

Oliver Huck / Andreas Janke (Eds.)

Liturgical Books and Music Manuscripts
with Polyphonic Settings of the Mass
in Medieval Europe



Georg Olms Verlag
Hildesheim · Zürich · New York
2020

Printed with the kind support of the SFB 950
“Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa”

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bibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

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www.olms.de

Printed in Germany

Umschlagentwurf: Inga Günther, Hildesheim

Satz: Andreas Janke

Herstellung: Hubert & Co, Göttingen

ISBN 978-3-487-15897-6

ISSN 1860-7136

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Felix Heinzer

Flirting with the Forbidden? Traces of Polyphony in Southwest-German Cistercian Manuscripts: The Case of Salem Abbey

In an oft-quoted section of his *Apology*, written in 1125 at the request of his friend William of St Thierry, Bernard of Clairvaux mounts a strenuous attack on Cluniac excesses in food, clothing, and buildings, ridiculing his rival order's large churches and their sumptuous paintings that catch the worshipper's eye and, as Bernard laments, dry up his devotion. *Fiant haec ad honorem Dei* – 'You might say', Bernard concedes, if only as a rhetorical gesture, 'these things are all to the honour of God; nevertheless, just as the pagan poet Persius inquired of his fellow pagans, I as a monk ask my fellow monks: "Tell me, oh pontiffs (as he said), what is gold doing in the sanctuary?" I say (following the meaning, not the meter): "Tell me, poor men, if you really are poor: what is gold doing in the sanctuary?" – *in sancto quid facit aurum?*'¹

'Usual Polyphony'?

If it is for the most part architecture and pictorial art that are in the spotlight here, Bernard and his followers were surprisingly reticent regarding what they deemed undue poetical and musical adornment of liturgical chant: typically in the case of sequences and tropes but also, in later eras, on the topic of trendy embellishments (*novitates et curiositates*) in performance practice, as clearly stated by the General Chapter in 1302 ('in the field of liturgical chant, the old way must

¹ 'Sed haec parva sunt; veniam ad maiora, sed ideo visa minora, quia usitatiora. Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudes, supervacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones, curiosas depictiones, quae dum in se orantium retorquent aspectum, impediunt et affectum, et mihi quodammodo repraesentant antiquum ritum Iudaeorum. Sed esto, fiant haec ad honorem Dei. Illud autem interrogo monachus monachos, quod in gentilibus gentilis arguebat: Dicite, ait ille, pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum? Ego autem dico: "Dicite pauperes", – non enim attendo versum, sed sensum – , "dicite", inquam, "pauperes, si tamen pauperes, in sancto quid facit aurum?"', 'Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem, XII 28,' Jean Leclercq, Charles Hugh Talbot, and Henri Marie Rochais, eds., *Sancti Bernardi opera*, iii (Rome, 1963), 81–108, esp. 104.

be observed throughout').² Hence no such frills as syncopation or hocket – explicitly banned with reference to the authority of Bernard and apostrophised as 'ridiculous novelties' in 1320³ – or falsetto singing – already stigmatised by Bernard himself and, equally, by his English contemporary Aelred of Rievaulx, as 'womanish' singing.⁴ The shared intention of both statutes is the maintenance of tradition, therefore the insistence on the qualification 'old': 'modus antiquus' is the key term in 1302 and 'antiqua forma cantandi' in 1320 (emphasis mine), while innovations – *novitates* – are frowned on.

Is polyphony equally seen as an innovation to be banned? If received opinion holds that polyphonic singing was incompatible with the austerity of the Cistercian lifestyle and its understanding of ritual, the historical situation is surely more complex, as Manuel Pedro Ferreira has suggested.⁵ Commenting on the well-known reaction of the General Chapter of 1217 in response to complaints levelled against the English abbeys Dore and Tintern, accused on the basis of hearsay of practicing three- and even four-part singing,⁶ Ferreira highlights an implicit but significant distinction: Polyphony 'in the manner of non-monastic churches' is a practice that must be changed and corrected as, in neither Dore nor Tintern nor, indeed, in any other Cistercian house, should the liturgy be adorned by elements of highly sophisticated polyphony as typically done in the choirs of cathedral churches. Simple two-part polyphony, however, is not mentioned here, hence not explicitly banned by the General Chapter, which seems to suggest that it 'was tolerated among the Cistercians' because it might have been 'considered to be a legitimate monastic practice', as had been largely attested to since the twelfth century even outside the canonical milieu.⁷

² 'In illis quae ad cultum divinum pertinent, quantum ad cantum, modus antiquus totaliter observetur'. Joseph Marie Canivez, ed., *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, iii (Leuven, 1933–1941), 306f.

³ 'Ridiculosas novitates superinductas in officio divino nolens sustinere de cetero, Capitulum Generale ordinat et diffinit quod antiqua forma cantandi a beato patre nostro Bernardo tradita, sincopationibus notarum et etiam hoquetis interdictis in cantu nostro simpliciter quia talia magis dissolutionem quam devotionem sapiant, firmiter teneatur', Canivez, *Statuta*, iii, 349.

⁴ Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (Woodbridge, 2014), esp. 18–22.

⁵ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, 'Early Cistercian Polyphony: A Newly-Discovered Source', *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd series, 13–14 (2001–2002), 267–313, esp. 286–7 (reprinted in Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Revisiting the Music of Medieval France: From Gallican Chant to Dufay* [Farnham, 2012]).

⁶ 'De abbatibus de Dora et Tinterna in quorum abbatibus ut dicitur triparti vel quadriparti voce, more saecularium canitur, committitur abbatibus de Neth et de Flesley qui ad praedicta loca personaliter accedentes, rei veritate diligenter exquisita, quae viderint emendanda diligenter corrigant', Canivez, *Statuta*, i, 472.

⁷ Ferreira, 'Early Cistercian Polyphony', 286.

This is obviously an *argumentum ex silentio* but, as Sarah Fuller did in her study of the so-called Lafage Anonymous treatise, it seems legitimate to speculate ‘that if Dore and Tintern were singing three- and four-part music in 1217, two-part polyphony was very likely sung in some Cistercian cloisters by at least the first decade of the thirteenth century’.⁸

Such assumptions can be supported by manuscript evidence: In addition to his starting point – a newly-discovered two-part setting of a hymn in a late thirteenth-century antiphony from Arouca in northern Portugal dedicated, ironically, to none other than St Bernard! – Ferreira mentions nine more Cistercian sources prior to c.1400 with polyphonic elements.⁹ Independently from the fact that the list can be further expanded, as we shall see, it is interesting in more than one regard:

- These polyphonic pieces are frequently inserted as later additions to the main body of pre-existing manuscripts (with Las Huelgas as an exception), hence visibly set apart as ‘marginal’ elements in the context of an *ad libitum* practice.¹⁰
- Most of these sources stem from areas outside of France with the German-speaking region clearly dominating. Apart from Arouca and Las Huelgas – which, as already stated, is a case of its own¹¹ – the sources mentioned in the list stem from southern Germany, modern-day Austria and Switzerland. As for England, Fuller mentions rather late sources from Fountains and Meaux.¹² To this list I add London, British Museum, Burney 357 from Thame Abbey, with two early thirteenth-century two-part pieces (*Amor patris et filii* and *Benedicamus*, fols. 15v–16r), mentioned by Anselm Hughes.¹³
- The rather small number of sources, rather than weakening Ferreira’s assumption of a widespread tradition of such practices, could even be seen

⁸ Sarah Fuller, ‘An Anonymous Treatise “Dictus de Sancto Martiale”: A New Source for Cistercian Music Theory’, *Musica Disciplina*, 31 (1977), 5–30.

