

Medieval Music in Practice



Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker

Edited by
Judith A. Peraino



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Studies in Honor of RICHARD CROCKER



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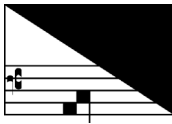
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STUDIES IN HONOR OF RICHARD CROCKER

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY
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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all the authors in this collection for their enthusiasm, diligence, and excellent essays. This project first occurred to me in 1995, when my graduation as a Ph.D. student of Richard Crocker coincided with his formal retirement from the faculty at the University of California, Berkeley. The rigors of entering the job market, and then the job itself, prevented me from moving beyond my initial inquiries at that time. Despite retirement, Richard continued to work with graduate students throughout the years, and it was in conversation with one such student, Sean Curran, that the idea for this volume revived. I thank Sean for helping me get this project underway. I would also like to thank Paul Ranzini for taking on its publication, and Cornell University for financial support. I am especially indebted to Bonnie Blackburn for her work as the copyeditor—a description that hardly does justice to her contribution to this volume, which significantly benefited from her thorough and critical readings, and her expertise in early music.

1

Introduction: Richard Crocker and the Practice of Musicology

Judith A. Peraino

In 1977 Richard Crocker published a “Viewpoint” in the journal *19th-Century Music* in which he offered his Credo: “we understand many things about the history of music—specifically its development—better from the earlier periods.”¹ This modest four-page commentary at the end of the second issue of the journal actually presents a radical statement about the nature of music and musicology, for what we get “from the earlier periods” is kicked out of the comfortable nest of biography, personality, “self-expression,” and shared experience, and thrust into the dangerous yet compelling world of music pure and (not so) simple—what sounds we hear and how we hear them, no matter the historical era or the composer’s intention. Crocker writes: “It is, to be sure, common experience that (in nineteenth-century music) communication of the composer’s original feeling *seemed* to take place . . . Who is to say that the listener’s experience was the same as the composer’s? (For that matter, who is to say it was not?) The point is that the inner experience under discussion—the autistic experience—has by definition no shared or communicable status.”²

What at first might be construed as skepticism about the continuity of musical experience over time in fact leads to observations about the profoundly transhistorical structures retained in the music itself. Some twenty-three years later, in his book *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*, Crocker takes the reader through all the ways in which ninth-century monophonic chant is both “near and far” from our present-day musical sensibilities:

If there is a problem with Gregorian chant being remote, it is not going to be solved by historical information about its origins, simply because there is not enough

1. *19th-Century Music* 1 (1977): 182.

2. *Ibid.*, 184.

2

Ricardus Primus: Praeceptor et Familiaris

Richard Taruskin (Ricardus tertius)

When I joined the Berkeley music department in 1987, there were already two Richards on the faculty. I don't think anything special had been made of the fact before, but with my arrival we immediately became Richard I, II and III. (Richard II was the composer Richard Felciano; everybody seemed to agree that my age had vouchsafed me the right number.) *Entre nous*, however, and I *think* (though I could be mistaken) at my instigation, we were Ricardus Primus (pronounced as Mr. Chips would have pronounced it, to rhyme with *rhyme-us*), Secundus (refund-us), and Tertius (*cherche-us*). But it was not only among the Richards that Crocker was *primus inter pares*. By the time I came to know him personally I had long revered him as a scholar—the most visionary scholar in all of musicology, I thought, and the most creative (whether as opposed to *sterile* or to *destructive*). No one I have met or read since has outstripped him in my esteem, and there is no one to whom I am more indebted for whatever there is of good in me.

How to characterize the debt? It is not a straightforward thing. I am not a medievalist, and I find that our usual ways of describing inheritance and transmission do not cover it. It is not even that Tertius has found in Primus a worthy role model. Nor is he just an admired senior colleague. Here is something that may help clarify. Time and again editors have tried to correct “my pupils” in things I’ve written to “my students.” The words seem to have become all but synonymous in most writers’ vocabularies; but I see a very significant difference between them, and it is at the heart of my relationship to Ricardus Primus—a lifelong relationship, professionally speaking. I have never been his pupil. I never enrolled in his courses or sat in his seminars, he never graded my papers, he would not claim (or admit) to having trained me. But while I have never studied with him, I have been studying him ever since I learned musicologically to read, which makes me his enthusiastic and grateful student.

