1

THE CODEX BURANUS, OR THE FIRST CHANSONNIER[1]

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Preceded by a scholarly tradition that dates back to the nineteenth century, interest in the *Carmina Burana* significantly increased following the 1937 premiere of Carl Orff's cantata. While the scholarly focus on the lyrics of the Codex Buranus[2] was boosted by the cantata, most studies have overlooked its musical component,[3] with even less attention given to notation and the fundamental role it plays in the overall conception of the Codex.[4] Yet its uniqueness is first and foremost due to its music, and only to a lesser degree due to the form and content of its texts.[5] In this chapter, I will argue that this manuscript can be situated at the beginning of a very successful tradition of chansonnier production and, in so doing, I will show that the musical component is indeed essential to the creation of this particular genre of book.

Research on the literary aspects of the chansonniers provided the foundation for studies of medieval secular music; however, as these studies were primarily concerned with particular linguistic areas, they overlooked the Latin Codex Buranus, thereby excluding it from broader understandings of the vernacular lyric tradition.[6] Yet the manuscript of *Carmina Burana* is significant for having inaugurated a genre of book—namely, the chansonnier—that transformed secular lyric poetry from ephemeral sonic utterance to written testimony, in a manner not differing from later songbooks. In so doing, scribes turned to the possibilities afforded by music notation, bestowing lasting permanence upon the musical component of this lyric genre. This could only occur in a society in which the aristocratic nature of troubadour production had already endowed the songs with cultural prestige. And this change in medium (from song to page) is successful precisely because the manuscript, being an experiment of sorts, was designed and executed by someone knowledgeable in the practice of music notation (see Huot 1987).

Theoretical Background

The idea that medieval lyric poetry results from the addition of music to a pre-existing text is an entirely modern prejudice that, at its base, conceives of performance as a mere accessory. Such an idea takes its cue from later

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textual traditions in which music was rarely present.[7] Yet, on the contrary, medieval lyric poetry is indistinguishable from the song to which it is set and cannot be reduced to its words—any more than *Yellow Submarine* could exist without its music.[8]

In a society in which few could write and still fewer could notate music, the idea that a song could be transferred to the page was not self-evident. Rather, it was perceived to be an artificial operation and would continue to appear as such until the mid-thirteenth century when, thanks to the increasingly widespread use of the book, the production of chansonniers would normalise the possibility of assembling a lyric corpus in written form (Di Girolamo 1989: 9). Of course, the words of a song can be transcribed for a variety of reasons—for didactic purposes, as an aide-mémoire, as part of the creative process, or to record them for posterity; this process, however, remains an abstraction and is unable to capture, in written form, all the complexity and spontaneity of the musical event.

The only model of song collection to which the Codex Buranus could refer was the liturgical book (De Hamel 2016: 340), which was considered legitimate because it transmitted a "divine," and therefore immutable, text. In it, music notation often served an ennobling and decorative function. This is, for instance, the case with some hymn books, in which each repetition of the verses was notated for ornamental purposes, a practice which met the patrons' desire to showcase their own prestige (Baroffio 2004: 37). In fact, most liturgical books, particularly those with musical notation, were not meant to serve the performative function of the rite. Rather, through their materiality, handwriting, miniatures, images, and, of course, notation, they served as an expression of a community's identity, symbolising its status and power and, in so doing, eternalising the musical splendour of its ritual practices. Though the decision to commit to parchment paraliturgical texts such as sequences and tropes paved the way for the preservation of "new" chants, these, too, were seen as an extension of the rite. The anthologisation of secular lyric, however, was an altogether different affair. Up until then, the practice of writing had been associated with liturgical chant, which was considered immutable; when applied to secular song, the same practice risked "destroying" its very essence, since writing was ultimately unable to convey the complex and multisensory nature of musical performance.

That said, the liturgical book remained the only viable model for the written record of secular song, which, as is the case with the rite, expresses itself through music. Yet in order to justify its access to the privileged medium of writing, secular song needed to demonstrate its artistic quality, which was itself granted by the presence of music. It is difficult to establish whether music ennobled the word due to its associations with the liturgy or rather to the constraints it imposed on the metric construction of the verse (which was, to be clear, not a mandate but rather a consequence

of musical performance).[9] Perhaps both theories are correct. In any case, what is certain is that the earliest examples of vernacular production to be acknowledged for their nobility—and the ones that were written down and collected in books—were indeed songs.[10]

The Codex and Its Contents

Compiled around 1230, most likely in South Tyrol, the Codex Buranus is one of the earliest instances of the process that transferred songs into books. The order in which different genres of songs were arrayed offers important testimony to the difficulties faced by compilers in the selection and arrangement of secular lyric poetry. Here, the compilers have chosen to organise the book so as to guide the reader from the noblest texts (placed at the beginning) to the most trivial ones (placed at the end). The first part of the Codex, therefore, focuses on moral texts of high spiritual import. Upon introducing the next section, traditionally referred to as "amatoria," the scribe adopts the formula "Incipiunt iubili" (fol. 18v). The term *iubilus* refers to the sequence (or versus), thereby connecting the love song to a recognised liturgical form, albeit featuring largely different content. This section is followed by compositions with a more sensual or witty subject matter, namely short songs in Latin with the final strophe in High German (see gath. xii–xiii, in which the Latin is a contrafactum of the vernacular, and not vice versa).[11] Significant among this selection of otherwise modest verses is the presence of Minnesang melodies, a song tradition then imbued with aristocratic prestige.[12] Having by now accustomed the reader to the secular texts, only in the final sections does the Codex contain specimens of drinking songs ("potatoria"). Placed at the end of the Codex, the Latin liturgical plays were most likely not part of the original conception of the chansonnier; however, as I will indicate, the collection of plays was likely precursory to the project of gathering songs in a book. As can be seen, the Codex Buranus is a veritable anthology of lyric poetry. The reader, led from the height of moral-philosophical poetry to more ribald specimens of secular song, is gradually moved away from the liturgical, antiphonal tradition and introduced to the new genre of the songbook.

