THE AQUITANIAN SACRED REPERTOIRE IN ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT:

AN EXAMINATION OF *PETRI CLAVIGERI KARI, IN HOC ANNI*

CIRCULO, AND *CANTU MIRO SUMMA LAUDE*

by

ANDREA ROSE RECEK

A THESIS

Presented to the School of Music and Dance
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

September 2008

"The Aquitanian Sacred Repertoire in Its Cultural Context: An Examination of *Petri clavigeri kari, In hoc anni circulo,* and *Cantu miro summa laude,*" a thesis prepared by Andrea Rose Recek in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the School of Music and Dance. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

_____

Dr. Lori Kruckenberg, Chair of the Examining Committee

26 August 2008
_____
Date

Committee in Charge: Dr. Lori Kruckenberg, Chair
                            Dr. Marc Vanscheeuwijck
                            Dr. Marian Smith

Accepted by:

_____

Dean of the Graduate School

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Andrea Rose Recek   for the degree of   Master of Arts

in the School of Music and Dance   to be taken   September 2008

Title: THE AQUITANIAN SACRED REPERTOIRE IN ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT:

AN EXAMINATION OF *PETRI CLAVIGERI KARI, IN HOC ANNI CIRCULO,*

AND *CANTU MIRO SUMMA LAUDE*

Approved: _____

Lori Kruckenberg

Medieval Aquitaine was a vibrant region in terms of its politics, religion, and culture, and these interrelated aspects of life created a fertile environment for musical production. A rich manuscript tradition has facilitated numerous studies of Aquitanian sacred music, but to date most previous research has focused on one particular facet of the repertoire, often in isolation from its cultural context. This study seeks to view Aquitanian musical culture through several intersecting sacred and secular concerns and to relate the various musical traditions to the region's broader societal forces. Saint-Martial in Limoges and Toulouse, two musical and cultural centers, illustrate the wider cultural context in Aquitaine, and a survey of select manuscripts shows the development of a musical tradition. An examination of three disparate pieces shows that the repertoire as a whole is a more unified part of Aquitanian culture than previously recognized.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Andrea Recek

PLACE OF BIRTH: Corvallis, OR

DATE OF BIRTH: June 8, 1980

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, OR

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts in Musicology, 2008, University of Oregon

Bachelor of Arts in Music with Honors, *Magna cum laude*, 2002, University of Oregon

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Medieval Music

Piano

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Director of Liturgical Music, St. Mary's Church, Albany, OR, 2002–2005

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

Presidential Scholar, University of Oregon, 1998–2002

William J. Robert Senior Thesis Award, Clark Honors College, University of Oregon, 2002

Golden Key National Honor Society

Mortar Board National Honor Society

National Society of Collegiate Scholars

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Words are insufficient.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the ninth through the thirteenth century, Aquitaine was a vibrant cultural region in which the interactions between different religious and political groups fostered the growth of a rich musical tradition.[1] These musical repertories, both sacred and secular, have fascinated scholars for decades. The remarkable number of extant manuscripts, in particular those containing Aquitanian sacred music, has facilitated extensive philological and musicological research.[2] Detailed studies of Aquitaine's sacred tradition exist from as early as the nineteenth century, and work continues today.

---

[1] The term "Aquitaine" is somewhat problematic because its meaning has changed over time. For the purposes of this study, "Aquitaine" will be used in its broadest sense and will refer essentially to the region in which Occitan (*langue d'oc*) rather than Old French was spoken. A more accurate label might be "Midi," a twentieth-century label referring to everything south of the Rhône river from Italy to Iberia; however, the label "Midi" is foreign to the medieval period. "Occitania" is another name used for the area under discussion, but this label is so strongly associated with the vernacular secular tradition, I have opted to retain "Aquitaine." For more detailed descriptions of the changing borders in this region, see Charles Higounet, *Histoire de l'Aquitaine documents* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1973), 34–51, and Louis Papy, *Atlas et géographie du Midi Atlantique* (Geneva: Flammarion et Éditions Famot, 1982), 15–21.

[2] Aquitaine also had a strong tradition of secular music, particularly in the troubadour repertory. Unfortunately, secular music of the *langue d'oc* is less well represented by surviving notated sources than the sacred Latin repertoire. The earliest extant sources date from the late twelfth century, and none of them come from Aquitaine itself. Nevertheless, scholars have studied the troubadours since at least the eighteenth century. As with the Aquitanian sacred repertoire, manuscripts containing troubadour texts and music have been the subjects of study. Scholars continue to analyze the troubadour poetic and lyric style, and several anthologies of the poetry exist. Textual studies generally do not refer to the music, which may reflect the fact that the vast majority of troubadour songs are transmitted without melodies. However, some researchers, including Elizabeth Aubrey, John Haines, and Hendrik van der Werf, have worked extensively with the music. A vast bibliography on the troubadours exists. For example, see Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996); John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, trans. Frederick Goldin (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973); Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY: The author, 1984). See also the essays in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

Much of this scholarship focuses on discrete sections of the repertoire and isolates particular aspects of genres. Generally speaking, many of the source studies and repertoire examinations do not address the cultural context from which the music emerged, and they rarely take a broad view of the Aquitanian sacred repertoire. Considerations of the political, religious, and artistic climate of the medieval region of *langue d'oc* are often absent from the secondary literature on Aquitanian music. Instead, these detailed, very focused investigations tend to separate text from music, monophony from polyphony, liturgical works from paraliturgical ones, and sacred Latin pieces from secular, vernacular ones.

In contrast to previous research, this thesis takes a wider view of Aquitanian sacred music within the context of the region's politics, religion, and artistic achievements. Through the examination of three musical case studies, it will become clear that the Aquitanian sacred repertoire belongs to a regional musical style reflective of the culture from which it emerged. Before turning to the particular aims of this study, however, a review of the received body of research will be helpful. Previous studies provide valuable insight into various aspects of Aquitanian contributions to sacred music in the Western tradition. The following literature survey is not comprehensive, but the types of studies discussed are certainly representative.

To date, much research has focused on the sources themselves, and because a significant proportion of the extant manuscripts were once housed in the library at Saint-Martial in Limoges, scholars previously assumed that these witnesses were produced at the monastery. Jacques Chailley, in his analysis and inventory of the manuscripts from Saint-Martial's library, was the first to propose that many of these sources actually came

from other locations throughout Aquitaine, and he thereby widened modern appreciation

for the importance of the region as a whole.[3] Because surviving Aquitanian manuscript

holdings are relatively large, several researchers have examined individual manuscripts in

detail, and compared manuscripts or portions of manuscripts of a similar type (for

example, tropers, tonaries, or processionals).[4]

Some of the earliest studies of Aquitanian sacred music concentrated exclusively

on the texts; later philological analysis considered lexical style and literary analysis of

sequences and tropes.[5] Several music historians dealt with particular aspects of the

monophonic repertoire, and the majority of these works have examined liturgical pieces,

especially tropes and sequences, following the lead of the philologists. Paul Evans

studied the tropers in use at Saint-Martial as a way to better understand the troping

phenomenon.[6] Not only did he analyze the texts and musical structure, but he also

---

[3] Jacques Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires et séquentiares," *Études grégoriennes* 2 (1957): 163–88; idem, *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris: Les Livres Essentiels, 1960). One of the most recent general surveys of the manuscripts is included in John A. Emerson and David Hiley, "Sources, MS, II: Western Plainchant," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 23:817–46. It summarizes the basic information about many of the Aquitanian sources.

[4] For example, see John A. Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44: A Complete Ninth-Century Gradual and Antiphoner from Southern France*, ed. Lila Collamore (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002); Gunilla Björkvall, *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss. 17 et 18*, Corpus Troporum 5 (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1986); Eva Odelman, *Les prosules limousines de Wolfenbüttel*, Corpus Troporum 6 (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1986); Carlton Thrasher Russell, "The Southern French Tonary in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1966); Gisèle Dumas, "Le processional en Aquitaine," *Études grégoriennes* 29 (2001): 9–33.

[5] For example, the editors of *Analecta hymnica* devoted an entire volume to this poetry, but although they mention that the texts were set to music, they provided only the words. The critical apparatus addressed only textual variants. *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, ed. Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1889). See also Lars Elfving, *Étude lexicographique sur les sequences limousines*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 7 (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1962).

[6] Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

provided transcriptions of the proper tropes from the manuscript Pa 1121.[7] Leo Treitler

studied patterns of variants in several trope complexes to determine the role of notation in

their transmission.[8] David A. Bjork focused on the Aquitanian repertory of Kyrie tropes,[9]

Günther Weiss discussed and transcribed that of introit tropes,[10] and Klaus Rönnau

examined that of Gloria tropes.[11] Richard Crocker probed the repertoire of monophonic

proses and sequences at Saint-Martial, exploring their musical and poetic form while at

the same time situating them in their liturgical context. He also compiled inventories and

descriptions of the relevant manuscript sources that facilitate comparisons of

concordances and show changes in the repertoire over time.[12]

In a series of more recent studies, James Grier approaches the liturgical sacred

repertoire of Saint-Martial through the talent and agenda of the writer and composer

Adémar de Chabannes. Grier analyzes elements such as scribal practices, notation, and

the musical characteristics of eleventh-century tropes, and his conclusions consider the

---

[7] For full manuscript citations, see Appendix A.

[8] Leo Treitler, "Observations on the Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes," in *Forum Musicologicum 3, Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung* (Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag, 1982), 11–60.

[9] David A. Bjork, *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Richard L. Crocker (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003).

[10] Günther Weiss, *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Band III: Introitus-Tropen I* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

[11] Klaus Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967).

[12] Richard L. Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges (Tenth and Eleventh Centuries)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Yale University, 1957). See also his subsequent articles, "The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11, no. 2–3 (1958): 149–64 and "Some Ninth-Century Sequences," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20, no. 3 (1967): 367–402.

compositional process as well as the process of liturgical elaboration at Saint-Martial, where Adémar was active.[13]

Scholars have also examined the paraliturgical monophonic sacred repertoire. For example, in his analysis of eleventh- and twelfth-century versus, Treitler identified the genre's poetic characteristics and modal designs within the evolution of non-liturgical religious music in several medieval musical centers.[14]

However, most studies of the versus repertoire focused on the polyphonic settings. In her seminal dissertation and subsequent articles, Sarah Fuller identified many important characteristics of the Aquitanian polyphonic repertory. She identified and dated the *libelli* containing polyphony, analyzed poetic and musical forms, and transcribed the polyphonic repertoire.[15] She refuted the idea that Aquitanian polyphony was simply a precursor to the Notre-Dame school. Largely as a result of her work, which furthered Chailley's decentralization of Saint-Martial, scholars' perceptions of the repertoire

---

[13] See for example James Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy for the Feast of St. Martial," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 6, no. 2 (1997): 97–118; idem, "The Music is the Message: Music in the Apostolic Liturgy of Saint Martial," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 12, no. 1 (2003): 1–14; idem, "The Music is the Message II: Adémar de Chabannes' Music for the Apostolic Office of Saint Martial," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 15, no. 1 (2006): 43–54; and idem, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[14] Versus are rhymed, strophic, accentual Latin poems that flourished from the late eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. I have chosen to use the term "versus" to refer to this type of Latin liturgical song based on its common usage in the secondary literature. However, the manuscripts are inconsistent in their application of rubrics; in addition to versus, some sources call this type of poetry conductus, Benedicamus trope, or *benedictio*. Leo Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1967).

[15] A *libellus*, or "little book," was a small, self-contained collection of music, in this case including only polyphonic versus. *Libelli* were bound together to form a codex. For the importance of the *libellus* to source studies, see Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1988), 64–75.

changed from categorizing the music as "St. Martial polyphony" to "Aquitanian polyphony."[16]

In addition to his extensive work on Adémar de Chabannes, Grier has also worked with the polyphonic sources, giving attention to codicological aspects of the *libelli* and especially to the scribal methods and transmission of the repertoire. After examining patterns of variance in the transmission of pieces extant in more than one source, Grier proposed relationships between the *libelli* and refined their chronology. He addressed the relative importance of the oral and written traditions in copying the repertoire, and he discussed the scribal methods involved.[17]

Theodore Karp and Bryan Gillingham worked with this polyphonic repertoire as well, and the resulting transcriptions illustrate each scholar's theories as to the alignment of text and music, treatment of consonance and dissonance, and interpretation of rhythmic notation. Karp's main goal was to create a performing edition, and his transcriptions illustrate his hypothesis that the music's harmonic structure governs its rhythmic profile.[18] Gillingham theorized that the poetry governs the music's rhythmic structure. For texts with regular accent patterns, such as many of the sequences and conductus, he applied modal rhythm. Gillingham transcribed these pieces in the first or

---

[16] Sarah Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969); idem, "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony," *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979): 5–26.

[17] James Grier, "Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria," *Musica Disciplina* 44 (1990): 5–56; idem, "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45, no. 3 (1992): 373–427; idem, "The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41, no. 2 (1988): 250–88.

[18] Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

second rhythmic mode. For texts that do not have a regular accentual pattern, he used stemless noteheads intended to be rhythmically neutral.[19]

Hendrik van der Werf also published a transcription of the repertoire, but he examined the sources in light of their role as some of the earliest recorded polyphony outside of theoretical treatises. He refuted the traditional conclusion that Aquitanian polyphony developed out of preceding theories for writing music for multiple voices, and he challenged the notion of 'schools' of polyphony. Van der Werf advocated a loosely organized rhythmic system in which individual notes represented pitches of approximately the same duration while reiterated notes were longer.[20]

In addition to Grier's aforementioned studies on Adémar, other scholars have begun to consider more than one segment of the Aquitanian repertoire at a time and to place the music within a particular historical framework. Rachel Golden Carlson has examined monophonic and polyphonic versus in the context of twelfth-century Marian devotion, focusing on the content and form of the poetry as well as how the poetry and music interact.[21] Margaret Switten has studied the use of refrains in both Aquitanian versus and troubadour songs.[22]

---

[19] Bryan Gillingham, *Saint Martial Polyphony* (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984); idem, "Saint-Martial Polyphony—A Catalogue Raisonné," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam* (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 1: 211–63.

[20] Hendrik van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*, 2 vols. (Rochester, NY: The author, 1993).

[21] Rachel Golden Carlson, "Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-Century Aquitanian *Versus*," 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000); idem, "Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Sound in Aquitanian *Versus*," *Music & Letters* 84, no. 4 (2003): 527–56; idem, "Two Paths to Daniel's Mountain: Poetic-Musical Unity in Aquitanian *Versus*," *Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 4 (2006): 620–46.

The various investigations of manuscripts containing the Aquitanian sacred repertoire and studies of the repertoire itself, both monophonic and polyphonic, have helped to build a basic understanding of the music. Yet understandably, detailed examinations like these have tended to 'detach' important historical facets from this body of music, leading to segmented perspectives that are not entirely reflective of the contents of the sources themselves or of the cultural context from which they emerged.

The primary goal of the present study is to take a broad view of the Aquitanian sacred repertoire by looking at selected works normally not considered together--in this case an introit trope, a monophonic versus, and a polyphonic Benedicamus versus--and to examine these pieces through the lens of the political, religious, and artistic climate of the medieval region of Aquitaine. In the liturgical repertoire, these local traditions manifested themselves in the choice of chants for particular feasts and the melodic and textual variants found in them. Much of the paraliturgical repertoire, particularly the polyphony, appears to be unique to Aquitaine, and these regional traditions remained strong from the ninth through the early thirteenth century.

Although a few of the earlier studies have examined more than one aspect of the Aquitanian repertoire, they are still narrowly focused. This thesis aims to take an expanded view of several forms and genres that comprise the Aquitanian musical tradition and place them in their cultural context. The second chapter explores the political, religious, and artistic milieu in Aquitaine in the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, and the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges and the city of Toulouse illustrate the dynamic interactions between various political and religious groups in Aquitaine

---

[22] Margaret Switten, "*Versus* and Troubadours Around 1100: A Comparative Study of Refrain Technique in the 'New Song,'" *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 16, no. 2 (2007): 91–143.

during this period. The third chapter describes some of the sources for Aquitanian

sacred music. These manuscripts were selected for their ability to tell the story of a

developing regional musical tradition. They provide a representative sample of the extant

manuscripts while also offering new insights into the repertoire and manuscript

production of the region.

The fourth chapter is comprised of three musical case studies that show how the

cultural interactions described in chapter two influenced the region's music. These

examples are drawn from different sections of the Aquitanian sacred repertory, and they

include the introductory introit trope *Petri clavigeri kari*, the monophonic versus *In hoc*

anni circulo, and the Benedicamus versus *Cantu miro summa laude*, in both its

monophonic and polyphonic form. Proper tropes were an important genre in Aquitaine, to

judge from the number of extant tropers, at least one of which dates from the end of the

eleventh century, and the cultivation of tropes in Aquitaine well into the eleventh century

contrasts with the traditions of northern France, England, and Italy. *Petri clavigeri kari* is

an extensive unique trope for St. Peter, the patron of Saint-Pierre monastery in Moissac,

and it was likely composed (and in part contrafacted) specifically for Saint-Pierre's

liturgy. The Marian versus *In hoc anni circulo* is particularly interesting because its

stanzas alternate between Latin and Occitan, and it invites consideration as a product of

the region. Moreover, this versus has characteristics that are reminiscent of troubadour

songs while still fitting clearly within the sacred tradition. Finally, *Cantu miro summa*

laude is a Benedicamus versus in honor of St. Nicholas, and unlike much of the rest of

the versus repertory, it is extant in multiple sources as either a monophonic or polyphonic

version. Besides illustrating the intricacy and beauty of the Aquitanian polyphonic style,

Cantu miro summa laude is another example of a local response to a broad cultural impetus, in this case the growth of the cult of St. Nicholas. In sum, these three examples will serve to illustrate how disparate genres of music reflect the same cultural trends that made Aquitaine such a vibrant and important region in the Middle Ages.

Musical transcriptions are mine unless otherwise noted. I have worked from the published facsimiles of several Aquitanian manuscripts, but I have also consulted published transcriptions by Weiss, Carlson, and van der Werf. Latin spellings are as found in the manuscripts; no attempt has been made to standardize them. Manuscript sigla used throughout this study follow the conventions found in Corpus Troporum, and full manuscript citations, their sigla, dates, types, and provenance are given in Appendix A.

CHAPTER II

AQUITANIAN CULTURE

The vibrant musical culture of medieval Aquitaine did not exist in a vacuum but rather within a complex of political, economic, religious, and artistic conditions. The confluence of civic, social, and intellectual circumstances in both the sacred and secular realms not only gave rise to the extraordinary monophonic and polyphonic expressions of the region, but it also underscores a general Aquitanian propensity toward independence and resistance to the imposition of outside authority. Several historical circumstances contributed to the fertile environment that nurtured a distinctive Aquitanian song tradition. In order to better appreciate the special background that allowed for the region's many musical achievements, I will concentrate on two exemplary loci, namely, the abbey town of Saint-Martial in the Limousin and the city of Toulouse in Languedoc. Each presents a microcosm of the societal and cultural forces at work in medieval Aquitaine. Both urban centers were founded in pre-Roman times, and they experienced a period of rapid growth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition to their increasing civic and ecclesiastical importance, Saint-Martial and Toulouse were central sites for musical production and performance,[1] so they are particularly appropriate examples of the interactions between sacred and secular forces in Aquitaine.

---

[1] Sacred music from Saint-Martial is extensively documented. At least seventeen manuscripts are securely attributed to the abbey, with several others that were written elsewhere and later adapted for use at Saint-Martial. While sources of sacred music from Toulouse are less numerous, records attest to a lively secular tradition.

Saint-Martial in Limoges

Saint-Martial is particularly illustrative of the complexities of medieval life in Aquitaine because it is both a cloister and a cathedral town. Saint-Martial was an important and influential monastery, particularly in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Few documented facts exist about the abbey's patron saint although Gregory of Tours relates in his *Historia francorum* (compiled 575–94) that Martial was a missionary to the Gauls in the third century. According to Gregory, Martial founded a Christian community at Limoges in ca. 250 and became its first bishop. The saint's tomb is just outside the city, and it became a popular pilgrimage site.[2]

An ecclesiastical organization soon developed. Clerics guarding the tomb formed themselves into a congregation of canons before the end of the eighth century, and in 848, they placed themselves under the reformed Benedictine rule of Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane. This change aligned Saint-Martial with the powerful network of Benedictine houses receiving support from the Carolingians, and thus the status of the monastery began to increase. However, the bishop of Limoges' opposition to the monastery's adoption of Benedictine rule marked the first of a series of conflicts that would characterize subsequent relations between the abbey and the secular ecclesiastics of Limoges.[3]

Although the reorganized abbey of Saint-Martial was no longer a congregation of canons regular, its monastic leadership had strong connections to local secular leaders. During this period, most abbots came from noble families, and nobles often installed or

---

[2] Monique Langlois and Michel Duchein, "Notice historique," in *L'art roman à Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Limoges: Musée Municipal, 1950), 12–14.

[3] Ibid.

appointed their relatives to abbacies.[4] At the end of the tenth century, the family of

Viscount Gérald of Limoges took control of all of the major civil and ecclesiastical

offices in Limoges. Gérald's son, Guy, became viscount (988–1025), Hildegarius became

bishop (969–90) followed by his brother Alduin (990–1014), and Josfreds became abbot

of Saint-Martial (991–98). However, relations between the monastic and secular leaders

in Limoges were particularly acrimonious. For example, when Bishop Hildegarius went

to a church council in Paris in 990, he took several costly items from the monastery with

him. He died before returning to Limoges, and rather than providing for the ornaments'

return to Saint-Martial, he bequeathed them to the abbey of Saint-Denis, where he was to

be buried.[5]

Relations between the monastery and the cathedral were further strained around

the year 1000 when Viscount Guy went so far as to sell the abbey of Saint-Martial to

Bishop Alduin. In 1014, the abbot of Saint-Martial, who also happened to be the

viscount's brother and the bishop's uncle, died. The monks proposed a candidate, but

Bishop Gérald rejected the monks' choice in favor of leaving the position open and

collecting the abbey's income for himself. This blatant preference for secular rather than

spiritual concerns caused even the lay citizens of Limoges to protest, and after two years

of civil disturbance, Bishop Gérald approved the monks' choice for abbot.[6]

---

[4] Daniel Francis Callahan, "Benedictine Monasticism in Aquitaine, 935–1030" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 40–41.

[5] Grier, *Musical World*, 4; Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Adémar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 50–52.

[6] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 65, 68–69.

Many of the conflicts between the viscount, the cathedral, and the monastery were a result of the struggle for power and influence. As the abbey's prosperity increased in the late tenth century, large numbers of *burgenses* began settling within the monastery's protection. These *burgenses* may have been the viscount's servants and soldiers as well as merchants who found the city's regulation too restrictive. A town grew up around the monastery, and this settlement soon merged into the city of Limoges. Limoges became a city essentially divided into two sections, one dominated by the cathedral and the other around Saint-Martial, with both sides looking to increase their own sphere of influence. Saint-Martial was important enough that in the early eleventh century, Duke William of Aquitaine hosted princes from Aquitaine, France, and Italy at the abbey's Easter celebrations. The duke's choice of Saint-Martial over his own capital of Poitiers attests to Saint-Martial's prominence.[7]

Local and regional conflicts were not limited to incidents between religious and secular authorities. Armed disputes between nobles were common, and the late tenth and early eleventh centuries were marked by a period of unrest throughout Aquitaine. After the last Carolingian monarch died in 987, Hugh Capet took the throne. Many people in Aquitaine believed that Hugh had stolen the crown, and in 991 the count of Poitiers led an armed resistance against the king. Even after a peace settlement was reached, opposition to authority continued. While Aquitanian dukes, counts, and viscounts ignored the king, their own castellans in turn rebelled against them. These castellans were minor nobles and lords of the many castles that punctuated the landscape of southern France. Castellans were important because in addition to controlling a castle– which was a

---

[7] Ibid., 51–52.

necessary defensive stronghold–each lord controlled a group of knights (*milites*).

Political authority shifted from the level of dukes and counts down to the castellans as the

"seigneurial revolution" affirmed the power of castellans and knights.[8]

The castellans began asserting control over the affairs and people in the vicinity

of their castles, and they ignored the demands of the duke, count, or viscount to whom

they had previously owed allegiance.[9] This usurpation of authority was possible because

of the castellans' control over the knightly order. The castellans forced peasants to supply

a combination of labor, billeting, and payments, or face imprisonment and torture. The

castellans plundered ecclesiastical property through threats, violence, and extortion.[10]

When traditional secular means, such as signed contracts and the payment of

ransoms, failed to stop the violence, the church intervened in an attempt to find spiritual

solutions. Ecclesiastical leaders tried several strategies to control the *milites*. First was the

dubbing ceremony. Dubbing was a way to regulate who became a knight. Through this

ritual, the church sought to instill a sense of ideals and morality as the warrior became not

simply a knight, but a knight of Christ.[11]

When this initial attempt proved unsuccessful, the church decided to engage the

power of popular spirituality. Religious devotion among the common people increased

dramatically during the eleventh century as a reaction to several factors, including the

---

[8] Jean Flori, "Knightly Society," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 1, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 151–56.

[9] Feudalism was firmly established in Aquitaine by the beginning of the eleventh century because the French monarchy surrendered its power there by the early tenth century. The feudal lord provided his vassals with subsistence, judicial assistance, and military protection. In turn, the vassal gave his lord armed service, military aid, money, and respect.

[10] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 25–28.

[11] Flori, "Knightly Society," 177–79.

political unrest and violence from castellan warfare, natural disasters, plagues, and apocalyptic fears surrounding the turn of the millennial year 1000. Saints' relics became immensely important as a result of popular belief in their ability to protect, heal, and work other miracles.[12]

The church sought to use this lay spirituality to control the castellans through the Peace of God or Truce of God (*Pax Domini* and *Treuga Dei*). The church did not try to end warfare altogether but merely to restrict its impact as much as possible and to protect noncombatants. Bishops and abbots carried saints' relics through the countryside to draw large crowds of people who gathered for a "Peace assembly" in which the clerics denounced violence against the defenseless. Then the castellans and knights swore on the relics that they would not harm the innocent. From a medieval view, the saints themselves were the enforcers of the Peace, and any knight who broke his vow was subject to a curse. The church could also threaten to deny the sacraments to everyone in an offending noble's domain, and the popular outcry at being separated from the means of salvation as well as the noble's own fear of hell was sometimes enough to restrain the violence. The Peace and Truce of God spread from southern France throughout western Europe by the end of the eleventh century.[13]

Limoges hosted several Peace Assemblies, and St. Martial's cult dramatically increased, particularly as a result of events in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. In November 994, a plague broke out in the Limousin, and the duke of Aquitaine, the bishop of Limoges, and the abbot of Saint-Martial called a Peace assembly. Everyone

---

[12] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 29–34.

[13] Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "War, Peace and the Christian Order," in *New Cambridge Medieval History* (see note 8), 189–90; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 29–34.

performed a penitential fast for three days. The political and religious leaders brought

relics from the surrounding area, and on the third day of the fast, they took the body of St.

Martial from the abbey crypt. Accompanied by a large crowd of townspeople, they

brought all of these relics to the top of a hill just outside the city. Miraculously, the

plague ended. The monks commemorated this miracle each November with elaborate

liturgies designed to inspire the faithful and remind them of St. Martial's power.[14]

The monks of Saint-Martial were very active in promoting the cult of their patron

saint. This enthusiasm was not unusual in itself. In the early eleventh century, many

monasteries and churches across Europe 'discovered' that they possessed important

relics, and religious institutions created stories to increase the power and prestige of the

relics they held. For example, monks from the Aquitanian abbey of Saint-Jean-d'Angély

claimed to have found the head of their patron, John the Baptist, in 1026. Although this

claim was clearly fraudulent, everyone from the duke to the throngs of eager pilgrims

supported it. An elaborate ceremony recognized the head as authentic; even the relics of

Martial helped to verify that it truly belonged to John the Baptist.[15]

At Saint-Martial, they went to extraordinary lengths in promoting their patron.

The original *vita* of St. Martial (*Vita antiquior*) described a third-century missionary to

the Gauls who received his mission from St. Peter. However, a fire destroyed this

manuscript in 952. The subsequent *Vita prolixior*, which was purportedly written by a

disciple of Martial named Aurelian, embellished the story significantly: Martial became

an apostle of Jesus and a cousin of St. Peter. Once he reached Aquitaine, he performed

---

[14] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 29–30, 52–53.

[15] Grier, *Musical World*, 19.

many miracles including raising four people from the dead and converting as many as 22,000 people at once. Martial brought peace and prosperity to the region, and he established a cathedral in Limoges with a dedicated group of monk-priests to continue ministering to the populace.[16]

These extraordinary legends about St. Martial did not originate in the late ninth or early tenth century as scholars once believed. The *Vita prolixior* was actually written in the early eleventh century,[17] and Richard Landes explains it as a clerical response to the Peace of God movement. The *vita* promoted the Peace of God by connecting the Peace to the power of the apostles and Christ himself. It took the goals and hopes of the Peace movement and transferred them back to the apostolic age. For example, the *vita* described huge crowds going to hear Martial preach, warriors affirming their desire to live as self-restrained Christian pilgrims, and people devoting themselves enthusiastically to the church's sacraments. The many extant eleventh-century copies of the *Vita prolixior* attest to its immediate popularity.[18]

In the eleventh century, Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034) decided to try to gain universal recognition of St. Martial's apostolic statue. Adémar is one of medieval Aquitaine's most interesting and eccentric characters. He was an oblate at Saint-Cybard in Angoulême, but the monks there sent him to Saint-Martial for the highest levels of education. Saint-Martial's reputation as an educational institution was widely known, and Limoges was only 100 kilometers from Angoulême. In addition, Adémar's uncle was the

---

[16] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 12–14; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 53–54.

[17] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 54–57.

[18] Ibid., 60–72.

cantor there. Adémar's education included advanced study of sacred and classic writings, Latin and Tironian notes, and *computus*. He also received a thorough knowledge and experience of the liturgy, both in performing it and producing the necessary literary and musical books. After his studies at Saint-Martial, he returned to Saint-Cybard, but several years later he was again at work in the scriptorium at Saint-Martial.[19]

Adémar witnessed the ceremony recognizing the discovery of John the Baptist's relics at Saint-Jéan-d'Angély, and he also participated in the dedication of Saint-Martial's new basilica on November 18, 1028. These liturgies were very powerful in marshaling the support and enthusiasm of the assembled crowds. A movement had been developing at Saint-Martial to recognize their patron saint as an apostle of Christ rather than simply a confessor-bishop, and Grier speculates that after seeing how successful ceremonies such as the one at Saint-Jean-d'Angély could be, Adémar decided to support the cause of St. Martial's apostolicity. Thus, Adémar would use the power of the liturgy to persuade the citizens and clerics of Limoges that St. Martial was an apostle.[20]

Unfortunately for Adémar's agenda, the liturgy that he created had a very short lifespan.[21] Bishop Jordan convened a diocesan council in Limoges in August 1029 to inaugurate the new apostolic feast for St. Martial. In yet another manifestation of the conflict between monastery and cathedral, Bishop Jordan, Abbot Odolric, and the

---

[19] Grier, *Musical World*, 17–19; idem, "Roger de Chabannes, Cantor of St. Martial, Limoges," *Early Music History* 14 (1995): 53–64.

[20] Grier, *Musical World*, 26–27; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 47–49.

[21] See chapter three for a more detailed discussion of Adémar's hand in chantbook production and his role as a scribe and composer in creating the liturgies for St. Martial.

younger monks of the abbey supported Adémar, but the canons at the cathedral opposed St. Martial's apostolic status. Perhaps fearing the increased power and prestige of the neighboring monastery, the cathedral canons asked a visiting monk, Benedict of Chiusa, to intervene. Benedict spoke so persuasively that he convinced the assembled populace, the bishop, and the abbot that the ceremony and apostolicity were doctrinally flawed. Adémar left the abbey in disgrace.[22]

However, Adémar's reputation was restored soon after his death. Bernard Itier, Saint-Martial's librarian in the early thirteenth century, recorded Adémar's death in the abbey chronicle, a history usually reserved for exalted people such as abbots of Cluny or Saint-Martial, the bishop of Limoges, and the pope.[23] Another monk wrote an inscription referring to Adémar as a monk "of good memory" from Saint-Martial in one of the books Adémar bequeathed to the abbey library. The cult of St. Martial's apostleship began to resurface after Abbot Odolric's death in 1040, and it became more open after Bishop Jordan died in 1051. By the end of the eleventh century, the monastic liturgy for St. Martial was again one for an apostle although it was not the liturgy Adémar wrote.[24] Adémar's plan to change St. Martial's status from bishop to apostle is unique in its comprehensive nature, detail, and thoroughness, but the sentiments to which it responds were common in Aquitaine.[25]

---

[22] Grier, *Musical World*, 33–36.

[23] See chapter 3 for more on Bernard Itier's role in manuscript collection and preservation at Saint-Martial.

[24] This apostleship controversy provides a way to date manuscripts from Saint-Martial based on whether the original notation refers to St. Martial as a bishop or apostle and if the manuscript has subsequent corrections to the saint's status.

[25] Grier, *Musical World*, 296–99.

