Ars antiqua

Organum, Conductus, Motet

Edited by
Edward H. Roesner

Music in Medieval Europe

Ars antiqua

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Contents

Acknowledgements *vii*
Series Preface *ix*
Introduction *xi*

PART I POLYPHONY AT NOTRE DAME OF PARIS

1 Craig Wright (1986), 'Leoninus, Poet and Musician', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **39**, pp. 1–35. 3
2 Heinrich Husmann (1963), 'The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus liber organi*', *The Musical Quarterly*, **49**, pp. 311–30 (translated by Gilbert Reaney). 39
3 Rebecca A. Baltzer (1992), 'The Geography of the Liturgy at Notre-Dame of Paris', in Thomas Forrest Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony: Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 45–64. 59

PART II ORGANUM, GENRE, RHYTHM

4 Edward H. Roesner (1982), 'Johannes de Garlandia on *Organum in speciali*', *Early Music History*, **2**, pp. 129–60. 81
5 Jeremy Yudkin (1980), 'The *Copula* According to Johannes de Garlandia', *Musica disciplina*, **34**, pp. 67–84. 113
6 Ernest H. Sanders (1980), 'Consonance and Rhythm in the Organum of the 12th and 13th Centuries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **33**, pp. 264–86. 131
7 Edward H. Roesner (2001), 'Who "Made" the *Magnus liber*?', *Early Music History*, **20**, pp. 227–66. 155
8 Steven C. Immel (2001), 'The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined', *Early Music History*, **20**, pp. 121–72. 195
9 Norman E. Smith (1972), 'Interrelationships Among the Alleluias of the *Magnus liber organi*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **25**, pp. 175–202. 247
10 William G. Waite (1961), 'The Abbreviation of the *Magnus liber*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **14**, pp. 147–58. 275

PART III CONDUCTUS, GENRE, FUNCTION, RHYTHM

11 Janet Knapp (1979), 'Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **32**, pp. 383–407. 289

12 Ernest H. Sanders (1985), 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **38**, pp. 439–69. 315
13 Thomas B. Payne (2000), '*Aurelianis civitas*: Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor', *Speculum*, **75**, pp. 589–614. 347

PART IV MOTET, CHRONOLOGY, STYLE

14 Rebecca A. Baltzer (1990), 'Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin', in Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup (eds), *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, New York: Department of Music, Columbia University, pp. 5–42. [Also published in *Current Musicology* (1990), 45–47.] 375
15 Ernest H. Sanders (1967), 'The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates', in Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (eds), *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, pp. 241–49. 413
16 Gordon A. Anderson (1967), 'A Small Collection of Notre Dame Motets *ca.* 1215–1235', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **22**, pp. 157–96. 423
17 Mark Everist (1988), 'The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century', *Music and Letters*, **69**, pp. 1–22. 463
18 Dolores Pesce (1997), 'Beyond Glossing: The Old Made New in *Mout me fu grief/Robin m'aime/ Portare*', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 28–51. 485

Index 509

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Series Preface

This series of volumes provides an overview of the best current scholarship in the study of medieval music. Each volume is edited by a ranking expert, and each presents a selection of writings, mostly in English which, taken together, sketch a picture of the shape of the field and of the nature of current inquiry. The volumes are organized in such a way that readers may go directly to an area that interests them, or they may provide themselves a substantial introduction to the wider field by reading through the entire volume.

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

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

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

This is the fallacy of historical parallax, and it owes its existence to two facts; first that things that are nearer to us appear to be larger, so that the history of the twentieth century looms enormous while the distant Middle Ages appear comparatively insignificant. Second, the progressive loss of historical materials over time means that more information survives from recent periods than from more distant ones, leading to the temptation to gauge importance by sheer volume.

There may be those who would have organized these volumes in other ways. One could have presented geographical volumes, for example: Medieval Music in the British Isles, in France, and so on. Or there might have been volumes focused on particular source materials, or individuals. Such materials can be found within some of these volumes, but our organization here is based on the way in which scholars seem in the main to organize and conceptualize the surviving materials. The approach here is largely chronological, with an admixture of stylistic considerations. The result is that changing styles of composition result in volumes focused on different genres – tropes, polyphony, lyric – that are not of course entirely separate in time, or discontinuous in style and usage. There are also volumes – notably those on chant

and on instrumental music – that focus on certain aspects of music through the whole period. Instrumental music, of which very little survives from the Middle Ages, is often neglected in favour of music that does survive – for very good reason; but we do wish to consider what we can know about instruments and their music. And liturgical chant, especially the repertory known as Gregorian chant, is present right through our period, and indeed is the only music in Western culture to have been in continuous use from the beginnings of Western music (indeed it could be said to define its beginnings) right through until the present.

The seven volumes collected here, then, have the challenge of introducing readers to an enormous swathe of musical history and style, and of presenting the best of recent musical scholarship. We trust that, taken together, they will increase access to this rich body of music, and provide scholars and students with an authoritative guide to the best of current thinking about the music of the Middle Ages.

THOMAS FORREST KELLY
Series Editor

Introduction

The *ars antiqua*, the 'ancient' or old 'art', began to be mentioned in writings about music in the early decades of the fourteenth century, where it was cited along with references to a more modern 'art', an *ars nova.* It is a distinction that was in large measure new in medieval thinking about music, but music was not the only aspect of expressive culture at the time to exhibit a sensitivity to 'newness' or to the fact that significant changes were taking place in how people experienced their world – Dante's 'dolce stil nuovo' and his treatise *La vita nuova* are contemporaneous cases in point. By *ars* we should not understand 'art' in the modern sense, of course, but rather 'practice' or 'method', in the manner of 'industrial arts' and 'culinary arts'. Some writers of the early fourteenth century regarded the two *artes*, *antiqua* and *nova*, as virtually antithetical: thus Jacques of Liège, the theorist who discussed the *ars antiqua* more extensively than any other writer, considered the *nova* practice a corruption of the earlier *ars*, an ill-considered, indeed arbitrary debasement of it that limited the flexibility and capacity for expression inherent in the *ars antiqua*. Other writers, in particular the theorists associated with the composer Philippe de Vitry, understood the *ars antiqua*, or *ars vetus*, as some of them called it, differently, as a foundation or platform to be built upon, expanded or enlarged by the *nova* practice, one writer describing that expansion as *magis subtilior*, 'much more intricate'.

As framed in the music theory of the fourteenth century, the concepts of *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* were understood to pertain to musical notation first and foremost, to the kinds of figures used to write down nuances of rhythm and melody, and hence to the rhythmic and other possibilities that the notation conveyed or permitted. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the terms are used more broadly, having come to connote the totality of the musical cultures conceived and transmitted by means of these respective *artes* – that is, the overall musical practice and aesthetics of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the one hand, and those of the fourteenth century on the other – their genres, idioms, musical sources, expressive aims and theoretical presentations alike.

The *ars antiqua* was understood by those who coined the notion to be rooted in the musical practices outlined in the *Ars musica* of Lambertus and, especially, the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of Franco of Cologne, both treatises probably written in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Franco in particular is concerned almost exclusively with polyphony, teaching how to read, compose and think about the various kinds of polyphonic music that had begun to appear in the second half of the twelfth century, and that by the middle of the following century had grown into a very large and imposing body of work. This polyphony was associated above all with the ecclesiastical and intellectual life of Paris, with its cathedral of Notre Dame and with the schools attendant to it that would coalesce into the University, with the ritual practice of the Cathedral and the modes of thinking and teaching cultivated in the schools. It is music of great brilliance and sophistication, much of it conceived on an unprecedented scale, and it quickly became the dominant polyphonic tradition of the high Middle Ages.

Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris

Two factors above all made possible the rise to prominence of Parisian polyphony: the creation and preservation of the music in writing and the emergence of a body of didactic texts to teach the tradition. Whatever local ritual customs and performance practices first brought it into existence, by the beginning of the thirteenth century Parisian polyphony circulated widely and primarily in written form. As written down, 'composed' music, it represented a fundamental shift away from earlier traditions, which had used polyphony primarily as an ex tempore, improvised embellishment of liturgical texts, the practice varying widely from place to place and singer to singer. Circulating in writing, the polyphony originating at Notre Dame stood as a coherent musical corpus. It served as a basis for the stabilization and systematization of the musical language in all its aspects, melodic, harmonic and rhythmic, and of the different genres in which the language was deployed. It was a codification that laid the foundation of the Western musical language for the next several centuries. And it offered a springboard for stylistic developments in many directions and for experimentation of all sorts, changing the nature of what musical creativity might be from a performance art to composition as understood today. In writing, too, it could be taken up more or less intact elsewhere in France and also in other countries, the British Isles, Spain, Italy and northern and eastern Europe. Outside of Paris it served as a model for the creation of local repertories, some of which took the Parisian idiom in striking new directions.

The impulse to preserve Parisian polyphony in writing also sparked, indeed required, the development of a musical notation that would more adequately communicate the polyphonic idiom than the orthography of Gregorian chant, in which it had originally been committed to parchment, could possibly do. That notation served two purposes, to record the music as the scribe 'heard' it in his mind and, radically new, to permit musicians to recreate the work from the written record. And, it made the practice available in a tangible form that could be studied, analysed, synthesized into a didactic system and taught, stimulating the appearance of a body of didactic writing beginning with the treatise of Johannes de Garlandia towards the middle of the thirteenth century and culminating in the writings of Franco and, later, Jacques of Liège. This *ars antiqua* thus became a 'classical' practice, a force for both stability and change in the labile intellectual world of the period. It was the first classical tradition in European music since the codification and widespread adoption of Gregorian chant in the Carolingian Empire some four centuries earlier.

There are other respects in which the musical practice taking shape in Paris was ground-breaking. For the first time polyphonic compositions were associated with specific composers identified as such (Leoninus and Perotinus; the attributions of polyphonic works in the somewhat earlier Codex Calixtinus probably connote something different, identifying donors or patrons rather than composers.) For the first time polyphony was used for works in the vernacular, both religious and decidedly secular ones: 'composition' along with the conventions attendant upon literate culture would now be practised not only in the 'learned' music of the Church and the schools, but also in the courtly song of the troubadours and trouvères, formerly largely a performance art, as polyphony had been, and the province of the 'unlettered' jongleur. For the first time polyphony could involve not just two, but also three or even four independent voices (the multiple voices in the polyphony of the earlier *Musica enchiriadis* tradition merely replicated other parts). Some of the genres that emerged in the

Paris tradition were not 'new', forms of them having been practised extemporaneously for a century or more, but their treatment in Paris most certainly was; others were brand new. Some did not outlast the *ars antiqua*; others, however, continued to flourish for centuries.

The corpus of *ars antiqua* polyphony survives in a substantial number of manuscripts or manuscript fragments, most of them dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. (Why there exist no sources from the twelfth century or the first two decades of the thirteenth has yet to be satisfactorily explained.) Most are (or once were) large and comprehensive anthologies, carefully organized collections. Many are luxury books that testify to the esteem in which this music was held. The manuscripts and the discussions of idiom and genre by contemporaneous theorists both group the repertory into three broad generic categories: organum, conductus and motet. Considered in general terms, the earlier the manuscript, the fewer the number of motets, if any; the later the book, the smaller the collections of organa and conductus. This is consistent with other evidence suggesting that the creation of organa and conductus had more or less run its course by the middle of the thirteenth century while the motet, coming into existence somewhat later than the other genres, became the dominant outlet for musical creativity and experimentation in the later decades of the *ars antiqua*. The three genres are distinct from each other in many ways, and each had its own line of development and change. Each poses its own questions and challenges to scholars, and for that reason, perhaps, research has tended to focus on one or another of these genres. For the most part the essays in this volume do so as well. It is important to keep in mind, however, that organum, conductus and motet have a common polyphonic language and notation, as a careful reading of the theoretical literature of the time will make clear. They deploy that language in different ways in response to the particular forces at work in each genre, and they may exhibit earlier or later aspects of it, but in the end all three genres were cut from the same cloth, and there is much to be learned from studying them together.

Organum, Genre, Rhythm

Organum is the genre of *ars antiqua* polyphony most immediately associated with Notre Dame de Paris. Although the term, a *verbum aequivocum*, 'ambiguous word', as one theorist characterized it, can also refer to all polyphony or to a specific kind of contrapuntal relationship between voices, in its generic sense 'organum' is a purely liturgical music, a polyphonic treatment for the most part of the solo portions of the responsorial plainchants sung in the mass and office, those chants that follow and comment on the readings of Scripture that are focal points in the service. Functioning as virtuoso musical meditations on the readings, they were sung at those points in the liturgy when nothing else was going on, and consequently they would have been heard in special relief. They embellished the great festivals of the ecclesiastical year at Notre Dame – Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Virgin, St Denis and so on – and thus the choice of chants to receive organal treatment was inextricably bound up with the particularities of the ritual as practised at Notre Dame, the details of its calendar, the numbers and kinds of singers assigned to particular chants on a given day, nuances in performance practice and in the melodies found in the Cathedral's library of chant books, and so on . A substantial amount of the research on this music has concerned itself with the issues of how (and when) organum was used at Notre Dame and at the other churches in Paris and elsewhere that adopted the Cathedral's music.

