered in Prato in the mid-nineteenth century and moved to the church of San Lorenzo), nor in any of the biographies written just after his death. It may stem from a search by his grandnephew Cristoforo for a suitable family name for himself due to his marriage into the illustrious Alberti family. According to one of Cristoforo's poems, the surname he found comes from one Landinus de Natus, grandfather of Francesco, who supposedly fought alongside Dante at the battle of Campaldino.[28] Francesco was the son of a painter named Jacopo, probably Jacopo del Casentino according to Vasari, though some art historians doubt this connection.[29] Indeed there are several discrepancies in names of Francesco's siblings: Cristoforo's biographer A. M. Bandini names Francesco's brothers as Andrea

26 On the poem and a possible relationship with Francesco's musical style see Jeannie Ma. Guerrero, "Francesco's Dream: Musical Logic in Landini's Three-Voice Ballate," *Music Theory Online* 13 (2007), www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.07.13.4/mto.07.13.4.guerrero.html.

27 Michele Poccianti, *Catalogus scriptorum Florentinorum omnis generis* (Florence: Apud P. Iunctam, 1589), 58–59.

28 Cristoforo Landino, *Poems*, ed. Mary P. Chatfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 43.

29 Andrew Ladis, s.v. "Jacopo del Casentino," in *The [Grove] Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove, 1996).

and Cristoforo;[30] Jacopo had a son named Matteo, also a painter; while the only confirmed brother of Francesco was another organist named Nuccio who worked the bellows for some of his concerts.[31]

Nearly all collections of late Trecento secular music, even most modestly sized fragments, contain music by Francesco. His ballata "Donna s'i't'ò fallito" appears in eight manuscripts. His music was well appreciated in northern Italy and even in Germany. In addition to his works being widely distributed, Francesco was the most prolific composer of the Italian Trecento (only Paolo da Firenze and Johannes Ciconia have anywhere close to as much output).

Francesco's style is of an extremely varied nature and no attempt to account for all types of composition is offered here. He was probably the first composer to have a clear grasp of both older Italian styles and contemporary composition in France. His two-voice madrigals are similar to Giovanni and Jacopo's but his three-voice pieces feature elements mostly known from French composition such as multiple texts, canons, and isorhythms. In his many three-voice ballate, the contratenor functions either as a French contratenor (that is, alternating the bass function with the tenor), or as a second cantus voice, or a mixture of the two. Although one should no longer assume that compound-triple meter pieces are necessarily markers of French style, his adoption of the frequent use of open and closed endings where the final ending is a step lower than the first suggests great familiarity with the mid-century French masters. A cadential formula called in modern scholarship the "Landini cadence" was not invented by Francesco, but is more prevalent in his work than any of his predecessors. In a Landini cadence, the standard medieval polyphonic cadence of a sixth expanding outward to an octave has its upper voice decorated with a lower neighbor tone, creating a perfect fifth just prior to the perfect octave. The success of the cadence, which avoids dissonances beyond imperfect consonances and works in both two- and three-part settings, is shown in its long survival into the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.[32]

Paolo

An enigmatic figure in the history of the Trecento is Paolo da Firenze, an abbot and composer, called in one source "Paolo Tenorista." He is present in manuscripts compiled after the beginning of the fifteenth century, overwhelmingly but not exclusively of Tuscan origin. A large section was left for him in

30 Alessandro Perosa, "Una fonte secentesca dello *Specimen* del Bandini in un codice della Biblioteca Marucelliana," *La Bibliofilia* 42 (1940), 229–56.
31 D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinita, 1360–1363," *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), 131–51 at 134–35.
32 Michael Long, "Landini's Musical Patrimony: A Reassessment of Some Compositional Conventions in Trecento Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 31–52.

the Squarcialupi Codex, where he is called "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia" (fols. 55v–71r). Reasons for why this section is blank are alas only speculation. The idea that he was part of the wealthy family that compiled the manuscript has been debunked (see footnote 4 above), but he was connected to the monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli that produced the manuscript. He is noted as being responsible for two chant sources also copied at the monastery (Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 1171 and *I-Fl* Ashburnham 999), so he may have been waiting until definitive versions of his works could be notated.

Paolo's importance is further suggested by two fragments that contain only pieces by Paolo (and anonymous works that may also be by him), the Lowinsky fragment (*US-Cn* Case MLo 96.P36) and a fragment in the private library of Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti. It is possible that both fragments come from a gathering of Paolo's works within larger, now lost, sources; but it is equally plausible that his works circulated separately among Tuscan musicians. These two sources, along with identifications in the palimpsest *I-Fsl* 2211, unravel part of one of the great mysteries about the composer. Many works in *F-Pn* It. 568 were attributed to "D. P." (Don Paolo or Dominus Paulus) but the attributions were subsequently erased, leading those musicologists who noticed these inscriptions to question their validity. But for seven of these erasures we now have ascriptions to Paolo in one of the other three sources (with no contradictory attributions in any source); thus the seven works with erased ascriptions in *F-Pn* It. 568 with no concordant sources are also believed to be works by Paolo. The question of why these ascriptions were erased remains to be answered.

Paolo's musical style borrows lightly from the note forms and syncopations of the Ars subtilior (see Chapter 37) but nowhere does it go to the extremes of the Pavia/Avignon school. His madrigals stick to the traditional style with extended melismas on the opening and penultimate syllables and a change of meter at the ritornello (though in four cases, such as in "Corse per l'onde," he provides two lines of text and a first and second ending for this section). His madrigal "Godi Firenze" has a hocket-like opening, depicting the crowds praising Florence, that is similar in style to some Mass movements by Ciconia and Zachara (see Chapter 36) and the earlier anonymous madrigal "Nel prato pien de fiori." Paolo's title "tenorista" may stem from a facility in singing these lines, but more likely refers to his skill in composing florid counterpoint above a tenor presented in equal notes. This *cantare super librum* tradition (discussed more in Chapter 36) is present in his Ars subtilior-influenced "Gaudeamus Omnes" (*I-Fl* Ashburnham 999) and his three-voice

Benedicamus Domino (*F-Pn* It. 568) and its basic rules are presented in his treatise *Ars ad discendum contrapunctum*.[33]

Paolo was born around 1355 and lived at least until late 1436. He was a Benedictine who (according to the Douai antiphoner) was abbot of the monastery of San Martino al Pino near Arezzo while simultaneously being rector of the Florentine church called Orbatello (Santa Maria Annunziata Virgine).

Bartolino da Padova

Bartolino is one of the few important northern composers after the earliest generation to be represented in the main Florentine anthologies from the turn of the century, mostly from *I-Fl* Pal. 87. He was a Carmelite brother. His works have been read to allude to service within the ruling Paduan family of the Carrara. However, the main source for these connections, the madrigal "Imperial sedendo," written for Francesco "il Novello" Carrara, has a conflicting attribution to an otherwise unknown composer, Dactalus de Padua, leaving the matter unresolved. He may have been in the circles of the Visconti family of Milan, given references to their mottos and emblems in several pieces, but some of these texts may also be read as being specifically against the Visconti as well.

No firm evidence places Bartolino in or around Florence, but the circumstantial evidence for such a residency is strong. He set the same text (the possibly Petrarchan madrigal "La fiera testa") as Niccolò da Perugia, who was active in Florence. His ballata "Ama chi t'ama" is mentioned in two works by the Lucchese author Giovanni Sercambi, and in Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato's "Paradiso degli Alberti" his madrigals are sung and played by the musicians and maidens.[34] Giovanni da Prato calls Bartolino a "famoso musico" and supplies the added information that the madrigals were made in Padua. The poet Simone de' Prodenzani from even further south, in Orvieto, notes in his *Il Saporetto* that five songs by Bartolino were sung (not counting "Imperial sedendo") along with some French rondeaux of his that do not survive, at least not with attributions. Notably the extant northern fragments do not feature his music, but his music abounds in the more tenuously provenanced Reina (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771) and Lucca (or Mancini, *I-Las* 184) codices. In Reina, a large space left for a never-written capital letter at the start of his gathering suggests that it may have been intended to start the manuscript.[35] That his

33 Edition and commentary in Albert Seay, "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 1 (1962), 118–40.
34 Giovanni Gherardi, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Salerno: Einaudi, 1975), IV: 299.
35 Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," 188.

style owes much to Jacopo da Bologna and other earlier composers, along with the more speculative nature of dates assigned to his works, suggests that current dates for his compositions primarily in the 1370s to 1380s may be one or even two decades too late. Significantly, his three-voice compositions show little integration in their use of contratenors, and all but one of them exists either in a two-voice version or with an alternate contratenor.

Other Tuscan Composers

Though the music of Andrea de' Servi (Andreas de Florentia) is known almost entirely from *I-Fl* Pal. 87, much is known about his life. He was a Florentine, organist and organ builder, and prior, and contemporary of Francesco. Many of his unison or octave cadences, whether in two or three voices, are decorated with a "neighbor" descending third, adding a touch of imperfect sonority to what we would normally expect to be a resting point. Fischer's notion that Andrea's two-voice ballate (he wrote in no other forms) connect to the older madrigal tradition rests entirely on their simultaneous text-declaration.[36] Few other examples of the madrigal style can be found in these pieces with the exception of "Donna, se' raççi" and "Donna, se per te moro."

Though the Mazzuoli family of musicians were long known to scholars, their music (except for one spurious, lost piece by Giovanni that can now be discarded) was unknown until the discovery of the palimpsest manuscript *I-Fsl* 2211, where their music occupied gatherings 9 and 10 (for Giovanni) and 17 (for Piero, his son). Giovanni's own father Niccolò was also a musician and, like Francesco da Firenze, all of them were referred to as "degli Organi."[37] Space was left for Giovanni's music in the Squarcialupi Codex, where he is called "Magister Jouannes horganista de Florentia," but like the section for Paolo, no music was entered.[38] Giovanni (ca. 1360–1426) was organist at Orsanmichele and later was probably organist at the Duomo in Florence. Unfortunately, most of his music in *I-Fsl* 2211 is illegible. A slightly happier fate befell the music of his only son, Piero, who leaves to us nine pieces, probably all ballate, many of which are reconstructible at least in part. Among Giovanni's compositions are two settings of the same text, "A Febo dame," one for two voices and one for three. A section of his three-voice setting (see Example 35.2) gives a sense of his musical style which shows a transition to what would become the dominant fifteenth-century style, where a distinctly

36 Fischer (with Gianluca D'Agostino), s.v. "Andreas de Florentia," in *NG2*.
37 D'Accone, "Giovanni Mazzuoli, a Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), 23–38.
38 Further, see Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016).

Example 35.2 Giovanni Mazzuoli, excerpt from "A Febo dame" for three voices



melodic upper voice in 3/4 time floats above two predominantly trochaic lower voices.

Piero's musical style forms a link between that of the late Trecento style of Tuscan composers such as Francesco and the music of the Du Fay era of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Such a link can be seen more easily in the works of northerners, such as Johannes Ciconia (see Chapter 36), who, though focused more on sacred music than secular composition, nonetheless created in his last secular works a style of flowing cantus melody and emphatic repetition of emotionally significant texts that was picked up and adapted by both Italian and foreign musicians into the Quattrocento.

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· 36 ·

Trecento II: Sacred Music and Motets in Italy and the East from 1300 until the End of the Schism

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT

While secular music, with texts in Italian and a center in Florence, is the best-known and the best-preserved musical tradition of the Italian Trecento, it was a tradition that coexisted with other polyphonic genres and styles. Although much secular music survives in a few large codices, the sacred traditions of the Trecento and early Quattrocento are now largely preserved in fragments and other scattered documents. The number of fragments, over seventy, and their continued discovery, shows that polyphonic sacred music, once considered a small phenomenon, was actually ubiquitous and well-known in the peninsula.

As in the rest of the Middle Ages, the most commonly encountered sacred music in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Italy was plainsong (see Roman Hankeln's contribution in Chapter 25). New feasts requiring new musical settings continued to enter the liturgy, and even long-established feasts elicited new music,[1] but the vast increase in the number of lavishly decorated manuscripts of chant (especially from Tuscany, but also from Italy as a whole) suggests the ossification of the repertory. New monophonic settings of the Credo provide an exception to the rule. The most important Credo settings to emerge, such as the Credo Regis and the Credo Cardinalis (Example 36.1) were usually written in mensural or almost mensural notation.[2] The "Salve Regina" and Christmas hymn "Verbum caro factum est" are also found in rhythmicized settings, though unlike Credo Cardinalis, their repeating long–short rhythms reflect the stress patterns of the underlying Latin meter. The newly popular practice of noting chant with rhythm is often called "cantus fractus" by modern scholars, but is better described by the term "cantus simplex figuratus" used by Tinctoris. The practice continued at least into the nineteenth century but is absent from the Solesmes chant-books.

1 E.g., work on new Offices for St. Donato in Arezzo and other established saints. See Benjamin Brand, *Holy Treasure and Sacred Song: Relic Cults, and their Liturgies* in *Medieval Tuscany.* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

2 Richard Sherr, "The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and Its Interactions with Polyphony," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 178–208. More extensively on early Trecento sacred monophony see the excellent chapter, Marco Gozzi, "Italy to 1300," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 121–35.

Example 36.1 Opening of the "Credo Cardinalis" from Siena, Biblioteca comunale, H.I.10



As with French music of the same period, the most common sacred polyphonic compositions were individual movements of the Ordinary of the Mass. The Kyrie was an exception since it was rarely set polyphonically. However, many settings of the Ordinary included the dismissal formula, Benedicamus Domino, "Let us bless the Lord," a chant that was also often used in the Office.

Sacred Polyphony before the Black Death

The first written records of sacred polyphony in Italy come later than they do in France, and the earliest examples do little to hint at a sophisticated and innovative tradition.[3]

From the beginnings of polyphonic practice in Italy, settings of the Benedicamus Domino, both troped and untroped, were numerous. Most of the earliest surviving Italian polyphonic pieces are settings of the Benedicamus Domino, either set simply as in Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci e Archivio storico comunale, L.III.39 (early thirteenth century) or troped as in "Regi regum glorioso" found in Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 603 (late twelfth century).[4] Polyphonic singing to the Benedicamus is also hinted at in evidence from thirteenth-century ordinals such as those of *I-Sc* C.V.8 (1215) and (fragmentarily) from Lucca.[5] Finally, many liturgical books containing polyphonic works place these pieces

3 Facsimiles of the early repertory appear in F. Alberto Gallo and Giuseppe Vecchi, *I più antichi monumenti sacri italiani*, vol. I, edizione fotografica (Bologna: Universita degli studi di Bologna, 1968). For transcriptions and discussions, Susan Rankin, "Between Oral and Written: Thirteenth-Century Italian Sources of Polyphony," in *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, ed. Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002), 75–98.

4 See facsimile in Gallo and Vecchi, *I più antichi monumenti*, plate 97. Discussion in Reinhard Strohm, "Neue Quellen zur liturgischen Mehrstimmigkeit des Mittelalters in Italien," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966), 79; Anselm Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," in *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), II: 281; Raffaello Baralli, "Un frammento inedito di 'discantus,'" *Rassegna Gregoriana* 9 (1912), 9–10.

5 For the Siena Ordinal of 1215, see Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), esp. 45. The Lucca Ordinal is discussed by Agostino Ziino, "Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo," *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975), 16–30. I am grateful to Aaron Allen for access to his unpublished research and for discussions on this topic.

in the midst of the Benedicamus Domino settings, suggesting that the Benedicamus was often sung with added voices.

Although both Marchettian and Franconian notation appears in early fourteenth-century sacred settings, most of the notation of early fourteenth-century Italian polyphony reflects its probable non-mensural performance practice. Chant notations, including square and heightened neumes, are common, as are new notations created "on the fly" by scribes who rarely had to show how multiple parts were to be coordinated.

Thirteenth-century Italians had knowledge of new musical styles coming out of France. An inventory from 1295 shows that Pope Boniface VIII had in his library in Perugia at least two copies of the *Magnus liber organi*; these books could have been recent donations that were rarely used or they could document active performance of these styles in Italy.[6] Boniface VIII was interested in polyphony of some sort since Bonaiutus de Casentino wrote a polyphonic sequence in trochaic rhythm (mode 1) wishing Boniface's recovery from an illness requiring bloodletting (found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter *I-Rvat*), Reg. Lat. 2854).[7] Other Notre Dame manuscripts, such as the codex Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1, were in Italy from at least the mid-fifteenth century. It has been suggested that the motet manuscript Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 passed through northern Italy (probably a Dominican center such as Bologna) on its way to Germany since the two-voice motets appearing as appendices to the manuscript are found only in Italian sources.[8] Finally, a manuscript of Notre-Dame polyphony later had a mid-to-late Trecento ballata added to it, suggesting that such music was still collected and performed in Italy during the fourteenth century.[9]

The early fourteenth century presents the first substantial set of locally composed music in formal styles. The motet "Ave Regina / Mater Innocencie / [Ite Missa Est]" in Oxford, Bodleian Library (*GB-Ob*), Canon. cl. lat. 112 contains the acrostic "Marcvm Padvanvm," probably identifying it as the work of the theorist Marchetto of Padua. However, the supposed connection

6 Peter Jeffery, "Notre-Dame Polyphony in the Library of Boniface VIII," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32/1 (1979), 118–24.

7 Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony beyond the Codex," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), 352–55, which treats in more detail the history of French thirteenth-century polyphony in Italy.

8 Joseph Willimann, "Die sogenannte 'Engelberger Motette': Studien zu den Motetten des Codex Engelberg 314 im Kontext der europäischen Überlieferung" (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Basel, 2000). I thank Prof. Willimann for access to this work in advance of publication.

9 The manuscript, formerly in the Phillipps collection, is now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4° 523. Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36.2/3 (April/September 1964), 80–83. Vincent J. Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (*olim* Preussischer Staatsbibliothek) lat. 4° 523" (M.Mus. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972).

to the inauguration of the Scrovegni Chapel in 1305, which is based on a correspondence of the number of longs in the piece with the number of scenes from the life of the Virgin by Giotto (that not only also counts the life of Christ and Joachim but considers the Annunciation to be two paintings), can only be called speculation.[10] The two motets of the fragment Venice, Monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore, senza segnatura are somewhat similar in style, but probably from two decades later. "Ave corpus sanctum gloriosi Stefani" is the more unusual of the two, combining two texts (one dedicated to the Venetian doge Francesco Dandolo) with sections where three of the four voices split lines of text amongst themselves.

Sacred Musical Forms after Mid-Century

Musical forms that were primarily secular, such as the ballata, were often fitted with religious texts. Italian sacred music had its own genres, in particular the motet, the equal-note tenor (*cantare super librum*), and free and isorhythmic settings of the Mass Ordinary, especially the Gloria and Credo and less frequently the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The Italian motet, which included both sacred and courtly or ceremonial topics, borrowed characteristics from its French predecessors but adapted them to create a new style. Its main features, first isolated by Margaret Bent, include two voices in roughly equal range over a freely composed tenor.[11] Sometimes, but certainly not always, a contratenor was added, and *solus tenors* that take the lowest note of the tenor or contratenor appear from time to time. The upper voices sometimes have different texts, in the French style, or sometimes the same texts. When the texts differ, there is a slight preference for texts beginning with the same incipits (as in Ciconia's "Albane misse celitus / Albane doctor maxime"). Dedicatees of the motets include secular rulers, bishops, cities, and saints, whose names appear either in the text or, as in the early motets of Jacopo da Bologna, as acrostics. The composer might place his name in the text as well. Cadences of a tenth over a sixth leading to a twelfth over an octave are the most common. Triple-time (3/4) compositions appear more frequently in motets than in Mass movements (where 6/8 is more common).

Problems in identifying which motets are securely Italian has made describing the genre more difficult. "Gratiosus Fervidus," for instance, has long been considered a securely Italian motet, possibly by the composer Gratiosus de Padua. But its recent discovery in a Franco-Flemish source (Belfast, Queen's

10 Eleonora Beck, *Giotto's Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 2005).
11 Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), 85–125.

University Special Collections, 1/21.1) raises doubts about the work's provenance. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library (*US-CAh)*, Typ 122, a source containing a motet with the phrase "Trinitatem," possibly from the threefold schism, might not be Italian at all. "Plausu querulo," from Cortona, Archivio storico del Comune, finds a new voice with a new text (also beginning "Plausu querulo") in a French source, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (*F-Pn*), nouvelles acquisitions françaises (n.a.f.) 22069. Finally, three voices that were formerly believed to form two different motets in the Italian fragment Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*D-Mbs*), Mus. 3223 are actually from the same piece, whose unusual tenor placement in the middle of the texture differs from the norms of Italian practice.[12]

Many settings of the Benedicamus Domino, Kyries, and even portions of the Proper add a single voice (rarely two) above a chant tenor which is written in equal breves, or, less commonly, longs. The style of the upper voices ranges from extremely simple to elaborately ornate and filled with Ars subtilior flourishes. Each of the known pieces in this style (collected in PMFC 12 and 13) is unique and without concordance, suggesting that the manuscripts may record a fleeting example of what was otherwise an unwritten practice. The setting of the Benedicamus Domino found scrawled at the bottom of the last folio of a Roman manuscript, Messina, Biblioteca Painiana (del Seminario Arcivescovile San Pio X) (*I-MEs*), O.4.16 (Example 36.2) is typical of the genre. The more elaborate compositions "Gaudeamus omnes" and the three-voice Benedicamus Domino by Paolo, Abbot of Florence, are probably examples of the style of composition that earned him the title "tenorista" in one Trecento source (see Chapter 35). Close analogues to equal-tenor compositions are found in the style of (quasi-)improvised composition that the fifteenth-century music theorist Johannes Tinctoris calls "cantare super librum" (singing from the book).[13] Compositions above equal-note tenors continue into the mid-fifteenth century, particularly in north-east Italian compilations (e.g., Veneto manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo [*I-Bc*] Bibliografico Musicale, Q15) and in Central European traditions connected to Italy (such as *D-Mbs* lat. 14274 and the Trent codices).[14]

Many of the keyboard pieces such as those found in the Faenza Codex are also related to the *cantare super librum* tradition, with florid voices added above

12 On all except "Plausu querulo," see Cuthbert, "The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International *Ars Nova*," *Studi Musicali* nuova serie 1/1 (2010), 7–51.

13 Sherr, "The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and Its Interactions with Polyphony."

14 Gozzi, "*Cantus firmus per notulas plani cantus*: alcune testimonianze quattrocentesche," *Polifonie* 3, 45–88.

Example 36.2 "Benedicamus Domino," incipit from Messina, Biblioteca Painiana (del Seminario Arcivescovile San Pio X), O.4.16



equal-note settings of the Benedicamus Domino or the Kyrie (especially the setting "Cunctipotens genitor"). Other diminutions (also called, probably incorrectly, intabulations) are found scattered in small fragments such as Assisi, Biblioteca comunale 187, and the cover of a small book in Padua, Archivio di Stato (*I-Pas*), Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 553, either of which may have come from a much larger source. Or they appear as isolated pieces in larger manuscripts such as the Reina Codex (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771). A practice of performing the Kyrie, Gloria, and perhaps other parts of the Ordinary in organ *alternatim*, that is with the organ alternating verses with singers (in monophony or polyphony), is attested to by Faenza's omission of many verses of these chants. For instance, the third copy of *Kyrie*, *Vatican IV* gives only two statements of both Kyries and only a single statement of the Christe, suggesting that the organ began an alternation of instruments and voices.[15]

Texted Italian compositions for the Ordinary of the Mass tended to borrow much from the style of secular music (both Italian and French) of the time. Following the trend in secular music away from the madrigal and towards the ballata, the upper voices of sacred pieces became less ornamented and more like those of monophonic song as the century progressed. With one important exception discussed below, works were not composed to be parts of polyphonic cycles (whether stylistically unified or not), and, contrary to common belief, even paired movements were rare. What has been seen as a Trecento compositional strategy is instead too heavily influenced by the later collecting tastes of the compiler of *I-Bc* Q15, who placed somewhat similar earlier pieces in pairs of Glorias and Credos, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and by modern musicologists through the lens of French cycles and the ubiquitous polyphonic cycles of the later fifteenth century. More commonly, pieces were either arranged haphazardly or grouped by genre similarly to the plainchant Kyriales of the time.

15 Pedro Memelsdorff, *The Codex Faenza 117: Instrumental Polyphony in Late Medieval Italy* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2013), 128.

Sources of Sacred Music after Mid-Century

Unlike the systematically organized and carefully preserved collections of Italian secular music, for most collections of polyphonic Italian sacred music from the middle of the fourteenth century until the end of the Great Papal Schism (1417) we must turn to fragmentary evidence. The fullest collections of sacred Italian music come from the north and particularly the university city of Padua and the small town of Cividale del Friuli, site of a failed council attempting to end the schism.