⁹ Ferreira, ‘Early Cistercian Polyphony’, 279–80 and n. 38.

¹⁰ For instance, a two-part Kyrie added in the early fifteenth century to a late thirteenth-century Gradual from Hauterive (near Fribourg), now housed at Oxford (Bodl. Library, Lat. Lit. d5).

¹¹ See David Catalunya, ‘Music, Space and Ritual in Medieval Castile, 1221–1350’, PhD dissertation, University of Würzburg, 2016.

¹² Fuller, ‘An Anonymous Treatise’, 26 n. 80.

¹³ Anselm Hughes, ‘Music in Fixed Rhythm’, *New Oxford History of Music*, ii (London, 1954), 314f. See also Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) IV, i, 436.

as an enforcement of it: an argument, that is, for the extempore character of this kind of ‘simple polyphony’ which normally ‘did not need to be written down’ (to quote Ferreira again), with the exception of rather unusual pieces or versions thereof or in monasteries with little experience of such musical performance.¹⁴ At this point it is instructive to mention Franz Karl Prassl’s discussion of a group of three Kyrie organa in the early fifteenth-century Gradual from the Cistercian abbey of Neuberg in Styria (now Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 9, fols. 167r–168v). He proposed considering them as a record of improvised, rather than composed, two-part-singing, hence as a document of ‘usuelle Polyphonie’, as he has it,¹⁵ a label closely recalling Ferreira’s ‘simple polyphony’.¹⁶ Moreover, one of the pieces, Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*, also appears in Manuscript 157, from c.1375, at Heiligenkreuz near Vienna (fol. 286v), Neuberg’s motherhouse,¹⁷ a fact that sheds an interesting light on the extent to which dissemination of such materials frequently depended on institutional connections. The Heiligenkreuz manuscript’s text script and musical notation for *Fons bonitatis* look rather unplanned, especially the carelessly drawn dividing lines between individual words of the text, probably added in a second campaign of copying. The complete picture fits the scenario of the somewhat provisional character of such records rather well.

One question, however, remains: Why was (simple) two-part singing – at least from the thirteenth century onward – apparently thought of as being more or less tacitly compatible with the order’s concern for liturgical austerity, whereas three- or four-part polyphony was not? If we do not simply want to accept what seems to have been the basis of the aforementioned statute of 1217 (see note 6) – its obvious concern for a clear distinction between monastic rigor and *mos*

¹⁴ Ferreira, ‘Early Cistercian Polyphony’, 287.

¹⁵ Franz Karl Prassl, ‘Choralquellen steirischer Zisterzienserklöster’, in Karin Kranich-Hofbauer and Anton Schwob eds., *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter – Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche*, Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung im Zisterzienserstift Rein, Mai 2003 (Bern, 2005), 337–51, esp. 341 and 349–50.

¹⁶ See also Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, ‘Written and Improvised Polyphony’, in Christian Meyer, ed., *Polyphonies de tradition orale: Histoire et traditions vivantes* (Paris, 1994), 171–82, with important caveats against overstressing the distinction between written and improvised polyphony: ‘However the differing skills of executants might cause the results to vary in practice, the technique of making music was identical in the two cases’ (172).

¹⁷ Elisabeth Th. Fritz-Hilscher and Helmut Kretschmer, eds., *Wien Musikgeschichte: Von der Prähistorie bis zur Gegenwart*, Geschichte der Stadt Wien, vii (Vienna, 2011), 93; Alois Niemetz, *800 Jahre Musikpflege in Heiligenkreuz* (Heiligenkreuz, 1977), 13–14.

sacularium, i.e. the alleged aesthetic permissiveness of cathedrals and urban chapters – we are faced with the intriguing methodological problem of dealing with aesthetical judgments and gradations of periods different from ours. How are we to discern the criteria for such processes? In this specific case, how are we to understand at what point and for what reasons practices of polyphonic liturgical singing more elaborate than others were deemed to be an intolerable ‘overdose’ of embellishment or – taking up Bernard’s bon mot – too much of ‘gold’, as it were?

The *Dietricus* Treatise and Salem Abbey

Traces of polyphonic practice in Cistercian chant books are not the only evidence of such interests within the order; there are also suggestive findings in the realm of musical theory. In her aforementioned article Sarah Fuller has convincingly established that the treatise known as Lafage Anonymous, which includes a discussion of descant and organum, formerly attributed to St Martial of Limoges, must have been written ‘at some Cistercian center’,¹⁸ supposedly ‘not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century’¹⁹ and with the preponderance of evidence for its place of origin ‘leaning toward France’.²⁰ However, if, as Fuller states, Lafage Anonymous ‘stands alone as a theoretical source for Cistercian ideas about two- and three-part polyphony’,²¹ this statement must be somewhat modified. It should be noted that – among the English Cistercians mentioned by Fuller herself for their activities in the field of theoretical writing on music – there is one particularly interesting candidate, Adam of Dore, with his *Elementa Musicae* of around 1200.²² Though the work is lost, it seems not unreasonable to speculate that this text may have dealt with polyphony, particularly if we remember that Dore is one of the abbeys censured by the 1217 statute for three- and four-part singing.

On the continent there are at least two more Cistercian sources that deal with *discantus*: first, the *Compendium de discantu musicali*, compiled in 1336 at Cercamp Abbey in today’s Département Pas-de-Calais by the monk Petrus called *Palma ociosa*,²³ tantamount to ‘lazy hand’ and, second, the slightly earlier

¹⁸ Fuller, ‘An Anonymous Treatise’, 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

²² *Ibid.*, 24–5 n. 73; cf. Leech-Wilkinson, ‘Written and Improvised Polyphony’, 173ff.

²³ Transmitted in a unique source, a manuscript miscellany of the famous Bibliotheca Amploniana, now Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek, CA 8° 94, part III (fols. 59v–68r).

Regulae super discantum transmitted in an early fourteenth-century manuscript, Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, codex St Peter perg. 29a.²⁴

Before reaching its actual location at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the codex, a small booklet of not more than thirty-nine parchment leaves, had been housed since 1780 in the library of the Benedictine abbey of St Peter in the Black Forest (hence its shelf mark) – a provenance which apparently led Arnold Geering to classify this source – rather uncritically – as a witness to Benedictine tradition.²⁵

The manuscript actually offers an interesting combination of theoretical and practical materials in one and the same volume, the second section of the manuscript consisting of a processional, followed by a couple of Mass Ordinary chants, and, eventually, by another theoretical element, the well-known didactical song *Ter terni sunt modi*. The processional clearly shows Cistercian features, some elements (especially the Corpus Christi set)²⁶ pointing to Salem Abbey north-east of Constance, and the late fifteenth-century binding can also be attributed to Salem.²⁷ At least at that period the whole volume was thus part of Salem's manuscript holdings. Yet on palaeographical and codicological grounds²⁸ assembling of the compound as late as the binding itself

The treatise was edited more than a century ago by Johannes Wolf, 'Ein Beitrag zur Diskantlehre des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 15 (1913–1914), 504–34. Cf. RISM B III 6 (2003), and Ferreira, 'Early Cistercian Polyphony', 287 n. 5, as well as Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Petrus frater dictus Palma ocosa', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xix (London, 2001), 523–4; Christian Thomas Leitmeir, 'Arguing with Spirituality Against Spirituality. A Cistercian Apologia for Mensural Music by Petrus dictus Palma ocosa (1336)', *Archa Verbi. Yearbook for the Study of Medieval Theology*, 4 (2007), 155–99. An electronic edition has been announced at www.uni-erfurt.de/amploniana/projekte/editionsprojekte/musiktaktat/, accessed 21 Aug. 2018.

