Introduction

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The traces of the medieval European song tradition lie scattered in hundreds of lyric collections. The verbal texts of this tradition have been surveyed a number of times, but the music, mediated by few and partial traces, has posed challenges of interpretation that scholarship has been slow to address. *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* contends that a fuller account of the role played by music within the history of medieval song is possible, and – in order to facilitate this – the surviving manuscript witnesses need to be read again with an eye to a wealth of previously overlooked evidence. Previous scholarship has typically removed songs from their manuscripts into editions organized by entirely different criteria. At the heart of this book lies the conviction that close attention to the way songs (whether musically notated or not) were gathered onto the page, specifically their layout, organization, and alignment with other texts, not only yields new insights into the musical culture of the medieval lyric, but challenges assumptions that have underpinned existing scholarship.

Some recent work on songs has adopted a similar approach, but to date studies have been limited to particular categories of manuscripts (especially those containing French and Occitan lyrics), and thus have done little so far to unravel the specific disciplinary preoccupations of the modern academy in relation to medieval song.[1] Taking as paradigmatic the 'monumental' collections of vernacular song compiled in the later Middle Ages, literary scholarship has tended to conceive of medieval song in monoglot groupings, and with a focus on named authors and rigidly taxonomized genres, categories which – as the contributions to this volume show – are not reflected in the majority of manuscripts that preserve song. This approach is apparent in perhaps the most recent book-length study of manuscripts of medieval song, in which Marisa Galvez notes at the outset that 'the songbooks most relevant to the development of Western poetry, in their typical qualities and conscious intention to establish literary

[1] Huot 1987; Bent and Wathey 1998; Nichols and Wenzel 1996.

traditions, are the monumental manuscripts compiled from the thirteenth century onward, such as the chansonniers of troubadour and *trouvère* poetry and *Liederhandschriften* of German *Minnesänger*'.[2] Moreover, scholarship on song has suffered particularly from the lack of attention devoted to one of its defining features: its musicality.[3] Where music has been considered at all, it has tended to be subject to similar disciplinary divisions that do not correspond to its medieval transmission. These have included the artificial separation of monophony from polyphony, and an interest in the latter (as the supposed distinguishing feature of a 'Great Western Tradition') that has far exceeded the former, as well as a concern with authorship and the 'work concept', both enquiring principally into compositional process. For medieval song, however, there is very little surviving evidence about the production or composition of songs. Sketch materials do not exist as they do for later music, and in most cases it is not known who provided the music for a song. The various and varied notational formats in manuscripts provide the sum of the evidence, but tend to be considered under-prescriptive or even inadequate from the perspective of more recent expectations of musical scores. The very variety of manifestations of a single song, or the different texting of related versions of what might broadly be considered the 'same' underlying melody, frustrate the idea of an authorial work and make it clear that a focus on the mediation of music to audiences through its performance constitutes a subject more germane to the nature of the repertory. That said, the only evidence that we have for performance and reception is the same as the evidence that proved inadequate for the study of poiesis: the books with songs in them.

Manuscripts and Medieval Song addresses the issue of how to read performative and reception meanings from an examination of the manuscript traces of songs. In particular, the other content of books containing song texts and notations can provide contextual evidence for audience and use, even to the extent of showing the length of use of a particular book and its changing functions over time. It is often unclear to readers reliant on modern editions that a manuscript juxtaposes a particular song copy with other non-song items, such as sermons, narrative poems, florilegia,

[2] Galvez 2012, 2.

[3] Again, Galvez perpetuates this tendency, in the process setting up a false dichotomy between manuscripts which 'preserve lyric texts rather than musical notation, include prose texts, and are large-format, costly objects of parchment' and 'performance manuals of traveling singers' (Galvez 2012, 4).

bestiaries, and scientific or theological works, yet these medieval habits of compilation stimulated associative reading practices, enhancing the appreciated meaning of songs. Existing studies have already examined the material contexts of late-medieval French manuscripts of song in this way, but *Manuscripts and Medieval Song* expands the geographic and chronological purview to uncover comparable and equally thought-provoking insights into books containing song from across Europe and throughout the Middle Ages.