One measure of the monks' success in promoting St. Martial's cult is the number of pilgrims who visited his shrine. Across Europe, the eleventh century saw a dramatic rise in the popularity of pilgrimages as a result of renewed spirituality and devotion to the saints. People of different social spheres from many geographic regions made pilgrimage journeys for penance, healing, or to be granted divine favor. The most popular pilgrimage destinations were Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela, and for Aquitanians, Santiago de Compostela was the closest and most attainable. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Codex Calixtinus* (Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela), which was compiled between 1139 and 1173, described sites on the roads to Compostela that pilgrims should visit,[26] and most of these shrines were in Aquitaine. The Guide's author encouraged stops at locations such as Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, Sainte-Foy in Conques, Saint-Léonard in Noblat, and at Angély for the relics of St. John the Baptist.[27]

Saint-Martial was on one of the roads to Compostela (*via lemovicense*), and the abbey was a pilgrimage destination in its own right. From the days of the abbey's founding, pilgrims traveled to Saint-Martial hoping for the saint's relics to heal them, and events in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, such as St. Martial stopping the plague in 994, dramatically increased the number of pilgrims. The crowds of pilgrims

---

[26] Four roads led to Compostela. The *via turonese* originated in Paris, the *via lemovicense* in Vézelay, the *via podense* at Notre-Dame-du-Puy, and the *via tolosana* in Arles. The *via turonese*, *via lemovicense*, and *via podense* met at Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees, and the *via tolosana* joined them at Puente la Reina in Iberia. Together, they led through Iberia to Compostela.

[27] *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, trans. William Melczer (New York: Ithaca Press, 1993), 96–118.

were so large and intense that in 1018, fifty people were trampled to death trying to get into the basilica for a Lenten matins service.[28]

The enthusiasm of the laity found its outlet in vernacular music. Pilgrimages provided opportunities for the intersection of common and learned expression, as Bernard of Angers describes in the *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* (Book of the Miracles of St. Foy). Pilgrims were gathering inside the church of Sainte-Foy to keep vigil when they began to sing "little peasant songs." Bernard at first expresses his displeasure at having these simple, non-Latin songs in the sanctuary, but a miracle occurs in which divine intervention causes the church doors to unlock to let in St. Foy's throng of worshippers. Bernard concludes, "I am satisfied that on account of the simplicity of those people, an innocent little song, even a peasant song, can be tolerated somehow. For it may be that if this custom were abolished the crowds that frequent the sanctuary would also disappear."[29] The pilgrim experience created an opportunity for a cross-fertilization of liturgical and vernacular music between the chant of official liturgies and the paraliturgical vernacular songs of the pilgrims.[30]

The legend describing St. Martial as an apostle appears to have originated as an oral story told to the pilgrims visiting the abbey. Landes notes that elements of the *Vita prolixior* resemble a vernacular epic poem more than a concise liturgical Latin text. The earliest extant version was written in poor Latin and contains many errors. It may have

---

[28] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 67–68.

[29] *The Book of Sainte Foi*, trans. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995), 138.

[30] Ibid., 137–39.

been the product of an enthusiastic but junior monk who guided the pilgrims visiting

St. Martial's shrine. It was not until several years later that a more skilled monk recopied

and enlarged the *Vita prolixior.*[31]

The intense personal and collective spirituality that found popular expression in

relic cults and pilgrimages eventually reached the ecclesiastical hierarchy. People wanted

more piety, passionate prayer, asceticism, manual labor, and ethical behavior from their

clerics, both monastic and secular. Pope Leo IX (1049–54) turned these various currents

of lay-inspired reform into one led by the papacy. He held several councils in which the

bishops wrote decrees against clerical marriage, simony, and lay investiture. Leo IX also

supported the Peace and Truce of God through his decrees. Legislation from several

councils created universal protection for peasants, merchants, and clergy, and the pope

promulgated canons protecting ecclesiastical lands as well as the possessions of

laypeople. Leo IX laid the foundation for further reforms under subsequent popes,

including Gregory VII (1073–85).[32]

Monastic reform emphasized a strict application of the Rule of Benedict. The

Burgundian abbey of Cluny was one of the first important reforming houses, and it had a

powerful impact on many Benedictine houses in Aquitaine.[33] Beginning in the tenth

---

[31] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 60–72.

[32] Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "The Beginnings of the Gregorian Reform: Some New Manuscript Evidence," in *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 1–13.

[33] The literature on Cluny during this period is extensive. See for example Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987); Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005); Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny 910–1157* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931, repr. n.p.: Archon Books, 1968); Noreen Hunt, *Cluny*

century, a series of reform-minded and inspired abbots restored communal discipline at

Cluny. The monks devoted themselves to the liturgy, especially the Divine Office, and

their contemporaries saw the Cluniac way of life as particularly holy. Abbots and secular

leaders turned to Cluny when a monastery was in need of reform; often monasteries were

given over outright to the Burgundian house. Cluny also actively sought monasteries to

reform. Once a monastery was its dependent, the new house could increase Cluny's

income as well as its spiritual and political influence. Although scholarly estimates of the

number of Cluniac dependencies vary from 937 to 2,000, it is clear that a large number of

monasteries in modern day France, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, and Great Britain were

dependents of Cluny.[34]

Cluny sought to take over several monasteries on the road to Compostela in the

eleventh century, and because of Saint-Martial's status as a pilgrimage destination and its

position on the route to Compostela, it was an attractive target.[35] In yet another example

of conflict between the secular leadership of Limoges and the abbey, Viscount Adémar of

Limoges 'donated' Saint-Martial to Cluny in 1062. He wrote a charter of dedication that

praised the Cluniac reform movement and called on them to end the simony and other

abuses at Saint-Martial. Once again, however, greed likely played a larger role than a

---

Under Saint Hugh 1049–1109 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1982); idem, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); *Spiritualità Cluniacense* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1960).

[34] Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 102–10; Joan Evans, *Monastic Life*, 10–29.

[35] For discussion of various aspects of Cluny's ambitions on the roads to Compostela, see Thomas W. Lyman, "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and 'Resistance to Cluny,'" *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 83–92; and O. K. Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 103–12.

desire for reform. At the end of the charter was a provision granting the viscount 200 *solidi* a year and certain rights of purveyance.[36]

Viscount Adémar neglected to tell the monks of Saint-Martial about their change of leadership, and when the Cluniacs arrived, Abbot Mainardus and the monks refused to let them in. Even when the abbot died, resistance continued. Adémar went to the abbey ostensibly to hold an election for a new abbot. He forcibly threw out the community's own candidate, and the rest of the monks escaped. Meanwhile, Abbot Hugh of Cluny had been hiding in Limoges with a few Cluniac monks, and when the monks of Saint-Martial fled, Hugh moved in. The fugitives from Saint-Martial continued their resistance from the city, and armed conflict ensued. Abbot Hugh and the newly-appointed Abbot Adémar of Saint-Martial were unable to restore order. Finally, Abbot Hugh asked papal legate Peter Damian, who was visiting Cluny, to intervene. Damian went to Saint-Martial and threatened to excommunicate anyone who disturbed the peace; this decree at last brought an end to the fighting. In 1063, Saint-Martial finally became a dependent of Cluny.[37]

Saint-Martial was an attractive target for Cluniac expansion not only because of its wealth and importance as a pilgrimage site but also because Saint-Martial, and Limoges in general, were centers of scholarship and artistic activity. Based on the size of Cluny's own library as well as the sculpture and manuscript illuminations still extant from that house or described in contemporary sources, it is clear that Cluny valued

---

[36] Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh*, 137.

[37] Ibid., 153; Werckmeister, "Cluny III," 106–07.

learning and the arts. The Burgundian abbey encouraged or at least did not prevent

such pursuits even in its recalcitrant dependents, such as Saint-Martial.[38]

Saint-Martial had an extensive library. By the thirteenth century it had over 450

volumes, making it second in size only to Cluny and thus one of the largest in western

Christendom. It included works by classical authors such as Virgil, Juvenal, and Cicero

as well as sacred writings and liturgical books, so the monks had the opportunity to be

exposed to a variety of secular and Christian authors. Chroniclers at the abbey maintained

historiographic production virtually continuously from the ninth through the thirteenth

centuries. The school at Saint-Martial was well respected, particularly in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries.[39]

Saint-Martial and Limoges were renowned for sculpture, painting, architecture,

porcelain, and manuscript illuminations. All of these sacred and secular artistic mediums

influenced each other in style and themes. The abbey in particular is perhaps best known

to modern scholars for its poetic and musical production. Liturgical rhythmic poetry such

as prosulas, sequences, and versus as well as tropes and nonliturgical Latin poetry came

from Saint-Martial. Secular influence is evident as well. For example, the *Sponsus* drama

in the manuscript Pa 1139 is the oldest written evidence of Limousin dialect and the first

dramatic text in *langue d'oc*.[40] Manuscripts once housed in the abbey library contain

---

[38] See for example Bryan Gillingham, "The Centrality of the Lost Cluniac Musical Tradition," in *Chant and Its Peripheries*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998), 246–55; Jean Leclerq "Spiritualité et culture à Cluny," in *Spiritualità Cluniacense* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1960), 103–51; and Charles E. Scillia, "Meaning and the Cluny Capitals: Music as Metaphor," *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1998): 133–48.

[39] Langlois and Duchein, "Notice historique," 18–21.

some of the oldest extant polyphony as well as extensive collections of Propers and Ordinaries, tropes, proses, and sequences. In order to relieve some of its debts in the seventeenth century, Saint-Martial sold its entire library to the King of France's royal library, which became the basis of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This fortunate circumstance saved the manuscripts from destruction during the French Revolution when the abbey itself was demolished.[41]

Examining Saint-Martial shows how one community experienced and reacted to the intersection of political, ecclesiastical, and artistic currents in medieval Aquitaine. Many of the same cultural forces were at work throughout the region, but the responses of individual communities varied. The city of Toulouse provides another lens through which to view the dynamic state of life during this period.

Toulouse

Toulouse illustrates the complex interactions between sacred and secular forces in Aquitaine differently than Saint-Martial. Sacred music in Toulouse is not documented as extensively as that of Saint-Martial,[42] but the southern city was particularly active in the creation and performance of secular music. Toulouse faced many of the same political, social, and religious conflicts that affected Saint-Martial, but Saint-Martial turned to

---

[40] Ibid.

[41] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 59–60.

[42] Unlike Saint-Martial, few Aquitanian sources are securely attributed to Toulouse. Lo 4951 is an eleventh-century gradual and tonary from Toulouse, and Mont 73, a troper-proser from the second half of the twelfth century, is thought to be from either Toulouse or Urgell. For Lo 4951, see Sister Anthony Herzo, "Five Aquitanian Graduals: Their Mass Propers and Alleluia Cycles" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1967), 7–16; and Russell, "Southern French Tonary," esp. 19–34 and 45–52. For Mont 73, see Eva Castro Caridad, *Tropos y Troparios Hispánicos* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1991), 189–97.

sanctioned church reform while Toulouse became the center of a powerful heretical

movement. Examining Toulouse offers another perspective of the interactions between

sacred and secular life in Aquitaine.

Toulouse was an important political, religious, and artistic center with a long

history. The city was a seat of government almost from its founding. A settlement existed

at this location from before Roman times. In the fifth century, Toulouse was the capital of

a Visigothic kingdom, but the Franks later captured it and made Toulouse a southern

stronghold. However, with the disintegration of the Carolingian empire in the late tenth

century, the counts of Toulouse began increasing their power. By 1200, the Saint Gilles

family established preeminence over lands from Provence to the Garonne River. Saint

Gilles control was not complete over this area. However, the local counts had much more

influence than the distant French and English monarchs of whom the counts of Toulouse

were technically vassals.[43]

Just as the counts of Toulouse acted independently of the French and English

kings, the citizens of Toulouse sought more control of their own affairs. The first

evidence of a representative council in the city dates from 1120. Toulouse officially

received local self-governance from the count in 1141, nearly half a century before

Limoges.[44] However, the first extant record of local councilors in Toulouse was not until

---

[43] Stephen O'Shea, *The Perfect Heresy* (London: Profile Books, 2000), 44–49; Cyril Eugene Smith, *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1958), 1–5.

[44] Communal self-government was another element of the Peace of God movement. Communes were intended to bring different social classes together in governing a city. When the noble who had previously controlled the city consented, citizens chose councilors to run daily operations, usually in conjunction with the duke or count's representative. Although no documentary evidence exists to show that the council in Toulouse was formally associated with the Peace movement, it was a reaction to the same ideology and practical considerations.

1152. By 1175, twelve councilors had responsibility for police, local administration, and the judicial system. They exercised this authority in conjunction with the count's vicar, but they also controlled the local militia, which they used to wage war on their own behalf against neighboring lords and communes.[45]

Like many other western European cities, including Limoges, Toulouse experienced a period of significant growth during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Three suburbs grew up around the old cité, and they were enclosed in protective walls by at least 1106 or 1107. Other settlements filled in between the counts' residence (Château Narbonnais) and the banks of the Garonne. The number and variety of industries in the city increased dramatically during this period. By the end of the thirteenth century, butchers, tanners, bakers, garment makers, candle makers, fuel and lumber merchants, and millers were some of the many crafts listed in the city's guild statutes.[46]

The prosperity of Toulouse in the twelfth century supported and inspired an increased production of building projects, sculpture, and literature; Toulouse was renowned for these art forms. The architecture of Toulouse and the surrounding area was unique because brick was the primary building material. Stone was used only for decoration or essential structural support, so the preponderance of flat rose-colored bricks gave the buildings and walls of the city a distinctive appearance. Toulousan sculpture shows the variety of artistic influences at work in the city. The earliest extant sculptures

---

[45] John Hine Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050–1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 30–33; Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 11–12.

[46] Pierre Gérard, "La paroisse de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse au milieu du XIIe siècle. Étude de topographie urbaine," in *Les troubadours et l'État Toulousain avant la croisade (1209)* (Toulouse: Centre d'Étude de la Litterature Occitane/William Blake & Co., 1994), 4–5; Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 5–8; Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 12–13.

from Toulouse are three late eleventh-century reliefs on the screen between the choir and the ambulatory in the basilica of Saint-Sernin. Although those figures are somewhat awkward, the rapid evolution of the Toulouse school is evident in the tympanum over the south portal. These figures are more graceful, and the folds of their clothing are more active and lifelike. Toulousan sculpture shows the influence of such varied sources as early Spanish illuminated manuscripts, Byzantine ivories, and Gallo-Roman sarcophagi. These elements combined into a unique style that was itself influential throughout southern France. For example, sculptures from the abbey of Moissac, which was tied to Toulouse in the early twelfth century through a shared abbot-bishop, are in a similar style to those of Toulouse. Even in northern France and Italy, church builders recruited sculptors and craftsmen from the Toulouse region.[47]

Secular literature, especially the sung poetry of the troubadours, flourished in Toulouse from the late eleventh into the thirteenth century. Although the earliest troubadours came from regions closer to Limoges, the art form quickly spread south, and several troubadours had connections to Toulouse. References to Toulousan nobles in troubadour texts as well as legal documents from Toulouse give evidence of these relationships. For example, Bernart de Ventadorn (fl. 1147–80), one of the most famous troubadours, refers to people from Toulouse in his poems. Folquet de Marselha (fl. 1179–1195, d. 1231), a bourgeois in Marseille, also mentions Toulousan rulers in his works.[48]

The counts of Toulouse supported many troubadours at their courts. Count Raimon VI (r. 1194–1222) patronized many troubadours. Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1185–

---

[47] Kathryn Horste, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 103–56; Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 9–11.

[48] Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, 9, 13–14.

1229) was a minor noble from a family who had a castle at Miraval, just north of
Carcassonne. He addressed at least seventeen songs to the count. Peire Cardenal (fl.
1205–1272) was from a family of minor nobles in Le-Puy-en-Velay and was educated for
an ecclesiastical position, but he turned to vernacular poetry. A charter from Toulouse in
1204 mentions a "Petrus Cardinalis" as a scribe to Raimon VI.[49]

Some troubadours had other connections to Toulouse. Arnaut de Maruelh (fl.
1171–95) addressed most of his love songs to the daughter of Count Raimon V of
Toulouse. Peire Vidal (fl. 1183–1205) was a bourgeois from Toulouse; a document from
the city of Toulouse lists a merchant named "Petrus Vitalis" in 1164. Also, several of his
texts mention Count Raimon V. Peire Raimon de Tolosa (fl. 1180–1221) was the son of a
Toulousan merchant. Charters from Toulouse in the years 1182 and 1214 mention a
"Petrus Raimundus," and some evidence suggests that he worked in the court of Raimon
V or VI. A manuscript rubric says that Guiraut d'Espagha (fl. 1245–65) was from
Toulouse.[50]

The troubadours' art was unique in many ways, particularly in its erudition.
Unlike much vernacular music, troubadour songs were intended for a sophisticated
audience, and the intricate rhyme schemes and meters as well as the potentially complex
literary allusions show the value placed on expression in the poets' native language. John
Stevens and Ardis Butterfield observe,

> There can be few repertoires of poetry so self-conscious as that of the
> troubadours. The discussion of technique plays an important part in the poems

---

[49] Ibid., 5–24.

[50] Ibid., 7–24.

themselves; and for sheer virtuosity the poets surpass all other lyric poets of the Middle Ages with the exception of Dante.[51]

As part of the troubadour self-awareness of the art of making poetry, rhyme schemes within the stanzas and connections between stanzas were important, and they were often quite elaborate. The troubadours prized individuality; of 1575 different metrical schemes identified in the repertory, 1200 are unique.[52]

The majority of the troubadour repertoire is comprised of love songs (*cansos*), and these pieces have several original themes. First and most important was courtly love (*fin'amor*), a complex system that developed in the secular courts of southern France. *Fin'amor* had several important characteristics. In order to truly love, a person must be courtly. The concept of *cortezia* encompassed a range of social and moral attributes including *joi, onor, jovens* (young in spirit, with connotations of liberality and generosity), *mesura* (moderation), and *valor. Fin'amor* was often an adulterous love, and feudal metaphors were common as the poet put himself in his lady's service. However, this type of love was a source of goodness and refinement for the poet although he did not succeed in his romantic endeavor. The poet was always in a state of longing and desire, not of fulfillment.[53]

The art of the troubadours was very influential throughout western Europe. The earliest known troubadour is Guilhem de Peitieu from Poitiers (VII Count of Poitiers and

---

[51] John Stevens, Ardis Butterfield, and Theodore Karp, "Troubadours, Trouvères," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 25:801.

[52] Ibid., 802; Amelia Van Vleck, "The Lyric Texts," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 31.

[53] Moshe Lazar, "*Fin'amor*," in *Handbook of the Troubadours* (see note 52), 62; Paul Zumthor, "An Overview: Why the Troubadours?," in *Handbook of the Troubadours*, 15.

IX Duke of Aquitaine), and the troubadour style began developing in the Limousin, Auvergne, Périgord, Poitou, and Gascony. By the second half of the twelfth century, it spread south to Languedoc and east to Provence. The troubadour style spread to northern France in the mid twelfth century, perhaps at the time that Aliénor of Aquitaine married King Louis VII of France. The northern trouvères adopted most of the genres and styles of troubadour lyric, but they wrote in French instead of Occitan.[54] Beginning in the early twelfth century, troubadours traveled to courts in Iberia,[55] and they were present in northern Italian courts by the early thirteenth century. Italian poets, including Dante and Petrarch, show the effects of contact with the troubadour style.[56]

Cross-fertilization occurred between the troubadours' art and Aquitanian sacred music, and similarities are particularly evident between troubadour *cansos* and Marian devotional songs, such as versus. The cult of Mary greatly increased during the twelfth century, and Mary was an important figure in Aquitanian spirituality. The vast majority of the extant versus are on Marian themes. Many of these devotional songs are formally indistinguishable from secular ones; they share melody, rhyme, and metrical schemes.[57] Peter Dronke writes, "The more deeply religious the language, the closer it is to the

---

[54] Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, 2–3; Deborah H. Nelson, "Northern France," in *Handbook of the Troubadours* (see note 52), 255–61.

[55] Joseph T. Snow, "The Iberian Peninsula," in *Handbook of the Troubadours* (see note 52), 271–78.

[56] Hans-Erich Keller, "Italian Troubadours," in *Handbook of the Troubadours* (see note 52), 295–304; Ronald Martinez, "Italy," in *Handbook of the Troubadours*, 279–94.

[57] Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 4.

language of *courtoisie*."[58] Some of the troubadours wrote Marian songs that further

blurred the distinction between *fin'amor* and spiritual devotion.

This overlap between sacred and secular is perhaps not surprising considering that

many troubadours joined monasteries later in life, and some troubadours came originally

from the clerical ranks. Several of these men were among those having ties to Toulouse.

For example, Bernart de Ventadorn (fl. 1147–80) and Raimon de Miraval (fl. 1185–1229)

became monks. Folquet de Marselha not only joined the Cistercian monastery of Le

Thoronet, he became abbot in 1201. He was appointed bishop of Toulouse in 1205.[59]

Peire Cardenal (fl. 1205–72) studied for an ecclesiastical post before becoming a

troubadour, and Raimon de Miraval and Peire Cardenal are among those who wrote

religious songs in addition to secular *cansos*.[60]

The intersection between sacred and secular is evident in other ways. In addition

to the artistic importance of its court, Toulouse is one of the five oldest bishoprics in

modern day France, and it was a prominent ecclesiastical center. According to tradition,

St. Sernin (Saturninus) brought Christianity to Toulouse in the third century and was

martyred ca. 250. A small chapel, Saint-Sernin du Taur, was built over his tomb, but a

basilica dedicated to St. Sernin located a few hundred meters north of the original site

replaced the first chapel in the early fifth century. Toulouse eventually held several other

---

[58] Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1:62.

[59] See below for more on Folquet's role as bishop of Toulouse.

[60] Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, 8–23.

churches, including the cathedral Saint-Étienne, the monastery of Saint-Sernin, and

Saint-Pierre des Cuisines, which became a dependency of the Cluniac abbey of

Moissac.[61]

The city hosted several church councils in the eleventh century, including one in

1090 to plan the restoration of Christianity in Toledo after Toledo's recapture from the

Muslims. In 1161, a council was held to discuss the papal schism; the council upheld

Alexander III against the antipope Victor IV. The city's monasteries also had a good

reputation in the region. For example, the bishop of Albi wanted to expel the canons of

Vioux because of their lax discipline, but the canons convinced him to send some of their

number to Toulouse to learn the proper customs of communal life.[62]

Toulouse was an important pilgrimage site. The *via tolosana* to Compostela

passed through the city, and the Pilgrim's Guide recommended visiting the basilica of

Saint-Sernin. The Guide says,

> [St. Saturninus] is buried in an excellent location close to the city of Toulouse
> where a large basilica was erected by the faithful in his honor, where the
> canonical rule of the Blessed Augustine is, as a matter of course, observed and
> where many benefices are accorded by the Lord to those who request them.[63]

Saint-Sernin was reputed to hold the largest single collection of relics on the roads to

Compostela, which made it extremely popular. It seems likely that this important church

---

[61] Gérard, "La paroisse de Saint-Sernin," 103–07.

[62] Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 5.

[63] *Pilgrim's Guide*, 103.

would have been the site of elaborate liturgical music as well as the kind of popular, vernacular songs described at other pilgrimage sites such as Sainte-Foy in Conques.[64]

However, whereas in Saint-Martial the growth of relic cults and deepening personal spirituality found expression as church reform, in Toulouse they turned toward dissent and heresy. Contrary to the spirit of eleventh- and twelfth-century church reform, which sought to more definitively separate secular and religious life, monks and canons in Toulouse were closely involved in the civic government. For example, based on extant sources, the monasteries in and around Toulouse did not produce any significant philosophical, theological, or historical writings. Instead of spiritual and scholastic works, the monks produced a large quantity of charters and cartularies. They clearly had an extensive knowledge of civic law and an interest in legal matters. A council in Montpellier in 1162 forbade monks and regular canons from practicing law or medicine. A council at Tours repeated this sanction in 1163, and it was reconfirmed again in Maguelonne in 1188. The fact that such admonitions continued to be necessary testifies to the fact that the monks continued their secular pursuits undeterred.[65]

In many ways, heresy was a reaction to the same forces that inspired the Peace of God and reform movements. The Peace of God created intense enthusiasm and spiritual devotion, but it failed to bring an end to the turmoil besieging Aquitaine. People became disillusioned, and expressions of their own desires for a deeper biblical and apostolic spirituality soon surpassed what the church officially sanctioned. In advocating a return to a strict biblical interpretation of Christianity, people came to reject the traditional

---

[64] Ibid., 169–70.

[65] Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 5–6, 41–45.

ecclesiastical means of salvation, such as the sacraments, in favor of ethical purity,

asceticism, and communal equality.[66]

Toulouse was beset by heresy almost from its founding, but the eleventh and

twelfth centuries saw a particularly strong resurgence. As early as the fourth century,

Gnosticism spread to Toulouse from the Iberian peninsula. In the early eleventh century,

Manichaeism gained a strong foothold in Toulouse. Reports of the killing of

Manichaeans are extant from 1021, and as late as 1119, church councils were attacking

the movement's adherents. Other more localized heresies, such as that of the followers of

Henry of Lausanne, also took root in Toulouse and the surrounding regions. The situation

was serious enough for the papal legate to convince Bernard of Clairvaux to come and

make a preaching tour of these areas in 1147.[67]

Even the famed reformer could not stop the spread of heresy, however. By the

mid twelfth century, Catharism had taken a firm hold in Toulouse and much of the

surrounding area. Similar to Manichaeans, Cathars were dualists. Though Christians, they

maintained that Jesus was totally divine and not really a man. Cathars opposed

materialism, especially the material excesses of the church, and because they rejected

Catholic sacraments, they were a clear threat to ecclesiastical authority.[68]

---

[66] Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 13–16; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 37–39.

[67] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 14–16.

[68] Cathars believed in two worlds, one visible and corrupt, and the other invisible, eternal, and incorruptible. Only by living in material self-denial could a person's soul be purified enough to escape the cycle of reincarnation and go to heaven. In order to go to heaven, the sacrament of *consolamentum* was necessary. After receiving the *consolamentum*, a believer had to live an intensely ascetic spiritual life, so most Cathars received the sacrament just before they died. Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars* (Harlow,

In May of 1167, a council of Cathar leaders from northern France, Languedoc, and Constantinople met at Saint-Félix-de-Caraman, a village between Toulouse and Carcassonne. The council established several bishoprics in Languedoc, including one in Toulouse, to spread Catharism more effectively. The Cathar leadership was closely connected to local secular rulers, at least by reputation. Catholic church authorities blamed these secular rulers for the rapid spread of heresy in their jurisdictions. The counts of Toulouse came under particular scrutiny, in addition to the counts of Foy and Comminges and the viscounts of Béziers and Carcassonne. It is not clear in many instances whether these lords were heretics themselves or merely allowed Catharism to flourish in their realms. In Toulouse, Raimon V (count from 1148) did nothing to fight heresy until 1177 when he asked King Louis VII for help. In response, Henry of Marcy led an armed expedition in 1181 on behalf of the French king against the Cathar stronghold of Lavaur, which also happened to be within the territory of one of Raimon's primary political rivals, the Trencavels.[69]

As the extent of the heresy became apparent, the church began looking at ecclesiastical leaders in the affected areas. Several of these bishops were weak administrators who, in addition to simply being ineffectual, were disinterested in exercising their spiritual ministry. Some bishops were truly immoral. As part of his wider reforms and the growing campaign against heretics, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) sought to fill the void of ecclesiastical leadership in Languedoc. He deposed Bishop

---

England: Longman, 2000), 76–96; O'Shea, *Perfect Heresy*, 9–13, 21–25; Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 14–17.

[69] Barber, *Cathars*, 45–50; O'Shea, *Perfect Heresy*, 21–27.

Raimon of Toulouse in 1205 and replaced him with Folquet de Marselha, the former troubadour, who enthusiastically set about combating heresy.[70]

Most of Innocent's reforms met with stiff resistance in the Toulousain. After he replaced many of Languedoc's bishops, he sent traveling preachers to Toulouse. Cistercian legates, including the head of the order Arnold Amaury, made a revivalist tour in the early thirteenth century. However, they faced hostility from Cathars, nobles, townspeople, and the secular clergy, so in 1206, they decided to quit.[71]

Tension between ecclesiastical leaders and the counts of Toulouse continued to grow. The court of Raimon VI of Toulouse was recognized for its tolerance of dissenters, and Cathars, Catholics, Jews, and Arabs mingled freely. Not surprisingly, the court was not known for its piety. Innocent III complained repeatedly to Raimon, but the count did not act. Open conflict between Toulouse and Rome erupted with the murder of the papal legate on January 14, 1208. Although he strenuously maintained his innocence, Raimon VI was accused and found guilty of causing the legate's murder. The count was forced to give up many of his castles and swear allegiance to the pope. When King Philip Augustus of France, at the pope's behest, allowed his most powerful barons to crusade against the Cathars, Raimon found it expedient to join them in the hopes of preserving what was left of his lands. Because Raimon joined the crusaders, the first target became Trencavel territory. Raimon VI soon reverted to his former ways and stopped helping the pope's forces, which brought the crusaders to his lands. After a series of brutal victories, the

---

[70] Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, 13–14; O'Shea, *Perfect Heresy*, 58; Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 19–20.

[71] O'Shea, *Perfect Heresy*, 59–63; Smith, *University of Toulouse*, 18–21.

northerners held several important Cathar strongholds. Armed resistance continued into the late thirteenth century, but eventually the Crusading forces conquered all of southern France.[72]

The Albigensian Crusade had profound consequences for the Aquitanian region. Continual warfare left much of Languedoc and Provence in ruins, and economic growth came to a halt. The Lateran Council of 1215 stripped Raimon VI of his county. As part of the Treaty of Paris in 1229, the count of Toulouse had to give most of his lands to the French king. Southern France came more and more under the political control of the king, which created a substantial change in its social structure. Heresy persisted, however, leading to an inquisition that saw the persecution of suspected heretics throughout the thirteenth century. The Albigensian Crusade also hastened the end of troubadour culture. Besides the fact that their former patrons were occupied with the fighting, many troubadours had sided with the Cathars and found it prudent to leave Aquitaine.[73]

The story of Toulouse shows the intersection of medieval Aquitaine's sacred and secular realms. The basilica of Saint-Sernin was a major pilgrimage site while the count's court hosted the troubadours. Many of the troubadours came from clerical ranks or retired to the cloister, and when Pope Innocent III needed a strong leader to combat heresy, he chose Folquet de Marselha, who had once been a troubadour. *Cansos* and Marian versus shared common stylistic features and themes, and this blending of courtly language and devotional lyrics would continue in the songs of the trouvères, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* from Iberia, and the Italian *laudes*.

---

[72] Barber, *Cathars*, 120–31; O'Shea, *Perfect Heresy*, 66–103.

[73] Aubrey, *Music of the Troubadours*, 4–5; Barber, *Cathars*, 55–57.

Saint-Martial in Limoges and Toulouse illustrate the independent spirit of medieval Aquitiane. This trait is evident in the complex interactions between culture, religion, and politics. The sacred and secular realms are intertwined, as disputes between the bishop of Limoges and the monks of Saint-Martial, the monks of Saint-Martial and those of Cluny, lords and castellans, the counts of Toulouse and the city's citizens, and Cathars and church leaders all show. Lines of mutual influence are also evident, particularly the way in which communities responded to the popular increase in spiritual devotion and the rise of relic cults. The desire to localize the music and rites of a particular cult and promote a patron saint, as exemplified in the work of Adémar de Chabannes, was widespread. The growth of personal spirituality initiated the Peace of God movement and church reform, but it also inspired heresy. Artwork from this period shows a variety of influences, with secular and sacred characteristics existing together, particularly in the troubadour and versus repertories. The vernacular and Latin song traditions intersected, especially at important pilgrimage sites like Saint-Martial, Sainte-Foy, and Saint-Sernin. This environment provided the basis for a rich musical tradition reflective of the overlapping sacred and secular realms, as well as the independent Aquitanian spirit. The following chapters will examine sacred and devotional music sources and three musical case studies from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries within the societal context described above.

CHAPTER III

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The liturgical song repertoire in medieval Aquitaine reflects an extraordinarily diverse and well-documented manuscript tradition. Sources from this region have an exceptionally high survival rate compared to other parts of Latin Christendom. Moreover, the nature of Aquitanian musical notation, even as found in ninth- and tenth-century sources, often allows for the reliable transcription of melodies, or at the very least, sound intervallic reconstructions, a diastematic advantage not found in coterminous neume scripts of comparable traditions. In addition to their renowned polyphony, Aquitanian manuscripts often have characteristics that make them of special interest to scholars, such as their large collections of Proper and Ordinary tropes, Benedicamus tropes, sequences, versus, and conductus. Appendix A gives an alphabetical listing of thirty-eight extant musical manuscripts from Aquitaine. Dating from between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, these sources provide a window into the region's rich musical culture. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to describe each source, some of these manuscripts are particularly illustrative of the depth of the Aquitanian tradition of sacred music.

This chapter will examine four groups of sources. These manuscripts were selected and grouped to tell the unfolding story of changing musical tastes and a growing regional identity in Aquitaine. The first group of manuscripts contains some of the oldest extant examples of musical notation in Latin Christendom. These sources offer a glimpse into the development of the technology of writing as well as the early stages of a

liturgical repertoire. The next group of sources illustrates the changing nature of the manuscripts, from the eclectic books of the ninth and early tenth centuries to more systematic collections focusing on chants for the mass and Office by the eleventh century. This trend is evident throughout Aquitaine. The third group of sources focuses on production at the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges, and the manuscripts offer a fascinating perspective on scribal practices and compositional activity in the eleventh century. The final group presents the early Aquitanian polyphonic sources. In addition to the interest they hold for their unique repertoire, these manuscripts are some of the oldest extant records of polyphony. They show how scribes addressed the problems inherent in recording music of more than one part. Together, these manuscripts illustrate the unfolding Aquitanian sacred music tradition.