²⁴ Felix Heinzer and Gerhard Stamm, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter im Schwarzwald. Zweiter Teil: Die Pergamenthandschriften*, Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, x, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1984), 72–3; RISM B IV 1 (1966), 86; RISM B XIV, 1 (1999), 201–2; Fabian Christian Lochner, 'Dietger (Theogerus) of Metz and his *Musica*', PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1995, 127–9.

²⁵ Arnold Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, 2. Folge 1 (Bern, 1952), 4 ('ben. Französ. oder englisch'), and 8 ('Benediktiner-Processionale').

²⁶ This material has been partially edited in Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves, eds. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 24, *Historiae Rhythmicae. Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters*, Vierte Folge (Leipzig, 1896), no. 6.

²⁷ For additional details see Heinzer and Stamm, *Die Handschriften*, 72.

²⁸ Content-related and codicological caesuras coincide, as the two opening treatises (including a musical example added to the *Regulae*), both written by Dietricus, end on the last page of the first gathering (fol. 8v), while the chant section, written by another hand, follows in Gathering 2 (fol. 9r).

cannot be excluded, hence at least technically ‘the theoretical section of the codex ... could have originated elsewhere’.²⁹ Still, a shared path for both parts from the early fourteenth century onward, hence an attribution of the whole volume to Salem, seems fairly plausible, especially with regard to the unusual oblong shape of the manuscript (19.5 × 11 cm) which the section containing the treatise neatly matches without showing any traces of trimming, evidence which seems to confirm that the author of the theoretical portion deliberately tried to adapt his work to the format of the processional.³⁰ Considerations about Salem’s strong connections to Paris in this period (see below) further reinforce this assumption.

The *Regulae super discantum* (Plate 1) are only known from this manuscript.³¹ The text is signed by a colophon composed as a Leonine verse, frequently used by medieval scribes (*Qui me scribebat*, etc.), in this case adapted to the name Dietricus: *Qui me scribebat Dietricus nomen habebat*. As is well-known, in the medieval tradition *scribere* can mean both writing in the material sense as well as authorship of a text (and in some cases it even stands for the commission of a manuscript). In this case, however, the shape of the colophon suggests that Dietricus should be considered as the scribe rather than the author of the text (as already stated by Martin Gerbert),³² an observation that complicates both the place of origin and the dating of the treatise. If there is no sound argument to exclude production of the text at Salem, the assumption of an older

²⁹ Lochner, ‘Dietger (Theogerus) of Metz’, 128. Writing of the glosses to the Theogerus treatise, written by the same hand as the *Regulae super discantum*, Lochner proposes an origin ‘in a Benedictine or Cistercian house’ (264), thus leaving the question open.

³⁰ As this shape is shared by a group of processionalists I will discuss later (p. 51), it seems to be a formal solution typical for this genre of book at Salem and the comparable – if slightly earlier – case of a diptych-like processional produced and still housed at St Gall (Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 360, early thirteenth century) might be one more indication of the venerable abbey’s traditional function as a role model in the field of manuscript culture on both sides of Lake Constance. On the comparable situation of a thirteenth-century Weingarten Gradual see Felix Heinzer, ‘Musik und Liturgie zwischen Reform und Repräsentation: ein Graduale-Sequentiar des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts aus der schwäbischen Äbtei Weingarten (A-Wkm 4981)’, in Birgit Lodes, ed., *Wiener Quellen der Älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht. Eine Ringvorlesung*, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte, i (Tutzing, 2007), 113–36, esp. 131–3.

³¹ Hans Müller, *Eine Abhandlung über Mensuralmusik in der Karlsruher Handschrift St. Peter pergamen. 29a*, Mitteilungen aus der Großherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek und Münzsammlung, vi (Karlsruhe, 1886), see 5–7 for the edition of the treatise. The treatise is also mentioned by Alberich Martin Andermatt, ‘Zisterzienserliturgie in Salem im Mittelalter’, in: Werner Rösener and Peter Rückert, eds., *Das Zisterzienserkloster Salem im Mittelalter und seine Blüte unter Abt Ulrich II. von Seelfingen*, Oberrheinische Studien, 31 (Ostfildern, 2014), 229–51, esp. 248, and nn. 89 and 91.

³² Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de Musica sacra potissimum* (St Blasien, 1748; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), ii, 196; see also Lochner, ‘Dietger (Theogerus) of Metz’, 128.

model from elsewhere that was simply copied by *Dietricus* seems equally possible. Max Haas, on the basis of content-based criteria, actually suggested an origin of the treatise in the 1270s, that is, about forty or fifty years earlier than the manuscript itself.³³ At any rate, for the Karlsruhe manuscript, the palaeographical evidence points clearly to (southern) Germany, while Müller's claim for an English or Norman context is entirely unlikely.³⁴

In the manuscript, the *Regulae* (fols. 7v–8r) appear in interesting company, preceded by a text from a much earlier period (around 1080), the *Musica* of Theoger of Metz, a work clearly rooted in the eleventh-century southern German tradition of music theory in which Berno and Hermann of Reichenau and Theoger's teacher, Wilhelm of Hirsau, were leading figures.³⁵ The turning of leaf seven thus makes manifest a bold jump from the traditional monastic background of Salem's own area into a significantly different context: the world of thirteenth-century Parisian practices. The mastermind behind such an interesting arrangement must have been an erudite personality, probably a cantor,³⁶ with significant musical competences as illustrated also by a set of interpolated glosses dealing with *De Musica* that Lochner considers, next to the glosses of Ms. Lat. qu. 106, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 'the single most important witness to the intellectual reception of Dietger's musical doctrine during the Middle Ages'.³⁷

The manuscript not only deals with polyphony theoretically, but also contains some pieces of polyphonic music in both parts of the volume. The polyphonic elements of the chant section – two Kyries in simple two-part settings, *Magne Deus potentie*³⁸ and *Pater cuncta*³⁹ (fols. 37v–38r) (Plate 4) – perfectly match the scenario proposed by Ferreira and Prassl.

³³ Max Haas, 'Die Musiklehre im 13. Jahrhundert von Johannes de Garlandia bis Franco', in Frieder Zaminer, ed., *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, v (Darmstadt, 1984), 89–159, esp. 101 and 150.

³⁴ 'Die Schriftzüge ... verraten englische Schreibereinflüsse und deuten darauf hin, dass der Schreiber am Kanal oder in der Normandie gearbeitet hat', Müller, *Eine Abhandlung*, 1.

³⁵ Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison* (Paris, 1971), 281–3; Lochner, 'Dietger (Theogerus) of Metz', 236–9. The concluding *Ter terni* has been equally attributed to Wilhelm at least in two manuscripts: see Michael Bernhard, 'Zur Rezeption der musiktheoretischen Werke des Hermannus Contractus', in Walter Pass and Alexander Rausch, eds., *Beiträge zur Musik, Musiktheorie und Liturgie der Abtei Reichenau* (Tutzing, 2001), 99–126, esp. 116–19.

³⁶ Theoger's text itself is 'a concise textbook for cantors', Lochner, 'Dietger (Theogerus) of Metz', i.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

³⁸ Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus*, 12 and 24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 24 (also attested to in the aforementioned Neuberg Gradual, see *ibid.*, 17).