My most influential teacher in college, Joel Newman, the man who set me on the track I have followed ever since, was a Crocker fan, and paid his Barnard and Columbia undergraduate majors the great compliment of assuming we could digest Crocker at full strength. He assigned us “Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony” when it was still hot from the oven. It was the hardest twenty pages I’d ever slogged through as of then, but

Ekkehard's Use of Musical Detail in the *Casus sancti Galli**

Lori Kruckenberg

For historians of music of the Middle Ages, Saint Gall provides one of the best jumping-off points for the study of early Western plainchant. Foremost among its musical treasures are its neumed artifacts—rich in quantity, quality, and diversity of book types.¹ Complementing the testimony of these music manuscripts are a handful of unique literary documents, likewise connected to Saint Gall, and filled with an array of details on medieval music and its practitioners. In *The Deeds of Charlemagne* (*Gesta Karoli Magni*), several passages provide modern readers glimpses into the musical past of the ninth century.² A short text on *litterae significativae*—the so-called *Epistola ad Lantpertum*—not only explicates a system of letters used to supplement neumatation, but

* Shorter versions of this essay were presented in 2011 at the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium at The University of the South (Sewanee, Tennessee), the 16th Meeting of Cantus Planus in Vienna, and at Prof. Susan Rankin's graduate seminar at the University of Cambridge. I wish to thank several readers and auditors for their helpful comments and suggestions: Alison Altstatt, Elaine Hild, Loren Kajikawa, Frank Lawrence, Jeremy Llewellyn, James V. Maiello, Daniel Nützel, Judith A. Peraino, Elizabeth Teviotdale, as well as David Ganz, Susan Rankin, and her graduate seminar. I am grateful to the Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall; the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cologne; the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe; the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; and the Bibliothèque municipale, Auxerre, for permission to reproduce the illustrations from their collections.

1 The surviving manuscripts are numerous, with some numbering among the oldest surviving notated examples. For a particularly recent and noteworthy manuscript study accompanying the two-volume facsimile, see *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 und 381*, ed. Arlt and Rankin. In addition, the abbey library of Saint Gall has made (and continues to make) a vast number of its chant books and other kinds of manuscripts available online at <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/csg/Shelfmark/all>>.

2. Written around 884 by a monk, the *Gesta* is thought to be by Notker Balbulus: see Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, ed. Haefele; for a new English translation, see *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*, trans. Ganz. Episodes mentioning music can be found in bk. I, chs. 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 18–19, 22, 31, and 33; and in bk. II, chs. 7 and 21. For another recent translation, see *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, trans. Noble.

4

Adémar de Chabannes and the Sequence at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century

James Grier

For over half a century now, all research on the sequence at the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges has taken as its starting point Richard Crocker's dissertation on the subject.¹ Moreover, this remarkable work also presents Crocker's detailed observations about the physical makeup of the volumes once in the monastic library at Saint-Martial that preserve the sequence repertory, and, together with the publications of Jacques Chailley and Heinrich Husmann, provides an essential point of entry to the study of these fascinating documents.² Among the many profound insights this study offers, Crocker states that Adémar de Chabannes, monk at the abbey of Saint-Cybard in Angoulême, historian, scribe, and musician in the early eleventh century, contributed to the production of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin (hereafter BnF) 1121.³

I was fortunate enough to identify Adémar's music hand in the entire first layer of BnF 1121, including the sequentiary (the collection of untexted and partially texted sequences for the liturgical year), in which he also inscribed the text and rubrics.⁴ Adémar also contributed the music of the first layer of BnF 909, originally a commission for the abbey of Saint-Martin in Limoges, as well as text, music, and rubrics of the second layer, in which he entered his newly created apostolic liturgy for Saint Martial, and which also includes a sequentiary.⁵ Here, I shall investigate the processes of selec-

1. Crocker, "The Répertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges"; usefully supplemented by "The Répertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century"; "Some Ninth-Century Sequences"; and *The Early Medieval Sequence*.

2. Chailley, "Les Anciens Tropaires et séquentiaires de l'école de Saint-Martial de Limoges"; id., *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges*; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*.

3. Crocker, "The Répertoire of Proses," 1:190–91, 2:146.

4. Grier, "The Musical Autographs of Adémar de Chabannes," esp. 134–56.

5. Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*: Adémar de Chabannes and the Production of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS latin 909."