Who Conceived the Codex?

Music plays a fundamental role in the overall conception and creation of the Codex. Yet, in order to understand the extent to which the book is dependent on music, it is necessary to move beyond mere codicological information to consider its compilers, one of whom likely had a prominent role in the conception and confection of the book.

According to the *Kommentar* (1930) on the critical edition of the *Carmina*, which draws largely on studies by Wilhelm Meyer (1845–1917), several

hands can be seen in the manuscript: two principal scribes for the texts (h1-2) and four for the music (n1-4). However, if the identification of the texts' scribes is largely correct, the same does not hold true for the notation. These uncertainties are due to the lack of substantive discussion of the Codex's notators. Bernhard Joseph Docen (1782–1828), the first scholar to take an interest in the manuscript, completely neglected its musical aspects, as did its first publisher, Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852). In the early nineteenth century, few considered the kind of adiastematic notation found in the *Codex* to have been "music." Knowledge of medieval monody was based on Roman square notation—hence almost entirely on liturgical monody. Research on neumes would only bear fruit half a century later.[13] Meyer was the first to study the neumatic forms of the Codex, identifying, in 1870, seven other loose fully notated leaves which, although not part of the Codex, were related by content to the *Carmina Burana* (Godman 2015: 26).[14] By the time of his death in 1917, Meyer had published his study of the *Fragmenta* (1901), but nothing of the huge body of work he produced on the *Carmina*. His research was then used by Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann to produce their three-volume critical edition of the Codex, completed in 1970 by Bernhard Bischoff. Their engagement with music is limited to recording the presence of neumes and to identifying the hands of the various notators: certainly not trivial information, but not sufficient to offer new critical approaches to the Codex.

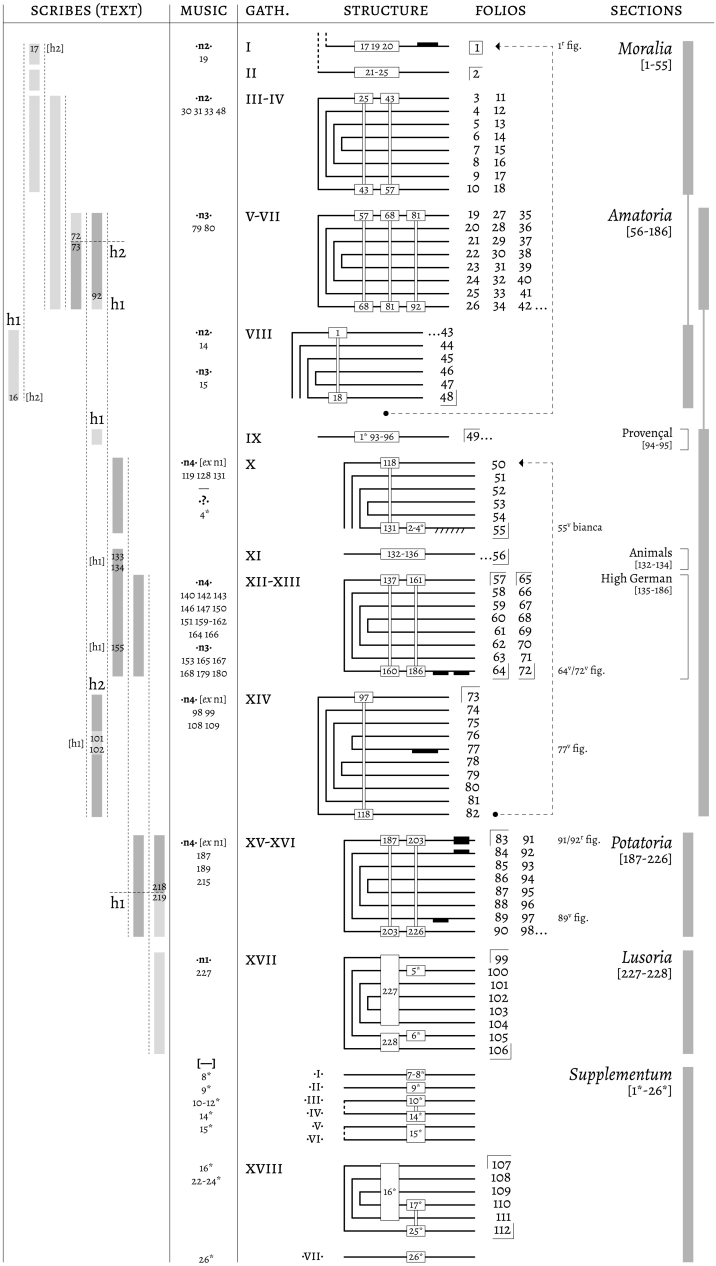
As a guide to the remarks that follow, Table 1.1 provides a summary of the Codex's sections, the order according to which they were compiled, and the various copyists who participated in the making of the manuscript.[15]

