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The Jeu d'Adam: MS Tours 927 and the Provenance of the Play

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MS Tours 927 and the Provenance of the Play

Edited by Christophe Chaguinian

EARLY DRAMA, ART, AND MUSIC

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Introduction

The *Jeu d'Adam*: Tours 927
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THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS is closely related to my critical edition and translation into modern French of the *Jeu d'Adam* (Paradigme, 2014). As I began working on the *Jeu d'Adam*, I was astounded to realize that the extensive bibliography for the play concerns almost exclusively its literary aspects, with very few works on the milieu that produced it. After further study, I realized why: this classic of western theater has been transmitted in a single codex (Tours 927) whose history is sketchy, to say the least. When we first become aware of its existence, some time in the fifteenth century, the manuscript has left the clerical milieu from which it originated and landed in the library of a noble Provençal family, the Agout. Simply stated, we do not know whether it originated in a secular or a monastic establishment. The difficulty in finding the ultimate origin of the codex is compounded by the fact that it was copied in the south of France—somewhere in the *langue d'oc* territories—while its exemplar clearly came from the northern *langue d'oïl* domain: all the vernacular texts are in Old French with one exception, a later addition of an Occitan stanza on an empty space. Under these circumstances, I came to realize that only the codex's contents could shed some light on the milieu that produced the manuscript's model. Since the codex is made up of two fascicles that were originally independent (fols. 1r–46r; fols. 47r–229r), only the contents of the first 46 folios warranted analysis. These folios transmit four texts or groups of texts:

1. A Latin Easter composition, sometimes called *Ludus Paschalis*.
2. Thirty-six Latin compositions, thirty-one of which are refrain compositions, similar to vernacular *rondeaux*.
3. The *Jeu d'Adam*.
4. *Les 15 Signes du jugement dernier*.

Inasmuch as the *15 Signes* is a widely disseminated work without any discernible ties, it appeared that it would be of little help in pinpointing the

origin of the codex. On the other hand, thanks to advances made in the fields of musicology, the history of education, and the history of theater, the first two items could prove highly informative. It also appeared that the analysis of the Latin texts included in the *Jeu d'Adam*, namely the *responsoria*, could be equally useful for establishing the milieu that produced the text and even locate some establishments where it may have been written. Finally the linguistic origin of the text itself warranted closer scrutiny. The insular origin of the *Jeu d'Adam* has become a truism among scholars who did not take into account the possibility that its Anglo-Norman traits may be a result of its circulation in England. For example, I have argued in the article "Traces de la représentation dans le *Jeu d'Adam*" that some metrical irregularities, usually interpreted as characteristic of Anglo-Norman versification, are actually the result of changes made by actors. As I began researching these four components, I contacted various experts whenever I had questions about them. These exchanges taught me how to approach these texts and issues in a productive way in order to understand what each of them could or could not teach us—to separate the wheat from the chaff, if I may say. In 2013 I organized in Kalamazoo a session devoted to the manuscript of the *Jeu d'Adam* to which I invited the experts whose input had helped me in my editorial work. The contributors to this volume are these same specialists, and each presents those aspects of the codex that are helpful in establishing the origin of the *Jeu d'Adam*.

Christophe Chaguinian— The *Jeu d'Adam*: Monastic or Secular?

The *Jeu d'Adam* clearly comes from an ecclesiastical milieu: it requires the use of liturgical books and the presence of a choir for the performance of chants. Unfortunately, nothing in the manuscript indicates—at first glance, at least—whether it belonged to a monastic or a secular establishment. Fortunately, the aforementioned advances in musicology, the history of education and the history of theater allow us to use the codex's contents to address the question of origin with some profit. In this contribution, I argue that the *Jeu* belonged to the repertoire of an important secular—as opposed to monastic—church, based on (1) the presence in the codex of Latin *rondeaux* which belonged to the repertory of large *secular* churches—a topic developed in Mary Channen Caldwell's contribution—and (2) the presence of the *Ludus Paschalis* and the *Jeu d'Adam* itself. An important characteristic—until now not taken into account—

shared by these compositions, that plays in favor of large secular churches is the size of their casts. In the twelfth century, far from being the rule, large monasteries were the exception and few abbeys could contribute several dozen of their members to big performances; on the other hand, such was the case for cathedral or collegiate churches whose membership was usually sizable. For a long time, critics have regarded such large compositions as school productions. The dating of both the *Ludus Paschalis* and the *Jeu d'Adam* to the twelfth century argues strongly yet again in favor of a secular church; by that time monastic schools were a thing of the past, and education was provided by secular clergy, very often canons of a cathedral's chapter. Students themselves were cultivated as future members of the chapter, and performing in large plays like the *Jeu d'Adam* gave them the opportunity to hone professional skills such as singing, memorizing texts, performing actions in a decorous fashion, etc.

In the second part of the contribution, I consider the use of the *Jeu d'Adam* during the liturgical year. While critics have usually favored Septuagesima as the time for the performance of the play, the Christmas season is a strong possibility as it contained the largest concentration of both dramatized rituals and large plays such as the famous *Danielis Ludus* from Beauvais. The first didascalia of the play also warrants studying the possibility that, like later *mystères*, the *Jeu d'Adam* may have been detached from the liturgical calendar and played whenever it was convenient. Indeed the stage instruction indicates that paradise must be decorated with fragrant flowers and fruits, props impossible to obtain in northern France during Septuagesima or the Christmas season.

Catherine Bougy—
The *Jeu d'Adam*, an Anglo-Norman Text?

There is a strong consensus about the linguistic origin of the *Jeu d'Adam* among its editors (Grass, Studer, Aebischer, Noomen, Barillari, Dominguez). According to them, it is an Anglo-Norman composition. While such agreement appears impressive, in reality it is superficial. It is not the result of independent analyses of the text since all the above-mentioned authors merely repeat the conclusions of the almost one-hundred-year-old analysis by Paul Studer (1918), itself based on the even older study by Karl Grass. In reality Grass's conclusions are by no means definitive. First, our knowledge of medieval dialects has improved since 1891, the year of Grass's first edition. Second, Grass—and Studer—did not take

into account the fact that the *Jeu d'Adam* was most certainly performed and therefore many metrical irregularities resulted from the play's performance. The *raison d'être* of many irregularities is thus not Anglo-Norman versification, influenced by a strong Germanic accent (an argument frequently offered in favor of an Anglo-Norman origin), but the actors' desire to improve their lines through the addition or deletion of short lexical items. Catherine Bougy's analysis of the language, the first study in almost one hundred years, is thus a welcome addition to the scholarship of the *Jeu d'Adam*. It is clear that the text circulated in England (hence the multiple Anglo-Norman spellings), but Bougy makes a strong argument with compelling evidence for a continental origin of the text. It is likely that the author was a native of one of the western regions of France (Normandy, the Romance-speaking part of Brittany, Maine, Anjou, or, going south, the Poitou or Saintonge).

While the establishment of the linguistic origin of the *Jeu d'Adam* is interesting in its own right, it is also the prerequisite for a study of the *responsoria* in order to determine the churches where the *Jeu d'Adam* may have been written. Based on Catherine Bougy's conclusions, only continental churches warrant analysis and insular establishments can be omitted.

Océane Boudeau— The *Responsoria* of the *Ordo Representacionis Ade*

Scholars have known at least since 1878 that the seven Latin texts whose incipits are included in the play are *responsoria* used during matins of Septuagesima Sunday. Yet, until very recently, scholars have not tried to use them to determine the provenance of the *Jeu d'Adam*. This is unfortunate since these liturgical texts offer clues for identifying establishments where the play may have been written. The reason behind their usefulness is the existence of many local variations in medieval liturgy. As a consequence, the sequence of seven *responsoria* in the play is less common than one might imagine, and it is possible to match these texts with specific French churches. In 2002, the musicologist Charles Downey explored some possible candidates in his article "*Ad Imaginem Suam*: Regional Chant Variants and the Origins of the *Jeu d'Adam*." To analyse the *responsoria*, he used the database *Cantus*, which, at the time, indexed 69 liturgical manuscripts. While his conclusions were dubious—he thought that the *Jeu d'Adam* originated from the monastery of Saint-Martial de Limoges, situated in the *langue d'oc* territories where the *Jeu d'Adam*—written in

French—would not have been understood—Downey showed the *responsoria*'s potential for localizing the play.

While *Cantus* is a very useful tool, it is rather lacking in French sources (the database, expanding yearly, is still a work in progress). For this reason, the study of the *responsoria* of the *Jeu d'Adam* requires direct study of French liturgical sources with particular attention paid to codices originating from secular churches. Océane Boudeau undertook this task and proceeded to analyze 94 manuscripts; as a result, she discovered several secular establishments located in the western regions of France (Coutances, Rouen, etc.), where these *responsoria* were used. While these results are not exhaustive—many manuscripts were lost while others remain to be analyzed—they are precious since the *Jeu d'Adam* could have originated at any of these churches. Scholars can now study the festive practices of the chapters at these churches and, with a bit of luck, may be able to find references to an *Ordo Ade*.

Besides discussing the churches where the *responsoria* were used, Boudeau offers a clear presentation of the use of these texts in the liturgy of matins that will prove useful to non-specialists.

Mary Channen Caldwell—
Pax Gallie: The Songs of Tours 927

The second group of texts in Tours 927 is an unusual collection of sacred Latin songs comprising thirty-one Latin refrain songs, an antiphon, two polyphonic sequences, and a moralizing conductus by Philip the Chancellor. In this essay, Mary Channen Caldwell examines the lyrics, music, and manuscript contexts of this corpus with the goal of arriving at a more nuanced understanding of the codex's origin. In addition to a detailed study of the refrain songs as a genre, she locates clues to their broader historical, geographical, and cultural context through an analysis of concordances and internal poetic cues. For instance, the sixteen songs with concordances in other sources, most notably in Pluteus 29.1 of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in Florence—the famous F for musicologists—connect Tours 927 with Northern French dioceses and suggest clerical authorship for the audience of a large secular church. The study of songs that include topical references point in the same direction. Two songs, for example, signal a French origin through their references to "Gallia" while their concordances in manuscripts from England, Germany, and Switzerland replace "Gallia" by the names of other locales. Hinting further

towards a secular—as opposed to monastic—milieu, the song *Nicholaus inclitus* celebrates a favored saint among clergy, the bishop-saint Nicholas. One further refrain song, *O Sedes Apostolica*, may even point to a specific church, the cathedral of Nantes, located in the Romance-speaking area of Brittany and belonging to the western Langue d'Oïl linguistic zone, the geolinguistic zone of the author of the *Jeu d'Adam*, as the possible source of Tours 927 model. Caldwell's results thus support Chaguinian's and Bougy's conclusions, favoring a large secular church located in continental France as the origin of the *Jeu d'Adam*. This essay concludes with an edition of the text and music of all thirty-one songs.

Michael Norton—The *Ludus Paschalis* of Tours

The Tours *Ludus Paschalis* has been seen by many as a mediocre play due to its disordered sequence of events and repetitions. In this essay, Michael Norton argues that the play's structure is not the result of a careless author, but that it possesses a *raison d'être*. In his view, the critics' negative judgment of the composition is the consequence of a generic misinterpretation. Rather than interpreting the Tours *ludus* as a play, a classification for which its construction makes no dramatic sense, Norton argues for its interpretation as a sophisticated exegetical composition and a type of Gospel harmony. He builds his case through a detailed analysis of its structure and music. Concerning its institutional affiliation, Norton concurs with the other contributors of the volume. The Gospel treatment reveals an author trained in scholastic scholarship that was flourishing in twelfth century cathedral schools. While no cue in the composition favors a continental over an insular origin, the author's use of Norman/Angevin liturgical sources makes a western French origin quite possible. Norton concludes the essay with a new notated critical edition of the composition.

This collection of essays seeks to prompt further studies into the milieu that produced the *Jeu d'Adam*. The essays by Chaguinian, Bougy, and Boudeau invite work on archives of large secular churches located in the western regions of France, which may result in interesting discoveries. Caldwell's and Norton's contributions on Latin refrain songs and the *Ludus Paschalis* equally shed light on various festive practices of medieval clergy. Thus, this volume should be of interest to scholars of medieval theater, liturgy, and music.

Christophe Chaguinian

The *Jeu d'Adam*:
A Monastic or a Secular Play?

Christophe Chaguinian

Abstract

The *Jeu d'Adam* is clearly the product of an ecclesiastical milieu. Unfortunately, nothing in the manuscript indicates—at least at first glance—whether it belonged to a monastic or a secular establishment. Fortunately, advances in musicology, the history of education, and the history of theater allow us to analyze the content of the codex and to address the question of origin with some profit. In this chapter, I argue that the Jeu belonged to the repertoire of an important secular—as opposed to monastic—church. I also consider the possible use of the *Jeu d'Adam* in the liturgical calendar, namely during Septuagesima and Advent, or like the later *mystères*, detached from it.

Introduction

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY *JEU D'ADAM* is clearly linked to an ecclesiastical establishment. The stage instructions state that a choir sang the seven *responsoria* that interrupt the dialogue, while the reading of the two liturgical texts used during the performance—the first chapters of Genesis at the beginning of the play and an excerpt of Quodvultdeus's sermon *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos de symbolo* as an introduction to the procession of the prophets—necessitated the use of liturgical books. Since both monks and secular clergy produced religious dramas during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the author of the *Jeu d'Adam* clearly belonged to one of these two groups. It would thus be interesting to know whether the work hailed from the monastic or the secular milieu in order to better understand its function and its public. Surprisingly, the numerous works devoted to the *Jeu d'Adam* rarely address this issue—even the editions of the text—and when they do, it is only in passing and with contradictory answers. For example, Lynette Muir, one of the best specialists
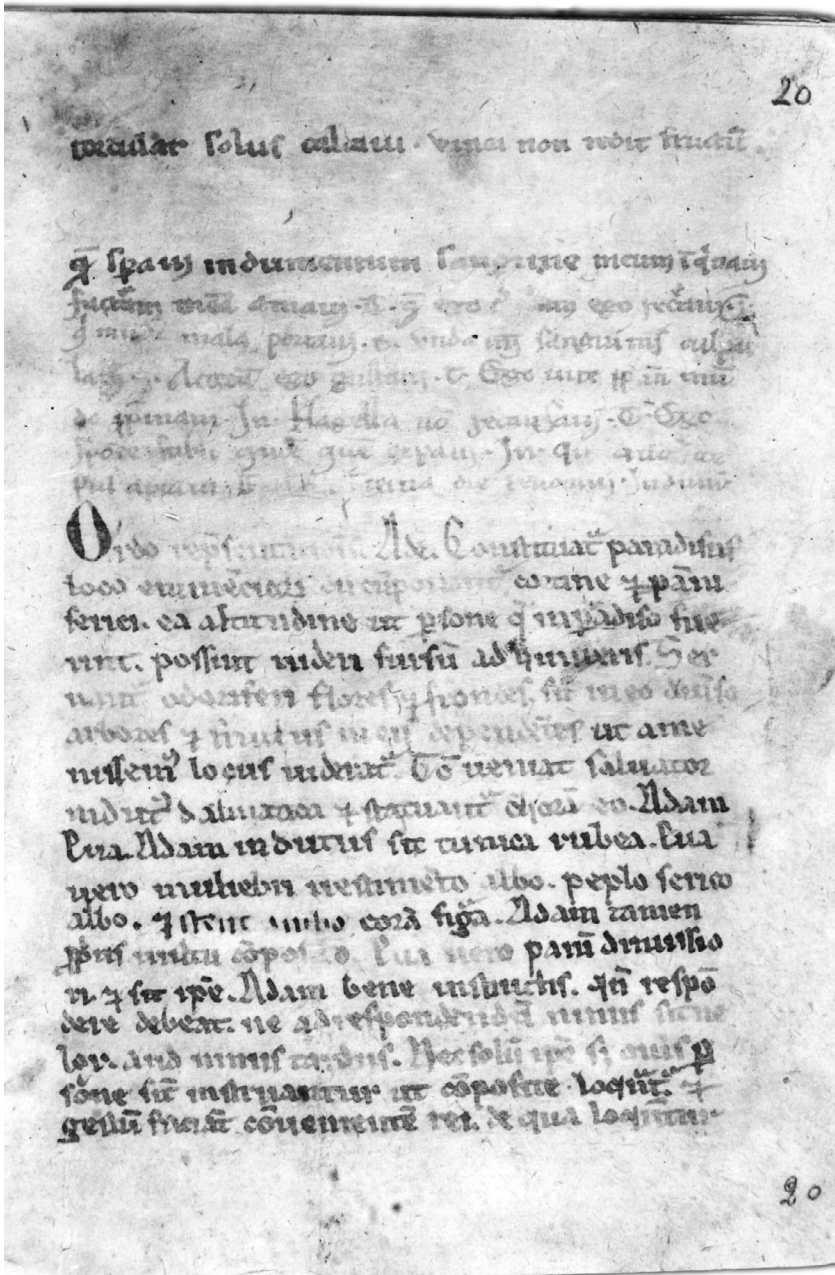
Figure 1.1. Incipit of the *Jeu d'Adam*. Folio 20r.
© Bibliothèque municipale de Tours

of medieval theater at large and specifically of the *Jeu d'Adam* states: "We cannot tell if the author was a monk or a secular canon; either is possible, especially if, as is quite likely, he lived and wrote in England where a number of the cathedral chapters was made up of religious."[1] Richard Axton, on the other hand, leans toward the secular clergy: "There is no reason to doubt that performance was ecclesiastically organized, though the play's auspices are not known. Possibly it was put on at a cathedral school in northern France or southern England."[2]

However, in her recent edition of the *Jeu d'Adam*, Véronique Dominguez defends a monastic origin. According to her, a performance "dans le cadre d'une messe exceptionnelle donnée dans l'église cathédrale" (within an extraordinary mass sung in a cathedral church) is unlikely since "la liturgie rare et complexe observée par ce texte était probablement mieux destinée au monastère qu'à la cité" (the unusual and complex liturgy followed in this text was more likely intended for the monastery than the city.)[3] Both the scholars' relative lack of interest in the origin of the composition and their contradictory answers are easy to understand. The manuscript has no colophon and its history before the fifteenth century is unknown. While it belonged to the Marmoutier monastery until 1791—when it was moved to the municipal library of Tours—it was not copied in its scriptorium. It entered its collections only in 1716, as the result of a purchase of books in Toulouse. This return to the ecclesiastical milieu seems to have put an end to a long stay in the laity, for the purchased books came from the library of the Agout, a noble Provençal family, whose rich library is documented as early as the fifteenth century.[4] It is thus possible, albeit not certain, that the manuscript was already in their possession at that time. With the Agout, we reach a *terminus ante quem* beyond which nothing is certain. We can only deduce that the manuscript was copied in the thirteenth century in a clerical scriptorium in the south of France.[5] The first clue for this origin is its material, a paper "sans discussion possible [...] d'origine hispano-arabe" (undoubtedly [...] of Hispano-Arabic provenance.)[6] Indeed, thirteenth-century France was not yet producing paper while Spain, close to Occitan territories, had been an important manufacturing center since the eleventh century. Second, while the manuscript only transmits texts in Old French and Latin, four strophes of an Occitan *épître farcie* of St. Stephen have been copied on a free space of the last folio. Finally, critics have noticed several Occitan spellings in various texts of the manuscript, a fact that can be easily explained by the southern origin of the scribes.

The paucity of external evidence about the history of the manuscript thus explains the variable conclusions concerning its origin. Fortunately for us, the situation is less hopeless than it may seem. Thanks to advances made in the fields of musicology, the history of education, and the history of theater, the analysis of the codex's contents allows us to gain a better understanding of its origin. Several clues point to secular clergy and lead us to believe that the *Jeu d'Adam* belonged to the repertoire of an important secular church.

Tours 927

Since paper was a rarity in thirteenth-century France, scholars have usually thought that the codex, as we know it, had been created in the Middle Ages. However, in her recent analysis of the manuscript, G. Hasenohr suggests that Tours 927 is a factitious unit that was assembled at the Marmoutier monastery after the 1716 purchase. Paleographical analysis shows that the manuscript is actually made up of two sections that were originally independent. The first unit, fols. 1r–46v, dates from circa 1250[7] while fols. 47r–229r are older and appear to have been copied around 1225. Given the fact that the trimming of the top of fols. 1r–46r resulted in textual losses, she concludes: "réserver des marges pour les rogner ensuite sauvagement, jusqu'à mutiler et rendre inutilisables des textes et des mélodies de composition récente, nouvellement entrés dans le répertoire et utiles au cérémonial liturgique, serait inconcevable au Moyen Âge [...] Il en résulte que le *Jeu d'Adam* n'a aucune attache, de quelque ordre que ce soit, avec les poèmes hagiographiques vernaculaires actuellement reliés à sa suite." (To set aside margins and then crop them carelessly, thus mutilating and rendering unusable newly composed texts and melodies, recently integrated into the repertory and useful for liturgical performance, would be inconceivable in the Middle Ages [...] We can thus conclude that that the *Jeu d'Adam* has no connection whatsoever with the vernacular hagiographic poems that follow it in its current binding.)[8]

While this interpretation of the codex's history is plausible, it is impossible to rule out that a manuscript made up of quires of different sizes existed in the Middle Ages. After all, trimming also led to losses in the second section of the codex. For instance, on fol. 217r—an example among others—the title of the *Miracle de Sardenai* has been cut and only a few traces of it remain. This section may thus have been made up of quires of various sizes that the eighteenth-century binders standardized when

they rebound the codex. The presence of an *épître farcie* of St. Stephen, copied in the thirteenth century as well, on an empty space of the last folio of the codex could play in favor of its existence in the Middle Ages. There are indeed marked differences in the contents of the two sections of the volume. Fols. 47r–229r transmit hagiographic texts, in all likelihood destined for individual reading.[9] On the other hand the texts contained in fols. 1r–46r, *Ludus Paschalis* and the Latin *rondeaux*—and the same is probably true for the *Jeu d'Adam*—were used during various celebrations of the liturgical calendar. They are "communal" texts, performed in front of an audience.[10] The *épître* possesses the same attributes. It is a Mass text and was read in front of an audience on December 26. And thanks to its bilingual nature, its narrative of St. Stephen's life was understood by the lay audience, a characteristic that surely made it entertaining. The scribe who copied the *épître* may thus have wanted to add to the festive repertory contained in the initial folios, but since the codex had already been assembled, he was forced to copy it on an empty space of the final page. It may also be that he noticed similarities between the *épître* and the *Jeu d'Adam*. In addition to being bilingual, both compositions may have been performed during the same season. As we already indicated, the *épître* was read on December 26 while, as we shall see later in this chapter, the *Jeu d'Adam* could have been played during the clerical celebrations that began, precisely, on the Feast of St. Stephen. However, since this hypothesis is impossible to prove, to determine the institutional origin of the *Jeu d'Adam*, it is safer to concentrate on the contents of fols. 1r–46r. Not only is the unity of this fascicle clearly evident, but its contents offer clues as to their provenance. Fols. 1r–46r transmit four textual and in some cases musical units:

1. Fols. 1r–8v: a Latin Easter composition, the *Paschalis Ludus*.
2. Fols. 8v–20r: 35 Latin musical compositions.
3. Fols. 20r–40r: *Le Jeu d'Adam*.[11]
4. Fols. 40v–46v: *Les Quinze signes du jugement dernier*.

We will omit the *15 Signes* from our discussion because it is a very common composition, known throughout Europe, and transmitted in many languages. On the other hand, the *rondeaux* and the Easter composition, originating like the *Jeu d'Adam* from northern France,[12] offer clear hints about the provenance of the play.

The Latin *rondeaux*

Let us begin with the second group of texts of Tours 927, the thirty-five Latin musical compositions, thirty-one of which are monophonic refrain compositions.[13] Their formal similarity to *rondeaux* led musicologists to interpret them as ecclesiastical dances.[14] The Tours manuscript plays an important role in our knowledge of this musical form since its thirty-one *rondeaux* come second only to the famous manuscript F which transmits sixty such compositions.[15] Their themes are varied (Easter, Christmas, etc.) and indicate a use on diverse liturgical feasts. Several clues, both external and internal, point to a secular origin for these all these pieces. First, such compositions are mainly found in manuscripts hailing from secular churches—even if some monastic examples exist—for instance from Saint-Martial de Limoges. Second, sixteen compositions are equally found in manuscript F that transmitted the repertoire of secular Parisian churches, a fact that plays in favor of the same origin.[16] But it is the subject matter of several *rondeaux* that constitutes the strongest argument for a secular provenance. Two among them, *In laudes debitas* and *Beata nobis gaudia*, invite the city dwellers (*civitas*; *concives*)—terms designating the parishioners served by the church—to celebrate the Virgin Mary. Two other *rondeaux*, *Nicolas inclitus* and *O Sedes apostolica*, pay tribute to bishops, a fact that suggests, once again, a secular establishment. Speaking of *Nicolas inclitus*, Mary Channen Caldwell remarks that as "the central pastor of his diocese, the bishop was very much part of the secular world and Nicolas, as proto-bishop, was therefore a favored intercessor in the secular, as opposed to monastic, realm" (p. 114). The second *rondeau* celebrates a new bishop assuming office, a theme that may indicate specifically a cathedral origin. Since the chapter of the diocesan church was the close collaborator of the bishop—at times coming from its ranks—in the management of the diocese, a canonical origin for a song extolling a new pastor is a strong possibility. Thus both the history of the genre and the characteristics of Tours 927 *rondeaux* lead us to believe that these texts belonged to the repertoire of a large secular church.

The *Ludus paschalis* and the Concept of Ecclesiastical Drama

The so-called "liturgical drama" appears in the tenth century with the Easter *Quem queritis* trope. This composition had tremendous success and was used throughout Europe up to the Renaissance. The *Quem queritis* were more or less complex depending on whether they limited themselves to the dialogue of the three Marys with the angel, or included Peter and Paul's race to the sepulcher or even the apparition of the Risen Christ. Among the thousand or so *Quem queritis*, four much more ambitious compositions—they are typically referred to as *Ludi Paschales*—included additional episodes.[17] The Tours composition is one of them and thanks to its 225 lines is even the longest of the four *Ludi* (in its present form the text is incomplete and thus was originally longer). Its performance required a large cast since there are at least twenty-two characters: Jesus, the eleven apostles, the three Marys, two merchants, Pilate and three soldiers (the soldiers' numbers are not given in the stage directions but if the iconographic tradition of the sepulcher is to be trusted, this number is probable). Such characteristics in a French clerical work dating from the twelfth/thirteenth centuries point to secular clergy and the same can be said about the *Jeu d'Adam*.[18] Before discussing the reasons that play in favor of secular clergy, let us say a few words about the Church drama corpus. These compositions are usually designated as *liturgical* dramas. In reality, it is important to realize that this important corpus—there are approximately 1200 such works[19]—is less monolithic than the umbrella term *liturgical* implies. They differ both by their characteristics and their respective function, as noted by C. Clifford Flanigan:

> Modern scholarship has subsumed a number of different medieval performance practices under the term 'liturgical drama'. On the one hand is the relatively small number of highly developed literary and musical forms, mostly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which are readily recognized as drama, as the term has been defined since the Renaissance. On the other, there are brief musical and verbal texts preserved primarily in medieval liturgical books which record practices, mainly for Easter and Christmas, that were part of the ritual cursus of monasteries, cathedrals and parish churches.[20]

Flanigan's distinction between two types of compositions is important and should be used as it allows for the creation of a more precise termi-

nology. In the interest of clarity, *liturgical* should be reserved for compositions whose use in the liturgy is documented, such as the ubiquitous Easter *Quem queritis* or the numerous Christmas season pieces, for example *Officia Pastorum*, *Officia Stellae*, *Herod*, *Processio Prophetarum*. On the other hand, "the relatively small number of highly developed literary and musical forms" which have no clear connection to liturgy—the manuscripts that transmit them do not include them among the various components of the liturgical cursus—could be named *ecclesiastical* dramas. The term *ecclesiastical* would, on the one hand, indicate that they originated from the same milieu and employed, as their stage directions indicate, the resources of their institution (the church as the playing ground, vestments for costumes, the choir for the music, the liturgical books for the readings, etc.); on the other hand, it would show that these plays were not included in the liturgy (the Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, the Freising *Officium Stellae* or the Christmas and Easter compositions from Benediktbeuern are good examples of this type). From now on, we will make use of this distinction and refer to compositions as *liturgical* or *ecclesiastical*.[21]

Given the fact that the Middle Ages witnessed many ecclesiastical condemnations of theatrical activities, the existence of Church dramas may come as a surprise: "In view of this, it might appear difficult to explain how the Middle Ages saw a substantial amount of devotional theater appear in monastic houses, in cathedrals and other places (in spite of occasional critical voices)."[22]

The reason for this state of affairs is probably that they were not—at least originally—understood as theater but as "dramatic rituals."[23] As such, they had a ritual function: they made present the sacred time celebrated in the office. For instance, the worshippers attending the Easter *Quem queritis* experienced the original Easter Sunday in Jerusalem. This does not mean that, as time went on, the understanding of dramatic rituals did not evolve for an ever-increasing number of people. Flanigan also indicated that the reception of a work changes and that "dramaticality cannot be solely determined by qualities that intrinsically inhere in a text": a *ritual* can be understood as a play because of "horizons of expectations which its audiences bring to it."[24] It is certain that the parallel development of an authentic theater must have influenced the reception of dramatic rituals and led to their perception as theater—as we will see, it may well be that the twelfth/thirteenth century *ecclesiastical* dramas "readily recognized as drama" were frowned upon by rigorous churchmen.

Be it as it may, the Tours *Ludus Paschalis* is an example of *ecclesiastical* drama since there are no indices of liturgical use.[25] Its explicit "Et chorus incipiat, alta voce: Te Deum laudamus" (and the choir will begin singing with a loud voice: Te Deum) is no proof of such a function. While this hymn was included in the office of matins, its presence in a composition that was not transmitted in a liturgical manuscript does not demonstrate its inclusion in the divine office. As a matter of fact, this hymn was a traditional explicit in religious plays, Latin and vernacular alike. For instance, it is found, as early as the thirteenth century, in the first French lay plays such as Jean Bodel's *Le Jeu de saint Nicolas*, the anonymous *Courtois d'Arras* or Rutebeuf's *Le Miracle de Théophile*, and this practice continued in fifteenth-century *mystères*.[26] In all these compositions, it is clearly used as a hymn of thanksgiving and praise—its normal use—and has nothing to do with liturgy.[27]

Impact of Twelfth-Century Monastic Spirituality on the Use of *Ecclesiastical* Dramas

While the first examples of *liturgical* dramas are monastic—in the *Regularis Concordia*, the Benedictine Ethelwold indicates that the models of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* he wanted to introduce into the Easter liturgy hailed from the monasteries of Fleury-sur-Loire and Saint-Bavon (Gand)—and while monks continued to perform them until the end of the Middle Ages, the twelfth/thirteenth century *ecclesiastical* dramas seem to be a secular clergy phenomenon. Such is the case for the Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, the Laon *Ordo Joseph* or the Easter Vic compositions. And it appears to be equally true for the famous Fleury and Benediktbeuern compositions since they were not written at the eponymous monasteries: the Fleury pieces originated in Parisian or Orléans schools,[28] while the Benediktbeuern compositions seem linked to the chapter of Bressanone.[29] The same secular origin can thus be postulated for the *Ludus Paschalis* and the *Jeu d'Adam*. Let us now look at the reasons that link *ecclesiastical* dramas to secular clergy.

The twelfth century saw the remarkable development of the ascetic Cistercian order. This order gave a tangible form to the desire for reform that affected monasticism in the eleventh/twelfth centuries. By the middle of the eleventh century, "monasticism in traditional Benedictine form, however thriving, austere and beneficent it may have been, no longer satisfied the ascetic aspirations of countless generous souls."[30] It is paradoxi-

cally the success of traditional monasticism—donations made the institution rich—that prompted the reformers' criticism. According to them, wealth made monks love the world while their condition required the opposite, namely "separation from the world, in order to seek God wholeheartedly and love him alone."[31] In their opinion, the monasticism of their time betrayed the monastic ideal. At a time when society was seen as made up of, on the one hand, monks and, on the other, of laity—consisting of secular clergy and laymen—the reformers' reproach was that the essential distinction between the orders was disappearing: "There are three orders in the world [...] the first differs from the second, and the second from the third. If anyone arrogates to himself another's function, because he is not content with his own, he upsets the whole body."[32]

The desire for reform was by no means limited to the Cistercian order and impacted the Cluniacs, the emblematic order of medieval monasticism, as well. It explains the reforms that Peter the Venerable, superior of Cluny between 1122–56, introduced into this order: "In 1146 he promulgated decrees for the whole order emphasizing austerity, the spirit of prayer and separation from the world."[33] The new monastic austerity, the desire to avoid practices that were seen as worldly, may thus explain the monastic lack of interest for ambitious ecclesiastical compositions that were then appearing in secular churches.[34] The substance of ecclesiastical discussions about performances seems to confirm this interpretation. For instance, Alfonso X of Castile and his advisors indicate ca. 1260 that:

> there are plays that the clergy may stage, like the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which tell how the angel came to the Shepherds and told them Jesus Christ was born, and, besides His birth, how the three Kings came to worship Him, and also His Resurrection, which shows how He was crucified and arose on the third day. They may stage these [plays] which incite people to good deeds and religious devotion in order that the people may recall through [them] that these things happened in fact.[35]

The same compositions are authorized by the glossator of Pope Innocent's 1207 letter in the *Decretals* (1263): "It is not forbidden to represent the stable [*presepe*] of the Lord, Herod, the Magi, and how Rachel wept for her children [i.e. the Slaughter of the Innocents] etc., which are associated with these feasts about which mention is made here, when such things lead men rather to devotion than to licentiousness or sensual pleasure—as at Easter, the sepulchre of the Lord and other things are represented for the exciting of devotion."[36]

In a revealing fashion, these texts speak of long-standing *liturgical* dramas but pass over *ecclesiastical* drams. The reason seems to be that even traditional subjects were accepted only as long as they led "men rather to devotion than to licentiousness or sensual pleasure." The most mimetic—theatrical—aspects were shunned since sensual pleasure distracted men from God. The realization that *liturgical* dramas themselves carried, albeit in a latent state, theatrical seeds explains their utter rejection by austere authors like Gerhoh de Reichersberg: "They show also by images [*imaginaliter*] the cradle of the infant Saviour, the crying of the child, the motherly manner of the child-bearing Virgin, the flaming of the star like a heavenly body, the killing of the children, the motherly weeping of Rachel. But God above and the true face of the church abhors theatrical shows."[37] Gerhoh indeed knew—as a young man he had passionately loved these plays[38]—that the boundaries between devotion and pleasure were porous. He was certainly not the only one to have recognized this and it is thus probable that reforming monks regarded with suspicion *ecclesiastical* dramas whose numerous episodes and sung parts appealed to the senses.

Large Casts as a Clue for a Secular Church Origin

We indicated that the *Ludus Paschalis* required at least twenty-two participants. The cast of the *Jeu d'Adam* was even larger since it necessitated at least twenty-seven actors: God, Adam, Eve, Satan, Abel, Cain, the devils (ten or so) and eleven prophets. In addition to the cast, a choir was needed for the *responsoria* as well as readers for the liturgical texts (Genesis and Quodvultdeus's sermon). Such large numbers of performers also play in favor of a secular origin of these compositions. Indeed, while cathedral or collegiate churches had numerous personnel, the latter was much more rarely the case in monasteries. Although the numbers for any given cathedral or collegiate church must be studied on a case-by-case basis, the fact remains that the organization of these secular establishments required a large personnel. Each chapter was under the direction of canons, the aristocracy of the church. As shown by the following list, their number varied from church to church, but they were usually quite large: there were forty-six canons in Amiens, fifty-nine in Auxerre, forty-five in Besançon, forty-eight in Langres, forty-three in Laon, fifty-one in Paris, seventy-four in Reims, fifty in Rouen, forty-two in Tournai.[39] While historically their function was the daily performance of liturgy, in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries canons were rarely in charge of it. Coming from the upper ech-

elons of society and often university trained, many canons favored activities outside the chapter (teaching, jurisprudence, administration, etc.) over the daily performance of the Opus Dei. Quite often they did not even live in the city where their church was located; for instance at the Tournai cathedral, the canons who did not live in town, called *foranei*, comprised a majority in the chapter.[40] Consequently canons celebrated liturgy only on rare occasions, typically on high feasts.[41] It is thus a group of career servants, the *ministri inferiores*, which was in charge of the daily performance of liturgy. The composition of this group was fairly varied. For example, at Notre-Dame de Paris it was made up, in descending order, of two canons of Saint Aignan, two vicars of Saint Aignan, six great vicars, sixteen canons of Saint-Denis-du-Pas and Saint-Jean-le-Rond, seventeen clerks of Matins and, last, several choirboys (between seven and eleven).[42] The *ministri inferiores* as a group thus amounted to more than forty members. But the roster of the clergy of a large church did not stop there. There were also chaplains who celebrated mass in memory of the benefactors of their chapels. On high feast days, they could join the canons and the *ministri inferiores* for the performance of liturgy. Their numbers could be large as well. For example, there were seventy-two chaplains in Amiens, thirty-five in Autun, seventy-four in Besançon, between fifty-seven and one hundred twenty-six in Paris, fifty-nine in Reims, one hundred fifty in Rouen.[43] Thus, on high feast days, the clergy made up of canons, *ministri inferiores* and chaplains easily exceeded one hundred members. These figures indicate that such churches could undoubtedly put on large compositions such as the *Ludus Paschalis* or the *Jeu d'Adam*. Finally, we must recall that cathedral and collegiate churches were numerous (there were at least 144 dioceses in France in the Middle Ages, thus as many cathedrals) and that many secular establishments could stage such ambitious plays.

The same cannot be said about monasteries. It may come as a surprise, but the majority of monasteries were much less populated: "[A]u Moyen Age les pays étaient parsemés d'annexes de monastères, des petits 'prieurés' ruraux dans lesquels résidaient deux ou trois moines chargés de veiller à la bonne administration d'un des domaines de l'abbaye. [...] la majorité des moines était répartie dans ces très petits prieurés à deux, trois ou quatre." (In the Middle Ages countrysides were strewed with monastery annexes, small rural priories where lived two or three monks charged with seeing to the appropriate management of one of the abbey's domains. [...] the majority of the monks were scattered among these very small priories, in groups of two, three or four.)[44]

The numbers concerning the monasteries of the famous Cluniac order are in this respect striking. Historians have determined that in the middle of the twelfth century, the period that interests us, the population of the 1040 Cluniac houses was divided as follows: ten monasteries had a population exceeding fifty monks; twenty had between thirty and fifty; one hundred twenty between fifteen and thirty; two hundred between six and fifteen; the remaining seven hundred houses had fewer than six monks![45] These figures show that less than thirty Cluniac monasteries could stage plays like the *Ludus Paschalis*. And this conclusion can probably be generalized to Benedictine monasteries that were not part of the Cluniac network (even though some among them, for example the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel or Saint-Etienne de Caen, were quite rich). Finally, the Cistercian order which saw a remarkable development in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries and became the new standard of monasticism at the expense of Cluny,[46] can be omitted from a discussion about drama. In its desire to return to the original Benedictine rule, this order rejected all the liturgical embellishments introduced after the Carolingian reform: processions, sequences, tropes and, of course, *liturgical* dramas. Dramatic rituals are simply not documented in this order in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries.[47]

Links with Schools: A Clue for a Secular Origin

In the twelfth/thirteenth centuries, large secular churches had another characteristic that probably contributed to the creation of *ecclesiastical* dramas: they were centers of learning. It was normally the case with all cathedrals which, since 1079, were required to possess a school. As a matter of fact, in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries secular churches had a monopoly on teaching. While the role of monks in medieval education was preeminent in the early Middle Ages, by the twelfth century they had turned the page on their educational tradition and large monastic schools were a thing of the past.[48] The rejection of worldly activities, alluded to in the presentation of monastic spirituality of the twelfth/thirteenth centuries is also responsible for this development. We must recall that during the eleventh century, when reform began, many monks had not chosen their vocation and had been given as child oblates by their parents. Describing the population of monasteries of his time, Guibert of Nogent (ca. 1060–1125) wrote: "Only a few could be found among their members who had renounced the world out of disgust with sin; rather, churches

were occupied mostly by those who were handed over by their parents' act of piety and were nourished in them from their first years."[49]

Since the reformers wanted to "renew the concept of monastic vocation as a spiritual adventure freely chosen by the individual in response to the divine call,"[50] the twelfth century saw a progressive rejection of child oblates. A logical consequence of this policy was the disappearance of monastic schools whose *raison d'être* was to educate the oblates. From that time on, "les moines les plus fervents se garderont de l'activité scolaire comme d'une tentation mondaine" (the most fervent monks would abstain from pedagogical activity considered to be a worldly temptation), quoting as a rationale Saint Jerome's "monachi non est docere sed lugere" (the monk's duty is not to teach but to weep).[51] The monastic recruitment in the twelfth century testifies to this. Monasteries no longer accepted young children and future monks entered the monasteries by age fifteen which corresponded to the age at which secondary education typically ended! The majority of monks in the twelfth century were thus educated in secular schools.[52]

What was the curriculum taught by secular clergy in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries? To understand its characteristics, we must recall that the majority of students were not laymen but the future members—technically already clerics since they were usually tonsured—of the church with which the school was associated. The absence of seminaries in the Middle Ages explains this reality: "À cet égard, le régime de l'époque diffère considérablement du nôtre. Aujourd'hui, l'évêque diocésain se réserve l'éducation du clergé. Il choisit lui-même les prêtres qui seront chargés de former les jeunes clercs et après les avoir promus aux ordres sacrés, il en dispose à son gré pour le service des différentes églises du diocèse. Au XIIᵉ siècle – comme pendant tout le Moyen Âge d'ailleurs – il n'en va pas de même. Les clercs appartiennent à une église particulière avant de ressortir à un diocèse." (In this regard, the system of the time differs greatly from ours. Today the training of the clergy is the duty of the diocesan bishop. He selects the priests who will be in charge of training the young clerics, and once he has promoted them to holy orders, he uses them as he sees it fit for the service of the various churches of the diocese. In the twelfth century–in fact throughout all the Middle Ages–the situation was different. The clerics belonged to a specific church and the diocesan affiliation came second.)[53]

Thus, for the majority of students, schooling was the first step in a career within the group of *ministres inferiores* in charge of the yearly cur-

sus of liturgy (see the description of this group at Notre-Dame of Paris, above). Their studies were consequently centered upon the acquisition of the professional knowledge needed for their vocation. In addition to basic general knowledge such as Latin, Scriptures and so forth, students strove to acquire the constituent elements of liturgy: music, repertoire of texts, liturgical movements and gestures. Because "all items apart from the sermon and possibly prayers were either intoned or sung to some sort of chant,"[54] musical training comprised the lion's share. It seems even to have encroached on the time devoted to other subjects since in his *Doctrina* (1411), *règlement* for the education of choirboys at Notre-Dame, Jean Gerson stated, "Moreover, the master of music shall teach the boys at the statutory hours [...] nor should he be so insistent in these matters that the boys fail to make progress in grammar [...] Hence the other master [of grammar] is to have sufficient time for teaching grammar, logic, and rhetoric [...]"[55]

The fact of the matter is that musical training was not easy; students had to memorize the yearly repertoire of liturgical chants because liturgy was generally performed without the use of books. For example, the episcopal statutes of Wells required large churches to possess *two* copies of each liturgical book (missal, breviary, antiphonal, gradual, troper, ordinal and psalter). This statute "unobtrusively draws attention to the fact that extensive sections of the liturgy had of necessity to be committed to memory, by choir and clergy worshipping in churches which at night and during the winter might be very dimly lighted and where there might not be more than one or two copies of the essential books."[56]

The explicit ban in some churches, on the use of light during the night service of matins was clearly motivated by the desire to prevent clerics from using books "as they were supposed to have memorized these services"![57] Given the fact that each church had its own liturgical traditions, the specific movements and gestures used in the cursus had to be mastered as well. In his *Doctrina* Jean Gerson indicates: "Finally, the boys should be diligently taught to observe the ceremonies fitting for them in the divine office, customs which have served in our church since antiquity, as, for example, when they must enter, when to bow, when to exit, in what order to sing, and similar things, the greater part of which we ordered be written down and displayed in a public place in their dwelling."[58]

Both the clerical status of students and the content of their training explain their participation in *liturgical* and *ecclesiastical* dramas. Since they took part in the performance of liturgy upon joining the church as

choirboys, their participation in *liturgical* dramas—part of the liturgical cursus—is logical. For example, the angels in Easter and Christmas *Quem queritis* were often played by choirboys.[59] But we know that they also took part—and even seem to have played a prominent role—in *ecclesiastical* dramas. Thus the incipit of the *Danielis Ludus* from the Beauvais cathedral, "Ad honorem tui, Christe/Danielis ludus iste/in Beluaco est inventus,/et invenit hunc iuventus" (In your honor, Christ, this play of Daniel was composed in Beauvais, it was the young who composed it),[60] shows that students were instrumental in its creation.

The features of ambitious *ecclesiastical* dramas: size, number of participants, structural complexity (chants, dialogues, processions) explain the students' involvement. These characteristics made these dramas substitutes of large liturgical ceremonies and their successful performance required the professional skills needed of *ministri inferiores*.[61] Based on this observation, it is possible to theorize that the *ecclesiastical* repertoire played a role in the training of future clerics.[62] The fact that theater was included in school curricula of the time gives support to this hypothesis. For instance, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, schoolmaster at the Augsburg cathedral between 1119 and 1124, indicates that he organized dramatic performances in his capacity of "Magister scholarum et doctor juvenum" (master of students and leader of the youngsters).[63] Gerhoh's duties have striking similarities to those of professors of rhetoric in humanistic colleges. For example, in 1533, Jean Tartas, principal of the college of Guyenne in Bordeaux, specifies in his contracts that professors must "composer et prononcer oraisons, arangues, dialogues, comédies" (compose and recite orations, harangues, dialogues and comedies.)[64] Buchanan, who taught in that college ca. 1540—and had Montaigne as a student—explains that he wrote plays "pour satisfaire à la coutume du collège, qui voulait que l'on en offrît une chaque année" (to perpetuate the tradition of the college according to which a play should be presented every year).[65] These contracts show that in humanistic college curricula "[l]es représentations de théâtre, 'dialogues' et 'comédies', sont comptées au nombre des exercices scolaires que le professeur doit proposer aux élèves" (theatrical representations, "dialogues" and "comedies" are included among the school exercises that the professor must offer to the students).[66] Would it be possible that the humanistic school plays continued a tradition going back to *ecclesiastical* plays of the twelfth/thirteenth centuries? Several clues from the later Middle Ages allow this hypothesis. They concern secondary schools and colleges of the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries where theater was used as

a pedagogical tool. It is essential to remember that these establishments were ultimately derived from cathedral schools: in the Middle Ages, an individual wishing to open a school had to obtain a *licentia docendi* from the *scholasticus* of the church that had jurisdiction over the territory where the new school was to be established. It would thus not be surprising if the didactic practices of cathedral schools, modified to fit the requirements of their new environment, found their way into the curricula of both secondary schools and colleges. Thus we know that in fifteenth-century colleges, *moralités* served to train future clerics:[67] "Le genre par excellence du théâtre scolaire, avant le renouveau du XVIᵉ siècle, c'est précisément la moralité, qui met en scène le combat des vices et des vertus personnifié" (The genre par excellence of school theater, before the sixteenth-century renewal, is precisely the *moralité* which stages the fight between personifications of vices and virtues).[68]

Similar in its structure to sermons, the *moralités* permitted "d'exercer les étudiants à l'éloquence religieuse: il s'agissait, dans ce cas précis, de former des clercs, qui auraient à prêcher, en français, leurs ouailles, et devaient donc maîtriser la rhétorique codifiée du prédicateur" (students to practice religious eloquence: the purpose was, in that precise case, to train clerics who would have to preach, in French, their flock and who, consequently, had to master the preacher's codified rhetoric).[69]

Secondary education in the late Middle Ages made use of theater for pedagogical reasons as well. Even though documentary evidence is scarce, the remaining examples are not "cas isolés, mais au contraire [...] des témoins rares mais révélateurs des pratiques pédagogiques des maîtres d'école de la fin du Moyen Age, qui utilisent le texte dramatique pour l'enseignement et la formation de leurs élèves" (are not isolated cases but, on the contrary, [...] rare but revealing witnesses of the pedagogical practices of school teachers of the end of the Middle Ages, who used theatrical texts for the teaching and the training of their students).[70] The example studied by K. Lavéant is especially interesting since it comes from a school directed by the chapter of Saint-Pierre-la-Cour du Mans. The development during the late Middle Ages of urban schools had not led to the disappearance of cathedral schools which "encore au début du XVIᵉ siècle, proposent un enseignement ouvert aux laïcs, mais dans un cadre ecclésiastique" (even at the beginning of the sixteenth century offer instruction available to laymen but in an ecclesiastical environment).[71] This example could thus indicate an uninterrupted tradition of pedagogical theater in cathedral schools. Last, the dates when medieval colleges staged dra-

mas support the hypothesis of an uninterrupted tradition. Many performances took place on days of liturgical feasts that were the occasion of both *liturgical* and *ecclesiastical* dramas. For instance, plays were staged on "toutes les grandes fêtes religieuses, particulièrement l'Épiphanie. Le jour des Rois était voué, de temps immémorial, aux réjouissances scolaires" (all the great religious festivals, in particular Epiphany. The Twelfth Night had been, from time immemorial, devoted to school festivities).[72] This cluster of clues suggests that dramatic activities in twelfth/thirteenth-century schools run by secular clergy were important and that the pedagogical use of theater that we find increasingly documented in the later Middle Ages may have its origin in them.