The Paduan fragments consist of fourteen separate documents, twelve in Padua at the University Library and Archivio di Stato, one in Oxford, and one in Stresa near Lake Como. All the fragments come from the monastic library (and presumably scriptorium) of the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Giustina. Three fragments are definitely from the same manuscript, called *Pad A* (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria [*I-Pu*] 684 and 1475, and *GB-Ob* Canon. pat. lat. 229), and four more are usually considered to come from the same source, *Pad D* (*I-Pu* 1106 and Buste 2/1, 2/2, and 2/3). Both of these groups of fragments share a common layout and are organized similarly, though since they have different scribes and have two of the same Glorias in both, in all probability they were not intended to be part of the same book. Instead, together with several other fragments with the same layout (*Pad B* [*I-Pu* 1115]; Padua, Archivio di Stato [*I-Pas*], Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 14; and the blank musical staves of *I-Pu* 1027) they testify to a unified plan for creating music manuscripts in early fifteenth-century Padua, the "S. Giustina project." Some fragments from S. Giustina, including *Pad C* (*I-Pu* 658); Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte 14; and the three fragments of *I-Pas* busta 553 (including the keyboard intabulation of a Gloria on the cover, a collection of sicilianas, and a vocal liturgical fragment) have different layouts and sometimes repertories than the fragments within the S. Giustina project.

The Paduan fragments are organized eclectically. For the most part, Mass movements take up the top of the page while secular songs in either Italian or French are copied at the bottoms of pages. But the exceptions are too numerous to list individually. In several cases, a secular piece (or pieces) occupies an entire page. In one case, the vernacular pieces appear on both sides of a folio, so these pieces were not simply fillers for the empty outer folios in a gathering. Since musical gatherings were sometimes distributed separately for quite some time before a book was bound (if it ever was), the easily separated or damaged outer folios were sometimes used for less important contents.

Although French notation (better called international notation, since Marchettian notation was never fully adopted in all parts of Italy) is common

in the Paduan fragments, French mensural signatures are not. Changes of mensuration, when they are signaled at all, are usually given with Italian *divisiones* letters, such as "·d·" for *duodenaria*. The few pieces that employ French mensural signatures, including the well-known virelai by Johannes Ciconia "Sus une fontayne," use the signatures with different meanings than the standardized forms arrived at in the fifteenth century. Yet the alternative usage they employ is remarkably standardized throughout early Quattrocento northern Italy: 𝄡 has a similar meaning to the modern 6/8 (instead of the meaning of 2/4 it will later universally stand for), while 𝄐 conveys 2/4 without implying any sort of diminution.[16]

Fragments in the northern Italian region of the Friuli contain other important collections of sacred music. Three fragments (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale [*I-CFm*], MSS 63 and 98; and Udine, Archivio di Stato, framm. 22) are similar enough in size, layout, and repertory that they probably originally came from the same manuscript of Mass movements, now called *Cividale A*. Like some of the fragments from Padua, *I-CFm* 98 mixes sacred music at the top of folios with French-texted secular music below. Though it is quite damaged, we can make out the remains of two Credos by Zachara da Teramo (one unique and one extremely well documented), the well-known Credo by Sortes, and a Credo by Philippoctus da Caserta that has long been thought to be incomplete but is actually finished on a fragment now on the other side of the manuscript.[17] The richness of the tradition of music collected in these manuscripts probably draws from the musical splendor heard in the town during the council that Pope Gregory XII called there in 1409 ostensibly to end the schism (though in reality it had little likelihood of doing so). Yet polyphonic music was well known in Cividale even before this council. Cividalese manuscripts preserve a tradition of adding a second voice to existing plainsong in a note-against-note style called *cantus planus binatim* (see "Simple Polyphony" later in this chapter). Some of these sources may come from as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. Motets were already being collected (and presumably sung) in Cividale at least by 1367.

Three separate sets of fragments are now in the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale within the ancient Greek-rite abbey of Grottaferrata, near Rome (*I-GR*). None contain secular music written in Italian, and two are of particular interest for this chapter: lat. 224 (formerly Collocazione provvisoria 197); and a set of unrelated fragments without shelfmark. The former (along with a single sheet from the same source now

16 On non-standard mensural signatures, see note 23 in the previous chapter.
17 For details on this reconstruction see Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 235–50.

Hanover [NH], Dartmouth College, Baker Library 002387) shows the particular influence of Zachara, Ciconia, and the travels of the Papal chapel. The second set contains four Glorias (three anonymous and one by Ciconia) and is similar in appearance and repertory to *Cividale A*.

Three anonymous Glorias, in a fragment without shelfmark in Foglino, Archivio di Stato, show the cosmopolitan tastes of Italian collectors. The first Gloria, largely homophonic and also found in *I-GR* lat. 224, is one of the few English pieces copied on the Continent, though transferred from notation in score to successive copying in parts. The two other Glorias have either been considered copies of otherwise lost French originals or as Italian compositions that are strongly influenced by French originals.[18]

Several fragments from the Abruzzi, the Marche, and Umbria suggest the importance of sacred music and especially motet compositions in the region. The covers of Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato, Notarile mandamentale di Montefortino 142 preserve parts of two "Salve Regina" settings, a sacred motet, and two secular motets (including the Flemish "Comes Flandrie"), with two French rondeaux at the bottom of the page. Macerata, Archivio di Stato (*I-MACa*), Notarile di Recanati 488 contains several otherwise unknown motets, and both troped and untroped Mass movements. Another fragment from Macerata, formerly in the possession of Francesco Egidi but now lost, contained three secular motets in addition to a late example of a caccia. Another long-lost fragment has recently been rediscovered as Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta" (*I-PEc*), 3409/1 [*olim*: III-12–4] and contains two otherwise unknown Credos. Also in Perugia are the "Cialini fragments," Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi (*I-PEdu*), Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F., parts of three unrelated sources containing Italian Mass movements, the well-known French motet "Rex Karole," and works by Jacopo da Bologna. Atri, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, Biblioteca Capitolare, Frammento 17 [*olim:* Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento n. 5] contains a Gloria by Zachara along with a secular work with some religious overtones (*Ben lo sa dio*). The now-stolen choirbooks of Guardiagrele, Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore, Codex 1, vols. 2 and 3 were prime examples of the tradition of adding additional polyphonic settings of the Ordinary to existing manuscripts.[19]

18 Nino Pirrotta, "Church Polyphony apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 113–26. Janet Palumbo, "The Foligno Fragment: A Reassessment of Three Polyphonic Glorias, ca. 1400," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 169–209.

19 Giulio Cattin, Oliver Mischiati, and Agostino Ziino, "Composizioni polifoniche del primo Quattrocento nei libri corali di Guardiagrele," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 7 (1972), 153–81.

Contrary to previous descriptions, the manuscript fragment *US-CAh* Typ 122 may not be an Italian source. The handwriting is more like French than Italian sources of the period and there are no other Italian sources from the period which omit custodes at the ends of lines, while this feature is common in French manuscripts. It contains parts of a Credo by Humbertus de Salinis, a Marian motet (on the reverse of a pastedown), and a motet invoking musical imagery from Psalm 150 while beseeching the Trinity in general and the Son in particular to remove the cloud of threefold dissention, possibly a reference to the threefold Schism.[20] A more securely Italian document in the same library, *US-CAh* lat. 420, contains mensural monophonic settings of the Benedicamus Domino with the first part of a two-voice Agnus Dei in mid-century style. One Benedicamus setting uses the prolation signs 𝄆 and 𝄇 that are otherwise known only from Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, busta 75 n. 26 and the "St. Emmeram Codex" (*D-Mbs* lat. 14274).

The most famous collection of Italian music for the Mass is in many ways the least representative and has led to erroneous assumptions about Italian sacred style as a whole. At the back of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568 (*F-Pn* it. 568 [*Pit*]) is a cycle of five movements of the Ordinary of the Mass. Unlike later continental Mass cycles, but like standard Italian practice of the time, the collection in *F-Pn* it. 568 omits a setting of the Kyrie but does include a *cantare super librum* Benedicamus Domino. This collection is unusual for several reasons: it is probably from Florence and certainly from Tuscany, collected at a time (ca. 1400–10) when the majority of Mass movements came from the north. The movements defy the norms of manuscript collection of their time. In general when sacred and secular pieces are intertwined in the Trecento, the majority of the works are sacred and the secular works are less numerous and appear at the bottom of the page or in originally empty spaces between gatherings. In *F-Pn* it. 568, the sacred pieces are found within a primarily secular manuscript. The most unusual aspect of the five pieces is the range of styles represented. Far from the unified Mass cycles of the fifteenth century or of Machaut's Mass, the *F-Pn* it. 568 cycle represents at least a half-century of stylistic change. Lorenzo da Firenze's Sanctus has an almost improvisatory flavor reminiscent of some of the madrigals of the Rossi Codex,[21] while the

20 Discovery study in Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 9 (1980), 171–89 at 179–85.

21 On improvisational aspects of the earlier Trecento repertory see Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta Musicologica* 64 (1992), 165–76. Like the Rossi pieces, Lorenzo's Sanctus is often built around a core of decorated perfect consonances between the voices. Unlike those madrigals, the consonance in the Sanctus is often a unison, suggesting an even more archaic practice wrapped in more sophisticated rhythmic subtlety.

rhythmic complexity of the upper voices of Paolo da Firenze's Benedicamus Domino are fully within a post-Ars-subtilior tradition current in the earliest years of Quattrocento Italy.

The other large Florentine source preserving sacred and secular music is a codex now London, British Library (*GB-Lbl*), additional 29987. This eclectic source mainly contains secular Italian music but also a famous collection of monophonic, instrumental dances, as well as three French-texted compositions (two probably written by Italians), and, most importantly for this discussion, music for the liturgy. *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 is one of the few primarily polyphonic manuscripts to include plainsong along with polyphonic music. Other such sources include the Grottaferrata/Dartmouth fragments, whose first surviving folio is a setting of the Magnificat, and *GB-Lbl* add. 82959, with a monophonic Sanctus adjacent to a Gloria by Zachara. Among the monophonic pieces in *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 is an enigmatic "L'antefana" by Ser Lorenzo, whose didactic text and seemingly incorrect accidentals have been interpreted, reinterpreted, and (most recently) refused to be interpreted by generations of readers.[22] Unnoticed is that the other three plainchant pieces, the sequences "Dies irae" and "Surgit Christus" and a Kyrie, seem to be written with rhythmic interpretation in mind. Ligatures *cum opposita proprietate*, which rarely if ever appear in square notation sources of the time, are used in both the "Dies irae" and the Kyrie. Furthermore, in the melodic repetitions of the "Dies irae" sequence, the rhythms remain consistent. In one case, at "Inter oves locum praesta," two descending semibreves, that could be taken as plainsong *currentes*, are rendered as a *c.o.p.* ligature at "Confutatis maledictis."

The codex also collects a handful of polyphonic Mass movements. Two *unica* Mass settings follow the monophonic Kyrie: a Gloria followed by a Credo. The Gloria combines the newest traditions of Gloria composition found in the music of Zachara (see below), such as continuing the monophonic introduction to "Et in terra" before exploding into a rhythmically active, three-voice display, with a somewhat stilted deployment of new rhythmic signs related both to earlier Italian traditions (such as dragmas, or minims with both ascending and descending tails, indicating hemiola) and a variety of coloration that can be connected to some Ars subtilior traditions (though the lack of mensuration signs and elaborate *puncti* effects separate it from much of the Ars subtilior mainstream). The following Credo, though also in 6/8 and for three voices, seems far more conventional. Its long Amen is

22 Michael Long's "Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61/2 (2008), 253–306, both summarizes the previous attempts at solutions and argues against continuing the search.

an exception, however, with two different sets of fermata (*cantus coronatus*) passages creating a sort of deceptive ending.[23] A second Credo once appeared on the first folio of the manuscript, now erased and covered by a set of Medici arms that may be a later forgery. The foliation marks throughout the manuscript have been altered, but close examination reveals that the first sheet was originally the ninety-eighth. This evidence along with the erased Credo raises the possibility that the now-missing first half of the manuscript could have been composed largely or entirely of sacred music.[24] However, there are no other manuscripts of the time divided roughly equally between sacred and secular polyphonic compositions: the closest parallels are Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo (*I-Fsl*) 2211, a mainly palimpsest secular source that originally ended with one or more fascicles of motets, and *F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771, a manuscript of secular music that maintained distinct sections based on language, with Italian music being followed by French-texted music (with further French compositions following later).

Several pieces from *Pit* and *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 appear in fragmentary sources as well. The last fascicle of *I-Rvat* Urb. lat. 1419 contains an eclectic mix of monophonic and polyphonic Mass movements (out of order), including the Gloria and Sanctus from *Pit*. It is one of the only Italian collections of composed polyphonic Kyries (the example in *I-Sc* L.V.36, fol. 16v is a written-out example of *cantare super librum*), but one of these is definitely French with Italian additions and the other is a contrafactum of an otherwise unknown rondeau. A concordance of the *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 Credo in some uncataloged fragments in Cortona, Archivio storico del Comune, provides a reason (along with some notational features and the current location) to consider this otherwise quite French source to be Italian.[25] The fragments contain another Credo, a single Gloria (not two as previously described), the smallest sliver of a Sanctus, motets from the international repertory, and French secular songs (one unique).

23 Both pieces are transcribed in PMFC 12, 25–29 and 60–68.

24 The Credo was first discovered by Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), 173. A reconstruction of the foliation and original structure of the manuscript is found in Giuliano Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (London, British Library, Additional 29987)," *Studi Musicali* 20 (1991), 181–234. Long, "Musical Tastes," 173 first put forth the notion that the first half contained sacred music. Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni," 214 countered that the first half might have been an eclectic mix of music whether sacred, secular, older, vocal, or instrumental. Gozzi, "Alcune postille sul codice Add. 29987 della British Library," *Studi Musicali* 22 (1993), 250 sensibly notes that we really have no idea what was in the first half and that it might not even have been primarily musical.

25 Di Bacco and John Nádas. "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 44–92 at 82–85.

Other collections of sacred music and secular motets are found in less studied fragments such as *D-Mbs* Mus. 3223 which contains two (not three as commonly thought) motets probably of Italian origin; Siena, Archivio di Stato (*I-Sas*), Gavorrano "Ravi 3" (1568–69) is a fragment of a much larger manuscript of hymns, lauds, a Gloria of unknown origin, with a French song. *I-Sas* Frammenti musicali busta 1, insert 11 (*olim.* 207) collects Mass movements by Zachara, unique Italian secular pieces, and a motet that can now be identified as "Constat in altari," a composite of hymns and epigrams on the Eucharist. The dates previously given, 1430–50, are much too late for this source, which I place closer to 1410–20. Poznań, Archiwum archidiecezjalne 174a likewise combines a Mass movement with Italian secular music (including a caccia by Zachara), and the text of "Ave stella matutina" (previously unidentified) spaced for a musical setting that was never added. The two settings of "Crucifixum in carne" (one for two voices, one for three) in the hymnal Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipale, C. 408 appear on first glance to be integral with the manuscript, but a closer examination shows that this bifolio was added later, as with most polyphonic pieces in liturgical books. The two fragments, Trent, Biblioteca comunale 1563 (housed at the Museo provincial d'arte) and Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska mus. 40592 have been considered part of the same collection of Mass movements of the early fifteenth century, but substantial codicological and repertorial differences – the latter is written on five- not six-line staves and has a later repertoire than the Zachara fragment of Trent – demand that they be considered different sources. Several of the six Gloria settings in *I-Rvat* Barb. lat. 171 likewise show the influence of Zachara da Teramo, especially in their use of *divisi* notation.

Later sources including *I-Bc* Q15, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2216 and *GB-Ob* Canon. misc. 213 are also extremely important for the transmission of late Trecento music. These manuscripts, especially *I-Bc* Q15, often update their original models to reflect new tastes, sometimes by changing the notational style or adding contratenors or second cantus voices to what were originally three-voice pieces.

Composers

Zachara da Teramo

By far the most well-transmitted composer of sacred music during the Great Schism is Antonio Zachara da Teramo (ca. 1350 or 1360–1413). Although little is known about his life, some discoveries have emerged in recent decades that clear up the portrait of this remarkable figure and bring details into focus.

The pieces attributed to Magister Zacharias, Zacar, Zachara da Teramo, and Antonio da Teramo were all in fact written by the same composer. (The few compositions ascribed to Nicolaus Zacharie, however, were composed by a later figure whose relationship to Antonio, if any, is unknown). The term "Zachara" is a nickname attested to by usages in manuscripts such as Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1225 calling him "Antonius dictus Zachara," that is, Antonio called Zachara. In many Italian dialects the word is a derogatory description of a short or insignificant man, and probably has as its origin the story in the Gospel of Luke in which Zacchaeus, because of his height and the vast crowds, is unable to see Jesus until he climbs a tree.[26] Tree climbing might have been difficult for our Zachara for he had many physical disabilities. The only surviving description of the composer says that if you counted his fingers and his toes together you would not reach ten. Like so many composers of the Trecento, the only portrait of Zachara appears in the Squarcialupi Codex. There his arm rests in a sling draped across his shoulder, and the missing fingers on his right hand are plainly visible.

Zachara's music is extremely well represented among the fragments of Italian sacred music, as the previous section on "Sources" made clear. No other composer from the period has a single liturgical piece that appears in more than five sources. Zachara on the other hand has four pieces that exceed this level: two Glorias in six sources and two Credos in seven. Though his compositions in *I-Fl* Pal. 87, excepting his caccia *Cacciando per gustar*, suggest a composer of little innovation, the remainder of his secular and sacred pieces show incredible versatility, humor, and invention.

Zachara is the earliest known composer of a setting of Credo I, the so-called Credo "du Village" that would become more popular throughout the fifteenth century. He was also the first composer to compose Mass movements based on secular ballate, so-called parody Masses. Wit and near blasphemy abound in these pieces. He reused his ballata, "Deus deorum Pluto," a homage to the underworld god of gods, as a setting of a Credo, the affirmation of the existence of a single God. In his "scabby" Credo ("Credo scabioso") he reapplied the musical depiction of scratching at a scab from his "D'amor languire," with its angular up-and-down features, to a depiction of the Holy Spirit. These works were almost certainly influential on the parody movements of Bartolomeo da Bologna and on the earliest unified parody Mass cycles of the fifteenth century. He pioneered the use of *divisi* and *chorus* sections where certain sections are sung only by the cantus divided into two

26 Nádas, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), 167–82 at 175–77. Luke 19:3–4.

parts while other sections are sung by the whole chorus. This musical style would also become popular in the first half of the fifteenth century.[27] The texts of his songs seem to reveal autobiographical elements, but they are couched in difficult-to-understand dialects, codes (encoding the name "Cucci" in the roman numerals for 105 and 201), and obscure proverbs. Surprising for a composer of such wide interests, we have no motets by Zachara. His puzzle piece, "Sumite, karissime," is a ballade set in Latin.

Johannes Ciconia

The other figure who stands foremost among composers of Italian sacred music was not born in Italy. Johannes Ciconia was born in Liège in modern-day southern Belgium probably around 1370 and died in Padua in 1412. (Ciconia used to be confused with other men having the same name, including his father, a priest born around 1330. Hence he is still sometimes considered to be part of a much older generation of composers and to have spent much more of his life in northern Europe.)[28] Although he did write a number of pieces in his native French, like a fourteenth-century Nabokov Ciconia absorbed the vocabulary of his adopted country thoroughly, producing Italian madrigals that would reinvigorate this older musical style and establishing himself, with Zachara, as the model for sacred composition that would influence Italian and central European music into the mid-fifteenth century. His madrigal "O rosa bella" served as a model for the new expressive techniques which would dominate fifteenth-century composition. Its plaintive repetition of "Non mi lassar morire" ("Don't let me die") with ascending motives is unparalleled in contemporary repertoire except in a few pieces by Zachara.

Ciconia's sacred music combines aspects of older French traditions, especially isorhythm with changing mensurations, with the melodic gestures typical of late Trecento Italian composition. Like Zachara, Ciconia focused entirely on the composition of Glorias and Credos. Two sets of each make paired settings with each other: one couple is paired in both (later) sources in which it appears, while the other set is unpaired in any of its sources but is even more closely related. Ciconia's sacred style has been largely neglected in the literature, probably because there is much more difference between Mass movements (or pairs) than there is similarity. Some pieces, such as the Gloria/Credo pairs numbered 1 and 2 in the modern edition, have three voices with

27 Bent, "*Divisi* and *a versi* in Early Fifteenth-Century Mass Movements," in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 91–133.

28 David Fallows, "Ciconia padre e figlio," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 11 (1976), 171–77. Ciconia's works are edited in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Bent and Anne Hallmark, PMFC 24 (Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1984).

nearly equal roles differentiated primarily by voice ranges. In others, such as numbers 3 and 4, twinned upper voices make arabesques above a slower, isorhythmic tenor/contratenor pair. Several of his pieces, like Zachara's, have long sections where only the upper voices are sounding. In some works, these pairs are *divisi* voices that join together into a single part when the lower voices re-enter. In others, the pairs are fully independent cantus parts that continue throughout the three- or four-voice sections.

Like his Mass movements, Ciconia's motets are almost equally divided between isorhythmic and free settings. All of his complete isorhythmic motets have multiple texts, while his non-isorhythmic motets are equally divided between monotextual and bitextual settings. In the bitextual settings, important texts in one voice are often allowed to carry through the texture via rests in the other voice or voices (see Example 36.3). Ciconia's sacred motets are all devoted to individual saints; none are dedicated to the Virgin or Christ. His secular motets tend to celebrate cities (Padua and Venice), their leaders, and important figures in the city. But the dividing line between sacred and celebratory can be hard for cases where both the bishop of a diocese and the Church itself are being extolled. But the most common figure to be exalted is Ciconia himself who places his name in five of his motets.

Several, if not all, of Ciconia's motets were originally conceived in Italian notation, though they all come to us in French notation.[29] In its second statement, the tenor of the Ciconia example (36.3) must be read as if it were in Italian notation, where the second note of a *c.o.p.* ligature must be altered to be worth two semibreves if possible. Since this rule does not exist in French notation, Ciconia or the scribe of the piece in *I-Bc* Q15 needed to add a textural canon explaining this unusual behavior.

A final sacred work should be brought back into the discussion of Ciconia's music. That is the French Marian rondeau, "Ave vergene," of which only the lower two voices and text residuum remain in the otherwise secular codex *I-Las* 187/*I-PEc* 3065. It appears at the bottom of a page devoted to the works of Ciconia, copied by a scribe who endeavored to devote entire openings to the compositions of a single composer.[30]

Other Composers

Matteo da Perugia, a composer of music both as finely crafted as Ciconia's and as unique as Zachara's, seems to have been a niche taste for Trecento listeners.

29 Bent and Hallmark, PMFC 24, xvii.

30 Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs and Their Milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 107–30 at 115–17.

Example 36.3 Ciconia, “Doctorum principum,” mm. 59–78



Matteo's complete sacred output of five attributed Glorias and a motet are found in a single manuscript, Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α. M.5.24 (*Mod A*), which contains another two Glorias, two Credos, and another motet that can reasonably be attributed to Matteo. (The manuscript contains almost all of Matteo's secular works as well: see Anne Stone's contribution in Chapter 37). Matteo's sacred pieces use more syncopation and changes in meter than those of most other Italian composers. Most of his pieces also differentiate the roles of the lower voices from the top voice more strongly than the works of his contemporaries do.

The fragmentary state of nearly all Trecento sacred sources leaves us many composers about whose musical style or biography we know little or nothing. Gratiosus de Padua composed a Gloria and a Sanctus in entirely contrasting styles; the former with a smoother melody more in line with the French tradition, the latter ending with a florid section of *octonaria* above lower voices in 6/8.[31] The Sanctus composed by one Barbitonsoris has a case of split-personality disorder. It begins with an isorhythmic, homophonic section full of 6-3 sonorities suggesting that if this is indeed still to be considered English influence, the invasion began earlier than we have previously thought.[32] The Benedictus continues in an entirely different style with a florid upper voice above a supporting tenor, followed by a series of hockets (see Example 36.4).

Simple Polyphony

The late Trecento saw the rise not only of the more complex types of sacred composition represented by the music of Matteo, but also many simpler forms of polyphony. The line between simple and complex polyphony is not always clear, yet the principles of rhythmic dependence and pan-consonant composition largely define the repertory. Simple polyphony is above all a homophonic art where each note-against-note motion moves from one consonant sonority to another. Furthermore, simple pieces are usually transmitted in the context of monophonic chant (and are based on those chants themselves), unlike the more complex pieces which are found in manuscripts or fragments devoted to polyphonic music and, except in the case of earlier motets, rarely based on chant tenors. Particularly pieces of a mensural note-against-note style appear in Kyriale sections added towards the ends of Missals. (That these polyphonic

31 Billy Jim Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary of the Mass 1300–1450" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1960), 118–28.

