

Notes

1 Plainsong

- 1 Peter Jeffery, 'Rome and Jerusalem: From Oral Tradition to Written Repertory in Two Ancient Liturgical Centers', in Graeme Boone, ed., *Essays on Medieval Music: In Honor of David G. Hughes* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 207–47.
- 2 Jeffery, 'Rome and Jerusalem', and James McKinnon, 'Liturgical Psalmody in the Sermons of St Augustine: An Introduction', in Peter Jeffery, ed., *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West, in Honor of Kenneth Levy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 7–24.
- 3 Joseph Dyer, 'The Desert, the City, and Psalmody in the Late Fourth Century', in Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas and Timothy Striplin, eds., *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 11–43; Peter Jeffery, 'Monastic Reading and the Emerging Roman Chant Repertory', in Gallagher et al., eds., *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium*, pp. 45–103; James McKinnon, 'Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-Century Psalmody Movement', *Music and Letters*, 75 (1994), pp. 505–21.
- 4 Margot Fassler, 'Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: The Example of Advent', in Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 15–47.
- 5 On gospel tones see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 55–7.
- 6 For an outline of this system see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 243–50.
- 7 Joseph Dyer, 'The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office', *Speculum* 64 (1989), pp. 535–78.
- 8 Joseph Dyer, 'Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages', *Revue bénédictine* 99 (1989), pp. 41–74.
- 9 The Te Deum, which concluded matins, was sung to a melody that somewhat resembled a psalm tone.
- 10 See Michel Huglo, 'Tonary', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
- 11 For an edition of mode 1 antiphons, see László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, eds., *Antiphonen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 5, vol. I (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1991).
- 12 From the ninth to the eleventh century, hymns were sung primarily in the monastic office.
- 13 Susan Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), pp. 99–168.
- 14 A great responsory could also be performed at vespers.
- 15 In the monastic office of matins, the third nocturn had canticles rather than psalms.
- 16 James Grier, 'The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century: Paris, BNF lat. 1085', in Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *Divine Office*, pp. 179–204, describes an unusual manuscript that indicates the performance of the entire doxology at the conclusion of every responsory, which the compiler would have thought reflected Roman (rather than Frankish) practice.
- 17 The ceremonial of the mass described here reflects the state of the liturgy in the central Middle Ages.
- 18 On the Kyrie see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 150–6.
- 19 David Bjork, *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Richard L. Crocker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
- 20 Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old-Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Edward Nowacki, 'Text Declamation as a Determinant of Melodic Form in the Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts', *Early Music History* 6 (1986), pp. 193–226.
- 21 Joseph Dyer, 'Tropis semper variantibus: Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant', *Early Music History* 17 (1998), pp. 1–60; Rebecca Maloy, 'The Word–Music Relationship in the Gregorian and

- Old Roman Offertories', *Studia musicologica* 45 (2004), pp. 131–48.
- 22 *Regula benedicti* 43: 'nihil operi dei praeponatur' ('may nothing be placed before the work of God').
- 23 *Regula benedicti* 19: 'Ergo consideremus qualiter oporteat in conspectu Divinitatis et angelorum eius esse, et sic stemus ad psallendum, ut mens nostra concordet voci nostrae.'
- 24 James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: the Later Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 2000), and the important review by Joseph Dyer in *Early Music History* 20 (2001), pp. 279–309; Peter Jeffery, 'The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertories', *Early Music History* 11 (1992), pp. 151–90; and Jeffery, 'The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994), pp. 1–39.
- 25 Susan Rankin, 'Ways of Telling Stories', in Boone, ed., *Essays on Medieval Music*, pp. 371–94.
- 26 For both mass and office chants, however, manuscripts from central and eastern Europe exhibit an avoidance of the melodic half-step that is known as the 'Germanic chant dialect'; see Alexander Blachly, 'Some Observations on the "Germanic" Plainchant Tradition', in Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup, eds., *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders* (New York: Department of Music, Columbia University, 1990), pp. 85–117.
- 27 This is a very brief summary of a much larger debate regarding the function and origins of Western notation in the transmission of Gregorian chant. For representative statements of three points of view see David Hughes, 'Evidence for the Traditional View of the History of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), pp. 377–404; Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton University Press, 1998) and Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- 28 The character of the Gallican chant can only be surmised from its purported survivals in some Gregorian melodies. See Michel Huglo with Jane Bellingham and Marcel Zijlstra, 'Gallican Chant', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
- 29 A list of sources of the Roman liturgy before the fourteenth century appears in Joseph Dyer, 'Prolegomena to a History of Music and Liturgy at Rome in the Middle Ages', in Boone, ed., *Essays on Medieval Music*, pp. 87–115.
- 30 See Kenneth Levy, 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant I', *Early Music History* 19 (2000), pp. 81–104; Kenneth Levy, 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant II', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), pp. 173–98; Hornby, *Gregorian and Old-Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts*; Andreas Pfisterer, *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002).
- 31 Peter Jeffery, 'The Earliest Oktōēchoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering', in Jeffery, ed., *The Study of Medieval Chant*, pp. 147–209.
- 32 Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- 33 Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exulter in Southern Italy* (Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 34 The use of letter notation in some manuscripts and theoretical writings also facilitates transcription.
- 35 See especially James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- 36 Thirteen editions of offices have been published thus far in the *Historiae* series (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995–). For a study and electronic edition of many compositions see Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 23–24 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994–6).
- 37 An important study of this phenomenon is Andrew Hughes, 'Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office', *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983), pp. 29–51.
- 38 Hartmut Möller, 'Office Compositions from St Gall: Saints Gallus and Otmar', in Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*, pp. 255–6, suggests that this innovation could have originated around the same time at St Gall, during the reign of Abbot-Bishop Salomo III (890–920), as attested by the office of St Otmar.
- 39 For studies of 'post-Gregorian' office chant see David Hiley, 'The *Historia* of St Julian of Le Mans by Léald of Micy: Some Comments and Questions about a North French Office of the Early Eleventh Century', in Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*, pp. 444–62; and Hiley, 'Style and Structure in Early Offices of the Sanctoreale', in Gallagher et al., eds., *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium*, pp. 157–79.

40 Andrew Hughes, 'Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office', in Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie Blackburn, eds., *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 31–96; Eyolf Østrem, *The Office of Saint Olav: A Study in Chant Transmission* (Uppsala Universitet, 2001); Kay Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (University of Toronto Press, 2003).

41 James John Boyce, 'The Carmelite Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin: A Study in Musical Adaptation', in Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*, pp. 485–518.

42 See Manuel Pedro Ferreira, 'Music at Cluny, The Tradition of Gregorian Chant for the Proper of the Mass – Melodic Variants and Microtonal Nuances', PhD diss. (Princeton University Press, 1993); Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 574–8.

43 See particularly Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphony: Reflections on Two Cistercian Chant Reforms', in M. Basil Pennington, ed., *The Cistercian Spirit: A Symposium: In Memory of Thomas Merton*, Cistercian Studies 3 (Washington, DC: Cistercian Press, 1970), pp. 190–223.

44 James Boyce, *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington: Carmelite Institute, 1999).

45 Leonard E. Boyle, Pierre-Marie Gy and Paweł Krupa, eds., *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 327, Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'IRHT 67 (Paris: CNRS Éditions and Rome: École Française de Rome, 2004).

46 Andrew Mitchell, 'The Chant of the Earliest Franciscan Liturgy', PhD diss. (University of Western Ontario, 2003); Stephen J. P. van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Westminster, 1960).

47 Barbara Haggh, 'Reconstructing the Plainchant Repertory of Brussels and Its Chronology', in *Musicology and Archival Research: Proceedings of the Colloquium held at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussel, 22–23 April 1993*, Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, Extranummer 46 (Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 1994), pp. 177–213; Marica Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Michael Noone and Graeme Skinner, 'Toledo Cathedral's Collection

of Manuscript Plainsong Choirbooks: A Preliminary Report and Checklist', *Notes* 63 (2006), pp. 289–328.

48 Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, eds., *Jistebnický kancional, MS Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, II C 7, Kritická edice/Jistebnice Kancional, MS Prague, National Museum Library II C 7, critical edition*, vol. I, *Graduale*, Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica 2 (Brno: LuBos Marek, 2005)

49 Barbara Haggh, 'The Celebration of the "Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis", 1457–1987', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988), pp. 361–73.

50 Barbara Haggh, 'Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral: Guillaume Du Fay's Foundations', in Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*, pp. 372–97; see also her 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996), pp. 87–128.

51 For a recent study of eighteenth-century chant see Xavier Bisaro, *Une nation de fideles: L'Église et la liturgie parisienne au XVIIIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

2 Enriching the Gregorian heritage

1 The adoption of the Roman rite was never comprehensive or universal. See James W. McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 375–403; for the incorporation of non-Roman elements see Kenneth Levy, 'Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul', *Early Music History* 4 (1984), pp. 49–99; 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant I', *Early Music History* 19 (2000), pp. 81–104; 'A New Look at Old Roman Chant II', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), pp. 173–198.

2 See for example Lori Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change', PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997, pp. 137–9, 155–60 and 176–184; and Klaus Rönna, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires der St Martial-Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967), pp. 5 and 76–82.

3 See, for example, Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 225.

4 For studies of these sources see Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton University Press, 1970);

- Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977); and Susan Rankin, 'From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts: The Shaping of a Trope Repertory at Saint Gall', in Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, eds., *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 36 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1993), pp. 395–413.
- 5 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: Cod. Guelf. 1062 Helmst., fol. 219r; Wilfried Hartmann, ed., *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche 843–859*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia III* (Hanover: Hahn, 1984), p. 129.
- 6 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10127–10144.
- 7 The chants are *Alleluia / Beatus vir, Alleluia / Dominus regnavit decorem, Alleluia / Iubilatio deo, Alleluia / Te decet hymnus*, and the extra verses *Laudamini in nomine* and *Notum fecit dominus*. See Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10127–10144, fols. 114v–115 and René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935), p. 198.
- 8 For a transcription of the *neuma triplex* see Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. I, *The Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 38. For Amalrius's comments see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 200–1 and 569–71. See also Johannes M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1948–50); for the *sequentia* see *Liber officialis* 3.16 (vol. III, p. 304); for the *neuma triplex* see *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* 18.2 (vol. III, p. 54).
- 9 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 484, pp. 185–86.
- 10 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 9543, fol. 119v. For a facsimile see Hartmut Möller and Rudolf Stephan, *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, vol. II, *Die Musik des Mittelalters* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991), p. 190 for a facsimile; for a transcription see *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1982–2003), under 'Tropes to the proper of the mass'.
- 11 For a transcription see 'Plainchant', section 6 (ii): 'Expansion of the Liturgy: Prosula', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn.
- 12 Richard L. Crocker, 'The Troping Hypothesis', *Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966), pp. 183–203; see also Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 1–15.
- 13 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 196.
- 14 Evans, *Early Trope Repertory*, p. 3.
- 15 David Bjork, 'The Kyrie Trope', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), pp. 1–41.
- 16 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 381, p. 288.
- 17 For the sources of this terminology see Ritva Jonsson, 'Corpus troporum', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 1 (1978), pp. 98–115.
- 18 An introduction to the melodic style of tropes appears in Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 215–23.
- 19 For a discussion of this shift see James Grier, 'A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh and Twelfth Century Aquitania', *Speculum* 69 (1994), pp. 1024–69, esp. 1027–8.
- 20 See Leo Treitler, 'The Polyphony of Saint Martial', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964), pp. 29–42, esp. 35–39.
- 21 An analysis of a versus appears in Leo Treitler, 'Medieval Lyric', in Mark Everist, ed., *Models of Musical Analysis: Music before 1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), pp. 1–19.
- 22 For the complete text of Notker's preface, see Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer, 1984), pp. 46–7.
- 23 Susan Rankin, 'The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 10587', *Early Music History* 10 (1991), pp. 201–33.
- 24 The details of the two traditions are beautifully surveyed and discussed in Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050–1150', pp. 86–139. Richard Crocker sees greater unity in the eastern and western traditions. See his *Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 1–14.
- 25 See Henry Marriot Bannister, *Anglo French Sequelae* (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1934); and Bruno Stäblein, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 18 (1961), pp. 1–33.
- 26 Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050–1150', pp. 111–13 and 137–9.
- 27 Translation from David Hiley, 'The Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere', in Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer, eds., *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper: Helmut Hucce zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1993), p. 139.
- 28 A thorough discussion of this composition appears in Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 189–203.
- 29 Translations of this sequence by Leofranc Holford-Strevens. See liner notes for *Musique et*

- poésie à Saint-Gall. *Séquences et tropes du IXe siècle*, Harmonia Mundi France 905239, p. 40.
- 30 Kruckenbergh-Goldenstein, 'The Sequence from 1050–1150', pp. 273–9.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 160–6.
- 32 Text and translation in Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 331.
- 33 Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 64–70.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 35 For Adam's life see *ibid.*, pp. 209–19.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 209–10.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 267–320.
- 38 Margot E. Fassler, 'The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony', *Speculum* 62 (1987): 345–74.
- 39 Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 321–43, esp. pp. 330–34.
- 40 More than six hundred texts are preserved in Karl Young's *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933); nearly four hundred of these are examples of the Easter play. The Easter plays alone are edited in Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 6 vols. (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1975–81). The term 'liturgical drama' was coined by Félix Clément in the mid nineteenth century.
- 41 Susan Rankin, 'Liturgical Drama', in R. Crocker and D. Hiley, eds., *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, vol. II of *The New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), 1990, p. 313.
- 42 The version in Mark is the only one to mention three women explicitly. The scene is also found in Matthew 28:1–7 and Luke 24:1–9.
- 43 As in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, p. 111. The oldest version, preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale fonds lat. 1240, is slightly more elaborate than this.
- 44 The chronology of the early sources is a complex matter. See David A. Bjork, 'On the Dissemination of *Quem queritis* and the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and the Chronology of Their Early Sources', *Comparative Drama* 14 (1980), pp. 60. Bjork makes a convincing argument that the geographic pattern of preservation tells us more about the early history of *Quem queritis* than the chronology of the sources.
- 45 Timothy J. McGee, 'The Liturgical Placements of the "Quem Queritis" Dialogue', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), pp. 1–29.
- 46 Rankin, 'Liturgical Drama', p. 320, fn 25.
- 47 Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque. The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London and New York: Nelson, 1953), section 51.
- 48 For a survey see C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Fleury Playbook, the Traditions of Medieval Latin Drama, and Modern Scholarship', in Thomas P. Campbell and Clifford Davidson, eds., *The Fleury Playbook: Essays and Studies* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), pp. 1–25.
- 49 Norma Kroll explores this feature and frames it in Augustinian terms in her 'Power and Conflict in Medieval Ritual and Plays: The Re-Invention of Drama', *Modern Philology* 102 (2005), pp. 452–83.
- 50 For a discussion of Herod's anger and Rachel's sorrow see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 348–71.
- 51 Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. II, pp. 411–14.
- 52 For a glimpse of the type of behaviour that disturbed and alarmed Gerhoh and Herrad see Margot Fassler, 'The Feast of Fools and the *Danielis Ludus*: Popular Tradition in a Medieval Cathedral Play', in Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 66–99.
- 53 See, for example, Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 235–71.
- 54 Jean-Baptiste Pelt, *Études sur la cathédrale de Metz*, vol. IV, *La liturgie 1: Ve–XIIIe siècle* (Metz: Imprimerie du Journal le Lorrain, 1937), p. 378; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 82, fol. 96v. The manuscript was destroyed in World War Two and survives only on microfilm.
- 55 Pelt, *Études*, p. 286; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 82, fol. 27r.
- 56 Pelt, *Études*, p. 425; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 82, fol. 129v.
- 57 Pelt, *Études*, p. 425; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 82, fol. 129r.
- 58 Pelt, *Études*, p. 283; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 82, fol. 25v.
- 59 Pelt, *Études*, p. 294; Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 82, fol. 32v.
- 60 Lanfranc, *Decreta Lanfranci monachis Cantuariensibus transmissa*, ed. David Knowles, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 3 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1967), p. 50; J. B. L. Tolhurst and the Abbess of Stanbrook, eds., *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York (St John's College, Cambridge, ms. D. 27)*, vol. II, Henry Bradshaw Society

Publications 75 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1936), p. 187; Antonia Gransden, ed., *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk (from Harleian MS. 1005 in the British Museum)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 99 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1973), p. 93.

3 Early polyphony to circa 1200

1 ‘Superficies quaedam artis musicae per ornatum ecclesiasticorum carminum utcumque in his designata sit.’ *Musica Enchiriadis*, Chapter 18, ca850. H. Schmid, ed., *Musica et Scolica Enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften Veröffentlichung der Musikhistorischen Kommission 3 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), p. 56. There is a slightly different English translation in C. V. Palisca, ed., *Musica enchiriadis and Scolica enchiriadis*, trans. R. Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 30.

2 ‘Incipiunt melliflua organorum modulamina super dulcissima celeste preconia’, *GB-Ccc 473*, fol. 135r, ca1000.