The corpus of organum preserved in the so-called 'Notre Dame' manuscripts (none can be conclusively shown to have been written for Notre Dame itself) is very large. It includes multiple two-voice settings of some chants and alternative versions in three or four parts of several. In some cases, different manuscripts transmit completely different settings of a given chant; in most, however, different copies of the 'same' organum reveal a greater or lesser degree of relatedness – some parts of a work will be the same, others will be entirely different; still other parts bear a certain resemblance from manuscript to manuscript. Beyond this, the 'same' music may recur from organum to organum, sometimes as self-sufficient segments, 'clausulae' as they are called, of a larger musical mosaic, often as smaller groups of phrases or as single melodic gestures. Some manuscripts include collections devoted entirely to these self-standing clausulae, these bits and pieces pulled out of their parent organa or intended for insertion into larger, complete works as replacements or additions. And finally, the 'same' music might be notated in a very different manner in one manuscript than in another, suggesting a different rhythm or a different kind of rhythmic measure altogether. All of this adds up to a bibliographical and analytical tangle of staggering proportions for the student and editor of this music. It is not surprising, then, that another primary concern of scholarship has been the sorting out of the organum repertory, identifying concordances and interrelationships, and looking for signs of direction, of which version came first and which later, and, from that, seeking to understand how the idiom developed and changed. Remarkably, it is only in some of the most recent work that the question has been posed of how the written, 'composed' body of organum that we know from the manuscripts emerged from what was surely an oral, performance-driven background, whether at Notre Dame or before – and of how much of that background is still discernable in the written copies.

Perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of the Notre Dame tradition from the technical standpoint is the introduction of *rhythm* as a consciously manipulated and regulated element of the musical fabric. For the first time in the history of Western music how the music flows through time was something that was controlled and systematized, not something that happened because music perforce exists in time. A coherent, consistent way of thinking about rhythm and a system for controlling and measuring the flow through time, along with a notation for communicating that measured flow to the reader or singer emerged, each of these aspects influencing the other. The significance of this development was recognized at the time: the music theorists called the polyphonic tradition of Paris *musica mensurabilis*, 'measurable music'. The result is the inception of the Western system of musical rhythm and rhythmic notation in use to the present day. The new rhythmic idiom – 'modal rhythm', it is called – infused all forms of Parisian polyphony, but it is likely that its rationalization into a system and its manifestations in tangible form in notation first occurred within the stylistic crucible of organum. How that happened, what external factors contributed to its formation, how the system is to be understood and how the notation in the surviving manuscripts is to be read, these questions have been the most hotly debated of all aspects of *ars antiqua* scholarship.

Conductus, Genre, Function, Rhythm

Conductus, by comparison with organum, has received but scant attention from musicologists. The primary reason for this relative neglect may have to do with the somewhat anomalous nature of the genre itself: it is difficult to pin down exactly what a conductus is. The theorists

called it 'conductus' (pl. 'conducti', but most medievalists today follow classical usage and give the plural as 'conductus'), possibly because examples of the genre cited by them were indeed intended to accompany liturgical movement. For reasons that will become clear presently, however, a better label might be 'Latin lyric' or even, simply, 'song'. Unlike organum, the function of which is precisely defined by liturgical circumstance, no single function can be ascribed to the conductus, and most appear to have served no definite purpose at all. A relatively small number do have ties of a sort to the liturgy, if only rarely to a specific liturgical occasion: they might have provided an 'unofficial', interpolated musical accompaniment while a cathedral dignitary proceeded to the lectern to deliver a Scripture reading in the mass or office, or they might have glossed the formal dismissal of the participants at the close of an office service. In some cases, a work with no clear liturgical ties in one source appears in another manuscript with a refrain that effectively converts it into an accompanying or dismissal piece (these refrains have the character of stock formulas that could be moved from conductus to conductus, inserted in the manner of an organum clausula, and several manuscripts group them together in separate collections for ready access). Some conductus incorporate bits of ritual text or plainchant, or their content relates them loosely to a ritual event, but one finds similar kinds of borrowings from ecclesiastical culture in other genres, musical and literary, that have nothing to do with any 'official' or even informal religious ceremonial. Many conductus appear to be hymn-like songs or paraphrases of Scripture or devotional commonplaces; others are songs with moralizing or admonitory content, resembling sermons; some celebrate or comment on historical events, such as a death or a crusade. A number are distinctly secular, occasionally whimsical, even erotic.

Large collections of conductus are included in the same manuscripts as the organa originating at Notre Dame, and one can conclude that many are the work of the same musicians, were performed by the same singers and were received by the same audiences. Unlike the organa, however, the conductus are often found in sources produced outside the orbit of the *ars antiqua*. Many may have originated outside the tradition as well. That is, if the genre of Parisian organum owes its inception to Notre Dame specifically, the genre of conductus may have been more widespread from the outset, the musicians of Notre Dame being only part of a much larger picture. This could account in part for the diversity of the genre.

Consistent with the preceding observation is the fact that conductus do not always fit comfortably within the stylistic norms of the *ars antiqua* as we understand it. Other factors besides the widespread cultivation of the genre contributed to the individual character of the conductus. A substantial part of the repertory is monophonic, and evidently was conceived as such; these conductus include some of the largest and most complex works in the repertory. They follow musical principles that are only incidentally related to the practices shaped by polyphony. But many of the polyphonic conductus also seem somewhat different in kind from the organa and motets. The underlying reason for this has to do with the nature of the conductus itself. The primary factor shaping the composition is not musical, as in organa and motets, both of which build their polyphony above a melodic foundation drawn from plainchant, but verbal. The conductus is a poem first and foremost, conceived in rhyming, rhythmic, often strophic verse. It is this text that determines the design and the disposition of musical elements. This is reflected in the fact that a conductus might be transmitted as a stand-alone text (in a number of instances, the text-alone copy is the only one to transmit the poem complete) or as monophony (both those conceived monophonically and those originating in

polyphony), or with two, three or in a small number of cases even four voices, all singing the text simultaneously. All of these are sufficient transmissions of the 'piece': the important element is the text; the music is there as a way to project it forward in time and space (it could just as easily be spoken with no loss of intrinsic content).

With a verbal foundation instead of a musical one the *ars antiqua* conventions of consonance and dissonance, of the style of melodic movement, of how the piece flows rhythmically through time and of how that flow is communicated in notation – all of these interrelated elements are looser than in the other genres and less easy to relate to the theoretical doctrines. Consequently, the conductus is less amenable to musical analysis than the other genres – or, rather, it requires a different analytical approach. And it has proved more intractable to editors than organum or motet: the musical flow of the conductus lies somewhere between the melodic/rhythmic idiom of plainchant and that of measured polyphony; it is *musica mensurabilis*, but the *mensura* derives primarily from the design of the text and from its content and rhetorical delivery, not from musical forces as such. Modern musical notation does not easily convey its text-driven rhythmic elasticity. Although much of the musicological attention paid to the conductus has focused on issues of rhythmic interpretation, the questions that it poses have remained challenging.

If the music of the conductus has proved difficult to talk about, its texts have not. The poems have stimulated what is probably the most interesting and important work on the genre, engaging some of the best minds in the fields of Classics and medieval literature, and, more recently, in music. The most important poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are among the authors of these poems – Philip the Chancellor, to cite one prominent example – but many of the anonymous poems are also of extraordinary interest. Much of the research has been undertaken in the course of editing the poetry, while collating, evaluating variant readings, parsing the versification and rhetorical content of individual passages, identifying links to other poems and literary traditions, and puzzling out the intent of the poem overall. (The edition of the *Carmina burana* is an outstanding case in point.) Philological and critical work has revealed a literary culture of exceptional inventiveness, refinement and learning. An open question, avoided by most scholars, concerns whether poet and composer were the same individual. In some cases, at least, they appear to have been different people. This would represent something of a departure from earlier practice, and its implications have yet to be fully explored.

Motet, Chronology, Style

The motet is the youngest of the three primary genres of *ars antiqua* polyphony, and the one that would become the most prestigious form of *ars nova* composition a century after its first appearance. The genre evidently emerged directly out of organum, beginning life as one of the myriad ways in which an organum might be worked over by successive generations of musicians. In this case, however, the reworking was as much verbal as it was musical, if not entirely so. The largest of the organa, the four-voice works ascribed to Perotinus, survive in some manuscripts with not only the original liturgical text in the voice carrying the underlying plainchant, the tenor, but also new text added to the upper voices, text that effectively turned a highly melismatic setting into a syllabic one, on a superficial level the three upper voices resembling a conductus. These organa became not only syllabic but also polytextual, since the

original text and the new one would have been sung at the same time. A large number of the independently transmitted clausulae are found in separate collections with new text in their upper voice or voices as well, and constitute the nucleus of the early motet repertory. The new texts tend to incorporate the words of the original chant, surrounding them with material that expounds upon their theological content or the significance of the feast on which the underlying chant was used. Some motet texts are ironic, standing in dialectical opposition to the thought conveyed by the chant. Thus the motet can be seen as part and parcel of the scholastic tradition then flourishing in the emerging University, a tradition of debate and dispute posing and then reconciling seemingly contradictory views. At the same time the addition of texts to create motets represents a clear-cut outgrowth of the somewhat earlier practice of adding interpretive texts, 'prosulae', to melismatic plainchants such as the Kyrie, Sanctus and, significantly for the motet, the responsorial chants of the mass and office. ('Prosula' is a diminutive form; 'motet', a French word, interestingly enough, is also a diminutive, connoting a little 'word', text or strophe, perhaps a text of lesser importance, subsidiary, added to a primary one, the 'authoritative' ritual or Scriptural text in the underlying chant.)

Some of the motet poets were apparently the same authors responsible for the conductus being created alongside them – Philip the Chancellor's role in the emergence of the motet seems well established (he may even have written the motet texts for Perotinus' two four-voice organa) . In any event the expressive and creative potential inherent in the motet idiom was quickly seized upon by poets and musicians alike. The process of reworking continued unabated, with one text replacing another, exploiting the possibilities for irony or satire, and with their content ranging over as wide a palate of themes as the poetry of contemporaneous conductus. Not only were texts added and replaced, but additional voices were also provided to earlier two- and occasionally three-voice clausulae, each part carrying its own, independent text. These newly added voices and texts could themselves be replaced or interchanged, leading to an often bewildering variety of closely and distantly related compositions. The variety expanded still further when French texts began to be included alongside or in place of Latin ones. Some are vernacular paraphrases of Latin originals; others are secular with close ties to courtly song. Thus, a clausula intended for an Easter organum might carry a prayer to the Virgin in its upper voice; a third voice might be added with an amorous pastourelle text in French, thus contrasting sacred and profane love in springtime, the period of resurrection and rebirth; and the Marian text might be replaced by a love song in Occitan. Or the prayer might be replaced by a text praising good clergy, and the pastourelle by one condemning false priests; other Marion texts might replace any of these. Different copies of 'this' motet might use various combinations of these texts or might add yet another voice or take one or more away. Since the added musical lines were composed at a later period in the development of the polyphonic language, they might exhibit features of melodic and rhythmic usage quite different from those in the original piece.

Once the motet was established as distinct genre, many such works were composed without recourse to an already existing clausula, were conceived as motets from the outset. A very large body of motets survives from the thirteenth century, some of it preserved in the same manuscripts as the organa and conductus, some, including most of the later works, in books devoted primarily or exclusively to motets. Disentangling the bibliographical morass represented by this repertory has been one of the busiest activities of scholars of the genre. Making sense of the repertory, sorting out the development of the genre, deducing when and

in what sequence texts were replaced and voices added or taken away has generated a large body of research, much of it, some would argue, based on shaky assumptions. Indeed the many issues raised by the motet are far from settled. Even the most fundamental one – did the motet begin life as text added to an already existing clausula, or does the clausula represent an alternative transmission of it, fashioned to provide musical clarity at a time when notation could not adequately communicate how the voices in a motet fit together – has yet to be satisfactorily addressed, let alone answered.

The motet rapidly became a medium for musical experiments of all sorts, yielding works of remarkable technical complexity. The idiom encouraged the musical lines to become increasingly independent of one another, and probably changed how composers went about the task of creating polyphony. Since the motet idiom made it impossible for a reader or singer to deduce the intended rhythm from the musical context, as one could do in the other genres, the motet also prompted a series of reforms of the musical notation, synthesized in the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of Franco of Cologne. This in turn opened the door to still further experimentation. One experiment effectively transformed the genre into something else: a single upper voice singing a courtly text in the vernacular over a supporting tenor can be seen as leading to the great polyphonic song repertories of the following two centuries.

Most motets of the *ars antiqua* are small works, lasting no more than a minute or two. Once freed from deployment in a larger composition sung in the liturgy, they circulated as independent works. How they were used, how their content was grasped and by whom remains unclear. Whatever their function or functions, one thing is evident: the driving force in the motet is its tenor, customarily taken from plainchant. The musical content of the tenor and its formal disposition by the composer shaped the polyphonic fabric in all its dimensions, from its overall length to the placement of consonance and dissonance. The tenor text, the Scriptural, theological and ritual context it conjured, is key to understanding the text or texts in the upper voices. Tenor text *and* tenor music combine to inform and suffuse every aspect of the motet. Examined with this in mind, the motet affords rare opportunities for inquiry into the creative mentality of the high Middle Ages. This exploration has scarcely begun.