Although the work of the two main scribes of the text is even, not only does h1 display a marked erudition, but he also appears more experienced than h2 (*Kommentar* 1930: 27–28), and knows Provençal (Knapp 1998: 283); h2 seems instead to deal with the less erudite section under the supervision of h1.[16] Peter Godman speculates that h2 is an apprentice of h1 and that the ornamental portraits of a man and boy that illuminate the first letters of some of the poems are, in fact, their likenesses. His claim, however, is a mere conjecture.[17]

Besides acknowledging h1 as the supervisor of the work, Meyer, Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff believed that h1 coincided with n1, one of the four notators of the Codex's music (*Kommentar* 1930: 3). Heike Sigrid Lammers rejected this hypothesis (Lammers 1997: 41).[18] Yet her claim, as I will show, arises from previous scholars' erroneous identification of the items copied by n1. On a different note, but still related to the identification of n1's hand, Lammers correctly proposes that the same hand notated the music of *Dic Christi veritas* and the interpolated *Bulla fulminante* (Cb 131, 131a) (Lammers 1997: 35, n. 17).[19]

The music of the Codex Buranus is notated in St Gall neumes, one of the most studied and appreciated adiastematic forms, particularly widespread

Table 1.1 Summary of the Codex Buranus's sections



in the Germanic regions.[20] Various speculations have been made regarding the origin of the Codex, all attributing it to the Alpine and Eastern regions in which the German notation continued to be adiastematic while the rest of Europe had already converted to the staff. Having rejected Schmeller's assertion that it was written in Benediktbeuern (the Bavarian monastery in which the Codex was found and from which it takes its name), the critical edition attributed its provenance to the Austrian diocese of Seckau (in present-day Styria). However, Georg Steer (1983), studying the local linguistic inflections of the Codex's High German, was able to pinpoint its origins to South Tyrol. Steer also identified the Augustinian abbey of Novacella, near Bressanone, as the most likely scriptorium. The unusual presence of Augustine as a character in the nativity play—the longest such play included in the Codex (fols. 99–104)—is perhaps the most convincing evidence for this attribution, as Novacella was the most important Augustinian abbey in its region.[21]

The St Gall notation used in the Codex does not add information useful to the identification of a secure provenance.[22] There is no doubt, however, that the various hands in the Codex are closer to the Western model than to the Austrian. It is possible that Novacella, in matters of notation, was directly influenced by St Gall; it should also be mentioned, however, that no examples of notation survive from those years that can be securely attributed to the Novacella abbey.[23] The four main notators can be distinguished based on various features, most of all through their systematic treatment of the virga: a) oblique, with serifs stemming from the beginning and end of the stroke, b) straight, without serifs or, if so, only on the top of the virga, and c) curved, with serifs stemming left of the virga:

According to the distinctions observed above, form *b* is used by n2, and form *c* is used by n3 while both n1 and n4 adopt form *a*. However, a more rigorous examination shows that n1 and n4 do not concur with the attributions offered so far; rather, they should be identified according to the emendations indicated in Table 1.2, which also provides useful information about the Codex's notated pieces.[24]

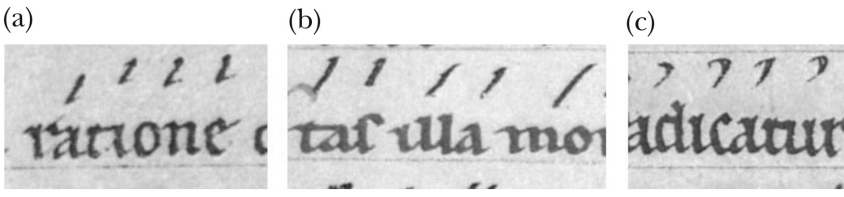


Figure 1.1 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660 ("Codex Buranus" [Cb]): (a) Cb 108, fol. 80r (b) Cb 30, fol. 4r (c) Cb 80, fol. 34v.

