

Devotional Refrains in Medieval Latin Song

Throughout medieval Europe, male and female religious communities attached to churches, abbeys, and schools participated in devotional music making outside of the chanted liturgy. Newly collating over 400 songs from primary sources, this book reveals the role of Latin refrains and refrain songs in the musical lives of religious communities by employing novel interdisciplinary and analytical approaches to the study of medieval song. Through interpretive frameworks focused on time and temporality, performance, memory, inscription, and language, each chapter offers an original perspective on how refrains were created, transmitted, and performed. Arguing for its significance as a marker of form and meaning, this book identifies the Latin refrain as a tool that communities used to negotiate their lived experiences of liturgical and calendrical time; to confirm their communal identity and belonging to song communities; and to navigate relationships between Latin and vernacular song and dance that emerge within their multilingual contexts.

MARY CHANNEN CALDWELL's research focusing on medieval song, liturgy, pedagogy, and intertextuality has been published in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society, Music & Letters*, the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Plainsong & Medieval Music*, and *Early Music History*. She is an Assistant Professor of Music at the University of Pennsylvania.



Devotional Refrains in Medieval Latin Song

MARY CHANNEN CALDWELL

University of Pennsylvania







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009044004

DOI: 10.1017/9781009043298

© Mary Channen Caldwell 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022

First paperback edition 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Caldwell, Mary Channen, 1983- author.

Title: Devotional refrains in medieval Latin song / Mary Channen Caldwell.

 $\label{eq:Description: Press, 2022.} Includes bibliographical references and index.$

Identifiers: LCCN 2021044763 (print) | LCCN 2021044764 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316517192 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009043298 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Songs, Latin (Medieval and modern) – 500–1400 – History and criticism. | Sacred vocal music – 500–1400 – History and criticism. | Refrain. | BISAC: MUSIC / General Classification: LCC ML190 .C25 2022 (print) | LCC ML190 (ebook) | DDC 782.2/0902–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021044763

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021044764

ISBN 978-1-316-51719-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-04400-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Daniel, Ella, and Max



Contents

List of Figures [page ix]
List of Tables [xi]
List of Music Examples [xii]
Acknowledgments [xiii]
List of Abbreviations [xviii]

Introduction: Latin Song and Refrain [1]

Defining the Latin Refrain [4]

Manuscript Sources [10]

Theorizing the Refrain [13]

Creating and Performing the Latin Refrain Song [18]

1 Latin Song and Refrain in the Medieval Year [24]
Calendrical Song: Thematic Distribution and Manuscript Ordering [26]
The Plurality of Time: Easter and Springtime [33]
Reforming Festivity: Disciplining Time Through Song and Refrain [39]
Pious Substitutes in the Moosburger Graduale and Red Book of Ossory [45]
New Songs and Refrains for the New Year [48]
Conclusion: Contexts for the Latin Refrain Song [63]

Refrains and the Time of Song: Singing Religious Narrative [65 Song, Refrain, and Narrative Time [66]
 The Nativity Story Two Ways: Ecce mundi gaudium and Congaudeat turba fidelium [70]
 Narrating Easter in In hac die Dei [85]
 Saints' Time: Narrating Miracles, Singing Refrains [90]
 Singing Saints' Lives in a Parisian Miscellany [93]
 Conclusion: Repeating sine termino [102]

3 Singing the Refrain: Shaping Performance and Community
Through Form [104]
Song, Refrain, and Singing with One Voice [106]
A Grammar of Performance and Plurality [109]
All as One and Many Together: Musical Settings of Refrain Songs [121]
Shaping Performance: Strophic Refrain Songs and Rondelli [131]
Reimagining the Clerical Dance Song [138]
Singing the Refrain: Form, Performance, and Community [145]

vii



viii Contents

- 4 Remembering Refrains: Composition, Inscription, and Performance [148]
 Reworking Text and Music: Chant and the Latin Refrain [150]
 Recycling Refrains and Signaling Performance [157]
 Cueing Refrains in an Austrian Abbey [165]
 Sharing, Adding, and Subtracting Refrains [175]
 Conclusion: Refrains in Song, Memory, and Text [187]
- 5 Retexting Refrains: Latin and Vernacular Refrains in Contact [190]
 Contrafacture and the Latin Refrain Song [192]
 French Refrains as Rubrics in a Parisian Miscellany [196]
 German Song in the Margins in the Engelberg Codex [207]
 Multilinguality in the Red Book of Ossory [215]
 Refrains Across Language [229]
- 6 Conclusion [231]
 Further Contexts [233]
 Afterlives [234]