The Earliest Aquitanian Sources

Pa 1154 and Pa 1240 are two of the oldest extant manuscripts with musical notation. Unlike the systematically-assembled liturgical book types and *libelli* (e.g. graduals, antiphoners, tropers, prosers) of later eras, both of these manuscripts contain a variety of materials. They represent an early stage in the development and use of music writing, and they show how in the ninth and early tenth centuries, scribes were experimenting with this new technology.

Pa 1154 contains one of the earliest extant systematic collections of Carolingian versus, most of which are notated. Pa 1154 dates from the late ninth or early tenth century, and it likely originated at a monastery dedicated to St. Martin in the region of Aquitaine, but it was adapted for use at Saint-Martial in Limoges in the course of the

eleventh century. In addition to the versus collection (ff. 98–142v), Pa 1154 contains

three other sections. The first (ff. 0v–25v) includes a litany, chapters, collects, and

prayers; the second (ff. 26–65v) contains prayers, confessions, penitential psalms, and

litanies; and the third (ff. 66–97v) is an excerpt from Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma*.[1]

Although the musical notation cannot be precisely dated, scholars believe that Pa

1154 contains the earliest extant examples of Aquitanian neumes.[2] One main scribal hand

is evident, with at least nine others that appear for single items. The notation is

adiastematic and uses relative heighting, which suggests that it was added in the late tenth

century. In the earliest notational layer, there is at least one instance where the text scribe

and music scribe were the same person, so the lack of space for precise heighting

indicates that diastematic notation was not expected. Other additions date from the

eleventh century.[3]

The versus collection presents several interesting features. First, most of the

versus in Pa 1154 have no concordances. Of the five other Carolingian versus collections

not dedicated to a single author, eight pieces represent the most concordances any of

them have with Pa 1154, so it is evident that even the earliest Aquitanian sources record a

unique regional repertoire. Although the texts in Pa 1154 as a whole have a penitential

---

[1] Sam Barrett, "Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154," *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 57, 74.

[2] Albi 44, a gradual-antiphoner from Albi (ca. 890), contains notated pieces that may be earlier than those in Pa 1154. However, scholars generally classify the notation in Albi 44 as protoAquitanian or as a still-developing form. See Marie-Noël Colette, "Le Gradual-Antiphonaire, Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale 44: une notation protoaquitaine rythmique," in *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1995), 1:117–40; and Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude*.

[3] Barrett, "Music and Writing," 85–93.

tone, the versus are not clearly grouped according to author, content, or genre as is common in other collections. However, these versus are a product of the time and circumstances of their composition, and Sam Barrett demonstrates that a deliberate organizational plan exists. Rubrics in the manuscripts offer a clue as to groupings, which is confirmed by the general topic of each piece within the groups, and the theme of each of the seven groups follows a clear progression that corresponds to the medieval conception of a Christian soul's progression from sinfulness to conversion. The collection begins in penitence and moves through Christ's teachings to understanding about the Last Judgment. The sibylline prophecy *Iudicii signum* stands at the heart of the collection and represents the moment of conversion because it is a combination of pagan and Christian influences.[4] Moral exemplars lead finally to the liturgy, which represents the triumph of the Christian soul over worldly influences.[5]

This organizational principle is evident in the other sections of Pa 1154 as well, including Isidore's *Synonyma*, so Barrett places the manuscript as a whole within the Carolingian literary *florilegia* tradition. These books exhorted Christians to lead moral lives; they defined standards for Christian ethics and social behavior. Pa 1154 is a product of the desire to bring together materials from various sources to create a thematically unified, penitential book.[6]

The Carolingian era in general saw an increased interest in penitence due at least in part to contemporary political and religious trends, as described in chapter two.

---

[4] *Iudicii signum* tells of the coming, life, and death of Jesus Christ as foretold by the sibyls of Antiquity.

[5] Barrett, "Music and Writing," 59–78.

[6] Ibid., 78–85.

Plagues, other natural disasters, and the gradual erosion of political stability combined with an increase in personal devotion, ecclesiastical and popular support for the Peace of God movement, and the reaction against clerical abuses to create a deeper focus on repentence. Pa 1154 represents one monastery's response to these social forces.

The other early source for Aquitanian notation, Pa 1240, contains one of the oldest extant monastic antiphoners as well as the oldest known full troper. The manuscript dates from between 933–936,[7] and the scriptorium at Saint-Martial in Limoges produced it for use in the Basilica of the Holy Savior in the same monastery. Pa 1240 is divided into four main parts, the first and oldest of which contains the central troper (ff. 18v–43), a tonary (ff. 62v–64v), and *Laudes Regiae* (ff. 65–66), in addition to the antiphoner (ff. 66–78v). The antiphoner contains Office liturgies for the entire liturgical year, but it is basically a directory. Generally, it provides only the text incipits for Lauds although four Offices do include complete incipits.[8] Unlike most later manuscripts, Pa 1240 does not include any Common Offices or any Offices for the Dead, the Trinity, or the season of Pentecost.[9]

---

[7] Jacques Chailley dates the oldest portion of Pa 1240 to no later than 908. Chailley, "Anciens tropaires," 165–66. However, Emerson refutes this claim, citing paleographical evidence as well as names cited in the *Laudes Regiae* (ff. 65–66). These *Laudes* acclamations to the reigning monarch and the pope were sung after the Gloria on the most important liturgical feasts. John Emerson, "Neglected Aspects of the Oldest Full Troper," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993), 204–06.

[8] The main scribe included two of these full Offices: the Annunciation (ff. 66v–67), which falls on March 25 but is here placed among July feasts, and the Conversion of St. Paul (f. 73) for January 25. The other two complete liturgies, for the Translation of Benedict (f. 66v) on July 11 and All Saints (f. 68v–69) on November 1, are marginal additions in a later hand.

[9] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," 206–07; Philip Rutter, "The Epiphany Trope Cycle in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1240," in *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menesto (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 314–15; Elizabeth Averill Wharff,

The antiphoner of Pa 1240 shows a combination of northern French and Aquitanian elements, which is indicative of the political tension between the French monarchy and local Aquitanian lords. A rhymed Office for St. Medardus, patron of the northern cities of Noyon and Soissons, appears in its proper place on June 8 (f. 78v). However, three Offices reflect the local practice of Saint-Martial. The feast of St. Martial on June 30, which occurs out of order (f. 66), incorporates an antiphon (*O quam clara est angelorum laudans Christum*) whose text comes directly from the *Vita prolixior* of St. Martial, discussed in chapter two. The Office for St. Valérie, St. Martial's disciple, on December 10 (f. 70) uses an antiphon (*Quaedam nobilis puella nomine Valeria*) whose text comes from the older *vita* of St. Martial, the *Vita antiquior*. Finally, the Dedication Office occurs between the Offices for the Decollation of John the Baptist on August 29 and All Saints on November 1, which positions it to coincide with the dedication of the first Basilica of the Holy Savior at Saint-Martial on October 13 of 832 or 833.[10]

The troper of Pa 1240 has several interesting features. First, the number of feasts with Proper tropes in Pa 1240 is quite concise compared to later sources; even manuscripts from later in the tenth century have more troped feasts. Not only does Pa 1240 provide tropes for a relatively small number of feasts, but the number of tropes for each feast is lower than in subsequent Aquitanian manuscripts. However, the list of feasts with tropes in Pa 1240 basically follows the *Capitulare Monasticum* that the Council of Aachen produced in 817. As was mentioned in chapter two, this council was part of Benedict of Aniane's monastic reforms, and the *Capitulare* indicates feasts that were to

---

"The Earliest Aquitanian Proper Tropes" (master's thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1978), 16–17.

[10] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," 207–08.

be celebrated with particular solemnity.[11] Secondly, three tropes are given only in

incipit (*Adest alma, Ab indignatione et ira*, and *Psallite cum laude*). The lack of complete

text and notation suggests that these tropes were well known at the time Pa 1240 was

compiled, which may indicate that they are part of an older layer of the trope repertory.[12]

Finally, like the antiphoner in Pa 1240, the troper shows a clear northern French

influence. While the trope texts basically reflect the standard Aquitanian tradition, Pa

1240 presents several instances of melodic variants that are more similar to northern

French sources than to other Aquitanian manuscripts. The primary music scribe uses

Aquitanian notation, but some of his neume forms are similar to those used in northern

France. Sometimes, the northern French and Aquitanian forms occur in the same piece

(such as the oriscus in *Lux indeficiens*, f. 19v).[13]

Northern French influence is more pronounced in the additions to Pa 1240. The

music scribe only notated the first part of the troper, and the addition of melodies in

French neumes occurs in the second, originally unnotated, section. Additions of text with

French notation appear in both parts of the troper: two new pieces for the feast of All

Saints (*Eia canendo sonos* and *Sanctorum sancto cunctorum*, f. 38 margin), and two

alterations of existing tropes for the feast of St. Stephen (*Grandine lapidum mox*

moriturus, f. 20, added to the communion antiphon, and *Suscipe meum in pace spiritum*,

---

[11] The only feasts to receive Proper tropes in Pa 1240 are Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Octave of Christmas, Epiphany, Purification, Easter, Easter Monday, Ascension, Pentecost, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Martial, Dedication of the Church, Assumption, and All Saints. The tropes for St. Martin and St. Michael were later additions.

[12] Paul Evans, "Northern French Elements in an Early Aquitanian Troper," in *Speculum Musicae Artis Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1970), 103–06; Wharff, "Earliest Aquitanian," 17–25, 30.

[13] Paul Evans, "Northern French Elements," 106–09.

f. 19v, replacing the original fourth line of the introit trope *Hodie Stephanum martyr*).

Twenty-two of the eighty trope elements show little or no northern French influence, six

are predominantly northern, and the remainder are a combination of Aquitanian and

northern French repertoires. Generally, it was these combined forms that remained

common to the Aquitanian repertoire until the twelfth century.[14]

This unusual mixture of notational styles reflects the interactions between

northern France and Aquitaine. John A. Emerson hypothesizes that the combination of

styles is the result of monks from the northern abbey of Saint-Benoît de Fleury-sur-Loire

visiting Saint-Martial in Limoges. Abbot Aimo of Saint-Martial (abbot 937–943)

contracted an act of association with the abbey at Fleury, and scholars, as well as

manuscripts, traveled freely between Saint-Benoît and its associate houses. Emerson

theorizes that the original texts of the first layer of Pa 1240 were written between 932 and

935. When the monks from Fleury arrived, they provided some of the missing notation

with the repertoire from their own monastery.[15]

The northern elements may also be a result of the Carolingian attempt at liturgical

standardization. Beginning in the late eighth century, Charlemagne sought to reform the

liturgical practices in his empire by standardizing them according to the Roman usage.

Several medieval writers recorded these events, including Notker Balbulus and Ekkehard

IV of Saint Gall, John the Deacon from Rome, and Adémar de Chabannes. All of the

accounts agree as to the basic story, but depending on the author's perspective, details

---

[14] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," 196–99; Paul Evans, "Northern French Elements," 106–09; Wharff, "Earliest Aquitanian," 25–30.

[15] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," 196–99.

vary in order to make the people involved seem either more or less sympathetic.[16] Adémar's version is included in his *Chronicon*, a history of the Frankish kingdom, and it implies that while the Franks' chant was corrupted and in need of reform, Aquitanian practices were close to those of Rome and so did not need modification. The earliest Aquitanian manuscripts transmit the beginnings of a regional repertoire in spite of the Carolingian attempt at liturgical standardization, perhaps another demonstration of the Aquitanian spirit of independence and resistance to the imposition of outside authority.

Both Pa 1154 and Pa 1240 show that even in the earliest sources, Aquitaine had a distinctive repertoire that gave particular honor to local saints. In contrast to early sources from other locales that used musical notation to aid in the codification of Gregorian chant,[17] Pa 1154 and Pa 1240 show a greater interest in preserving liturgies with local significance. The high proportion of *unica* versus in Pa 1154 and the presence of *unica* tropes for St. Martial in Pa 1240, a source that preserves a relatively small repertoire, indicate that Aquitanian scribes valued their own regional traditions. Both manuscripts reflect the influence of political and religious factors, and the mixture of Aquitanian and northern notational styles in Pa 1240 is a product of the interactions between these two political regions.

---

[16] Notker's and John the Deacon's accounts are translated in *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed., ed. Oliver Strunk, gen. ed. Leo Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 181–83 and 178–80. Adémar's version is translated in James Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 47–49. The basic story, which may simply be Carolingian propaganda, describes how during a visit to Rome, Charlemagne heard the local cantors and realized that they sang differently than the cantors from his empire. He decreed that all Frankish cantors should correct their liturgical books and their style of singing to match the Romans, who were closer to the original chant notated by St. Gregory.

[17] For example, note the sources Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 47, a ninth- or tenth-century gradual from Brittany; Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 239, an early tenth-century gradual from the region of Laon; and St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 359, an early tenth-century cantatorium from St. Gall.

Interest in New Types of Liturgical Books and *Libelli*, ca. 950–1075

Beginning in the mid tenth century, scribes started compiling more specialized musical manuscripts. Instead of the wide-ranging compilations of the ninth and early tenth centuries, newer collections contained the chants necessary for the celebration of mass or the Divine Office. Pa 1085, Pa 1118, Pa 903, and Pa 1871 are representative of the movement toward comprehensive mass books, Office antiphoners, and troper-proser sequentiaries, three of the most common manuscript forms of the eleventh century.

Pa 1085 was written for the basilica of the Holy Savior at Saint-Martial, and Emerson dates this manuscript to between 960 and 980.[18] The repertoire in Pa 1085 is expanded from that of Pa 1240, and in comparing the date of Pa 1085 with those of other monasteries' antiphoners, Grier suggests that Pa 1085 may have been Saint-Martial's first attempt to record all of the texts and sung items necessary to perform the Divine Office. However, the abbey suffered two fires between the writing of Pa 1240 and Pa 1085, so the newer antiphoner may also have been a replacement for a manuscript that burned in 953 or 974.[19]

Pa 1085 is a practical rather than a presentation manuscript. It was compiled from scrap parchment, and on many folios, the scribes simply wrote around holes or missing corners. The page edges remain untrimmed. A partially-erased processional became ff.

---

[18] Pa 1085 was clearly written before 1028 because the two Dedication Offices are for the church of St. Peter on May 2 (ff. 65–66) and the basilica of the Holy Savior on October 13 (ff. 91v–93v), not for the dedication of the newer abbey basilica in 1028. The liturgies for St. Martial do not reflect the debate over his apostolic status that started in 1028. Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," 207.

[19] Lila Diane Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants: A Comparative Survey" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2000), 1:42; Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 83–84, 91.

105–110, and the scribes only erased the part of the parchment they were using, leaving a clear original layer in the margins. The quality of the written text and music in Pa 1085 is not particularly high. Contrary to some scholars' assumptions, however, the script of Pa 1085 is not simply more primitive than other Aquitanian manuscripts. The partially-erased processional comprising ff. 105–110, which must have been at least somewhat older than Pa 1085, exhibits a higher quality of text and music notation. Pa 1085 has few rubrics and is highly abbreviated. The manuscript is incompletely notated, and the text scribe did not allow room for neumation, so the notation is adiastematic and uses relative heighting.[20]

However, Pa 1085 is perfectly well suited for its purpose as a cantor's personal manuscript. Pa 1085 includes full Offices for the entire liturgical year, with a calendar that essentially follows the one given in Pa 1240. The only significant change in Pa 1085 is the addition of the feast of Mary Magdalene on July 22 (f. 78v).[21] Incipits identify most of the sung items,[22] and Lila Collamore notes the precision of these abbreviations. In instances where multiple chants begin with the same words, the incipit goes exactly to the point where the texts diverge. The scribe of Pa 1085 was clearly very familiar with the repertoire at Saint-Martial.[23]

---

[20] Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections," 43–48; Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 113–15.

[21] This Office for Mary Magdalene is the oldest extant example.

[22] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 84–85.

[23] Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections," 46–47.

Two types of pieces appear with their full text in Pa 1085. First are items sung completely by a soloist, such as responsory verses. Second are chants that had a more restricted circulation and so were probably less familiar. Although Pa 1085 is incompletely notated and the notation is adiastematic, the cantor presumably had all of the melodies memorized. The notation provided a memory aid, not a tool for learning new material. The manuscript presents a record and codification of the contemporary repertoire at Saint-Martial.[24]

Pa 1085 offers a glimpse of the development of the Divine Office at Saint-Martial. Following secular rather than monastic convention, the manuscript cues the lesser doxology (*Gloria Patri*) at the end of every Matins responsory. Also, unlike other manuscripts that indicate using the doxology only as far as the words "spiritui sancto," Pa 1085 calls for the entire doxology text. Indications for a *repetendum* do not appear at the end of each doxology, a practice again conforming to Roman rather than Frankish custom. Pa 1085 also shows affinity for the secular cursus in its selection and order of some Matins responsories. For example, for each of the four Sundays of Advent, Pa 1085 has the nine responsories, in order, found in a significant number of secular manuscripts.[25]

However, Pa 1085 does not always follow the secular model, as further examination of its treatment of Matins responsories shows. For example, cues for the *repetendum* after subsequent verses of each Matins responsory show a systematic

---

[24] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 87–91.

[25] Ibid., 85–87, 91–96.

abbreviation of the respond. Also, although a single verse for each Matins responsory was the usual Roman practice, Pa 1085 commonly gives two or more verses. The *repetendum* cues, indicating a progressive shortening of the respond, suggest that these additional verses followed one another sequentially and were not optional variants. The number of responsory verses in Pa 1085 far surpasses those of other sources; of the 800 manuscripts consulted for *Corpus Antiphonarii Officium*, only one other manuscript comes close to containing as many verses as Pa 1085.[26]

Pa 1085 also has a large percentage of *unica* verses. Of its ninety-nine Advent responsory verses, twenty-seven appear to be unknown elsewhere.[27] These *unica* verses share the same literary construction as the more widely circulated verses and responds. The texts are paraphrases and various combinations of scripture passages, and these citations often come from different books of the Bible. Grier notes that this literary technique is similar to a method for creating offertories that Kenneth Levy proposes as particularly Gallican.[28] Clearly, Pa 1085 contains a liturgy that reflects Frankish as well as Roman practices. Collamore proposes that because of its early date, Pa 1085 may reflect a liturgical practice that predates a clear separation between the monastic and secular cursus.[29]

---

[26] For the Sundays of Advent, the Mont-Renaud manuscript has thirty-one responsories with more than one verse compared to forty-four in Pa 1085. Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 96–98.

[27] For comparison, in *CAO* the manuscript with the closest number of *unica* verses is a thirteenth-century breviary from San Rufo, and it only has five. Neither Mont-Renaud or the Hartker Antiphoner have any. Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 98.

[28] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 98–101.

[29] Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections," 114–16.

Like Pa 1085, Pa 1118 has some unusual features, the most striking of which is that its troper appears to be a compendium of all the tropes the scribe knew, both from Saint-Martial and other regions. Pa 1118 was written between 987 and 996. Names from the *Laudes Regiae* in this manuscript permit a more precise dating than for many other Aquitanian sources. The provenance of Pa 1118 is uncertain, but it may have come from Auch or Aurillac, and it was in the library at Saint-Martial by the thirteenth century. The manuscript consists of three self-contained sections that could be the work of the same text and music scribes. The first section is the troper (ff. 1–103v), followed by a tonary (ff. 104–114v), a prosulary (ff. 115–131),[30] and a sequentiary (ff. 131v–143v). The third section is a proser, with some miscellaneous additions (ff. 144–249). The troper is large, and unlike many Aquitanian sources, Proper and Ordinary tropes are integrated so that even the Ordinary tropes have a specific liturgical assignment. Pa 1118 also gives incipits for nontroped Proper chants, so it is possible to reconstruct the order of the mass that was in use.[31]

The tonary in Pa 1118 is well known for its illuminations. Each of the eight modes is provided with a large, colored depiction of a person or persons making music, and one final illustration concludes the tonary. These pictures are particularly interesting because although Pa 1118 is clearly a liturgical manuscript, the illuminations show secular musicians and performers, known as *jongleurs*. Although these illuminations do

---

[30] Ruth Steiner examines the prosulae in greater depth in "The Prosulae of the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. lat. 1118," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22, no. 3 (1969): 367–93.

[31] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 92–94; Crocker, "Repertoire of Proses," 95–100; Alicia Mee Doyle, "The Repertory of Tropes in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds Latin 1118: A Comparative Study of Tenth-Century Aquitanian Concordances and Transmission" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2000), 13–55; Paul Evans, *Early Trope*, 51–52.

not necessarily depict the actual performance of liturgical music, they show an overlap between sacred and secular elements because the illustrator of Pa 1118 used his knowledge of popular instrumental performance to inform his depictions of church music in a liturgical manuscript.[32]

The compilation of Pa 1118 shows a growing interest in using the technology of writing music to preserve an established repertoire. The scribe of Pa 1118 was not only interested in his local repertoire but also the chants from other parts of Aquitaine. However, many of the "foreign" elements remained unnotated or received new melodies. When Saint-Martial acquired this manuscript, the monks made revisions to bring the repertoire into accordance with their liturgical practices.

Pa 903 is another source that eventually found its way to the library at Saint-Martial; it was written in the first half of the eleventh century for the monastery of Saint-Yrieix.[33] Although Saint-Yrieix is only 40 kilometers from Saint-Martial, Saint-Yrieix was a dependent of Saint-Martin in Tours. Pa 903 includes a gradual (ff. 1–133v), a troper (ff. 147v–179v), and a proser (ff. 179v–203v), as well as a section of votive antiphons (ff. 133v-147v).[34] The format differs from most other tropers because the

---

[32] See Tilman Seebas, *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im Früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973).

[33] The gradual portion of Pa 903 is available in facsimile: *Paléographie Musicale 13: Le Codex Latin 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Solesmes: Association Jean-Bougler: 1925, repr. 1971 and 1992).

[34] For an analysis of the votive antiphons not published in *PM*, see C. W. Brockett, Jr., "Unpublished Antiphons and Antiphon Series Found in the Gradual of St-Yrieix," *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 5–35.

troper in Pa 903 is basically a supplement to the gradual, and the manuscript is continuous throughout. It is rare for an Aquitanian gradual to include a full troper.[35]

Pa 903 entered the library at Saint-Martial during the twelfth or early thirteenth century. Various marginal additions show that the monks at Saint-Martial adapted Pa 903 for their own use. Several additions are for the feast of St. Martial, including one *unicum* trope (*Iam patronis emicant festa*, f. 157v). One of the additional proses for St. Martial (*Omnis mundus letabundus*, f. 203) has an apostolic text; it dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Bernard Itier's hand is evident in some of the supplementary material, which helps establish its date.[36]

Pa 903 illustrates the latitude individual monasteries exercised during the early eleventh century in shaping their liturgical cycles. Although Saint-Yrieix was in the diocese of Limoges, a comparison of the sanctorale from Pa 903 with that of an eleventh-century sacramentary from an abbey in Limoges (Pa 821) reveals that while Pa 903 includes some of the most popular regional saints, such as St. Martial (f. 104v) and St. Valérie (f. 116v and 201–202), the manuscript does not include many others, such as St.

---

[35] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 86–88; Paul Evans, *Early Trope*, 29–43, 53; Sister Anthony Herzo, "Five Aquitanian Graduals: Their Mass Propers and Alleluia Cycles" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1967), 31–37.

[36] Bernard Itier (1163–1225) entered the monastery of Saint-Martial in 1177. He held various posts, culminating in his role as *cantor et armarius* where he was responsible for overseeing musical affairs and maintaining the abbey library. He significantly increased the size and condition of the library through purchasing books as well as repairing and rebinding manuscripts. He made notes in many of the manuscripts on which he worked, and the fact that these notes are often dated shows modern scholars that the manuscripts were in the abbey library during his tenure. Chailley, "Anciens tropaires," 172–74; idem, *L'École musicale*, 86–88. For a description of the cantor's role in a medieval monastery, see Margot Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29–51.

Valericus, St. Alpinian (one of St. Martial's companions), and St. Cybard.[37] Of the local feasts that are included in Pa 903, several had a rather limited circulation, such as those for the late sixth-century martyr St. Amand, St. Caprais from Agen, and St. Frontan from Angoulême.[38]

Interestingly, Pa 903 contains some feasts that are not found in other contemporary manuscripts, such as the Transfiguration and its vigil. The feast of the Transfiguration (August 6) spread to France from the Byzantine church; it was not admitted into the universal Roman church calendar until the fifteenth century. Its earliest extant record in France is a tenth-century addition to a late ninth-century sacramentary from Saint-Martin in Tours (Pa 9430), which perhaps explains its inclusion in Pa 903.[39] This feast also appears in Pa 821 (f. 71) from Limoges. Sources for the Vigil of the Transfiguration are even more rare: of 192 sacramentaries from before the thirteenth century, only four include it.[40] Clearly, within the church's sanctoral cycle, Saint-Yrieix had its own unique calendar.[41]

This individuality is apparent within the liturgy itself. Alleluia verses for the Sundays after Pentecost can vary considerably between churches, but they are usually stable within each church over time. This characteristic makes the cycle of Alleluia verses a good basis for a comparison of the liturgies in different locations. As

---

[37] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 821.

[38] *PM,* 24.

[39] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 9430.

[40] One of these four is a late eleventh-century missal from the Aquitanian abbey of Maillezais.

[41] *PM,* 21–24.

demonstrated above, although Saint-Yrieix was within the diocese of Limoges, it did

not adhere to the local liturgical calendar. This lack of correspondence is also evident in a

comparison of the Alleluias from Pa 903 with those of Pa 1132, a late eleventh-century

gradual from Saint-Martial. The first thirteen Sundays and the final one are the same, but

the fourteenth through the twenty-second Sundays do not match.[42]

However, Pa 903 is part of the broader Aquitanian tradition, and it does show

affinity with other regional sources. Surprisingly, the Alleluias in Pa 903 are most similar

to the cycles in two manuscripts of geographically distant provenance: Pa 776, a gradual

from the abbey of Gaillac (near Albi) copied ca. 1079,[43] and Lo 4951, an eleventh-

century gradual from the cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Toulouse. The correspondence is

quite high between these three sources although Sundays where two manuscripts agree

against the third do occur. The alliance between sources varies, however, and this

ambivalent similarity is evident throughout the manuscripts.[44] The liturgy at Saint-Yrieix

maintained some unique features while the similarities between Saint-Yrieix, Saint-

Martial, Gaillac, and Toulouse show Saint-Yrieix's place in the larger Aquitanian

tradition.[45]

---

[42] Correspondence between these two sources is somewhat artificial, however, because Pa 903 gives two or three verses per Alleluia while Pa 1132 only has one. If the single verse in Pa 1132 matches one of the verses in Pa 903, it is counted as a correspondence. *PM*, 34–37.

[43] Pa 776 is available in facsimile: *Il cod. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 776 sec. XI Graduale di Gaillac*, ed. Nino Albarosa, Heinrich Rumphorst, and Alberto Turco (Padova, Italy: La Linea Editrice, 2001).

[44] For example, Gaillac and Saint-Yrieix do not include the Vigil of the Conversion of St. Paul or of the Assumption, but Toulouse does. Toulouse does not contain the feast of Saints Cyr and Julitte, but Gaillac and Saint-Yrieix do. However, Toulouse and Saint-Yrieix both have the feast of St. Peter in Chains while Gaillac does not.

One of the youngest Aquitanian troper-proser-sequentiaries to have survived is Pa 1871, a manuscript from the third quarter of the eleventh century.[46] Although Pa 1871 was once attributed to Saint-Martin de Montauriol, its provenance is now firmly held to be the monastery of Saint-Pierre in Moissac.[47] Pa 1871 contains a troper, sequentiary, proser, and prosulary, and all of the sections except the prosulary include the entire liturgical year. The manuscript is notated in clearly heighted neumes with *custodes* on a dry-point line. Unlike manuscripts such as Pa 1085, a great deal of care went into the production of Pa 1871. It has a carefully planned alternation of colored ink used for regular initials, and almost all of the feasts in the Proper section of the troper were intended to have large decorated initials. Unfortunately, most of these designs were left unrealized.[48]

Pa 1871 has a large repertoire of Proper tropes. Many other regions saw a decline in the use of Proper tropes over the course of the eleventh century, but Aquitaine did not follow this trend, particularly as seen at Saint-Pierre in Moissac. Pa 1871 has tropes for the entire liturgical year, and some of them are *unica*, which indicates that tropes were being written as well as performed. This manuscript illustrates that Proper tropes were an important part of the Aquitanian sacred musical tradition even into the late eleventh century.

---

[45] *PM*, 37–47.

[46] Facsimile edition *Tropaire Séquentiaire Prosaire Prosulaire de Moissac*, ed. Marie-Noël Colette (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2006).

[47] *Tropaire-Prosier de l'Abbaye Saint-Martin de Montauriol*, introduction by Camille Daux (Paris: Picard, 1901).

[48] *Tropaire Séquentiaire Prosaire Prosulaire*, 12–14.

As Pa 1085, Pa 1118, Pa 903, and Pa 1871 illustrate, production of Aquitanian

musical manuscripts changed during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The late tenth

century saw the beginning of a movement toward more systematic collections of music

for the mass and Office, both the official Gregorian chants and newer additions such as

trope and sequences, and this evolution was a response to the changing needs of each

religious community that copied or commissioned a manuscript. The earliest Aquitanian

sources already show an interest in recording a local repertoire as communities organized

their liturgical calendars to incorporate local saints, and new chants emphasized the

importance of these feasts. As a community's repertoire expanded and musical notation

became more precise, it became desirable to organize and preserve all of the music the

community used.

Scribal Activity and Chantbook Production at Saint-Martial in Limoges

Although Saint-Martial is no longer considered to be the center of a compositional

'school,' it was nevertheless an important center for manuscript production, and

chantbooks copied at the abbey are clearly related. Scholars divide the Aquitanian

manuscripts into families based on patterns in the transmission of repertoire and variant

readings of particular chants. Although each scholar creates somewhat different

groupings, basic trends are evident.[49] The categories fall generally along geographic

---

[49] Based on his study of trope melodies, Günther Weiss identified three manuscript groups: (1) Pa 1240, 1120, 1121, 909, 1119; (2) Pa 1118, 1084, 903, 779, 1871; (3) Pa 887, Apt 17. Weiss, *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*. David Hughes categorized the manuscripts based on a statistical analysis of the repertoire of tropes for particular feasts and identified two basic groups: (1) Pa 1120, 1121, 909, 1119; (2) Pa 1084b (the principle portion of the manuscript), 779, 887. Hughes notes that Pa 1084a is a "dependent" of Pa 1120, and 1084c is a dependent of Pa 1118. Also, Pa 1118 has affinity for Group 1, and Pa 1871 aligns with Group 2. Pa 1240 and 903 are singular sources. David G. Hughes, "Further Notes on the Grouping of the Aquitanian Tropers," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19, no. 1 (1966): 3–

boundaries, with a group encompassing tropers from the region of Limoges, and another group or groups of more southern sources. The first group is often labeled the Saint-Martial family because all of the manuscripts it contains were written in the abbey's scriptorium. Pa 1120, Pa 1121, Pa 909, and Pa 1119 are part of this group. These sources demonstrate a remarkably stable transmission; even the melodies have few variants. Because they share a common place of origin and proximal dates of composition, Grier suggests that the abbey produced them for the specific purpose of recording an established chant repertoire with the recently developed technology of writing music. Therefore, they are particularly well positioned to provide insight into eleventh-century scribal methods and the process of repertorial change.[50]

Pa 1120 is the next extant complete troper after Pa 1240, and it was written at Saint-Martial between 1010 and 1025. Grier believes that Pa 1120 was written under the direction of Roger de Chabannes in his new role as cantor of Saint-Martial. Either ordered by the abbot or on his own initiative, Roger undertook the creation of this manuscript. Until Pa 1120, the only books for the celebration of mass were Pa 1240, which was outdated by this time, and Pa 1834, which was incomplete. The trope sets

---

12. Paul Evans limited his examination to manuscripts containing Proper tropes that were at one time in the library at Saint-Martial, and he divided them into two groups based on notation and repertory concordances: (1) Pa 1240, 1120, 1121, 909, 1119; (2) Pa 1084, 1118, 887, 903. Evans, *Early Trope*. Using a statistical analysis of trope elements, David Hiley found two groups containing 96–100% concordance: Pa 1121, 909, 1119; Pa 1118, 1084b, 779. For a concordance of 90–100%, the two groups combine and add Pa 1240, 903, and 1871. See Hiley, "Some Observations On the Interrelationships Between Trope Repertories," in *Research On Tropes*, ed. Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1983), 29–37. Leo Treitler and Alejandro Planchart also address issues of trope transmission and the relationships between Aquitanian tropers without necessarily creating manuscript groups. See Treitler, "Observations on the Transmission," 11–60; idem, "Oral and Literate Style in the Regional Transmission of Tropes," *Studia musicologica* 27, no. 1–4 (1985): 171–83; and Planchart, "On the Nature of Transmission and Change in Trope Repertories," *Journal of Musicology* 6, no. 3 (1988): 293–339.