3 ‘Sed quocumque modo fiat . . . [MS illegible] . . . sic faciendo precentori conveniat et creatori laudem diaphonia concinat.’ *I-PCd 65*, fol. 268r, ca1142. Facsimile in B. M. Jensen, ed., *Il Libro del Maestro Codice 65* (Piacenza: Tip. Le. Co. editore, 1997).

4 On important and complex aspects of improvisation and intersections between oral and written practices, see L. Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 1–67. Treitler’s views include, but are not limited to, polyphony: ‘The production of music as the actualization of both written and unwritten composition is a premiss for the understanding of medieval music cultures’, p. 11.

5 *Musica Enchiriadis*, Chapter 13, Schmid edition, p. 37; Erickson translation, p. 21.

6 ‘Diaphonia vocum disjunctio sonat, quam nos organum vocamus, cum disjunctae ab invicem voces et concorditer dissonant et dissonanter concordant.’ Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed., J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 4* (American Institute of Musicology, 1955), pp. 196–7. There is a slightly different translation in C. V. Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. W. Babb (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 77. Latin *vox* is multivalent as used by early medieval theorists and can denote a pitch, a melodic line,

or the human voice. Here, the sense appropriately embraces both ‘pitch’ and ‘line’. *Dissonare* is here used not in its later, cognate sense, but simply to indicate separation or distinction in sound. Guido’s statement is itself indebted to the formulation in *Musica Enchiriadis*, Chapter 13.

7 See the remarks by Susan Rankin in ‘Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Organum’, in S. Rankin and D. Hiley, eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Centennial Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 65, 70–8.

8 Individual notions of ‘how the music went’ also play a substantial role in modern reconstructions, a situation evident in widely divergent editions and recorded interpretations of Aquitanian and Compostelan polyphony.

9 See the *Quatuor Principalia Musicae* written by an anonymous English monk and dated 1351, Book 4:2; L. F. Aluauş, ed. and trans., ‘The *Quatuor Principalia Musicae*: A Critical Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Commentary’, PhD diss., Indiana University (1996), pp. 746–7. Susan Rankin discusses retrospective Italian polyphony in ‘Between Oral and Written: Thirteenth-Century Italian Sources of Polyphony’, in G. Cattin and F. A. Gallo, eds., *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, *Quaderni di Musica e storia 3* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), pp. 75–98. An important study of the persistence of early organum teaching is F. Reckow, ‘Guido’s Theory of Organum after Guido: Transmission – Adaptation – Transformation’, in G. M. Boone, ed., *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 395–413.

10 Both Guido of Arezzo and John [of Afflighem] refer to their local ‘use’ rather than claiming a monolithic, standard practice. See *Micrologus*, Chapter 18, Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music*, pp. 77–8 and John, *De Musica*, Chapter 23, in *ibid.*, p. 160.

11 ‘Que omnia melius usu organizatorum quam regulis declarantur.’ H. H. Eggebrecht and F. Zamminer, eds., *Ad Organum Faciendum: Lehrschriften der Mehrstimmigkeit in nachguidonischer Zeit* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1970), p. 160. This treatise, designated as Berlin B within the ‘new organum teaching’ orbit, is a descendant of *Ad organum faciendum*. For the *Musica Enchiriadis* statement, see note 1.

12 Andreas Holschneider suggests that Wulfstan, Cantor at Winchester, was responsible for the Winchester organum repertory, notated

in the first quarter of the eleventh century. See Holschneider's *Die Organa von Winchester: Studien zum ältesten Repertoire polyphoner Musik* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968),

pp. 76–81. The repertory evidences a concentration on chants in which soloists already took a leading role.

13 The thirteen polyphonic proses in this repertory exhibit no coherent liturgical ordering, and most are incomplete, the polyphony ceasing after the first few text couplets.

14 The variety in strands of teaching signals that theorists were trying to fix through written precepts and plausible rationales what was essentially an informal practice. On those strands, see S. Fuller, 'Early Polyphony', in R. Crocker and D. Hiley, eds., *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300* (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 497–502.

15 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, Chapter 18, Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music*, pp. 77–8. Guido stands apart in giving a strict example in parallel fourths rather than fifths.

16 The text of the formulaic psalm tone in Example 3.1a is verse 31 of Psalm 103. Nancy Phillips identified the melody and proposed an elegant solution to a notational error in the sources, a solution followed here. See N. Phillips, "'Musica" and "Scolica Enchiriadis": The Literary, Theoretical, and Musical Sources', PhD diss., New York University, 1984, pp. 459–60.

17 *Ipsi soli* is an antiphon from the Matins of St Agnes. Its text units are: 'To him alone / I keep faith / to him all [my] / devotion I commit.' Lack of occursus in Guido's third phrase reflects the ongoing syntax of the text at that point, 'tota devotione'. C and F, the two diatonic tones with a half-step interval below, are the tritus boundaries. The *Musica Enchiriadis* formulates its boundary tone theory in a different way consistent with the daseian scale.

18 See the significant digest and reworking of *Musica Enchiriadis* designated the 'Paris Elaboration' by H. Schmid: see Schmid, ed., *Musica et Scolica Enchiriadis*, p. 206.

19 'Verumtamen modesta morositate edita, quod suum est maxime proprium, et concordia diligenter procurata honestissima erit cantionis suavitas.' H. Schmid, ed., *Musica et Scolica Enchiriadis*, p. 97. There is a slightly different translation in Palisca, *Musica enchiriadis and Scolica enchiriadis*, p. 58.

20 See the rubrics edited in Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester*, pp. 41–55.

21 See the studies of Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* and Rankin, 'Winchester Polyphony', pp. 59–99. Facsimiles of the notation are published at the end of Holschneider's book.

22 See Rankin, 'Winchester Polyphony', for an excellent overview.

23 The transcription of this excerpt is based on the full realization by Holschneider in *Die Organa von Winchester*, pp. 165–7. The notes in the principal voice have here been numbered for ease in reference. Because the notation is not pitch-specific, the reconstruction is conjectural, based on properties of the neumes in conjunction with theoretical precepts of the epoch.

24 The *xs* in the transcription suggest alternate readings that generally increase the proportion of fourths.

25 See W. Arlt, 'Stylistic Layers in Eleventh-Century Polyphony: How Can the Continental Sources Contribute to Our Understanding of the Winchester Organa?' in Rankin and Hiley, eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, pp. 101–41.

26 Eggebrecht and Zaminer, eds., *Ad Organum Faciendum*, p. 46. *Ad Organum Faciendum* is a pivotal document for the start of this phase; its teachings are often paraphrased and modified in subsequent redactions.

27 For a facsimile of the original alphabetic notation, and staff transcriptions of Examples 3.3a and 3.3b, see Eggebrecht and Zaminer, eds., *Ad Organum Faciendum*, plate 5 and pp. 48–9, 52–3.

28 An excellent recording of this polyphonic Alleluia can be found on *Aquitania Christmas Music from Aquitanian Monasteries (12th Century)*, Sequentia, B. Bagby and B. Thornton, dirs., Deutsche Harmonia Mundi / BMG Music 05472–77383-2 (1997), track 8.

29 Eggebrecht and Zaminer, eds., *Ad Organum Faciendum*, p. 111. On the significance of the notion of 'affinity' within early organum theory, see S. Fuller, 'Theoretical Foundations of Early Organum Theory', *Acta Musicologica* 53 (1981), pp. 62–6.

30 Eggebrecht and Zaminer, eds., *Ad Organum Faciendum*, p. 115. This celebration of a dominant organal voice is not taken up in later treatises.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 115.

32 Chapter 23, 'Caeterum hic facillimus eius usus est, si motuum varietas diligenter consideretur; ut ubi in recta modulatione est elevatio, ibi in organica fiat depositio et e converso.' J. Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Johannis Affligemensis: De musica cum tonario*,

- Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 1 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), pp. 159–60. English translation, in Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido, and John On Music*, p. 160.
- 33 For the Latin, see the Smits van Waesberghe edition, p. 160; English translation, Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido, and John On Music*, p. 161. The Latin verb indicating multiplication of notes is *conglobare*.
- 34 The prevalent German term, often adopted in English-language studies, is ‘Klangschritt-Lehre’. The classic study of these texts is K.-J. Sachs, ‘Zur Tradition der Klangschritt-Lehre: Die Texte mit der Formel “Si cantus ascendit . . .” und ihre Verwandten’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1971), pp. 233–70.
- 35 On the important role of memorization in medieval music training, see A. M. Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), especially Chapter 4 on counterpoint.
- 36 While largely promoting contrary motion, the much-perused Vatican Organum Treatise includes some examples of parallel motion; see the conspectus of progressions in M. Bernhard, ‘Eine neue Quelle für den Vatikanischen Organum-Traktat’, in Bernhard, ed., *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, vol. III, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 15 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001), pp. 178–83. A study of late medieval singing in fifths is S. Fuller, ‘Discant and the Theory of Fifthing’, *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), pp. 241–75.
- 37 For a map showing the area in which Aquitanian notation flourished see *Le Graduel Romain II, édition critique par les moines de Solesmes*, Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1957, p. 231. The older designator for this repertory, Saint-Martial (still preserved in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn), was based on a mistaken impression that the sources originated at the monastery of St-Martial of Limoges, the locale where many of them were collected by the early thirteenth century.
- 38 For text topics and possible contexts see R. G. Carlson, ‘Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Song in Aquitanian “Versus”’, *Music and Letters* 84 (2003), pp. 527–56 and S. Fuller, ‘Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969, pp. 16–22. The northern European term for versus was *conductus*. The Codex Calixtinus offices for St James and some thirteenth-century Circumcision offices indicate how versus were incorporated in church rituals.
- 39 Some of the libelli were bound together in the thirteenth century. On the separate sources and on concordances, see Sarah Fuller, ‘The Myth of Saint-Martial Polyphony: A Study of the Sources’, *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979), pp. 5–26. The exact tally of polyphonic works is uncertain, due to some notational ambiguities and differing judgements about whether some apparently monophonic songs are actually polyphonic, inscribed in successive notation.
- 40 Treatises of this period shift their terminology from ‘principal’ and ‘organal’ voices to ‘cantus’ and ‘organum’.
- 41 On approaches to medieval lyric, including two monophonic Aquitanian versus, see L. Treitler, ‘Medieval Lyric’, in M. Everist, ed., *Models of Musical Analysis: Music Before 1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), pp. 1–19. R. G. Carlson analyses two versus (one monophonic, one polyphonic), giving particular attention to text, in ‘Striking Ornaments’, pp. 541–55.
- 42 Transmitted in three sources, *Per partum virginis* is among the more widely circulated of the polyphonic versus.
- 43 The transcription given here of couplets 1, 4 and line 5 respects the rhythmic indeterminacy of the original notations. Editorial alignments in indeterminate passages are suggested on the basis of vertical consonance. For the complete versus in a striking variety of rhythmic realizations see B. Gillingham, *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit / Saint-Martial Polyphony*, *Musicological Studies* 44 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Medieval Music, 1984), pp. 71–4, 102–6, 144–9; T. Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, vol. II, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 8–11, 50–4, 117–20; and H. van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony* (Rochester, NY: the author, 1993), vol. II, pp. 17–31. Each editor presents the three versions separately. Noteworthy recorded interpretations are *Shining Light: Music from Aquitanian Monasteries*, Sequentia, B. Bagby and B. Thornton, dirs., Deutsche Harmonia Mundi / BMG Music 05472 77370 2 (1996), track 10 and *The Fire and the Rose: Aquitanian Chant*, Heliotrope, J. Todd, dir., Koch International Classics, 3–7356-2H1 (1998), track 3.
- 44 Many versus settings have a greater degree of musical repetition, often a simple strophic design or the same music for both lines in a couplet, as Examples 3.4a, 3.4b here.

45 These terminal melismas are ancestors of Parisian conductus caudae.

46 See, for example, *clausit*, line 1b, *est clemencia*, line 4a, *Immortalis*, line 5 (Examples 3.4a, 3.4b), and the reduction of line 1a given in Example 3.5a.

47 Example 3.4a, verse 1a, *hominis sunt*, 1b *tribuitur*.

48 The binary progressions shown in the reduction relate well to the teaching methods of the interval-progression manuals.

49 Facsimiles of the notated versions of *Per partum virginis* may be found in B. Gillingham, ed., *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds Latin 3549 and London, British Library 36881*, Publications of Musical Manuscripts No. 16 (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, ca1987); fol. 150v (*F-Pn* fonds lat. 3549, 'B') and fol. 4r (*GB-Lbl* add. 36881, 'D'). The version in *F-Pn* fonds lat. 3719, fol. 64r closely resembles the 'B' version.

50 The 'B' version as I interpret it increases the similarity to the parallel moment on *virginis*.

51 Facsimile edition in *Codex Calixtinus de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid: Kaydeda Ediciones, 1993). A plausible dating for the manuscript is ca1150–60. E. Roesner summarizes divergent opinions on the dating in 'The *Codex Calixtinus* and the *Magnus Liber Organii*: Some Preliminary Observations', in J. López-Calo and C. Villanueva, eds., *El Códice Calixtino y la Música de su Tiempo* (La Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié da la Maza, 2001), pp. 146–7.

52 Despite its codicological status as a supplement, the polyphonic section is an integral component of the *Codex Calixtinus* in terms of relationships to the music of Book I and notational traits. See S. Fuller, 'Perspectives on Musical Notation in the *Codex Calixtinus*', in López-Calo and Villanueva, eds., *El Códice Calixtino*, p. 188.

53 On the origins of the codex, see M. Díaz y Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino de la Catedral de Santiago: Estudio Codicológico y de contenido*, Monografías de Compostellanum 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Estudios Jacobeos, 1988), pp. 90–1, 310–14. Most of the music is attributed (probably spuriously) to clerics from northern cities, such as Bourges or Troyes.

54 *Ad superni regis decus* is a version of *Noster cetus psallat letus* (copied in three Aquitanian sources, including the earliest), while *Gratulantes celebremus festum* is cognate with the Aquitanian *Ad honorem sempiterni regis*. For notational and musical comparisons between these pieces, see Fuller, 'Perspectives on Musical Notation in the *Codex Calixtinus*', pp. 211–14.

55 An exception is the mass gradual 'Misit Herodes', where the elaborative voice dips below the cantus several times.

56 The transcription of *O adjutor* presented here uses perfect consonances and scribal neume groupings as guides to a contingent but not implausible alignment between the voices. For other transcriptions see Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, vol. II, pp. 219–22; van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, vol. II, pp. 202–3; and J. López-Calo, *La música en la Catedral de Santiago*, vol. V (La Edad Media, La Coruña: Diputación Provincial de La Coruña, 1994), pp. 378–85. For a performed interpretation, see *Miracles of Sant'Iago Music from the Codex Calixtinus*, Anonymous 4, Harmonia Mundi France, HMU 907156 (1995), track 18. For the original notation, see the facsimile cited in note 51 above, fols. 217r–217v.

57 On these resemblances see Fuller, 'Perspectives on Musical Notation in the *Codex Calixtinus*', pp. 218–19. The *porrectus praepunctis* figure common in the treatise and in the repertory occurs in the second and sixth segments of the *O adjutor* verse. These similarities bring a slightly different perspective to the Vatican Organum Treatise, which is chiefly linked with Parisian organum traditions.

4 The thirteenth century

1 The cartoon was published in the syndicated press on 20 March 1987 and is available at www.mycomicspage.com/feature/doonesbury/?date=19870320.

2 The word *conductus* is found in medieval sources in both the second and fourth declensions with the plural in *conducti* and *conductus* respectively.

3 The conductus repertory has been inventoried no less than three times. See Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939); Gordon Anderson, 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972), pp. 153–229; 7 (1975), pp. 1–81; Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981). Although published after Anderson's catalogue, Falck's was based on a doctoral dissertation finished in 1970, and although Anderson's work is more complete, Falck's is the more accessible.

