A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and *Versus* from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine

By James Grier

Anyone familiar with the medieval Aquitanian musical repertories will react to the title of my study by saying, "He's comparing apples and oranges." My reply would be, "Precisely." The two genres under discussion here typify a remarkable shift in the form that devotional expression assumed in Aquitanian monastic communities about the year 1100. In the eleventh century, tropes for the Proper of the Mass were the preferred sacred form of expression, but by 1100 the *uersus* had taken the place of the trope. Here I shall discuss in what ways these pieces are as different as apples and oranges, and suggest some changes in the social and cultural environment of the monasteries in which they were created that might explain those differences.

By a happy accident, much of the music that was created, circulated, and performed in medieval Aquitaine has survived. Many of the musical manuscripts

This article began as two conference papers. The first, "A New Audience for Monastic Creative Activity: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," was read at the conference entitled "The Impact of Monasticism on Medieval Society" at Fordham University in March 1986. I am grateful to the Marjorie Young Bell Faculty Fund, Mount Allison University, for a grant that enabled me to attend the meeting. The second paper, "New Directions in Monastic Creative Activity: The Twelfth-Century Versus in Aquitaine," was presented at the annual conference of the Medieval Academy of America in Toronto, April 1987. I thank the Office of Research Services, Queen's University, for a travel grant to defray the costs of attending the meeting. I am especially grateful to my friend and colleague Prof. James Stark, Department of Music, Mount Allison University, for singing the musical examples on the tape that formed a part of the oral presentation of both papers. Since their original presentations, I have read versions of the two papers to various audiences, including the Eastman School of Music in April 1988 and, most recently, the Victorian Universities' Medieval and Renaissance Seminar in Melbourne, August 1991, and the New England Medieval Conference in Burlington, Vermont, October 1991. I thank my listeners for their many helpful suggestions.

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

AH	*Analecta hymnica*, 55 vols., ed. Guido Maria Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
Ivr	Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare
Lo	London, British Library, Additional Manuscript
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
Pa	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin
Pa nal	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouvelles acquisitions latines
po	paroxytone
ppo	proparoxytone.

The most detailed treatment of Peter of Blois's poetry is now Carsten Wollin, "Petri Blesensis carmina: Textkritische Edition," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Bielefeld, 1993–94).

once in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges are now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[1] These musical manuscripts may be divided into two groups: those containing tropes of the Proper and Ordinary of the Mass, and those transmitting polyphonic settings of several different types of pieces alongside various monophonic genres. The repertories in each group are, with very few exceptions, distinct. The Corpus Troporum group of researchers in Stockholm has defined tropes as texts that "introduce, are intercalated into, or accompany nearly all elements of the Latin Mass, and also some Office chants."[2] Tropes then are closely connected with liturgical chants. The monastic origin of this first group of manuscripts, and the repertories they transmit, is confirmed by liturgical studies of their contents, which have established such places of origin as the Abbeys of Saint-Martial and Saint-Martin in Limoges and monasteries in other Aquitanian towns—Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, Saint-Yrieix, Aurillac, and Toulouse, for example—for various manuscripts now in Paris.[3]

The origins of the other group of manuscripts, those containing polyphonic and monophonic music, are not so clear. The group consists of four codices, each of which contains several discrete manuscripts, or *libelli*.[4] Nine of these *libelli* transmit the second repertory under consideration here, and they are

[1] On the sale of the abbey's library, see James Grier, "Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria," *Musica disciplina* 44 (1990), 7–8, where further bibliography is cited.

[2] Ritva Jonsson, "Corpus Troporum," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 1 (1978), 101–2. There is no room here for a complete bibliography of medieval tropes. The series of editions and studies published by the Corpus Troporum team forms a central body of work: Corpus Troporum, 7 vols. to date, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia (Stockholm, 1975–). See also Gunilla Iversen, ed., *Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm, June 1–3, 1981*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Konferenser 8 (Stockholm, 1983); Gabriel Silagi, ed., *Liturgische Tropen: Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 36 (Munich, 1985); Ritva Jacobsson, ed., *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 29 (Stockholm, 1986); Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò, eds., *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Biblioteca del "Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici nell'Università di Perugia" 3 (Spoleto, 1990); and Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, eds., *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 36 (Stockholm, 1993). The most important studies of the music are Jacques Chailley, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1960), and Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*, Princeton Studies in Music 2 (Princeton, 1970). For further bibliography, see James Grier, "*Ecce sanctum quem deus elegit Marcialem apostolum*: Adémar de Chabannes and the Tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 53 (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 30–31, n. 5.

[3] For discussions of the origins of these codices, see Jacques Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires et séquentiaires de l'école de Saint-Martial de Limoges (Xe–XIe s.)," *Etudes grégoriennes* 2 (1957), 163–88; idem, *L'école*, pp. 73–119; Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B 5/1 (Munich, 1964), pp. 113–39, 145–48.

[4] On the physical makeup of the codices, see Sarah Ann Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969), 1:35–77; idem, "The Myth of 'Saint-Martial' Polyphony: A Study of the Sources," *Musica disciplina* 33 (1979), 5–26; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 5–56.

listed in Table 1, together with the sigla used here to identify them. Evidence for the monastic origin of the repertory is circumstantial. First, those codices now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Pa 1139, 3549, and 3719, were once held by the library of Saint-Martial.[5] Second, the text of one of the pieces in these manuscripts, *Nomen a solemnibus*, describes the celebrations that took place in the monastic community of Saint-Pierre in Solignac when news of the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders in 1099 reached Aquitaine:[6]

Nomen a solemnibus
trahit Solemniacum.
solemnizent igitur
omnes preter monacum
qui sibi uirilia
resecauit serra cum.
illum hinc excipimus
quasi demoniacum:
ipse solus lugeat,
reus, apud Eacum.

(Solignac takes its name from solemnities. Therefore let all celebrate except the monk who cut off his male members with a saw. Hence we leave him out as if he belonged to the devil: let him mourn alone, a criminal, before Aeacus.)

This evidence is not conclusive, but, taken with further testimony that will emerge from a discussion of the style and tone of the pieces, it suggests that these songs most likely circulated among monks. Most of the pieces are independent, with poetic texts, and they share no musical or literary associations with chants of the Mass or Office.[7] The term *uersus* appears in the rubrics of the manuscripts, and I adopt it as the name of this type of piece. Because of their numerical preponderance in this second group of manuscripts, the manuscripts themselves are perhaps best termed *uersaria*, a word also found in twelfth-century sources.[8]

[5] On the presence of these manuscripts in the library of Saint-Martial, and their relationship to entries in the medieval catalogues of that library, see Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 6–14, 31–32, 35–38.

[6] *Nomen a solemnibus* appears in 3719c (fols. 41r–42r) and 3549 (fol. 164r–v). Editions of the text: AH 21:163–64, no. 233; *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols. in 4, ed. Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernhard Bischoff (Heidelberg, 1930–70), no. 52, 1/1:104–6 (commentary, 2/1:113–14); and Goswin Spreckelmeyer, ed., *Mittellateinische Kreuzzugslieder: Texte und Melodien*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 216 (Göppingen, 1987), no. 5, p. 9. See Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 111, 343; Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1960), pp. 58–59; and Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 21 (Munich, 1974), pp. 184–92.

[7] Obvious exceptions are the *Benedicamus domino uersus*, which could function as substitutes for the dismissal formula of the Office, and *prosae* and troped epistles, which could be used in their normal liturgical contexts; see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:22–26, 148–78; and Barbara Marian Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), 1:5–93.

[8] On the *uersus* see Marie-Danielle Popin, "Le versus et son modèle," *Revue de musicologie* 73 (1987), 19–38; and Pascale Bourgain, "Qu'est-ce qu'un vers au moyen âge?" *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 147 (1989), 231–82, esp. pp. 237, 248–49, 255–58. On the term *uersarium* see Chailley,

TABLE 1
The Aquitanian *Versaria* and Their Sigla

Sigla	Folios	Manuscripts
1139a	32–39, 48–79	Pa 1139
1139b	40–47	Pa 1139
3549	149–69	Pa 3549
3719a	15–22	Pa 3719
3719b	23–32	Pa 3719
3719c	33–44	Pa 3719
3719d	45–92	Pa 3719
36881a	1–16	Lo 36881
36881b	17–24	Lo 36881

The tropers, the first group of manuscripts, also contain one repertory that numerically outstrips the other types of pieces that accompany it, and that is the repertory of tropes of the Proper of the Mass.[9] In addition to sheer quantity,

L'école, pp. 260–61, and Fuller, "The Myth," p. 6 and n. 6. Photographic facsimiles of the *uersaria* are published by Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1139*; *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3719*; and *Paris, B.N., fonds latin 3549 and London, B.L. Add. 36,881*, Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 14–16 (Ottawa, 1987). I am very grateful to Bryan Gillingham for his generosity in making these publications available to me. The polyphonic repertory has been edited twice: Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. 3 (commentary, 2:436–73); and Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 44 (Henryville, Penn., 1984) with commentary in idem, "Saint-Martial Polyphony—A Catalogue Raisonné," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 39 (Henryville, Penn., 1984), 1:239–62. The best general discussions of this repertory are Leo Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967), for the monophonic portions, and Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," for the polyphony. A thorough study of the polyphonic style is presented in 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, 1982); see also Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992); and Hendrik van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*, 2 vols. (Rochester, N.Y., 1993). On literary issues in the repertory, see H. Spanke, "St. Martial-Studien: Ein Beitrag zur frühromanischen Metrik," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 54 (1931), 282–317, 385–422; idem, "St. Martialstudien II," ibid. 56 (1932), 450–78; idem, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd ser., 18 (Berlin, 1936); Wolfram von den Steinen, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters von Karl dem Grossen zu Bernhard von Clairvaux* (Bern, 1959), pp. 243–48; and Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968), 1:288–94. For further bibliography see James Grier, "The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), 251, nn. 2–3; "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," ibid. 45 (1992), 373–74, n. 1; and "Some Codicological Observations," p. 5, n. 1.

[9] Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 4–6; Michel Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine: Répertoire et notation," in *Liturgie et musique (IXe–XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17 (Toulouse, 1982), table 2, p. 257; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 32–33.

other aspects of this repertory indicate that it was of particular importance. For example Pa 1118 contains no fewer than seventeen sets of trope elements for *Puer natus est*, the Introit of the third Mass for Christmas (fols. 8v–12r).[10] It is impossible to say how many of these sets would be sung in any given year; the most common form of the Introit involves three repetitions of the antiphon in the arrangement Introit, Psalm verse, Introit, Doxology, Introit (IVI●I), although further verses, and therefore repetitions of the antiphon, could be added as *uersus ad repetendum*.[11] Nevertheless the large repertory transmitted by Pa 1118 would certainly not be sung in its entirety in any given year, and so it indicates a high intensity of creative activity around this Introit. Moreover the Proper trope provided an opportunity for melodic invention not available in the *prosa* or the Kyrie trope, two other popular types found in the tropers, which employ a predominantly syllabic, and therefore much starker, melodic style. The *uersus* repertory echoes these characteristics. The texts of many of the *uersus* concern the Nativity, and, although there was no liturgical restriction on the performance of these pieces as far as we know, the quantity indicates a level of activity similar to that found among the Proper tropes. And the *uersus*, too, was a vehicle for both poetic and musical expression. Therefore I believe it is fair to say that these two pieces were the most important forms of devotional expression in their respective centuries.

There is strong manuscript evidence that attests to the date when the shift from Proper trope to *uersus* took place. None of the Aquitanian tropers that can be dated to the twelfth century contains even a single Proper trope.[12] They transmit, instead, *prosae* and tropes of the Ordinary of the Mass. Hence the composition, circulation, and perhaps even the performance of Proper tropes ceased in Aquitaine around 1100. On the other hand, *uersus* started to circulate in northern France in the last quarter or so of the eleventh century. The so-called Norman-Sicilian tropers, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, contain several examples of the type.[13] Of the sources of the much larger Aquitanian

[10] See Corpus Troporum 1:226–29. On the expression "trope element," see Jonsson, "Corpus Troporum," pp. 102–7.

[11] Josef Andreas Jungmann, S.J., *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Vienna, 1962), 1:414–29; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1977), 1:69–78; and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 34–35; for the abbreviations see ibid., pp. xvii–xix and endpapers. For an example of a troped Introit that is to be sung ten times as the refrain to nine verses in the apostolic liturgy for Saint-Martial, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 38–44; and "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy for the Feast of Saint Martial," in *Music Discourse from Classical to Early Modern Times: Editing and Translating Texts*, ed. Maria Rika Maniates, Conference on Editorial Problems 26: 1990 (New York, 1993), pp. 32–37.

[12] The chief examples are Pa 778 and 1086. For their dates, see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 188; idem, *L'école*, pp. 115–16; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 114, 122.

[13] On the Norman-Sicilian tropers, Ma 288, 289, and 19421, see 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, 1981); "The Norman Chant Traditions—Normandy, Britain, Sicily," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980–81), 1–33; "Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari siculo-normanni?" *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 18 (1983), 3–28; and "The Chant of Norman Sicily: Interaction between the Norman and Italian

repertory of *uersus*, however, none can be securely dated before 1100 and so, although the composition of *uersus* may have commenced in Aquitaine in the last quarter or so of the eleventh century, it was 1100 before that genre became preeminent.[14]

When we consider the content of the literary texts and the musical and literary style, the real differences between these two types become apparent. Here the liturgical contexts are of paramount importance as the writers of the *uersus* had none of the restraints in style or content that affected the composers of the Proper tropes. As Paul Evans demonstrates, the Proper trope has to fit into the style of its host text. It normally consists of several phrases, or elements, that introduce the individual phrases of the host text. Thus, trope elements alternate with phrases of their host text. Therefore the trope must provide a smooth link grammatically and musically from the end of the trope element to the beginning of the next phrase of the host text, and from the end of that phrase to the start of the next trope element.[15] The *uersus*, as an independent piece, is not similarly restricted.

The trope *In principio deus de se fecit*, for *Dominus dixit*, Introit of the first Mass of Christmas (sung "de galli cantu" ["at cock's crow"], as the rubric in Pa 887, fol. 8r, reads), stands as a typical example of the genre. Allowing for the fragmentary survival of the sources, I believe that this trope can be demonstrated to have originated in Aquitaine. It consists of three elements that are found in this combination only in the Aquitanian sources Pa 1118 (fol. 3v) and 887 (fol. 8r–v), both of which can be dated to the first half of the eleventh century. The second and third elements, together with a similar but different first element, also appear in Pa nal 1871 (fol. 2v).[16] Among the tropers consulted

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Traditions," *Studia musicologica* 30 (1988), 379–91 (also published in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols., ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, and F. Alberto Gallo [Turin, 1990], 2:92–105). On the relation of these tropers to the Aquitanian *uersaria*, see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:78–85.

[14] On the dating of the sources and the repertory, see Grier, "Some Codicological Observations."

[15] Heinrich Husmann, "Sinn und Wesen der Tropen, veranschaulicht an den Introitustropen des Weihnachtsfestes," *Archiv für musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959), 135–47; Bruno Stäblein, "Zum Verständnis des 'klassichen' Tropus," *Acta musicologica* 35 (1963), 84–95; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 55–118; Annie Dennery, *Le chant postgrégorien: Tropes, séquences et prosules*, Musique–Musicologie 19 (Paris, 1989), pp. 112–19; and David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 218–21. For a discussion of the tropes for the feast of St. Martial and their relationship with their host chants, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 44–47; idem, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 29–37; and Ritva Maria Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel: Bibliotekshistoria och hagiografi," in *Bibliotek: Tradition och utveckling—Festskrift till Lars-Erik Sanner den 18 januari 1991* (Stockholm, 1991), pp. 250–59. For analyses of other specific examples, see Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship," in *Studies in the History of Music*, 1: *Music and Language* (New York, 1983), pp. 1–23; and John G. Johnstone, "Beyond a Chant: 'Tui sunt caeli' and Its Tropes," ibid., pp. 24–37.

[16] See Corpus Troporum 1:225. Pa 887 gives, as the Psalm verse, *Quare fremuerunt*. For the dates of Pa 1118 and 887, see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 177–79, 180–81; idem, *L'école*, pp. 92–96, 98–100; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 117, 124. Edition of text: Corpus Troporum 1:94, 120, 126 (individual elements). Edition of music: Günther Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1: *Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropare des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aeui 3 (Kassel, 1970), pp. 129–30, no. 105, where both versions of the first element are given.

by the Corpus Troporum group, these elements occur in only one non-Aquitanian source, a manuscript that is Italian in provenance and that dates from 1100 or later. Moreover, the elements appear in a different combination in that manuscript, and hence I believe that the Aquitanian origin of this trope is certain.[17]

Introit and trope are complementary in style. The second Psalm is the source of the Introit antiphon (verse 7), and it uses a free quantitative trochaic meter:[18]

> In principio deus de se fecit trinitatem quia pater et filius est unus.
> DOMINVS DIXIT AD ME—
> Filium genuit in utero uirginis—
> FILIVS MEVS ES TV.
> Ipse est quem genuit puerpera regem.
> EGO HODIE GENVI TE.

(In the beginning God made from himself the Trinity because the Father and the Son is one. THE LORD SAID TO ME—he begat his son in the womb of the Virgin—YOU ARE MY SON. He is the very one whom the woman in childbed begat as king. TODAY I BEGAT YOU.)