The *Jeu d'Adam*: An *Ecclesiastical* Drama

Given the fact that the *Jeu d'Adam* necessitated a large cast, all the arguments adduced in favor of a secular origin for the *Ludus Paschalis* concern it as well. Like the *Ludus Paschalis*, it probably hailed from a large secular church—possibly a cathedral, according to evidence afforded by the *rondeaux*. Its links with a large church are indeed obvious. Its performance required the use of several liturgical books: a lectionary for the initial *lectio*, a homiliary for the excerpt from the Quotvultdeus's sermon, a *liber responsialis* for the *reponsoria*. The clergy's participation is equally evident. Readers were responsible for the reading of the *lectio* and the sermon while a choir was in charge of singing the *responsoria*. The fact that only their incipit is given proves that the singers were clerics. They knew these texts by heart—as we already indicated, the yearly round of chants was typically memorized—or could, if need be, quickly locate them thanks to the incipit. These observations show that the actors themselves must have been members of the church. A remark by Lynette Muir concerning their gestures certainly supports this view. She indicated that "liturgical precedent exists for all these and often the same words are used in both liturgy and play," and that

> we have a complete mime play with all the incidents expressed in
> a fashion that would be readily intelligible to the audience, but it
> is mime based on [liturgical] conventions, as in ballet, not a mime
> based on close observation of everyday actions and movements.[73]

The fact that the actors used typical liturgical gestures is a strong argument in favor of their clerical status; the *Jeu d'Adam* may have allowed young

clerics to practice the liturgical gestures proper to their church. Finally, there is a strong probability that the *Jeu d'Adam* was played in the church, as was typical of clerical plays. The stage directions do not indicate that it was played outside and this assertion, commonly expressed, seems influenced by the old theory according to which lay religious drama was the final product of the evolution of liturgical drama. This theory implies "une phase intermédiaire: un drame qui ne serait plus tout à fait liturgique, mais qui n'aurait pas encore le caractère et l'extension des mystères; un drame qui aurait quitté l'église, mais qui n'aurait pas encore rompu tout lien avec elle" (an intermediate stage: a drama that would no longer be fully liturgical but that would not yet have the features and size of mysteries; a drama that would have left the church but not yet have severed all ties with it).[74] For proponents of this theory, the performance of the *Jeu d'Adam*, the first known vernacular play, outside the church was a remarkable example of the detachment of the drama from the ecclesiastical milieu. It is probably this vision of the history of the genre that explains translations such as "le Sauveur sort de l'église" (the Savior exits the church)[75] or "Dieu se retire dans l'église" (God returns into the church)[76] which distort the stage directions about the term *ecclesia*. The directions refer to a movement *from* (*ab ecclesia*, after line 722) or *toward* the church (*ad ecclesiam*, after line 112, 518, 744) and not *into* (in Latin "in") or *out of* (in Latin "ex") the church.[77] Let us also recall that Grace Frank indicated that an outside performance would have made it difficult to hear the liturgical texts performed "in choro," a term that refers to the choir of the church and not a group of singers.[78] Consequently the term *ecclesia* in the stage directions could simply refer to a *sedes*,[79] just as it was the case in the play *Filius Getronis* from the Fleury playbook or Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile*.[80] The direction according to which Isaiah's opponent "exurget (. . .) de sinagoga" (raises up from the synagogue) (after line 882) certainly supports such an interpretation. The two antithetical entities, *ecclesia* et *sinagoga*, would have faced each other, a common staging technique in the twelfth century.[81] The initial direction which refers to the smell of flowers "odoriferi flores" (sweet-smelling flowers) in order to represent Paradise also plays in favor for a representation in a church. In an outside performance, the smell, be it of heaps of flowers or more probably incense, would become diluted; only if the composition was played inside, would it be potent enough to have a strong olfactory effect. Finally, it seems that the symbolic meaning of Abel's genuflexion to the East before his execution "tunc Abel flectet genua ad orientem" (then Abel will bow his knees to the East) would have been much

easier to understand if the performance was indoors. Since churches are oriented east, the actor would simply have had to turn towards the chevet. On the other hand, if the performance took place outdoors, it would have been much more difficult to determine this cardinal point and its symbolical meaning—the East designates the Holy Land or Paradise.

While the clerical origin of the *Jeu d'Adam* is clear, the question of its genre remains. It is clearly not a *liturgical* drama, but is it an *ecclesiastical* drama? For certain scholars, its cyclical nature, the use of texts belonging to two different periods of the liturgical calendar, its recitation instead of singing, and the importance of vernacular, all seem to set it apart within the corpus of Church drama. In our view the notion of a generic alterity of the *Jeu d'Adam* is unfounded: all its characteristics can be found in both *liturgical* and *ecclesiastical* dramas. Let us look at some examples.

Cyclical Aspect of the Play

While clerical compositions, and that is particularly true of *liturgical* dramas, normally illustrated the event being celebrated in the liturgy of the day, the narrative framework of the *Jeu d'Adam* (Creation, Fall, announcement of a future Savior) and the use of liturgical texts belonging to two different periods give it a cyclical aspect that may seem atypical. In reality the *Jeu d'Adam* is by no means a *unicum* and several centuries before the *mystères* of the late Middle Ages, clerical authors wrote compositions putting together several independent episodes. For instance, numerous *Officia Stellae*, played during the Feast of Epiphany, and whose theme is the visit of the magi, illustrate this reality. While some limit themselves to this event, others added episodes which existed as independent plays in their own right. For example, some compositions show the shepherds—the topic of Christmas *Officia Pastorum*—announcing the birth of Christ to the kings on their way to Bethlehem. Among these, several, for example the *Officium* from Fleury,[82] even begin with the entire liturgical *Officium Pastorum*. Other *Officia Stellae*, for instance the one from Laon,[83] enriched their narrative with the addition of the episode of the massacre of the Holy Innocents, the object of a play on December 28. Some compositions even put together these three episodes, for example the *Officium Stellae* from Freising,[84] and in so doing offered the whole story of Jesus's birth as it is told in the gospels of Matthew and Luke. These examples show that the putting together of several episodes, a technique found in the *Jeu d'Adam*, is well documented in clerical drama.[85]

Use of Liturgical Texts from Different Periods

Some critics have argued that the use in the *Jeu d'Adam* of texts belonging to two different liturgical periods, Septuagesima and Advent, is an aberration. For example, in her recent edition of the play (2012), Véronique Dominguez speaks of an "impossible calendrier qui caractérise le *Jeu d'Adam*, et qui rend problématique la représentation de ses trois sections au même moment du calendrier liturgique" (an impossible calendar that characterizes the *Jeu d'Adam* and renders problematic the performance of its three sections at the same moment of the liturgical calendar).[86] Yet an analysis of the corpus assembled by Karl Young shows that such practice was quite common. Let us look at some examples, starting with the *Officia Stellae* discussed above. In the office from Laon, the scribes use as a prophecy an antiphon used on Christmas day or during Advent—once again the *Officium Stellae* was played on January 6. We find a similar situation in the Compiègne *Officium Stellae* where the angel welcomes the slaughtered Innocents to the music of an antiphon used during the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28).[87] If we look at a more ambitious composition, the Benediktbeuern *Ludus de Passione*, we see that its author combined liturgical texts for Palm Sunday, the Feast of Mary-Magdalene and Lent.[88] Not only did clerical authors use liturgical texts quite freely, they did not hesitate to modify them. For example, the Freising *Officium Stellae*, referred to earlier, begins with an *Officium Pastorum* whose dialogue between the shepherds and the Angel assembles two Christmas antiphons and modifies them to fit the exchange. While the original antiphon reads "Pastores loquebantur ad invicem: Transeamus Bethleem et videamus hoc verbum quod dominus ostendit nobis alleluia est" (The shepherds were saying to one another: let us go to Bethlehem and let us see this word that the Lord showed us, alleluia) the author eliminated the narrative section "Pastores loquebantur ad invicem" and only kept the dialogue. In the Rouen *Officium Stellae*, the magi sing the sequence for the Feast of Epiphany "Quem non praevalent propria magnitudine."[89] The composition speaks of the star that blinds the magi, "Haec magorum oculos fulguranti lumine praestrinxit providos" (it blinded the prudent eyes of the magi with its shining light). But since in the *Officium* the magi themselves sing that piece, *magorum* (of the magi) has been replaced by *nostrorum* (ours.) All these examples show that clerics did not hesitate to use texts outside their normal place in the liturgical calendar for artistic reasons. This observation teaches an

important lesson: the presence of a liturgical text in a composition does not necessarily indicate when it was used.

We must be aware that our surprise at finding such practices is anachronistic. The standardized liturgy we are accustomed to is a fairly recent phenomenon. It appeared as the result of the Tridentine reform whose purpose was precisely to rid liturgy of local practices. It is only at that time that liturgy became standardized and gained a sacredness that it did not possess during the Middle Ages. During that long period, the liturgy was constantly evolving. To illustrate this, let us recall the ubiquitous tropes, whose Easter *Quem queritis* gave birth to dramatic rituals. The authors' familiarity with the liturgical repertoire, much of which was committed to memory, explains their casual use of these texts. Whenever they narrated a biblical episode, clerics used the chants that were related to it, a common practice as Jean Leclercq has shown in his classic work *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*. Not only did such quotations give the newly composed text the authority of liturgical texts, some could also increase the performance artistry—for instance, *responsoria* and antiphons were sophisticated musical pieces. Since there is no reason to believe that the three sections of the *Jeu d'Adam* are not original,[90] we must admit that its author deliberately assembled different liturgical texts that contributed to his artistic vision and to the message he wanted to transmit.

Recitation

While the *responsoria* were sung, the dialogue of the *Jeu d'Adam* was not. In this regard, the composition differs from both *liturgical* and *ecclesiastical* dramas that were through-sung. Nevertheless, it is probable that some *ecclesiastical* dramas were simply recited as well. For example, among the three plays penned by Hilarius, a student of Abelard, two, the *Suscitatio Lazari*[91] and the *Historia de Daniel representanda*[92]—transmitted without music—probably contained sung parts, introduced in the stage directions by the verb *cantare*, along with recited sections introduced by *dicere*. Notwithstanding the fact that *cantare* and *dicere* often seem to be used interchangeably in liturgical manuscripts, in Hilarius's third composition, *Ludus super Iconia sancti Nicolai*,[93] dialogues are introduced—and it happens nine times—only by *dicere*. The recurrence of the same verb is a strong argument in favor of a recited performance of the *Ludus super Iconia sancti Nicolai*. According to William L. Smoldon, the Benediktbeueren *Ludus Breviter de Passione* may also "have been performed as a *spoken* word."[94]

Such examples could therefore show that the recitation in the *Jeu d'Adam* was not really a novelty in the clerical repertoire.

Use of Vernacular

Does the use of the vernacular set the *Jeu d'Adam* apart? It is true that French passages in *ecclesiastical* dramas typically had no didactic purpose: they were brief and therefore did not allow the lay audience to follow the story.[95] Rather, they were stylistic devices that underline the sophistication of these works; for example commenting the brief passages where Daniel speaks French in the Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, Peter Dronke indicated that they allowed "the bridging of the high, Latinate world of the court and the everyday, colloquial world outside it, from which Daniel is fetched."[96] But while they are much rarer, there are *ecclesiastical* dramas where the vernacular plays an important part and was meant to make the composition intelligible to a lay audience. The most striking example is the Saint-Martial de Limoges *Sponsus* because the composition dates from the middle of the eleventh century, a century before the composition of the *Jeu d'Adam*. Peter Dronke also questioned the traditional interpretation according to which the vernacular parts were added later to a composition originally written in Latin. According to him,

> the Provençal verses have even greater poetic power than the Latin ones, and are never dramatically superfluous or discardable. I do not believe there was ever an original version of this play purely in Latin, which was later amplified by vernacular 'glosses'. Rather, this is the integral conception of a single dramatist, and one who could express himself more tellingly in his own native idiom than in the language of high culture he had assimilated.[97]

But whether Dronke is correct or not does not change the import of this text. The fact that it was transmitted by a late eleventh-century manuscript shows that several decades before the composition of the *Jeu d'Adam*, clerics used the vernacular in order to be understood by the laity. The Benediktbeuern *Ludus de Passione*, alluded to earlier, shows another interesting example of the use of vernacular for the same didactic purpose. The play presents Jesus' mission from the beginning of his ministry all the way to his Passion. The message reiterated in all episodes is that faith in Jesus brings us forgiveness for our sins and obtains us salvation. While the composition is in Latin, the episode about the sinful woman, Mary-Magdalene, contains fifty-three lines

in German. These vernacular passages taught the same message as elsewhere in the play, but in a manner accessible to the lay audience.

This brief overview shows that the characteristics of the *Jeu d'Adam* are not absolute novelties in the clerical repertoire. If the *Jeu d'Adam* stands out, it is not thanks to new attributes but to the author's original use of preexisting techniques. In this respect, the play is representative of the production of its time. In his study of the twelfth-century Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, Nils Petersen remarked that the twelfth/thirteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of works having more dramatic qualities than earlier ones. In his opinion, it was the result of a "conscious playing with techniques developed through two centuries of an emerging tradition which scholarship in modern times has read as a tradition of 'drama'."[98] His remark certainly applies to the *Jeu d'Adam* as well. The *Jeu d'Adam*, an *ecclesiastical* drama written in the middle of the twelfth century, is a remarkable example of clerical experimentation.

Performance Dates for the *Jeu d'Adam*

Most clerical compositions were performed on specific dates of the liturgical calendar. This was the case for *liturgical* dramas such as the Easter *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the Christmas *Officia Pastorum*, etc. And even compositions whose ties to liturgy were tenuous, for example the Beauvais *Danielis Ludus* or the Laon *Ordo Joseph*, had clear connections to liturgical festivals. For instance, these two compositions were staged on the feast of subdeacons. Since the *Jeu d'Adam* is a clerical play, can we determine its performance dates? Given the fact that the manuscript says nothing about its use in the liturgy and since, as we have seen, the presence of liturgical texts does not necessarily indicate the use of a composition, we must settle for mere hypotheses. Scholars have offered three dates: two link the composition to the liturgical periods when the *responsoria* and the Quodvultdeus's sermon were used, while the third defends a summer performance.

Septuagesima or Advent?

The most commonly offered date is Septuagesima, or the weeks preceding Easter (Lent). Scholars adduced two arguments in favor of a performance during this season. First there is the inclusion of texts used during Septuagesima Sunday matins, the reading from Genesis and the seven *responsoria*. Second they argue that

while recalling Man's sin, [Septuagesima] was the beginning of a new cycle in the Church's year, the anticipation of the Easter celebration of Man's Redemption and, therefore, the readings supplied the perspective in which Easter could be seen as the consummation of the history of salvation.[99]

In our opinion these arguments are not truly cogent. Why should the Septuagesima texts be given precedence over the Advent/Christmas texts—the excerpt of the *Vos inquam Judei* sermon and the Prophets' procession? Neither do we think that redemption is the underlying subject of the *Jeu d'Adam*. The composition presents the creation of humanity and the story of original sin but does not include Christ's Passion—and there is no reason to believe that, as is, the play is lacunar. It thus presents the rationale behind Incarnation, but does not show the effects of Christ's sacrifice. In other words, based on St. Paul's teaching "Si autem Christus non resurrexit, inanis est ergo prædicatio nostra, inanis est et fides vestra" (1 Corinthians 15:14) (And if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain), the event needed to interpret the *Jeu d'Adam* as a play about redemption, Christ's resurrection, is missing. Furthermore, references to salvation are fewer than some scholars have claimed them to be. For instance, van Emden's assertion that the author had selected prophecies "to announce the Redemption and Harrowing of Hell" is excessive.[100] It is true for only for six prophecies out of eleven, so almost half of them (45%) simply refer to the coming of Christ. Finally, the concept of Salvation does not belong exclusively to Septuagesima. It concerns Advent/Christmas as well since Christ's incarnation was the first step in the divine plan of Salvation. For example, in the Christmas trope *Quem queritis* the shepherds tell the midwives that they are looking for the Savior, "Salvatorem Christum Dominum."[101] This example clearly shows that the concept of redemption has equally its place in a composition played during Advent/Christmas.[102] Finally let us recall that the performance of a theatrical composition during the Lent season is problematic. In her contribution, Océane Boudeau has indicated that the expulsion from Paradise was "staged" during Ash Wednesday liturgy. On that occasion the penitents were expelled from the church and some of the *responsoria* included in the *Jeu d'Adam* were sung. According to her "This ceremony, just like the Sunday of Septuagesima, could therefore have served as an ideal context for the performance of a 'recreational' *Ordo*." (p. 71). However, we must remember that there is no tradition of dramatic per-

formances during the penitential season of Septuagesima/Lent, while the opposite is true for the festive Christmas season. We only know one example—albeit a remarkable one—that could lend support to Septuagesima. On Monday, February 7, 1194, the day after Septuagesima Sunday, in Regensburg, a play was staged which narrated, like the *Jeu d'Adam*, the creation, the Fall and the coming of a future Savior:

> Anno domini 1194 celebratus est in Ratispona ordo creacionis angelorum et ruina Luciferi et suorum, et creacionis hominis et casus et prophetarum sub Celestino III papa, regnante Hainrico imperatore et semper augusto et Chounrado regente inibi episcopatum, septima Idus Februarii.

> (In the year 1194 of our Lord, on 7 February, under the pontificate of Celestine III, under the reign of the emperor Henry always Augustus, and under the bishopric of Conrad, a play about the creation of angels, the fall of Lucifer and his followers, the creation and the fall of man was performed.)[103]

This example led Rosemary Woolf to believe that the *Jeu d'Adam* and the Regensburg play testified to a tradition of cyclical plays for Septuagesima in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries.[104] While the Regensburg example is intriguing, the absence of similar instances makes it impossible to substantiate this hypothesis.

Contrary to Septuagesima/Lent, the Christmas season witnessed a remarkable concentration of dramatic activities. First there were the *liturgical* dramas that illustrated the event celebrated on the day of their performance. The *Officium Pastorum* was staged on Christmas; the performance of the massacre of the Innocents (Herod) took place on December 28, while the *Officium Stellae* was represented on the Feast of Epiphany (January 6). The *Ordines Prophetarum*, of which the third section of the *Jeu d'Adam* is an example, were also staged at that time: we possess examples for Christmas Eve and for the Feast of Circumcision.

The fact that the *Jeu d'Adam* presents the story of the *felix culpa*, the *raison d'être* of Incarnation, and can be understood as a developed *Ordo Prophetarum*—that was indeed Marius Sepet's interpretation of the play[105]—certainly favors its performance during the Christmas season. It is also worth remembering that Prophets' processions could be long. In the Rouen composition (January 1), the original number of eleven prophets had increased to twenty-eight and at Notre-Dame of Paris (Christmas

Eve), its performance had lengthened the service to the extent that some canons wanted to eliminate it altogether.[106] But the Christmas season performances were not limited to *liturgical* dramas. During the Christmas octave, specifically on December 26–28 and January 1, large secular churches staged *ecclesiastical* dramas such as the Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, the Laon *Ordo Joseph* or the Freising *Ordo Stellae*.

In order to understand the presence of spectacles on those days, we must say a few words about the feasts of celebration of the various orders of clergy.

December Celebrations of the Clergy

In the Roman Empire, the end of December was a highly festive period as two important celebrations took place. The Saturnalia started on December 15 or 17 and lasted approximately a week.[107] They were followed by the Kalends that began on January 1 and ran for three days. In late antiquity these two celebrations appear to have fused into one long festive period that lasted the second half of December. "While the Saturnalia remained a Romano-Greek festival, the wider Roman world, which included Gaul and Spain, celebrated it as an extended Kalends."[108] When Catholicism became the state religion, the Church tried to suppress these festivities and to Christianize these days. For instance, we know that the Feast of Circumcision (January 1) was established in the fifth century as a means to compete with Kalends.[109] The history of the liturgical calendar suggests that the same may be true for the other late December festivals, in particular December 26 (St. Stephen), 27 (St. John) and 28 (Holy Innocents). Let us recall that while today each day of the liturgical calendar celebrates one or even several saints, for many centuries the majority of days did not celebrate any. The daily liturgy was limited to the prayers of the divine office—even the daily performance of mass became established only during the Middle Ages. But while a study of the earliest liturgical calendars (eighth century)[110] shows that there were only six feasts in February, three in March, six in April, seven in May, etc., between December 25 and January 1, the period corresponding to the high point of the Saturnalia/Kalends festivities, there were already celebrations for St. Stephen, St. John, the Holy Innocents and, on December 31, St. Sylvester. Given the fact that these festivals were also established in the fifth century, it is reasonable to think that, just like the Feast of Circumcision, they were created to counter the pagan celebrations.[111] Despite its efforts, the

Church was not fully successful and December pagan festivals are still documented in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries. The clergy itself was taking part in them so, in the twelfth century, the Church tried to better control its members.

During the twelfth century the Gregorian Reform movement (named for Pope Gregory VII) came to triumph throughout France, and the church focused ever greater energy upon ridding secular clergy of lay influence.[112] In order to turn the clergy away from the popular festivities, the reformers proceeded to enrich the *clerical* celebrations that were taking place during the same period.

In the Middle Ages, the clergy was divided into five minor orders: doorkeepers, readers, exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons; and two major orders: deacons and priests.

Since the tenth century at least, both groups, priests and deacons on the one hand, *pueri*—the members of all minor orders—on the other were celebrated on the days of their patron saint.[113] Deacons were celebrated on the Feast of St. Stephen, December 26. On December 27, the Feast of St. John, it was the priests' turn, and on December 28, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, the *pueri* were celebrated. In the twelfth century, the subdeacons became a major order and obtained their own celebration on January 1, the Feast of Circumcision. These celebrations were of course centered around the liturgy and the latter received the attention of the Church reformers. Its comparison with the cursus of the remainder of the year reveals its exceptional character. For instance, in MS Laon 263 that contains the liturgies for the high feasts of its eponymous cathedral, no less than forty-three folios out of forty-nine are devoted to the clerical December celebrations (December 26, 27, and 28, and January 6, the date of the subdeacons' celebration in Laon)![114] Thus complexity and length characterized these special liturgies—"They are more elaborate than the plans for any other feast, undoubtedly to fill the entire day with acceptable texts and music"[115]—since their purpose was to keep the clergy within the confines of the church, away from the popular festivities. Despite this controlling aspect, the inclusion of these celebrations into the customaries, books that transmitted the customs of a given establishment, proves that they were dear to the clergy. For instance, the clerics who refused to take part in them were sanctioned as "[r]efuser de participer à la fête devient dès lors un manquement au serment que doit prononcer tout nouveau chanoine de respecter les rites et cérémonies de sa cathédrale" (refusing to participate in the festivity amounts to breaking the oath that each new

canon must take of respecting the rites and ceremonies of his cathedral).[116] Their strong appeal was due to the fact that they were truly festive and constituted "un temps de loisir particulier pour chaque ordre du clergé" (a time of leisure proper to each clerical order).[117] Indeed they were not limited to a complex and sumptuous liturgy but had playful aspects, such as the reversal of ecclesiastical hierarchy: the members of the celebrated order were in charge of the liturgy while clerics from higher orders acted as helpers. This reversal was often symbolized by the election of a *dominus festi*—often called bishop but other designations were used as well (Pope, abbot, etc.)—who was in charge of the liturgy and the festivities of the day. For instance, in 1410, at the collegiate church Notre-Dame de Saint-Omer, there were an *episcopus dyaconorum*, an *episcopus presbiterorum* and one of the *Innocentium*.[118] Furthermore, banquets and processions throughout the city and the countryside added to the merriment of the celebrations. It is thus not surprising that *ecclesiastical* dramas were, at times, performed on those days. As a matter of fact, it even seems that, in some communities, they were the climax of the celebration. For instance, Gerhoh de Reichersberg complained that the canons of the Augsburg cathedral practiced communal life only on the occasion of clerical feasts, especially if they involved dramatic performances:

> Cohaerebat ipsi Ecclesiae claustrum satis honestum, sed a claustrali religione omnino vacuum, cum neque in dormitorio fratres dormirent, neque in refectorio comederent, exceptis rarissimis festis, maxime, in quibus Herodem repraesentarent Christi persecutorem, parvulorum interfectorem seu ludis aliis aut spectaculis quasi theatralibus exhibendis comportaretur symbolum ad faciendum convivium in refectorio aliis pene omnibus temporibus vacuo.

> (rather beautiful conventual buildings were adjoining the church itself, but they very totally devoid of religious life for the brothers neither slept in the dormitory nor ate in the refectory; it is only on the occasion of very rare feasts, first during those when they represented Herod, the persecutor of Christ, the killer of babies or on the occasion of other almost theatrical performances that [provisions], symbol of meals were brought into the refectory which was otherwise almost always empty).[119]

These performances had several advantages for the ecclesiastical hierarchy. They strengthened the links among the various members of the church around a common project. Like the sumptuous liturgies, they kept the

clergy away from the secular festivities that were taking place in the towns. Finally, these ambitious plays were an effective means to attract the laity itself.[120] It is certainly not a coincidence that in the twelfth century, the days on which clerical celebrations were taking place had become days of obligations[121] when the laypeople were required to come to church! As for the laity, besides the play itself, these large performances provided a rare occasion to see large gatherings of the clergy of their church. Indeed, during the twelfth/thirteenth centuries "massive rood screens were erected in northern French cathedrals, separating the choir and the clergy from the people" and "the opportunities for actual mingling between clergy and people were relatively few."[122] Consequently the *Jeu d'Adam* may have been performed, like the famous Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, the Laon *Ordo Joseph* or the Freising *Ordo Stellae*, as part of such celebrations. The use of vernacular would then be an innovative stroke of genius to make the performance even more attractive for the lay audience.

A Summer Performance?

The initial stage instruction states that paradise was represented by means of trees laden with fruits and with fragrant flowers, "serantur odoriferi flores et frondes; sint in eo diverse arbores et fructus in eis dependentes ut amenissemus locus videatur" (Let sweet-smelling flowers and foliage be set there, and let there be in it varied trees with fruit hanging on them, so that it may seem a most agreeable place.) If these were real fruits and flowers, then a performance during one of the two liturgical seasons discussed so far would be impossible—Advent corresponds to the month of December while Septuagesima starts sixty-three days before the beginning of Easter that falls, at the earliest, on March 21—and the *Jeu d'Adam* would have been played during summertime. What should we think about this hypothesis presented by Lynette Muir?[123] French *mystères* were indeed performed during the summer; they were played outside and weather conditions mattered more than the liturgical calendar. The fact that these spectacles were organized by municipal authorities and not the Church probably contributed to their independence from liturgy. Could the same be true for a twelfth/thirteenth century *ecclesiastical* drama like the *Jeu d'Adam*? Such a possibility cannot be ruled out; due to many lacunae in our documentation "much imaginative effort is needed to in some measure reconstruct the prehistory of medieval Latin drama."[124] However, the fundamental

issue is whether the stage instruction must be taken at face value. Indeed, the branches laden with fruits and the flowers could be props, similar to those used to represent Paradise in the *Mystère de la Résurrection*:

> Paradis terrestre doit estre faict de papier, au dedans duquel doit avoir branches d'arbres, les uns fleuriz, les autres chargez de fruictz de plusieurs especes, comme cerises, poires, pommes, figues, raisins, et telles choses artificiellement faictes, et d'autres branches vertes de may.

> (the garden of Eden should be made out of paper; there should be tree branches, some in bloom, other laden with various fruits, such as cherries, pears, apples, figs, grapes and similar things artfully made and also budding branches as in May).[125]

The fruits and flowers of the *Jeu d'Adam* could have similarly been made of papier-mâché and installed on real tree branches. Indeed, the remark about fragrant flowers may suggest that we are dealing with props. In order for sweet-smelling flowers to make Paradise appear as "amenissemus locus," a very large quantity of them would be needed. But this difficulty could be easily overcome by means of an ingredient used in liturgy all year round. Because in the Middle Ages the kingdom of God (and all things connected with it) was conceived as sweet-smelling, it was recreated in liturgy by means of incense.[126] The perfume of artificial flowers could have thus been ordinary incense whose olfactory strength is much more potent than that of real flowers.

Which of these three dates is the most probable? In our opinion, the initial stage instructions do not refer to real flowers and a summer-time performance is the least probable of the three. Given the fact that the liturgical texts included in the play favor equally Septuagesima/Lent and Advent/Christmas, the analysis of dramatic practices during these two seasons may be the deciding factor. The existence of a well-established tradition of dramatic practices during Advent/Christmas makes it, theoretically, a better candidate than Septuagesima but does not exclude it.

Conclusion

At the end of this survey, what do we know about the provenance of the *Jeu d'Adam*? Several clues indicate that it originated from a large secular church. Latin *rondeaux* are transmitted, with a few exceptions, in secular manuscripts. Also sixteen *rondeaux* of Tours 927 belonged to the reper-

toire of Parisian secular churches. Finally, two *rondeaux* that celebrate a new bishop suggest specifically a cathedral provenance. Because cathedral canons collaborated with the bishop in the management of the diocese, they had much at stake upon the arrival of a new pastor; the election of a friendly figure would have indeed been cause for celebration. The presence of the *Ludus Paschalis* points to the same origin since twelfth and thirteenth centuries *ecclesiastical* dramas are linked to large secular churches—very often cathedral—and their schools. Given the fact that the *Jeu d'Adam* is an *ecclesiastical* drama as well, it is logical to suspect that it originated from the same milieu.

The characteristics of these three compositions hint at a "progressive" chapter, open to the musical and dramatic experimentations that were taking place at the time.[127] For instance, Mary Channen Caldwell indicates that Tours 927 "represents an overwhelmingly scholastic approach to anthologizing music, poetry, and ritual in the thirteenth century," and that its Latin refrain songs "are unique remnants of clerical interest in devotional, yet entertaining and popular songs. The survival of this varied and special source evokes an image of the vibrant musical landscape existing outside of the liturgical rite in thirteenth-century France."[128] In a similar fashion Michael Norton explains that the author of the *Ludus Paschalis* was "well aware of the trends of scholastic scholarship that were beginning to unfold from the cathedral schools and the newly emerging universities."[129] Against this background, the *Jeu d'Adam* appears as representative of its time. We indicated that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of ambitious *ecclesiastical* dramas, the result of experimentation with dramatic rituals. The *Jeu d'Adam*, whose novelty is the result of an original use of preexisting techniques, is probably the best example of this experimentation. In other words, the collation of *rondeaux*, the *Ludus Paschalis*, and the *Jeu d'Adam* in the first fascicle of our codex, is not surprising. All three of them belonged to the festive practices of a large *secular* church.

Two contributions to this volume offer clues about a possible geographic localization of this chapter. Catherine Bougy's linguistic analysis shows that the author of the *Jeu d'Adam* was probably a native of the western regions of continental France (see map, p. 42) and that the Anglo-Norman traits in the composition appeared during the transmission. Océane Boudeau's study of the *responsoria* of the *Jeu d'Adam* offers the most comprehensive inventory yet of French churches that used them. Searches in archives of these churches, especially those located in western France, may thus reveal a reference to an *Ordo representacionis Ade*.[130]

NOTES

[1] Muir, *Liturgy*, 118. The Anglo-Norman origin of the author, almost a truism in historiography, is disputed by Catherine Bougy in her study of the language of the play. According to her, the author was a native of western France and the composition dates from the middle of the twelfth century.

[2] Axton, *European Drama*, 113.

[3] Dominguez, *Jeu d'Adam*, 63.

[4] Concerning the history of the manuscript prior to 1716, see Aymard, "Collection," 72–75.

[5] Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," provides the best paleographic analysis of Tours 927. Commenting on the limited participation of one of the two scribes of the *Jeu d'Adam*, he indicates, "La brièveté de cette intervention pourrait surprendre: on a rappelé que le cas est fréquent dans les *scriptoria* cléricaux" (The brevity of this intervention may cause surprise: as mentioned, this was common practice in clerical *scriptoria*), 378.

[6] Gachet, "Six siècles," 6.

[7] Based on the fairly archaic musical notation of fols. 1r–46r, Mary Channen Caldwell suggests a slightly earlier date, ca. 1225–45. See in this volume, 88 and 96.

[8] Hasenohr, "Philologie romane," (2003) 170.

[9] Adam de Suel's translation of the classic textbook *Distiques de Caton*, is the only exception although a meditative reading cannot be excluded: the *Distichs* are a collection of proverbial wisdom. If the codex had been assembled in the Middle Ages, then the presence of this textbook could be an additional clue for its secular origin; as we will see, in the twelfth/thirteenth century schools were run by secular clergy.

[10] The inclusion of *15 Signes*, a text that was probably meant for meditative reading, with these three compositions may seem surprising. Nonetheless its expository form—the Sybil addresses its audience—probably allowed its recitation. Indeed, this characteristic led two editors, Paul Aebischer (*Mystère d'Adam*), and Véronique Dominguez (*Jeu d'Adam*), to suggest—in our view, erroneously—that the *15 Signes* were a constituent part of the *Jeu d'Adam*.

[11] This title is a modern convention. In the manuscript, the composition is introduced by the title *Ordo representacionis Ade*.

[12] Concerning the continental French origin of the *rondeaux*, see in Mary Channen Caldwell's contribution the section "*Pax Galliae*: Signals of Place in Latin Song," 119–25. The same origin is probable for the *Ludus paschalis* whose author was "well acquainted with the liturgical practices of Norman/Angevin Europe" (in this volume, Norton, 179).

[13] Mary Channen Caldwell's contribution offers a detailed analysis and an edition of these compositions. Her dissertation "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000–1582" offers a global study of the genre which amounts to close to three hundred examples.

[14] For instance, the first study devoted to them, authored by Yvonne Rokseth, is entitled "Danses cléricales du XIIIe s." Concerning the use of these compositions as dances during Easter festivities, see Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 129–58. In the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, the minature before the *rondeaux* section shows dancing clerics.

[15] Manuscript F.

[16] Three of these compositions, *Luto carens et latere*, *Qui passus est pridie*, *In hac die Dei*, are also transmitted in manuscripts originating from secular churches.

[17] In addition to the Tours *Ludus*, these are the Origny-Sainte-Benoîte, Klosterneuburg and Benediktbeuern compositions. All these texts are edited by Young, *Drama*, 1:411–50.

[18] The intellectual content of the composition suggests a secular origin as well. According to Michael Norton, (in this volume, 179), its author was "more attuned to the ways of approaching biblical truths coming from the schools than from the cloister—more Abelard than Bernard."

[19] Estimate given by Ogden, *Staging*, 35.

[20] Flanigan, "Medieval Latin music-drama," 22.

[21] Certain *ecclesiastical* dramas were expanded *liturgical* dramas. This is the case of *Ludi Paschales* whose source, the Easter *Quem queritis*, contains in its briefest form three exchanges.

[22] Petersen, "Danielis Ludus," 292.

[23] Clifford Flanigan presented the concept of *dramatic ritual* in his article "The Liturgical Context of the Quem Queritis Trope."

[24] Concerning changes in the perception of dramatic rituals, see Flanigan, "Fleury Playbook," 20.

[25] In his contribution, Michael Norton argues that the *Ludus* is not a theatrical work. He interprets it as "musical exegesis" and a "Gospel harmony in representational form." For our analysis of its institutional origin, the question of its genre—drama or not—is secondary.

[26] Concerning its use in French plays, see Jodogne, "Théâtre," 5–8.

[27] The Beauvais Danielis Ludus concludes with a Te Deum as well and Margot Fassler rejects its performance during matins: "Just because 'Te deum Laudamus' follows a play is no proof at this late date that the work must have been performed at the close of Matins. By the late twelfth century, the singing of 'Te Deum' at the close of a play was a loosely held convention, which could be altered if situation demanded." Fassler, "Feast of Fools," 98, note 106.

[28] Huglo, "Analyse codicologique," 78.

[29] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 195–97.

[30] Leclercq, "Monastic Crisis," 219.

[31] Leclercq, "Monastic Crisis," 217.

[32] John of Fécamp, quoted by Leclercq, "Monastic Crisis," 223.

[33] Leclercq, "Monastic Crisis," 235. It is necessary to distinguish between French and German monasticism. German monasteries were more open to the

world and did not shun laity. See Jestyce, "German Benedictine Reform."

[34] While this overall evolution is undeniable, exceptions certainly exist. For example, in his chronicle of Saint-Martial de Limoges, Bernard Itier indicates that a Hellmouth was purchased in 1212, "In natale apostolorum P(etri)et P(auli), infernus artificiose compositus missus est in monasterio, cujus sumptus fuerunt DCCC solidorum. Conventus dedit C solidos" (On the birth date of the apostles Peter and Paul, an artfully-made Hellmouth was sent to the monastery, whose purchase amounted to 800 solidi. The monastery gave 100 solidi). Itier, *Chronique*, 42; in 1217 the Hellmouth was moved to another spot, "2a die mensis aprilis, infernus ponitur ubi nunc cernitur" (on the second day of April, the Hellmouth was moved to where it can now be seen), ibid., 53. Since this prop was not used in *liturgical* dramas, it appears that some other types of dramatic performances were taking place at Saint-Martial during the thirteenth century. Could the Hellmouth have been used for the performance of the famous Saint-Martial *Sponsus*? At the end of that composition, the Foolish Virgins were dragged into Hell: "modo accipiant eas demones et precipitentur in infernum" (Now let demons take them, and let them be hurled into hell). Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 20. If it were the case, then the eleventh-century Sponsus may have been regularly staged at the monastery for over two centuries. Let us stress the fact that Saint-Martial, as one the most famous European artistic centers in the Middle Ages, is by no means representative of French monasticism in general.

[35] Tydeman, *Medieval European Stage*, 166.

[36] Tydeman, *Medieval European Stage*, 114.

[37] Tydeman, *Medieval European Stage*, 114.

[38] See note 63.

[39] Madignier, *Chanoines*, 29.

[40] Pycke, *Sons, couleurs, odeurs*, 126.

[41] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 19.

[42] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 20–21. Upon joining, usually at the age of eight, Notre-Dame as a choirboy, a young cleric could hope to climb all these rungs and end his career as a canon of Saint Aignan.

[43] Madignier, *Chanoines*, 63.

[44] Davril, and Palazzo, *Vie des moines,* 66–67.

[45] Pacaut, "Formation du réseau clunisien." In his book, *Les Ordres monastiques et religieux au Moyen Age*, 89, he states that by "la fin du XIᵉ siècle, la communauté clunisienne compte de 10 à 12000 moines et novices" (the end of the eleventh century, the Cluniac community was made up of ten to twelve thousand monks and novices).

[46] From the twelfth century on, the numbers of the Cluniac order decreased dramatically: "L'étonnante propagation de l'ordre de Cîteaux et la création des ordres mendiants eurent pour conséquence une diminution notable dans le personnel des anciens monastères bénédictins, dont le recrutement fut de plus en plus influencé par des considérations d'ordre temporel" (The surprising success of

the Cistercian order and the creation of the mendicant orders resulted in a notable reduction of the personnel of the old Benedictine monasteries, the recruitment for which was increasingly influenced by temporal factors). Berlière, "Écoles claustrales," 566.

[47] "The Cistercian and Carthusian orders may definitely be regarded as hostile to any such extra-liturgical compositions as plays," writes Edith Armstrong Wright, *Dissemination of Liturgical Drama*, 11. The exceptions are extremely rare and late in date (see a German fourteenth century example in Michael Norton's contribution). This austere order rejected art—their churches were not decorated—since St. Bernard thought that decorations were a distraction that interfered with meditation.

[48] We saw that German monasticism differed from its French counterpart in some aspects. This applies to schools as well. While "en France et dans les pays où l'influence clunisienne fut prépondérante, les écoles claustrales externes furent abandonnées" (in France and in the areas where Cluniac influence was paramount, external schools were abandoned), it was not the case in other regions, "par exemple en Bavière et en Autriche, où la discipline se maintint dans un état généralement bon jusque dans le cours du XIVᵉ siècle" (for example, in Bavaria and in Austria where discipline remained generally good into the fourteenth century). Berlière, "Écoles claustrales," 565.

[49] Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiography*, 21.

[50] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 152.

[51] Delhaye, "Organisation scolaire," 17.

[52] This is not to say that some monasteries did not remain active intellectual centers.

[53] Delhaye, "Organisation scolaire," 36.

[54] Edwards, "Dynamic Qualities," 48.

[55] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 167.

[56] Edwards, "Dynamic Qualities," 41.

[57] Edwards, "Dynamic Qualities," 41.

[58] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 168.

[59] Chesnel, "Maîtrises capitulaires et monastiques."

[60] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 120.

[61] Historians of theater often state that professional actors appeared late in medieval Europe, as a result of urban renaissance. It is probably true of secular performers. But if we define actors as individuals able, for professional purposes, to express themselves physically and vocally, possessing musical training and the ability to memorize, feeling at ease in front of an audience, etc., then clerics of large chapters were indeed actors; otherwise ambitious *ecclesiastical* dramas could simply not have been staged.

[62] This does not mean that the students, clerics in training, were the only performers. Large *ecclesiastical* dramas probably required the participation of all the clergy of a church—even though, as professional musicians, the *ministri inferiores*

certainly had the lion's share—since students were not very numerous. For instance, we saw that at Notre-Dame of Paris, there were, approximately, ten choirboys.

⁶³ "Cogor hic reminisci propriae stultitiae in amaritudine animae meae dolens et poenitens, quod non semel talibus insaniis non solum interfui; sed etiam prae-fui utpote Magister scolarum et doctor juvenum, quibus ad istas vanitates non solummodo frenum laxavi, sed etiam stimulum addidi pro affectu stultitiae, quo tunc infectus eram, et in quo supra multos coaetaneos meos profeceram" (I am forced here to remember my own folly, feeling bitter pain and making amends in my soul, because, more than once, I not only participated in such follies but was even in charge of them in my capacity of master of students and leader of the youngsters; not only did I give them free reign in these vanities but I even stimu-lated them under the influence of my folly which, then, infected me and in which I surpassed many of my peers). Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game,* 46, note 55.

⁶⁴ Ferrand, "Théâtre des collèges," 2.

⁶⁵ Ferrand, "Théâtre des collèges," 2.

⁶⁶ Ferrand, "Théâtre des collèges," 2.

⁶⁷ The first evidence of theatrical practices in French colleges dates back to the beginning of the fourteenth century. For instance, the 1315 statutes of the college of Navarre forbid students "tout jeu déshonnête aux fêtes de saint Nicolas et de sainte Catherine" (any dishonest play on the Feasts of St. Nicholas and St. Katherine). Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, 296.

⁶⁸ Ferrand, "Théâtre des collèges," 3.

⁶⁹ Ferrand, "Théâtre des collèges," 5.

⁷⁰ Lavéant, "Pièces de l'Avent," 264.

⁷¹ Lavéant, "Pièces de l'Avent," 243.

⁷² Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, 294. Theatrical activities are documented in Parisian colleges throughout all of the Christmas season. "Après les réjouissances de Noël s'ouvrait un autre cycle festif de douze jours qui commençait dès le 26 décembre avec la fête de saint Etienne. On sait que les étudiants y prenaient part, comme spectateurs au moins, grâce à la condamnation sans appel que l'on peut lire dans le *De corrupti* ... de Maturin Cordier. Le professeur de Navarre réprouve fermement les danses, parades et autres 'spectacula' que l'on donne alors. Venait ensuite un ensemble de festivités dont la fête des Innocents qui se confond à cer-tains égards avec la fête des fous. Cette dernière durait jusqu'au 5 janvier. Célé-brée, à l'origine, par les jeunes clercs des chapitres cathédraux, elle a pu être adop-tée, aussi, par les écoliers de l'Université [...] la fête de l'Epiphanie (ou *Regalia*), qui marque la fin du cycle des douze jours et annonce les festivités carnavalesques, demeura la principale occasion de jouer du théâtre, pour les étudiants parisiens, et ce pendant plusieurs décennies" (The Christmas festivities were followed by a festive cycle of twelve days that began on 26 December with the Feast of St. Stephen. We know that students participated in it, at least as spectators, because of the emphatic condemnation that we find in Maturin Cordier's *De corrupti* ... The [College of] Navarre professor strictly condemns the dances, parades and

other "spectacula" that were performed on that day. Ensued a group of festivities among which the feast of the Holy Innocents that, in some respects, coincides with the Feast of Fools. The latter lasted until 5 January. Celebrated, originally, by the young clerics of cathedral chapters, it may have been adopted, by university students [...] the Feast of Epiphany [or Regalia], that signals the end of the twelve days cycle and introduces the carnival festivities, remained for the Parisian students, for several decades, the main occasion to perform plays); Ferrand, *Théâtre des collèges parisiens*, 120–21. We indicated that spectacles were common in late Middle Ages colleges on the feasts of St. Nicholas and St. Katherine, patron saints of students. But several centuries before that, their feasts were already the occasion of school performances. For instance, the St. Nicholas miracles from Hildesheim cathedral date back to the eleventh century while the Dunstable *Ludus de sancta Katerina* dates from the beginning of the twelfth century (Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, xix and 52–79).

[73] Muir, *Liturgy*, 44–45.

[74] Noomen, "Étude descriptive et analytique," 190.

[75] Sepet, *Prophètes*, 129.

[76] Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène*, 52.

[77] All quotations from the *Jeu d'Adam* are from our edition, Chaguinian, *Jeu d'Adam*.

[78] Muir, *Liturgy,* 27.

[79] About representations of churches by means of scenery, see Rousse, "Du clerc au jongleur," 139.

[80] In *Filius Getronis*, "Sitque ab orientali parte ciuitatis Excorande ecclesia Sancti Nicholai, in qua puer rapietur" (The church of St. Nicholas, from which the child will be abducted, must be to the east of the city of Excoranda). Young, *Drama,* 2:351. In the *Miracle de Théophile*, "Ici se repent Theophiles, et vient a une chapele de Nostre Dame et dist" (Here Theophile repents and comes to a chapel of St. Mary and says); Rutebeuf, *Miracle de Théophile*, 64.

[81] Bevington, "Staging of Liturgical Drama."

[82] Young, *Drama*, 2:84–92.

[83] Young, *Drama*, 2:103–9.

[84] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays,* 24–51.

[85] In addition to these three episodes, the Benediktbeuern Christmas composition contained an *Ordo prophetarum*. See Young, *Drama*, 2:172–96.

[86] Dominguez, *Jeu d'Adam*, 151–152.

[87] Young, *Drama*, 2:53–58.

[88] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 185–237.

[89] Young, *Drama*, 2:68–74.

[90] "Our play is not a collection of three distinct playlets, composed by different guilds, but one author's poetic development of the material in two different liturgies for different days of the Church's year"; van Emden, *Jeu d'Adam*, iv.

[91] Young, *Drama*, 2:211–19.

[92] Young, *Drama*, 2:276–90.

[93] Young, *Drama*, 2:337–43.

[94] Smoldon, *Music of Medieval Church Drama*, 334–34.

[95] Cazal, *Voix du peuple*, 179–81.

[96] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, 112.

[97] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, xx.

[98] Petersen, "Danielis Ludus," 303.

[99] Hunt, "Unity of the Play of Adam," 370.

[100] van Emden, *Jeu d'Adam*, xii.

[101] Young, *Drama*, 2:4.

[102] In the Rouen procession of Prophets, played on the feast of the Circumcision (1 January), the prophet Abdias is invited to testify in the following manner, "Fac, Abdia, preconia uenturi Salvatoris" (Praise, Abdia, the Savior to come). He replies, "Et in monte Syin saluacio erit" (And on the mount Sion salvation will take place); Young, *Drama,* 2:160.

[103] Young, *Drama*, 2:542.

[104] Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, 56.

[105] Sepet, *Prophètes*, 84 sqq.

[106] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 189–91.

[107] Concerning the length of the festival, see Macrobius, *Saturnalia,* 70–73.

[108] Twycross and Carpenter, *Masks and Masking*, 26.

[109] Meslin, *Fête des kalendes*, 115–18.

[110] Jounel, "Sanctoral romain," 59–88.

[111] The desire to counter the New Year festivities is clear in the decision of the 567 council of Tours to use litanies on 1, 2 and 3 January–hence transforming them into days of penance–despite the fact that the Christmas season (from Christmas to Epiphany) is a festive period.

[112] Fassler, *Feast of Fools*, 74.

[113] Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, 338–39.

[114] Lagueux, *Glossing Christmas*. The manuscript does not present the Christmas liturgy which was probably transmitted in another volume.

[115] Fassler, *Feast of Fools*, 66–67.

[116] Dahhaoui, "Enfant-évêque," 37.

[117] Dahhaoui, "Enfant-évêque," 36.

[118] Dahhaoui, "Attitudes de l'Eglise," 7.

[119] Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game,* 46.

[120] For Max Harris, the Beauvais *Danielis Ludus*, "like the liturgical feast itself, was designed as rival attraction to competing Kalends games. Indeed, the play was able to go one step further than the office of the Circumcision alone. By devoting the ample resources of the church to the staging of the *Play of Daniel*, the 'young men' of Beauvais cathedral were [...] able to outperform the secular New Year games." Harris, *Sacred Folly*, 116.

[121] Gratian's *Decretum* lists the various twelfth century days of obligation. See

Naz, "Fêtes."

[122] Fassler, "Feast of Fools," 98.

[123] Muir, *Liturgy*, 25. In her translation of the play, *A Twelfth-Century Play Translated from the Norman-French with an Introduction and Notes*, she suggested a Saturday after Whitsun or the September Ember day. See 162–63.

[124] Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, xxvi.

[125] Chamard, *Mystère d'Adam*, 4.

[126] Davidson, "Heaven's Fragrance."

[127] The originality of its musical and representational practices does not mean that it was an important intellectual center. For instance, the Beauvais cathedral which produced the *Danielis Ludus* is not known for any famous teacher and its school seems to have simply trained future clerics.

[128] See in this volume Mary Channen Caldwell's chapter, 65–66.

[129] See in this volume, Michael Norton's chapter, 212.

[130] See my article "Origine institutionnelle et géographique du *Jeu d'Adam*" for a discussion of Sens as a possible origin of the *Jeu d'Adam*. The archives of the Nantes cathedral should also be consulted since the strange spelling *Mannetica* in the *rondeau Sedes apostolica* may actually mean *Nannetica* and refer to that city. See in this volume Mary Channen Caldwell's chapter, 123.

The *Jeu d'Adam*: An Anglo-Norman Text?

Catherine Bougy

Abstract

Although traditionally considered by linguists as an Anglo-Norman text, the *Jeu d'Adam*, when subjected to close dialectical and linguistic analysis, shows itself to be a complicated work. Originally written in a twelfth-century variety of continental French bearing features typical of the Western *Langue d'oïl* (rather than Normand-Picard) dialects, the text is the product of multiple subsequent revisions undertaken—consciously or unconsciously—by insular copyists, but also, in all likelihood, by actors taking pains to adapt it to the English public for which it was to be performed.

ANGLO-NORMAN, SPOKEN AND WRITTEN in England after the Norman Conquest and up through the beginning of the fifteenth century, is one the dialects of Langue d'Oïl, and more specifically, a Western Langue d'Oïl dialect, due to the origins of the conquerors of England in 1066: Normans, Bretons and individuals from the Northwest of France. It becomes a second language by the end of the twelfth century.[1]

The *Jeu d'Adam*[2] is referred to as an Anglo-Norman text by Pope[3] and by Ian Short,[4] while Geneviève Hasenohr considers it as "un texte de l'Ouest (au sens large)" (a text from Western France (broadly defined.))[5] All modern editors have considered this text to be an Anglo-Norman work, basing their own studies on the work of Studer, an English editor of probable nationalistic motivations,[6] who, in turn, drew on the work of Grass.[7] In 150 years, our knowledge of Old French and of Anglo-Norman has progressed, and a linguistic analysis undertaken by a specialist in the History of the French Language who is also a dialectologist may shed new light on this question.

We will first identify the major characteristic features of the language of the *Jeu* and comment on them. Following this, we will establish the date of the work and its geolinguistic provenance and conclude with the question of its possible Anglo-Norman origins.