- 4 There is a facsimile of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in Luther Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana Pluteo 29.1*, 2 vols., Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 10–11 (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1966]–7).
- 5 A complete edition of the conductus repertory is in Gordon Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 10 vols., [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) (all but vol. VII have appeared). A smaller but useful edition is in Janet Knapp, ed., *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, *Collegium Musicum 6* (New Haven: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965). Both editions attempt to present the rhythm of the *cum littera* (texted) sections of the conductus in a metrical, if not modal, form, in contrast to the examples provided here.
- 6 For thoroughgoing studies on the chronology of the conductus, see Ernest H. Sanders, ‘Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus’, in Luther Dittmer, ed., *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., *Musicological Studies 49* (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), vol. II, pp. 505–30, and Thomas B. Payne, ‘Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique’, *Current Musicology 64* (2001), pp. 104–51.
- 7 A useful analysis of the subject matter of conductus texts (but restricted to those in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and including liturgical and motet texts) is in Massimo Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1 della Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: storia e catalogo comparato*, *Studi musicali toscani 8* (Pisa: ETS, 2002), pp. 513–46.
- 8 The literature on the genre’s function is enormous. The current views are represented by the following texts: Frank Ll. Harrison, ‘Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol’, *Acta Musicologica 37* (1965), pp. 35–48; Bryan Gillingham, ‘A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus’, in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, eds., *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, *Musicological Studies 53* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), pp. 100–17; Nancy van Deusen, ‘*Ductus, Tractus, Conductus*: The Intellectual Context of a Musical Genre’, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, *Brill Studies in Intellectual History 57* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 37–53.
- 9 For a wider discussion on the terms *cum* and *sine caudis*, see Ernest H. Sanders, ‘*Sine littera* and *Cum littera* in Medieval Polyphony’, in Edmond Strainchamps, Maria Rika Maniates and Christopher Hatch, eds., *Musical and Civilisation: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1984), pp. 215–31.
- 10 *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 322r–322v.
- 11 The text of *Virtus moritur* is a trenchant attack on the place of money at the papal curia. The translation of the text of Example 4.1 is ‘Virtue is dying / Sin lives / Faith is cast out / into Exile.’
- 12 *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 359v–360. The versions presented here may be compared with the metrical transcriptions in Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, vol. V, pp. 71–2 and 20–1.
- 13 The repertory of Parisian organum is edited from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in Mark Everist, ed., *Les Organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, 3 vols., *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 2–4* (Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 2001–3); the repertory from *D-W 1099* is edited in Thomas B. Payne, ed., *Les Organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog [sic] August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.*, 2 vols., *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 6A–6B* (Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1996).
- 14 For the three- and four-part organa, see Edward H. Roesner, ed., *Les Quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 1* (Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1993).
- 15 Fritz Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., *Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967), vol. I, pp. 46, translated in Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, *Musicological Studies and Documents 41* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985), p. 39.
- 16 See Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), pp. 1–6 and the sources cited there.
- 17 For the date of *D-W 628* (known as *W1* in older literature), see Mark Everist, ‘From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of *W1*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society 43* (1990), pp. 1–42; Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘The Manuscript Makers of *W1*: Further Evidence for an Early Date’, in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies*

- in *Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller and John Louis Nadas (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), pp. 103–20. For *I-FI* Plut. 29.1, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972), pp. 1–18.
- 18 For a broader view of the liturgical dimension of Parisian organum, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 258–67.
- 19 *I-FI* Plut. 29.1, fols. 121v–122r; *D-W* 1099, fols. 81r–82r. It is edited in Everist, ed., *Les Organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence*, vol. III, pp. 190–200.
- 20 See, for example, the older editions of this repertory that transcribe *organum per se* according to the principles of the rhythmic modes: William Waite, ed., *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, Yale Studies in the History of Music 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberledge and Oxford University Press, 1954), and Hans Tischler, ed., *The Parisian Two-Part Organa: Complete Comparative Edition*, 2 vols. (New York: Pendragon, 1988).
- 21 There is an important variant in the two cursus of the tenor here: the pitch is *g* at 32 but *a* at 47, and the manuscript is clear in both cases. However, the plainsong preserves an *a* (the second of the two choices) which could point to an error in pitch in *I-FI* Plut. 29.1 at 32.
- 22 Although the discussion of *copula* in theoretical sources is extensive – and hotly debated – its identification in sources such as *I-FI* Plut. 29.1 or *D-W* 628 and 1099 is much less clear. See Fritz Reckow, *Die Copula: Über einige Zusammenhänge zwischen Satzweise, Formbildung, Rhythmus und Vortragstil in der Mehrstimmigkeit von Notre-Dame*, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur 13 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972), pp. 609–70; Jeremy Yudkin, ‘The Copula according to Johannes de Garlandia’, *Musica disciplina* 34 (1980), pp. 67–84; and his ‘The Anonymous of St Emmeram and Anonymous IV on the Copula’, *Musical Quarterly* 70 (1984), pp. 1–22.
- 23 With nearly 100 organa some of which are in three sources, the permutations of clausulae become truly staggering. This aspect of the repertory is controlled in Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols (1/1 – Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; R [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, *Musicological Studies* 7] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964; 1/2 – [345–456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of ‘Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923), pp. 185–222 and 273–315, *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi* 7] Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1961; R [345–456] [457–783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, *Musicological Studies* 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978; 2 – [1–71 ed. Friedrich Gennrich, *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi* 8 – 65–71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1962; R [1–64, 65–71 corrected] [72–155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer, *Musicological Studies* 17] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972).
- 24 Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 15–42.
- 25 For views on chronology, see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 6–27.
- 26 The clausula is found in *I-FI* Plut. 29.1, fol. 158r and edited in Rebecca A. Baltzer, ed., *Les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence*, *Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus* 29.1, fascicule V, *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris* 5 (Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1995), p. 82. The motet is in *I-FI* Plut. 29.1, fols. 411r–411v, and edited in Hans Tischler, ed., *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 3 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982) vol. II, p. 490. There is a single exception to the exact congruity of the two tenors: at 33–5 the notation of the clausula tenor has a descending *conjunctura* (three lozenges, indicated in the example by a broken slur) whereas the motet has a straightforward ligature.
- 27 For a fuller account of *Immolata paschali victima / Latus*, and of a large number of analogous motet–clausula pairs, see Norman E. Smith, ‘The Earliest Motets: Music and Words’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114 (1989), pp. 141–63, especially 160–3.
- 28 See Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin’, in Peter M. Lefferts, and Brian Seirup, eds., *Festschrift for Ernest Sanders* (New York: Trustees of Columbia University, 1991), pp. 7–42.
- 29 In this context, the list of functions for the motets in *I-FI* Plut 29.1 in Ricci, *Codice Pluteo* 29.1, is valuable.

- 30 Anderson, 'Notre Dame Bilingual Motets: A Study in the History of Music, c.1215–1245', *Miscellanea musicologica* 3 (1968), pp. 50–144.
- 31 Ludwig's *Repertorium* not only explains how organa and clausulae interrelate, but also links the motet repertory into the same bibliographical tool. That part of his work that deals with the motets was updated in Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*, Summa Musicae Medii Aevi 2 (Darmstadt: author, 1957).
- 32 *D-W* 1099, fol. 181v–182r.
- 33 *F-Pn* fr. 12615, fols. 186r–186v; *F-Pn* fr. 844, p. 200.
- 34 *D-W* 1099, fols. 198v–199v; *F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521, pp. 738–9; *F-MOfH*.196, fols. 126v–127r.
- 35 *D-BAs* Lit. 115, fol. 55r.
- 36 Gordon Anderson, 'Notre Dame Latin Double Motets ca.1215–1250', *Musica disciplina* 25 (1971), pp. 35–92.
- 37 The standard bibliography for the texts of *refrains* is Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du xiiiè siècle au début du xivè: collationnement, introduction, et notes*, Bibliothèque française et romane, D:3 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969). For the music, see Anne Ibos-Augé, 'La fonction des insertions lyriques dans des oeuvres narratives et didactiques aux xiiième et xivème siècles', 4 vols. (PhD diss., Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III, 2000).
- 38 The motet '*Amis, vostre demoree / Pro patribus*' is unique in *F-MOfH*.196, fol. 249r and edited in Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols. [vol. IV ed. and trans. Susan Stakel and Joel C. Relihan], Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2–8 (Madison, WI: A. R. Editions, 1978–85), vol. III, p. 28.
- 39 The *Quinque incitamenta* are edited in André Wilmart, 'Gérard de Liège: *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardentèr*', *Analecta reginensia*, Studi e testi 59 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1933), pp. 205–47; see also Nico van den Boogaard, 'Les insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de Liège', in Rita Lejeune, ed., *Marche romane: mélanges de philologie et de littératures romanes offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem* (Liège: Cahiers de l'A. R. U. Lg., 1978), pp. 679–97.
- 40 The song is found in *F-Pn* fr. 844, fol. 118v; *F-Pn* fr. 12615, fol. 118r; *I-Rvat* Reg. Lat. 1490, fol. 44r.
- 41 See the editions of the *refrain* in Ibos-Augé, 'La fonction des insertions lyriques', vol. II, pp. 145–6.
- 42 The range of functions of the *refrain* within the motet is outlined in Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 54–66.
- 43 See the listing and discussion in Thomas Walker, 'Sui Tenor Francesi nei motetti del "200"', *Schede medievali: rassegna dell' officina di studi medievali* 3 (1982), pp. 309–36.
- 44 Everist, 'Motets, French Tenors and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300', *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), pp. 365–406.
- 45 *F-MOfH*.196, fols. 273r–275r; *I-Tr* vari 42, fols. 14r–15v; edited in Tischler, *Montpellier Codex*, vol. III, pp. 65–7.
- 46 The innovations found in 'Aucun ont trouvé chant par usage' were attributed to Petrus de Cruce in the thirteenth century. A full list of these works, together with the evidence for his authorship, is in Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Petrus de Cruce', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
- 47 Albert Seay, trans., *Johannes de Grocheo: Concerning Music (De musica)*, Colorado College Music Press Translations 1 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1967–74), p. 26.
- 48 Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (London: Dent, 1989), pp. 144–54.
- 49 See, among others, Jeremy Yudkin, 'The Rhythm of Organum Purum', *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983), pp. 355–76.
- 50 For the conductus around 1300 see Mark Everist, 'Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic *Conductus cum cauda*: The Metz Fragment', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 (2000), pp. 135–63 and the sources cited there. The key sources for the recasting of organum are the first fascicle of *F-MOfH*.196, *D-B* Lat. 4° 523; and *DK-Kk* 1810 4°. For the former, see Kurt von Fischer, 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14., und 15. Jahrhunderts', *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), pp. 80–3, and for the latter John Bergsagel, 'The Transmission of Notre-Dame Organa in Some Newly-Discovered "Magnus liber organi" Fragments in Copenhagen', in Angelo Pompilio, ed., *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols. (Turin: EDT, 1990), vol. III, pp. 629–36.

5 The fourteenth century

- 1 Barbara Wertheim Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (New York: Knopf, 1978).

- 2 See Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309–1403*, Studies in Musicology 75, ed. George J. Buelow (Ann Arbor and Epping: Bowker Publishing, 1983); Yolanda Plumley, ‘An “Episode in the South”?’ Ars Subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes’, *Early Music History* 22 (2003), pp. 103–68; Margaret Bent, ‘Early Papal Motets’, in Richard Sherr, ed., *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- 3 See Lawrence Earp, ‘Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut’, in Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable and James I. Wimsatt, eds., *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991). Philippe de Vitry was later elected Bishop of Meaux; see ‘Vitry, Philippe de’, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn.
- 4 Andrew Wathey, ‘The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance’, *Early Music History* 12 (1993), pp. 133–5. On Clement VI in general see Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- 5 It should be noted that Clement VII was also the name used by Ippolito Aldobrandini, elected Pope in 1592.
- 6 See Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War* (Cambridge University Press, rev. edn 2001).
- 7 Andrew Wathey, ‘The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations’, *Early Music History* 9 (1989).
- 8 See William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 1996); Gregory Clark, ‘The Economics of Exhaustion, the Postan Thesis, and the Agricultural Revolution’, *Journal of Economic History* 52 (1992).
- 9 The Black Death has been believed by many to have been the bubonic plague (*yersinia pestis*) spread by fleas from infected rodents; modern epidemiologists dispute both the microbiological agent and the means of transmission. See Ole Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346–1353: The Complete History* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004).
- 10 Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 11 M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- 12 See Frank Hentschel, *Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft in der mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie: Strategien der Konsonanzwertung und der Gegenstand der ‘musica sonora’ um 1300* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000); Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).
- 13 While this might seem rather abstract it has been argued that this ‘mania for measurement’ (sometimes the rather intangible quantification of qualities such as God’s mercy) was a direct result of the engagement by academics in the busy monetarized marketplaces of Oxford, Paris and other university towns, their management of college accounts, and their practical understanding of the functioning of money in the newly monetarized economy. See Joel Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1998). Artistic creation (especially poetry – an oral performance art in this period) was often compared metaphorically to coin. This period sees it, like coin, being commoditized within the emerging market economy.
- 14 See the arguments in Dorit Esther Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture* (Holzerlingen: Hänssler, 1999). See also ‘Muris, Johannes de’, *New Grove*.
- 15 Albert Douglas Menut, *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de politiques d’Aristote* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970).
- 16 See ‘Versified Office’, *New Grove*.
- 17 See the comments in Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), Chapter 1.
- 18 A summary of, and bibliography for, these developments can be found in ‘Motet’, *New Grove*.
- 19 The terms *color* and *talea* are used here as commonly applied in modern scholarship; their medieval use was less clearly distinct. Overlapping *taleae* are more common in the later motets of Vitry and widely used by Machaut.
- 20 On the meaning provided by number in specific examples of fourteenth-century motets see Margaret Bent, ‘Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut’s Motet 15’, *Early Music History* 10 (1991); David Howlett, ‘*Apollinis eclipsatur*: Foundation of the “Collegium musicorum”’, in Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Auctoritas in*

Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

21 See 'Motet', *New Grove*.

22 For this point and for reasons behind his choice, see the analysis in Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

23 See Jacques Boogaart, "O Series Summe Rata." De Motetten van Guillaume de Machaut. De Ordening van het Corpus en de Samenhang van Tekst en Muziek, PhD diss., Utrecht, 2001; Thomas Brown, 'Another Mirror of Lovers? Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001); Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*.

24 See Peter M. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1986). However, pieces from the international repertory of French motets circulated in francophone England as well as elsewhere in Europe.

25 See Earp, 'Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing.'

26 One balade by Vitry survives, without music, in *F-Pn* lat. 3343. James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch' in University of Pennsylvania MS French 15* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1982), pp. 56–7 dates this between 1340 and 1361, most likely after 1346. F. N. M. Diekstra, 'The Poetic Exchange between Philippe de Vitry and Jean de le Mote', *Neophilologus* 70 (1986) suggests it could be earlier.

27 Christopher Page, 'Tradition and Innovation in BN fr. 146: The Background to the Ballades', in Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, eds., *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

28 Texts edited in Georg Steffens, 'Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift der Bodleiana in Oxford, Douce 308', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* 99 (1897).

29 The picture is on fol. 51r of *F-Pn* fr. 1586 and is reproduced in colour as plate 24 in François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1320–1380)* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1978), p. 87. Low-definition copies can be viewed online by entering 'Machaut' as a search term into an image search engine and following the links.

30 See Virginia Newes, 'Chace, Caccia, Fuga: The Convergence of French and Italian Traditions', *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987); Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature,*

and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

31 See 'Lai', *New Grove*.

32 *Ibid*.

33 Gilbert Reaney, 'Concerning the Origin of the Medieval Lai', *Music and Letters* 39 (1958).

34 'Lai', *New Grove*.

35 The poet Eustache Deschamps reports of the lai 'c'est une chose longue et malaisie a faire et trouver' ('it is long and difficult to do and to invent'). Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi, ed., *Eustache Deschamps L'Art de dicter* (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1994), p. 94.

36 'Madrigal', *New Grove*.

37 'Mass', section II, 3–4, *New Grove*.

38 The Ivrea and Tremoille manuscripts; see *ibid*.

39 Janet Knapp, 'Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris', in Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, (Oxford University Press, 1990); Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin', *Current Musicology* 45–7 (1990) (Festschrift for Ernest Sanders, ed. Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup); Gerald R. Hoekstra, 'The French Motet as Trope: Multiple Levels of Meaning in *Quant florist la violete / El mois de mai / Et Gaudebit*', *Speculum* 73 (1998).

40 'Mass', section II, 4, 'Toulouse Mass', and 'Barcelona Mass', *New Grove*.

41 Andrew Kirkman, 'The Invention of the Cyclic Mass', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001).

42 Roger Bowers, 'Guillaume de Machaut and His Canonry of Reims, 1338–1377', *Early Music History* 23 (2004); Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, Chapter 9.

43 Margaret Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?' in Bent and Wathey, eds., *Fauvel Studies*, p. 52.

44 *Passerose* and *Roses et lis*, both in the Chantilly Codex; see Gilbert Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047', *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954), pp. 76–7.

45 Robertson argues that M18 was adapted for later reuse; Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, Chapter 2, especially p. 60. However, given that its use as the initial triplum rhyme (Guillerm / inerme) locks the name of this specific archbishop tightly into the work, it might be better to view it as serving an ongoing warning to later incumbents rather than as something that could be substituted.