Appendix Latin Refrain Songs [236] Bibliography [254] Index of Works [279] General Index [282]



Figures

- 1.1 Calendrical and seasonal distribution of refrain songs [page 27]
- 2.1 Fordham University Oxford Outremer Map Project. Image based on Oxford, CCC MS 2*, Matthew Paris, *ca.* 1250s (detail), part of the Fordham University Oxford Outremer Map Project. Image rights held by the Center for Medieval Studies at Fordham University. Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License [80]
- 2.2 Altarpiece, Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Twelve Scenes from Her Life, Getty Museum, object number 73.PB.69 (tempera and gold leaf on panel), Donato d'Arezzo and Gregorio d'Arezzo, Italy, ca. 1330. Image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program [98]
- 3.1 Neumed "gaudeamus" refrain in Stuttg, fol. 75^r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart [114]
- 3.2 Codex Calixtinus, fol. 132^{r-v}, *Salve festa dies veneranda* with "gaudeamus" refrain. Copyright © Cabildo de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela all rights reserved. Partial or whole reproduction is prohibited [115]
- 3.3 Le Puy A, fol. 28^r, monophonic "gaudeamus" refrains. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque municipale, Grenoble [117]
- 3.4 Engelberg Codex, fol. 151^r, *Unicornis captivator*, from "[me]dicatur sauciatus" in strophe 1 to "misera" in strophe 2. Reproduced by kind permission of Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg [123]
- 3.5 W1, fol. 80^r (73^r), *Luto carens et latere*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel [129]
- 3.6 Moosburger Graduale, fol. 248^v, Christus vicit resurgendo, excerpt. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Munich [133]
- 3.7 Seckauer Cantionarium, fol. 186^r, *Stella nova radiat*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Graz [134]
- 3.8 Seckauer Cantionarium, fol. 186°, *Stella nova radiat* continued. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Graz [135]

ix



x List of Figures

- 3.9 Antiphonarium Lausannense III.3.1, p. 103, *Dulcis laudis* [*Dulces laudes*] *tympano*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Archives de l'État de Fribourg [136]
- 3.10 F, fol. 463^r, illustrated "D-" of *De patre principio*. Reproduced by permission of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited [139]
- 3.11 F, frontispiece, Boethian division of music. Reproduced by permission of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited [143]
- 4.1 Graz 409, fol. 72^r, *Umbram destruxit penitus*, refrain cue circled. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Graz [172]
- 4.2 Graz 258, fol. 2^r, *Umbram destruxit penitus*, refrain cues circled. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Graz [173]
- 4.3 SG 392, pp. 88–89, *Nove lucis hodie*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen [180]
- 4.4 Graz 258, fol. 2^v, *Ecce venit de Syon*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Universitätsbibliothek, Graz [184]
- 5.1 St-Victor Miscellany, fol. 177^r, *Marie preconio* with French *refrain* and "contra in latino." Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France [197]
- 5.2 Engelberg Codex, fol. 168^v, *Flore vernat virginali* with marginal lyric. Reproduced by kind permission of Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg [211]
- 5.3 Red Book of Ossory, fol. 70^r, preface. Reproduced by kind permission of the Representative Body Library of the Church of Ireland [218]
- 5.4 Red Book of Ossory, fol. 71°, *Jhesu lux vera seculi* and *Jam Christo moriente*. Reproduced by kind permission of the Representative Body Library of the Church of Ireland [221]
- Red Book of Ossory, fols. 70^v (a), 71^v (b), and 73^r (c) (details).
 Reproduced by kind permission of the Representative Body Library of the Church of Ireland [222]
- 5.6 Red Book of Ossory, En Christi fit memoria, fol. 70^v (a), and Plangentis Christi ulnera, fol. 72^{r-v} (b) (details). Reproduced by kind permission of the Representative Body Library of the Church of Ireland [226]