32 Against the idea of the *Contenance angloise* being an embrace of imperfect consonances on the Continent, see Philip R. Kaye, *The "Contenance Angloise" in Perspective: A Study of Consonance and Dissonance in Continental Music, c. 1380–1440* (New York: Garland, 1989).

Example 36.4 Barbitonsoris, Sanctus (excerpt)



sections also tend to contain Benedicamus Domino settings adds to the suspicion that they may have served as tenors for *cantare super librum* performance). These pieces lack the clear sense of regular meter found in the secular polyphony of the time, and the text setting may reflect the declaration of the words of plainchant in the late fourteenth century.

Particularly common are two-voice mensural Credos.[33] Unlike the earlier conductus repertory (see Chapter 34), there are few outright dissonances in these Credos. Perfect consonances (especially fifths and unisons) provide the basic structure of the piece, around which the imperfect intervals of the third and the sixth add interest.

Homophony is so essential to simple polyphony that many pieces do not notate the rhythm of the voices at all and instead are written in square or other chant notations. This repertory of *cantus planus binatim*, so named by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, differs from the complex polyphony in the genres of chant that it decorates.[34] The largest collections of *cantus binatim* are found in the manuscripts of Cividale del Friuli. Few pieces of *cantus binatim* exist for the Ordinary of the Mass, and those are predominantly settings of the Kyrie, the one section of the Ordinary rarely set in Italy. By contrast, settings of the Office, the Mass Proper, and paraliturgical texts are more common. The repertory in common between high and simple styles is the Benedicamus Domino (with settings of the "Flos Filius," Benedicamus [*Antiphonale Romanum* *59 for First Vespers] common in both), though troped versions of the Benedicamus appear more frequently in the simple settings than in art polyphony.

It is striking how seldom simpler forms appear in secular music of the time. Its connection with church music may demonstrate the essential role that sacred music played in the early stages of instruction in counterpoint.

The *Lauda* and Sacred Music in Secular Forms

While Italy inherited musical traditions from the troubadours and trouvères – indeed many of the surviving manuscripts of these French traditions were copied in Italy – the uniquely Italian monophonic tradition that it cultivated

33 *Italian Sacred Music*, ed. Fischer and Gallo, PMFC 12 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-lyre, 1976), 38–52.
34 First defined and discussed in Gallo, "'Cantus planus binatim': Polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive," *Quadrivium* 7 (1966), 79–89, and then discussed in more depth and with other simple repertories in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), esp. Gallo, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy from the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," 13–30. Two further conferences in Italian simple polyphony have been held with their essays published as *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, ed. Cattin and Gallo (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002) and *Polifonie Semplici*, ed. Francesco Facchin (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2003).

was sacred. The *lauda*, from the Italian word for praise, was primarily an unwritten tradition, at least as far as the tunes are concerned. A few important sources survive, including the laudario of Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca 91, which give a sense of both the range of styles and the musical clichés that suffused musical life.

A particular tradition of polyphonic lauda singing seems to have been an art centered in Florence. A number of lauda sources give the specification that pieces are to be sung to the music of pre-existing secular music. In their manuscripts, these *cantasi come* pieces provide lyrics alone. Presumably the tunes were well-known enough that they could be sung either from other manuscripts or, more likely, from memory.[35] Finally, several pieces, particularly works relating to the Virgin, appear in conventional *formes fixes* such as the ballata, within the context of secular music. Ciconia's "Ave vergine," mentioned above, stands out as a work with a French devotional text.

Italian and Mixed Influences in Central and Eastern European Music

The Mass music of Zachara and Ciconia found audiences beyond the Italian-speaking world. While the secular music written by Francesco da Firenze and his more popular Tuscan compatriots is limited only to manuscripts created in Italy, Italian sacred composition spread to England, to Spain, and especially to Germany, Austria, and Poland.

The only piece of Italian music found in England before the Du Fay era is Zachara's Credo, PMFC 13.21, which begins its polyphonic setting not with "Patrem omnipotentem," like most polyphonic Credos, but with "Factorem celi et terra." This work appears near the beginning of the Old Hall Manuscript, compiled in the second decade of the fifteenth century. Zachara's piece is one of several "Factorem" Credos in that manuscript. Either he picked up on a trend in English composition – entirely possible since his Gloria "Anglicana" implies that he was well aware of English styles – or just as likely his new work was not only influential enough to be picked up by English scribes, but also set a precedent that other English composers followed.

Zachara's music also appears in a Spanish source, Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Pergamino, carpeta 29, documento 7, where one of his Credos appears along with three other otherwise unknown Credos. Despite

35 Blake Wilson, "Song Collections in Renaissance Florence: The *cantasi come* Tradition and Its Manuscript Sources," *Recercare* 10 (1998), 69–104.

the obviously shared linguistic background, connections between Spain and Italy have seldom been remarked upon. Other new discoveries draw the two lands closer together. A source in Barcelona, Biblioteca del Orfeó Català 2, contains a reference to one Johannes Andrea of Bologna, in addition to having a two-voice Agnus Dei in a style similar to two-voice Italian compositions; but given its decoration, the source was definitely copied (or at least begun) in Spain. A recent discovery of a manuscript of unknown provenance now in Columbia, South Carolina, shows that a Gloria fragment in Madrid, previously assumed to be Spanish or French, and another Gloria fragment in Siena, previously assumed to be Italian, are actually parts of the same piece. Finds such as these show the tenuousness of our grasp on regional style.[36]

A now-destroyed manuscript formerly in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat. F. I. 378) showed both native and foreign polyphony. The music of Nicholas de Radom (Mikołaj Radomski), along with several anonymous pieces in the source, shows the influence of the music of Zachara and Ciconia.[37] Di Bacco and Nádas have postulated that the cosmopolitan nature of this source could stem from the music having been heard by Polish musicians working in Rome in the 1390s who kept up connections throughout the Great Schism.[38]

Manuscripts from the German-speaking world also show that however strong their Francophile tendencies may have been, the conduit whereby French music arrived in central Europe was usually Italy. For instance, the version of the well-traveled Gloria "Qui Sonitu Melodie" in both the Nuremberg/Melk sources and the burnt manuscript Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale 222.C.22 have more in common with Italian versions of the piece than with French versions.[39] The former source also contains a Gloria by Zachara alongside Machaut's "De petit po," one of the handful of Machaut's pieces to circulate widely in Italy.

Finally, the Italian Ars Nova was influential in the style of both composition and notation of the eastern Mediterranean. A monophonic piece written in Cuman, a Turkish language, uses Italian division letters. A music theory source in Ljubliana shows the influence of Marchetto's *Brevis compilatio*, and while it may not have been copied in Slovenia was definitely in Upper Carniola by an early date. Finally, an early fifteenth-century setting of "In medio ecclesiae" recently found in Dubrovnik in Croatia uses *punctus divisionis* and

36 Cuthbert and Elizabeth Nyikos, "Style, Locality, and the Trecento Gloria: New Sources and a Re-Examination," *Acta Musicologica* 82 (2010), 185–212 at 201–05.

37 All edited in *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions*, ed. Mirosław Perz, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 14 (Graz-Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976).

38 Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels," 79. 39 Cuthbert, "The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments."

other Italian forms, suggesting that further work on the Venetian empire's eastward reach might yield ripe musical fruit.[40]

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40 On the Cuman source: Ziino, "Dal latino al cumanico, ovvero osservazioni su una versione trecentesca della sequenza *Sagïnsamen bahasïz kanïnï* in notazione mensurale," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, ed. Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restan (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), 31–48. On Ljubliana: Janez Höfler, "Menzuralni fragment iz nadškofijskega arhiva v Ljubljani," *Muzikološki zbornik* 2 (1966), 12–17. The Dubrovnik sources were discovered and reported on by Paweł Gancarczyk, "Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony in a Gradual from the Badija Franciscan Monastery near Korčula," *Arti Musices* 39 (2008), 255–62.

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· 37 ·

Ars subtilior

ANNE STONE

The Invention of the "Ars subtilior"

The term "Ars subtilior" was coined in 1963 by the musicologist Ursula Günther, to account for a repertory of some 100 polyphonic songs composed in the decades after Guillaume de Machaut's death (1377) which, on her account, did not conform to the norms of Ars Nova song composition established earlier in the century.[1] These songs are notated in the manuscripts using extravagant and uncodified figures that signify unusually complex rhythmic events, and also display a self-conscious and ludic attitude toward musical composition in their texts, and in the interplay between text and notated musical setting. From the beginning of its use the term has been plagued by confusion. Is "Ars subtilior" a style? A historical period? A compositional process? In what ways are songs of the Ars subtilior different from those of the Ars Nova, and why does it matter?[2]

The problem of terminology has much to do with the way musicologists mapped late medieval music from the very beginnings of the discipline. Guillaume de Machaut (d. 1377) and Guillaume Du Fay (d. 1474) were able to be fashioned into epoch-making great composers, but the period around the turn of the fifteenth century between their careers had no prolific composer that could be taken to represent it in the same way. In addition, the surviving music from the "in-between" period had all the hallmarks of the decadent "waning" of the Middle Ages: it seemed to celebrate music-notational complexity for its own sake, and to reject the "natural" simplicity that was covertly valued in medieval song.[3] The rhythms were so complex as

1 Ursula Günther, "Das Ende der Ars nova," *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963), 105–20.

2 For two published attempts to answer the question see Anne Stone, "Che cosa c'è di più sottile riguardo l'*Ars subtilior*?" *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 31 (1996), 1–31, and Jason Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Practice in the Ars subtilior" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New England, 2002), chapter 1, "What Is the Ars subtilior? " 10–23.

3 The "waning" trope originates with the English translation of the classic study in Dutch by Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Arnold, 1924; subsequently reprinted under the title *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*). For a critique of this and other historical paradigms as they pertain to medieval music, see Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993).

to suggest to an earlier generation of scholars that the songs were never meant to be performed.[4] Willi Apel, whose activities as editor and student of notation in the middle of the twentieth century were instrumental in making the late fourteenth-century song repertory available to a general audience, retained these values in his description of late fourteenth-century notation in his canonical *Notation of Polyphonic Music*:

> Toward the end of the fourteenth century the evolution of notation led to a phase of unparalleled complication and intricacy. Musicians, no longer satisfied with the rhythmic subtleties of the Ars Nova, began to indulge in complicated rhythmic tricks and in the invention of highly involved methods of notating them. It is in this period that musical notation far exceeds its natural limitations as a servant to music, but rather becomes its master, a goal in itself and an arena for intellectual sophistries.[5]

Apel published the first modern edition of late fourteenth-century songs in 1950, accompanied by an essay in which he proposed a stylistic and chronological subdivision of the songs composed between Machaut and Du Fay into three periods, the "Machaut style," the "mannerist style," and the "modern style" of Du Fay.[6] The "mannerist style" was the term he chose to describe those songs with particularly elaborate notation. The marginal nature of the songs was given a geographical extension; it was widely held that the center of activity of Ars subtilior composition was in southern courts such as Avignon and Foix, removed from a perceived center of musical activity associated with the courts of the French princes in the north.[7]

Thus Ursula Günther's reclassification of the repertory as "Ars subtilior" rather than mannerist might have removed the stigma of the "mannerist" label, but reinforced the notion that there was a distinct "epoch" in music history defined by the complicated rhythmic notation present in late fourteenth-century manuscripts. The term came from her reading of music-theoretical treatises in which developments in rhythmic notation were described as "*subtilis*," and, in particular, the so-called *Tractatus*

4 These attitudes can be seen, for example, in Friedrich Ludwig's "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4 (1902), 4 : "It is an extremely difficult task to try to get close to the aesthetic of one of the complicated ballades of the Codex Chantilly in terms of its melody and rhythm; how disappointing is the kernel behind the shell."

5 *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 403. For his part, Apel says that this publication is intended to fill "the most serious gap in our knowledge of the history of polyphonic music, that is, the development of French music between Machaut and Dufay."

6 Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1950), 10–14.

7 For a correction to this view, see Yolanda Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of the French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 103–68. See also Stone, "The *Ars subtilior* in Paris," *Musica e storia* 10 (2002), 373–404.

figurarum, whose author rather extraordinarily sketched a history of musical composition in the fourteenth century in which later composers "arranged their art more subtly."[8] Thus Günther gave the epoch-name an aura of authenticity by borrowing a common adjective from the period. Günther proposed that the Ars subtilior began in the 1370s and she presented a litmus test for a song to be classified as "Ars subtilior": the use of note shapes, not codified in the Ars Nova system, that caused a proportional change in the minim.[9]

While there is a degree of technical accuracy about this definition, there is much more to the idea of the Ars subtilior that Günther does not address, something that is better captured by Apel's "mannerism." Above all, the songs classified as "Ars subtilior" bear witness to an extraordinary and self-conscious attention to music writing, and to the attendant creation of a new audience for song: the audience that receives the song in its written state. It is impossible to fully understand Ars subtilior songs without engaging with their written iterations, a fact that adds to their recondite reputation. This is evident not only in the often extravagant ways the songs are notated, but in song texts that refer self-reflexively to the music writing process. The song "Or voit tout en aventure" by Guido in the Chantilly manuscript, which served as Günther's starting point for the idea of the Ars subtilior, has a text in the voice of a composer lamenting that he must use "*nouvelle figure*" – new figures, or note shapes. The musical notation of the song ironically provides examples of the very note shapes that the poetic speaker decries. A performance of this song would enact the irony by having the singer singing in the very style produced by the note shape that the text deplores, and an audience (whether of performers or auditors) privy to the way the song was notated on the page would experience this irony most fully.[10] It was thus through the vehicle of the song as written, and particularly the musical notation, that composers made self-conscious statements.[11]

8 " . . . artem magis subtiliter ordinaverunt"; *Treatise on Noteshapes*, ed. Philip Schreur, Greek and Latin Music Theory (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 68–69. On the idea that "subtilior" is better translated as "more precise" than "more subtle," see Stone, "Che cosa'c'è di più sottile," 3–9.

9 Günther, "Das Ende."

10 For discussions of this song, see Günther "Das Ende"; Stone, "Che cos'è di più sottile", 6–12; Stoessel, "Symbolic Innovation: The Notation of Jacob de Senleches," *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1999), 138–39; Dorit Tanay, "Between the Fig Tree and the Laurel: *Or voit tout* revisited," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 161–78.

11 For a comprehensive study of the development of music notation in its cultural and philosophical context, see Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation 1250–1400* (Holzgerlingen: American Institute of Musicology, 1999). On self-reflexive uses of rhythmic notation, see Jehoash Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 133–60.

At the same time, as will be discussed below, many songs with complex notation and their attendant theoretical explication point unambiguously to a virtuosic unwritten performance tradition that surely motivated the expansion of the Ars Nova music notational system. The author of the late fourteenth-century *Tractatus figurarum*, for example, justifies the writing of his treatise as follows: "Quia esset multum inconveniens quod illud quod potest pronintiari non posset scribe et clare ostendere tractatum hunc parvulum ordinare curavi" ("Since it would be very incongruous for that which is able to be performed not to be able to be written, I took care to arrange this little treatise to show this clearly.").[12]

The discussion that follows will adopt the term "Ars subtilior practice" to refer to songs that contain one of the following markers: extravagant, idiosyncratic, or self-conscious uses of musical notation of both rhythm and pitch; ludic parallels between notation and song texts; and attention to the creation of elaborate poetic personas that are identified with the composer. This essay will survey the principal manuscripts that collect songs featuring Ars subtilior practice, summarize the evidence of Ars subtilior practice in music-theoretical sources, and then describe the practice as it appears in musical compositions, offering close readings of the interaction of poetic text and musical notation in a couple of examples.

The Songs and Their Manuscripts

Songs that employ Ars subtilior practice were created in a historical moment of enormous prestige for the polyphonic song. Well over 400 songs are collected by Willi Apel in his three-volume anthology, and more than 100 more in the anthology *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, whose repertory is in large part indistinguishable from that of the late fourteenth century.[13] Anthologies of Italian-texted polyphonic songs survive in equal number. Around 150 of

12 *Treatise on Noteshapes*, ed. Schreur, 72–73. Similarly, the author of the anonymous Berkeley Manuscript writes that "it can be deduced . . . how the syllables can be divided into more parts, but I leave division of this sort to theorists . . ." ("elici potest . . . qualiter in plures partes divide poterunt ipse voce square relinquo divisionem huiusmodi speculanti"): *The Berkeley Manuscript (University of California Music Library, MS. 744 [olim Phillipps 4450])*, ed. and trans. Oliver Ellsworth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 130–31. The topos of sounds being able to be written down can be traced back in the literature on music at least to Isidore of Seville's famous negative pronouncement in the *Etymologies*: "Unless sounds are remembered by man they perish, since they cannot be written down," quoted in *SR*, 149. For the most comprehensive recent treatment of the question of the unwritten performance of medieval music see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

13 Apel, *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1: *Ascribed Compositions*, CSM 53 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970); Gilbert Reaney, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, 7 vols., CSM 11 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955–83). Several turn-of-the-century composers appear in both series, such as Baude Cordier and Zachara da Teramo, and many songs could be placed on the basis of their style or their composer's dates in either.

these bear the stylistic hallmarks of the "Ars subtilior" as set out by Günther, but the quantity of the written repertory as a whole is an important backdrop to the cultivation of Ars subtilior practice, attesting as it does to the growing prestige of the lyric set to polyphonic music in the later Middle Ages. Remarkable too is the number of compositions attributed to an author, reflecting the burgeoning importance of vernacular authorship in the late Middle Ages.[14]

A widely disseminated truism has it that Ars subtilior practice was cultivated especially in Avignon and the courts of southern Europe such as Foix and Aragon. While it is true that a number of dedicatory ballades praise the rulers of these courts, as well as the Avignon Pope; many songs also have documented connections to the courts of the French princes, and to various cultural centers in northern and central Italy. It is clear that while the cultivation of these intricately notated and conceptualized songs was a limited affair temporally, it was nevertheless geographically widespread, with activity found in numerous courts, monasteries, and churches across modern-day Spain, France, and Italy.

Most of the surviving manuscripts containing traces of Ars subtilior practice originate in Italy, although the vast majority of songs are French *formes fixes*, and the composers are a multinational crew of French, Italian, Flemish, and Spanish birth.[15] The French *formes fixes* clearly held sway in the courtly cultures of Italy that produced the manuscripts, just as the Occitan lyric had done in the previous century. The prestige of these songs is also reminiscent of that of the Occitan lyrics: the surviving manuscripts are for the most part professionally copied on high-quality parchment, clearly destined for wealthy patrons.

The source that most clearly showcases Ars subtilior practice is the so-called Chantilly Manuscript, a large and sumptuous collection of ninety-six songs and ten motets.[16] It was copied in Italy, though it reflects repertory circulating among various noble families of France, Foix, and Aragon, as well as the papal court in Avignon. The manuscript opens with two often-reproduced pictorial compositions by Baude Cordier; ironically, although they represent

14 In addition to the 100-odd attributed songs of Machaut, Apel's edition contains 290 compositions of which 118 have a named author, and *Early Fifteenth Century Music* contains another 123 attributed songs. For a survey of the recent literature on the vast topic of vernacular authorship see Albert Russell Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3–41.

15 For a discussion of the late medieval song repertory circulating in the Low Countries, see Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Ghent," in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984), 109–31. For Aragon and Catalonia see Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, *La música en la casa real catalano-aragonesa durante los anõs 1336–1437* (Barcelona: A. Bosch, 1979); David Catalunya, "Ars subtilior in Toledo: un vestigio en el códice M1361 de la Biblioteca de España, *Annuario musical* 66 (2011) 3–46.

16 For a color facsimile see Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564, Facsimile and Introduction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

in the minds of modern scholars some kind of crux of Ars subtilior representation, they were not part of the manuscript's original design, but were added later, very possibly by its Florentine owner in the second quarter of the fifteenth century (see below for more on the Cordier songs; Figure 37.1 is a facsimile).

Two other manuscripts that contain a substantial number of elaborately notated songs are Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 6771 (Reina Codex), both of which were copied in northern Italy and both of which contain a mixture of French *formes fixes* compositions and Italian songs.[17] These three manuscripts share a core repertory, and clearly stem from the same kind of courtly milieu. Two other significant sources should be mentioned that stand slightly outside this group. First, the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213, a major repository of the early songs of Guillaume Du Fay that was compiled in the Veneto, also contains in its earliest layer a substantial corpus of songs containing Ars subtilior notational devices, the latest known copying of the practice.[18] A final manuscript to be mentioned that contains the extravagant note shapes, canons and proportion signs indicative of Ars subtilior practice, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9, is set apart from the others on the basis of its repertory and its geographical affiliations: its 102 ballades, 21 virelais, and 43 rondeaux are all unique to the manuscript and unattributed.[19]

The Theory behind Ars subtilior Practice

By the middle of the fourteenth century a largely consistent theoretical treatment of mensuration had emerged, and that treatment remained current for some two centuries longer.[20] The most widely disseminated treatise on rhythmic notation, the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* attributed to Johannes de Muris (*Libellus*), codified five note shapes: the maxima, longa, brevis, semibrevis, and minima, each of which could be worth either two or three of the next lower value, with the exception of the minima, the "smallest possible" note

17 A color facsimile of the Modena manuscript is Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.M.5.24* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005); a color reproduction of the Reina manuscript is available on Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449045j.

18 Facsimile, ed. David Fallows, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

19 Facsimile, ed. Isabella Data and Karl Kügle, *Il codice J.II.9, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999) Karl Kügle, "Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.11.9," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (2012), 637–90.

20 See Chapter 22 for more details and bibliography.

shape that had an unchanging value upon which the system was based.[21] By contrast, there was no "theory" of Ars subtilior notation, but rather theoretical discussions of Ars subtilior notational practice appear as ad hoc embellishments on standard theoretical texts. We can distinguish between three kinds of theoretical acknowledgements of Ars subtilior practice. By far the most common kind of theoretical description was the cataloging of new note shapes to achieve proportional relationships with the note shapes of Ars Nova theory, most commonly 2:3, 4:3 and 9:8. A few theorists discussed mensuration signs and proportional numbers, which were deployed in musical notation in order to proportionally change the value of note shapes. Finally, verbal canons were described, which instructed the performer to change note values to produce proportional relationships not possible in the Ars Nova system.

Given that modern scholars generally think of Ars subtilior practice as recondite and intellectualized, it is significant that the most flamboyant Ars subtilior note shapes are described in theory treatises on discant, which is by tradition an unwritten art taught to church singers, rather than in the more intellectualized context of theories of *musica mensurabilis*, which grew out of the liberal arts tradition of the universities. This points to the likely origin of Ars subtilior practice in musical performance, rather than in intellectualizing about proportion and number.

The treatment of rhythmic notation of the theory compendium known as the Berkeley Manuscript (dated 1375) can be taken as a representative example.[22] The manuscript contains five treatises, of which the first three treat practical matters – chant and modal theory, discant, and mensural notation. The chapter on mensural notation is largely based upon the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* attributed to Muris, and confines itself to a traditional description of the note shapes and an explanation of the rules of imperfection and alteration. Non-normative note shapes and a description of juxtaposing different mensurations, on the other hand, are found in the chapter on discant, specifically in the section that treats diminished counterpoint, in which the cantus voice has many notes for each note of the tenor. In order to describe this practice, notation must be introduced, and after reintroducing the five basic note shapes of the Ars Nova system, the author goes on to describe other note shapes (*figurae*) that are used by singers (*sic:*

21 For the most recent edition of the *Libellus* see Christian Berktold, ed., *Ars practica mensurabilis cantus secundum Iohannem de Muris: Die Recensio maior des sogenannten "Libellus practice cantus mensurabilis,"* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission, Band 14 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften; C. H. Beck, 1999).

22 *The Berkeley Manuscript*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth.

cantori), including the reverse-flagged semiminim (), four of which replace three minims; dragma (), two of which replace three minims; and the semibrevis caudate with a tail (), two of which replace three semibreves.[23] At the end of the treatise, the theorist gives extended examples of florid discant (which he calls *verbula*) in which he incorporates these figures.

Other theorists of florid discant codify slightly different sets of shapes, but the basic premise is always the same: the invented figures always come in preformed groups and are designed to replace an established span of musical time.[24] They thus function identically to modern duplets, triplets, or other tuplets, and are not terribly complicated.

The priority of practice over notation is made explicit in the most ambitious extension of advanced discanting practice, the so-called *Tractatus figurarum*, often cited as the theoretical treatise most representative of the Ars subtilior.[25] The avowed aim of this treatise is to show "figures through which one may discant not following the order of the tenor but that of another tempus," and the stated rationale for the treatise's composition is that "it would be incongruous for that which can be performed not to be able to be written."[26] After explaining a rationale for inventing new note shapes, including making notes hollow and adding tails to them, the theorist proceeds mensuration by mensuration showing what kinds of proportional relationships one can create with the invented shapes. So, for example, if the tenor is in perfect tempus of major prolation (corresponding to the modern 9/8) you can discant two in the time of nine minims using these figures:  ; for four in the time of nine the theorist proposes these:  (the puncti are hollow in these last figures).[27] While the note shapes are flamboyant, the principle is the same simple one found in the Berkeley Manuscript: the subdivision of an integer unit of musical measure by a different number of subunits: 2 or 4 in the time of three, 4 in the time of 9 and so on.