[50] Grier, *Musical World*, 56–57.

from Pa 1240 were incorporated into Pa 1834 and expanded. The scribe of Pa 1120 altered and corrected this series of Proper and Ordinary tropes to provide a complete, updated manuscript of liturgical music for mass.[51]

Pa 1120 uses the organizational system that would become standard for Aquitanian liturgical manuscripts. Unlike sources from other European centers that are usually organized according to the church calendar and present all the chants needed for a particular feast in one place, Aquitanian manuscripts are organized into *libelli* by chant genre. For example, all of the Proper tropes are together in one *libellus*, Ordinary tropes in another *libellus*, and so on for each genre. This arrangement of items is not practical for a monk using the manuscript during the liturgy because finding all of the chants for a particular feast necessitates continually paging through the book to find the next type of chant. Therefore, Grier hypothesizes that these manuscripts were for the private use of cantors or aspiring cantors who needed to learn the abbey's entire repertoire of chant.[52]

Although the trope repertory in Pa 1120 is greatly expanded from that of Pa 1240, both in the number of troped feasts and the number of tropes per chant, many chants remain unnotated. The music notation shows attempts at heighting, but it is very imprecise, and indeed, accurate heighting would only be achieved in the next generation of manuscripts.[53]

---

[51] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 70–82.

[52] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 80–81; Crocker, "Repertoire of Proses," 176–81; Paul Evans, *Early Trope*, 47–48; Grier, *Musical World*, 13–16; idem, "Roger de Chabannes," 108–09.

[53] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," 113–16.

Pa 1121 is an early eleventh-century manuscript from Saint-Martial for which Pa 1120 was probably an exemplar.[54] Only the notated tropes from Pa 1120 are included in Pa 1121, so in contrast to the usual pattern of repertorial expansion, the newer manuscript has a smaller trope collection. Unlike many other Aquitanian manuscripts, Pa 1121 was written with considerable care and decoration, and it seems to be in one hand, with a single major addition.[55]

Adémar de Chabannes, nephew of Roger de Chabannes, was the principal music scribe for Pa 1121; he signed the manuscript in three places. As was discussed in chapter two, Adémar was a monk at Saint-Cybard in Angoulême, but he studied at Saint-Martial and returned there later to work as a scribe. Adémar brought several innovations in the technology of writing music to the scriptorium at Saint-Martial. First, he consistently used accurate heighting to indicate intervallic information. Second, he used a *custos* at the end of each musical line to identify the starting pitch of the next line. He also used *litterae significativae* to indicate notes of the same pitch and to help identify large leaps. Pa 1121 is the first extant manuscript from Saint-Martial to independently allow a reasonably accurate transcription of melodies.[56]

Adémar de Chabannes was also the principal music scribe for Pa 909. This manuscript was written between 1025 and 1030 at Saint-Martial as a commission for the

---

[54] Based on his reconstruction of events leading to the compilation of Pa 1121, Grier suggests a more specific date of between mid-1027 and April 6, 1028. Grier, *Musical World*, 54–55.

[55] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 81–82; Crocker, "Repertoire of Proses," 190–95; Paul Evans, *Early Trope*, 48.

[56] Grier, *Musical World*, 37–39, 52–96.

neighboring abbey of Saint-Martin in Limoges.[57] Several unique features of this manuscript make it a particularly valuable source of information about scribal and compositional activity in eleventh-century Aquitaine. Like Pa 1120 and Pa 1121, Pa 909 is organized into *libelli* according to liturgical genre. However, Pa 909 shows evidence that its structure was planned in advance. Signatures appear at the end of many of the gatherings in the first layer of Pa 909. These letters permit a reconstruction of the manuscript's original order.[58] The first *libellus* was Proper tropes (gatherings A–G), followed by Ordinary tropes (H–L), Alleluias (M–O), and other items for Easter. Gathering G is unsigned, and the main text hand barely began this section before copying halted. However, the other *libelli* are complete, which indicates that they were finished before production began on the *libellus* of Proper tropes. The principal scribe must have anticipated the number of gatherings needed for this *libellus* in order to complete and sign later sections of the manuscript first.[59]

The incomplete status of gathering G provides evidence for the working process in Saint-Martial's scriptorium. The main text scribe breaks off on folio 59. However, Adémar's hand ends on folio 57. Because Adémar and the primary text scribe were working on Pa 909 at the same time, it is significant that they were only two folios apart.

---

[57] Scholars believe Pa 909 was originally a commission based on the contents of the troped mass for St. Martin. In Pa 1120 and 1121 (the tropers immediately preceding Pa 909 at Saint-Martial), the introit for the mass for St. Martin has three tropes. In contrast, the introit in Pa 909 has eighteen tropes, which makes this feast more elaborate than any in the manuscript's original layer except Christmas and Easter. The additional tropes are taken directly from the feast for St. Martial as given in Pa 1120. These adaptations only seem logical if the manuscript was intended for use at Saint-Martin and not Saint-Martial.

[58] After a rebinding in the eighteenth century and again in the twentieth, Pa 909 is currently bound out of order.

[59] James Grier, "*Scriptio Interrupta*: Adémar de Chabannes and the Production of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 909," *Scriptorium* 51, no. 2 (1997): 237–42.

The manuscript could not have been bound at this stage of production for the scribes to be working on folios so close together. Grier proposes that this distance of two folios represents the amount of copying completed in a day.[60]

These folios illustrate the division of labor between the two scribes. From folios 57 to 59, the text scribe wrote the literary text and the smaller capital letters indicating interior sections of the trope. He did not enter the larger capitals at the beginning of the trope or any rubrics. Therefore, for the completed folios preceding folio 57, Adémar supplied neumes as well as rubrics and initials. Adémar did not provide the most elaborate initials for important feasts such as Christmas and Easter. Throughout the first layer of Pa 909, space for these decorated initials remains empty or was filled by later hands. Gatherings A–F, which are otherwise complete, are also missing these elaborate initials, so the artist who was to execute them must have been waiting for completion of the *libellus* or perhaps the whole codex.[61]

As part of his campaign to promote the recognition of St. Martial as an apostle, Adémar took Pa 909, which was still incomplete, and inserted his new apostolic liturgies. Adémar wrote a troped mass (ff. 42–46v), Alleluias (ff. 61v–62, 177v–78), an Office that incorporates an untroped mass and two prosae (ff. 62v–77v), and a processional antiphon (f. 251). He also added a sequentiary for the entire year (ff. 110–125v, 198, 205) whose

---

[60] Ibid., 243–44.

[61] Ibid., 243–45.

texts relating to St. Martial clearly refer to him as an apostle. Rubrics also proclaim St. Martial's apostolic status.[62]

In order to appeal to as many factions as possible, including the novices and older monks at Saint-Martial, the bishop and canons, and the citizens of Limoges, Adémar used a combination of new and preexisting chants to compile the liturgies for St. Martial. He had the support of Jordan, the bishop of Limoges, and Adémar hoped to appeal to older monks at the monastery with an Office that incorporated mostly preexistent chants. Grier believes that Adémar intended for his mass with its dazzling music to persuade the citizens of Limoges to support St. Martial's apostolic status. The mass included tropes from the episcopal liturgy modified to support an apostolic position as well as new compositions. For example, Adémar wrote a new introit antiphon, *Probavit eum*, and inserted eight existing trope complexes plus two that he composed. The offertory combines a new base chant, verses with newly composed tropes, and tropes from previous liturgies for St. Martial.[63]

Some of the new chants are very melismatic and use unusually evocative language. Adémar's compositonal process is particularly evident in the gradual *Principes populorum V. Elegis dominus* and the Alleluia *Beati oculi*. In both cases, Adémar created a melody with tropes, but after rewriting it for a mass without the tropes, he erased the original melody and replaced it with the revised one from the untroped mass. This process of composition, revision, and recompilation created an extensive and elaborate

---

[62] Ibid., 27–31.

[63] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 14; Grier, *Musical World*, 30–33, 97–158.

set of music and texts to celebrate all of the possible liturgies for St. Martial throughout the liturgical year.[64]

The first layer of Pa 1119 contains apostolic liturgies for St. Martial copied from Pa 909. Pa 1119 is the first manuscript from Saint-Martial to use a single horizontal line for more accurate heighting of the neumes, so it was likely copied ca. 1050. The introit for the feast of St. Martial in Pa 1119 has the same trope elements as Pa 909, in the same order, with one additional *unicum*. Other sections of Pa 1119 were copied directly from Pa 909 as well. This process is especially evident in the Assumption trope *Quia naturam*. The trope crosses two gatherings in Pa 909, and the second of these gatherings (F) begins with the word "mortis." When Adémar recopied gathering E to incorporate his apostolic liturgy, he had too much space left at the end of its final folio, so he wrote the word "mortis" although it occurred also at the beginning of the next gathering. In the version of *Quia naturam* in Pa 1119, "mortis" also occurs twice. This example shows that the scribe of Pa 1119 was visually copying his exemplar rather than relying on his own memory of the trope.[65] In addition to Pa 909, Pa 1120 was an exemplar for Pa 1119. The influence of Pa 1120 is apparent in the order of Gloria tropes in Pa 1119 because the order in Pa 1119 is closer to that of Pa 1120 than to any other Aquitanian manuscript.[66]

---

[64] Grier, *Musical World*, 212–13.

[65] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," 102–03.

[66] Chailley, *L'École musicale*, 101–02; Marie-Noël Colette, "Ordonnance alternative de tropes de Glorias dans le manuscrit Paris, BNF., Lat. 1119: Problématique musicologique," in *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, 1995*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1998), 167.

The close relationship between Pa 1120, 1121, 909, and 1119 enables some further observations about scribal practices at Saint-Martial. Because Adémar was a music scribe for Pa 1121 and 909, a unique opportunity exists to compare two versions of the same material by a single scribe. As mentioned above, manuscripts in this Saint-Martial group have a very stable melodic transmission. However, the sources vary in their application of special neumes such as liquescent-types and the oriscus. Adémar's work demonstrates that even a single scribe could vary his use of these signs. Pa 1120 was an exemplar for much of Pa 1121, but a comparison of the treatment of liquescence in these sources shows that Adémar removes some liquescents given in Pa 1120 and adds them in other places when he copied Pa 1121. In copying from Pa 1121 to Pa 909, Adémar sometimes keeps his own reading and in other instances returns to the version from Pa 1120. A similar situation is evident regarding Adémar's use of the oriscus.[67]

The notation of Pa 1119 further confirms this scribal individuality. Although the music scribe copies melodies accurately from Pa 1120 and Pa 909, variants occur in the treatment of liquescents and the oriscus.[68] Pa 1119 presents a rather unusual situation because in addition to the normal section of Gloria tropes in the manuscript's first layer, Pa 1119 gives some of these tropes again in an "alternative order" grouped according to text phrases in the Gloria. The supplement is also part of the original manuscript layer although several different scribal hands are evident. A comparison of the two versions of

---

[67] Grier, *Musical World,* 56–61, 160–61.

[68] The notation of Pa 1120 is not precisely heighted, so a comparison with melodies in this source is necessarily somewhat uncertain.

these tropes shows that even scribes working contemporaneously in the same scriptorium had some flexibility in their use of oriscus and liquescents.[69]

The scriptorium at Saint-Martial was a center of musical production, and Pa 1120, Pa 1121, Pa 909, and Pa 1119 illustrate the evolution of scribal practices and the process of repertorial change in the first half of the eleventh century. Under the direction of Roger de Chabannes, Saint-Martial compiled Pa 1120, which may have been the first written record of the abbey's trope repertoire in fifty years. The monks began work on Pa 1121 a few years later with the advent of a more literate music notation, and by ca. 1050 when Pa 1119 was written, the process of visual copying was clearly at work.

Pa 1120, Pa 1121, Pa 909, and Pa 1119 reflect Saint-Martial's particular repertoire and liturgical practices. As discussed in chapter two, devotion to the saints increased dramatically in the eleventh century, and the cult of St. Martial was no exception. Adémar's new chants for Martial in Pa 909 show the compositional process at work, and his apostolic liturgies show the lengths to which a community could go to promote its patron. The fact that the scribes of Pa 1119 included Adémar's apostolic music, with newly-composed additions, even after the official rejection of Martial's apostleship attests to the Aquitanian desire to preserve a local repertoire and resist the imposition of outside authority.

---

[69] Colette, "Ordonnance alternative," 165–68.

<u>Polyphonic Settings Bear Witness to a New Compositional Impulse</u>

Four twelfth-century Aquitanian manuscripts, Pa 1139, Pa 3719, Pa 3549, and Lo

36881, contain some of the oldest extant practical collections of polyphony,[70] and the

Aquitanian repertoire differs from other theoretical or practical sources in both its style

and the choice of pieces to receive polyphonic treatment. While most other sources use

polyphony for liturgical chants, the majority of the Aquitanian repertory is comprised of

versus that, although they are sacred in content, do not have a definite liturgical function.

As will be discussed in chapter four, the versus contain a fusion of sacred and secular

elements, and they are a product of the increased emphasis on personal spirituality and

devotion to the Virgin Mary that began in the eleventh century. Because these twelfth-

century versus were a new genre, especially the polyphonic versus, a new type of

manuscript developed to record them. The *libelli* containing these song collections are

called *versaria*. Pa 1139, Pa 3719, Pa 3549, and Lo 36881 illustrate the growing

importance of polyphony during the twelfth century and the evolution of the notation and

manuscripts used to preserve it.

Pa 1139, Pa 3719, Pa 3549, and Lo 36881 are composite manuscripts. They each

contain two or more discrete *libelli* that were bound together in the thirteenth century.

The manuscripts as they are currently bound include *versaria* with monophonic and

---

[70] Prior to the twelfth century, theoretical treatises such as the *Musica enchiriadis* (ca. 850–900) and Guido
of Arezzo's *Micrologus* (1026–28) provide almost all of the available information about polyphony. The
only practical sources of polyphony currently known to be older than the Aquitanian manuscripts are the
Winchester Troper from the early eleventh century and the late eleventh-century Chartres fragments,
neither of which can be transcribed with the same degree of certainty as several of the Aquitanian sources.
The Aquitanian sources are available in facsimile, edited by Bryan Gillingham: *Paris Bibliothèque
nationale, Fonds latin 1139*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 14 (Ottawa: Institute of
Mediaeval Music, 1987); *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds latin 3719*, Publications of Mediaeval
Musical Manuscripts 15 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987); *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds
latin 3549 and London B.L., Add. 36881*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 16 (Ottawa:
Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987).

polyphonic versus, other liturgical and paraliturgical music, and nonmusical material.

The following table gives the folio numbers of each musically relevant *libellus* as well as

the sigla assigned to them by Fuller and Grier.

Table 1
Aquitanian Polyphonic Manuscript Sigla

Manuscript	Folio numbers	Fuller's Sigla	Grier's Sigla
Pa 1139	ff. 32–39, 48–79	A-I	1139a
Pa 1139	ff. 40–47	A-II	1139b
Pa 3719	ff. 15–22	C-I	3719a
Pa 3719	ff. 23–32	C-II	3719b
Pa 3719	ff. 33–44	C-III	3719c
Pa 3719	ff. 45–92	C-IV	3719d
Pa 3549	ff. 149–69	B	3549
Lo 36881	ff. 1–16	D-I	36881a
Lo 36881	ff. 17–24	D-II	36881b

Each *versarium* has its own organizational system. Pa 1139a is the work of a

single early twelfth-century scribe, and the pieces are grouped according to their

liturgical function. All of the fascicles except for one are signed. Some groupings of

pieces are rubricated; versus, liturgical plays, Benedicamus verse-tropes, troped epistles,

Sanctus tropes, and Agnus Dei tropes are included. A group of Benedicamus verse-tropes

is currently misbound in the middle of the versus (Pa 1139b); this fascicle is not signed. It

is in the main scribal hand, however, and may have been intended as a supplement to the

main *versarium*. Although the central repertoire of Pa 1139 has many concordances with

later Aquitanian sources, the polyphony in the supplement has none.[71]

The *versarium* in Pa 3719 is actually four separate *versaria*, and although together

they form the core of the manuscript, changes in scribal hands and differences in physical

---

[71] *Catholicorum concio* occurs in Lo 36881 also, but with an entirely new upper voice that essentially makes it a new piece.

appearance clearly delineate four sections. Only six polyphonic versus comprise the original layer of Pa 3719a. A later scribe rewrote some of the music, especially the upper voices, in an apparent attempt to depict the pitches and intervallic relationships more accurately. Unfortunately, he did not finish his task, so some of the music is now lost where the scribe erased but did not rewrite it. In contrast to the clear organization of Pa 3719a and Pa 1139, that of Pa 3719b appears to be completely haphazard. Eight scribal hands are evident. The *versarium* contains monophony and polyphony, with sacred and secular pieces of various genres together, sometimes by a single scribe.[72]

Pa 3719c and Pa 3719d have very similar script and musical notation and so may be products of the same scriptorium. Unlike the other *versaria*, Pa 3719c is monophonic except for one versus. It contains five secular pieces as well. Pa 3719d is a larger collection, but it is the work of a single scribe. This scribe left blank folios at the end where additions in several other hands are evident. The primary scribe grouped polyphonic pieces together followed by monophonic ones. This organizational strategy differs from that of the main section of Pa 1139, the other substantial collection, because although the scribe of Pa 3719d distinguishes between polyphony and monophony, he does not keep pieces of the same genre together.[73]

Pa 3549 is a miscellaneous assortment of texts with a *versarium* at the end. The sections of the manuscript seem to have been brought together solely for the convenience of binding, and the *versarium* is the only portion with music. Unlike the other Aquitanian

---

[72] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:36, 40–45; idem, "Myth," 10–14; Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 37–45.

[73] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:40–45; idem, "Myth," 10–14; Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 45–48.

versaria, Pa 3549 is unified and apparently complete. It is organized into polyphonic

and monophonic sections like Pa 3719d, but in contrast to the *versaria* in Pa 3719, Pa

3549 groups pieces by genre within the categories of polyphony or monophony.[74]

Lo 36881 is the smallest of the quartet of polyphonic sources, with a total of only

four fascicles, and unlike the other three, Lo 36881 contains music throughout. As it was

bound, Lo 36881 contains two incomplete *versaria*. The scribal hands for both sources

are very similar, and the page layout is almost identical. The first *versarium*, Lo 36881a,

begins with polyphonic pieces followed by monophonic ones. It has a high percentage of

concordances with the other Aquitanian sources, especially in the polyphony, with

fourteen of the nineteen polyphonic works occurring in other Aquitanian manuscripts.

The second *versarium*, Lo 36881b, also begins with polyphony followed by monophony.

However, unlike Lo 36881a, most of these pieces are *unica*. Because their repertoires are

different but appear to contain the same genres of pieces, Lo 36881b may be a

supplement to Lo 36881a, similar to the relationship between the two sections of Pa

1139.[75]

The provenance of these manuscripts is uncertain. The three Paris sources were in

the library at the abbey of Saint-Martial by the thirteenth century,[76] so early scholars

believed that the polyphony itself originated there. As a result of this assumption, the

---

[74] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:36, 45; idem, "Myth," 14–15; Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 35–37.

[75] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:36, 45–48; idem, "Myth," 15–16; Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 48–51; idem, "Stemma," 271–72.

[76] Bernard Itier wrote in Pa 1139 that it was bound in 1245, and he wrote in Pa 3549 that it was bound in 1205.

entire repertory was once labeled "Saint-Martial polyphony." However, subsequent scholarship showed that these manuscripts were not written at Saint-Martial. The three sources in the Bibliothèque Nationale have Aquitanian musical notation, so they likely originated somewhere in southwestern France. Scholars suggest Lo 36881 is from Apt or Catalonia based on its notation.[77] One monophonic versus in Pa 3719c and Pa 3549 mentions Solignac;[78] an addition in one of the latest sections of Pa 3719d mentions Limoges and was probably written there. A lament for Countess Dolça of Provence is also specific to southern France. Because almost all of the *versaria* contain at least one piece dedicated to St. Nicholas or St. Mary Magdalene, Grier suggests looking for monasteries with particular devotion to these two saints.[79]

None of the nine Aquitanian *versaria* can be dated precisely. A monophonic versus in Pa 1139a, *Jerusalem mirabilis* (f. 50), is about the captivity of Jerusalem, so it may have been written between the beginning of the First Crusade in 1096 and the recapture of Jerusalem in 1099. Therefore, it is unlikely that Pa 1139 was copied before 1096, and the eleventh-century minuscule script makes it unlikely that the *versaria* were written much later than 1100. None of the datable events or people mentioned in Pa 3719 or Pa 3549 seem relevant to dating the *versaria*. One lament in Pa 3719d (*Iocus et leticia*) mourns the death of the Countess Dolça of Provence who died between 1127 and 1130, but the poem has no music, so it seems unlikely to have been current when it was copied.

---

[77] For example, Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 49; Karp, *Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 1:1–2; Treitler, "Polyphony of St. Martial," 29–30.

[78] The abbey of Saint-Peter of Solignac was about 12 km south of Limoges. This abbey had ties to Saint-Martial as far back as a charter of mutual friendship in 942.

[79] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:70–71; idem, "Myth," 25; Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 52–56.

Pa 3549 and Pa 3719b contain a versus about the recapture of Jerusalem in 1099

(*Nomen a solemnibus*), but again, it was not necessarily current when it was copied.[80]

Development of a notational technology capable of accurately depicting two

independent voice parts is one of the most influential characteristics of Aquitanian

polyphony, and although their dates are not precise, the *versaria* appear to fall into three

chronological groups based on the methods used to prepare the parchment for musical

notation and the procedure for recording polyphony. The earliest group of sources, from

ca. 1100, includes Pa 1139a, Pa 1139b, and Pa 3719b. The parchment in these *versaria* is

ruled with rather widely spaced dry-point lines. Although this technique was normal for

preparing text manuscripts in the eleventh century, it is not well-suited for recording

music because the lines are too far apart to make a staff but too close together to

accommodate both text and neumes. Pitch intervals have only relative heighting. If the

text scribe used every other line, the music scribe sometimes used the alternate ones as an

informal guide.[81]

Most of the polyphony in this oldest group of *versaria* is recorded in successive

notation, which, while an innovative solution to the problem of recording two

independent voice parts, is challenging for modern transcribers. Instead of writing the

two voices in score, which would become standard in later *versaria*, the scribe wrote the

---

[80] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:60; idem, "Myth," 25.

[81] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:50–52; idem, "Myth," 19.

second voice immediately following the first. Polyphonic pieces appear to be monophonic with this notational method.[82]

Depending on the type of text to be set, this procedure for recording the two parts varies somewhat. For a poem with paired lines (e.g. 1a/1b, 2a/2b), the music may appear to be through composed (a, b, c, d). However, the music for each of the paired lines is actually sung together for both lines (a+b, a+b, c+d, c+d). For a strophic poem, the first and second strophes have different music, but only one of the melodies is notated for the rest of the strophes. Performance of a piece like this entails combining both melodies for all of the strophes. In a poem with a refrain, the refrain is written twice with different music, but then it is indicated only by text incipit. As in the procedure for a strophic poem, the two refrain melodies are sung together for each refrain.[83]

Recognizing polyphonic pieces written in successive notation can be difficult. Sometimes concordances from other manuscripts suggest or verify polyphonic works, but other times it is only the apparent disjunction between textual and musical form that indicates polyphony. Verifying successive polyphony in the absence of concordances is challenging because of the imprecise heighting in Pa 1139 and Pa 3719b. Scholars must

---

[82] The first in-depth study of this technique for recording polyphony was Judith M. Marshall, "Hidden Polyphony in a Manuscript from St. Martial de Limoges," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15, no. 2 (1962): 131–44. Her conclusion that "hidden polyphony" represented a trend away from polyphony to monophonic performance quickly came under scrutiny and revision. See Leo Treitler, "The Polyphony of St. Martial," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 1 (1964): 29–42; Sarah Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony—A Reappraisal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2 (1971): 169–92; and Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," 211–63. Fuller's conclusion that successive notation represents an early method of recording polyphony, not a monophonic adaptation of polyphonic music, is now generally accepted.

[83] Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony," 169–82.

use a certain amount of speculation and subjective judgment when reconstructing these pieces, which leads to discrepancies in the tallies of polyphonic works in the *versaria*.[84]

The *versaria* from the middle chronological layer are Pa 3719c, Pa 3719d, and Pa 3549. Here, the parchment is specifically prepared for music. Closely spaced dry lines serve as staves, and especially in the two sections of Pa 3719, the scribes place notes precisely on lines or spaces. The scribes also consistently use clefs, so the accuracy of pitch representation is much improved from the early *versaria*. The polyphony in this middle group is written in score.[85]

Pa 3719a represents a transition between the early and middle groups.[86] The parchment is prepared like the early *versaria*, with evenly spaced lines that are not designed for musical notation. However, the polyphonic pieces in Pa 3719a are written in score, which points to a slightly later period, although this score notation is not as developed as that of Pa 3719d and Pa 3549. Because both voices are *in campo aperto*, each part does not have its own defined space. The scribe occasionally draws a line between the two parts or tries to make the notes for one part slightly larger or darker than the other. This lack of clarity as well as the scribe's general tendency for imprecise heighting helps explain why a later scribe began rewriting the music for several pieces in Pa 3719a.[87]

---

[84] Ibid.

[85] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:53; idem, "Myth," 19.

[86] Grier and van der Werf place Pa 3719a in the earliest group. Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," 52–53; van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 1:6–12.

[87] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:54–59; idem, "Myth," 20–21.

The two sections of Lo 36881 are the youngest group of *versaria*. The ruling of the parchment was designed to facilitate musical notation, with closely ruled lines for musical staves and wider ruling for text. The style of writing is typical of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century with more compressed script and frequent abbreviations, and the neumes show the influence of thirteenth-century European square notation. Polyphony in Lo 36881 is written in score. The scribes use clefs consistently and separate the two voices with a dotted or solid line. Diastematic score notation, in manuscripts expressly designed to record it, illustrates the increasing importance of polyphony during the twelfth century and facilitated the growth of music for more than one voice.[88]

The contents of these *versaria* confirm these basic chronological divisions as well as the growing interest in polyphony throughout the twelfth century. Later sources show a marked increase in the proportion of the repertoire devoted to polyphony. Excluding additions, Pa 1139 and Pa 3719b together have only ten polyphonic pieces, which is barely an eighth of their total repertoire. However, the two largest *versaria* of the middle period, Pa 3719d and Pa 3549, are primarily polyphonic collections with a few monophonic works. Polyphony comprises 55% of the total repertory; the proportion rises to 72% if only versus, proses, and Benedicamus verse-tropes are counted.[89]

Scholars often group the Aquitanian polyphonic manuscripts together, but relationships between the *versaria* are complex. As mentioned above, Pa 1139b is a supplement to Pa 1139a, and Lo 36881b may be a supplement to Lo 36881a. Also, Pa

---

[88] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:53–54; idem, "Myth," 20.

[89] Because both sections of Lo 36881 are clearly incomplete, it is not possible to form definite conclusions about the original ratio of polyphony to monophony. Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:60–69; idem, "Myth," 22–23.

3719c and Pa 3719d have many notational similarities although the repertoire of Pa 3719c is primarily monophonic and over half of Pa 3719d is polyphonic. The two *versaria* have no concordances with each other, but they each have a relatively high rate of concordance with Pa 3549. Grier proposes that Pa 3719c and Pa 3719d represent the monophonic and polyphonic parts of the same repertory, and the scribe of Pa 3549 copied them together in his manuscript.[90]

In general, the Aquitanian *versaria* do not have high rates of concordance. Of the 191 pieces catalogued by Fuller (excluding additions), only thirty-three appear in more than one source. Of those thirty-three, most appear in only two sources.[91] However, in creating a stemma for the *versaria*, Grier finds fourteen pieces that seem to have been largely transmitted as a group.[92] They appear in three of the largest *versaria*, Pa 3719d, Pa 3549, and Lo 36881a, and they were the most widely circulated versus. Although these fourteen pieces represent only about 6% of the entire repertory, their appearance in *versaria* from different chronological layers and places of origin attests to the fact that transmission of these pieces across Aquitaine occurred throughout the twelfth century.[93]

Even a brief survey of four groups of Aquitanian manuscripts shows the depth of the region's sacred music tradition. The earliest notated sources already attest to a desire

---

[90] Grier, "Stemma," 271–72.

[91] Fuller, "Myth," 16–18.

[92] Stemmatics is commonly used in the field of literature. Through a comparison of the transmission patterns of the extant sources for a particular text and the occurrences of variants or errors, a reconstruction of the relationships between sources is possible. Stemmatics can enable scholars to hypothesize the existence and contents of sources no longer extant. Grier adapts this technique to account for musical as well as textual factors. For a more detailed explanation of his methods and results, see Grier, "Stemma."

[93] Grier, "Stemma," 276–83.

to record the local repertoire, and this trend is evident into the twelfth- and thirteenth-century polyphonic sources. Aquitanian innovation is evident both in the creation of new chants and in the methods used to record them, including developments in notation and manuscript organization. Beginning in the late tenth century, manuscripts became systematic collections of music for the mass or Office in contrast to earlier eclectic sources. The wealth of extant eleventh-century troper-prosers and sequentiaries from Saint-Martial reflects the popularity of these genres in Aquitaine, and because these manuscripts were compiled within a relatively short timespan, it is possible to see the workings of the abbey's scriptorium and changes in its repertoire. Aquitaine had a distinctive regional polyphonic repertory, and the sources show the development of a new notational system that could depict two independent voice parts. Through examining these four groups of manuscripts, we can trace the development of Aquitaine's sacred music tradition and see some of the ways in which the music relates to other cultural and societal forces. In the next chapter, we will focus on three specific pieces for a more detailed exploration of Aquitaine's musical style.

CHAPTER IV

THREE MUSICAL CASE STUDIES

As scholars have long noted in a variety of sacred genres, the music of Aquitaine

exhibits a distinct regional tradition. Both in the choice of pieces and in their textual and

melodic characteristics, the Aquitanian repertoire differs from that of other parts of Latin

Christendom. This regional style is evident in many genres. For example, Charlotte

Roederer traces the transmission of the Aquitanian and Gregorian version of an Easter

processional antiphon. The more widely distributed Gregorian version, *Stetit angelus ad*

sepulcrum, appears in West Frankish, East Frankish, and Italian manuscripts. The other

version, *Stabat angelus ad sepulcrum,* occurs only in some Aquitanian manuscripts.

Sources come from Saint-Martial (Pa 909, Pa 1120, Pa 1121, and Pa 1136), regions near

Limoges (Pa 903 from Saint-Yrieix and Pa 1086 from Saint-Léonard de Noblat), and

southern areas (Lo 4951 from Toulouse and Pa 776 from Saint-Michel de Gaillac, near

Albi). The text of the two versions is quite similar.[1]

However, the two versions have some significant variants, particularly in the

music. Both melodies start similarly, but the Aquitanian version becomes more

melismatic. Each version leads to its own particular setting of the Alleluia, so the ends of

the antiphons reflect this difference. Also, the Gregorian antiphon includes a verse; the

Aquitanian version does not, which gives it a bipartite, repetitive form (AA`) echoed in

its phrase structure. This form contrasts with the Gregorian tripartite (ABA`) form found

---

[1] Charlotte D. Roederer, "Can We Identify an Aquitanian Chant Style?" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27, no. 1 (1974): 75–78.

in both its large-scale and phrase-level structure. Immediate repetition as a formal element is evident in many other Aquitanian melodies but not in the Gregorian versions. The Aquitanian melody of *Stabat angelus* favors *b* (natural) as a reciting tone in contrast to the Gregorian *c*; this characteristic is apparent in other chants as well.[2]

Aquitanians were aware of their local style and actively worked to preserve it. Unlike most manuscripts that include only the Aquitanian or the Gregorian version of *Stabat (Stetit) angelus*, the two southern sources, Pa 776 and Lo 4951, preserve both versions. Pa 776 is unusual for the number of chants it presents in a double tradition. In addition to *Stabat (Stetit) angelus*, Pa 776 has the Aquitanian and Gregorian versions of at least seven other chants, including two complete services for St. Benedict.[3]

The Aquitanian style is also evident in its trope repertoire. Aquitaine had a distinctive trope tradition that included Proper and Ordinary tropes.[4] For example, Alejandro Planchart notes that the Ascension introit trope *Quem creditis super astra* shows two divergent melodic traditions. The international melody is found in sources from northern France, Italy, and England with only minor variants. Pa 1084 contains the international melody, but when the manuscript reached Saint-Martial, a scribe there

---

[2] See for example the Easter antiphon *Cum rex glorie* which emphasizes *b* as a reciting tone. The Alleluia that follows this antiphon has the melodic form AA`, and the antiphon itself concludes with a melisma featuring immediate melodic repetition. The Christmas Alleluia verse *Ortus est sicut sol*, which appears only in some Aquitanian manuscripts, is built melodically on the repetition of two six-note figures. Roederer, "Aquitanian Chant Style," 81–99.

[3] Roederer, "Aquitanian Chant Style," 75–79.

[4] Several scholars have identified regional variants and transmission patterns in Aquitaine's trope repertoire. For instance, see Paul Evans, *Early Trope Repertory*; Alejandro Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Weiss, *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*. Lori Kruckenberg notes similar trends in the Aquitanian sequence repertory; see Lori Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997).

added a new melody. Several sources from Saint-Martial (Pa 1834, Pa 1120, Pa 1121,

Pa 909, and Pa 1119) present only this Aquitanian tune that makes the mode of the trope

match that of the introit antiphon. Pa 1871 contains the international version, but instead

of recomposing the trope to match the mode of the introit as at Saint-Martial, the scribe

of Pa 1871 rewrote the opening of the introit to make it match the trope. It is a testament

to the independent Aquitanian spirit that the monks at Moissac would alter an established

Gregorian chant to make it conform to their local tradition.[5]

Like the Proper tropes, Aquitanian tropes for the mass Ordinary have some

distinctive features. In his study of Gloria tropes, Klaus Rönnau observes that Aquitanian

sources show a preference for one particular Gloria melody (identified as Gloria A) to the

almost total exclusion of other melodies. Distinctive groups of Aquitanian Gloria tropes

are also evident. Aquitanian manuscripts contain some tropes common to the entire West

Frankish area, but at least fifteen Gloria tropes exist exclusively in Aquitanian sources.[6]

Yet another example can be found in Bjork's study of the Aquitanian Kyrie

repertory. Twenty-two Aquitanian manuscripts contain a single repertory of Kyrie tropes

and melodies, and a clear correspondence between their contents exists.[7] The Aquitanian

---

[5] Planchart, "On the Nature of Transmission," 234–38.