Table 1.2 Hands in the Codex Buranus

CB	INCIPIT	f.	GATH.	TEXT	n1 n2 n3 n4	FORM	N	LIQUES.	RYTHM.	Q.	M
14	*O varium Fortune lubricum*	47v	VIII	h1	▪	s	■	–c––	––v–––		▪
15	*Celum non animum*	48r			▪	s	◆		–dv–––		▪
19	*Fas et nefas*	1r	I		▪	s	■				▪
30	*Dum iuventus floruit*	4r	III		▪	s	■		o–––––		
31	*Vite Perdite*	4r			▪	s	■		–dv–––		▪
33	*Non te lusisse pudeat*	5r			▪	s	■	–c––		◇	▪
48	*Quod spiritu David precinuit*	13v	IV		▪	s/r	■			◇	
79	*Estivali sub fervore*	34r	VI	h2	▪	s	◆	–c––	–dv–––		
80	*Estivali gaudio*	34v			▪	seq/r	◆		–dv–––		
98	*Troie post excidium*	73v	XIV		▪ → ▪	—	□	––p–		◇	
99	*Superbi Paridis leve iudicium*	74r			▪ → ▪	s	◆	ec––	o–––p–	◇	
108	*Vacillantis trutine*	80r			▪ → ▪	seq/r	■	–c–a	od–xp–	◇	▪
109	*Multiformi succendente*	80r			▪ → ▪	—/r	■	–cpa	o–––––	◇	
119	*Dulce solum natalis patrie*	50r	X		▪ → ▪	s	■	–c–a		◇	▪
128	*Remigabat naufragus*	53r			▪ → ▪	s	■	–c–a	o––t––	◇	
131	*Dic Christi veritas*	54r			▪ → ▪	s	■	–c–a		◇	▪
131/a	*+ Bulla fulminante*	54r			▪ → ▪	s	◆	–c––	od––p–	◇	▪
140	*Terra iam pandit gremium*	58r	XII		▪	s	□				
142	*Tempus adest floridum*	58v			▪	s	□				
143	*Ecce gratum et optatum*	59r			▪	s	◆				
146	*Tellus flore vario vestitur*	60r			▪	s	◆				
147	*Si de more cum honore*	60r			▪	s	◆	ec––			
150	*Redivivo vernat flore*	61r			▪	s	◆	–c––			
151	*Virent prata hiemata*	61r			▪	s	◆	–c––			
153	*Tempus transit gelidum*	61v			▪	s	◆		–dv–––		
159	*Veris dulcis in tempore* = CB 85	64r			▪	s/r	■	e––a	–––––s	◇	▪
160	*Dum estas inchoatur*	64r			▪	s	■	–c––		◇	
161	*Ab estatis foribus*	65r	XIII		▪	s	■	–c––			
162	*O consocii, quid vobis videtur?*	65r			▪	s	◆	–c––	–d––––		
164	*Ob amoris pressuram*	66r			▪	s	◆		–d––––		
165	*Amor telum est insignis Veneris*	66v			▪	s	◆	–c––	––v–––		
166	*Iam dudum Amoris militem*	67r			▪	s	◆				
167	*Laboris remedium*	67v			▪	s	◆				
168	*Anno novalis mea sospes sit*	67v			▪	s	◆	–c––	–d––––		
179	*Tempus est iocundum*	70v			▪	s/r	◆		–d––––		
180	*O mi dilectissima!*	71r			▪	s/r	◆				
187	*O curas hominum*	83r	XV		▪ → ▪	s	□		o–––––	◇	▪
189	*Aristippe, quamvis sero*	83r			▪ → ▪	seq	□				▪
215	*Lugeamus*	93v	XVI		▪ → ▪	+ sect.	■	–cpa	od–x––	◇	▪
227	*Primo ponatur*	99r	XVII	h1	▪	+ sect.	■	ec–a	odvxps	◇	
4*	*Flete, fideles anime* = in CB 16*	55r	X	h8	?	s	■	–––a	–––––s		▪
5*	*Furibundi cum aceto*	100v	XVII	h12	?	—	■	–c––			
8*	*O comes amoris dolor* = CB 111	·I·		h15	?	s	■	–c–a		◇	
9*	*Mundus finem properans*	·II·		h17	?	s	◆				
11*	*Ave nobilis*	·III·		h19	h20	s	■		––––p–		▪
12*	*Christi sponsa Katharina*			h20		s	■				
14*	*Planctus ante nescia*	·IV·		h22	*id.*	s/r	■			◇	▪
15*	*Incipit ludus immo*	·V-VI·		h23	h21 → h23	+ sect.	■	–c–a	odv––s	◇	▪
16*	*Primitus producatur*	107r	XVIII	h26...	*id.*	+ sect.	■	–cpa	odv–p–	◇	
22*	*Hac in die mentes pie*	112r		h33	*id.*	s	■	–c––	–d––p–		▪
23*	*Cantus Ioseph ab Arimathia*	112v		h35	?	seq	■		––v–––		
26*	*Incipit exemplum*	·VII·		= 16*	*id.*	+ sect.	■	–c–a	odv–––	◇	

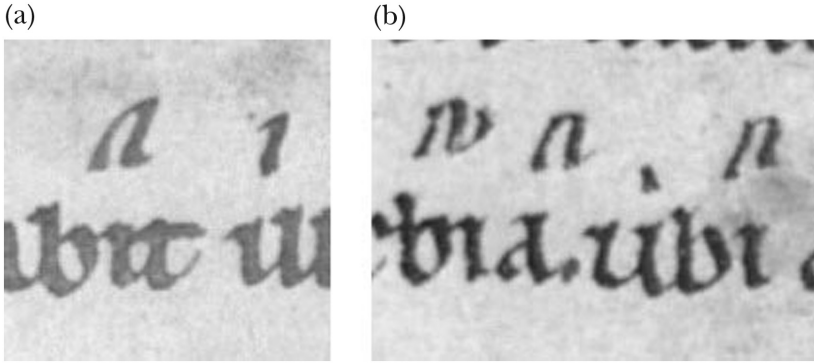


Figure 1.2 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660 ("Codex Buranus" [Cb]): (a) continuous ductus (Cb 227, fol. 99r) (b) discontinuous ductus (Cb 119, fol. 50r).

As can be seen, all the songs of gath. x and xiv–xvi are not notated by n1 but, rather, by n4. Therefore, n1 deals only with the notation of a single piece, the aforementioned nativity play (Cb 227), which, consisting of six folios and with many rubrics, is the most extensive item within the collection.

Though the attribution of similar handwritings to a single hand is common, it is less usual to attribute the same graphic group to different hands. In the case of the Codex, the reasons for this mistake are related to the "German" sections in gath. xii–xiii. As these sections contain syllabic chants of little vocal difficulty, they hardly use any neumes other than punctum and virga. Due to the marked contrast with the melismatic forms found in other pieces, scholars have considered this to be rather simple notation by a different hand. However, by paying greater attention to graphic similarities and differences (particularly in articulated neumes of the liquescent, rhythmic, and quilismatic varieties, as detailed in Table 1.3),[25] one can better appreciate what it is that actually distinguishes n1 from n4 and indicates n1 to be more experienced. These elements support the hypothesis that I will propose in my conclusions: namely, that n1 and h1 are the same person, and that this should be considered the creator of the Codex Buranus.