- 46 See Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*.
- 47 Kevin Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir / Faus samblant m'a deceu / Vidi Dominum*', *Early Music History* 10 (1991).
- 48 See Sylvia Huot, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry', *Modern Philology* 100 (2002).
- 49 See Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (London: Dent, 1989), pp. 33–40.
- 50 Saint Augustine, 'On Music', in *Writings of Saint Augustine*, vol. II, trans. and ed. Robert Catesby Taliaferro (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1977), p. 171, explains that noblemen properly use music to relax from their labours. Isidore, *Etymologies* III: 17 mentions that 'music soothes the mind so that it can endure toil, and song assuages the weariness encountered in any task' (trans. in James McKinnon, ed., *The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, vol. II [New York: W. W. Norton, 1998], p. 40). Later, Peter the Chanter admits the morality of paying for music so long as it is designed either to relieve sadness and tedium ('tristia et taedium amoveantur'), or to excite devotion (the latter also an Augustinian rationale mentioned in the *Confessions*). Peter's views were developed throughout the thirteenth century by Thomas Chobham (*Penetential*, 1216), Robert Courson (*Summa*, 1208–1212/13), and the Franciscan Thomas Docking (*Commentary on Galatians*, 1265). In general, thirteenth-century preachers recognized a division between entertainers who were primarily acrobats, actors etc. and those professionals who sang with instrumental accompaniment of exploits to give relaxation (*recreationem*) or instruction (*informationem*). See Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, pp. 20–2, citing J. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton University Press, 1970).
- 51 See Mary B. Schoen-Nazzaro, 'Plato and Aristotle on the Ends of Music', *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 34 (1978).
- 52 Full exposition in Leach, *Sung Birds*, Chapter 4.
- 53 See 'Performing Practice', section I, 2–3, *New Grove*.
- 54 See the summary in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 55 See the arguments in Margaret Bent, 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis', in Cristle Collins Judd, ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music* (New York: Garland, 1998).
- 56 See the bibliography supporting 'Notation', section III, 3, *New Grove*.
- 57 See, for example, the essays in Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002) compared with the differing views in Karol Berger, *Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge University Press, 1987) and Thomas Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 58 Sarah Fuller, 'Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music', *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992).
- 59 See entries for 'Ars Antiqua', 'Ars Nova', and 'Ars Subtilior', *New Grove*.
- 60 *US-Em* 744, p. 62. See Richard Crocker, 'A New Source for Medieval Music Theory', *Acta Musicologica* 39 (1967), and Figure 5.1 on p. 101 below.
- 61 See, for example, the arguments made in James Webster, 'The Concept of Beethoven's "Early" Period in the Context of Periodizations in General', *Beethoven Forum* 3 (1994).
- 62 Sarah Fuller, 'A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*', *Journal of Musicology* 30 (1985–6).
- 63 Elizabeth Randell Upton, 'The Chantilly Codex (*F-CH* 564): The Manuscript, Its Music, Its Scholarly Reception', PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001.
- 64 M. T. Clanchy, 'Modernism in Education and Government in England', *Speculum* 50 (1975).
- 65 MS 0744, fol. 31v, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- 66 Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 239–42.
- 67 Anne Stone, 'Self-Reflexive Songs and their Readers in the Late 14th Century', *Early Music* 31/2 (2003); Stone, 'The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song: Four Case Studies', in Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); and Stone, 'Music Writing and Poetic Voice in Machaut: Some Remarks on B12 and B14', in Elizabeth Eva Leach, ed., *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003).

68 See Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Death of a Lover and the Birth of the Polyphonic Balade: Machaut's Notated Balades 1–5', *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002); Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*.

69 Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

70 Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Grenoble: Allier, 1965).

71 See the arguments about *Soiez liez* in Earp, 'Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing', pp. 106–9.

72 Wathey, 'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance'.

73 See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland, 1995), Chapter 2.

74 Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 200.

75 Jessie Ann Owens, 'Music Historiography and the Definition of "Renaissance"', *Notes* 47 (1990).

6 England

1 Recommended surveys and general resources include John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, vol. I, *From the Beginnings to c. 1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958; 2nd edn 1963, repr. Buren: Fritz Knuf, 1980); Peter M. Lefferts, 'Medieval England, 950–1450', in James McKinnon, ed., *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the Fifteenth Century*, Music and Society 1 (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 170–96; Christopher Page, 'Music', in Boris Ford, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, vol. I, *Prehistoric, Roman, and Early Medieval* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 247–53; Nick Sandon and Christopher Page, 'Music', in Boris Ford, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, vol. II, *The Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 214–50; and Paul Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds., *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia* (London: Garland, 1998).

2 The album *An English Ladymass* (Harmonia Mundi France HMU 907080), recorded by the singing ensemble Anonymous 4, was at or near the top of the classical music charts for the better part of two years in 1993–4.

3 On Ledrede's lyrics, see Edmund Colledge, *The Latin Poems of Richard Ledrede, OFM*

(Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1974); for vernacular motet tenors, see Peter M. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1986).

4 For the polyphonic songs, see Ernest H. Sanders, ed., *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 14 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979). For the dances, see Timothy J. McGee, ed., *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

5 See Peter M. Lefferts and David Fallows, 'Songs', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, and David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

6 For more on narrative melodies, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

7 See Peter M. Lefferts and Richard Rastall, 'Minstrels and Minstrelsy', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, and John Southworth, *The English Medieval Minstrel* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989).

8 The extant later medieval English-language songs have been edited by Eric J. Dobson and Frank Ll. Harrison in *Medieval English Songs* (London: Faber, 1979). The Anglo-Norman songs are anticipated in a forthcoming edition from the estate of the late John Stevens; for now, see John Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-list of Anglo-Norman Songs', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3 (1994), pp. 1–22.

9 For an overview of these later songs, see Fallows, *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*. On the carols see Richard L. Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), John Stevens, ed., *Mediaeval Carols*, *Musica Britannica* 4 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1958) and Stevens, ed., *Early Tudor Songs and Carols*, *Musica Britannica* 36 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1952; 2nd rev. edn, 1975).

10 The best short survey of the medieval church and its music in England is Nick Sandon, 'Liturgy and Church Music, History of', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*.

11 Alejandro E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton University Press, 1977).

12 See Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), and Andrew Hughes, 'British Rhymed Offices: A Catalogue and Commentary', in Susan Rankin and David Hiley, eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Centennial*

Essays (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 239–84.

13 See Susan Rankin, 'Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Organum', in Rankin and Hiley, eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, pp. 59–99, and Susan Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition*, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007).

14 See Nick Sandon, 'Salisbury (Sarum), Use of', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*.

15 See Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Holy Week and Easter, Music for', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*.

16 See Peter M. Lefferts, 'Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England', in *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, ed. Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup as *Current Musicology* 45–7 (1990), pp. 247–82, and Sally E. Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950–1540* (New York: Garland, 1993).

17 See Roger D. Bowers, 'Choirs, Choral Establishments', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, and Andrew Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage* (New York: Garland, 1989).

18 For all these repertories, see Sanders, ed., *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*.

19 For English notations of the thirteenth century, see Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, pp. 104–24, and for the next century see also Peter M. Lefferts, 'Some Aspects of Musical Notation in Fourteenth-Century England', in Maria Caraci Vela, Daniele Sabaino and Stefano Aresi, eds., *Le notazioni della polifonia vocale dei secoli ix–xvii, Antologia parte prima secoli ix–xiv* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2007), pp. 263–75.

20 For the style, context, and influence of English sacred music of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

7 Italy to 1300

1 On this topic see the enlightening pages of Varvaro: Alberto Varvaro, *Letterature romanze del medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985), pp. 9–82.

2 Giulio Cattin, "'Secundare" e "succinere"', *Polifonia a Padova e Pistoia nel Duecento*, *Musica e storia* 3 (1995), pp. 41–120.

3 Cattin, "'Secundare" e "succinere"', p. 119.

4 The two important sources are quoted in B. Baroffio and C. Antonelli, 'La passione nella liturgia della Chiesa cattolica fino all'epoca di Johann Sebastian Bach', in E. Povellato, ed., *Ritorno a Bach. Dramma e ritualità delle passioni* (Venice: Marsilio, 1986), p. 16, and in Giacomo Baroffio, 'Le polifonie primitive nella tradizione manoscritta italiana. Appunti di ricerca', in Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), pp. 201–5: 201.

5 See Guido Milanese, *Paraphonia-paraphonista dalla lessicografia greca alla tarda antichità romana*, in Enrico Menesto, Antonio Island, Alessandra Di Pilla and Ubaldo Pizzani *Curiositas. Studi di cultura classica e medievale in onore di Ubaldo Pizzani* (Naples: ESI, 2002), pp. 407–21.

6 A first list of Italian sources of sacred polyphony up to ca1300 is in Susan Rankin, 'Between Oral and Written: Thirteenth-Century Italian Sources of Polyphony', in G. Cattin and F. A. Gallo, eds., *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), pp. 75–98: 93–5.

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8 F. Alberto Gallo, 'The Practice of "Cantus planus binatim" in Italy from the Beginning of the Fourteenth to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century', in C. Corsi and P. Petrobelli, eds., *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa* (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 13–30.

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- 5 See S. Corbin, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Âge (1100–1385)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952), pp. 137–40; M. P. Ferreira, *Antologia de música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento*, 2 vols (Lisbon: CESEM / Arte das Musas, 2008), vol. I, pp. 9–22: the two surviving Portuguese fragments of Old Spanish chant are reproduced as plates 1–3.
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10 Music east of the Rhine

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- 18 László Dobszay, 'The System of the Hungarian Plainsong Sources', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1985), pp. 44ff. Janka Szendrei, *Medieval Notated Codex Fragments from Hungary*, trans. Erzsébet Mészáros (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Science, 2000).
- 19 Janka Szendrei, 'Gibt es ein ungarisches Gregorianum? Über das Problem des Nationalcharakters der Gregorianik im Licht der ungarischen Choralquellen', in Stefan Fricke et al. eds., *Zwischen Volks- und Kunstmusik: Aspekte der ungarischen Musik* (Saarbrücken: Pfau-Verlag, 1999), pp. 28–42.
- 20 Henryk Kowalewicz and Jerzy Morawski, eds., 'Hymny polskie', *Musica Medii Aevi* 8 (1991), pp. 10–138; Henryk Kowalewicz, *Cantica Medii Aevi Polono-Latina*, vol. I, *Sequentiae*, Biblioteca Latina Medii et Recentioris Aevi 14 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964); Jerzy Pikulik, 'Sekwencje polskie', *Musica Medii Aevi* 4 (1973), pp. 7–126.
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- 22 Antoni Reginek, 'Repertuar hymnów diecezji krakowskiej', *Musica Medii Aevi* 8 (1991), p. 321. Paul Crossley, "'Ara Patriae" Saint Stanislaus, the Jagiellonians and the Coronation Ordinal for Cracow Cathedral', in Jiří Fajt and Markus Hirsch, eds., *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, *Studia Jagiellonica Lipsiensia* 1 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006), pp. 103–21.
- 23 Arnold Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/1 (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1952); Theodor Göllner, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 15 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1969). More recent studies include Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Cantus planus multiplex in Polen: von einer

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- 28 Robert Curry, 'Fragments of *Ars antiqua* Music at Stary Sącz and the Evolution of the Clarist Order in Central Europe in the Thirteenth Century' (PhD diss., Monash University, Melbourne, 2003).
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- 32 Jaromír Černý, 'Cantio', in Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* (Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter & Metzler, 1994), pp. 392–3.
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- 34 Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 331–2.
- 35 Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Petrus Wilhelm de Grudencz (b. 1392) – A Central European Composer', *De musica disserenda* 2, no. 1 (2006), pp. 103–12. Jaromír Černý, ed., *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz Magister Cracoviensis Opera Musica*, music score with introduction and critical commentary, foreword by Mirosław Perz (Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1993).
- 36 Martin Staehelin, 'Uwagi o wzajemnych związkach biografii, twórczości i dokumentacji dzieł Piotra Wilhelmi z Grudziądza', *Muzyka* 49, no. 2 (2004), pp. 9–18. The composer identified his compositions using an acrostic of his name: for example, in his cantio: *Presidiorum erogatrix tutris rei virens satrrix*.
- 37 Martin Horyna, 'Utwory Piotra Wilhelmi z Grudziądza w tradycji polifonii późnośredniowiecznej w Europie Środkowej, a zwłaszcza w Czechach XV i XVI wieku', *Muzyka* 49 (2004), pp. 21–54. Horyna draws on unpublished sections of the treatise by Paulus Paulirini (Pavel Židek), *Liber viginti artium* (Plzeň, ca 1460 [PL-Kj 257, fols.153–62]), where Paulus recommends what type and how many pieces befit specific liturgical occasions.
- 38 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, rev. edn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), p. 732.
- 39 Jistebnický Kancionál, CZ-Pnm II C 7. A new edition of the gradual has recently appeared, *Jistebnický kancionál. 1. svazek – Graduale*, edited by Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica* 2 (Brno: Luboš Marek, 2005).
- 40 The royal chapel did not follow the Esztergom rite, the most characteristic feature of Catholic liturgy in Hungary.
- 41 Corvinus's library, second only to the Vatican's, numbered some 3,000 volumes. Csaba Csapodi, et al., comps., *Biblioteca Corviniana: The Library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary*, trans. Zsuzsanna Horn (New York: Praeger, 1969).
- 42 Dobszay, 'Liturgical Polyphony', pp. 173–85. Dobszay concludes that major churches, unlike in the West, seem to have

played little role in the cultivation of liturgical polyphony above the level of *cantus planus binatim*. See also Charles E. Brewer, 'The Historical Context of Polyphony in Medieval Hungary: An Examination of Four Fragmentary Sources', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 32 (1990), pp. 5–21.

43 Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*. vol. I, *The Edition*; vol. II, *Commentary* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), vol. I, p. 30.

44 Košice Fragments (Fragmenty koszyckie, Kassa-Fragmente), ca1465, SK-Brm 33, SK-Bru 318.

45 Glogauer Liederbuch (Śpiewnik glogowski), 1475–85, PL-Kj 40098.

46 By 1469 Hungary had acquired Moravia, Silesia, Upper and Lower Lusatia and Habsburg Lower Austria including Vienna.

47 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto. Kodeksy menzuralne II połowy XV wieku na wschodzie Europy Lacińskiej* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2001), pp. 71–110.

48 The archbishopric sided with the Catholic king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, against the Utraquist king of Bohemia, George of Poděbrady. Corvinus was symbolically crowned king of Bohemia in Olomouc in 1469; he had to wait another five years before he acceded in fact to the Bohemian throne.

49 Codex Speciaľnik, CZ-HK II A 7.

50 Lenka Mráčková, 'Kodex Speciaľnik. Eine kleine Folio-Handschrift böhmischer Provenenz', *Hudební věda* 39, nos. 2–3 (2002), pp. 163–84.

51 In large measure the same holds true for the important L'viv Fragments (Fragmenty lwowskie), 1485–90, PL-Pu 7022. Lwów was the seat of Poland's second metropolitan. Primate Gregory of Sanok (1451–77) maintained contacts with singers at the Florentine court of Pope Eugenius IV.

52 Given Mikotaj Radomski's up-to-date musical style, it seems likely that he is the musician Nicolai Gerald de Radom whose name appears in documents from the Roman *curia* of Pope Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404). His music is found in two manuscripts both of unknown provenance: PL-Wn 8054 and PL-Wn 378.

53 Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, p. 262; Katarzyna Grochowska, 'Motet as Propaganda: The Historiographi aciem's Embellishment of the Jagellonian Dynasty', in *Early Music – Context and Ideas: International Conference in Musicology, Kraków, 18–21 September 2003* (Cracow: Institute of Musicology, Jagellonian University, 2003), pp. 359–70.

11 Music and liturgy

1 J. McKinnon, ed., *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), no. 25, p. 20.

2 E. G. C. F. Atchley, ed. and trans., *Ordo Romanus primus* (London: Moring, 1905), pp. 127–9. For the Latin texts of the *Ordines romani* as a whole, see M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61); an introduction to this resource is provided in C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. W. Storey and N. Rasmussen, assisted by J. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986), pp. 135–224.

3 On the problems of reading early documents concerning Christian liturgy, see P. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 2002; rev. edn.); for a summary introduction to the era that pays due attention to these problems, see P. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship: A Basic Introduction to Ideas and Practice* (London: SPCK, 1996).

4 Given the concentration on select sources in this chapter, attention should be drawn at this point to studies providing a more comprehensive overview. The most wide-ranging single-volume history of Christian worship is now G. Wainwright and K. B. Westerfield Tucker, eds., *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (hereafter, *OHCW*) (Oxford University Press, 2006), replacing the still useful C. Jones, E. Yarnold, G. Wainwright and P. Bradshaw, eds., *The Study of the Liturgy* (London: SPCK and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; rev. edn). The most informative single-volume dictionary remains F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. edn (Oxford University Press, 1983). As for liturgy in particular, T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. J. Halliburton (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), is still usable, but needs to be read in the light of more recent specialist studies. The best introduction to medieval liturgical sources is Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*; a less dense introduction to this area is provided by E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. M. Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998). An eminently practical introduction to medieval liturgy for those with a special interest in music is J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction*

and *Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford University Press, 1991).

5 The column summarizing the account provided by Justin Martyr also draws on the earlier description in his *First Apology* (ch. 65), hence the inclusion of a kiss of greeting or peace; for the earlier account, see T. B. Falls, trans., *Saint Justin Martyr* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), p. 105. The prayer by the celebrant over the offerings after their presentation is not mentioned in *Ordo Romanus I*, but it has been included since it is found in the earliest sacramentaries.

6 Here, I follow J. McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 35–48.

7 For further details, see R. Taft, ‘The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology’, *Worship* 52 (1978), pp. 314–29.