Theorists much more infrequently discuss extra-notational signs such as verbal canons, proportional numbers, and mensuration signs, and when they do it is in the more intellectualized theoretical context of *musica mensurabilis*. In the Ars Nova theory of the *Libellus*, these devices are discussed in a chapter concerning the problem of identifying the mensuration ("how to distinguish perfect and imperfect modes"), in which the author advocates the use of mensuration signs () and "subscriptiones" (canons) to identify the

23 Thanks to Ross Duffin for having designed the "Subtilior" font used in this essay.

24 For a list of treatises see Stone, "Glimpses of the Unwritten Tradition in Some Ars subtilior Works," *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996), 65–66. A number of small, anonymous Italian treatises related to the *Tractatus figurarum* have been published as a group in F. Alberto Gallo, *La teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del XIII all'inizio del XV secolo*, Antiquae Musicae Italicae Subsidia Theoretica (Bologna: Tamari, 1966).

25 *Treatise on Noteshapes*, ed. Schreur. 26 Ibid., 72–73. 27 Ibid., 90–91.

mensuration of a work. The author of the Berkeley Manuscript glosses this chapter by detailing circumstances in which canons could be used: "Whatever is given in the written directions must be sung, even if it may be against art. Canons are commonly placed when it is not possible to proceed properly in song in some manner according to art."[28] The author also advocates the use of stacked numbers that resemble fractions to indicate mensuration signs: 3/2, for example, indicates major prolation with imperfect tempus.[29]

These discussions do no more than indicate that these signs were used to identify the mensuration of a given musical work so that it could be performed properly; they do not indicate a proportional change in the duration of notes. The earliest theorist explicitly to mention fractions as a way of indicating proportional change is Prosdocimo de Beldomandis, in a commentary on the *Libellus* written in 1404.[30] Indeed, Prosdocimo's gloss on the *Libellus*'s chapter on how to distinguish perfect from imperfect mensurations may be the most complete primer of Ars subtilior practice in the surviving music-theoretical literature. He describes, in addition to the use of fractions, the hollowing and coloring of notes to obtain 8 in the time of 6, ↄ to indicate sesquialtera, and offers a long critique of those who use cauda to change the value of notes as well as those who would use the hollow punctus (such as the author of the *Treatise on Noteshapes*). And although he is clearly describing musical practice, he does so unusually in the context of the *Libellus*, a mensuration treatise, and in the scholarly tradition of the gloss, suggesting a university context quite different from the other treatises.

Ars subtilior Practice in the Manuscripts

When we turn to the song manuscripts that transmit Ars subtilior practice, we find unsurprisingly that the use of mensuration signs, numbers, and invented note shapes is a much more complex and heterogeneous affair. While in the theoretical sources note shapes with tails of various sorts are grouped together, in the most extravagant of the songs they are intercalated, causing syncopations and extremely short subdivisions of the mensura. The songs of

28 *The Berkeley Manuscript*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 173: unde qualitercumque in subscripcionibus habetur, ita est cantandum, eciam si fuerit contra artem. Nam communiter canones ponunt quando commode taliter secundum artem non posset in cantu procedi, etsi posset tamen hoc latet.

29 Ibid., 170–71. This use of numbers is also advocated by Johannes Ciconia in his treatise *De proportionibus*; see Ellsworth, *Johannes Ciconia Nova musica and De proportionibus*, Greek and Latin Music Theory (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 441. For a list of treatises and songs that use these signs see Stone, "The Ars subtilior in Paris," *Musica e Storia* 10 (2002), 373–404.

30 *Prosdocimi de Beldemandis Opera, 1: Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris*, ed. Gallo, Antiquae Musicae Italicae Scriptores 3 (Bologna: Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1966), 138–152, in the course of a long discussion of a variety of notational practices of his day.

Jacob de Senleches, "En attendant," "Esperance," and "La harpe de melodie" are two examples of the visually striking effect invented note shapes can have on a manuscript page.[31] And in the enigmatic Latin ballade by Zachara da Teramo, "Sumite, karissimi," invented note shapes are used in tandem with syncopation to produce rhythmic lines of enormous difficulty; the composer subdivides the musical span of an imperfect breve with major prolation (akin to the modern 6/8) into three and into eight, then scrambles those subdivisions. As a result, a series of notes must be performed "off the beat" by one-eighth of a 6/8 measure, an amount that is extremely difficult to calculate for the uninitiated.[32]

The manuscripts also contain songs whose rhythms are affected by the use of proportional numbers, or by mensuration signs used as proportion signs.[33] These range from the rather straightforward, and very common, use of the sign ↻ to indicate four minims in the time of three, as described by Prosdocimo, to large-scale structures built around sections of songs in differing proportionally related mensurations. An elegant example of the latter is the ballade "Beauté parfaite" by Antonello da Caserta, upon a text by Machaut.[34] The A section of the ballade is divided into sections of five breves' duration, and each section presents a different proportionally related mensuration using a combination of mensuration signs and coloration (or its synonym, hollowing of black notes).[35]

The definition of Ars subtilior practice is complicated by the fact that a song can be rhythmically complex without using ostentatious note shapes, signs, or canons, but simply by manipulating the Ars Nova system, principally using the device of syncopation. Syncopation was first described in the *Libellus*, thus forming part of Ars Nova theory, as "the division of any figure into separate parts, which are led back to each other by numbering

31 Color facsimile in Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.M.5.2*, fol. 39v, and Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564*, fol. 44r. On Senleches' notational pratice, see Stoessel, "Symbolic Innovation."

32 Color facsimile in Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.M.5.24*, fol. 11v. Discussed in Stone, "Glimpses of the Unwritten Tradition," 84–90.

33 For a comprehensive history of proportion signs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs: Origins and Evolution* (Oxford University Press, 1992).

34 Modern edition in Apel, *French Secular Compositions*, 1: 5–6. For a more extended discussion and a diagram of the structure see Anne Stone, "Machaut Cited in Modena," in *Citation, Intertextuality, and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, vol. 1: *Image, Music and Text, from Machaut to Ariosto*, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa (Exeter, 2011), 170–89. See also Carla Vivarelli, *Le compositioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tràdite nel codice estense α.M.5.24* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2005), 59–63. A facsimile of the song as transmitted in *F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771 is found here: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449045j/f96.

35 For a study of large-scale proportional structures across the fourteenth-century repertory, see Laurie Koehler, *Pythagoreische-Platonische Proportionen in Werken der ars nova und Ars subtilior*, 2 vols., Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 12 (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1990).

perfections."[36] Syncopation thus arises when a group of notes that make up an abstract "perfection," a temporal duration of one large note value, are scrambled in some way, and must be grouped together mentally by the performer in order to realize the rhythm of the passage.

For an example of rhythmic subtlety introduced by syncopation we may compare the rhythmic style of the ballade "En remirant vo douce portraiture" by the late fourteenth-century composer Philipoctus de Caserta with Guillame de Machaut's ballade 33, "Nes qu'on porroit." The texts of both ballades feature seven-line decasyllabic stanzas, and the lengths of their musical settings are comparable: both have an A section of 20 breves and a B section of 12 breves; "Nes qu'on"'s refrain takes 7 breves, separated from the B section by a single breve of "transition" in the tenor, while "En remirant"'s refrain is set apart as a separate section of 14 breves. Thus "Nes qu'on" is 40 measures long and *En remirant* 46 measures in total. The rhythmic style and phrase structure of the two ballades is strikingly different, however, and "En remirant" is a kind of cornucopia of the varieties of rhythmic embellishments available in the later fourteenth century. Long passages in red notation provide hemiola; in addition, passages using hollow red notation create a 4:3 proportion at the level of the minim (notated in a modern edition as sixteenth-note tuplets within 6/8).[37] The notation also extends to shapes with stems on top and bottom simultaneously ("dragmas"), which create the proportion 9:4, and shapes with only a downward stem (*semibreves caudatae*), 9:2. These note shapes are not difficult to decipher or to perform; rather, it is the phrase structure and the avoidance of closure that make this song particularly rhythmically complicated. Machaut's typical procedure is to end phrases on the starting point of a perfection, and this is confirmed by "Nes qu'on porroit"'s regular cadences (at breves 4, 8, 10, 16, and 18). "En remirant," on the other hand, opens with two phrases that avoid any contrapuntal closure by the deployment of elaborate syncopations in the cantus line; the first cadence is deflected to the second minim of the mensura and following a long melisma, the second phrase ends once again in the middle of the breve mensura (see Example 37.1).[38] This kind of play with syncopation was presumably what the author of the Berkeley Manuscript had in mind when he wrote that "One may well syncopate in discanting and

36 *Unde sincopa est divisio circumquaque figure per partes separatas, que numerando perfectiones ad invicem reducuntur*, Johannes de Muris, *Ars practica mensurabilis cantus secundum Iohannem de Muris*, 65.

37 It is extremely common to have variants in the notation of these pieces; in the concordant source Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.M.5.24 this proportion is signaled with the use of ☽.

38 For a detailed explication of the syncopation structure of *En remirant* see Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 42–46.

Example 37.1 Philipoctus de Caserta, ballade, "En remirant," mm. 1–11 (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564, fol. 39r)



sing various mensurations that differ from that of the tenor, so long as he knows how to proportion them properly to each other and maintain properly his coequal mensuration; otherwise he should not concern himself with these things."[39]

The Songs and Their Audience[s]

For whom were these songs composed? Many play self-consciously with their own written and communicative status, by invoking their composer, performer, or audience; by drawing parallels between notation and literary text; or by calling attention to their written presentation. This reliance on the written aspect of the song makes it clear that there was what we might call a "written audience" for song: an audience who would engage with the song in written as well as aural form. Many song texts praise noble patrons, and in some cases the acts of praise are visible in the musical notation, suggesting that a patron

39 *The Berkeley Manuscript*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 132–35.

would have taken delight in viewing the manuscript page.[40] Four songs survive in an unusual pictorial format, suggesting that a patron might have derived pleasure from looking at the pictorial image of the musical work during a performance.[41] Several ballades use long passages in red notation that coincide with particularly heraldic imagery in the text. In "Se Galaas" by Cunelier, for example, the third stanza's B section text reads "By red letters will his name be proclaimed, I inform you all, *Febus avant*! Conquered through prowess," identifying the dedicatee of the song as Gaston Febus, Count of Foix.[42] The song text is realized visually on the manuscript page by the fact that the entire B section of the ballade is notated in red ink, a flamboyant feature that can be appreciated even by a reader who cannot decipher the notation. In a similar fashion, the refrain of the anonymous ballade "En un vergier," which refers to the *fleur de lis*, and therefore presumably to the French royal court, is notated entirely in red notation. Another way songs engage a patron in their written form is through the use of acrostics, as in the dedicatory ballade by Matheus de Sancto Johanne, a papal singer, to Pope Clement VII, "Courtois et sages" in which CLEMENS is spelled as an acrostic by the first letters of the ballade's first stanza:

Courtois et sages et a tous doit plaisir
Le droit signour que par eleccion
Et non par force mais par comun sentir
Mis est en siege de benediccion.
Estre donne a tous en union
Nulz contredire ne le puet par droiture:
Sains Peres est que de tous a la cure.[43]

40 For a study of dedicatory ballades in the Chantilly manuscript, see Elizabeth Randell Upton, "The Chantilly Codex (F-Ch 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001), chapter 4, 185–308: "Dedicatory Chansons in the Chantilly Codex."

41 The four songs include two by Baude Cordier in the Chantilly Manuscript: "Belle, bonne, sage" (fol. 11v) and "Tout par compas" (fol. 12); and two found copied into music theory miscellanies: Jacob Senleches's "La harpe de melodie," in Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case 54.1, and an anonymous ballade "En la maison Dedalus," in Berkeley, University Library MS 774, fol. 31v). Facsimiles of the four are conveniently reproduced in Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 115–18, in the course of a stimulating discussion of music in the context of vernacular reading. On the idea that these songs were designed with patronage in mind, see Strohm, "La harpe de melodie, oder das Kunstwerk als Akt der Zueignung," in *Das musikalische Kunstwerk: Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Danuser et. al. (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1988), 305–16.

42 See Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, 156–57. The dedication to Gaston Febus is cleverly doubled by an acrostic spelling GASTON formed by the names listed in the song's first two lines: "Se Galaas et le puissant Artus,/Samson le fort, Tristain, Ogier, Namon." See Gilles Dulong and Agathe Sultan, "Nouvelles lectures des *chansons notées* dans le Codex Chantilly," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 112–13.

43 Edited in Apel, *French Secular Compositions*, 1: 41–43.

Courtly and wise and pleasing to all,
The rightful lord who through election
And not by force, but by common agreement,
Has been placed on the seat of benediction,
To be given to all in union.
No one has the right to deny him:
He is the Holy Father who cares for all.

Other songs seem to have the performer as their primary addressee. This becomes most explicit with the use of the verbal canon instructing the performer in the proper interpretation of the note shapes through thinly coded language. The device of canon as described in the *Libellus* is presented as one way to indicate the mensuration, but in practice in the late fourteenth-century sources, canons offer interpretations of uncodified notational signs or indicate augmentation or diminution of conventional note shapes, helping the performer realize the musical work from underprescriptive or ambiguous musical notation. As verbal instructions, canons conjure the voice of a learned author figure speaking to the performer engaged in reading the music, and thus are part of the fiction of the poetic voice present in any lyric context.

Canons can take the form of a simple list of figures and their significance, as in this rather straightforward canon for the ballade "L'orque Arthus," attributed to a certain J. O.: *canon balade: tenor et contratenor cantetur ad figuram binariam in proporcione sesquitercia; ad quaternariam in dupla; ad tercia in sesquialtera; et alie note rubre in sesquioctava* (canon of the ballade: the tenor and contratenor at the number 2 sing in sesquitertia proportion [4:3]; at the number 4 sing duple; at the number 3 sing sesquialtera [3:2]; and sing the red notes in sesquioctava [9:8]).[44] But the poetic implications of the canon become more complex in several songs where the canon is not a separate inscription, but constitutes, or is contained within, the song's lyric text. In some cases the "poetic I" of the lyric text is understood as the voice of the author, while in other cases the "I" of the text is the song itself. Guillaume de Machaut may have started the tradition of the rondeau whose text in the voice of the song contains a performing instruction ("Ma fin est mon commencement") and in the repertory of the later fourteenth century there are several similar examples of the voice of the song describing how it is to be performed, as in the little canon by Matteo da Perugia: "Andray soulet au

44 Edited in Apel, *French Secular Compositions*, 1: 30; Chantilly Manuscript, fol. 40v. For a list of songs in the Modena and Chantilly manuscripts that use canonic inscriptions to decipher mensuration signs or proportional numbers, see Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.M.5.24" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994), 80–81 and 90–91.

mielz que je pouray/Jusque a le tamps primier de lasolre/Lors tu prendras desus Alamire/S'ainsi fera le tierz, canterons gay."[45]

A particularly artful example of a song whose text is in the voice of the song itself is Baude Cordier's rondeau "Tout par compas" (see Figure 37.1). The song's opening lines explain its own genesis, that it has been made "tout par compas," a phrase that has multiple meanings: completely proportionally; in a round form; or with the use of a compass.[46] Each of these meanings is confirmed by some aspect of the composition or layout of the song. The song is "completely proportional" in that it presents a series of proportional changes in the cantus voice, signaled with mensuration signs.[47] Its round form is of course represented by the pictorial nature of the copying of the song, and the use of the compass as a measuring tool is confirmed by looking at the page where the song is copied and seeing a prominent hole in the middle of the circular staves; they were clearly drawn with a compass. Thus the incipit refers simultaneously to the musical composition of the song, its design in the copying of the manuscript page, and the technology with which that design was implemented.

In the course of the text the song playfully asks its audience to pray for its composer ("Seigneurs, je vous pri chierement, priés pour celi qui m'a fait"), and offers specific instructions about how a canonic voice is to be realized ("wait three beats, then chase gaily"). Finally it gives information about its composer: Baude Cordier, who is from Reims, and known as far as Rome.[48] The use of the pseudo-oral address "seigneurs" and the imprecation to pray for the composer are delightfully ironic and conjure strongly the relationship between composer and performer.

One of the most enigmatic examples of the song-text-as-canon is found in the ballade "Si con cy gist," attributed to one Jo. Olivier.[49] Its poetic text has

45 "I go alone as best I can until the first D sol re/Then you will take the A la mi re above/If the third part does the same, we will sing gaily." Modena, fol. 40v; Apel, *French Secular Compositions*, I: 132.

46 The underlaid text reads 'Tout par compas suy composes/en ceste ronde proprement/pour moy chanter plus seurement" (I am composed completely proportionally [with a compass] in this rondeau [in this circle] truly for me to sing more securely). Chantilly, fol. 12r; on the problems of transcribing the song, and the relationship of its text to a correct performance or transcription, see Günther, "Fourteenth-Century Music with Texts Revealing Performance Practice," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263–69.

47 For a more in-depth discussion of the notation see Plumley and Stone, "Cordier's Picture-Songs and the Relationship between the Song Repertories of the Chantilly Codex and Oxford 213," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context*, ed. Plumley and Stone, 310–17.

48 The identity of Baude Cordier has been the subject of controversy, summarized in Plumley and Stone, "Cordier's Picture Songs," 306–10.

49 This ballade, uniquely preserved in Chantilly, fol. 31v, has been the subject of two analytical articles, and it has been edited into modern editions four times. The first edition, by Willi Apel in 1970, is based on a faulty interpretation of the notation, and each subsequent edition has moved toward a more satisfactory resolution of both textual and musical conundrums. See Nors Josephson, "Vier Beispiele der Ars subtilior," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 27 (1970), 41–58; Koehler, "Subtilitas in Musica: A Re-Examination of *Si con cy gist*," *Musica Disciplina* 36 (1982), 95–118. The most recent edition of the

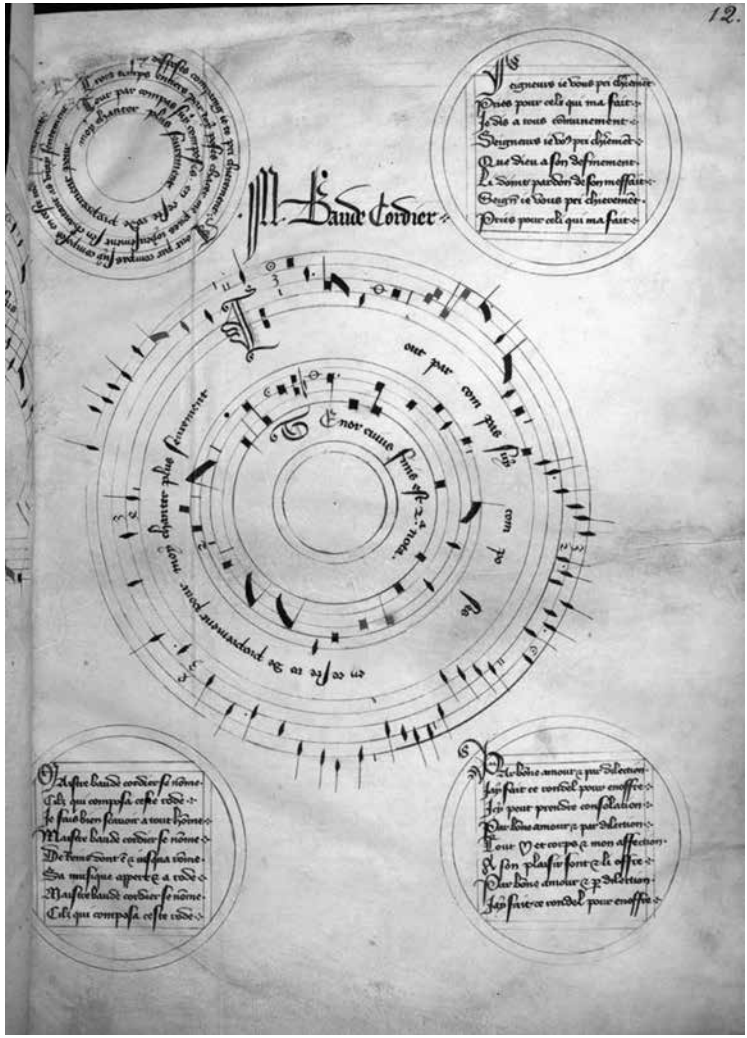


Figure 37.1 Baude Cordier, "Tout par compas," Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly (*F-CH*) 564, fol. 12. Published by permission.

a double function: it acts as a canon for the interpretation of the notation, while at the same time pretending to be a courtly love text. Here the text is so

text, reproduced here with gratitude from a forthcoming edition by Gilles Dulong and Agathe Sultan, provides a marked improvement over all previous texts, and a reasonable stab at the meaning of both text and music is now possible.

obscure that in the course of reading it as a straight courtly love text one gets stuck; the verbal text cannot be read independently of the notation, and the notation cannot be deciphered independently of the text, or, as will become apparent below, independently of the song's layout on the manuscript page. The text is given in full:

[S]i con cy gist mon cuer en grief martire,
Pars a moytiet, Fortune, a ton devis;
Des trois parfais deux lais; l[e] moien tire
Le tanps parfayt. Sur ce point je t'avis:
Partis au quart, la quarte part ravis,
Augmente au tierch par ton sort ceste part,
De part au leys aye ch[a]scuns sa part.
E ! Tu qui tiens, si com tu vois atire
Sans estrengier [jamais] a tez amis.
Qui contratient, tout au revers s'atire
Du dessus dit. A toy qui m'az tramis
En desespoir, ou d'un divers tamis
M'ont tamisiet, or p[r]i que de ma part
De part [au leys aye chascuns sa part.]
Ce que requier, fa[i]tes que es s'i mire!
Je lais cuidier si doy estre remis
En ton amour; et se trop tart me mire,
Puys que supli, n'en doy estre demis.
Soyt a prochiet pour mon confort comis
Ly fais – pour Dieu, rayson y soyt a part!
De part [au leys aye chascuns sa part.]

As my heart is laid in great suffering
Split it in two, Fortune, according to your desire;
Of three perfect [breves] keep two; each of them [=half a long]
Remains perfect. At this point, be careful:
Having divided [the durations] in four keep a quarter [of the maxima].
Augment this part so that it has three thirds,
That everyone may receive his share of the bequest.
And you who hold [i.e. the tenor], be faithful to what you see
Without distancing yourself from your friends
The one who counter-holds [the contratenor] must do the opposite
Of the aforementioned [the cantus]. To you who condemn me
to despair, where I have been subjected to the torture of a cruel sieve
I ask insistently, for myself,
That everyone may receive his share of the bequest
What I am asking is to make sure that you [pl] obey my prescription
I let you judge whether I should be reinstated
In your love; and if I receive a cure too late

Since I am begging I should not be rejected.
This deed should be executed for my comfort,
For God's sake, reason should not be part of it!
That everyone may receive his share of the bequest.

The poetic conceit is a speaking subject who is suffering from the familiar malady of lovesickness. The central metaphor for the lover's distress is that of his grieving heart being cut up into pieces; in the first stanza he describes this process in some detail, and in the course of the rest of the poem he complains that his despair is like being put through a sieve, and he asks the lover to reinstate him into her affections. But the poetic speaker addresses a series of clearly differentiated listeners. In the first stanza, he instructs Fortune to divide his heart into various-sized pieces, then to increase the size of one of the parts, so that "everyone may have his share" of it. In the second stanza the speaker directly addresses two different individuals: "tu qui tiens" (you who hold), perhaps who hold part of his heart, and "you who counter-hold." While we might tentatively imagine two people holding onto a piece of his heart, that image does not really get us very far, and by now an attentive reader would surely be attuned to the secondary meaning of the text, and its secondary addressees, the singers of the notation. With this realization comes too an identification of the poetic voice as that of the composer, instructing the performers in the correct execution of the song. A third addressee of the stanza, who "condemns the speaker to despair" in lines 11–12, is the fictional lady, whose rejection of the speaker has caused his heart to be cut up; with this addressee the poetic speaker has returned to his role as the traditional courtly lover figure.