The recurring trait that makes it possible to distinguish n1 from n4 is their manner of tracing the clivis: n1 traces the clivis in a single stroke (moving first upward, then downward), thus exhibiting a confident, fluent ductus; in contrast, n4 traces the clivis in two separate strokes (downward, lift of the nib, downward again).

A second, rather evident distinguishing factor is the use of the oriscus which, as a kind of appoggiatura, is never found by itself. When it is found in proximity to descending neumes, n1 draws it in the traditional "S" form, while n2 and n4 depict it as a hook (and n3 does not use it).

The scribes can be further distinguished based on the way in which the quilisma is drawn:

Table 1.3 Neume forms in the Codex Buranus

NEUME	LIQUESCENT		RYTHMIC	QUILISM.
	decrease	increase		
punctum		*oriscus*	*distropha*	
virga			*bivirga* | *virga strata*	
pes	*epiphonus*		*virga strata*	
clivis	*cephalicus*		*pressus*	
torculus	*pinnosa*		*trigon* | *pes pressus*	
climacus	*ancus*			
porrectus				
scandicus			*salicus*	

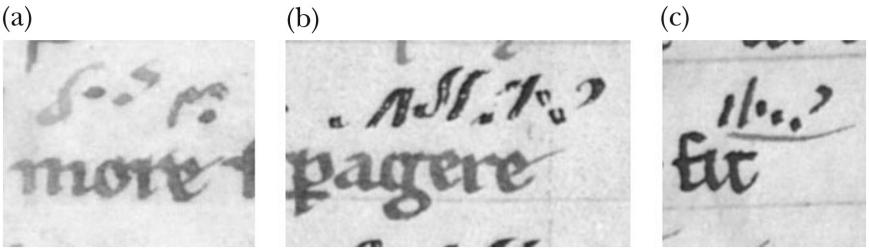


Figure 1.3 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660 ("Codex Buranus" [Cb]): (a) n1: Cb 227, fol. 99v (b) n2: Cb 30, fol. 4r (c) n4: Cb 99, fol. 74r.

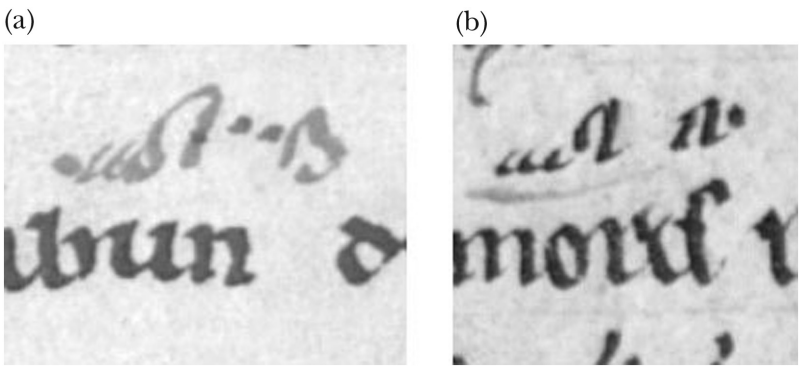


Figure 1.4 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660 ("Codex Buranus" [Cb]): (a) n1: Cb 227, fol. 100v (b) n4: Cb 119, fol. 50r.

As can be seen in the figure, for n1 the hooks appear straight, the first note is in some cases a punctum (obviously when the quilisma is not tied to another neume), and the final sound is linked to the final ascending stroke, which is, in turn, conspicuously curved. For n4, meanwhile, the hooks tend to be curved and set at a distance (the first sound is never a punctum), but obvious above all is the separation between the last hook and the final stroke, which n4 draws with a break in the ductus and the descending motion that is typical of his hand.[26] Once the items previously attributed to n1 (the songs in gatherings x and xiv–xvi) are reassigned to n4, all doubts about the identification of the same hand (that is, h1/n1) for both text and music in the nativity play (Cb 227) are dissipated: not only are the weight and regularity of the stroke identical, but the pen nib and ink are the same for both the text and the music.[27]

Other distinctions can also be observed: h1/n1 writes with a rounded hand, which seems to follow Italian models in the text and which, in the notation, reveals a much more precise stroke than that of the other three notators. Furthermore, h1/n1 shows great competence in his use of the less common neumatic forms (liquescent, rhythmic, quilismatic). Among the other three notators, n2 and n3 display a very uncertain stroke, and only n4 uses forms comparable to those used by n1.[28]

It can then be concluded that the passages copied out by h1 (text) were notated by n2 (music),[29] while those copied out by h2 were notated by n4. Meanwhile, n3 appears to have served a secondary role. Perhaps, as an apprentice copyist, his responsibility was to notate passages overlooked by the other two notators. Following these observations, one question arises: assuming that h1 was able to notate the many pages of the nativity play with such demonstrable skill, why did he leave the task of notating the other pieces to his collaborators?