Map 2.1 "La Normandie à la jonction de deux domaines" (Normandy at the crossroads of two zones) in Lepelley, *La Normandie dialectale*, 46.

(Printed with the kind permission of *Presses universitaires de Caen*.) On this map René Lepelley outlines the Norman-Picard linguistic zone, which he calls the "Domaine du nord-ouest" ('Northwestern Zone'), and the Western Langue d'Oïl linguistic zone, which he calls the "Domaine du grand ouest" ('the Greater Western zone'). The geolinguistic zone of the author of the *Jeu d'Adam* is in the Western of Langue d'Oïl linguistic zone.

The Major Characteristic Features of the *Jeu d'Adam*

What immediately strikes the reader of this text is the coexistence of linguistic features which are contradictory both in geolinguistic terms (Anglo-Norman and Continental French) as well as in historical terms (old and new forms). These features include spelling conventions as well as phonetics, morphology and morphosyntax.

Spelling Conventions

The text presents equivalent and concurrent spelling systems which belong to both Anglo-Norman and Continental French.

1) [k] (result of Latin [kw][8]), spelled *k, ch / qu*

    In old Continental French, the spelling *qu* is typical for the relative pronouns *qui*, *que* and for the conjunction *que*, while the connector *car* (Latin *quare*) is most often written with a *c*. *Onc* (Latin *unquam*) is spelled *onc* or *onques*. In the *Jeu*, these forms occur in combination with others identified as Anglo-Norman.

    a) *k* "appears in the earliest AN MSS" (Short 116): "*Ki* me trara d'itel dolors?" (v. 338) / "*Ke* as tu fet?" (v. 391). The use of *k* occurs a total of 10 times.[9]

    b) *ch*, "a common alternative to *k*" (Short 116), is used 17 times, including 8 occurrences of *chi* and 4 of *char* 'for, because' (Modern French "car"): "Chi avrad mais de moi memorie" (v. 347); "*Char* de Israel Cristus istera *Qui* ert estoille de clarté" (vv. 822–23). [10]

    Unches (vv. 327, 519, 684) and *onches* (vv. 373, 615), alternate with the French forms *unc* (v. 304), *onc* (v. 915), and *onques* (v. 741).

    However, the preponderance of French spellings is evident given that we can identify 41 examples of *qui*, more than 100 of *que*, and 11 of *car*: "*Car* fust arse iceste coste *Qui* m'ad mis en si male poste"! (vv. 359–60); "Mort, car me pren! Ne suffret que jo vive!"! (v. 573).

2) *u / o*

    The Old French spelling *o* corresponds most often to *u* in Anglo-Norman. The following lines illustrate various examples of the use of these two spelling conventions: "*Escut* Adam entent a moi Je te *conseillerai* en fei Que *porras* estre senz *seignor* E seras per del *creatur*. Je te dirrai *tute* la *summe* Si *tu* manjues la *pome*" (vv. 187–92).

It is to be noted that *u* can have different values, as the result of the French spelling system.

a) *u* represents, in Anglo-Norman, the result of a tonic closed unchecked *o* in Latin: *creatur* (Lat. *creatóre*). The latter, diphthongized into [ou] in the sixth century, evolves into [ø] in Old French, written *eu,* in the twelfth century: *createur*. In the same period, it reduces to [u], spelled *ou* in Western d'Oïl dialects on the Continent, and *u* in Anglo-Norman: *creatour/creatur*.

b) The letter *u* can also represent the result of a closed checked *o*: *tute* (Classical Lat. *tóta*, Late Lat. **tótta*, with gemination); a closed *o* checked by *l* + consonant: *escut* (Lat. **ascólta*), phonemes which closed to [u] in Old French in the twelfth century and which were then written *ou*. It also represents *o* + nasal: *summe*.

c) In Anglo-Norman, *u* can represent [y] as in French: *tu, manjues*.

In the passage cited above and throughout the text, the Anglo-Norman spelling *u* (*creatur*, *tute*, *summe*) and the French spelling *o* (*seignor*, *porras*, *pome*, *conseillerai*) are interspersed.

d) As a result of hypercorrection, alternations between *o* and *u* can occur in the diphthongs *ui* (which represents [ɥi]) and *oi* (which yields [we]): *froit* (vv. 472, 776, 2 occ.) written for *fruit* (form attested in v. 19); *cruiz* (v. 810, 1 occ.) for *croiz*[11].

These alternations suggest an imperfect knowledge of the phonetic values of letters in Continental French. They are very likely the work of insular copyists.

Phonetics

1) The rhyme *criator* : *dur* (vv. 231–32)

This rhyme is often considered irrefutable proof of an Anglo-Norman origin of the text.

a) The rhyme does not stem from the spelling, but rather from phonetics. Indeed, in the verses "Mal cuple em fist li *criator*: Tu es trop tendre e il trop *dur*," the author rhymes the product of a Latin [u] which palatalized to [y] in the eighth century (*dŭru*: 'hard', Mod. Fr. "dur") with that of a tonic closed unchecked *o* which diphthongized to [óu] in the sixth century and which simplified to [ø] in Old French at the beginning of the twelfth century (*creatóre*). In Central French, therefore, *criator* and *dur* cannot rhyme.

b) In contrast, in the Western dialects of Langue d'Oïl, which includes Anglo-Norman, the diphthong [óu] simplified to [u] at the beginning of the twelfth century. In these dialects, *criator* (popular form of *creator*, with closure of an unstressed *e* in hiatus to *i*) can therefore be pronounced [kriatur]. On the other hand, the [u] in *dur* underwent the Anglo-Norman velarization of [y] to [u]: [dur]. We can therefore consider that *criator* and *dur* may in fact rhyme in an Anglo-Norman context.

Is this an original or secondary rhyme? For his part, Short maintains that this is not "of itself a sufficient condition to qualify a word as AN."[12]

With regard to this rhyme, we will consider a hypothesis offered by Christophe Chaguinian,[13] that this line of verse was reworked by one of the actors of the play, seeking to render its language more accessible and more familiar to the Anglo-Norman public for whom he was performing.

2) The absence of palatalization of *n* to [ɲ] and of [l] to [ë]

In French, an *n* followed by a yod ([j], unstressed *i* in hiatus) palatalizes starting in the second century A.D. and remains unchanged through the present intervocalically. Similarly, an *l* followed by a yod palatalizes in the third century into [l (only simplifying to [j] at the end of the seventeenth century). In Anglo-Norman, the palatalization of *n* and *l* is rarely observed in the texts.

a) This phenomenon is revealed in the spellings *verguine* (v. 94), *vergoine* (v. 399) 'shame' Mod. Fr. "vergogne," and in the rhymes *lignee : maisnee* (vv. 857–58); *cumpainun* ('companion', Mod. Fr. "compagnon"): *noun* (vv. 9–10) which associate a palatalized *n* and a non-palatalized *n*.

It is also present, in only three occurrences, in the rhymes *merveille (mirabília) : (e)steille (stélla* v817–18); *pareil (paráculu) : fiel* ('faithful', Mod. Fr. "fidèle," Lat. *fidéle* vv. 11–12).

Pope explains this by "the absence of the palatal sounds in the English sound-system."[14]

b) Nevertheless, if it is correct to state that the absence of palatalization of *n* (like that of *l*) is indeed an Anglo-Norman phenomenon, we may also consider, as does Richard Ingham, that this may be an instance of a neutralization of the rhyme (poetic licence), such as one also finds in popular song.[15] One will also note that the

Normand Guillaume de Saint-Pair, a likely contemporary of the author of the *Jeu d'Adam*, in his *Roman du Mont Saint-Michel* (Basse-Normandie, ca. 1155), rhymes *montaignes* ('mountains', Pop. Latin *montánea) et *pleignes* ('plains', Mod. Fr. "plaines," Lat. *plana*, vv. 782–84); *essoigne* ('excuse', Mod. Fr. "excuse," Pop. Latin *exónia) and *moine* ('monk', Pop. Latin *mónicu, vv. 101–2).[16]

c) Finally, it will be noted that certain palatalized forms are present in the text: *engingna* (v. 442); and in the rhyme: *enseigne : se feigne* (vv. 619–20). Numerous rhymes also attest to the palatalization of *l*, such as *mail : travail* (vv. 483–84); *pareil : conseil* (vv. 265–66, 355–56, parail : conseil (*parail : conseil* in italics) vv. 373–74); *vaille : faille* (vv. 341–42), etc.

It is therefore not beyond consideration that the few non-palatalized 'Anglo-Norman' forms are due to the work of insular copyists, who substituted them for preexisting French forms.

3) The reduction of the diphthong [je] (*-ier*, *-ié*) to [e]

a) In French, the final diphthongized [íe] in *mangier* (v. 177), *pecchié* (v. 328), only simplifies to [je], then to [e], in the thirteenth century, following the palatal consonants [ʃ] [ʒ] [ʎ]. The appearance of this phenomenon in the spelling system does not occur until the fifteenth century.

b) In Anglo-Norman [ie] evolves early into [e] at the end of the eleventh century, regardless of the phonetic environment, following a palatal consonant, *manger* (v. 148), *tocher* (v. 516); or a non-palatal consonant: *l'autrer : provender* (vv. 175–76).

The two evolutions occur alongside one another and are even associated in the text, a fact that suggests a reworking of the original text. Thus, in the rhyme *pité* ('pity', Mod. Fr. "pitié") : *esleecié* (vv. 803–4), the form *pité* may be considered a secondary rhyme.

4) The question of centralized *e* (or 'e caduc')

The centralized *e* is the result of an unstressed vowel (often *a*) which weakened in the development of Latin into French. It is realized in continental versification, but disappears when it occurs in hiatus in front of a word beginning with a vowel or at the end of the last syllable in a line. The Continental poets generally mastered its use. A good

number of the verses of the *Jeu d'Adam* conform to the versification norms for Continental Old French:[17]

"Tu es *fieblett(e)* e *tendre chos(e)*, E es plus *fresche que* n'est *ros(e)*" (vv. 227–28).

"Tel *homm(e)* istra *de* ma *semenc(e)*, Qui *changera nostre sentenc(e)*" (vv. 763–64).

However, many of these have an unbalanced number of syllables, either due to the presence in a word of an *e* which would not be realized in French versification, or conversely, due to its deletion in a word where it would usually be pronounced. This treatment of the central *e* is considered "one of the most notorious AN characteristics."[18] This is explained by the fact that this phoneme is unknown in Anglo-Norman.

a) Deletion of central *e*

– "Nel *fra* pas car nel crerai" (v. 285, -1 syllable) = *fera(i)*; "Dunt tu *duses* vergunder" (v. 396, -1) = *deüsses*; "*Tut* ta force et tot tun sens" (v. 32, -1) = *tute*.

The addition of an *e* in the words cited above makes it possible to reconstitute them to their expected forms and to give to the verse the number of syllables necessary to create balance.

b) Insertion of a svarabhaktic *e*, based on the model of *-er* verbs (of the type *amerai*)

– "Ja n'avras faim, por bosoing ne *beveras*" (v. 53, +1); "Ja *n'averas* frait, ja chalt ne sentiras (v. 54, +1);" "Est il tant bon? Tu le *saveras*" (v. 295, +1).

The substitution of *bevras, avras, savras* balances each of the verses cited above.

Should one attribute these imperfect verses to the author himself, possibly uninformed about the metrics of Continental French? It is doubtful since in the stage directions, he warns the actors against errors of metrics which could compromise the rhythm of his verses: "*Et in rithmis nec sillabam addant nec demant sed omnes firmiter pronuncient et dicantur seriatim que dicenda sunt.*" (and in the verse they shall neither add nor omit away a syllable but pronounce all clearly and say in proper order what they have to say).[19]

Our hypothesis is that these forms could have been introduced into the text by copyists or actors who chose a diction which conformed to Anglo-Norman pronunciation, more natural and more familiar to the ears of the insular public, even at the risk of sacrificing the regular rhythm of the verses.[20]

Morphosyntax

1) The system of declensions

According to Geneviève Hasenohr, the distinction between *cas sujet* and *cas régime*[21] was rarely made in Anglo-Norman: "L'anglo-normand a de tout temps si peu respecté les règles de la déclinaison qu'on a pu affirmer qu'elle n'avait jamais été en vigueur en Angleterre" (Anglo-Norman so consistently ignored the rules of the declension system that one could state that it was never in effect in England.)[22] In the *Jeu d'Adam*, numerous examples of nouns, adjectives and of determiners used in a case or with a form that does not correspond to their function illustrate this fact, with a few exceptions worth explaining.

a) The confusion of *cas sujet* (CS) - *cas régime* (CR)

– "Tu es *mi freres* li ainez" (v. 675): expected CS singular form *mi(s) frere*.

– "Od vos serra cum *homme* mortals Li *sires le* celestials" (vv. 873–74): expected CS singular form *huem* or *hom*; *li sire li* celestials.

– "*Li fel serpent* [...] me fist mangier" (v. 575): expected CS singular form *li fels serpenz*.

– "*Le fouc* estoit molt *fier* e *grant*" (v. 935): expected CS singular form *li fous*; *fiers e granz*.

– "De *tuit le fruit* de Paradis Puis jo manger?" (v. 147): expected CR form *tot*.

– "A ton *bels* cors" (v. 253): expected CR singular form *bel*.

– "Tu as *li* bien, ne seiez joïr;" "*Li* ton pecché ploreront;" "Ne de tocher *li* fruit de vie" (vv. 125, 460, 516): expected CR singular *le* in these three verses.

– "*Tes emfanz* en dolor naistrunt" (v. 455): expected CS plural *ti emfant*.

We observe nevertheless that, if the forms in these verses display a constant declensional 'shortcoming', they all respect the meter without exception.

b) Two-stem nouns

– Certain two-stem nouns, such as CS *sire* / CR *seignor* and CS *traïtre* / CR *traïtor*, present forms that correspond to their function:

– "Tu es mon serf et jo ton[23] *sire*" (v. 405, connected to the rhyme in v. 406 *contredire*); "Il volst traïr ja son *seignor*" (v. 289, connected to the rhyme in v. 290 *halzor*).

The *Jeu* presents 12 occurrences of the form of *cas sujet sire* and 11 of that of *cas régime seignor*, all regular.

– (Adam) "Ne creire ja le *traïtor*! Il est *traïtre*. (Eve) Bien le sai" (vv. 280–81). *Traïtor* is connected to the rhyme in *honor* (v. 279).

These *cas sujet* and *cas régime* forms which conform perfectly to the declension are, according to all evidence, the work of the author who demonstrates mastery of the nominal morphosyntax of this category of morphologically complex nouns. Copyists did not rework them, since they were essential to the rhyme (and to the meter). Contrasting with the erroneous forms present in the text as a whole, they attest to the earlier state of the work as well as the extent of the subsequent modifications.

c) The masculine singular possessive adjectives: two concurrent patterns

The French possessive *mes*, in *cas sujet*: "*mes* pecchiez me dehaite" (v. 565, 1 occ.) occurs alongside its Anglo-Norman equivalent *mis* (in front of a vowel) or *mi* (in front of a consonant): "Cil serra *mis* amis" (v. 84, 1 occ.); "tu es *mi* frères[24]" (v. 675, 3 occ.).

d) The connector introducing hypothetical clauses

Old French *se* and Anglo-Norman *si* are employed concurrently: "*Se* de bon cuer le voloms obeïr N'averont nos almes poür de perir" (vv. 601–2, 7 occ.); "*Si* tu le fais ne peccheras de rien" (v. 72, 16 occ.). *Si* is the predominant form in the *Jeu*.

Since *si* only becomes generalized in French in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, we shall consider it here as an Anglo-Norman form.

Metrically equivalent to *se*, and not appearing in rhymes, *si* can easily result from a simple inconsequential adaptation of the text toward the speech habits of its intended public. The same is true of *mis / mi* with regard to the French form *mes*.

The *Jeu d'Adam* thus presents many of the characteristic features of Anglo-Norman. These features are attested in a small number and always occur concurrently with their French realizations. A certain number of these fea-

tures may be attributed to the author, but their coexistence with the regular forms of French suggests rather that they are the work of one or more scribes who, in copying the text, consciously or unconsciously, introduced into it elements of their own writing and linguistic habits, which were also those of their audience.

Certain details of the text allow us to distinguish between the original linguistic elements and those which can be analyzed as secondary. They also permit us to narrow down the date of the work as well as the place of origin of its author.

The Linguistic Situation of the Original Text (Date, Geolinguistic Zone)

Ço, jo, hom: archaic forms

1) *ço < *ecce hoc* (38 occ.) is the archaic form of the neuter demonstrative "ce"

"N'ai nul bosoing de *ço* saveir" (v. 123).

Ço weakens to *ce* before 1150. The form *ce* is rare in the *Jeu*: "Por *ce* perdrunt lor oncïon" (v. 838, 4 occ.).

2) *jo* (< *ego*) "je," is very frequent in the text (100 occ.); *hom* (< *homo*), 'one', Mod. Fr. "on," is rarer (3 occ.)

"Que *jo* guerpi le seignor que *hom* aure" (v. 521)

In the twelfth century, *jo* weakens to *je*: "*Je* te mettrai od lui en gloire" (v. 39, 3 occ. in the *Jeu*) and *hom* replaced by *on* (no occurrences).

Let us clarify that neither the Anglo-Norman forms *ceo*, *jeo* nor the Norman forms *cen*, *jen* are attested in the *Jeu d'Adam*. The archaic French forms are thus the dominant ones.

The Distribution of the Forms of the Neuter Negator *nen / ne*

Nen constitutes, in all of the dialects of Langue d'Oïl, the weakening of the Latin negation form *non*.

1) In front of a vowel, the negation retains the form *nen*

"Le fruit que Deus vos a doné *Nen* a en soi gaires bonté" (vv. 245–46)

There are 10 occurrences of *nen* in the *Jeu d'Adam*.

2) In front of a consonant, the final *n* is lost *(non > nen > ne)*

"Em peril sui, *ne* puis venir a rive" (v. 574); "Si jo misfis, *ne* fu merveille grant" (v. 465, 82 occ.).

3) Use of elided *ne* (*n'*)

The *Jeu* contains 67 elided forms of *ne* (instead of *nen*) in front of a vowel: "*N'*i porras ja changer li toen eage" (v. 98, 10 syllables); "E lor chastel *n'*iert pas vilains" (v. 762, 8 syllables). The original character of the elided negation is confirmed by the metrics.

　　　Present from the time of the *Chanson de Roland* alongside *nen*, the elided form competes with the original form from the time of the first French texts. The distribution of *nen* / *ne* is still attested in texts of the twelfth century. *Nen* disappears in the thirteenth century and is replaced by *n'*.

Vocalisation of *l* in Front of a Consonant

In central French and the dialects of Langue d'Oïl, an *l* vocalizes in front of a consonant in the second half of the eleventh century: *volerát > voldrát > voudrá*.

　　　In the *Jeu d'Adam*, this vocalization is evident in a very small number of spellings. Thus, the forms of the future of the verb *voloir* are *voldrai* (v. 42)*, voldras* (vv. 126, 416), *voldra* (vv. 186, 590, 11 occ.), with no examples of the base *voudr-*. Similarly, *oisels* (v. 62); *mielz* (v. 115); *voels* (v. 198) appear only in their archaic form.

　　　There are only 3 occurrences of *au*: *au roi* (vv. 348, 360), *au sablon* (v. 704), along with *al*: *al mond* (v. 91), *al soir* (v. 652, 14 occ.). *Altre* predominates: "De l'*altre* fruit rien ne lui chalt" (v. 155, 7 occ.), but one finds also *l'autrer* (v. 175) and *l'autrier* (v. 395), literally 'the other yesterday', Mod. Fr. "l'autre hier."

　　　The conservative spelling of *l* is thus the dominant one, and we can consider *au*, *autr(i)er* as results of later changes to the composition of the work.

The Evolution of Tonic Closed Unchecked *e*
or of a Closed *e* + yod from Latin;
That of a Tonic Closed Unchecked *o* from Latin

1) Tonic closed unchecked *e* diphthongizes to [ei] in the sixth century:
   Latin *mé* > [méi]

   a) In Old French, the diphthong [éi] develops into [ói] of the
   beginning of the twelfth century: [méi] > [mói] spelled *moi*.

   b) In the Western dialects of Langue d'Oïl, where this evolution does
   not occur, [ei] simplifies to [e], also at the beginning of the twelfth
   century: [méi] > [me]. The product of the diphthong is written *ei, ai* or
   e: *saveir* (Lat. *sapére*) (vv. 123, 136, 158), *saver* (vv. 115, 116, 237, 251,
   284, 296); *fei* (Clas. Latin *fíde*, Late Latin *féde*, v. 186), *fai* (v. 236).

In the *Jeu*, the product of the diphthong is present in its French form
and that of Western Langue d'Oïl, including its use in rhyme: *tei : moi*
(vv. 13–14); *toi : fai* ('faith', Mod. Fr. "foi" vv. 235–36); *rois : trais* ('three',
Mod. Fr. "trois" vv. 853–54); *moi : fei* (vv. 187–88); but also *toi : foi*
(vv. 287–88).

     One passage in the manuscript presents the rhyme *savoir : aver*, with
a correction of *savoir* to *saveir*: Adam: "N'ai nul bosoing de ço *savoir*!"
(corrected with a subscript *e*: *saveir*) Diabolus: "Kar tu ne *deiz* nul bien
aver!" (vv. 123–24). We will consider that this is a question of rectifica-
tion, undertaken by a copyist, of a form that he had written -*oi*-, while the
original rhymed *saveir* et *aver*.

     We can analyze these spellings either as conservative, with the
author pronouncing [oi] but continuing to write -*ei*, -*ai* or –*e*, or as dialec-
tal and revealing of the origin of the author in the Western d'Oïl geolin-
guistic zone, where the diphthong [ei], undifferentiated, simplified to [e]
in the twelfth century.

2) Latin tonic closed unchecked *o* diphthongizes to [óu] in the sixth
   century

   a) In Old French, [óu] evolves to [éu] in the second half of the eleventh
   century, then to [øu] in the first half of the twelfth century, and
   monophthongizes to [ø], spelled *eu*, in the first half of the twelfth
   century.

   b) In the Western dialects of Oïl, [óu] is undifferentiated, and monoph-
   thongizes in the twelfth century to [u], spelled *ou* in continental
   texts, *u* in Anglo-Norman.

The product of Latin tonic closed unchecked *o* is represented by different spellings in the *Jeu d'Adam*:

– Latin-based spelling (archaic): *dolor* (vv. 96, 200, Lat. *dolóre* 8 occ.).

– Anglo-Norman spelling: *merveillus* (v. 877).

The two spellings can be rhymed: *seignor* : *creatur* (*-óre* vv. 189–90).

– Western Langue d'Oïl spellings: *dous* 'two', Mod. Fr. "deux" (Lat. *dós < dúos*): "Por quei avra entre nos *dous* tençon?" (v. 609, 5 occ.).

– A single French spelling: "Entre nos *deus* ait grant dilection" (v. 607).

c) The product of tonic free closed *o* also rhymes with that of an unstressed *o*, which closed to [u] in the twelfth century: *glorius* : *vos* ('you', Mod. Fr. "vous," vv. 871–72), and with that of a checked stressed *o*, also closing to [u] in the twelfth century: *errur* : *jor* ('day', Mod. Fr. "jour," Lat. *diúrnu* vv. 903–4).

Such associations in rhyme of the phonemes studied above, however they may be spelled, are strong indications of the monophthongized pronunciation [u], characteristic of Western Langue d'Oïl.

The presence of spellings from Western Langue d'Oïl, the product of a tonic closed unchecked *e* and that of a tonic closed unchecked *o* leads one to consider these spellings as representative of the author's usage, and the French forms as secondary ones.

Conclusion: The Date of the *Jeu d'Adam*? Its Geolinguistic Source?

1) It is to be noted that the spellings of the text present few etymological letters or superfluous spellings (*surcharges graphiques*).

a) Etymological letters

– *tempter, tempta* (vv. 332, 751), in Old French *tenter, tenta*, based on Latin *temptáre*, 'to tempt', Mod. Fr. "tenter" (see *temptandum* in the stage directions).

– *contreditz* (v. 753), *netz* (v. 865); *escutetz* (v. 913); *quartz* (v. 941) present the redundant spelling *tz* (4 occ.), the spelling *z* noting the cluster *ts*.

– But *fruit* (vv. 19, 245) / *froit* (vv. 472, 776, 17 occ. + 2), *fait* (vv. 235, 315, 9 occ.), *noit* ('night', Mod. Fr. "nuit" vv. 438, 638, 2 occ.) are spelled without etymological *c*: Manjas le *fruit* sans mon *otroi* (v. 424 < *frúctu*; *verb *otroier,* Lat. *auctorizáre*).

b) Use of diacritical or ornamental *y*

This is limited to a few uses:

– *ymage* (v. 409); but *imagene* (v. 5).
– *Chaim* (vv. 623, 722) is also written *Chaym* (v. 591). In the stage directions figure the name *Moyses* (1 occ.) and that of the prophet *Isaias* (1 occ.), also represented by the abbreviation *Y* (10 occ.), as well as the Latin adjective *hylaris*.
– But *sai* (v. 119 jo ne *sai* quant, 13 occ.), *sui* (v. 316 Or *sui* mort, 31 occ.), *moi* (Donat le *moi* e jo mangai, v. 419, 34 occ.) are not rendered with a final *y*.

This general simplicity of spelling is to be attributed to the author. It conforms to the habits of French before the fourth century. We will consider etymological letters as suggestive of a later reworking of the original text.

2) In addition, considering various archaic characteristics, such as the general conservation of *l* before consonants, the predominance of the pronominal forms *ço, jo, hom*, which disappear in the twelfth century, the distribution of the unstressed negation *nen / ne* (*nen* disappears in the thirteenth century), we can establish the period when the text was written.

But if one considers the fact that the author of a literary text often demonstrates a certain conservatism in terms of spelling and language, these characteristics as a whole lead one to situate the composition of the *Jeu* in the second part of the twelfth century.

3) We have identified in the text the presence of linguistic characteristics from the West of Langue d'Oïl. This vast linguistic zone includes Normandy, Romanized Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Poitou and Saintonge, which have in common the phonetic and morphological characteristics which we have identified in the *Jeu d'Adam*.[25]

In addition to the lack of differentiation of diphthongs [ei] and [ou] studied above (*mei, saver, trais; merveillus, dous*), characteristic of Western Langue d'Oïl, we can identify three morphological phenomena unique to this geolinguistic zone:

a) Final *–om* for the first person plural of the verbs: *alom* (vv. 642, 665), *preom* (v. 637), *rendom* (v. 600), *seom* (v. 594), *tendrom* (v. 910) (6 occ.); it alternates with the Anglo-Norman ending *-um*: *donum* (v. 60), *issum* (v. 667), *seum* (v. 595), *pernum* (v. 294), *purrum* (v. 86), *servum* (v. 596, 6 occ.) and with a 'mixed' ending *-oms / -ums*: *aloms* (vv. 629, 635), *conquerroms* (v. 596), *eisseroms* (v. 106)**,** *serroms* (v. 672*)*, *voloms* (v. 601), *irrums* (v. 671, 5 + 1 occ.), to which an analogical *s* based on Old Central French *-ons* could be added later.

There is only one form ending in *–ons* in the *Jeu*: *serrons* 'we will be', Mod. Fr. "serons" (v. 606).

b) The present subjunctive form ending in *–ge*, present in texts "à l'Ouest et en Picardie" ("in the West and in Picardy"), according to Gaston Zink[26]: *dorges* (v. 740, subjunctive of *durer*); *dunge* (v. 208, from *donner*); *prenge* (v. 226, from *prendre*); *tienge* (v. 748 from *tenir*); *vienge(z)* (v. 203, from *venir*, 4 occ.). Brigitte Horiot notes that this present subjunctive, "attesté depuis la *Chanson de Roland* [...] est caractéristique des anciens textes normands et anglo-normands comme de ceux du Nord-Ouest" (attested since the *Chanson de Roland* [...] is characteristic of old Norman and Anglo-Normand texts like those of the Northwest).[27]

c) The imperfect formed with *–ou-* for verbs of the first group (Lat. < *-ába-*)

This "forme de l'Ouest (dont l'anglo-normand)" (Western form (including Anglo-Norman))[28] appears in one sole occurrence, which must be cited in its context: "Les trois emfanz *fasoient* joie grant La ou il furent al fouc ardant. *Chantouent* un vers si bel (Lat. *cantábant)*. *Sembloit* li angle fuissent del ciel. Cum jo m'en regart, si vi le quartz Chi lor *fasoit* molt grant solaz. Les chieres *avoient* tant resplendisant, *Sembloient* le filz de Deu puissant" (Lat. *simulábant)* (vv. 937–44). Could *chantouent*, in a series of imperfect forms using *–oi-*, have been 'forgotten' by a copyist who might have corrected *sembloit / semblouent* to *sembloit / sembloient*? Was it, conversely, introduced into the text secondarily? Did it result from a simple confusion of spelling between *i* and *u*?

One will observe that imperfect forms containing *-oi* predominate in these verses. In verbs other than the *–er* group, the imperfect originally had an ending based on *–ei*, which could have been the original vowel of the other imperfects in the passage: *faseit*,

faseient, *aveient*. A general modernization of the forms of the imperfect could have been undertaken in this passage, all while sparing the form *chantouent*.

As part of the vast Western Language d'Oïl region, Normandy had historic ties to England, with important linguistic consequences. Norman-Picard features, characteristic of the Northern part of Normandy (the Northern and Central parts of the Departments of Manche, Calvados, Seine-Maritime and the northern part of the department of Eure) are present in the Anglo-Norman dialect and even influenced English[29].

4) Norman-Picard features

— In Central French, [k] and [g] followed by an *a* underwent palatalization in the fifth century, which led to their evolution to [tʃ] and [dʒ] and simplification to [ʃ] and [ʒ] around the year 1200: *castéllu* > *chastel*, *gámba* > *jambe*.

When followed by *e* or *i*, [k] palatalizes to [s]: *céra* > *cire*.

— These evolutions are also attested in the south of Normandy (south of the departments of Manche, Calvados, Orne, and the south of the department of Eure).

— In the Northern part of Normandy, [k] and [g] undergo a particular evolution in front of a palatal vowel: absence of palatalization in front of [a] (*castéllu* > *castel*; *gamba* > *gambe*), a weak palatalization to [ʃ] of a [k] occurring before *e* and *i* (*céra* > *chire*). This phenomenon is frequently attested from the time of the first medieval texts originating in this zone[30], which is called Norman-Picard. This evolution does not appear in the *Jeu*.

a) [k] + a > [ʃ] (French) / [k] (Norman-Picard)

There is no palatalization of [k] in front of *a* in the Norman-Picard zone. Indeed, the forms *chastels* (v. 762) and not **castels*; *chardons* (vv. 432, 545), and not **cardons*, *chantouent* and not **cantouent* (v. 939), appear in the *Jeu d'Adam*.

b) [g] + a > [ʒ] (French) / [g] (Norman-Picard)

Gardin (v. 244) may be the only trace in the *Jeu* of the Norman-Picard phenomenon of non-palatalization of a [g] occurring before *a*.

It is necessary however to emphasize the ambiguity of the letter *g*: inasmuch as it corresponds to a [ʒ] occurring in front of *e* and *i*, it may also be used to represent this same phoneme [ʒ] in front of an *a*

(see *mangai* 'manjai' v. 419)]. *Gardin*, for its part, occurs in the text along with *jardin* (vv. 82, 88) and *jardenier* (v. 182).

c) [k] + [e], [i] > [s] (French) / [ʃ] (*ch*, Norman-Picard)

One will note an absence of forms in –*ch*- in the text, which would attest to the weak Norman-Picard palatalization of [k] in front of *e* or *i*. *Cil* (vv. 247, 789, 790), *cels* (< *ecce illi*, *ecce illos*, vv. 555, 801, 834, 9 occ.); *face* (< *faciat*, vv. 367, 510, 2 occ.), *face* (*facies*, v. 402, 1 occ.), are the only French forms.

These phonetic details allow us to determine the geolinguistic origin of the author to the West of Langue d'Oïl (where one says *mei*, *dous*), but not to the Norman-Picard area (where one says *castel*, *gardinier*). These corroborate the analysis of Geneviève Hasenohr regarding the *Jeu d'Adam*: "Un texte originaire de l'Ouest (au sens large) […] recopié à plusieurs reprises, sans doute par des clercs d'origine insulaire" (A text originating in the West (broadly defined) […] recopied several times, undoubtedly by scribes of insular origin.)[31]

In addition to the changes made to the text subsequent to its composition, as we have discussed in the preceding paragraphs, is useful at this point to add a certain number of other features, the extent of which we will analyze.

Anglo-Norman "Coloring"
Reworking by Insular Copyists

Several details reveal, in the work of the scribes, specific Anglo-Norman spelling habits which appear to be later than the presumed period in which the text was composed:

1) The evolution of *s* in front of a voiced consonant

   a) In Old French, *s* in front of a voiced consonant voices to [z] and disappears. This phenomenon occurs even before the Norman Conquest of England (1066).

   The rhyme *dismes* 'tithes', Mod. Fr. 'dîmes' : *maïmes* (vv. 657–58, Lat. **metípsimu* 'same, self', Mod. Fr. 'même') connects a conservative spelling and a phonetic spelling of the phenomenon.

   b) In Anglo-Norman, one of the attested treatments of *s* in front of a consonant is that of the voicing of *s* to [z] and of its spirantization to [d]. The *Jeu* presents only one attestation of the phenomenon

in *brudlee* Lat. **brus(tu)láta* 'burned', Mod. Fr. "brûlée"): *meslee* (vv. 361–62).

c) In the participle (*femme*) *deavee* (v. 357 = *desvee* 'mad, crazy', Mod. Fr. 'folle'), the loss of the *s* entails the addition of the spelling *ea*, "Old English digraph to represent [e]"[32].

The Old English diphthong *ea* reduced to [e] in the eleventh century[33] but copyists continued to use it in English texts as the equivalent of [e] and they transposed this usage into Anglo-Norman texts as well.

These isolated forms, which represent various evolutions of *s* in front of a consonant, are probably due to different copyists, some of who were Anglophones.

2) The Anglo-Norman diphthong [ou] in *oun*

"Je t'ai duné bon cumpainun, Cë est ta femme, Eva a *noun*" (vv. 9–10, 'name', Mod. Fr. "nom").

In French, tonic closed *o* underwent diphthongization to [ou] in the seventh century and nasalized in the tenth century, something "qui n'est pratiquement jamais notée dans l'écriture" ("which is practically never noted in writing.")[34] The French nasalized diphthong [õũ] reduces to [õõ] in the eleventh century, and to [õ] in the twelfth century, as is attested in the text by the spelling of the noun "nom" (Lat. *nómen*): Ce fu Adam, la mere ot *non* Evain (v. 591, 3 occ.); Cum ad *num*? (v. 82, 1 occ.).

Short comments on this form: "The distinctive AN graphy introduced in the later thirteenth in the wake of *aun* had become current by the middle of the fourteenth century."[35]

In *noun*, the sole example of the diphthong [ou][36] bears witness to the later reworking of the text by an insular copyist.

Moreover, there are no examples of –*aun*- in the *Jeu d'Adam*.

3) P1[37] finals in–*a*

"Jo t'en *crerra,* tu es ma per" (v. 330); "Ne *sa* que die" (v. 367).

According to Pope, in Anglo-Norman, "In the later period, *ai* was often reduced to *a*."[38]

These forms (5 occ. in all) were introduced into the text later. They stand in opposition to French forms: "N'en *serai* trait por home né" (v. 377); "Ne *sai* si tu voldras gabber" (v. 416), which reveal a good mastery of French verbal forms on the part of the author.

These three phenomena are probably the result of unconscious changes made by copyists, influenced by their own writing habits.

However, certain other details lead one to think that the scribes deliberately made changes to the forms of the text, at times deleting certain letters, at other times retaining them.

An Anglo-Norman Adaptation of the French Text?

1) Deletion or retention of prosthetic *e*

   The vowel *e*, pronounced in front of the initial ([sk]), *sp*, *st* from the second century in order to facilitate the pronunciation of the cluster, is not observed in 7 nouns where it is present in Continental French. This deletion of a prosthetic *e* is widespread in Anglo-Norman[39].

   a) Deletion of prosthetic *e*
      – "O cele *spee* qui flamboie" (v. 517); "Mais ne porquant en Deu est ma *sperance*" (v. 587).
      – = *O cel(e) *espee* qui flamboie; *Mais ne porquant en Deu est m'*esperance*.

      In metrics, a prosthetic *e* elides when it follows a word with a final vowel. We observe that in these verses, the final vowel of the preceding word, which would be elided in front of the *e*, is pronounced: the verse thus retains its metrical balance.

      We also observe, however, in other metric contexts, that the prosthetic e was retained.

   b) Retention of prosthetic *e*

      After a word with a final consonant, prosthetic *e* is not deleted, the preceding word not being able to undergo elision.
      – "Qui ert *estoille* de clarté" (v. 823); "En ce devez tenir *espeir*" (v. 930) (14 occ.). The copyists therefore only transformed terms with prosthetic *e*, according to the Anglo-Norman linguistic model in effect, when metrics allowed them to do so. Otherwise, they retained the French forms.

2) Deletion of central *e* (or 'e caduc')

   a) "Moi aime *honor* ton creator" (v. 29); "Lui serf e *aim* par bon coraje" (v. 37)

In *honor*, *aim* ("honore," "aime"), the poet employed epic caesura: the final *e* in *honor* is not taken into account, and the copyist did not write it. In contrast, he retained the *e* of *aime*, which naturally elides in front of the initial *o* of *(h)onor*.

b) "Tu la prendras en molt *bon* ore" (v. 312); "Par le conseil de *mal* uxor" (v. 322)

The final *e* of *bone, male,* which elides in front of an initial vowel, is not written.

These forms without *e* could, as a number of others noted above in this article, represent indications of pronunciation intended for the actors, or introduced in the text by the actors themselves.[40]

These indications, which do not all follow the same norms for deletion and retention, are probably the work of different scribes.

c) "*Tut* ta force et tot tun sens" (v. 32) -1 syllable; (Eva): "Go sui *mesfait*, ço fu par folage" (v. 461) -1 syllable: deletion of the final *e* in *tute*, *mesfaite*, corresponds here to Anglo-Norman pronunciation, which does not contain the central *e*.

Similarly, in "Tu *n'avois* rien l'autrier" (v. 395, -2); "Si jo poeie jo *frai* par offrende" (v. 570, -1), for *avoies*, *fraie*, we observe the deletion of *e* in the endings of the imperfect and the conditional, begun in Anglo-Norman at the end of the twelfth century and generalized in the thirteenth.[41]

Once again, here we will seriously consider the hypothesis that copyists sought to adapt the pronunciation of the verses to Anglo-Norman usage, choosing a more natural pronunciation in their estimation, at the risk of disrupting the metrics, to which their public was perhaps not very attuned.

Occitan Characteristics?

Certain features, traditionally interpreted as Occitanisms, are worth being examined carefully and contrasted with usages found in texts contemporary with the *Jeu*.

1) Thus, the penultimate *a* in *lassaras* (v. 55, Lat. *laxáre*) 'you will leave, permit', Mod. Fr. "laisseras," the final *a* in *natura* (v. 780) 'nature', Mod. Fr. "nature;" *terra* (v. 783) 'earth', Mod. Fr. "terre," and the form

foc, *fouc* (vv. 934, 935, 938, Lat. *fŏcu*) 'fire', Mod. Fr. "feu," without diphthongization and with the retention of the original final consonant, rather than being Occitanisms, could be considered Latinisms due to the constant back-and-forth of the copyist between the Latin of the stage directions and the French of the text.

The text itself begins with a switch from French to Latin: "Fourmé te ai *de limo terre*" (v. 1–2).

2) *Tazera* (v. 918) / *tarzera* (v. 558, 'it will take a long time' Mod. Fr. "tardera," Lat. *tardicáre*)

Is the letter *z*, which transcribes the affricate [dʒ], an Occitan spelling? One finds this convention for the same verb in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure: *tarzier* (II 10465); *tarzierent* (II 2177). In the *Roman du Mont Saint-Michel* of Guillaume de Saint-Pair (Normandy, circa 1155), *clerzie* (v. 11), *clerzum/clerzon* (vv. 844, 918) are written for "clergie, clergeon" ('lower cleric', Mod. Fr. "petit clerc"). Beaulieux, in the *Histoire de l'orthographe française*, describes the *z* as a letter used to "parer à une défectuosité de la graphie" (remediate an imperfection of the spelling.),[42] the phoneme [ʒ] usually spelled *i*, with all of the ambiguities that this entails.

We note nevertheless that Occitan features would not be surprising in a text circulating around the Plantagenet Empire, where there was constant contact between Language d'Oïl and Langue d'Oc.

Conclusion

We reiterate here the analyses and hypotheses proposed in the different parts of our study:

The *Jeu* was originally a text written in Continental French, with dialectal coloring from the West of Langue d'Oïl.[43]

It was copied, in different periods, by one or more insular copyists, who inserted into the text various divergent Anglo-Norman traits, and some characteristics of English (*brudlee, deavee, noun, spee*), each attested in a small number of examples. Some of these were also modified by actors for whom the text was their working script and who consciously adapted the text to conform to the linguistic practices of the insular public for which it was performed for the purposes of facilitating comprehension of the text.

Aside from constituting a play of great interest, the *Jeu d'Adam* is a fascinating linguistic artifact: in appearance an Anglo-Norman text, in reality, quite probably a work composed by a Continental author and made into a version accessible to the Anglo-Norman public by its insular user(s), copyists and actors, and testifying to the multicultural nature of the Plantagenet world.

Translated by Joe Price

NOTES

[1] Ingham, *Transmission*, 26.

[2] Christophe Chaguinian's edition of the *Jeu d'Adam* supplies all quoted texts.

[3] Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*.

[4] Short, *Manual*.

[5] Hasenohr, "Philologie romane 2004," 158.

[6] Studer, *Mystère d'Adam*.

[7] Grass, *Das Adamspiel*.

[8] International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols are used in this article.

[9] *Occurrences*: hereafter abbreviated *occ.*

[10] For each phenomenon discussed, we offer examples chosen from the text for their distinctive traits.

[11] The form *croiz* does not appear in the text.

[12] Short, *Manual*, 60.

[13] Chaguinian, *Jeu d'Adam*, 151 note 34.

[14] Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, § 1182.

[15] Ingham, *Transmission*, 61.

[16] Guillaume de Saint-Pair, *Roman du Mont Saint-Michel*.

[17] The *Jeu d'Adam* is written in octosyllabic and decasyllabic verse.

[18] Short, *Manual*, 92.

[19] Chaguinian, *Jeu d'Adam*, 72.

[20] On this topic, see Chaguinian, *Traces de la représentation*.

[21] *Cas sujet* (CS), form of the noun when it is the subject, attributive adjective as a subject complement, or when used in exclamations; *cas régime* (CR), form of the noun when it is a complement.

[22] Hasenohr, *Introduction*, 27.

[23] *Mon serf, ton* (sire): the expected forms of the CS are *mes* (or *mis*) *sers*, *tes* or *tis* (sire).

[24] Mi *freres*: the regular CS form is *frere*.

[25] In this regard, see Gauthier and Lavoie, *Français de France* and more specifically in that volume, the article by Gauthier and Lavoie entitled "Les traits phonétiques communs," as well as that by Horiot, "Éléments morphologiques

communs." René Lepelley, *Normandie dialectale*, called this zone the "Grand Ouest," 46–47.

[26] Zink, *Morphologie*, 155.

[27] Horiot, "Éléments morphologiques communs," 71.

[28] Zink, *Morphologie*, 172.

[29] The terms *cat* 'cat', Mod. Fr. "chat"; *car* 'carriage', Mod. Fr. "voiture"; *garter* 'garter', Mod. Fr. "jarretière"; *chives* 'chives' (Mod. Fr. "ciboulette") are, in Modern English, some examples of the influence of the Norman-Picard dialect on the Anglo-Norman dialect.

[30] As attested, for example, in the *Chanson de Roland*, the form *Carles* for the first name of the emperor Charlemagne.

[31] Hasenohr, "Philologie romane 2004," 158–59.

[32] Short, *Manual*, 51.

[33] Pope, *From Latin to Modern French,* § 1212.

[34] Zink, *Phonétique*, 86.

[35] Short, *Manual*, 58.

[36] See verses 332: "D'emfer m'estoet tempter le *fond*" and 394: "Cum entrerai od toi en *conte*?"

[37] P1 = first person singular.

[38] Pope, *From Latin to Modern French,* § 1157.

[39] For a more detailed treatment of this topic, see our study in Chaguinian, *Jeu d'Adam*, 190–91.

[40] On this subject, see Chaguinian, *Traces de la représentation*.

[41] Pope, *From Latin to Modern French,* §1292.

[42] Beaulieux, *Orthographe*, 12.

[43] Three Latin *rondeaux* latins suggest a continental origin as well. Two of them, *Procedenti puero* and *Qui passus est pridie*, refer to *Gallia* which in other manuscripts is replaced by another geographic name. See in Mary Channen Caldwell's contribution the section "*Pax Galliae*: Signals of Place in Latin Song," 119–25. In *O sedes apostolica*, the term *mannetica* could be a faulty spelling of *nennetica* "Nantes." It should be noted that Nantes is located in the Romance-speaking area of Brittany and belongs to the Western Langue d'Oïl linguistic zone which is the geolinguistic zone of the author of the *Jeu d'Adam*.

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The *Responsoria* of the
Ordo representacionis Ade[1]

Océane Boudeau

Abstract

The *Ordo representacionis Ade* begins with a reading from Genesis and contains seven *responsoria* inserted between dialogues in the vernacular language. Their presence anchors the *Ordo* in the clerical world and in particular connects it to the matins service, which typically included nine *responsoria* (in the case of secular religious establishments) or twelve *responsoria* (for monastic establishments). The challenge of this research was to compare the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo* with those noted in manuscripts connected with different liturgical traditions. In the Middle Ages, the liturgy was far from standardized, each church possessing its own practices which ostensibly distinguished it from others in the choice and ordering of the chants. The manuscripts testify to these important differences.

The corpus consists of ninety-four secular and monastic manuscripts. The study of these manuscripts shows the breadth of the diffusion of the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo*, in particular in books originating in monasteries. In fact, since the matins chanted in monastic establishments consisted of twelve *responsoria*, the chances of finding the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo* are much greater in books from monastic establishments than in those originating in secular ones. Given the fact that the *Ordo* probably hails from a secular church, I focused my research on codices originating from such establishments. Of the seventy-six books originating in secular churches, the seven *responsoria* are found in fifteen manuscripts from the great urban centers of the north and south of France, notably Coutances, Rouen, and Saintes. These three cities, belonging to regions whose spoken language most closely approximated that noted in the Tours manuscript, might have been source of the copy of the *Ordo representacionis Ade*.

THE CLOSE CONNECTION BETWEEN the *Ordo representa-cionis Ade*[2] and the liturgy is well-established: the *Ordo* opens with a reading from the beginning of Genesis and throughout the entire section which dramatizes the story of Adam and Eve and then that of Abel and Cain, seven *responsoria* are inserted in the middle of the exchanges between the characters. Then, at the beginning of the Procession of the Prophets, a second reading is mentioned: Quodvultdeus's sermon *Vos, inquam, convenio, o Judei*, long attributed to Saint Augustine. While not a central part of the play, the *responsoria* nonetheless lend it a certain kind of authority. According to Steven Justice, the *responsoria* represented a clerical reading of the Genesis story, while the vernacular play represented its translation for non-clerics.[3] Indeed, the *responsoria* and dialogues are semantically redundant, and the absence of the *responsoria* would not detract from one's understanding of the *Ordo*. However, their presence, as well as that of Latin section headings and stage directions–some of them very similar to rubrics found in liturgical books–anchor the *Ordo representacionis Ade* in the clerical world.

A *responsorium* is a melismatic chant which consists of two parts; the *responsorium* itself, also called the respond performed by the choir, followed by the verse sung by a soloist or a small group of soloists, and finally, a reprise of the respond, which the choir sings in its entirety or in part, according to the schema R + V + R. In the *Ordo*, only the textual incipit of the *responsoria* is given; the verse and the music are omitted. This particularity occurs in certain liturgical books intended for celebrants who, more in need of the readings and euchological formulas than of the antiphons or *responsoria*, were content with the initial words of the chants. Clerics in charge of the performance of the music, on the other hand, could refer to antiphonaries or graduals to find the melodies in their entirety. Table 3.1 summarizes the incipits as they are written in the Tours manuscript, preceded by indications regarding the performers of the *responsoria*, most often the choir, which corresponds to the usual practice.

With the exception of Quodvultdeus's sermon, the reading and the seven *responsoria* are taken from the first four chapters of Genesis. Table 3.2 indicates the cited or adapted passages from Genesis for the first reading and for each of the *responsoria*.

The two readings as well as the seven *responsoria* can, of course, be found in liturgical books. Quodvultdeus's sermon was read at Christmastide,

Placement in Tours 927	Incipit of the *Responsoria*
fol. 20v	Tunc incipiat lectio : *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram.* Qua finita corus cantet responsorium: *Formavit igitur Dominus.*
fol. 21v	Chorus cantet responsorium: *Tulit ergo Dominus hominem.*
fol. 21v	Chorus cantet responsorium: *Dixit Dominus ad Adam.*
fol. 26v	Tunc incipiat chorus responsorium: *Dum deambularet.*
fol. 29r	Chorus cantet responsorium: *In sudore vultus tui.*
fol. 29v	(…) Figura manu eos [Adam and Eve] demonstrabit versa facie contra paradisum, et chorus incipiet responsorium : *Ecce Adam quasi unus.*
fol. 34v	Chorus cantabit responsorium : *Ubi est Abel frater tuus.*

Table 3.1. Incipits of *Responsoria*

Placement in Tours 927	Incipit of the Reading and the *Responsorium*	Correspondence in the Bible
fol. 20v	Reading *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram.*	Genesis 1:1
fol. 20v	R. *Formavit igitur Dominus.*	Genesis 2:7
fol. 21v	R. *Tulit ergo Dominus hominem.*	Genesis 2:15
fol. 21v	R. *Dixit Dominus ad Adam.*	Genesis 2:16–17
fol. 26v	R. *Dum deambularet.*	Genesis 3:8–10
fol. 29r	R. *In sudore vultus tui.*	Genesis 3:17–19
fol. 29v	R. *Ecce Adam quasi unus.*	Genesis 3:22
fol. 34v	R. *Ubi est Abel frater tuus.*	Genesis 4:9–10

Table 3.2. Biblical Sources of the Reading and *Responsoria*

	Monastic / regular *cursus*	Secular *cursus*
1st nocturn	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	
2nd nocturn	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	
3rd nocturn	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	Reading + *responsorium*
	Reading + *responsorium*	

Table 3.3. Structure of Monastic and Secular Nocturns

while the first reading and the seven *responsoria* belonged to another point in the liturgical calendar, either matins of Septuagesima or Sexagesima Sunday. The Sunday matins service, sung at night, included three parts known as nocturns. Within these nocturns, the number of the *responsoria* was not the same for monastic and secular institutions (the latter principally cathedrals and collegiate churches). In monasteries, for each nocturn, monks recited four readings, also called "lessons," each one followed by a *responsorium*, while the clergy of cathedrals and collegiate churches recited only three lessons and their *responsoria*.