This book is organized around a series of ten case-study manuscripts, each forming the subject of an individual chapter. By including a range of famous but surprisingly little-studied manuscripts this book is able both to represent the widely varied nature of the medieval song tradition and also to propose surprising connections between traditions that have been studied separately. Treating these 'songbooks' as bibliographic wholes ensures that the historical narrative is not exclusively predicated on any of the traditional divisions by language or thematic concern of the song text, type of notation, or polyphony versus monophony. Some of the manuscripts chosen here have been neglected in recent musicological scholarship, whereas others have assumed a degree of prominence that is based on a partial or skewed perception of the importance of some of their contents, while disregarding other contexts both within and beyond the book. Each chapter typically offers an account of the entire contents of the manuscript; an outline of the modern reception history of the book, including details of its presence in scholarship; a consideration of the specifically musical context (by noting the stylistic and repertorial contexts which the music in the manuscript engages and/or by reading the particular manuscript from its music outwards, rather than the other way around) sometimes focused through a discussion of individual songs; and an analysis of the issues arising from the presence of such songs in such a book.

The individual chapters

The opening chapter, by Sam Barrett, considers **F-Pn lat.1154**, which is frequently regarded as a songbook, but is in fact a varied collection comprising a litany of saints, a collection of prayers, an extract from Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma*, and some thirty Latin songs (including hymns, Boethian metra, early sequences, as well as moral-didactic poems, poems on recent political events, several laments for prominent individuals, and *versus* by leading Carolingian authors such as Gottschalk and

Paulinus of Aquileia). Eighteen of the songs are notated in this manuscript and many others are found with notation in other witnesses. Reading the *versus* collection alongside the contents of the book as a whole immediately shows what can be gained from a consideration of the whole book, since some of the other contents of this book offer a revision to the currently accepted provenance and dating, reviving a forgotten suggestion from 1930 that the manuscript is from St Martial in Limoges on account of the saints included in its Litany of Confessors. Barrett's careful palaeographical study of the main notator does not preclude remarks about the other hands in the book, which show a function in teaching. But Barrett carefully refrains from ascribing a single use to the whole: the book has a multiplicity of simultaneous functions within a monastic institution, including most importantly private prayer, a use which is confirmed not only by the other contents of the volume, but by the addition of Amens to some of the *versus*, and by some of the slightly later additions, which show the persistence of this function.

In Chapter 2 Jeremy Llewellyn considers **GB-Cu Gg.V.35**, which also seems to have had teaching as one of its uses. This collection of songs has acquired the title of the Cambridge Songs or the 'Earlier Cambridge Songbook'. Compiled on the cusp of the Norman Conquest at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, the manuscript presents a dazzling array of poetic materials whose historical and geographical origins ultimately span several centuries and a fair portion of Western Europe. The book contains music-theoretical texts, glosses, and passages of neumation. Llewellyn draws out the ways in which the book itself addresses the singer in an admonitory manner, thrusting the figure of the 'cautious' or 'prudent' cantor to the fore, and thereby reflecting epistemological shifts in ideas of *musica* from the philosophically speculative to the technically practical.

In Chapter 3 Rachel May Golden looks at the small, twelfth-century Aquitanian *versarium* **GB-Lbl Add. 36881**, which shares repertory with three earlier manuscripts from the library of St Martial, Limoges. Golden argues that the diverse contents of this manuscript have been ill served by musicological study that divides polyphony from monophony, since the manuscript integrates both. In addition, the modern desire to separate the liturgical from the non-liturgical has contributed to the relative neglect of this music in favour of the more clearly liturgical Parisian repertories of a similar date. Golden's exploration of the songs of **GB-Lbl Add. 36881** as 'monastic inspiration, theological exploration, and instances of devotion to the Virgin within the context of the twelfth-century Marian cult' shows them to be indicative of the text–music relationships that are typical of the

new song genres of twelfth-century Occitania. The new songs of the Aquitanian *versaria* show formal, thematic, and even linguistic interaction with the contemporary and geographically proximate repertory of troubadour song, in poetry, music, and the interaction of the two. As a manuscript that collapses several binaries that have become enshrined in later scholarship, **GB-Lbl Add. 36881** makes an especially clear case for reconsidering songs in their material context.