Directly or indirectly the essays collected in this volume all address one or more of the issues we have raised or implied regarding *ars antiqua* polyphony – questions relating to the nature and definition of genre, the evolution of the polyphonic idiom, the workings of the creative process, including the role of oral process on one side and notation on the other, and the continuum between these extremes, questions about how this music was used and understood, and of how it fit into the intellectual life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some of the essays ask new questions or approach long-standing ones from fresh perspectives. All, however, are rooted in a line of scholarship that has produced a body of writing of containing relevance. Serious inquiry into the corpus of *ars antiqua* polyphony began with Edmond de Coussemaker's study of the motet and his edition of most of the crucial theoretical texts in the 1850s and 1860s. For the remainder of the nineteenth century most research was done by students of medieval literature, most importantly Gaston Raynaud, Guido Maria Dreves and Wilhelm Meyer. Literary scholars have figured prominently in this field ever since, from Hans Spanke and Otto Schumann to Bernhard Bischoff, Peter Dronke, Sylvia Huot and Jan Ziolkowski. The path-breaking musicological work was published in the early decades of the twentieth century by Friedrich Ludwig and Jacques Handschin, and continued by Ludwig's

students Pierre Aubry, Higini Anglès, Heinrich Besseler and Friedrich Gennrich, and by Ludwig's successor at Strasbourg, Yvonne Rokseth. German-language scholarship has been of the greatest importance to the present day, in particular the work of Heinrich Husmann, his student Rudolf Flotzinger, Fritz Reckow and Wulf Arlt. Research of comparable distinction in English started to appear only in the 1950s, beginning above all with that by students of another Ludwig pupil, Leo Schrade, Hans Tischler, William Waite, Janet Knapp and Norman Smith, as well as by Luther Dittmer, trained by Handschin, and Ernest Sanders. Some of these scholars are represented in this volume; others have had to be omitted owing to limitations of space and the plan of the series overall. Those with an interest in this music should seek out their work and that of their distinguished forerunners, from Coussemaker, Ludwig and Handschin on. The footnote references in the essays collected here will serve as an effective guide.

Part I
Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris

[1]

Leoninus, Poet and Musician*

By CRAIG WRIGHT

THE COMPOSER LEONINUS is a pivotal figure in the history of Western art music, yet to the moment almost nothing is known of his life. Leoninus claims a special place in musical historiography on several counts. First, prior to his arrival on the intellectual scene of twelfth-century Paris, liturgical polyphony was characterized by an almost wholesale anonymity. Aside from a handful of compositions in the Codex Calixtinus,[1] few previous polyphonic works can be attributed to specific individuals. Undoubtedly there are many reasons for the namelessness of earlier music, not least among them the fact that polyphony in this era most often came into being during the celebration of the liturgy, as a spontaneous creation fashioned by clerics singing within the parameters of the accepted rules of music theory, and not as a fully prescriptive artifact conceived outside of and, indeed, well before the moment of execution. That contemporary observers, henceforth, often felt compelled to associate a person with a particular polyphonic work may imply a new, more modern notion of what a composer and a composition was. Secondly, the amount of music Leoninus has left us is impressive by the standards of any age. His "Great Book of Organum," as Anonymous IV calls it, contains forty-two compositions in its smallest extant form and no

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[1] Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral, without shelf mark. A description of this manuscript along with a list of relevant bibliographical studies is given in *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, BIV[1], *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th–Early 14th Century*, ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich-Duisburg, 1966), 238–41. Color facsimiles of the polyphonic compositions are given in José López Calo, *La musica medieval en Galicia* (La Coruña, 1982), pp. 46–51.

fewer than ninety-three in its largest.[2] And finally, and perhaps most important, all of these works were conceived and notated, in varying degrees, according to a rudimentary system of musical meter and rhythm, the rhythmic modes. Exactly how much Leoninus contributed to the development of modal rhythm and how extensively he applied the modes to his own compositions is difficult to assess, owing, in part, to the many revisions to which his works were subject.[3] Nevertheless, it is certain that his *Magnus liber organi* preserves the first written evidence of a system of musical meter and rhythm applied to polyphonic music on a massive scale.

Given the magnitude of Leoninus's works and his contribution to the development of musical rhythm, it is incumbent upon us to know something of his life so as better to chart the course of the development of musical style in the so-called Notre Dame era and during the High Middle Ages in general. To this end it will be useful to construct a profile of the typical composer of polyphonic church music in this period, an approach not inharmonious with the medieval penchant for classifying, systematizing, and cataloguing all things and concepts.

First of all, a composer of the High Middle Ages most often was an ecclesiastic, a cleric in holy orders working, if not continually, at least primarily in the service of the Church. The biographies of many musicians tell us this is so—Philip, chancellor of Paris, Philippe de Vitry, bishop of Meaux, Guillaume de Machaut, canon of Rheims, Guillaume Dufay, canon of Cambrai, to name a few.[4] Sacred

[2] The basic catalogue for the organa of the *Magnus liber organi* remains Friedrich Ludwig's magistral *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2nd ed., ed. Luther A. Dittmer, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, 7, 17 (Brooklyn, 1964–78). The three primary sources of the organa are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Pluteus 29.1; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.; and Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter abbreviated as F, W_1, and W_2, respectively).

[3] Revisions, variant versions, and relationships among individual pieces in the *Magnus liber organi* are discussed in Norman E. Smith, "Interrelationships among the Alleluias of the *Magnus liber organi*," this JOURNAL, XXV (1972), 175–202; *idem*, "Interrelationships among the Graduals of the Magnus Liber Organi," *Acta musicologica*, XLV (1973), 73–97; and Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 365–99.

[4] The biography of the important figure Philip the Chancellor remains to be written; an overview of his life and works can be found in Robert Falck, "Philippe the Chancellor," *The New Grove Dictionary*, XIV, 630–31; and *idem*, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies, 33 (Henryville, Pa., 1981), pp. 110–19. The best discussion of the life of de Vitry remains A. Coville, "Philippe de Vitri, notes biographiques," *Romania*, LIX (1933), 520–47. On Machaut, see Ernest Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, 3 vols., Société des anciens textes

musicians were clothed in clerical garb at an early age because the choir schools of the cathedrals and collegiate churches constituted the primary source of education for youths wishing ascendant careers in law, medicine, theology, and civil or ecclesiastic administration, as well as music. In the case of the sacred musician, the bond between cleric and church remained fast for the simple reason that in order for the composer to generate liturgical conducti, motets, and Masses, he required familiarity with, access to, and, perhaps, even responsibility for the celebration of the Divine Office within a monastery, collegiate church, or cathedral. Since the monasteries had ceded educational primacy to the cathedrals by the end of the twelfth century and had ceased to be important centers for the cultivation of polyphony,[5] it is further possible to posit that a composer of the generation of Leoninus was not only an ecclesiastic but a member of the secular, nonmonastic clergy.

Secondly, creators of medieval liturgical polyphony were highly educated. Complete familiarity with Latin grammar, as taught through the primers of Donatus, Priscian, and Villedei, was a prerequisite to the successful execution of one's duties within the liturgical service, to say nothing of the more specialized knowledge required of a composer who wished to notate musical pitch and rhythm. But there is ample evidence that the erudition of many medieval composers went much further. One need only glance at a few of the conductus texts of Philip the Chancellor, replete with allusions to Greek mythology and borrowings from classical Latin poetry,[6] or at the moralized commentaries in vernacular verse that Philippe de Vitry wrote on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,[7] to get a sense of the

français, 96, 103, 115 (Paris, 1908–21), I, xi–xliii; and Armand Machabey, *Guillaume de Machault, 130?–1377: La Vie et l'oeuvre musical*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955), I, 13–83. The life of Dufay is sketched in my article "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," this JOURNAL, XXVIII (1975), 175–229.

[5] Marshall W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century*, The Popes through History, 3 (Glen Rock, N.J., 1968), p. 6; and Georges Duby, *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980–1420*, trans. Eleanor Levieux and Barbara Thompson (Chicago, 1981), p. 112.

[6] See Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, pt. 1, *Conductus Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence Manuscript*, Collected Works, 10/6 (Henryville, Pa., 1981), pp. v, xlvi.

[7] De Vitry's reworking of *Metamorphoses* is mentioned by his later contemporary Eustache Deschamps (Coville, "Philippe de Vitri," p. 521). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter abbreviated as BN), fonds français 24306, is a vernacular versification of the work evidently by de Vitry; the poem is described in the guard-leaf of this manuscript, which once belonged to the library at St. Victor, as well as in the early sixteenth-century catalogue of that collection as follows: "Liber in gallico et

profound understanding of the literature of antiquity that such men possessed, learning that they often displayed in the newly fashioned texts they set to music. The volumes by Virgil, Gratian, and Jarlandus Crysopolitanus that once reposed in the library of Guillaume Dufay suggest that the tradition of the lettered composer continued into the fifteenth century as well.[8]

Not only was the composer of church polyphony well educated, his knowledge and skill extended to a variety of disciplines. As Christopher Reynolds has recently explained, the epitaph "Renaissance man" is often highly appropriate when applied to a church musician of the Middle Ages but, ironically, less so for one of the later Renaissance, when narrow professional specialization became more commonplace.[9] Examples of the versatility of medieval musicians are legion: Philippe de Vitry, *maître des requêtes* at the French court, diplomat, bishop, poet, and mathematician; Guillaume de Machaut, royal secretary, canon, poet, and rhetorician; Johannes Ciconia, *magister*, canon, and music theorist; and John Dunstable, astronomer and mathematician. Undoubtedly many other composers were also poets as well as musicians—Perotinus, Ciconia, Binchois, and Dufay immediately leap to mind. These men almost surely fashioned for themselves much of the poetry, be it conductus, motet, or secular rondeau, that they subsequently set to music.[10]

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rithmice editus a magistro PHILIPPO DE VITRIACO QUONDAM MELDENSI EPISCOPO ad requestam domine Johanne regine Francie continens moralitates contentorum in quindecim libris OVIDII Methamorphoseos . . ." (Gilbert Ouy, *Le Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Saint Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue, 1514* [Paris, 1983], no. KKK 29). The anonymous *Ovide moralisé* edited by Prosper Tarbé and attributed by him to de Vitry (*Les Oeuvres de Philippe de Vitry* [Reims, 1850]) may be the work of an unknown author (Cornelis de Boer, *"Ovide moralizé": Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle, publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, Verhandlingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, n.s., 15, 21, 30/3, 37, 43 [Amsterdam, 1915–38]). De Vitry borrows the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* for the duplum of his motet *Garrit gallus/In nova fert animus* and quotes again from the poem in the duplum of *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta* (Leo Schrade, ed., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, I [Monaco, 1956], 68–70, 54–56).

[8] Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," pp. 216–17.

[9] "Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet," this JOURNAL, XXXVII (1984), 49–50, 73–75.

[10] The self-referential nature of such texts by Dufay as *Craindre vous vueil* and *Salve flos Tuscae gentis* strongly suggests that the composer himself was the author of these verses. On the autobiographical elements in the texts of Binchois's chansons, see Edward E. Lowinsky, "Jan Van Eyck's *Tymotheos*: Sculptor or Musician?" *Studi musicali*, XIII (1984), 53–64.

Perhaps because of their erudition and the multiplicity of their skills, most medieval church composers seem not to have labored long as practitioners of the art they created: that is to say, although intimately familiar with the liturgy, they did not spend their careers seated in choir stalls chanting the daily offices. Instead, judging from the available biographies, many passed quickly to positions of responsibility at court or within the Church, where they served as secretaries, emissaries, and occasionally even as delegate judges. They had the training, acquired in the cathedral schools, to write liturgical and ceremonial polyphony, and they had the intellectual perspective, gained in the fledgling universities, to fashion it in a way that was harmonious with the educational and philosophical systems of the day. Thus, not only were the major figures in the composition of medieval polyphony highly educated and versatile, they functioned in the world as important administrators and, in terms of music, more as *musici* than *cantores*.

Against this hypothetical profile of a typical composer of medieval liturgical polyphony must be set the bare facts of the life of Leoninus. These, hitherto, have been derived almost entirely from a treatise of a late thirteenth-century theorist known to musicologists as Anonymous IV. According to this Englishman, a Magister Leoninus, *optimus organista*, wrote a great book of organum for the Mass and canonical hours in order to augment the service, and this was in use until the time of Magister Perotinus who revised it; in addition, the theorist relates, the books of Perotinus were employed in the choir of Notre Dame of Paris, at least until the time that he (Anonymous IV) set pen to parchment.[11] Recent studies have shown that the polyphony in Leoninus's *Magnus liber organi* was, indeed, designed to serve the liturgy of the cathedral of Paris.[12] And, since Leoninus preceded Perotinus, according to Anonymous IV, and Perotinus's four-voice organa were apparently sung at Notre Dame by at least 1198, according to the cartularies of the church,[13] it is evident that Leoninus

[11] Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4–5 (Wiesbaden, 1967), pt. 1, p. 46.

[12] Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi," *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIX (1963), 311–30; and Craig Wright, "The Origin and Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi*: A Reassessment," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, 1981.