The total number of *responsoria* for matins used in the monastic cursus therefore amounts to twelve but only to nine for the secular cursus. In some manuscripts additional *responsoria*, used as substitutes or for vespers and/or the matins for weekday services, are also found.[4]

Septuagesima Sunday, nine Sundays before Easter, marked the beginning of a period of penitence that lasted until Easter Sunday itself. The reading from Genesis and the performance of *responsoria* which were made up of excerpts of the Genesis text, thus took place, depending on the church, either on this Sunday or the following one, that of Sexuagesima, the eighth Sunday before Easter.

Sunday of Septuagesima
Sunday of Sexagesima
Sunday of Quinquagesima
Ash Wedneday (beginning of Lent)
1st Sunday of Lent (Quadragesima)
2nd Sunday of Lent
3rd Sunday of Lent
4th Sunday of Lent
Passion Sunday
Palm Sunday
Easter Sunday

Table 3.4. Organization of the Pre-Lenten and Lenten Seasons

From a liturgical point of view, the first reading and the seven *responsoria* form a coherent unit. However, the Procession of the Prophets does not disrupt the dramatic continuity of the *Ordo*. The announcement of the coming of the Christ born of the Virgin, both redeeming the sins of Adam and Eve and their children, corresponds to the loss of paradise and the murder of Abel. In the context of the liturgical year, the Genesis texts were reserved for the Easter season, while the Procession of the Prophets

belonged to Christmastide.[5] The theologians Jean Beleth († 1185?) and Guillaume Durand († 1330) explain in their writings why the reading from Genesis should be done during Septuagesima: "Preterea, quia in Septuagesima recolimus miseriam nostram quam propter peccata parentum nostrorum incurrimus, ideo librum Geneseos legimus ubi agitur de expulsione priorum parentum de paradyso, et de aliis de quo etiam cantamus responsorium: 'In sudore vultus tui' et illud 'Ecce Adam' etc.."[6] (In addition, during Septuagesima, we experience anew the misfortune which we have inherited because of the sins of our ancestors. It is for this reason that we read the book of Genesis which recounts the expulsion of our earliest ancestors from paradise, and we also sing the *responsorium In sudore vultus tui* and *Ecce Adam*). The beginning of this period of penitence was symbolized by the omission of the Alleluia, the subject of a particular ceremony which could be, according to one's location, the occasion of manifestations of joy, or contrarily, of sadness.[7]

The parallel between the Genesis story and the period of Lent reached its height with the ceremony of the expulsion of penitents from the church, one particularly widespread north of the Loire and in England, and which paralleled the eviction of Adam and Eve from paradise.[8] This ceremony took place on Ash Wednesday, a little more than two weeks after the start of Septuagesima, with the penitents not being permitted to return before Holy Thursday.

This ritual is described for the first time in the *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis* of Regino of Prüm († 915). This description was later included in the widely disseminated liturgical compilation known as the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, written ca. 950–60.

> In capite Quadragesime omnes pœnitentes qui publicam suscipiunt aut susceperunt pœnitentiam, ante fores ecclesiæ se repræsentent episcopo civitatis, sacco induti, nudis pedibus, vultibus in terram prostratis, reos se esse ipso habitu et vultu proclamantes; ubi adesse debent decani, id est archipresbyteri parochiarum cum testibus, id est presbyteri pœnitentium, qui eorum conversationem diligenter inspicere debent; et secundum modum culpæ pœnitentiam per præfixos gradus injungat. Post hæc in ecclesiam eos introducat, et cum omni clero septem pœnitentiæ psalmos in terram prostratus cum lacrymis pro eorum absolutione decantet. Tum consurgens ab oratione, juxta id quod canones jubent, manus eis imponat, aquam benedictam super eos spargat, cinerem prius mittat, dein cilicio capita eorum cooperiat, et cum gemitu ac crebris suspiriis eis denuntiet quod sicut Adam projectus est de paradiso, ita et ipsi ab Ecclesia

ob peccata ejiciantur. Post hæc jubeat ministros ut eos extra januas ecclesiæ expellant. Clerus vero prosequatur eos cum responsorio: *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo*, etc., ut videntes sanctam Ecclesiam, ob facinora sua tremefactam[9] et commotam, non parvipendant pœnitentiam. In sacra autem Domini cœna rursus ecclesiæ liminibus se præsentent.[10]

(On Ash Wednesday, all of the penitents who are beginning or who have already begun public penitence shall appear together in the presence of the local bishop, in front of the porch of the church, dressed in sackcloth, barefoot, eyes cast downward, thus expressing their guilt by their composure and countenance. The deans shall be present, that is, the archpriests of the parishes, along with the witnesses, that is to say, the penitentiary priests. These penitentiaries shall carefully control the manner in which the penitents live.

The bishop, according to the seriousness of the sin, shall impose an appropriate and progressive penance. The bishop shall then introduce the penitents into the church, and with all of the clergy, shall recite for the remission of their sins the seven psalms of penitence, while laying prostrate on the ground and shedding copious tears.

Then, standing up, in accordance with that which the canons prescribe, the bishop will impose hands on the penitents, asperge them with holy water after having covered them with ashes. He will cover their heads with sackcloth and, with his voice stifled with groaning, he shall announce to the penitents that they are to be expelled from the church because of their sins, just as Adam was expelled from Paradise. Then, the bishop asks his attendants to expel the penitents from the church. The clergy shall accompany the penitents while singing the following *responsorium*: *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo*, etc. so that seeing the Holy Church horrified and shaken because of their crimes, they do not taken their penitence lightly. And on Holy Thursday, they shall present themselves at the threshold of the church.)

Thereafter, this text is found in various authors and in several pontificals, liturgical books intended for the bishop. This is notably the case for the pontifical of Beauvais, adapted for the use of Lisieux and copied in the second half of the thirteenth century (Besançon 138, fol. 118r).[11] In this book, in addition to the *responsorium In sudore vultus tui* already cited by Regino of Prüm, one finds the *responsorium Ecce Adam quasi unus*, also found in the *Ordo representacionis Ade*. The pontifical preserved in

Figure 3.1. Historiated Initial at the Beginning of the Prayer "Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras.…" The initial depicts the eviction of the penitents from the church at the beginning of Lent, with the bishop standing at the entrance of the church. (Photo CNRS-IRHT © Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, ms. 138, fol. 117r.)

Besançon also offers historiated initials representing the eviction of penitents and their return on Holy Thursday (See figures 3.1 and 3.2). The parallels between this ceremony and the *Ordo representacionis Ade* are obvious. The *Ordo* could thus be defined as a veritable liturgical dramatization of the eviction of the penitents. This ceremony, just like the Sunday of Septuagesima (or Sexagesima in some churches), could therefore have served as an ideal context for the performance of a "recreational" *Ordo*.[12]

The cleric responsible for copying the *Ordo representacionis Ade* did not consider it necessary to note the *responsoria* in their entirety. For him—or for the performers of the *Ordo*—it sufficed to open a breviary or an antiphonary to refresh their memory. Through a consultation of such books, it is possible to uncover the different liturgical chants used in different religious institutions and, in so doing, to compare their contents with the *responsoria* of the *Ordo*. Given that the liturgical environment of the *Ordo* may have been the same as that of the manuscripts containing the seven *responsoria*, these liturgical books may thus indicate the religious institutions where the *Ordo representacionis Ade* may have been authored.

Figure 3.2. Historiated Initial at the Beginning of the Prayer "Adesto supplicationibus nostris…" of Holy Thursday, depicting the return of the penitents to the church. (Photo CNRS-IRHT ©Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, ms. 138, fol. 120r.)

Such a study has already been undertaken by Charles T. Downey; his conclusions, however, merit reexamination.[13] Indeed, Downey concludes that one of the authors of the *Ordo* was Bernard Itier, a monk at Saint-Martial de Limoges. According to Downey, the writing of the manuscript could have been done, therefore, at Saint-Martial itself, in collaboration with an Anglo-Norman speaker, or during a monastic journey.[14] Downey also affirms that among the *responsoria* for Septuagesima or Sexagesima, *In sudore vultus tui* and *Dixit Dominus ad Adam* do not figure in the secular manuscripts, an assertion he tempers in a footnote in which he identifies thirteen (!) books in which the *responsorium Dixit Dominus ad Adam* is, in fact, found.[15]

While the method of searching for the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo* in liturgical books may appear simple, the task is not easy, since the scribe of Tours 927 was very laconic. It is, in fact, impossible to know which verse(s) was (were) sung with these *responsoria* as verses varied from place to place. In addition, because the scribe only wrote the beginning of each *responsorium*, with no musical indications, one cannot make comparisons with other manuscripts using textual or melodic variants. Although the

Gregorian liturgical repertoire was in widespread use, a comparison of the texts and melodies shows that they were not completly standardized and there are more or less significant differences from one manuscript to another. Indeed, the monks of Solesmes relied on these variants, but also on the choice of chants for a single feast, in order to determine different families among the manuscripts.[16] The scribe of Tours 927 was, additionally, so concise that, for two *responsoria*, the incipit given could correspond to two different chants. Thus, "In sudore vultus tui" could refer to *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo* (CAO 6937) or to *In sudore vultus tui vesceris panem donec* (CAO 6938) and "Dixit Dominus ad Adam" to *Dixit Dominus ad Adam: De ligno quod est in medio paradisi ne comedas: in qua hora comedis* (CAO 6470) or to *Dixit Dominus ad Adam: De ligno quod est in medio paradisi ne comedas: in quacumque die comederis* (CAO 6471).[17] However, since all of these *responsoria* were sung for the same feast, I have not taken these distinctions into account in this study; it would indeed be an impossible endeavor given the nature of the copy of the *Ordo representacionis Ade*.

The task is rendered equally difficult by the reduced number of *responsoria* written in the *Ordo*. The seven *responsoria* were intially integrated into a longer series of nine or twelve *responsoria*, but in the *Ordo representacionis Ade* there is no indication as to whether the seven *responsoria* belonged to a monastic (12) or secular (9) series. Consultation of Tours 927 also does not reveal in which nocturn they were initially performed. In fact, while the *Ordo*, thanks to its first reading and to its seven *responsoria*, makes reference to the matins service, it does not divide the *responsoria* into nocturns.

The Series of *Responsoria*

The series that included the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* was stable and contained a total of thirteen *responsoria*. The members of the clergy thus selected nine or twelve *responsoria* among these in order to construct their matins series. The following table indicates these thirteen *responsoria* as well as the passages from Genesis to which they correspond. The order of presentation is that of the biblical text and the *responsoria* in bold are those used in the *Ordo representacionis Ade*. For monks, only one *responsorium* needed to be removed in order to produce a series of twelve. In most cases, it was the *responsorium Igitur perfecti sunt celi* that was removed. On the other hand, for canons, the choices were more chal-

lenging, since they had to eliminate four *responsoria*. The combinations used in the secular cursus are therefore more varied than those of their monastic counterpart. The monastic or secular series nevertheless often possessed identical beginnings and endings: the two *responsoria* from the beginning of Genesis, *In principio fecit Deus* and *In principio Deus creavit* at the beginning of the cursus and *Ubi est Abel frater tuus* at its end. In order to facilitate the comparison of the series, I have assigned a number to each of the *responsoria*:

Number	Incipit of the *Responsorium*	Genesis
1	*In principio fecit Deus*	Gen. 1:1 and Gen. 1:26
2	*In principio Deus creavit*	Gen. 1:1–2 and Gen. 1:31
3	*Igitur perfecti sunt celi*	Gen. 2:1–2
4	***Formavit igitur Dominus***	Gen. 2:7
5	*Plantaverat autem Dominus*	Gen. 2:8
6	***Tulit ergo Dominus hominem***	Gen. 2:15
7	***Dixit Dominus ad Adam***	Gen. 2:16–17
8	*Dixit Dominus Deus non est*	Gen. 2:18
9	*Immisit Dominus soporem in*	Gen. 2:21–23
10	***Dum (Cum) deambularet Dominus in***	Gen. 3:8–10
11	***In sudore vultus tui vesceris***	Gen. 3:17–19
12	***Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis***	Gen. 3:22
13	***Ubi est Abel frater tuus***	Gen. 4:9–10

Table 3.5. Series of *Responsoria* from which the *Ordo Responsoria* were Excerpted.

I have not included in this series two *responsoria* only present in manuscripts originating in the South of France and which do not draw their texts from Genesis: *Simile est regnum celorum homini patri familias* and *Cum turba plurima conveniret* (CAO 6374).[18]

Corpus

My study focused on a corpus of ninety-four manuscripts, principally of the secular cursus (seventy-six secular manuscripts and eighteen monastic manuscripts). In spite of the strong probability that the *Ordo representacionis Ade* was written for a secular establishment,[19] I wanted to include a small number of monastic manuscripts in order to demonstrate that this series of *responsoria*, probably monastic in origin, was much more stable in the manuscripts belonging to the monastic cursus. These manuscripts originated in religious institutions situated in regions whose spoken language belonged to the *langue d'oc* or *langue d'oïl* families. Although the author of the *Ordo* was quite probably a native of a *langue d'oïl*-speaking

Reference Number	Nature of manuscript	Origin	Date	Remarks[*]
Arras 465 (cat. 893)	breviary	Saint-Vaast d'Arras	14th c.	
Bordeaux 87	breviary	Sainte-Croix de Bordeaux	12th c.	
Conches 4	breviary	Conches	13th c.	
Conches 5	breviary	Conches	13th c.	
Douai 156	breviary	Anchin	Second half 13th c.	
Narbonne 166	breviary	Clunisian abbey d'Arles-sur-Tech (Diocese of Elne near Perpignan)	14th c.	
Paris lat. 743	breviary	Use of Saint-Martial de Limoges	11th c.	
Paris lat. 796	breviary	Montiéramey (near Troyes)	12th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 1085	antiphonary	Saint-Martial de Limoges (church of Saint-Sauveur in the abbey)	after 960	*Cantus*
Paris lat. 11522	missal-breviary	Corbie	11th–12th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 12044	antiphonary	Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	12th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 12584	gradual-antiphonary	Saint-Maur-de-Glanfeuil	11th c.	
Paris lat. 17296	antiphonary	Saint-Denis	12th c.	
Paris Ste-Geneviève 1251	ordinary	Nantes	14th c.	
Troyes 109	breviary	Montier-la-Celle (near Troyes)	14th c.	Downey
Valenciennes 102 (95)	breviary	use of Saint-Amand (diocese of Tournai)	12th c.	
Valenciennes 114	antiphonary	Saint-Amand (diocese of Tournai)	12th c.	Downey
Vendôme 268	breviary	Vendôme	14th c.	

[*]The reference to Downey indicates that he referred to this manuscript in his article and the reference to *Cantus* that the manuscript is indexed in that database.

Table 3.6. Monastic Manuscripts Consulted.

region,[20] it seemed interesting to expand the corpus in order to emphasize that these chants were also used outside this area. I considered only manuscripts prior to and including the fourteenth century; that is to say, those which contain the closest possible liturgy to that known by the scribe of Tours 927. Although the evolution of the choice of chants, readings, or prayers was slow, this fact should not be ignored. Moreover, it is even difficult to confirm that the chants of a service written in a manuscript of the fifteenth century were the same as those used in the institution two centuries earlier. To the manuscripts indexed in the *Cantus*[21] database as well as

those already consulted by Charles T. Downey,[22] I have added the books catalogued in the six volumes of Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. This work has the advantage of indicating the placement of the principal feast days in each manuscript, including, naturally, Septuagesima and Sexagasima.[23] My corpus of manuscripts was then completed by Christian Meyer's *Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Âge conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France*—currently in the editing process, but whose rich website already allows researchers to analyze quickly the contents of various French libraries[24]—as well as by the bibliography contained in *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* by Knud Ottosen. Tables 3.6 and 3.7 list, respectively, the monastic and secular manuscripts consulted.

Reference Number	Nature of manuscript	Origin	Date	Remarks*
Albi 44 (30)	unnotated antiphonary	Albi (Cath.)	ca. 890	*Cantus*
Autun 151 A (S. 179)	antiphonary	Autun (Cath.)	13th–14th centuries	Downey
Auxerre 54–55	breviary	Auxerre	14th c.	
Avignon 126	breviary	Apt	14th c.	
Avignon 127	breviary	Die	1st half or mid-14th c.	
Avignon 191	antiphonary	Avignon (Cath.)	14th c.	
Beaune 26	breviary	Autun, use of Notre-Dame de Beaune (Collegiate)	13th c.	
Besançon 66	breviary	use of Besançon (Cath.)	1st half 14th c.	
Bordeaux 86	breviary	Bordeaux	14th c.	
Caen 73	breviary	use of Bayeux	13th c.	
Caen 121	ordinary**	Bayeux (Cath.)	13th c.	
Cambrai 31 (35)	breviary	use of Saint-Pierre de Lille (collegiate)	13th–14th c.	
Cambrai 38 (40)	antiphonary	Cambrai (Cath.)	ca. 1230	Downey
Carpentras 42 (L. 43)	breviary	Grasse	14th c.	
Carpentras 43 (L. 44)	breviary	Lyon (Cath.)	14th c.	
Carpentras 1261	breviary	Carpentras	14th c.	
Châlons-en-Champagne 2 (2)	breviary	Châlons (Cath.)	end of 14th c.	
Chaumont 25 (20)	breviary	Langres	2nd half 13th and 15th c.	
Clermont-Ferrand 70 (A. 6 a)	breviary	Clermont	Beginning 14th c.	

Reference Number	Nature of manuscript	Origin	Date	Remarks*
Dijon 1665	breviary	Saint-Étienne de Dijon	3rd quarter 13th c.	
Douai 164	breviary	Sainte-Waudru de Mons (Collegiate)	1st half or mid 14th c.	
Épinal (198) 80	breviary	Chalon-sur-Saône (Cath.?)	2nd half or end 13th c. for this part	
Grenoble 3511 (R. 8691)	breviary	use of Viviers (Cath.)	14th c.	
Laon 257 bis	breviary	Laon	13th c.	
Lyon 524 (444)	breviary	Langres	14th c.	
Marseille 4 (G. 113–2 G. 1859)	breviary	Aix-en-Provence	14th c.	
Metz 461	breviary (destroyed)	Metz (cath.)	2nd half 13th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 777	fragments of a breviary	Limoges	11th c.	
Paris lat. 781	breviary	use of Limoges	12th c.	
Paris lat. 1020	breviary	Orléans	ca. 1230	Downey
Paris lat. 1023	"Philippe le Bel" breviary	Paris	End 13th c.	
Paris lat. 1028	breviary	Sens (cath.)	13th–14th centuries	Downey
Paris lat. 1034	breviary	Toulouse	14th c.	
Paris lat. 1035	breviary	Carcassonne	14th c.	
Paris lat. 1038	breviary	Aix-en-Provence	Beginning or 1st half 14th c.	
Paris lat. 1040	breviary	Arles	14th c.	
Paris lat. 1052	"Charles V" breviary	Paris	2nd half 14th c.	
Paris lat. 1090	antiphonary	Marseille (cath.)	after 1190	*Cantus*
Paris lat. 1091	breviary	use of Arles	13th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 1255	breviary	Bourges	13th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 1259	breviary	Soissons	13th c.	
Paris lat. 1269	breviary	Châlons	14th c.	
Paris lat. 1270	breviary	Évreux	1st half 14th c.	
Paris lat. 1279	breviary	Oloron-Sainte-Marie	14th c.	
Paris lat. 1297	breviary	Chartres	14th c.	
Paris lat. 10480	breviary	Senlis	13th c.	
Paris lat. 10482	breviary	Melun	14th c.	
Paris lat. 12035	breviary	Meaux	12th–13th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 13231	breviary	Beauvais	13th c.	

Reference Number	Nature of manuscript	Origin	Date	Remarks*
Paris lat. 15181–15182	breviary	Paris (Cath.)	end 13th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 16309	breviary	Saintes	end 13th c.	Downey
Paris lat. 17991	breviary	Reims (Cath.)	11th c.	
Paris lat. 17997	breviary	Thérouanne	2nd half or end 14th c.	
Paris lat. 17999	breviary	Verdun	2nd half 13th c.	
Paris nal. 1236	antiphonary	Nevers (church)	12th c.	Downey
Paris nal. 1535	antiphonary	Sens (Cath.)	12th–13th c.	Downey
Paris Sorbonne 180	breviary	Bayeux	2nd half 14th c.	
Paris Ste-Geneviève 1251	ordinary	Nantes	14th c.	
Paris Ste-Geneviève 2626 (BB. 1. 8° 13)	breviary	Rouen	13th–14th c.	
Paris Ste-Geneviève 2640	breviary	Beauvais	2nd half or end 14th c.	
Poitiers 25 (312)	breviary	Poitiers	2nd half or end 14th c.	
Rouen 193 (A 575)	breviary	Saint-Laurent d'Eu (Augustinians)	14th c.	
Rouen 195 (Y. 95)	breviary	Rouen	14th c.	
Rouen 216 (A. 545)	breviary	Champignolles (Diocese of Évreux)	13th c.	Downey
Rouen 384 (Y 110)	ordinary	Rouen (Cath.)	end 14th c.	
Sens 6	Book for the use of the precentor	Sens (Cath.)	ca. 1250	
Sens 31	breviary	Sens	14th c.	
Soissons 106	breviary	Lisieux	2nd half 14th c.	
Troyes 571	breviary	use of Saint-Loup de Troyes	1st part 12th c.	Downey
Troyes 720	breviary	Saint-Loup de Troyes	13th c.	Downey
Troyes 1147	breviary	Troyes	13th c.	
Troyes 1148	breviary	Troyes	13th c.	
Troyes 1847	breviary	Troyes	2nd half or end 14th c.	
Tours 149	breviary	Saint-Martin de Tours	13th–14th c.	Downey
Tours 150	breviary	use of Saint-Martin de Tours	14th–15th c.	
Valognes 4	breviary	Coutances	14th c.	

*The reference to Downey indicates that he referred to this manuscript in his article and the reference to *Cantus* that the manuscript is indexed in that database.

** Chevalier, *Ordinaire et coutumier*.

Table 3.7. Secular Manuscripts Consulted.

Results of the Comparison

The following table inventories the monastic manuscripts in which one finds the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo*. Following the three columns, each of which represents one nocturn, are the supplementary *responsoria* written either to substitute for the preceding ones or to be sung during Sunday vespers or the matins of the weekdays which follow. Finally, the last column identifies the *responsorium* (or *responsoria*) which do not appear at all for these feasts in the manuscript. The numbers of the *responsoria* written in the *Ordo* are in bold and in italics.

Manuscripts	1st nocturn				2nd nocturn				3rd nocturn				Other *responsorium**	*Responsorium omitted*
Valenciennes 102 (Saint-Amand)	1	2	3	***4***	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		5
Valenciennes 114 (Saint-Amand)	1	2	3	***4***	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		5
Douai 156 (Anchin)	1	2	3	***4***	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		5
Bordeaux 87 (Bordeaux)	2	2 [*sic*]	***4***	3	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	Ø	***13***	1/5
Paris lat. 743 (Limoges)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	3	***13***	
Paris lat. 1085 (Limoges)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	7	8	9	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		3
Vendôme 268 (Vendôme)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***	3	
Paris lat. 12584 (Saint-Maur-de-Glanfeuil)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***	3	
Paris lat. 12044 (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		3
Arras 465 (cat. 893) (Saint-Vaast d'Arras)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		3
Troyes 109 (Montier-la-Celle)	1	2	***4***	5	***6***	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		3
Paris lat. 11522 (Corbie)	1	2	***4***	***6***	5	7	8	9	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		3
Paris lat. 17296 (Saint-Denis)	1	2	***4***	***6***	5	8	9	7	***10***	***11***	***12***	***13***		3

* This is an extra Sunday *responsorium* or is intended for vespers or weekdays.
Ø when a *responsorium* not belonging to the series was chosen.

Table 3.8. Monastic Manuscripts Containing the *Responsoria* of the *Ordo*.

The seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* are extremely common in monastic books since out of the eighteen manuscripts examined, thirteen include them. At first glance, these observations support the conclusions of Charles T. Downey who attributed the copy of the Tours manuscript to the monks of Saint-Martial de Limoges. However, far from conclusive, it is logical that these seven *responsoria* are found more frequently in books transmitting monastic cursus rather than in non-monastic manuscripts, unless the latter possess several supernumerary *responsoria*. The comparison of two manuscripts originating in Limoges, the secular manuscript Paris lat. 781 and the monastic manuscript Paris lat. 743, illustrates this point (the *responsoria* indicated in bold are always those of the *Ordo*):

	Paris lat. 743 (monastic *cursus*)	Paris lat. 781 (secular *cursus*)
1st nocturn	*In principio fecit Deus*	*In principio fecit Deus*
	In principio Deus creavit	*In principio Deus creavit*
	Formavit igitur Dominus	***Formavit igitur Dominus***
	Plantaverat autem Dominus	
2nd nocturn	***Tulit ergo Dominus hominem***	***Tulit ergo Dominus hominem***
	Dixit Dominus Deus non est	*Dixit Dominus Deus non est*
	Immisit Dominus soporem in	*Immisit Dominus soporem in*
	Dixit Dominus ad Adam	
3rd nocturn	***Dum deambularet Dominus in***	***Dum deambularet Dominus in***
	In sudore vultus tui vesceris	***Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis***
	Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis	*Ubi est Abel frater tuus*
	Igitur perfecti sunt celi et terra	
Extra *responsorium*	***Ubi est Abel frater tuus***	

Table 3.9. Comparison between Paris lat. 743 (monastic) and Paris lat. 781 (secular).

These two series are very similar, with the secular series simplifying the monastic series. For the first two nocturns, the secular manuscript takes the first three *responsoria* of the monastic nocturn. For the last nocturn, only the first and the third *responsoria* are maintained in the secular manuscript since the clergy preferred to end matins with the *responsorium Ubi est Abel frater tuus*, a supernumerary *responsorium* in the monastic manuscript. Out of the thirteen *responsoria* of the monastic service, the seven of the *Ordo* are found quite easily, while the secular series, although close to that sung in the monastery of Saint-Martial in the same city, only includes

five *responsoria* of the *Ordo representacionis Ade*; the other two have been removed in the reorganization of the series for the secular cursus.

The seventy-six secular manuscripts consulted cover a wide territory. The unpredictable nature of the preservation of manuscripts means that the Atlantic zone is underrepresented:
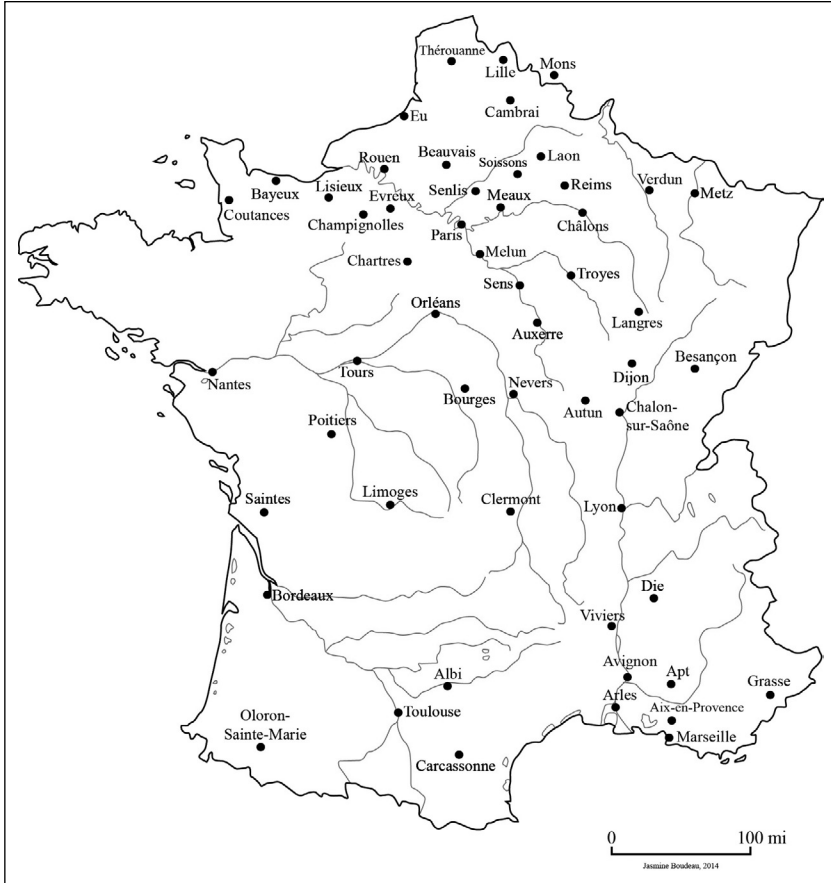
Map 3.1. Localization of the Manuscripts Originating in a Secular Institution.[25]

Out of these seventy-six secular manuscripts, only fifteen (some of which belong to the same tradition) include the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo*. These manuscripts come from great urban centers of the North (Laon, Meaux, Troyes, and Sens), from Normandy (Coutances and Rouen), from Aquitaine (Saintes and Bordeaux), from Burgundy (Autun), from Auvergne (Clermont) as well as from the Midi (Carcassonne and Marseille):

Manuscripts	1st nocturn			2nd nocturn			3rd nocturn			Other responsorium	Responsorium omitted
Paris lat. 1035 (Carcassonne)	2	1	3	*4*	*6*	5	8	9	Ø	*10, 11, 7, 12, 13*	
Clermont-Ferrand 70 (Clermont)	1	2	3	*4*	*6*	8	9	*7*	*13*	*10, 11, 12*	5
Paris lat. 1090 (Cath. of Marseille)	1	2	*4*	3	*6*	5	8	9	*7*	*10, 11, 12, 13*	
Paris lat. 16309 (Saintes)	1	2	*4*	3	*6*	8	9	*7*	*13*	*10, 11, 12,*	5
Bordeaux 86 (Bordeaux)	1	2	*4*	3	*6*	8	Ø	9	*12*	*10, 11, 13, 7*	5
Paris nal. 1535, Sens 6 and Sens 31 (Cath. of Sens)	1	2	*4*	5	*6*	8	9	*10*	*13*	*7, 11, 12*	3
Paris lat. 12035 (Meaux)	1	2	*4*	*6*	5	8	9	*7*	*13*	*10, 12, 11*	3
Autun 151 A (S. 179) and Beaune 26 (Cath. of Autun)	2	1	*4*	*6*	5	8	9	*10*	*7*	*11, 12, 13*	3
Valognes 4 (Coutances)	1	2	*4*	*6*	8	9	3	*10*	*11*	*7, 12, 13*	5
Laon 257bis (Laon)	1	2	*4*	*6*	8	9	*10*	3	*12*	*11, 7, 13*	5
Rouen 384 (Y 110) (Cath. of Rouen)	1	2	3	*4*	8	9	*6*	*7*	*13*	*10, 11, 12*	5
Troyes 720 (Saint-Loup de Troyes, Augustinians) Septuagesima*	2	1	3	8	9	*10*	7	*11*	*12*		
Troyes 720 (Saint-Loup de Troyes, Augustinians) Sexagesima	2	[1]	[3]	*4*	5	*6*	*[7]*	*12*	*13*		

Ø when a *responsorium* not belonging to the series was chosen.

* In manuscript Troyes 720, the series is divided over Septuagesima and Sexagesima. For the latter feast, the scribe did not judge it necessary to indicate all of the *responsoria*, the latter probably having been those already sung the week prior. For those *responsoria* not written down by the scribe, I have indicated in brackets the chants performed at the same time on the day of Septuagesima.

Table 3.10. Secular Manuscripts Containing the *Responsoria* of the *Ordo*.

It is possible to distinguish these cities according to their linguistic classification. Once placed on a map that indicates the boundaries of the *Langue d'Oc* and *Langue d'Oïl* territories, Carcassonne, Marseille, Bordeaux, and Clermont appear in the *Langue d'Oc* zone while the others belong to the *Langue d'Oïl* zone:
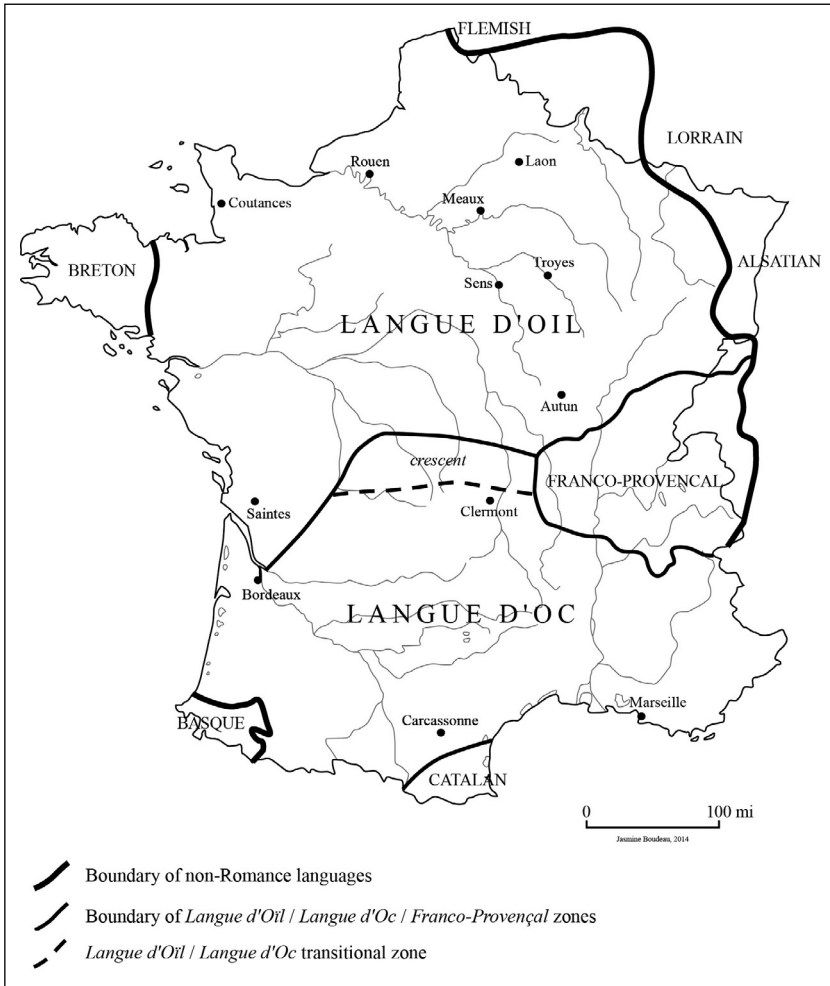
Map 3.2. Localization of the Secular Institutions in which the Seven *Responsoria* of the *Ordo representationis Ade* were Sung[26] (From Jacques Chaurand, ed. *Nouvelle histoire de la langue française* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999; "Sciences Humaines," 2012.))

According to Catherine Bougy, the author of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* probably hailed from the western *Langue d'Oïl* territories, namely "Normandy, Romanized Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Poitou and Saintonge."[27] Coutances, Rouen and Saintes are among the cities located in these territories.

Conclusions and Perspectives

This study has shown that the seven *responsoria* of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* are found in a significant number of monastic and secular institutions. Among the latter, Saintes, Rouen and Coutances appear as cities where the *Ordo* may have been authored.

Several projects underway may also provide further evidence for this study, beginning with the *Catalogue des Manuscrits notés conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques* compiled by Christian Meyer, which will perhaps allow us to highlight the presence of the antiphon *Ave stella matutina* in liturgical books other than those noted by Mary Channen Caldwell in this volume. Much hope also rests on a better knowledge of the ordinaries which include more elaborate instructions than those typically found in other liturgical books. For certain important feasts, one can find precise descriptions of particular liturgical processions which appear only rarely in other manuscripts, such as the Procession of the Prophets described in the ordinary at the Cathedral of Rouen (Rouen 384). In addition to these various works, one can also hope that the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* project will allow us to highlight certain documents referring to the performance of the *Ordo representationis Ade*, or, at least, to a similar episode.

Translated by Joe Price

NOTES

[1] This article was originally presented at the session about Tours 927 organized by Christophe Chaguinian at Kalamazoo (2013). The published version benefitted from the input of all the panelists, Catherine Bougy, Christophe Chaguinian and Mary Channen Caldwell. Christophe Chaguinian's edition of the *Jeu d'Adam* supplies all quoted texts.

[2] In this chapter I will use the title given to the work in the manuscript rather than the modern title *Jeu d'Adam*.

[3] Justice, "Authority of Ritual."

[4] For vespers, the brief *responsorium* (Short *Responsorium*) sung in monasteries was replaced in cathedrals by a Great *Responsorium*, that is, a large *responsorium* taken from matins. Except for some feast days, the matins for weekdays were shorter—fewer lessons and *responsoria*—than those for Sundays.

[5] Tony Hunt also emphasizes the unity of the *Ordo representationis Ade*, but while he recognizes that the Procession of the Prophets anticipates the birth of the Christ, he connects this section of the composition to the feast of Pentecost. The passage with Abel and Cain represents, according to him, a prefiguration of the Passion and would therefore be connected with Easter. See Hunt, "Unity of the Play of Adam," 525–526. The Procession of the Prophets is found in Rouen 384 (Y 110) (Cathedral of Rouen), Laon 263 (Cathedral of Laon) and Paris lat. 1139 (used at the Saint-Martial de Limoges monastery).

[6] Davril and Thibodeau, *Guillelmi Duranti*, 6:235.

[7] "Unde et quedam ecclesie deponunt Alleluya cum magno gaudio, alie cum gemitu et suspirio: illi representant futuram reparationem, isti de paradyso eiectionem." (Some churches deposit the Alleluia with great joy, others with moans and sighs: the first ones represent the redemption of the future; the others, the expulsion from paradise.) Davril and Thibodeau, *Guillelmi Duranti*, 6:232.

[8] Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners,* 92–95.

[9] "temefactam" in the *Patrologia Latina* edition.

[10] Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis,* cols. 245–46.

[11] Mary C. Mansfield notes that this ceremony is present in about fifty pontificals written in the north of the Loire between 1150 and 1350. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 97.

[12] The term "recreational liturgy" is used by Véronique Dominguez, *Jeu d'Adam*, back cover.

[13] Downey, "Ad imaginem suam."

[14] "On the basis of this manuscript survey, it is almost certain that the creator—or one of the creators—of the Jeu d'Adam was a monk or was familiar with the Adam *responsoria* as they were sung in a monastery rather than in a cathedral or other nonmonastic church," and "A southern monk could have collaborated with a native speaker of Anglo-Norman who wrote the vernacular portion of the play [...]. Such a collaboration may have occurred either at a southern mon-

astery such as Saint-Martial, where the choir was presumably familiar with the proper *responsoria* and verses, or while the monk author was in the north, where an Anglo-Norman audience for the play was at hand." Downey, "Ad imaginem suam," 361, 373.

[15] Downey, "Ad imaginem suam," note 20, 382–83.

[16] *Graduel romain*.

[17] The numbers are those of Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, and are abbreviated with the letters "CAO."

[18] The *responsorium Simile est regnum celorum homini patri familias* is found in manuscripts from Bordeaux (Bordeaux 86), the monastery Sainte-Croix de Bordeaux (Bordeaux 87), the Cathedral of Marseille (Paris lat. 1090), Aix-en-Provence (Paris lat. 1038 and Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, MS 4, G. 113–2 G. 1859), Carcassonne (Paris lat. 1035), Grasse (Carpentras 42), Oloron-Sainte-Marie (Paris lat. 1279), Toulouse (Paris lat. 1034), the monastery of Arles-sur-Tech (Diocese of Elne, near Perpignan) (Narbonne 166). *Cum turba plurima conveniret* is found in manuscripts from the Cathedral of Marseille (Paris lat. 1090), the monastery Sainte-Croix de Bordeaux (Bordeaux 87), the Cathedral of Avignon (Avignon 191), Aix-en-Provence (Paris lat. 1038) and Oloron-Sainte-Marie (Paris lat. 1279).

[19] This is the opinion of C. Chaguinian which is based, in part, on the presence de 31 Latin *rondeaux* among the 36 chants written in folios 8v–20r of Tours 927 and which are, for the majority, found in sources of secular origin. He similarly connects the liturgical pascal play written in folios 1r–8v to the realm of schools, which, in the course of the twelfth century, were moving from the monastic sphere to that of cathedrals and collegiate churches. See his chapter in this volume and "Origine institutionnelle et géographique du Jeu d'Adam."

[20] See Catherine Bougy's chapter in this volume, 54.

[21] http://cantusdatabase.org/ (accessed February 27, 2014) overseen by Debra Lacoste (University of Waterloo, Canada).

[22] Downey, "Ad imaginem suam," 373–79.

[23] The contents of this catalog are accessible on the website created by David Hiley of the University of Regensburg in Germany: http://www.uni-regensburg.de/ Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/ (accessed February 27, 2014).

[24] http://www.musmed.fr/CMN/CMN.htm (accessed April 14, 2016).

[25] My thanks to Jasmine Boudeau for the two maps in this article.

[26] The linguistic boundaries have been copied from map 2 in Chaurand, *Nouvelle histoire de la langue française*, 37.

[27] See Catherine Bougy's chapter in this volume, 54.

Pax Gallie: The Songs of Tours 927

Mary Channen Caldwell

Abstract

The manuscript Tours 927 (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS 927), in addition to containing the *Jeu d'Adam*, a Latin Easter play, and other textual items, preserves in its initial folios an unusual collection of sacred Latin songs. This collection includes thirty-one Latin refrain songs, an antiphon, two polyphonic sequences, and a moralizing conductus attributed to Philip the Chancellor. This chapter argues for the significance of the musical contents of Tours 927 for a more nuanced understanding of its origins and brings into sharper focus the cultural, musical, and devotional backdrop of the manuscript way of its lyrical and melodic content.

Introduction

IN THE STUDY OF medieval sources, whether liturgical or pedagogical, poetic or narrative, music often assumes a subsidiary role to the written word. Such is the case with the manuscript Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS 927 (hereafter Tours 927), which transmits an unusual series of devotional Latin songs between the well-known Latin Easter play, the notated *Ludus paschalis*, and the famed *Jeu d'Adam*. This collection of sacred works includes thirty-one Latin refrain songs (the second-largest extant collection of its kind), a Marian antiphon, two polyphonic sequences, and a moralizing song, or conductus, attributed to Parisian poet and theologian Philip the Chancellor. Despite the presence of close to three dozen musical pieces, the notated works in this miscellaneous manuscript rarely receive attention and have, consequently, been little explored as an avenue towards resolving longstanding debates over the dating, provenance, authorship, and cultural context of the manuscript.[1] Since the goal of this volume of essays is to unearth further information about the creative milieu and location in which the *Jeu d'Adam* was forged, an analysis of the music is a logical, even

obligatory, inclusion. Although a specific moment and place of origin may remain forever out of reach, the musical elements of Tours 927 detailed in this chapter nevertheless point decisively towards a clerical setting, likely a cathedral, in North-Western France between 1225 and 1245. Although not a dramatic departure from conclusions offered by recent scholarship, this essay confirms, via the musical contents of the manuscript, the work of paleographers and literary historians alike, and complements the conclusions reached throughout this volume. More importantly, foregrounding the music in Tours 927 reveals the strikingly rich details that reside within these lyrics and their accompanying melodies.

Focusing on the music wedged between the *Ludus paschalis* and the *Jeu d'Adam*, the three broad parts of this chapter examine a range of issues, from notation and liturgy, to concordances and lyrical signals of place. In Part 1, I approach the song collection as a unified whole, focusing on notation, form, and thematic material. Surveying the manuscript's contents, I detail the organization of the musical sections and provide a detailed table of the thirty-one Latin refrain songs. I then examine the physical construction of the manuscript and the musical notation for information on the dating and origin of Tours 927 before moving from individual notes to the songs as a group. Defining the Latin refrain song as a form and subgenre, I deal with its function and transmission in Tours 927 specifically as well as more broadly within medieval clerical culture. Part 2 draws together the liturgical and clerical elements inherent in the musical contents of the source, beginning with an exploration of thematic links within the songs' poetry that revolve around the Virgin Mary, Easter, and the trope of Adam and Eve. Examining the construction of the songs through the lens of the liturgy, I also suggest that the high level of liturgical borrowing within the musical collection—in addition to the inclusion of explicitly liturgical works—corresponds to a religiously educated, and likely clerical, authorship. I conclude Part 2 with a case study of the single song in Tours 927 for a saint who epitomizes a clerical and scholarly culture with his identity as bishop-saint and patronage of clerics and students: St. Nicholas.

Part 3 maps out the geographical spaces the songs allude to both through networks of concordances and through their poetry. Outlining concordances for the manuscript, I narrow in on the substantial number of works shared with a manuscript produced in the clerical environs of Paris ca. 1250, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter F). Through a comparison of works in Tours 927 and F, I argue that the clerical production, dating, and Parisian setting of the latter have

implications for the former, and relate, in the process, to issues of transmission and locality. Two further songs with concordances outside of F offer specific textual clues to the geographic context of our miscellaneous source. Embedded within formulaic closing strophes, these two songs, *Procedenti puero* and *Qui passus est pridie*, include lyrical signals of place, namely references to "Gallie," or France, which acquire special meaning when considering the frustratingly ambiguous provenance of Tours 927. Finally, Part 3 draws to a close with a reading of the song *O sedes apostolica*, whose refrain may shed a great deal of light on the manuscript's production for a specific city and even cathedral in North-Western France. Together the three interrelated parts of this chapter bring into focus the cultural, musical, and devotional backdrop of Tours 927 by way of its dominant soundscape, a multivalent song collection.

Part 1: The Songs

Cantat Omnis: The Music in Tours 927

Catalogued as manuscript number 927, the Bibliothèque municipale in Tours, France, currently holds this miscellaneous source under extremely strict conditions.[2] Important to scholars from a range of disciplines, its worn paper leaves preserve not only the second largest number of Latin refrain songs next to a contemporary Parisian source F, a *Ludus paschalis*, and the vernacular *Jeu d'Adam*, but also three polyphonic works, several French saints' lives, an interpolated, or farsed, Provençal epistle, and other assorted textual items (see Table 4.1). In addition to its unique collation of textual and musical works, Tours 927 is also the earliest paper manuscript produced in France, setting it apart from manuscripts transmitting similar genres.[3] The 229 paper folios (with numbers added by a later hand) contain the items listed in Table 4.1; portions with musical notation are indicated in bold.[4]

The manuscript was not conceived as a cohesive whole, but instead divides into two unequal parts. Part one (fols. 1r–46v) includes the *Ludus*, Latin songs, liturgical chants, the *Jeu d'Adam*, and the *Quinze signes*; the second part transmits *vitae* and remaining texts up to fol. 229v.[5] A farsed epistle for St. Stephen concludes the source on fol. 229v, a later addition in an unrelated hand with little in common with the first two parts of the manuscript.[6] At the outset, this miscellany seems like a generic grab bag of text and music; unplanned as it may appear, however, all parts share an emphasis on sacred, albeit largely extra-, or para-liturgical, texts.

Fols.	Contents
1r–8v	**Easter play**
8v	*Ave stella matutina*
9v–14r	**Latin songs**
14v–16r	*Veni sancte spiritus et emitte* **(polyphonic)**
16r–18r	**[Ad h]***onorem virginis regine gaudeat* **(polyphonic)**
18r–20r	**Latin songs**
20r–40r	*Ordo representacionis Ade* (*Le Jeu d'Adam*)
40v–46v	*Les Quinze signes du Jugement dernier*
47r–60r	*Vie de saint Georges*
61r–92r	Wace, *Vie de sainte Marie*
92r–95v	Poème sur les 3 Maries
95v–108v	Poème sur l'Assomption de la Vierge
109r–184v	*Légende de saint Grégoire*
185r–204v	*Distiques de Caton* of Adam de Suel
205r–216v	*Vie de sainte Marguerite* of Wace
217r–229v	*Le Miracle de Sardenai*
229v	**Farsed Epistle for St. Stephen**

Table 4.1. Contents of Tours 927.

Within the first part of the manuscript, non-liturgical devotional Latin songs comprise the majority of the musical contents, filling more folios than the preceding *Ludus*. Table 4.2 lists these songs, specifying—in addition to order in the manuscript, incipit, and folio number—each piece's subject matter and, if applicable, concordances. Additionally, the right-most column indicates the presence or absence of musical notation, since Tours 927 is incomplete, with only twenty-six of over thirty works notated.[7] Assigned numbers corresponding to the thirty-one monophonic refrain songs appear in the left-hand column; the four additional non-refrain form works included here are unnumbered.[8]

This table highlights several key points. First, the subject matter of the songs varies throughout, albeit with an overarching emphasis on Easter and the Virgin. Second, there is no clear ordering according to concordances, with *unica* alternating unevenly with works transmitted in one or more other manuscripts. The number of pieces shared with F stands out with a total of sixteen, four of which—*In hac, die Dei*, *Processit in stipite*, *Luto carens et latere*, and *Procedenti puero*—are also transmitted in additional sources. Notably, just one song, *Qui passus est pridie*, is concordant with two other sources (Stuttg 22 and Oxford 937), but not with F. In terms of layout on the page, the songs are equally distributed, with an

#	Incipit	Fol.	Subject	F, fol.	Concordances	Notated?
	Ave stella matutina / peccatorum	8v	Marian		Selected (many concordances): St-M A, fol. 136v; France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 17716, fol. 13v, and 11277, fol. 51v; MüC, fol. 63v	Yes
1	*Salve virgo virginum*	9v	Marian	469v		Yes
2	*In laudes debitas*	9v	Marian			Yes
3	*Beata nobis gaudia*	10r	Marian/ Nativity			Yes
4	*[ ] Mira [ ] clemencia*	10rv	Easter			Yes
5	*Mors vite propicia*	10v	Easter	464r		Yes
6	*Qui passus est pridie*	10v–11r	Easter		Stuttg 22, fol. 229r (n/m); Oxford 937, fol. 446v	Yes
7	*Dies felix et gloria*	11r	Easter	463r [*Felix dies et grata*]		Yes
8	*Rex omnipotencie*	11r	Easter	464r		Yes
9	*In hac, die Dei*	11v	Easter	463rv	Oxford 937, fol. 446v	Yes
10	*Cantat omnis creatura*	11v	Marian			Yes
11	*Nicholaus inclitus*	11v–12r	Nicholas			Yes
12	*Magnus qui factus erat*	12r	Marian			Yes
13	*Surge vide gens misera*	12v	Nativity			Yes
14	*Iam ver exoritur*	12v	Epiphany/ Easter	468v [*Novum ver oritur*]		Yes
15	*Ignis in rubo cernitur*	12v	Nativity			Yes
16	*Vocis tripudio*	13r	Easter	465v		Yes
17	*Processit in stipite*	13r	Easter	466r ["stipite" is "capite"]	Oxford 937, fols. 446v–447r ["stipite" is "capite"]	Yes
18	*Agnus sine macula*	13r	Easter			Yes

#	Incipit	Fol.	Subject	F, fol.	Concordances	Notated?
19	Mittendus predicitur	13v	Easter			Yes
20	Circa canit Michael	13v	New Year			Yes
21	O sedes apostolica	14r	?Bishop			Yes
22	Deus pater filium	14r	Nativity			Yes
	Veni sancte spiritus (Polyphonic)	14v–16r	Holy Spirit		*sequence widely disseminated*	Yes
	[Ad h]onorem virginis regine (Polyphonic)	16r–18r	Marian			Yes
23	Resurrexit libere	18r	Easter			NO
24	Vivere que tribuit	18r	Easter	463v		NO
25	Luto carens et latere	18v	Easter	463v	W1, fol. 80r (73r); Bordeaux, fol. 134v; LoB, fol. 48r	NO
26	De patre principio	18v	Easter	463r		NO
27	Breves dies hominis	19r	Secular	469r		NO
28	Procedenti puero	19r	Nativity/New Year	467v	St. Gall 383, fol. 172; St. Gall 546, fol. 9v	NO
29	Passionis emuli	19r	Easter	466v		NO
	Ve, ve mundo a scandalis*	19v	Clerical	426r–426v	Sab. fol. 142r; Hu, fols. 157v–158r; Da 2777, fol. 3v; fr. 146, fol 6v; W1, fols. 185rv (168rv)	NO
30	Culpe purgator veteris	19v	Easter	466r		NO
31	Vineam meam plantavi	19v–20r	Easter	466v		NO

* Many thanks to Thomas Payne for pointing out that the prosody of this poem demands a second "ve" at the beginning of the first line; the result is an eight-, rather than seven-syllable line, corresponding to the remaining lines and strophes.