The text of the antiphon consists of a direct statement with introduction that asserts that the Lord has fathered a son. This Psalm, then, is a Messianic text appropriate for Christmas, and it deals with this doctrinal issue in a straightforward manner. The text of the trope is a trope in the most literal sense of the word: an amplification of the meaning of the host text. The introductory trope establishes that Father and Son are equal partners in the Trinity, and the second and third elements state that Christ was born from a virgin and that he is king. The composer of the trope may have borrowed the phrase "puerpera regem" from the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius.[19] Like the antiphon, all three trope elements make simple statements without artifice about doctrinal issues relevant to the birth of Christ. Thus trope and antiphon preserve the same tone all the way through. One aspect of the text might be construed as an incongruity: the trope elements are composed throughout in the third person, and hence step outside the dramatic context of the antiphon with its direct statements. This detachment, however, serves to highlight the trope elements as comments

[17] The Italian troper is Ivr 60, on which see Les Moines de Solesmes, *Le graduel romain: Edition critique*, 2: *Les sources* (Solesmes, 1957), p. 54; Michel Huglo, "Le domaine de la notation bretonne," *Acta musicologica* 35 (1963), 71–72; Réginald Grégoire, "Repertorium liturgicum italicum," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 9 (1968), 513–14; idem, "Repertorium liturgicum italicum (Addenda, I)," ibid., 3rd ser., 11 (1970), 547; and Corpus Troporum 1:225.

[18] All editions and translations are my own. I adopt the method used by the Corpus Troporum to distinguish trope and host texts, by capitalizing the latter. The trope is transcribed from Pa 887; the Introit antiphon from Pa 1132, fol. 10v. Cf. the version of the antiphon transcribed from Pa 776, fol. 12r, in Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1: booklet, pp. 12–13, no. 10. In the first trope element, I emend the second "et" to "est," in agreement with Weiß.

[19] Sedulius, *Paschalis carminis libri quinque cum hymnis* 2.63, ed. Johannes Huemer, CSEL 10:48. The entire verse from Sedulius also occurs as the opening of the Marian Introit *Salue sancta parens*, which had at least limited circulation in eleventh-century Aquitaine (it appears in Pa 776, the eleventh-century gradual from Albi, fol. 112v). I am indebted to one of the anonymous readers for *Speculum* for this citation.

on or expansions of the host text, and the fact that the tropes are written in prose heightens the contrast.

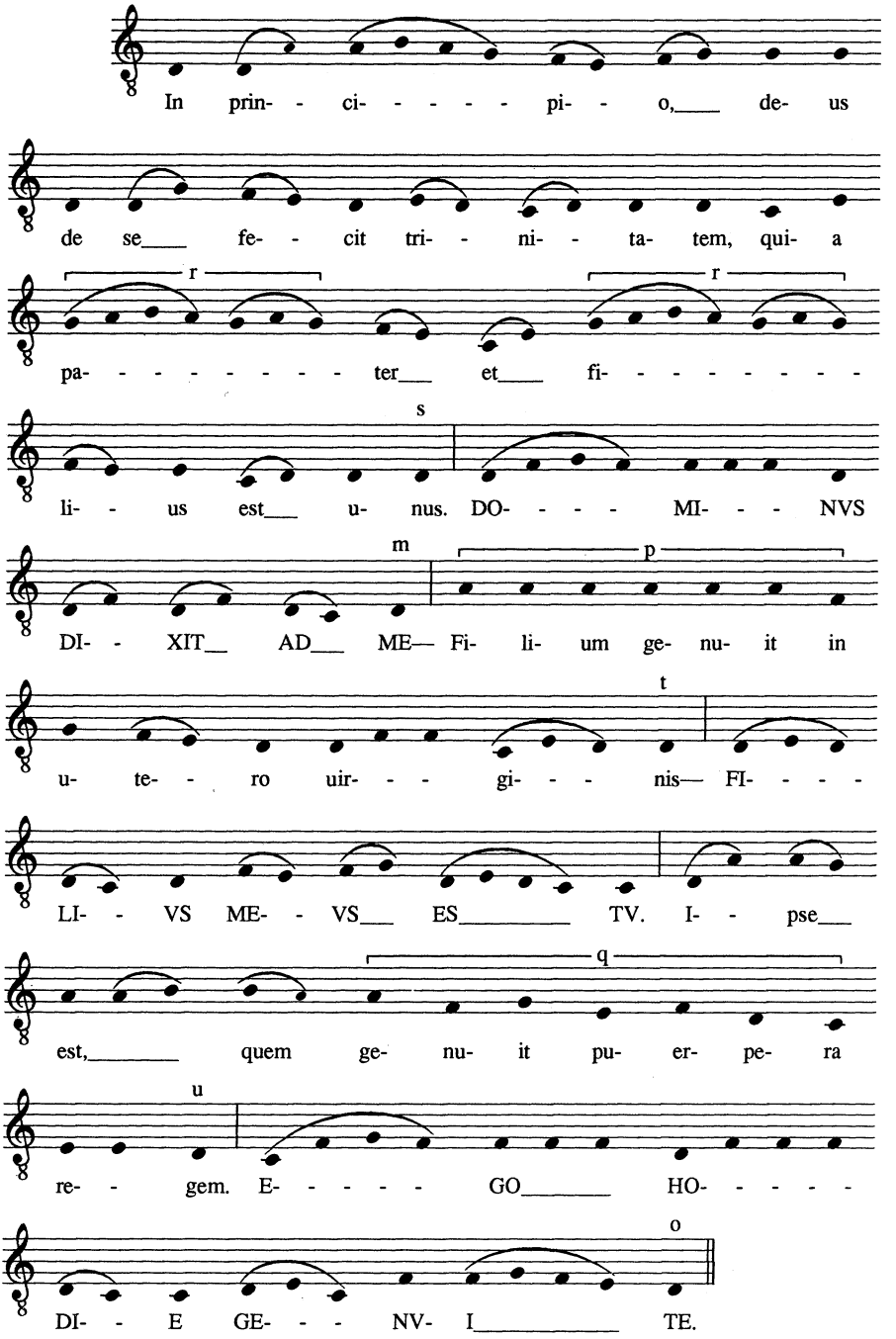
The musical setting of the antiphon falls well within the stylistic boundaries of the Introit (Example 1).[20] A neumatic texture predominates. That is, few syllables are set with a single note, and there are no long melismata. The antiphon is classified as mode 2, or *protus* tonality with plagal range and orientation. The tonal structure of the chant is laid out in the opening phrase ("Dominus dixit ad me") wherein the pitches D and F, final and reciting tone respectively, are emphasized, and the note C prepares the cadence on the final (marked **m** in Example 1). The second phrase picks up the function of C in the first phrase and uses it as a cadence point (marked **n**) in preparation for the final cadence on D (**o**). The reciting tone, F, is given less weight in the second phrase but returns to prominence in the third and final phrase.

The musical setting of the trope also exhibits a neumatic texture, although it contains some syllabic writing, at the opening of the second element (**p**) and the close of the third element (**q**), and one moderately long melisma (**r**). This melisma, with its extension over the next syllable, is significant because its context neatly underscores the doctrinal point raised in the literary text: "pater" and the first two syllables of "filius" (the first syllables of each marked **r**) have identical musical settings. The tonal structure of the trope reinforces that of the antiphon, as each cadence is on the final, D (marked **s**, **t**, and **u**). In addition the connections between trope and antiphon phrases are smooth. The leap from the end of one phrase to the beginning of the next is never more than a second, with one exception, which I shall discuss below. Thus the entire package, trope and antiphon, literary and musical text, forms a cohesive whole.

As in the literary text, so in the musical text, the trope is distinguished from the antiphon in one respect: range and modal orientation. While the trope clearly shares the *protus* tonality with the antiphon, its range is higher, reaching to B, whereas the antiphon's highest note is G. Furthermore A, the usual reciting tone of mode 1, the authentic mode in the *protus* tonality, replaces F as a secondary pitch center. The importance of A is emphasized by the leaps at the very beginning of the first and third trope elements and by the connection between the end of the antiphon's first phrase and the beginning of the second trope element, the exceptional join, involving a leap of a fifth, D to A, already mentioned. The recitation on A that opens the second trope element further stresses the role of that pitch in the trope. This recitation and the leaps, D to A, that, in effect, open each element of the trope are both characteristics of mode 1, and, consequently, I classify the trope in that mode. The trope is set in relief against the antiphon by this modal contrast, and the position of the figures that characterize mode 1 at the beginning of each trope element indicates

[20] See, e.g., the Introits transcribed from Aquitanian sources in Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1: booklet. In the musical examples, the syllabification of the literary text accords with the traditional rules of Latin prosody (e.g., breaking the syllable after the vowel wherever possible); where the syllabification does not accord with those rules, it follows divisions in the manuscript source of the example. Bold letters in the text are keyed to passages in the musical examples marked with those letters.

Example 1: *In principio deus de se fecit* Pa 887 fol. 8r-v; *DOMINVS DIXIT* Pa 1132 fol. 10v



that the effect is deliberate. I would suggest that this modal contrast and the consequent differences in the shapes of phrases provide a commentary on the antiphon's musical text parallel to that in the literary text.[21] The contrasts between trope and antiphon, both literary and musical, would have been emphasized by the method of performance: trope elements were sung by the soloists, whereas the chorus sang the Introit in unison.[22]

Although *In principio deus* is a typical example of style in the eleventh-century Proper trope, it by no means exhibits the range of expression found in the genre as a whole. Both much more elaborate musical settings and less prosaic texts occur among Introit tropes.[23] For example, the trope *Christi discipulus*, for the Introit *Probauit eum* of the apostolic Mass for St. Martial, offers a melismatic setting that far exceeds the average trope.[24] The special circumstances under which this trope was composed may help to explain its embellished style. Adémar de Chabannes wrote it for inclusion in his newly created apostolic Mass for the feast of St. Martial. Moreover, it holds the climactic position of last in the series of Introit tropes to be sung at the opening of the Mass, probably as the accompaniment to a lavish procession and exhibition of the relics of the saint.[25] Adémar may then have saved this elaborate piece to provide a fitting conclusion to this grandiose opening of the Mass.

Another composition of Adémar's from the same Mass also provides an example of a richer literary context than that evinced by *In principio deus*. The penultimate Introit trope, *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus*, uses a much fuller palette of images and literary devices:[26]

Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus ipsum
carne deum meruit iuuenis habuisse magistrum.
PROBAVIT EVM DEVS ET SCIVIT COR SVVM.
Fortis amore dei nam spraeuit utrumque parentem.
quem dominus caenando suum dedit esse ministrum.
COGNOVIT SEMITAS SVAS.
Spiritus ignifluus domini quem iure repleuit
omnigenis linguis et uero dogmate Christi,
DEDVXIT ILLVM IN VIA AETERNA.
Clauigero caeli meritis et sanguine nexus
in solio dominum residens conlaudat in euum.
ET NIMIS CONFORTATVS EST PRINCIPATVS EIVS.

[21] On modal contrast between trope and host chant, see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 86–87; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 50–53.

[22] On the performance of tropes, see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 32, 36–38, 107–8.

[23] For a discussion of elevated literary style in Introit tropes, see Peter Dronke, "Types of Poetic Art in Tropes," in *Liturgische Tropen*, ed. Silagi, pp. 10–23.

[24] Transcribed from Pa 909, fol. 45r, in Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 51–53. It also appears in Pa 1119, fol. 59v. Cf. edition of the text: AH 49:130, no. 296. Edition of the music: Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1:83–84, no. 68.

[25] See Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 43–54; and "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 32–33, 37.

[26] Pa 909, fols. 44v–45r; Pa 1119, fols. 58v–59r. Edition of the text: AH 49:130, no. 295. Edition of the music: Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1:85–86, no. 69.

(Saint Martial, the thundering apostle, deserved, as a youth, to have had God himself, in fleshly guise, as his master. GOD JUDGED HIM AND KNEW HIS HEART. Strong in the love of God, he spurned both parents. And the Lord, by dining, granted that he be his own servant. HE RECOGNIZED THE PATHS OF HIS LIFE. HIM, whom the spirit of the Lord, flowing with fire, filled with right, with tongues of all types and the true dogma of Christ, HE LED INTO THE ETERNAL WAY. Joined to the key-bearer of heaven by his merits and by blood, yet residing on earth, he praised the Lord forever. AND HIS DOMINION IS STRENGTHENED BEYOND MEASURE.)

Martial appears as a "thundering apostle," who acted as the servant ("ministrum") to Christ, his master ("magistrum"), and the trope's diction is heightened by the use of the compounds "ignifluus" ("flowing with fire"), "omnigenis" ("of all types"), and, for St. Peter, "clauigero" ("the keybearer"). Here, the dactylic hexameters of the trope (not entirely faultless, as in the first line, where Martial's name gives a cretic in place of the required dactyl) contrast with the prose of the Introit.[27] These elements combine to intensify the rhetorical effect of the piece, in keeping with Adémar's goal in creating it for the promotion of Martial's cult.[28] His purpose for these two tropes, therefore, may have motivated him to reach beyond the average stylistic bounds of the Introit trope, but, by illustrating the limits of expression in the genre, they serve to identify our example, *In principio deus*, as typical.

To what sort of audience would the Christmas trope, *In principio deus*, have appealed? First, the treatment in the literary text of the doctrinal issues concerning Christ's birth makes it suitable for the dignified liturgical context of the Mass and for the contemplation of those issues by the faithful. Second, the melodic idiom found in both trope and Introit is among the most sophisticated of those practiced in the eleventh century. One might argue that only the responsorial chants of Mass and Office are more complex. Third, the interaction between trope and antiphon, both dramatic and musical, also indicates a perceptual sophistication on the part of the audience. This highly refined piece addresses an audience that could appreciate and even demand the literary, dramatic, and musical devices exploited by the composer.

Ex Ade uicio, a *uersus* written around 1100, is no less sophisticated in its own way but would have had quite a different appeal to its audience. It also is demonstrably Aquitanian in origin, within the limits imposed by the survival of sources. The only surviving non-Aquitanian source is the Beauvais Circumcision Office of the thirteenth century. The Aquitanian sources, on the other hand, all date from the twelfth century and include the three oldest *uersaria*, 3719b,

[27] Cf. the faulty scansion of this line in Chailley, *L'école*, p. 295. On the poetic meters of the tropes, see ibid., pp. 291–96; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 64–67; Corpus Troporum 1:40–42; Giovanni Orlandi, "Metrical Problems in Tropes," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. Leonardi and Menestò, pp. 183–96; and Dag Norberg, "Problèmes métriques dans les séquences, les offices et les tropes," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Arlt and Björkvall, pp. 361–69.

[28] On Adémar's creation of the apostolic liturgy for the feast of St. Martial, see Louis Saltet, "Une discussion sur Saint Martial entre un Lombard et un Limousin en 1029," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 26 (1925), 161–86, 279–302; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 41–69; idem, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 17–43; and Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel," pp. 242–61.

1139a, and 3719a, all of which date from around 1100.[29] (See Table 1, above, for the sigla of the *uersaria*.) Thus *Ex Ade uicio* belongs to the earliest stratum of the *uersus* repertory. Unlike the Proper trope, the liturgical context of the *uersus* is far from certain. Their texts are, for the most part, sacred, and I suspect that they would have been sung at least occasionally in the liturgy, most likely as conductus, accompanying processions, as they are used in the Circumcision Offices.[30] In any event, the *uersus* had no fixed place in the liturgy and consequently knew none of the restrictions placed on the Proper trope.

The text of *Ex Ade uicio* is poetic throughout, arranged in stanzas that are defined by a complex metrical and rhyme scheme:[31]

1. Ex Ade uicio
nostra perdicio
traxit primordia,
dei et hominum
per Christum dominum
facta concordia.
eia,
gaudeat ecclesia
fidelium,
noua mater filium,
humilium
redemptorem,
uirgo manens edidit,
quod accidit
preter morem.

2. Vt solis radius
intrat innoxius
fenestram uitream,
sic dei filius,
immo subtilius,
aulam uirgineam.
paleam
retulit ad aream
uentilabrum;
qui sub carnis uelabrum
candelabrum
uere lucis
ceu sol nube latuit,
nec horruit
mortem crucis.

[29] Monophonic versions of *Ex Ade uicio* appear in 3719b (fol. 24r), 1139a (fol. 35r–v), and 3549 (fol. 165r–v). 3719a originally contained a polyphonic version (fols. 19v–20v), but the music has been erased; see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 2:405; and "The Myth," pp. 11–12. Edition of the text: AH 20:60, no. 33. Edition of the music: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:25–26 (commentary, 2:29). On the Beauvais Circumcision Office, see Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1970); on the place of *Ex Ade uicio* in it, ibid., Darstellungsband, pp. 135–38; and Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:99–101.

[30] See Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:26–34; Bryan Gillingham, "A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus," in *Beyond the Moon*, ed. Gillingham and Merkley, pp. 100–117 (also published in *Musical Quarterly* 75 [1991], 59–73); and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 248–50. On the Circumcision Offices, see Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium*, Darstellungsband, pp. 206–17.

[31] Both text and music are transcribed from 3549, except for the fourth stanza, which is found only in 3719a. The literary text of 3549 transmits several substantive variants; see James Norman Grier, "Transmission in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985), pp. 96–99. Line 8 of stanza 2 reads "ad arenam" ("to the sand") in 3549: the text of 1139a and 3719a, "ad aream," is preferable because of the context of threshing created by "uentilabrum" and "paleam." On the reading "horruit," which no witness transmits, in the penultimate line of stanza 2, see Grier, "The Stemma," pp. 273–74. The adjective *tonax*, which occurs in stanza 4, line 13 ("sub tonaci corpore"), is unattested elsewhere to the best of my knowledge. If it is not an error, it is probably associated with the verb *tono* ("I thunder"), in which case the sense is obscure. The passage seems to require something like "mortal," and "mortali" would fit the meter, although paleographically it is not probable. The order of the stanzas follows that given by Dreves in AH 20, which does not reflect the disposition in any of the *uersaria*. For a discussion of the manuscript evidence and the virtues of Dreves's order, see Grier, "Transmission," pp. 80–84.

3. Diu miseria
grauis et seria
nos subiugauerat,
regnabat seruitus,
libertas penitus
nos abnegauerat.
aderat
terminus, quo fuerat
dispositum
Mariam per spiritum
paraclitum
fecundari,
et deum in uirgine
pro homine
humanari.

4. Stirps Gesse uirgulam,
secreti baiulam,
et florem uirgula
produxit unicum,
flosque mirificum
fructum per secula.
sedula
plebs resonet credula
cum iubilo,
qui sub quodam nubilo
de nichilo
cuncta fecit,
sub †tonaci† corpore
sub tempore
non abiecit.