Theatre and the Codex

As has been noted, the manuscript contains a selection of dramatic texts. One of these, Cb 227, is among the most important of its era, a combination of the various types of nativity plays then circulating in Europe.[30] In it, traditional themes (the Sibyl, the prophets, Mary, the Magi, Herod) appear alongside others entirely new (the debate between Augustine and the Archsynagogue, for instance). The play is constructed through the alternation of quatrains organised in strophes (in which the music is written out in full) and liturgical elements (of which the musical incipit alone is given). As the music and words of these quatrains are not witnessed by any other sources, it is likely that the drama was composed in the same monastery in which the Codex was conceived and created. This implies that the strophic sections were probably composed, or adapted, on the occasion of the actual staging of the drama and later written down in order to preserve its

memory. Therefore, the act of notating these stanzas falls more within the musician's remit than that of the copyist. This task could not be entrusted to apprentices, but only to a master who, in all probability, had himself composed the music (and perhaps the text as well).

As an integral part of the culture of the age, the practice of sacred drama retained its importance in the imperial territories between Germany and Italy; as such, drama served as a way to claim forms of cultural and political identity.[31] (I am thinking here of the *Ludus de Antichristo* of Tegernsee and the later traditions of *Passio* and *Visitatio* found in the Veneto region.) It should come as no surprise, then, that drama holds such an important place among the pages of the Codex. Indeed, in addition to the nativity play (gath. xvii), portions of four other dramatic texts are present: Cb 228 (gath. xvii), Cb 16 (the majority of gath. xviii), Cb 15, and 26 (fragments v–vii). In each case, the copyist of the text also notates the music (the hands of Cb 16 and 26 being the same). This demonstrates the extent to which the written record of drama was a common practice in this community, commemorating, perhaps, important events held at the monastery.

It is unlikely that these sections were originally conceived as part of the chansonnier; rather, I wish to suggest that it is precisely the Cb 227 that inspired h1/n1 to compile a small collection of lyric poetry separate from the dramas. If a dramatic work could be recorded on parchment, why not also a collection of songs? Furthermore, some of the plays included in the Codex already featured secular songs within them.[32] One might even conjecture that the book was intended as a compendium of materials useful in the composition of other dramatic works. In fact, it is possible that the written record of dramas itself bridged the conceptual gap between text and performance, thereby legitimising the practice of writing down songs, as it would be done in later chansonniers. It is unsurprising, then, that the project to compose a chansonnier should develop within a cathedral or monastic community, as it is in this kind of context that one could find the skills necessary to turn dramatic performances into written evidence. Perhaps due to the enormous undertaking that is the Codex Buranus, h1 decided to divide the scribal labour among several copyists. In this way, not only would he relieve himself of the task of writing out all the poetry, but he would also entrust a team of scribes with the responsibility for the notation. The notation of the lyrics was assigned to other scribes likely because, unlike what happened with the writing of the liturgical play, h1 expected to be able to copy them from *Liederblätter*.

Further evidence that music was the unifying factor of the book project comes from specific features of the mise-en-page. As is well known, the Codex is unfinished, and many songs do not have music. Yet, significantly, the line spacing makes it clear that notation was meant to be inserted systematically above the poetry on every page of the manuscript; and, as the following example shows, the scribes also provided space for the notation of melismas, either short or extended:

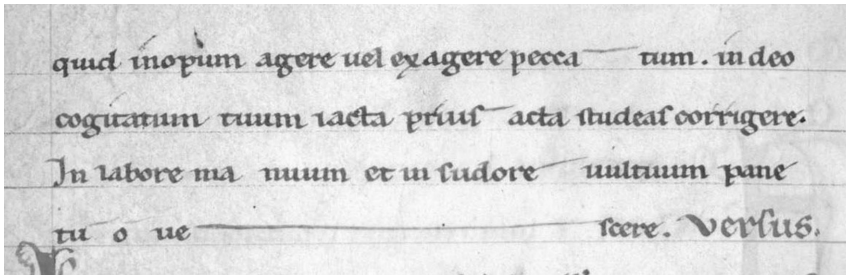


Figure 1.5 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660 ("Codex Buranus" [Cb]): Cb 27, fol. 3v (n1): In this example, the space reserved for the melisma is indicated by a red line.

The Codex's Background

Notwithstanding the significance of music in the Codex Buranus, I do not argue that the manuscript, which was left unfinished and did not circulate, should be considered as a direct model for the later chansonniers. However, the Codex is important in that it bears witness to the possibility of transferring chants into textual forms, even outside the liturgical context. At the time of the Codex's creation, chansonniers were not yet compiled in Europe, but the "trend" would begin shortly thereafter, privileging the use of the vernacular, which the Codex had introduced only sparingly. As a matter of fact, it is not the vernacular *per se* that facilitated the shift in medium, that is, the transition from oral transmission to written record. Rather, it is precisely these earlier experimentations in Latin that allowed for the practice of collecting vernacular poetry in songbooks. It is no coincidence, then, that this "trend" first developed in territories in close contact with the diocese from which the Codex seems to have originated. The *Liber Alberici*, the alleged archetype of the troubadour tradition, was crafted in the neighbouring Marca Trevigiana at much the same time as the Codex Buranus—that is, before Alberico da Romano broke off the alliance with Frederick II (1239) and before Uc de Saint Circ made a copy of the *Liber* (Meneghetti 1991; see also updates in Zinelli 2010: 94–97).