Table 4.2. Musical Works in Tours 927 (square brackets signal textual variants).

average of two and a half songs appearing on each recto and verso of a folio. The absence of notation beginning fol. 18r does suggest a point of demarcation, with the songs following the polyphonic [*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine* all unnotated.

While the monophonic refrain songs occupy the majority of space in the initial folios, four works included in Table 4.2 belong neither to the *Ludus* nor the repertory of Latin refrain songs. In Table 4.3, I have indicated their incipits and folio numbers, as well as subject matter, genre, and number of voices; I have also signaled their placement in relation to the thirty-one refrain songs.

Incipit	Fols.	Subject	Genre	Setting
Ave stella matutina	8v	Virgin	Antiphon	one-voice
Songs 1–22				
Veni sancte spiritus et emitte	14v–16r	Pentecost	Sequence	two-voice
[*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine*	16r–18r	Virgin	*Benedicamus Domino* Trope	two-voice
Songs 23–31				
Ve, ve mundo a scandalis	19v	Moral	Conductus	?one-voice*

*There are no staves ruled, nor any notation, but the space left for the music of *Ve, ve mundo scandalis* is no greater than that left for the other monophonic songs. Moreover, its concordances are either text only or, tellingly, monophonic. *Ve, ve mundo a scandalis* is widely transmitted in full and in part in F, fol. 426r; W1, fol. 168r (185r) (partial); Hu, fols. 157v–158r (partial); Santa Sabina, fol. 142r; Da, fol. 3v, (partial); and Fr. 146, fol. 6v (partial borrowing).

Table 4.3. Non-Refrain Form Works in Tours 927.

A sequence and a *Benedicamus Domino* trope—both set polyphonically for two voices in note-against-note style—sit amidst the refrain songs and divide the collection into two unequal parts. A monophonic Marian antiphon, *Ave stella matutina*, introduces the entire section of music, and Parisian poet and theologian Philip the Chancellor's moralizing conductus, *Ve, ve mundo a scandalis*, is followed by only two further refrain songs, *Culpe purgator veteris* and *Vineam meam plantavi*. The reasons for including these four works are unclear, considering their placement within folio after folio of refrain songs. Although lacking a refrain, the secular conductus *Ve, ve mundo a scandalis* does fit into the larger refrain song collection by virtue of pairing with the only other quasi-secular work in the predominantly sacred repertory, *Breves dies hominis*. The Marian focus of two of the liturgically oriented items, *Ave stella matutina* and [*Ad h*]*onorem*

virginis, corresponds to one of the central devotional strands in the refrain songs focused on the Virgin. On the other hand, the widely sung Pentecost sequence, the polyphonic *Veni sancte spiritus*, complements neither the devotional landscape of the refrain songs, nor the rest of the manuscript's contents.[9] What all four works have in common with the thirty-one refrain songs, however, is their function as an elaboration or extension of the liturgy. Indeed, the assortment of musical and textual works included up to fol. 46v of Tours 927 underlines vibrant and diverse accretive practices at work, whether on the part of the scribe(s), compiler(s), or institution.

Although the Easter play, *Jeu d'Adam*, and *Quinze signes* all exist in modern editions and translations, the monophonic songs and polyphonic works listed in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 have never been fully transcribed or edited. The lyrical portions of the manuscript have been available in a modern transcription since Victor Luzarche published a text-only edition of the *Ludus* and its accompanying "hymns and sequences"—referring to the Latin refrain songs and liturgical items—in the mid nineteenth century.[10] Since Luzarche, Gordon Anderson alone has provided music and text transcriptions, albeit incomplete and with errors, in his *opera omnia* of the medieval conductus.[11] Rectifying the lack of reliable transcriptions of the songs, the Edition at the end of this chapter includes music, poetry, and translations for the refrain songs on fols. 8v–20r.[12] This marks the first time these musical works have appeared in their entirety in a modern source based solely on their transmission in Tours 927. While the lyrics and melodies convey a great deal about the nature of the manuscript and its origins, insight can be gleaned first from the physical features of the source and the distinctive characteristics of its musical notation.

Writing Place and Time: The Construction and Notation of Tours 927

The fragile paper leaves of Tours 927 readily convey the appearance of heavy use, as well as the effects of over seven centuries of survival. Apart from its physical state, an air of carelessness surrounds the manuscript due to frequently untidy copying and numerous typographical errors.[13] As haphazard as its creation may have been, examining the construction of the source and its copying and notation, particularly in relation to the musical portions, may help establish firmer ground with respect to dating and provenance. Most recently, the copying of the first part of the manuscript up to fol. 46v has been convincingly placed within the quarter of a century between 1225
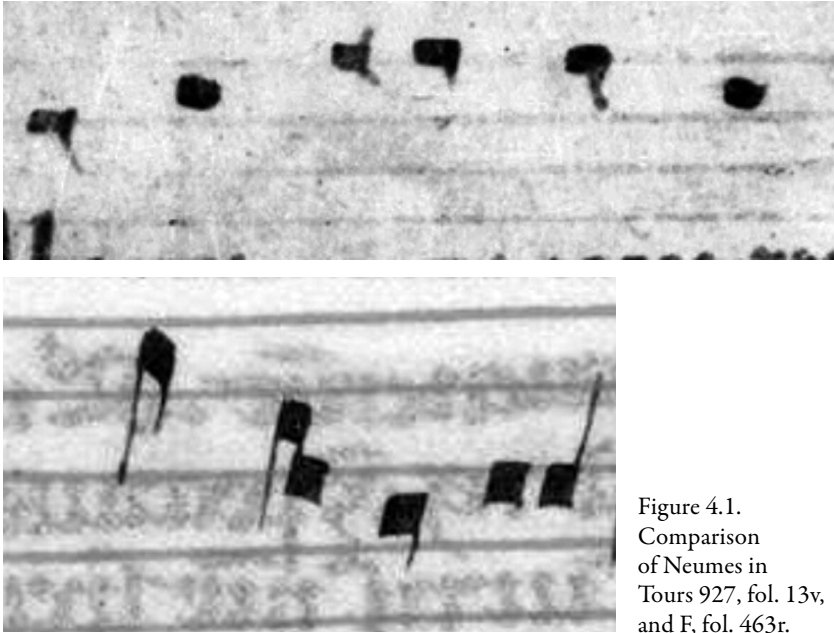
Figure 4.1.
Comparison
of Neumes in
Tours 927, fol. 13v,
and F, fol. 463r.

and 1250.[14] The provenance of the source's miscellaneous contents has, on the other hand, been traced to everywhere from southern France, where it was unquestionably copied, to England and various locations across Northern France. The various hypotheses underlying these dates and locations are supported by evidence stemming largely from the textual portions of the manuscript; the musical notation and script of the songs have not entered into the debates over place and time in any substantial way.

Produced by at least two hands, the song lyrics are written in a casual and even messy form of thirteenth-century *littera textualis currens*.[15] The script in Tours 927 is characterized by frequent abbreviations, especially in the text-only portions of each song (usually from the second strophe onward), and orthographically by the absence of "ae" in favor "e" and the use of "-ci-" rather than "-ti-" before vowels (as in "clemencia" rather than "clementia"). The commonplace gothic book hand and Latin abbreviations, as well as the linguistic characteristics of the French texts throughout fols. 1r–46v, place the manuscript or its exemplar in Northwestern France during the first half of the thirteenth century; unfortunately, the textual script offers little else in terms of specifying location.[16]

Although likely produced by the same hand(s) that supplied the text, the musical notation is thankfully more distinctive than the casual gothic

book hand that characterizes the Latin poetry. In past scholarship, the few references to the notation of Tours 927 refer to it generically as a form of square, or quadratic, notation, in one case pointing out an unconvincing parallel with the late thirteenth-century miscellaneous British manuscript Arundel 248.[17] A comparison of the notation in Tours 927 to its concordant sources, however, is revealing, since it suggests the anteriority of the manuscript to its most priminent concordance, the thirteenth-century Parisian F. Whereas the notation in F is fully quadrangular, or square, with well-defined square heads, no finials, tapered strokes, or *spicae* (short extensions above or below note heads), Tours 927 displays most of these earlier traits that define a notation in transition from "points" to "squares."[18]

As seen in Figure 4.1, single notes in Tours 927 are largely irregular *puncti* (notes lacking stems), although many display short, tapered stems. By contrast, in F, the scribe clearly distinguishes between notes with or without stems and note shapes tend to be uniform, a marker, too, of the greater care with which the manuscript was produced. A number of the single note heads in Tours 927 also have ascending *spicae*, a notational characteristic shared not with F but instead with earlier manuscripts such as the late twelfth-century *Fleury Playbook* (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 201), a source that, like Tours 927, transmits sacred dramas.[19] Another significant feature of the notation in Tours 927 is the almost double length foot of two-note ligated figures like the *podatus* or *pes*, a form not typically found in F or in any later thirteenth-century French sources. The transitional appearance of the notation in Tours 927—far from being the fully developed mid-century square form represented in F—is one strong justification for placing the date of Tours 927 closer to ca. 1225 rather than ca. 1250.

Further similarities with musical sources circulating in the first half of the thirteenth century suggest possible geographic relationships, as well as a more concise temporal framework. Considering the proposed origins for the contents of Tours 927 in an Anglo-Norman region of France, it is not surprising that the musical notation as it is copied confirms a point of origin anywhere from Britain to the North-West of France, including the environs of Paris. Although the musical script of the songs in Tours 927 differs from later concordances, namely F, it does share some characteristics with the notation of concordant songs in an earlier, insular manuscript, Oxford 937. The only music in the early thirteenth-century Oxford 937 is a collection of three Easter songs also found in the Tours manuscript: *In hac die Dei*, *Qui passus est pridie*, and *Processit in stipite*. According to
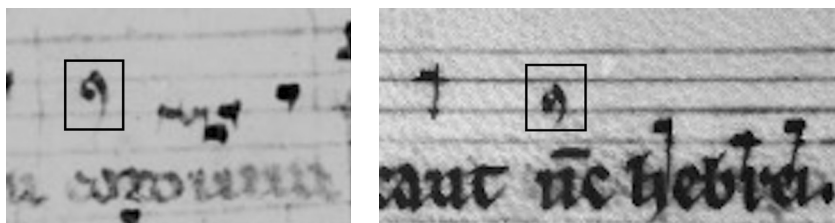
Figure 4.2. Comparison of Liquescent Neumes in Tours 927, fol. 14v,
and Oxford 937, fol. 446v.

musicologist Helen Deeming, the primarily literary manuscript (largely in
honor of St. Thomas Becket) has "[n]o original localising features" beyond
a British production; the three songs, moreover, are unrelated to the rest
of the manuscript.[20] Nevertheless, the notational commonalities between
the two sources highlight the insular influences in Tours 927. Although
the scribe of Oxford 937 tends towards the use of *virgae* (single notes with
stems) over *puncti* (single notes without significant stems), both manu-
scripts share a tendency towards the use of *spicae* and a nearly identical
liquescent neume. See, for example, the similarly shaped neume on "cor-"
of "cordium" in *Veni sancte spiritus* in Tours 927 and "nunc" in *In hac, die
Dei* in Oxford 937.

Inexplicably, this liquescent note shape appears only in the *Ludus*
and in two liturgical items in Tours 927—*Ave stella matutina* and *Veni
sancte spiritus*—and not in the Latin songs. The reason for the liquescent
note's inclusion in both Tours 927 and Oxford 937 is, moreover, unclear,
since it appears on syllables of varying forms, although always on the
initial syllable in the former manuscript.[21] The concordances in terms of
notation and contents with Oxford 937 are especially relevant for Tours
927, since they offer a shared date range in the first half of the thirteenth
century and a further link to an "Anglo-" sphere.

Other connections with Tours 927 based on notation can be made
to three manuscripts emanating from England, France, and Norman-
occupied Sicily from ca. 1160 to 1230. The first, an English manuscript
from ca. 1230, the *Worcester Antiphonal* (Worcester Cathedral, Music
Library, F.160), is the closest in appearance to Tours 927; although the
rhomboid, or diamond, shapes of the three-note *climaci* in the Worcester
source clearly differentiate it from the French source, certain characteris-
tics, such as the doubled-length foot of two-note ligatures, are shared. A
monastic manuscript, the musical contents *Worcester Antiphonal* are com-

pletely unrelated to Tours 927, although the *Worcester Antiphonal* does transmit at least five hymns featuring the same refrain as a hymn transmitted in the Latin refrain songs of F, forming a shaky bond between the insular monastic source and the continental cathedral source (although not to Tours 927 itself). The firm dating of the *Worcester Antiphonal* to ca. 1230 is the significant point in this comparison, since it emphasizes the transitional nature of the notation in Tours 927 and places it well before the middle of the thirteenth century.

Outside England, the notation of the twelfth-century Norman-Sicilian Tropers, and specifically Mad 19421 from ca. 1160, share many of the same stylistic features as Tours 927:[22] short, tapered stems on *puncti*, a quadratic shape for the descending notes of *climaci*, and lengthy feet compared to note heads in two-note ascending ligatures. Evreux 2, also related to Tours 927 through the appearance of its notation, has a firm *terminus post quem* of 1246 and is Anglo-Norman in origin; here, again, the note shapes are transitional and not yet the entirely square notes of F and other mid-century sources.[23] Many of the same features found in Tours 927 occur in Evreux 2, from the emphasis on *puncti* with slight upward stems, to the vertical (i.e. non-rhomboid) forms of the *climici* and other ligatures. All told, the notation in Tours 927 best resembles that found in English and Norman manuscripts from the late twelfth century and first half of the thirteenth century. Consequently, musical notation should be added to the evidence for an origin of the manuscript—or at least its exemplar—in the Northwest of France, in a location demonstrating close ties with England, some time in the first half of the thirteenth century. Transitioning from the notes on the page to the songs they shape, the next section examines the nature of the Latin refrain song and considers what its inclusion in Tours 927 might divulge concerning its broader cultural and musical context.

Psallet hec concio: The Latin Refrain Song

With close to three-dozen Latin songs with refrains, it is striking that the musical works in Tours 927 are frequently referred to in scholarship only in passing and often with misleading labels, such as to a gathering of "Marian hymns," which they are decidedly not.[24] Rather, the manuscript offers a voluminous sampling first and foremost of the bourgeoning *cantica nova*, "new songs," a sacred yet extraliturgical repertory that emerged in the twelfth century.[25] Although not a medieval term, the application of

the psalmic phrase *canticum novum* usefully points to the novel compositional approach behind the creation of hundreds of conductus, versus, sequences, and other kinds of liturgical and extraliturgical Latin song from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Among the key features of the "new song" is a formal interest in the refrain as a structural and expressive component; in this sense, the songs in Tours 927 epitomize the incipient new song, with musical and textual refrains appearing in nearly every single poem. These "new" devotional refrain songs, moreover, do not exist solely in Tours 927. As a formal subcategory of the broader *canticum novum*, and in particular of conductus, sacred Latin refrain songs numbered in the hundreds in the Middle Ages and were transmitted in a wide range of sources, liturgical and otherwise, clerical, monastic, and secular.[26] As the second-largest extant source for the Latin refrain song next to F, Tours 927 and its songs are integral to the history of the *canticum novum*, including its creation, dissemination, and function.

Lyrics	Syllables	Stress	Rhyme	Form
In laudes debitas.	6	pp	a	a
Manet virginitas.	6	pp	a	A
Prorumpat civitas.	6	pp	a	a
Omnis et regio.	6	pp	b	b
Manet virginitas	6	pp	a	A
In puerperio.	6	pp	b	B

Figure 4.3. Analysis of Strophe 1 of *In laudes debitas*,
Tours 927, fol. 9v (PP=proparoxytonic).

In Tours 927 and elsewhere, the *cantica nova* takes on a distinctive form, featuring strophic structures, refrains, rhymed, rhythmical, and symmetrical poetry, or *rithmi*, and newly composed and easily singable melodies.[27] Figure 4.3 analyzes the first strophe of *In laudes debitas*—the second refrain song in Tours 927—according to syllable count, end of line stress, rhyme scheme, and musico-poetic form; consistency is integral to these songs and symmetry is achieved on multiple levels.

The structure represented in the final column (aAabAB) corresponds neatly to the early *rondeau*, a popular French *forme fixe* frequently associated with dance in narratives, dramas, and other sources.[28] The common element between the vernacular *rondeau* and its sacred interpretation is the placement of the refrain not only between but also within individual strophes; *In laudes debitas*, for instance, has "manet virginitas" as the first

line of the refrain sung directly following the initial line of the strophe. A comparison with an early *rondeau*, the widely disseminated *Aaliz main se leva*, reveals parallels between the Latin and vernacular examples, with the Latin song only slightly more regular in its syllable count (see Table 4.4).

French *rondeau*	Latin *rondeau*, Tours 927, fol. 9v.
Aaliz main se leva,	In laudes debitas.
Bon jor ait qui mon cuer a!	*Manet virginitas.*
Bieu se vesti et para,	Prorumpat civitas.
Desoz l'aunoi.	Omnis *et* regio.
Bon jor ait qui mon cuer a	*Manet virginitas*
N'est pas o moi.	*In puerperio.*
Aaliz got up early.	In indebted praise,
Good day to the one who has my heart!	*Virginity abides.*
Beautifully she dressed and prepared	Let the whole city
Herself, under the alder.	And the district burst forth.
Good day to the one who has my heart!	*Virginity abides*
*He is not with me.**	*In childbirth.*

* Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole or Le Roman de la Rose*, lines 1579–84. Text and translation in Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 45–46.

Table 4.4. Comparison of French and Latin *rondeaux*.

While later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *rondeaux*, like those of Adam de la Halle and Guillaume de Machaut, begin with the repetition of the full refrain, Latin refrain songs, on the other hand, typically follow the structure of earlier *rondeaux* like *Aaliz main se leva*, beginning instead with a line of the strophe. The close formal relationship between the two repertories, despite differences of language, subject matter, and function, has led to numerous theories regarding the influence of the vernacular form on the Latin and vice versa.[29] One of the most enduring theories regarding the Latin *rondeau* in relation to its vernacular counterpart is its potential function as a kind of clerical dance song; were Latin refrain songs, including those transmitted in Tours 927, intended to accompany dance?

While the songs in Tours 927 do not provide evidence supporting a choreographic function, their main concordance, F, does. Since evidence for the shape and steps of medieval dance is regrettably lacking, and dance music is rarely labelled as such, clues derive primarily from iconography, rubrics, and narrative descriptions. For the Latin refrain song, a piece of iconography in F most persuasively signals its potential as a dance song. In the historiated initial "D-" of *De patre principio*—a song transmitted both in F and Tours 927—five tonsured clerics link hands, their feet in position to move.

Figure 4.4.
F, fol. 463r, historiated initial "D-" of *De patre principio.*

How, precisely, this evocative image corresponds to the songs it introduces in F is unclear. The role of dance in the devotional lives of medieval men and women is poorly understood at best, and theories as to what constitutes dance music for clerics or monastics are inhibited by lack of evidence.[30] There is no denying, however, the devotional yet exuberant character of the Latin *rondeaux*, and images like that found in F certainly point towards the role of such songs within moments of devotional clerical entertainment. The festal occasions represented by the songs in Tours 927, not to mention their positioning alongside the *Ludus* and the *Jeu d'Adam*, evince strong ties to the liturgy, outlining moments in the seasons of the church most frequently celebrated with sacred accretions of all kinds, including dances. The witness of Tours 927 and numerous other medieval sources argues for the Latin refrain song as central to these highly elaborate—and elaborated—moments in the liturgical year; whether dance further heightened the solemnity of the particular occasions commemorated in Tours 927 remains to be discovered.

Even though the identification of the songs in Tours 927 as dance music is debatable, their position within the broader dissemination of the Latin refrain song repertory is solid. With thirty-one works, fourteen of which are *unica*, the manuscript belongs to a trio of sources that together transmit the greatest number of refrain songs in thirteenth-century France: F, Tours 927, and the St. Victor Miscellany (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 15131). Although the precise provenance of the last source is unknown, evidence of the manuscript and its contents points convincingly toward the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris, and more specifically its school.[31] Its contents, like our Tours manuscript, are varied, and include treatises like Boethius's *Consolatio* and a set of letters and poems (fols. 177r to 189r) unrelated to the rest of the manuscript. Within this epistolary and lyrical insert are found seventeen sacred Latin poems with refrains; signaling their explicit connection with vernacular song are the French refrains and the telling phrase "contra in latino" that precede almost all of the poems. The festal occasions in the lyrics align with those depicted in F and Tours 927, celebrating the Virgin Mary, Pentecost, and popular saints such as Nicholas and Katherine. While the repertory of St. Victor Miscellany does not overlap with Tours 927 or F, the Parisian origins of two of the three sources serves to enhance the ties of the songs in the Tours manuscript to, if not France, then to a Northern France milieu, either clerical (F) or scholastic (St. Victor Miscellany).

Outside of this French trio, Latin refrain songs circulated widely in the Middles Ages and beyond with smaller, but still discrete, collections preserved throughout Western and Eastern Europe, from Catalonia to Germany, England to Italy, and Ireland to Sweden. The nature of each source varies tremendously, from liturgical to secular, musical to textual. Few generalizations can be made about the dissemination of the refrain song beyond the thirteenth century in France, except that its popularity extended through to the sixteenth century with the first print publication in 1582 of Latin refrain songs, including many earlier medieval songs, the Scandinavian *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum* (Devout ecclesiastical and school songs of the old bishops).[32] The theme of students certainly runs throughout the history of the refrain song, highlighted not only in the likely scholastic origins of the St. Victor Miscellany, but also in the explicitly student-oriented Latin refrain songs in the fourteenth-century Moosburg Graduale and numerous textual references to students, junior clerics, and young boys throughout the repertory.[33] Perhaps most significantly for our understanding of the creative

backdrop of Tours 927 is the skewing, especially in thirteenth-century France, towards clerical contexts for sources of refrain songs. Even though monasteries and their schools served as venues for the festive songs in later centuries, its early history, especially in F, revolves around clerical institutions in Northern France, most notably Paris and the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Before both clerics and students return below in relation to one particular song in Tours 927 for their heavenly patron, St. Nicholas, the lyrics as a group demand attention. Although like the refrain song repertory on the whole the songs of Tours 927 emphasize the pillar feasts of the liturgical year—Christmas, New Year's, Easter, and Pentecost— certain textual idiosyncrasies further illuminate the cultural and devotional backdrop of the manuscript.

Part 2: A Devotional Source

Angelus canitur: Lyrical Strands in the Latin Songs

Reflecting the overall nonchalance with which Tours 927 was copied, no easily decipherable system orders the thirty-one refrain songs. This is especially remarkable in comparison with F, in which the sixty refrain songs are roughly organized according to topic, and with the St. Victor Miscellany, which organizes lyrics by liturgical cycles.[34] In Tours 927, by contrast, dispersed throughout the folios in no specific order are five songs for the Virgin, five for Christmastide, and one song each on a secular subject (*Breves dies hominis*), the election of a bishop (*O sedes apostolica*), and St. Nicholas (*Nicholaus inclitus*). The remaining songs, eighteen in total, are for Eastertide. However, complicating any interpretation of the lyrics and labelling of their thematic content—and this is highlighted in column 4 of Table 4.2—is their textual ambiguity; a song like *Iam ver exoritur*, for example, is equally appropriate for Epiphany, Easter, or even the Nativity (see Edition and below). Connected, perhaps, to the similarly flexible performance of the *Jeu d'Adam* throughout the liturgical year, the ambiguous lyrics of the refrain songs suggest a utilitarian function throughout the church year that may begin to explain the well-used physical state of the manuscript. Two thematic strands—the Virgin Mary and Adam and Eve—link the refrain songs to the other items in Tours 927, while also distancing the song collection from concordant collections such as that found in F.

Among the sixty songs in F, only five explicitly venerate the Virgin Mary. Tours 927 also transmits five categorically Marian songs, but only half the total number of works (thirty-one). In other words, Tours 927 has double the percentage of songs for the Virgin (16 percent versus 8 percent), suggesting at the outset substantial interest in Marian devotion on the part of the Tours 927 scribe. This 16 percent is especially notable since only a small fraction of the Latin refrain song repertory throughout the Middle Ages celebrates the Blessed Virgin, a striking and somewhat inexplicable phenomenon considering the Virgin's importance in all other arenas of devotional life.[35] Taking into account the other musical works preserved in Tours 927, two further augment the Marian emphasis: the monophonic *Ave stella matutina* and the polyphonic [*Ad h*]*onorem virginis*. The musical expression of devotion to the Virgin is complemented later in the manuscript by two textual items, Wace's vernacular *Vie de sainte Marie* and an anonymous poem for the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, although these belong to the portion of the manuscript unrelated to the first 46 folios. Nevertheless, mention should be made of a reference in the Latin songs to the Virgin's highest-ranking feast day, the Feast of the Assumption on August 15, a foreshadowing of the anonymous Assumption poem on fols. 95v–108v. This feast day appears only rarely in refrain songs, making it all the more significant that it appears in two of the central thirteenth-century French sources, Tours 927 and the St. Victor Miscellany.[36] Although the Virgin's prominence sets Tours 927 apart from the mainstream refrain song repertory, there is nothing unique about Marian devotion in the thirteenth century.

Considering the proximity of the songs to the Tours 927 Easter play, their overall emphasis on paschal topics is unsurprising.[37] The paschal lyrics of the Latin songs are particularly orthodox in character, even borrowing directly from Easter liturgical texts. For example, the psalmic and liturgical refrain found throughout the paschal liturgy, "Hec est dies," appears in the refrain of *Dies felix et gloria*, while the refrain of *In hac, die Dei* borrows from the processional Easter antiphon *Christus resurgens V. Dicant nunc Judei*.[38] Within Tours 927, the typology between Christ and Adam highlighted in the *Jeu d'Adam* becomes especially clear when the music-poetic intertext of the Easter songs just prior are considered. In one Easter refrain song, *O mira clemencia* (fol. 10rv), for example, both Adam and Eve both depicted as figures cleansed of sin by means of Christ's second coming: "Eve contumacia, / Ade ignorantia / Per crucem purgatur" ("Eve's disobedience [and] Adam's ignorance are cleansed through the Cross").

In another refrain song, *Magnus qui factus erat*, Adam is referenced in the context of a Marian text: "Adam, qui perierat, / Pomum comperit, / Evam que deceperat / Captus interit" ("Adam, who perished, had knowledge of the apple, which had deceived Eve, [and] comprehension ruined.").[39] In a sense, the Latin refrain songs serve as a poetic link between the *Ludus* and the *Jeu d'Adam*, uniting the three distinct segments through related pious themes and an extra-liturgical function. Rather than miscellaneous, the initial folios are woven from interrelated thematic strands, featured in music and text alike.

Expressing the Liturgy in Sacred Song

The infiltration of the liturgy into the musico-poetic fabric of Tours 927 is a prominent factor in its broader cultural interpretation. Contributing to the learned and devotional tone of Tours 927 are the numerous liturgical references throughout the text and music of the manuscript. Even in the unnotated *Jeu d'Adam*, sacred music plays a role, however silent, on the page. Likewise, the *Ludus* itself is intimately (yet not necessarily solely) tied to the liturgy through its festal topic and concluding hymn, *Te Deum*.[40] Within the musical insert of fols. 8v–20r, too, the liturgy is present, if subdued and disguised. Appearing in the midst of the Latin refrain songs are a popular sequence (*Veni sancte spiritus*) and the unique *Benedicamus Domino* trope, both set polyphonically in a note-against-note style. A Marian antiphon, *Ave stella matutina*, directly follows the *Ludus* and precedes the refrain songs; this antiphon also appears in the liturgical books of southern France and was in wide usage in Northern France by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Above and beyond these liturgically oriented items, the refrain songs include both conscious and unconscious borrowings of biblical and liturgical texts, notably of psalms and sequences. Although the majority of musical works presented in Tours 927 are extra-liturgical, they nevertheless represent, together with the overtly liturgical items, a sacred anthology: devotional songs and tropes commemorating the central liturgical feasts and rites of a likely secular institution.[41]

While the presence of liturgical works might suggest a promising avenue of investigation—similar to the one followed by Océane Boudeau in this volume with the *responsoria* of the *Jeu d'Adam*—the small group of liturgical works does little to refine our understanding of the manuscript's origins. The two-voice *unicum* setting of *Veni sancte spiritus* can

be ascribed to the flourishing interest in the polyphonic sequences in the twelfth century more broadly, and is paralleled by similar works transmitted in chronologically comparable sources.[42] Likewise, the appearance of a polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* trope within the same source as the *Ludus* and Latin refrain songs is far from noteworthy, since these genres essentially serve parallel purposes of elaborating church rites.[43] The first of the liturgical additions and the prelude to the Latin refrain songs, the widely sung monophonic antiphon *Ave stella matutina*, has a regrettably imprecise history. One of the first appearances of the antiphon is in an Aquitanian source, St-M A, where it is transmitted as part of an Office for the Virgin Mary at vespers (fol. 136v) in a section of the manuscript probably dating from the early thirteenth century, roughly contemporary with Tours 927.[44] The antiphon is also transmitted in a Cluniac manuscript, probably originating in Paris at the abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, which transmits the Office of the Transfiguration attributed to Peter the Venerable; in this source, the antiphon is inserted in the middle of the Transfiguration Office (fol. 13v). Notated, the antiphon is also preserved as the sole piece of music in the collection of pedagogical texts of France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 11277, fol. 51v, and within a collection of musical and textual tropes in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 5539 (MüC), fol. 63v. Additionally, the incipit of the antiphon—which must not be confused with the sequence and other texts sharing the same incipit—is cited in the 1312 ordinal of the Carmelites recorded by Sibert de Beka as being performed daily in honor of the Virgin.[45] Finally, without music the poem is preserved in the *Liber precum* of Benedictine Monk Anselm of Canterbury.[46] The question, given all of these disparate sources—and others not cited here—is how Tours 927 fits into the early transmission of *Ave stella matutina* and whether its inclusion reveals anything about the manuscript's origins; these questions, unfortunately, are beyond the scope of this chapter.

The manuscript's liturgical orientation resides substantially in the extraliturgical refrain songs; biblical language and stereotyped liturgical phrases litter the songs of Tours 927.[47] In particular, the psalms that characterize the texts of divine services likewise permeate the devotional song tradition that developed alongside, and as a complement to, the liturgy. In Tours 927, this is especially apparent in the psalmic borrowings of three works: *Dies felix et gloria*, *Processit in stipite*, and *Vineam meam plantavi*.[48] Liturgical items, such as antiphons, graduals, and sequences, also form part of the vocabulary of our anonymous poet. In the song *In hac die Dei*

Refrain Song, strophes 1–3	Psalm 117:24 (excerpt)	Easter Responsory	Sequence: *Zima vetus* (excerpts)
1. Dies felix et gloria, *Hec est dies oblata.*	Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus; exsultemus, et laetemur in ea.	Hec dies quam fecit dominus exultemus et letemur in ea.	Zima vetus expurgator ut sincere celebretur noua resurrectio.
Dies nostri doloris terminus, *Hec est dies quam fecit dominus.*			...
2. Dies purgata peccata, *Hec est dies oblata.*			Hec est dies quam fecit dominus dies nostri doloris terminus dies salutifera.
Dies purgans humanum facinus,* *Hec est dies quam fecit dominus.*			...
3. Hec est rumphea sublata, *Hec est dies oblata.*			Hic drachones pharaonis dracho uorat a drachonis immunis malicia.
Vires perdit hostis serpentinus, *Hec est dies quam fecit dominus.*			Quos ignitus uulnerat hos serpentis liberat enei presentia.
			Anguem forat in maxilla christus hamus et armilla in cavernam reguli.
			Manum mittit ablactatus et sic fugit exturbatus uetus hospes seculi.

*Tours 927 appears to have "facimus" here, but this does not seem to fit so I have maintained "facinus" as it appears in F, fol. 463r. Luzarche makes the same decision in *Office de Pâques*, p. 38.

Table 4.5: Textual sources for *Dies felix et Gloria*

(fol. 11v), the first line and refrain are borrowed from a processional anti-phon for Easter, *Christus resurgens* V. *Dicant nunc Judei*.[49] The refrain of *Dies felix et gloria* (fol. 11r), "Hec est dies oblata. / Hec est dies quam fecit dominus," not only finds its way into its new poetic home through the liturgy, but originally via Psalm 117:24: "This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us be glad and rejoice therein."[50] Moreover, an Easter sequence, *Zima vetus*, likewise cites the psalmic *Hec dies* text *and* provides part of the third strophe of *Dies felix et gloria*. The result is a song that bor-rows simultaneously from multiple liturgical items, including ones which themselves cite the Psalm. The reworked texts from the Psalm, *responso-rium*, and sequence in the initial three strophes of the newly composed *Dies felix et gloria* are highlighted in Table 4.5 (direct borrowings in bold; figurative borrowings underlined).[51]

Our lyricist is clearly no lapsed catholic; religious phraseology derived directly from the Bible, as well as the liturgy, fully saturates his poetic language. Akin to the *responsoria* threaded throughout the *Jeu d'Adam* and the *Te Deum* concluding the *Ludus*, liturgical references

within the Latin songs continually betray the poet's intimate familiarity with the church and its rites.[52]

The intricate relationships that form among song, psalm, and liturgy in *Dies felix et gloria* are further complicated when concordances in F are taken into consideration. Similarly drawing its inspiration and phrasing from an Easter sequence, the song *Mors vite propicia* appears both in Tours 927, fol. 10v, and in F, fol. 464r. In Table 4.6, the initial versicles of the sequence *Sexta passus feria* for Easter are laid out alongside strophes one and five of *Mors vite* as they appear in F for comparison.[53]

Sequence	Refrain Song, F, fol. 464r
	Strophe 1
	Mors uite propitia
1. Sexta passus feria	*Sexta passus feria*
	Mortis a miseria
	Nos erexit
Die Christus tercia	*Die Christus tertia*
Resurrexit	*Resurrexit*
	Strophe 5
2. Surgens cum uictoria	**5. Surgens cum uictoria**
	Sexta passus feria,
Collocat in gloria	**Collocat in gloria**
Quos dilexit.	**Quos dilexit**
	Die Christus tercia
	Resurrexit.
	1. A death propitious to life
1. He suffered on Friday,	*He suffered on Friday.*
	Drew us from the wretchedness
	Of death.
On the third day, Christ	*On the third day, Christ*
Arose.	*Arose.*
2. Arising victorious,	5. Arising victorious,
	He suffered on Friday.
He has placed in glory	He has placed in glory
Those he has chosen.	Those he has chosen.
	On the third day, Christ
	Arose.

Table 4.6. Comparison of Sequence *Sexta passus feria* and *Mors vite propicia*.

The relationship between sequence and song is clearly evident in these two strophes; virtually every line of the song follows the poetry of the sequence. Interestingly, however, Tours 927 transmits only the first strophe, not the fifth, distancing it to a degree from the textual model of the sequence.

The reasons for the absence of strophe 5 may be due not to any textual consideration, but instead to the musical setting of *Mors vite propicia* in F in contrast to Tours 927, and the relationship of the former to the Parisian setting of the sequence. Not only is the poetry for *Mors vite propicia* drawn from the sequence *Sexta passus feria*, but the music in F also appears to be directly borrowed from the version performed at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in the thirteenth century.[54] As Example 4.1 demonstrates, the initial melodic phrase of the sequence is the primary material borrowed in F, while the music of the second-half of the first couplet of the sequence ("Die Christus tercia resurrexit") less obviously informs the second phrase of the song. An early thirteenth-century Parisian missal (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 1112) provides the melody for the sequence; included for comparison are the melodies for *Mors vite propicia* as transmitted in F and Tours 927.

Certain shared features of the second phrase in F and the sequence beginning "Die Christus" are notable, namely a descent down from C to the final, G, although the sequence dips down to F. One of the most substantial differences between the two phrases is the starting pitch; the sequence begins a fourth above the final pitch of the preceding line, while *Mors vite propicia* begins on the song's final, G. Nevertheless, considering the overall melodic similarities, a musical connection between the sequence and the version in F is unquestionable. In Tours 927, no melodic relationship emerges. At first glance, the most striking difference between the two versions of *Mors vite propicia* is mode, with the Tours 927 version beginning on A rather than G. Moreover, the B phrase (lines 3–6) is markedly different from that of both the sequence and the refrain song in F. In fact, without the existence of the melodic version of *Mors vite propicia* in F, positing a musical relationship to the sequence *Sexta passus feria* would prove difficult, if not impossible. Further distancing the version in Tours 927 from the Parisian sequence is, of course, the lack of strophe five beginning "Surgens," the same strophe that highlights the extensive textual borrowing of the sequence in F.

Consequently, Tours 927 is doubly removed—first textually and second melodically—from the sequence. A scribe in Paris, recognizing the textual borrowing in the lyric, may have chosen to adapt the melody to fit the profile of a familiar liturgical melody, namely the Parisian melody of *Sexta passus feria*. In so doing, he may have also added another strophe based on the sequence, further enhancing the textual and musical relationship to the Paris liturgy. In the south of France where the rep-

Example 4.1. France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 1112, fol. 466r, *Sexta passus feria*;
F, fol. 464r and Tours 927, fol. 10v, *Mors vite propicia* ("propitia" in F).

ertory of Tours 927 was copied, the relationship between sequence and
song remained solely textual; the kinship only became musical upon its
copying in Paris in the mid thirteenth century. This reflects the overall
trend found in the refrain songs preserved in F; in addition to editing and
redacting melodic lines, as seen in *Vocis tripudio* (Example 4.3, below) and
Mors vite propicia, the scribe enhanced the connection of the songs to the
liturgy, perhaps to better reflect the broadly sacred and liturgical orien-

tation of F as a whole. In Tours 927, on the other hand, connections to the liturgy are made clear by the close proximity of the songs to explicitly liturgical works, including a Marian antiphon, Pentecost sequence, and *Benedicamus Domino* trope.

The range of borrowing from liturgical and biblical contexts found throughout the musical contents of Tours 927 showcases a highly artistic, literate, and devout milieu. Rooted in both the practices of pedagogy and the poetic arts, similar citational techniques were commonplace in the liturgical and textual practices of clerical, as well as monastic, communities, becoming primary compositional tools in the creation of "new" compositions.[55] These new works include genres like the Latin refrain song, Easter tropes, and even vernacular works like the *Jeu d'Adam*. The creative processes underlying Tours 927 continually gesture towards a vibrant and pedagogically influenced setting, one in which clerics were elected to compose new, entertaining, yet still devotional works for performance by their fellow brethren. Beyond the broadly devotional focus of the manuscript, veneration of one special figure, the eminently popular St. Nicholas, sharpens our impression of its milieu even further. The sole work in praise of the saint in the miscellaneous collection, *Nicholaus inclitus*, implicates a community of clerics in the production—and performance—of the manuscript and its songs.

Nicholaus inclitus: Clerical Songs for St. Nicholas

In his late nineteenth-century description of Tours 927, Leopold Delisle observed that the collection of Latin songs "mériterait d'être examinée, d'autant plus que ces chants ne sont pas exclusivement liturgiques. Plusieurs appartiennent moins à l'église qu'aux écoles."[56] The example he provides to support this pedagogical impression is *Iam ver exoritur* (fol. 12v), a song apropos for spring, Epiphany, or Nativity, but not necessarily an obvious product of a song, or cathedral, school.[57] Although Delisle was right to point out the extraliturgical character of *Iam ver exoritur*, he missed the one work in Tours 927 that does hint more transparently at schoolroom ties, a song for St. Nicholas, patron saint of students and clerics: *Nicholaus inclitus* (fol. 11v).[58] No concordance exists for *Nicholaus inclitus*; in this case, however, the lack of a concordance may be just as telling as many. The reason is that F, although not transmitting *Nicholaus inclitus*, does preserve a series of four Latin refrain songs for the saint grouped together on the final folio (recto and verso) of the source (471r−v).[59] With a total

1. Nicholaus inclitus	1. The illustrious Nicholas,
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise,*
Factus est divinitus	By divine providence was made
Presul cum letitia.	Bishop amidst great joy;
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Gubernantem omnia.	*Him who governs all.*
2. Grex erat solicitus	2. Greatly grieved was the flock
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Quem pastoris obitus	Which the sadness of its pastor's
Leserat mesticia.	Death had injured
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Gubernantem omnia.	*Him who governs all.*
3. Vox emissa celitus	3. A voice sounding from heaven
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Viam dixit, aditus	Said, "by vigilance
Serves vigilancia	Preserve the way of salvation
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Gubernantem omnia.	*Him who governs all.*
4. Qui prefore prescitus,	4. He who had foreknowledge that he would preside,
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Preferret intuitus	On consideration should have offered
Deferret insignia.	And not taken away the holy symbols
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Gubernantem omnia.	*Him who governs all.*
5. Vigilare solitus	5. Accustomed to keep watch,
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Sic est sancta deditus	And thus dedicated to holy things,
Presul in ecclesia.	Is this bishop of the Church.
Laudet omnis spiritus	*Let every spirit praise*
Gubernantem omnia.	*Him who governs all.*

Example 4.2. Tours 927, fol. 11v, *Nicholaus inclitus.*

between F and Tours 927 of five Latin refrain songs venerating the bishop-saint Nicholas, the importance of this heavenly intercessor in the refrain song repertory is palpable; no other saint receives the same attention in any source. Nicholas finds a logical home in F; the Parisian, and specifically clerical and learned production and destination of the manuscript lends itself to veneration of this popular saint, patron of the University of Paris whose feast day was celebrated as a duplex feast at the Cathedral of Notre Dame.[60] Considering Nicholas's prominence in F, his relevance to the manuscript's broader cultural setting, and the relationship between F and Tours 927, his singular appearance in the latter argues for a similarly clerical, and potentially scholastic, context.

In F, four Nicholas refrain songs serve as a brief, festive "coda" to the enormous Parisian manuscript: *Exultet hec concio*, *Gaudeat ecclesia*, *Nicholae presulum*, and *Nicholaus pontifex*. Textually, this series of saint songs is a tightly knit tetraptych, each presenting material directly from Nicholas's *vita* and each using related vocabulary to express episodes of his life.[61] Considering the numerous condemnations and criticisms of clerical liberties on the Feast of St. Nicholas during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such a collection of "pure" and appropriate songs venerating the saint appears to be specifically created and sanctioned for clerical entertainment.[62] The four songs in F for St. Nicholas may not have been intended as the total number of works for the saint either, since numerous blank pages, ruled with red staves, follow in the manuscript. The single Nicholas refrain song in Tours 927 would have made an excellent addition to the four preserved in F, with its comparable refrain form and devotional subject.[63]

Formally, *Nicholaus inclitus* parallels the Nicholas songs in F, with a recurring refrain and seven-syllable proparoxytonic rhyming lines (all four songs in F begin similarly). The declamatory incipit, too, fits the opening gambit of two of the four songs in F, with all exclaiming outwardly the subject of praise: "<u>Nicholaus</u> inclitus" in Tours 927, and "<u>Nicholae</u> presulum" and "<u>Nicholaus</u> pontifex" in F (emphasis mine). In many ways, these five songs fit so cleanly together—a musical pentaptych for the popular saint—that one wonders, given the high level of concordance between the two sources, why *Nicholaus inclitus* was not copied into the later F.[64] The fragmentary nature of F, ending as it does immediately following the Nicholas songs, may provide a reasonable explanation; otherwise, *Nicholaus inclitus* would surely have been a highly appropriate choice for the Parisian copyist.

One key textual signal in the Nicholas lyrics of F, but absent in Tours 927, is a direct reference to the clergy. St. Nicholas is unquestionably linked to the clergy, with his role as protector of young clerics and students most widely popularized in the legend of the *Tres clerici* dramatized in the *Fleury Playbook*.[65] Accordingly, in F, his patronage of the clergy is made clear over and over again; for example, in *Nicholaus pontifex*, he is proclaimed the protector of clergy and laity:[66]

Nicholaus pontifex	Nicholas the Bishop
Nostrum est refugium.	Is our refuge.
Clericis et laicis	**To clerics and laity**
Sit simper remedium.	Let him always be the cure.
Clericorum est amator	**He is the lover of clerics**
Laicorum consolatory,	**And the consoler of the laity,**
Omniumque conformator,	The teacher of all,
In omni angustia.	In all difficulties.

In addition to this forthright declaration of patronage, in *Nicholae presulum*, the saint is referred to directly as the protector of clergy ("Clerorum presidium"); as the object of clerical prayer ("Clericalis concio"); and in another song, *Exultet hec concio*, as the protector of clerics ("Nicholaus est cleri protectio"). The implications of the continued identification of Nicholas as bishop and therefore the protector of clergy and laity—and noticeably not *monachi*, or monastics—derive from the secular nature of the office of a bishop. As a successor to the apostles as well as the central pastor of his diocese, the bishop was very much part of the secular world and Nicholas, as proto-bishop, was therefore a favored intercessor in the secular, as opposed to monastic, realm.[67] What this says about Tours 927, given the presence of *Nicholaus inclitus*, is noteworthy; in seeking an origin for the manuscript, our gaze should be directed first towards secular, not monastic, institutions.

Nicholaus inclitus also finds a comparable form of clerical expression in a song discussed in more detail below, yet is relevant here too: *O sedes apostolica*. Both *Nicholaus inclitus* and *O sedes apostolica* celebrate a leader in the form of a bishop. In *Nicholaus inclitus*, the reference is clear; the portrayal of St. Nicholas as a proto-bishop is perhaps the most common trope within his cult and from the first strophe of *Nicholaus inclitus* his ecclesiastical status is confirmed ("Presul cum letitia").[68] Although the word "presul" (bishop) does not directly appear in *O sedes apostolica*, synonyms do, including "pastor" (shepherd) and "princeps" (leader).

Together, *Nicholaus inclitus* and *O sedes apostolica* present a picture of secular as opposed to monastic production and a setting in which the model of a good bishop such as Nicholas was germane. Strophes 2–5 of *Nicholaus inclitus*, for example, detail a lamenting flock following a bishop's demise ("Grex erat sollicitus / Quem pastoris obitus / Leserat mestitia") and the subsequent arrival of the new bishop who had predicted his new role ("prescitus") as "Bishop of the Church" ("Presul in ecclesia"). In *O sedes apostolica*, by contrast, the emphasis placed on rejoicing in a new bishop comes across through exaggerated novelty, namely psalmic references to the "new songs" and "new applause," the final line of the refrain, "Novum pastorem suscipe," and the final line of the whole song, "Sub isto novo principe."[69] With these two lyrics—*Nicholaus inclitus* and *O sedes apostolica*—both pointedly referring to a new and improved bishop, perhaps there is an as yet elusive historical event involving the succession of leaders within a particular diocese that comes to the fore in this musico-poetic context.[70]

While Nicholas's appearance in a devotional miscellany is not extraordinary, in Tours 927 the inclusion of *Nicholaus inclitus* is nevertheless revealing. That F and Tours 927 are intimately related is already unquestionable with sixteen shared songs; thanks to the shared devotional focus on St. Nicholas, a similar clerical milieu is also possible.[71] Likewise, the presence, albeit momentary, of the saint in a manuscript also transmitting a devotional drama, the *Ludus*, places the inception of this source in a sphere comparable to manuscripts such as the *Fleury Playbook*, with its own inclusion of Nicholas, Easter, and Nativity plays. Moreover, thanks to Nicholas's well-known patronage of students, perhaps support is to be found for the recent hypothesis that Tours 927 emerged from the pedagogical environment of a cathedral school.[72] While Nicholas's presence helps better sketch the devotional context from which Tours 927 emerged, the popularity of the saint means little can be gleaned regarding a specific church or region. Aspects of other songs in Tours 927 do, however, lend themselves to a more specific mapping of the source, the topic of the following sections.

Part 3: Mapping Place in Song

Concordant Songs: Tracing Musical Networks

On the face of it, the initial 46 folios of Tours 927 are utterly unique; the *Ludus* is striking due to its length and form, and the *Jeu d'Adam*, despite its fame, exists solely in this one source.[73] While the dramatic works bookending the musical interpolation may offer little in terms of expanding the network of relationships for the manuscript, concordances immediately emerge when one turns to the Latin songs, as I have already demonstrated. Navigating the complex web of concordances in the vast medieval song repertory, however, is far from simple, since many sources, like Tours 927 itself, remain relatively unstudied. Questions of genre across the musical works further complicate any clear picture of shared music and poetry and create problems of locating concordances between, for example, motets and conductus, liturgical chants and devotional songs. For the music in Tours 927, the two explicitly liturgical works (the antiphon *Ave stella matutina* and the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus*) are far too widely disseminated (much like the *Quinze signes* following the *Jeu d'Adam*) to offer much in the way of a defined web of connections. The remaining works are far more limited in scope in terms of ties to outside sources, from the central Parisian concordance, F, to seven further concordances for six refrain songs and four concordances for Philip the Chancellor's *Ve, ve mundo a scandalis*.[74] Disregarding the widespread liturgical chants and conductus, then, Tours 927 is related musically and poetically to a minimum of twelve sources, a relatively discrete number. This network allows for comparisons of music and poetry to emerge that highlight the distinctive character of the Tours 927 manuscript as a source and support its continental origin and clerical context.