(From the sin of Adam, our ruin has drawn its first beginnings, and a concord of God and men has been made through Christ the Lord. Indeed, may the church of the faithful rejoice, for the new mother, remaining a virgin, has brought forth her son, the redeemer of the humble, an event that has happened beyond custom.

Just as the ray of the sun enters a glass window without damaging it, thus did the Son of God, even more delicately, enter the house of the Virgin. The winnowing fork returned the chaff to the threshing floor; below the veil of flesh hid the candelabrum of the true light, just as the sun hid in a cloud, nor did he fear death on the cross.

For a long time weighty and grave misery had subjugated us; slavery was reigning; and liberty had completely refused us. The limit was present at which it had been arranged that Mary would be made fruitful through the Holy Spirit and that God would be made human from the Virgin on behalf of humanity.

The root of Jesse has produced a sprout, the bearer of a secret, and the sprout has produced a unique flower, and the flower the marvelous fruit through the ages. May the zealous and devout people resound with joy, for he who, under a certain cloudy sky, has made all things from nothing has not yielded under the restrictions of his body or of time.)

The meter is accentual and depends upon syllable count and the position of the final accent in the line.[32] The poetic structure can be analyzed as follows:

Stanza 1	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
Ex Ade uicio	A	6	ppo
nostra perdicio	A	6	ppo
Traxit primordia,	B	6	ppo

[32] On medieval accentual meters in general, see Dieter Schaller, "Bauformeln für akzentrhythmische Verse und Strophen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 9–21. On the versification of the *uersus*, see Spanke, "St. Martialstudien II"; idem, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik*; Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 1:100–110; Fuller "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:179–209; 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, 1971); and Grier, "Transmission," pp. 19–22. Cf. the metrical analysis of *Letabundi iubilemus* by Hiley, in *Western Plainchant*, p. 243.

Stanza 1	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
dei et hominum	C	6	ppo
per Christum dominum	C	6	ppo
facta concordia.	B	6	ppo
eia,	B	3	ppo
gaudeat ecclesia	B	7	ppo
fidelium,	D	4	ppo
noua mater filium,	D	7	ppo
humilium	D	4	ppo
redemptorem,	E	4	po
uirgo manens edidit,	F	7	ppo
quod accidit	F	4	ppo
preter morem.	E	4	po

The complexity of the stanzaic structure can be seen in the variation in line length from three to seven syllables, and accent on both antepenultimate and penultimate syllable, or proparoxytone and paroxytone respectively, is used. The rhyme scheme, too, is not without subtlety; grammatical and metrical units divide the stanza into three-line segments, and the interlocking rhyme scheme, using two- and in places three-syllable rhyme, bridges these divisions. The use of rhyme and accentual meter (both clearly audible in recitation) makes the text more accessible in tone without sacrificing literary and poetic subtlety and sophistication.

The content, moreover, although it deals with some of the same doctrinal issues as *In principio deus*, treats them in a poetic tone. The question of Christ's birth from a virgin arises in the first two stanzas. The first stanza closes with an exhortation for the "church of the faithful" to rejoice at this event, which is extraordinary ("preter morem"). The image of Mary's remaining inviolate despite Christ's birth is enriched in the second stanza with the simile that compares the penetration of a ray of light through a pane of glass with the entrance of Christ into the Virgin's womb. But that entrance is even more subtle ("immo subtilius"). Metaphor is also used in the third stanza, where the spiritual condition of the world before Christ's birth is equated with slavery, and in the fourth and final stanza, where he is described as a "marvelous fruit for the ages" ("mirificum fructum per secula") that has been produced from the root of Jesse. The effect of the text is heightened by poetic diction. For example, in the second stanza the poet uses the expression "maidenly house" ("aulam uirgineam") for the Virgin's womb, and he terms Christ's carnal state the "veil of flesh" ("carnis uelabrum"). These poetic devices provide a rich literary context in which the poet may discuss these issues of faith. The form and content of the text are less suitable for the liturgical setting in which the Proper trope was sung but would have been appropriate for less formal, but still sacred, occasions.

Stylistic elements in *Ex Ade uicio*'s melody make it much more accessible in tone than that of *In principio deus*, and it is designed to complement the text's poetic expression and structure (Example 2). First, the melody uses a good deal

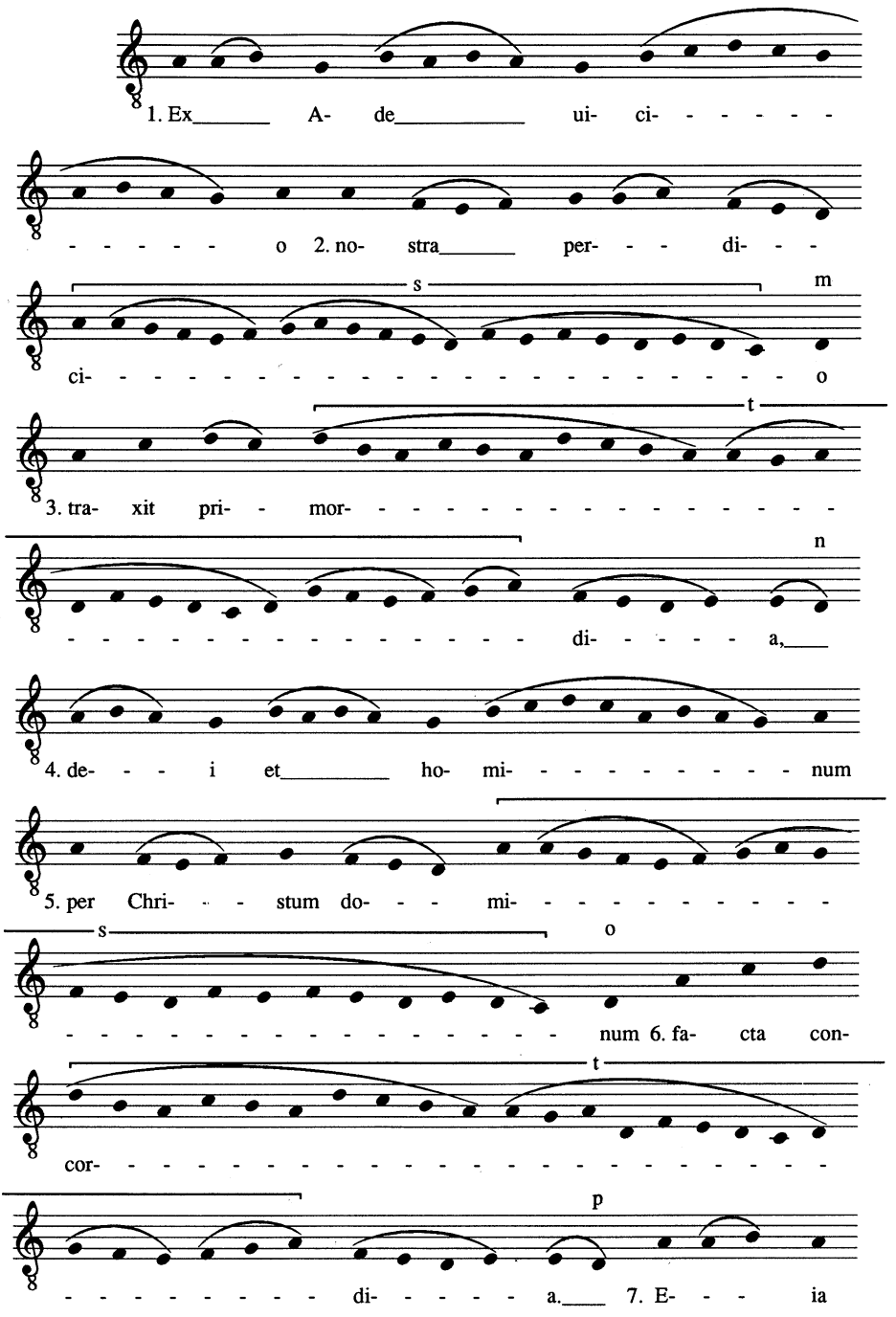
of repetition. The text is set strophically; that is, the same melody is sung for each stanza. Within the melody a repetitive structure is also introduced; for example, the setting of the first three lines of text is repeated for the next three. Second, the tonal structure of the piece is simple as every principal cadence is on the final, D (lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, and 15; marked **m** through **r** respectively); and third, the text is set syllabically for the most part, after the initial exuberance of the first two phrases. These features combine to form a melody that presents its literary text in a straightforward manner, without affectation; and the syllabic section of the melody in particular permits the text to be understood when sung.

Moreover, the melody's structure also mirrors that of the text. The fifteen-line stanza is broken into two units, of six and nine lines. This division is articulated by both the grammatical and poetic structure: on the one hand, the first six lines of each stanza form a complete syntactical unit; and, on the other, they consist of two groups of three lines, all with the same number of syllables and final accent, arranged in the rhyme scheme *aabccb*. The melody reflects this organization by setting the two groups of three lines with the same music, as mentioned above, and by articulating the *b* rhyme of the poetry with an extended cadential melisma. The second portion of the stanza, lines 7–15, is contrasted with the first by avoiding exact repetition and using a much more syllabic style.[33]

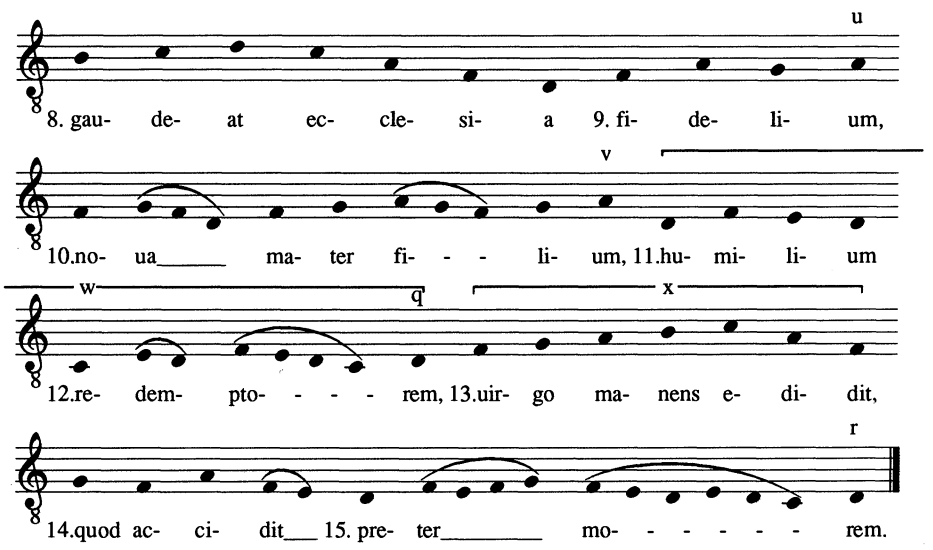
The contrast between the two sections of the melody extends to their respective tonal structures as well. The overall scheme of the melody presents a long-range arch that begins on A, a fifth above the final, D; rises to D an octave above the final; and eventually descends to a cadence on the final, D. This movement appears no fewer than four times over in the melody's first section, and each time the cadence is elaborated with an extended melisma (lines 2 and 5, marked **s**; and lines 3 and 6, marked **t**). The opening phrase of the second section rapidly outlines this arch again but comes to rest not on the final, D, but on A a fifth above (lines 9 and 10; marked **u** and **v** respectively), before executing a closed arch from D to F and back to the final D as the setting for lines 11–12 (marked **w**). The next phrase (line 13; marked **x**) enters new tonal ground, although the pitches are perfectly familiar from earlier passages of the melody, by presenting an arch from the intermediate pitch F, up to C, and back to F. The final section also contrasts with previous material by descending to the eventual cadential pitch D, not from A, as might be expected, but from G. Hence the tonal expectations created in the song's first section, although they are reproduced in the long-range scheme of the second section (it begins on A, ascends to D an octave above the final, and cadences twice on the final, D [lines 12 and 15; marked **q** and **r** respectively]), are not fulfilled in the more immediate melodic structures of the second section. Perhaps after the fourfold reiteration of this arch in the first section the composer considered that a single long-range presentation in the second section would be adequate, and so took advantage of this opportunity to create greater tonal variety in the melodic details of that second section.

[33] The version in 1139a gives rhyming cadences at the end of lines 12 and 15, corresponding with the *e* rhymes on "redemptorem" and "preter morem."

Example 2: *Ex Ade uicio* 3549 fol. 165r, stanza 1



Example 2 continued



The musical complement to the vivid poetic expression of the text is the cadential melisma, and *Ex Ade uicio* contains two fine examples (lines 2 and 5, marked **s**; and lines 3 and 6, marked **t**). These present the principal opportunity for personal musical expression. They usually occur on the last stressed syllable of the line, although the first example in *Ex Ade uicio* (marked **s**) appears above the unstressed penultimate syllable. Both melismata exhibit the richness of melodic decoration found in the *uersus* style. The first embellishes each descending step between A, the secondary tonal center, and D, the final. The second (marked **t**), on the other hand, sweeps across the entire range of the piece, emphasizing D, an octave above the final, A; D, the final; and A again, in preparation for the cadential descent to the final, D. Here is a musical gesture to match the poetic devices used in the text.

Other aspects of the range of personal expression exhibited by this repertory, in both literary and musical style, can be illustrated by two further examples. Moreover, they also show that, within the *uersus* repertory, both sacred and secular pieces share the same literary and musical styles. *Virginis in gremio* is a sacred *uersus* that, as far as we can judge from its surviving sources, is Aquitanian in origin.[34] Both witnesses, 3719c and 3549, belong to the middle layer of the Aquitanian *uersaria* and probably were written around the middle of the twelfth century. The *uersus* can be deemed sacred because of its literary text, which celebrates the birth of Christ, his power over evil, and the salvation he has

[34] Monophonic versions of *Virginis in gremio* appear in 3719c (fols. 35v–36r) and, as an addition to the main corpus of the manuscript, in 3549 (fol. 167v). Edition of the text: AH 21:187–88. Edition of the music: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:41–42 (commentary, 2:42). The present transcriptions, text and music, are from 3719c. In line 23 I follow AH in emending "plausus" to "plausu."

brought to a languorous and dolorous people. In other respects, the piece is indistinguishable from the secular example to be examined presently.

	Virginis in gremio	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
	Virginis in gremio	A	7	ppo
	manet lux infinita.	B	7	po
	nascitur in medio	A	7	ppo
	terre salus et uita,	B	7	po
5	cuius in obsequio,	A	7	ppo
	uox patris est audita.	B	7	po
	nam subditur infancie	C	8	ppo
	mire gigas potencie	C	8	ppo
	et gemine substancie.	C	8	ppo
10	nobilitanda,	D	5	po
	clarificanda,	D	5	po
	hec dies est amanda,	D	7	po
	hec dies conlaudanda,	D	7	po
	hec dies recitanda,	D	7	po
15	in qua nobis patent poli palacia,	E	12	ppo
	in qua Christi claret misericordia,	E	12	ppo
	clemencia,	E	4	ppo
	potencia,	E	4	ppo
	unde nouantur et congaudent omnia.	E	12	ppo
20	nec inmerito	F	5	ppo
	hoste perdito	F	5	ppo
	plus gaudemus solito	F	7	ppo
	plausu laudis inclito.	F	7	ppo
	inuisibilis tractatur,	G	8	po
25	inpalpabilis palpatur.	G	8	po
	iam nature debitum confunditur;	H	11	ppo
	iam qui nos deuicerat deuincitur;	H	11	ppo
	iam quod erat perditum redimitur.	H	11	ppo
	maxima gloria	I	6	ppo
30	multaque gratia	I	6	ppo
	celestium,	J	4	ppo
	terrestrium	J	4	ppo
	et omnium	J	4	ppo
	eterno sit auctori	K	7	po
35	qui proprium	J	4	ppo
	per filium	J	4	ppo
	et omnium	J	4	ppo
	nostro medet languori	K	7	po
	sanetur et dolori.	K	7	po

(In the bosom of the Virgin, the infinite light remains. Salvation and life are born in the middle of the earth, and in her service the voice of the Father has been heard. For in place of his infancy, a giant of marvelous power and twofold substance appears. This day must be ennobled; this day must be made famous; this day must be loved, praised, and recited on which the palaces of heaven lie open for us, on which the mercy of Christ, his clemency, his power are manifest, whence all things are renewed

and rejoice. When the enemy has been destroyed not without cause, we rejoice more than usual with the glorious applause of praise. The unseen is handled, the untouchable touched. Now what is owed to nature is confused; now he who had completely overcome us is overcome; now what had been lost is redeemed. Greatest glory and great thanks be to the eternal creator of heavenly, earthly, and all things, who through his own son and the son of everyone heals our languor and pain.)

The poetic text of *Virginis in gremio* is organized in groups of lines that are associated by meter and rhyme. For example, the first six lines are grouped in couplets. Each line of the couplet is seven syllables long, but the first line ends in proparoxytone and the second in paroxytone. The six lines use the rhyme scheme *abababb* wherein each rhyme consists of two syllables. Thus each proparoxytonic line has the *a* rhyme and each paroxytonic line the *b* rhyme. This pattern of couplets is not repeated elsewhere in the poem. The next group in the poem, lines 7–9, for instance, has lines eight syllables in length, all ending with proparoxytone and the same two-syllable rhyme. This type of poetic organization might be considered the equivalent of through composition in music.