[13] Paris, Archives Nationales (hereafter abbreviated as AN), L 498, no. 310; see *Collection des cartulaires de France*, IV, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, pt. 1, ed. Benjamin Guérard, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ser. 1, Histoire politique, 15/1 (Paris, 1850), 72–75.

was active at the cathedral of Paris sometime during the second half of the twelfth century. Significantly, Anonymous IV refers to the composer in both the substantive form of the name (Magister Leo, Leonis) and the diminutive (Magister Leoninus, Leonini).[14]

Until now only one serious attempt has been made to find the name of the illusive Magister Leoninus among the records of twelfth-century Paris, that undertaken in the 1950s by Günter Birkner, a student of Jacques Handschin. Birkner examined most of the published ecclesiastical documents and a few unpublished sources, but could find no Magister Leoninus among the men who held the posts cantor and subcantor, or, indeed, any other position, at Notre Dame.[15] He went on, however, to speculate that Leoninus may have been one Henricus Leonellus, a layman who owned a house near the *parvis* of Notre Dame and who, in his later years, became a lay member of the Augustinian convent at St. Victor. Perhaps aware that it was not likely a layman would have composed a large collection of liturgical polyphony—indeed there are almost no laymen before the end of the fifteenth century who wrote liturgical music—and perhaps equally aware that the name Henricus Leonellus bears little orthographic resemblance to the name Magister Leoninus employed by Anonymous IV, Birkner offered his identification only as a hypothesis. More recently Hans Tischler reviewed many of the same documents in a search for Perotinus but likewise found no biographical information relating to either Leoninus or Perotinus.[16] Given these disappointing results, it is understandable why the entry "Léonin" in *The New Grove Dictionary* now goes so far as to suggest that Leoninus "was more legendary than real."

But a Leoninus did flourish at the cathedral of Paris during the second half of the twelfth century, and he was renowned as a poet as well as a musician. His name is found in either the substantive (Leonius) or the diminutive (Leoninus) in more than a dozen documents of the period. Most often, Leonius, as this musician and poet usually styled himself, is encountered among a group of signatories

[14] There is no ambiguity in the spelling of the two forms of the name in the three extant sources of Anonymous IV (described in Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, pt. 1, pp. 1–18), and Prof. Reckow has accurately resolved the scribal abbreviations.

[15] "Notre Dame-Cantoren und -Succentoren vom Ende des 10. bis zum Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts," *In memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. Higini Anglès et al. (Strasbourg, 1962), pp. 107–26.

[16] "Perotinus Revisited," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York, 1966), pp. 803–17; and "The Early Cantors of Notre Dame," this JOURNAL, XIX (1966), 85–87.

attesting the authenticity of a document emanating from the cathedral of Paris. These are preserved today in the important cartularies of the chapter and the bishop of Notre Dame housed in the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The full contents of these documents are previously unknown to musicologists because we have relied on the published versions of the cartularies edited by Benjamin Guérard in the 1850s.[17] While this edition is generally of the highest quality, it omits some documents and universally fails to include the names of signatories because the editor thought such information was unimportant. The archival documents pertaining to Leoninus that have so far come to light are given in the Appendix. Taken in sum, they provide a biographical sketch of this important historical figure, one that can be drawn more fully with the aid of his poetic works.

The earliest archival reference to Magister Leonius is preserved in a group of documents relating to a small church on the Left Bank of Paris under the patronym of St. Benoît.[18] Founded as an oratory in the Merovingian period, St. Benoît had evolved by the twelfth century into a collegiate church under the protection and administration of the cathedral of Paris.[19] Because the canons who served this church were appointed by the chapter of Paris, St. Benoît, along with three similarly controlled collegiate churches in Paris, came to be numbered among the so-called "quatre filles de la cathédrale."[20] The clergy of these subordinate institutions had the right to wear the habit of the cathedral, march in processions, and attend the offices in the choir of the mother church. The document that includes the name of Leonius, written in 1179 and promulgated by Bishop Maurice of Sully, who was then residing at St. Victor, asserts that Abbess Ascelina of the convent of Chelles (northeast of Paris) sold three vineyards near the Left Bank monastery of St. Hilary to the church of

[17] See n. 13.

[18] Abbé Jean Lebeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1755–58; repr. Paris, 1883), I, 132–39; and Nicolas-Michel Troche, "Notice historique sur l'ancienne église collégiale et paroissiale de Saint-Benoît," *Revue archéologique*, IV (1847), 214–27.

[19] The oath of allegiance required of each canon of St. Benoît is indicative of the closeness of the two institutions: "Ego N. canonicus Sancti Benedicti fidelitatem reverenciam et obedienciam dominis meis decano et capitulo ecclesie Parisiensis et residentiam in ecclesia Sancti Benedicti me facturus et promoveri quam citius potero ad ordines quos beneficium meum requirit . . ." (AN, LL 79, p. 15).

[20] AN, LL 528[a]; Antoine Martial Le Fevre, *Calendrier historique et chronologique de l'église de Paris* (Paris, 1747), p. 313; and Abbé Montjoye, *Description historique des curiosités de l'église de Paris* (Paris, 1763), p. 335.

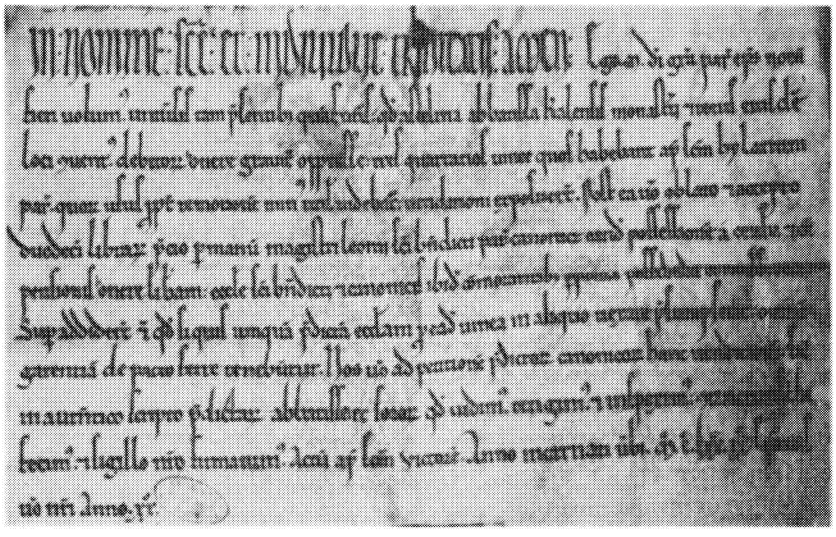

Figure 1. Paris, Archives Nationales, S 891[a], dossier 5

St. Benoît for twelve *livres*, which monies were received "per manum magistri Leonij Sancti Benedicti Parisiensis canonici" (Doc. 1; Fig. 1). From this charter the following biographical facts can be deduced: by 1179 Leonius had earned the academic degree of master, undoubtedly at Paris; he was serving as an administrator of St. Benoît, which, as his poetry will show, was a position he had occupied by this time for at least twenty years; and he was a member of the clergy of Notre Dame through his position at this collegiate church.

A few years later, sometime between 1184 and 1192, Magister Leonius again served as an executor for St. Benoît in the sale or, in this case, exchange of another vineyard. Document 2 reveals that Foulques, abbot of St. Germain des Prés, took control of a vineyard at La Chausée near Versailles, "which Magister Leonius had long held," and the abbot, in turn, consigned to the canons of St. Benoît a vineyard at a place called Gibard. The exchange was approved by the respective chapters of the monastery and cathedral and witnessed by representatives of both institutions.[21]

Yet another link between Magister Leonius and St. Benoît can be seen in Document 4, a lease dating from 1192. In it the chapter of Notre Dame, with Chancellor Hilduin acting as its agent, cedes to two laymen a small house near the thermal baths on the Left Bank, a

[21] This document was kindly brought to my attention by John W. Baldwin.

dwelling thus very near St. Benoît. The lease stipulates that the rents from the building were to be assigned partly to the church St. Benoît and partly to the canon of the cathedral who then occupied the cloistral home of Albert, formerly the cantor of Notre Dame.[22] Albert himself is of interest to students of medieval music: he succeeded Adam of Notre Dame (until recently known as Adam of St. Victor) as cantor of the cathedral about 1140 and left a volume of conductus to the church at the time of his death sometime before 1177.[23] Moreover, Magister Albertus, cantor, was likely identical with Magister Albertus Parisiensis, named as the composer of the two- or possibly three-voice conductus *Congaudeant catholici* in the Codex Calixtinus.[24] The document of 1192 requires that the occupant of Magister Albertus's dwelling transfer the thirty-one *sous* annual rent he received from the house near St. Benoît to the cathedral to provide additional lighting on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the patron saint's day at Notre Dame. Listed among the members of the chapter of Notre Dame attesting to this agreement was "Leonius presbyter," a signature that shows that Magister Leonius, although now a canon at the cathedral, continued his interest in the affairs of St. Benoît, and that by at least 1192 he had acceded to the priesthood.

[22] The house near the baths had once been owned by Albert. He had originally given it to the priory of St. Martin des Champs, but at some unspecified date ownership of the property was transferred to the chapter of Notre Dame (Paris, AN, LL 76, p. 703; and Robert de Lasteyrie, ed., *Cartulaire général de Paris; ou, Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire et la topographie de Paris*, I [Paris, 1887], 369).

[23] A revised biography of Adam of Notre Dame has been written by Margot E. Fassler, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," this JOURNAL, XXXVII (1984), 233–69. Albert first appears in place of Adam as cantor of Notre Dame in a document of 1142. Thereafter he is named many times as a signatory of charters until 1174, and his successor, Gauterius, in turn, appears for the first time in 1177 (see "Albertus Precentor" in Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire*, I, 482; and Guérard, *Collection des cartulaires*, V, 293). He helped rule the choir at the coronation of King Louis VII and Queen Adèle at Notre Dame in 1161: "Mattheus Precentor Senonensis et Albertus Cantor Parisiensis chorum tenuerunt, et cantum in processione imposuerunt" (Claude Joly, *Traitté historique des écoles épiscopales et ecclésiastiques* [Paris, 1678], p. 571). Another account of Albert ruling the choir during his tenure as cantor is contained in the *Historia francorum* of St. Denis and recounted in Gerard Dubois, *Historia ecclesie parisiensis*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1690–1710), II, 115–16. At the time of his death, sometime between 1174 and 1177, he left legacies to Notre Dame, St. Victor, and St. Martin des Champs (Auguste Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, I, *Diocèses de Sens et de Paris*, Recueil des historiens de lay France, Obituaires, 1 (Paris, 1902), 159, 436, 486, and 606. The twenty *livres* he bequeathed to the cathedral were to be used to provide choir stalls for the newly completed chancel of Notre Dame (Molinier, *Obituaires*, I, 160).

[24] A color facsimile and two transcriptions of the piece are given in López Calo, *La musica medieval en Galicia*, pp. 46, 138.

With the exception of the final two documents given in the Appendix, all the remaining entries likewise show Magister Leonius, canon of Paris, serving as a witness to some official transaction registered before the bishop or chapter at Notre Dame, and in one case at the nearby abbey St. Victor. We see him, for example, attesting to an agreement stipulating the amount of rents owed to the chapter from property near Rungis (Doc. 8), to a schedule whereby the income of the vicariate of St. Victor at Notre Dame would fall to the abbey or the estate of the incumbent in the event of the latter's death (Doc. 9), and even to a contract setting the amount of white wine that the chapter was due from a vineyard in Laye (Doc. 11). In these charters Magister Leonius appears among the canons most often simply as "Leonius presbyter," but the position of his name within the group of attesters is significant. Signatures were not affixed to church acts, charters, and the like in random order in this period but were arranged according to the position of the bearer within the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy, commencing with the bishop or dean and concluding with a lowly choirboy. Thus we see that by the 1190s Magister Leonius had ascended the ladder of clerical precedence to a point immediately below the eight dignitaries of Notre Dame (dean, cantor, three archdeacons, succentor, penitentiary, and chancellor). And the circle of ecclesiastics with which he dealt was an illustrious one indeed. Among the colleagues of Magister Leonius who instituted or signed the above-named documents were Bishop Maurice of Sully, the guiding force behind the construction of the new cathedral, Bishop Odo of Sully, who promulgated the famous edict of 1198 concerning the celebration of the Feast of Fools and who established the singing of organum on this day and on the feast of St. Stephen,[25] Dean Hugo Clemens, who provided for organum on the feast of St. John the Evangelist,[26] Peter of Poitiers, a poet and theologian of importance,[27] and Peter the Chanter, a successor to Magister Albertus as cantor at Notre Dame and a theologian and moralist of sufficient stature to merit a conductus in his honor in the Florence manuscript.[28] Taken together with several of their contemporaries at Notre Dame, men such as Peter Lombard, Peter Comester, Stephen Langton, and

[25] Guérard, *Collection des cartulaires*, IV, 72–75; and *Gallia Christiana*, ed. Dionysius Sammarthani et al., VII (Paris, 1744), *preuves*, col. 78.

[26] Guérard, *Collection des cartulaires*, VII, 121.

[27] John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), I, 44.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–11. The conductus *Eclypsim passus totiens* is found on fol. 429 of manuscript F, and is edited in Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, p. 48.

Philip the Chancellor, they form an unusually brilliant array of poets, theologians, and moralists. Without doubt the period 1175–1225 was the most illustrious era in the long history of Notre Dame in regard to the intellectual and artistic powers of the clergy of the church. Magister Leonius appeared as a signatory amongst his colleagues for the last time in 1201, and it is likely that he died in that year or shortly thereafter.