With respect to the songs shared among Tours 927, F, and the eleven other sources, musical comparisons can, unfortunately, neither confirm nor dispute the relative antiquity or newness of any one source. That does not mean that all is lost, however, since F and Tours 927 are too close not to offer tempting tidbits of information, such as with the Nicholas songs, detailed above. One of the most interesting comparisons between the two sources follows from a study of melodic profiles. In general, melodies in the two sources can be characterized as either more conservative (F) or more florid (Tours 927), although the lack of notation for a number of the concordant songs in the latter leads to an incomplete picture. One shared

song, the joyous Easter tune, *Vocis tripudio*, illustrates the characteristic musical relationship between the two thirteenth-century collections, namely the slightly more elaborate melodic profile preserved in Tours 927.

Example 4.3. *Vocis tripudio*, Comparison of F, fol. 464r, and Tours 927, fol. 13r.

The two versions operate in different modal areas; in F the melody begins on G and moves stepwise to B in the initial gesture; the version in Tours 927, in contrast, begins on C and centers around A, an entire step above the F version. Moreover, while in F the song is in a standard *rondeau* form (*aAabAB*), in Tours 927 the form is somewhat varied (*aAa1bA1B*). Although only a slight change in the melodic motion, the result is an additional profile for lines 3 and 5 in Tours 927. The sheer number of notes and ornamental figures differs too; although *plicae* occur in F, they are more frequent in Tours 927, as are ligated figures.

Melodic and formal variants between F and Tours 927 are highlighted especially well in one of the few Marian works transmitted in F,

Salve virgo virginum. The song is one of only two in F for which the refrain alone is notated, indicating its full performance at the beginning of the strophe, as well as at the end. This leads to a formal structure in keeping with the fully developed French *rondeau* form of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century (*ABaAabAB*). Conversely, the entire first strophe in Tours 927 (with the exception of the initial repetition of line two of the refrain) is notated in its entirety.

Example 4.4. Comparison of *Salve virgo virginum* in F, fol. 469v and Tours 927, fol. 9v.

The resulting songs are noticeably different; the version in Tours 927 conforms relatively well to the early thirteenth-century *rondeau* shape, although I assume in Example 4.4 the insertion of line 2 (the first line of the refrain) before line 3, beginning "concepisti."[75] In F, on the other hand, the song is constructed almost precisely like a *rondeau* of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century with an initial statement of the refrain.[76]

What the musical and formal discrepancies between F and Tours 927 reveal concerning their exact relationship is still unclear, although the appearance of the fully formed *rondeau* in F in *Salve virgo virginum* may mark a significant moment in development of refrain forms in Latin and the vernacular in thirteenth-century France. More simply, perhaps the different versions of concordant songs in F and Tours 927 relate to issues of transmission and local performance practices, comparable to the variable preservation of chant melodies in different locations. Unfortunately, of the four songs shared between F, Tours 927, and an additional witness to provide further comparisons, only two songs are notated in Tours 927, *In hac die Dei* and *Processit in stipite*, and all extant sources preserve nearly identical melodies for each.[77] Considering the later copying date of ca. 1250 for F, the earlier Tours 927 likely transmits versions of Latin refrain songs already in circulation in Northern France in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, decades before the scribe of F began copying versions of them in Paris. The two sources therefore may record the same tradition but are not necessarily copied one from the other; instead, the manuscripts seem to represent interpretations of either the same exemplar or were informed by singers familiar with the repertory from their own home institutions. Concordances with manuscripts other than F offer further insight into the issue of localization through song however; specifically, a set of songs in Tours 927 with concordances elsewhere signal locale in a manner relatively unusual in medieval song repertories

Pax Gallie: Signals of Place

Musical and poetic works from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries only infrequently provide textual clues as to their origin, at times only doing so through implicit reference to topical events.[78] More often, medieval Latin song, whether a *versus,* conductus, or even hymn or *prosa*, is almost completely generic in its expressive mode, defying efforts to be situated geographically or temporally. Within Tours 927, certain songs do divulge their geographical orientation. From the very first opening of four Latin refrain songs on fols. 9v–10r, two works, *In laudes debitas* and *Beata nobis gaudia*, refer to an unnamed city and its citizens. The initial strophe of *In laudes debitas* on fol. 9v introduces a consciously cosmopolitan perspective to the Marian praises of the surrounding lyrics: "Let the whole city [*civitas*] / and the whole district [*regio*] rush forth."[79] A second song on the initial opening of the lyrical collection, *Beata nobis gaudia*, addresses

the citizens of this very city, still in the context of Marian devotion: "O citizens [*concives*], rejoice, / When the daughter bears the father."[80] These songs, with their city, region, and citizens, evoke an urban center, such as a diocesan capital, and not a rural setting, potentially limiting potential institutions for which the songs were applicable.

While these two lyrics merely adumbrate a civic surrounding, two songs specify an allegiance to a nation: France, or *Gallia*. No other vocabulary in the initial folios of Tours 927 so profoundly signals a continental, and even more specially a French setting, making these songs utterly exceptional within the manuscript. The first of the two songs, *Procedenti pueri*, concordant in F and two later Swiss sources, concludes in its final strophe with a petition to the lord for peace in France: "Sit laus regi glorie … et pax regno Gallie" ("Let praise and glory be to the king … and peace to the kingdom of France").[81] A poetic comparison of the multiple versions of *Procedenti puero* reveals the way in which the scribes of Tours 927 and F chose to include this prayer; the two other sources included in the third column do not retain this revealing passage.

Tours 927	F	St. Gall 383 and 546
6. Sit laus regi glorie,	6. Sit laus regi glorie,	6. Collaudemus domino,
Eya!	*Eia, novus annus est!*	*Eya novus annus est*
Et pax regno Gallie, Gloria!	**Et pax regno Gallie.**	Saluatorem hominum.
Deus homo	*Gloria laudis,*	*Gloria laudis*
Factus est immortalis	*Deus homo factus est,*	*Deus homo factus est*
	Et immortalis.	*Et immortalis.*
6. Let the king have praise	6. Let the king have praise	6. Let us praise the Lord,
and glory, Eya!	and glory,	
And let peace reign in France, Gloria!	*Eia, this is a new year!*	*Eia, this is a new year!*
The immortal God	**And let peace reign in France.**	Savior of men.
Is made man.	*Give the glory of praise,*	*Give the glory of praise,*
	God is made both man	*God is made both man*
	And immortal.	*And immortal.*

Table 4.7. Comparison of strophe 6 of *Procedenti puero* in Tours 927, F, and St. Gall 383 and 546

Between the two openly French sources and the two more anonymous Swiss sources the variations are clear; the two St. Gall manuscripts have no need to request blessings for *Gallie*, and therefore only offer general words of praise to the Lord. Beyond the lack of a place reference in the two St. Gall sources, the central disagreement between Tours 927 and all three

concordant sources concerns the refrain. Rather than referring to the New Year—a prominent feature of the refrains in F and the St. Gall manuscripts—the version of *Procedenti puero* included in Tours 927 is a more generic Christmas song. With the refrain describing the Word becoming flesh ("Deus homo / Factus est immortalis"), the Tours 927 version reiterates a common Johannine trope within the Christmas liturgy and related song repertories, rather than a New Year's acclamation.[82]

Why was the scribe of Tours 927 anxious to avoid a New Year's refrain? One answer might be found in the internal thematic cohesion of the song collection, namely the primary focus on three devotional subjects: Easter, Christmas, and the Virgin Mary. As discussed above, just one song exists for Nicholas; additionally, one song *may* be considered proper to the New Year, *Circa canit Michael*, in which the refrain cites the "anni novi." This lyric reads, however, as more appropriate to the Nativity of Christ, not to the New Year. Simply put, the *annus novus*, or New Year, did not warrant overt inclusion in Tours 927. Another possible explanation derives from the chronology of the sources; Tours 927 is unquestionably the oldest source, while of the two St. Gall manuscripts one is possibly as old as F (St. Gall 383) and the other (St. Gall 546) was copied much later in the sixteenth century. The New Year was already celebrated in Paris on January 1 by the late twelfth century, and throughout Europe the commemoration of the New Year on January 1 increasingly spread until it was officially moved to that date in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, depending on the country.[83] In other words, for the Tours 927 scribe, the "New Year" was perhaps not yet as elaborately or explicitly celebrated as it was in other locales, such as Paris.[84] This adds further support, if any were needed, to a date anterior to F in terms of content and a scribal context not yet entrenched in the popular clerical rites of the New Year—meaning Paris and its immediate environs are unlikely points of origin.

The second of the two Latin refrain songs in Tours 927 that reference "Gallia," *Qui passus est pridie*, survives only in sources other than F. Like *Procedenti puero*, the country of interest appears in the final strophe. Beginning with a nearly identical formulation to *Procedenti puero*, the song *Qui passus est pridie* reads: "Sit laus regi glorie, / Sit per cuncta secula pax Gallie!" (Let there be praise for the King of Glory, and peace to France forever). While Tours 927 points again to *Gallia*, in the two other sources transmitting *Qui passus est pridie* the closing formula is altered to accommodate the place at which the song was either copied, performed, or both. At Neukloster, a female religious house in Germany where the song was

presumably entered into the sixteenth-century manuscript Stuttg 22, the scribe replaced the request for blessings of France with the following: "Sit per cuncta saecula / Pax to dem nigen clostere."[85] Likewise, in a source compiled in thirteenth-century England, Oxford 937, only one word of the concluding formula is changed to match the actual location of the manuscript's copier—"Gallie" becomes "Anglie,"[86] Each of the stereotyped phrases is virtually identical, with the French and English versions easily exchanging the three-syllable "Gallie" for "Anglie," resulting in eleven-syllable concluding lines. The reference to the cloister is far more difficult to fit in the prevailing rhyme scheme, resulting in the division of the final phrase into two lines, a seven- and eight-syllable line, respectively (see Table 4.8).

Tours 927	Oxford 937	Stutt 22
Sit laus regi glorie,	Sit laus regi glorie	Sit laus regi gloriae
Resurrexit hodie,	*Resurrexit hodie,*	Qui surrexit hodie,
Sit per cuncta secula pax Gallie!	**Sit per cuncta secula pax Anglie.**	Sit per cuncta saecula
Resurrexit hodie rex glorie.	*Rexurrexit hodie rex glorie.*	**Pax to dem nigen clostere.**
Praise be to the King of Glory,	Praise be to the King of Glory,	Praise be to the King of Glory,
Arose today,	*Arose today,*	Who rose today,
And peace to France forever!	**And peace to England forever!**	**And peace to the Neukloster forever.**
The King of Glory arose today.	*The King of Glory arose today.*	

Table 4.8. Comparison of Final Strophes of *Qui passus est pridie*.

Such expressions—"peace to France," "peace to England," and "peace to the king of France"—are only rarely found in contemporaneous manuscripts, making these few songs even more unusual. Indeed, within the corpus of over 800 Latin songs (or conductus), catalogued most recently in the *Cantum pulcriorem invenire* database, only nine in addition to the two in Tours 927 reference France using the label "Gallia." Of these, the majority is found in F (six songs), the closely related W1 (two songs, both concordant with F), and the Parisian St. Victor Miscellany (two songs).[87] Moreover, all of these lyrics are fully cognizant of their geographical and historical context; that is to say, "Gallia" appears self-consciously and deliberately, and frequently in relation to specific devotional or historical moments. Although France is called upon in Tours 927 more generally, it nevertheless creates the impression of a writer fully aware of the significance of signaling allegiances though poetry. In comparing the lyrical alterations made to accommodate a German, English, or French setting, each scribe was evidently articulating his own personal locale.

Locating the "Seat of the Bishop"

The lyrics of Tours 927 offer yet one further piece of geographical evidence, this time in the refrain of *O sedes apostolica* on fol. 14r (discussed briefly above). This refrain and its home song have proven to be one of the most frequently misunderstood among the songs preserved in Tours 927. To begin with, in the *Analecta hymnica* (45a:80), editor Guido Maria Dreves describes *O sedes apostolica* as venerating St. Nicholas ("In Festo S. Nicolai," with the subheading "De Episcopo Puerorum"), even though the saint is not named in the text.[88] One possible justification for Dreves's editorial label is the recurring refrain in the song referencing a bishop's seat, possibly connected by Dreves to St. Nicholas's as a bishop-saint. While the repetition of "sede," the seat of a bishop, in the refrain of *O sedes apostolica* supports a clerical association, nowhere is the saint actually mentioned. The importance of this bishop's seat, however, lies in the refrain and one unusual word, "Mannetica." As early as Luzarche's edition of the Easter play and songs, this possible neologism has been interpreted as the location of the seat and taken to be either a scribal error or unusual spelling of "Nannetica" (Nantes) as "Niannetica."[89] The lyric in its entirety reads as follows, with my solution provided in the English translation and "mannetica" transcribed as it appears in Tours 927:

1. O sedes apostolica,
   Gaude sedes mannetica.
In hac die dominica,
Novum pastorem suscipe.
   Gaude, sedes mannetica
   Novum pastorem suscipe

1. O apostolic seat,
   Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
In this day of the Lord
Receive your new shepherd.
   Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
   And receive your new shepherd.

2. In hac die dominica,
   Gaude, sedes mannetica.
Emitte nova cantica,
Novos adplausus concipe.
   Gaude, sedes mannetica
   Novum pastorem suscipe

2. In this day of the Lord
   Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
Sing out new songs,
And make known new applause.
   Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
   And receive your new shepherd.

3. Emitte nova cantica,
   Gaude, sedes mannetica.
Servos tuos letifica,
Non aplaudentes corripe.
   Gaude, sedes mannetica
   Novum pastorem suscipe

3. Sing out new songs,
   Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
Make joyful thy servants,
And turn not away those applauding.
   Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
   And receive your new shepherd.

4. Descende virtus celica,	4. Descend, O heavenly virtue,
Gaude, sedes mannetica.	*Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,*
Quod corruit edifice,	And what he has destroyed build up
Sub isto novo principe.	Under this new leader.
Gaude, sedes mannetica	*Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,*
Novum pastorem suscipe.	*And receive your new shepherd.*

The problem with the solution of Nantes for "mannetica" is that the see of Nantes was not actually an apostolic one (i.e. founded by an apostle) as the incipit of *O sedes apostolica* would suggest. As problematic as this may seem, an answer may be found in the history of the Cathedral of Nantes and its legendary origins. The apostolic features of Nantes Cathedral derive from the first bishop of Nantes, St. Clarus, a disciple of St. Peter sent on his behest to Brittany, and the transportation of St. Peter's nail with Clarus to the newly established oratory.[90] The association with the apostles led to the dedication of the cathedral to Sts. Peter and Paul, an attribution that appears from the initial founding of a Christian site on top of a druidic temple.[91] Even though the diocese is not, therefore, a strictly apostolic one, it is tied to the apostles through its legendary history and ownership of the nail of St. Peter. Considering the apostolic ties of Nantes Cathedral, it is tempting to agree with Luzarche's suggestion that "Mannetica" should be understood as "Nannetica."[92] In fact, as Luzarche states strongly: "Voilà enfin l'origine de notre manuscrit parfaitement déterminée"![93] Certainly, "Mannetica" could, in fact, be a highly revealing clue to the origin of Tours 927, well disguised within the lyrics of fols. 8v–20r.[94] Of course, the question of the relationship between the lyrics praising France, *Gallia*, and Nantes, a Breton city, needs to be addressed. Although Brittany was not officially united with France until the sixteenth century, its history with the French monarchy extends throughout the Middle Ages.[95] During the period of time during which our manuscript was compiled and copied, Brittany, following a chaotic twelfth century, had come in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century under the sovereignty of the King of France, then Philip II (r. 1179–1223).[96] And so, despite the Duchy of Brittany remaining largely independent of France and its kings until 1532, during the first quarter of the thirteenth century a cleric in Brittany would have very well sang praises to the kingdom of France and its leader.[97] It is telling in this regard that the term "Gallia" is preferred in Tours 927 over "Francia," with the former typically referring more broadly to France as well as its provinces, including Normandy and Brittany.[98]

Whether our manuscript is truly "French" in terms of its contents and production has frequently been questioned, in part due to mixture of languages—Latin, French, and Provençal—and the varied genres represented within its pages, from the Latin play and the vernacular *Jeu d'Adam*, to the Provençal farsed epistle. Consequently, England, southern France, and northern France have all been posited as geographical origins, while both monastic and secular (or clerical) contexts have been cited as the milieu for the contents of the manuscript. The explicit references to *Gallia* in Tours 927, combined with the most recent information on the construction of the source and the networks of concordances, argues strongly for the recent conclusions made in scholarship that the manuscript, although copied in southern France, contains a distinctly North-Western French repertory and, moreover, that the repertory is clerical in persuasion.

Conclusion: Song and Meaning in Tours 927

A cross section of late-twelfth and early-thirteenth-century musical, textual, and devotional accretions, Tours 927 includes, in just a few dozen folios, sacred dramas, refrain songs, conductus, a polyphonic sequence, liturgical chant, and *Benedicamus Domino* trope. With such a range of genres included, the source represents an overwhelmingly scholastic approach to anthologizing music, poetry, and ritual in the thirteenth century. While the ultimate genesis of Tours 927 may forever remain obscure, its music, poetry, and notation confirm a clerical setting in North-Western France and a copying date somewhere around the second quarter of the thirteenth century. This is, perhaps, the greatest contribution of a study of the Latin refrain songs in the source, namely the corroboration of the codicological, paleographic, linguistic, and liturgical perspectives represented in this volume and elsewhere. The musical works included in Tours 927, moreover, merit attention apart from any consideration of their value in placing the manuscript in a precise historical context. Showcasing the Latin refrain song, a genre that is only rarely transmitted in such a large number, Tours 927 is comparable in musical scope only to the slightly later Parisian source, F, with which it shares a significant number of works. Through their shared emphasis on a particular form of extraliturgical poetry and music, F and Tours 927 are unique remnants of clerical interest in devotional, yet entertaining and popular songs. The survival of this varied and special source evokes an image of the vibrant musical landscape existing outside of the liturgical rite in thirteenth-century France.

Certainly the well-used and well-thumbed pages of our source suggest a utilitarian book, a volume called upon frequently in the seasonal celebrations of the faithful.

NOTES

AH	*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. 55 vols. Ed. Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume. Leipzig, 1886–1922.
Arundel 248	London, British Library, MS Arundel 248.
Bordeaux	Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 283.
CAO	*Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. Rene-Jean Hesbert, 6 vols. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7–12. Rome, 1963–1979.
Da	Darmstadt, Universitäts– und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2777.
Evreux 2	Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Latin 2.
F	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1.
fr. 146	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, français 146.
Hu	Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, MS 9.
LoB	London, British Library, Egerton 274.
Mad 19421	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 19421.
MüC	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539.
Oxford 937	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 937.
Sab	Rome, Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, MS XIV L3.
Sens 46	Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 46.
St. Gall 383	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 383.
St. Gall 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 546.
St-M A	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1139.
St. Victor Miscellany	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 15131.
Stutt 22	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Brev. 22.
Tours 927	Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927.
W1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt 628.

[1] This is despite Victor Luzarche expressing in 1856 the hope that musicologists might apply themselves to the study of the music in the *Ludus paschalis*. See Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xiv. Musicological interest has been piqued, of course, in the study of the *Ludus* and also the *Jeu d'Adam*, which, although lacking notated music, does transmit liturgical *responsoria*. See Océane Boudeau, this volume, and Downey, "*Ad imaginem suam*."

[2] Strict conditions are somewhat justifiable since, even in the nineteenth century, scholars noted the degraded state of the paper source. See, for example, Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xx.

[3] For a more detailed history of the manuscript, see Christophe Chaguinian, this volume.

[4] A summary description of the manuscript with particular attention paid to the polyphonic music is provided in Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, vol. 1, 449–50. See also the online *Catalogue collectif de France* (CCFr), which reproduces the description of the contents in Collon, *Catalogue général*, 667–70. The persistent link for the CCFr entry is: http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index_view_direct_anonymous.jsp?record=eadcgm:EADC:D37B10122 (accessed February 9, 2014). Although the *Jeu d'Adam* does not contain musical notation, music is nevertheless implied in the rubrics of the source indicating the performance of *responsoria*. On these works in the *Jeu*, see Boudeau's contribution in this volume.

[5] On this division, see Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 375–78, and Hasenohr, "Philologie romane 2003," 170.

[6] Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 378.

[7] The Marian *Benedicamus Domino* trope, [*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine*, has been mistakenly divided into two pieces at "Dominatrix omnium," beginning with Luzarche's edition of the texts in 1856, continued in Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (C. 4813), and repeated in Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 376. The 1997 recording by the ensemble Diabolus in Musica (directed by Antoine Guerber) titled *Manuscrit de Tours. Chants de fête du XIIIe siècle* similarly divides the trope into two parts (Studio SM – D2672. CD). Poetically, musically, and paleographically there is no reason to cut the trope before "Dominatrix omnium." Moreover, the identity of [*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine* as a whole has not been acknowledged as a polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* trope, a genre cultivated throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On *Benedicamus Domino* troping and its relationship to extraliturgical songs, see Harrison, "Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol."

[8] The musical works in Tours 927 apart from the *Ludus* are also listed in Spanke, "Das lateinische Rondeau," 124–27, and Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 375–76. This list does not include one item from the *Ludus* that takes a form similar to the songs on fols. 8v–20r, the refrain-form *Omnipotens pater altissime* on fol.1v. Its inclusion in this table could be justified, however, due to the song's formal shape, rhymed and rhythmical lines, and recurring one-

line refrain: "Heu quantus est noster dolor!" Yet, due to its placement within the *Ludus*, I have chosen to exclude it from this listing of musical works, none of which serve a dramatic function.

⁹ Although none of the surrounding lyrics in Tours 927 refer to Pentecost, within the broader refrain song repertory a number of sources transmit works relevant to the feast day; in F, one song (*Descende celitus*, fol. 467v) includes a refrain that incorporates a Pentecost sequence text: "O sancte spiritus...veni sancte spiritus, nostrum esto gaudium." (Oh Holy Spirit...come Holy Spirit and be our joy.) Edited in Anderson, ed. *1pt Conductus*, xxv.

¹⁰ Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, 28–70.

¹¹ Anderson, *1pt Conductus*. Anderson does not include the polyphonic works or introductory antiphon; moreover, he bases his readings of concordant pieces between Tours 927 and F on the latter. More recently, the team of the *Cantum pulcriorem invenire* project (hereafter CPI) at the University of Southampton has undertaken the digital cataloguing of the Latin conductus repertory, in which they include all thirty-one Latin songs in Tours 927, as well as the opening to the *Ludus*, *Omnipotens pater altissime*, and Philip the Chancellor's *Ve, ve mundo scandalis* (http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk, under the direction of Mark Everist and Gregorio Bevilacqua).

¹² Additionally, Appendix 4.1 includes textual transcriptions of the four non-refrain form works found in Table 4.3.

¹³ Scribal errors can be found, for example, in *Ave stella matutina*, fol. 8v, where the text scribe wrote in the antepenultimate stave "Ave stella matutina peccatorum matutina" rather than "Ave stella matutina peccatorum medicina," and in *Veni sancte spiritus*, where on fol. 15r the scribe has mistakenly included the text under both staves in the first system ("Consolator optime dulcis hospes"); the same latter error occurs in [*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine* in the first system of fol. 17v ("Hominis tu memento Homo mobilis in nullo"). Notation slips also appear, as in *Vocis tripudio*, fol. 13r, where the scribe notated "tri-" of "tripudio" in line 3 a pitch too low on the first stave. As editor of the notated *Ludus*, Richard Stegall, notes, "The manuscript suffers from having been carelessly copied. There are points at which the intended pitch is unclear or is left out altogether. Clefs are sometimes carelessly used. While the musical notes are clearly legible, due to apparent re-touching, the text and rubrics are sometimes nearly impossible to decipher." Stegall, "The Tours Easter Play," 23.

¹⁴ On the dating, origins, and copying of Tours 927, see Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*; Delisle, "Note"; Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, 106–11; Sletsjöe, *Le Mystère d'Adam*; Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française"; Hasenohr, "Philologie romane 2003"; and Collon, *Catalogue général*, 670. For a critique of Marichal's dating, see Hughes, "Magdalene Lament," 278–79 n. 10.

¹⁵ Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 377–387. Marichal does not make any conclusions about hand(s) for the majority of the folios containing the Latin refrain songs (fols. 9r–18r). See Derolez, *Palaeography*, 72–101, espe-

cially 100–01 on scripts used for scholastic texts; Barillari, *Adamo ed Eva*, 120; Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xxix. In contrast with more formal styles of Northern *textualis*, the tradition to which the script of Tours 927 belongs, the *textualis currens* tended to feature a "single-compartment a," meaning no large ascender that joins back up to the counter of the "a." Indeed, throughout the lyrics of Tours 927, the single-compartment "a" is found; this corresponds to the other key features of *textualis currens* as seen in the manuscript, including bold lines, simplified letter forms (which could lend the script the title of simplified *textualis*), and frequent abbreviations. See Derolez, *Palaeography*, 100. Krieg attempted to provide a dating based on Latin abbreviations, following Capelli's *Lexicon abbreviaturarum*; this, however, led him to a far earlier date than other features of the manuscript suggest (ca. 1200). Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, 106–8.

[16] For more on the linguistic features of the French in the *Jeu d'Adam* in particular see Catherine Bougy, this volume. Bougy argues for a continental origin for the play, specifically in the western regions of France, including Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, or even as south as Poitou or Saintonge.

[17] Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, vol. 1, 449–50. Reaney describes the notation as being in "undifferentiated oblong longs and ligatures" and dates the notation to the thirteenth century, but possibly from a twelfth-century exemplar. The comparison to Arundel 248 lies in the "wavy form of long notes." While there are some features in common with the notation of Arundel 248, certain key characteristics are missing, and the shape of several notes is completely different (most visible in the differing approach to *plicae*, or ornamental figures, and *climaci*, a three-note descending figure). On the notation in Tours 927 focusing on the Easter Play rather than the songs, see Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, 109–10.

[18] On the shift from earlier neumatic notation characterized by a pointillistic appearance to the mid-thirteenth century square notation, see Haines, "From Point to Square."

[19] This observation is thanks to the work of *Nota Quadrata*, a research group based at the University of Toronto and led by John Haines: http://www.notaquadrata.ca/ (accessed February 8, 2014). A connection to the *Fleury Playbook* likely does not exist, but it is nevertheless tempting to note the possible fecundity of the Loire valley in terms of extraliturgical creations from Fleury in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire to Nantes, the latter being one of the few possibilities suggested by the lyrics of Tours 927.

[20] On this source, see Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies," 87; see also 11, 86, and ix.

[21] My thanks to Michael L. Norton for his input on the notation, and this neume in particular in the Easter play.

[22] On these manuscripts and their connections to French, Italian, and English sources, see Hiley, "Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily," and "Norman Chant Traditions."

[23] On Evreux 2, a miscellaneous monastic source, see Deeming, "Music in English Miscellanies," 74–5.

[24] See, for example, Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music*, vol. 1, 449, and Symes, "Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays," 803. This is in contrast to scholars such as Delisle, for example, who describes the songs as "Hymnes et chants divers." Delisle, "Note," 92.

[25] As Margaret Switten rightly points out, the phenomenon of the "New Song" is not limited to Latin repertories; see "*Versus* and Troubadours." For an overview of the historical and historiographical development of the New Song, in particular its relationship to songs like those in Tours 927, see Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," Chapter 2. Wulf Arlt is credited with the scholarly popularity of the term "New Song" to refer to the flourishing of poetic activity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see, among other articles, Arlt, "Nova cantica."

[26] The only cataloguing of Latin refrain songs apart from its constituent genres (namely the conductus, versus, hymn, etc.) is found in Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," Appendix A.

[27] On the medieval *rithmus*, see Fassler, "Accent"; Sanders, "Rithmus"; and Norberg, *Introduction*.

[28] On the identity of *rondeaux* (Latin or French) and related refrain forms as dance songs, see, among others, Mullally, *The Carole*; Rokseth, "Danses cléricales"; Spanke, "Corpus"; ibid., "lateinische Rondeau"; Stevens, *Words and Music*, 159–98; Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 129–55; and Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 77–84.

[29] For a summary of early (primarily German but also French) scholarship on the *formes fixes*, see Reaney, "Concerning the Origins."

[30] The majority of writings on medieval religious dance are now dated, including the seminal article by French musicologist Rokseth, "Danses Clericales." More recent examinations of dance in sacred contexts, the two former of which cite Latin refrain songs, are Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*; Silen, "Dance"; and Mews, "Liturgists and Dance."

[31] This is the commonly assumed origin for this source; see Hauréau, *Notice*.

[32] Petri and Woodward, *Piae Cantiones*.

[33] The Moosburg Graduale (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 100) is available in an impressive facsimile with the relevant refrain songs indexed as "cantiones"; see Hiley, ed., *Moosburger Graduale*.

[34] Robert Marichal suggests that the songs in Tours 927 concordant with F are "souvent presque dans le même ordre"; this is not the case (see Table 4.2). Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 376. David Hughes reiterates in a footnote the suggestion of shared ordering, but also rightly points out that this does not necessary indicate a direct relationship with F (and certainly does not, since the ordering in Tours 927 is not the same). See Hughes, "Magdalene Lament," 278 n. 10. Only one pair of songs is transmitted in the same order in both Tours 927 and F: *Vocis tripudio* and *Processit in capite* (*stipite* in Tours 927). On the ordering of songs in F and the St. Victor Miscellany, see Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," Chapter 1 and *passim*.

[35] For more on devotion to the Virgin in the Middle Ages, especially during the twelfth and fifteenth centuries when the Latin refrain song flourished, see Rubin, *Mother of God*, 121–282.

[36] The central feasts for the Virgin are the feasts of the Purification (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Assumption (15 August), and Nativity (8 September). *Cantat omnis creatura*, on fol. 11v, includes in its first strophe: "The Assumption of the Virgin brings to us its own laws." ("Sua nobis refert iura / Virginis assumptio.") Edited and translated in Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, xlv. Among the handful of extant Assumption refrain songs are the two-voice *Hec est turris* in the Engelberg Miscellany (fols. 152r–153r), preceded by the telling rubric "De assumptione beate Marie"; the unnotated poems *Marie preconio* and *Syon presenti sollempnio* in the St. Victor Miscellany (fols. 177r and 188v, respectively); and *Virgo parit filium* in the Seckauer Cantionarium (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek MS 756, fols. 194v–195r).

[37] The thematic relationship between the *Ludus* and the songs is what encouraged Luzarche to publish his edition of both the play and the following lyrics. Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xix. Luzarche also suggests that the songs would perhaps have been sung by clergy members and other audience members following the play and the singing of the concluding *Te Deum*.

[38] The infiltration of the liturgy into the songs is unsurprising, and perhaps provides further support for an author who, as with the *Ludus*, "must have been a cleric who lived this [liturgical] music throughout the year in a singing community. He put it together ('com-posed' it) with intellectual control certainly, but out of a teeming hoard of deeply known and only half-consciously transmuted material." Although referring to the music of the *Ludus*, a similar sentiment could certainly be applied to the devotional songs following the play. See Stevens, et al., "Medieval Drama." See also Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," 754–62 and below.

[39] For editions of these two songs, see Edition and Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, xliv and xlvii, respectively.

[40] Tours 927, fol. 8v.

[41] A notable absence here is discussion of the conductus attributed to Parisian poet and cleric Philip the Chancellor, *Ve, ve mundo a scandalis*. This moralizing conductus marks the conclusion of the Latin songs and fits, except for the lack of refrain, into the larger collection of refrain songs as the twin of the only other secular work, *Breves dies hominis*. Its presence is easily explained through *Tours*'s relationship to the repertory transmitted in F, a manuscript central to Philip's *oeuvre*. My thanks to Thomas Payne for sharing his thoughts on this piece in particular and on Philip's works in general.

[42] See, for example, the repertory of polyphonic sequences in W1, a manuscript with which Tours 927 shares one refrain song, *Luto carens et latere*: see Gillingham, *Polyphonic Sequences*. On the polyphonic sequence, see also Dalgish, "A Polyphonic Sequence from Rouen," and Haines, "New Light."

[43] On polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* settings, see Barclay, "Benedicamus Domino Settings"; Harrison, "Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol"; Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony"; and ibid., "Hidden Polyphony."

[44] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 351, describes fols. 119r–148r as containing "Responds and Antiphons for Marian Offices" and dates this section from the twelfth to the early thirteenth century.

[45] Beka, *Ordinaire*, 29 and 34.

[46] France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 2886, fol. 77rv.

[47] On the reworking of Biblical texts in newly composed songs, particularly those in the closely related F, see Steiner, "Some Monophonic Songs," 151–52.

[48] Edited in Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, ii, iv, and xix. On Psalmic reworkings in the Latin refrain song repertory, including the works cited here, see Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," Chapter 3, especially 350–366.

[49] CAO1796. This song has strong connections to clerical dance; Rokseth proposes that *In hac die Dei* was sung and danced to for the final time in 1737 at Sainte-Madeleine de Besancon, France; see Rokseth, "Danses Clericales," p. 98.

[50] "Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus; exsultemus, et laetemur in ea." In the liturgy, the Psalmic line serves multiple functions: an antiphon for the Feast of the Annunciation, a responsory throughout the year, and a versicle and gradual for Easter. Note that in F the refrain has "optata" rather than "oblata."

[51] The sequence as it appears in Table 4.5 is from a thirteenth-century Parisian missal for secular use, France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 1112, fol. 265rv. For a translation of the entire sequence see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 421–24 and 438. The Easter responsory is taken from an early fourteenth-century (ca. 1300) Parisian breviary from the Cathedral of Notre Dame, France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 15181, fols. 297v–298r.

[52] This is the case, too, for the author of the *Jeu d'Adam*, whose biblical familiarity is clear. See Chaguinian, "Origine institutionnelle."

[53] The sequence is found with notation in the thirteenth-century Parisian missal France, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 1112, fol. 267rv. See also *AH*54:147.

[54] As opposed to the version found in the substantial repertory of sequences emerging from the Abbey of St. Victor. On the Victorine sequence repertory, see Fassler, *Gothic Song*.

[55] As medieval literary scholar Richard Greene observes, in the creative life of the church throughout the Middle Ages: the "principle of providing a new context for a well-known phrase is that which underlies the production of the tropes and *épîtres farcies*, farsed epistles, in vogue from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. It is distinctly a 'monkish' literary device." Although Greene labels the technique "monkish," this approach to creating new sacred accretions is much more than that, since the borrowing of phrases and the recycling of memorable and theologically significant texts was as much clerical as monastic. See Greene, *Early English Carols*, p. xciv. For the most recent work on citational impulses in medieval song and poetry, see Saltzstein, *Refrain*.

[56] The collection of songs "should be examined, especially since the songs are

not exclusively liturgical. Several belong less to the church than to schools." Del-isle, "Note," 92. Marichal likewise uses the songs as evidence for the clerical, as opposed to monastic, setting for the manuscript, although his reasons for doing so are not convincing; on the specific example he cites, the song *O sedes apostolica*, see below. Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 379–80.

[57] Interestingly, Luzarche also picks this song as an example, but not of an academic context; rather, he points to it as a remnant of the "grand lyrique latin." *Office de Pâques*, xxii. The version of this lyric transmitted in F is edited and trans-lated in Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, xxx.

[58] Delisle also does not call upon another item in the manuscript, albeit contained in later folios not originally attached to the initial forty-six folios: a fragmentary citation of the standard schoolroom text, the *Distichs* of Cato. See Delisle, "Note," 93. It is worth observing that Cato's *Distichs* appear elsewhere in close contact to Latin refrain songs like those in Tours 927, namely in its close manuscript cousin, F; see Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," 340–48.

[59] On these songs and related Nicholas works, see Caldwell, "Singing, Danc-ing, and Rejoicing," Chapter 4.

[60] At least by the end of the twelfth century; see Wright, *Music and Cere-mony*, 75.

[61] On St. Nicholas's *vitae* and *historiae* generally, see Jones, *Saint Nicholas Liturgy*. The four Nicholas songs in F are edited in Appendix 4.2, this chapter.

[62] Criticisms of liberties taken on the Feast of St. Nicholas are similar to those for the Feasts of St. Stephen and the Holy Innocents immediately following Christmas; numerous condemnations emanate from Paris. See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 237–43, and Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," 406–526.

[63] Edited by Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, xlvi and 31, and in Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 88.

[64] A feature of two of the songs in F, *Gaudeat ecclesia* and *Nicholae presulum* (both on fol. 471r), is worth noting: the use of familiar concluding formulae, *Deo Benedicite* and *Deo Benedicamus*, respectively. In Tours 927, too, the liturgi-cal versicle appears in the context of a polyphonic trope, [*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine*. The inclusions of the versicle reveal the close ties of both manuscripts to the liturgy.

[65] See Albrecht, *Four Latin Plays*, and Thomas, ed. *Fleury Playbook*. Albrecht traces the legend to the *vita* of John the Deacon, which includes the story of the "tribus clericis scholas." For a more complete overview of the possible origins and later manifestations of the *Tres clerici* legend, see Jones, *Saint Nicholas*. Joel Fredell calls it the "apocryphal" legend of the Three Clerks, which can be traced through Latin and vernacular texts. See Fredell, "Three Clerks."

[66] The earliest, most unambiguous mention of "clerics" (as opposed to schol-ars, boys, or soldiers) in Nicholas texts also occurs in song—the twelfth-century *Cantu miro, summa laude*. See Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, 400 n. 18.

[67] From the beginning of the office of the Bishop, the position is understood

as one of a secular as well as religious leader: "[T]he bishop...occupies the middle ground between the two poles of secular and religious leadership. His responsibilities as administrator of a diocese involve him in very mundane matters from financial administration to building works, while his duties as the shepherd of his flock entail such religious obligations as pastoral care, the preservation of doctrinal unity, and the celebration of the liturgy and other Christian rites." For the early history of this office, see Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 6, and Chapter 1, *passim*.

[68] Nicholas as Bishop is one of the most prevalent iconographical, as well as poetic, tropes in medieval art. See Jones, *Saint Nicholas Liturgy*, 43. Jones takes this as a sign of Nicholas's largely clerical, as opposed to monastic, patronage. Identifying Nicholas as *presul*, bishop, refers not only to his bishop-saint status, but also to his larger role as fatherly patron and protector. Moreover, it provides the connection to the popular clerical festivities during Advent with which Nicholas's feast was frequently associated, the Office or Feast of the Boy Bishop.

[69] See below for the complete text and translation of *O sedes apostolica*.

[70] This is precisely what Luzarche argues for, although his does not note the connection to *Nicholaus inclitus*. See Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xxv–xxvii.

[71] A note of caution should be added here, since St. Nicholas was an extremely popular saint whose cult was highly venerated throughout Europe. He is, to say the least, the furthest from being a "local" saint. See, for example, the enormous number of institutions dedicated to him across France. Thiriet, "Essai." See also the response to earlier theories by Solange Corbin concerning the origin of the Fleury playbook with its four Nicholas plays; Collins, "Home of the Fleury 'Playbook,'" 314–16. Collins cautions against using details related to the cult of St. Nicholas to determine exact locations.

[72] Chaguinian, "Origine institutionnelle." See also the introduction to this volume.

[73] *Les quinze signes*, which has sometimes thought to be a continuation of the *Jeu d'Adam*, is widely disseminated, so much so that it proves to be little use for identifying any particulars about the date and origins of *Tours*. On the tradition in France of the *Quinze signes*, see Mantou, "'Quinze signes du jugement dernier'."

[74] One confusing issue is raised by David Hughes in his article on the Magdalene laments in the *Ludus*; he notes a mistake by Marichal in connecting Tours 927 to the Feast of the Circumcision from Sens (attributed to Pierre de Corbeil); indeed, Hughes is right, there is only *Veni sancte spiritus* in common, a popular sequence. However, Marichal was instead noting the connection of F to the Office of the Circumcision, for which there is musical evidence, namely the hymn *Iam lucis orto sidere* with the interpolated refrain *Fulget dies*, and *Novus annus hodie*. In F, the hymn is on fol. 470v and in Sens 46 on p. 27, and *Novus annus hodie* is on fols. 218v–219v of F and 54–55 of Sens 46.

[75] In this I follow Anderson in his transcription of these songs. See Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, xxxiv.

[76] For a discussion of the *rondeau* form and the differences between a six-line

and eight-line *rondeau*, see Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," 244–247.

[77] The other two are *Luto carens et latere* and *Procedenti puero*, both of which lack music in Tours 927.

[78] Historical conductus do exist, however, providing a musical and poetic counterpart to contemporary events; for a study of a conductus referring current events, see Payne, "Aurelianus civitas." For music in relation to the French monarchy during the thirteenth century, see especially Schrade, "Political Compositions."

[79] "Prorumpat civitas / Omnis et regio."

[80] Fol. 10r: "Concives, exultate, / Dum Patrem parit filia." The refrain continues with a final line: "But with intact chastity" ("Sed salva castitate").

[81] In both sources, now in St. Gall, which transmit *Procedenti puero*, neither preserve the same text that is contained in either F or Tours 927, both of which also contain different texts. The Swiss sources also do not mention a place name (St. Gall 383, page 172, and St. Gall 546, fol. IXv). The versions of the song from sources other than Tours 927 are edited, translated, and transcribed, where possible, in Appendix 4.2.

[82] John 1:14: "Et Verbum caro factum est."

[83] On the dating of the New Year, see Blackburn, and Holford-Strevens, *Oxford Companion to the Year*, 784–785.

[84] F transmits numerous works commemorating the New Year on January 1. On Latin songs for the New Year and the issue of dating the Feast of the New Year, see Caldwell, "Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing," 631–708.

[85] On the manuscript, see Irtenkauf, "Oster-Orationale." The version in Stuttg 22 is edited in AH21:31; I was unable to obtain access to the original manuscript.

[86] Notably, next to F, Oxford 937 is the closest concordant source to Tours 927, with all three of its Latin refrain songs also transmitted in Tours 927: *Qui passus est pridie*, *In hac die Dei*, and *Processit in capite* ("stipite" for "capite" in Tours 927).

[87] The songs are: *O mors, que mordes omnia* (F, fols. 448v–449r); *Seminavit Grecia* (F, fols. 309r–310r and W1, fols. 164v (155v)–166r (157r)); *Mundus vergens in defectum* (F, fol. 9rv); *Homo cur prosperas* (F, fols. 444v–445v); *Gallia cum letitia* (St. Victor Miscellany, fol. 181r); *Beata nobis gaudia* (F, fol. 433v and Da fol. 4v (text only)); *In Rama sonat gemitus* (W1, fol. 185v); *O felix Bituria* (W1, fols. 88r (79r)–90r (81r) and F, fol. 281r as a *Benedicamus Domino* trope and fols. 209r–210v); and *Iucundare, Gallia*, fols. 185v–186r. All are cataloged in CPI (accessed March 1, 2014). A small number of these conductus are discussed in Schrade, "Political Compositions."

[88] As Anderson rightly notes in his edition, "there is no good reason for this assumption," although he does mistakenly translate "mannetica" as "velvet," following Dreves's reading of Du Cange; Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, p. L.

[89] Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xxiv n. 1. Luzarche also argues for a definitively ecclesiastical origin for the source, a province most likely connected to the Loire

region and Tours. Additionally, Luzarche claims a dating for the contents around 1148, thanks to references he sees in *O sedes apostolica* in particular to the succession crisis of 1148–1156 in the Nantes diocese that concluded with the election of Bernard I. See Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xxv–xxvii. For a more recent overview of this crisis, see Durand, *Le Diocèse de Nantes*, 40–1. Another early commentator on the text, Delisle, also suggests that "Mannetica" should be read as "Nannetica," suggesting that the copyist was likely not from Nantes ("Dans cette pièce, le copiste a écrit deux fois *Mannetica* au lieu de *Nannetica*. On en peut conclure qu'il travaillait dans un pays assez éloigné de Nantes"). Because the manuscript was, indeed, copied in the south of France (evidenced by the paper material, the added Provençal epistle, and alterations to the Anglo-Norman texts), this is a completely reasonable assumption. Delisle, "Note," 92 n. 2. Although it is difficult to determine from the microfilm copy of the manuscript, it also appears as though the "M-" of "Mannetica" has been partially erased to suggest a correction to "N." This, however, I am unable to verify without access to the original source. My thanks to Christophe Chaguinian, too, for his correspondence with me on this subject and to Yann Dahhoui for sharing his thoughts with Dr. Chaguinian. The identification of *O sedes apostolica* as a song for the Feast of Fools is unsupported; nothing in the text suggests the election of either a Boy Bishop or the clerical feast of inversion. On this theory, see *AH* 45a:80 where the lyric is associated incorrectly with both St. Nicholas ("In Festo S. Nicolai") and the Feast of the Boy Bishop ("De Episcopo Puerorum"), and Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," 379–80.

[90] Gaborit, *Histoire*, 4. In the early twentieth century scholars were still repeating this legend, as recounted by Russon and Duret: "Saint Clair, son premier évêque, envoyé par le pontife romain, apportait avec lui le clou qui avait fixé à sa croix l'une des mains de saint Pierre. Pour y déposer cette précieuse relique, il édifia, nous assure la légende contenue dans un bréviaire du XVᵉ siècle, un oratoire qu'il dédia aux bienheureux apôtres Pierre et Paul." A footnote observes that the nail went missing during French Wars of Religion during the sixteenth century. Russon and Duret, *La Cathédrale de Nantes*, 11. For a more recent appraisal, including a dismissal of St. Clarus's depositing of the nail in Nantes, see Durand, *Le Diocèse de Nantes*, 7–12.

[91] On the history of Nantes Cathedral during the Middle Ages, see Gaborit, *Histoire*, 1–31, and Russon and Duret, *La Cathédrale de Nantes*.

[92] The Bishop of Nantes could also be invoked through the text by means of the Boy Bishop's ceremony, as the feast is attested to in Nantes from the thirteenth century onward. See Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, vol. 1, 339, and Harris, *Sacred Folly*, 206.

[93] Luzarche, *Office de Pâques*, xxv. "Here, at last, the origin of our manuscript perfectly defined."

[94] Unfortunately, available manuscripts from the diocese of Nantes to compare to Tours 927 in terms of music and the *responsoria* in the *Jeu d'Adam* (see

Boudeau, this volume) are rare; see, however, Huglo, "Domaine," 64–5. One other church should be mentioned as an absolute hypothetical. The medieval town of Mantes, north west of Paris, could easily have been Latinized incorrectly as "Mannetica" (rather than "Medanta"), just as Nantes may have been in Tours 927. What makes Mantes a possibility, albeit farfetched, is its location between the Duchy of Normandy and Capetian lands and the importance of the church, the Collégiale Notre-Dame de Mantes-la-Jolie, to the Capetian kingdom. Most notably, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin was extremely significant in Mantes, thanks to a lay confraternity devoted to the feast and expressed architecturally in a west façade portal. On Mantes and its Church, see Bony, "La collégiale de Mantes," and Rhein, "Notre-Dame de Mantes." However, Mantes was not the seat of the Bishop, which makes its identification as the "Mannetica" in *O gaudes sedes* problematic.

[95] On the history of Brittany, especially in relation to the kingdom of France, see Jones, *Creation of Brittany*; ibid., "The Capetians and Brittany"; Werner, "Kingdom and Principality"; and Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*.

[96] Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France*, 145–262, and Jones, "The Capetians and Brittany."

[97] As Jones observes: "Between 942 and 1199 no Breton duke performed homage to a king of France." In Jones, "The Capetians and Brittany," 5–6. If this is the case, and if our manuscript is from Brittany, specifically Nantes, then this may provide a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Latin songs in Tours 927 of around 1199, since after this date it would have been possible to find a Breton cleric paying homage to the French King Philip II. Outside of Tours 927, a number of works are presumed to commemorate the death of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany in 1186; see Schrade, "Political Compositions," 157. Another connection between the French kingdom and Brittany in music is found in a Parisian motet from the thirteenth century venerating St. Nicholas, *Psallat chorus / Eximie / APTATUR*; the tenor is melodically related to a responsory for the Breton St. Winnoc. See Norwood, "Provenance," 217–19.

[98] Lugge, *"Gallia" und "Francia"*; Guérard, "Du nom de France"; and duQuesnay Adams, "'Regnum Francie.'"

Appendix 4.1

Ave stella matutina, fols. 8v–9r

[A]ve stella matutina,   Hail, early morning star,
Peccator*um* medicina   Remedy of sins,
Mundi princeps *et* regina   Leader and queen of the world,
Virgo sola digna dici   Alone worthy to be called virgin,
Contra tela inimici   Against the spears of the enemy
Clipeum pone salutis   Erect the shield of salvation,
Tu es titulus virtutis   You are a pillar of strength,
Tu es enim virga iesse   You are the rod of Jesse,
In qua deus fecit esse   In whom God made exist.
Aaron amigdalum   Aaron's almond,
Mundi tollens scandalum.   Bearing the sin of the world.
Tu es area compluta,   You are the rained upon courtyard,
Celesti rore imbuta   Drenched with celestial light,
Sicco tamen vellere   Yet dry as fleece.
Tu nos in hoc carcere   You console us
Solare propicia   In this propitious prison.
Dei plena gracia.   Full of the grace of God.
O sponsa dei electa   O chosen spouse of God,
Esto nobis uia recta   Be to us the right way
Ad eterna gaudia   To eternal joys
Ubi pax *et* gloria   Whereby peace and glory,
Tu nos [semper] aure pia   And always hear us
Dulcis exaudi Maria. Evovae.   With loyal ears, sweet Maria.

Veni sancte spiritus, fols. 14v–16r

[V]eni, sancte Spiritus
et emitte celitus
tue lucis radium

Come, Holy Spirit
And send from heaven
The ray of your light.

veni pater pauperum
veni dator munerum
veni lumen cordium.

Come, father of the poor,
Come, giver of gifts,
Come, light of the heart.

In labore requies
in estu temp*er*ies
in fletu solacium.

You are rest in labor,
Moderation in heat,
Consolation in grief.

Consolator optime
dulcis hospes anime
dulce refrigerium.

Most noble consoler,
Sweet host of the soul,
Sweet relief!

O lux beatissima
reple cord*is* intima
tuor*um* fidelium

Of most blessed light,
Fill the depths of the heart
Of your faithful ones.

Sine tuo numine
nichil est in homine
nichil est innoxium.

Without your power,
Nothing is in the light,
Nothing is innocuous.

Lava q*uo*d est sordidum
riga qu*o*d est aridum
sana qu*o*d est saucium.