Tables

- 1.1 The contents and thematic organization of F, fol. 463^r–476^v (Fascicle XI) [page 29]
- 1.2 Liturgical organization of the *cantionale* in the Moosburger Graduale, fol. $231^{r}-246^{r}$ [31]
- 1.3 "Sober" songs in Fascicle XI of F [35]
- 1.4 Easter/springtime rondelli in F [36]
- 1.5 References to music, dance, and games on feast days in Rigaud's *Regestrum*, *ca*. 1249–1265 [42]
- 1.6 Refrain songs for St. Nicholas [43]
- 1.7 New Year's songs [55]
- 2.1 Biblical narrative in *Ecce mundi gaudium* (F, fol. 470^r) [72]
- 2.2 Concordances for Congaudeat turba fidelium [75]
- 2.3 F, fol. 463^{r-v}, *In hac die Dei* [86]
- 2.4 Narrative songs for saints [94]
- 2.5 Refrains for Sts. Nicholas, Katherine, and Denis in the St-Victor Miscellany [100]
- 4.1 Comparison of *Sexta passus feria* (first two paired strophes) and *Mors vite propitia* (strophes 1 and 5) [153]
- 4.2 Text, scansion, rhyme scheme, and translation of *Mors vite* propitia in F [154]
- 4.3 Songs with "psallat cum tripudio" [159]
- 4.4 Comparison of Promat chorus hodie and Puer natus hodie [161]
- 4.5 Inventory and concordances for songs with refrains in Graz 258 and 409 [167]
- 4.6 Shared refrains in Graz 258 and 409 (concordances not counted in totals) [174]
- 5.1 Poems with *refrain* rubrics in the St-Victor Miscellany [198]
- 5.2 Refrain concordances in the St-Victor Miscellany [201]
- 5.3 Engelberg Codex, refrain songs with marginal German annotations [209]
- 5.4 Poems with rubrics or marginal annotations (repeated rubrics in bold) in the Red Book of Ossory [217]

хi



Music Examples

- 1.1 F, fol. 465^{v} – 466^{r} , *Vocis tripudio*, first strophe and refrain [page 35]
- 2.1 F, fol. 470^r, Ecce mundi gaudium, first strophe and refrain [73]
- 2.2 Melodic comparison of Congaudeat turba fidelium [82]
- 2.3 F, fol. 463^r, *In hac die Dei* [88]
- 3.1 Le Puy A, fols. 1^v-2^r and 171^r, strophes 1-2 and refrain of *Annus novus* in gaudio [126]
- 4.1 Comparison of *Mors vite propitia* in Tours 927, fol. 10^v (a) and F, fol. 464^r (b) [155]
- 4.2 Comparison of *Sexta passus feria* (Paris lat. 1112, fol. 267^r) (a) and *Mors vite propitia* (F, fol. 464^r) (b) [156]
- 4.3 Comparison of *Promat chorus hodie* (St-M A, fol. 51^v) and *Puer natus hodie* (Wienhäuser Liederbuch, fol. 2^v) [162]
- 4.4 Comparison of "apparuit" refrain in Ave maris stella divinitatis, Fulget dies hec pre ceteris, Nove lucis hodie, and Resonemus laudibus [177]
- 5.1 Underlay of *Superne matris gaudia* to *Amez moi douce dame* (St-Victor Miscellany, fol. 186^r and Fauvel, fol. 61^v) [202]



Acknowledgments

This book is the result of years of work carried out with the input and assistance of countless colleagues and institutions. I am especially indebted to the support of the many libraries and librarians who have helped me access the manuscripts and archival sources at the core of this book. Fellowships and research support from the John Anson Kittredge Fund and the University of Pennsylvania enabled research trips and the acquisition of materials that have made their way into the following pages. The Wolf Humanities Center at the University of Pennsylvania funded a Manuscript Development Workshop in 2020 which, although delayed due to COVID-19, eventually made possible the workshopping of an early draft of the entire book by Ardis Butterfield, whose generous and thoughtful input significantly shaped its final form. Material from Chapter 4 is reproduced here through the generosity of the Journal of the Royal Musical Association, in which it was published as Mary Channen Caldwell, "Cueing Refrains in the Medieval Conductus," Journal of the Royal Musical Association 143 no. 2 (2018): 273-324.