[6] Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria.* See also Gunilla Iversen, "'*Incipiunt Glorie cum Laudes.*' Conclusions from a Radical Redaction. Gloria Melody A and its Connection of Alternating Trope Verses in the MS Paris B.N. lat. 1119," in *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, 1995,* ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1998), 1:305–28.

[7] Bjork examined Apt 17, Lo 4951, Pa 776, Pa 779, Pa 780, Pa 887, Pa 903, Pa 1084, Pa 1118, Pa 1119, Pa 1120, Pa 1132, Pa 1133, Pa 1134, Pa 1135, Pa 1136, Pa 1137, Pa 1139, Pa 1177, Pa 1240, Pa 1871, and Wo 79.

group is the largest collection of closely related sources of its time, and some of these

tropes were sung continuously throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries.[8]

The repertoire of Aquitanian versus was also unique. Versus is the name

commonly used to refer to a new form of strophic, rhymed poetry that flourished in the

twelfth century. Fuller notes, "The new rhythmic poetry was evidently conceived from

the beginning as song."[9] Most of the versus do not have a clear liturgical assignment

although many of the texts are on Marian or Christmas themes. These twelfth- and

thirteenth-century versus differ from the earlier Carolingian versus in several ways.

Aquitanian rhythmic poetry uses rhyme consistently, and it is primarily two-syllable

rhyme. Strophes tend to be short with an even number of lines, and the average length of

a poem is two to six strophes. Accent in each line is usually regular and forms a structural

component of the poetry. These characteristics contrast with the Carolingian poetry,

which was not usually rhymed and had long strophes with irregular accents. The strict

periodic structure of the Aquitanian versus affected the musical settings. A new type of

chant developed featuring clear, carefully shaped phrases that cadence with major

structural points in the text.[10] Versus could be monophonic or polyphonic, and of the

polyphonic pieces found in Aquitanian sources, few occur in manuscripts from outside

the region.

---

[8] Bjork, *Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory*, 4–7.

[9] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:10.

[10] Ibid., 11–13. See also Carlson, "Striking Ornaments."

Because the Aquitanian style manifests itself in various genres, this chapter will examine three pieces that may at first appear to be quite dissimilar. However, they all serve to represent the regional musical tradition in Aquitaine, and they reflect and respond to the cultural trends described in the second chapter. The first example is an introit trope, *Petri clavigeri kari*, for the feast of St. Peter from the late eleventh-century Moissac source Pa 1871. This extended introductory trope illustrates the Aquitanian trope style, and it demonstrates how monasteries elaborated the liturgies for their patron saints, in this case Saint-Pierre in Moissac for St. Peter. *Petri clavigeri kari* also shows how important music and liturgical identity were in this region.

My second selection is a monophonic versus, *In hoc anni circulo*, as it is found in the Saint-Martial collection Pa 1139 from ca. 1100. In the Aquitanian version, this poem alternates stanzas of Latin and Occitan, and despite its possible liturgical function, it demonstrates characteristics of troubadour poetry. Moreover, *In hoc anni circulo* presents a Marian text for the Annunciation, but with hints of Christmas and the New Year, thereby underscoring its flexibility of usage and performance. The version of this versus found in Pa 1139 shows a level of detail that indicates how important this genre was during the twelfth century, and its vernacular stanzas further assert the Aquitanian identity.

The final example, *Cantu miro summa laude*, is also a sacred Latin song, but unlike *In hoc anni circulo*, this piece is extant in a monophonic and a polyphonic version. The polyphonic version, with one concordance outside of the Aquitanian sources, is illustrative of the Aquitanian polyphonic style. This versus honors St. Nicholas, an extremely important saint from 1087 on. Though *Cantu miro* is part of the larger cult of

Nicholas and of the saints in general that flourished in the twelfth century, this

Aquitanian liturgical versus distinguishes itself from comparable new songs dedicated to

Nicholas such as the sequence *Congaudentes exultemus*.

All three of my examples, *Petri clavigeri kari*, *In hoc anni circulo*, and *Cantu*

miro summa laude, illustrate different aspects of the Aquitanian musical style and the

larger cultural forces at work during this period.

<div align="center">The Early Medieval Trope and Moissac's Petri clavigeri kari</div>

The definition of "trope" was a subject of debate for more than a century,[11] but

scholars now generally agree that a trope is an addition to a preexisting chant. These

additions can be one of three types: a musical phrase or untexted melisma (meloform),

text added to a preexisting melisma (melogene), or new text and music (logogene).

Melogene tropes consisting solely of a melodic addition typically occur in conjunction

with the introit, the Gloria, and Office responsories. Textual tropes, labeled variously as

"prosa," "prosula," or "verba," are textings, usually syllabic, occurring on preexisting

melismas in the gradual, the Alleluia, the offertory verses, the Osanna of the Sanctus, the

trope verse *Regnum tuum solidum* near the end of many Gloria tropes, and the melismas

in Matins responsories.[12] Textings can also be added to melodic tropes. Finally, the

---

[11] See Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 429–42; Richard Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," *The Musical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1966): 183–84; Paul Evans, "Some Reflections On the Origin of the Trope," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14, no. 2 (1961): 119–21; Léon Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: Les tropes* (Paris: 1886; repr. Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1966.); and David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 196–238.

simultaneous additions of text and music occur in Proper and Ordinary chants of both

the mass and Office, and most of the extant trope repertory fits into this category.[13]

Tropes were additions to the standard chant repertoire, so they were a way to

embellish the liturgy and give greater emphasis to important feasts. In 817 when the

Council of Aachen promulgated a list of feasts that were to be celebrated with special

solemnity, these feasts were the ones to receive tropes in the earliest sources. In the

thirteenth century, Bishop Guillaume Durand wrote, "A trope is a kind of versicle that is

sung on important feasts, for example, Christmas, immediately before the Introit, as if a

prelude, and then a continuation of that Introit."[14] Troping of Propers flourished from

only the tenth through the late eleventh century although, as Durand remarked, they were

still known in the context of the introit up to 1300.

Planchart notes that tropes are particularly representative of regional style.

Although tropes were closely connected to the Gregorian Propers, they did not have the

same standing as the existing *carmen gregorianum*. Tradition held that St. Gregory

himself wrote the base chants for the liturgy, so scribes and singers attempted to

accurately record and perform the received chant. However, tropes were new

compositions. They could be changed as needed and reflected regional preferences.

Planchart writes that tropes were "one of the last repositories of the traditional non-

---

[12] One contributing factor to the debate over the definition of a trope was overlapping terminology. For example, in many ninth-century sources, the term "sequentia" applied to the extended melisma sung after the Alleluia verse, and the texted form of this melisma was called a "prosa." In the German tradition, "sequentia" referred to the texted sequence. Scholars eventually adopted the term "sequence" to refer to the texted form.

[13] Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, "Trope," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 25:777–89.

[14] In Crocker, "Troping Hypothesis," 183–84.

Gregorian chant styles of the locales where the pieces were used."[15] Variants occur in text and music, and in many cases, they seem to reflect a scribe's deliberate compositional choice.[16]

Perhaps no better example exists of the ability to put a local imprint on liturgical music than a long introductory trope. *Petri clavigeri kari* is an introductory trope for the introit *Nunc scio vere* for the main feast of St. Peter in Pa 1871 (f. 24v–25v), a late eleventh-century manuscript from the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac.[17] The monastery had a challenging beginning. Legend attributes the founding of Moissac to Clovis, but it more likely happened during the early seventh century. The Saracens ravaged the abbey on their campaigns through Aquitaine in the eighth century, followed by the Normans a century later. In 1030, the roof of the church collapsed, and a fire devastated the abbey in 1042. By 1045, Moissac was in a difficult situation.[18]

Because Moissac was within the county and diocese of Toulouse, in 1048, Count Pons called on Abbot Odilon of Cluny to reform Moissac. Cluny was looking to increase its influence in the region, particularly on the lucrative pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela, so Odilon seized the opportunity to intervene in Moissac. Odilon named Durand, a monk originally from Auvergne, to lead the abbey. Durand (1048–72) oversaw physical repairs to the abbey, restored monastic life, and reformed the liturgy. He also started a scriptorium. Durand was bishop of Toulouse at the same time he was abbot of

---

[15] Planchart, "On the Nature of Transmission," 220.

[16] Ibid., 219–20.

[17] The main feast of St. Peter is celebrated on June 29.

[18] Jean Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac* (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1972), 1–3.

Moissac, so connections between the two centers increased. Moissac was an instrument of Cluniac reform throughout southern Aquitaine, and its influence extended into Spain. By the early twelfth century, Moissac was reputed to be second only to Cluny in the size of its community, its spiritual life, artistic production, and number of dependents.[19]

Pa 1871 was copied at Saint-Pierre during the monastery's ascendancy after the Cluniac reform, and the level of care and artistry the scriptorium was able to devote to producing Pa 1871 attests to one area of Cluniac success. However, in light of the fact that Pa 1871 was copied after Cluniac intervention, the manuscript's contents are surprising. As noted above, Pa 1871 contains a large number of Proper tropes.[20] This characteristic differentiates Pa 1871 from manuscripts of a comparable age copied in other parts of Latin Christendom, and it is particularly remarkable in light of the Cluniac attitude toward tropes. Although the arts, including music, were very important at Cluny, Cluniacs saw tropes as foreign to the structure of the liturgy.[21] Pierre Gy described Cluny as part of an "antitrope" zone.[22]

---

[19] Gisèle Clément-Dumas, *Des moines aux troubadours IXe–XIIIe siècle* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc, 2004), 67–73; Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium*, 4–10.

[20] Pa 1871 contains 734 Proper trope elements and 212 Ordinary trope elements.

[21] The literature analyzing Cluny's attitude towards the arts is extensive. See for example Jean Leclercq, "*Otium Monasticum* as a Context for Artistic Creativity," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. Timothy Gregory Verdon and John Dally (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 63–80; idem, "Spiritualité et Culture;" Kathi Meyer, "The Eight Gregorian Modes on the Cluny Capitals," *The Art Bulletin* 34, no. 2 (1952): 75–94; Irven M. Resnick, "Peter Damian on Cluny, Liturgy and Penance," *Journal of Religious History* 15, no. 1 (1988): 61–75; Conrad Rudolph, "Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* as a Description of Cluny, and the Controversy over Monastic Art," *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 125–32; idem, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's* Apologia *and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1990).

Unfortunately, the only surviving book of music for the mass from Cluny is Pa 1087, a gradual copied between 1049 and 1109.[23] However, the customaries of Ulrich of Zell (written ca. 1079–80) and Bernard of Cluny (written between 1078 and 1085–86) include musical instructions.[24] Ulrich and Bernard describe the use of texted and textless sequences, all of which appear in Pa 1087, but the only tropes they mention are Agnus Dei tropes for Easter. These tropes are the only ones found in Pa 1087.[25] Although the Cluniac reform impacted other aspects of monastic life at Moissac, Cluny's dislike of tropes did not curtail the performance or production of these chants at Saint-Pierre.

Petri clavigeri kari is a four-part trope for the introit *Nunc scio vere*. The introit text itself is somewhat unusual because it comes from the New Testament rather than the psalms; it is an excerpt from chapter 12, verse 11 of the Acts of the Apostles.

Nunc scio vere quia misit dominus angelum suum;	*Now I know truly that the Lord has sent his angel*

---

[22] Pierre-Marie Gy, "Les tropes dans l'histoire de la liturgie et de la théologie," in *Research on Tropes*, ed. Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1983), 8–11.

[23] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1087. This manuscript also contains a Kyriale, proser, and sequentiary, but only a small number of Ordinary tropes.

[24] A customary was a book that documented the practices of a particular monastery. It described all aspects of monastic life, from the order of liturgies to the regulations that governed communal living, and it could have one of several intended audiences. A customary like Bernard's was for the use of the house where it was produced as a way to codify and preserve the monastery's way of life. Ulrich wrote his customary for a different house that wanted to emulate Cluny's way of life. Customaries could also be given to houses that were being forcibly reformed. See Susan Boynton, "The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 109–30; Isabelle Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard," in *From Dead of Night*, 29–66; Anselme Davril, OSB, "Coutumiers directives et coutumiers descriptifs d'Ulrich à Bernard de Cluny," in *From Dead of Night*, 23–28; Gert Melville, "Action, Text, and Validity: On Re-examining Cluny's *Consuetudines* and *Statutes*," in *From Dead of Night*, 67–83.

[25] David Hiley, "Cluny, Sequences and Tropes," in *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menesto (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), 125–31; idem, "The Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere," in *De Musica et Cantu*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993), 137–41.

et eripuit me de manu Herodis,

et de omni expectatione plebis Iudaeorum.

and has delivered me out of the hand of Herod

and from all expectation of the people of the Jews.[26]

Example 1
Nunc scio vere (Pa 776, f. 101v)[27]

Nunc sci- o ve- re qui- a mi- sit do- mi- num an- ge- lum su- um

et e- ri- pu- it me de ma- nu he- ro- dis

et de om- ni ex- pec- ta- ci- o- ne ple- bis iu- de- o- rum.

A dramatic story leads up to the text used in the introit. Herod has thrown Peter in prison, and the community of disciples gathers to pray for his release. In the middle of the night, an angel appears to Peter in what Peter believes to be a vision. The angel tells him to get up and follow him. Peter's chains fall off, and he follows the angel past the sleeping guards out into the street. Then the angel disappears. Only at this point does Peter realize

---

[26] Translation based on Gunilla Iversen, "*Cantans – Orans – Exultans*: Interpretations of the Chants of the Introit Liturgy," in *Laborare Fratres in Unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. David Hiley and Janka Szendrei. Spolia Berolinensia: Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik 7. (Hildesheim, Germany: Weidmann, 1995), 33, and my translation from the French by Gunilla Iversen in idem, *Chanter avec les anges* (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 2001), 68–71.

[27] I have transcribed this introit from the gradual Pa 776 (ca. 1079, Saint-Michel, Gaillac) because Pa 1871 provides only the incipit. Pa 776 contains a liturgical practice and melodic tradition close to that of Pa 1871. For analysis of the similarities between these two manuscripts, see *Festive Troped Masses from the Eleventh Century: Christmas and Easter in the Aquitaine*, reconstructed and transcribed by Charlotte Roederer, *Collegium Musicum: Yale University*, 2nd series, 11, ed. Léon Plantinga and Jane Stevens (Madison ,WI: A-R Editions, 1989), xiii–iv; *Il cod. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 776*, vii–xv; and *Tropaire Séquentiaire Prosaire Prosulaire*, 7–24.

that he is not dreaming, and he exclaims, "Now I know for certain that the Lord sent his angel" ("Nunc scio vere quia misit dominus angelum suum").

Unlike the situation for most other saints, many biblical texts are available to create chants for St. Peter. Peter is a New Testament figure, so tropes for these chants do not need to relate to an Old Testament psalm or prophecy the same way tropes for most other feasts do. Although it is a New Testament text, *Nunc scio vere* is in the style of the more common psalmic introits in which the psalmist gives thanks to God for delivering him from his enemies. The tropist here has more creative license, however, because the base chant does not necessarily require an elaborate patristic exegesis.[28]

The antiphon *Nunc scio vere* and several sets of trope complexes circulated throughout the Latin West. The choice and order of tropes fall into patterns based on the location of the manuscript in which they are found. The trope complexes given in Pa 1871, following *Petri clavigeri kari*, are part of a clear Aquitanian group. The following table lists the incipits for the trope complexes found in several Aquitanian manuscripts, and the correspondence is clear. For example, after *Petri clavigeri kari* in Pa 1871, the second trope complex in all of these sources begins with the introductory elements *Angelico fretus*; a set of intercalated tropes that begins with the trope element *Custodem ac defensorem* follows *Angelico fretus*.[29]

---

[28] Ritva Maria Jacobsson, "Poésie liturgique et fond biblique: Essai sur quatre complexes de tropes en l'honneur de Saint Pierre apôtre et sur leur transmission," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993), 309.

[29] Wulf Arlt, "Schichten unt Wege in der Überlieferung der Älteren Tropen zum Introitus *Nunc scio vere* des Petrus-Festes," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993), 54–55.

Table 2
Aquitanian trope sets for *Nunc scio vere*

Pa 1834, Pa 1120, Pa 1121, Pa 909, Pa 1119	Pa 1084b, Pa 779	Pa 1871	Incipit
		Petri clavigeri kari	NUNC
Ecce dies + *Non tulit en Christus*	*Ecce dies*	*Ecce dies*	NUNC
Angelico fretus + *Custodem ac defensorem*	*Angelico fretus* + *Custodem ac defensorem*	*Angelico fretus* + *Custodem ac defensorem*	NUNC
Apostolorum principem	*Apostolorum principem*	*Apostolorum principem*	Ps.
Divina beatus Petrus + *Lucemque iusticie*	*Divina beatus Petrus* + *Lucemque iusticie*	*Divina beatus Petrus* + *Lucemque iusticie*	NUNC
			Gloria

Most Aquitanian tropes for *Nunc scio vere* paraphrase and expand on the biblical text of the base chant, and because the text of the antiphon is actually Peter speaking, many of the tropes serve to put the words into his mouth. *Ecce dies* is a typical introduction. It provides the *hic et nunc* ("Here is the day of the prince of the apostles"); the title "apostolorum principis" is common in hagiographic literature and serves an an epithet for Peter. The trope summarizes the biblical story from the introit and prepares for Peter's speech in the antiphon.[30]

Ecce dies adest apostolorum principis	**Here is the day** of the prince of the apostles
festivitate valde sublimis	on this festive day
quia ab angelo ereptus de carcere	when the angel delivered him from prison
ad se reversus dixit:	then he said to him:
Nunc scio vere	*Now I know truly*[31]

Most of the tropes for *Nunc scio vere* are intercalated, that is, they occur between lines of the introit antiphon.

---

[30] Jacobsson, "Poésie liturgique," 325. For the Latin text of other introductory tropes for *Nunc scio vere*, see Ritva Maria Jacobsson, "Les plus anciens tropes des saints," in *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*, ed. Walter Berschin (Stüttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1991), 203–13.

[31] My translation from the French in Iversen, *Chanter*, 69–71.

Angelico fretus dixit munimine Petrus:	**Comforted** by the protection of the angel, Peter said:
Nunc scio vere quia misit dominus angelum suum,	*Now I know truly that the Lord sent his angel*
custodem ac defensorem vite meae,	to guard and protect my life
et eripuit me,	*and delivered me*
Constantissimum nominis sui confessorem,	the most faithful confessor of your Name
de manu Herodis,	*from Herod's hand*
sancti collegii nostri maligni pervasoris,	the perverse usurper of your holy community
et de omni expectatione	*and from all expectation*
cunctoque coetu maligno	and all those who are malicious
plebis Iudaeorum.	*of the people of the Jews.*[32]

These tropes serve to add detail and heighten the drama of the introit text.

Petri clavigeri kari is different from the other tropes for *Nunc scio vere* found throughout Aquitaine and the Western tradition at large. This trope is a contrafactum of another Aquitanian trope for St. Peter, *Petro ad hostium*, and it demonstrates that even within the larger Aquitanian tradition, individual monasteries valued their own local liturgical expression. *Petro ad hostium* was in use at Moissac; it appears in Pa 1871 for the feast of St. Peter in Chains on August 1 (f. 27v), but it is designated for the main feast of St. Peter in three other Aquitanian sources and two manuscripts from Spain.[33] *Petro ad hostium* is a dramatic retelling of the story that follows the events of *Nunc scio vere* in the Acts of the Apostles.[34] Peter goes to a house where some Christians are gathered and knocks on the door, but the servant girl thinks he is a ghost and does not let him inside. Finally the misunderstanding is resolved, and Peter recounts the story of his miraculous rescue from prison with the text of the introit ("Now I know truly that the Lord sent his

---

[32] My translation from the French in Iversen, *Chanter*, 68–71.

[33] Pa 903 (f. 157), Pa 1118 (f. 72v), Apt 17 (p. 235), Gerona, Archivo seminario cod. 4 (f. 94v), and Vic, Biblioteca episcopal, Ms. 105 (111) (f. 23v).

[34] Ritva Maria Jacobsson gives a detailed analysis of the text of *Petro ad ostium* in "*Petro ad ostium pulsanti* – On the Interplay of Roles in Saints' Tropes," in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), 323–29.

angel"). In contrast to this and other typical tropes for *Nunc scio vere*, *Petri clavigeri*

kari is not simply a biblical paraphrase.

Petri clavigeri kari pangamus triumphum!

Let us celebrate the triumph of Saint Peter the dear keyholder!

Cuius festum nobis est felix,
quo astra poli conscendit
sat viriliter
liber ab hoste.

Here is his great feast
when he ascended to the heavens
and courageously
liberated us from the enemy.

At nunc plectro
corde simul proclivo
regi Christo puro
solvamus duorum odas
triumpho beato.

Now with the plectrum,
our heart pure and at the same time humbly bowing
before Christ the king,
let us sing praises
to the blessed triumph of both.

Fidibus musicis
symphoniet sonus
maxime nos apte puros
angelorumque concives
sorte beata.

May the sound
bring us into harmony with the musical lyres,
making us most fittingly pure through singing
in harmony with the angels
in the blessed community.

Alleluia, alleluia.
Conscio precelsa
nobis cum voce ipsius
duorum laudes sonat
ita boando:

Alleluia, alleluia.
May the heavenly choir
together with us in one voice
praise the two
and sing like this:

Nunc scio vere

Now I know truly[35]

The text of *Petri clavigeri kari* was likely written at Saint-Pierre because it is an *unicum*,

and although the first phrase of section one introduces the feast, the subsequent four

phrases do not mention anything specific to Peter or the scriptural basis for the introit.

The conclusion of the trope sets up Peter's speech not as coming from the apostle but as

sung by the choir. Indeed, the act of making music in the liturgy becomes the focus of the

---

[35] Translation based on Iversen, "*Cantans—Orans—Exultans*," 133, my translation from the French in Iversen, *Chanter*, 68–71, and Gunilla Iversen, "*Supera agalmata*: Angels and the Celestial Hierarchy in Sequences and Tropes. Examples from Moissac," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tursulanum Press, 1996), 118–21.

trope. *Petri clavigeri kari* highlights the musical performance itself, the role of singing, and the purifying function of chant.

This musical focus relates to the medieval understanding of the role of the introit and reflects the value that Aquitanians placed on music. The introit had a particularly important place in the mass. In the early ninth century, Amalarius of Metz wrote that it was essential to sing the introit because chants were the means by which people purified their thoughts in preparation for the mass. In the late twelfth century, Sicardus of Cremona said that the choir acts as the angels who receive Christ, in the person of the bishop, with joy. The choir also represents the praise of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles through its performance of the introit antiphon, psalm verse, and Gloria.[36]

Petri clavigeri kari reflects these ideas. The text says that the choir is made pure through singing. Through the use of first person plural verbs ("pangamus", "solvamus"), the first phrase calls on the people to celebrate, and the second and fourth phrases invite the assembly to praise God and St. Peter. The choir joins its praise with the choir of angels in heaven, and the entire community receives musical benefits as the assembled faithful resonate like sympathetic strings.[37] The trope ends by inviting this combined choir to sing the introit itself.

The theme of music is prominent in *Petri clavigeri kari*. Musical terms include "plectro" (plectrum) and "fidibus musicis" (harmonius strings / musical lyres), and the text uses several musical verbs, "symphoniare," "pangere," "solvere," and "boare," which

---

[36] Iversen, "*Cantans – Orans – Exultans,*" 125–30.

[37] "Fidibus" can also refer to people, i.e. "the faithful," and so is a play on words.

all mean "to sing." Moreover, these words are more erudite than the more common verbs "canere" and "dicere," often found in tropes about music. The text of *Petri clavigeri kari* focuses on the choir of angels and the singers on earth who join their heavenly praises.[38]

Gunilla Iversen notes that this focus on music is a common topos in Aquitanian liturgical poetry such as tropes and sequences. Phrases inviting the choir to sing joyfully occur in tropes from other regions, but in Aquitaine, they characterize the repertoire as a whole. In other traditions, introductory tropes to the introit typically serve to put the introit text in the mouth of angels or the central character of the trope (for example St. Peter, in the case of *Petri clavigeri kari*). However, Aquitanian introductory tropes more often put the introit text into the mouth of the singers. *Petri clavigeri kari* clearly fits into this Aquitanian style.[39]

The music of *Petri clavigeri kari / Petro ad hostium* is interesting for several reasons (see Example 2). Unlike many other introit tropes, *Petri clavigeri kari* was clearly not intended to sound like *Nunc scio vere* (Example 1). Both the trope and the introit itself are mode 3, and they have similar ranges (*C–d* for the trope and *D–d* for the introit), but the trope shows a different understanding of this mode. Each phrase of *Nunc scio vere* cadences on *E*, the modal final, and the first phrase is the only one that does not

---

[38] Iversen, "*Cantans – Orans – Exultans*," 133–35; Iversen, *Chanter*, 67–73.
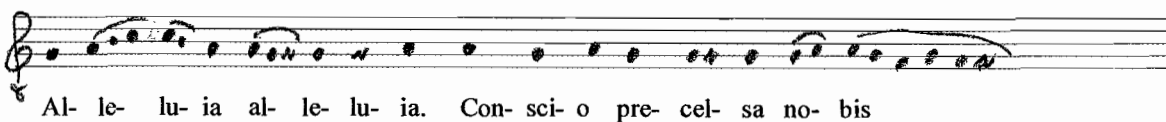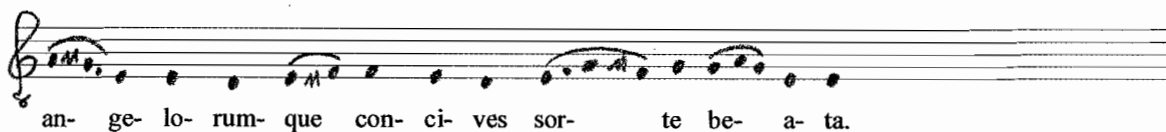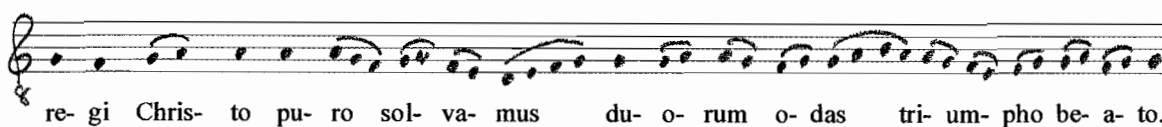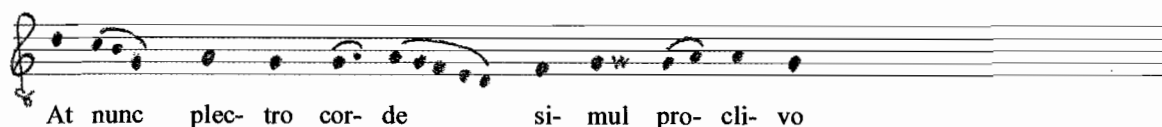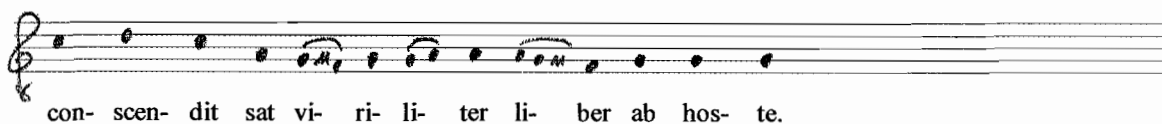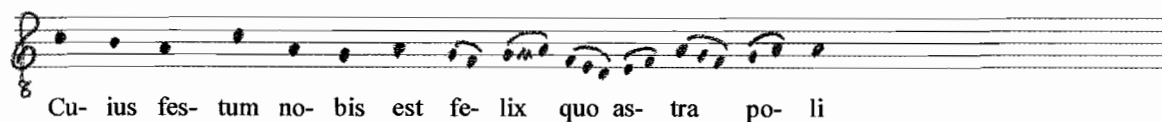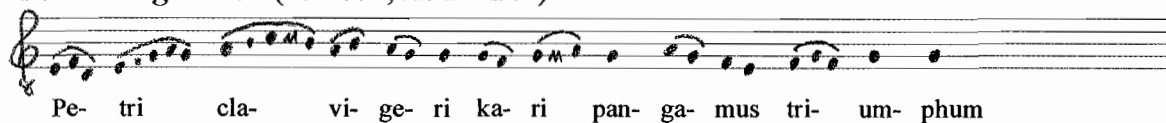
[39] Gunilla Iversen, "Pax et Sapientia: A Thematic Study on Tropes from Different Traditions," in *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1998), 35–40. Lars Elfving identified a similar characteristic in Aquitanian sequences. See Elfving, *Étude lexicographique*.

also begin on *E*. However, the first phrase of *Petri clavigeri kari* is the sole trope

phrase that begins on *E*, and only the last two stanzas cadence on the final.

Example 2
Petri clavigeri kari (Pa 1871, ff. 24–24v)

Pe- tri cla- vi- ge- ri ka- ri pan- ga- mus tri- um- phum

Cu- ius fes- tum no- bis est fe- lix quo as- tra po- li

con- scen- dit sat vi- ri- li- ter li- ber ab hos- te.

At nunc plec- tro cor- de si- mul pro- cli- vo

re- gi Chris- to pu- ro sol- va- mus du- o- rum o- das tri- um- pho be- a- to.

Fi- di- bus mu- si- cis sim- pho- ni- et so- nus ma- xi- me nos ap- te pu- ros

an- ge- lo- rum- que con- ci- ves sor- te be- a- ta.

Al- le- lu- ia al- le- lu- ia. Con- sci- o pre- cel- sa no- bis

cum vo- ce i- pri- us du- o- rum lau- de so- nat i- ta bo- an- do

NUNC SCI-O VE- RE

The three phrases of *Nunc scio vere* are arch-shaped; they begin on or near the final, rise toward the middle of the line, and then descend to end on the final. *Petri clavigeri kari* uses a greater variety of phrase shapes, few of which exhibit the base chant's Gregorian arches. The first phrase ("Petri clavigeri . . . triumphum") is an arch that begins on *E*, rises to *c*, and cadences on *G*. However, the next two phrases ("Cuius festum . . . poli" and "conscendit . . . ab hoste") begin on *c* and descend to cadence on *A* and *G*, respectively. The second stanza ("At nunc . . . triumpho beato") opens with a dramatic descent from *d* to *D*, which draws attention to this first textual mention of music and musicians. The final stanza begins with a small arch rising from *G* to *c* and back to *G*, but the rest of the stanza does not rise above *a*. This variety sets *Petri clavigeri kari* apart from *Nunc scio vere*.

The introit emphasizes *a* and *c* as important structural pitches. However, the first section of the trope ("Petri clavigeri . . . ab hoste") plays with the tension between *a* and *G*, and *G* is the more important cadential point for the first two stanzas. The second section ("At nunc . . . triumpho beato") begins at the upper end of the range (*d*), and the emphasis on *D* / *d* in addition to a renewed focus on *G* makes this stanza sound like tetrardus mode (7 / 8). The third section ("Fidibus musicis . . . sorte beata") returns to deuterus mode (3 / 4), with a lower tessitura and an emphasis on *E*. This stanza is the first to cadence on the modal final, and the juxtaposition of *E* and *F* makes the modal identity clear. The music for *Petri clavigeri kari* and *Petro ad hostium* is very similar except for this third section. In *Petro ad hostium*, the stanza begins on *g* and rises to a higher tessitura (*a-d*) before descending to cadence on *E*. The scribe of *Petri clavigeri kari* chose to emphasize a return to deuterus mode in contrast to *Petro ad hostium*, which delays a

clear arrival until the final stanza. The last stanza ("Alleluia . . . ita boando") has tension again between *a* and *G*, but now *a* is more important to the structural identity, and the trope cadences on *E* to transition smoothly into the introit. Each of the four sections has its own character, which gives a sense of variety and direction to the lengthy trope. This contrast of melodic goals and tonal centers, as well as the textual focus on music and musicians, sets *Petri clavigeri kari* apart from the other, non-Aquitanian, tropes for *Nunc scio vere*.

Petri clavigeri kari is a unique trope for the patron saint of Saint-Pierre, so it is a more localized part of the larger Aquitanian tradition of elaborating patronal feasts. This type of compositional activity is evident at Saint-Martial as early as the tenth century in the chants for the abbey's patron recorded in Pa 1240. In the early eleventh century, Adémar de Chabannes' apostolic liturgies for St. Martial show how intense such localized impulses could be. The feast of St. Peter is not as extensive as the liturgies Adémar created in Pa 909, but it clearly receives special treatment in Pa 1871. Only six feasts in the troper have decorated initials, and it is a testament to the importance of St. Peter at Moissac that his feast is one to receive a large initial. The trope complex itself is quite extensive, containing six separate trope sets, and *Petri clavigeri kari* is exceptionally long. Consecutively, it is at least four times as long as the more typical stand-alone introductory trope element *Ecce dies*, and it is proportionally much larger than an introductory element such as *Angelico fretus* that is also part of an intercalated trope complex.