The connection between the musician Leonin and the aforementioned master, priest, and canon successively at St. Benoît and Notre Dame might, to this point, seem tenuous at best—perhaps there were two individuals active in Paris in these years, one the musician Magister Leoninus and another the canon Magister Leonius. But persuasive evidence that they were in fact one and the same person is found in two entries dated 1193 in the principal cartulary of the chapter (Docs. 5 and 6). These record in nearly identical terms one minor transaction, the repossession by the canons of Notre Dame of a house near the king's *palais* on the *Ile de la Cité*. In both documents Leonius appears in his usual place among the canon-priest signatories immediately below the dignitaries, but now he is called Magister Leoninus presbyter (Fig. 2).

> 1193. Regarding Nicolas, priest canon [of Notre Dame of] Paris, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. I, Michael, dean, and the entire chapter of Notre Dame of Paris wish to make known to all persons present and future that we have sold to Nicolas, priest, our colleague canon, for forty-two *livres*, a certain house of Notre Dame near the court of the king situated next to the house of the shoemaker Fulcon, which we obtained by means of a certain escheatage; and we invested him with it, and also, at his own request, we invested his brother Malignus [*sic*] with it to be the peaceful possessor after his death. Now, however, said N[icolas], in the sight of God and for the salvation of his soul, gave the aforementioned house in charity to the church of Notre Dame after his death and after the death of his aforesaid brother Malignus; having retained to himself, as was in his power, that it might be rented in whatsoever use the church may wish. Executed publicly in our chapter in the year of the Word made incarnate 1193: signature of Michael the dean, signature of Petrus the cantor, signature of Mauricius, Osmundus, and Haymericus, archdeacons, signature of Galon succentor, signature of Matheus de Meudun, [and] signature of Master Leoninus, priests, signature of Petrus de Campellis, signature of Reginaldus, [and] signature of Gauterus Barbedaurus, deacons, signature of Adde de Barris, signature of Herluinus, and signature of Galterus de Pyssiaco, subdeacons, signature of Willermus and signature of Odon, boys. Given in the hand of Master Petrus Pictavensis, chancellor. Not to be overlooked is that the above-said N[icolas] and after him his brother will be held to pay twelve *deniers* to us annually (AN, LL 76, p. 705; Doc. 5).

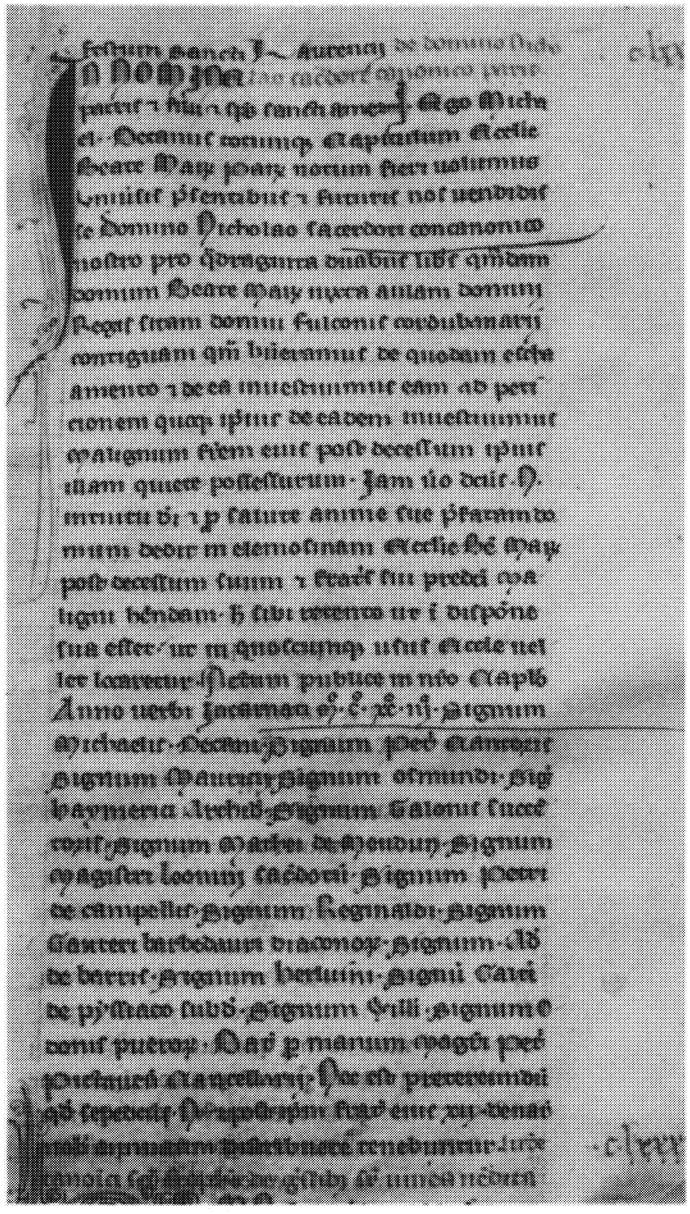

Figure 2. Paris, Archives Nationales, LL 76, p. 705

Why does the name Leonius now suddenly appear here in the diminutive, as Leoninus? Likely, as the political historian John Benton believes, because the diminutive was employed in this period

as a sign of familiarity and even longevity—that Leoninus was well known to all and had been in their midst for some time.[29] The use of the diminutive in this period is extremely rare, a fact not immediately apparent to historians of music because the names of two prominent composers of the era, Leoninus and Perotinus, are given in this form in the writings of Anonymous IV. To weigh accurately the popularity of the diminutive, however, one need only scan the index to the four volumes of cartularies of Notre Dame published by Guérard; here only two men bearing names in this form can be identified, Prepositinus, a theologian and chancellor of Notre Dame in the late twelfth century,[30] and Jacobinus, a canon in the thirteenth century. Moreover, although the name Leo is itself rare in the *Ile de France* at this time,[31] the diminutive Leoninus is so unusual as to be unique: in the thousands of documents published by historians such as Guérard, Lasteyrie, and Molinier, no Leoninus is to be found. What is most important, the form of the name given in Documents 5 and 6, "Magister Leoninus," agrees precisely with the appellation most familiar to us from the treatise of Anonymous IV. Given the activity of the composer in Paris during the last decades of the twelfth century, his association with Notre Dame, the rarity of the name Leo or Leonius, the uniqueness of the application of the diminutive to this name, and the conjunction of the diminutive with the infrequently given academic title Magister,[32] we can be confident that this is the hitherto illusive Leonin.

[29] Personal conversation, July 1983.

[30] On Prepositinus, see Baldwin, *Masters*, I, 43–45; and *idem*, "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective," *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 147–48, 169.

[31] Perhaps the largest collection of names relevant to Paris in this period is found in the index to Molinier, *Obituaires*. Here more than 1,800 persons appear with the name Johannes and nearly a thousand as Petrus, but only ten as Leo, and one, the canon of Paris, as Leonius. Of the ten named Leo, one was a king of Armenia (d. 1393), one an abbot at St. Martin des Champs in Paris (no date), one an eleventh-century monk at St. Germain des Prés, one a fourteenth-century curate at the parish church St. André-des-Ars, and one a sixteenth-century benefactor of the Collège de Montaigu; only Leo, priest-cardinal of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (d. before 1240) appears to have had any association with Notre Dame. Potentially more significant is the Leonius who is listed *ca.* 1150 as a subdeacon and canon of Ste. Opportune, a collegiate church subject to the bishop of Paris, just as St. Benoît was subject to the chapter (Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire*, I, 328). There appears, however, to be no connection between this Leonius and the somewhat later one at St. Benoît and Notre Dame.

[32] For a discussion of the careful regulation of the number of men granted the license of master in this period, see Baldwin, "Masters," pp. 142–48.

In light of this identification, should there not be some mention of the musical activities of Magister Leoninus in these records? The absence of such references is undeniable, but it is not unexpected, given the nature of the documentation. These are ecclesiastical records, the purpose of which was to preserve accurately the financial transactions and fiduciary responsibilities of the church. They do not offer descriptions of the personal attributes of the men involved, and only incidentally do they refer to the Divine Office. In the following entry (Doc. 13), mention is made of a service that Magister Leoninus endowed, but only because the obit rites he required were a necessary part of the administration of the legacy he left to the cathedral.[33]

At the time of his death, in or shortly after 1201, Magister Leoninus bequeathed to Notre Dame of Paris forty *livres*, a sizable sum at that time, which was to be used to establish a memorial office, an obit, for the salvation of his soul. The entry in the thirteenth-century obituary of the cathedral for the date 24 March (no year is given) reads as follows:

> On that same day (24 March) died Magister Leonius, priest and canon colleague, who gave to us forty *livres* to be invested. And he ordered that all those who assisted at the major altar on the vigil [i.e., Vespers, Matins, and Lauds] of his anniversary should have six *deniers* and those who attended Mass another six and the sacristans twelve, and if there shall be any remainder, it will be given to the account [of the office] of Matins (BN, MS Latin 5185CC, fol. 172; Doc. 13).

Yet this foundation at Notre Dame was not the only legacy Magister Leonius left, for his name also appears in the obituary of the abbey of St. Victor:

> 26 December: On this day died Leonius, priest, our avowed canon (BN, MS Latin 14673, fol. 266^{v}; Doc. 14).

[33] To take a wider view and draw an analogy to two famous composers of the fourteenth century: were we to judge solely from ecclesiastical records, we would not know that the Philippus de Vitriaco, bishop of Meaux, or the Guillermus de Machaudio, canon of Rheims, were musicians. The Latin documents dealing with their benefices and ecclesiastical activities make no mention of musical interests or accomplishments. In each case, because the churchman has the same name as the composer, is active at the same time and in the same region, and circulates in the same society, we simply assume that the ecclesiastic is one and the same with the Philippe de Vitry or with the Guillaume de Machaut whom we know to be a composer from Latin treatises on music theory or vernacular sources.

Was there another Leonius presbyter, this one at St. Victor?[34] Evidently not, for Magister Leoninus of Notre Dame, like many ecclesiastics at the cathedral, apparently joined the congregation at St. Victor, a practice that requires some explanation.[35]

The Augustinian monastery of St. Victor, situated on the Left Bank, just to the east of the walls of Paris, was founded in 1108 by William of Champeaux, a rival of Peter Abailard in dialectical disputation, as a haven from the turmoil and political intrigues rampant in the close of Notre Dame.[36] Soon the abbey grew into an important center for the study and teaching of theology, especially biblical exegesis, and its school attracted students like the young Peter Lombard and Thomas à Becket.[37] Clerics from Notre Dame, including many of the dignitaries of the church, increasingly came to view St. Victor as a retreat for devotion and spiritual reflection, and, accordingly, they took vows to enter the community. This in no way required that they cease association with the cathedral—many eccle-

[34] The obituaries of Notre Dame (BN, MS Latin 5185CC) and of St. Victor (MS Latin 14673) were both copied approximately fifty years after the death of Leoninus, and in several instances they give conflicting dates of death for one and the same individual. Peter the Succentor, for example, is said to have died on 22 July in the obituary of Notre Dame (Molinier, *Obituaires*, I, 228) and on 31 March in that of St. Victor (*op. cit.*, I, 550). I am grateful to Françoise Gasparri of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, for her thoughts regarding the reliability of the obituary of St. Victor.

[35] The association of the poet Leoninus with the abbey of St. Victor was seized upon and exaggerated by the seventeenth-century Victorine historians Jean de Thoulouze and Jean Picard, who wrote revisionist history to increase the renown of their monastery. They failed to acknowledge or were unaware that Magister Leoninus was first and foremost a canon at Notre Dame. Thus, in their writings the poet became "Leonius de St. Victor," just as Adam, cantor of Notre Dame, was transformed into "Adam de St. Victor." In the eighteenth century Abbé Jean Lebeuf attempted to rectify the former error and reestablish Leoninus at Notre Dame ("Observations sur Leonius poete de Paris, dans lesquelles on prouve par ses ouvrages, que cet auteur a été chanoine de Notre Dame," *Dissertations sur l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Paris*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1739–43], II, 267–84), but the misleading identification "Leonius de St. Victor" is still found in standard reference works today (see, for example, *Larousse de la langue française* [Paris, 1977], p. 988).

[36] Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de St. Victor de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904–1908), I, Chap. 1; A. L. Gabriel, "Les Ecoles de la cathédrale de Notre-Dame et le commencement de l'Université de Paris," *Huitième centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris (Congrès des 30 Mai–3 Juin 1964): Recueil de travaux sur l'histoire de la cathédrale et de l'église de Paris* (Paris, 1967), pp. 141–54; and Jean Chatillon, *Théologie, spiritualité et métaphysique dans l'oeuvre oratoire d'Achard de Saint-Victor: Etudes d'histoire doctrinale précédées d'un essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre d'Achard*, Etudes de philosophie médiévale, 58 (Paris, 1969), pp. 54–59.