The multiple addressee of the text is revealed most clearly in this last stanza: the speaker addresses both the intra-textual lover who has caused his heart such grief and the real-life, extra-textual singers who must realize the notation following his instructions in the first one-and-one-half stanzas: the "heart" that is being cut up is in fact the durations of the notes, which must be divided first in two, then in four, before returning to normal. The "fais" of line 20 is thus understood in two senses: the act of reinstating the speaker into the love of the lady, and the song itself (a musical composition was often a "fais": to compose was "faire"). The deed should not be done with reason – that is, the performers should not follow what reason (their training) dictates the notes to mean. Instead, the performers must read the notation with the text precisely underlaid in the cantus part. The text–music relationship of this song is unique in that the meaning of the text is dependent upon its physical location on the page: the individual poetic lines refer specifically to the musical notes they



Figure 37.2 Anonymous ballade, "Si con cy gist," cantus (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564, fol. 31v). Published by permission.

accompany. This can be seen in Figure 37.2, a facsimile of the cantus part with the relevant text boxed. Three instructions in the first stanza, "pars a moytiet," "partis au quart," and "augmente au tierch," refer to the notes that they underlay; as can be seen on the example, the durations increase for the first two instructions, then decrease to *integer valor* under the command to augment them. Stanza two contains instructions for the tenor (he who holds) and contratenor; while the former is to read the notation normally throughout (being careful not to lose his friends, i.e., to stay with the other voices) the contratenor must do the reverse of what the cantus does. Although the instruction for the cantus ends before the setting of the refrain, its proper resolution requires a restatement of all the mensurations that have already transpired in the cantus, but gone through more quickly. The contratenor thus must retrograde all the cantus' mensurations, so it begins with the quick succession of the mensurations (retrograded) that the cantus ends with (see Figure 37.3).

Cordier's "Tout par compas" and Olivier's "Si con cy gist" are both guilty of Apel's charge that "musical notation far exceeds its natural limitations as a servant to music, but rather becomes its master, a goal in itself and an arena for intellectual sophistries." In both songs the rhythms could have been expressed using simpler notation. But the meaning of each song's notation goes considerably beyond prescribing rhythms; in both, the musical notation participates in a more comprehensive enterprise of signification, in which the song is a staging ground for the encounter between composer, performer, and

measure	*12*				*19*	*24*	*32*	*47*			
Cantus	O				2:1	4:1	C	O	2:1	4:1	C
contra	C	4:1	2:1	O	C	4:1	2:1	O			
form	*A section*					*B section*		*Refrain*			

Figure 37.3 "Si con cy gist," palindromic structure of mensurations in cantus and contratenor

notation. Both songs celebrate the advent of music writing as a kind of new frontier, and the composer as a self-conscious agent of musical meaning. In poeticizing the endeavor of music writing they allied themselves with two principal trends of late-medieval literature – the poetics of writing and the rise of vernacular authorship. Although the appearance in manuscripts of Ars subtilior notational practice was a short-lived phenomenon, the experiments of its practitioners had a lasting impact, representing one of the first adumbrations in European history of the composer as a creative figure, and of the musical "fais" as a creative work.

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· 38 ·

Citational Practice in the Later Middle Ages

YOLANDA PLUMLEY

From Greek Antiquity to the late Middle Ages, *descriptio* – the art of reworking an original text – was fundamental to grammatical and rhetorical practices. This could range from the strict imitation, copying, or paraphrasing of a model, to looser kinds of borrowing where the existing material was absorbed or transformed and even enhanced within the new composition.[1] Medieval authors, but, equally, artists and composers, were accustomed to build new from old, and they were well aware of the vast potential for quotations, allusions, and citations to enrich their works.[2] By echoing canonical texts or naming their authors, they could at once demonstrate their respect for the past and impress the stamp of authority on their own compositions. But their appropriations could also be more subtly (even tacitly) introduced; sometimes the object was not so much an act of homage to an illustrious antecedent as to attempt to surpass him, or to introduce satire to a particular theme or debate.

In the realm of musical composition, the practice of building new works from existing materials was well established. The long tradition of embellishing chants from the liturgy through the addition of new text or music, or both, provided a means of commenting upon, or glossing, an authoritative text, while transforming the familiar original material into a new compositional statement. Of course, the principle of constructing works from existing material extended well beyond the strictly liturgical context. Satirical Latin goliardic songs, for instance, were built around quotations from the classics, and other freely composed musical forms with Latin texts such as the conductus also on occasion incorporated quotations. It is the vernacular lyric tradition relating to late medieval France that forms the focus of the present chapter. My object here is to trace citational practices – and I use this term

1 See Douglas Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion: Description, Rewriting, and Authorship from Macrobius to Medieval Romance* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

2 For a range of case studies illustrating citational practice in different kinds of written texts as well as in music and painting from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, see Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano di Bacco and Stefano Jossa, *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 1: Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2011).

broadly to embrace citation, quotation, allusion, and other kinds of explicit and intentional borrowing – within this repertory.

The thirteenth-century polyphonic motet was a citational genre par excellence, constructed by the addition of new words to an existing clausula or the superimposition of newly composed melodies over a borrowed chant or vernacular song. The collision of the sacred and the secular that characterizes so many French motets of this period was often intensified further by the incorporation of familiar lyric tags drawn from the vernacular repertory. Freely composed songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were also susceptible to citational impulses of this kind. The vernacular chansons of the troubadours and trouvères are littered with textual and musical quotations and allusions to other works from their own lyric traditions; certain famed poet-composers were regularly cited and assumed the status of authorities on the art of love. The idea of recontextualizing familiar melodies, used to such effect in motet composition, also served to translate secular songs into sacred ones: by combining the melodies of celebrated love songs with newly written devotional texts, composers of religious lyrics exploited their listeners' taste for secular song and their experience of worldly love to push an overtly spiritual message. Despite the growing complexity of musical style in the fourteenth-century Ars Nova, composers of motets and of the new order of polyphonic chanson that quickly emerged continued to invite their listeners to interpret their new works through the filter of existing ones.[3] Citations from the classics invested authority in the increasingly learned Latin motet while highlighting the erudition of both authors and listeners, but soon this practice also permeated the vernacular chanson. Furthermore, the pervasive citation of popular *refrains* typical of thirteenth-century lyric and narrative works may have abated but it did not disappear entirely, and repertories of songs of older vintage continued to be plundered to serve in the creation of new ones.

Tracing citations in the late Middle Ages proves richly informative about composers' attitudes to the past and to authorship; it also lends insight into the persistence of repertories and their dissemination across geographical and even social boundaries. It emphasizes, too, the importance of memory in late medieval musical practices, reminding us that orality retained a key role even as musical culture grew increasingly textualized. Study of citational practice sheds light, too, both on the compositional process and on the way poet-composers engaged with their peers and their listeners.

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3 On citation in the fourteenth-century French repertory, see in particular Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Citation in the Troubadour and Trouvère Traditions

As discussed in Chapter 13, from the early thirteenth century French romance and other literary genres regularly featured citations either of entire songs from the *trouvère* and troubadour repertory or the popular lyric tags we call *refrains*.[4] But vernacular songs themselves were susceptible to such citational impulses and they often incorporated borrowings, usually from their own songwriting tradition. The intertextualities that can be traced in the troubadour and trouvère tradition cast light on artistic communities whose members engaged with one another's work and on those authorial genealogies self-consciously created by individuals eager to align themselves with their illustrious predecessors. As one scholar has put it, a self-conscious and deliberate intertextual play was "almost a congenital tendency in the literary culture of medieval Occitania";[5] the same can be said of the trouvère tradition. This kind of direct engagement between works could range from a relatively loose modeling, where, for instance, formal elements of an existing work were replicated or a shared topos elaborated, to a more direct response in which a new work in effect "answered" another, usually by citing certain key textual or musical elements.[6]

The most straightforward manifestation of the more explicit kind is where the textual incipit of one lyric is cited in another. The incipit had been a sensitive locus for intertextual play since classical times,[7] and this practice was adopted in the medieval vernacular song repertory.[8] Famous works by illustrious authors were evoked in a variety of contexts; for instance, *cansos* by the celebrated troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn (ca. 1130–ca. 1200) were cited by their incipits in lyrics by his contemporaries

4 For clarity, I refer to these in italics and I use Refrain to indicate the recurrent formal section of songs in which they often appear. On *refrain* usage, see also Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

5 Maria L. Meneghetti, "Intertextuality and Dialogism in the Troubadours," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 181–96 at 185; Meneghetti, *Il pubblico dei trovatori: La ricezione della poesia cortese fino al XIV secolo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1992), esp. chapter 3; Jörn Gruber's pioneering study *Die Dialektik des Trobar: Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des occitanischen und französischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1983); and most recently Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

6 See Meneghetti, *Il pubblico dei trovatori*, chapter 3 and Meneghetti, "Intertextuality and Dialogism," 181–96.

7 Gian B. Conte, *Memoria dei poeti e sistema letterario: Catullo, Virgilio, Ovidio, Lucano* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974), translated as *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).

8 See Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar*, 118–42.

Peire d'Alvernha and Arnaut de Tintinhac,[9] who perhaps did this to align themselves with the idealistic "escola n'Eblo," of which Bernart was principal representative.[10]

In his *canso* "Be m'a lonc temps menat" from the late thirteenth century, Jofre de Foixà conjured up certain celebrated predecessors, including Arnaut de Mareulh, Perdrigon, Folquet de Marseilles, Gaucelm Faidit, and Pons de Chapteuil by citing the textual incipit of certain of their songs in his stanzas or *tornada*. Each quotation is seamlessly integrated within the section in question, to which it provides a natural rhetorical conclusion.[11] This evocation of familiar songs by famed troubadours of the past lends amorous authority to Jofre's song and adds a certain lustre, but implicitly it also invites the listener to place Jofre within this illustrious genealogy. In one source for the song, the manuscript presentation implies that Jofre's game was intended to be noticed, for the citations are marked off from the rest of the text by a *punctum* as if to alert the performer to emphasize the borrowing.[12] Jofre's work was likely inspired by an earlier trouvère model, "Se par mon chant me pooie alegier" (RS 1252) by Gilles de Viés Maisons, where each stanza concludes with the quotation of the textual incipit of a song by a contemporary.[13] Appearing in Gilles' hall of fame are Gace Brulé, the Chastelain de Couci, and Blondel de Nesle. Although incipit citation in the trouvère repertory was quite widespread – and the ever-popular Gace Brulé was an especially popular target for such attentions – this case is especially interesting because it reflects the activities of a specific circle of poet-composers who were apparently engaged in an exchange-debate by song; one of the songs by Gace cited by Gilles was, in fact, dedicated to him.[14]

9 Bernart's *Ab joi mou louers e.l comens* is alluded to in the opening two lines of Peire d'Alvernha's *Ab fina ioia comenssa / lo vers qui bels motz assona*, while his *En consirrer et en esmai* is the source of the incipit of Arnaut de Tintinhac's *En esmai et en consirier*. See Meneghetti, *Il pubblico dei trovatori*, 89.

10 Robert Falck and John D. Haines, "Bernart de Ventadorn," in *NG2*, vol. III: 431.

11 Jofre de Foixà, *Vers e Regles de trobar*, ed. Ettore Li Gotti, Collezione di Testi e Manuali 37 (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1952), 55.

12 See Nancy Washer, "Paraphrased and Parodied, Extracted and Inserted: The Changing Meaning of Folquet de Marseilles' 'Amors, Merce!'" *Neophilologus* 91 (2007), 565–81 at 578.

13 Istvan Frank, "La chanson *Lasso me* de Pétrarque et ses prédécesseurs," *Annales du midi*, 66 (1954), 259–68. Other sources attribute the song to Audefroi le Bastart, Jaque de Hesdin, and Jaque d'Amiens; see the edition by Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 107 (Heuhasen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1997) VIII: no. 708. RS indicates the catalog number from the Raynaud-Spanke inventory of some 2,200 songs from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1980). On this complex of lyrics see also Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, chapter 7.

14 See Frank, "La chanson *Lasso me*," 263–64. Working through the Raynaud-Spanke inventory, Samuel N. Rosenberg traced some fifty instances of shared incipits; the majority linked just two works but a handful involved three or even four songs. See his "Incipit Citation in French Lyric Poetry of the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries," in K. Busby and C. Kleinhenz, eds., *Courtly Arts and the Arts of Courtliness. Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Winsconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August* 2004 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 587–98 at 588.

Sometimes, textual borrowings are more allusive than exact, and drawn from less prominent locations in the model than the incipit. The Prince de Morée, for instance, alluded to the final two lines of the first stanza of Gace's "Quant fine amor me prie" (RS 306) at the end of his "Loiaus amour qui m'alume" (RS 672a), while Thibaut de Champagne echoed the opening two lines of its third stanza at the start of his "Tuit mi desir" (RS 741).[15] Obscure borrowings like these lend insight into the knowledge base and the sophistication of the target audiences: their listeners were evidently expected to be thoroughly familiar with the wider song repertory, past and present, and sufficiently discriminating and experienced both to recognize the source and to appreciate the subtle ways in which the poet-composer manipulated this material.

The most explicit kind of recycling of musical material in the troubadour and trouvère repertories is where the melody of an existing song is provided with a new text. Certain popular songs became particular targets of this practice: Bernart de Ventadorn's celebrated "Quan vei la lauzeta mover," for instance, inspired a range of contrafacta in Latin, German, French, and Provençal. In making such adaptations, composers were not necessarily guilty of plagiarism. Rather, they anticipated their audience's identification of the source and exploited this shared knowledge to invest their new works with resonances that would be apprehended and enjoyed by the listener. Where knowledge of the source could be assumed, the intention was for the newly composed work to be cross-read against the original. The authority of secular love songs was often exploited in this way for religious purposes. The melody of Gace Brulé's "De bone amour et de leaul amie" was used for songs in praise of the Virgin by Thibaut de Navarre, Gautier de Coinci, Jaque de Cambrai, and Rudolf von Fenis – the latter setting a Marian text in German to this tune.[16] Gautier de Coinci was especially alert to the potential of using secular songs for spiritual and didactic purposes. In his *Miracles de Notre Dame*, he explains how he will instruct his audience on the virtue of serving the Virgin but in a manner intelligible even for those who do not speak Latin. He evoked vernacular sources familiar to his lay readers – courtly romance and secular songs of high and low styles – to argue that profane love is best redirected to spiritual love of the Virgin.[17] He even drew on the popular style of dance song to hook his lay readers, in one case transforming a high style *grand chant* by Blondel de Nesle into a jaunty Refrain-song by introducing a familiar *refrain*

15 Ibid.
16 Rosenberg, "Incipit Citation," 594. For an edition of the model and the various contrafacta, see Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, VII: no. 637.
17 Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 111.

after each of its stanzas (Example 38.1 presents the first stanza).[18] These borrowed *refrains* evoke other literary contexts from the world of secular vernacular literature, notably Jehan Renart's popular *Roman de la rose*. The opening line of Gautier's "Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee," also summons up the world of courtly song, for it echoes the textual incipits of several other chansons.[19]

Citation in Refrain-Songs and Motets, ca. 1300–ca.1320

It may well have been Refrain-songs of this kind that Johannes de Grocheio had in mind when he refers to *cantilena entata* ("grafted songs") or *cantus insertus* ("inserted songs") in his discussion of musical practice in Paris ca. 1300,[20] for, although present in many different kinds of *trouvère* song, citations are especially prevalent in this genre. Indeed, the principle of quotation may have been intrinsic to their make-up, since many have been found to host borrowings in their Refrain sections.[21] The ubiquitous *refrains* cited across French literary and musical genres in the thirteenth century were long thought to derive from the Refrain-sections of existing *rondets*, but it is now considered more likely that these lyric tags were autonomous entities that generated these and other types of song.[22]

In the *chanson avec des refrains* new stanzas were grafted onto a series of existing *refrains*, which often contrast with their corresponding stanza and with one another in terms of meter, line length, and rhyme.[23] An example of the *chanson avec des refrains* is "An espoir d'avoir aïe" (RS 1099), which is uniquely transmitted in the important but unfortunately un-notated songbook from ca. 1310 that is transmitted in manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308 (*GB-Ob* Douce 308; hereafter, the Douce chansonnier). A different *refrain* rounds off each of the three stanzas; the first of these, "En ma dame ai mis mon cuer et mon panceir," evidently enjoyed an itinerant career, for it is also found in another *chanson avec des refrains* (by Jacquemin de

18 Ibid., 109–11. 19 Compare the incipits of RS 515, 517–19, and 521–23.

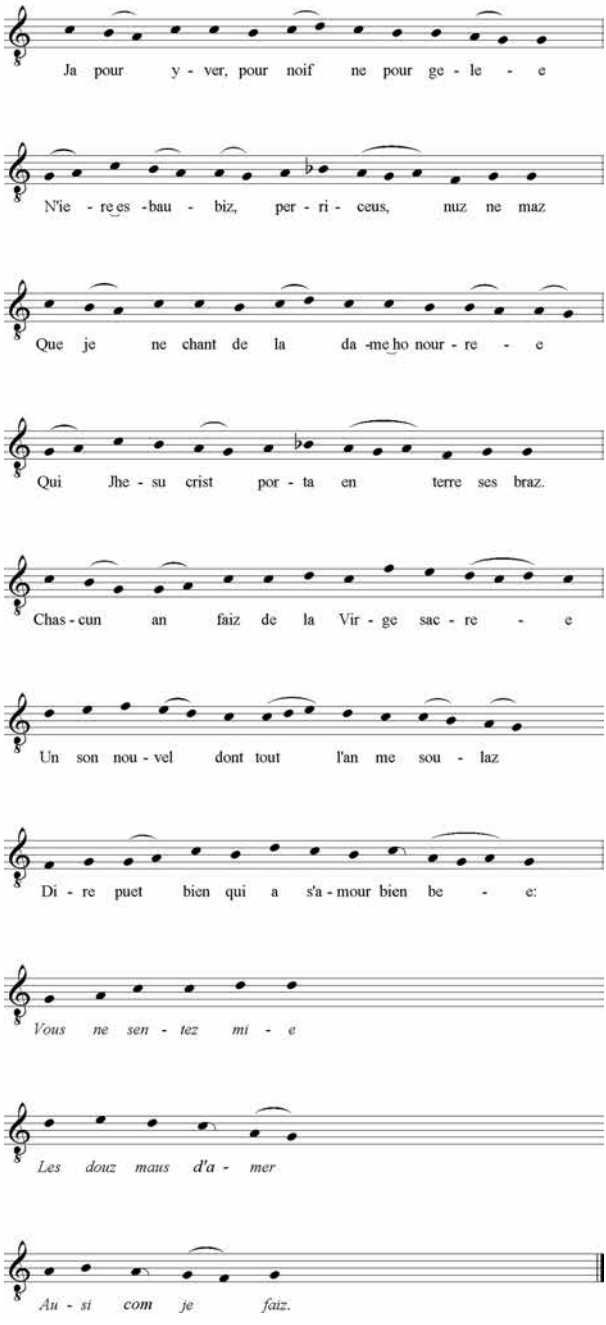
20 Christopher Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993), 17–41 at 27 and n. 41.

21 For a fuller discussion of this, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song* chapter 1.

22 See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 43–45; J. Stevens, "Medieval Song," in *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II: *The Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford University Press, 1992), 399; Jennifer Saltzstein, "Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority, and Origins," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010), 245–79; and Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), chapter 1.

23 The various *refrains* can also differ from one another structurally, including in their choice of final; see Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 93.

Example 38.1 Gautier de Coinci, "Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee," RS 520 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 24541, fol. 117v)



la Vente), in a *rondet*, and in three motets,[24] where it is set to the same melody. Example 37.3 presents one of these motets, "La bele m'ocit / In seculum" from the manuscript Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine H 196 (*F-MOf* H 196; hereafter the Montpellier Codex); the *refrain* is integrated at mm. 69–74 of the motetus part. It is impossible to determine in which, if any, of these contexts the *refrain* originated; in *Ballette* 134, the material is cued as if it were a song, a common signal for citations, and the motetus of "La bele m'ocit / In seculum" is made up entirely of citations and is thus also unlikely to have been the source.

"Or la truix trop durete" (RS 977), also from the Douce chansonnier, provides an example of the more common type of Refrain-song known as the *chanson à refrain*. Its single Refrain, sung at the opening then after each of the three stanzas, appears in another song from the same songbook ("Haute pence me done" (RS 1905), a *chanson avec des refrains*) and in the incipit of the tenor of the motet "Toute vois m'a amours assail / Trop ai grieté pour cheli / Je la truis trop asprete" (also from the Montpellier Codex).[25] Since the melody of the latter fits the stanzaic structure of "Or la truix trop durete," it is assumed it cites the now-lost music of the Refrain-song. Example 38.2 presents a reconstruction where the tenor melody is set to the first stanza of the song.[26] This particular Refrain-song apparently had a rondeau-like form; the recurrence of the music of the Refrain within the stanzas reinforces the impression that it is a borrowing, and that this material generated both text and music of the new song.[27]

Although citational impulses prevailed in all manner of monophonic songs, it is especially with the polyphonic motet that we have tended to associate the practice of grafting new material upon old.[28] In the French motet, vernacular lyrics sung in the upper voices typically relate to the theme of the chant fragment presented in the tenor. Although, as Grocheio emphasized, motets emanated from clerical milieus, these works often incorporate idioms from the secular song tradition. A *refrain* might be

24 For full details of these other contexts and their sources, and an edition and translation of *ballette* 134, see Eglal Doss-Quinby, Samuel N. Rosenberg, and Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Old French Ballette. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 386–87.

25 For an exploration of the citational links between the Douce *ballettes* and the Montepellier codex, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapter 1.

26 This reconstruction follows Doss-Quinby et al., *The Old French Ballette*, 114.

27 Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, pp. 30–32. Examples 38.2, 38.5a, and 38.6 are reproduced from that monograph (where they form examples 1.1, 3.5, and 4.2, respectively) by permission of Oxford University Press (https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-art-of-grafted-song-9780199915088?cc=gb&lang=en&).

28 On the use of the metaphor of grafting (*enter*) in connection with citational practice in thirteenth-century sources, see Butterfield, "'Enté': A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 67–101.

Example 38.2 Reconstruction of "Je la truis trop asprete," tenor of motet no. 295 from the "Montpellier Codex," Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine [Mo], fol. 338r–v



spliced across the opening and close of one of the upper voices, and others integrated in the body of either vocal part. Such works are generally known as *motets entés* (see Chapter 31).[29] *Refrain* citation was sometimes taken to extremes, as in the case of "La bele m'ocit / In seculum," the motetus of which is a patchwork of *refrains*; the chant fragment cited in the tenor, a popular one with motet composers, is repeated three times but with its rhythms modified in order to accommodate the varying rhythmic modes,

29 Mark Everist, in *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), has drawn attention to the use of the term *motet enté* to designate a collection of monophonic melodies with extensive musical repetition. However, see Butterfield's response in "*Enté*," 99.

phrase lengths and melodic profiles of these cited *refrains* (see Example 38.3).[30]

Other motets reflect their composers' penchant for popular songs in a different way. As highlighted in Chapter 29, some motets feature rondeau-like structures. In certain works, the motetus parts are in rondeau form and the supporting plainsong tenors are modified structurally to fit with their repetitive patterns (see Chapter 29, Example 29.6).[31] Since we lack secondary witnesses, we cannot assume these were wholesale citations of pre-existing songs, although the part corresponding to the implied Refrain-section in the motetus of "C'est la jus en la roi / Pro patribus" recurs in various *rondets*, motets, and even a clausula, each time with more or less identical music.[32] In some twenty-six motets, the tenor is in the form of a rondeau, as in "Au cuer un mal / Ja ne m'en repentirai / Jolietement" (see Chapter 29, Example 29.7, and the bibliography cited there).

Some independent polyphonic settings of rondeaux survive from a similar time. These small-scale works are presented in score notation in the manuscript sources, and are characterized by their note-against-note texture and syllabic setting of the text. In a very small number, the middle voice survives independently as a monophonic song, suggesting composers took existing melodies as the starting point for their polyphonic settings.[33] Jehannot de Lescurel's "A vous douce debonaire" is one such case (see Example 38.4). It appears to striking visual effect at the start of his collection of otherwise entirely monophonic songs in the celebrated *Fauvel* manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 (*F-Pn* fr. 146).[34] In the neighboring column on the manuscript page appears a monophonic version, which matches the middle voice. Small changes were apparently made to the melody to adapt it to its new polyphonic context.[35] The original melody is thus shaped by the new harmonic context into which it is absorbed: perfect consonances (octaves and fifths) underscore the points of arrival and departure in the phrases, while imperfect sonorities (thirds) weaken the sense of repose

30 Everist, *French Motets*, 121 and Everist, "The Refrain Cento: Myth or Motet?" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114 (1989), 164–88. On *refrain* centos in another motet, see also Beverly Evans, "The Textual Function of a Refrain Cento in a Thirteenth-Century French Motet," *Music & Letters* 71 (1990), 187–97.

31 Everist, *French Motets*, 91.

32 See Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music & Letters* 69 (1988), 1–22 at 14–16.

33 As Everist points out, we cannot preclude that the monophonic versions were rather extracted from existing polyphonic rondeaux; see his "The Polyphonic 'Rondeau' c. 1300: Repertory and Context," *Early Music History* 15 (1996), 59–96 at 91 and the discussion of this song (with a rhythmically different transcription) in chapter 29, 943–45.