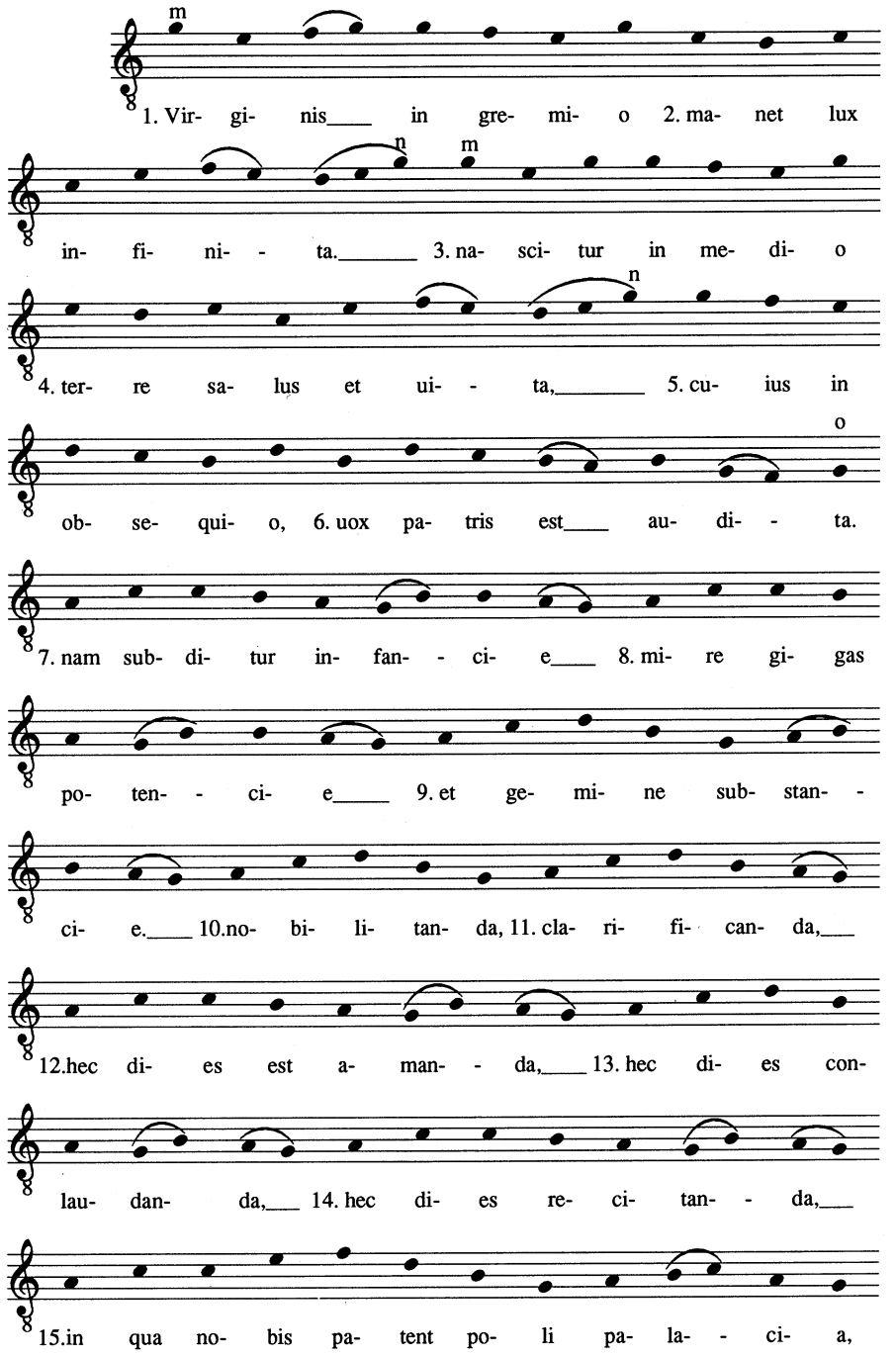
In fact, the musical organization of the piece reflects this poetic structure (Example 3). As in the case of *Ex Ade uicio*, the composer creates musical units that correspond to sections of the poem and exhibit characteristic settings. Of the first six lines, each couplet is treated as a phrase. The first two couplets are set to the same music, and the third couplet is given a different phrase; the musical structure of this section could be designated schematically as *aab*, or bar form. These two phrases exhibit the antecedent/consequent relationship typical of the *uersus*, as Leo Treitler observes in his study of the Aquitanian repertory.[35] The first phrase remains in the piece's high register for its entirety, beginning and ending on G, an octave above the final (lines 1 and 2; marked **m** and **n** in the musical example). After it is repeated for the second couplet, the second phrase, setting the third couplet, descends to the low register of the piece, cadencing on the final, G (line 6; marked **o**). Thus the tension of the high register, created by the very first note of the piece, is not resolved until the end of the third couplet.

The musical setting of the next section, lines 7–19, reflects a different type of compositional technique. Most of the lines, 7–16 to be exact, are set to a melodic formula that is slightly modified to accommodate poetic lines of differing length (the section contains lines from five to twelve syllables in length) and to provide variety. The setting of each line begins on A, rises to C, where, in some cases, it recites, before cadencing on G. (See Example 4, where lines 7, 10, 12, and 16 are superimposed.) The greatest variation in this scheme is to be found, not surprisingly, in lines 15 and 16, because of their length. This formulaic treatment closely resembles that used for liturgical lection tones, and, in fact, Jacques Chailley remarks on the similarity between the liturgical application of this technique and the style of the early lyric in Aquitaine.[36] This characteristic should not be considered relevant to the dating of the piece but

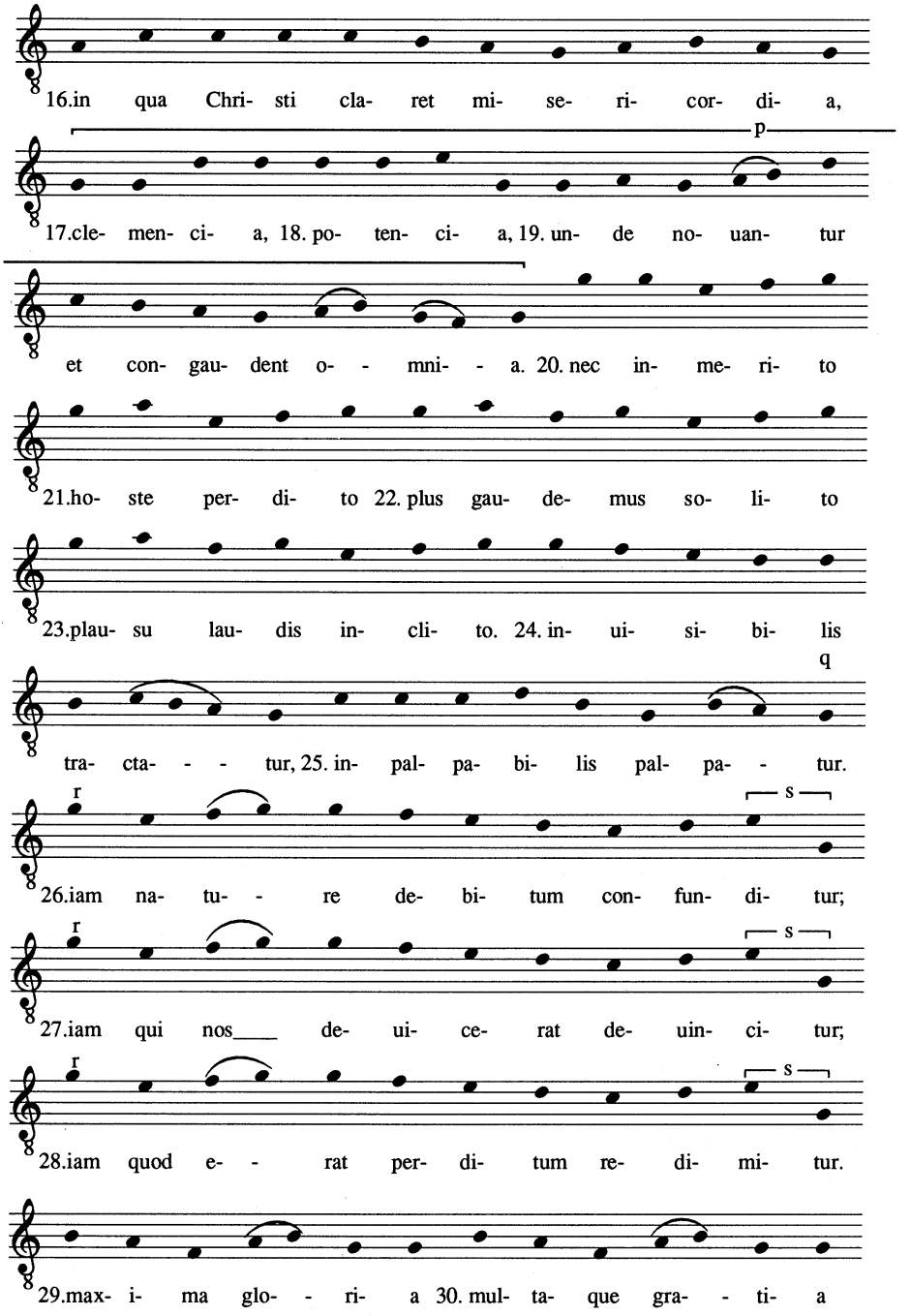
[35] Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 1:58–68.

[36] Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 166–78.

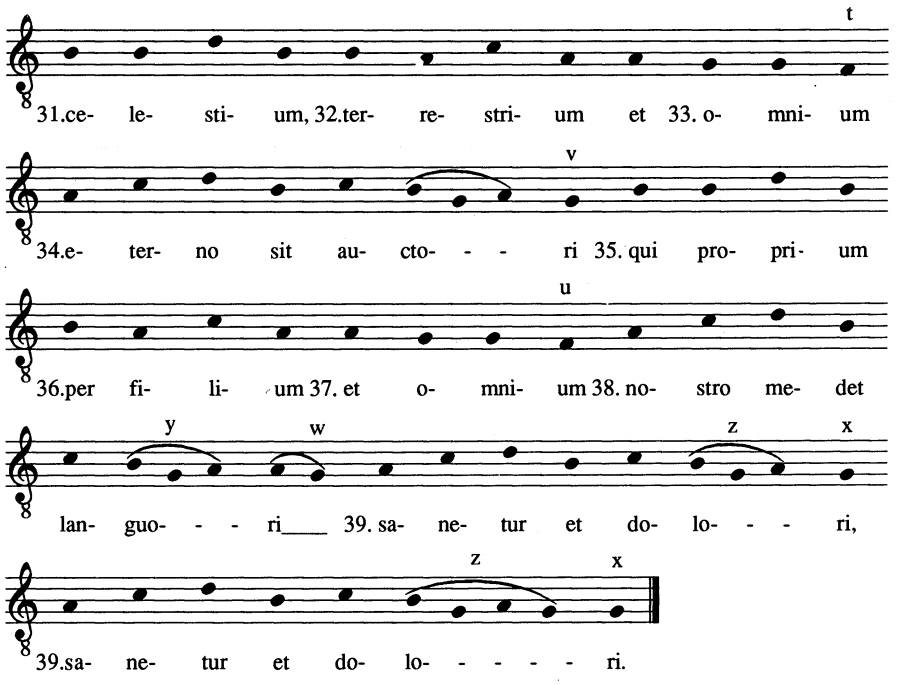
Example 3: *Virginis in gremio* 3719c fols. 35v-36r



Example 3 continued



Example 3 continued



rather should be interpreted as an archaic feature of its style. The section then closes with a contrasting cadential passage over lines 17–19 (marked **p** in Example 3).

The next section, lines 20–25, returns to the opening high register of the piece, in a pattern similar in nature to the first section. The first four lines (20–23) remain in the high register, undulating around G, an octave above the final, as does the setting of lines 1–4. This statement is then balanced with a descending melodic line spread over the next two poetic lines (24–25), eventually reaching a cadence on the final, G, in parallel with lines 5–6 (line 25; marked **q**). To this point, then, the song consists of two similar sections, separated by the second section, which contrasts with those sections in two ways: it remains in the lower register throughout, and it employs melodic formulae that are reminiscent of lection tones.

The fourth section, lines 26–28, presents the climax of the song, both poetically and musically. Through Christ's birth, nature is confounded, the devil vanquished, and, most important, the world redeemed. Each statement begins with anaphora on "iam" ("now"), and the rhetorical power of that device is echoed by the octave leap that "iam" three times completes (lines 26–28; marked **r**). Further emphasis in this passage is created by the exact repetition of the setting of each of the three lines, in contrast, for example, to the setting of lines 7–9, where the repetition is inexact. And the cadence of all three lines employs the wide and rarely met downward leap of a major sixth (lines 26–28;

marked **s**). All these elements contribute to distinguishing this section as the song's high point.

What follows is a restrained passage (lines 29–39) that effects a kind of denouement after the forcefulness of the preceding section. Like the second section, it remains in the song's lower register, although its melodic vocabulary is more varied. The chief musical interest is generated by the tension between the cadences on F at the ends of lines 33 and 38, on "omnium" (marked **t** and **u**), and those on the final, G, in lines 34, 38, and 39 (marked **v**, **w** and **x**, respectively). The relative tranquillity of this section prepares for the eventual cadence on G, which is repeated a total of three times, once for line 38, and twice for the repeated statements of line 39.

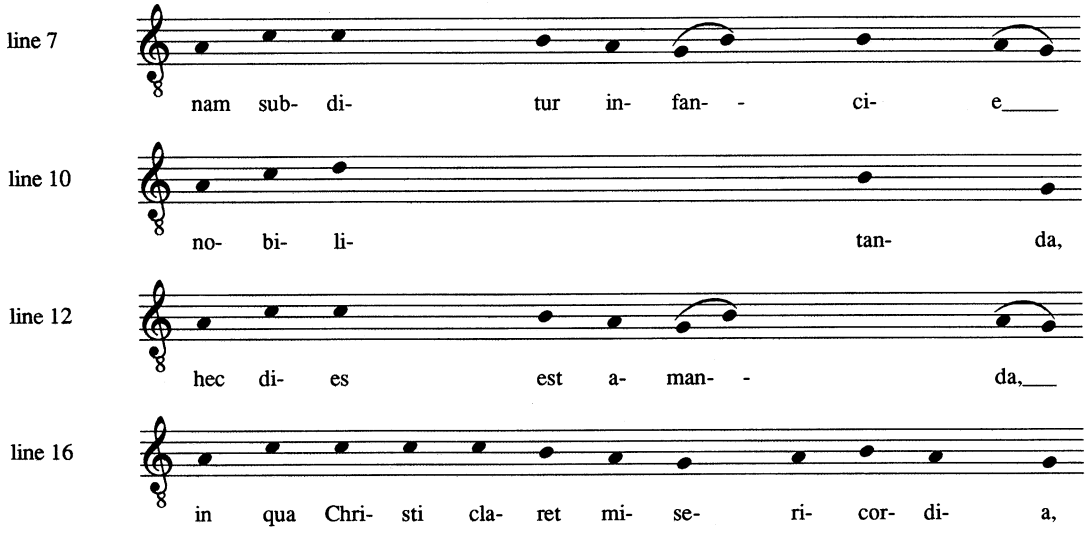
The overall structure of the song, then, consists of a long-range descent from the high register, exposed at the outset, to the eventual cadential point an octave lower. This movement is presented in microcosm in the piece's first section and characterizes the relationship between the first and second, and the third and fifth sections. Between the latter two sections falls the song's climax, lines 26–28, which reiterates this downward motion three times, each time ending with the distinctive downward leap of a major sixth.

The poem exhibits a highly rhetorical style. Particularly noteworthy is the use of anaphora in three places: "hec dies," lines 12–14; "in qua," lines 15 and 16; and "iam" at the climax, lines 26–28, as already discussed. These repetitions are very forceful in effect, as is the isocolon in lines 24 and 25. Furthermore, the poet punctuates his diction in several places with short lines, of four or five syllables (lines 10–11, 17–18, 31–33, and 35–37), that present words in the same grammatical form in a list. For example, the subject of "claret" in line 16 is "misericordia," which is then supplemented by "clemencia" and "potencia" in lines 17–18. This presentation exploits the identical meters of the words and their rhyming endings, here and in lines 10–11 reinforced by asyndeton, to create a dry and emphatic tone. These rhetorical devices are typical of the dramatic poetic style found in this repertory.

In contrast, the musical setting is restrained stylistically. It is almost entirely syllabic, with brief cadential melismata at the end of the last two lines (lines 38 and 39; marked **y** and **z** respectively). The spare style is intended to make the text clearly audible and comprehensible. The principal opportunity for musical expression is the cadential melisma, but the composer of *Virginis in gremio* elected to retain a spare melodic style here as well. Also typical of the repertory is the simple tonal structure, wherein nearly every phrase ends on the final, G, or on G an octave above the final. The only exceptions to this practice occur near the end of the piece above the expression "et omnium" in lines 33 and 37 (marked **t** and **u**), as mentioned above. These phrases both end on F, a second below the final, G, thus creating a degree of tension that is resolved in the strong cadences on the final, G, that immediately follow at the end of lines 34 ("auctori," marked **v**), 38 ("languori," marked **w**), and 39 ("dolori," marked **x**).

What is the effect of these various stylistic elements? First, like *Ex Ade uicio*, the piece creates a tone that is accessible to its audience. Contributing factors to this tone are the text's accentual meter and rhyme and the simple tonal

Example 4: *Virginis in gremio*



structure and syllabic style of the melody. We might conclude, then, that *Virginis in gremio* was intended for performance in an informal setting before a familiar audience. Second, the stylistic accessibility of the piece does not preclude elements that appeal to the audience's intellect. The rhetorical devices of anaphora and isocolon employed in the text have such an appeal, as does the manner in which doctrinal issues are discussed. Such matters as the Virgin birth (lines 1–4); Christ's dual nature, divine and human (line 9); and his mercy, clemency, and power (lines 16–19) are treated with rigorous orthodoxy. The poem, therefore, is a vehicle to discuss these fundamental issues of Christian belief in an informal environment. Third, this combination of doctrine and accessible style indicates that the audience for *Virginis in gremio* was educated and pious, so pious in fact that its members used their leisure time to create, perform, and listen to sacred songs of an informal nature.

Because of the Aquitanian origin of the repertory, the group that fits this profile best is the regular clergy. It is true that, with the emergence of the cathedral schools in the twelfth century, the knowledge required to appreciate such poems was not restricted exclusively to monks. Nevertheless, the most important cathedral schools were located in the north. Aquitaine had nothing, in the twelfth century, to compare with the burgeoning institutions in Paris, Chartres, Reims, and Laon. We therefore should look first to the Aquitanian monastic communities as the provenance of this repertory.