[37] An introduction to the bibliography pertaining to the study of theology at St. Victor is conveniently located in Fassler, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor?" pp. 239–40, nn. 27–31.

siastics are named as canons and benefactors of both institutions in the obituaries of Notre Dame and of St. Victor. Bishops Peter Lombard, Maurice of Sully, and William of Auvergne were buried at St. Victor;[38] cantors Adam, Albert, and Peter the Chanter had obits celebrated there, as did Dean Hugo Clemens;[39] and Peter the Succentor of Notre Dame, whom Handschin believed to be Perotinus,[40] like Leoninus, was "frater noster" to the canons of St. Victor.[41] In fact, the presence of so many clerics of Notre Dame at St. Victor sometimes caused the business of the cathedral to be transacted at the abbey, as can be seen by the venue named in Document 1 ("actum apud Sanctum Victorem"). The chant and liturgy of St. Victor, likewise, were taken over wholesale from the rites of the cathedral, although in the second half of the twelfth century the two usages began to evolve along independent lines. Magister Leoninus had professed his vows to the community of St. Victor by 1187 (Doc. 3) and in 1196 was a witness to an agreement regarding the vicariate of St. Victor at Notre Dame (Doc. 9). What is more, the principal poetic work of Leoninus, his *Hystorie sacre gestas ab origine mundi*, was evidently composed at the instigation of Guérin, abbot of St. Victor from 1173 until 1193.

Although the poetry of Magister Leoninus is not generally known today, it seems never to have disappeared completely from the literary consciousness of the French. It was copied in manuscripts as late as the fourteenth century and was discussed, although in somewhat repetitive fashion, by historians of literature from the sixteenth century down to the present day.[42] Etienne Pasquier (1529–1615), a member of the Pléiade, published extracts from it and knew that the poet Leonius was sometimes called Leoninus: "Ie trouve que sous le regne de Louys septiesme vers l'an mil cent cinquante quatre nous

[38] BN, MS Latin 14673, fol. 184; MS Latin 14677, fol. 36^{v}; and MS Latin 14368, p. 853.

[39] BN, MS Latin 14677, fol. 372^{v}; and MS Latin 14673, fols. 256^{v}, 264.

[40] "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," *Acta musicologica*, IV (1932), 10–12.

[41] BN, MS Latin 14673, fol. 183^{v}.

[42] Etienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1560–69; expanded edition 1617), pp. 715–17; Jacques Du Breul, *Les Antiquitez de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1640), pp. 450, 478; Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols., 2nd. ed. (Niort, 1883–87; repr. Graz, 1954), I, xliii; and V, 66; Dubois, *Histoire*, II, 175; Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1722), II, cols. 1622–23; Pierre Daniel Huet, *Huetiana; ou, Pensées diverses de M. Huet, evesque d'Auranches* (Paris, 1722), pp. 192–93; *Gallia Christiana*, VII, cols. 670–71; L. G. Michaud, ed., *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, 52 vols. (Paris, 1811–53), XXIV, 169; Remy Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, XIV (Paris, 1863), 711; and Cyr Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age: Bio-Bibliographie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905–1907), II, col. 2818.

eusmes vn braue Poete dans Paris lequel en ses oeuures manuscrits, est tantost nommé Leoninus, tantost Leonius, qui fut du commencement Chanoine de sainct Benoist, & depuis religieux de sainct Victor."[43] The nineteenth-century *Histoire littéraire de la France* devoted no fewer than fourteen pages to the work of "Léonius, prêtre de l'église de Paris, poète latin,"[44] and even modern reference works such as Littré's *Dictionnaire* and the *Grand Larousse de la langue française* have an entry for the poet Leoninus.[45]

Today his literary legacy is preserved in at least seven different sources, six of which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and one in the Vatican library (BN, MS Latin 8111, 8111[a], 14759, 14760, 18559, 18560; and Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. lat. 283).[46] All

[43] Pasquier, *Recherches*, p. 715.

[44] *Histoire littéraire de la France: Ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur, et continué par des membres de l'Institut*, 41 vols. (Paris, 1733–1981), XIII, 434–47.

[45] Emil Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1962), IV, 1522; and *Grand Larousse de la langue française*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1975), IV, 2997. In both these sources the reader is led to a mention of Leoninus through a discussion of "rime Léonine," a hexameter line with internal rhyme. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was believed that Leoninus invented this poetic device, but, in fact, it existed long before him and is rarely found in his verse. See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII, pp. 446–47; and Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), p. 151.

[46] Nothing is known of the early history of the thirteenth-century source BN, MS Latin 8111. MS Latin 8111[a] belonged to the French royal library by at least the mid-sixteenth century since the binding bears the arms of King Henry II (as identified by M. François Avril of the Bibliothèque Nationale, whose assistance I wish to acknowledge). MSS Latin 14759 and 14760 came into the Bibliothèque Nationale from the library at St. Victor. The former source is not listed in the catalogue of the Victorine library made by Claude Grandrue in 1518 but may still have been present in the abbey at that time (Ouy, *Catalogue*, p. xvi); it was certainly used and even written upon by the Victorine historians in the seventeenth century. MS Latin 14760 does appear in the inventory of Grandrue (BN, MS Latin 14767, fol. 4; and Ouy, *Catalogue*, B 14); hence, it was at the abbey by 1518 and probably as early as the thirteenth century. MSS Latin 18559 and Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. lat. 283, belonged to the library of the Benedictine monastery of St. Denis at least at the time of the sack of that institution in 1567. The former source had been there since the fifteenth century (Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1868–81], I, 202–203, 431), and it passed into the hands of the Parisian lawyer Antoine Loisel and subsequently to his grandson, canon Claude Joly, whence it entered the library of Notre Dame (it is listed in the eighteenth-century catalogue of the library of the cathedral as "Leonius canonicus sancti Benedicti Parisiensis, historia sacra ab origine mundi" [Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6259, p. 24]). MS Reg. lat. 283 went from St. Denis into the collection of Paul Petau and then passed to Queen Christine of Sweden before becoming part of the Vatican Library (André Wilmart, *Codices reginenses latini*, 2 vols. [Vatican, 1937–45], II, 91–93; and Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 203; I am indebted to Prof. Anne Walters Robertson of the University of Chicago, who surveyed this manuscript for me). An inscription on fol. 240[v] of MS 18560 shows that this volume belonged to the Collège de Navarre in the late fourteenth century.

seven manuscripts seem to have originated in Paris or its immediate environs: that is to say, all the manuscripts are in various Parisian hands, and all but one of them can be shown to have belonged to Parisian libraries by at least the sixteenth century.

Although there are seven extant volumes that preserve the poetry of Leoninus, this is somewhat misleading, for, in fact, six of these books contain virtually identical versions of one work and one work only, his lengthy *Hystorie sacre gestas ab origine mundi*. The seventh source preserves this poetic narrative along with a handful of his other poems. Since it is clear that the *Acts of Sacred History* was the major poetic work of Leoninus, we should examine it in some detail.

In his *Acts of Sacred History*, Leoninus sets the first eight books of the Old Testament (the Pentateuch plus Joshua, Judges, and Ruth) in more than 14,000 lines of hexameter verse, which he arbitrarily divides into twelve books, each approximately the same length. His is not a line-by-line translation but rather a broad, poetic transformation that dwells on the narrative aspects of the story of the people of Israel but quickly passes over the often tedious expositions of law and genealogy. Thus, he moves from the end of Exodus, through Leviticus and Numbers, and into Deuteronomy in a single book but devotes two books to just the first nine chapters of Judges. The content of the work is the same in all manuscripts, although its external appearance varies from one source to the next. Depending upon how many lines a given scribe was prepared to enter on a page, the *Acts of Sacred History* occupies as few as 147 folios (Latin 14759) or as many as 241 (Reg. lat. 283).

Leoninus surrounded his poetic history with a short prologue and epilogue, and in two manuscripts the prologue is itself preceded by a rubric that functions as a title: *Leonii presbiteri parisiensis historiarum veteris testamenti liber primus incipit ab orbe condito* (Fig. 3). Then commences the voice of the poet:

> Hystorie sacre gestas ab origine mundi
> Res canere et versu facili describere conor;
> Quas habvere satis moses mosenque secuti
> Auctores mandare prose verbisque solutis
> Lege metri sed me iuvat uti carmine gratum
> Auribus ut sit opus nec sit minus utile menti
> Que brevitate metri que delectata canore
> Firmius id teneat quanto jocundius hausit.

(I strive to celebrate in song and in simple verse the acts of sacred history since the origin of the world/Which Moses and his successors thought sufficient to set down in prose and in accustomed words/But I take

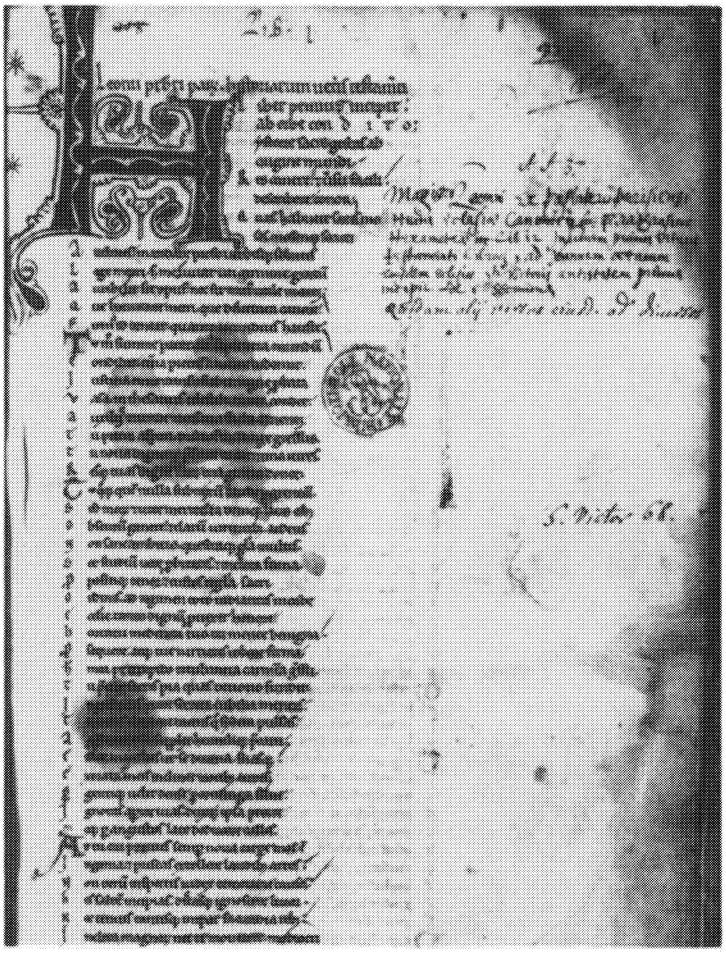

Figure 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14759, fol. 1

pleasure in bringing pleasing sound to the ear by the laws of poetry/So that the history may be no less useful to the mind, which, delighted by the brevity of the poetry and by the song, may hold it more firmly the more it enjoys it.)

At the end of the prologue, and again in his short epilogue, Leoninus suggests that it is not his intent to tilt in the lists of exegetical disputation, an activity that consumed much of the intellectual energy of the day,[47] but simply to instill a love of the true God into the hearts

[47] For a discussion of *lectio* and *disputatio* of the sacred page in this period, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1964), Chap. 5.

of young men. The prologue also contains an eight-line petition to the Heavenly Father asking that the author's poetic journey progress safely; and this in turn is followed by a twenty-line supplication to a high-ranking cleric who, as the epilogue later reveals, had urged the poet to undertake this labor ("Magnus adegisti monitor componere librum"). Although the identity of the prelate is not specified, he is described as the leader of an important church in an order, named obliquely in the epilogue as the monastery of St. Victor. Since St. Victor witnessed a revival of poetry and learning during the tenure of abbot Guérin (1173–93),[48] circumstances suggest that it is he whom Leoninus invokes as patron and protector of his verse.[49]

A notion of how Leoninus versified the Old Testament can be had by setting his *Acts of Sacred History* against Jerome's Vulgate, which evidently served as a point of departure, and using the well-known beginning of Genesis as a basis of comparison.

Hystorie sacre gestas

Principio massa pariter congesta sub una
Quatuor hec elementa deus non qualia certis
Usibus apta vides nec res sed semina rerum
Materiamque rudem fierent qua cuncta creavit
Tunc nichil in terra solidum nichil ethere clarum
Nec fluere unda potens nulli sua forma vel usus
Nec vitalis erat infusus spiritus illis
Cuncta sed ignavis torpebant merse tenebris
Spiritus ergo dei sese super illa ferebat
Vivificoque sui vegetata calore creandis
Fetibus apta dabat lucisque ut luce creatis
Rebus inesset amor primam splendescere lucem
Jussit et attendens quod pulcra quod utilis esset
Divisit lucem a tenebris semperque vicissim
Nunc hanc nunc illas sibimet succedere fecit
Ordine commutans vario noctemque diemque
Nam deus hec illis aptavit nomina rebus
Appellans lucemque diem noctemque tenebras
Vespere sic factum est et mane et lux ea rerum

Vulgate

In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram
Terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebrae super faciem abyssi et

[48] Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, I, Chap. 9.