34 On citation in Lescurel's works and in vernacular works from the *Fauvel* manuscript, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

35 For instance, the ornamental rhythm at the very opening is eliminated.

Example 38.3 "La bele m'ocit / In seculum," motet no. 178 from the "Montpellier Codex," *F-MOf* H 196 [Mo], fol. 231v



Example 38.3 (cont.)



at internal cadences. Although the overall texture aligns the song with other early polyphonic rondeaux, for some scholars the high incidence of imperfect sonorities coupled with the more melismatic style of text declamation point forward to the Ars Nova chanson.

Lescurel's other Refrain-songs and his two *dits entés* testify to his taste for citational play. Several of the *refrains* he cites recur in the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* suggesting that he was active within the same orbit of the French royal court in the 1310s. The interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* itself is nothing short of a citational tour de force. Its musical interpolations present a dazzling array of older and more recent works that reflects the diversity of styles and genres familiar to the court circles for which it was compiled. Amongst its many sacred and secular, Latin- and French-texted musical items – which include plainchant, conductus, motets, vernacular songs of various kinds, and semi-lyric hybrids – we find plentiful evidence that citation remained engrained in compositional thinking at the dawn of the Ars Nova. The various monophonic Refrain-songs that appear there may well have been composed around existing *refrains* like those of the Douce chansonnier

Example 38.4 Lescurel "A vous douce debonaire," *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 57r



discussed above; indeed, the Refrains of two of the *Fauvel* ballades recur in Lescurel's *dits entés*.[36] The interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* also features polyphonic items where new texts were supplied to existing musical settings and monophonic ones built on musical material extracted from polyphonic works.[37] The innovative semi-lyric "Han Diex! Ou pourrai je trouver" was

36 For an edition of the monophonic works from *Fauvel*, see Samuel Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, eds. *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).
37 See Alice Clark, "The Flowering of Charnalité and the Marriage of Fauvel," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and

constructed by fragmenting the motetus of a recent polyphonic motet and grafting new text upon each of the resulting fragments. The initial fragment also generated another work, a *sotte chanson*, in which the sung citation is spliced across the beginning and end of a stanza of nonsense poetry.

Such citational recurrences within *Fauvel* were likely motivated by the compilers' desire to stimulate the audience's recollection of a previously heard element to shape their interpretation of a particular moment in the story. In another instance, the music of a courtly rondeau, "A touz jours sanz remanoir," first heard at the end of Fauvel's initial declaration of love to Fortune, recurs with new, satirical words: the contrafact *Fauvel est mal assegné* no longer sings of a lover's desire to serve his lady but of how the corrupt equine protagonist Fauvel is poorly placed to realize his wicked ambitions. In a further rondeau, "Porchier miex estre ameroie," the singer states he would rather be a swineherd than groom Fauvel. This is a clear allusion to *Kalila et Dimna*, a collection of Oriental animal fables presenting counsel on good government that had recently been translated into Latin for King Philippe IV of France. The title story of the cited work resonates strikingly with the political allegory of the *Roman de Fauvel*, which is understood to be an allegory on the rise and fall of Philippe IV's chancellor, Enguerrand de Marigny.[38] The rondeau "Porchier miex estre ameroie" in turn recurs as the tenor of a motet that features later in the tale, "Maria virgo / Celi domina / Porchier." The Latin upper parts of this motet were adapted from a well-known thirteenth-century motet, "Celi domina / Ave virgo virginum / Et super." In its new guise, the triplum beseeches the Virgin and her Son to rid the world of the wicked Fauvel and his currycomb and followers, thus chiming with the message of the tenor.[39]

In the motet just mentioned, the rondeau structure of the tenor is in part mirrored in the upper voices. Three further French motets in the *Roman de Fauvel* similarly experiment at the boundary of motet and Refrain-song. "Je voi douleur avenir / Fauvel nous a fait present / Autant m'est si poise" combines in its upper parts two newly composed rondeaux, while another, "La mesnie fauveline / J'ai fait nouveletement amie / Grand despit ai je," cites in its motetus the Refrain ("J'ai fait nouveletement / Amie") of an existing rondeau (which survives as the tenor of a motet from the Montpellier

Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 175–96, and Butterfield, "The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in Fauvel," ibid., 105–60.

38 Nancy Regalado, "Swineherds at Court: *Kalia et Dimna*, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, Machaut's *Confort d'ami* and *Complainte*, and Boccaccio's *Decameron*," in "*Chançon legiere a chanter*": *Essays on Old French Literature in Honour of Samuel N. Rosenberg*, ed. K. Fresco and W. Pfeffer (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 2007), 235–54 at 237–41.

39 See Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Regalado, *Le roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds français 146* (New York: Broude, 1990), 27.

Example 38.5a "Quant je le voi / Bon vin doit / Cis chans veult boire" (*Roman de Fauvel*, *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 45)



Example 38.5b "Ci mi faut un tour de vin" (*Roman de Fauvel*, *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 45)



Codex).[40] The very final polyphonic item in the *Roman de Fauvel*, "Quant je le voi / Bon vin doit / Cis chans veult boire," a generic hybrid between motet and song (see Example 38.5a), was built on a French tenor inspired by a *refrain* with music, "Ci me faut un tour de vin / Dex! Guar le me donnez" (see Example 38.5b). The compilers of the manuscript were clearly keen to flag

40 "Au tans nouvel / Chele m'a tollus ma joie / J'ai fait nouveletement."

the intertextualities they wanted to resonate in their readers' minds because they presented this *refrain* alongside the motet. They surely intended for the *refrain* to ring some associative bells: it appears, too, with a very similar melody, at the end of the motetus of another motet from the Montpellier codex, "Ce que je tieng / Certes mout est bone vie / Bon compaignie / Manere," which is also on the theme of drinking.

The humorous and satirical forms of citational play in these vernacular items contrast with the more serious approach found in certain avant-garde Latin motets that also appear in *Fauvel*. Those topical works associated with Philippe de Vitry and his circle reflect the teachings of Ars Nova and have especially preoccupied musicologists on account of their advanced notational and stylistic features. The erudition of their creators is displayed not only in the music but also in the texts, where quotations from the classics lend authority to the moralizing and satirical pronouncements presented therein.[41]

Citation in the Works of Machaut and His Peers

When precisely the Ars Nova polyphonic chanson crystallized into its classic form remains a mystery. The poetic *formes fixes* settled into their modern guise in the 1330s. Some scholars have dated Machaut's first polyphonic settings to ca. 1340 on the basis of the apparent quotation in his ballade with music "On ne porroit penser" (B3) of a ballade without music from Jehan de Le Mote's *Li Regret Guillaume* that dates from 1339. Further intertextualities link Machaut's musical ballades 4 and 6, and several of his early ballades without music, with other lyrics from the same source. Le Mote was highly regarded as a musician in his day although no attributed musical works survive. We cannot be certain about the direction of the citation in the above cases but Machaut apparently drew on another of Le Mote's *Regret* ballades in a *chanson royale* that he wrote years later. The two authors probably had an ongoing, two-way citational exchange.[42]

Such literary – and potentially musical – locking of horns evokes the lyric competitions or *puys* that formed part of the cultural and devotional activities

41 See, amongst others, Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* and Its Quotations," in *Hearing the Motet. Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford University Press, 1997), 82–103; Wathey, "Myths and Mythography in the Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *Musica e storia* 6 (1998), 81–106; the Introduction by Bent and Wathey in Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*; and the essays by Wathey and Holford-Strevens in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005).
42 These cases, together with Le Mote's own citational practices, are discussed in detail in Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapter 6.

of urban confraternities in this period. It seems conceivable that Machaut crossed poetic swords with Le Mote at the goldsmiths' *puy* in Paris in 1340, when Le Mote was in the service of Simon de Lille, the royal goldsmith. The goldsmiths' confraternity held stage plays as well as poetic competitions at their annual meetings; most of the forty annual *Miracles de Nostre Dame sans Personnages* that survive from the period 1338 and 1382 include religious rondeaux that were apparently sung to polyphonic settings in the Ars Nova style.[43] Their lyrics were newly composed but certain of them (from the plays dated 1351 and 1362) were modeled on lyrics from Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *Prise amoureuse* of 1332.[44] Acart's songs were transmitted without notation though spaces were left in one source for musical settings. It seems likely that more of the goldsmiths' rondeaux were based on secular models in this way and we might suppose that the music as well as the text was cited in some cases.

Certainly, musical as well as textual citation remained popular in song-writing in the mid- to late fourteenth century, as is amply demonstrated by Machaut's output. His song texts and "fixed-form" lyrics without music perpetuate earlier practices by citing traditional commonplaces like proverbs and even *refrains* already in circulation decades before. His ballade without music "On ne puet riens savoir" from his *Loange des Dames* (Lo) 192 has as its Refrain *De legier croire encontre son ami*, which was inspired by the proverb *Legier croire fait decevoir*.[45] The Refrain of his ballade with music "Donnez signeurs" (B26) is *Et terre aussi qu'est despendre / Vaut trop miex que terre perdu*, which alludes to the proverb *Mieus vaut terre gastee que terre perdue*.[46] Machaut's citation of the textual *refrain Puisqu'il vous plaist, forment m'agrée* testifies to the persistence of an older lyric repertory in the literary and musical imagination of the author and his target audience. Machaut cited this phrase repeatedly across different genres: it occurs in his long poem, *Le Livre dou Voir dit* (where it is spoken by one of the protagonists),[47] as the Refrain of his ballade without music *Douce dame, vous ociez a tort* (Lo 73), and in that of his virelai with music "Se ma dame m'a guerpy" (V6), where, unusually, it also appears at the end of the stanzas.[48] This *refrain* was of long standing, for

43 See Nigel Wilkins, "Music in the Fourteenth-Century 'Miracles de Nostre Dame,'" *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1978), 39–75.

44 Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 184–90.

45 Indexed in James Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*, Subsidia Mediaevalia 12 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982), C347.

46 Indexed in Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1925), 47; no. 1291.

47 See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and R. Barton Palmer, eds. *Guillaume de Machaut, Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem)* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), l. 8491.

48 This unusual use of a recurrent line at the end of the stanzas is also found in Machaut's virelai 9, suggesting the line in question there may also be a citation.

it appears (with a different melody) in the tenors of two thirteenth-century motets from the Montpellier codex (nos. 309 and 321) and as one of the Refrains of a *pastourelle* from the Douce chansonnier (RS 1256).[49]

These instances may simply testify to the continuation of the tradition of *refrain* citation rather than represent examples of the more targeted citation of specific musical works. Three of Machaut's ballades without music, *Or voy je bien* (Lo 12), *Nulle dolour ne se puet comparer* (Lo 119), and *Emmi! dolens, chetis* (Lo 149), share as their Refrain "Puisqu'il m'estuet de ma dame partir," which matches the incipit of an anonymous thirteenth-century chanson (RS 1441). This, too, may have been an independently circulating *refrain*, for Watriquet de Couvin, an older contemporary of Machaut active at the French royal court in the 1320s, also cited it at the start of one of his citational nonsense poems (*fastras*) from ca. 1330.[50] Yet Machaut was clearly familiar with the older song tradition of the trouvères. The Refrain of his ballades without music *Dame, pour Dieu ne metez en oubli* (Lo 144) and *Si me merveil comment vos cuers l'endure* evokes the final line of "Tant ne me sai dementer ne conplaindre" (RS 127), a *grand chant* attributed to his celebrated predecessor the Chatelain de Couci: "Si me merveil con vostre cuers l'endure." Machaut's French-texted motets, too, reflect the poet-composer's familiarity with the songs of Thibaut de Navarre and other trouvères.[51] The Refrain of his ballade without music *Pluseurs se sent repenti* (Lo 109), *Et qui ne se vuet brusler / Si se traie ensus*, was earlier used by Adam de la Halle in the second stanza of his chanson "Puisque je sui de l'amourouse loi" but the proverbial nature of these lines may weaken any claim that this was a direct citation.

Machaut's familiarity with Refrain-songs from the previous generation is confirmed in the tenor of his Motet 16, "Lasse! / Se j'aim / Pour quoy me bat mes maris," which finds a textual match in a *pastourelle* from the Douce chansonnier (RS 1564). Moreover, the Refrain of his ballade with music, "Pour ce que tous mes chans" (B12) echoes the incipit of another Refrain-song from the same source, "Se je chant mains que ne sueil" (RS 1000) in which the narrator states that he should not be blamed for refraining from singing. As I discuss elsewhere, the long rhythmic durations of Machaut's Refrain contrast with the style of the rest of his song and flag this as a musical

49 See the discussion in Jacques Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets," *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86 at 14, and most recently, Boogaart, "*Folie couvient avoir*. Citation and Transformation in Machaut's Musical Works: Gender Change and Transgression," in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory 1*, ed. Plumley, Di Bacco, and Jossa, 16–17.

50 On Watriquet's *fatras* as citational forms and the role of music therein, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapter 4.

51 See Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present."

as well as textual citation (see also Chapter 30). [52] An anonymous *chace*, dating, perhaps, from the 1330s, cites this same text and music (though the music is slightly ornamented) at its opening but it also cites the second line from the model at its close;[53] like Machaut's Refrain melody, these musical phrases feature long durations commensurate with an older style.[54] Machaut may well have written his B12 for French royal circles, which he frequented regularly between the 1320s and 40s with his patron Jehan, King of Bohemia; the Douce chansonnier song repertory and this *chace* would have been familiar to this milieu.[55] Machaut may have evoked the *chace* to introduce an ironic subtext to his supposedly sorrowful song, for there the poet-narrator falls silent not because of his lady's disdain but because he prefers to go hunting.[56] Machaut's familiarity with the Refrain-songs of the Douce chansonnier is further suggested in his ballade "Esperance qui m'asseüre" (B13), the Refrain of which (*Car j'ain dame*, *s'atant merci*) corresponds to that of a rondeau from the same songbook.

An anonymous two-voice virelai, "Prenés l'arbre Peyronelle," testifies further to the continued circulation of certain thirteenth-century *refrains* in the Ars Nova. Its tenor was recently identified as the well-known *refrain*, "Hé! Reveille-toi Robin," which features in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and also as one of the Refrains of a *chanson avec des refrains* by Huitace de Fontaines, and as the tenor of a motet in the Montpellier codex.[57] The tenor of a mid-fourteenth-century motet "Deus creator / Rex genitor / Doucement me reconforte," which survives uniquely in the English fragment Oxford, Bodleian Library (*GB-Ob*), mus. E. 7, cites a French monophonic song that was surely popular in French royal circles ca. 1330 since it also appears in one of

52 Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 299–305.

53 David Maw, "Review Article: Machaut and the 'Critical' Phase of Medieval Polyphony," *Music & Letters* 87 (2006), 262–94 at 290–91.

54 Gilbert Reaney suggested in "The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais of Machaut: Melody, Rhythm and Form," *Acta Musicologica* 27 (1955), 40–58 at 52 that both Machaut's ballade and the *chace* cite the Douce song.

55 Karl Kügle has argued persuasively in *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony*, Musicological Studies 69 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 159–62, that "Se je chans" was composed by Denis le Grant (d. 1352), master of the French royal chapel.

56 Plumley, "Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson," *Music & Letters* 84 (2003), 355–77 at 363 and Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 304. See also Günther, "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars subtilior," *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972), 55–68,; Kügle, *The Manuscript Ivrea*, 159–62; Anne Stone, "Music Writing and Poetic Voice in Machaut," in *Machaut's Music* 111–24.

57 See Saltzstein, "Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. History of a Citation," in *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Late Medieval France*, ed. R. Dixon, F. E. Sinclair, et al. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 173–86.

Watriquet de Couvin's *fastras*. Watriquet built another of his *fastras* around a borrowed couplet that finds a musical match in an unusual late fourteenth-century polyphonic chanson found in some fragments of a French rotulus now in Poland (Wrocław, Biblioteka Universytecka (Ak1955 / KN195, k. 1 & 2), which were used to bind a fifteenth-century manuscript from the Augustian cloister in Żagań in Poland (see Example 38.6).[58]

As we have seen, tracing citational practices in Ars Nova motets and chansons lends insights into the popularity and dissemination of lyric material. As well as the light it sheds on the longevity of repertories, it also informs us about the standing of individual authors. We saw above how Machaut and Le Mote engaged in citational exchanges in their lyrics. An anonymous motet, "Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneü / Tristis est anima mea," cites the textual incipits and Refrains of several ballades from *Li Regret Guillaume*, Le Mote's lament for his dead patron, Guillaume I of Hainaut. As I discuss elsewhere, the motet also cites all three voice-parts of the first and last (Refrain) phrase of an extant anonymous polyphonic ballade, *Ne celle amour*. This invites us to consider whether "Ne celle amour" is an unidentified musical work by Le Mote and whether the other ballades by Le Mote cited in this motet originally carried music. The multiple references to Le Mote's lyrics might lead us to conclude that the motet was written in homage to this author. However, in a treatise from Poland (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp/ IV Q 16) it is referred to as *Monachant de morte wilhelmi*, suggesting it was known for its political associations with the dead ruler of Hainaut; perhaps it was written by Le Mote himself or a fellow composer who shared his affiliation with the court of Hainaut.[59]

Around 1350, Le Mote locked horns with two other musicians, the great Philippe de Vitry and a certain Jehan Campion, in a vituperative citational exchange that apparently had political motivations, for Le Mote is criticized there for "defecting" to the royal court in England. However, he is also rebuked for his sloppy citation of the classics. The six French poetic ballades that make up the series take on the mantle of erudition usually associated with the Latin motet, for they are replete with classical allusions, but they also cite one another. This series may have been the catalyst for a new trend in song-writing that involved classical citation and the creation of intertextual sequences, two elements that became especially popular in the later

58 See Charles Brewer, "A Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Manuscript Rediscovered," *Studia Musicologica* 24 (1982), 9–11 and Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapter 4.

59 For a detailed analysis of this case and on Le Mote's own citational practice, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapter 6.

Example 38.6 "Amis loial vous ay trouvé," Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ak1955 / KN195 (k. 1 & 2)



Example 38.6 (cont.)



fourteenth century. Both tendencies are reflected in Machaut's musical ballade from the 1360s, "Quant Theseus / Ne quier veoir" (B34). In this song he set to music a pair of ballade texts that share their Refrain, one by a certain Thomas Paien, the other written by himself in response. Machaut sought to outdo his rival by the extravagance of his citations of classical and other sources, and, especially, by the originality of his musical setting.[60]

Citation in the Ars Subtilior

This kind of one-upmanship through citation and intertextual play intensified further in the next generation of songwriters. Certain composers paraded their erudition by citing in their lyrics heroes from the classics and from romance. Sometimes, these figures are presented as comparators to a dedicatee-patron, who is often not named directly. The lyric text of "Se Galaas" by Cuvelier from the celebrated manuscript Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly 564 (*F-CH* 564, hereafter the Chantilly Codex), offers an example (see Example 30.6).[61] There, the initial letter of the name of each cited historical or fictional 'celebrity' spells out that of the patron, Gaston (III, "Fébus," Count of Foix-Béarn); later in the

60 On the Le Mote-Vitry-Campion and Machaut-Paien exchanges, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chapters 7 and 10, respectively.

61 For a full color facsimile of the Chantilly codex and accompanying study of the source and its contents, see Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, 564: Introduction and Facsimile* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

text, the reader-listener is told that the dedicatee's identity is revealed by the "red letters," suggesting these initials were written in red ink in the original copy. The patron is further identified in the Refrain through the citation of his warlike motto, *Febus avant.* This song was surely written as one of a citational pair of ballades: "Se July Cesar" by Trebor, also transmitted in the Chantilly codex, cites the motto in the same position and similarly compares the otherwise unnamed patron to various heroes, including some that are mentioned in "Se Galaas."[62] Not only is the listener invited to compare the patron with these various heroes, but, implicitly, too, to compare the qualities of the two songs.

I have proposed elsewhere that these two songs belong to an intertextual network written in connection with the 1389 wedding of French prince Jehan de Berry and Jehanne de Boulogne, protégée of Gaston Fébus.[63] Another two songs from that complex, likewise from the Chantilly codex, are also linked by shared textual material. Trebor's "Quant joyne cuer" and the anonymous "Le mont Aon" subtly praise Gaston and Jehan, respectively, for their prowess and understanding of music; Gaston is again evoked by his sobriquet "Febus," and Jehan by the citation of the heraldry of the county of Auvergne, which territory he acquired through the marriage. Two further songs, Trebor's "Passerose de beauté" and Egidius' "Roses et lis," allude to the Song of Songs to speak of the marriage. The connection with Jehan de Berry is made not verbally but through a shared musical citation from an earlier anonymous ballade, "En mon cuer est un blanc cine pourtrait"; that song implicitly names the prince by citing his heraldic device of the wounded swan. This spiral of citations goes further still, leading us back to a poet-composer well-known to Jehan de Berry: "En mon cuer" alludes in its music to an idiosyncratic motif that echoes through various of Machaut's ballades from the early 1360s (B32, 33, and 36) (see Example 38.7).

In this essay, I have suggested that authors used citation and allusion as a means of honoring not only princely patrons but also fellow poet-composers. It is no surprise to find that Machaut was the subject of many such acts of homage. The anonymous rondeau "Esperance en qui mon cuer s'embat," doubtless written during Machaut's lifetime, alludes to the textual incipit of his *baladelle* "En amer a douce vie" from the *Remede de Fortune*. "En amer" was clearly celebrated far and wide, for its incipit was also cited on a late

62 The use of citation to promote princely power is traced in lyrics with and without music from the late fourteenth century in Plumley, "Citation, allusion et portrait du prince: peinture, parole, et musique," in *Froissart à la cour de Béarn*, ed. V. Fasseur (Turnhout, Brepols, 2008), 321–37.

63 Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? *Ars subtilior* and the Patronage of French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 103–68.

Example 38.7 The opening of Machaut's "Nes qu'on porroit" (B33) and Anon., "En mon cuer est un blanc cine pourtrait" compared



fourteenth-century ring found at Dordrecht in Holland.[64] The popularity and dissemination of the "Esperance" rondeau in turn is attested to by the plethora of sources that transmit it, from the Low Countries, England, and Italy.[65] Its fame is confirmed by the many songs that cite it. This includes another trio of interrelated Ars subtilior ballades from the Chantilly codex, each beginning "En attendant," which united Jacob de Senleches, Philipoctus de Caserta, and Galiot in another competitive, citational tour de force.[66]

For late medieval poet-composers, citation and allusion represented a powerful means for authors to align themselves with illustrious predecessors; as we have seen, this tradition stretched back to the age of the troubadours and trouvères. Machaut's renown evidently spread south of the Alps, for sometime around 1400 Matteo da Perugia cited the opening text and music of Machaut's song "De Fortune" in one of his own French songs, "Se je me plaing de Fortune." In so doing, he perhaps sought to parade not only his familiarity with this famous representative of French song but also his own

64 On the cult of *Esperance* and the reception of the *Remede de Fortune* and its manifestation in material culture, see my forthcoming essay with Remco Sleiderink.
65 On recently discovered sources for the *Esperance* rondeau, see Michael Scott Cuthbert, "*Esperance* and the French Song in Foreign Sources," *Studi musicali* 36 (2007), 3–20.
66 See Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars Nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs," *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 287–363.

Example 38.8 The opening of Matteo da Perugia's "Se je me plaing" and its citation of Machaut's "De Fortune" (B23)



skill in composing in the French style. Matteo might have been making a more subtle point, too, about the art of citation itself and his own aptitude in playing this game, for "De Fortune" – penned by a well-known author who himself regularly engaged in citation – was quoted by various other song-writers. Perhaps Matteo was inviting comparison of his citational skills with those of the French master and his imitators: his own appropriation of the material is subtle, for rather than present it in the incipit or Refrain of this song – the classic locations for quotations – he introduces it seamlessly into the body of the first musical section of his ballade.[67]

67 See Günther, "Zitate," 55–68; Plumley, "Intertextuality," 365–69; and Stone, "Machaut Sighted in Modena," in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory*, *1*, ed. Plumley, Di Bacco, and Jossa.

Johannes Ciconia might have been seeking to make a similar statement in his virelai "Sus un' fontayne." He cites there the musical and textual incipits of three songs by his older contemporary Philipoctus da Caserta, grafting these quotations into a musical landscape that imitates the complex style of his peer.[68] Ciconia was perhaps tipping his hat to an admired contemporary while competing with him in the art of citation. But he might also have been looking beyond his peer, to an earlier, illustrious master of citation: for each of the songs by Philipoctus he cites leads back to the great Guillaume de Machaut.