Regular clergy shared a communal existence that was dominated by the *opus dei*, the liturgy. Prayer filled the day during the daily round of Divine Office and Mass, and in private. In such an environment it is not surprising that monks would turn to the composition of songs that expressed their feelings about sacred subjects. What is of especial interest is the informal tone of these creative expressions. These twelfth-century regulars moved outside the liturgy to create a less formal setting in which doctrinal issues could be discussed. It is possible that restrictions placed by ecclesiastical authorities on alterations or additions to the liturgy might have encouraged this outlet for the monks' creative activity, but I prefer to seek the creative impetus for this repertory among the monks themselves. The style bespeaks a confidence not found in the previous century but manifest in other aspects of twelfth-century artistic and intellectual endeavors. The communication of personal ideas was of great importance—hence the development of a simple, straightforward manner of presenting the text—but of equal importance was the manner of expression of those ideas, and that is the explanation for the development of the rich poetic style and the cadential melisma, which provided the principal opportunity for personal expression in the musical setting.

The concerns of the monks went beyond sacred matters. The repertory of *uersus* from twelfth-century Aquitaine includes a good number of pieces with secular texts. They are in the minority, to be sure, but their number is far from inconsequential. Immediately following *Virginis in gremio* in 3719c is one such piece, *De terre gremio*.[37] Perhaps the word "gremio" ("bosom") in the first line of each

[37] A monophonic version of *De terre gremio* appears in 3719c, fols. 36r–37v; a portion of the

poem has caused the scribe to place them in such close proximity. Although the presence of *De terre gremio* in 3719b and 3719c guarantees its circulation in Aquitanian monastic communities, its origin there is not certain. Some scholars, in fact, attribute it to the statesman and litterateur Peter of Blois, a member of the court of Henry II of England and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, with no apparent connections to monastic circles.[38]

That argument depends on two letters by Peter on the subject of poetry, in which he reproaches the addressee for continuing to cultivate secular verse instead of turning his attention to theology.[39] That addressee is also named Peter of Blois, and Reto Bezzola suggests that he might be the alter ego of the author, and thus that Peter was accusing himself of weakness in his persisting devotion to poetry.[40] Peter Dronke, taking that view as a point of departure, develops several criteria for the identification of some fifty songs as the original products of Peter of Blois.[41] There were, however, two contemporary Peters of Blois, one of whom was a canon of Chartres, as the author of Letters 76 and 77 identifies his addressee; and Theophilus Reimarus long ago showed that this second Peter retained a keen interest in secular literature, to judge by the prologue to his work on canon law.[42] He might therefore have merited the

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poem, with monophonic music for the last stanza only, appears in 3719b, fol. 23v. Editions of the text: Edélestand du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), pp. 232–34 (from 3719c); Jak. Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt*, 2nd ed. (Aarau, 1905), p. 62; André Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton. III," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 62–63; and Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm, 1958), pp. 174–76.

[38] The chief sources for the biography of Peter of Blois are his letters; see PL 207:1–560; and Elizabeth Revell, ed., *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, Auctores Britannici Medii Aeui 13 (Oxford, 1993). See also J. Armitage Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays* (London, 1921), pp. 100–140; Walter F. Schirmer and Ulrich Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 23 (Cologne and Opladen, 1962), pp. 163–83; Reto R. Bezzola, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident (500–1200)*, 3: *La société courtoise: Littérature de cour et littérature courtoise*, pt. 1: *La cour d'Angleterre comme centre littéraire sous les rois Angevins (1154–1199)*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, IVe Section, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 319 (Paris, 1963), pp. 31–46; R. W. Southern, "Peter of Blois: A Twelfth Century Humanist?" in *Medieval Humanism* (New York, 1970), pp. 105–32; idem, "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 207–18; and Egbert Türk, *Nugae curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantegenêt (1145–1189) et l'éthique politique*, Hautes Etudes Médiévales et Modernes 28 (Geneva, 1977), pp. 124–58.

[39] Peter of Blois, Letters 76 and 77; PL 207:231–39.

[40] Bezzola, *La cour d'Angleterre*, pp. 39–42.

[41] Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976), 185–235. See also Peter Godman, "Literary Classicism and Latin Erotic Poetry of the Twelfth Century and the Renaissance," in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford, 1990), pp. 149–82, esp. pp. 149–69.

[42] Peter of Blois, *Speculum iuris canonici*, ed. Theophilus Augustus Reimarus (Berlin, 1837), p. 1; on which see Stephan Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234)*, Studi e Testi 71 (Vatican City, 1937), pp. 220–22. See also Reimarus's preface, pp. xliv–xlix, and R. W. Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London, 1992), pp. 103–18.

reproaches voiced in these letters. More important, however, is the demonstration that the statesman Peter of Blois was not censuring himself for writing secular verse, and thus R. W. Southern, working from the evidence presented by Reimarus, casts doubt on at least some of Dronke's attributions. This Peter of Blois, however, refers in several letters to love poetry written in his youth: "uersus et ludicra quae feci Turonis" ("the poetry and games that I made at Tours," Letter 12, referring to his early education at Tours, probably in the 1140s), "amatoria iuuentutis et adolescentiae nostrae ludicra" and "lasciuioribus cantilenis" ("the love poems of my youth and the games of my adolescence" and "the rather lewd songs," Letter 57), and "nugis et cantibus uenereis" ("the trifles and songs of Venus," Letter 76).[43] The poem under consideration here, *De terre gremio*, certainly fits these descriptions, although that circumstance is by no means a sure indication of Peter of Blois's authorship.

Dronke gives three criteria for judging otherwise anonymous songs to be the product of Peter of Blois: metrical and verbal procedures, particularly, among the former, the use of four-syllable lines ending in proparoxytone; the treatment of certain themes, especially love as an appropriate preoccupation only for the young; and the association of songs attributed to Peter in the same manuscripts.[44] I wish to discuss only the last point in connection with *De terre gremio* because not all the evidence from the Aquitanian witnesses has had adequate exposition and because the attribution, if correct, carries important implications for the date of at least 3719c. The only firm evidence for dating Pa 3719 is a terminus post quem non of 1210, resulting from a dated entry by Bernard Itier on folio 115v. Sarah Fuller suggests a date of mid-twelfth century for 3719c and d because of the method used for ruling the parchment, and earlier dates for 3719a and b.[45] Dronke's attribution to Peter of Blois would provide a tentative terminus ante quem non of ca. 1150 (when he would have been approximately fifteen years of age), or possibly even later. There is no evidence of his ever having held an official post in southwestern France, although he seems to have visited King Henry's court there at least once in his capacity as chancellor to Archbishop Richard of Canterbury.[46] His poetry, therefore, may not have arrived in Aquitaine, especially an Aquitanian monastery, at an early date.

A fragment of *De terre gremio* appears on folio 23v of 3719b, where, however, it does not form part of the main corpus of the *libellus*.[47] Originally this manuscript consisted of a single quaternion, of which only the three inner bifolia survive today, the present folios 24–26 and 29–31. The initial scribe or scribes (designated A and A′ by Fuller) wrote on folios 24r–26v; because folio 24r

[43] Letter 12, PL 207:39; Letter 57, PL 207:172 (accepting the change from "uestrae" to "nostrae"; see Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois," p. 112 and n. 15); and Letter 76, PL 207:234.

[44] Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," pp. 185–235, esp. pp. 216–20. *De terre gremio* is no. 15 in Dronke's inventory, p. 222, under the incipit *Hyemale tempus, vale*, on which see below. On the history of these attributions, see Dronke, ibid., pp. 191–93, and n. 27.

[45] Fuller, "The Myth," pp. 19–25; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 19, 51–52.

[46] Letter 52, PL 207:157–59; see also Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 112–13; and Türk, *Nugae curialium*, p. 144.

[47] Fuller, "The Myth," pp. 10–12; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 43–45.

begins partway through *Ex Ade uicio*, it is certain that scribe A also wrote on at least the preceding verso in the original outside bifolium of the gathering. That external bifolium became detached at some time before Fuller's scribe B added a new bifolium to the middle of the gathering (the current fols. 27–28) and a new outer bifolium (fols. 23 and 32).[48] He then entered text on folios 28v–32v, leaving folios 23r–v and 27r–28r blank. It is not necessary, therefore, to date the material eventually written on those folios to the same period as the activities of scribes A, A′, and B, who probably worked around 1100. Alongside the fragment of *De terre gremio* on folio 23v, another scribe wrote two other songs that Dronke attributes to Peter of Blois: a complete text, with music, of *Ex ungue primo teneram*, and the opening of *Quam uelim uirginum*, both on folio 23r, thus immediately before the fragment of *De terre gremio*.[49] This association of the three pieces in 3719b might strengthen Dronke's argument for attribution under his third criterion, as given above.

The version of *De terre gremio* in 3719c belongs to the principal repertory of that *libellus*, and if a date can be assigned to the piece by its attribution to Peter, the dating of the *libellus* as a whole would be affected. In any case this version remains the earliest of the complete copies of the song, and thus the textual differences between it and the other three witnesses carry significance. Most important is the omission, from 3719c, of two passages attested in other witnesses. Both are clumsy in poetic form and content, and so I do not hesitate to classify them as spurious, although André Wilmart and Peter Dronke believe them to be authentic.[50] An introductory pair of versicles occurs only in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C. 58/275:[51]

	De terre gremio Spurious Lines	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
[a.]	Hyemale	A	4	po
	tempus, uale.	A	4	po
	estas redit cum leticia,	B	9	ppo
	cum calore	C	4	po
	cum decore,	C	4	po
	quae estatis sunt indicia.	B	9	ppo
[b.]	terra floret,	D	4	po
	sicut solet;	D	4	po
	reuirescunt lilia.	B	7	ppo
	rosae flores	E	4	po
	dant odores,	E	4	po
	canunt alitilia.	B	7	ppo

[48] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:42, n. 9; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 43–45.

[49] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 2:383; and "The Myth," p. 11. Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," nos. 11 and 34, pp. 222, 227.

[50] Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," pp. 62–63; and Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," pp. 219, 232. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76, accepts only the introductory versicles as authentic.

[51] Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, p. 62; Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62; and Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76.

(Farewell, wintertime. The summer returns with delight, with warmth, and with beauty, which are the indications of summer. The earth blooms, just as it is accustomed; the lilies again grow green; the flowers of the rose give off their fragrance; and the fattened poultry sing.)

The most grievous fault of these versicles is metrical. First, the nine-syllable lines that carry the *b* rhyme in versicle a are simply uncharacteristic of this poem, as the ensuing formal analysis of the complete poem shows. Second, the poem's construction depends upon pairs of versicles that are identical in meter and rhyme scheme; these two versicles, however, do not agree, as the lines ending with the *b* rhyme differ in syllable count, nine (uncharacteristically) in versicle a and seven in versicle b. These metrical flaws are reinforced by the awkwardness of the content and style. The topic of the poem is not summer, as versicle a suggests, but spring, which brings with it the rebirth of nature and romantic love. Moreover the repetition "estas . . . estatis" is inelegant, at least, only to be equaled by the prosaic "quae estatis sunt indicia." Versicle a also summarizes the content of the first two stanzas (stanzas 1–2 in the version printed below), borrowing "calore" from them. Similarly versicle b anticipates stanza 3a, whose meter it imitates, and from which it adopts vocabulary ("flores" and "odores"). One can only imagine why fattened poultry would be singing, unless the poet falsely derived "alitilia" from *ala* (rather than *alo*) and so meant birds in general. In sum, these introductory versicles seem to be an inept addition.

Somewhat more promising, and more justified by the poetic structure, is the versicle transmitted only by Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 44, immediately after stanza 2.[52] As I discuss below, stanza 2 is irregular in that it is not paired with a structurally identical versicle. If the added versicle is authentic, it would remedy the irregularity. Moreover its absence from 3719c, Zurich C. 58/275, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 228, can be explained by a simple homoeoteleuton: the scribe's eye slipped from "calore," at the end of stanza 2, to "canore," at the end of the added versicle.[53] It is credible that the slip could have occurred more than once independently. The content is also appropriate, as it develops the idea of nature's rebirth and anticipates the mute singing of Philomela in stanza 4a. Nevertheless, the text violates the rhyme scheme.

	De terre gremio Spurious Lines	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
[2b.]	Omnis arbor foliis	A	7	ppo
	decoratur floribus,	B	7	ppo
	et merula	C	4	ppo
	pennis fulgens aureis	D	7	ppo
	dulci gaudet canore.	E	7	po

[52] Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62; Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76; and Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," p. 232.

[53] All witnesses but Oxford A. 44 read "calore" at the end of stanza 2; the Oxford manuscript gives "colore." See Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, p. 62; Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62; Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76; and Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," p. 232.

(Every tree is decorated with leaves and flowers, and the blackbird, shining with golden wings, rejoices in sweet song.)

To match stanza 2, the rhyme scheme should read *aabbc*, but this is only achieved through Wilmart's emendations ("floribus" becomes "aliis," itself a weak reading and not compelling paleographically, and "aureis" becomes "aurula," better paleographically but "fulgens" suggests that "aureis" is what the poet intended).[54] This versicle too, therefore, does not belong to the original form of the poem. These rejections do not compromise Dronke's attribution to Peter of Blois.

Although the subject matter of *De terre gremio* is secular, it is not unrelated to that of *Virginis in gremio*.[55]

	De terre gremio	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
1a.	De terre gremio	A	6	ppo
	rerum pregnatio	A	6	ppo
	progreditur	B	4	ppo
	et in partum soluitur	B	7	ppo
	mirifico colore.	C	7	po
1b.	nata recencius	D	6	ppo
	lenis Fauonius	D	6	ppo
	sic recreat	E	4	ppo
	ne flos nouus pereat	E	7	ppo
	traicio rigore.	C	7	po
2.	Erbis aduc teneris	A	7	ppo
	eblanditur eteris	A	7	ppo
	temperies;	B	4	ppo
	ridet terre facies	B	7	ppo
	multiplici calore.	C	7	po
3a.	Erba florem,	A	4	po
	flos odorem;	A	4	po
	odor floris,	B	4	po
	ros umoris	B	4	po
	generat materiam.	C	7	ppo
3b.	sementiuam	D	4	po
	rediuiuam	D	4	po
	reddunt culta	E	4	po
	fruge multa	E	4	po
	et promittunt copiam.	C	7	ppo
4a.	Fronde sub arborea	A	7	ppo
	Filomena, Terea	A	7	ppo
	dum meminit,	B	4	ppo
	non desinit	B	4	ppo

[54] Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62.

[55] The present transcriptions, text and music, are from 3719c. I adopt the readings "culta fruge" for "cunta fruges" in stanza 3b from 3719b. In stanza 4a I follow Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, pp. 232–34, in changing "conquerit" to "conqueri."

	De terre gremio	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
	(sic imperat natura	C	7	po
	natura)	C	3	po
	recenter conqueri	D	6	ppo
	de ueteri	D	4	ppo
	iactura.	C	3	po
4b.	mens effertur letior,	E	7	ppo
	oblectatur gracior,	E	7	ppo
	dum iaceo	F	4	ppo
	gramineo	F	4	ppo
	sub arbore frondosa	G	7	po
	frondosa	G	3	po
	riparum margine	H	6	ppo
	cum uirgine	H	4	ppo
	formosa.	G	3	po
5a.	Vere suo	A	4	po
	adolescens mutuo	A	7	ppo
	respondeat amori.	B	7	po
5b.	creber erit,	C	4	po
	nec defessus cesserit	C	7	ppo
	uenerio labori.	B	7	po
6a.	Veneris	A	3	ppo
	in asperis	A	4	ppo
	castris, nolo militem	B	7	ppo
	qui iuuente limitem	B	7	ppo
	transierit,	C	4	ppo
	perdiderit	C	4	ppo
	calorem.	D	3	po
6b.	rideo	E	3	ppo
	dum uideo	E	4	ppo
	uirum longi temporis	F	7	ppo
	qui ad annos Nestoris	F	7	ppo
	ingreditur	G	4	ppo
	et sequitur	G	4	ppo
	amorem.	D	3	po

(From the bosom of the earth the fecundity of things progresses and is released into birth with a wonderful color. Gentle Favonius thus restores what has been born more recently so that the new flower might not perish from Thracian cold.

The moderate temperature of the air fosters the vegetation hitherto tender; the face of the earth laughs with manifold warmth.

The stalk generates the flower, the flower the fragrance; the fragrance of the flower and the moist dew generate matter. Cultivated things give back a renewing and seed-bearing abundance by means of their plentiful fruit and promise a profusion.

Under the foliage of the trees Philomela, while she remembers Tereus, does not stop complaining anew about the ancient loss, for thus nature rules. The mind is carried away happier, more pleasantly amused, while I lie on the grassy edge of the river banks, under a shady tree, with a beautiful maiden.

In his own spring, let the youth respond to reciprocal love. He will do so frequently, nor will he have yielded to the labor of love because of fatigue.

In the harsh camp of Venus, I do not want a soldier who has crossed the limit of youth, who has lost his heat. I laugh when I see a man long in the tooth who enters the years of Nestor and pursues love.)