As with other Cistercian houses elsewhere in Europe, the Salem monks obviously shared the aforementioned practices of simple two-part polyphony as a form of liturgical singing more or less tacitly tolerated even in monastic contexts. This assumption can be further supported by other manuscripts stemming from the Abbey: *Magne Deus potentie*, obviously rather popular in Salem, also appears in two thirteenth-century Graduals in Heidelberg (Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX 67 [fol. 142r] and XI 7 [fol. 140v])⁴⁰ – see Plates 5 and 6 – in both cases as additions in fourteenth-century hands. A comparable hint of such practices of simple polyphonic embellishment is provided by a fragment of a two-part version of the sequence *Uterus virginis* – popular and widely circulated in German-speaking areas during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – recycled for the binding of the fourteenth-century processional St Peter perg. 22b (again of Salem provenance).⁴¹ Moreover, there is comparable evidence for Cistercian houses in the neighbourhood of Salem, such as a fourteenth-century manuscript from the abbey of St Urban near Lucerne, mentioned in Ferreira's list, with a two-part Kyrie and a fragmentary two-part Sanctus,⁴² as well as two Graduals from the convent of Wonnenthal (north of Freiburg), now also housed in Karlsruhe (Wonnenthal 1, fol. 145r, and U. H. 1, fols. 257v–258v) with added two-part Ordinary chants (in the case of the former, another exemplar of *Magne Deus potentie*).⁴³

I have two additional remarks here. First, records of such notated simple polyphony, which rarely appear before the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and, in most cases, as part of additional layers within earlier chant books, might be only the tip of the iceberg indicating a broader, if unrecorded, practice. Second, the polyphonic pieces are almost exclusively for the Ordinary of the Mass, apparently deemed less 'taboo' with regard to additions and embellishments than the repertory of the mostly biblically based Proper chants,

⁴⁰ Ludwig Schuba, 'Leben und Denken der Salemer Mönchsgemeinde im Spiegel der liturgischen Handschriften', in Reinhard Schneider, ed., *Salem. 850 Jahre Reichsabtei und Schloss* (Konstanz, 1984), 343–65, esp. 346 and plate 77; RISM B IV 3, 346–7 (the assignment of a fifteenth-century date for the two-part addition is obviously too late); Andermatt, 'Zisterzienserliturgie in Salem', 247–8.

⁴¹ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St Peter perg. 22b, fol. 1ar (Heinzer and Stamm, *Die Handschriften*, 57; RISM B IV 3 [1972], 320); for the text see Clemens Blume, ed., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 54, *Thesauri Hymnologici Prosarum. Die Sequenzen des Thesaurus Hymnologicus H. A. Daniels und anderer Sequenzausgaben*, Nr. 248.

⁴² Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 25, 181r (Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus*, 9 and 24; transcription of the Kyrie, 86–7).

⁴³ Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus*, 17 and 24; see also Armin Schlechter and Gerhard Stamm, *Die Kleinen Provenienzen*, Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, xiii (Wiesbaden, 2000), 343 and 444. Tellingly enough, both manuscripts also contain sequences and tropes.

which remained untouched by polyphonic enrichment – as an aside, this is a remarkable witness to the long-lasting authority of Gregorian foundational myths on behalf of this repertory, going back to Carolingian times.⁴⁴

The two-part piece of the initial section of St Peter perg. 29a, *Alleluia Veni sancte spiritus* (fols. 8r–v, Plates 2 and 3),⁴⁵ ranks on a completely different level, not only because of its theoretical context and function – which is evidently didactic, the piece being meant to exemplify the rules expounded in the *Dietricus* treatise – but equally so in view of its significantly increased complexity. Instead of the ‘usual polyphony’ we are dealing here with an elaborate descant-organum, an emulation of Notre Dame practices, which Kenneth Levy has characterised as a typical example of a ‘widely found style ... whose specimens begin around the middle of the thirteenth century and run through the early fourteenth century and beyond’.⁴⁶ Interestingly enough, all of these pieces appear to have come from outside of Paris, from Northern France or England, Spain, and Germany – a profile of dissemination that has made descant-organum ‘a “peripheral” style in the eyes of music history’.⁴⁷

This spatial metaphor, with its assumption of a relationship – and distinction – between an advanced metropolitan ‘centre’ and a less developed ‘periphery’, has been repeatedly challenged as a general structural model and, equally, with regard to musicological issues.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, if stripped of its biases of rank and subordination, it is still a helpful concept, especially if focused on the study of possible ways in which ideas and texts (in a very large sense) circulated, as well as of the dynamics and modes of their emulation and (re)contextualisation at the place where they end their journey.

⁴⁴ See Constant J. Mews, ‘Gregory the Great, the Rule of Benedict and Roman Liturgy: the Evolution of a Legend’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 125–44.

⁴⁵ RISM, B IV 1 (1966), 86. Transcription by Müller, *Eine Abhandlung*, 19–20 (with the stunning characterisation of the piece as being ‘eines der schlimmsten Beispiele des primitiven Contrapunktes’!).

⁴⁶ Kenneth Levy, ‘A Dominican Organum Duplum’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 27 (1974), 183–211, 203 and esp. 204 n. 38. See also Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4* (Wiesbaden, 1967), ii, 52–3 n. 56.

⁴⁷ Levy, ‘A Dominican Organum Duplum’, 204.

⁴⁸ Wulf Arlt et al., report on the Symposium ‘“Peripherie” und “Zentrum” in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts’, in Hellmut Kühn and Peter Nitsche, eds., *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974* (Kassel, 1980), 15–170.

French Connections

The Lake Constance area, with its adjacent zones on both sides of the Rhine, was and still is naturally exposed to dynamics of cultural exchange and transfer, mostly – though with occasional changes in direction – between west and east, and vice versa. This is particularly obvious with regard to its old monastic tradition.⁴⁹ As early as the Carolingian period the important abbeys of Reichenau and St Gall were clearly marked by their relations to West Frankish centres such as Tours, Saint-Denis, and the like – as their manuscript collections still reveal – while in the late eleventh century Hirsau received substantial stimuli from the influential abbey of Cluny. With the arrival of the Cistercians, however, the first order in the most precise sense of the term, we see a categorical enhancement of such relations in the sense of actual *institutionalization*. The order's administrative centralization and its concern for 'corporate identity' not only with regard to spiritual life but equally to material aspects such as buildings and books led to an unprecedented presence of 'French' culture outside of France, as it were. The Upper Rhine and Lake Constance areas are particularly interesting ones in which to observe this process, especially with regard to new trends in the realm of book culture, which are of particular interest here. This holds true for manuscript illumination, as well as for the order's significant role in the rapid establishment of Gothic script (*textura*) not only in the area under examination here but in most parts of Europe⁵⁰ and, of course – to return to music – for Cistercian chant books as 'prime agents' of an impressive foray of French notation into Germany and lands east, stimulating a wide-reaching change from staffless neumes to the introduction of the staff in these areas.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See my survey 'Schreiblandschaften an Oberrhein und Bodensee. Entwicklungsdynamiken früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Buch- und Schriftkultur im deutschen Südwesten', in Sebastian Brather and Jürgen Dendorfer, eds., *Grenzen, Räume und Identitäten. Der Oberrhein und seine Nachbarregionen von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter*, Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend, 22 (Ostfildern, 2017), 303–22.

⁵⁰ 'Auch die Ausbreitung des streng zentralisierten Zisterzienserordens, der sich in Frankreich durch ein in Schrift und Dekor sehr einheitliches Buchwesen auszeichnet, hat den Übergang zur gotischen Schrift begünstigt' – as Bernhard Bischoff states in his *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Grundlagen der Germanistik, 24 (Berlin, 1986), 178. See also Antonio M. Adorasio, *Dinamiche librerie cisterciensi. Da Casamari alla Calabria*, Bibliotheca Casamariensis, 1 (Casamari, 1996), 79f., for the specific situation of the south of Italy.