This focus on a patronal saint is evident not only in the music but also in the famous architecture and sculptural program of Saint-Pierre of Moissac. The abbey

cloister was completed in 1100, so it was under construction at the time Pa 1871 was copied, and connections seem to exist between the abbey's scribes and sculptors. For example, a particularly complex form of calligraphy used in several Moissac manuscripts also appears in inscriptions carved on some of the cloister capitals, and just as the text of *Petri clavigeri kari* uses a rather erudite vocabulary, some capital inscriptions appear as word puzzles or in deliberately complex script.[40]

Peter appears on the cloister's southeast pier and on five capitals, which is more often than any other saint. Construction of the cloister and production of its sculpture likely began in the 1090s under abbot Anquetil's direction, and Saint-Pierre was one of the first monasteries to have such a varied and extensive sculpture program. Although the cloister sculptures do not at first seem to be related, they are the result of a deliberate plan, and the carvings of Peter play an important role. The subject of each pictorial or written carving and its location combine to create a series of narratives that draw meaning from the Benedictine systems of memory, meditation, and scriptural exegesis already in place for the Moissac monks. Although the figural carvings usually do not present events in chronological order, and inscriptions are often highly abbreviated or fragmentary, because of the monks' familiarity with scripture, they could easily have deciphered the scriptural narrative.[41]

The carvings of Peter illustrate Saint-Pierre's devotion to its patron saint, and they serve to both adorn and provide a physical focus for the saint's feast days. The cloister's southeast pier depicts Peter on one side and Paul on the other. On the other side of the

---

[40] Leah Rutchick, "Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister: Benedictine Culture, Memory Systems and Liturgical Performance" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 232–36.

[41] Ibid., 173–251.

pier in the east gallery, capital 20 depicts the two saints' martyrdoms.[42] In the south

gallery near the southeast pier, capital 17 shows the deliverance of Peter from prison, and

in the north gallery, capital 44 shows Peter's miraculous healing of a crippled man. On

capital 25, Jesus washes Peter's feet, and Peter also appears on capital 47, which shows

Jesus calling his disciples.

The three sculptures of Peter in the cloister's southeast corner had special ritual

significance. Meyer Schapiro notes, "Nowhere else in the cloister is the surface of a

capital so completely covered by as varied lines and planes, or is the play of forms so

concentrated and rich."[43] The capital depicting Peter and Paul's martyrdom has a square

cavity that once held Peter's relics and perhaps Paul's as well. The presence of a

reliquary strongly suggests that this corner of the cloister was the site of special

veneration or devotional rituals on important Petrine feasts, probably as part of a

procession before the beginning of mass. Further highlighting the liturgical use of this

space, on the capital that depicts Peter's miraculous release from prison, Peter holds a

scroll inscribed with the initial letters of the incipit for *Nunc scio vere*: N[unc] S[cio]

V[ere] Q[uia] M[isit] D[ominus] A[ngelorum suum] E[t eripuit me de manu] H[erodis].

Nunc scio vere was the introit for both the feast of Peter's martyrdom and his miraculous

relase from prison; it is these stories that appear pictorially on the capitals of the cloister's

southeast corner. The length of the introductory tropes for these feasts, *Petri clavigeri*

kari and *Petro ad hostium*, was perhaps inspired by the liturgical necessity of an extended

---

[42] The numbering of the capitals follows that of Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," in *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1977; first pub. 1931), 134–35.

[43] Schapiro, "Romanesque Sculpture," 166–67.

procession through the cloister. The monks of Moissac employed all the arts to honor their patron saint, combining arresting visual images of Peter with the local retexting of a lengthy, modally-complex Aquitanian trope to create a rich devotional environment.[44]

As scholars including Weiss, Planchart, and Evans have noted, Aquitaine had a distinct trope tradition, and Moissac's *Petri clavigeri kari* reaffirms this finding. A regional repertoire existed, and chants had particular textual and melodic characteristics. As shown in *Petri clavigeri kari*, scribes created new tropes not only to fill specific liturgical needs but also to express the particular devotion of their monastery and the centrality of music in that expression. This compositional activity is evident in other genres as well.

Versus: *In hoc anni circulo* and *Cantu miro summa laude*

While Proper tropes appear to have survived the Cluniac reform in at least some parts of Aquitaine, around 1100 the region seems to have followed the trend evident earlier in the northeast of hexagonal France, England, and Italy, which all witnessed the disappearance of Proper tropes.[45] Extant Aquitanian tropers from the twelfth century do not contain any Proper tropes although they continue to transmit elements for the Ordinary.

---

[44] Rutchick, "Sculpture Programs," 290–342. For more on Moissac's sculpture program, including an excellent series of photographs, see Thorsten Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac*, ed. Albert Hirmer and Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer (München: Hirmer, 1996), 47–151.

[45] See Margot Fassler, "The Disappearance of the Proper Tropes and the Rise of the Late Sequence: New Evidence from Chartres," in *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, 1990*, ed. László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebó (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1992), 319–35.

It was just at this time that the earliest extant *versaria* were copied, and this new genre flourished. Although tropes generally declined in prominence, the local musical identity found expression in this new form. The compositional activity that produced the Aquitanian versus repertory is a result of the same creative and spiritual impulses responsible for the large number of tropes written in the ninth through the eleventh century. However, the spirituality expressed in the versus differs from that of most tropes. Tropes were a part of the liturgy, so they reflect the communal liturgical worship experience. In contrast, most versus do not have a clear ritual function. Rachel Golden Carlson writes, "The versus often record the workings out of theological and devotional ideas that were current in medieval Christianity."[46] Because they were not tied to standard chants as tropes were, versus had more expressive freedom both in the style of their poetry and the theological issues they addressed. Versus formed an important part of the Aquitanian sacred repertoire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In hoc anni circulo is a particularly interesting versus for several reasons. The poetry shows a special interrelationship between learned and common, sacred and secular. This song illustrates the flexibility of usage in the versus repertory, and it is representative of the increasing devotion to the Virgin Mary in the twelfth century.

In hoc anni circulo is a particular signature of Aquitaine because it is a bilingual monophonic versus in which the stanzas alternate between Latin and Occitan, as this abbreviated example shows.[47]

---

[46] Carlson, "Devotion to the Virgin Mary," 1:21.

[47] See Appendix B for full text and translation.

1. In hoc anni circulo	1. In this season of the year
Vita datur seculo	Life is given to the world
Nato nobis parvulo	By a baby boy born unto us
De virgine Maria.	From the Virgin Mary.

2. *Mei amic e mei fiel,*   2. *My friends and faithful ones,*
Laisat estar lo gazel,   *Set aside chatter,*
Aprendet u so noel   *Learn a new song*
De virgine Maria.   *Of the Virgin Mary.*

3. Fons de suo rivulo   3. A fountain from her river
Nascitur pro populo   He is born for all people
Necto mortis vinculo   Bound by the chain of death
De virgine Maria.   From the Virgin Mary.

4. *Lais lo·m dire chi non sab*   4. *Let him speak to me who does not know*
Qu'eu lo·l dirai ses nul gab: *For I will tell him without fail:*
Mout nen issit a bo chab   *[The child] came forth wonderfully*
De virgine Maria.   *From the Virgin Mary.*[48]

Each stanza has a refrain in which the text varies slightly to match the syntax of the stanza, and although sometimes the refrain is entirely in Latin, in two of the Occitan stanzas (stanzas 8 and 17), the refrains combine both languages.

The earliest source for *In hoc anni circulo* is Pa 1139a (ff. 48–49), which dates from ca. 1100, but the Latin stanzas are extant in sources from regions as diverse as northern France, Italy, Germany, and Bohemia written as late as the sixteenth century.[49] Scholars disagree about the relationship between the Latin and Occitan stanzas.[50] The

---

[48] Translation by Margaret Switten, *The Medieval Lyric*, A Project Supported by the National Endowment of the Humanities and Mount Holyoke College (South Hadley, MA: 1987–88), 1:32–33.

[49] For example, Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 289 (ca. 1130–90), Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1343 (13th and 14th c.), Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS 724 (1482), Nürnberg, Deutsches Museum MS 3910 (1421), Torino, Bibl. Naz. F.I.4 (14th c.), Venice, Marciana IX, 145 (15th c.) three occurrences, Venice, Marciana III, 32 (15th c.), Venice, Marciana IX, 80 (15th c.) with Italian text, Oxford, Bodley Ms. Canon. Misc. 536 (16th c.), *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae imprimebatur Gryphisualdiae per Augustinum Ferberum* (1582). Treitler, "Aquitanian Repertories," 2:32–33; H. J. Turrin, "A Reassessment: In hoc anni circulo/Mei amic e mei fiel, Confliction or Concord in a Seminal Romance Lyric?" *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1977): 75.

Latin stanzas form a logical narrative on their own, and the Occitan stanzas do the same. However, they fit together seamlessly, with the Occitan providing a dynamic dialogue that makes the theology of the Latin stanzas more personal and engaging.

The refrain also serves to unify *In hoc anni circulo*. Both the Latin and Occitan stanzas have basically the same refrain that emphasizes the main topic of the versus, the Virgin Mary. Switten notes, "The shorter, one-line refrains, memorable and pithy, emphasize the timelessness of the message."[51] The refrain provides continuity between the two languages.[52]

Although the bilingual version of *In hoc anni circulo* in Pa 1139 was apparently the first to be preserved in writing, the extensive later tradition of a text only in Latin suggests that the scribe of Pa 1139 knew the Latin version and added stanzas in Occitan. It is possible that this versus was originally bilingual and only the Latin stanzas survived in later sources. This theory seems unlikely, however, because other pieces, most notably those of the troubadours, were transmitted outside of Aquitaine in their native Occitan. Also, *In hoc anni circulo* is not necessarily liturgical, so it did not need to be exclusively in Latin. Several Italian translations of the Latin stanzas are extant, and if *In hoc anni circulo* was known with Occitan and Latin stanzas, a translation into a different vernacular language would surely include the complete piece. Finally, for the first sixteen

---

[50] Dronke speculates that the Occitan stanzas probably existed as a separate piece, and the scribe of Pa 1139 combined them with the Latin or possibly composed the Latin verses on the Occitan model. No evidence of an independent Occitan version has so far been found, however. Idem, *The Medieval Lyric* (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 50. In contrast, Turrin proposes that the versus was initially conceived as bilingual. Idem, "A Reassessment," 67–77.

[51] Switten, "*Versus* and Troubadours," 118.

[52] For a more detailed discussion of the role of refrains in the Aquitanian versus and troubadour repertories, see Switten, "*Versus* and Troubadours."

stanzas, the text alternates between Latin and Occitan, but three Occitan stanzas conclude the versus. If the piece was originally conceived to be bilingual, it seems unusual to break the pattern for these last stanzas.

The addition of stanzas in the common language to a preexistent Latin song is an expression of Aquitanian regional identity. As illustrated in chapter two with Bernard of Angers' story of the Sainte-Foy pilgrims' vernacular songs, Aquitanians valued their local language, and the use of the vernacular in *In hoc anni circulo* reflects a similar devotional impulse. The author of *In hoc anni circulo* chose to alternate between Latin and Occitan rather than simply writing a separate piece in the vernacular, and this juxtaposition of languages places Occitan on an equal footing with Latin. The elevation of the common language is also evident in troubadour poetry, a genre with which *In hoc anni circulo* shares stylistic characteristics.

It was not uncommon for scribes to add vernacular glosses to Latin texts in order to make them more intelligible to the laity. However, the Occitan text in *In hoc anni circulo* is not simply a gloss of the Latin. Glosses gave either lexical information or an explanatory commentary, and these textual glosses became more common as Latin evolved into a language clearly separate from regional dialects. Although this division occurred first in northern France, by the eleventh century, the shift was evident in southern France as well.[53] The Occitan verses here clearly do not fit the description. They are not simply a translation or explanation of the Latin text but rather fit smoothly between the Latin stanzas and serve to deepen the poem's characterization and heighten the dramatic impact.

---

[53] Susan Boynton, "Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1997), 1: 4–7.

The bilingual text of *In hoc anni circulo* is part of the eleventh- and twelfth-century *cantica nova* tradition. As discussed above, in the late eleveth and twelfth centuries, a new type of sacred song developed that was strophic in form and had an increasingly regular syllable count, rhyme scheme, and accentual meter. The texts were often self-referential in drawing attention to singing this "new song" or to other aspects of newness, such as springtime.[54] *In hoc anni circulo* begins with one of the most common invocations of *cantica nova*. The poet invites everyone to join in learning a new song ("Aprendet u so noel"). Unlike many such openings that simply invite the listeners to sing a new song, *In hoc anni circulo* invites the assembled worshippers to learn the song. The final stanza then charges them with singing this new song in perpetual praise of Mary.[55]

The poet contrasts his new song with the old "chatter" ("gazel");[56] an alternate translation of this line instructs the audience to leave the "old way of singing."[57] Both interpretations set up a clear opposition between new and old, and in addition to being characteristic of *cantica nova*, the contrast between that which is new or young ("joven") and that which is old was an important idea in troubadour poetry. *Joven* did not literally

---

[54] Wulf Arlt, "Sequence and 'Neues Leid'," in *La Sequenza Medievale: Atti del convergno internazionale, milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Lucca, Italy: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 2–5.

[55] Dronke, *Medieval Lyric*, 50.

[56] Dronke notes that the translation of "gazel" is problematic because the word only occurs here. Most translators interpret it as related to the Occitan words for gossip ("jaser" and "gazouiller"), but it may also be an adaptation of the Arabic word "ghazal," which refers to a genre of lyric love songs. If "gazel" is truly derived from Arabic, *In hoc anni circulo* would be the earliest extant instance of an Arabic literary term being used north of the Pyrenees. Dronke, *Medieval Lyric*, 50.

[57] Translation by Aurelio Roncaglia, in Turrin, " A Reassessment," 76.

refer to a young person, but rather to a set of virtues and behaviors, including

generosity, liberality, loyalty, and enjoyment of life.[58] The fifth stanza of *In hoc anni*

circulo states,

Quod vetustas suffocat,	That which old age suffocates
Hoc ad vitam revocat,	He brings back to life
Nam se Deus collocat	For God places himself (as born)
De virigine Maria.	From the Virgin Mary.

Rather than simply being an allusion to the resurrection, for an audience familiar with the

troubadour repertory, the contrast between old age and life would bring the concept of

joven to mind. Subsequent Occitan stanzas describe aspects of Mary's character that

make her a model of *joven*. For example, in the tenth stanza, Gabriel's greeting

acknowledges Mary's faithfulness, and although she is a lady ("dompna") and a queen, in

the seventeenth stanza, she calls herself a servant of God. These qualities were commonly

attributed to Mary in ecclesiastical tradition, but they acquire new significance in the

context of troubadour values.

   In hoc anni circulo shows other examples of cross-fertilization with the

troubadour repertory. Treitler notes, "From the point of view of melodic style and

language, those pieces might just as well be included among the lyrics of the

troubadours."[59] One obvious link is the Occitan language. Secondly, although the

dialogue in the poetry is between Mary and Gabriel, Dronke notes that it follows the

typical pattern of courtship found in many troubadour poems, with Mary as the lady and

Gabriel in the male role. The girl at first protests her innocence, the man assures her of

---

[58] Lazar, "*Fin'amor*," 68–70.

[59] Treitler, "Aquitanian Repertories," 1:82.

his faithfulness and veracity, and finally, the maiden acquiesces. In this case, it is

Mary accepting that she will bear God's son. However, her language has elements of

secular love lyrics. For example, in the twelfth stanza, she responds according to God's

"desire" ("Aco sia au so talent"), and when she understands what Gabriel is telling her,

she "loved [the knowledge] and enjoyed it" ("Si l'amet e siu jauvit"). In the sixteenth

stanza, she gives and promises herself to God the king ("A lui me do e m'autrei");

Dronke translates this line as Mary surrendering herself.[60]

Some of the specific Occitan vocabulary is also the same as that of troubadour

poetry. Mary addresses Gabriel as a "mesatjes" ("messenger") of the king. Forms of this

word are commonly used in the *envoi* of troubadour poems when the poet gives his song

to a messenger to take to his lady.[61] The eighteenth stanza of *In hoc anni circulo*

addresses Mary as "dompna" ("lady"). This word was also commonly used in secular

love songs to address the poet's beloved.[62] Clearly, connections exist between this versus

and troubadour songs.

In addition to the characteristics it shares with secular Aquitanian repertoires, *In*

hoc anni circulo reflects the increasing devotion to the Virgin Mary that occurred in the

---

[60] Dronke, *Medieval Lyric*, 50–51.

[61] For example, the final stanza of Bernart de Ventadorn's poem *Can l'erba fresch* says, "Messenger, go, and may she not think less of me, / if I am afraid to go to her" ("Messatger, vai, e no m'en prezes mens, / s'eu del anar vas midons sui temens"). *Tant ai mo cor ple de joya* concludes, "Go, messenger, run, / and tell her, the one most beautiful, / of the pain and the sorrow / I bear for her, and the willing death" ("Messatgers, vai e cor, / e di·m a la gensor / la pena e la dolor / que·n trac, e·l martire"). Texts and translations in *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 140–41 and 134–35.

[62] For example, the final stanza of *Can lo glatz e·l frechs e la neus* by Giraut de Borhelh begins, "Lady, as a lamb / is powerless against a bear, / so am I" ("Domna, aissi com us anheus / non a forsa contr' ad un ors, / sui eu"). The fourth stanza of Raimbaut d'Orange's poem *Escotatz, mas no say que s'es* says, "Lady my heart is your prisoner . . . Madam, how will it all turn out?" ("Dona! Pus mon cor tenetz pres . . . Aiso, que sera, domna?"). Texts and translations in *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 192–93 and 180–81.

twelfth century. Mary receives only brief mention in the Bible. As the early church

grew more interested in Mary, apocryphal literature began filling in details of her life,

and many theological debates arose concerning Mary and her role in Jesus' redemption of

humanity. One early controversy was about Mary's role as mother of God: was Mary

truly Jesus' mother without the agency of a man? The Gnostics, later declared heretical,

argued that Jesus was not truly human, so Mary was not Jesus' physical mother. The

Church suppressed this heresy and declared Mary "Theotokos" (God-bearer), but the

concept continued to reemerge.[63]

Another facet of this debate was Mary's perpetual virginity. Theologians saw

Mary as a second Eve who removed the stain of original sin by conceiving without lust

and bringing the Messiah into the world. However, to fully overcome the sins of sexuality

brought about by Adam and Eve, Church fathers such as Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome,

and the apostle Paul praised the special holiness of virginity. Mary became a symbol of

the chaste life, and the fourth Lateran Council in 649 declared her perpetual virginity a

dogma of the Church.[64]

To counter heresies such as Gnosticism and Arianism, the Church became more

interested in clarifying Jesus' human and divine natures, which made Mary more

important. Theologians began to debate whether Mary, as the second Eve and bearer of

Christ, had original sin at all. Scholars argued that God would not have consented to be

born from a flawed vessel, and although the Immaculate Conception did not become

[63] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 26–31, 43–44.

[64] Ibid., 51–65; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 113–22; Teresa P. Reed, *Shadows of Mary* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 8.

church dogma until 1854, the feast was on the liturgical calendar in England, France, and Italy by the end of the twelfth century.[65]

Stories about Mary's Assumption into heaven developed because of her privileged status as mother of God. These images blurred the line between sacred and secular power, and Penny Schine Gold writes, "Mary now appears to have power in her own right rather than only as a direct function of her motherhood."[66] Because of her power as Queen of Heaven and role as mother of God, Mary could intercede on behalf of Christians. Miracle stories telling of how the Virgin saves those who call on her proliferated during the Middle Ages, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One important collection of miracle stories is the *Cantigas de Santa Maria.* These monophonic songs were written in Castile in the thirteenth century, and they are similar in poetic style to the versus and troubadour repertories. Mary was the Coredemptrix, and because of her motherly mercy, gentleness, loving kindness, and forgiveness, she would intercede with Christ and God the Father to save Christians from hell and shorten time in Purgatory.[67]

Because of the surge of devotion to Mary, many literary and visual symbols were associated with her. Gideon's fleece, Jesse's rod, and Daniel's mountain are biblical images that held Marian interpretations. Passionate imagery from the Song of Songs was also understood in a Marian context. Other symbols include the moon, flowers--

---

[65] Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries*, 189–200; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 236–41.

[66] Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 54.

[67] Ibid., 51–54; Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries*, 125–36; Reed, *Shadows of Mary*, 10; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 81–89, 111–16, 285–94.

especially lilies and roses--, apples, a crown, a mirror, stars-- the morning, evening, and sea star, the color blue, the sky, and light.[68]

Several of these Marian theological concepts and images occur in *In hoc anni circulo*. The poetry focuses on the Annunciation, yet it shares festal overtones with the Immaculate Conception on December 8, for which the story of the Annunciation was read at mass, Christmas, and the New Year, itself traditionally a Marian feast. Although this versus did not have a specific liturgical function, it was suitable for use in personal or collective paraliturgical devotions on a variety of occasions.

Other typical Marian images appear in *In hoc anni circulo*. The text describes her as a queen in the twelfth and fourteenth stanzas, and Mary is presented as the means through which salvation comes. The poem begins by stating that the baby born from the Virgin Mary brings life to the world ("Vita datur seculo / Nato nobis parvulo / De virgine Maria").[69] In the third stanza, the poet states that Christ was born for all people bound by death's chain ("Nascitur pro populo / Necto mortis vinculo"), and the sixth stanza tells the listener not to despair because God comes through Mary ("No chal c'om s'en desesper: / Deus i ven per nos, maner / In te, virgo Maria"). The eighteenth stanza summarizes this view by stating, "And the lady believed him; for that reason we are saved by the Virgin Mary" ("E la dompna l'a creüt; / Per tal n'esmes ereubut / De virgine Maria").

---

[68] Carlson "Devotion to the Virgin Mary," 1:76–115.

[69] The first verse of this stanza makes a nod to the vocabulary of *Puer natus est*, the introit for Christmas.

The text strongly emphasizes Mary's virginity. Although the syntax of each refrain varies slightly, each uses "virgo" or "virgine." In the fifth stanza, God "places himself" ("Nam se Deus collocat") in the Virgin Mary, and the seventh stanza says that Mary did not have knowledge of man ("Sine viri copula"). Mary reiterates her commitment to chastity in the eighth stanza ("Non perdrai virginitat / Tostemps aurai chastitat"). This theme had particular resonance in both male and female monastic communities. Chastity was one of the three monastic virtues, and it represented the pinnacle of asceticism. Critics of the church often seized on violations of this virtue in their attacks, and it was a primary reason for giving a monastery to reformers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Because heretical sects commonly denied Mary's perpetual virginity, the church found it necessary to continually rearticulate the orthodox view.[70]

The image of Jesse's rod also appears in *In hoc anni circulo*. This metaphor is based on a passage from Isaiah 11:1 that says, "But a shoot shall sprout from the stump of Jesse, and from his roots a bud shall blossom." The prophecy foretells the birth of a Messiah from Jesse's descendents, but it had another Marian interpretation in which Mary was the root and Christ the flowering branch. Poets exploited the possibilities inherent in the similarity between the Latin words for rod ("virga") and virgin ("virgo"). The image of Jesse's rod is prevalent in Aquitanian manuscripts, and Carlson suggests that it had particular resonance in the spirituality of the region. For instance, the image is central to several versus,[71] and it is present in the Procession of the Prophets play in Pa

---

[70] Carlson, "Devotion to the Virgin Mary," 1:76–83.

1139. While most other Prophets plays use the simpler pronouncement "the virgin shall be with child, and bear a son" (Isaiah 7:14), the version in Pa 1139 instead takes the opportunity to again emphasize the Jesse's rod image.[72] In the versus *In hoc anni circulo*, the reference to Jesse's rod occurs in the seventh stanza, "A twig brought forth a flower" ("Florem dedit virgula"), the fourth of the eight Latin stanzas, and it signals the beginning of the dialogue section of the poem. The text of *In hoc anni circulo* represents a fusion of sacred and secular elements that express a local, Aquitanian devotion to one of the Middle Ages' most popular saints.

A musical transcription of *In hoc anni* is somewhat problematic (see Example 3). Determining the tonal center of the piece is difficult because the neume heighting in Pa 1139 is imprecise, and the relationship between the last note of one line and the first note of the following line is usually unclear because of the lack of clefs and *custodes*. In Pa 1139, the refrain is written out in full three times, and it appears to be at different pitch levels, so the ending note of the melody is not fully evident. Later sources all agree that the melody is in mode 1, which concords with the apparent ending of stanzas one and two in Pa 1139. Carlson speculates that different ending pitches for some of the stanzas may

---

[71] See for example *Ave mater salvatoris* (Lo 36881, f. 16v), *Clara sonent organa* (Pa 3719, f. 34v), *Dulci dignum* (Lo 36881, f. 11), *Ex Ade vitio* (Pa 1139, f. 35; Pa 3719, f. 19v, f. 24; Pa 3549, f. 165), *Flore vernans gratia* (Pa 3719, f. 78), *Hec est dies sacrata* (Pa 3719, f. 72), *Homo gaude* (Pa 3719, f. 19), *Mater Dei salus rei* (Pa 3719, f. 73), *Omnis curet homo* (Pa 1139, f. 59; Pa 3719, f. 26v, f. 79v; Pa 3549, f. 154; Lo 36881, f. 2v), *Prophetatus a prophetis* (Pa 1139, f. 42v), *Radix Iesse castitatis lilium* (Pa 1139, f. 46), *Stirps Iesse florigeram* (Pa 1139, f. 60v; Pa 3549, f. 166v), *Uterus hodie* (Pa 3719, f. 38v), *Vallis montem* (Pa 1139, f. 42v), and *Virga Iesse floruit* (Pa 3719, f. 45).

[72] Carlson, "Devotion to the Virgin Mary," 1:116–22.

reflect an open and closed cadence, with internal cadences avoiding the tonic in order

to give a sense of forward motion to the music.[73]

Example 3
In hoc anni circulo (Pa 1139, ff. 48–49)[74]

1. In hoc an-ni cir-cu-lo   vi- ta da- tur sae-cu-lo   na- to no- bis par-vu- lo   De vir-gi-ne Ma-ri- a

2. Mei a- mic e mei fi-el   lai-sat es- tar lo ga-zel   ap- ren-det u so no-el   De vir-gi-ne

6. So sa-bat re qu'es be ver   no chal c'om s'en de-se-sper   Deus i ven per nos ma-ner   In te vir-go Ma-ri- a

8. "Non per-drai vir-gi-ni-tat   tos-temps au- ri chas-ti-tat   si cum est pro-fe- ti- zat   Po-is vir-go Ma-ri- a

9. Sum-mi pa-tri fi-li-o   da-tur   in   pre-se- pi- o   sed vol-en-tes man-si-o   E

19. Eu vos ai dit mon ta-lan   e vos   di- iat en a- van chac-ques vers nous ab nos ian   De vir

Structurally, the music is strophic, a form common to both liturgical hymns and

troubadour songs. However, each strophe is notated, at least up to the first word or two of

the refrain cue, and although minor variants appear in the melody, each stanza has

basically the same tune. In her study of eleventh-century Office hymns, Susan Boynton

notes that complete notation of a strophic song could be a way to preserve musical

---

[73] Carlson, "Devotion to the Virgin Mary," 2:347; Switten, "*Versus* and Troubadours," 121; Treitler, "Aquitanian Repertories," 3:10–12.

[74] Because most of the variants in *In hoc anni circulo* are slight, I have selected several representative stanzas for this example.

variants, such as liquescents. As described in chapter three, the application of

liquescents and other special neume forms could vary considerably, even between monks

in the same scriptorium. Notating each stanza may have been a way to demonstrate the

piece's form and structure, especially if the piece was new to the repertoire, as in the case

of *In hoc anni circulo*. Boynton also observes that complete notation indicates a song's

special importance to the institution that copied the manuscript.[75] The level of detail that

went into copying *In hoc anni circulo* shows that vernacular texts were considered to be

as valuable as Latin. The scribe of Pa 1139 could have simply written the melody once

and given the rest of the verses without music, as is common in manuscripts preserving

troubadour and trouvère songs. Instead, this scribe notated the performance details for all

nineteen stanzas.

The variants between stanzas in *In hoc anni circulo* in Pa 1139 illustrate some of

the nuances involved in singing Aquitanian versus. The first phrase of each stanza has a

very stable transmission; only the ninth ("Summi patri") and tenth ("Eu soi l'angels")

stanzas have a slightly longer melisma on the phrase's final syllable. The second phrase

has the same basic melodic shape in each stanza, but several versions of the surface

details are evident. For example, in the sixth stanza, the second phrase only ascends to *c*,

unlike the other stanzas that reach *d*, and the ninth stanza again has an extended melisma

on the final syllable in this phrase. A major difference is evident in the third phrase,

which begins and cadences on *F* in the first two stanzas and on *a* for the rest of the piece.

However, at both pitch levels, the melodic contour is similar.

---

[75] Susan Boynton, "Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 119–22.

It is difficult to draw many conclusions about the refrain in each stanza because it is only notated three times. It is clear that it occurs at different pitch levels; it begins on *C* and cadences on *D* in the first stanza, it begins on *G* and cadences on *a* in the sixth stanza, and it begins on *F* and cadences on *D* in the eighth stanza. The rest of the refrains appear to begin on *F* or *G*, with the final refrain beginning on *G*, which implies that the piece ends on *a*. These melodic variants and different cadential destinations do not seem related to textual factors or to follow an obvious progression throughout the piece, such as a gradual rise in the tessitura as is found in many sequences. However, the nuances add interest and individuality to a lengthy succession of stanzas, and they demonstrate the high level of care and detail that went into the notation of this versus.

A comparison of the melody of *In hoc anni circulo* in Pa 1139 with those in later sources illustrates that Aquitaine had its own unique melodic style. Although it is not particularly melismatic compared to other Aquitanian versus, *In hoc anni circulo* has several neumatic flourishes, and variants between stanzas tend to add notes rather than simplify the melody, particularly in the ninth and tenth stanzas. Sources of this versus from other areas are primarily syllabic, and the contour of the melodic line is smoothed. Treitler notes that the "luxuriant melismatic style" in Aquitaine characterizes sacred melodies with texts in both Latin and Occitan, and these melodic traits were deliberate scribal choices.[76]

The melismas in the musical setting serve to blur the distinctions between Latin and Occitan. The syllable count is the same for the stanzas in both languages, four lines

---

[76] Treitler, "Aquitanian Repertories," 1:82, 95–96.

of seven syllables each, so shifting between Latin and Occitan does not pose a

problem melodically. However, the stress patterns differ in Latin and Occitan. Except for

the refrain, the Latin lines are mostly proparoxytone, that is, with the stress on the

antepenultimate syllable. In Occitan, the final stress is oxytone, with the emphasis on the

last syllable. Moreover, the stress pattern in Occitan is more irregular than in Latin, as the

patterns change with sense groups in the former rather than remaining constant as in the

latter. However, melismas at the end of each line negate the different stress patterns

between the two languages. The shared refrain ends with the paroxytonic "Maria," and

the melody follows suit with a melisma on the accented syllable, drawing further

attention to the central topic, "Maria." Therefore, in addition to the Occitan text fitting

smoothly into the narrative of the Latin stanzas, the vernacular phrases fit melodically as

well.[77]

Clearly, versus were an important genre in Aquitaine, and the macaronic *In hoc*

anni circulo is a prime example of regional identity. Versus were cultivated throughout

the twelfth century and reflect a regional theology. They demonstrate the relationship

between sacred and secular musical forms, and they provide more evidence of the active

compositional milieu in this region.

The Aquitanian versus style is further illustrated by *Cantu miro summa laude*, a

versified song that exists as monophony and polyphony. *Cantu miro* is extant in

monophonic form in Pa 3719b (ff. 24–25), the oldest layer of this manuscript that dates

from ca. 1100, and as a two-voice setting in Lo 36881a (ff. 12v–13) from the late twelfth

---

[77] Switten, "*Versus* and Troubadours," 100–01.

century. *Cantu miro* has one concordance outside of the primary Aquitanian sources

in the manuscript Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.i.17 (1) (ff. 7v–8, modern

foliation), a source from ca. 1200.[78] This version is also for two voices, and it is similar in

many respects to that of Lo 36881.

Aquitanian polyphony is different from that found in previous theoretical or

practical sources, which makes *Cantu miro* another good example of Aquitaine's regional

music. Early treatises on polyphony, such as the *Musica enchiriadis* and the Bamberg

organum treatise, describe a system of parallel organum where the organal voice follows

below the principle voice note-against-note at the fifth or the fourth. Gradually, theorists

such as Guido of Arezzo began allowing more intervals and types of motion, until by the

early twelfth century, treatises including *Ad organum faciendum* (late eleventh century?

manuscript copied ca. 1100) and the Montpellier treatise (manuscript copied ca. 1100)

describe a system that for the first time is not based on parallelism. The music in the

Chartres fragments that can be reliably transcribed corresponds to the guidelines in the

---

[78] Hereafter Cdg 17. As currently bound, the musical portion of this manuscript is comprised of eight folios within a larger volume (292 folios) of treatises. The manuscript has suffered significant damage through trimming, glue, creasing, and water. Based on paleographic evidence, the musical collection dates from ca. 1200 although the pieces it contains seem to be earlier. It is rather untidy and disorganized; as many as eleven text hands are evident, and two musical hands are probable. The music notation is an unusual combination of German *Hufnagel* and Aquitanian neumes. The manuscript is divided into monophonic and polyphonic sections, but within each section, sacred and secular pieces are mixed. The polyphony is notated in score, with each voice on an inked four-line staff. This notational development probably originated in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Thirty-four pieces are crowded onto the eight folios, which is a comparable number to the Aquitanian *versaria*, so Cdg 17 may be complete as it stands. The repertoire is unusual in that it has concordances with sources from Paris, Bavaria, Aquitiane, Spain, and possibly England. Two pieces have concordances in the Aquitanian repertory (*Cantu miro* and *Verbum patris humanatur*). The provenance of Cdg 17 is uncertain, but although it may have been copied in England, its repertoire is continental. Gillingham suggests that the manuscript originated in a Cluniac house based on the number of concordances it has with sources from monasteries in the Cluniac Ecclesia. Facsimile in *Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17 (1)*, Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 17, ed. Bryan Gillingham (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989). See also Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:90–94; and Bryan Gillingham, "The Provenance of Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.17 (1)," in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), 229–45.