The secular text deals with the rebirth of nature in the spring. These observations lead the poet to reflect on the feelings of love that often grow in the spring. The poem ends with a comment on the stamina of youths in the "labor of Venus" ("uenerio labori," stanza 5) and a caustic attack on the efforts of old men who "pursue love" ("sequitur amorem," stanza 6). Some of these ideas recur in other poems attributed by Dronke to Peter of Blois.[56] The secular nature of the poem is further reinforced by allusion to classical antiquity. References to Favonius (stanza 1b), the name for the gentle west wind that blows in the spring; Venus (stanza 6a), used as a metaphor for love; and Nestor (stanza 6b), the paragon of longevity, all contribute to this classical tone. The story of Philomela, who was raped by her brother-in-law Tereus, is used as a metaphor for the destruction that occurs in nature and that nature each spring overcomes (stanza 4a).[57] Tereus, a Thracian, may also be the "Thracian cold" ("traicio rigore"; stanza 1b) that threatens the new flower. A further indication of the level of classical learning evinced by this poem is the use of the Greek accusative "Terea" (as in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.615 and 647) in stanza 4a to match the rhyme scheme, in place of the more usual "Tereum." A final allusion to Ovid occurs in the last stanza, where love becomes a military exercise.[58] What interest could such an obviously unclerical poem have for monks? Even if the song was not composed by a monk, one of their number was sufficiently intrigued by it to copy it into 3719c beside the sacred *uersus Virginis in gremio.*

As I mentioned above, both the literary and musical style of *De terre gremio* are virtually indistinguishable from that of *Virginis in gremio.* Both songs share a richly expressive poetic style. For example, in the first two stanzas, the earth

[56] Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," p. 222. Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," pp. 62–63, cites verbal parallels in the poetry of Walter of Châtillon, of which see, especially, *Ver prodiens in uirore*, ed. Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin, 1925), no. 28, pp. 51–53, which deals with rebirth in the spring; the same theme is treated in *Verna redit temperies*, ibid., no. 20, pp. 33–34.

[57] The best-known classical version is Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.424–674; see also Hyginus, *Fabulae* 45. The theme was also popular among other Latin poets of the twelfth century: Walter of Châtillon, *Dum flosculum tenera*, ed. Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon*, no. 23, pp. 39–41; and three poems in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, *Iam uer oritur* (no. 58), *Axe Phebus aureo* (no. 71), and *Musa uenit carmine* (no. 145), 1/2:4–5, 39–41, 245–46, respectively. Two other poems in *Carmina Burana* mention the nightingale in language reminiscent of *De terre gremio*: *Dum Diane uitrea* (no. 62, stanza 7, with further verbal echoes in stanza 8) and *Anni parte florida* (no. 92, stanza 63), 1/2:19–23, 94–119, respectively. See also Winfried Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids auf die literarische Sprache der lateinischen Liebesdichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum "Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch" 4 (Wuppertal, 1970), p. 36. I am very grateful to my colleague Robert Watson for these references.

[58] Ovid, *Amores* 1.9 and *Ars amatoria* 2.233–38. See also Walter of Châtillon, *Dum queritur michi remedium* and *Dum flosculum tenera*, ed. Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon*, nos. 22–23, pp. 35–41.

is personified as it first gives birth from its bosom and then "laughs with manifold warmth." The inverse figure of speech is used in stanza 5a, where a youth is depicted "in his own spring." Finally the portrayal of love employs oxymoron: it is described as a labor (stanza 5b) and then in military terms (stanza 6a), as noted above. The secular poem also uses accentual meter and two-syllable rhyme, but, unlike *Virginis in gremio*, *De terre gremio* is organized in six stanzas, which, with the exception of stanza 2, are divided into half-verses with identical meters, rhyme schemes, and musical settings. This arrangement occurs in a couple of other *uersus*, and Bryan Gillingham calls it "sequence form."[59] The expression is, I believe, somewhat misleading in that, although the repetitive structure of the sequence is used, the other principal characteristic of that genre is not, namely, the syllabic, or nearly syllabic, setting of the text.[60] This distinction is of importance, as the *uersaria* transmit twelfth-century pieces that do, in fact, exhibit both characteristics of the sequence.[61] Nevertheless, what is of consequence for our discussion is the fact that in *De terre gremio*, as in the sacred *uersus*, musical form coincides with poetic form (see Example 5).

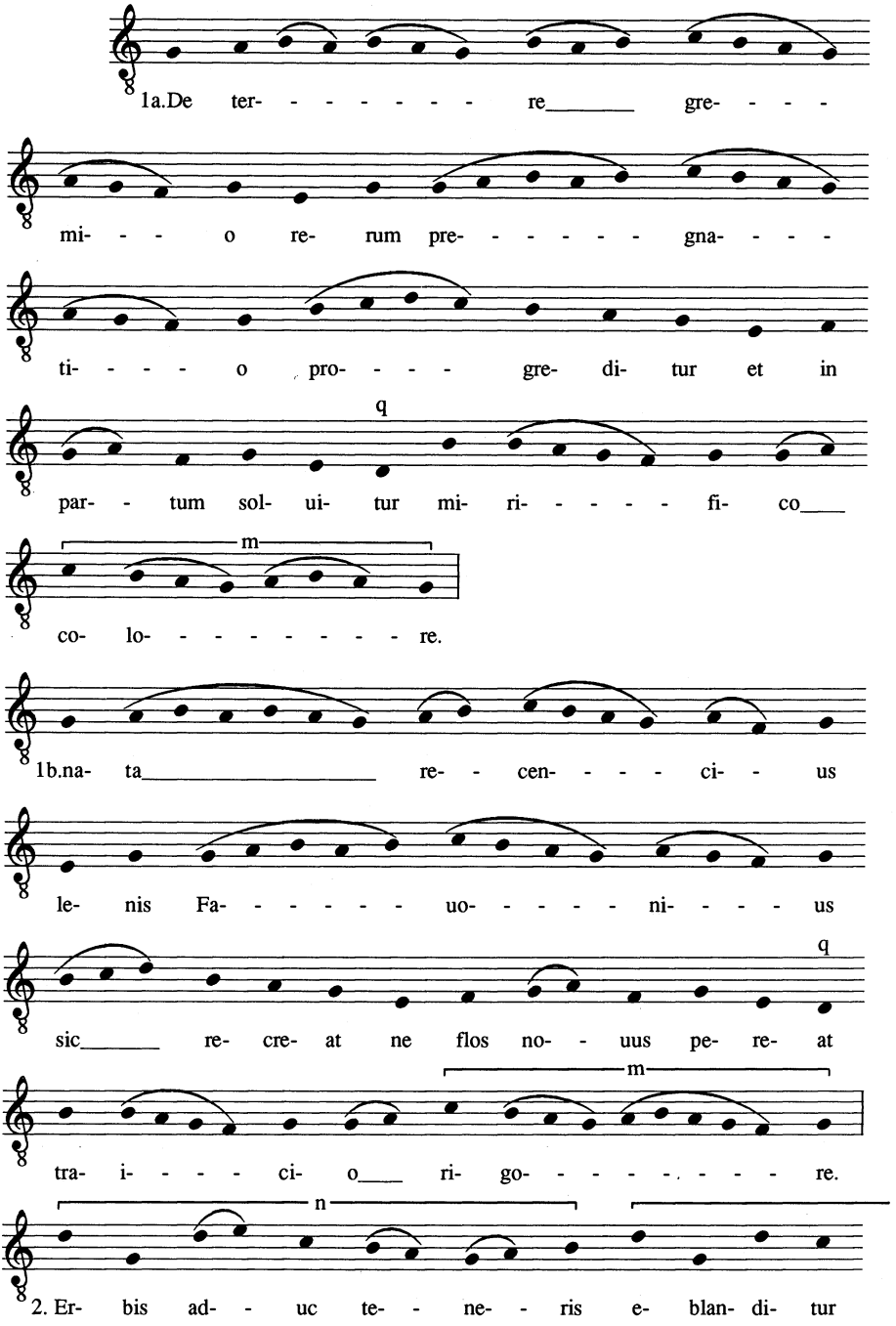
This correspondence is significant when the position of stanza 2, the one stanza that does not partake of the paired half-verse structure, is taken into

[59] Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 226–31. Examples are *Noster cetus psallat letus* (3719b, fols. 30r–31r; 1139a, fol. 61r–v; and 36881a, fol. 3r–v; edition of the text, AH 20:116, no. 144; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:79–81 [commentary, 2:451–52]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 26–27, 48–49, 142–44 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 244, 246, 257]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:49–50, 162–63, 197–98; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:12–16); *Omnis curet homo* (3719b, fol. 26v; 1139a, fol. 59v; 3719d, fols. 79v–81v; 3549, fol. 154r–v; and 36881a, fols. 2v–3r; edition of the text, AH 20:67–68, no. 43; editions of the music, Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:39–40 [commentary, 2:41–42]; Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:87–90 [commentary, 2:453–54]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 90–91, 113–15, 140–42 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 252, 255, 257]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:19–20, 47–49, 136–38; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:6–11); and *Veri solis radius* (3719a, fols. 16v–18v; 3719d, fols. 54r–57v; 3549, fols. 149r–50v; and 36881a, fols. 5v–7v; edition of the text, AH 20:45–46, no. 13; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:11–16 [commentary, 2:442]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 33–35, 61–65, 97–101, 149–54 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 245, 249, 254, 258]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:3–7, 54–58, 107–11, 145–48; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:32–50).

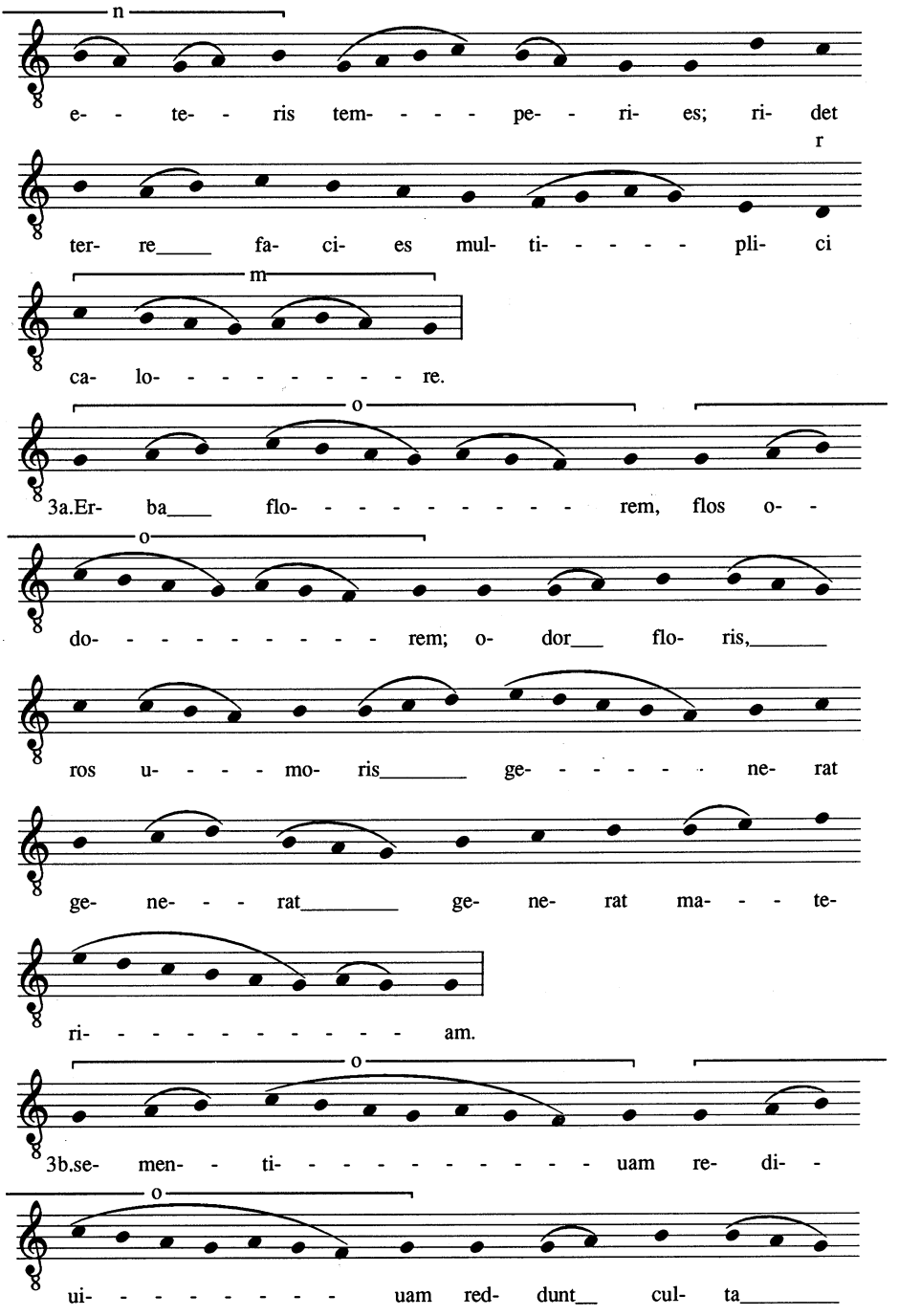
[60] There exists a vast bibliography on the medieval sequence; see Richard L. Crocker and John Caldwell, "Sequence (i)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 17:153–56. On the form of the sequence in general, see Crocker, "The Sequence," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch (Bern, 1973), pp. 269–322.

[61] E.g., *Arce siderea* (3719b, fols. 29r–30r; 3719d, fols. 61r–64r; and 3549, fols. 156r–57r; edition of the text, AH 39:79, no. 85; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:158–62 [commentary, 2:465–66]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 46–47, 68–70, 118–20 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 246, 249, 255]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:24–26, 114–17, 160–61; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:139–45), and *Rex Salomon fecit templum* (3719d, fols. 57v–61r; 3549, fols. 154v–56r [also Pa 1139, fols. 165v–67r; and Pa 1086, fols. 70v–72r]; edition of the text, AH 55:35–37, no. 31; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:163–67 [commentary, 2:466]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 65–68, 115–18 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 249, 255]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:21–23, 112–14; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:133–39).

Example 5: *De terre gremio* 3719c fols. 36r-37v



Example 5 continued



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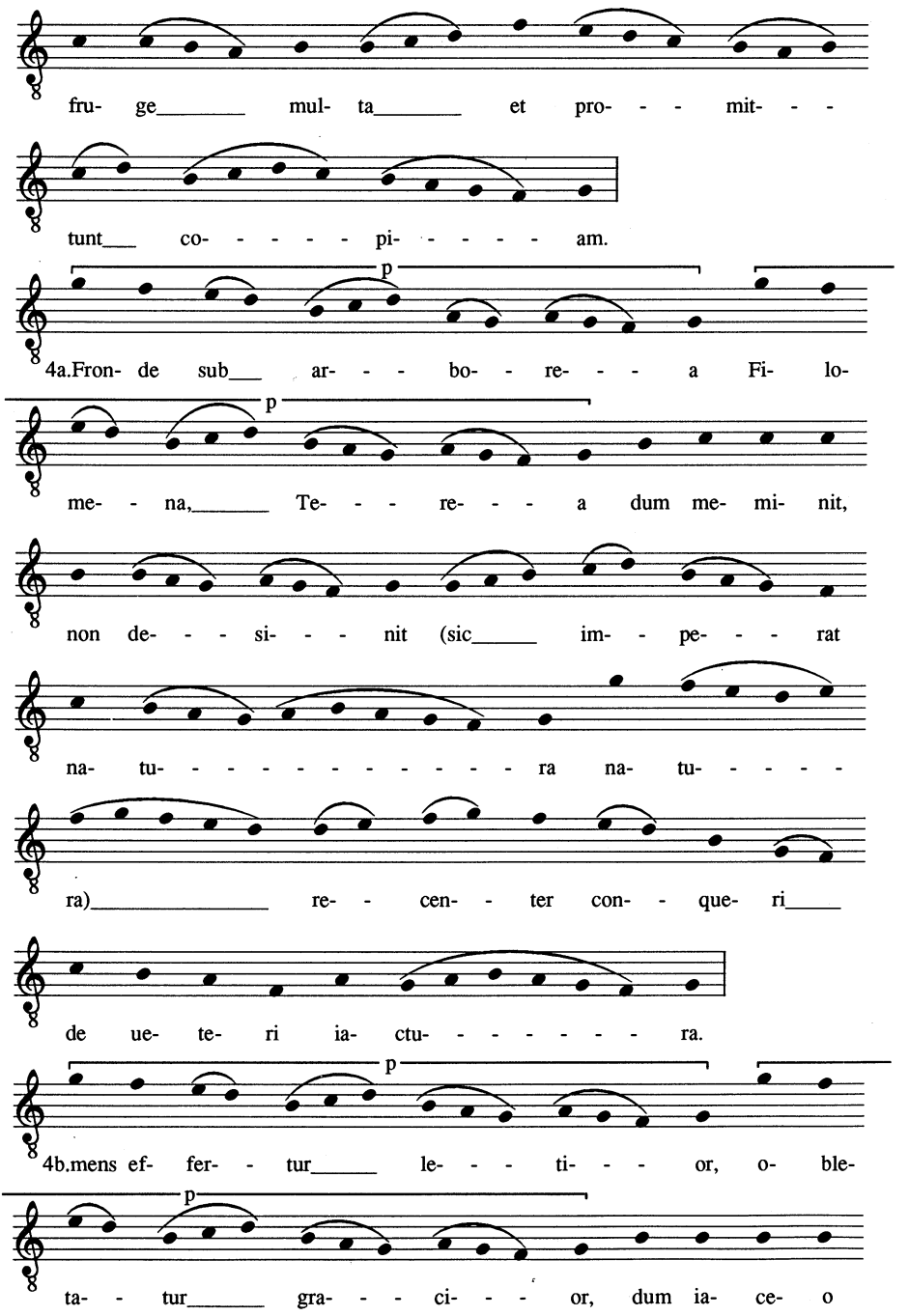