⁵¹ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), 104–8, 610–11; specifically, for the situation of southwest Germany, see Felix Heinzer, 'Maulbronn und die Buchkultur Südwestdeutschlands im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in Peter Rückert and Dieter Planck, eds., *Anfänge der Zisterzienser in Südwestdeutschland. Politik, Kunst und Liturgie im Umfeld des Klosters Maulbronn*, Oberrheinische Studien, xvi (Stuttgart, 1999), 147–66, esp. 160–2.

The codices from Salem are a highly representative body of evidence for innovations due to the order's 'French connection' with book illumination as probably the most spectacular field. Actually, when examining the artistic features of manuscripts created c.1180 in the Upper Rhine and Lake Constance area, especially with regard to initials, we see that they are stylistically dominated by a technique based on pen drawing in the Romanesque traditions of Hirsau-oriented houses. In Salem though, shortly after 1200, we suddenly find a strikingly new style employing a broad range of opaque colours, sometimes even gold, and hitherto completely unusual ornamentation, typical of the so-called 'Channel Style' that spread from England and Paris into north-eastern areas of France. Again, Graduals IX 67 and XI 7 of the Heidelberg University Library must be mentioned here as remarkable examples of these dynamics.

Interestingly enough, the impact of such innovations was apparently not limited to the houses of the order. While discussing the remarkable cluster of Paris Bible manuscripts with Channel Style decoration in the library of Constance Cathedral, Ellen Beer proposed an intermediate role for nearby Salem for significant importation which was to have lasting effects on the further development of book illumination in the greater Lake Constance area.⁵² Again at Salem, around 1230 an even more representative work was produced in this style: a huge Bible in five volumes (Cod. Sal. X 19-22, the first now missing) all of them bound as *libri catenati*, hence to be kept as a fundamental reference work in a chained section of the abbey's library. The initials display the typical Channel Style features, and we also find more evidence for dependence on western models at the level of the biblical text that, soon after the completion of the huge project, was adapted to the new standard of biblical chapter division, introduced by Stephan Langton at the University of Paris probably in the 1210s.⁵³

⁵² Ellen J. Beer, 'Zur Buchmalerei der Zisterzienser im oberdeutschen Gebiet im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in Marina Flügge, ed., *Bau- und Bildkunst im Spiegel internationaler Forschung (Festschrift Edgar Lehmann)*, (Berlin, 1989), 72-87, esp. 75 and 81-2. Cf. Christine Sauer, *Die gotischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. Teil 1: Vom späten 12. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, 3, 1 (Stuttgart, 1996), 9-11; Christine Sauer, 'Ausstattung und Ausstattungsprogramm des Berthold-Sakramentars', in Felix Heinzer and Hanns Swarzenski, eds., *Das Berthold-Sakramentar. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Ms. M. 710 der Pierpont Morgan Library New York*, Codices selecti, c (Graz, 1999), Commentary, 67-165, esp. 152-4.

⁵³ Wilfried Werner, 'Schreiber und Miniaturen – ein Blick in das mittelalterliche Skriptorium des Klosters Salem', in Reinhard Schneider, ed., *Salem. 850 Jahre Reichsabtei und Schloss* (Konstanz, 1984), 295-342, esp. 333.

Additional particularly interesting evidence of such dependence on Paris can be seen in a group of five small late thirteenth-century processional books probably written at Salem to serve the convents committed to the abbey for pastoral care; these volumes, too, are preserved at Karlsruhe (St Peter perg. 35, 51, 52, 53, and 54).⁵⁴ The Corpus Christi processional chants seemingly typical of Salem and its ambit were added to all five of them in the early fourteenth century (shortly after 1318), the same set of chants we already encountered in St Peter perg. 29a.⁵⁵ The covers of the manuscripts, also oblong in shape, still show their original thirteenth-century decoration, and this is of particular interest in our context; not only because of the rarity of such bindings in general, but even more so for their conspicuous dependence on Parisian models. If this aesthetic impression led some scholars to the assumption of a Parisian origin for the bindings, such an assumption is hardly compatible with the palaeographical evidence of the volumes themselves. It seems thus safer to think of a transfer of models and probably even of tools – blind stamps – from Paris to the Lake Constance region.⁵⁶

But there is still more. Three of these bindings (St Peter perg. 51–53) contain fragments of older manuscripts recycled as reinforcing material, all of them clearly leading directly to Paris. The fragment contained in St Peter perg. 51, for instance, stems from a treatise on the rules of logic, up until 1983 known only from a codex in the Bodleian Library (Canon. Misc. 281) and entitled, by the editor of the modern edition, ‘Obligaciones Parisienses’.⁵⁷ At the end of the fifteenth century the Oxford manuscript was in Italian hands (which comes as no surprise for a manuscript previously owned by the Italian collector Matteo Luigi Canonici), but, as its palaeographical aspects clearly show, ‘no doubt, it originally came from Parisian circles’,⁵⁸ as is also true for the three aforementioned Karlsruhe binding fragments.

All these observations converge on one crucial point, the role of the Cistercians as the nexus connecting cultural and intellectual innovations from

⁵⁴ Heinzer and Stamm, ‘Die Handschriften’, 87 and 124–30. For the group of nunneries depending from Salem see Maria Magdalena Rückert, ‘Das Kloster Salem und die ihm unterstellten Frauenklöster’, in: Werner Rösener and Peter Rückert, eds., *Das Zisterzienserkloster Salem im Mittelalter und seine Blüte unter Abt Ulrich II. von Seelfingen*, *Oberrheinische Studien*, 31 (Ostfildern, 2014), 161–77.

⁵⁵ Felix Heinzer, ‘Textkritisches zu den sog. “Obligaciones Parisienses”’, *Vivarium*, 21 (1983), 127–36, esp. 127.

⁵⁶ See Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller, *Die abendländischen romanischen Blindstempelnbinden* (Stuttgart, 1985), 39–40 (group 12), and Heinzer, ‘Textkritisches’, 128.

⁵⁷ Lambert Marie de Rijk, ‘Some Thirteenth Century Tracts on the Game of Obligation. II’, *Vivarium*, 13, 1 (1975), 22–54.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

France, more specifically from Paris, to other parts of Europe such as, in this case, the German southwest. Within this transmission system there is an important institutional channel to mention, the College of Saint-Bernard, established by the abbot of Clairvaux in 1248 in Paris and eventually taken over and managed by the General Chapter itself with the intention of affording more remotely situated, or 'peripheral', monasteries the possibility of sending some of their monks to Paris – an opportunity transformed, in the fourteenth century, into a regular practice implemented on the basis of the number of personnel in the daughter houses. Though in later times for the houses of the German speaking area similar centres were founded at Metz and Heidelberg, during the period under scrutiny here the primacy of Saint-Bernard was uncontested.⁵⁹

Again, Salem is a paradigm of this situation.⁶⁰ There are records of several study visits made by members of the community to Paris; the earliest of these appears to be that made by the two brothers Ulrich and Adelbold of Seelfingen, around 1280.⁶¹ Hence it is very tempting to assume that the manuscripts used as pastedowns in the aforementioned processional bindings had been brought to Salem in the luggage of returning students such as the Seelfingen brothers. Moreover, it seems safe to assume that the opportunity to take part in such regular delegations to Paris was a privilege reserved for the elite students, hence candidates likely to be assigned leading functions in the monastery after their return. This was the case for Ulrich of Seelfingen who was elected abbot in 1282, i.e. soon, if not even immediately, after his return from Paris. In 1311 Ulrich was followed in this position by Konrad of Salmansweiler (also 'of Enslingen'), called back from his Paris stay shortly before his election: *nuper de studio Parisiensi vocatus*, as stated in the official record of his appointment. Konrad was to govern Salem for more than 30 years until, in 1337, he was appointed Bishop of Gurk in Carinthia.⁶² Salem Abbey was thus led by abbots

⁵⁹ Cf. Reinhard Schneider, 'Studium und Zisterzienser mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des südwestdeutschen Raumes', *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte*, 4 (1985), 103–17; and Caroline Obert, 'La promotion des études chez les Cisterciens à travers le recrutement des étudiants du collège Saint-Bernard de Paris au moyen âge', *Cîteaux*, 39 (1988), 65–78.