8 For further detail than can be presented here concerning the formalization of Christian worship focusing on the fourth through to the seventh centuries, see most recently J. Baldovin, ‘The Empire Baptized’, *OHCW*, pp. 77–130.

9 On the new basilican style of architecture in Rome and related developments in liturgy, see J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1987), pp. 106–18 and 147–66.

10 On the later-fourth-century psalmodic movement, see J. McKinnon, ‘Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-Century Psalmodic Movement’, *Music and Letters* 75 (1994), pp. 505–21, and J. Dyer, ‘The Desert, the City and Psalmody in the Late Fourth Century’, in S. Gallagher, J. Haar, J. Nádas and T. Striplin, eds., *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 11–43.

11 R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1993; rev. edn), p. 139.

12 See J. McKinnon, ‘Lector Chant versus Schola Chant: A Question of Historical Plausibility’, in J. Szendrei and D. Hiley, eds., *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995); pp. 201–11.

13 On the dating of the Roman *schola cantorum*, see J. Dyer, ‘The Schola Cantorum and Its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages’, in P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer, eds., *De musica et*

cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 19–40 (at pp. 38–9); for the development of a cycle of mass propers in the seventh century, see McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, pp. 101–91.

14 To appreciate this association on a broader canvas, recourse is needed to the classic study of the mass, J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. F. A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1951–5); for a briefer overview, see J. D. Crichton, *A Short History of the Mass* (London: Incorporated Catholic Truth Society, 1983).

15 Paul the Deacon, *Deeds of the Bishops of Metz*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum II* (Hanover: Hahn, 1829), p. 268.

16 On the achievements of Bishop Chrodegang, and his successor Angilram with respect to the introduction of Roman practices, see, most recently, M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the ‘Regula canonicorum’ in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. Chapter 6 (‘Hagiopolis’).

17 For a facsimile of this manuscript, one of the most highly decorated sacramentaries of the Middle Ages, see F. Mütterich, ed., *Drogo-Sakramentar: manuscrit latin 9428, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris*, 2 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1974).

18 Information about the early development of the annual liturgical cycle is taken from the now standard work on the subject: T. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991; 2nd edn).

19 On the Metz stational list, see, with further references, Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 276–89; for stational liturgy at Rome, see Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, pp. 106–66; on the adaptation of Roman stational liturgy to Frankish cloisters in general, see A. A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeyer* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973).

20 For the contents of the Hadrianum and its supplement, see J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, vol. I, 1971 and 1979 [2nd edn]; vol. II, 1979).

21 For an overview of the history of the office concentrating on its early history, see Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*; on the current state of research on the music of the medieval office in particular, see most recently M. E. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer, eds., *The Divine*

Office in the Latin Middle Ages (Oxford University Press, 2000).

- 22 This fundamental distinction between ‘cathedral’ and ‘monastic’ practice was first noted by Anton Baumstark; see A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, rev. B. Botte, trans. F. L. Cross, (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958), pp. 111–20.
- 23 The structure of the offices can be abstracted from several chapters in Amalarius’s *Liber officialis* and *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*: see J.-M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols. (Rome: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948–50), vol. II, pp. 403–65, and vol. III, pp. 13–17. For discussion and summary see P. Salmon, *L’office divin au moyen âge: histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), pp. 33–43; this provides additional information from *Ordo Romanus XII*.
- 24 Amalarius, Prologue to the *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*: see Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi opera*, vol. I, pp. 361–2.
- 25 With reference in particular to saints’ offices in the Middle Ages, see A. Hughes, ‘Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office’, in R. Strohm and B. J. Blackburn, eds., *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 31–9; on festal offices, see most recently W. Arlt, ‘The Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy’, in Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office*, pp. 324–41.
- 26 For an introduction to tropes, see A. Haug, ‘Tropus’, *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (henceforth *MGG*), vol. IX, cols. 897–921; for a complementary introduction to sequences, see L. Kruckenberg, ‘Sequenz’, *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1254–86.
- 27 On the significance of trope texts, see G. Iversen, ‘“Pax et sapientia”: A Thematic Study on Tropes from Different Traditions’, in R. Jacobsson, ed., *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986), pp. 23–58. For medieval commentaries on sequence texts, see E. Kihlman, *Expositiones sequentiarum: Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues. Editions with Introductions* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006).
- 28 D. Hiley, ‘Cluny, Sequences and Tropes’, in C. Leonardi and E. Menestò eds., *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1990), pp. 125–38.
- 29 On the role of Gorze in relation to the dissemination of tropes, see L. Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, ‘The Lotharingian

- Axis and Monastic Reforms: Towards the Recovery of an Early Messine Trope Tradition’, *Cantus Planus – Study Group of the International Musicological Society: Papers Read at the Twelfth Meeting, Lillafüred, Hungary. 23–28 August 2004*. Edited by L. Dobszay et al. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), pp. 723–52.
- 30 C. Maître, *La réforme cistercienne du plain-chant. Étude d’un traité théorique* (Brecht: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1995), pp. 42–52.
- 31 On private masses, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 156–9.
- 32 See, in general, C. W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
- 33 *Musica enchiriadis*; see R. Erickson, *Musica enchiriadis and Scolica enchiriadis*, trans. and ed. C. V. Palisca, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
- 34 C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 267.
- 35 For full details, see S. J. P. van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd and Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960); on the music of the Franciscan order, see H. Hüschen (rev. H. Schmidt), ‘Franziskaner’, in *MGG*, vol. III, cols. 819–43.
- 36 See S. J. P. van Dijk (completed by J. H. Walker), *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII, and Related Documents* (Eribourg University Press, 1975).
- 37 William Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (ca1292–6) as quoted and translated in T. Thibodeau, ‘Western Christendom’, *OHCW*, p. 230.
- 38 For a brief and accessible introduction to the sources and modern editions of Salisbury Use, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 202–16.
- 39 The generalized description of Salisbury Use is based on the summary provided in Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 122–4, with additional material from W. H. Frere, ed., *The Use of Sarum I Consuetudinary and Customary* (Cambridge University Press, 1898), pp. 52–68; the summary of Sunday processions is provided in T. W. Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), pp. 13–16. The Use of the Papal Chapel is reconstructed using the Franciscan order and ceremonial as edited by Haymo of Faversham ca1250: for full details, see S. J. P. van Dijk, *Sources of the Roman Liturgy*, 2

vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), vol. I, pp. 50–67, 95–109, vol. II, pp. 3–14 and 352–5. Items in brackets are only alluded to in Haymo's texts, thus 'the epistle, gradual and others' are to be declaimed before the gospel (vol. II, p. 8). Clear directions for the performance of sung items are not given in Haymo's instructions, but since a choir is repeatedly mentioned it would seem safe to assume that all items customarily sung were performed in this way.

40 Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, I. 27, trans. L. Sherley-Price, rev. R. E. Latham (London: Penguin, 1968), p. 73.

41 For an introduction to Islamic and Jewish music in the Middle Ages, see A. Shiloah, 'Muslim and Jewish Musical Traditions of the Middle Ages', in R. Strohm and B. J. Blackburn *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1–30.

42 For a recent revisionist account of early medieval liturgy with reference to music, see Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001).

43 On the word 'liturgy', see P.-M. Gy, 'Rites et cérémonies, liturgie, culte: Les noms de la liturgie dans l'Occident moderne', in P.-M. Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris: Éditions Saint Paul and Éditions du Cerf, 1990), pp. 177–84.

44 McKinnon, ed., *Music in Early Christian Literature*, no. 352, p. 155.

12 Vernacular poetry and music

1 For a useful, concise summary, see Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 240–54, referred to henceforth in the text as Aubrey.

2 For discussion and facsimile reproductions of this song, see, respectively, Margaret L. Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song, 1100–1400* (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 4–5, and John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 16.

3 Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, p. 26; William Burgwinkle, 'The Chansonniers as Books', in Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds., *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 246–62 (p. 246).

4 See Switten, *Music and Poetry*; Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*; Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Haines, *Eight Centuries*.

5 Aubrey gives 315 'discrete musical settings' for 246 poems (*Music of the Troubadours*, p. xvi); Haines gives 322 'different melodic readings' for 253 poems (*Eight Centuries*, pp. 20 and 41, n. 32).

6 Anglica Rieger, *Trobairitz. Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen höfischen Lyrik: Edition des Gesamtkorpus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 585–626.

7 Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, pp. 15–16.

8 See, for instance, the vidas of Giraut de Borneill, Gaucelm Faidit and Cadenet (Margarita Egan, *The Vidas of the Troubadours* [New York and London: Garland, 1984], nos. 41, 37 and 22).

9 Ardis Butterfield, 'Le tradizioni della canzone cortese medievale', in Jean-Jacques Nattiez, gen. ed., *Enciclopedia della musica (The Einaudi Encyclopedia of Music)*, 4 vols, vol. IV, *Storia della musica europea* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 130–51.

10 See Gaston Paris's two articles, 'Études sur les romans de la Table Ronde: *Lancelot du Lac*, II: *Le conte de la charrette*', *Romania* 10 (1881), pp. 465–96 and 'Études sur les romans de la Table Ronde: *Lancelot du Lac*', *Romania* 12 (1883), pp. 459–534.

11 Switten, *Music and Poetry*, p. xi.

12 The term *vers* used before this date may have referred to Aquitanian versus.

13 Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (London: Dent, 1989), Chapter 5; Walter Salmen, 'Dances and Dance Music, c.1300–1530', in Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds., *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, vol. III, part I of *The New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 162–90.

14 Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, pp. 136–7.

15 Text and translation taken from L. T. Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love* (Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 128–9; Topsfield is using the edition by C. Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn: seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1915), pp. 1–24. It differs from the text in Example 12.1, which is taken by van der Werf and Bond from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1591.

16 See, for instance, the arguments of Amelia E. Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

17 This order is printed by Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, pp. 90–92, with music from MS G (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P.4).

- 18 Simon Gaunt, 'Orality and Writing: The Text of the Troubadour Poem', in Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds., *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 228–45 (at 236).
- 19 This is argued by Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, p. 92.
- 20 The latter two terms are the modern editor's (F. Lecoy, ed., *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, CFMA 91 (Paris: Champion, 1962)).
- 21 See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, Appendix, pp. 303–13, where 231 manuscripts from Renart's *Rose* to the early fourteenth century are listed.
- 22 The canso as a style moved across Europe as the *Minnelied* in German, the *chanson* in Anglo-Norman, the *cantio* in Latin, the *canzone* in Italian and, without surviving music, the *cantigas de amigo* in Spain. It also prompted religious rewriting in the *chanson pieuse* (of which the pioneer was Gautier de Coinci [1177/8–1236]), certain monophonic conductus, the Italian *laude spirituali*, and the Spanish *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (which do survive with music) (John Stevens, 'Medieval Song', in Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The Early Middle Ages to 1300, The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, 2nd edn (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 357–451).
- 23 On the refrain, see Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, ed., *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969), hereafter vdB; E. Doss-Quinby, *Les refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984); Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 75–102.
- 24 For a convenient edition, see Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, eds., with Marie-Geneviève Grossel, *Chansons des trouvères: Chanter m'estuet* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1995), no. 97, pp. 388–92.
- 25 Refrain no. 17 in the *Tournoi*. See Table 1.
- 26 Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols. (vol. IV ed. and trans. Susan Stakel and Joel C. Relihan), *Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2–8* (Madison, WI: A. R. Editions, 1978–85), hereafter *Mo*.
- 27 *F-Pn fonds fr. 847, R1700* (R = G. Raynauds *Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, neu bearbeitet und ergänzt von Hans Spanke*, I, ed. Hans Spanke [Leiden, 1955; repr. with index, 1980]).
- 28 Edward H. Roesner, ed., *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990).
- 29 Mary Atchison, ed., *The Chansonier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel N. Rosenberg, eds., with Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Old French Ballette: Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308* (Geneva: Droz, 2006). See Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, Chapter 16; M. Everist, 'Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca1300', *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), pp. 365–406 and "'Souspirant en terre estrange": The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut', *Early Music History* 26 (2007), pp. 1–42.
- 30 Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 57–63, 87–102.
- 31 *Par ci va la mignotise / Par ci ou je vois!* ('Along here goes graciousness, along here where I go') (vdB, refr.1473).
- 32 Jacques Boogaart, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), pp. 1–86. A project entitled 'Citation and Allusion in Fourteenth-Century French Lyric and Song' led by Yolanda Plumley is currently under way at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Exeter (funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council).

13 Latin poetry and music

- 1 See in general Dag Ludvig Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skulby, ed. Jan Ziolkowski (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004).
- 2 Cf. Friedrich Leo, *Venanti Honorii Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri Italici opera poetica*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi IV/1* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), 'Index rei metricae', p. 326.
- 3 *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi*, ed. C. Blune and G. M. Dreves, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1886–1922; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1961), vol. XIX, pp. 260–1, no. 472; pp. 146–7, no. 126; pp. 192–3, no. 171. Henceforth *AH*.
- 4 Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Alma Colk Santosuosso, 'Music in Bede's *De temporum ratione*: An 11th-Century Addition to MS London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B. VI', *Scriptorium* 43 (1989), p. 255–9; Silvia

- Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften: Edition und Interpretation der Quellen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), p. 55.
- 5 See e.g. Wälli, *Melodien*, pp. 253–89; for elision, contrast, for example, p. 189 (*miserarum est, lavere aut* elided) with pp. 189, 200 (*pulverem Olympicum, presidium et* prised apart).
- 6 *AH*, vol. L, pp. 317–18, no. 244; for one version of the medieval chant see *The Liber Usualis, with Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Tournai and New York: Desclée, 1961), p. 273.
- 7 Owen Rees, ed., *Aires Fernandez (fl. ca. 1550): Alma Redemptoris Mater, Asperges me, Lumen ad revelationem, Mapa Mundi Renaissance Performing Scores, Series A: Spanish and Portuguese Church Music 182* (Lochs [Isle of Lewis]: Mapa Mundi, 2002), pp. 2–4.
- 8 See Victorinus, *Ars Palaemonis de metrica institutione, Grammatici Latini*, ed. Heinrich Keil, 8 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1855–80; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), vol. VI, p. 206 (henceforth GLK), and Audax, *De metro*, GLK, vol. VII, p. 331, who are thought to draw on the same fourth-century source.
- 9 *AH*, vol. LI, pp. 340–6, no. 252. Fifteen lines in this verse-form are found appended to the trochaic tetrameters of Venantius's *Pange lingua*; see *AH*, vol. XXVII, p. 96.
- 10 *AH*, vol. LI, pp. 140–2, no. 123, stanza 4, v. 1.
- 11 For sources see Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, RMA Monographs 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997), pp. 49–53.
- 12 Janet Knapp, ed., *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, Collegium Musicum 6 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965), p. 46, verses 4, 10 = bars 8–10, 21–3, from F (= MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1), fols. 239v–240r.
- 13 *AH*, vol. LI, pp. 61–3, no. 61; for stress on the second syllable see stanza 7, l. 1 *tu nobis dona fontem lacrimarum*.
- 14 For a (?)sixth-century approximation to the rhythm, though without rhyme or stanzaic form, see David Howlett, *Cambro-Latin Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), pp. 26–7.
- 15 See Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 'The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry: The Feast of Fools and the Goliardic Strophe cum auctoritate', in Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray, eds., *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 39–55.
- 16 Knapp, *Thirty-Five Conductus*, pp. 40–1, from F, fol. 230r–v, cf. Ma = MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 20846, fols. 139r–v, Hu = MS Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas 9, fol. 101v.
- 17 *AH*, vol. L, pp. 602–16, no. 398.
- 18 Knapp, *Thirty-Five Conductus*, pp. 98–100, from F, fols. 327r–v; W₁ = MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 628 (677), fol. 111(102)r, Ma, fol. 101r.
- 19 Ed. Otto Schumann, in Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, eds., *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols. in 4 (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1930–70), vol. I/2, pp. 298–301, no. 179, stanza 8, l. 1, from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660, fol. 70v.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 53–8, no. 77 (fols. 31v–33v), stanzas l. 1, 2. 1, 8. 1–4 = fols. 31v, 32r.
- 21 On the origins of the motet, and discussion of some Latin texts, see Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 15–42.
- 22 F, fols. 405r–v, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 1099 (1206) fols. 174v–175r, Hu MS, fols. 92r–93r; Higiní Anglès, ed., fols. *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas (música a veus dels segles XIII–XIV): introducció, facsimil i transcripció*, 3 vols., Biblioteca de Catalunya, Publicacions del Departament de Música 6 (Barcelona Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1931), no. 90: vol. I; pp. 249–50, vol. III, pp. 151–5.
- 23 Anglès's edition includes the clausula (from F, fol. 174v) and the vernacular texts.
- 24 MS Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (*olim* Ed. IV. 6), fol. 8r–v (no. 14 in the editions of Aubry and Anderson), triplum, vv. 4–5.
- 25 Text ed. Emile Dahnk, *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, Leipziger romanische Studien II, Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe 4 (Leipzig and Paris: C. & E. Vogel, 1935), pp. 67–8, pièce musicale 33, triplum, vv. 15–16, from MS Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 146, fol. 10r. On the dispute over whether this or the version addressed to 'Ludowice' in MS f. fr. 571, fol. 144r is the original see contributions to Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- 26 *Primum argumentum*, vv. 5–6, ed. Heinrich Bessler, rev. David Fallows, *Guillelmi Dufay opera omnia*, vol. VI, *Cantiones*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1 (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1995), no. 9.
- 27 *Solutio primi argumenti*, vv. 3–4; *secundum argumentum*, even lines.