I began developing this project as a doctoral student at the University of Chicago under the advising of Anne Walters Robertson, Robert Kendrick, and Lawrence Zbikowski, and I have unending appreciation for their continued support and encouragement. Although the roots of this book are to be found in my graduate studies, the seeds of my interest in early music and dance were planted long ago. First, in my younger years, by my piano teacher, and a historian in his own right, Peter McKinnon, and my longtime dance teacher, Beverley Brown-Chislett. During my undergraduate program at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Dr. Olga Malyshko inspired my interest in early music and taught me discipline in research, while Dr. Gordon Smith encouraged my work in dance studies.

I have changed affiliations several times while working on this book, with visiting positions at Williams College in Williamstown, MA and at the University of Texas at Austin, and an assistant professorship at Wichita State University, before taking up my current position as assistant professor of music at the University of Pennsylvania. I am deeply

xiii



xiv Acknowledgments

thankful for the support of my colleagues and departments at each of these institutions. In the Music Department at the University of Pennsylvania, the always-vital staff - Maryellen Malek, Margaret Smith Deeney, Alfreda Frazier, Jacquelyn Jordan, and Madeleine Hewitt - have made all things possible in the realm of academics and teaching and have also been my companions during long days of work in the department. My colleagues past and present, Mauro Calcagno, Glenda Goodman, Jeffrey Kallberg, Jairo Moreno, Carol Muller, Guthrie Ramsey, Timothy Rommen, Jim Sykes, Anna Weesner, Eugene Lew, Michael Ketner, Jamuna Samuel, Natacha Diels, Tyshawn Sorey, Naomi Waltham-Smith, and Jay Reise, have variously mentored, encouraged, and assisted me in manifold ways during my time at Penn; I'm grateful to be part of this generous and warm intellectual community. My colleague, pianist and composer James Primosch, passed away during the final stages of this book, and he will be dearly missed by all. Over the years I've also been fortunate to lead and participate in seminars with graduate students at Penn across disciplines who have added to and challenged my way of thinking about early music; their insights and contributions are unquestionably reflected in these pages.

I have been privileged at Penn to work alongside and benefit from the knowledge and expertise of our music librarian Liza Vick and the special crew, past and present, of the sixth floor of Van Pelt library – Will Noel, Richard Griscom, Lynn Ransom, John Pollack, Lynn Farrington, Nick Herman, Mitch Fraas, and Elizabeth Bates, among others, all of whom are part of the vibrant Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts and the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies. Within the University more broadly, I am happily part of the everexpanding Global Medieval and Renaissance Studies group, and I have benefited enormously from the collegiality of many colleagues working on premodern areas, most especially Julia Verkholantsev, Emily Steiner, Rita Copeland, and Kevin Brownlee. Finally, Penn's Medieval-Renaissance Seminar in the English Department kindly workshopped my book prospectus, and the Workshop in the History of Material Texts generously hosted me for a discussion of work that appears in Chapter 4.

I have also been extremely lucky in my cohort here at Penn. Not only did I begin in the Music Department the same year as Glenda Goodman, now my friend and colleague, but I also began within a year of medievalists Ada Kuskowksi and Sarah Guérin. In addition to organizing a conference together on the "Gothic Arts" (2018), the three of us have shared writing over the years and had many a lively lunch together; as well as being



Acknowledgments

XV

brilliant colleagues and friends, insights from their respective disciplines (history and art) have been invaluable in shaping my work in this book and on other projects. Although only indirectly connected to this book, working with Mauro Calcagno and the staff of the Kislak Center at Penn's library on the Music in the Pavilion concert series has been a real joy, and a way that our shared love of early music and material culture has found a public-facing outlet through the years.