In the cases discussed above, it is clear that we are dealing with a very literate tradition. But even musicians with little or no notational skill were eager to cite from Ars Nova songs. The early fifteenth-century Tyrolean composer Oswald von Wolkenstein apparently encountered certain famous French songs at the Council of Constance or during his frequent visits to various courts and adapted these in orally conceived songs of his own. For instance, in "Frölich, zärtlich," the tenor of the model, the rondeau "En tes doulz flan," became the main melody of his new work and he added a new and memorable text in German and, perhaps at a later point, some accompanying parts. It is thought that with the help of a music scribe who had access to copies of the model, he later arranged to have his song written down; although he was not literate, the milieu for which he was composing clearly valued written texts and he himself was concerned not to be forgotten.[69]

*

Citational practices were by no means limited to the vernacular and secular repertories that have been the focus of this essay. The use of existing plainchants as the foundation of newly composed liturgical and sacred works was, of course, a long established tradition, and one that extended forward into the centuries that followed; in the fifteenth century, there burgeoned a fashion for linking Mass movements through the citation of an existing melody, which could have secular origins as in the case of the famous "L'homme armé" Masses by Du Fay and others.[70] Musical and textual borrowing was clearly

68 See Günther, "Zitate"; Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131–68; and Stone, "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song: Four Case Studies," in *Johannes Ciconia* 169–94.

69 See Busse Berger, "Quotation in Medieval Music," in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, II, ed. G. Di Bacco and Y. Plumley.

70 See Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). Compositional *imitatio* and *emulatio* in the Renaissance has been much debated in recent years; for a discussion and relevant bibliography, see, inter alia, Honey Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?" *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994), 152–78 and John Milsom, "*Imitatio*, 'Intertextuality', and Early Music," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 141–51.

endemic in the compositional thinking of the age. Yet tracing citations and allusions in the repertory of French motets and songs of the later Middle Ages proves richly informative on a number of counts. It sheds valuable light on compositional processes, on how composers drew on existing material to forge new works, and how some cited materials freely migrated across works of different genres and registers. It also informs us about the dissemination and reception of individual works and how these traveled across geographical boundaries and across time. As certain of the cases reviewed here have illustrated, older repertories persisted in the musical memory of the fourteenth century far longer than generally assumed. And even as musical style grew increasingly complex, it seems orality still played a part in the transmission of musical material.[71] Above all, study of citational practice in the late medieval French motet and chanson informs us about composers' respect for authority and the past and how they sought to situate themselves within authorial genealogies and in relation to their peers: intertextual play turned medieval lyric into a social space within which poet-composers from court, church, and town could engage and compete with one another.

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71 Berger refers to this as "secondary orality" in her "Quotation in Medieval Music," *passim*.

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· 39 ·

"Medieval Music" or "Early European Music"?

REINHARD STROHM*

Whoever proposes a critique of the notion of the "Middle Ages" is usually applauded or at least tolerated, but also immediately reminded that "we could not possibly do without the concept." I respect this argument – although I often wonder what a critique is meant to achieve if we are apparently not free to draw any consequences from it. When Don Quixote tilted at windmills, believing them to be harmful giants, this was a futile action in one of two ways: either such a battle against imaginary opponents was *impossible* and perhaps foolish from the start; or he undertook a valiant, even relatively successful joust (for example by actually disabling a windmill) – but one that made *no sense*, because it only damaged something useful. If I had to opt which of the two Don Quixotean actions I preferred to imitate, I would choose the first one – on condition, of course, that I was persuaded that the concept of the "Middle Ages" was a harmful giant rather than a useful windmill.

Generations of historians have debated the legitimacy of the "Middle Ages," and the combatants on either side have not usually regarded their joust as futile. A few of the contributions have been soul-searching, not least Christopher Page's *Discarding Images* (1993), a book that exposes the ways in which music has been made to fit various pre-designed narratives about "medieval" culture, among them the symbolism of Otto von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral* (1956) and the apocalyptic panorama of Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (*Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, 1919).[1]

This chapter questions the validity of the tripartite scheme "Antiquity – Middle Ages – Modern Age" for the description of musical history in Europe, and the separation between "Middle Ages" and "Modern Age" in musical

* An embryonic version of this chapter has been published as "Zmierzch średnowiecza a zmierzch nowożytności" ("The End of the Middle Ages and the End of Modernity"), *Przegląd Muzykologiczny* 2/2 (2002), 153–72; fragments have also been delivered as oral presentations. I am grateful to Michael Fend, Joshua Rifkin, and many others for helpful suggestions and criticism.

1 Christopher Page, *Discarding Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

culture, which also involves the question of the Renaissance as a supposed foundation of the Modern Age. This historiographic model is compared with the notion of "early European music," in the simple sense of "early music practiced in the geographic area of Europe." Far from implying any claims to superiority or exceptionality, "European music" would be set apart from the music of (classical) Antiquity. It would be divided into an earlier and a later phase, connected by a movable transition. To evaluate the legitimacy of this concept, it will be helpful first to assess the tripartite scheme in terms of general historiography, and to consider its implications for the historical consciousness of today, before turning to the role of music in a general history.

The Tripartite Scheme

The tripartite scheme seems a special type of periodization in world history. Since it relies on classical Antiquity as a foundation, civilizations uninfluenced by Judeo-Greco-Roman Antiquity cannot have a "middle age." Although the Western concept has been applied to Chinese history without respect for the difference of that history, and although a Marxist usage universally applies the term to all feudal economies, it remains an imposition to assign this tripartite historical layout to other world cultures. Since the histories of West and East are now gradually merging and Modernity has become a shared experience in the world, the question is overdue how the historiographies of entire civilizations may be related to each other. Certainly not in the way that we Westerners treat all histories according to our tripartite scheme: precisely because this terminology does *not* explicitly state that it only refers to Western culture, although in reality it does, it may appear, under certain circumstances, as a hegemonial imposition. The terminology of "European music," by contrast, would imply from the outset that is does not regard its terms as applicable to the entire world.

Hegemoniality also looms on the inside of the scheme. The "Middle Ages" are in themselves not straightforwardly identifiable with "Christian Europe." Other cultures within this geographic area may have lived in completely different moments of their own history. These were not necessarily "middle": in the historical consciousnesses of Muslims, Jews, and adherents of other religions (not to speak of women and musicians), this era must have occupied essentially different relative positions.

We owe the tripartite model and, with it, the concept of the "Middle Ages" to Renaissance humanists who used it to situate themselves at an epochal juncture of their historical consciousness: the revival of ancient culture, after

it had been obfuscated by a barbaric interim period. Whether or not we accept this view in a modern historiographical context, the tripartite scheme demands our acceptance of certain entrenched views of both "medieval" and ancient civilizations. It also comes at the price of manifold uncertainties about chronological boundaries, threshold definitions, and overlaps that are typical of such periodizations.[2] Periodizations are unavoidable, and uncertainties are perhaps not a bad thing in themselves, but in this case they are riddled with the dangers of tautology and intentional fallacy, as long as the period boundary between "Middle Ages" and Renaissance is determined by the criterion of *innovations*. Doubts concerning the tripartite scheme are greatest in areas such as music, for which the scheme has not originally been designed. The question must be asked whether music, at least, can be exempted from the burden of this convention.

The arguments against the general concept of the "Middle Ages" have rarely gone as far as challenging the implied tripartite scheme of our historiography.[3] Nevertheless, "middle" as a historiographical term is a potential embarrassment. "Early" and "late," "old" and "new," or simply "then" and "now," are conceptual distinctions everybody operates without difficulty; but "middle" – when applied to the past – requires a complex mental act. To construct the logical status of a "middle" period, an epochal change must be postulated on either side, corresponding to each other in such a way that the second change does not reiterate or continue the first, but rather counteracts or even undoes it: otherwise, tautology or infinite regress will be suspected. The "medieval" period is nested between two other periods, which essentially differ from it by being open-ended on their outer sides: Antiquity towards the past, the Modern Age towards the future.[4] Only the "Middle Ages" have to begin *and* to end conclusively, otherwise they are a mere transition, not a period in their own right.

The tripartite scheme does not by itself determine the inner unity or historical function of any of the three periods; it only presupposes their distinctiveness. We may ask, for example: are these periods necessary,

2 See, in particular, Dietrich Gerhard, "Periodization in European History," *The American Historical Review* 61 (1956), 900–13; Lawrence Besserman (ed.), *The Challenge of Periodization: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (New York: Garland, 1996); Hans-Werner Goetz, "Das Problem der Epochengrenzen und die Epoche des Mittelalters," in *Mittelalter und Moderne. Entdeckung und Rekonstruktion der mittelalterlichen Welt. Kongreßakten des 6. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes in Bayreuth 1995*, ed. P. Segl (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), 163–72.

3 This, however, is undertaken in Toby Burrows, "Unmaking the 'Middle Ages,'" *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 127–34. See also the thoughtful discussion in Page, *Discarding Images*, xv–xxiv.

4 Discussions about the end of Antiquity – its chronology, reasons, and effects – are as intense as those about the end of the "Middle Ages." For a brief survey, see Goetz, "Das Problem der Epochengrenzen", 164–66.

legitimate, and self-contained, or only transitional entities? Are they "intelligible entities," as William J. Bouwsma puts it?[5] Some critics of the conventional periodization are dissatisfied with its lack of descriptive filling. Dietrich Gerhard declared:

> Attempts at a more limited periodization have resulted in terms such as the Age of the Baroque, of the Enlightenment, of Absolutism, of Nationalism – classifications which, while open to debate, at least try to reveal a dominant feature of a period. Unlike these, our customary main division into medieval and modern times is devoid of any meaning dependent upon an understanding of the periods themselves. The significance of the terms "medieval" and "modern" is either negative or it is derived from the relation of the period in question to another age: to the present, or to an earlier past, Antiquity. The negative connotation of the term "medieval" is already apparent in its early history when the philologists denoted the Latin language used in the period between Antiquity and its revival by the humanists as that of a period of decline, of the "Medium Aevum.""[6]

What seems to have mattered to Gerhard as well as to other historians, was not only an apparently non-committal terminology, but also a negative connotation of "medieval" that was imposed onto it from the outside. The latter criticism seems especially relevant, if we are looking for "dominant features" of an age. Are the criteria by which we recognize "medieval culture" at all valid? The cultural domains that happen to be in view when we undertake this particular periodization seem to depend too much on modern prejudice, as pinpointed in Joan Kelly-Gadol's question: "Did women have a Renaissance?"[7] Members of the "Annales School" have duly criticized the narrowness of the criteria governing established historiographies. They have partly encouraged alternative macro-historical concepts, such as "longue durée" or "histoire totale"; their typical spatialization of history – as in Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II* (1949) – remained generally aloof from constructive periodizations.[8]

5 "For the argument that attached the Renaissance to the modern world was based on two assumptions: that the modern world does, in fact, constitute some kind of intelligible entity, and that Modernity has emerged by way of a single linear process": William J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," *The American Historical Review*, 84/1 (1979), 1–15 at 5.

6 Gerhard, "Periodization in European History," 901.

7 Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women have a Renaissance?" in *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 19–50.

8 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1949). See Cheng-chang Lai, *Braudel's Historiography Reconsidered* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004).

If a requirement of the tripartite scheme was that the "middle" term should be intrinsically distinguishable from the other two, it was natural to fill it with content which neither of them have or had: the middle should have its own unique flavor. The postulate that the "Middle Ages" form an ideal type that is unique, distinct, paradigmatic, elementary, even necessary and legitimate in the long succession of cultures, was a strongly felt idea of the "medievalism" of the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth became the conceptual basis of the so-called "revolt of the medievalists." These scholars had to compete with the Burckhardtian view of the Renaissance, which had endowed that period with a unique flavor and an ideal-typical quality. To them the seemingly dry categorization, "beginning-middle-end," was not value-neutral, it was normative. It spawned descriptive efforts that were dictated by the need to prove – or disprove – the legitimacy of the Renaissance, time and again.

In fact, the "revolt of the medievalists," by claiming medieval precedents for developments and achievements previously credited to the Renaissance, perhaps overlooked the fact that having to credit the Middle Ages with *innovations* was an implicit acknowledgement of the Renaissance ideology.[9] At best, this endeavor brought to light important continuities between the "Middle Ages" and the early modern era (such as the history of magic and experimental science);[10] at worst it led to trivial discussions concerning merely the exact timing of the boundary between "Middle Ages" and Renaissance (or "Modern Age"): whether it was 1300 or 1453 or 1492 or 1517 or the 1540s, for example.

I am doubtful whether the boundary problem can be more adequately solved by radical redefinitions of the *duration* of "medieval" culture, unless they also challenge the tripartite scheme. Proponents of the concept of an "old Europe" (*Alteuropa*) have emphasized the cultural coherence of the entire European history until the late eighteenth century (or, more demonstratively, 1789), for example on the basis of social, political, and intellectual criteria.[11]

9 For this debate, see Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge MA: 1948); Bouwsma, "The Renaissance", 1–2; Don LePan, *The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture*, vol. 1: *The Birth of Expectation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 26–29.

10 See, for example, Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1923–1958). Erwin Panofsky acknowledged medieval "renascences" in art, but decided in favor of the "Renaissance" as the only genuine revival of Antiquity: *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960).

11 "Alteuropa" is a term coined by Alfons Dopsch in 1918. It was endorsed, for example, by Gerhard, "Zum Problem der Periodisierung der europäischen Geschichte," in *Alte und Neue Welt in vergleichender Geschichtsbetrachtung*, ed. Dietrich Gerhard (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1962), 40–56. On the "Alteuropa" theory, see Stephan Skalweit, *Der Beginn der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 3–5 and 20. It should be kept in mind that the turning point of ca. 1789 would be far more pertinent to central Europe than, for example, to Britain or Russia.

Jacques Le Goff's "long Middle Ages" would end at the industrial revolution, encompassing after the Renaissance three extra centuries of *ancien régime*.[12] Claims that the epochal change around 1800 may have exceeded that of ca. 1500 in significance are gathering momentum.[13] But if we can detach the idea of an epochal caesura in Western history from its congenital link with the "revival of Antiquity," why speak of "Middle" Ages any longer? The term "old Europe" would avoid an organic link with the ancient period: it would rather imply that "Europe" came to exist after the end of the Roman empire. This concept of "Europe" – different and detached from the ancient world – is a preference of leading medievalists.[14]

In the last third of the twentieth century, the quest for the essences of historical periods has largely been replaced by inquiries into boundaries and disjunctions, "thresholds" or saddle-times (*Schwellen*, *Sattelzeiten*) between them.[15] This change of direction may have seemed to promise new heuristic opportunities, but how far could it take us? To accept transitions as historical structures in their own right simply means to acknowledge the need for periodization as such, which few historians will challenge.[16] A key phrase recommending "threshold research" around the "Middle Ages" – Hermann Heimpel's maxim "Who defines the boundaries of a period, defines its essence" ("Wer die Grenzen eines Zeitalters bestimmt, bestimmt sein Wesen") – was in the last resort a reinscription of the traditional historiography.[17]

To conclude this argument, the tripartite scheme "Antiquity–Middle Ages–Modern Age" relies on particular assumptions and suffers from particular normative pressures. The ideological connotations of the tripartite

12 Jacques Le Goff, "Pour un long Moyen Âge," *Europe* 61 (1983), 19–24; Le Goff, *L'imaginaire médiéval. Essais* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), viii–xiii.

13 Strohm, "Collapsing the Dialectic. The Enlightenment Tradition in Music and Its Critics," in David Greer, ed., *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present and Future: Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of the IMS, London 1977* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 263–72.

14 See Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005). The thesis of an epochal distinction between the ancient Mediterranean world and what we call "Europe" is owed to Henri Pirenne (1862–1935).

15 See Reinhart Herzog and Reinhart Koselleck, eds., *Epochenschwelle und Epochenbewusstsein*, Poetik und Hermeneutik XII (Munich: Fink, 1987); Hans Trümpy, ed., *Kontinuität-Diskontinuität in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973); Skalweit, *Der Beginn der Neuzeit*.

16 See, for example, Klaus Schreiner, "'Diversitas temporum': Zeiterfahrung und Epochengliederung im späten Mittelalter," in *Epochenschwelle*, ed. Herzog and Koselleck, 381–428 at 382.

17 Cited after Goetz, "Das Problem der Epochengrenzen," 167. The statement is actually tautological, since "definition" is literally "determination of boundaries." Goetz understandably asks whether the statement should not better be reversed. See also Schreiner, "Diversitas temporum," 382, where Heimpel's *dictum* does appear turned on its head: "It is said that, whoever wishes to define the borders of a period, is bound to define its essence" ("Wer nämlich, so wurde gesagt, die 'Grenzen eines Zeitalters' zu bestimmen suche, sei gehalten, dessen Wesen zu bestimmen"). Whether or not this is a correct rendering of what Heimpel meant, it demonstrates the chicken-and-egg relationship between "boundaries" and "essences" of historical periods.

periodization, which have been inherited from Renaissance humanism, imply certain attitudes not only to "medieval" but also to ancient culture. The tripartite scheme is not one of those periodizations that can be compared – as Johann Gustav Droysen once proposed – with the equator and the meridians on the globe, which are of course not part of the earth's own surface but only convenient and useful abstractions.[18] If the tripartite scheme were as innocent as that, no "medievalism" and certainly no revolts would have occurred. As Reinhart Koselleck has shown, it is not the objective difference between past and present but our empathetic or apprehensive consciousness of the past that gives us the feeling of living in a modern age.[19] The "Middle Ages" are a construct that deeply affects our historical consciousness and cultural self-esteem today.

Humanism, Divided Retrospection and Historical Consciousness

The crucial term "Middle Age" was apparently first used in 1382 by the Florentine historian Filippo Villani, albeit somewhat casually ("ancient, middle, and modern times," *priscis mediis modernisque temporibus*).[20] In 1469, the humanist Giovanni Andrea dei Bussi used it to characterize the historical memory of the theologian Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464), who had allegedly retained the "historia" of the *media tempestas* as well as that of the *prisca tempestas*, Antiquity, and *nostra aetas*, the present. There are several other references to the term in this and the next generation. *Media aetas* ("mittlere Zeiten") was used by Joachim von Watt (Vadianus) in 1522.[21] Humanist historians of the Renaissance period such as Flavio Biondo, Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla, Johannes Trithemius, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, all studied and understood the achievements of the past six to eight centuries, to which they also owed most of their Greek and Latin codices. But they all assumed that this intermediate period had been initiated by a "fall from grace," an unfortunate accident or misdevelopment of history: the downfall of the Mediterranean civilization, caused by the invasions of barbaric tribes into

18 Schreiner, "Diversitas temporum," 383.

19 Koselleck, "'Neuzeit': Zur Semantik moderner Bewegungsbegriffe," in Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1992), 300–48.

20 Page, "Medieval," in *Grove Music Online*; cited there after Martin L. McLaughlin, "Humanist Conceptions of Renaissance and Middle Ages in the Tre- and Quattrocento," *Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1987), 131–42.

21 See Peter Schaeffer, "The Emergence of the Concept 'Medieval' in Central European Humanism," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (October 1976), 21–30; Jürgen Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalter-Begriffes* (Munich: Fink, 1972), 40–42; Nathan Edelmann, "The Early Uses of *Medium Aevum*, *Moyen Âge*, *Middle Ages*," *Romanic Review* 29 (1938), 3–25.

the Roman empire, and followed by the "teutonic" dominance of Italy and suppression of classical traditions.

From the many contemporary statements on this matter, let us consider only two, which are typical not only in their emotional tone but also in their selectivity of the topics considered. The first (of 1452) is by the Sienese humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II:

> Eloquence and painting originate from the same wellsprings and have undergone the same adversities and times of happiness. At one time, eloquence blossomed marvelously; thereafter it was depressed for a long period lasting from Augustine and Jerome to Petrarch. Finally, it began to raise its head, and is already so illustrious that it might seem to have reached the standard of Cicero's times. Similarly, painting was great in early times, when the Roman Republic was at its peak, but afterwards it declined until Giotto, who healed and reformed it. Since then, many [painters] have grown up and now the art is at its peak . . .[22]

Antonio Averlino, *detto* il Filarete, wrote in his treatise on architecture (ca. 1460–64) on the negative influences of French and German tastes in architecture (i.e., the "Gothic" style):

> Just as letters declined in Italy, that is to say, as people became gross in their speech and in their use of Latin, general coarseness ensued, so that it is not until fifty or sixty years ago that minds came to be resubtilized and awakened. That general use [of language] was, as I said, a coarse thing, and so was this art [of architecture].[23]

The same tone and the same historiography of the *rinascita* of arts and letters underlies the statement of Johannes Tinctoris, well-known to music historians, about the incompetence and tastelessness of some songs that were older than forty years (see also below).[24]

What was then newly implanted in the perception of history, was a rejection of, or detachment from, a previous age which only in this process became conceptualized as an age – contrasted to the present, on the one hand, and to an earlier past, on the other. The negative valuation of the newly created middle period was a fundamental assumption of the idea of a rebirth, *rinascita*. The self-esteem of the humanists within their own present rested on an empathy with the ancient world as a remote past, which they constructed almost like a pluperfect tense. The logical requirement of the

22 Cited after Strohm, "Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a Rebirth of the Arts," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, The New Oxford History of Music, new ed., vol. III/1 (Oxford University Press, 2001), 346–405 at 392.
23 Ibid., 393.
24 Ibid., 398–99, where comparisons between this and the other humanist statements are drawn.

tripartite scheme, mentioned above, that the change to the Modern Age undid what the "Middle Ages" had done to Antiquity, neatly coincided with the desire of European intellectuals since Petrarch to identify themselves with that remote world that was now to be revived or reborn.[25] I propose to call this contrasting valuation of two pasts a "divided retrospection": the tendency to reject the age or image of the father and to glorify that of the grandfather. Such a cultural-anthropological framework might explain why the tendency to prefer a remote past to a nearer one has resurfaced also in later centuries.

Although the humanists imagined both Antiquity and "Middle Ages" as extended historical periods, they did not originally conceive of the *present* – the *rinascita* – as a third historical era, but rather as a sudden new synthesis, once reached and never to be abandoned again. This almost unhistorical notion of a singular present was only gradually transformed into the historical consciousness of a "Modern Age."[26] Nevertheless, the tripartite scheme "Antiquity-Middle Ages-Modern Age" was not a gradual agglomeration of retrospectives, as other periodizations seem to be: it was the product of a single conceptualization of history, which did not simply accept the unities, divisions or continuities that history seemed to have produced through its own process, but imposed on the retrospection a normative orientation and an overarching goal. It was guided by organicist thought (hence the metaphor of the "rebirth") and by Judeo-Christian mythical and apocalyptic periodizations.[27]

The transition to the "Modern Age," far from being an innocent meridian, was a motor of progress as well as a rejection of the past. But the negative views of the "Middle Ages" gradually changed. After the seventeenth century they began to transform into empathy, then into sympathy and nostalgia. The "medievalism" of the Romantics was at first opposed to classicism (which had still been promoted by the French Revolution) – but soon a common nostalgic impetus to these two trends became apparent, for example in the nationalist movements. In this process, divided retrospection was redefined: The earlier ages ("Alteuropa") gradually became a cherished counter-symbol to progress and Modernity. Nostalgic historiography concerning the "Middle Ages" reached its peak, however, not in the Romantic but in the modernist

25 Cf. Theodore Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages,'" *Speculum* 17 (1942), 226–42.
26 Koselleck, "Neuzeit." See also his *Zeitschichten. Studien zur Historik, mit einem Beitrag von Hans-Georg Gadamer* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2000); Paul O. Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics," *Journal in the History of Ideas*, 12 (1951), 496–527.
27 For a survey, see Besserman, "The Challenge of Periodization," 5–7.

century. It is the people of the twentieth century who, while being most detached from the "medieval" world, have contributed most to its definition, while witnessing unprecedented destructions of its monuments and documents.

The dramatic afterlife of the "Middle Ages" raises further important questions. What happens when that age which follows the "middle" age is nearing its end? Has not the term an apocalyptic implication for our modern age? Many retrospective, nostalgic evocations of medieval culture and spirituality have been driven by concerns about the future.[28] The announcements of a new "Middle Age" by Nikolai Berdiajew[29] and Umberto Eco[30] are, in their different guises, passionate calls for a rethinking of the values of Modernity.

Many people today appreciate pre-industrial cultures: they see them from a similar perspective to that from which the Renaissance humanists saw Antiquity, and contrast them critically with the last 200–250 years, the period of "Modernity."[31] They tend to view the end of the "long Middle Ages" – the European Enlightenment and the bourgeois revolution – as a new "fall from grace" in history.[32] Thus the period between ca. 1789 and ca. 1989 has taken over the formerly negative role of the dark "Middle Ages": the rejected father's age is now the (late) modern period, and the nostalgically revered grandfather's age is the pre-industrial, pre-democratic age of any *ancien régime*. These postmodern images of history are thus intriguingly similar to the images produced by the divided retrospection of Renaissance humanists.[33]

28 A brilliant survey is Otto G. Oexle, "Die Moderne und ihr Mittelalter. Eine folgenreiche Problemgeschichte," in *Mittelalter und Moderne*, ed. Segl, 307–64.