- 28 Leo Schrade, ed., *Guillaume de Machaut: Œuvres complètes*, vol. II, *Les Motets* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1977), no. 23, pp. 82–9, triplum, bars 53–63, 194–8. In the motetus *génitrix* rhymes with *victrix* (the *c* was probably silent), *iter* with *viriliter* (bars 16–17, 22–4; 113, 119–21).
- 29 See *Les Fleurs du mal*, 67 (60), 'Franciscæ meae laudes'.
- 30 Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, Cod. 15 (olim A¹ D 19), fols. 4v–7r; Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. XIII, *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987), no. 49, pp. 220–7, motetus, bars 152–61.
- 31 Ursula Günther, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564* (olim 1047) and *Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. M. 5, 25* (olim lat. 568), *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 39 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), no. 3, pp. xxiv–xxvii, 8–13.
- 32 Andrew Wathey, 'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance', *Early Music History* 12 (1993), 119–50.
- 33 Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., *Musicatorum collegio: Fourteenth-Century Musicians' Motets* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986), no. 2, pp. 7–10.
- 34 *Ibid.*, no. 1, pp. 1–6, bars 1–3.
- 35 Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521*, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* 68 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1975), no. 11, pp. 14–15.
- 36 Leo Schrade, ed., *Philippe de Vitry: Complete Works* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1984), no. 7, pp. 20–5, at p. 23, bars 102–4. (In the triplum incipit *qui* is corrupt for *quid*.)
- 37 *Ibid.*, no. 14, pp. 50–3.
- 38 Günther, *Motets*, no. 2, pp. xxi–xxiii, 4–7.
- 39 *Ibid.*, no. 15, pp. lxii–lxv, 66–70.
- 40 Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., *The Works of Johannes Ciconia* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), no. 19, pp. 103–7, 224–5.
- 41 For detailed discussion see Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Du Fay the Poet? Problems in the Texts of His Motets', *Early Music History* 16 (1997), pp. 97–160.
- 42 See Jeffrey Dean, 'Okeghem's Valediction? The Meaning of *Intemerata Dei mater*', in Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XL^e Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3–8 février 1997* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), pp. 521–70; cf. Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, 'Zur Vertonung von Mariendichtung in antiken Versmaßen bei Johannes Ockeghem und Johannes Regis', in Vendrix, *Ockeghem*, pp. 571–93.

- 43 *Magnanimæ gentis / Nexus amicitiae / Haec est vera fraternitas*, triplum, bars 77–88, in Heinrich Besseler, ed., *Guillelmi Dufay Opera omnia*, vol. I, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 1 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), no. 17, pp. xxii, 76–80 at 77–8, from ModB = Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. X. 1. 11 (Lat. 37, olim VI. H. 15), fols. 63v–64r.
- 44 But even the great humanist Politian can write accentual Ambrosians (*O virgo prudentissima, Ecce ancilla Domini*) and a lament for Lorenzo de' Medici (*Quis dabit capiti meo*) in pure syllabic verse (8, 8, 8, 5, 5) without regard to accent; however, these poems are unrhymed and respect elision except in the phrase *ecce | ancilla* (Luke 1:38), heard in church with hiatus.

14 Compositional trajectories

- The possibility of microtones in early chant is controversial, but is given less credence now than formerly. See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 361 and 388.
- Example 14.1, the anonymous respond (refrain) of *Exsurge domine*, a Gregorian gradual of ca800, is adapted from *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1956), pp. 553–4.
- On third- and fourth-mode graduals, see Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 351–4. On third-mode graduals and *Exsurge domine* in particular, see Richard Crocker, 'Chants of the Roman Mass,' in Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. II, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, new edn (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 174–222.
- Psalms were sung in the liturgy by rising to, encircling, and falling from a reciting tone (the pitch to which most syllables were set), in a kind of inflected monotone. As psalm singing became elaborated with refrains (the responds of responsorial psalmody and the antiphons of antiphonal psalmody), the refrains tended to retain the feature of an important and reiterated secondary pitch above the final. This pitch correlated with mode; refrain melodies with final on E in third mode, F in fifth mode and G in eighth mode mostly feature a prominent secondary tone, or reciting tone, on the C above.
- Example 14.2, the beginning of Hildegard's chorus *In principio*, is adapted from Claude Palisca, ed., *Norton Anthology of Western Music*, vol. I; *Ancient to Baroque*, 4th edn (New York: Norton, 2001), pp. 35–7.
- Example 14.3, the sequence *Fulgens preclara*, is adapted from W. Thomas Marrocco and Nicholas Sandon, *Medieval Music*, Oxford

Anthology of Music I (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 34–5, no. 11h. They transcribe it from London, British Library, Lansdowne 462, fols. 50v–51v. Another version is available in Sarah Fuller, *The European Musical Heritage 800–1750* (New York: Knopf, 1987), pp. 11–13, no. 1g, which has been transcribed from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1112, fols. 11v–12; it differs significantly in the level of transposition of individual phrases. Neither version fits comfortably into the eight-mode scheme (see the comment in Fuller, p. 22).

7 Example 14.4, the versus *Ortum floris*, is edited here from Cambridge, University Library, Hh.vi.11, fols. 69v–70; for additional bibliography, see Gordon A. Anderson, 'Notre Dame and Related Conductus – a Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea Musicologica* 6 (1972), pp. 153–229 at p. 214, no. L81.

8 John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 119–55.

9 Contrary motion, rather than parallel motion, is championed in the theory and practice of elite French polyphony of the later Middle Ages. But a quotidian style of discanting in parallel perfect fifths above the given part (fifthing, also referred to as *diapentizare*, *quintare*, *quintizans*) is still in evidence in both theory and practice; see Sarah Fuller, 'Discant and the Theory of Fifthing', *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), pp. 241–75.

Example 14.5a, *Ipsi soli*, an organum from Guido's *Micrologus*, Chapter XIX, ca1025, is adapted from Fuller, *The European Musical Heritage*, p. 33.

Example 14.5b is an anonymous polyphonic version of a Christmas Matins lesson tone from London, British Library, Additional 28598, fol. 14v; the present example is adapted from Theodor Göllner, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969), vol. I, p. 11, no. A4.

Example 14.5c is from a polyphonic setting of the sequence *Victime paschali laudes* in Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas 9, fol. 54v; it is adapted from the edition in Higiní Anglès, ed., *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans and Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931), vol. III, p. 92, no. 63.

Example 14.5d is from a polyphonic setting of the hymn *Conditor alme siderum* in London, British Library, Additional 16975, fol. 166r.

10 Example 14.6a is from a polyphonic hymn for Saint Magnus, *Nobilis humilis*, from Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C.233, fols. 19v–20r; this

example is adapted from Archibald Davison and Willi Apel, eds., *Historical Anthology of Music*, rev. edn, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), vol. I, p. 22, no. 25c.

Example 14.6b, *Laudes deo*, is from London, British Library, Harley 3965, fol. 137; this example is adapted from Frank Ll. Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, eds., *English Music for Mass and Offices*, vol. I, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 16 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983), pp. 191–4, no. 82.

Example 14.6c, *Ave celi regina virginum*, is from Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 512/543, fols. 258v–259r; a three-voice concordance is edited in Frank Ll. Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, eds., *English Music for Mass and Offices*, vol. II, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. XVII (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986), pp. 82–6, no. 38.

11 Discussed with example in Franchino Gaffurio, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), Book III, Chapter 14.

12 Example 14.7, a clausula on *Nostrum*, is adapted from Rebecca A. Baltzer, ed., *Les clausulas à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, fascicule V, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 5* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1995), p. 78, no. 97.

13 See Peter M. Lefferts, 'Signature-systems and tonal types in the fourteenth-century French chanson', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995), pp. 117–47, and Lefferts, 'Machaut's B-flat Balade *Honte, Paour* (B25)', in Elizabeth Eva Leach, ed., *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), pp. 161–74.

14 Example 14.8, from Machaut's virelai *Se je souspir*, is adapted from Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. III (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), p. 189.

15 Machaut ballades B2, B5, B9 and B24 (using Leo Schrade's numeration) are excellent examples of such underfifth harmonization. For a fuller discussion and more examples, see Lefferts, 'Signature-systems and tonal types', pp. 118–22 and Table 1.

16 Example 14.9, from Giovanni da Firenze's madrigal *Nel meço*, is adapted from the edition by W. Thomas Marrocco in *Italian Secular Music by Magister Piero, Giovanni da Firenze, Jacopo da Bologna*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. VI (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1967), pp. 48–9.

17 Example 14.10, the versus *Soli nitorem*, is found in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.29.1, fols. 327v–328v and Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas 9, fols. 138r–193v. For other modern editions, see Anglès, ed., *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas*, vol. III, pp. 324–7, no. 149; Richard H. Hoppin, ed., *Anthology of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), pp. 69–71, no. 37; and Gordon A. Anderson, ed. *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, vol. V (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), pp. xi, 23–5, 114, no. J15.

15 Ecclesiastical foundations and secular institutions

1 Rosamond McKitterick, by a careful and judicious sifting of the evidence, finds support for a somewhat broader literacy than my statement might imply; see her *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially pp. 211–70 on the literacy of the laity.

2 A significant anticipation of and impetus for the Carolingian reforms came from Bishop Chrodegang of Metz, who took office in the 740s and died in 766. For an excellent discussion of his role see M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the 'Regula canonicorum' in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also the comprehensive study by Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001).

3 Excerpts quoted in English are from *Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne*, trans. Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880.) For a more recent translation, see Paul Edward Dutton, ed. and trans., *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1998).

4 The Latin word here translated as 'music' is *acroama* –*atis*, a noun meaning an entertainment, especially musical, or an entertainer, that is, reader, actor, or singer.

5 *Einhard*, Chapter 24.

6 *Ibid.*, Chapter 29.

7 *Ibid.*, Chapter 25.

8 Charlemagne's two-storey octagonal church at Aachen took as its model the two-storey octagonal church of San Vitale in Ravenna, built by the powerful Emperor Justinian two centuries earlier. This was a conscious Carolingian attempt to connect with past imperial splendour.

9 *Einhard*, Chapter 26.

10 For a good overview see Giles Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1–51.

11 Hartmut Möller, 'Zur Frage der musikgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Academia am Hofe Karls des Grossen: Die Musica Albini', in Wolf Frobenius, et al., eds., *Akademie und Musik: Erscheinungsweisen und Wirkungen des Akademiagedankens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte – Institutionen, Veranstaltungen, Schriften. Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücken Druckerei und Verlag, 1993), pp. 269–88.

12 The Latin text is accessible online through the Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum (TML) housed at the Indiana University School of Music. (Go to 6th–8th-century files, ALCMUS.)

13 See Michel Huglo, 'Un tonnaire du Graduel de la fin du VIII^e siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale lat.13159)', *Revue grégorienne* 31 (1952), pp. 176–86, 224–33, and his *Les tonnaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1971), pp. 26–8.

14 The Latin edition of Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* is in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Capitularia I/22* (Hanover: Hahn, 1883), pp. 52–62; an English translation in P. D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal, Cumbria: author, 1987); see the discussion in Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), and Brown, 'Carolingian Renaissance', pp. 17–21.

15 A useful collection of essays is James C. King and Werner Vogler, eds., *The Culture of the Abbey of St Gall: An Overview*, translated from the German (*Die Kultur der Abtei Sankt Gallen*) by James C. King (Stuttgart: Belser, 1991).

16 St Gall codices can be found at CESG (Codices Electronici Sangallenses), www.cesg.unifr.ch/de/index.htm.

17 A facsimile of Stiftsbibliothek MS 359 is in *Paléographie Musicale*, 2nd series, vol. II, *Cantatorium, IX^e siècle: no. 359 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall* (Solesmes: Atelier de Paléographie Musicale de Solesmes, 1924).

18 See the following Publications by Susan Rankin: 'Notker und Tuotilo: Schöpferische Gestalter in einer neuen Zeit', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1991), pp. 17–42; 'The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10587', *Early Music History* 10 (1991), pp. 201–33; and 'From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts: The Shaping of a Trope Repertory

- at Saint Gall', in Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, eds., *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 36, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993), pp. 395–413. MS 381 is available in facsimile in Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996).
- 19 The Old Minster was replaced by the current cathedral after the Norman conquest of 1066. Winchester was one of many English cathedrals run by monastics rather than secular canons, but this form of monastic organization was almost unknown among cathedrals on the Continent.
- 20 The English translation of Ethelwold's account by E. K. Chambers in *The Medieval Stage*, vol. II (1903), pp. 14ff., is widely reprinted – for example, in *Music and Letters* 27 (1946), pp. 5–6.
- 21 Useful are Richard L. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), and Alejandro E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton University Press, 1977).
- 22 See Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), and Susan Rankin, 'Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Organum', in Susan Rankin and David Hiley, eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 59–99.
- 23 See, most recently, the essays in Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons, eds., *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), and, with specific reference to music, Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Music in the Life and Times of Eleanor of Aquitaine', in William W. Kibler, ed., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), pp. 61–80.
- 24 See Margarita Egan, trans., *The Vidas of the Troubadours* (New York and London: Garland, 1984).
- 25 Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, in Mario Roques, ed., *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, vol. I (Paris: Champion, 1953), lines 1983–2000. The translation is my adaptation of W. W. Comfort, *Chrétien de Troyes, Arthurian Romances* (London: Everyman's Library, 1914), p. 27.
- 26 *Erec et Enide*, lines 6330–33; compare the translation in Comfort, *Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 82. It quickly becomes a *topos* in medieval romances to list as many musical instruments as the author can name when he wishes to show the importance of an occasion and indicate that no expense was spared. Such lists should not imply a sort of twelfth-century Poitou Philharmonic.
- 27 Chansonniers that begin with a collection of Thibaut's songs include Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS K); Paris, *F-Pn* fonds fr. 845 (MS N); Paris, *F-Pn* fonds fr. 12615 (the Chansonnier de Noailles, MS T); and Paris, *F-Pn* n.a.f. 1050 (Chansonnier de Clairambault, MS X). See Kathleen J. Brahney, ed. and trans., *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne* (New York: Garland, 1989), and Hendrik van der Werf, ed., *Trouvères-Melodien*, II, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979).
- 28 A colour facsimile is in *El 'Códice Rico' de las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio: Ms. T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1979); there is also a sepia facsimile and edition with commentary of El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio, b.I.2 (also known as j.b.2) by Higinio Anglés, ed., *La música de las cantigas de Santa Marta del rey Alfonso el Sabio*, 3 vols. in 4 (Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1943–64).
- 29 See Barbara Newman, ed., *Saint Hildegard of Bingen: Symphonia: A Critical Edition of the 'Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum'* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, vol. I 1988, vol. II 1998), with translations but only four musical transcriptions; W. Berschin and H. Schipperges, eds., *Hildegard von Bingen: Symphonia: Gedichte und Gesänge* (Gerlingen: Lambert Schneider, 1995). Both manuscripts, Dendermonde (Sint-Pieter- en Paulusabdij Codex 9, and Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 2 ('Riesenkodex'), have been issued in facsimile.
- 30 Audrey E. Davidson, ed., *The 'Ordo virtutum' of Hildegard of Bingen* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1985; performance edition); see also Peter Dronke, ed. and trans. 'Play of the Virtues', in Dronke, ed. and trans. *Nine Medieval Plays* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 161–81.
- 31 See Benjamin Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (4 vols., Paris: Crapelet, 1850), introduction to vol. I, pp. xcix–cviii.
- 32 Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 18–27.
- 33 The medieval Parisian monetary system was based on 12 deniers to a sou and 20 sous to a livre, or pound; thus, it was the ultimate ancestor of the former British system of pence, shillings, and pounds that lasted through much of the twentieth century.
- 34 See Patricia Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières et privées au XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in André Vernet, ed., *Les bibliothèques médiévales: Du VIIe siècle à 1530*, Histoire des bibliothèques

françaises 1 (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie / Promodès, 1989), pp. 173–91.

35 Barbara Hagg and Michel Huglo, ‘Magnus liber – *Maius munus*: Origine et destinée du manuscrit F’, *Revue de musicologie* 90 (2004), pp. 193–230.

36 Catherine Parsoneault, ‘The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris’, PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2001, especially pp. 153–226.

37 See Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, eds., *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

38 An edition and translation of the *Remede*, including the music and photographs of all the miniatures from MS ‘C’, is in James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler, eds., *Guillaume de Machaut: Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune*, music edited by Rebecca A. Baltzer (Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 1988).