Montpellier treatise with a combination of parallel and contrary motion and a mixture
of intervals. Repertoire from the Winchester troper appears to be a boundary-tone system
similar to Guido's, but it is not always strictly note-against-note and allows for motion
other than parallel.[79]

By the time the Aquitanian polyphony was being copied in the twelfth century,
theorists such as John of Afflighem (*De musica*, ca. 1100) placed increasing emphasis on
contrary motion. Treatises describe a distinction between discant, in which the two parts
move note-against-note, and organum, in which the organal voice has more notes than the
plainchant. The Aquitanian repertory is the first to make this textural variety a stylistic
trait, but a basic distinction between discant and organum does not give an accurate
description of the innovative nuance in Aquitanian polyphony. For the first time, the
organal voice has complete temporal independence from the principal voice. The voices
move note-against-note, neume-against-neume, or in a more florid style with a
melismatic organal voice against sustained notes in the principal voice. Other typical
features include extensive use of sequential patterns, and voice crossings. Many of the
versus are written in this distinctive Aquitanian polyphonic style.[80]

Aquitanian polyphony was also innovative in the types of pieces that were
included. Previously, polyphony was reserved for liturgical music for the mass and
Office, and the composer added an organal voice to a preexistent Gregorian chant. Like

---

[79] Sarah Fuller, "Early Polyphony," in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, vol. 2 of *New Oxford History of Music*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 492–519; Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1989), 337–42.

[80] Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 328–29; idem, "An Anonymous Treatise *Dictus de Sancto Martiale*: A New Source for Cistercian Music Theory," *Musica Disciplina* 31 (1977): 5–30.

troping, this new voice part was simply another means for elaborating a chant or increasing the solemnity of a feast. Rather than starting from a standard mass or Office chant, however, Aquitanian composers chose to set pieces in the *cantica nova* style that flourished in the region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Versus and Benedicamus versus comprise the majority of the repertoire; some proses and sequences are also included. Although a few of these pieces are also extant in an earlier monophonic form, most of the repertory appears to have been originally conceived as polyphony.[81]

The versus *Cantu miro summa laude* is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and this subject is somewhat unusual for the Aquitanian polyphonic repertoire, otherwise primarily devoted to the Virgin Mary. However, the majority of the repertory, including non-Marian texts, celebrates the Christmas season, so St. Nicholas (feast day December 6) fits into this broader context.

St. Nicholas (d. 343) was one of the most popular saints of the Middle Ages. According to *The Golden Legend*, Nicholas was born in Patras in Lycia to wealthy parents.[82] He exhibited signs of holiness even in infancy, and he used his wealth to help others. He was ordained bishop of Myra; not only was he a diligent and holy administrator, but he also performed miracles both during his life and after his death. A fountain of healing oil flowed from his tomb, which became a pilgrimage destination.[83]

---

[81] Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 528–29.

[82] Although Jacobus de Voragine compiled the *Golden Legend* ca. 1260, the stories he recounts are much older.

[83] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), 16–22.

St. Nicholas was the patron of students, sailors, children, merchants, and travelers, and a substantial corpus of legends developed around him. One of the earliest and most ubiquitous stories concerning his sanctity is *Tres Filiae*, which focuses on a poor father with three daughters who is about to send one of them to become a prostitute in order to earn money. St. Nicholas is horrified upon hearing about the father's dilemma, and in the middle of the night, he goes to the father's house and throws a bag of gold in the window. The father is overjoyed and uses the gold for his daughter's dowry. This situation repeats for each of the other daughters in turn, but the father is determined to discover who his mysterious benefactor is, so he lies in wait when Nicholas is coming with gold for the third daughter. He catches the saint who swears him to secrecy. This story is the origin of using three bags of gold as the saint's symbol.[84]

Several other legends were also popular. In *Tres Clerici*, three students find lodging in an inn. The innkeeper murders them during the night, and the next day, St. Nicholas appears at the inn in disguise. Nicholas accuses the innkeeper of the murder, and when the innkeeper confesses, Nicholas raises the three students from the dead. In *Iconia Sancti Nicolai*, a Jew sets an icon of St. Nicholas to guard his possessions while he is traveling. Thieves plunder the Jew's house, and when he returns, he beats the image of Nicholas and accuses it of allowing him to be robbed. Nicholas appears to the thieves and threatens to expose them if they do not return the stolen goods. They give the Jew his property back, so he gives thanks to Nicholas. The saint then appears and tells him to give thanks to God, at which point the Jew converts to Christianity. In another legend, a

---

[84] Ibid., 17; Mary Sinclair Crawford, "Life of St. Nicholas" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1923), 7.

pious couple prays to St. Nicholas that they will have a son. When the boy is born, his father has a gold cup made as an offering to the saint. However, the father decides he wants to keep the cup for himself and brings another cup to Nicholas' shrine. On the pilgrimage, his son drowns. However, when the father reaches the shrine, his son is miraculously raised from the dead and offers the original cup to St. Nicholas. Nicholas also saved a ship from sinking in a storm when the sailors appealed to him, returned an abducted boy to his parents, and rescued from a death sentence three people who were unjustly accused.[85]

Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople from 842 to 846, is reputed to have written the first *vita* of St. Nicholas, and John the Deacon of Naples translated it into Latin and embellished it ca. 880. Several later versions from the tenth through the sixteenth centuries also exist. The cult of Nicholas spread from Byzantium to the West as early as the seventh century, and churches dedicated to the saint appeared in Italy, France, Germany, and England. The cult spread slowly until the translation of St. Nicholas' relics from Myra to Bari in 1087, at which time spiritual and religious enthusiasm for the saint grew fervent.[86]

This translation might more accurately be described as relic theft, and combined with similar *furta sacra*, it illustrates the intensity of popular devotion to the saints as well as the attempt by monasteries and churches to simultaneously increase and satisfy public ardor. Three manuscript versions of Nicholas' *translatio* exist, two of which can

---

[85] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 16–21.

[86] Otto E. Albrecht, *Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas from the 12th Century Fleury Play-book* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1935), 9–14; Crawford, *Life of St. Nicholas*, 8–9.

be dated to ca. 1100 and ca. 1105 respectively. The third version, which may be the original, is extant only in a fourteenth-century copy. Although details vary, the basic story tells of a group of merchants from Bari who travel to Antioch to sell grain. They hear that some Venetians are going to Myra to steal Nicholas' relics, so the Baresi decide to get there first and get the relics themselves. When they get to the tomb, its custodians first refuse to grant them access. The custodians say that no one can remove the relics unless the saint himself consents, but when the Baresi are able to take the relics, the custodians decide that Nicholas wants to go to Bari. The Baresi return triumphantly to their city where a new church is built to properly honor St. Nicholas. Relic theft was common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as cities and monasteries sought to increase their power and influence as well as gain protection through the saints.[87]

After the translation to Italy, Nicholas' cult spread rapidly throughout western Europe. The saint was particularly popular in northern, central, and eastern France, Germany, and the Low Countries. A proper Office was based on Reginold of Eichstadt's *Historia* that dates from the tenth century. Nicholas is the only saint not found in the Bible whose legends appear as complete, extant church dramas; a manuscript from Hildesheim (eleventh century) contains the *Tres filiae* and *Tres clerici*, and the Fleury Play-book (thirteenth century) includes *Filius Getronis* (Son of Getron), in which St. Nicholas returns an abducted boy to his parents, *Tres filiae*, *Tres clerici*, and *Iconia Sancti Nicolai*.[88]

---

[87] Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 96–103.

[88] Christopher Hohler, "The Proper Office of St. Nicholas and Related Matters with Reference to a Recent Book," *Medium Aevum* 36 (1967): 40–48; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford:

St. Nicholas was also the subject of hymns, tropes, and sequences. One of

these sequences, *Congaudentes exultemus*, was among the most popular in Europe, and it

appears in manuscripts from northern and southern France, German-speaking areas, and

Italy by the twelfth century. The cult of St. Nicholas was not as popular in Aquitaine as in

most other regions of Europe. A few churches were dedicated to him, but the explosion

of devotion found in northern France or Germany does not seem to have occurred.

However, *Congaudentes exultemus* is found in several Aquitanian manuscripts. For

example, it occurs in the original layer of Pa 1132 (Saint-Martial), Pa 778 (Narbonne)

and Pa 1086 (Saint-Léonard, near Limoges), and it was added to Pa 1084 (Saint-Géraud,

Aurillac), and Pa 903 (Saint-Yrieix).[89]

Cantu miro was a local Aquitanian expression of devotion to St. Nicholas, and it

is a testament both to the growth of Nicholas' cult in Aquitaine during the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries and to the preference for a regional repertoire that *Cantu miro* is one

of the few Aquitanian versus found in multiple sources. The text of *Cantu miro* follows a

similar pattern to many other texts dedicated to St. Nicholas in that it begins with an

invitation to praise the saint and then proceeds to describe some of his miracles. The

poem ends with the recognition that it is through Christ that Nicholas is able to work

these miracles, followed by a final invitation to bless God.

Clarendon Press, 1933), 2: 308–60. See also Charles W. Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963); idem, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), and William L. Smoldon, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, ed. Cynthia Bourgeault (London: Oxford University Press, 1980). The two Hildesheim plays are translated and analyzed in Peter Dronke, ed. and trans., *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 52–80.

[89] Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150," 227–29.

1a. Cantu miro, summa laude,	1a. With wondrous song, with peerless praise,
summo viro vir aplaude	man, applaud that peerless man
qui confortat,	who solaces,
1b. Cuius dextra largitatis	1b. the hand of whose largesse
intur extra desolatis	brings relief to those desolate
opem portat.	within and without.
2a. Pietatis hic patronus	2a. This compassionate protector
gravitatis fugat onus	puts to flight the burden of distress
hoc quod gravat;	that weighs down;
2b. Presens orbi consolator,	2b. a comforter throughout the world,
Salus morbi et curator	a remedy and healer of disease,
quos vult lavat.	he cleanses whom he will.
3a. Sedat fluctus procelosos	3a. He calms the stormy waves
naute luctus lacrimosos	when he looks upon the sailors'
dum revisit;	tearful struggles;
3b. Patri defert mersum natum	3b. To a father he restores his drowned son
quando refert vas auratum	when he brings back the golden vessel
quod promisit.	which the father had vowed.
4a. Ille parens fit iocundus,	4a. Another parent is filled with joy,
ter apparens auri pondus,	whom the saint enriched, a mass of gold
quem ditavit.	arriving thrice,
4b. Quo tres presto venumdari,	4b. with which he brought back
ab infesto lupanari	from the dangerous brothel
revocavit.	his three daughters, about to be sold.
5a. Tres consortes liberavit	5a. He revived the three companions
quos occulte trucidavit	whom a guilty innkeeper
hospes reus;	slaughtered stealthily;
5b. Reddit furans quod furatur;	5b. the thief gives his theft back;
deum curans baptizatur	at this, turning to God, the Jew
hinc Iudeus.	is baptized.
6a. Ergo Christe, fili dei,	6a. Therefore, Christ, Son of God,
per quem iste, causa spei,	you through whom this man, the cause of hope,
ut sol micat,	gleams like the sun,
6b. Hac in die plebs festiva	6b. may your people on this festive day
tibi pie mente viva	bless you devotedly
benedicat.	with ardent mind.[90]

The catalogue of miracles in this versus is especially comprehensive, including the *Tres Filiae*, saving the sailors at sea, bringing the boy with the gold cup back to life, the *Tres Clerici*, and *Iconia Sancti Nicolai*. Most other St. Nicholas texts do not contain so many references. For example, the hymn *Intonent hodie* from the tenth-century Office for St. Nicholas describes Nicholas' holiness as a youth and the stories of the boy with the gold cup and the *Tres Filiae*. Only the popular prosa *Sospitati dedit egros* and the sequence

---

[90] Translation by Peter Dronke in the notes for Sequentia, *Shining Light*, BMG 05472 77370 2.

Congaudentes exultemus include a similar number of miracles; *Sospitati dedit egros* lists the healing oil, saving the sailors at sea, raising a dead man, *Iconia Sancti Nicolai*, and the boy with the gold cup, and *Congaudentes exultemus* describes Nicholas' holiness as a youth, the *Tres Filiae*, saving the sailors, and the healing oil. Newer genres such as sequences, prosae, and versus allowed for more length and freedom of expression than traditional forms such as hymns and responsories.[91]

The textual form of *Cantu miro* is not easily categorized. Although the piece is not rubricated, its last line invites the assembly to bless God (*benedicat*), which suggests that it is a Benedicamus versus.[92] However, some scholars describe it as a sequence. Gillingham calls the poetic form a mature sequence because it has the regular syllabification, rhythm, and rhyme scheme of the twelfth-century Victorine sequence but with a syllabification pattern other than some form of 8/7.[93] *Cantu miro* has strophes of 4p+4p/4p+4p/4p.[94] The poetry has an intricate two-syllable rhyme scheme within and between strophes. In each strophe, the first two lines have two-syllable end rhyme with each other, and the final line rhymes with the concluding line of the subsequent strophe.

---

[91] For the texts and translations of these and other pieces in honor of St. Nicholas, see Anonymous 4, *Legends of St. Nicholas*, harmonia mundi HMU 907232.

[92] Fuller categorizes *Cantu miro* as a Benedicamus versus. Idem, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:22–27, 2: 456.

[93] Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," 227, 260. See also Barbara Thornton and Benjamin Bagby's notes to Sequentia's *Shining Light*, where *Cantu miro* is labeled a sequence.

[94] The first and second lines have eight syllables, divided into two four-syllable phrases, with a final accent on the line's penultimate syllable (paroxytone), and the last line has four syllables with the same accent pattern.

The first two lines of each strophe have another two-syllable rhyme in the middle, so the total rhyme scheme is ab/ab/c de/de/c.

> Cantu m*iro* summa <u>laude</u>,
> summo v*iro* vir ap<u>laude</u>
> qui conf**ortat**,
>
> Cuius d*extra* largit<u>atis</u>
> intur *extra* desol<u>atis</u>
> opem p**ortat**.

The intricacy of the poetry in *Cantu miro* has parallels in the troubadour repertory. As discussed in chapter two, the troubadours valued linguistic virtuosity, and many troubadour poems have complex rhyme schemes like that of *Cantu miro*. One example is *Vera vergena, Maria* by Peire Cardenal. The first stanza is replete with alliteration and assonance, and the rhyme syllables remain constant for each of the poem's five stanzas. As noted in the foregoing analysis of *In hoc anni circulo*, Occitan does not have the same regular accentual patterns as Latin, but a pattern exists in the number of syllables per line, in this case alternating between eight and seven syllables with a two-line refrain of eight syllables each.

> Vera vergena, Maria,
> vera vida, vera fes,
> vera vertatz, vera via,
> vera vertutz, vera res,
> vera maire, ver' amia,
> ver' amors, vera merces:
> per ta vera merce sia
> qu'eret en me tos heres!
> De patz, si·t plai, dona, traita,
> qu'ab to filh me sia faita![95]

---

[95] Text as given in *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 296–98.

Like *In hoc anni circulo*, *Cantu miro* shows the cross-fertilization that occurred between the versus and troubadour repertories.

The vast majority of the music for St. Nicholas from the thirteenth and fourteenth century is monophonic, so the virtuosic *Cantu miro* stands out in relation to the rest of the repertoire honoring the saint. The existence of three manuscript sources for *Cantu miro* provides a rare opportunity to compare the treatment of an Aquitanian versus at different times and locations within the regional tradition. Although all three manuscripts basically transmit the same piece, the variants are sometimes substantial (see Example 4). Gillingham notes that these differences appear to be compositional choices rather than scribal errors or the result of transmission.[96]

The monophonic version of *Cantu miro* in Pa 3719b is in the hand of scribe A, one of the primary scribes. In a situation similar to that of *In hoc anni circulo* in Pa 1139a, the heighting in Pa 3719b is imprecise and the scribe did not use clefs, so transcribing from this source is difficult. However, it is clear that the monophonic version in Pa 3719b is not identical to the principal voice in Lo 36881a. In many instances, the basic contour of the lines is the same, but the intervallic relationships vary.

---

[96] Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," 211–12.

Example 4

Cantu miro summa laude (Lo 36881, ff. 12v–13; Cdg 17, ff. 7v–8; Pa 3719, ff. 24–25)[97]

Lo 36881

1a. Can- tu mi- ro sum- ma lau- de, sum- mo vi- ro vir a- plau- de
1b. Cu- ius dex- tra lar- gi- ta- tis, in- tus ex- tra de- so-la- tis

Cdg 17

1a. Can- tu mi- ro sum- ma lau- de, sum- mo vi- ro vir a- plau- de

1b. Cu-ius dex- tra lar- gi- ta- tis, in- tus ex- tra de- so-la- tis

Pa 3719

1a. Can- tu mi- ro sum- ma lau- de, sum- mo vi- ro vir a- plau- de
1b. Cu- ius dex- tra lar- gi- ta- tis, in- tus ex- tra de- so-la- tis

---

[97] I have chosen two representative stanzas for this example. A complete transcription of all three versions of *Cantu miro* is available in van der Werf, *Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:82–89. Metrical transcriptions of the version in Lo 36881 are given in Gillingham, *Saint-Martial Polyphony*, 175–78 and Karp, *Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:72–74. Fuller's transcription conflates the polyphonic sources; see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:110–14.

Example 4 cont.

Lo 36881

1a. quem con- for-   tat.
1b. o-   pem por-   tat.

Cdg 17

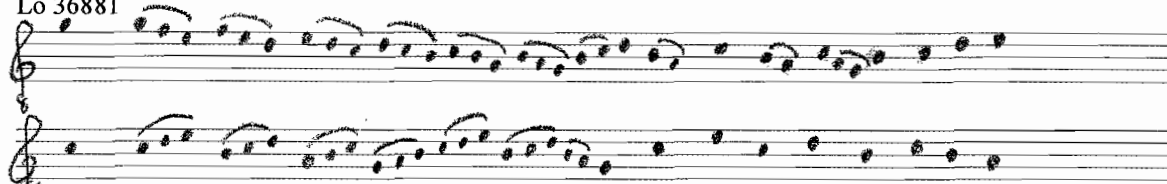1a. quem con- for-   tat.

1b. o-   pem por-   tat.

Pa 3719

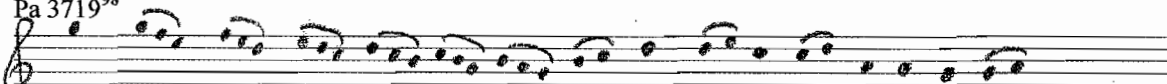1a. quem con- for-   tat.
1b. o-   pem por-   tat.

Example 4 cont.

Lo 36881

5a. Tres con- sor- tes li- be- ra- vit, quos oc- cul- te tru- ci- da- vit
5b. Red- dit fu- rans quod fu- ra- tur, de- um cu- ran bap-ti- za- tur

Cdg 17

5a. Tres con- sor- tes li- be- ra- vit, quos oc- cul- te tru- ci- da- vit
5b. Red- dit fu- rans quod fu- ra- tur, de- um cu- ran bap-ti- za- tur

Pa 3719[98]

4a. Tres con- sor- tes li- be- ra- vit, quos oc- cul- te tru- ci- da- vit
4b. Red- dit fu- rans quod fu- ra- tur, de- um cu- ran bap-ti- za- tur

Lo 36881
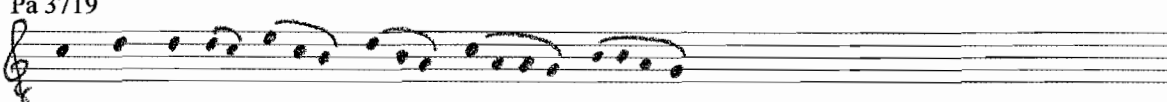

5a. hos- pes re- us.
5b. hinc ju- de- us.

Cdg 17

5a. hos- pes re- us.
5b. hinc ju- de- us.

Pa 3719

4a. hos- pes re- us.
4b. hinc ju- de- us.

---

[98] The text of stanzas four and five is inverted in Pa 3719.

Pa 3719b is the oldest extant source for *Cantu miro*, but it is not clear that the versus was originally intended to be monophonic. Because most of the polyphony in the oldest section of Pa 3719, where *Cantu miro* occurs, is written in successive notation, it is possible that this versus was intended to be written as a two-voice setting, but only one of the voices was realized. The melody has characteristics more typical of one of the voices in a polyphonic composition, such as sequential passages. For example, at the beginning of the fifth strophe, the line descends through an entire octave. Rather than becoming the principal voice in Lo 36881a as might be expected of a preexistent song, this melodic sequence is the organal voice in the later source.

Although the versions of *Cantu miro* in Lo 36881a and Cdg 17 are clearly the same piece, the variants are sometimes dramatic. For example, on the final words of each verse of the first stanza ("quem confortat" and "opem portat"), both manuscripts show a descending melodic pattern leading to the cadence. However, rather than simply progressing to the cadence as in Cdg 17, the organal voice in Lo 36881a leaps up a fifth to make a dramatic descent through the octave only to rise again for an ornamented cadence. Scribal error or other factors affecting the transmission of *Cantu miro* do not explain the two versions of this cadential figure, which clearly represent two different conceptions of the end of the first stanza.

More evidence for scribal initiative is the fact that for the first two stanzas in Cdg 17, the scribe wrote out each strophe separately. In some instances, it appears that each strophe represents an alternate version. For example, in the second stanza, the cadence on "gravat" (2a) is more elaborate by several neumes than the cadence on "lavat" (2b). Even the principal voice varies in this instance. Other differences are minor nuances of

ornamentation, such as in the first stanza on the words "[a]plaude" and "[deso]latis."

As in the case of the complete notation of *In hoc anni circulo*, the variants within stanzas

of *Cantu miro* were considered valuable enough to record. This versus was important to

those who recorded it, and the scribe of Cdg 17 saw fit to notate some of the performance

nuances as well.

  Cantu miro exemplifies several aspects of the Aquitanian polyphonic style. First,

it is a good example of flexible contrapuntal relationships. The initial strophe of *Cantu*

miro in both the Lo 36881 and Cdg 17 versions begins basically in a neume-against-

neume style. The ratio of notes between parts varies, with combinations including 1:2,

4:7, 3:10, and 2:4. However, much of the melisma on the penultimate text syllable is

note-against-note. This relationship between the two voices continues throughout the

piece, and it is fairly consistent between the two versions even if the actual pitches are

different.

  Cantu miro exhibits several other features of the Aquitanian polyphonic style. It

has many sequential passages, such as the cadential melisma at the end of the first stanza

on "[con]fortat" / "portat." Melodic sequences occur in the middle of phrases also, such

as in the fifth stanza on "Tres consortes liberavit" / "Reddit furans quod furator." The

organum emphasizes contrary motion, particularly in neume-against-neume passages.

Although a few isolated instances of parallel motion occur, the parts move in opposite

directions the majority of the time.

  Another typical characteristic evident in the notation of Aquitanian polyphony is

voice exchange, and this trait occurs in *Cantu miro*. The first stanza has a passage where

the voices in Cdg 17 are exchanged compared to the reading in Lo 36881. In 1a, the

organal voice in Cdg 17 is the same as the principal voice in Lo 36881. However, in 1b, Cdg 17 gives the same reading as Lo 36881. Other instances of voice exchange occur in the third stanza on "luctus lacrimosos" / "refert vas auratum" and in the fourth stanza at the beginning of the melisma on "ditavit." One instance of voice exchange occurs with the monophonic setting as well. The fifth strophe in Pa 3719 begins with a long sequence that becomes the organal voice in Lo 36881 and Cdg 17. The passages where voice exchange occurs are note-against-note; in these phrases, such an exchange would not be audible.

The use of consonance and dissonance in *Cantu miro* is similar to the intervallic relationships in the rest of the Aquitanian repertoire.[99] In *Cantu miro*, the strophes begin and end on an octave, fifth, or unison, with the exception of the fifth strophe which begins on a fourth. Cadences at the ends of strophes are approached by fourth, third, sixth, and seventh.

The musical form of *Cantu miro* relates to its poetic structure. The large-scale musical form is that of a sequence. The same music repeats for both strophes of a stanza, so the musical form is AA BB CC. Each strophe has three lines of text (4+4/4+4/4), but rather than treat the shorter third line as a *cauda* to articulate the form, the composer

---

[99] Treatment of consonance and dissonance in the Aquitanian repertory has been a subject of much scholarly debate. Some of the disagreements arise from the fact that the sources are often unclear as to the alignment of the voices; even when it is unambiguous which neumes go together, if they have a different number of notes, it is not clear how the neumes line up. The Aquitanian repertory seems to basically follow the guidelines in thirteenth-century theory treatises, in which octaves and unisons are the most perfect intervals, followed by fifths, fourths, thirds, and sixths. Seconds and sevenths were definitely considered dissonances, but the status of thirds and sixths is somewhat ambiguous. Although difficulties in transcription make a definitive analysis of interval relationships impossible, perfect consonances occur at the beginning and ending of a piece as well as its major subdivisions. Within sections, dissonances occur, and they do not always resolve in an expected way. Particularly at the ends of phrases, dissonance seems to function as a compositional device to lead more strongly to a cadential consonance. Karp, *Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 1:13, 17–22; van der Werf, *Oldest Extant Part Music*, 1:25–28.

extends it with a melisma to create three equal lines of music. The division between lines is clear in the music because almost every phrase ends with one or both voices on G or D / d. Fuller describes *Cantu miro* in terms of a tonal plan that initially centers on G-D, moves away from this center, and then returns to the modal final. The first three paired strophes emphasize D. This pitch is sustained for a longer period with each subsequent section, and it even occurs in both voices as an octave in the third strophe. In the fourth and fifth paired strophes, the tonal focus shifts to C, which is characteristic of G-mode pieces. G returns as the tonal focus in the sixth strophe. This organization creates a grouping by threes that parallels the division of lines within each strophe.[100]

Cantu miro illustrates several aspects of the Aquitanian polyphonic style in the repertoire of versus and related genres like the Benedicamus trope. Its poetry has an intricate rhyme scheme and a strict metrical pattern. A flexible texture comprised of note-against-note and neume-against-neume passages, with moments of sequential patterns and voice crossing, is evident. *Cantu miro* illustrates the popular devotion to the saints characteristic of this period, and it is a further example of the Aquitanian compositional response to a desire to localize liturgical and paraliturgical rites.

The foregoing examples from southwestern France from the trope, versus, and Benedicamus versus repertoires demonstrate the Aquitanian musical style. For tropes, textual and musical characteristics as well as the choice of texts are specific to this region, and scribes created new tropes both to fill liturgical needs and to reflect the specific devotions of their monastery. The monophonic and polyphonic versus illustrate some of the interactions between sacred and secular music in Aquitaine, and they show

---

[100] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:239–42.

the regional spirituality in a context somewhat less restricted than that of most liturgical music. They also show the value Aquitanians placed on their vernacular language and the importance of recording in writing all of the performance nuances of songs with special significance. The differences between the Aquitanian trope and versus repertoires and the music from other areas were not accidental but reflect an awareness of a local tradition on the part of scribes and composers. Compositional activity in Aquitaine sustained and developed this regional style for hundreds of years.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The distinctive culture of medieval Aquitaine was conspicuous in its unique

language, its native architectural and art styles, and in its particular musical notation. The

political, religious, and cultural spheres interacted in complex ways to create a vibrant

environment that supported artistic development. New liturgical musical forms such as

tropes and sequences flourished, and forms of nonliturgical poetry, including versus and

conductus, developed. Secular music was also important; the troubadours originated in

Aquitaine, and their musical and poetic style spread throughout the Latin West and

Iberia.

The individuality of Aquitanian culture is particularly evident in its sacred music.

Because of the high survival rate of manuscripts from this area, the development of a

local repertoire and a regional musical identity are apparent. Both the compilation and

contents of these sources are a response to external factors, including political change or

instability, increasing devotion to the saints, and cultural influences such as architecture,

sculpture, and secular music.

Aquitaine had a distinctive repertoire of Proper and Ordinary tropes, and even

tropes that were known throughout western Christendom often had textual or musical

variants specific to the region. Some manuscripts include both the Aquitanian and

Gregorian versions of certain chants, indicating that scribes were aware that their local

repertoire differed from that of other regions. Compositional activity, particularly surrounding patron saints, seems to have occurred in every Aquitanian locale for which sources are extant, and these new tropes are a product of the devotional and liturgical practices of the monasteries for which they were created while still reflecting aspects of the broader regional tradition, such as an emphasis on the importance of music.

The introit trope *Petri clavigeri kari* illustrates the Aquitanian trope style. The abbey of Saint-Pierre in Moissac ignored the Cluniac aversion to tropes and created this extended local tribute to the abbey's patron saint. The trope text places a strong emphasis on music, and the melody shows a separation from the mainstream Gregorian tradition represented by the introit *Nunc scio vere*.

With the trope *Petri clavigeri kari*, the monks of Saint-Pierre show a desire for individuality in honoring their patron. The trope sets in use at Moissac for the feast of St. Peter were not uniquely Aquitanian although the particular combination of tropes was specific to the region. Several trope sets used in other Aquitanian monasteries were not in use at Moissac, so the monks could have simply adopted an existing trope that was not yet in their repertoire. However, they chose to take an Aquitanian introductory trope for St. Peter that was in use across the region and write a new text unlike the other tropes in use at Moissac or elsewhere. The scribe of Pa 1871 altered one section of the melody to conform to a different, presumably more desirable, tonal progression. *Petri clavigeri kari* reflects an intense devotion to St. Peter that is also evident in Moissac's cloister sculpture program, and the trope's text and music are an example of the value placed on local liturgical expression.

Aquitaine had a regional repertoire of nonliturgical sacred genres also, and versus were a large part of this tradition. Besides illustrating the monophonic versus genre, *In hoc anni circulo* is particularly interesting for its use of a combination of Occitan and Latin. Several pieces in Pa 1139 use vernacular language, including *O Maria Deu maire*, which is the versus immediately following *In hoc anni circulo* in the manuscript, and the *Sponsus* liturgical drama. The twelfth century was a period of increasing personal devotion, so using the vernacular may have been a way for monks to express their spirituality in a more familiar way. Switten notes that clerics used vernacular language in a similar manner to appeal to the laity and bind them closer to the church.[1] However, rather than inserting Occitan as a concession to those who did not understand Latin, the scribe of *In hoc anni circulo* gives equal status to both languages. Notating the subtle melodic variants in each of the poem's nineteen stanzas indicates the value given to this text, and although the refrain is in Latin, which Switten sees as "containing" the vernacular, the poem has three more Occitan stanzas than it does Latin.[2]

Just as *Petri clavigeri kari* reflects Moissac's devotion to St. Peter, *In hoc anni circulo* is a response to the surge of Marian devotion that characterized the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This verusus incorporates a combination of sacred and secular influences, including imagery from both orthodox theology and troubadour love lyrics. The macaronic *In hoc anni circulo* exemplifies the Aquitanian regional musical identity and illustrates the interactions of some of the factors that influenced it.

---

[1] Switten, "*Versus* and Troubadours," 100–01.

[2] Ibid., 101.

The versus *Cantu miro summa laude*, which is extant in monophonic and two-voice form, further shows the Aquitanian versus style. Aquitanian polyphony was unlike the polyphony described by earlier theorists, and later polyphony such as the Notre Dame repertory does not appear to be simply a development of the Aquitanian style. In its texture, treatment of consonance and dissonance, and the texts chosen for polyphonic treatment, the Aquitanian repertoire was unique, and *Cantu miro* illustrates these qualities. Like *Petri clavigeri kari* and *In hoc anni circulo*, *Cantu miro* is a regional response to increased devotion to a saint, in this case St. Nicholas. Other Nicholas texts existed in Aquitaine, such as *Congaudentes exultemus*, but *Cantu miro* is more comprehensive in its descriptions of Nicholas' miracles, and it is a more virtuosic piece with its complex rhyme scheme and flourishes of melismatic discant. The composer of *Cantu miro* apparently wanted a distinctively Aquitanian tribute to this popular saint, and the fact that his Benedicamus versus is one of the few that is extant in multiple sources attests to its success.

An examination of *Petri clavigeri kari*, *In hoc anni circulo*, and *Cantu miro summa laude* demonstrates that Aquitaine had a musical style distinct from other traditions, with active musicians writing down the local performance practices, reworking preexisting pieces, or composing new works. Texts and melodies reflect regional preferences, and scribes were aware of their unique traditions and sought to preserve them. The three examples selected for this study--disparate as they are--show the unity of Aquitanian musical culture and demonstrate that all of these genres emerged from the same milieu, an environment that made this region an important and influential musical center in the Middle Ages.