29 Nikolai Berdiajew, *Das Neue Mittelalter. Betrachtungen über das Schicksal Rußlands und Europas* (Tübingen, 1927). The religiously inspired Berdiajew proposed a stark choice between Christ and Antichrist in modern times. His influence on Hans Scholl, for example, is assessed in Sönke Zankel, *Mit Flugblättern gegen Hitler: Der Widerstandskreis um Hans Scholl und Alexander Schmorell* (Cologne, etc.: Böhlau, 2008), 236–40.

30 Umberto Eco, *Documenti su il nuovo medioevo* (Milan: Bompiani, 1973). On Eco's fiction, see M. Kerner, "Das Mittelalter als 'Kindheit Europas.' Zu den Geschichtsromanen Umberto Ecos," in *Mittelalter und Moderne*, ed. Segl, 288–304. On both Berdiajew and Eco, see Wolfgang Welsch, *Unsere postmoderne Moderne*, Acta humaniora (Weinheim: VCH, 1987), 57–59.

31 For a convincing argument how "Modernity" really has its roots in the mid-eighteenth century, see Hans R. Jauß, "Derer literarische Prozess des Modernismus von Rousseau bis Adorno," in Herzog and Koselleck, *Epochenschwelle*, 243–68.

32 See Strohm, "Collapsing the Dialectic."

33 The parallel between the postmodern and the humanist historiographies has also been noted in Peter von Moos, "Gefahren des Mittelalterbegriffs. Diagnostische und präventive Aspekte," in *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. J. Heinzle (Frankfurt: Insel, 1994), 33–63 at 50–1. The author chooses to defend the humanist rejection of the past, insofar as it was compatible with Christian teleology, whereas he doubts the *raison d'être* of the postmodern historiography. I prefer to take both historiographies seriously, considering them as similarly motivated cultural practices.

Music versus General History: The Status of Antiquity and Renaissance

Since music has not been involved in the conception of the tripartite scheme by Renaissance humanists, and rarely been invoked in the divided retrospection of more recent historical discourses, the option to construct an "autonomous" periodization of music, not subjecting it to the general tripartite scheme, seems entirely open today.[34] An autonomous periodization would not have to isolate music from its appropriate context. If, for example, the chosen terminology would be "early European" rather than "medieval" music, the reference would relate to music's contemporary culture rather than imply its more abstract position somewhere between Antiquity, Renaissance, and Modernity. The nomenclature of "early European" (which after the contacts with the Americas has become "early Western") music, would imply that the "Europe" of this definition originated after the end of the Roman empire, which is what leading medievalists propose. The "Europe" of this definition had a geographical and chronological span but comprised different (yet adjacent) cultures and was inspired by contributions from outside the geographical region itself. This definition fits the history of music very well indeed. The qualification "early" modestly acknowledges that the music of Judeo-Greco-Roman Antiquity belonged to a different cultural era and was not "ours" – in a similar sense as ancient Asian and North-African musics were not "ours." Second, the transition from an earlier to a later phase of "European music" would not be denied: Western music history could still have a caesura or epochal transition in parallel with other sectors, for example around the Renaissance. This transition would simply divide "early" from "later" (or "modern") European music, and might be described in a less normative and more open terminological style. It would be more like Droysen's innocent meridians: more like a useful windmill than a harmful giant.

Considering the first point, the role of Antiquity: the influence of Mediterranean Antiquity on Western music does not justify a historiographical scheme whereby that Antiquity simply becomes the first chapter of our own book of music history. Only the smallest fragments of ancient music have survived, and in any case they had no influence on European musical developments. The transmission of a substantial tradition of Greek music theory – which was not well understood during the Middle Ages – led to numerous exaggerated claims of such an influence, but the fact remains that

34 Nor should there necessarily be only one kind of relationship – absolute subordination – between a general periodization and sectorial histories such as those of art, architecture, science, or music.

Europe has learnt much less from the music of the ancient Greeks and Romans than from several other aspects of their cultures. The musical cultures of the ancient Mediterranean civilizations, distributed over three continents (not only Greek and Roman but also Egyptian, Jewish, Phoenician, Syrian, Arabic, and yet others) were probably as different from ours as the musical cultures of other continents are today. From this "ancient Mediterranean music" we should distinguish the later musical tradition by calling it "early European" rather than "medieval" music. Far from raising any claim of Western superiority, this nomenclature would come from modesty: it would renounce the arrogant assumption that Western musical culture began with Homer, Orpheus, or the Temple of Jerusalem. Renaissance humanists, for their own reasons, were convinced of this ancestry and endowed it with a normative value – which is one reason why a coordination of Western music history with that of the rest of the world seems so difficult today.[35]

The Byzantine empire and the Jewish, Syrian, and Arabic cultures were not just mediators of ancient knowledge to the Western musical tradition, they were contemporaneous with the Western Middle Ages and contributed to the development of European music in their own right.[36] These traditions should be considered as contributing partners to "early European" music. But their historicity was different: they had no "Middle Ages"; none of them was as deeply affected by the fall of the (Western) Roman civilization as was the Latin West.

The second point is connected with the Renaissance, the supposed goal and overcoming of the Middle Ages. Was there a break in European music that justifies a distinction between a "Middle" and a "Modern"Age? What was the foundation of the Modern Age in music if it was not the *rinascita*? There has always been a special difficulty in finding a dividing line between the "Middle Ages" and the Renaissance *in music*, because this art had so much less of a *rinascita* than other arts.[37] Ancient thought on music was first investigated

35 In the eighteenth century, by contrast, a learned missionary could pursue the utopian project of demonstrating parallels between the musical cultures of native North-Americans and the ancient Greeks: P. J.-F. Lafitau SJ, *Mœurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1724). See Strohm, "*Les Sauvages*, Music in Utopia, and the Decline of the Courtly Pastoral," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 11 (2004), 21–49.

36 See Renate Perkuhn, *Die Theorien zum arabischen Einfluss auf die europäische Musik des Mittelalters* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1976); Charles Burnett, "European Knowledge of Arabic Texts Referring to Music: Some New Materials," *Early Music History* 12 (1993), 1–17; Amnon Shiloah, "Muslim and Jewish Musical Traditions of the Middle Ages," in *Music as Concept*, ed. Strohm and Blackburn, 1–30.

37 In music history books and series, this is a substantially greater problem than the "inner" periodization of the "Middle Ages" themselves, although that is by no means trivial either: see Mark Everist's article-review: "The Miller's Mule: Writing the History of Medieval Music," *Music & Letters* 74 (1993), 44–53.

by non-musical humanists, who concentrated on theoretical aspects; the practical role of music in ancient civilization only gradually became a matter of historical interest.[38] But the "rebirth" formula ceases to be a necessary condition altogether, once Antiquity is no longer regarded as the first chapter of our book. The discussions of the Renaissance concept in general – too diverse to be even summarized here – have demonstrated in any case that cultural "rebirth" or "renewal" can be diagnosed without necessarily implying that an ancient tradition was actually reawakened. Conversely, William J. Bouwsma observed that even the criterion of "innovation" had become unfashionable among Renaissance historians by the 1970s; it became possible to accept the Renaissance as a sort of continuity element.[39]

The nomenclature of "early" vs. "later" European music would free this history from an exaggerated conditioning by the idea of the "rebirth." Of course we music historians praise the cultural progress made in music in those generations, and we narrate the splendor of the (predominantly Italian) environments of musical practice and learning. This is, by and large, how we hope to reconcile fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music with its position in a tripartite historiography. The musical environments of, say, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are always treated very differently because they occupy a different place in the tripartite scheme. This goes against good sense in history-writing. A more neutral periodization for music would free us to observe continuities and disjunctions where they really are.

Let us listen to some contemporary voices. Many contemporaries, including highly educated Italian humanists, worried about a final decline in living ages, or in biological strength, as a foreboding of the end of humankind, whereas others speculated about increasing life expectations or everlasting life on earth.[40] The French poet Martin le Franc, in his *Letter to the Savoy Secretaries* of ca. 1439, seems to acknowledge an element of *rinascita* when he compares Du Fay and Binchois with great ancient poets. However, in his polyhistorical poem *Le champion des dames* of ca. 1442, he discusses the relationship between the end of the world and human progress, concluding that the end of the

38 This whole revival is described in Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

39 Bouwsma, "The Renaissance," 4: "We were increasingly uncomfortable with the rather mechanical work of sorting our data into two heaps, one marked 'continuities,' the other 'innovations.' This discomfort led to a second move that seems on the surface to have brought us closer to synthesis: we began to describe the age of the Renaissance as the age of transition to the modern world." Later in the same essay (11–12), the author does claim a particular innovation for the Renaissance: the conception of a human, cultural history as such, crediting Burckhardt and Huizinga for having taken this up.

40 See František Graus, "Epochenbewusstsein im Spätmittelalter und Probeme der Periodisierung," in *Epochenschwelle*, ed. Herzog and Koselleck, 153–66.

world cannot be forecast and that progress in literature and the arts is possible, although nature has set limits to humans, so that no progress will ever go too far. This is also his opinion about progress in contemporary music.[41] Le Franc's historicization of music, in this work, is oblivious of the tripartite scheme, but very much in line with a simple "earlier–later" scheme.

It is often emphasized that Johannes Tinctoris, in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), rejects older music, seemingly supporting the idea of a musical "rebirth." In fact, in this work he fully absorbs the divided retrospection of other humanist writers. But he also formulates a significant alternative to this rejection in his *Proportionale musices* (ca. 1472–73) and *Complexus effectuum musices* (ca. 1475).[42] Here he acknowledges ancient Greek and Roman musical forerunners, but sees the main epochal change in the coming of Christ, the highest of musicians (*summus ille musicus Jesus Christus*), and in the cultivation of music by the Church. Tinctoris underscores his esteem of the Christian liturgical tradition with the telling humanist argument that the Church Fathers have left the spiritual, the theoretical, and the practical aspects of this art to posterity "in widely disseminated codices" (*alii divinitatem, alii theoricam, alii practicam huius artis vulgo dispersis codicibus posteris reliquerunt*): Christian culture emulated the impact of the ancient tradition by using the same transmissional tools. Tinctoris also believes that the recent great developments of music, which make it appear almost as a "new art" (*ars nova*), are owed to princely and noble patronage, a contemporary phenomenon, although analogous to the cultivation of the arts in Antiquity. In the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), by contrast, the same author then chastises older music and drops the emphasis on the Christian era, omitting any praising reference to medieval musicians. Now, musical compositions older than forty years are "incompetent" and "tasteless"; but recent composers are flourishing, worthy "of the immortal gods," and comparable to ancient poets such as Virgil, especially in their efforts to imitate expert forerunners (although not of the "Middle Ages"). Clearly, the influence of Italian humanists such as Lorenzo Valla, Giovanni Battista Alberti, and Enea Silvio Piccolomini changed the northern musician's views: his respect for the music of the Christian tradition – early European music – changed to rejection, and his interpretation of recent developments mutated from a legend of progress to a myth of rebirth.

41 See Strohm, "Music, Humanism," 371–85.
42 For texts and commentaries, see Strohm, "Music, humanism," 362–64 and 396–99.

If we now ask about other major cultural disjunctions of the Renaissance period and how they could be connected with music, the significance of Antiquity for music is further diminished. The "discovery" of America, the invention of printing, and the Reformation profoundly affected musical life in Europe; yet they had nothing to do with Antiquity. Comparable effects had been exerted on music by much earlier shifts such as Christianization, the crusades, or the introduction of paper. Even if we believe (with Erwin Panofsky)[43] that the *renascences* of the Middle Ages were only a prelude to the genuine Renaissance, there is no good reason to make a similarly sharp distinction between these other changes influencing music, which were all unrelated to Antiquity. On account of cultural disjunctions, it would not be a sensible assertion to say that around 1500, Western music entered the *third* state of its history, after Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The culture of the Renaissance period harbors significant musical continuities. Many listeners today will sense a strong musical affinity even between Dunstaple and Byrd, for example. That the paradigmatic pair "number"-"word" has been used to identify a disjunction between Middle Ages and Renaissance in music, seems an exaggerated notion to me.[44] The fact that general Renaissance culture subscribed to the "language paradigm" has over-influenced narratives concerning the relationship between music and language, too.[45] Conversely, major musical changes (or innovations?) of that period are not easily subsumed under the Renaissance paradigm. At least Heinrich Besseler's notion of a comprehensive style change in music around 1430 has not yet been caught in any net of paradigmatic Renaissance history. This musical *ars nova* (as Tinctoris called it) has hardly any parentage with the Italian Renaissance or with humanism, but originated from the feudal, scholastic culture of northern Europe.[46]

An Alternative View of Innovations and Disjunctions

The multiplicity of possible periodizations and their often useful concurrence is a strength of history-writing which the tripartite scheme neglects, as its

43 See n. 10 above.

44 See, for example, Klaus W. Niemöller, "Zum Paradigmenwechsel in der Musik der Renaissance. Vom *numerus sonorus* zur *musica poetica*," Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 3. Folge (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 187–215.

45 This has been shown by Fritz Reckow, "Between Ontology and Rhetoric: The Idea of *movere animos* and the Transition from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period in Music History," in *Traditionswandel und Traditionsverhalten*, ed. W. Haug and B. Wachinger (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), 145–78.

46 As also observed in Panofsky, *Renaissance*; see Strohm, "Vom Internationalen Stil zur Ars Nova? Probleme einer Analogie," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), 5–13.

particular mental model aims to override all others. In order to reintroduce plurality into the history of Western music, we might start by acknowledging different possible optics. History could be viewed as shredded into a "chaos of continuities," individual threads in a carpet. When looked upon from a macro-historical viewpoint, the various threads in the carpet could appear as contributing to large pattern changes of which they may individually be quite "innocent." Conversely, even drastic breaks within a single thread, taking for example the history of the motet with its reversals and interruptions, may not actually break the continuity of the larger pattern. If this model seems worth discussing, the question of an epochal caesura in music may become more relativized. That caesura may not have happened in the Renaissance period, because music then represented a continuity thread in the general carpet, participating in very different general patterns on either side of the supposed period change. If indeed we ask where the break from the Middle Ages to the modern age occurs in music, setting the England from John Dunstaple to William Byrd as our playing field, we might observe a contrast between the two composers' socio-cultural environments, not a subversion of their compositional aesthetic itself. The latter was rather a continuity element in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England, whereas the socio-cultural environment became transformed about midway by humanist and Renaissance preconceptions and meanings.

Many other innovations or disjunctions in music history had the potential of macro-historical significance. The introduction of musical script in the Carolingian realm of the ninth century was a process in which Walter Wiora saw the birth of Western musical Modernity as a tradition *sui generis*.[47] (But was it not rather a catching-up process with other literate musical cultures, including the Byzantine tradition?) When identification of pitch was later added to the function of the neumes, this material and "mechanical" innovation triggered a new conceptualization of the musical materials themselves: the rationalization of the tonal system, of the modes and scale-degrees. It also affected the function of music in society: while the categorization of plainsong through the notational system facilitated the central control of ecclesiastical elites, it dialectically involved a decision-making process about what it was that deserved to be distributed so widely. Alternative musics, too, could now be written and promoted. Long before the advent of Renaissance humanism, the cleric knew that the written-ness of official chant implied its status, just as the literary works of Horace, Ovid, Cicero, or Seneca were respected because

47 Walter Wiora, *The Four Ages of Music*, trans. M.D. Herter Norton (London: Dent, 1965), 130–32.

they had become part of the heritage through the use of pen and ink. Technology assured dignity.

Musical productivity in the eleventh to sixteenth centuries involved not only the technologies of writing, but also, for example, those of instrument-building and of performance. A professionalized, product- and material-oriented attitude towards music was found on many levels of society.[48] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, sophisticated rhythm and pitch control typified instrumental extemporization as well as written, premeditated compositions of mensural and polyphonic music. Composers indulged in numerical construction, which for the first time exceeded the purview of memory,[49] or on the other hand designed rationalized imitations of "natural" sounds such as trumpets or birdsong.[50] Institutions inaugurated a large-scale *production* of polyphonic musical practices and repertories: The performance of newly composed material became a daily activity for which leading specialists were hired. In English chapels, as reflected in the "Old Hall Manuscript," the density of composing members and the volume of their output almost suggests a "production line."[51] In fact, product-oriented attitudes strengthened the status of "the composer" – a specialized musician with the technical know-how to create new songs and fix them in writing.[52] These were phenomena that arose from "medieval" culture without any classical precedent, and well before the *rinascita*.

Later, the printing process and the publishing trade advanced the objectivation of the product and a new, tighter interplay between creation and circulation. The art of printing was not a Renaissance invention, but originated from "medieval" urban craftsmanship. Renaissance book culture is often separated too sharply from its traditions, for example when – in a telling misunderstanding – its remaining elements of *orality* are construed as "medieval lingerings," so as if the period division had run along "orality versus writing." In reality, various combinations between written and oral communication had been renegotiated for centuries, and book culture is

48 The implications of materials for Renaissance art are discussed in Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996).

49 See Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2005).

50 See Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

51 London, British Library, additional 57950.

52 Ludwig Finscher, "Die Entstehung des Komponisten," *Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 6 (1975), 29–45; Rob C. Wegman, "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), 409–79; Jessie Anne Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). It must be remembered, however, that the "origin of composition" precedes that of "the composer" by centuries.

just as "medieval" as is orality.[53] The large-scale introduction of paper in the fourteenth century was as important an innovation as printing, and it furthered similar ends: the dissemination and individualization of knowledge and social control.

Music as an institutional practice in the modern sense became possible only within an independent secular sphere of music cultivation. This sphere was formed before the Renaissance, too. The musical activity of fourteenth-century institutions shows clear signs of "secularization." The secular dynasties, the *curia* and other ecclesiastical courts, the civic institutions, all asserted their cultural identity by becoming, among other things, musical patrons: no longer as the casual hosts of traveling minstrels or troubadours, but as sponsors of organized musical production; as employers of vocal "chapels" and instrumental bands. Privatized musical worship in the princely and cathedral chapels was, as Tinctoris remarked (see above), an extra glory of modern patrons, comparable to the supposed cultivation of the arts in Antiquity.

The practice of using music in public, in community-forming rituals of religious or political significance, may be observed in many eras and cultures. Public music performances were well-known in the ancient Mediterranean world and were presumably the ancient traditions best known to fifteenth-century educated people, for example through descriptions in the Old Testament and the classical poets. In Europe, there was a slow, and entirely "medieval," development towards ceremony as a "public" concern rather than a feudal or ecclesiastical hieroglyph. By ca. 1400 public music-making had been entrusted with unprecedented physical power, for example in processions and open-air ceremonies with voices and instruments, heard by massive crowds.[54] The acoustic effect symbolized a domination over lesser people, and even an institutionalized control of the power of music itself.

A special form of the secular sphere is the private sphere; indeed the dichotomy of "public" and "private" arose in contrast to a "whole," hierarchically structured world (*universitas*) where the authorities had been laying claim to all the spaces. "Private" music had to be created afresh; it was to occupy a conquered, privileged space carved out of the life of the secular elite. Music was brought into the privileged home (as seen, for example, in paintings representing St. Jerome): a space which musicians and their instruments

53 See Strohm, "The Birth of the Music Book", in *Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing. Atti del Convegno ... 2001*, ed. G. Cattin and P. Dalla Vecchia (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2005), 45–55.
54 See, for example, my characterization of music at the Council of Constance (1414–18), in Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 106–124.

shared with luxury furniture, books, games, pets, courtesans, highly valued friends. This secular chamber, where every listener may also be a performer, is one of the beginnings of modern music: the home of madrigal and consort culture, later of the academic cantata, of catch- and glee-clubs, of instrumental "chamber" music, reaching the twentieth century in the *Hausmusik* of the same privileged classes who had already cultivated domestic music in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[55]

If we now inquire about the autonomy of music itself (rather than the autonomy of its historiography), music certainly possessed independent or autonomous status before the Renaissance, in the sense that it was not unilaterally dependent on other disciplines. But Tinctoris's formula of a musical renewal (*ars nova*) sought to bring music into the fold of the mechanical arts and humanistic studies, whose *raison d'être* was the revival of Antiquity. In addition to *musica theoretica* and *practica*, Renaissance musicians prioritized a text-oriented musical work-concept; it comprised the aesthetics of how to compose musical works and how to judge them, encouraging the development of specific "compositional" theories. This aspect of music was sometimes called *musica poetica* ("music as created"), in deference to classical poetic theory.[56] These humanist discourses of authorship, work-status, and poetic inspiration in music inevitably extinguished certain loyalties to the more recent past, including some of its musical aesthetic and productive traditions. They also partly eclipsed the awareness of the material-oriented, institutionalized and creative status which music had already achieved before the Renaissance and without the benefit of its classical hindsights. Humanist critiques of scholasticism, and of the whole system of the *artes liberales*, which included music as a mathematical and contemplative science, obscured the fact that in the "Middle Ages" music had by no means been confined to this scholastic status. Rhetoric, for example, had been a living practice which was readily applicable to music.[57] Although the pre-humanist term *musica* does not coincide with the term "music" of the modern European languages, its meaning was then not limited to a merely speculative quadrivial study, since already in Boethius' categorization, *musica instrumentalis* had been a creative practice, and musicians of the following centuries always admired the Muses as musical practitioners, not theorists.

55 On private musical practice, see *Musica privata: Die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben*, *Festschrift für Walter Salmen*, eds. Monika Fink, Rainer Gstrein, and Günther Mössmer (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1991).
56 Strohm, "'Opus': An Aspect of the Early History of the Musical Work-Concept," in *Complexus effectuum musicologiae. Studia Miroslavo Perz septuagenario dedicata*, ed. T. Jeż (Kraków: Rabid, 2003), 309–19. On the term *musica poetica*, see also Niemöller, "Zum Paradigmenwechsel."
57 Reckow, "Between Ontology and Rhetoric."

Due to that interplay between a learned phantasmagoria of Antiquity and a zealous, inherited practice of music, the fifteenth century created something which later observers have dubbed an *ars nova*. This may well be called a "humanist legend," in addition to being a legend of progress.[58] But can it be a coincidence that Tinctoris implicitly dated the renewal of music from exactly the same period – the mid-1430s – in which musicological hindsight has identified paradigm shifts in musical styles? More immediate contemporaries, such as Martin le Franc (see above), also sensed a musical awakening in their respective environments, which went beyond elementary aspirations to novelty; interestingly, this shift concerned *composers* rather than performances, and was supra-national in its social context. The circumstances and agents concerned – composers including Binchois and Du Fay, venues including the Councils of Constance and Basel, and the cities of Florence and Venice, genres including liturgical polyphony, especially for Mass, patrons including the popes, and English, French, and German princes – strongly suggest that whatever novelty was achieved here arose from accumulated "medieval" developments. Achievements of the "Middle Ages" were then *interpreted* by Italian and Italophile humanists (such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Martin le Franc, Johannes Tinctoris) as a *rinascita*, to satisfy their own view of history. This view, in fact, has become the standard historiography of European music, not least through the assiduous collaboration of the musicians themselves. We are living with the consequences – as we do with the myths and progress legends of other aspects of culture.

Conclusion: The Legitimacy of "Early European Music"

The tripartite scheme of European history has always demanded that the "Middle Ages" come up with really big innovations to rival the claims of the Renaissance to have ushered in the Modern Age. The many innovations of "medieval" music would even satisfy such a demand: but the point is that they were played down in music histories not because they were undervalued, but only because they were constructed as preludes to a greater paradigm shift at around 1500. One of the latest shifts in that period, the new approach of Du Fay and his contemporaries to polyphonic composition, was represented as a "rebirth" by Renaissance humanists – against the grain of its own ancestry and agenda. Admittedly, a process in which the idea of *rinascita* converged

58 See Strohm, *Guillaume Du Fay, Martin Le Franc und die humanistische Legende der Musik*, Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2008), 191.

with "medieval" innovations may be interpreted as the end of "early European music."

Nevertheless, the legitimacy of the concept of "early European music" is such that it does not need to justify itself vis-à-vis the Renaissance, or the Modern Age, or Antiquity.[59] It can pay tribute to the innovations, disjunctions – or indeed, losses – of tradition in those centuries, *without* having to justify them as forerunners of the Renaissance or the Modern Age, or else having to downplay or deny them. "Early European music" is a mild and open periodization that can be moved or modified: a useful windmill. It can become allied with "Early Music" (although that term denotes a cultural program, not a historical period). It can also relativize the still exaggerated contrast between the respective influences of ancient and Eastern cultures on Western music. The phrase "early European" acknowledges and makes explicit, unlike that of the "Middle Ages," that Western culture is only part of the world. This is in a sense the same recognition that the humanists made when "rediscovering" Antiquity. That remote culture was part of the rest of the world, which Renaissance humanism tried to appropriate. In this point they were right, since without the rest of world, Europe would not exist.

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59 H. Blumenberg's *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. R. M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), demonstrates how the Modern Age was a necessary consequence of the premisses of European thought in the previous ages. The logic cannot be reversed, however: "early European music" has no obligation to legitimize itself through the *absence* of modern innovations or developments.

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