[49] The Victorine historian Jean de Thoulouze was apparently the first to propose that Guérin was the patron of the *Acts of Sacred History*, and this hypothesis has been incorporated in nearly all subsequent discussions of the work (see, for example, *Gallia Christiana*, VII, col. 670; and Lebeuf, "Observations sur Leonius," p. 281).

spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas
Dixitque Deus fiat lux et facta est lux
Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona et divisit lucem ac tenebras
Appellavitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem factumque est vespere et mane dies unus

Although the new metrical treatment may make the subject easier to remember, as Leoninus contends, it is clear that the poet has lost much of the simplicity and precision of Jerome's original text. Indeed, the verses of Leoninus seem closer to the expansive glosses of Peter Comester's *Historia scholastica* and Bede's *In pentateuchum commentarii*, a source that Leoninus may have drawn upon at various places throughout the story of Moses.[50]

Because the author's approach to his subject is more expansive than reductive—such was the very nature of Parisian exegesis—Leoninus begets more than 14,000 verses yet completes only the first eight books of the Bible. But here the poet stops. He declares that he has finished the first part of his labors, rueful that this constitutes only the smaller portion of his assigned task. But rather, he says, than tax the patience of the reader ("Ne tibi sint operis lector fastidia longi fessaque"), he will tie up. And here he uses an image drawn from Virgil and other classical authors[51]—he will drop anchor in a foreign port, even though the great sea, in this case the remainder of the Bible, lies before him. So the reader is promised a second part; but apparently Leoninus never wrote it, or at least no such work survives.

Leoninus was not the only poet to versify the Bible in the second half of the twelfth century. At about the same time he was composing the *Acts of Sacred History*, another Parisian student, Petrus Riga, undertook to write a *Biblica versificata*. Riga was occupied with his Bible, which he called *Aurora*, for approximately two decades, sometime between 1170 and 1200.[52] In its final form his entire setting

[50] An appraisal of the relationship between the *Acts of Sacred History* of Leoninus and previous biblical commentaries is beyond the scope of the present study. It is clear, however, that he would have had at his disposal such widely available works as Bede's *In pentateuchum commentarii* (J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, 221 vols. [Paris, 1844–64], Vol. XCI); Comester's *Historia scholastica* (*Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, CXCVIII); and Rabanus Maur's *Commentaria in Genesim* (*Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, CVII). He may also have been influenced by the metrical compositions of earlier biblical commentators such as Sedulius, Prudentius, and Arator.

[51] For example, *Aeneid*, II, 36.

[52] For a thorough discussion of the history of Riga's *Aurora* and an edition of the work, see Paul E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora: Petri Rigae biblia versificata*, 2 vols., Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 19 (Notre Dame, Ind., 1965).

of the Old and New Testaments required only a few more than 15,000 lines, a brevity that bespeaks a direct, simple style. Riga's *Aurora* quickly became one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages, providing for the scriptures what Jacobus de Voragine's enormously successful *Golden Legend* later accomplished for the lives of the saints. Even today the *Aurora* survives in no fewer than 250 manuscripts.[53] Leoninus's *Acts of Sacred History*, however, achieved no such universal renown, perhaps because of the poet's discursive and sometimes pretentious style. While his musical *Magnus liber organi* was carried across the reaches of Western Europe, his poetic *magnus liber*, as he himself styled it ("Sintque satis magno bis sena volumino libro"), was known only in the region of Paris.

About 1200 another poet of Paris, Egidius Parisiensis, added certain supplementary materials to Petrus Riga's *Aurora* and prefaced it with a dedicatory letter to Bishop Odo of Sully.[54] Not surprisingly, Egidius was also aware of Leoninus's *Acts of Sacred History* since both were canons at the cathedral of Paris. In a supplement to his *Karolinus*, a didactic poem presented to the future King Louis VIII on 3 September 1200,[55] Egidius names Leoninus among the illustrious men of Paris who brought fame to their native city.

> Altisoni iactet dictantem iura Philippum;
> Nec minus in sacris metrico sermone Leonem
> Ludentem historiis, et quem intepuisse dolemus
> Petrum in divinis verbotenus alta sequentem.[56]
>
> (The writing of Philip tunes the celestial ear; not less than Leo in his sacred histories in metrical word; and Peter whose poetic powers, we regret, have waned.)

Here Leoninus's *Acts of Sacred History*, called "sacrae historiae in metrico sermone" by Egidius, is praised after a reference to Philip the

[53] *Ibid.*, I, xi. In the late Middle Ages, a copy of *Aurora* (BN, MS Latin 15153) and one of Leoninus's *Hystorie sacre gestas* (BN, MS Latin 14760) were chained next to each other in the Victorine library (Ouy, *Catalogue*, B 14 and B 15).

[54] On Egidius and his addition to *Aurora*, see Beichner, *Aurora*, I, xx–xxiv.

[55] *Karolinus* and its supplement are discussed and edited by M. L. Colker, "The 'Karolinus' of Egidius Parisiensis," *Traditio*, XXIX (1973), 199–325. The supplement, called *Captatio benivolencie*, was completed after the body of the poem.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 318. Besides Philip the Chancellor and Petrus Riga, the list of worthies of Paris includes Egidius Corboliensis, Anselmus, bishop of Meaux, Stephanus, bishop of Noyon, Hilduinus, chancellor of Paris, Petrus Pictaviensis, likewise chancellor of Notre Dame, and Guillemus Armoricus, a chronicler (see Baldwin, "Masters," p. 144, n. 27).

Chancellor and before a somewhat disparaging mention of Petrus Riga.

If the *Hystorie sacre* is a grandiose attempt to transform the initial books of the Bible into ancient heroic verse, the eight remaining poems of Leoninus, preserved only in Latin 14759,[57] are shorter and more varied in form. Four of these are moralizing texts, and four are letters of one type or another. The moralizing poems are short (sixteen, twelve, sixteen, and two lines, respectively) and religious in tone. The poet contrasts the purity of the spiritual world with the innate corruption of the temporal and implicitly exhorts the reader to follow a life of Christian rectitude. *Quod nemo in hac vita perfecta bonus vel sapiens* declares that no matter how lofty man's intentions, he will always be caught in the snare of sin; *Quod non sint negligenda venialia* urges that venial offenses not be ignored; and *De cuppa et culpa* juxtaposes, by means of a delightful wordplay of opposites, the salutary effects of the chalice with the inevitable damnation resulting from culpable acts. Thus, the tenor of these poems is not unlike the admonitory tone of many conductus and motet texts of the Notre Dame era. Philip the Chancellor's *Homo qui semper moreris* and *Homo natus ad laborem/Tui status tue morem*, for example, are thematically similar to Leoninus's *Quod nemo in hac vita perfecta bonus vel sapiens.*[58] But unlike the texts of many motets and conducti, the hortatory poems of Leoninus seem not to have been designed for liturgical or paraliturgical use; they are general in tone and cannot be associated with specific feasts in the Christian calendar.

The four poetic letters of Leoninus are addressed to personages important in his career and, thus, are autobiographical in content. The first of these poetic epistles, *Ad Adrianum papam pro ecclesia sancti Benedicti Parisiensis*, is a petition, written in rhyming hexameter couplets, to Pope Adrian IV on behalf of the collegiate church St. Benoît. That the Englishman Nicolas Breakspear occupied the throne of St. Peter as Adrian IV from 1154 until 1159 conveniently provides a means to date the poem within a five-year span,[59] and this fact, in

[57] In the sixteenth century there was, apparently, at least one additional manuscript that contained these poems. This is suggested by the fact that the extracts given by Pasquier (*Recherches*, pp. 715–17) contain significant variants.

[58] *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves et al., 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922), XXI, 98, 115; and Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, pp. xlix, 46, ii, 1.

[59] On Nicolas, see "Adrian IV," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York, 1907–12), I, 156–59; Alfred H. Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV)* (London, 1896); and Horace Kinder Mann, *Nicholas Breakspear (Hadrian IV.), A.D. 1154–1159: The Only English Pope* (London, 1914).

turn, establishes that Leoninus's association with St. Benoît extended back into the 1150s. In his poetic appeal the author claims to solicit papal favors not for himself but for the poor church St. Benoît, for which he has some administrative responsibility:

Ad Adrianum papam pro ecclesia sancti Benedicti Parisiensis
Papa, meas, Adriane, preces si postulo digna,
Suscipe, tam vultu placido quam mente benigna.
Non novitatis amor huc me tulit, aut levitatis
Impetus, aut etiam proprie spes utilitatis.
Non peto prebendas, nec honores ecclesiarum,
Suntque modesta precum, sunt et pia vota mearum
Pauperis ecclesie cuius pro jure laboro,
Justus ut es, memor esse velis, nichil amplius oro.
Me licet hic pulset penuria, frigus adurat,
Tedia consumant; nichil horum mens mea curat,
Nec secessuram, nisi cedas tu mihi, iurat
Speque tui sola, per tanta pericula durat.
Nam modo cum gelido legatus ab axe redires,
Nec puto quod papam fieri te tam cito scires
Es mihi pollicitus te stare per omnia mecum
Quantum iura darent, quantum permitteret equum.

(*To Pope Adrian on behalf of the church St. Benoît*/Pope Adrian, deign to hear my prayers,/Receive them with both placid will and blessed spirit. Neither love of novelty nor levity motivates me/Nor hope of useful gain. I do not seek prebends/Nor are honors of the Church in my prayers./My modest, pious prayers are for the poor church/For which I rightly labor./As you are just, may you remember I pray for no more./Although poverty assails me, cold burns me/And tedium consumes me,/These do not concern me,/And I will not succumb/Unless you withdraw from me;/For only by means of hope in you/Can my life pass through such dangers./For when you returned from your mission to the frozen pole,/I think that you did not know/That you would be made pope so quickly./You promised to stand by me in all things,/As much justice would be mine as equity would allow.)

The career of Nicolas Breakspear lends credibility to these last lines. In 1152, prior to assuming the papal tiara, Nicolas had been sent by his predecessor, Eugenius III, as papal legate to Norway and Sweden. Upon his return to Rome in 1154, he was hailed as the apostle of the North, and later that year he was elected pope. According to Leoninus, it was while the papal legate was making his way back from Scandinavia to Rome, presumably via Paris, that he promised the young cleric his assistance.

In this instance the pontiff evidently did not make good on his promise, for the next poem of Leoninus is a versified letter of thanks

not to Adrian IV but to his successor Alexander III (1159–81). The poet suggests that before Alexander had become pope (he was cardinal-chancellor from 1153 until 1159),[60] he had opened doors for him at the Curia. Now the patron has become the father. Leoninus thanks his protector for both past and future gifts, and, as testimony of this pontifical beneficence, he cites two special favors: a prebend granted to Leoninus's intimate companion, whose "special love" he enjoys and to whom he is subordinate, and an unspecified splendid gift ("preclarum munus") received from King Louis VII at the urging of the pope:

> Testis erit collata meo prebenda sodali
> Cuius et obsequus et amore fruor speciali
> Testis et ut presens agnovit curia rome
> Exorata tibi maiestas regia pro me
> Quam mihi preclarum confert tua gratia munus.

That Leoninus may have received a benefit from Louis VII is entirely possible inasmuch as this king had been educated by the canons of Notre Dame in the close of the church,[61] a privilege likewise extended to the nephews of Pope Alexander III.[62] Moreover, Alexander resided in France, mostly at nearby Sens, in the years 1162–65, a refugee from the army of Frederick Barbarossa. During the Lenten season and most of the spring of 1163, the pope and his court sojourned in Paris.[63] He conferred with Louis VII, spent Easter at Notre Dame, and, it is widely believed, posed the first stone of the new cathedral.[64] Thus, the poem *Ad Alexandrum papam actio graciarum* may have been stimulated by the papal visit to Paris early in 1163.

The next of the poetic epistles of Leoninus, *De anulo dato ab Henrico cardinali*, also relates to an important event in the history of Notre Dame. It is another *actio gratiarum*, this time to Henry of Marcy, cardinal-bishop of Albano and papal legate to France from 1179 until

[60] On Alexander III, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 287; Baldwin, *Alexander III*; and Hermann Reuter, *Geschichte Alexanders des Dritten und der Kirche seiner Zeit*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1860–64).

[61] Guérard, *Collections des cartulaires*, IV, cxx, 270–71.

[62] Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire*, I, 368.

[63] Baldwin, *Alexander III*, p. 64.

[64] The opinion that Alexander III posed the first stone of Notre Dame does not appear prior to the account of the fourteenth-century chronicler Jean de St. Victor (BN, MS Latin 14626); see Marcel Aubert, *Notre-Dame de Paris, sa place dans l'architecture du XII^e^ au XIV^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1920), p. 30; and Bernard Mahieu, "La Naissance de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de L'Ile-de-France*, XCI (1964), 34–36.

1189.[65] According to the Chronicle of Limoges, it was Henry, along with Bishop Maurice of Sully, who consecrated the altar of the newly finished choir of Notre Dame on 19 May 1182.[66] The gift of this gold ring set with rubies to canon Leoninus, as well as the poem it occasioned, may date from this year but certainly not after 1189, when Cardinal Henry died.

Although the addressee of the preceding letter can be readily identified as a papal legate, the recipient of *Ad amicum venturum ad festum baculi* cannot be determined. He is simply an unnamed friend, perhaps the special "sodalus" mentioned earlier in the letter to Pope Alexander III. Leoninus warmly entreats his companion to return, presumably to Paris, for the Feast of the Staff (*baculus*), commonly known in the Middle Ages as the Feast of Fools (*festum fatuorum*). At many churches in the West, the Feast of Fools had come to be celebrated on Circumcision day in a riotous parody of the sacred rites.[67] So degenerate had this festival become at Notre Dame by the late twelfth century that another papal legate to France, Petrus de Capua, chastised the bishop of Paris because "on the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord, many egregious and flagrant acts were committed, and the holy place, which the glorious Virgin chose as her acceptable abode, is frequently defiled not only by foul language but even by bloodshed."[68] (It was, of course, in response to this rebuke that Bishop Odo issued his famous edict of 1198 that sanctioned two-, three-, and four-voice organum at Vespers, Matins, and Mass.) In his poem Leoninus mentions the coming of the New Year, of the ceremonial passing of the staff to the newly elected Bishop of the Fools, and of the pleasant jokes and serious mysteries that the feast

[65] See *Gallia Christiana*, IV, col. 802; Alfred Baudrillart, ed., *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XII (Paris, 1953), col. 1053; and Chevalier, *Répertoire*, I, col. 2090.