5

Volmar, Hildegard, and St. Matthias*

Margot Fassler

Some twenty minutes into the film *Vision* (2009) Hildegard is shown explaining her visions to Volmar, monk of the Disibodenberg.¹ Subsequently, Volmar tells the abbot of the Disibodenberg that there is a seer in their midst, and reads to him from Hildegard's *Scivias*. After the abbot has recovered from the shock of Volmar's revelation, his eyes narrow: if Hildegard, who is enclosed in a female cell of the monastery, indeed has the gift of prophecy, it will redound upon the fame of his abbey. Pilgrims will come; gifts will increase. Although the scene is fictional, the general circumstances are not, and the character of Hildegard portrayed in the film and Volmar's defense of her are believable, given the facts of their lives.

The relationship between Volmar of the Disibodenberg (d. 1173) and Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) is one of several mutually supportive male–female collaborations documented in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.² Each is unique—from Abelard and Heloise to John and Juliana of Mt. Cornillon—but fundamental to all of them is some sort of shared enterprise, from a rule of life or some other way of encouraging a monastic foundation, to texts for a new feast, to the preservation of a body of writings,

* One of the things I most appreciate about Richard Crocker is his support of women scholars, both his own students, and people like me whom he has taken under his wing. The piece I wrote for him reflects this aspect of his work. I have presented this material at the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and as a plenary address at the Leeds International Medieval Congress, and am grateful for the comments and encouragement received.

1. Written and directed by Margarethe von Trotta; director of photography, Axel Block; edited by Corina Dietz; music by Chris Heyne, original compositions by Hildegard von Bingen; art direction by Heike Bauersfeld; costumes by Ursula Welter; produced by Markus Zimmer; released by Zeitgeist Films.

2. For introductions to the narratives written about or by some of the most important women religious and the men who supported them, see especially the Brepols series, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, which includes *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber confortatorius*, ed. Hollis with Barnes; *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation*, ed. Mulder-Bakker; and Thomas of Cantimpré, *The Collected Saints' Lives*, ed. Newman; and Mulder-Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses*; for an introduction to the roles of women as scribes and producers of books, see *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Smith and Taylor.

6

Contrapunctus Theory, Dissonance Regulation, and French Polyphony of the Fourteenth Century*

Sarah Fuller

French polyphony of the fourteenth century is periodically enlivened with aurally prominent dissonances between voices, to the degree that a somewhat elevated dissonance level is acknowledged by present-day music historians to be a core stylistic trait of that music. Even a cursory perusal of compositions by the leading French composer of the time, Guillaume de Machaut, will disclose numerous dissonant clashes of the sort shown in example 6.1.¹

In examples 6.1a and b phrases begin on a ninth, in one case approached by leap, in the other by step. In examples 6.1c and 6.1b (m. 28) successive sevenths squarely on the semibreve (one in major, the other in minor prolation) spice a conventional parallel sixth approach to an octave cadence. And in example 6.1d, tenor and contratenor in rhythmic lockstep expand outward from unison to octave via a second and a fourth, intervals that are both excluded in contemporary *contrapunctus* teaching. In example

*In 1962, Richard L. Crocker published an article, “Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony,” that asserted and defended the (for that time) revolutionary claim that medieval composers of polyphony thought and heard in terms of progressions of two- and even three-note sonorities. They were not just combining lines that produced “fortuitous” sonorities (p. 1). That article has been extraordinarily influential, and the idea that a vertically conceived two-part framework—a discant structure—was operative in late medieval polyphony has since become common currency for students of that repertory. In order to recover a medieval view of medieval polyphony, Crocker stated, “we must take hold of their theory books with both hands and read” (p. 2). In studying with Richard Crocker at Berkeley in the mid-1960s, I was privileged to participate in his seminar on medieval and Renaissance music theory in which we did just that, not just treatises on polyphony, but on chant, mode, pitch systems, and other topics. This study, in which reading and interpretation of theoretical writings looms large, is a tribute to the enduring influence of Richard Crocker’s scholarship and teaching.

1. Examples 6a, b, c, and e are drawn from the edition of Schrade, *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, 79, 190, 146, and 26, respectively. Example 6.1d comes from Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut’s Mass: An Introduction*, 204–205.

7

A Ring of Roses

Margaret Hasselman

Rose symbolism in the Middle Ages is well known from cathedral windows, and also appears frequently in connection with the idealized Lady of the *chanson courtoise*, especially after the dissemination of the *Roman de la Rose* from the mid-thirteenth century onward. This text was perhaps the most popular story of the entire Middle Ages, and its central image of the rose remained important for fourteenth-century poets as well. In this era, roses acquired a powerful association with both human and divine love. While references to roses in lyrics can tell us only about the composer's participation in the general rhetoric of the time, when they are paired with specific musical references, they strongly suggest the operations of citation and borrowing.