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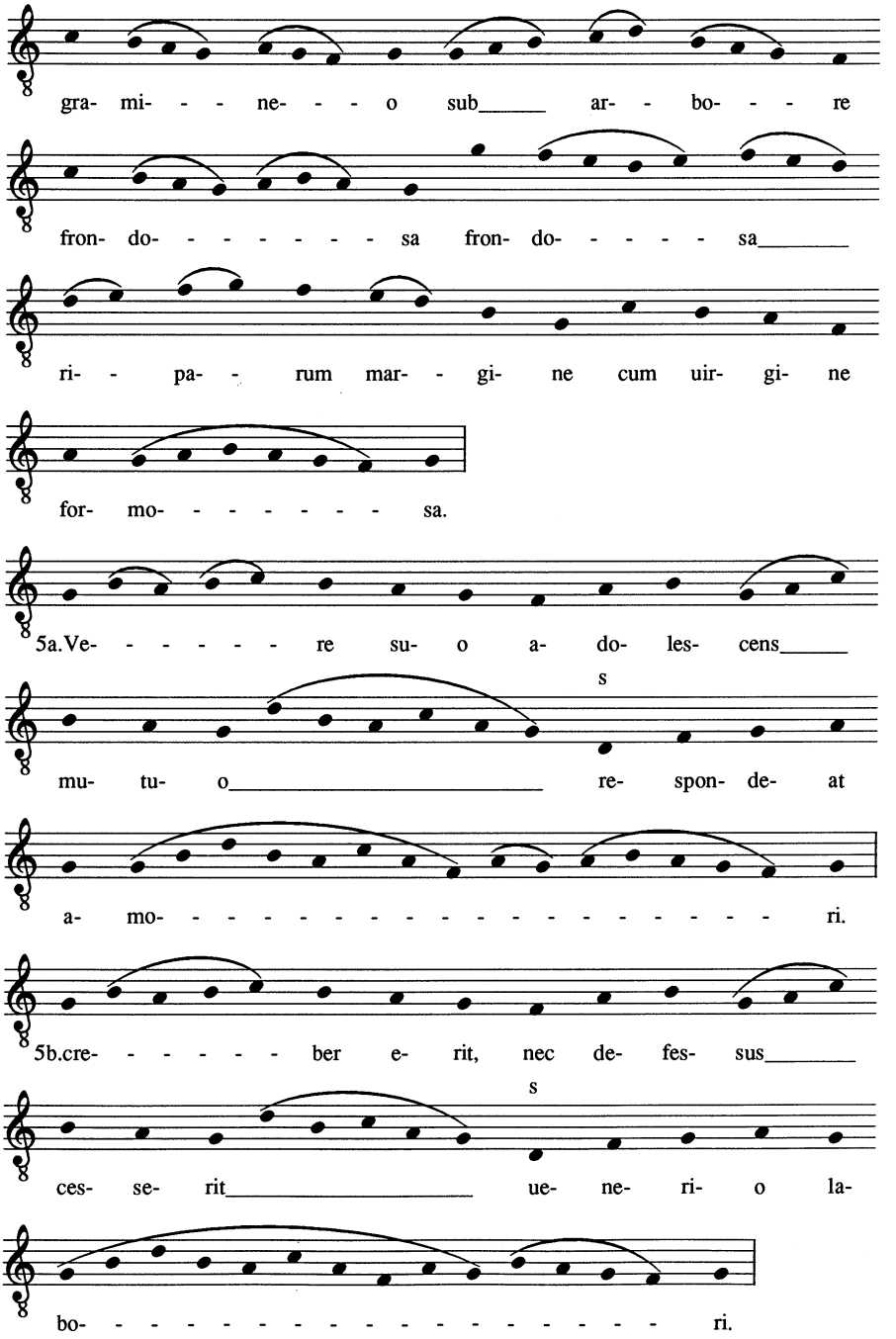
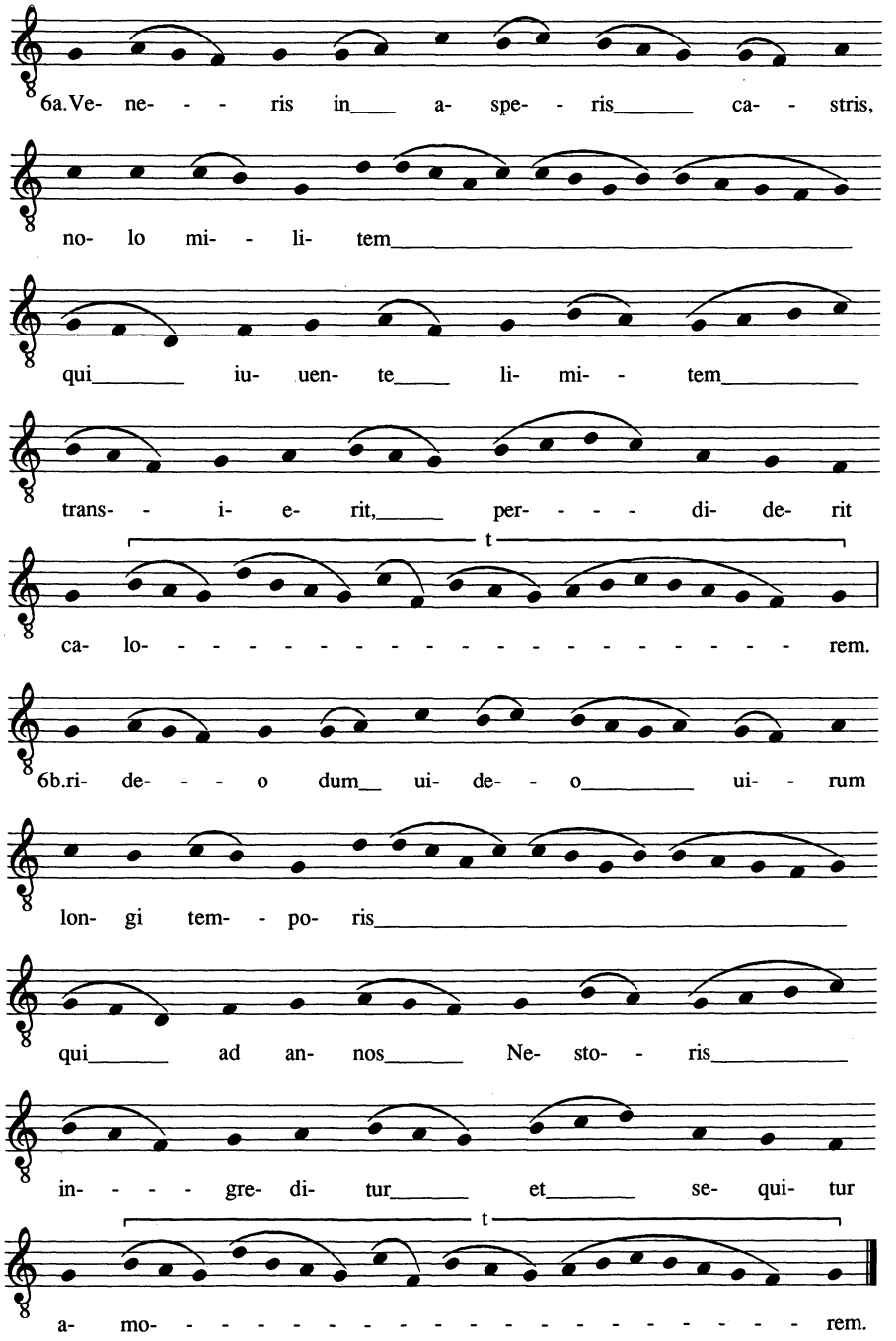


Example 5 continued



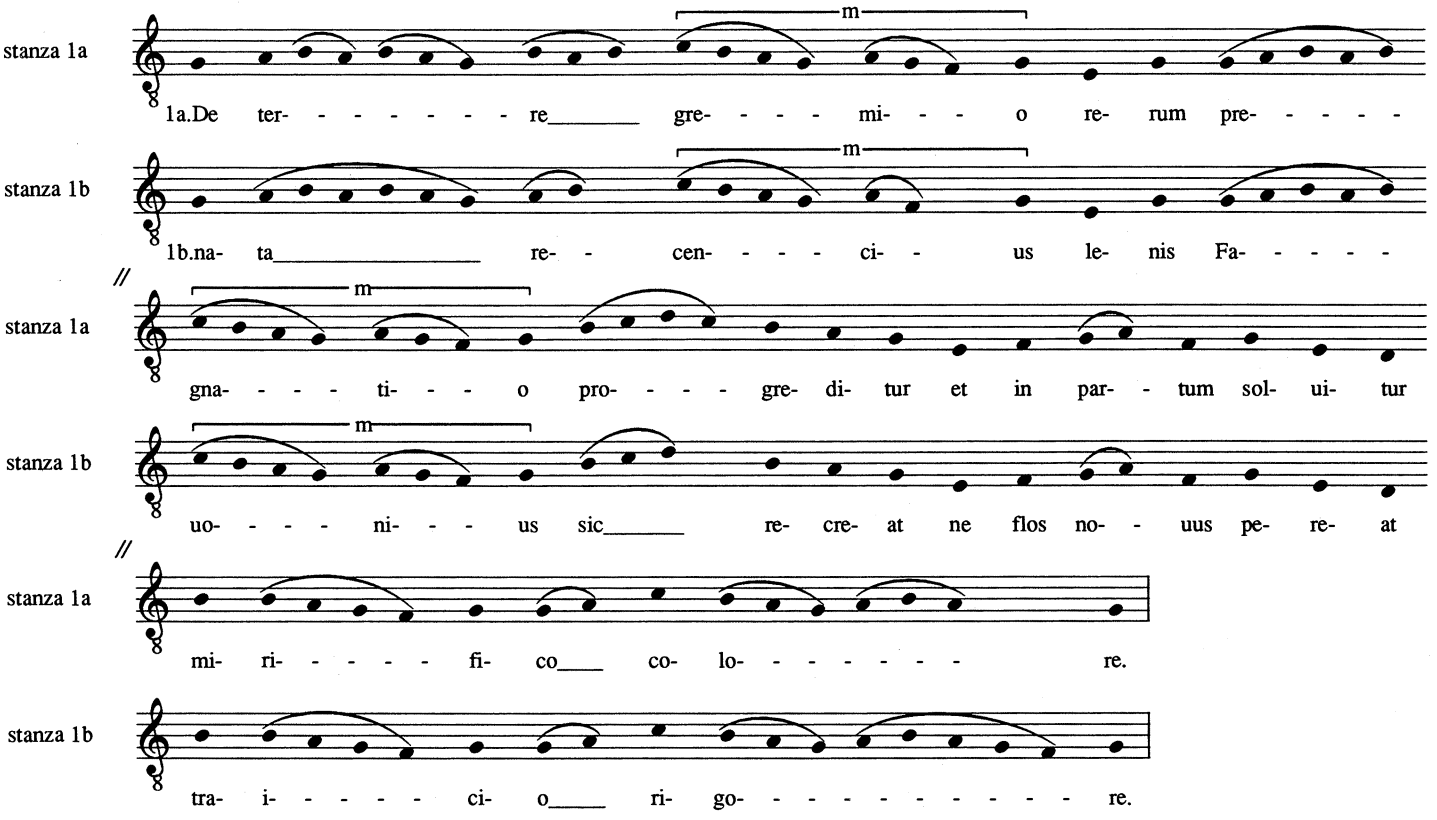
consideration. At first glance, one might suggest that it functions as a third section of stanza 1, stanza 1c, in effect: it contains five lines with the same rhyme scheme and accent pattern; its final rhyme, "calore," agrees with the final rhyme of stanzas 1a and b; and the last three lines correspond in syllable count to the matching lines in the first stanza.[62] Of course, the first two lines do not agree in syllable count. Is this a case of an oversight on the part of the poet, or a deliberate alteration of the poetic structure? When the musical setting of this stanza is considered, it becomes clear that the stanza is a separate unit and that the variant syllable count in the first two lines reflects that separation. Nevertheless, the agreement in rhyme and final accent at the end of stanza 2 is a deliberate reference to the first stanza, as the musical setting shows: the cadence at the end of stanza 1a rhymes with that of stanza 2; and stanza 1b uses the same cadence again, with a slight increase in the length of the cadential melisma (all three cadences marked **m** in Example 5).

As this instance shows, the music in corresponding half-verses is not, in every case, an exact repetition. In fact, each stanza exhibits at least some degree of variation between half-verses. The first stanza, for example, presents several variants (see Example 6). A number of explanations may be advanced for these variants. The final cadence of the two half-verses, already discussed above, may represent an attempt on the part of the scribe to vary the two units by extending the cadential melisma in stanza 1b, thereby increasing the level of embellishment. The agreement between the cadences of stanzas 1a and 2 suggests that they present the original form of the cadence and that the cadence of stanza 1b was deliberately changed to give a more elaborate ending to the stanza. The cadence in stanza 1b on "recencius" also varies from the corresponding passage in stanza 1a. We might again suppose that the scribe was seeking variety in the cadential formulations, but the structural function of this cadence suggests otherwise. In stanza 1a the first two lines end with rhyming cadences (marked **m** in Example 6) that coincide with the two *a* rhymes in the poetic structure, "gremio" and "pregnatio," and therefore the musical and poetic form are mutually reinforcing. The second line of stanza 1b also shares in this cadence, and although the variant in the first line of stanza 1b prevents the exact repetition of the cadence, it is clear that it is intended to be the same as the other cadences (both cadences also marked **m** in Example 6). Therefore either the scribe committed a simple copying error, by omitting the note G from the setting of the penultimate syllable of "recencius," or he introduced an equally simple variant by changing the conjunct motion of the cadence to movement by leap.

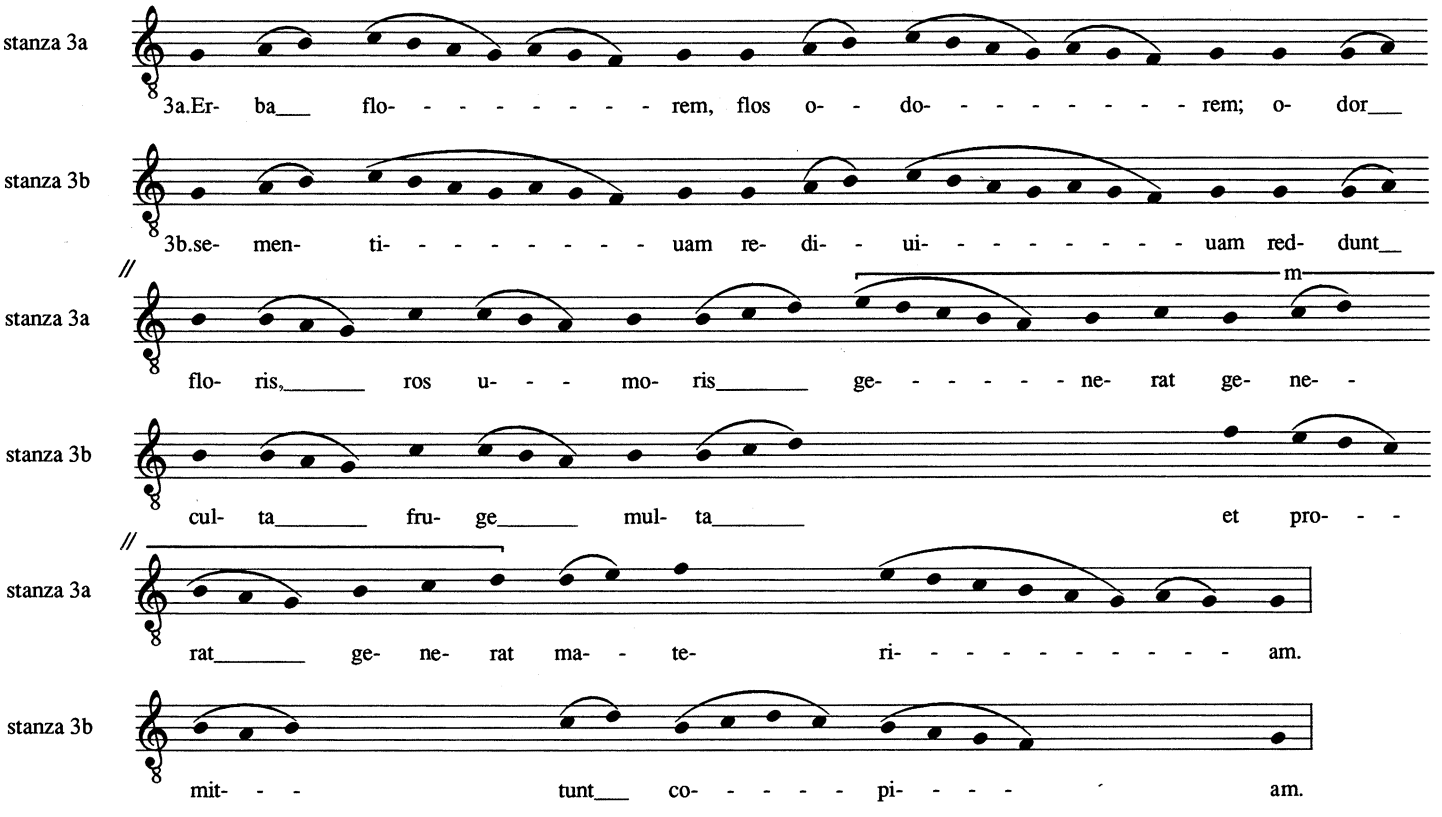
Stanza 3 presents a more complex situation (see Example 7). Towards the end of stanza 3a, "generat" is repeated three times (marked **m**). The analysis of the poetic structure, given above, shows that these repetitions exist outside the metrical structure of the poem, principally because there is no corresponding passage in stanza 3b. Two explanations account for this intrusion. First, in a purely literal sense, the three iterations of "generat" provide principal verbs for the three syntactical units of the half-verse: "Erba [generat] florem; flos

[62] Treated thus by Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, p. 62; and Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76.

Example 6: *De terre gremio* stanza 1



Example 7: *De terre gremio* stanza 3



[generat] odorem; odor floris, ros umoris generat materiam." Of course the extrametrical repetitions are unnecessary on strictly grammatical grounds because ellipsis of the verb is perfectly acceptable in such a context.

Second, and more important, the reiteration of "generat" carries a rhetorical effect, emphasizing the central idea of the poem, the regeneration of nature in the spring. This effect is heightened by the musical setting: each utterance of the word is given a different musical setting, both in melodic content but also, and more importantly, in the degree of melismatic writing. Each statement is progressively less melismatic, until the last, which is starkly syllabic. This device is the opposite of rhetorical tricolon, wherein each member is longer than the preceding; and its effect is to make the text increasingly prominent with each repetition, culminating in the dry, emphatic final statement. To this rhetorical formulation there is no equivalent in stanza 3b, in either the literary or the musical text. In fact, the musical setting for the final line of stanza 3b does not correspond to anything in stanza 3a, except in general shape (i.e., a descent from F, a seventh above the final, to the final, G). Here, then, the poet and composer have (or has) stepped outside the expectations of both poetic and musical form in creating a rhetorical focus on the idea of regeneration, the principal theme of the poem.

