

## Introduction and Context

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Defining the Middle Ages

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Defining Medieval Music: Texts

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

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

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

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

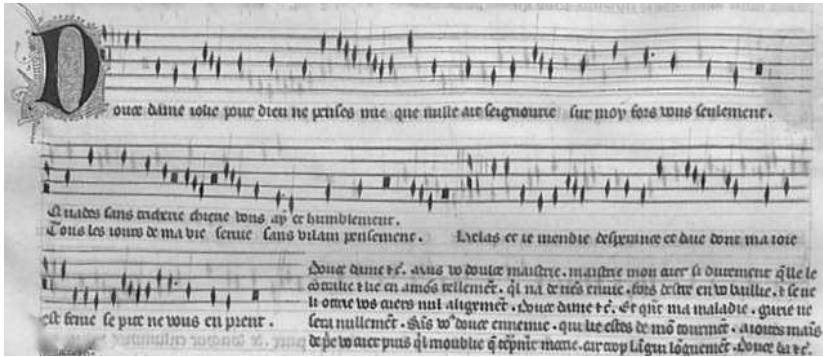


Figure i.1 Machaut’s virelai “Douce dame jolie,” in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français (F-Pn fr.) 9221, fol. 159r

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 4. Douce dame jolie

- R 1. Douce dame jolie, etc.  
 2. Mais vo douce maistrie  
 Maistrie  
 Mon cuer si durement  
 3. Qu'elle le contralie  
 Et lie  
 En amours tellement  
 4. Qu'il n'a de riens envie  
 Fors d'estre en vo haillie;  
 Et se ne li ottrise  
 Vos cuers nul aligement.  
 R 5. Douce dame jolie, etc.

- R 1. Douce dame jolie, etc.  
 2. Et quant ma maladie  
 Garie  
 Ne sera nullement  
 3. Sans vous, douce anemie,  
 Qui lie  
 Estes de mon tourment,  
 4. A jointes mains depreie  
 Vo cuer, puis qu'il m'oublie,  
 Que temprement m'ocie,  
 Car trop languai longuement.  
 R 5. Douce dame jolie, etc.

O.L. 202

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

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

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

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

confirmed in performances.”<sup>14</sup> Intellectual and musical debts are very much in evidence here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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N<sup>o</sup>. 5.

DOUCE DAME JOLIE.

Chanson de Guillaume de Machault.

(1350)

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

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

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

Ce poète-musicien a composé une messe exécutée au sacre de Charles V (1364); il fut un des premiers à écrire des chants à quatre parties. Ses œuvres se trouvent dans les manuscrits N<sup>o</sup> 43 suppl. ff. 81 et 2771 f<sup>o</sup> Lavallière.

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

**Andantino** (Mètre:  $\text{♩} = 80$ )

CHANT.

PIANO.

*p*

Dou-ce da-me jo-li-e.

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



11

Pour Dieu ne p-n-ses mi - e Que nul-le ait sei-gnou - ri - e

2<sup>me</sup> STROPHE.

Sur moi, fors vous seu - le - ment.

*p*  
Douce da - me jo - li - e, Tous les jours de ma vi - e.

Sans nul - le tri - che - ri - e, Vous ai ser - vie hum - ble - ment.

Figure i.3 (cont.)

### Defining Medieval Music: Intertexts

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

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

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

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

### Analysis and Performance

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

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

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

19 The standard text for the *refrain*, Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XIV<sup>e</sup>: collationnement, introduction, et notes*, Bibliothèque française et romane, D:3 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969), has now been supplemented, updated and digitised: *REFRAIN Music, Poetry Citation: The Refrain in the Middle Ages / Musique, poésie, citation: le refrain au moyen âge*, 2015, [www.refrain.ac.uk/](http://www.refrain.ac.uk/).  
 20 Ardis Butterfield, “The Language of Medieval Music: Two Thirteenth-Century Motets,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993) 1–16; Suzannah Clark, “‘S’en dirai chançonete’: Hearing Text and Music in a Medieval Motet,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16 (2007), 31–59; Anna Grau, “Hearing Voices: Heteroglossia, Homoglossia, and the Old French Motet,” *Proceedings of Conference: The Gothic Revolution in Music, 1100–1300, Musica Disciplina* 58 (2013) 73–100; David Rothenberg, “The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200–ca. 1500: Two Case Studies,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006), 319–98; Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24–91; Gerald Hoekstra, “The French Motet as Trope: Multiple Levels of Meaning in *Quant florist la violette/El mois de mai/Et gaudebit*,” *Speculum* 73 (1998) 32–57;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Organizing Medieval Music

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

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

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

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

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

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

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