39 For the most important material concerning Machaut, see the indispensable *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, by Lawrence Earp (New York and London: Garland, 1995), and Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

40 See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut, passim*.

41 See Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Gaston Fébus, un grand prince d’occident au XIVe siècle* (Pau: Mairimpouey, 1976); Jean-Jacques Casteret, ‘Musique et musiciens à la cour de Gaston Fébus’, PhD diss., Université de Paris IV, 1992; and Alice V. Clark, ‘Vernacular Dedicatory Motets in Fourteenth-Century France’, *Journal of Musicological Research* 20 (2000), pp. 41–69.

42 See Beth Anne Lee-De Amici, ‘*Ad Sustainentacionem Fidei Christiani*: Sacred Music and Ceremony in Medieval Oxford’, PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1999.

43 Anne Bagnall Yardley, ‘“Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne”: The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages’, in Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986), pp. 26–7, for a table of polyphony in Continental nunneries. For the evidence in English nunneries, see Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Press, 2006), pp. 109–11.

16 Theory and notation

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- 13 See D. Pesce, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), Chapter 3, 'Hexachords: Seats of the Modes'.
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- 18 See summary by R. A. Baltzer, 'Johannes de Garlandia,' in *Grove Music Online*.
- 19 The tendency to propose modal schemata that reached beyond practice continued into the third quarter of the century: Magister Lambertus, writing circa 1265–75, advocated a

- system of nine rhythmic modes instead of six. See Lambertus, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. in CoussemakerS, vol. I, pp. 251–81; ed. in CSM, forthcoming.
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- 22 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H.196: H. Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols. (Madison, WI: A. R. Editions, 1978–85); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit.115 (formerly Ed.IV.6): *Compositions of the Bamberg Manuscript: Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 (olim Ed.IV, 6)*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* (henceforth CMM) 75. (Neuhausen-stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1977); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.fr.13521: *Motets of the manuscript La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson, CMM 68 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975); Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas: *The Las Huelgas manuscript: Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson, CMM 79 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1982).
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- 24 Petrus is likely to have studied at the University of Paris as a member of the Picard nation, earning there the title Magister. No major treatise by Petrus survives, but he is cited by later theorists for his innovations. See E. H. Sanders and P. M. Lefferts, ‘Petrus de Cruce’, *Grove Music Online*.
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- 28 F. F. Hammond, ed., *Walteri Odington: Summa de speculatione musicae*, CSM 14 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1970); J. A. Huff, trans., *De speculatione musicae. Part VI*, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 31 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1973).
- 29 R. Bragard, ed., *Speculum musicae*, CSM 3 [Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1955–73); partial English translation in StrunkSR1, pp. 180–90, SR2, pp. 269–78.
- 30 E. Rohloff, ed., *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972); A. Seay, ed. and trans., *Johannes de Grocheo: Concerning Music (De musica)*, Colorado College Music Press Translations 1 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1967; 2nd edn 1973).
- 31 C. Page, ‘Johannes de Grocheio’, *Grove Music Online*.
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- 37 *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*; A. Seay, ed., *Opera theoretica Johannis Tinctoris*, 2 vols. in 3, CSM 22 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975–8); A. Seay, trans., *Concerning the Nature and Propriety of Tones. De natura et proprietate tonorum* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1967, 2nd edn 1976).
- 38 D. Pesce, 'A Case for Coherent Pitch Organization in the Thirteenth-Century Double Motet', *Music Analysis* 9/3 (October 1990), pp. 287–318.
- 39 S. Fuller, 'Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut', *Current Musicology*, 45–7 (1990), pp. 199–245 and S. Fuller, 'Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music', *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992), pp. 229–58.
- 40 Despite the infrequent usage of these expressions by medieval theorists, modern scholars use them because they encapsulate so well the reasons for *ficta*.
- 41 A major study that summarizes and elaborates the points just made is K. Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- 42 A summary of currently held viewpoints regarding application of *ficta* is given by M. Bent in 'Music ficta' in *Grove Music Online*.
- 43 O. Ellsworth, ed., *The Berkeley Manuscript: University of California Music Library, ms. 744 (olim Phillips 4450)* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, ca1984) (critical text and trans.).
- 44 An overview of solmization is found in A. Hughes, 'Solmisation' in *Grove Music Online*. Bent in 'Musica ficta', section 1.i, discusses musica ficta as having its basis in solmization.

17 Music manuscripts

- 1 'Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt'. W. M. Lindsay, ed. *Isidori hispalensis episcopi. Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), lib. III, xv, p. 2.
- 2 Manuscripts are referred to by their sigla throughout this chapter. A complete list of manuscripts and their sigla is given on pages xxii–xxxii.
- 3 N. Pirrotta, 'The Oral and Written Traditions of Music', in his *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 72–9, at p. 72.
- 4 P. Stallybrass in the first of his 2006 Rosenbach Lectures in Bibliography, 'Writing after Printing, or How Printing Invents Manuscript', University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming with University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 5 D. McKenzie, *The Panizzi Lectures 1985: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986), p. 4.
- 6 R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 139.
- 7 Richard of Bury, *The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard of Bury*, trans. E. C. Thomas, ed. with a foreword by Michael Maclagan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), p. 56.
- 8 R. Rouse and M. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000).
- 9 The terminology associated with books is notoriously complex and often inconsistent. Here, I follow the oldest (antique) definition of *liber*, which includes both codex and book roll, but which could also be used in the sense of 'opus', or to mark sections of a large work. For a helpful and comprehensive account of the terminology of manuscripts, see B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge University Press, 1991). My thanks to Shane Butler for help on the classical context for terminology associated with the book.
- 10 A helpful account of the process of making a book, from parchment preparation through to binding, occurs in C. de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), quoting from p. 18.
- 11 P. Siffrin, 'Eine Schwesterhandschrift des Graduale von Monza', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 64 (1950), pp. 53–80.
- 12 For an example of the significant role sheets and libelli can play in the transmission of polyphony, see A. Wathey, 'The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony', in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, eds., *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 143–61, esp. 146–8.
- 13 W. Arlt and S. Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996).
- 14 GB-BER select roll 55 is described in A. Wathey, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: The British Isles, 1100–1400. Supplement to RISM B IV 1–2* (Munich: G. Henle, 1993), pp. 8–10.
- 15 T. Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 16 J. Haines, *Eight Centuries of the Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 34–5, 104–6, 299–304.
- 17 E. Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 113–19.
- 18 The *compilatio–ordinatio* distinction articulated by Bonaventure is now commonplace among medievalists, in part owing to the seminal article of M. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in J. Alexander and M. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 115–41. A recent example of how the differentiation has been applied by musicologists is M. Everist, 'Le fonti della musica polifonica, ca. 1170–1330', in C. Fiore, ed., *Il Libro di musica: per una storia materiale delle fonti musicali in Europa* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2004), pp. 43–64.
- 19 For sample plates of Aquitanian notation, see *Pal. Mus.* 1st ser., ii., plates 83–103.
- 20 S. Rankin, 'Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Organum', in S. Rankin and D. Hiley, eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy* (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 55–99.
- 21 H. van der Werf, 'Early Western Polyphony', in T. Knighton and D. Fallows, eds., *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London: Dent, 1992), p. 107.
- 22 M. Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), p. 170.
- 23 Two excellent introductions to troubadour manuscripts are W. Burgwinkle, 'The

- Chansonniers* as Books', in S. Gaunt and S. Kay, eds., *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 246–62, and W. Paden, 'Manuscripts', in F. Akehurst and J. Butler, eds., *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 307–33.
- 24 See M. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 13–52 which gives a comprehensive overview of the sources.
- 25 Amelia E. Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 56–68.
- 26 Burgwinkle, 'The *Chansonniers*', p. 247.
- 27 For an excellent account of these paratextual components, see O. Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
- 28 See K. Kügler, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997) and A. Tomasello, 'Scribal Design in the compilation of Ivrea Ms. 115', *Musica Disciplina* 42 (1988), pp. 73–100.
- 29 One example of such confusion occurs in the layout of Machaut's *De toute flors* on folio 99v.
- 30 Wathey, B IV 1–2 Suppl. I.
- 31 See M. Bent, 'The Progeny of Old Hall: More Leaves from a Royal English Choirbook', *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, *Musicological Studies* 49, 2 vols. (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), vol. I, pp. 1–54.
- 32 M. Bent, 'A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q 15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative', *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 183–201.
- 33 A. Wathey, 'Lost Books of Polyphony in Medieval England: A List to 1500', *Royal Musical Association: Research Chronicle* 21 (1988), pp. 1–19.
- 34 See the Introduction to E. Roesner, F. Avril and N. Freeman Regalado, eds., *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), pp. 4–5.
- 35 M. Meneghetti, 'Il Manoscritto fr. 146 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi, Tommaso di Saluzzo e gli affreschi della Manta', *Romania* 110 (1989), pp. 511–35.
- 36 P. Jeffery, 'Notre Dame Polyphony in the Library of Pope Boniface VIII', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979), pp. 118–24, and R. A. Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), pp. 380–99.
- 37 Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts', p. 383.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 392–5, quoting from p. 394.
- 39 C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 329–35.
- 40 A. Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 197.
- 41 <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Scriptorium>.
- 42 www.diamm.ac.uk. See, too, A. Wathey, M. Bent and J. Craig-McFeely, 'The Art of Virtual Restoration: Creating the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM)', in *The Virtual Score: Representation, Retrieval, Restoration*, special volume of *Computing in Musicology* 12 (1999–2000), pp. 227–40.
- 43 B. Sullivan, 'The Unwritable Sound of Music: The Origins and Implications of Isidore's Memorial Metaphor', *Viator* 30 (1999), pp. 1–13.

18 The geography of medieval music

- 1 For the missal, see S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 125, and for the psalmody vanished from the Holy Land, see C. Kohler, 'Traité du recouvrement de la Terre Sainte adressé, vers l'an 1295, à Philippe le Bel par Galvano de Levanto, médecin génois', *Revue de l'orient latin*, 6 (1898), pp. 367–8: 'ubi cultus Jhesu Christi deberet et psalmodia, ibi fit a Saracenis abominabilis melodia'. Foundational works for the concerns of this chapter include J. L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System AD 1250–1350* (Oxford University Press, 1989); R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (Princeton University Press, 1993); M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), and C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 2 For the fore-mass psalm in Tertullian, see *De anima*, 9:4. James McKinnon (*The Temple, the Church Fathers and Early-Western Chant* [Aldershot: Variorum, 1998], Essay IX) makes an admirably balanced, but in my view unsuccessful, attempt to limit the implications

of Tertullian's evidence. For a survey of Christian Africa, see C. Briand-Ponsart and C. Hugoniot, *L'Afrique romaine* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2005), and for the ecology of the littoral where it lay, W. M. Adams, A. S. Goudie and A. R. Orme, eds., *The Physical Geography of Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 169–70 and 307–25.

3 On culture and territory in Visigothic Spain, see C. Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique* (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2003), and Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages, passim*. Most of the crucial documents for the liturgical reform of the 600s are conciliar and edited (with Spanish translation) in J. Vives, ed., *Concilios Visigóticos y Hispano-romanos* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963).

4 For Olbert, see Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64), vol. CLX, p. 25.

5 Spanish developments from the eleventh century on, including relations with the north, are neatly summarized and discussed in A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire 1000–1500* (London: Macmillan, 1977). The Frankish-Roman liturgy began to make headway in Spain as Alfonso VI of Castile and León strove to expand and repopulate the territories of his kingdom. Gregory VII, in his letters to the king, presented a sweeping vision of Spain's Christian history from apostolic times, a profound expression of Gregory's own convictions but also very well calculated to accord with the more fervent and long-term aspirations of the king. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085: An English Translation* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 67–9, a letter of 19 March 1074, and for the king, A. Gamba, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería, Curia e Imperio*, 2 vols. (León: Cajade Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, 1997–8), especially the king's letter of July 1077 (vol. II, document 47). See also R. Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1998).

6 For the Parisian milieu, A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) and J. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton University Press, 1970), have yet to be bettered. On the book trade, R. Rouse and M. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Production in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000) also remains unsurpassed.

7 For an example of work by a *modernus* from St Emmeram, see D. Hiley, ed., *Historia Sancti Emmerami Arnoldi Vohburgensis circa 1030* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996).

8 The fundamental study in English on Hungary is now N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). For some of the longer-term musical consequences of Hungary's westward leanings (still evident in the title of the article about to be cited) see J. Szendrei, 'The Introduction of Staff Notation into Middle Europe', *Studia Musicologica* 28 (1986), pp. 303–319. The primary sources for Livonia are available as J. A. Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* (Madison: Columbia University Press, 1961) and J. C. Smith and W. C. Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).

9 For courtliness in circuit II the outstanding studies are both by C. Stephen Jaeger: *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939–1210* (Pennsylvania University Press, 1985) and Stephen Jaeger, *Scholars and Courtiers: Intellectuals and Society in the Medieval West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

10 The ninth-century move to the land route is discussed in McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 79.

11 For Stephen IX and chant, there is full discussion and context in T. F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 39, *et passim*.

12 For Guido's papal visit, see D. Pesce, ed., *Guido d'Arezzo's 'Regulae Rhythmicæ', 'Prologus in Antiphonarium' and 'Epistola ad Michaellem': A Critical Text and Translation* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999), pp. 448–55. See also the essays in A. Rusconi, ed., *Guido d'Arezzo monaco pomposiano: atti dei convegni di studio, Codigoro (Ferrara), Abbazia di Pomposa, 3 ottobre 1997* (Florence: Olshck: 2000).

13 Salimbene's material is readily accessible in J. L. Baird, G. Baglivi and J. R. Kane, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, University Center at Binghamton, 1986), pp. 172–5.

14 For Raimon Vidal, see J. H. Marshall, *The 'Razos de Trobar' and Associated Texts* (Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 6 and 7. For Dante's comments, S. Botterill, *Dante: De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 22–3, gives Latin text and translation.

15 The standard edition of the *Leys* is still M. Gatiens-Arnoult, *Monumens de la littérature romane*, 3 vols. (Toulouse: J.-B. Paya, 1841–3), I, pp. 342 and 350.

16 R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

19 Reception

1 For a fully documented survey of all aspects of medieval chant, see D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 364.

3 See *ibid.*, pp. 361–73 and 520–1 for a bibliography.

4 See *ibid.*, pp. 503–18 for details and a bibliography.

5 An image in the Gradual of Monza (*I-MZ CIX*) from the mid ninth century probably conveys the same intent, but it is not clear that Gregory is dictating music. An oft-reproduced Gregory leaf by the Master of the Registrum Gregorii, an Ottonian illuminator (984), depicts Gregory dictating theological tracts.

6 On anonymous editors of printed editions, see T. Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, 2 vols. (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2005, vol. I, p. 3.

7 F.-A. Gevaert, *Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine: étude d'histoire musicale* (Ghent: Hoste, 1890; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1971); and F.-A. Gevaert, *La melopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent: Hoste, 1895; repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1967), pp. ix–xxxvi. Gevaert supported a thesis that put the composition of the chant in the Roman *schola cantorum* especially under Sergius I (r. 687–701), a project brought to completion under Gregory II (r. 715–31). J. McKinnon fleshed out Gevaert's thesis in *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).

8 F. X. Haberl, 'Die römische "schola cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1887), p. 199 n. 1. Dom Mocquereau independently discovered the Old Roman graduals in 1890; see Dom P. Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. T. N. Marier and W. Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), pp. 132–3.

9 See, for example, C. Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the*

Present (4 vols., London, 1776–89; 2nd edn with notes by F. Mercer, 2 vols., New York: Harcourt Brace, 1935; repr. New York: Dover, 1957), vol. I, p. 430. Gevaert also assumed notation, though he had removed the composition of the chant to the late seventh century.

10 H. Huckle, 'Die Einführung des gregorianischen Gesangs im Frankenreich', *Römische Quartalschrift* 49 (1954), pp. 172–87, and H. Huckle, 'Gregorianischer Gesang in altrömischer und fränkischer Überlieferung', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1955), pp. 74–87.

11 McKinnon (*The Advent Project*, p. 377) proposed that what was known as Gregorian chant is actually very close to what the Roman singers came with, because there was not much time to alter it, but Hiley (*Western Plainchant*, p. 549) noted that other Old Italian chant repertoires (Ambrosian and Beneventan) share the essentially florid profile seen in what we know as Old Roman chant.

12 L. Treitler, 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), pp. 333–72. A. M. Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2005), has recently broadened the study of oral practice and memory in medieval music, including aspects of polyphony.

13 K. Levy, 'Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), pp. 1–30, and K. Levy, 'On the Origin of Neumes', *Early Music History* 7 (1987), pp. 59–90. Both articles are reprinted in K. Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 82–108 and 109–40.

14 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 520–1.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 608–13.

16 For example, there is no mention of Hildegard in G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages, with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (New York: Norton, 1940); or in R. H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978).

17 O. Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History*. rev. edn L. Treitler (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 375.

18 Karp, *An Introduction*, vol. I, 202.

19 J. Pasler outlines the political aspect in her review of Bergeron (see note 20) in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), pp. 370–83.