This unprecedented interest in recording lyric poetry in written form, common to both the Codex and the *Liber*, appears in geographically adjacent areas, likely inspired by the cultural politics of Frederick II. Even the Sicilian notaries who heralded Italian vernacular literature seem to have been aware of the Emperor's appreciation for non-liturgical lyric poetry (Di Girolamo 2008: xxxix). The elites of the Germanic tradition were, moreover, the first to ennoble the vernacular, which they did with more conviction than their contemporaries in other areas. Their objective was to give voice

to an aristocratic identity while explicitly breaking with the Latin tradition whose origins, for them, recalled the time of the conflicts with the Romans.

Characterised by profoundly anti-Roman religious sentiment (as evidenced by the presence of texts from the French and North-European tradition), the Codex brings together various aristocratic entertainments typical of the German court, with several references to the arts of hunting and ornithology (Cb 133–134): indeed, should one have desired to pay homage to Frederick II with a chansonnier, the Codex Buranus would have been a perfect tribute. In fact, the sovereign had a great passion for hunting, which he wrote about in the treatise *De arte venandi cum avibus*.[33] Furthermore, the famous miniature of Fortune, later placed at the opening of the Codex, shows a sovereign seated on a throne, an image that recalls that found on Frederick's currency (De Hamel 2016: 353).

If the hypothesis that the book is linked to Novacella (the most important posthouse of the Brenner Pass and the main route connecting the Empire's Italian and German courts) is correct, then the manuscript would have been compiled in a monastery at the crossroads of international exchange, a defining element of Frederick II's political culture. It is no coincidence that the abbey of Novacella received imperial recognition as early as 1157; and, although the volume was never completed, it is reasonable to imagine that a learned bishop of Bressanone—perhaps Konrad von Rodank (1200–1216) or Berthold von Neuffen (1216–1224), both inclined toward knightly culture—could have commissioned a collection of chants markedly in line with the Emperor's tastes (Traill 2018: 368).

Though skilfully handled, n1's use of a notation typical of St Gall (where the scribe is likely to have received his training) may appear conservative vis-à-vis the then-widespread use of diastematic notation. In fact, the notation of the Codex was remarkably up to date, as evidenced by the extensive use of rhythmic neumes. As such, it deals better than traditional forms of notation with rhythmic and metrical solutions, a feature which bears witness to an awareness of epochal changes at a time when mensural necessities pushed European centres to devise notational innovations. Although different from the experimental polyphonic tradition that would develop a few decades later in Notre Dame, the Codex's notation does not overlook the rhythmic character of the music. Evidence of this can be seen on the one hand in the inclusion of dynamic markings that influence the rhythm, and on the other in the accommodation of all specific neumatic forms, including liquescences and quilismas, so as to stress the correspondence between the musical accents and the prosodic accents of the verse. One of the notational peculiarities of the Codex Buranus is rhythmic in nature, which seems to confirm its authors' inclination toward mensuralism and the central role of notation in the planning and realisation of the manuscript itself.[34]

The notation of the Codex contains other elements that make it a good fit for the project of the book. Having been developed in the Duchy of Swabia (of which St Gall is the main monastery), this kind of notation was the result of a well-established tradition and may have been considered the most suitable to pay homage to the ruler of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Nonetheless, the connection between the Codex and Frederick II has yet to be adequately investigated. The hypotheses proposed in this chapter are based on a study of the manuscript's notation. Although more research is necessary to establish the reasons behind the conception and making of this peculiar songbook, the evidence gathered so far reminds us that no satisfying answer will ensue from studies of the Codex Buranus that do not address its musical component.

Notes

1 Many thanks to Gionata Brusa and Christelle Cazaux for the materials and information provided during the lockdown. Insights into other issues related to Codex Buranus music can now be found in Daolmi 2024.
2 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660; abbreviated in the footnotes and captions as "Cb."
3 Literary criticism has, only belatedly, paid recognition to Orff (see Godman 2015). Even four years after Jean-Pierre Ponnelle filmed his staging of the cantata, Eugenio Massa (1979) could issue an authoritative selection of the *Carmina Burana* without ever mentioning Orff.
4 Following the pioneering studies of Lipphardt (1955, 1961) and editions by Clemencic (1979) and Gillingham (1993), recent interest in the Codex's notation, as per the traditional approach, has been motivated by the possibility of observing correspondences with other sources that use a staff system: see Bobeth 2015; Lammers 2020; Cazaux 2020. A more comprehensive example is Lammers's unpublished doctoral thesis (1997).
5 As is well known, the only precedent of greater importance is that of the *Carmina Cantabrigensia*, which, however, consist of only a few folios and which, with the exception of three liturgical pieces, do not contain notation.
6 A partial exception is Galvez 2012, though her study does not acknowledge the music's key role in the making of the songbook.
7 The bulk of vernacular songbooks date from around 1300, or shortly before, when the era of courtly lyric was drawing to a close.
8 In medieval society, poetry was always sung (or "modulated"). Dante, for instance, when distinguishing between *actio* and *passio* (*De vulgari eloquentia*: ii.8.4), was not indicating that text and music should be separated but rather that the compositional process (in which music participates) should be distinguished from the performative process. Differing opinions are expressed in Lannutti 2000: 24; Persico 2017: 84.
9 On the precedence of musical rhythm over metre, see Daolmi 2019a.
10 By attributing the ennobling function of verse to music, this reading challenges the prevailing and stubborn myth of a "divorce of poetry and music" (see Formisano 2012: 9), which, as I contend, is an invention of Romance historiography (see Daolmi 2019b: 152).
11 With regard to the pagination, see Table 1.1, in which I outline the structural complexity of the *Codex*.