Gundela Bobeth's consideration of the 'Codex Buranus', **D-Mbs Clm 4660,** in Chapter 4, details how the reception history of this famous manuscript in the twentieth century, most notoriously in the setting of a selection of its texts by Carl Orff in 1936, has given prominence to some parts of its contents while obscuring its extreme variety as a whole. Its contents have been published in separate volumes of poetry, and this has added to the fragmentation of a repertory that is best considered wholesale. Again, the key issue is eclecticism: jostling within its covers may be found Latin lyrics ranging from the devotional to the frankly erotic, liturgical plays, German poems, and a 'Gamblers' Mass'. This chapter considers the way in which such a compilation points to the existence of smaller collections of songs behind this larger assembly and the role of the geographical provenance of the book in bringing these collections together. As a whole, the themes and older song genres are still present in the 'new song' preserved here, but they are subject to stylistic transformation. The musical notation in this manuscript is sparse but concordances exist for many songs, although not all; this chapter therefore raises similar issues to those in **GB-Cu Gg.V.35** (Chapter 2), but for a much later period. Like the Cambridge Songbook, too, the songs of the Carmina Burana are self-conscious about being sung: their texts reference singing and songs. This chapter establishes and discusses a repertorial context for these songs, taking into account both the well-known and the neglected material in the book.

In Chapter 5 Helen Deeming examines **GB-Lbl Harley 978**, which contains the famous Sumer canon (or 'Reading rota'). This six-part piece has a celebrated canonic role in the history of early music and is frequently performed and recorded, but its fame has obscured both the other music in the manuscript's single musical gathering (some of which has not been published in modern editions) and its wider non-musical contents, which provide valuable information on issues of use and transmission. Among its very varied contents are the earliest complete copy of the *Lais* of Marie de France, Latin narrative poetry, formulas for ecclesiastical letters, and oddments of practical things for monastic use. The complete book speaks

of a routine communication between abbeys both within the British Isles and across the Channel, and of the ways that songs moved alongside the transmission of other kinds of practical knowledge. Deeming thus places **GB-Lbl Harley 978** within a hitherto unrecognized context of Latin, French, and English song cultivated within the cloister walls of thirteenth-century England and its Norman neighbours.

Deeming's second chapter, Chapter 6, takes **GB-Lbl Egerton 274** as its focus to provide a series of snapshots of a book's continued use, through preservation, adaptation, alteration, obliteration, amplification, and substitution. In its original state **GB-Lbl Egerton 274** challenges received assumptions of repertory, genre, and provenance, but its complexity is further heightened by numerous additions showing that its contents were not only keenly preserved by its later medieval owners but also that some of them were put to new use by the substitution of their secular French texts for liturgical Latin ones. Considering the whole book in the state bequeathed to us by these fourteenth-century recyclers allows us a rare insight into the continued use of a songbook whose peregrinations through northern France and Flanders caused it to be bound with a processional from Ghent alongside its already curious mélange of Latin and French lyrics, liturgical items, and two long narrative poems. By peeling back the layers of later accretion, the book can be viewed as if through the eyes of its original compiler, whose eclectic tastes in song can be seen to signify previously unremarked musical connections across repertories and genres.

In Chapter 7, Henry Hope examines **D-HEu Cod.Pal.germ.848**, the so-called Codex Manesse, one of two manuscripts considered in the present volume whose significance to musicology has been overlooked by their lack of explicitly musical notation (the other is **GB-Ob Douce 308**, considered in Chapter 9, but the same problem also affects some of the song contents in many of the other case-study manuscripts). Hope argues that the Codex Manesse represents evidence of *musical* Minnesang reception, despite its usual exclusion from the status of music manuscript. Its full-folio author illustrations enable music, musicians, and performance to be figured in the absence of explicit musical notation.