Three songs from the middle of the fourteenth century show compelling musical and poetic interconnections. They are *Rose, liz, printemps, verdure* by Guillaume de Machaut (R. 10); *Rose sans per, de toutes separee*; and *Quiconques veut d'amour joir*, the last two by anonymous poet-composers. Available external evidence does not allow a closer dating. Machaut's *Rose, liz* is in the earliest source of his complete works, manuscript C, but not in its earliest layer, suggesting a date around 1350–56.¹ *Rose sans per* appears in Codex Ivrea, a southern French manuscript that was probably assembled around 1365–70.² *Quiconques veut* is in Cambrai B, from around the same time.³ For a variety of reasons that I have discussed elsewhere, the songs in Ivrea and Cambrai B often seem to come from an earlier generation.⁴

These three songs have many characteristics in common. They are rondeaux; they all cadence strongly on C-ut; they all use perfect tempus with minor prolation, with many passages that slide into imperfect tempus with major prolation, so that they are best tran-

1. This manuscript is BnF f. fr. 1586. For a discussion of its chronological layers see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, 77–79.

2. Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, 115 (CXV); also known as Iv or I:Ivc 115.

3. A part of Cambrai 1328 (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, B. 1328), also known as CaB, *Ca(n)*, and F:CA 1328.

4. See discussion in Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century."

From Two-Part Framework to Movable Module*

Julie E. Cumming

In his foundational article of 1962, “Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony,” Richard Crocker discusses the “two-part framework” in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹ Taking this as my point of departure I provide musical examples from across the fifteenth century for Crocker’s general observations about compositional procedure. The examples corroborate and clarify Crocker’s ideas about continuity and change, and link them to the work of later scholars (especially Jessie Ann Owens and Peter Schubert). More specifically I show the enduring use of the basic two-part framework as a compositional procedure through the whole fifteenth century, but also how it is modified and adapted to newer styles that use varied textures and imitative polyphony.

In the process I provide new insight into compositional process, moving beyond the old opposition between “successive” and “simultaneous” composition.² By identifying the location of the two-part framework in many different examples I demonstrate which voices in any passage were conceived first, and show how the framework served to articulate musical structures. I show how composed polyphony used improvisable contrapuntal formulas and help to explain how musicians composed without scores. I also show that imitative polyphony at the end of the century continued to depend on the two-part framework.

*My work on this article draws on my pleasant memories of working with Richard Crocker at Berkeley—and of writing a paper on fauxbourdon for a graduate seminar on oral transmission that he taught with Bonnie Wade. It is also indebted to the work of my colleague Peter Schubert at McGill, whose ideas and influence are found in almost every paragraph (which is not to say that he agrees with everything I say here). I would also like to thank my research assistants: Jacob Sagrans, for copying the musical examples, as well as Daniel Donnelly and Remi Chiu. The research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1. Crocker, “Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony.” Subsequent references to page numbers in this article will be shown as parenthetical references in the text. In the article Crocker opposes two approaches to medieval music: “linear counterpoint” and “triadic harmony” (see 1, 2, 8–9, 11–12, 14, 16).

2. See Blackburn, “On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century” and n. 70 below.

Composing a Codex: The Motets in the “La Clayette” Manuscript*

Sean Curran

The “La Clayette” manuscript (Paris, BnF, n. acq. fr. 13521)¹ is a large book of 419 folios, unprecedented among major sources of thirteenth-century polyphony for combining a substantial collection of polyphonic motets (55 in total, over only 22 folios) within an otherwise entirely non-musical collection of thirty-four texts.² Its literary works, written in two columns per page, are all in Old French. With little exception, they are of a religious nature, whether devotional or didactic, including the *Conception de Nostre Dame* of Wace; several stories from the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coinci; and three collections of tales from the *Vie des Pères*.³ They are thus of varied

*Research for this essay was conducted on trips generously supported by the Andrew B. Mellon Foundation and the Columbia University Center for European Studies, the American Musicological Society, the Medieval Academy of America, and Somerville College, Oxford. A preliminary version of this essay was presented in March 2010 at the Annual Conference of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, at the University of Cambridge. I am most grateful for the helpful responses of those present, including Nicolas Bell, Catherine Bradley, Lisa Colton, Helen Deeming, Barbara Eichner, Elizabeth Eva Leach, Christian Thomas Leitmeir, Henry Parkes, Susan Rankin, and Thomas Schmidt-Beste. Subsequent versions benefited greatly from generous discussions with Margaret Bent, Emma Dillon, Michael Gullick, Micha Lazarus, Jennifer Miller, and Richard Taruskin, and from close readings by Nicolas Bell, John Roberts, and the editor of this volume. I am greatly fortunate to have been taught by Richard L. Crocker. For his inspiring mentorship he has my heartfelt thanks.