These examples illustrate that when music is to be repeated as a reflection of the poetic structure of a piece, a number of factors may affect how exact the repetition is. Elsewhere variants in *Ex Ade uicio* and *Orienti oriens*, both of which are strophic and survive in versions that present music for more than one stanza, are observed to be the result of variability in the oral, performing tradition that has penetrated the written tradition.[63] Moreover Wulf Arlt points out that music for strophic songs must be adapted when applied to second and subsequent stanzas to accommodate nuances, both poetic and grammatical, in the literary text.[64] The way in which *De terre gremio* is presented widens our perception of the flexibility exploited by the composers and scribes of this repertory in the manipulation of repeated music.

[63] The version of *Ex Ade uicio* in 1139a gives music for the first two stanzas; see Leo Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music," *Speculum* 56 (1981), 485 (where the three cadential melismata that he transcribes do not occur at the end of each of three stanzas, as he suggests, but are the cadences that fall at the end of lines 3 and 6 in the first stanza and of line 3 in stanza 2 [to which could be added the cadence at the end of line 6 in stanza 2, "aulam uirgineam"; cf. my edition above]); and Grier, "The Stemma," pp. 252–53. Polyphonic versions of *Orienti oriens* appear in 3719d (fol. 77r–v) and 36881b (fols. 17v–18v); 3549, in an addition to the main corpus of the manuscript (fol. 168r–v), transmits the first stanza with provision for two lines of music above it, but no music was entered. The version in 36881b presents music for all three stanzas. Edition of the text: AH 45b:37, no. 37. Editions of the music: Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:31–32 (commentary, 2:444); Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 84–85, 184–85 (commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 251, 261); Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:78–80, 131–32; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:96–98. See Grier, "Scribal Practices," pp. 383–85. Another example is *Da laudis homo*, in Ma 289; see Wulf Arlt, "*Nova cantica*: Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10 (1986), 28–31. In most strophic songs found in the *uersaria*, music is given for the first stanza only, and the others are written out as prose.

[64] On *Letamini plebs hodie fidelis* (1139b, fol. 41v) and *Annus nouus in gaudio* (1139a, fols. 36v–37r), see Arlt, "*Nova cantica*," pp. 31–44.

The careful coordination of music and poetry can be observed at the level of the individual phrase as well. I have already remarked on the use of rhyming cadences in the first two lines of stanzas 1a and 1b and at the end of stanzas 1a, 1b, and 2, where the poetic structure is reflected by the musical form. Stanza 2 takes this idea one step further by presenting musical settings for its first two lines that are nearly exact repetitions (marked **n** in Example 5). This symmetry returns in stanzas 3 and 4, in both of which the first two lines are also set to the same music (marked **o** and **p**, respectively).

In most respects, the musical style of *De terre gremio* is similar to that of *Virginis in gremio*. In particular, contrasting phrase shapes create melodic tension. Most phrases in the *uersus* repertory follow some kind of arch shape. *Ex Ade uicio* provides several examples. When a different shape occurs, it generates contrast and emphasis. The climax of *Virginis in gremio* (at lines 26–28), for example, is built around three successive, identical phrases that descend through an octave to the final, G, as noted above. *De terre gremio* exhibits a similar strategy. In the first stanza, after four arch-shaped phrases, the final line is approached by the unusual leap of a major sixth (the same interval used in the cadences of the climactic section of *Virginis in gremio*) and then proceeds to the final cadence of the stanza by descending to the final, G (marked **q** in Example 5 above). More dramatic is the opening of stanza 2, where the melody begins on D, a fifth above the final, G, which is the previous note at the end of stanza 1b, and then executes reciprocating leaps of a fifth with G; this gesture is repeated for the second line of the stanza (marked **n**).

The third stanza represents a contrast to the preceding music. It consists solely of arch-shaped phrases, the norm for the genre, although it does create some tension by exploring a higher register, now reaching up to F (the previous highest note was E, at the opening of stanza 2). Its most important melodic gesture is the rhetorical repetition of "generat" in stanza 3a discussed above. The climax arrives in stanza 4 with the allusion to Philomela, and its musical shape is identical with the climactic section of *Virginis in gremio*: several descents through the octave to the final, G (the first two marked **p** in Example 5 above). For the first time in the song, the note G, the highest note in the melody, is heard, and it occurs only in this stanza. Moreover its presentation is both dramatic and reminiscent of its treatment in *Virginis in gremio*: it commences the stanza following a "silent" leap of an octave from the last note of the previous stanza ("silent" because the singer presumably pauses at least slightly between stanzas). The musical denouement of the song again echoes that of *Virginis in gremio* (lines 29–39). The melodies of stanzas 5 and 6 remain in the lower register and describe the familiar arch shapes.

In tonal structure, too, both *uersus* evince similarities. They share the final, G, and most phrases begin and end on it. The note D, both a fifth above and a fourth below the final, plays an important role in *De terre gremio* as a tone that limits melodic motion around the final. In three places it marks a point of departure for the final cadential phrase of a stanza (stanza 1, marked **q** in Example 5 above; stanza 2, marked **r**; and stanza 5, marked **s**), each time in a position below the final. It also occurs above the final in stanza 2, beginning dramatically with the first note (marked **n**) to create a contrast with the melodic

shapes of the first stanza and to delimit the upward motion of the melody. Both Ds, above and below the final, function as the boundaries of melodic motion in the final two stanzas. Thus, stanzas 1, 2, 5, and 6 are distinguished in range from stanzas 3 and 4: the outer stanzas fall into the lower, plagal register, while the central stanzas, including the climax in stanza 4, use the higher, authentic register. When the melody is in the plagal range, D frames the melodic motion on either side of the final, G.

De terre gremio does contrast with *Virginis in gremio* in one important stylistic element, and that is the degree of melismatic elaboration, in which it exceeds the sacred *uersus* significantly. Although the principal opportunity for embellishment remains the cadential melisma (the most flamboyant of which ends the final stanza, marked **t** in Example 5 above), *De terre gremio* exhibits melismata throughout the length of several phrases (e.g., the first phrase of the song). The more elaborate musical setting should not be attributed to the secular nature of the piece because there are, in the Aquitanian repertory, sacred pieces that are much more melismatic than *De terre gremio*.[65]

Therefore, with the exception of textual content, there is nothing to distinguish these two pieces. They accord in both poetic and musical style, and even share some striking features such as the treatment of the climax. If we leave aside Dronke's attribution of *De terre gremio* to Peter of Blois, which, in the light of Southern's arguments, must be regarded as uncertain at best, it is within the realm of possibility that both *uersus* were composed by the same person. Because they were copied into 3719c in immediate succession by the same scribe, the least that can be asserted is that, at some time in their history, they were very likely performed by the same person in the same environment.

In conclusion I might pose two questions. First, within the repertory of *uersus*, how can we reconcile the differences in the textual content with these stylistic similarities? The classical allusions and poetic style of *De terre gremio* suggest that its audience was as educated and sophisticated as that for *Virginis in gremio*. Earlier I noted the confidence with which the monks expressed themselves creatively in sacred pieces. In the secular piece there is an even greater confidence on the part of the monks in discussing such subjects as love and nature. Other secular pieces in the repertory deal with carnal love in an even more explicit way than does *De terre gremio*.[66] Nevertheless the piety of the monks is

[65] E.g., *Letabundi iubilemus*, 1139a, fol. 58r–v. Edition of the text: Marius Sepet, "Les prophètes du Christ," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 28 (1867), 26. Edition of the music: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:31–32 (commentary, 2:36). See also Arlt, "*Nova cantica*," pp. 44–52; and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 243–45.

[66] E.g., *Ex ungue primo teneram*, which Dronke also attributes to Peter of Blois, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," no. 11, p. 222. It occurs in 3719b, fol. 23r, and 3719c, fols. 37v–38v. Editions of the text: Hans Spanke, "Ein unveröffentlichtes lateinisches Liebeslied," *Speculum* 5 (1930), 431–33 (cf. W. B. Sedgwick, "The Poem *Ex ungue primo teneram*," ibid. 6 [1931], 295; and Spanke, "Zur Geschichte der lateinischen nichtliturgischen Sequenz," ibid. 7 [1932], 377–78); A. Vernet, "Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Auxerre 243)," in *Mélanges dédiées à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946–49), 2:62–63; and Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2:378–80.

not in question. That they should think, write, or sing about love and its carnal manifestations does not necessarily mean that they compromised the celibacy they professed. It is possible that the composition of these songs went some way towards reconciling the younger and perhaps more full-blooded monks to the privations of the regular life. A parallel is to be found in the drinking songs composed in the early centuries of Islam. The vigorous Arab nobles wrote passionately about the alcohol that was now denied them by their new religious custom.[67]

The fact that the monks also expended much of their creative energy on the composition of sacred songs subverts accusations of impiety on their part. But that outlet was not sufficient for at least some, and they wrote and sang of their feelings about the secular world as well. The monks of the twelfth century had the confidence to express themselves in a personal way, first and foremost on sacred subjects, but also on secular life. They emerge from the literary and musical texts as individuals, unfortunately nameless, who were seeking to communicate personal ideas to their peers. These findings are consistent with those of Colin Morris and others on the growing sense of individuality to be found in the twelfth century.[68]

The importance of individual expression in poetry is indirectly revealed in the comments of several prominent twelfth-century writers on the renown that can accrue from poetic accomplishment. Peter of Blois stated it most baldly when he congratulated himself and his addressee (the other Peter of Blois, mentioned above) on the fame their writings had earned for them.[69] Peter experienced a change of heart, however, and in a later epistle condemned the

[67] See the poetry of al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (709–44), Arthur Wormhoudt, trans., *The Diwan of Walid ibn Yazid*, Arab Translation Series 74 (n.p., 1984), esp. nos. 85–87; see also Francesco Gabrieli, "Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, il califfo e il poeta," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 15 (1935), 1–64, esp. pp. 26–30; and Dieter Derenk, *Leben und Dichtung des Omaiyadenkalifen al-Walīd ibn Yazīd: Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 27 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1974), pp. 59–62. And that of Abū Nuwās (fl. 800), Arthur Wormhoudt, trans., *The Diwan of Abū Nuwās al Hasan ibn Hani al Hakami*, Arab Translation Series 8 (n.p., 1974), esp. pp. 154–86; see also Jamel Bencheikh, "Poésies bachiques d'Abū Nuwās: Thèmes et personnages," *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 18 (1963–64), 7–84; Ewald Wagner, *Abū Nuwās: Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission 17 (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 110–33, 289–308; and Andras Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, Princeton Essays in Literature (Princeton, 1974), pp. 47–71, esp. pp. 50–61.

[68] Of the substantial literature on this subject, see particularly Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (London, 1972; repr. Toronto, 1987); with the comments of Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980), 1–17; to which Morris replied, "Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion: Some Further Reflections," ibid., pp. 195–206. See also John F. Benton, "Individualism and Conformity in Medieval Western Europe," in *Individualism and Conformity in Classical Islam*, ed. Amin Banani and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 145–58; and idem, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 263–95.

[69] Peter of Blois, Letter 77, PL 207:238. On this letter and Letter 76, see Bezzola, *La cour d'Angleterre*, pp. 39–42; Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," pp. 196–200; and Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois," pp. 103–9.

vanity of poetic endeavor, encouraging his addressee (still the second Peter of Blois) to devote himself to the study of sacred letters instead.[70] Here he echoed the sentiments of Guibert of Nogent, who also confessed to a passion for the composition of poetry while a youth and the praise his accomplishments garnered, even if offered anonymously; Guibert, too, abandoned poetry for theology.[71] The idea finds oblique expression in the *Historia calamitatum* and the first letter from Heloise to Abelard, in which both lovers suggest a certain embarrassment over the popularity of Abelard's love lyrics.[72] What is common to all three writers is the acknowledgment that skill in poetry leads to fame and praise for the poet, for the individual who wrote the verse. That all three would express a degree of shame for seeking this praise does not undermine the social and personal forces that led them to write poetry in the first place. Monks in twelfth-century Aquitaine were responding to those same social and personal forces when they took to writing songs that communicated their individual ideas about subjects both sacred and worldly. Yet their accomplishment is much more modest than the bold individuality Peter Dronke finds in some poets of the twelfth century.[73] Dronke's examples exhibit a freshness of conception, form, and language that reveals the strong personalities of their creators. In comparison, the Aquitanian *uersus* strikes an accessible tone, not without poetic artifice, but produced within the context of a much more limited range of poetic convention.

Second, how can we account for the two quite different styles observed above in the tropes and *uersus* and the preeminence that they achieved in their respective centuries? One external factor that might have affected the decline in popularity in tropes of the Proper of the Mass is the spread of Cluny's influence in Aquitaine in the last third or so of the eleventh century. The key events were the purchase of Saint-Martial, with its fifty or so daughter houses, by Abbot Hugh of Cluny in 1062 and its forcible occupation by Cluniac monks the next year.[74] That turn of events markedly influenced liturgical practices in Aquitanian

[70] Peter of Blois, Letter 76, PL 207:231–37.

[71] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua, sive monodiae* 1.17, ed. Edmond-René Labande, Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age 34 (Paris, 1981), pp. 134–44.

[72] The two passages contain striking verbal parallels: Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. J. Monfrin, 3rd ed., Bibliothèque des Textes Philosophiques (Paris, 1967), p. 73; Letter 1, ibid., p. 115. See also Lorenz Weinrich, "Peter Abaelard as Musician—I," *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969), 296–99; and Michel Huglo, "Abélard, poète et musicien," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 22 (1979), 352–53. On Abelard's extant secular verse, see John F. Benton, Peter Dronke, Elisabeth Pellegrin, and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Abaelardiana," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 57 (1982), 273–95.

[73] Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150*, 2nd ed., Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies 1 (London, 1986).

[74] The chief narrative source is a note in Pa 11019, pp. 165–69; printed in J.-B. Champeval, ed., "Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges, Supplément," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 42 (1894), 322–24; and Charles de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges: Etude historique, économique et archéologique précédée de recherches nouvelles sur la vie du saint* (Paris, 1901), pièce justificative 7, pp. 427–29. See also Peter Damian, *De gallica Petri Damiani profectione et eius ultramontano itinere* 14–15, ed. Gerhard Schwarz and Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS 30/2:1043–44; and Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica* 14, ed. Philippe Labbe, *Noua bibliotheca manuscriptorum libro-*

monasteries and might account for the suppression of Proper tropes, but it does not explain the growth in popularity of the *uersus*.[75] The main focus of the Cluniac liturgy was the singing of Psalms; and the kind of embellishment to the liturgy that the *uersus* would constitute, were it ever sung in the liturgy, was simply foreign to the central liturgical concern of the Cluniacs.[76]

We must turn, I believe, to the monks themselves for an explanation. The Proper tropes, as we have seen, address, in a dignified manner suitable for the Mass, a sophisticated audience that is encouraged to contemplate the doctrinal issues raised in the text. The *uersus*, however, is much more accessible in its style of expression. Its tone suggests that it was fulfilling a need, felt by both composer and listener, for a less formal medium in which to express ideas about the faith that they shared. Both literary and musical text provided opportunities for individual expression to a degree not found in the Proper tropes, and they bespeak a worldliness that monks of the eleventh century either did not share or could not express. What happened to the audience for monastic creative activity in the twelfth century? It was no less sophisticated than its eleventh-century counterpart, but its need to communicate about the substance of Christianity had outgrown the restrictions of the liturgy. The *uersus* then was part of the flowering of expression that blossomed in Europe during the twelfth century in the visual as well as in the literary and musical arts.

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rum, 2: *Rerum Aquitanarum, praesertim Bituricensium, uberrima collectio* (Paris, 1657), pp. 287–88. For commentary see Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial*, pp. 83–86; and Andreas Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars von Saint-Martial de Limoges (1063–1114): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des cluniacensischen Klösterverbandes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums 37 (Münster in Westfalen, 1989), pp. 46–78.

[75] The principal early liturgical sources for these changes are, for the Mass, Pa 822, a sacramentary with kalendar, on which see Sohn, *Der Abbatiat*, pp. 125–27; and the gradual Pa 1132, on which see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 184; idem, *L'école*, pp. 103–5; and Sister Anthony Marie Herzo, "Five Aquitanian Graduals: Their Mass Propers and Alleluia Cycles" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1966), pp. 60–73; and for the Office, Pa 743, a breviary, and Pa 1088, an antiphoner, on whose concurrence with Cluniac sources see René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols., Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes 7–12 (Rome, 1963–79), 5:407–44, esp. pp. 411, 424–25, 429–33, 443. On the introduction of the Cluniac liturgy to Saint-Martial in general, see Sohn, *Der Abbatiat*, pp. 275–87.

[76] On the Cluniac liturgy in general, see Guy de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XVe siècle: Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation de l'ordre*, 2 vols., Archives de la France Monastique 39–40 (Paris, 1935), 1:327–72; Philibert Schmitz, "La liturgie de Cluny," in *Spiritualità cluniacense, 12–15 ottobre 1958*, Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale 2 (Todi, 1960), pp. 85–99; Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (London, 1967), pp. 99–123; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," *Viator* 2 (1971), 129–57; K. Hallinger, "Das Phänomen der liturgischen Steigerungen Klunys (10./11. Jh.)," in *Studia historico-ecclesiastica: Festgabe für Prof. Luchesius G. Spätling O.F.M.*, ed. Isaac Vásquez, Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 19 (Rome, 1977), pp. 183–236; Paul Tirot, "Un 'Ordo Missae' monastique: Cluny, Cîteaux, La Chartreuse," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 95 (1981), 44–120, 220–51; and Irven M. Resnick, "Peter Damian on Cluny, Liturgy and Penance," *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988), 61–75.

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