In Chapter 8, Sean Curran discusses the so-called La Clayette manuscript, **F-Pn n.a.f.13521**, dating from around 1300. The manuscript contains a rich mixture of contents; only 22 of the 419 parchment folios contain music. Curran notes that the music's place among Old French literary texts of a devotional or didactic nature suggests a single reader engaged in a practice akin to Joyce Coleman's idea of literary 'praelection', reading the musical pieces to other, non-reading singers who listened so as

to learn their parts.[4] In this context he reads two of the motets from La Clayette as ritualizing moments, whether inside the liturgy or as part of lay devotion.

Such flexibility of role for the motet is noticeable also in its multiple places within **GB-Ob Douce 308**, considered by Elizabeth Eva Leach in Chapter 9. This manuscript's nearly 300 folios contain three courtly narratives in French (two in poetry, one in prose), plus two eschatological–allegorical works, between which is a large collection of anonymous French lyrics arranged into eight genre sections. Like all of the songs in **D-HEu Cod.Pal.germ.848** and many in **GB-Cu Gg.V.35** and **F-Pn lat.1154**, **GB-Ob Douce 308** is entirely without musical notation; it is nonetheless complete, since there are no empty staves. Leach argues that these songs were well enough 'notated' for the purpose of singing simply by having their texts copied, since their audience would have known the tunes (which were most likely simple, syllabic, and monophonic), or would easily have learnt them aurally from those who already knew them. The organizing principle for the lyrics is generic, with separate poetic genres named in the index, rubrics, and initial miniatures. Nonetheless motet texts and refrains associated with motets pervade the entire lyric collection and even reach the manuscript's other contents. Leach briefly discusses two examples as a means of noting how the motet's generic adaptability and fitness for the generation of intertextual networks collapses and conflates the devotional, the courtly, and the violent.

Generic organization is also found in the final manuscript considered here, **F-Pn fr.1586** ('Machaut MS *C*'). Leach's second chapter argues that as the first poet-composer to oversee the copying of his own complete works into a single book, Guillaume de Machaut signals a watershed in the history of song. As a composer whose works coincide with a change in musical style, the increased use of polyphony, the development of the *formes fixes*, a marked change in notation, and an increasingly literate culture for music-making, Machaut occupies an important place in the history of music. His attention to book-making and his training as a secretary made him highly attuned to how meaning could be created from the ordering of books, through which an authorial persona could be projected. **F-Pn fr.1586** is the earliest surviving of the collected works manuscripts for his work, and evidence from the copying suggests it may have been the first large book of Machaut's work ever attempted. Leach

[4] Coleman 1996.

traces how important evidence has been lost to scholarship on account of the manuscript's misdating in a library catalogue and subsequent exclusion from serious consideration in the modern collected editions of text and music.

The concluding chapter of the volume, jointly authored by Deeming and Leach, offers a synthesis and summation of the issues arising from the ten preceding chapters of *Manuscripts and Medieval Song*. In particular it presents a new overview of the roles of books in the beginning of the European song tradition. Books act as pivotal material because they are both retrospective – they serve to collect songs that have already been sung and are now being written down – and enduring – they provide a repository of song for continuing performance and a material context in which to record present and future repertory. Books both textualize and contextualize songs, by transforming their aural traces into material records, and setting those records alongside those of other songs and non-song items. As mediating vehicles, books point to the audience context and use for song, placing it in a general sphere of related social and private activities. This concluding chapter therefore aims to reveal, in a more extensive and nuanced fashion than has been attempted before, the multiple significances of the inscription of song in a wide range of medieval books, the functions of such books in the performance, delivery, transmission, and transformation of the medieval song tradition, and the material and social contexts that formed an inescapable part of the experience of song in the Middle Ages.