⁶⁰ Reinhard Schneider, 'Die Geschichte Salems', in Reinhard Schneider, ed., *Salem. 850 Jahre Reichsabtei und Schloss* (Konstanz, 1984), 11–153, esp. 78; See also Heinzer, 'Textkritisches', 128 and n. 9.

⁶¹ Cf. Werner Rösener, 'Ulrich II. von Seelfingen als Abt des Zisterzienserklosters Salem (1282–1311)', in: Werner Rösener and Peter Rückert, eds., *Das Zisterzienserkloster Salem im Mittelalter und seine Blüte unter Abt Ulrich II. von Seelfingen*, *Oberrheinische Studien*, 31 (Ostfildern, 2014), 39–61, esp. 42–44.

⁶² For criticism of Konrad – an apparently rather ambitious and extravagant figure – recorded by a fourteenth-century Salem in-house chronicler, see Klaus Schreiner, 'Zisterziensisches Mönchtum und soziale Umwelt. Wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Strukturwandel in hoch- und

intellectually trained and culturally shaped in Paris for no less than half a century! No wonder, then, that French culture (with particular emphasis on Paris and the Ile-de-France) was so distinctly present in Salem during this period.⁶³

It is nevertheless important to remember that, in the case of the simple two-part Kyrie settings in the second parts of the Dietricus booklet and the additional sections of the Salem Graduals, as well as similar evidence in other Cistercian houses of the area, there is probably no need to seek out such specific personal connections. The presence of polyphonic departures of this rudimental kind can be explained without bringing into play elaborate Parisian models, all the more so as these examples of Mass Ordinary elaborations are far from being exclusive to the Order – one has only to look at Geering's list, with its significant rate of sources from outside the Cistercian network.⁶⁴ It seems reasonable, thus, to understand the inclusion of such pieces in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century liturgical practice of Salem – as of other German speaking Cistercian houses and probably well beyond that area – as part of a ubiquitous tendency toward enrichment of the Mass Ordinary for solemn occasions, comparable to other procedures of embellishment such as the singing of tropes.

An entirely different matter is that of the actual – if scattered and mostly fragmentary – presence of more ambitious polyphony in Cistercian houses of the German southwest in general, including, of course, Salem itself. Here, the role of French models can hardly be counted out, but, again, circumspection and differentiation are important.⁶⁵

spätmittelalterlichen Zisterzienserkonventen', in Kaspar Elm and Peter Joerißen, eds., *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Ergänzungsband* (Cologne, 1982), 79–135, esp. 113.

⁶³ A short glance back into the twelfth century: A somewhat similar scenario of immediate bridge-building between the Upper Rhine area and Paris can be seen in the case of Herrad of Hohenburg (also 'of Landsberg') and her famous *Hortus deliciarum*, explaining not only the astonishing presence of a whole range of contemporary Parisian authors in Herrad's work but, equally, her remarkable knowledge and emulation of French-style songs, including even some two-part material. See Felix Heinzer, 'Wissen und Weisheit im Frauenkloster. Der Hortus Deliciarum Herrads von Hohenburg als Zeugnis hochmittelalterlicher Bildungsgeschichte', in Ursula Huggle and Heinz Krieg, eds., *Schule und Bildung am Oberrhein in Mittelalter und Neuzeit (Tagung Neuenburg 10.–11. Oktober 2014)*, (Freiburg, 2016), 11–23, esp. 14–16.

⁶⁴ Geering, *Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus*, 24.

⁶⁵ This final section owes substantial insights to lively discussion during a research seminar session in Nov. 2017 at the Musicological Institute of Würzburg University. I am grateful to Andreas Haug for offering me this generous opportunity and to the participants of the seminar for their critiques and helpful suggestions.

Flotsam or Appropriation?

I start with three interesting cases from outside of Salem. First, the fragments of Notre Dame conductus in Solothurn (Zentralbibliothek, Ms. S 231),⁶⁶ and Oxford (Bodleian Library, Auct. VI.Q.3.17),⁶⁷ stemming from two different sections of one and the same thirteenth-century codex. The dismembered manuscript, perhaps written at Morimond, as Everist suggests, was recycled in the late fifteenth century as material for bindings made in Maulbronn. The Solothurn fragments are now part of the binding of a codex containing works of Bernard of Clairvaux, datable to c.1480, that was later transferred to the Benedictine abbey of Beinwil not far from Solothurn,⁶⁸ whereas the Oxford remnants were used as flyleaves for the binding of a Strasbourg incunabulum from c.1470,⁶⁹ purchased by Johannes Riescher (not Riesther, as the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales [RISM] has it) of Ladenburg, abbot of Maulbronn from 1476 to 1488.⁷⁰

The second item of particular interest in this context is a parchment leaf from around 1300, discovered in 2012 by Cristina Alís Raurich (apparently part of a former scroll, as she suggests),⁷¹ containing parts of both the two-voice motet *Flos vernalis* and the solmization song *Fa fa mi fa*,⁷² used around 1450 as the back pastedown for the binding of the manuscript Lichtenthal 82 (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek), a volume of Middle High German texts written

⁶⁶ Jürg Stenzl, 'Eine unbekannte Notre-Dame-Quelle: Die Solothurner Fragmente', *Die Musikforschung*, 26 (1973), 311–21.

⁶⁷ Mark Everist, 'A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus', in Luther Dittmer, ed., *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, Musicological Studies, 49 (Henryville, [PA], 1984), i, 97–118; see also RISM B IV 1–2, Suppl. 1, 1993, 77–80, and www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/547/#/, accessed 21 Aug. 2018.

⁶⁸ Stenzl, 'Eine unbekannte Notre-Dame-Quelle', 311.

⁶⁹ Paulus de Sancta Maria, *Scrutinium scripturarum*, Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, 1470, see again <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/547/#/>. The history of the medieval library of Maulbronn is complicated; see Eberhard Gohl, 'Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte der Zisterzienserabtei Maulbronn im späteren Mittelalter', PhD dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1977, and my own work on the topic, Felix Heinzer, 'Herrenalb – Frauenalb – Lichtenthal. Spurensuche in einem bibliotheksgeschichtlichen Dreieck', in Peter Rückert and Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, eds., *850 Jahre Kloster Herrenalb: auf Spurensuche nach den Zisterziensern*, Oberrheinische Studien, xix (Stuttgart, 2001), 75–88.

⁷⁰ The date of the acquisition (1473) indicated by RISM B/IV 1 seems thus too early, probably due to a misreading. See Karl Klunzinger, *Urkundliche Geschichte der vormaligen Cistercienser Abtei Maulbronn* (Stuttgart, 1854), 121–2.

⁷¹ See her forthcoming 'What is *Flos vernalis*? The Robertsbridge Codex, its Connection to Lichtenthal Abbey, and Other New Identifications', which the author generously shared with me.