Numerous colleagues have generously shared their knowledge with me over the years. Special thanks are owed to Martha Sprigge, Michelle Urberg, Glenda Goodman, Emma Dillon, Kate van Orden, Mark Everist, and Anne Walters Robertson for reading drafts of my prospectus; Meghan Quinlan, Sarah Guérin, and Ada Kuskowski for reading chapter drafts; and Cesar Favila for continued support and for enabling a fruitful and stimulating visit to UCLA in winter 2019, where I presented material from Chapter 5. Emma Dillon, Rebecca Maloy, Anne Walters Robertson, and Timothy Rommen have been diligent supporters and readers of my writing over the years, and I appreciate their efforts on my behalf and their input on my work and career. I owe a huge debt and my most sincere thanks to Jennifer Saltzstein and Mark Everist, each of whom read a draft of the manuscript in its entirety and improved it enormously. JoAnn Taricani graciously invited me to participate in a symposium on lyric cultures at the University of Washington (2019), where I shared work that appears in Chapter 5, and Martha Sprigge kindly invited me to present work appearing in Chapter 4 at the University of California, Santa Barbara (2018). At a late-stage Wulf Arlt also offered feedback and generously assisted in tracking down muchneeded citations. Conference papers at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (2017), AMS Annual Meeting (2017), Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting (2017), and AMS-Southwest Spring Chapter Meeting (2014) all led to useful discussions around material that appears throughout this book.

The process of publishing a first book is long and full of unknowns, but Dr. Katharina Brett and Hal Churchman at Cambridge University Press supported this book through the review and publication process with consistent feedback, support, and encouragement. Nigel Graves and Raghavi Govindane then guided the book through the production process, and Frances Tye's copy editing was crucial; I thank them all for making this process both possible and enjoyable. Bonnie Blackburn copyedited the entire manuscript at an earlier stage and made sure that embarrassing errors were eliminated, and Jennifer Ottman polished many of the translations; whatever errors remain are mine alone.



xvi Acknowledgments

It takes a village to write a book and raise a family, and I've been lucky to have villages to help with both. Here in Philadelphia, our neighborhood community, and especially the Neukrugs, have been touchstones for us as well as an extended family. The childcare providers at the Parent Infant Center have cared for and loved both of my children over the years, a privilege for which I remain eternally thankful, and Jesse Schuschu, Debbie Larson, and Susana Fattorini have been beloved caregivers, enabling me to have time for research and writing. Many people have witnessed, and contributed to, the efforts of the past decade, including James Blasina, Marcelle Pierson, Trent Leipert, Michelle Urberg, Rob Walsh, Dawn Teele, Barrett Bridenhagen and Marc Meredith, Theodore van Loan, Jeffrey Wayno, Yossi Maurey, Catherine Saucier, Andrew Cashner, Thomas Payne, Melanie Shaffer, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, Christopher Chaguinian, Catherine Bradley, Flannery Cunningham, Erika Honisch, Amy Williamson, Gregorio Bevilacqua, Océane Boudeau, and many others who have served as friends, colleagues, and interlocuters over the years in different ways - thank you for the conversation and support. I'm especially grateful for Martha Sprigge and Mariusz Kozak, and their respective spouses Ben Levy and Johanna Kozak: friends in academia as well as real life, and I wouldn't want it any other way. Closer to family than friends, Samantha Shaw, Meghan Leadbeater, and Sarah Bennett have been constants for so many years; I adore growing up with you.

I would not have pursued music or a graduate degree without the support of my family, and especially my parents, Esther Dawn Caldwell (née Skidmore) (1946-2007) and William Brian Caldwell (1950-2018), who are dearly missed. My brothers, Ian Caldwell and David Caldwell, have been longtime friends and teasing companions, and I am grateful through them to have gained Natasha Caldwell and Julie Williams as sisters as well as my two nieces, Viola and Liesl Caldwell. To my aunt, Dakshina Clark, you continue to be the person that knows me best; thank you for always being there. I feel privileged to have, and have had, special grandparents who offered unconditional love: my paternal grandparents Ellard Stitt and Frances Stitt (née O'Shaughnessy) and my maternal grandparents Ethel Ball (née Gillespie) and Esmond Skidmore, the last encouraging my pursuit of music. Through my husband Daniel Steinberg, I also gained another family: my mother-in-law Carol Warshawsky, who has been like a mother to me; my parents-in-law Michael Steinberg and Katharina Galor, who have provided wisdom and love in career and life; and my siblings-in-law Andrew, James, and Anna, who have been patient,