Wash what is dirty,
Water what is parched,
Cure what is wounded.

Flecte quod est rigidum,
fove quod est frigidum,
rege quod est devium.

Bend what is stiff,
Warm what is cold,
Guide what is off the path.

Da tuis fidelibus,
in te *con*fitentibus,
sacrum septenariu*m*.

Give to your faithful,
In you confessing,
The holy sevenfold.

Da virtutis meritum,
da salutis exitum,
da perenne gaudium. Amen

Give the due reward of virtue,
Give the outcome of salvation,
Give everlasting joy. Amen

[*Ad h*]*onorem virginis regine*, fols. 16r–18r

1. [Ad h]onorem virginis regine
Gaudeat cor hominis
In deo sine fine.
Splendor summi luminis,
Spes glorie divine
Munda sordes criminis
Filior*um* ruine.
Stelle lux matutine,
Uirga iesse flos spine.
Mundifica purifica
N*ost*re feces sententis.
Sanctifica, salvifica
Morta*s* hora*m* festive.
Et lubrica uiuifica.
Tu deus unus trine.
Magnifica clarifica
Nos stole dono lune.

In honor of the virgin queen,
Let the heart of man rejoice
In God without end.
Splendor of all light,
Hope of divine glory,
Cleanse the filth of sin
From the fall of your sons.
Light of the dawn star,
Rod of Jesse, flower of the thorn,
Cleanse and purify
The impurities of our cesspool.
Sanctify and save [us] quickly
At the hour of [our] death,
And render [it] uncertain, bring [us] back to life.
You, God, one in three,
Magnify us, illuminate us
With the gift of the cloak of the moon.

2. Dominatrix omnium
Dei mater Maria
Nostrum deliciarum
Tu dulcis es *et* pia.
Tuum roga filium
Ut nos ponat in via
Que ducit ad solium
In quo manet sophia.
Homo labilis,
Caro fragilis,
Et mutabilis
Hoc ruit in tormento.
Virgo stabilis,
Inefabilis
Et mirabilis
Hominis tu memento
Homo mobilis in nullo
Hominis tu memento,
Homo mobilis in nullo
Est momento.
Caro facilis agitatur
Cum vento
Comparabilis penitens est
Argento.
Penitencie
Fructum faciamus
Ut nos glorie
Domum habeamus.
O mater gracie,
P*er* te leticie
Locum possideamus.
Ang*elorum* patrie,
Celi milicie.
Nos BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.

Mistress of all,
Mother of God, Mary,
Of our delights,
You are sweet and pious;
Pray to your son
So that he places us on the path,
That leads to the throne
On which wisdom sits.
Fallen man,
Frail and
Inconstant flesh,
This man breaks down in torment.
Steadfast virgin,
Ineffable,
And miraculous,
You, be mindful of man,
Man, fickle in nothing,
You, be mindful of man,
Man, fickle in nothing,
The moment is his
The flesh is easily swayed
With wind;
He is similar, displeasing
By means of money.
Let us, penitent ones,
Produce fruit,
So that we may possess
The dwelling of glory.
Oh! Mother of grace,
Through you we may
Seize the seat of joy,
The homeland of angels,
The heavenly army.
Let us bless the Lord.

Ve, ve mundo a scandalis, fol. 19v

1. Ve, [ve] mundo a scandalis
Ve nobis, ut achephalis
Quorum libertas teritur
Rome dormitat oculis [sic]
Cum sacerdos ut populus
Iugo servili premitur.

2. Ve, quor*um* votis alitur
Et piguescit exactio
A quib*us* nulli parcitur
…

1. Woe, woe to the world from scandals,
Woe to us, as those without a leader,
Whose liberty is trod upon.
The eye of Rome sleeps
When the priest, as the people,
Is oppressed by a servile yoke.

2. Woe, whose pledge is fed
And grows fat with taxes,
Who spare no one,
…

Appendix 4.2

A. *Procedenti puero* in F and St. Gall Sources

F, fol. 467v

1. Pro - ce - den - ti___ pu - e - ro
2. E - y - a___ no - uus___ an - nus___ est

3. Vir - gin - is   ex   u - te - ro
5. De - us___ ho - mo   fac - tus___ est

4. Glo - ri - a   lau - dis
6. Et   im - mor - ta - lis

1. Procedenti puero,
    Eya, nouus annus est!
Virginis ex utero,
    Gloria laudis,
    Deus homo factus est,
    Et immortalis.
2. Sine uiri semine
    Eya, nouus annus est!
Natus est de virgine.
    Gloria laudis,
    Deus homo factus est,
    Et immortalis.
3. Sine uiri copula
    Eya, nouus annus est!
Natus ante secula.
    Gloria laudis,
    Deus homo factus est,
    Et immortalis.
4. Sit laus regi glorie,
    Eya, nouus annus est!
Et pax regno Gallie.
    Gloria laudis,
    Deus homo factus est,
    Et immortalis.

1. To the boy proceeding,
    Hey, this is a new year!
From the womb of the virgin,
    Give the glory of praise,
    God is made both man
    And immortal.
2. Without the seed of man,
    Hey, this is a new year!
He is born of a virgin.
    Give the glory of praise,
    God is made both man
    And immortal.
3. Without the coupling of man,
    Hey, this is a new year!
He is born before the world.
    Give the glory of praise,
    God is made both man
    And immortal.
6. Let the king have praise and glory,
    Hey, this is a new year!
And let peace reign in France.
    Give the glory of praise,
    God is made both man
    *And immortal.**

* Translation adapted from Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, xxvi.
   Abbreviations expanded without notice.

St. Gall 383, page 172, and St. Gall 546, fol. 9v

1. Procedenti puero
   Eya nouus annus est
Uirginis ex utero
   Gloria laudis
   Deus homo factus est
   Et immortalis.
2. In ualle miserie
   Eya nouus annus est
Uenit nos redimore
   Gloria laudis
   Deus homo factus est
   Et immortalis.
3. Christe nobis natus est
   Eya nouus annus est
Crucifigi passus est
   Gloria laudis
   Deus homo factus est
   Et immortalis.
4. Cuius circumcisio
   Eya nouus annus est
Nostra sit saluacio
   Gloria laudis
   Deus homo factus est
   Et immortalis.
5. Redemptorem seculi
   Eya nouus annus est
Laudent omnes populi
   Gloria laudis
   Deus homo factus est
   Et immortalis.
6. Collaudemus domino,
   Eya nouus annus est
Saluatorem hominum.
   Gloria laudis
   Deus homo factus est
   Et immortalis.

1. To the boy proceeding,
   Hey, this is a new year!
From the womb of the virgin,
   Give the glory of praise,
   God is made both man
   And immortal.
2. In the vale of misery,
   Hey, this is a new year!
He came to redeem us.
   Give the glory of praise,
   God is made both man
   And immortal.
3. Christ is born to us,
   Hey, this is a new year!
He was crucified and suffered,
   Give the glory of praise,
   God is made both man
   And immortal.
4. Let his circumcision,
   Hey, this is a new year!
Be our salvation,
   Give the glory of praise,
   God is made both man
   And immortal.
5. Redeemer of the world,
   Hey, this is a new year!
Let all people praise.
   Give the glory of praise,
   God is made both man
   And immortal.
6. Let us praise the Lord,
   Hey, this is a new year!
Savior of men.
   Give the glory of praise,
   God is made both man
   And immortal.

B. Refrain Songs for Nicholas in F, folios 471rv

Editions and translations for all four Nicholas texts are based on, but altered for accuracy and meaning, from *1pt Conductus*, xl–xliii. Abbreviations expanded without notice.

Nicholae, presulum, fol. 471r

1. Nicholae, presulum
Gemma, syon speculum
  Tuum rege populum
  Demones preme
  Pastor, uise seculum
  Uitie deme

2. Clericalis concio
Te rogat
  Tuum rege populum
  Demones preme
  Pastor, uise seculum
  Uitie deme

3. Clerorum presidium
Nostrum purga uitium
  Tuum rege populum
  Demones preme
  Pastor, uise seculum
  Uitie deme

4. Tu solamen uirginum
Pondus pelle criminum
  Tuum rege populum
  Demones preme
  Pastor, uise seculum
  Uitie deme

5. Ergo festum colamus
Deo benedicamus!
  Tuum rege populum
  Demones preme
  Pastor, uise seculum
  Uitie deme

1. O Nicholas, gem
Of bishops, mirror of Syon
  Rule your people,
  Repress evil spirits;
  O shepherd, see this age,
  Take away our sins.

2. The company of clerics
Prays to you
  Rule your people,
  Repress evil spirits;
  O shepherd, see this age,
  Take away our sins.

3. Guardian of the clergy,
Purge us of our sins
  Rule your people,
  Repress evil spirits;
  O shepherd, see this age,
  Take away our sins.

4. You are the comfort of virgins;
Drive away the burden of our sins
  Rule your people,
  Repress evil spirits;
  O shepherd, see this age,
  Take away our sins.

5. Therefore, let us celebrate the feast,
And let us bless the lord!
  Rule your people,
  Repress evil spirits;
  O shepherd, see this age,
  Take away our sins.

Gaudeat ecclesia, fol. 471r

1. Gau - de - at   ec - cle - si - a
2. Pre - su - lis   sol - lemp - ni - a

3. Co - lens   et   pre - co - ni - a,

4. Ni - cho - la - e   pro - pe - ra

5. Nos   fo - ue   nos   li - be - ra

6. Pur - ga   cor - dis   sce - le - ra.

1. Gaudeat ecclesia
Presulis sollempnia
Colens et preconia.
  Nicholae, propera
  Nos foue, nos libera,
  Purga cordis scelera.
2. Vita sancti presulis
Claruit miraculis
Uinctus in cunabulis.
  Nicholae, propera
  Nos foue, nos libera,
  Purga cordis scelera.
3. Tener in infantia
Seruauit ieiunia,
Non incurrit uitia.
  Nicholae, propera
  Nos foue, nos libera,
  Purga cordis scelera.
4. Hic tribus uirginibus
Opibus carentibus
Subuenit muneribus.
  Nicholae, propera
  Nos foue, nos libera,
  Purga cordis scelera.
5. Ergo festum colite
Laudes deo dicite
Deo benedicte.
  Nicholae, propera
  Nos foue, nos libera,
  Purga cordis scelera.

1. Let the church rejoice,
Revering the liturgy of this bishop
And his glorious deed.
  O Nicholas hasten,
  Regard us, free us,
  Purge out the sins of our hearts.
2. The life of this holy bishop
Shines forth in miracles,
Learnt in his cradle.
  O Nicholas hasten,
  Regard us, free us,
  Purge out the sins of our hearts.
3. While still young and tender,
He practiced fasting
And fell not into sin.
  O Nicholas hasten,
  Regard us, free us,
  Purge out the sins of our hearts.
4. Three virgins
Who lacked resources
He helped with gifts.
  O Nicholas hasten,
  Regard us, free us,
  Purge out the sins of our hearts.
5. Therefore, let us revere this feast,
Sing praises to God,
And give thanks to God!
  O Nicholas hasten,
  Regard us, free us,
  Purge out the sins of our hearts.

Nicholaus pontifex, fols. 471rv

1. Ni - cho - la - us   pon - ti - fex
3. Cle - ri - cis   ac   la - i - cis
7. Om - ni - um   que   con - for - ma - tor

2. No - strum   est   re - fu - gi - um
4. Sit   sem - per   re - me - di - um

5. Cle - ri - co - rum   est   a - ma - tor
6. La - i - co - rum   con - so - la - tor

8. In   om - ni   an - gu - sti - a

9. Ni - cho - la - e,   Ni - cho - la - e,   Ni - cho - la - e.

1. Nicholaus pontifex
Nostrum est refugium.
Clericis ac laicis
Sit semper remedium;
Clericorum est amator
Laicorum consolator
Omniumque conformator,
In omni angustia.
  Nicholae, Nicholae, Nicholae
2. In sua infantia
Celebrat ieiunium,
Fons et caput dicitur
Confessorum omnium;
Hic in cunis abstinebat
Quod mamillas non suggebat,
Nisi semel nec edebat
Quarte, sexta feria.
  Nicholae, Nicholae, Nicholae
3. Suscitauit clericos
Occisos inuidia
Quos occidait carnifex
Cum sua nequitia;
Tres puellas maritauit
De peccatis observauit,
Paupertatem relaxauit
Auri data copia.
  Nicholae, Nicholae, Nicholae

1. Nicholas the Bishop
Is our refuge.
To clerics and laity
Let him always be the cure
He is the lover of clerics
And the consoler of the laity,
The teacher of all,
In all difficulties.
  O Nicholas, O Nicholas, O Nicholas
2. In his infancy
He kept strict fastings,
He who is said to be the found
And head of all confessors;
In his cradle he abstained from food,
For he did not suck the breasts
Nor did he eat except once only
On Wednesdays and Fridays.
  O Nicholas, O Nicholas, O Nicholas
3. He resuscitated the clerics,
were killed in envy,
Whom the butcher killed in his wickedness;
He allowed three maidens to be married,
And saved them from sin
When he mitigated their poverty by
giving them bags of gold.
  O Nicholas, O Nicholas, O Nicholas

Exultet hec concio, fol. 471v

1. Ex - ul - tet   hec __ con - ci - o
2. *Ex - ul - tet   hec __ con - ci - o*

3. In   san - cti   Ni - cho - la - i
5. *Ni - cho - la - us   est __ cle - ri*

4. Pre - co - ni - o
6. *Pro - tec - ti - o.*

1. [Exultet hec concio]
 Exultet hec concio
In sancti Nicholai
Preconio;
 Nicholaus est cleri
 Protectio.
2. Olei conspersio
 Exultet hec concio
Multos curat a morbid
Supplicio.
 Nicholaus est cleri
 Protectio.
3. In maris periculo
 Exultet hec concio
Proceleuma nautis fit in
Iubilo.
 Nicholaus est cleri
 Protectio.
4. Auri trina datio
 Exultet hec concio
Puellarum fuit
Reuelatio.
 Nicholaus est cleri
 Protectio.

1. May this company exult
 May this company exult!
In the miracles of St. Nicholas
 Nicholas is the protection of the clergy
2. The spreading of his oil
 May this company exult!
Cures many from the torment of disease.
 Nicholas is the protection of the clergy
3. In the great danger of the sea,
 May this company exult!
In jubilation he was the [anchor] of the sailors
 Nicholas is the protection of the clergy
4. The threefold gift of gold
 May this company exult!
Was the relief of the maidens.
 Nicholas is the protection of the clergy

Edition

The Songs in Tours 927

Abbreviations are expanded and indicated with italics. Refrains appear indented and abbreviated as they appear in the manuscript (i.e. single letters in the manuscript appear as single letters here); in the English translation the abbreviated returns of refrains are replaced with *Ref.* Where text is missing or unclear, it has been added and indicated with square brackets. All other punctuation in the Latin lyrics follows the manuscript, while punctuation in the English translation is entirely editorial. All translations adapt those in Anderson, *1pt Conductus*, ii–li.

1. *Salve virgo virginum*, 9v

1. [S]alve virgo virginum.
   [Salve sancta parens]
Concepisti Dominum.
   Virgo labe carens.
   Salve virgo virginum
   Salve sancta pare*n*s.
2. Salve salus hominu*m*. Salve.
N*os*tra spes *et* gaudiu*m*.
   Vi*r*go labe carens. Salve.
3. Tu salus fideliu*m*. Salve.
In C*hristo* credentiu*m*.
   Vi*r*go. Salve.
4. Sis in adiutorium. Salve.
Te nunc imitancium.
   Virgo labe carens

1. Hail, virgin of virgins.
   [Hail, holy parent.]
You conceived the Lord
   Virgin without sin.
   Hail, virgin of virgins
   Hail, holy parent.
2. Hail, salvation of man. *Ref.*
Our hope and joy. *Ref.*
3. You are the salvation of the faithful. *Ref.*
Believing in Christ. *Ref.*
4. May you be the aid. *Ref.*
Of your followers today. *Ref.*

2. *In laudes debitas*, 9v
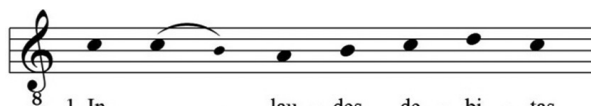
1. In —— lau - des de - bi - tas
2. *Ma* - *net* *vir* - *gi* - *ni* - *tas*
5. *Ma* - *net* *vir* - *gi* - *ni* - *tas*
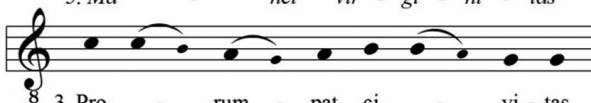
3. Pro - rum - pat ci - vi - tas

4. Om - nis et re - gi - o
6. *In* *pu* - *er* - *pe* - *ri* - *o.*

1. In laudes debitas.
   Manet virginitas.
Prorumpat civitas.
Omnis *et* regio.
   Manet virginitas
   In puerperio.
2. Divina bonitas.
   Man*et.*
Res servat p*er*ditas
Arto co*n*silio.
   M.
3. Absit iniquitas
   M
Dolus *et* p*r*avitas
ab hoc collegio
   M.
4. Utquid exorbitas.
   M.
Iudee cecitas
erra*n*s in invio.
   M.
5. At etia*m* excitas.
   M.
Nos su*m*ma [ ]
Laudem cum gaudio.
   Manet vir

1. In appropriate praise,
   Virginity abides.
Let the whole city
And the district burst forth.
   Virginity abides
   In childbirth.
2. Divine goodness,
   Ref.
Saves lost ones
With a strict plan.
   Ref.
3. Let iniquity be gone
   Ref.
With treachery and depravity,
From this company.
   Ref.
4. Why do you stray,
   Ref.
Blindness of Judah,
Wandering in the byways.
   Ref.
5. But even now you excite us,
   Ref.
Highest [ ]
In praise and joy.
   Ref.

3. *Beata nobis gaudia,* 10r
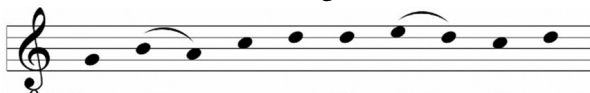
1. [B]eata nobis gaudia.*
   Dum patrem parit filia.
Nam *Chr*isti natalicia
   Concives exultate.
   Dum patrem parit filia.
   Sed salva castitate.
2. Sit celebris leticia.
   Du*m* p.
P*er* hec sacra sollempnia.
   Co*n*cives exultate.
   Du*m* p.
3. Gaudet nostra ecclesia.
   Du*m* p.
De stirpe virgo regia.
   Co*n*cives.
   Du*m* p.
4. Vagit inter p*r*esepia.
   Du*m* p.
Salvatoris infancia.
   Concives exultate
   Dum patre*m* parit filia
   Sed salva castitate.

1. Let happy joys be granted to us.
   When a daughter bears the Father.
For in this birthday of Christ,
   O citizens rejoice,
   When a daughter bears the Father,
   But with chastity preserved.
2. May this joy be repeated,
   Ref.
Throughout these sacred solemnities.
   Ref.
3. Our church rejoices, oh virgin,
   Ref.
In your royal offspring.
   Ref.
4. In the crib he wails,
   Ref.
The infant savior.
   Ref.

* "gaudium" in MS.

4. *O mira clemencia,* 10r–v

1. [O] mira clemencia
   Triumphus *et* gl*ori*a.
Propter n*os*tra vicia.
Crucis extollatur.
   Triumphus *et* gloria
   Christus immolatur.
2. Sua sola *graci*a.
 Tri.
Pia pius hostia
Christus immola*tur*.
 Tri.
3. Eve contumacia.
 Tri.
Ade ignorancia.
P*er* cruce*m* purgatur.
 Tri.
4. Zabuli sevicia.
 T.
Potestas malicia
Cruce debella*tur*.
 T.
5. Gratis efficacia.
 T.
Inferni pote*n*cia
Cruce co*n*calcatur.
 T.
6. In crucis victoria.
 T.
Porta p*ri*us invia
Celi resera*tur*.
 T.

1. O wonderful mercy,
   Triumph and glory
Which, because of the cross,
Our sins are raised up.
   Triumph and glory,
   Christ is sacrificed.
2. By his grace alone,
   Ref.
The holy offering,
Christ is sacrificed
   Ref.
3. Eve's arrogance,
   Ref.
Adam's ignorance
Are purged through the cross.
   Ref.
4. The cruelty of Zabulus,
   Ref.
His power and malice
Are vanquished by the cross.
   Ref.
5. By the virtue of grace,
   Ref.
The power of hell
Is trodden down by the cross,
   Ref.
6. In the victory of the cross
   Ref.
The gate of heaven, previously closed,
Is opened.
   Ref.

5. *Mors vite propicia*, 10v

1. [M]ors vite propicia,
   Sexta passus feria.
Mortis a miseria
Nos erexit.
   Die *Christus* tercia
   Resurrexit.
2. Ad vite palacia.
   S.
Mortis ab angustia.
Nos transvexit.
   D.
3. Fracta su*n*t imp*er*ia.
   S.
Lib*er*a custodia
   S.
Ioseph exit.
   D.
4. Nocte Sanson media.
   S.
Fregit mortis hostia
Gazas vexit.
5. Nove legis gr*aci*a.
   S.
Veter*um* misteria
Iam detexit.
   D.
6. Ad celi co*n*sorcia.
   S.
N*ost*ra spes *et* glor*i*a
Nos direxit.
   D.
7. V*er*o p*at*ri glor*i*a.
   S.
Am*en* dica*tur* om*n*ia
Resurrexit.

1. A death propitious to life,
   He suffered on Friday,
Drew us from the wretchedness
Of death.
   On the third day,
   Christ arose.
2. To the palaces of life,
   Ref.
From the crush of death
He has born us.
   Ref.
3. Kingdoms are crushed.
   Ref.
Free from his bondage,
   Ref.
Joseph leaves.
   Ref.
4. At midnight Samson
   Ref.
Broke the gates of death,
Carrying off the Gaza gates.
5. By the grace of a new law,
   Ref.
The mysteries of old
Are now uncovered.
   Ref.
6. To the companies of heaven,
   Ref.
Our hope and glory
Has directed us.
   Ref.
7. To the true Father,
   Ref.
Let all things sing glory,
He is risen.

6. *Qui passus est pridie*, 10v–11r

1. Qui pas - sus est pri - di - e
2. Re - sur - re - xit ho - di - e

3. No - vas____ gi - gas ge - mi - ne
4. Re - sur - re - xit ho - di - e

sub - stan - ci - e
rex_____ glo - ri - e.

1. [Q]ui passus est pridie.
    Resurrexit hodie.
    Resurrexit hodie rex gloria.
Rex n*im*ie.
    R.
Novus gigas gemine substancie
    R.*
2. In manu pote*n*cie.
Redemit nos de lacu miserie.
    R.
3. Morte carnis p*ro*prie.
    R.
Triumphavit principiem malicie.
    R.
4. Agnus innocencie
    R.
Triumphavit tyrannu*m* nequicie.
5. Radix stirpis regie.
    R.
Vincit leo leonem sup*er*bie
6. Perit vox tristicie.
    R.
Servitutis perit nos egypcie.
    R.
7. Sit laus regi gl*ori*e,
    R.
Sit p*er* cu*n*cta sec*u*la pax gallie.
	1. He who dies two days ago,
	    Arose today.
	    The king of Glory arose today.
	The greatest King.
	    Ref.
	A new giant of twin substance.
	    Ref.
	2. In his hand of might
	He has redeemed us from the lake of misery.
	    Ref.
	3. By the death of his own flesh
	    Ref.
	He has conquered the chief of evil.
	    Ref.
	4. The lamb of innocence.
	    Ref.
	He has conquered the tyrant of evil.
	5. The root of royal stock,
	    Ref.
	The lion, has conquered the lion of pride.
	6. The voice of sadness perishes
	    Ref.
	And perishes the night of Egyptian slavery.
	    Ref.
	7. Let there be praise to the King of Glory,
	    Ref.
	And peace to France forever.

* The first verse appears to be corrupt in the manuscript; the edition is given with
the verse adapted to conform to the poetic structure of the remainder of the lyric.

7. *Dies felix et gloria*, 11r
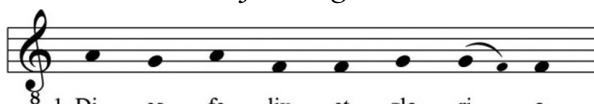
1. Di - es   fe - lix   et   glo - ri - a
2. Hec   est   di - es   ob - la - ta
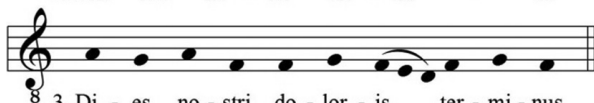
3. Di - es   no - stri   do - lor - is___ter - mi - nus
4. Hec   est   di - es   quam   fe - cit___do - mi - nus.

1. [D]ies felix et gloria.
   Hec est dies oblata.
Dies nostri doloris terminus.
   Hec est dies quam fecit
   dominus.
2. Dies purgata peccata.
   h.
[Dies] purgans humanum facinus.
   h.
3. Hec est rumphea sublata.
   h.
Vires perdit hostis serpentinus.
   h.
4. Eve [mala sunt vela]ta.
   h.
Vetus cessat luctus vespertinus
   hec est.

1. Oh happy and glorious day,
   This is the offered day,
Oh day, the end of our sorrow,
   This is the day the Lord has made.
2. Oh day having purged sins,
   Ref.
Oh day purging human sin.
   Ref.
3. This threatening spear is raised,
   Ref.
The serpentine enemy has destroyed his strength,
   Ref.
4. Eve's sins are covered,
   Ref.
The ancient grief ceases at eventide.
   Ref.

8. *Rex omnipotencie*, 11r

8 1. Rex   om - ni - po - ten - ci - e
2. Tri - um - pha - vit   ho - di - e

8 3. Rex   om - ni - po - ten - ci - e

8 4. Rex   mag - ni - fi - cus.

1. [R]ex omnipotencie.
   Triumphavit hodie.
Rex omnipotencie
Rex magnificus.
2. In manu pote*n*cie
   Tri.
In manu pote*n*cie
Sanson bellicus.
3. Ymnu*s* canit gl*ori*e.
   T.
Ymnu*s* canit gl*ori*e
Chorus celicus.
   T.
4. Cecos luce gr*ati*e.
   T.
Cecos luce gr*ati*e.
Sanat medicus.
   Triumphavit.

1. The king of all power
   Has triumphed today.
The king of all power,
The magnificent king.
2. In his hand of power,
   Ref.
In his hand of power,
Warlike Samson.
3. Sings a hymn of glory,
   Ref.
Sings a hymn of glory,
The heavenly choir.
   Ref.
4. The great physician heals,
   Ref.
The great physician heals
the blind by the light of grace.
   Ref.

9. *In hac die dei*, 11v*

1. In hac die dei,
   Dicant nunc Hebrei.
   Quo modo iudei
   Regem p*er*dideru*n*t.
2. Ubi corpus dei.
   D.
   Nu*m*quid pilati
   Petram revolueru*n*t,
   *Quo m*odo.
3. O Scariothei,
   D.
   Judea, iudei
   Male dormieru*n*t.
   *Quo m*odo.
4. Mater zebedei
   D.
   Mat*er* Salomei.
   Petru*m* provenerunt.
   *Quo m*odo.
5. In ortu diei.
   D.
   Viri Galilei
   D*omi*nu*m* videru*n*t
   *Quo m*odo
6. Scribe pharisei
   D.
   Om*nes* erant rei
   Om*nes* p*er*ieru*n*t.
   Qu*o*modo

1. On this, God's day,
   Let now the Hebrews sing,
   How the Jews
   Have destroyed their king.
2. Where the body of God,
   Ref.
   Surely Pilate
   Rolled back the rock.
   Ref.
3. How, oh followers of Judas,
   Ref.
   With Juda, the Jews
   Wickedly slept.
   Ref.
4. The mother of Zebedee,
   Ref.
   And the Mother of Salome
   Arrived before Peter.
   Ref.
5. At day break,
   Ref.
   The men of Galilei
   Saw the Lord.
   Ref.
6. The Scribes and the Pharisees,
   Ref.
   Were all guilty,
   All perished.
   Ref.

* The initial notated strophe appears to be missing lines, while the refrain appears in full. I have chosen to not add lines based on the concordance in F, fol. 463rv, but instead represent the piece as it appears in Tours 927.

10. *Cantat omnis creatura*, 11v

1. Can - tat   o - mnis   cre - a - tu - ra
2. *Su - a   no - bis   re - fert   iu - ra*
3. Su - a   no - bis   re - fert   iu - ra

4. Vi - gi - nis   as - sum - ci - o
6. *Con - ci - nat   hec__ con - ci - o.*

5. *O,   o,   Do - mi - no__*

1. Cantat omn*is* creatura.
   Sua nobis refert iura
Sua nobis refert iura.
Virginis assump*ci*o.
   O, o, d*omi*no.
   Concinat hec concio.
2. [Sua alta nos ce*n*]sura.
   Sua.
Cibi potus*que* me*n*sura
Sit *in* hoc sol*em*nio.
   O.
3. Christo regi dam*us* thura.
   S.
Pio corde [mente pura]
[Puro] desiderio.
   O.
4. Dedit suu*m* ius nat*u*ra.
   S.
Reru*m* factor fit fact*u*ra
Virginis *in* gremio.
   Oo.*

1. Let every creature sing,
   It brings to us its own laws.
It brings to us its own laws,
The Assumption of the Virgin.
   Oh, oh, to the Lord,
   Let this congregation sing.
2. May she nourish us with her good counsel,
   Ref.
May there be a measure of food and drink
In this solemn ceremony.
   Ref.
3. Let us give incense to Christ the King,
   Ref.
With pure heart, pure mind,
And pure desire.
   Ref.
4. Nature grants its own law,
   Ref.
The creator of all becomes the created
In the bosom of the virgin.
   Ref.

* The music for line 2 appears to be corrupt in the manuscript;
I have interpreted it to follow the melodic structure of lines 1 and 3.

11. *Nicholaus inclitus*, 11v–12r

1. Ni - cho - la - us   in - cli - tus [●]
2. *Lau - det   o - mnis spi - ri - tus*
3. Fa - ctus est   di - vi - ni   -   tus
5. *Lau - det   o - mnis spi - ri   -   tus*

4. Pre - sul   cum   le - ti - ti   -   a
6. *Gu - ber - nan - tem   o   -   mni - a.*

1. Nicholaus inclitus
   L[au]det om*n*is spiritus
Factus est divinitus
Presul cu*m* letitia.
   Laudet om*n*is sp*iritus*
   Gubernan*t*em omnia.
2. Grex erat solicitus
   L.
Quem pastoris obit*us*
Leserat mesticia.
   L.
3. Vox emissa celitus
   L.
Via*m* dixit, aditus
Serves vigila*n*cia
   L.
4. Qui p*re*fore p*re*scitus,
   L.
Preferret intuitus
Deferret i*n*signia.
5. Vigilare solitus
   L.
Sic est *sanc*ta deditus
P*re*sul i*n* [ecclesia].
   Laudet omnis.

1. The illustrious Nicholas,
   Let every spirit praise,
By divine providence was made
Bishop amidst great joy;
   Let every spirit praise
   Him who governs all.
2. Greatly grieved was the flock
   Ref.
Which the sadness of its pastor's
Death had injured
   Ref.
3. A voice sounding from heaven
   Ref.
Said, "by vigilance
Preserve the way of salvation
   Ref.
4. He who had foreknowledge that he would preside,
   Ref.
On consideration should have offered
And not taken away the holy symbols
   Ref.
5. Accustomed to keep watch,
   Ref.
And thus dedicated to holy things,
Is this bishop of the Church.
   Ref.

12. *Magnus qui factus erat*, 12r

1. Ma - gnus qui fa - ctus e - rat
2. Tan - dem pre - te - rit
3. No - vus qui non a - de - rat
4. Ca - pud ex - e - rat
5. Vir - ga __ que ___ flo - ru - e - rat
6. Vir - go pe - pe - rit.

1. [M]agnus *qui* f[actus] erat
Tandem preterit
Novus qui non aderat
Capud exerat.
  Virga que floruerat
  Virgo pep*er*it.
2. Adam qui p*er*ierit
[Pomu*m*]* com*per*it
Eva*m* que decep*er*at
Capt*us* interit.
  Virga.
3. Eva cui credid*er*at
Cap*ut* conterit
Libru*m* que*m* lex clauserat
Agn*us* ap*er*it.
  Vir.
4. Lex ad lucem p*ro*p*er*at
Umbram deserit
Lege*m* lux no*n* alt*er*at
Sed plus asserit.
  V.
5. Pharao no*n* im*per*at
Undis dep*er*it
Licet qui tr*an*sierat
No*n* meminerit.

1. He who had been created great
At last perished,
And a new man, not there before,
Revealed his head.
  A twig which had flowered
  Was the virgin who bore [Christ].
2. Adam, who perished,
Had knowledge of the apple,
Which had deceived Eve,
[And] comprehension ruined.
  Ref.
3. Eve, whom he had believed,
Bruised the serpent's head.
The book which the law had closed,
The lamb opened.
  Ref.
4. The law hastened to the light,
And left the shadow,
But the light did not alter the law;
It freed it ever more.
  Ref.
5. Pharaoh no longer ruled,
He perished in the waters;
Yet those who had crossed
Did not remember.

* The manuscript has "portum"; "pomum," as found in Anderson's edition, makes more sense here.

13. *Surge vide gens misera*, 12v

1. [S]urge vide gens misera
   De virgine pue*rper*a
*Christ*um natu*m* co*n*sidera
Fide eius reficiens.
2. Illum citari *pr*o*per*a
   .D.
Que*m* pr*o*phetavit litera
Pr*e*dixit f[alsas] neciens
   .D.
3. Iam excluduntur vetera
   .D.
Tua lex velut extera
Iacet quasi preteriens
   .D.

1. Arise, see, o wretched people,
   A childbirth from a virgin,
Consider the begotten Christ,
Restoring us by her faith.
2. Hasten to be reconciled to him
   Ref.
Of whom the Scriptures prophesied
Predicting truly without falsehood.
   Ref.
3. And now the old things are closed out,
   Ref.
And thy Law lies as an outsider,
Just as if it had perished.
   Ref.

14. *Iam ver exoritur*, 12v

1. Iam   ver_____   ex - or - i - tur
2. Le - te -   mur   i - gi - tur
3. Hy - ems_____   con - te - ri - tur
5. Flo - ra -   lis   gau - di - a

4. Ces - set   tris - ti - ci - a

6. Dat__   e - phy - pha - ni - a.

1. Iam ver exoritur.
   Letemur igitur.
Hyems [conteritur].
   [Ce]sset tristicia.
   Floralis gaudia
   Dat ephyphania.
2. Hyems *conter*itur
   Le.
Novu*s* sol *ori*tur
   Cesset tristicia.
   .F.
3. Ecce flos mittit*ur*
   .L.
Herba nu*n*c nascit*ur*
   .c.t.aa.F.
4. Draco c*onter*itur
   L.
Pax nobis reddit*ur*
   c.t.F.
5. Laus *Christ*o dicit*ur*
   .L.
Angelus canit*ur*
   Cesset tr*isti*cia.
   Florial*is* gaudia
   Dat ephyphania.

1. A new spring arises,
   Therefore let us rejoice,
For now the flower is budding;
   Let sorrow cease
   Epiphany gives
   Flora's joys.
2. Winter is exhausted,
   Ref.
The new sun is risen
   Ref.
3. For lo, the flower renews
   Ref.
And grass now springs forth.
   Ref.
4. The dragon is crushed
   Ref.
And peace is given back to us.
   Ref.
5. Praise is sung to Christ,
   Ref.
And the angel is lauded in song.
   Ref.

15. *Ignis in rubo cernitur*, 12v–13r

1. Ig - nis   in __ ru - bo __ cer - ni - tur

2. Fes - ta   di - es   nunc __ co - li - tur
5. Fes - ta   di - es   nunc __ co - li - tur

3. Ne - que   ru - bus   com - bu - ri - tur

4. Con - gau - de - at   ec - cle - si - a

6. No - va   di - ca - mus   gau - di - a.

1. Ignis in rubo cernitur
  Festa dies nunc colitur
Neque rubus comburitur
Congaudeat ecclesia
  Festa dies nunc colitur
  Nova dicamus gaudia.
2. Hoc mistice ostenditur
  .F.
Nunc ignis qui aspicitur
In rubo intelligitur
  .F.
Spem qui em[ittitur]
3. Dum puer nobis nascitur
  F.
Per quem homo redemitur
A morte que non moritur.
  Festa dies nunc colitur
  Nova dicamus gaudia.

1. A fire is seen in a bush
  This festive day is now honored.
And the bush is not burned
Let the church rejoice
  This festive day now honored
  Let us sing new joys.
2. Showing this mystic way,
  Ref.
Now the fire which is seen
In the bush is understood to be
  Ref.
The spirit which is sent.*
3. For a boy is born to us
  Ref.
Through whom man is redeemed
From death which does not die.
  Ref.

* This line appears to be misplaced after the refrain, although placing it before the refrain
would disturb the poetic form. A different solution is offered in Anderson, xlviii.

16. *Vocis tripudio*, 13r

1. Vo - cis   tri - pu - di - o
2. *Psal - lat*   *hec___ con - ci - o*

3. Vo - cis___   tri - pu - di - o
5. *Psal - lat ___   hec___ con - ci - o*

4. Sed   men - te___   so - bri - a
6. *Fes - ta   pas - ca - li - a.*

1. [V]ocis tripudio.	1. With joyful leaps of the voice,
Psallat hec concio.	Let this company sing,
Vocis tripudio	With joyful leaps of the voice,
Sed mente sobria.	But with a sober mind,
Psallat hec concio	Let this company sing
Festa phascalia.	The paschal feast.
2. No*n* parcu*m* filio.	2. Not sparing his son,
Psa.	*Ref.*
Patris cleme*n*cia	The Father's mercy,
Salvatur p*r*ecio.	Salvation by a price.
.P.	*Ref.*
3. Magna de gra*cia*	3. Great with the grace,
.P.	*Ref.*
Nos implet gaudio	Christ's victory
Christi victoria.	Fills us with joy.
Psallat hec concio	*Ref.*
Festa pascalia	

*The notation of *Vocis tripudio* in the manuscript for line 3 appears to contain a mistake, with the descending line on "tri-" of "tripudio" beginning a pitch too low. I have corrected it here.

17. *Processit in capite*, 13r

1. Pro - ces - sit___ in___ sti - pi - te
2. Om - nes   gen - tes___ plau - di - te

3. Pro - ces - sit   in___ ca - pi - te

4. No - stra   re - sur - rec - ti - o

5. Om - nes   gen - tes   plau - di - te

6. Ma - ni - bus   pre___ gau - di - o.

1. [P]rocessit in stipite.
   Om*ne*s gentes plaudite
P*ro*cessit in capite
N*ost*ra resurrectio.
   Om*ne*s gentes plaudite
   Manib*us* p*re* gaudio.
2. Regi n*ost*ro psallite
   .O.
Sensu tamen sob*ri*o
Q*ui* dormitis surgite
   .O.
3. De mu*n*di naufragio
Suspensu*m* in stipite.
   Omnes gentes plaudite
   Manibus p*re* gaudio.

1. Advance to the stake,
   Clap, everybody.
Advance to the head,
Our salvation.
   Clap your hands, everybody,
   For joy.
2. Sing psalms to our king,
   Ref.
Yet with sober feeling,
Whoever sleeps, arise.
   Ref.
3. From the shipwreck of the world,
Hung on the cross,
   Ref.

18. *Agnus sine macula*, 13r–v*

1. Ag - nus___ si - ne ma - cu - la
2. In - i - mi - ci vin - cu - la

3. Pre - dic - tus per se - cu - la
5. In - i - mi - ci vin - cu - la

4. Ex ha - brae___ se - mi - ne
6. Di - ru - pis - ti do - mi - ne.

1. [A]gnus sine macula.
   Inimici vincula.
Predictu*s* p*er* secula
Ex habrae semine
   Inimici vincula
   Dirupisti domine.
2. Post partu*m* orac*u*la
Pr*o*dit ex virgula
Nat*us est* de virgine
   .I.
3. Fraude iude sedula.
Tradit*ur* p*er* osc*u*la
Occultato numine
   .I.
4. Post amara poc*u*la
   .I.
P*er* crucis patibula
Nos redemit sanguine.
   Inimici.

1. The lamb without blemish,
   The enemy's chains
Was predicted from all ages
To issue from the seed of Abraham.
   The enemy's chains
   You have shattered, o Lord.
2. From the oracles of our forefathers
He proceeded from a maid
He was born from a virgin.
   Ref.
3. By a fraudulent trick of the Jews,
He was betrayed by a kiss,
While his divinity lay hidden.
   Ref.
4. After the bitter cup,
   Ref.
By the gallows of the cross
He redeemed us with his blood.
   Ref.

*The final notated line ("dirupisti domine") has an extra note on "-mi-" of "domine" which I have chosen not to include in my transcription.

19. *Mittendus predicitur*, 13v

1. Mit - ten - dus   pre - di - ci - tur
2. Mor - te   vi - te   vin - ci - tur

3. Et   pre - dic - tus   mit - ti - tur
7. Mor - te   vi - te   vin - ci - tur

4. Con - ci - pi - tur
8. Et   tol - li - tur
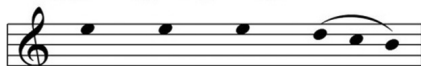
5. Et   nas - ci - tur
9. Et   mo - ri - tur

6. Mag - num   con - si - li - um
10. Mor - tis___ do - mi - ni - num.

1. [M]ittendus predicitur.	1. It was predicted that he would be sent,
Morte vite vincitur	By death life conquers
Et predictus mittitur	And the prophesied one was sent,
Concipitur	And conceived,
Et nascitur	And born
Magnum consilium.	[And] was the great plan.
Morte vite vincitur.	By death life conquers
Et tollitur.	And taken away
Et moritur.	And dies
Mortis *dominiu*m.	Is the dominion of death.
2. D*eus* h*omo* nascit*ur*	2. God is born man
Et p*ropter* nos tradit*ur*	And for our sakes is taken,
Co*n*spuit*ur*	He is reviled
Contendit*ur*	And struck
Et fit oppr*obriu*m.	And made an object of scorn.
.M.	*Ref.*
3. In cruce suspe*n*dit*ur*	3. On the cross he is suspended
.M.	*Ref.*
Sanguis aq*ua* labit*ur*.	And blood flows with water,
Redimit*ur*.	But redeemed
Et regit*ur*	And guided
Mu*n*di flagicium.	Is the sin of the world.
.M.	*Ref.*
4. Co*n*solem*ur* igit*ur*	4. Therefore let us be comforted;
.M.	*Ref.*
Surrexit no*n* morit*ur*	He is arisen and is not dead,
Abscondit*ur*	And hidden
Et credit*ur*	And credited
Nostrum iudicium.	Is our sentence.
Morte vite	*Ref.*

20. *Circa canit Michael*, 13v–14r

1. [C]irca canit Michael
Gaudia
Natus est rex Is*rahe*l.
  Eya. Eya.
  Anni novi
  Nova novi
  Gaudia.
2. In excelsis canit*ur*
Gl*ori*a
T*er*ris pax indicit*ur*.
  eya. Eya.
3. N*ost*ra nobis reddit*ur*
Patria
In q*ua* vivit*ur*.
  eia. Eya.
4. Devitemus igit*ur*
Vicia
P*er* que virt*us* morit*ur*
  eya. Eya.
5. Sua spargat castitas
Lilia
P*e*perit virginitas.
  eya. Eya.

1. All about Michael sings
Joys:
A king is born in Israel.
  Hey!
  Now we know
  The new joys
  Of a new year.
2. In the highest is sung
Glory,
And peace on earth is proclaimed.
  Ref.
3. To us is returned our
Fatherland,
In which there is glorious life.
  Ref.
4. Therefore let us avoid
The vices
Through which virtue perishes.
  Ref.
5. Chastity strews her own
Lilies
When virginity gives birth.
  Ref.

21. *O sedes apostolica*, 14r

1. O   se - des   a - pos - to - li - ca
2. *Gau - de   se - des   man - ne - ti - ca*

3. In   hac   di - e   do - mi - ni - ca
5. *Gau - de   se - des   man - ne - ti - ca*

4. No - vum___ pas - to - rem   sus - ci - pe.
6. *No - vum___ pas - to - rem   sus - ci - pe.*

1. [O] sedes apostolica	1. O apostolic seat,
Gaude sedes mannetica.	Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
In hac die dom*in*ica	In this day of the Lord
Novum pastorem suscipe	Receive thy new shepherd;
Gaude, sedes mannetica	Rejoice, O seat of Nantes,
Novum pastorem suscipe	And receive thy new shepherd.
2. In hac die d*omini*ca	2. In this day of the Lord
.G.	*Ref.*
Emitte nova cantica	Sing out new songs,
Novos adplausus concipe	And make known new applause.
.G.	*Ref.*
3. Emitte nova ca*n*tica	3. Sing out new songs,
.G.	*Ref.*
Servos tuos letifica	Make joyful thy servants,
No*n* apla*u*dentes corripe	And turn not away those applauding.
.G.	*Ref.*
4. Desce*n*de v*irtus* celica	4. Descend, oh heavenly virtue,
.G.	*Ref.*
Q*uod* corruit edifice	And what he has destroyed build up
Sub isto novo principe	Under this new leader.
Gaude se	*Ref.*

22. *Deus pater filium*, 14r–v

1. De - us pa - ter fi - li - um

2. *O* na - ta - le gau - di - um

8 3. De - us pa - ter fi - li - um

8 4. Pro - pri - um do - na - vit

8 5. *O* na - ta - le gau - di - um

8 6. *Do* - mi - nus reg - na - vit.

1. [D]eus pater filium.
   O natale gaudium.
D*eus* p*ate*r filium
Pr*op*rium donavit.
   O natale gaudium
   Dominus regnavit.
2. Habet vaticinium
   .O.
Habet vaticinium
Suu*m* psalmus d*ed*it.
   [.O.]
3. Abraha*m* fidelium
Abraha*m* fideliu*m*
Paup*er* exultavit.
   .O.
4. Ecce sicut lilium
   .O.
Ecce sicut lilium
Iustus germinavit.
   .O. natale gaudiu*m*.

1. God the Father his Son
   Oh natal joy.
God the Father his Son
Only has given.
   Oh natal joy
   The Lord has begun his reign.
2. Holds its own prophesy.
   Ref.
Holds its own prophesy.
The psalm he gave.
   Ref.
3. Abraham, of the faithful
Abraham, of the faithful
The poor man rejoices.
   Ref.
4. Lo, like the lily
   Ref.
Lo, like the lily
The just has flourished.
   Ref.

UNNOTATED

23. *Resurrexit libere*, 18r

1. [R]esurrexit libere
Filius puerpere
  Die tercia.
  Eya
  Gaudeat ecclesia
  Nova colens solempnia.
2. Nos volens redimere
Ab i*n*ferni carcere.
  Die te*r*cia.
  Eya
  .g.e
3. Festina ia*m* cre*d*ere
Iudee gens misere
  .die.
  Eya
4. Hunc vere resurgere
Gaudeamus hodie
  die tercia.
  Eya
  .G.e.

1. The son of a woman in labor
Spontaneously rose today.
  On the third day
  Hey!
  Let the church rejoice
  Honoring these new solemnities.
2. He wishes to redeem us
From the prison of hell.
  Ref.
3. Hasten now to believe
Oh wretched people of Judah.
  Ref.
4. Let us rejoice in him
Who has truly arisen today.
  Ref.

24. *Vivere que tribuit*, 18r–v

1. [V]ivere q*ue* tribuit.
   Vita mori voluit
   Mortis ob inter[ ]
Secunda mors tenuit
Solv*ere quam* voluit.
   .G*racia*. n*on* [meritum
   Vita mori voluit
   Mortis ob interitum.]
2.[ ]
3. [ ]
   .G*racia*. n*on*. [ ]
4. Ru*m*phea [
   .G.] no*n*
   Vita mori
5. [Psallere]
   .G*racia*. n*on*.
   Vita mori
6. [ ]
   .G*racia*. n*on*.
   Mori [vita]
7. Quos reus implicuit
   .Vita.
Casibus explicuit
   .G*racia*. n*on*.
   Vita

1. The life which granted life
   Willed itself to die
   To give death to death.
Following the death he held
Which he wished to loosen.
   Through grace and not merit
   That life willed itself to die
   To give death to death.
2.
3.
   Ref.
4. The weapon
   Ref.
5. To sing
   Ref.
6.
   Ref.
7. Whom the guilty entangled
   Ref.
He drew away from all misfortune.
   Ref.

25. *Luto carens et latere*, 18v

1. Luto carens *et* latere.
   [Transit Hebreus] libere.
Novo novus charactere
   In sicco mente munda.
   Transit Hebreus libere
   Baptismi mundus [unda.]
[2. Servus liber ab opere]
Culpe recluso [carcere
3. Mare dum] videt cedere
[Mergens sequentes temer
4. Agnus occisus vespere]
Culpe [solvit] ab [onere
   .T.
5. [ ]
6. Ergo sepulto [
] hodie
[ ]

1. Casting aside bricks and mortar
   The Hebrews freely crossed
Renewed with new character
   On dry land with a new character
   The Hebrews freely crossed
   Cleansed by baptismal waters
2. The slave is free from toil
With the prison of sin unlocked
3. While they see the yielding sea
Closing in on those rashly following.
4. At evening the lamb was slain
Absolving us from sinful blame
   Ref.
[ ]

26. *De patre principio*, 18v

1. De patre principio.
   Gaudeamus. Eya.
Filius principiu*m*
   Cum gl*ori*a
   Novum pascha
   Predicat e*c*clesia
2. Paci*s in* palacio
   .G.
Me*ntis* in solaciu*m*.
   .Cu*m*.
   Gl*ori*a.
   Novu*m*.
3. P*ro* mortis exilio
   .G.
Venit *in* exiliu*m*
   Cu*m* gl*ori*a.
   N.
4. Misera*n*di t*er*mini
   .G.
Vide*ns* victor terminu*m*
   .Cu*m* gl*ori*a
   .N.
5. Toga carnis d*ominum*
   .G.
Te ve*rb*um d[*omini*]
   .Cu*m* gloria
   .N.
6. Sic formator ho*min*i
   .G.
Se *con*format ho*min*i
   Cu*m* gl*ori*a.
   .N.
7. Patre*m* parit filia
   .Gaudeamus eya.
Virgo parit filiu*m*
   Cu*m* gl*ori*a.
   Novu*m* pascha
   Pr*e*dicat ecclesia.