⁷² See also David Catalunya, 'Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor: New Light on the Las Huelgas "Solmization Song"', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9, 1 (2017), 89–133.

in the mid-fifteenth century (c.1445 to 1450) at Lichtenthal Abbey by Sister Regula, the community's leading scribe of the period.⁷³

In both cases, the fragments, as with regard to the contexts where they had survived, appear as 'intruders' not only for content-related reasons but also on behalf of both script and notation, having thus probably arrived at the places where they were housed and, later, dismembered, from afar: Maulbronn and Lichtenthal, abbeys with, interestingly enough, close institutional connections. As part of the late medieval reform activities – which, in the fifteenth century, also involved the Cistercians of the region under scrutiny here⁷⁴ – Lichtenthal's paternity was transferred in the 1440s from the Alsatian abbey of Neubourg onto the east side of the Rhine to the monks of Maulbronn, who acted as *confessarii* of the Lichtenthal nuns at least until the late 1480s.⁷⁵

These observations have two implications I would like to discuss at some greater length. First, recreating the itineraries of such materials is often a rather speculative issue. If French provenance of the 'codex discissus' represented by the Solothurn and Oxford fragments seems highly probable, Everist's support for the abbey of Morimond appears to be based on the role of this place as a hub of outstanding importance in the context of the Cistercians' eastbound expansion,⁷⁶ including the abbey of Lucelle near Basel, founded in 1124, Morimond's

⁷³ Felix Heinzer and Gerhard Stamm, *Die Handschriften von Lichtenthal*, Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, XI (Wiesbaden, 1987), 199–200. The manuscript is now available online: <http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/1334684>, accessed 21 Aug. 2018.

⁷⁴ See Klaus Schreiner, 'Spätmittelalterliches Zisterziensertum im deutschen Südwesten. Spiritualität, gesellschaftliche Rekrutierungsfelder, soziale Verhaltensmuster', in Peter Rückert and Dieter Planck, eds., *Anfänge der Zisterzienser in Südwestdeutschland. Politik, Kunst und Liturgie im Umfeld des Klosters Maulbronn*, Oberrheinische Studien, xvi (Stuttgart, 1999), 43–77, esp. 48–55.

⁷⁵ Heinzer, 'Herrenalb – Frauenalb – Lichtenthal', 78–9; on some Maulbronn traces among the former Lichtenthal manuscript holdings see also Heinzer, 'Maulbronn und die Buchkultur', 148–9 n. 7. This connection may equally explain the journey of an incunabulum (*Vocabularius Breuiloquus. Etc.*, Basel, 1478) purchased (and probably bound) at the behest of the aforementioned Maulbronn Abbot Riescher in 1479 and donated two years later to the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal in Baden-Baden (see www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/?inka=11001386, accessed 21 Aug. 2018).

⁷⁶ See Michel Parrisé, 'La formation de la branche de Morimond', in Nicole Bouter, ed., *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes. Filiations, réseaux, relectures du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle. Actes du quatrième Colloque international du C.E.R.C.O.R., Dijon, 23–25 septembre 1998* (Saint-Etienne, 2000), 87–101; and Jörg Oberste, *Die Zisterzienser* (Stuttgart, 2014), 52–3.

most influential outpost in the Upper Rhine area.⁷⁷ Maulbronn belonged to this filiation, as did Pairis (see below p. 57), and the same holds true for Lichtenthal and, evidently, Salem, as well as St Urban. Most cultural transfers of the kind with which we are dealing here can probably be characterised as ‘a movement of texts along Cistercian lines of filiation’, as Everist has put it happily⁷⁸ – still, to a certain extent this remains a generalisation.

The case of the Lichtenthal fragment, with its surprising presence of *Fa fa mi fa*, is quite instructive here. Composed in Rocamadour by a certain John of Liège and dedicated to the Benedictine convent of Notre-Dame de la Daurade in Cahors,⁷⁹ the song, until 2012, was only known from the famous Codex 11 of Las Huelgas, considered thus as a unique (if incomplete) source of the piece. We now have two new concordances: the Lichtenthal fragment and the pastedowns in Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1949, originating at the primary abbey of Clairvaux, and discovered by Dominique Gatté at almost the same time.⁸⁰ However even if, with Las Huelgas, Lichtenthal, and Clairvaux, we do actually have a clear picture of Cistercian dissemination indicating the popularity of the song among Cistercian communities, unfortunately such scattered evidence, with no clear connection to the mechanisms of the order’s filiation system, does not allow real sound conclusions about possible ways of transmission.

Second, a fundamental caveat must be issued on behalf of too-easy links between recycled material of this kind and speculation about the status of the parent manuscript before its dismemberment. In the case of Lichtenthal 82, the assumption that the sheer presence of the fragmentary leaf in question ‘supports the hypothesis, that the polyphonic manuscript from which the pastedown was taken had formerly been used as a musical source at the same abbey’⁸¹ must be viewed with a good deal of scepticism. If this new exemplar of *Fa fa mi fa* is an exciting discovery, the presentation of such a fragment as ‘evidence of polyphonic activities at Lichtenthal Abbey’⁸² appears, however, speculative – as if,

⁷⁷ Parisse, ‘La formation’, 90; André Chèvre, *Lucelle. Histoire d’une ancienne abbaye cistercienne*, Bibliothèque Jurassienne, 8 (Delémont, 1973); André Chèvre, ‘Les cisterciens de Lucelle’, in Cécile Sommer-Ramer and Patrick Braun, eds., *Helvetia Sacra III, Die Orden mit Benediktiner Regel, 3, Die Zisterzienser und Zisterzienserinnen, die reformierten Bernhardinerinnen, die Trappisten und Trappistinnen und die Wilhelmiten in der Schweiz*, 1 (Bern, 1982), 290–311.

⁷⁸ Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York, 1989), 222.

⁷⁹ This information comes from the final part of the second voice, transmitted uniquely in the Lichtenthal fragment; see Raurich, ‘What is *Flos vernalis*?’, and Catalunya, ‘Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor’, 103–6 and 122 (transcription of the critical section).

⁸⁰ Catalunya, ‘Nuns, Polyphony, and a Liégeois Cantor’, 89 and n. 4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁸² *Ibid.* (emphasis mine).

on grounds of the binding fragments of the thirteenth-century group of processions one would claim a 'Paris style' culture of the debating of formal logic among the Salem monks.⁸³ At any rate, one observation seems undeniable: If the dismemberment of manuscripts generally indicates a devaluation of the traditions and practices they contain, in this case of a possible (if temporary) interest in more ambitious practices of polyphonic singing, with regard to both Lichtenthal and Maulbronn the process of recycling seems to coincide with an increasing influence of late medieval religious reform dynamics in both houses. Apparently, the window opening – at least selectively – for this kind of new musical departures in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was closing again in the context of fifteenth century efforts to reestablish pristine austerity.

A third case of similar discoveries – two fourteenth century fragments in the late-medieval binding of a twelfth-century psalter from the Cistercian abbey of Pairis near Kaysersberg (now Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 352 [cat. 270])⁸⁴ – seems to confirm such tendencies, as the Alsatian priory had been subordinated to Maulbronn in 1452 in order to be reformed.⁸⁵ Still, there is a significant difference: while the two leaves, discovered in 1928 by Jacques Handschin,⁸⁶ contain fragments of four motets in an extremely elegant square notation, their text hand, however, points to an Upper Rhenish scriptorium.⁸⁷ This palaeographical evidence changes things significantly; if once again we may recall the paradigm of centre and periphery it seems that, compared to the two aforementioned cases, the Colmar fragments, rather than being random and isolated results of the cultural drift leading from west to east, represent instead a remarkable case of early reception of French motets in the German southwest,

⁸³ A similar caution should obviously be expressed regarding the motet fragments in the Maulbronn incunabulum.