[66] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 25 vols. (Paris, 1736–1904), XVIII, 212: "Feria quarta Pentecostes, Henricus legatus altare Sancte-Mariae Parisius consecrat una cum Mauricio praesule."

[67] Basic studies of the Feast of Fools include Henri Villetard, *Office de Pierre de Corbeil (Office de la Circoncision), improprement appelé "Office des Fous,"* Bibliothèque musicologique, 4 (Paris, 1907), pp. 65–73; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols. (London, 1903), I, Chaps. 13 and 14; and Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1970), I, Chap. 3.

[68] Guérard, *Collections des cartulaires*, IV, 73: "quod, in festo circoncisionis Dominice, in eadem ecclesia tot consueverunt enormitates et opera flagiciosa committi, quod locum sanctum, in quo gloriosa virgo gratam sibi mansionem elegit, non solum feditate verborum, verum etiam sanguinis effusione plerumque contingit inquinari."

will engender ("Seria tunc dulcesque iocos archanaque mentis fas erit"). His principal concern, however, is not to describe the Feast of Fools but to set forth in verse his intense feelings for his unnamed friend. This is accomplished by using the form and syntax of a love letter written in classical antiquity. Indeed, *Ad amicum venturum* as well as the preceding poem, *De anulo dato*, were based on classical models.

The influence of classical Latin verse in the poems of Leoninus is evident even to the casual observer. His *Hystorie sacre* is composed in the heroic hexameters of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and there are phrases in it that allude to the *Aeneid* and to Horace's *Epistles*.[69] *De anulo dato*, for Cardinal Henry of Marcy, manifestly has as its model a famous poem by Ovid contained in the *Amores* (II, xv). Ovid's first line, "Anule, formosae digitum vincture" ("Ring that art to circle the finger of my fair lady"), becomes with Leoninus "Anule, qui sacri datus es mihi pignus amoris" ("Ring, that is to me a pledge of sacred love"); and Ovid's line 6, "Et digitum iusto commodus orbe teras" ("And press her finger with aptly adjusted circle"), is transformed by Leoninus into "tam iusto digitum complectis orbe" ("you surround my finger in an aptly adjusted circle"). In a similar way Leoninus's *Ad amicum venturum ad festum baculi* is patterned after the form of the love letter developed by Ovid in his *Heroides*.[70] Compare, for example, Leoninus's opening line, "Hanc tibi, que sine te, rara est mihi, muto salutem" ("This wish for welfare I extend to you, which without you is rare to me"), with the beginning of letter 6, *Paris to Helen*, "Hanc tibi Priamides mitto, Ledaea, salutem" ("I, son of Priam, send you, Leda's daughter this wish for welfare"). Ovid's placement of the word "salus" in the accusative singular at the end of the first line characterizes several of the letters in the *Heroides* (numbers 4, 13, 16, 18, and 19). Again in the middle of his poem, Leoninus seems to draw from Ovid, now the *Metamorphoses*, when he says that he wishes to bind his neck to the yoke of love and his heart to that of his friend, in a love no less than that which Nisus had for Eurialus, Phoceus for Orestes, or Theseus for Pirithous.[71] Undoubtedly Leoninus borrowed many

[69] See, for example, *Aeneid*, V, 294, and *Epistles*, I, 59.

[70] I am grateful to Prof. Ralph Hexter for this identification.

[71] Sic mihi det fortuna meo me pane cibari
Perpetuoque levet sic mea colla iugo,
Non magis Eurialum Nisus Phoceus Horestum
Non plus Pirithorum Theseus ipse suum.

Cf., for example, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 303. Philippe de Vitry also employs the image of a neck bound to the yoke in his motet *Colla iugo/Bona condit/Libera me*.

other passages from the classic texts of Latin civilization, and these will be identified as his poetry is the object of further study.

Renewed interest in the writers of classical antiquity was an important part of the renaissance of the twelfth century, which had Paris and the cathedral of Notre Dame as its geographic and spiritual center.[72] A student in the cathedral schools and the nascent university came to know and emulate the writers of antiquity by means of model composition.[73] After the pupil had mastered the basic grammars of Donatus and Priscian, he would practice composing verse with the aid of glosses on Priscian and other manuals of poetic composition such as Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, written in Paris about 1175, or the somewhat later *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf.[74] These treatises, like the later and more famous *Parisiana poetria* of John of Garland,[75] taught the aspiring poet formal strategies and provided useful figures of speech (*colores*), many of which were drawn from classical writers. (It is, of course, the vocabulary of these primers in grammar and the manuals of poetic composition that was taken over wholesale by the music theorists of the thirteenth century when they sought to describe the polyphony of the period.)[76] It is possible that Leoninus came to know and borrow classical themes and phrases only from the grammatical and poetic treatises, and from collections called *florilegia*. But more likely, he had studied the original works of Virgil, Ovid, and Horace, since he borrows forms as well as individual phrases. While we may never know the full extent of Leoninus's indebtedness to the ancient writers or the medium by which he came

[72] F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1927), Chaps. 9 and 10; and Janet Martin, "Classicism and Style in Latin Literature," *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp. 537–68. For additional bibliography on the revived classicism in Latin literature in the twelfth century, see the studies cited by Martin.

[73] Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, pp. 158–60.

[74] Glosses of Priscian are discussed in R. W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, II, The School of Ralph of Beauvais," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, II (1950), 1–56. The text of *Ars versificatoria* is given in Edmond Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1924; repr. Paris, 1962), pp. 109–93; and Matthew of Vendôme, *The Art of Versification*, trans. Aubrey E. Galyon (Ames, Iowa, 1980). The text of the *Poetria nova* is given in Faral, *Arts poétiques*, pp. 194–262; and translated by Margaret F. Nims, *Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (Toronto, 1967).

[75] Traugott Lawler, ed., *The* Parisiana Poetria *of John of Garland* (New Haven, 1974).

[76] The terms *clausula*, *ordo*, *modus*, *punctus*, *equivalens*, *conjunctio*, and *copula*, for example, are employed by Alexandre de Villedei in his *Doctrinale* (ed. Dietrich Reichling, *Monumenta germaniae paedagogica*, XII, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei* [Berlin, 1893]).

to know them, we can be certain that he was thoroughly versed in the laws of classical metrics.

What, then, was the relationship between Leoninus's demonstrable familiarity with quantitative meter and the advent of the rhythmic modes? Was the theory of classical metrics carried over into the sphere of music to provide a framework for the development of a system of proportional duration? The answer to these questions requires a brief overview of the use of metrics in Leoninus's poetry and music. First and foremost, this poetry is quantitative in structure. As such it differs fundamentally from the qualitative (accentual), rhyming, assonant, isosyllabic poetry that constituted most of the new Latin verse set to music in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—specifically, texts for sequences, rhymed offices, conducti, and motets. Moreover, none of the poetry of Leoninus appears to have been set to music. In the case of the four epistles, this is not surprising since the subject matter would make them inappropriate for musical settings. But the four moralizing poems are not thematically different from the texts of many conducti and motets. The moralizing poems differ from these, however, not only because they are durational rather than accentual but also because they do not possess a structure in which each line has the same number of syllables or a recurring pattern of line length. In both elegiac couplets and hexameter verse the number of syllables per line continually changes, and there are no prescriptions for metrical repetition, save that the first and the last two syllables in each line must be long. This sort of poetry, one lacking rhythmic regularity, was ill suited to be set to music in one of the rhythmic modes, six formulae of continually recurring durational patterns. Despite the renewed interest in classical verse in the twelfth century, quantitative poetry incorporating classical meters seems not to have been set to music to any significant degree.[77]

Furthermore, were there a direct or causal relation between Leoninus's use of classical meter and the advent of the modal system (which makes its first appearance in a rudimentary state in his *Magnus*

[77] Examples of quantitative poetry set to music are found in manuscripts from the ninth through the twelfth centuries and are discussed, among other places, in Henry Thomas, "Musical Settings of Horace's Lyric Poems," *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, XLVI (1919–20), 73–97; Solange Corbin, "Comment on chantait les classiques latins au Moyen Age," *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthétique musicales, offerts à Paul-Marie Masson par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955), I, 107–13; and Edith Weber, "L'Apport de la pédagogie musicale humaniste à la diffusion de la litérature latine et néo-latine," *Acta conventus neo-latini turonensis*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, De Pétrarque à Descartes, 38 (Paris, 1980), I, 403–16.

liber organi), we would reasonably expect some correlation between meter and rhythmic mode. The dactylic foot is the basis of Leoninus's poetry, both in heroic hexameters and elegiac couplets. It is invariably a duple unit, each foot consisting either of two longs (each equal to two shorts) or of a long followed by two shorts. The system of modal rhythm that developed in the second half of the twelfth century was also based on a long equal to two breves, but the frequent alternation of a long with a single short gave rise to a foot that was ternary in structure. The musical equivalent of the dactylic foot was rhythmic mode 3, consisting of a long followed by two shorts. But mode 3 was a ternary unit because the second short was treated as twice normal length, and accordingly each long was extended to equal three shorts, not two. In addition, mode 3, while likely known and used during Leoninus's lifetime, is not employed in the body of the *Magnus liber organi*. Even when examining the latest versions of his oft-revised organa, it appears that Leoninus used only mode 1 and its extension (mode 5) and dissolution (mode 6). As a poet Leoninus wrote mainly in dactylic hexameters; as a musician he composed primarily in the musical equivalent of the trochaic foot, and then only in the discant sections of his organa. If the poetry of Leoninus is the standard by which to judge, quantitative Latin verse of the twelfth century, essentially binary in meter and irregular in length of line, provided no ready model or analogy equivalence for the regular ternary patterns of the rhythmic modes.[78]

That there is little direct relationship between the classically modeled poetry of Leoninus and the use of modal rhythm in his organa suggests that the impetus for a system to infix and notate proportional durations in music likely sprang from a source other than poetry. Undoubtedly such a system developed for purely musical reasons in a purely musical context and arose from a need to find a means to guide the singer of the organal voice across the continually changing sea of consonant and dissonant intervals by means of a notational key that differentiated longs and shorts. The primacy of the musical environment in this development can be seen by the fact that the rhythmic modes are first observable in liturgical forms that were

[78] Similar conclusions, drawn from different and independent lines of reasoning, have recently been advanced in three separate studies: Rudolf Flotzinger, "Zur Frage der Modalrhythmik als Antike-Rezeption," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIX (1972), 203–208; Leo Treitler, "Regarding Meter and Rhythm in the *Ars Antiqua*," *The Musical Quarterly*, LXV (1979), 524–58; and Edward Roesner, "The Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*," paper presented at the symposium Das Ereignis "Notre-Dame," Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, April 1985.

not poetic, indeed that were textless except for an initial syllable (hence *sine littera*)—in the discant sections of the Graduals, Alleluias, and Responsories of the *Magnus liber organi*. While it may be tempting to see Leoninus as a sort of late medieval Vulcan who forged a full-blown system of musical rhythm using a classical prototype,[79] he was likely a somewhat less innovative figure: here was a man fascinated with the process of setting duration and manipulating quantitative patterns, one who made use of his creative skill in two not necessarily interactive arts, poetry and music.

The distich *Quod melius sit bene quam diu vivere* provides a fitting close to a discussion of the poetry of Leoninus. It is a single elegiac couplet: "Everyone tries to live long, no one tries to live well (righteously); although everyone is able to live righteously, no one is able to live long (control how long one lives)." This poem, too, seems to be built according to a classical model, in this case a passage from Cicero's *De senectute* (*On Old Age*; XVIII, 68–70). The subject of *Quod melius* suggests that it is appropriately positioned at the end of Leoninus's poetic *oeuvre*. Indeed, his entire collection appears to be arranged chronologically; it begins with a poem of the 1150s, passes to those that refer to persons and events during 1160s–80s, and concludes with a comment on longevity.

The poetry of Leoninus, when taken in conjunction with the ecclesiastical documents, makes possible a biographical sketch of this man and suggests the place he occupied in the intellectual life of the twelfth century. Leoninus was likely born about 1135 and was a native of Paris, as Egidius Parisiensis attests. He was educated in the schools, undoubtedly in the cathedral schools of Notre Dame of Paris, and earned the degree of master, probably master of arts, but possibly the more advanced degree master of theology, given his interest in versifying the Bible. Because he was a licensed master, he may even have taught *lectio sacra* in Paris. Early in his career he served as a canon at the Left Bank collegiate church St. Benoît, but by the 1180s he had been elevated to the position of canon at Notre Dame, where he remained to become one of the most senior canons. Whether owing to family origin or his own intellectual precocity, he quickly gained the ear and favor of a pope, a king, and a cardinal. As a poet he was of sufficient importance to have his principal work, the biblical commen-

[79] The belief that Leoninus single-handedly created a new metrical system, drawing on a classical model, is expressed most forcefully in William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, Yale Studies in the History of Music, 2 (New Haven, 1954), pp. 7, 29, 127.