12 It is no coincidence that the strophes in High German—such as the *Palästinalied*, on which *Alte clamat Epicurus* (Cb 211) is based—are higher in both style and content than the Latin adaptation.
13 Among the first scholars were Théodore Nisard, Louis Lambillotte and the Solesmes monks. Lambillotte offered the first key to reading St Gall notation—the same as that found in the *Carmina Burana*—in the critical study accompanying the facsimile of Cod. 359 (1851).
14 Meyer had a great interest in music. It was he, not Friedrich Ludwig, who first observed that medieval motets were in many cases composed of syllabic clauses (Meyer 1898).
15 The table brings together data that appeared in Meyer 1901: 17 and, more extensively, in *Kommentar* 1930: 31–39 (see also Bischoff 1967: 20; De Hamel 2016: 338). In the first column, the two primary copyists alternate: h1 in light grey, h2 in dark grey. The grey bars denote, from left to right, the order in which the gatherings were inscribed: h2 continues the work of h1 on fol. 29r, and h1 replaces h2 for fols. 41v and 95v (intervening, also, on 56r and 62v); the addition of the bifolio 76–77 is by h1, while h2 intervenes on fols. 48v and 1r—that is, before the latter folio was moved to the beginning (thereby placing the famous image of Fortune at the beginning of the Codex). The second column identifies the neumated pieces along with their notators, and the third indicates, in Roman numerals, the ordering of the gatherings and their pagination. The numbers in the fourth column, "structure," identify the texts of each of the songs. Finally, on the rightmost column, the Codex is divided into thematic areas. Some folios are lost: before gathering viii (originally the second, since the first is lost), after fol. 42, before and after fol. 49, between fols. 55 and 56, and after fol. 98. The darker horizontal bars indicate the placement of the eight images that decorate the Codex.
16 By crediting h1 with having been the principal scholar of the abbey of Novacella, Godman attempts to identify him as a certain "Chunradus," a subdeacon *scholasticus* operating in Novacella between 1212 and 1235 (Godman 2015: 254, 257).
17 Godman also claims that the portrait served as a means to assert the authority of the composition (2015: 254). In reality, faces only appear in capital letters with closed counters (D, O, P, Q), serving a filling function. But, more importantly, three faces can be identified, not two: a man with a beard and moustache (Cb 14, 127, 164, 175, 180, 193), another without (Cb 155, 159, 170, 171, 181, 189), and another with a beard and a gorget but without a moustache (Cb 187); Godman disregards Cb 159. It also appears unlikely that h2 is a pupil of h1: the morphology of their two hands is very different and seems to come from independent schools.
18 The observation is overlooked in Bobeth 2015, and is not explicitly reiterated in Lammers 2020.
19 The graphic difference between *Bulla fulminante* and the rest of the sequence is ascribable to a difference in the flow of the text, suggesting they were written at two different times. This observation is also disregarded by Bobeth 2015 which, likewise, deals extensively with Cb 131.
20 This is the notation on which Eugène Cardine (1968) based his semiological theory.
21 Attempts to reverse Steer's thesis have recently been rejected by Traill 2018.
22 Brewer 2020, a study on the origins of the Codex from an exclusively notational basis, also attributes it to the South Tyrol region (specifically, to the diocese of Bressanone).
23 Brusa 2021: 2. Thanks to Giulia Gabrielli for sending me a copy of the article.

24 The table's central column identifies the distribution of the four notators' work posited since Meyer, with corrections discussed in the pages that follow. The forms are mainly strophic (s), with or without a refrain (/r), to which are added some sequences (seq) or pieces with multiple sections (+ sect.). Next to this is an indication of how much of the piece is notated [■ = the entirety (or a large part)], ◆ = one strophe (or two), □ = only the incipit]. This is followed by a description of which neumes are present, according to those depicted in Table 1.3, i.e. liquescent neumes (the letters "ecpa" denote the presence of epiphonus, cephalicus, pinnosa, and ancus, respectively), rhythmic neumes ("odvxtps" = oriscus, distropha/bivirga, virga strata, pressus, trigon, pinnosa, salicus), or quilismatic neumes. The rightmost column indicates the presence of heightened examples in other codices (the most recent list is in Bobeth 2015: 91–99).

25 It is impossible to present all the significant examples in this article. I offer a detailed examination of these in *La notazione del Codex Buranus* (www.exameanpium.it/carmina).

26 For more details, see the aforementioned contribution.

27 The differences in colour indicate different stages of writing. As a result, it is possible to observe how h1/n1 first penned the text and only later added the notation.

28 Occasionally n2 and n3 introduced special neumes such as oriscus, strophicus, and virga strata.

29 The authors of *Kommentar* (1930: 64) speculated that n2 was, in fact, two different hands, but as Cazaux 2020, § 13, correctly points out, these variants are due to different pen nibs.

30 Much has been written on this drama, of which a partial bibliography can be found in Hilka et al. 1930–70: iii, 100. The most recent study of this drama is Godman 2016.

31 Drumbl 1987.

32 *Flete fideles* (Cb 4, fasc. x) is one of the songs from the "amatoria" section that was also used in the fragment of the Codex's Passion (Cb 16, the piece also reappears in sec. xviii with the same music, but is clearly added in a second time and was perhaps copied directly from the drama).

33 The speculation that the Codex was commissioned as a tribute to Frederick II, although still unconfirmed, has also been proposed by Drumbl 2003: 34–38.

34 I offer more information on this subject in the previously cited *La notazione del Codex Buranus* (www.examenapium.it/carmina).

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