⁸⁴ Victor Leroquais, *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 1 (Macon, 1940–1941), 168; Christian Meyer, *Collections d'Alsace, de Franche Comté et de Lorraine, Colmar: Bibliothèque Municipale*, Catalogue des Manuscrits notes du Moyen-Age conservés dans les Bibliothèques publiques de France, 1 (Turnhout, 2006), 41–2. See also www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/81/#/, accessed 21 Aug. 2018.

⁸⁵ See Andreas Traub, 'Zur Überlieferung des Messgesangs im Kloster Schöntal', *Württembergisch Franken*, 77 (1993), 249–68, esp. 250.

⁸⁶ Jacques Handschin, 'Angelomontana polyphonica', *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1928), 64–96, esp. 84–7.

⁸⁷ On this suggestion, proposed by Martin Steinmann, see Wulf Arlt, 'Repertoirefragen "peripherer" Mehrstimmigkeit: das Beispiel des Codex Engelberg 314', in Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, Franco Alberto Gallo, eds., *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia. Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale* (Bologna, 1987), i: Round Tables (Turin, 1990), 97–125, esp. 109.

hence a case of deliberate assimilation – followed by later rejection – of new cultural influences.⁸⁸

At Salem – to return to the hinterland of the Lake Constance region for the last time – this divide between the importation of manuscripts books or fragments and an active assimilation of the cultural dynamics they represented is particularly conspicuous, as it can be observed within the holdings of the same institution. If we look at the remains of Paris manuscripts used for the bindings of the repeatedly mentioned group of processions, on one hand, and the first section of St Peter perg. 29a, on the other, the difference is obvious. Unlike the former, the *Regulae super discantum* and the accompanying Alleluia organum of the manuscript's first section are not merely occasional flotsam but, in fact, represent an on-site compound of text and music, not only written by a southern-German trained hand, most likely at Salem itself,⁸⁹ but were also preserved as part of an extant manuscript. And there is even more to distinguish this project as an act of elaborate appropriation: Whoever planned and initiated this section of the manuscript (Ulrich of Seelfingen? Someone in his household?) deliberately embedded this flirt with contemporary Parisian explorations in a familiar and well-established monastic tradition of the German Southwest embodied here by Theoger's *Musica*: a remarkable if subtle attempt to use the old to authorize the new, a strategy that was to prove equally beneficial to the survival of the latter.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 100, 108–9 n. 16.

⁸⁹ Regrettably, attempts to associate the hand of *Dietricus* with the abbey's scriptorium did not yield a satisfying result; the Salem monk Dietricus de Mülhain, monk of Salem who, in 1294, copied the *Postilla super Psalterium* of the Dominican Nicolas of Gorran (†1295), strongly associated with Paris (now Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Sal. VII, 120), is at first sight a tempting candidate, all the more so as he writes at the behest of the aforementioned Abbot Ulrich of Seelfingen. However, despite an overall impression of similarity with 'our' Dietricus (even including the metrical form of the colophon on fol. 303r: 'Frater postillas Dietricus scripserat illas/De Mülhain dictus dic lector sit benedictus', <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/salVII120/0609/image>, accessed 21 Aug. 2018), attribution of the descant treatise to his hand seems difficult to maintain based on close palaeographic examination.

Plates

Regle sup discentu. & ad discentu ipas notas discentu.

Ad discentu arte dis
 cantandi. notand est qd ois
 discentu vno sex modoy he fi.
 Prim' mod' estur ex pma longa
 scilicet breui. & sic deinceps. ■■■■.
 Sicut ex isto ex pma breui et
 alia longa. scilicet breui. sicut longa.
 & sic ulterius h' m. ■■■■. Tertiu'
 ex vna longa & sequenti duabus
 breuibz hoc modo. ■■■■.
 Quart' mod' post esse casu. ex
 duabz breuibz & sequenti longa. h' no
 e' vltiu. Quart' ex oibz longis hoc
 m. ■■■■. Sext' ex oibz breuibz
 sic. ■■■■. Isti in modis frequer
 adiuice miscent. fir em' muta
 toide pmo in terti. vlt' in quintu.
 & sic de aliis. Vltiu' scilicet e'
 qd notay alia simplex e'. alia o
 posita. Simplex e' q' estur ex v
 nico puncto. Opota q' ex pluribz.
 Punctoy aliud e' candidu. Aliu'
 sine candida. It' aliud cu' plica d'
 sine plica. Punctu sine candida &
 plica sic scribitur. ■. punctu cum
 candida sic. ■. punctum cu' plica
 ascendente sic. ■. vel sic. ■. cu'
 plica de descendente sic. ■. vel
 sic. ■. De oibz his punctu si
 pluribz tales dantur regle. Punct'
 sine nota simplex sine candida et
 plica breuis est. ■. candida do
 longa. ■. Et si due candida i'
 mediate se iuce sequant. ■■■■.
 pma eny valebit longa & breue.
 scilicet longa simplicat'. Idem ena
 est iudicium de plica longa & candida.
 ■. Punctu do si obliq' scribitur

sic. ■■■■. erit semibreuis.
 ex duo talia cu' rana celeritate
 p'feruntur. sicut vnu breue i'ce
 scriptu. It' no' qd plica scripta sic
 ■. vel sic longa est. ■. longa e'.
 sic vno. ■. vel sic ■. breuis e'.
 Punctoy opotay qda habet
 duo puncta adiuice ligata. qda
 pluria h'ay qda dicit' scribi cu'
 p'prietate sic. ■. ■. Quoda' su
 p'prietate ut hoc. ■. quoda' cu'
 opposito p'prietate ut hoc. ■. ■.
 Regla e' est qd duay adiu
 ce ligataz cu' p'prietate scripaz
 ■. pma breuis est. Alia longa
 Due vo sine p'prietate sicut lignee
 ambe sue breues. & valent vna
 longa. ■. ■. Due vo cu' oppo
 sito p'prietate scribe ■. ■. sue sca
 breues. v. ambe sicut valent
 vna breue. h' in excepto qd
 si duo puncta adiuice ligata sic
 formetur. ■. ■. pma
 eny valebit dual longa. sed in vo
 vna longa. Eodem m' si nota
 simplex sic scribitur. ■. ■.
 valebit dual longa. It' nota
 qd due adiuice ligate eny sic
 scribuntur. ■. ■. & tunc puncta
 ipsa ambo sunt breuia. De rebz
 adiuicem ligatis sciend' e' qd
 possunt scribi cu' p'prietate sic.
 ■. ■. & in oibz
 his pma longa e'. Pa breuis. scilicet
 longa. nisi forte nota candida p'
 cedat tunc ligatis h' modo. ■. ■. ■.
 & tunc de rebz ligatis
 p'prietate due sue breues. scilicet longa

Plate 1 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St Peter perg. 29a, fol. 7v



Plate 3 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St Peter perg. 29a, fol. 8v

dia. **D**e summa deus trinitas collaudet omnis spiritus quos
 p̄ crucis mysterium saluas regē per secula. Amen.

Dedicatō altaris offitii
 C. xxv. 3
 Dicit dominus
 C. vii
 Cantabit sc̄i
 Illa vox cel̄
 C. xxv.
 Stetit angelo
 O. Aller. xxx.
 C. xxv.
 Qui fidet

Antiphona
 Vox ex cel̄
 Stetit angelo
 O. Aller. xxx.
 C. xxv.
 Qui fidet

Qui ex cel̄
 Stetit angelo
 O. Aller. xxx.
 C. xxv.
 Qui fidet

ris in taber-
 nis
 in
 taber-
 nis

Hic
 Icyson

Xpc
 Icyson

Gloria f. clm

Plate 6 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Salem Cod. Sal. XI 7, fol. 140v