20 For an illustration of Lambillotte's facsimile compared with that in *Paléographie musicale*, see K. Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The*

- Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 78–9.
- 21 See facsimiles and discussion in P. M. Pfaff, ‘Die liturgische Einstimmigkeit in ihren Editionen nach 1600’, in T. G. Georgiades, ed., *Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewusstseins* (Kassel, Basel, Tours and London: Bärenreiter, 1971), pp. 50–61, and Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, pp. 25–62.
- 22 Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant*, p. 106.
- 23 R. F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 AD to 1977 AD* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1979), p. 224.
- 24 P. Jeffery, ‘The New Vatican Chant Editions’, *Notes*, 2nd ser., 47/4 (1991), pp. 1039–63.
- 25 On the term *antiquité française*, see J. Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*, *Musical Performance and Reception* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 49–52. Haines covers all aspects of the reception of the art of the troubadours and trouvères to the present day. See also the historiographical overview in M. L. Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song, 1100–1400*, *Garland Medieval Bibliographies* 19 (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 1–59.
- 26 L. Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment: The World and Work of La Curie de Sainte-Palaye* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968).
- 27 Burney, *A General History*, vol. I, pp. 574–7; see Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 89–91 and 118–19.
- 28 J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: Novello 1776; 2nd edn, London: Novello, 1853), vol. I, p. 186.
- 29 E. Aubrey, ‘Medieval Melodies in the Hands of Bibliophiles of the Ancien Régime’, in Barbara Hagg, ed., *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, *Collection Epitome musicale* 8 (Paris: Minerve, 2001), pp. 17–34; and Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 120–5.
- 30 On eighteenth-century editions, see Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 108–18.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 125–41.
- 32 On arrangements of troubadour and trouvère song from the eighteenth century to the present, see Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, *passim*; concerning techniques of a practising musician in the late twentieth century, see T. Binkley, ‘Zur Aufführungspraxis der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters – Ein Werkstattbericht’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977), pp. 19–76.
- 33 A. Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter: Die Wiederentdeckung mittelalterlicher Musik in der Neuzeit* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 105–10.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 55 n. 91.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 19–41 and 66–77.
- 36 E. Emery, ‘The “Truth” about the Middle Ages: *La Revue des Deux Mondes* and Late Nineteenth-Century French Medievalism’, in C. A. Simmons, ed., *Medievalism and the Quest for the ‘Real’ Middle Ages* (London and Portland, OR: Cass, 2001), p. 109.
- 37 Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 108–25.
- 38 The edition forms an appendix to F. Michel, *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy: Revues sur tous les manuscrits* (Paris: Crapelet, 1830).
- 39 Coussemaker, *L’art harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Durand, 1865; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), pp. 180–208. Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 174–8, includes a list of Coussemaker’s thirteen *trouvères-harmonistes* with discussion.
- 40 H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. I, part 2, *Die Musik des Mittelalters (bis 1450)*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920), pp. 224–93.
- 41 More details on the application of the rhythmic modes to songs are found in G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, pp. 206–10.
- 42 Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 210–34 and the bibliography cited there.
- 43 J. Handschin, ‘Die Modaltheorie und Carl Appels Ausgabe der Gesänge von Bernard de Ventadorn’, *Medium Ævum* 4 (1955), 69–82, discussed in Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, pp. 210–11.
- 44 H. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972); H. van der Werf, review of S. N. Rosenberg and H. Tischler, eds., *Chanter m’estuet: Songs of the Trouvères*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), pp. 539–54; see also the overview of research in E. Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 240–54.
- 45 P. Bec, *La lyrique française au Moyen Âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècles): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1977–8); J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, *Cambridge Studies in Music*

- (Cambridge University Press, 1986); C. Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); there is a helpful overview of research in Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages*, pp. 59–152.
- 46 H. Tischler, ed., *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 107 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1997), and H. Tischler, ed., *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition, Revisited* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006).
- 47 B. Kippenberg, ‘Die Melodien des Minnesangs’, in T. G. Georgiades, ed., *Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewusstseins* (Kassel, Basel, Tours and London: Bärenreiter, 1971), p. 92. Here and elsewhere, translation is by the author of this chapter, unless otherwise noted.
- 48 For a consideration of this question in light of the French sources, see A. Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 171–90.
- 49 M. Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus*, 2 vols. (Sankt Blasien: Typis San-Blasianis, 1774; repr. O. Wessely, ed., *Die grossen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barok und Aufklärung* 4, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1968), vol. II, pp. 112–16.
- 50 R. G. Kiesewetter, *History of the Modern Music of Western Europe from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Present Day*, trans. Robert Müller (London: Newby, 1848), repr. with new introduction by F. Harrison (New York: Da Capo, 1973), pp. 45–6. It would be very easy to multiply such quotations; see D. Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance, Musical Performance and Reception* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 158–61, and Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 103–5.
- 51 R. G. Kiesewetter, *Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst* (Amsterdam: Muller, 1829), p. 48. Riemann expressed essentially the same view as late as 1888; see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, p. 265 n. 50.
- 52 E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l’harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Didron, 1852; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), p. x. On the question of hearing and the *Musica enchiriadis*, see *ibid.*, pp. 18–19 and 72.
- 53 H. L. F. Helmoltz, *On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*, trans. A. J. Ellis, with a new introduction by H. Margenau (New York: Dover, 1954). For context, see L. Botstein, ‘Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms’s Vienna’, in Walter Frisch, ed., *Brahms and His World* (Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 3–22. For Fétis, see Earp, ‘Machaut’s Music in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Work of Perne, Bottée de Toulmon, and Fétis’, in J. Cerquiglini-Toulet and N. Wilkins, eds., *Guillaume de Machaut 1300–2000* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 23–4.
- 54 Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, cited in Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 86 and 154–5; and R. C. Wegman, ‘“Das musikalische Hören” in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Perspectives from Pre-War Germany’, *Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998), p. 438.
- 55 See Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 154–5 and 197–9; and Wegman, ‘“Das musikalische Hören”’.
- 56 K. Dèzes, review of van den Borren, *Dufay* (1927), quoted in Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, p. 198.
- 57 E. T. A. Hoffmann, ‘Alte und neue Kirchenmusik’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 16 (1814), cols. 577–84, 593–603 and 611–19; cf. E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Musical Writings: ‘Kreisleriana’, ‘The Poet and the Composer’, Music Criticism*, ed. D. Charlton, trans. M. Clarke (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 351–76. For further discussion, see J. Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination, Musical Performance and Reception* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 2.
- 58 The myth dates at least to Agazzari (1607); see L. Lockwood, ed., *Palestrina: Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score, Backgrounds and Sources, History and Analysis, Views and Comments* (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 28–9.
- 59 Hoffmann, ‘Alte und neue Kirchenmusik’, cols. 583 and 582 (cf. the translation in Hoffmann, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, pp. 358 and 357).
- 60 Garratt, *Palestrina*, pp. 52–7.
- 61 L. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, Garland Composer Resource Manuals 36 (New York and London: Garland, 1995), p. 344. For the following, see also Earp, ‘Machaut’s Music’, pp. 14–23 and Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 122–6.

- 62 For a facsimile of some pages of Bottée's transcription, see B. Gagnepain, 'À la recherche du temps passé: du rôle de quelques précurseurs dans la renaissance du patrimoine musical français', in M.-C. Mussat, J. Mongrédien and J.-M. Nectoux, eds., *Échos de France et d'Italie: Liber amicorum Yves Gérard* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel Société française de musicologie, 1997), pp. 119–28.
- 63 F.-J. Fétis, 'De la nécessité de considérer la musique dans son histoire, soit pour en étudier les principes, soit pour ajouter à ses progrès', *Revue musicale*, 5e année (1831), p. 278.
- 64 F.-J. Fétis, 'Découverte de plusieurs manuscrits intéressants pour l'histoire de la musique', *Revue musicale* 1, prospectus (1827), pp. 3–11; see Earp, 'Machaut's Music', p. 26; and Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, pp. 168–73.
- 65 F.-J. Fétis, 'Découverte de manuscrits intéressants pour l'histoire de la musique (deuxième article)', *Revue musicale* 1 (1827), pp. 106–13; see Earp, 'Machaut's Music', pp. 26–7.
- 66 See Earp, 'Machaut's Music', pp. 27–30 for details of this last stage.
- 67 On Zelter and Thibaut, see Garratt, *Palestrina*, pp. 62–8; on Kiesewetter, see H. Kier, 'Kiesewetters historische Hauskonzerte: zur Geschichte der kirchenmusikalische Restauration in Wien', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 52 (1968), pp. 95–119; on Choron, see W. Kahl, 'Zur musikalischen Renaissancebewegung in Frankreich während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in D. Weise, ed., *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1957), pp. 156–74; on Fétis, see Earp, 'Machaut's Music', pp. 33–4.
- 68 See Garratt, *Palestrina*, Chapter 1.
- 69 F.-J. Fétis, 'Du sort futur de la musique', *Revue musicale* 9 (1830), pp. 225–9, at pp. 228–9; for more on Fétis's eclecticism, see K. Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris', 1834–80* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 33–45.
- 70 Cf. Garratt, *Palestrina*, p. 33, and the discussion, pp. 28–35.
- 71 F. Ludwig, 'Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 4 (1902–3), pp. 16–69. At this stage, Ludwig knew fewer English sources than he later would; nor had he examined the trecento source *GB-LBl* add. 29987. The account of sacred music would expand in later surveys in light of the subsequent discovery of the Ivrea Codex (*I-IV* 115) and Spanish fragments.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 73 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 75 Such traditions are treated in context in R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 267–374.
- 76 For some background on *Geistesgeschichte*, see P. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 166–72; and Kreuziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 196–7.
- 77 R. Ficker, 'Die Musik des Mittelalters und ihre Beziehungen zum Geistesleben', *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 3 (1925), pp. 501–35. Parts of this and another of Ficker's early essays are discussed in Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 167–9 and 248. An essay in English has some similar points; see R. Ficker, 'Polyphonic Music of the Gothic Period', trans. T. Baker, *Musical Quarterly* 15 (1929), pp. 483–505.
- 78 Ficker, 'Die Musik des Mittelalters', p. 503; discussed in Kreuziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, p. 197.
- 79 For more on this Oriental hypothesis and its later ramifications for instrumental performance, see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 64–6 and 98; and J. Haines, 'The Arabic Style of Performing Medieval Music', *Early Music* 29 (2001), pp. 369–78.
- 80 See A. Rehding, 'The Quest for the Origins of Music in Germany circa 1900', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53 (2000), pp. 345–85. For further discussion of nationalist sentiments circa 1900, see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 28–35.
- 81 Ficker, 'Die Musik des Mittelalters', p. 511.
- 82 Ficker's example, the two-voice alleluia *Pascha nostrum*, had been performed in 1922 by Gurlitt at Karlsruhe from an edition supplied by Ludwig. See F. Ludwig, 'Musik des Mittelalters in der Badischen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, 24.–26. September 1922', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1922–3), pp. 434–60. Kreuziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 355–66, prints the complete programme booklet.
- 83 Ficker, 'Die Musik des Mittelalters', pp. 516–23. Ludwig had identified Ficker's example, *Homo luge / Homo miserabilis / Brumas e mors*, as a motet possibly composed in Germany. It had already been performed on two occasions, at a 1921 Dante celebration in Freiburg and in

- Gurlitt's 1922 concert at Karlsruhe; see Ludwig, 'Musik des Mittelalters', pp. 438–40.
- 84 Ficker, 'Die Musik des Mittelalters', p. 524.
- 85 Note the allusions to J. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters: Studien über Lebens- und Geistesformen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden* (Munich: Drei Masken, 1924 [original Dutch edn 1919]; published in English as *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch (University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 86 Ficker, 'Die Musik des Mittelalters', p. 531.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 532.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 533. A colour reproduction of the Ghent altarpiece is in R. Wangermée, *Flemish Music and Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, trans. R. E. Wolf (New York, Washington and London: Praeger, 1968), Pl. 3.
- 89 Cf. C. Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections of Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford University Press, 1993); see also Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 19–25, 161–2 and 268–74.
- 90 Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, p. 251; see also Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 163–7. On a Nordic Leoninus and Perotinus, see Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, p. 179; and Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 168, 249 and 270 n. 163.
- 91 R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, rev. edn by Jan van der Dussen (Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 92.
- 92 P. H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: Norton, 1941), p. 150; see especially pp. 122–81.
- 93 E. E. Lowinsky, 'Music in the Culture of the Renaissance', in B. J. Blackburn, ed., *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 2 vols. (University of Chicago Press, 1989), vol. I, pp. 19–39, with some footnote additions. First published in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 15 (1954), pp. 509–53.
- 94 Lowinsky, 'Music in the Culture of the Renaissance', vol. I, p. 31.
- 95 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 96 Collingwood, *Idea of History*, pp. 49–52.
- 97 Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, with comments on periodization, pp. 540–42; see also R. Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. I, *The Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 380–5.
- 98 Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, Chapter 1.
- 99 See *ibid.*, pp. 44–7; Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, p. 204; and Earp, 'Machaut's Music', p. 38 n. 99.
- 100 C. Page, 'Machaut's "Pupil" Deschamps on the Performance of Music', *Early Music* 5 (1977), pp. 484–91.
- 101 Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, p. 225.
- 102 Translation taken from *ibid.*, p. 165.
- 103 *Ibid.*, pp. 182–4.
- 104 On interpretations of the term 'res d'Alemangne', see the works cited in Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 350; and J. Bain, 'Balades 32 and 33 and the "Res Dalemangne"', in E. E. Leach, ed., *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), p. 205–19.
- 105 G. de Machaut, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem)*, ed. D. Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. B. Palmer, Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York and London: Garland, 1998), p. 125.
- 106 Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 70–6.
- 107 J. I. Wimsatt, W. W. Kibler, and R. A. Baltzer, eds., *G. de Machaut, Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), ll. 3962–88; and R. B. Palmer, ed. and trans. *G. de Machaut, La Prise d'Alexandre (The Taking of Alexandria)* (New York: Routledge, 2002), ll. 1139–67. See references in Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 214 and 233. On the Ghent altarpiece, see n. 88 above. On Memling's Najera Triptych, see the colour reproduction in Wangermée, *Flemish Music*, Plates 68 and 69.
- 108 On Bottée, see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, p. 263 n. 18. For the Beethoven conference performances, see Kreutziger-Herr, *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter*, pp. 177–8. On Huizinga in Ficker, Schering and Pirro, see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, p. 72. Page considered Huizinga a deleterious influence on performance practice; see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 55–8, 99, 106 and 122; and as a deleterious influence on late medieval historiography; see Page, *Discarding Images*, Chapter 5.
- 109 See works cited in n. 45, and Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 389–92.
- 110 See C. Wright, 'Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France during the 15th Century: A Conspectus', in D. Heartz and B. Wade, eds., *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), pp. 643–9; D. Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', in Stanley Boorman, ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music* (Cambridge University

- Press, 1983), pp. 109–59; and R. Bowers, ‘The Performing Ensemble for English Church Polyphony, c.1320–c.1390’, in *ibid.*, pp. 161–92.
- 111 Among these are Margaret Bent’s dissertation on Old Hall (1969), with material on texting in M. Bent, ‘Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications’, in U. Günther and L. Finscher, eds., *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Vorträge des Gastsymposiums in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. bis 12. September 1980*, Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), pp. 291–326; my dissertation on Machaut (1983), with material on texting in L. Earp, ‘Texting in 15th-century French Chansons: A Look Ahead from the 14th Century’, *Early Music* 19 (1991), pp. 195–210; and Dennis Slavin’s dissertation on Binchois (1988), with material on texting in D. Slavin, ‘In Support of “Heresy”: Manuscript Evidence for the *a cappella* Performance of Early 15th-Century Songs’, *Early Music* 19 (1991), pp. 179–90.
- 112 C. Page, ‘Polyphony before 1400’, in H. M. Brown and S. Sadie, eds., *Performance Practice: Music Before 1600*, Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York and London: Norton, 1990), pp. 79–84.
- 113 S. Fuller, ‘On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Some Preliminary Reflections’, *Journal of Music Theory* 30 (1986), pp. 35–70.
- 114 See Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, p. 164; and K. Moll, ed. and trans., *Counterpoint and Compositional Process in the Time of Dufay: Perspectives from German Musicology*, Criticism and Analysis of Early Music (New York and London: Garland, 1997), p. 9.
- 115 Moll, *Counterpoint and Compositional Process*, pp. 3–64, provides a historiographical overview and explication of terminologies; see also Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention*, pp. 174–7.
- 116 See M. Bent, ‘The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis’, in C. C. Judd, ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, Criticism and Analysis of Early Music (New York and London: Garland, 1998), pp. 15–59.
- 117 R. Taruskin, *Oxford History*, pp. 277–81.
- 118 This is not the only musical aspect of this motet that was received well; see J. M. Allsen, ‘Style and Intertextuality in the Isorhythmic Motet 1400–1440’, PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison (1992), pp. 33–5, and Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 41 and 67.
- 119 C. Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge University Press, 1983 [original German edn 1977]), p. 107.