APPENDIX A

CITATIONS OF SELECTED AQUITANIAN MANUSCRIPTS TO CA. 1200

Siglum	Library Shelfmark	Provenance	Date	Manuscript Type
Albi 44	Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44	Albi	ca. 890	Gradual-Antiphoner
Apt 17	Apt, Basilique de Sainte-Anne, MS 17 (5)	Apt	ca. 1050	Troper-Proser
Lo 4951	London, British Library, Harley 4951	Toulouse	11th c.	Gradual-Tonary
Lo 36881	London, British Library, Additional 36881	Region of Apt?	Late 12th c. (after 1196)	Benedicamus tropes-Troper-Proser
Mo 73	Montserrat, Biblioteca Monasterio, Ms 73	Region of Toulouse or Narbonne?	Second half 12th c.	Troper-Proser
Ox 45	Oxford, Bodleian Library D'Orville 45	Moissac	Late third quarter or last quarter 11th c.	Notated juxtaposed breviary
Pa 743	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 743	Saint-Martial	Late 11th c.	Notated monastic breviary
Pa 776	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 776	Saint-Michel, Gaillac (near Albi)	ca. 1079	Gradual-Prosulas-Tonary
Pa 778	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 778	Narbonne	12th c.	Troper-Proser
Pa 779	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 779	Arles / Limoges?	Second half 11th c.	Troper
Pa 780	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 780	Cathedral of Sts. Just and Pastor, Narbonne	ca. 1075–85	Gradual-Tonary
Pa 887	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 887	Aurillac?	Early 11th c.	Troper-Kyriale-Sequentiary-Proser
Pa 903	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 903	Saint-Yrieix	First half 11th c.	Gradual-Prosulas-Troper-Kyriale-Proser
Pa 909	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 909	Saint-Martial, for Saint-Martin in Limoges	ca. 1025–30	Troper-Sequentiary-Versicular-Tonary
Pa 1084	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1084	Region of Toulouse	Late 10th c.	Troper-Tonary-Sequentiary-Proser
Pa 1085	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1085	Church of St. Salvator at Saint-Martial	960–980	Abridged monastic antiphoner

Siglum	Library Shelfmark	Provenance	Date	Manuscript Type
Pa 1086	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1086	Saint-Léonard (near Limoges)	12th–13th c.	Processional-Troper-Proser
Pa 1118	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1118	Region of Toulouse	987–96	Troper-Tonary-Sequentiary-Proser
Pa 1119	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1119	Saint-Martial	ca. 1050	Troper-Proser, with sequences
Pa 1120	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1120	Saint-Martial	1010–25	Troper-Proser-Processional-Offertoriale
Pa 1121	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1121	Saint-Martial	Early 11th c.	Troper-Sequentiary-Offertoriale-Alleluias-Proser fragments
Pa 1132	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1132	Saint-Martial	Late 11th c. (after 1063)	Gradual-Kyriale-Proser-Troper
Pa 1133	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1133	Saint-Martial	Second half 11th c.	Troper-Proser-Kyriale-Sequentiary
Pa 1134	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1134	Saint-Martial	Second half 11th c.	Troper-Proser-Kyriale-Sequentiary
Pa 1135	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1135	Saint-Martial	Second half 11th c.	Troper-Proser-Kyriale-Sequentiary
Pa 1136	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1136	Saint-Martial	Mid 11th c.	Troper-Proser-Kyriale-Sequentiary-Processional
Pa 1137	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1137	Saint-Martial	ca. 1030	Proser-Sequentiary-Kyriale-Cantatorium
Pa 1138 & 1338	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1138 & 1338 (originally one manuscript)	Saint-Martial	11th c.	Troper-Proser
Pa 1139	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1139	Saint-Martial	Early 12th–13th c.	Proser-Versaria-Troper-Kyriale-Liturgical dramas
Pa 1154	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1154	Narbonne?	Late 9th–Early 10th c.	Orational, including a *versarium*
Pa 1177	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1177	Moissac?	Late 11th c.	Cantatorium-Proser
Pa 1240	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1240	Saint-Martial	933–36	Troper-Proser-Hymnal

Siglum	Library Shelfmark	Provenance	Date	Manuscript Type
Pa 1834	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1834	Saint-Martial	Late 10th c.	Fragmentary troper
Pa 1871	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouveau acquisition 1871	Moissac	Third quarter 11th c.	Troper-Sequentiary-Proser-Prosulary
Pa 3549	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3549	Aquitaine	12th c.	*Versaria*-Benedicamus tropes-Troper-Proser
Pa 3719	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3719	Aquitaine	12th c.	*Versaria*-Benedicamus tropes-Prosulas-Marian Offices
Ro 205	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 205	Moissac	1064–80	Notated hymnary
Wo 79	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Codices Guelf. Gudiani lat. 79	Saint-Martial	11th c.	Prosulas

APPENDIX B

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF *IN HOC ANNI CIRCULO*[1]

1. *In hoc anni circulo*
Vita datur seculo
Nato nobis parvulo
De virgine Maria.

1. In this season of the year
Life is given to the world
By a baby boy born unto us
From the Virgin Mary.

2. Mei amic e mei fiel,
Laisat estar lo gazel,
Aprendet u so noel
De virgine Maria.

2. My friends and faithful ones,
Set aside chatter,
Learn a new song
Of the Virgin Mary.

3. *Fons de suo rivulo*
Nascitur pro populo
Necto mortis vinculo
De virgine Maria.

3. A fountain from her river
He is born for all people
Bound by the chain of death
From the Virgin Mary.

4. Lais lo·m dire chi no sab
Qu'eu lo·l dirai ses nul gab:
Mout nen issit a bo chab
De virgine Maria.

4. Let him speak to me who does not know
For I will tell him without fail:
[The child] came forth wonderfully
From the Virgin Mary.

5. *Quod vetustas suffocat*
Hoc ad vitam revocat,
Nam se Deus collocat
De virgine Maria.

5. What old age suffocates
He brings back to life,
For God places himself (as born)
From the Virgin Mary.

6. So sabjat, re qu'es be ver,
No chal c'om s'en desesper:
Deus i ven per nos, maner
In te, virgo Maria.

6. Know then, a thing very true,
One must not despair:
God comes to us, to dwell
In thee, Virgin Mary.

7. *Sine viri copula*
Florm dedit virgula
Qui manet in secula
De virgine Maria.

7. Without knowledge of man
A twig brought forth a flower,
Which remains forever,
From the Virgin Mary.

---

[1] Translation by Switten, *Medieval Lyric*, 1: 32–33 and Turrin, "A Reassessment," 68.

8. "Non perdrai virginitat
Tostemps aurai chastitat
Si cum est profetizat
Pois er virgo Maria."

9. *Summi patri[s] filio*
Datur in presepio
Sed volentes mansio
E virgine Maria.

10. "Eu soi l'angels Gabriels
Apor vos salut, fiels;
Deus descen de sus deu cel
In te, virgo Maria.

11. *Animal inpositum*
Veneratur agnitum
Huc infantem genitum
E virgine Maria.

12. Cum la reïna l'enten
Si·l respon tan piamen:
"Aco sia au so talent
E virgine Maria."

13. *O beata femina*
Cujus ventris sarcina
Mundi luit crimina
E virgine Maria.

14. Cum la reïna l'auvit
Si l'amet e siu jauvit.
"Aco sia au so chausit
In te virgo Maria."

15. *Illi laus et gloria*
Honor, virtus, gratia,
Decus et victoria
E virgine Maria.

16. "Tu es mesatjes al rei,
Si cum tu o dit, o crei:
A lui me do e m'autrei,
Ego, virgo Maria.

8. "I shall not lose virginity
Always I shall have chastity
Just as it is prophesied
Since I will be the Virgin Mary."

9. To the Son of the heavenly Father
Is given abode in a manger,
But willingly accepted,
From the Virgin Mary.

10. "I am the angel Gabriel,
I bring you salvation, faithful ones;
God comes down from the heavens
In Thee, Virgin Mary."

11. An animal standing over him
Venerates as recognized
This infant new-born
From the Virgin Mary.

12. As the queen understands it,
She responds so reverently:
"May that be according to his desire
From the Virgin Mary."

13. O blessed woman
The fruit of whose womb
Absolves the sins of the world
From the Virgin Mary.

14. As the queen heard it
She loved it and enjoyed it.
"May that be according to his choice
From the Virgin Mary."

15. To him be praise and glory
Honor, power, grace,
Distinction, and victory,
From the Virgin Mary.

16. "You are a messenger of the king,
As you tell it, so I believe it:
To him I give and promise myself,
I, Virgin Mary.

17. *Ancela soi Damrideu*
Si cum tu o dit, o cre eu;
Maire serai Damrideu
E pois, virgo Maria.

18. L'angels es deu cel vengut
E la dompna l'a creüt;
Per tal n'esmes ereubut
De virgine Maria.

19. Eu vos ai dit mon talan
E vos dijat en avan
Chasques vers nous ab nou chan
De virgine Maria.

17. I am the servant of God
As you tell it, I believe it;
I will be mother of Lord God
And then, Virgin Mary."

18. The angel came down from the sky
And the lady believed him;
For that reason we are saved
By the Virgin Mary.

19. I have told you my wish,
And from now on repeat
Every verse anew, with a new song
About the Virgin Mary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albrecht, Otto E. *Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas from the 12th Century Fleury Playbook*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

Analecta hymnica medii aevi. Vol. 7. Edited by Guido M. Dreves. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1889.

Apel, Willi. *Gregorian Chant*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.

————. "From St. Martial to Notre Dame." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2, no. 3 (1949): 145–58.

Arlt, Wulf. "Sequence and 'Neues Lied'." In *La Sequenza Medievale: Atti del convergno internazionale, milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, edited by Agostino Ziino, 3–18. Lucca, Italy: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992.

————. "Schichten und Wege in der Überlieferung der Älteren Tropen zum Introitus *Nunc scio vere* des Petrus-Festes." In *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, edited by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, 13–93. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993.

Atkinson, Charles M. "*Ars Musica* as *Ars Cantica* in a Twelfth-Century Prose." *ACTA* 17 (1993): 1–29.

Aubrey, Elizabeth. *The Music of the Troubadours*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Barber, Malcolm. *The Cathars*. Harlow, England: Longman, 2000.

Barclay, Barbara Marian. "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings." 2 vols. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.

Barrett, Sam. "Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154." *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 55–96.

Bell, Nicolas. *Music in Medieval Manuscripts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Binford-Walsh, Hilde M. "The Internal Stability of Aquitanian Introit Tropes." In *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, 1990*, edited by László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebó, 445–54. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1992.

Bjork, David A. *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. Edited by Richard L. Crocker. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003.

———. "The Kyrie Trope." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 1 (1980): 1–41.

Björkvall, Gunilla. *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss. 17 et 18*. Corpus Troporum 5. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1986.

Blumenthal, Uta-Renate. "The Beginnings of the Gregorian Reform: Some New Manuscript Evidence." In *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church*, edited by Guy Fitch Lytle, 1–14. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981.

Bonderup, Jens. *The Saint Martial Polyphony—Texture and Tonality*. Copenhagen: Das Fog Musikforlag, 1982.

The Book of Sainte Foi. Translated by Pamela Sheingorn. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995.

Bouchard, Constance Brittain. *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Bower, Calvin M. "Alleluia, Confitemini Domino, Quoniam Bonus—An *Alleluia, Versus, Sequentia,* and Five *Prosae* Recorded in Aquitanian Sources." In *Music in the Theater, Church, and Villa: Essays in Honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, edited by Susan Parisi, 3–32. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2000.

Boynton, Susan. "The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich." In *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, edited by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, 109–30. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005.

———. "Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries." 2 vols. PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1997.

———. "Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 99–168.

Boynton, Susan and Isabelle Cochelin. "The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates at the Abbey of Cluny in the Eleventh Century." In *Musical Childhoods & the Cultures of Youth*, edited by Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok, 3–24. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006.

Brockett, C. W., Jr. "Unpublished Antiphons and Antiphon Series Found in the Gradual of St-Yrieix." *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 5–35.

Caille, Jacqueline. "Urban Expansion in the Region of Languedoc from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century: The Examples of Narbonne and Montpellier." In *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, edited by Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, 51–72. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Callahan, Daniel Francis. "Benedictine Monasticism in Aquitaine, 935–1030." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968.

Caridad, Eva Castro. *Tropos y Troparios Hispánicos*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1991.

Carlson, Rachel Golden. "Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-Century Aquitanian *Versus*." 2 vols. PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000.

———. "Striking Ornaments: Complexities of Sense and Song in Aquitanian '*Versus.*'" *Music & Letters* 84, no. 4 (2003): 527–56.

———. "Two Paths to Daniel's Mountain: Poetic-Musical Unity in Aquitanian *Versus*." *Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 4 (2006): 620–46.

Chailley, Jacques. "Les anciens tropaires et séquentiaires." *Études grégoriennes* 2 (1957): 163–88.

———. *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle*. Paris: Les Livres Essentiels, 1960.

Clément-Dumas, Gisèle. *Des moines aux troubadours IXe–XIIIe siècle*. Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc, 2004.

Cochelin, Isabelle. "Évolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard." In *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, edited by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, 29–66. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005.

Il cod. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 776 sec. XI Graduale di Gaillac. Edited by Nino Albarosa, Heinrich Rumphorst, and Alberto Turco. Padova, Italy: La Linea Editrice, 2001.

Colette, Marie-Noël. "Le Gradual-Antiphonaire, Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale 44: une notation protoaquitaine rythmique." In *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the 6th Meeting, Eger, Hungary, 1993*, edited by László Dobszay, 1:117–40. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1995.

————. "*O Gloria Sanctorum*: Quel choix de formules mélodiques?" In *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Sixth Meeting, 1993*, edited by László Dobszay, 2:745–62. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1995.

————. "Ordonnance alternative de tropes de Glorias dans le manuscrit Paris, BNF., Lat. 1119: Problematique musicologique." In *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, 1995*, edited by Lászlo Dobszay, 153–68. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1998.

————. Review of *Corpus Troporum VI, Prosules de la Messe 2: Les Prosules Limousines de Wölfenbüttel*, by E. Odelman. *Revue de Musicologie* 74, no. 1 (1988): 102–04.

————. "Le *Salve Regina* en Aquitaine au XIIème siècle: L'auteur du *Salve*." In *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, 1990*, edited by László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebó, 521–47. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1992.

Collamore, Lila Diane. "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants: A Comparative Survey." 2 vols. PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2000.

Crawford, Mary Sinclair. "Life of St. Nicholas." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1923.

Crocker, Richard L. "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 1–21.

————. "The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11, no. 2–3 (1958): 149–64.

————. "The Repertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges (Tenth and Eleventh Centuries)." 2 vols. PhD diss., Yale University, 1957.

————. "Rhythm in Early Polyphony." *Current Musicology* 45–47 (1990): 147–77.

————. "Some Ninth-Century Sequences." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20, no. 3 (1967): 367–402.

———. "The Troping Hypothesis." *Musical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1966): 183–203.

Davril, Anselme, OSB. "Coutumiers directifs et coutumiers descriptifs d'Ulrich à Bernard de Cluny." In *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, edited by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, 23–28. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005.

Doyle, Alicia Mee. "The Repertory of Tropes in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds Latin 1118: A Comparative Study of Tenth-Century Aquitanian Concordances and Transmission." PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2000.

Dronke, Peter. *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

———. *The Medieval Lyric*. Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1996.

———, ed. and trans. *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Droste, Thorsten. *Die Skulpturen von Moissac*. Edited by Albert Hirmer and Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer. München: Hirmer, 1996.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Forward by Thomas N. Bisson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

———. *Women of the Twelfth Century*. Vol. 4, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and Six Others*. Translated by Jean Birrell. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Dufour, Jean. *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*. Paris: Librairie Droz, 1972.

Dumas, Gisèle. "Le processional en Aquitaine." *Études grégoriennes* 29 (2001): 9–33.

Early Romance Texts: An Anthology. Edited by Rodney Sampson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Elfving, Lars. *Étude lexicographique sur les sequences limousines*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 7. Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1962.

Emerson, John A. *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44: A Complete Ninth-Century Gradual and Antiphoner from Southern France*. Edited by Lila Collamore. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2002.

———. "Fragments of a Troper from Saint-Martial de Limoges." *Scriptorium* 16 (1962): 369–72.

———. "Neglected Aspects of the Oldest Full Troper." In *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, edited by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, 194-217. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993.

Emerson, John A., and David Hiley. "Sources, MS, II: Western Plainchant." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 23:817–46. New York: Macmillan, 2001.

Evans, Joan. *Monastic Life at Cluny 910–1157*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931. Reprint, Archon Books, 1968.

Evans, Paul. *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970.

———. "Northern French Elements in an Early Aquitanian Troper." In *Speculum Musicae Artis Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, edited by Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach, 103–10. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1970.

———. "Some Reflections On the Origin of the Trope." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14, no. 2 (1961): 119–30.

Fassler, Margot. "The Disappearance of the Proper Tropes and the Rise of the Late Sequence: New Evidence from Chartres." In *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, 1990*, edited by László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebó, 319–35. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1992.

———. *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

———. "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation." *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29–51.

Festive Troped Masses from the Eleventh Century: Christmas and Easter in the Aquitaine. Reconstructed and Transcribed by Charlotte Roederer. *Collegium Musicum: Yale University*, 2nd ser., 11. Edited by Léon Plantinga and Jane Stevens. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1989.

Flori, Jean. "Knightly Society." In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 1, edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 148–84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Fossier, Robert. "The Rural Economy and Demographic Growth." In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 1, edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 11–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Fuller, Sarah. "An Anonymous Treatise *Dictus de Sancto Martiale*: A New Source for Cistercian Music Theory." *Musica Disciplina* 31 (1977): 5–30.

———. "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." 2 vols. PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

———. "Early Polyphony." In *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, vol. 2 of *New Oxford History of Music*, edited by Richard Crocker and David Hiley, 485–556. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

———. "Hidden Polyphony—A Reappraisal." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2 (1971): 169–92.

———. "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony." *Musica Disciplina* 33 (1979): 5–26.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle. *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin*. Paris: Librairie Droz, 1969.

Gautier, Léon. *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: Les tropes*. Paris: 1886. Reprint, Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1966.

Geary, Patrick J. *Furta Sacra*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Gérard, Pierre. "La paroisse de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse au milieu du XIIe siècle. Étude de topographie urbaine." In *Les troubadours et l'état Toulousain avant la croisade (1209)*, 103–15. Toulouse: Centre d'Étude de la Littérature Occitane / William Blake & Co. Édit., 1994.

Gillingham, Bryan. "The Centrality of the Lost Cluniac Musical Tradition." In *Chant and Its Peripheries*, edited by Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, 241–56. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998.

———. "A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus." *Musical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1971): 59–71.

———, ed. *Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17 (1)*. Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 17. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989.

———, ed. *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds latin 1139*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 14. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987.

————, ed. *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds latin 3719*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 15. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987.

————, ed. *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds latin 3549 and London B.L., Add. 36881*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 16. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987.

————. "The Provenance of Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.17 (1)." In *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, edited by Terence Bailey and László Dobszay, 229–245. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007.

————. *Saint-Martial Polyphony*. Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984.

————. "Saint-Martial Polyphony—A Catalogue Raisonné." In *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam*, 1:211-63. Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984.

Given, James B. *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Gold, Penny Schine. *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Grier, James. "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 43–98.

————. "The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century." In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, edited by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, 179–204. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

————. "*Ecce sanctum quem deus elegit Marcialem apostolum*: Adémar de Chabannes and the Tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial." In *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, edited by Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, 28–73. Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990.

————. "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy for the Feast of St. Martial." *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 6, no. 2 (1997): 97–118.

————. "The Music is the Message: Music in the Apostolic Liturgy of Saint Martial." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 12, no. 1 (2003): 1–14.

————. "The Music is the Message II: Adémar de Chabannes' Music for the Apostolic Office of Saint Martial." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 15, no. 1 (2006): 43–54.

————. "The Musical Autographs of Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034)." *Early Music History* 24 (2005): 125–68.

————. *The Musical World of A Medieval Monk.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

————. "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine." *Speculum* 69, no. 4 (1994): 1023–69.

————. "Roger de Chabannes, Cantor of St. Martial, Limoges." *Early Music History* 14 (1995): 53–119.

————. "*Scriptio Interrupta*: Adémar de Chabannes and the Production of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 909." *Scriptorium* 51, no. 2 (1997): 234–50.

————. "Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria." *Musica Disciplina* 44 (1990): 5–56.

————. "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45, no. 3 (1992): 373–427.

————. "The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41, no. 2 (1988): 250–88.

Gushee, Marion S. "The Polyphonic Music of the Medieval Monastery, Cathedral, and University." In *Music and Society: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by James McKinnon, 143–69. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991.

Gy, Pierre-Marie. "The Meaning and Function of the Introit." In *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, edited by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen, 64–74. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996.

————. "Les tropes dans l'histoire de la liturgie et de la théologie." In *Research on Tropes*, edited by Gunilla Iversen, 7–16. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1983.

Haggh, Barbara. "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety: Endowments for Music." In *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, edited by Tess Knighton and David Fallows, 60–68. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992.

Haines, John. *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Hankeln, Roman. *Die Offertoriums Prosuln der Aquitanischen Handschriften*. 3 vols. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999.

Hair, Greta Mary. "A Comparison of Two Transcriptions of Early Eleventh Century Trope/Chant Compositions to the Introit and Communion for Christmas Day from Ms Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Fonds Latin 903." In *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam*, 2:346–78. Henryville, PA: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1984.

Hehl, Ernst-Dieter. "War, Peace and the Christian Order." In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 1, edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 185–228. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Herzo, Sister Anthony. "Five Aquitanian Graduals: Their Mass Propers and Alleluia Cycles." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1967.

Higounet, Charles. *Histoire de l'Aquitaine documents*. Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1973.

Hiley, David. "Cluny, Sequences and Tropes." In *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, edited by Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menesto, 125–38. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990.

———. "The Office of the Transfiguration by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (1122–1156) in the Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds latin 17716." In *Chant and Its Peripheries*, edited by Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, 224–40. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998.

———. "The Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere." In *De Musica et Cantu*, edited by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer, 131–56. Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms Verlag, 1993.

———. "Some Observations On the Interrelationships Between Trope Repertories." In *Research On Tropes*, edited by Gunilla Iversen, 29–37. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1983.

————. *Western Plainchant: A Handbook.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hohler, Christopher. "The Proper Office of St. Nicholas and Related Matters with Reference to a Recent Book." *Medium Aevum* 36 (1967): 40–48.

Horst, Kathryn. *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Hughes, David G. "Further Notes on the Grouping of the Aquitanian Tropers." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19, no. 1 (1966): 3–12.

Huglo, Michel. *Les livres de chant liturgique.* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1988.

Hunt, Noreen. *Cluny Under Saint Hugh 1049–1109.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967.

Iversen, Gunilla. *"Cantans – Orans – Exultans:* Interpretations of the Chants of the Introit Liturgy." In *Laborare Fratres in Unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag,* edited by David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, 125–50. Spolia Berolinensia: Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik 7. Hildesheim, Germany: Weidmann, 1995.

————. *Chanter avec les anges.* Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 2001.

————. "'*Incipiunt Glorie cum Laudes.*' Conclusions from a Radical Redaction. Gloria Melody A and its Collection of Alternating Trope Verses in the MS Paris B.N. lat. 1119." In *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, 1995,* edited by Lászlo Dobszay, 1:305–28. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1998.

————. "*O Gloria sanctorum*: A Complete Composition or an Ongoing Process?" In *Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Seventh Meeting, 1995,* edited by Lászlo Dobszay, 2:711–45. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1998.

————. "Pax et Sapientia: A Thematic Study on Tropes from Different Traditions." In *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson,* 23–58. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1986.

————. "*Supera agalmata*: Angels and the Celestial Hierarchy in Sequences and Tropes. Examples from Moissac." In *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of C. Clifford Flanigan,* edited by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen, 95–133. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996.

————. "Sur la géographie des tropes du sanctus." In *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, edited by Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menesto, 38–62. Spoleto, Italy: Centro Italiano de Studi Sull'alto Medioevo, 1990.

Jacobsson, Ritva. "Contribution à la géographie des saints." In *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, edited by Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menesto, 143–82. Spoleto, Italy: Centro Italiano de Studi Sull'alto Medioevo, 1990.

————. "*Petro ad ostium pulsanti* – On the Interplay of Roles in Saints' Tropes." In *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, edited by Terence Bailey and László Dobszay, 323–29. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007.

————. "Poésie liturgique et fond biblique: Essai sur quatre complexes de tropes en l'honneur de Saint Pierre apôtre et sur leur transmission." In *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, edited by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, 309–41. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993.

————. "Les plus anciens tropes des saints." In *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*, edited by Walter Berschin, 203–13. Stüttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1991.

Jeffery, Peter. Review of *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss. 17 et 18: Inventaire analytique des mss. et édition des texts uniques* by Gunilla Björkvall and *Prosules de la Messe* by Eva Odelman. *Speculum* 64, no. 1 (1989): 120–24.

Jones, Charles W. *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963.

————. *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Karp, Theodore. *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*. 2 vols. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992.

Keller, Hans-Erich. "Italian Troubadours." In *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, edited by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 295–306. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Keene, Derek. "Towns and the Growth of Trade." In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 1, edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 47–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, Lori. "The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change." PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997.

Lambert, Malcolm. *The Cathars*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

Landes, Richard. *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Adémar of Chabannes, 989–1034*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Langlois, Monique and Michel Duchein. "Notice historique." In *L'art roman à Saint-Martial de Limoges*, 11–24. Limoges: Musée Municipal, 1950.

Lazar, Moshe. "*Fin'amor*." In *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, edited by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 61–100. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Lasteyrie, Charles de. *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges*. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1901.

Leclercq, Jean. "*Otium Monasticum* as a Context for Artistic Creativity." In *Monasticism and the Arts*, edited by Timothy Gregory Verdon and John Dally, 63–80. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984.

———. "Spiritualité et culture à Cluny." In *Spiritualità Cluniacense*, 103–51. Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1960.

Lee, Eugene. "Benedicamus Domino: Coherent Relationships Between Plainsong and Organum Duplum." *In Theory Only* 6, no. 5 (1982): 17–48.

Lyman, Thomas W. "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and 'Resistance to Cluny'." *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 83–92.

Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères. Translated by Frederick Goldin. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973.

Marshall, Judith M. "Hidden Polyphony in a Manuscript from St. Martial de Limoges." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15, no. 2 (1962): 131–44.

McGee, Timothy J., A. G. Rigg, and David N. Klausner, eds. *Singing Early Music*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996.

McKinnon, James. "Early Western Civilization." In *Music and Society: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by James McKinnon, 1–44. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991.

Melville, Gert. "Action, Text, and Validity: On Re-examining Cluny's *Consuetudines* and *Statutes*." In *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, edited by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, 67–83. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005.

Meyer, Kathi. "The Eight Gregorian Modes on the Cluny Capitals." *The Art Bulletin* 34, no. 2 (1952): 75–94.

Mundy, John Hine. *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050–1230*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

Nelson, Deborah H. "Northern France." In *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, edited by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 255–261. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Odelman, Eva. *Les prosules limousines de Wolfenbüttel*. Corpus Troporum 6. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1986.

O'Shea, Stephen. *The Perfect Heresy*. London: Profile Books, 2000.

O'Sullivan, Daniel E. *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Page, Christopher. "Court and City in France, 1100–1300." In *Music and Society: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by James McKinnon, 197–217. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991.

———. "Polyphony Before 1400." In *Performance Practice*. Vol. 1, *Music Before 1600*, edited by Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, 79–106. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.

Paléographie Musicale 13: Le Codex Latin 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Solesmes: Association Jean-Bougler: 1925. Reprint 1971 and 1992.

Papy, Louis. *Atlas et géographie du Midi Atlantique*. Geneva: Flammarion et Éditions Famot, 1982.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Mary Through the Centuries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela. Translated by William Melczer. New York: Ithaca Press, 1993.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. "Fragments, Palimpsests, and Marginalia." *Journal of Musicology* 6, no. 3 (1988): 293–339.

————. "On the Nature of Transmission and Change in Trope Repertories." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41, no. 2 (1988): 215–49.

————. *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Reed, Teresa P. *Shadows of Mary*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.

Reilly, Diane. "The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo Librorum ad Legerdum*: A Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions." In *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, edited by Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, 163–89. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005.

Resnick, Irven M. "Peter Damian on Cluny, Liturgy and Penance." *Journal of Religious History* 15, no. 1 (1988): 61–75.

Robertson, Anne Walters. "*Benedicamus Domino*: the Unwritten Tradition." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41, no. 1 (1988): 1–62.

Roederer, Charlotte D. "Can We Identify an Aquitanian Chant Style?" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27, no. 1 (1974): 75–99.

Rönnau, Klaus. *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression." *Viator* 2 (1971): 129–57.

————. *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1982.

————. *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Rudolph, Conrad. "Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia* as a Description of Cluny, and the Controversy over Monastic Art." *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 125–32.

————. *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's* Apologia *and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

Russell, Carlton Thrasher. "The Southern French Tonary in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1966.

Rutchick, Leah. "Sculpture Programs in the Moissac Cloister: Benedictine Culture, Memory Systems and Liturgical Performance." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991.

Rutter, Philip. "The Epiphany Trope Cycle in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1240." In *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, edited by Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menesto, 314–24. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990.

Schapiro, Meyer. "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac." In *Romanesque Art*, 131–264. New York: George Braziller, 1977. First pub. 1931.

Schmitz, Philibert. "La Liturgie de Cluny." In *Spiritualità Cluniacense*, 85–99. Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1960.

Scillia, Charles E. "Meaning and the Cluny Capitals: Music as Metaphor." *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 133–48.

Seebas, Tilman. *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im Früheren Mittelalter*. 2 vols. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973.

Sevestre, Nicole. "Fragments d'un prosaire Aquitain inédit." In *Laborare Fratres in Unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, 285–95. Spolia Berolinensia: Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik 7. Hildesheim, Germany: Weidmann, 1995

Smith, Cyril Eugene. *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1958.

Smoldon, William L. *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*. Edited by Cynthia Bourgeault. London: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Snow, Joseph T. "The Iberian Peninsula." In *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, edited by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 271–78. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Source Readings in Music History, rev. ed.. Edited by Oliver Strunk. General Editor Leo Treitler. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.

Steiner, Ruth. "The Music for a Cluny Office of Saint Benedict." In *Monasticism and the Arts*, edited by Timothy Gregory Verdon and John Dally, 63–80. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1984.

————. "The Prosulae of the MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, f. lat. 1118." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22, no. 3 (1969): 367–93.

Stevens, John, Ardis Butterfield, and Theodore Karp. "Troubadours, Trouvères." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed, edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 25:798–820. New York: Macmillan, 2001.

Strohm, Reinhard. "Centre and Periphery: Mainstream and Provincial Music." In *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, edited by Tess Knighton and David Fallows, 55–59. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992.

Suso, Carmen Rodriguez. "La notation Aquitaine au pays basque (XII–XVIe s.)." *Études grégoriennes* 25 (1997): 37–44.

Switten, Margaret. *The Medieval Lyric. A Project Supported by the National Endowment of the Humanities and Mount Holyoke College*. 4 vols. South Hadley, MA: 1987–88.

————. "*Versus* and Troubadours Around 1100: A Comparative Study of Refrain Technique in the 'New Song.'" *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 16, no. 2 (2007): 91–143.

————. "The Voice and the Letter: On Singing in the Vernacular." *ACTA* 17 (1993): 51–73.

Szanto, David. "Cluny's Campaign On the Way of St. James: The Polyphony of the Aquitanian Sources and the Codex Calixtinus in Historical Context." DMA research project, New England Conservatory, 2003.

Teviotdale, Elizabeth C. "Trope." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, 25:777–94. New York: Macmillan, 2001.

Treitler, Leo. "The Aquitanian Repertories of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." 3 vols. PhD diss., Princeton University, 1967.

————. "Observations on the Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes." In *Forum Musicologicum 3, Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung, 11–60*. Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag, 1982.

————. "Oral and Literate Style in the Regional Transmission of Tropes." *Studia musicologica* 27, no. 1–4 (1985): 171–83.

————. "The Polyphony of St. Martial." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 1 (1964): 29–42.

————. *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Tropaire-Prosaire de l'Abbaye Saint-Martin de Montauriol. Introduction by Abbé Camille Daux. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1901.

Tropaire Séquentiaire Prosaire Prosulaire de Moissac. Edited, introduction, and index by Marie-Noël Colette. Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2006.

Turrin, H. J. "A Reassessment: In hoc anni circulo/Mei amic e mei fiel, Confliction or Concord in a Seminal Romance Lyric?" *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1977): 67–77.

Van der Werf, Hendrik. *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars.* Rochester, NY: The author, 1984.

————. *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony.* 2 vols. Rochester, NY: The author, 1993.

Van Vleck, Amelia E. "The Lyric Texts." In *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, edited by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 21–60. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend.* Translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941.

Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Weiss, Günther. *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Band III: Introitus-Tropen I.* Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970.

Werckmeister, O. K. "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela." *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 103–12.

Wharff, Elizabeth Averill. "The Earliest Aquitanian Proper Tropes." MA thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1978.

Williams, John. "Cluny and Spain." *Gesta* 27, no. 1–2 (1988): 93–101.

Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Yudkin, Jeremy. *Music in Medieval Europe*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1989.

Zumthor, Paul. "An Overview: Why the Troubadours?" In *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, edited by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 11–20. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

DISCOGRAPHY

Anonymous 4. *Legends of St. Nicholas*. Harmonia mundi HMU 907232.

Pérès, Marcel and Ensemble Organum. *Polyphonie Aquitaine du XIIe siècle*. Harmonia mundi HMA 1901134.

Sequentia. *Aquitania*. BMG 05472 77383 2

Sequentia. *Shining Light*. BMG 05472 77370 2.