1 New light on the earliest medieval songbook

SAM BARRETT

Previous studies of **F-Pn lat.1154** have emphasized its importance as a songbook standing at the very beginning of the tradition of medieval lyric collections, forming a counterpart to the predominantly liturgical contents of the musical manuscripts collected together at the Abbey of St Martial of Limoges.[1] A few scholars have gone into further detail by observing that the penitential theme of the *versus* collection is consistent with the contents of the earlier sections of the manuscript.[2] The manuscript has most recently begun to attract attention as a prayerbook within a tradition of *libelli precum* that flourished from the ninth century onwards.[3] This chapter will continue the trend towards contextual interpretation of the song collection by assessing its place within traditions of Carolingian prayer and Aquitanian notation. New evidence will be adduced to argue that the main body of the manuscript was copied and notated at the Abbey of St Martial, most likely in the late ninth century, and that the compilation served a distinct purpose as a book for private devotion.

The physical structure of the manuscript

In its current state **F-Pn lat.1154** is a compact volume measuring 210mm x 160mm. Its modern binding dates from the eighteenth century, shortly after the sale of the manuscript in 1730 as part of the collection of the Abbey of St Martial of Limoges to the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris.[4]

[1] The most substantial studies of the *versus* collection emphasizing its distance from liturgical song traditions are Coussemaker 1852, 83–121, for whom the songs are lyrical compositions forming a link with antiquity and intended for the lettered classes, and Spanke 1931, who emphasized structural proximity to later vernacular song traditions. The songs are discussed under the heading of lyric and more or less explicitly aligned with later Aquitanian *versus* collections in Stäblein 1975, 51 and J. Stevens 1986, 48–52. For a digitized version of **F-Pn lat.1154**, see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798.

[2] Chailley 1960, 73–6; Barrett 1997, 55–96.

[3] Black 2002, 25; Waldhoff 2003, especially 281n36.

[4] It is no.76 in the catalogue of manuscripts received from the Abbey reproduced in Delisle 1895, 46. 'LXXVI' appears at the head of f.1r alongside 'XCVII', which has been crossed out.

Table 1.1 Contents of **F-Pn lat.1154**

Part	Folios	Summary of contents
I	ff.i^{v}–25^{v}	Litany
II	ff.26r–65v	Prayers and Collects
III	ff.66r–97v	Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* (Book I and Book II to chapter 19)
IV	ff.98r–143r	*Versus* collection

Although there are distinct parts within the manuscript, there is consistency in its manufacture: sixteen lines are ruled throughout, with all parts except the third ruled in two columns of similar widths, and the ruled space is similar in different parts of the manuscript (*c.*140mm x 100mm). Seven equally spaced sewing holes are found in all four parts. This material continuity underpins changes in content and scribe, which are briefly summarized in Table 1.1.

There is at first sight a consistency to the scripts of Parts II–IV. The Caroline minuscule forms are fluently executed, including a range of 'a' forms with uncial, alpha, and minuscule shapes. The visual similarity of Parts II and IV is reinforced by the double-column layout, the use of red ink for rubrics and most initials, and green highlights for incipits and refrains. The colouring-in of capitals at the beginning of new units of text is also common to Part I, whose script is nevertheless set apart by letter forms that are thicker and more erect, lacking the uncial 'a', using a more rounded 'g' with a completed upper loop, and featuring almost no ligatures. A further distinctive feature of Parts II and IV is the occasional placement of a rubric across both columns (ff.61v, 99v, and 106r),[5] which interrupts the continuous text layout through single columns and indicates that the same individual was both rubricator and text scribe. The initials are also remarkable for incorporating contractions and occasionally complete short words within their design.[6] The immediate impression is that one main scribe was responsible for all aspects of the writing and *mise-en-page* of Parts II and IV.

[5] http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798/f134.image, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798/f210.image, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798/f223.image.

[6] The running together of multiple letters in initials, whether by joining together letters or by placing letters inside those with internal spaces such as 'D' and 'O', is found also in **F-Pn lat.1240** (see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000528g). Compare, for example, the joining of letters in the initials on ff.95r and 96r of **F-Pn lat.1240**, and the use of contractions and shorter words as part of initials on ff.26r, 32r, and 45r of **F-Pn lat.1154**.