Acknowledgments

xvii

caring, and supportive. My two grandmothers-in-law, Suzanne Steinberg and Sarita Warshawsky, were and are special role models for me as strong, intellectual women and mothers. Both my own extended family and Daniel's – cousins, aunts, uncles, and beyond – have been an integral part of our support system over the years, enabling us to live our hectic life, pursue careers, and raise our children.

This book is dedicated to my husband, Daniel, and our children, Isabel and Maxwell (and to our ever-patient dog Mal). It is thanks to the support and love of my family that this book came into being, and I am forever grateful to Daniel for creating the time and space to make not just this book, but my career as a whole possible.



Abbreviations

Manuscript Sigla

Antiphonarium Freiburg, Kapitelsarchiv St. Niklaus, Lausannense III.3.1 CSN III.3.1 Antiphonarium Freiburg, Kapitelsarchiv St. Niklaus, Lausannense III.3.2 CSN III.3.2 Antiphonarium Estavayer-le-Lac, Paroisse catholique Lausannense vol. 1 Saint-Laurent, vol. I Aosta Cod. 11 Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, Biblioteca, Cod. 11 Aosta Cod. 13 Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, Biblioteca, Cod. 13 Apt 6 Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, Arundel 248 London, British Library, MS Arundel Autun S 175¹⁰ Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, S 175¹⁰ Basel B.XI.8 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, B.XI.8 Bekynton Anthology Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. Berlin 1996 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Phillips 1996 Bobbio Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, MS F.I.4 Bord 283 Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale,

MS 283

Brugge, Grootseminarie, 111/178

Brugge 111/178



 $List\ of\ Abbreviations$

xix

Brussels 5649–5667 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

België (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique), MS 5649–5667

Cambridge R.9.11 Cambridge, Trinity College,

MS R.9.11

Cambridge Songs Cambridge, University Library, MS

Gg.V.35

Cantigas de Santa María El Escorial, Real Monasterio de El

Escorial, MS b.1.2

Carmina Burana Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,

clm 4660-4660a

Chansonnier de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

Clairambault France, n.a.f. 1050

Chansonnier de Noailles Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, fr. 12615

Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale,

MS 190

Codex Calixtinus Santiago de Compostela, Archivo-

Biblioteca de la Catedral, MS s.s.

Codex Sangallensis Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS

546

Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale,

MS 187

Cologne 196 Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan-

und Dombibliothek, Cod. 196

Douce 308 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
Engelberg 102 Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 102
Engelberg 1003 Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1003
Engelberg Codex Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 314
Erfurt Codex Erfurt, Stadtarchiv, Ampl. quart MS

332

F Florence, Biblioteca Medicea

Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1

Fauvel Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, fr. 146

Graz 258 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 258
Graz 409 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409
Harley 978 London, British Library, Harley 978
Harley 1010 London, British Library, Harley 1010



xx List of Abbreviations

Hortus Deliciarum Hortus Deliciarum (destroyed; folios

follow Green, ed., Herrad of

Hohenbourg)

Hu Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas,

MS 9

Klagenfurt Perg. 7 Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Perg. 7

Laon 263 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS

263

Later Cambridge Cambridge, University Library, Ff.

Songbook I.17

Le Puy A Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale,

MS 4413

Le Puy B Le Puy-en-Velay, Bibliothèque du

Grand Séminaire, s.n.