1. Henceforth “La Clayette”; its usual siglum is *Cl*.

2. Musicological descriptions of the manuscript are given by Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th–Early Fourteenth Century*, vol. 4, pt. 1, 436–45; Kügle, “La Clayette”; and Sanders and Lefferts, “Sources, MS, §V, 2; Early Motet: Principal Individual Sources.” Further scholarly studies on the book are addressed below.

3. Descriptions of the literary contents are found in Meyer, “Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits français” and Solente, “Le Grand Recueil La Clayette.” Both studies are discussed in further detail later in the present essay. In the final stages of proofing this essay in Feb. 2012, an updated (and unattributed) description and collation of the manuscript was made available in the new online catalogue of the BnF, together with a complete digital facsimile, at <<http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBN>

Music Graffiti in the Crypt of Siena Cathedral: A Preliminary Assessment

Anna Maria Busse Berger

In 1999, archeologists discovered the existence of a crypt under Siena cathedral. After a careful restoration, the crypt was opened to the general public in 2003. The discovery caused a sensation in the art world because of the beauty of the frescoes covering the crypt's walls: an Old Testament cycle and a much-damaged New Testament cycle, of which an Annunciation, a Visitation, a Nativity, a Kiss of Judas, a Crucifixion, and an Entombment of Christ still survive, all in vivid fresh colors. They have been attributed to artists of the late thirteenth century: Dietisalvi di Spema, Guido di Graziano, and Rinaldo da Siena. And it seems that the young Duccio di Buoninsegna was involved as an assistant.

When I visited the newly restored crypt in December 2005, I discovered some music graffiti on the walls that have thus far escaped the attention of musicologists.¹ Rather than presenting a detailed overview of all the graffiti (and I believe they could keep an entire graduate seminar busy for a year), I will concentrate on the most legible and important drawings, which show the following items: (1) a number of musical hands (figure 10.1 shows one of these—a fully subdivided musical hand with all the pitches of the musical gamut as it is regularly found in music theory treatises (the size corresponds to a hand of a grown-up, 18 × 13 cm); (2) a staff with an F-clef and a short melody in mensural notation (figure 10.2, example 10.1 in transcription); there is another musical

1. I would like to thank my late friend, the historian Odile Redon, for initial discussion on the graffiti and for helping me obtain photographs of them. I am much obliged Dr. Barbara Tavolari from the Opera del Duomo who was kind enough to send me the photographs. Jeff Guentert did magical transformations with the reproduction of the graffiti, turning scratches that one could barely decipher into recognizable images. I would also like to thank Karol Berger, Philippe Canguilhem, Frank A. D'Accone, John Nadas, Klaus Pietzschmann, and Richard Sherr for help and advice on this essay. Pietzschmann has written a fundamental paper on graffiti in the Cappella Sistina and brought several important works on graffiti to my attention ("Die Graffiti auf der Sängerkanzel der Cappella Sistina").

Music in the Age of Dante and Petrarch:
The Interrelation between Music, Linguistics, and Poetics
in the Fourteenth Century

Dorit Tanay

The evolution of musical styles has been a major concern for Richard Crocker. Historiographical questions, such as where to begin the history of Western Christian music or any later musical style or genre, and what to do with all the material that might be involved in the various possible beginnings of such stylistic phenomena have been at the heart of his now classic basic textbooks: *A History of Musical Style*¹ and the second volume of the New Oxford History of Music, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, edited together with David Hiley.² Most valuable for Crocker were studies on syncretism, which opened for him a historiographical point of view rooted in the notion of historical continuum, or rather *continua*, wherein styles and genres could be more realistically placed and more broadly conceptualized.³ Mapping music on a historical continuum also ensures freedom from artificial periodization and the avoidance of imposed distinctions and exclusions of compositional procedures in order to fashion a homogeneous picture of a stylistic period. Crocker's history of music is not merely an intrinsic history of musical technicalities and procedures. Dedicating most of his work to church music, Crocker insists: "to study the history of Christian music, scholars had to study the history of the Church and its cult . . ." In my own work I have followed one of Crocker's major contributions to contextual musicology—his seminal work on the bond between music and mathematics in ancient and early medieval music theory.⁴

-
1. Crocker, *A History of Musical Style*.
 2. *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Crocker and Hiley.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
 4. Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics and Music."