Leipzig 225 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS

225

Llibre Vermell Montserrat, Monasterio de Santa

Maria, MS 1

LoA London, British Library, Egerton

2615

LoB London, British Library, Egerton 274 Ludus super Lille, Bibliothèque municipale Jean

Anticlaudianum Levy, MS 316

Luxembourg 27 Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale

de Luxembourg, MS 27

Ma Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de

España, MS 20486

Mad 288 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de

España, MS 288

Mad 289 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de

España, MS 289

Mad 19421 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de

España, MS 19421

Metz 535 Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS

535

Mo Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-

Universitaire, Section Médecine,

H196



List of Abbreviations

xxi

Moosburger Graduale	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 100
MüC	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539
Munich 16444	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16444
Munich 21053	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 21053
Munich Cg. 42	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cg. 42
Munich cgm. 1113	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm. 1113
OBod 937	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 937
OCCC 2*	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 2*
ORawl	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.510
Paris fr. 372	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 372
Paris fr. 1581	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1581
Paris fr. 1593	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1593
Paris fr. 2090–2092	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2090–2092
Paris fr. 23111	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 23111
Paris lat. 1112	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1112
Paris lat. 1154	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1154
Paris lat. 4880	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4880
Paris lat. 11331	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11331
Paris lat. 13091	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13091
Paris lat. 15181	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15181



xxii List of Abbreviations

Paris lat. 16663	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de
	France, lat. 16663
Paris n.a.l. 426	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 426
Prague XIII.H.3 c	Prague, Univerzitní Knihovna, MS XIII.H.3c
Red Book of Ossory	Dublin, Representative Church Body Library, D11/1.2
Royal 7.A.VI	London, British Library, Royal 7.A.VI
Saint Omer 351	Saint Omer, Bibliothèque munici pale, MS 351
Seckauer Cantionarium	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 756
Sens 46	Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 46
SG 382	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 382
SG 383	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 383
SG 392	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 392
SG 1397	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1397
Sloane 2593	London, British Library, Sloane 2593
St-M A	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1139
St-M B	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3549
St-M C	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3719
St-M D	London, British Library, Add. 36881
St. Pölten Processional	St. Pölten, Diözesanarchiv, MS 13
St-Victor Miscellany	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de
or victor ividecially	France, lat. 15131
Stuttg	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95
StV	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15139
Tort	Tortosa, Catedral, Cód. 97
Tours 927	Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS

927



List of Abbreviations

xxiii

Trouv P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, fr. 847

Trouv U Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, fr. 20050

Trouv W Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

France, fr. 25566

Vienna 4494 Vienna, Österreichische

Nationalbibliothek, MS 4494

W1 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August

Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628

Helmst.

W2 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August

Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099

Helmst.

Zurich C. 58 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek,

Musikabteilung, C. 58

Other Abbreviations

AH Analecta hymnica medii aevi, 55 vols., ed. Guido Maria

Dreves and Clemens Blume (Leipzig, 1886–1922). References are from Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi Digitalia (Erwin Rauner Verlag, webserver.erwin-

rauner.de)

CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols,

1953–)

CPI Cantum pulcriorem invenire: Thirteenth-Century Music

and Poetry, directed by Mark Everist and Gregorio Bevilacqua, University of Southampton, http://catalogue

.conductus.ac.uk

Glossarium Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, Glossarium mediæ et

infimæ latinitatis (L. Favre, 1883-7) (accessed via

ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/)

GMO Grove Music Online. www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Piae Cantiones Piae Cantiones Ecclesiasticae et Scholasticae Veterum

(1582) Episcoporum ... ex Psalmis recentioribus, ed. Theodoric

Petri (Greifswald, 1582), repr. Chiswick Press, 1910.



xxiv List of Abbreviations

Piae Cantiones Cantiones Piae et Antiquae Veterum Episcoporum & (1625)

Pastorum ... Cantiones quedam nova, ed. Theodoric

Petri et al. (Rostock, 1625).

PL Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, 221 vols., ed.

J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1879) (accessed via online database, Patrologia Latina: The Full Text Database (Chadwyck-

Healey, Inc., 1996), http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk)

vdB Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains du

XIIIe siècle au début du XIVe, Bibliothèque française et romane, Série D: Initiation, textes et documents, 3

(Klincksieck, 1969).

Biblical citations are from the Latin Vulgate and Douay–Rheims translation (unless otherwise indicated); cited from Douay–Rheims Bible Online: www.drbo.org.