1. From the Father in the beginning,
   Let us rejoice, hey!
The Son was the beginning.
   With glory
   The church proclaims
   A new Passover.
2. Peace in the palace,
   Ref.
Mind in relief.
   Ref.
3. For the exile of death,
   Ref.
He comes into exile.
   Ref.
4. Our pitiable condition,
   Ref.
The victor sees the end.
   Ref.
5. The Word of the Lord, a robe of flesh
   Ref.
Covers the Lord.
   Ref.
6. Thus the creator of men
   Ref.
Makes himself man.
   Ref.
7. A daughter bears a father,
   Ref.
And a virgin bears a son.
   Ref.

27. *Breves dies hominis*, 19r

1. Breves dies hominis
   Mundi vita.
Humane p*ro*paginis
   Que sit vita cogita.
2. N[itimur in vetitum,
   Mundi vita],
Caro c*ontra* sp*iritum*
   Q*ue* sit vita cogita.
3. Pelle [moram propera
   Mundi vita
Mora non est libera
   Que sit vita cogita
4. Mundo nil immundius
   Mundi vita
Que facis, fac citius
   Que sit vita cogita]
5. Corp*us* q*uod* corru*m*pit*ur*
   .M.
Anima*m* p*er*seq*uitur*
   Q*ue.*
6. Et bonum p*ro*[positum,
   Mundi vita,
Revocat in irritum].
   Q*ue* sit.
7. Alios q*uo*d doceo.
   Mu*n*di
Ip*s*e doce*n*s i*m*pleo.
   Que sit vita cogita
8. *Christum* ne exaspe*rem*
   .M.
Pa*uper* sequor paupe*r*em.
   Que sit vita.

1. Short are the days of man
   In this world's life,
Of the human race,
   Ponder, what is life?
2. We strive for the forbidden,
   Ref.
The flesh against the spirit.
   Ref.
3. So hasten, drive out delay,
   Ref.
For time is not yours.
   Ref.
4. Nothing is more filthy than the earth,
   Ref.
So what you do, do quickly.
   Ref.
5. The body, which is corrupt,
   Ref.
Follows the bidding of the soul.
   Ref.
6. And good resolution
   Ref.
It calls back into vain effort.
   Ref.
7. What I teach others,
   Ref.
I myself teaching fulfil.
   Ref.
8. Lest I should incite Christ,
   Ref.
Poor, I follow the poor.
   Ref.

28. *Procedenti puero*, 19r

1. [P]rocedenti puero.
  Eya.
Novus agnus est virginis
In utere.
  Gl*ori*a
  D*eus* homo
  Factus est i*m*mortalis
2. Sine viri semine.
  Eya.
Nat*us est* de v*ir*gine.
  Gl*ori*a!
  D*eus* homo
  Factus est immortalis
3. Plene no*n* obnoxia.
  Eya.
Plene no*n* obnoxiu*m*.
  Gl*ori*a.
  D*eus*
4. Virgo viri nescia.
  E.
Natu*m* p*atris* nesciu*m*.
  Gl*ori*a.
5. Sit laus regi glorie
  eya.
Et pax regno gallie
  Gl*ori*a.
  Deus homo.

1. To the boy proceeding,
  Eya!
The new lamb is from the womb,
Of the Virgin,
  Gloria!
  The immortal God
  Is made man.
2. Without the seed of man,
  Ref.
He is born of a virgin.
  Ref.
3. Completely without sins
  Ref.
Completely without sin.
  Ref.
4. Is the virgin ignorant of man,
  Ref.
And the son who does not know a father.
  Ref.
5. Let the king have praise and glory,
  Ref.
And let peace reign in France.
  Ref.

29. *Passionis emuli*, 19r–v

1. [P]assionis emuli
Rei sub figure
Duo portant baiuli
[Botrum in scriptura
  Det pia] gaudia
  Syon me*n*te [pura]
2. Stillat odoriferum
[Botrus pro scriptura
Pro nostrorum vulnerum
Solvitur lesura
3. Aque potum exerit
Silicis] fract*u*ra
Q*uo*d *in* signu*m* ap*er*it
Virge [percussura
4. Gaze] portas ardue
Nocte sub obscura
Tollit p*ro*les manue
Civium iact*u*ra
  .D.
5. In decore vestium
Criniu*m* to*n*sura
[Ioseph ad imperium
Transit] de clausura
  .d.
6. Rex de [fumo nascitur
Iam] lex abit [dura]
Veritas edicitur
Preterit futura
  Deus homo*

1. Beneath the figure of a sinner
Desirous of following Christ's suffering,
In scripture, two porters
Carry the grapes.
  Let Syon give holy joys
  With a pure mind.
2. In scripture the grape
Distils fragrance,
Released because of the hurt
Of our wounds.
3. The broken rock gives forth
Water to drink,
Which the striking of the rod
Opens into a signal.
4. Strenuously the gates of Gaza,
Under the cover of night,
The son of Manoah bears away
In the downfall of the citizens.
  Ref.
5. In suitable clothes,
With hair shaved,
Joseph came out of prison
Unto his ruler.
  Ref.
6. The king arises from the smoke,
And now the harsh Law dissolves,
Truth is proclaimed
And the future passes.
  God in man

* The final part line of *Passionis emuli*, "Deus homo," appears to be a scribal mistake that confuses the refrain of *Passionis emuli* with that of the preceding song, *Procedenti puero*.>

30. *Culpe purgator veteris*, 19v

1. [C]ulpe purgator veteris
   Christus redit ab inferis
Quos filii redemit passio
   Letificat nos resurrectio
2. Auctor humani generis
   Christus
N*ec* pro*pr*io pe*per*cit filio.
   Letific*at*.
3. Qui crucem tulit hum*er*is
   .x.
Nos sa*n*guine mu*n*davit p*r*op*r*io
4. P*r*ostitu*r*o rege sceleris
   .x.
Nos a mortis solvit imp*er*io
   .l.
5. Eg*r*esu*m* pa*n*d[ens] miseris
   .x.
Revertitur victor de prelio
   .leti

1. The purging of ancient sin,
   Christ, returns from the dead
Us whom the Son's passion redeems
   Let the resurrection rejoice!
2. The creator of the human race
   Ref.
Did not spare his only son.
   Ref.
3. He who bore the cross on his shoulders
   Ref.
Washed us in his own blood.
4. With the prince of evil cast down,
   Ref.
He sets us free from the rule of death.
   Ref.
5. Opening a way to the wretched,
   Ref.
The victor returns from battle.
   Ref.

31. *Vineam meam plantavi*, 19v–20r

1. [V]ineam meam plantavi.
   Torcular solus calcavi.
Vinea non redit
Fructu*m* q*uem* sp*er*avi
   Indumentum sanguine
   Meum i*n*q*u*inavi
2. Fac*t*o*r*um me*am* amavi
   .T.
Q*uem* ego cr*e*[averum]
Ego rec*r*eavi.
   [ ]
3. Q*ui* mu*n*di mala portavi
   .T.
Unda m*ei* sanguinis
Culpa lavi
   .In.
4. Acet*um* ego gustavi
   .T.
Ego vite p*r*opinavi
Mu*n*di p*r*opinavi
   .In.
5. Flagella no*n* recusavi.
   .T.
Ego spo*n*te [subii
Crucem qu*am*] expavi.
   .In.
6. Qui cruci corpus aptavi
.T.
[Animam in tercia
Die revocavi]
   Indum.

1. I planted my own vineyard,
   I trod the winepress alone,
The vineyard did not return
The fruit for which I yearned;
   I defiled my garment
   With blood.
2. I loved my creation;
   Ref.
Whom I had created
I recreated.
   Ref.
3. I who bore the sins of the world
   Ref.
With the washing of the blood
Washed away the sins of the world.
   Ref.
4. I drank the vinegar
   Ref.
And furnished free for the world
The cup of life.
   Ref.
5. I spurned not the flagellation
   Ref.
And of my own free will I underwent
The cross, which I greatly feared.
   Ref.
6. I who kept my body fit for the cross,
   Ref.
On the third day,
Recalled my spirit.
   Ref.

Observations on the
Tours *Ludus Paschalis*

Michael L. Norton

Abstract

The *Ludus Paschalis* preserved in Tours 927 (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS 927) survives in an imperfect state. Missing a *bifolium*, replete with scribal errors in both text and music, and expressing what seems to be a disordered sequence of events, the *ludus* has confounded efforts to understand its structure and intent. Rather than dwelling on its flaws, this study seeks a scenario in which the *ludus* makes sense. The Tours *ludus* is built upon a scaffold drawn from three so-called liturgical dramas commonly found within the Norman/Angevin liturgical sphere of influence. This scaffold in turn supports a poetic and musical overlay that has been arranged to serve a larger exegetical purpose. While the gaps in the manuscript render certainty elusive, the *ludus* was likely organized to emphasize theologically significant numbers as well, the numbers three, five, and six in particular. Moreover, the author or compiler has gone to some lengths to capture the variations found among the Gospel narratives of the resurrection, thus generating a form of Gospel harmony.

T HE TOURS *LUDUS PASCHALIS* was brought to scholarly attention in 1854 by Victor Luzarche (1805–1869), bibliophile and onetime mayor of the city of Tours.[1] The manuscript preserving the *ludus* arrived in Tours in 1792 by way of the nearby Benedictine monastery of Marmoutier, which had purchased it in 1716 along with "d'autres non moins précieux" formerly owned by the Lesdiguières family.[2] For the monks of Marmoutier, neither the *Ludus Paschalis* nor the *Jeu d'Adam* that followed some folios later registered as particularly noteworthy. In the catalogue of the manuscripts from the 1716 purchase (now lost), the manuscript was described simply as "prières en vers."[3] Since its modern debut in the 1850s, moreover, the Tours *ludus* has attracted less attention

than the Old French texts that followed. Not only is the *ludus* itself incomplete and its provenance unknown, it is so peculiarly configured that most modern critics have shrugged it off for more interesting, and more manageable fare.[4]

Karl Young, for one, noted its "fragmentary and disordered form," a form that was "marred by a certain confusion in the writing" that led to "a confused amplification, [including] such ineptitudes as the repetition of the passage [from Luke 20:5–6]."[5] His verdict on the *ludus* as a whole was decidedly mixed: "One gathers the impression that the writer, or compiler, had before him a considerable variety of dramatic material, some highly elaborated, and some very simple. These resources he seems to have used with avidity, in a desire to incorporate everything that might enlarge and enliven his own composition. The result is a production very imperfectly articulated, but very generous in its range of scenes and its display of literary forms."[6]

Young's take on the *ludus* has been generally accepted by his successors, although not always so gently expressed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, for example, comparing the Tours *ludus* to the *ludi* from Maastricht and Egmond, confirmed the "imperfect" status bestowed by Young: "The inferiority of the Tours play derives from its irregular sequence and excessive interpolation."[7] William Smoldon noted that the *ludus* "appears to be a very careless copy of an unwieldy composition," and that its text "contains a number of obvious blunders and misplacements."[8] David Hughes took the critique a step further, noting that the *ludus* contained "more than its share of confusion and redundancy: both the textual and musical scribes appear to have been unusually insensitive, not to say stupid."[9]

Why, then, does the *ludus* exist at all? Why, if the *ludus* was so imperfectly articulated, was it copied in the first place? Why, if the *ludus* was plagued by such confusion and redundancy, was it not disarticulated and its folios put to better use? It is true, as both Smoldon and Hughes observe, that the copy we have is replete with scribal errors. The music scribe in particular appears to have been quite hurried, leaving behind a number of improbable, indeed impossible, melodic sweeps. Yet the *ludus* has survived. Someone in the thirteenth century found the *ludus* worthy enough to copy, and despite its shoddy state others saw fit to preserve it over the decades and centuries that followed. Might its very existence belie the declarations of its inadequacy?

Ultimately, this is a framing problem. When Luzarche brought the *ludus* to light in the mid-1850s, the very notion of medieval liturgical

drama, or of medieval religious drama in general, had yet fully to crystalize. There was a fervor to find drama where it had not been found before, and a great many liturgical ceremonies and other works that looked like liturgical ceremonies, works that appeared to have "characters" and "dialogue" and "action" were framed as drama, and once so framed they became drama for all to behold.[10] But for the Tours *ludus* in particular, this frame was ill-fitting. The redundancies, the multiple formulations of the Marys' visit to the sepulcher (one Mary, two Marys, three Marys) made little dramatic sense. The sequencing of the episodes and the lack of temporal balance among them also made little dramatic sense. But was it ever necessary to view the *ludus* through such a dramatic frame? The eighteenth-century monks of Marmoutier appear not to have thought so. Perhaps their seemingly quaint characterization as "prières en vers" was more astute that we have been inclined to admit.

If we allow at the outset that the Tours *ludus* may have been deliberately cast in the form that we find it, and if we allow further that the rationale behind this form was likely as clear to its creator as it has become murky for us, then our focus shifts from the dramatic flaws of the *ludus* to the conditions under which these flaws dissolve, the conditions under which the *ludus* makes sense. The Tours *ludus* is built upon a scaffold drawn from three so-called liturgical dramas commonly found within the Norman/Angevin liturgical sphere of influence. This scaffold in turn supports a poetic and musical overlay that has been arranged to serve a larger exegetical purpose. While the gaps in the manuscript render certainty elusive, the *ludus* was likely organized to emphasize theologically significant numbers as well, the numbers three, five, and six in particular. Moreover, the author or compiler has gone to some lengths to capture the variations found among the Gospel narratives of the resurrection, thus generating a form of Gospel harmony. While we cannot know precisely when and where the *ludus* was created, we can draw some inferences about its creator. The creator of the Tours *ludus* was likely a person of some sophistication and learning, a person well acquainted with the liturgical practices of Norman/Angevin Europe, a person comfortable with the possibilities afforded by poetic and musical structures for biblical exegesis, and a person more attuned to the ways of approaching biblical truths coming from the schools than from the cloister—more Abelard than Bernard.

* * *

When talking or writing about works generally considered to be drama, there are words that take on particular meanings and that carry distinct resonances that can be misleading when considering these works from alternate perspectives. To the extent that I am able, I will avoid words that imply a theatrical intent. Thus, I will talk about "sections" rather than "acts," "episodes" rather than "scenes," and "speakers" rather than "characters." I am still left with what to call the work as a whole. Because of the ubiquitousnessness of the terms, and because these are the terms by which this particular work is known, I will continue to use the words "*ludus*" and "*Ludus Paschalis*" to describe the work. That said, I do not recognize the theatrical sense of these words as applicable in this case.[11] I do not use these words to imply genre.

When referring to specific examples of works that serve as parallels to or as source material for the Tours *ludus*, I stay with the labels generally in use to describe them. I use the expression "*Visitatio Sepulchri*" to refer to those liturgical ceremonies celebrated on Easter morning that recount the visit by the Marys to the empty tomb of Christ. I use the expression "expanded *Visitatio Sepulchri*" to refer to those settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* that recount also the encounter between Mary Magdalene and the risen Christ. I use the expressions "Type 1" and "Type 2" to differentiate between the form of the dialogue between the Marys and the angel used largely west of the Rhine and south of the Alps (Type 1) and the form of the dialogue used in German-speaking Europe and eastward (Type 2).[12] I use the term "*Peregrinus*" to refer to those liturgical ceremonies celebrated during vespers during the first part of Easter week that recount Christ's appearance to the apostles and to Thomas following the resurrection. Finally, I use the word "text" to refer collectively both to a text in the normal sense of the word and to the melody to which the text is sung, if present.

Architectural Overview

The Tours *ludus* is contained on folios 1r–8v of Tours 927, taking up the whole of the incomplete first gathering and the first two folios of the second gathering. The manuscript is composite, its first six gatherings containing the *Ludus Paschalis* (fols. 1v–8v), a set of Latin songs (fols. 8v–20r), the *Jeu d'Adam* (fols. 20r–40r), and *Les Quinze signes du jugement dernier* (fols. 40v–46v). These texts were copied on cotton paper by a single group of text and music scribes[13] and are prepended to another set
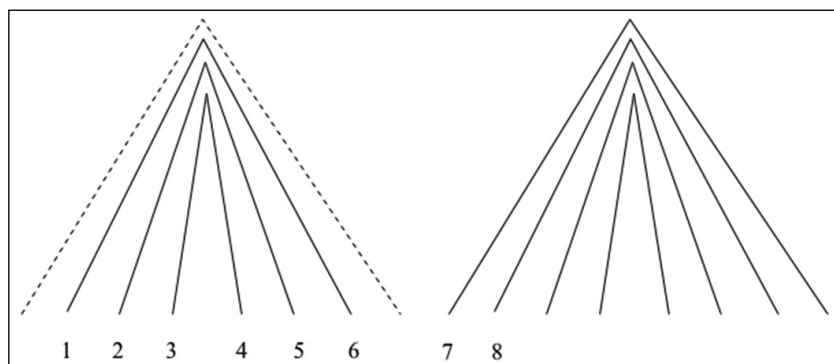
Figure 5.1. Opening Gatherings of Tours 927.

of paper gatherings containing a *vita* of St. George, and Wace's *Vie de la Vierge Marie* and *Vie de Saint Grégoire*, among other items.[14] The opening gathering is missing its outer *bifolium*, bringing what would have been eight folios originally to the six folios currently extant. Figure 5.1 adapts Eduard Krieg's hypothetical layout for the *ludus*—the dotted lines represent the missing *bifolium*, while the numbers below the diagram represent the current foliation.[15]

While the missing *bifolium* may have complicated the task of understanding the structure and the intent of the *ludus*, scholars have not been shy about filling the gaps. As an ostensibly dramatic work that drew on other dramatic works that themselves drew upon the liturgy of Holy Week and Easter and on the Gospel accounts of the resurrection, the Tours *ludus* offered students of the liturgical drama few alternatives for the events likely depicted in the interval (although the forms of their presentation were decidedly uncertain). Seeing the Tours *ludus* as drama, in fact, induced critics to consider the structure of the work in purely dramatic terms. Karl Young, for example, divided the text in his commentary on the Tours *ludus* (1933) into scenes as follows:

– Pilate and the soldiers
  (including the encounter between Pilate and the Pharisees).

– The merchants and the three Marys.

– Marys' visit to the tomb.

– Soldiers report back to Pilate.

– Christ and Mary Magdalene (central portion lost).

- Race of Peter and John
  (likely in the missing portion of the manuscript).
- Appearance of Christ to the disciples.
- St. Thomas and disciples.
- Appearance of Christ one week later.
- *Victimae paschali laudes*.[16]

A generation later (1956), Eduard Krieg offered a similar division that agreed in the number of scenes but varied in their disposition:

- The Pharisees negotiate with Pilate over guards for the grave.
  This scene is lost.
- Pilate instructs the guards for the grave.
- Merchants and the Marys (Merchants' scene).
- The three Marys at the grave and the angel.
- The grave guards with Pilate.
- Magdalene at the grave; later Jesus?
  The angel, Maria Iacobi and Mary Salome.
- Lost. Probably the race of the apostles.
- Magdalene, Peter, the disciples and Jesus.
- Thomas, 2 disciples, and Jesus.
- *Victimae paschali laudes*: Magdalene, two apostles,
  at the end all apostles.[17]

Two decades after that, Walther Lipphardt offered an altogether different division for the *ludus*:

- First grave guard scene.
- Resurrection (purely mimetic presentation).
- Merchants' scene.
- First *Visitatio Sepulchri*.
- Second grave guard scene.
- Second *Visitatio Sepulchri*.
- Third *Visitatio Sepulchri*.
- Christ appears to Mary Magdalene:
  probably in the larger gap in the manuscript.

- Peter and Mary Magdalene.
- Announcement of Mary Magdalene to the disciples.
- Appearance of Jesus to the disciples.
- Thomas scene.
- Concluding scene at the grave.[18]

Such episodic divisions, however, mask the larger structural forces at work. Rather than view the *ludus* as a series of discrete scenes, it is more fruitful to view it in terms of the scaffold upon which it is built. The Tours *ludus* is built upon two representational rites common to the liturgical practices of Norman/Angevin Europe: an expanded *Visitatio Sepulchri* ceremony (celebrated typically at the end of Matins on Easter Sunday)[19] and a *Peregrinus* ceremony (celebrated as a part of the vespers procession on Easter Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday).[20]

The liturgical *Visitatio Sepulchri* as celebrated in churches within the Norman/Angevin sphere of influence includes at its most elaborate the following episodes:[21]

- The three Marys at the tomb, including:
    - A processional lament to the place of the sepulcher
    - The encounter between the Marys and the angel(s) at the empty sepulcher.
- Mary Magdalene at the tomb, including:
    - The encounter of Mary Magdalene with the risen Christ.
    - Announcement of the resurrection
- Mary Magdalene and the apostles (typically represented by the singing of the sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes*).

Settings following this template survive in liturgical manuscripts from the convent at Barking Abby, the cathedral in Coutances, the church of St. John the Evangelist in Dublin, the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel, and the cathedral in Rouen.[22] Not all settings of the expanded *Visitatio Sepulchri* from Norman/Angevin Europe include all of these elements. The settings from Mont-Saint-Michel and Rouen, for example, do not include the exchange between Mary Magdalene and the apostles that concludes many of the others, while the settings from Dublin are missing the encounter of Mary Magdalene with the risen Christ. Simpler settings without the encounter between Mary Magdalene and Jesus survive

Pilatus Episode 1		< MISSING >
		Pilate and the Soldiers
Visitatio Sepulchri, part 1	Episode 1	Three Marys and Merchants
		Three Marys and Merchants (new)
	Episode 2	Procession of the three Marys
		Procession of the three Marys (new)
	Episode 3	Three Marys and the Angel
Pilatus Episode 2		Pilate and the Soldiers
Magdalene (*Visitatio Sepulchri*, part 2)	Episode 1	First Magdalene lament
		Jesus and Mary Magdalene
	Episode 2	Mary Salome, Mary Iacobi, and the Angel
	Episode 3	Second Magdalene Lament
		Three Marys and the Angel
		Angel's announcement
		< MISSING >
	Episode 4/5?	Mary Magdalene and Peter
Peregrinus	Episode 1	Jesus and the Apostles
	Episode 2	Thomas and Jesus (new)
		Thomas and Jesus
	Episode 3	*Victimae paschali laudes*

Table 5.1. Tours *Ludus Paschalis* Structural Overview.
(Shaded rows include items unique to Tours 927).

also in manuscripts from the monastery of Fécamp, various churches in Jerusalem, the cathedral and *Cappella Palatina* in Palermo, and the monastery of Saint-Ouen in Rouen.[23]

Even more elaborate settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* survive in several non-liturgical manuscripts or as appendices to—or insertions within—otherwise liturgical manuscripts as well. These non-liturgically situated settings are generally labeled *Ludi Paschales* by modern critics, due both to their expanded poetic and musical structures and to their missing, or ambiguous, liturgical contexts. Among settings related to the Norman/Angevin exemplars cited above are the *Ludi Paschales* stemming from Fleury,[24] the cathedral in Maastricht, the monastery of St. Adelbert in Egmond, and, of course, that of Tours.[25] These add to the structure of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* one or more episodes, including:

– The encounter between the Marys and the spice merchants.

– Mary Magdalene's lament prior to her encounter with the risen Christ.

– The encounter of the apostles and Christ in the days following the resurrection.

In addition, these settings typically amplify the texts of the liturgical *Visitationes* with texts either borrowed from the liturgy or newly composed poetic/musical forms.

Settings of the *Peregrinus* ceremony in Norman/Angevin liturgical manuscripts survive from the cathedral in Palermo, the *Cappella Palatina* in Palermo, and the cathedral in Rouen. Three additional settings from the cathedrals in Beauvais and Saintes and from Fleury are preserved in non-liturgical books or in ambiguous liturgical contexts.[26] Settings of the *Peregrinus* typically include two episodes:[27]

– The appearance of Christ as pilgrim to the apostles
  on the road to Emmaus.
– The appearance of Christ to the apostle Thomas.

The Tours *ludus* adapts the texts and melodies drawn from these various medieval representations into a wholly new composition, adding two new episodes relating Pilate's interactions with the soldiers assigned to guard to tomb before and after the resurrection and expanding the borrowed episodes with additional new poetry and music. Table 5.1 provides an overview of this structure.

Borrowed Material

In its use of material drawn from elsewhere, the Tours *ludus* is divisible into three sections:

– Three Marys visit the sepulcher (*Visitatio Sepulchri,* part 1), including:
  – The three Marys' encounter with the merchants.
  – The Marys' procession to the sepulcher.
  – The Marys' encounter with the angel.
– Mary Magdalene at the sepulcher
  (Magdalene: *Visitatio Sepulchri*, part 2), including:
  – Mary Magdalene and Jesus
  – Mary Iacobi and Mary Salome and the angel
  – Three Marys and the angel
– Jesus appears to the apostles (*Peregrinus*), including:
  – Jesus appears to the apostles.
  – Jesus appears to Thomas.
  – Conclusion (*Victimae paschali laudes*)

It is conceivable that the borrowings in the Tours *ludus* could have been drawn from a single source, now lost. However, given the manuscripts that have survived, the borrowings appear to have been drawn from three distinct sources corresponding to the three sections outlined above.

Section 1. *Visitatio Sepulchri*

Section 1 is most closely related textually to the *Ludi Paschales* from the monastery of St. Adelbert at Egmond (Egm) and the cathedral in Maastricht (Maa)[28] and to a lesser extent the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the cathedral in Palermo (Pal1), as is evident in Table 5.2.[29]

Section 1 is divided into three episodes. The opening episode relates the Marys' negotiations with a pair of spice merchants. This is followed by a lament sung by the three Marys as they process to the place of the sepulcher. The final episode depicts the exchange between the Marys and the angel at the empty tomb of Christ.

The exchange between the merchants and the Marys preserved in the Tours *ludus* is found also in the *Ludi Paschales* from the cathedral in Vich (Vic), the monastery of St. Adelbert in Egmond (Egm), and the convent of Origny-Sainte-Benoîte (Ori).[30] Several strophes are preserved within a number of German settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* as well, including those from the collegiate churches in Braunschweig (Bra) and Indersdorf (Ind), the Cistercian convent of Medingen bei Lüneburg (Med), and the Latin School at Zwickau (Zwi1–2). Two strophes are found in a *ludus* from the cathedral in Gerona (Ger) as well.[31] Of the eight strophes of "Omnipotens pater" contained in the Tours manuscript, seven exist also in the manuscript from Vich and six are found in the manuscript from Egmond. Most other settings include only the first three strophes, and a few manuscripts include one or two strophes only (see Table 5.2). The *Ludus Paschalis* from Origny, on the other hand, includes sixteen strophes, but in Old French rather than Latin. Structurally, the melody of "Omnipotens pater" follows an 'aabR' pattern, with a repeated melody (a) for the first two phrases followed by a contrasting phrase (b) and a refrain (R), a pattern common also to secular song.

Example 5.1 offers a comparison of the melody from the Tours *ludus* for "Omnipotens pater" with those from Egmond, Braunschweig, Zwickau, Origny-Sainte-Benoîte, and Vich. The melodies from the Egmond and Origny settings end on G rather than F, and these are lowered a whole step (B flat added) to facilitate the comparison. In this and the examples to fol-

Tours Texts	Egm	Maa	Pal1	Dub1-2	Fle	Comments
Three Marys and Merchants						
Omnipotens pater altissime	×					Strophes 1–3 also in Zwi1–2,
Amisimus enim solacium	×					and Pra.
Sed eamus unguentum emere	×					Strophe 1 also in Bra and Med.
Venite, si complacet emere	×					Strophe 3 also in Ind.
Quo si corpus pssestis ungere						Strophes 3 and 5 also in Ger.
Dic nobis, tu Mercator iuvenis	×					Strophes 1–3 and 5–8 also in Vic.
Mulieres michi intendite						Ori contains 16 strophes in Old
Hoc unquentum si multum cupitis	×					French.
Quid queritis						Same melody as "Quem queritis" below.
Aromata venimus emere						
Dicite quid vultis?						
Balsamum, thus, et mirram						
Ecce jam ante vobis sunt omnia						
Quasi centum libras satis habemus						
Mille solidos postestis habere / Libenter, domine						
O summe rex eterne						
Pilatus jussit militibus						
Nil timeasti. Jesum venimus ungere.						
Procession of the three Marys						
Heu misera cur contigit	×		×	×	×	Strophe 2 also in Bra, Klo, Mar,
Heu redemptio Israel	×		×	×	×	Zwi1–2. Different melody in Not1–2.
Heu consolatio nostra	×		×	×	×	Text transposed for Strophes 2 and
Iam, iam ecce, iam properemus	×	×		×		3 for Dub1–2 and Pal1. Text for
						strophes 2 and 4 given in Lit—
						strophe 4 gives notation, likely the
						top voice of a polyphonic setting.
Non eget unguentum						
Lamentemus tristissime						
Tres venimus iam hodie						
Angelorum eluquio						
Ad vos dico, mulieres						
Three Marys and the Angel						
O Deus, quis revolvet	×	×	×			Also in Féc. RouO. Lit provides a musical setting for what is likely the top voice of a polyphonic setting.
Ecce lapis revolutis	×	×	×			
Venite, venite, venite!	×	×	×			Also Cou & Mon.
Quem queritis in sepulchro	×	×	×	×	×	
Jhesum Nazarenum	×	×	×	×	×	
Non est hic, surrexit, venite et videte	×	×	×			
Vultum tristem iam mutate	×	×			×	Also in Wil.

Table 5.2. Comparison of Tours *Ludus Paschalis*, Section 1 (*Visitatio Sepulchri*, part 1) (Shaded rows are unique to Tours 927).

low, the Tours text and melody is given in full, while those from the other settings show only the variations from the Tours melody. Melodically, the Tours setting corresponds most closely to that of Egmond. The Tours melody is close to the German settings and to that of Origny as well, while the melody from Vich is distinct.

Example 5.1. Comparison of "Omnipotens pater altissime" (first strophe with refrain)

The processional lament of the three Marys given in the Tours manuscript is common among the more elaborate Norman/Angevin settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. This lament consists of three short strophes that are unified both poetically and melodically followed by a fourth strophe that is poetically and melodically distinct.[32] The second strophe is found independently in several German settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.[33] The second and fourth strophes are found also in the Shrewsbury fragment (Lit),

although music is given only for the fourth strophe.[34] The melody of the Tours setting of the lament is closest to those of the several German settings, with that from Egmond not far behind. The melodies from Dublin and Fleury diverge to a greater degree, particularly toward the end of the verse. The melody of the setting from Palermo is even further removed, while those from the convent at Nottuln are wholly different. I offer the more widely disseminated second strophe as Example 5.2:

Example 5.2: Comparison of "Heu redemption Israel"

The encounter between the Marys and the angel at the empty tomb corresponds textually to the *Ludi Paschales* from Egmond and Maastricht as well as to the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the cathedral in Palermo. Melodically, the Tours setting follows the outline of these settings as well. The most widespread of the texts is the characteristically Norman "O Deus, quis revolvet" that opens the Marys' exchange with the angel at the tomb. Melodies for this text are preserved in the *Ludi Paschales* from Egmond and Maastricht and the settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the cathedral in Palermo and from the monasteries of Fécamp (Féc) and Saint-Ouen in Rouen (RouO). These are given in Example 5.3.

Example 5.3. Comparison of "O Deus! Quis revolvet"

While there is greater melodic divergence than seen thus far, the melody of the Tours setting remains closest to those of Egmond and Maastricht and to a lesser extent to those of the other settings. A similar degree of correspondence is evident in the other texts from this episode as well.

Section 2. Magdalene (*Visitatio Sepulchri*)

The second section of borrowed material offers an unusually configured, and abridged, setting of Mary Magdalene's encounter with the angel and with the risen Christ. While these texts normally follow the visit of the three Marys directly in other expanded settings of the Norman/Angevin *Visitatio Sepulchri*, those offered in the Tours *ludus* are separated from the earlier episode by a new episode depicting the report to Pilate by the soldiers assigned to guard the tomb.

The Tours setting of the Magdalene section is drawn from a different tradition from that of the earlier encounter between the three Marys and the angel. While the texts of the earlier section are most closely related to those of the *Ludus Paschalis* of Egmond, the texts of the Magdalene section find their closest parallels in the several settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the cathedral in Rouen (Rou 1–4), as is evident in Table 5.3.

Following a long and unique lament by Mary Magdalene (see the discussion of the new material below), the Tours *ludus* presents a modified version of the Rouen encounter between Mary Magdalene and the angel at the tomb. The angel's interrogatory "Mulier, quid ploras?" from the

Tours Texts	Rou1–4	Bar	Egm	Vic	Ori	Comments
Mary Magdalene and Jesus						
Heu! Me misere						
Jhesu Christe, mundi totius gloria						
O magister!						
Quare pie te si						
Rex cunctorum angelorum						
O quam magno						First 2 lines found in Bou1–4
Jhesu Christe tu spes mea						
Quid agam? Heu tristis, quid dicam?						
Mulier quid ploras?	×	×	×	×	×	
Quia tulerunt Dominum meum	×	×	×	×	×	
Mary Iacobi, Mary Salome, and the Angel						
Quem queritis?	×	×				
Viventem cum mortuis	×	×				
Non est hic, sed surrexit, venite et videte	×		×			
Recordamini qualiter locutus est	×		×		×	
Three Marys and the Angel						
Tu pater, qui es in celis						
Cara soror nimis langor						
Ardens est cor meum			×		×	CAO 1479. Also in in Fle, Maa, Egm (precedes "Mulier quid ploras") and in Lao1–2 (as "Ardens est cor nostrum") and Sai (precedes "Quem queritis").
Quem queritis	×					
Viventem cum mortuis	×					
Nichi tibi est timendum						
< MISSING >						
Mary Magdalene and Peter						
. . . videam Hanc meam dolente corde Dic mihi soror Maria, quod iter incipiam						
Vade cito hanc per viam						

Table 5.3. Comparison of Tours *Ludus Paschalis*, Section 2 (Magdalene) (Shaded rows are unique to Tours 927).

Rouen settings is assigned here to Jesus who is absent from the exchange that follows. The texts of both the question ("Mulier quid ploras?") and answer ("Quia tulerunt Dominum meum") are drawn from the Gospel of John (20:13), and their melodies are consistent with those of other Norman/Angevin settings, as Susan Rankin observed some years ago.[35] Both the Tours and Rouen settings follow this with Luke's account of the encounter between the Marys and the angel (Luke 24:5–6). Aside from the Tours *ludus*, the Rouen *Visitationes* are the only others to juxtapose Luke's account with that of John. In the Rouen settings, the entire set of texts ("Quem queritis," "Viventem cum mortuis," "Non est hic sed surrexit," and "Recordamini qualiter locutus est") is assigned to the angel. The Tours version, on the other hand, divides the text, with the Marys responding "Viventem cum mortuis" to the angel's "Quem queritis," and the angel answering with "Non est hic" and "Recordamini."

The melodies for the texts common to the Tours and Rouen settings are similar, although not to the same degree seen with the melodies from those of Egmond in the earlier section. Example 5.4 shows settings of "Recordamini qualiter locutus est" from Tours, Rouen, Egmond, Maastricht, and Origny. While the Tours setting of this melody shows some divergence from that from Rouen, particularly in their finals, both the Tours and Rouen melodies are wholly different from those of Egmond, Maastricht, and Origny. The Rouen melody is lowered by a fifth to facilitate the comparison.

The Rouen settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* follow this with Mary Magdalene's recognition of Jesus: "Maria" / "Rabboni" and Jesus' admonishment: "Noli me tangere, etc." (John 20:16). This is not given in the Tours setting, however, and the account from Luke is repeated in modified form. The repetition of the text from Luke is preceded by a short lament consisting of two newly composed texts: the first recalling the opening of the Lord's Prayer ("Tu pater, qui es in celis") and the second with words of consolation by Mary Iacobi and Mary Salome. This is followed by the antiphon "Ardens est cor meum" (CAO 1479),[36] which is found in settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* from Laon (Lao) and Saintes (Sai) as an introduction to the exchange between the angel and the Marys at the tomb and in the *Ludi Paschales* from Fleury (Fle), Maastricht (Maa), and Egmond (Egm) as preface to Mary Magdalene's recognition of Jesus in the garden (see Table 5,3). While the juxtaposition of the three visits to the sepulcher within the Magdalene section has proven problematic for many observers, the numerical ordering of the visits: one Mary (Mary Magdalene), two

Example 5.4. Comparison of "Recordamini, qualiter locutus est."

Marys (Mary Iacobi and Mary Salome) and finally all three Marys, may have been intentional. Both the sum and the product of these numbers equal six, a theologically significant number that represents the six days of creation and more significantly the six ages of the world: from from the creation of the world to the coming of Christ and the end of time.[37]

A newly composed announcement in verse follows the Marys' "Viventem cum mortuis," although it is cut off by the missing folio. When the *ludus* continues after the gap, Mary Magdalene is speaking with Peter. Peter responds with "Dic mihi soror Maria, quod iter incipiam," a text reminiscent of the line "Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via" from the sequence "Victimae paschali laudes" that concludes most expanded Norman/Angevin settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.[38]

Section 3. *Peregrinus*

The final section of borrowed material is drawn from the *Peregrinus* ceremony. The Tours *ludus* is not the only setting of the *Ludus Paschalis* to incorporate Christ's appearance to the apostles and to Thomas following the resurrection. Similar pairings are found also in the *Ludi Paschales* from the cathedrals in Vich (Vic) and Maastricht (Maa) and from the monastery of St. Adelbert in Egmond (Egm).[39] The Tours setting, however, has little in common with these, and it is closest textually to the settings from

the cathedral in Palermo (PalP1) and from Fleury (FleP) and to a lesser extent to that preserved in the *Carmina Burana* fragment as is evident in Table 5.4.[40]

Tours Texts	PalP1	PalP2-3	BeaP	FleP	CarP	SaiP	Egm	RouP2-5	Comments
Jesus and the Apostles									
Tristis errant apostoli									5th stanza, *Aurora lucis*: Hymn Common of Saints, Octave Paschae
Jesu nostra redemptio	×	× (PalP3)	×	×	×			×	Hymn for Ascension, Pentecost, Octave Paschae.
Salutis iam gemitibus									4th stanza, *Aurora lucis*
Pax vobis, ego sum	×	×	×	×		×	×		CAO 4254
Videte manus meas	×	×	×	×		×	×		CAO 5400
Ecce, Deus noster.									
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro	×	×	×	×		×	×		CAO 5079 (Mode 4 version). Widespread in Norman and German *Visitatio Sepulchri* & *Peregrinus*.
Jesus and Thomas									
Thomas dicor Didimus									
O fallax Juda proditor									
Thomas vidimus Dominum			×	×					
Nisi videro in manibus	×			×	×				
Pax vobis, ego sum			×	×	×	×			CAO 4254
Thomas, mitte manum				×	×				
Dominus meus et Deus	×				×				CAO 3782
Quia vidisti me, Thomas	×		×	×	×				CAO 4513
Misi digitum meum	×								CAO 3783

Table 5.4. Comparison of Tours *Ludus Paschalis*, Section 3 (*Peregrinus*). (Shaded rows are unique to Tours 927).

The *Peregrinus* portion of the Tours *ludus* is largely an abbreviation of that from the cathedral in Palermo, with the first and final elements of Jesus' appearance to the apostles ("Jesu nostra redemptio" and "Pax vobis, etc." / "Videte manus meas") from the Palermo *Peregrinus* followed by nearly the whole of the Palermo exchange between Jesus and Thomas. Melodically, the abbreviated *Peregrinus* of the Tours *ludus* is not quite so closely bound

to any of the other *Peregrinus* ceremonies. Many of the melodies, in fact, show a great deal of variation among the several sources. The setting of "Nisi videro in manibus" is illustrative (see Example 5.5).

Example 5.5. Comparison of "Nisi videro in manibus."

To the extent that affinities exist between the Tours *ludus* and other settings of the *Peregrinus*, the melodies for the antiphons in particular are generally closest to those found in the settings from the cathedrals of Palermo and Beauvais.[41] The setting of "Videte manus meas" (CAO 5400) is typical (see Example 5.6).

Example 5.6. Comparison of "Videte manus meas" (CAO 5400).

While the texts of the borrowed portions incorporated into the Tours *ludus* are clearly related to those of three independent settings of the *Ludus Paschalis*, *Visitatio Sepulchri*, and *Peregrinus*, their melodies are not so easily cast. The melodies of the opening section remain largely faithful to those of the *Ludi Paschales* of Egmond and Maastricht to which this section of the Tours *ludus* is textually bound. The melodies of the later sections, those associated with the *Visitationes* of Rouen and the *Peregrinus* of Palermo, on the other hand, show a progressively greater degree of independence. What this may mean, if anything, is unclear. Such melodic variation among sources from differing traditions is certainly not uncommon, and we cannot know if the latter two sections were drawn from more closely related settings now lost. While it seems improbable, particularly considering the number of sources no longer extant and our ignorance of the place where the *ludus* may have been compiled, the progression of melodic adherence to existing musical models from largely bound to largely unbound may have a deeper significance. Whether intentional or not, the loosening of melodic fidelity over the course of the *ludus* can be seen metaphorically as reflecting Paul's observation in his Epistle to the Galatians (3:23–25) that before Christ we were "kept in a law shut up, unto that faith which was to be revealed," but "now that this faith has come, we are no longer under a pedagogue."[42]

Newly-Composed Material

Interleaved with the texts borrowed for the Tours *ludus* are new texts and melodies apparently composed for or adapted to the *ludus*. Forty years ago, David Hughes outlined the motivic unity of the first of the two Magdalene laments and he noted a similar pattern in the second shorter lament as well.[43] The motivic connections observed by Hughes extend beyond these two laments, however. Whether the unique portions of the *ludus* were borrowed from sources no longer extant or newly composed, the composer or compiler took some pains to provide motivic unity to the new material of the *ludus* as a whole.[44] The added material in the Tours *ludus* is contained in the two sections relating the interchange between

Example 5.7. *Pilatus* Motive 1 ("Venite ad me milites").

Example 5.8. *Pilatus* Motive 1 Distribution.

Pilate and the soldiers before and after the resurrection as well as in the expansions to the borrowed sections discussed above (see Tables 5.1–5.4).

The opening folio of the *ludus* is missing, and what has survived begins with an exchange between Pilate and the soldiers based on

Matthew 27:65–66. Pilate's opening speech contains two melodic motives that recur throughout the *ludus*. Example 5.7 gives the opening of Pilate's speech, where the first *Pilatus* motive appears twice, both in its full form and in a modified version.

This motive appears fifteen times in both partial and complete forms. While the motive is not tied to any particular speaker, its greatest concentration is in those sections where Pilate and the soldiers appear (see Table 5.5). What these texts have in common is a focus on the sepulcher itself. Pilate directs the soldiers to guard the sepulcher, and the soldiers swear to do so. The angel tells the Marys that the sepulcher is empty. The soldiers report back to Pilate that the sepulcher is empty, and Pilate reacts to that news. Example 5.8 presents a list of the occurrences for this motive, indicating the section of the *ludus* where it is found (see Table 5.1), the text sung, and the speaker to whom the text is assigned.

The melody provided for the antiphon "Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro," in addition to incorporating the first *Pilatus* motive (see Example 5.8, last row), also mirrors two of the more identifiable motives from the opening of the angel's "Quem queritis in sepulchro" from the Marys' first encounter with the angel (see Table 5.1). These are given in Example 5.9. The words "queritis" and "Dominus" are set identically, while the words "sepulchro" in both are set a fifth apart.[45]

Example 5.9. "Quem queritis in sepulchro" and "Surrexit Dominus in sepulchro."

Example 5.10. *Pilatus* Motive 2 ("Venite ad me milites").

Example 5.11. *Pilatus* Motive 2 Distribution.

More commonly found is the extended Gallican cadence that concludes the median and final phrases of Pilate's opening speech, a motive that Krieg saw as derivative from the sequences "Victimae paschali laudes" (*quid vidisti in via*) and "Dies irae" (opening).[46] This is given in Example 5.10.

While this may be a common cadential formula, its pervasiveness in the *ludus* suggests a more deliberate intent. Example 11 presents a list of the occurrences for this motive, indicating the section of the *ludus* where it is found, the text sung, and the speaker to whom the text is assigned.

A third motive is introduced in the response of the *milites* to Pilate's opening speech. This is given in Example 5.12.

Example 5.12. *Milites* Motive ("Ergo eamus" and "Ne forte veniant").

This motive returns for three iterations during the second *Pilatus* episode. Example 5.13 presents a list of the occurrences for this motive, indicating the section of the *ludus* where it is found, the text sung, and the speaker to whom the text is assigned. This motive is associated with the *milites* exclusively, whether sung by them directly or by Pilate.

Example 5.13. *Milites* Motive Distribution.

In his analysis of the first Magdalene lament of the Tours *ludus*, David Hughes pointed to the anticipation of melodic motives from the so-called *prosa* "O quam magno" in the lament's preceding texts and to the continuing presence of these motives in the texts that followed.[47] Beyond its appearance in the Tours *ludus*, "O quam magno" survives only in liturgical manuscripts from the cathedral in Bourges, where it typically serves as introduction to the Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri*.[48] The Bourges setting of this text, labeled *prosa* or *versus* in the manuscripts, consists of two strophes of five lines each, with each strophe set to the same melody.[49] The Tours *ludus* includes only the first two lines of the first strophe, and its melody is a sparse version of that found at Bourges, as is shown in Example 5.14.

Example 5.14. Comparison of "O quam magno" Melodies.

These two lines are extended in the Tours *ludus* by two lines not found elsewhere. Taking a somewhat different approach than did Hughes, I focus here on two motives present in the Tours setting of "O quam magno" that recur not only in the lament itself, but before and after the lament as well. Example 5.15 shows the use of the two motives within the full setting of the Tours version of "O quam magno."

Example 5.15. *O quam* Motives 1 and 2 ("O quam magno").

Example 5.16. *O quam* Motive 1 Distribution.

Example 5.17. "Ihesu Christe, mundi tocius Gloria."

Example 5.18. "Ihesu Christe, tu spes mea."

Example 5.16 presents a list of the occurrences for the first of these motives, indicating the section of the *ludus* where it is found, the text sung, and the speaker to whom the text is assigned.

The second of the two motives is even more pervasive, occurring some ninety-one times over the course of the *ludus* as a whole. Due to the frequency of their occurrence I do not list these here. An overview of the use of this and the other four motives among the melodies of the unique texts in the Tours *ludus* is given in Table 5.5 below.

One aspect of the two motives not noted by Hughes is the chiasmic structure that they show over the course of the lament. Chiasmus, one of

the so-called Gorgian figures, is a form of rhetorical balance where the second part is syntactically balanced against the first but with the parts reversed.[50] Both motives serve as the foundation for the five lines of "Ihesu Christe mundi," which although of irregular lengths adapt both motives for each line in a clear foreshadowing of their appearance in "O quam magno" several units later (see Example 5.17).

Following "O quam magno" the two motives appear again in "Ihesu Christe, tu spes mea," although in reverse order from that given in "Ihesu Christe, mundi" and "O quam magno" (see Example 5.18).

Example 5.19 shows the opening lines of the three texts together.

Example 5.19. *O quam* Motives in the Opening Lines of "Ihesu Christe, mundi,"
"O quam magno," and "Ihesu Christe, tu spes mea."

The pervasive use of the second *O quam* motive is even more striking if we consider it as a variation for (or an extension of) the end of the first *Pilatus* motive (f3–e3–d3; see Examples 5.7 and 5.8). In addition to the ten times that the figure is used in the *Pilatus* motive and its ninety-one iterations in the second *O quam* motive, the descending figure f3–e3–d3 is found an additional fifty-three times over the course of the *ludus*. The frequency of the simple downward figure is also inversely proportional to that of the second *O quam* motive. Indeed, as the incidences of the *O quam* figure (f3–e3–d3–e3) increase, those of the simpler figure (f3–e3–d3) fall off. Thus, the turning upward of the second *O quam* motive (from d3 to e3) can also be seen as a kind of reversal that reinforces the more deliberate musical chiasmus given by the pairing of the two *O quam* motives. Further rhetorical balance is provided by the repetition of motives from "Quem queritis" (situated early in the *ludus*) within the antiphon "Surrexit Dominus" (placed near its end, see Example 5.9 above). The musical chiasmus thus marks a turning point in the *ludus*, for which "O quam magno" serves as pivot. Its exultation at the "joy of celebration" in the midst of the

lament, as illogical as this might seem to be, serves effectively to signify the reversal from the ambivalence expressed in "Ihesu Christe, mundi" and the lines that follow to the hope of "Ihesu Christe, tu spes mea."

Looking at the five motives over the whole of the *ludus* reveals another interesting aspect of the motivic construction of the work. Table 5.5 presents the distribution of the five motives among the unique texts/melodies in the Tours *ludus* along with several pre-existing texts in which one or more motives also appears. The numbers in the columns represent the number of times the motive appears within that particular text.

The *Pilatus* and *Milites* motives cluster in those episodes where Pilate and the soldiers are speaking. The opening motive (*Pilatus* motive 1) is used also in the *Visitatio Sepulchri* portion of the *ludus*, in the procession of the Marys to the tomb and the Marys encounter with the angel, as well as in the second Magdalene lament ("Tu pater qui es in celis") and the *Peregrinus* section ("Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro"). The cadential motive (*Pilatus* motive 2) extends beyond the episodes dealing with Pilate and into the negotiation between the Marys and the merchants as well as to the first Magdalene lament.

A similar pattern is evident with the *O quam* motives. While the first *O quam* motive extends beyond the Magdalene lament itself, it remains within the bounds of the Magdalene section as a whole (assuming that the material following the missing folio still belongs with that preceding the gap). The second motive is more expansive. While it is used most intensively in the Magdalene section, the motive extends from the beginning of the *ludus* to its close.

The motivic pattern shows a progression from the earthly concerns of Pilate and the soldiers to the reality of the resurrection, from a focus on the physical remains of Jesus and the tomb within which they were enclosed to the Marys' anguish over the missing body and to their realization that Christ is alive. Moreover, both groups of motives, those of Pilate and the soldiers and those associated with "O quam magno" overlap at the seam, showing that the passage from the concerns of the world to those of heaven was both a process and a reversal. The reversal itself is underscored by the musical chiasmus in the midst of the work, a chiasmus that invokes both the Trinity and the cross, a chiasmus that surrounds the words "O quam magno" with "Jesu Christe" on either end, a chiasmus that embeds the announcement of the resurrection "Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro" into the angel's query at the tomb, and a chiasmus that shows both audibly and visually the turn from lament to joy. What we have is a remarkable

Text (Speaker)	Pilatus 1	Pilatus 2	Milites	O Quam 1	O Quam 2
Pilatus Episode 1					
Venite ad me milites (Pilatus)	2	2			3
Ergo eamus et quid dixit (Milites)			1		
Ne forte veniant (Milites)	1 + 1 (end)	1	2		1
Visitatio Sepulchri, part 1					
Three Marys and the Merchants					
Aromata venimus emere (Marie)					3
Dicite quod vultis (Mercator)					
Balsamum, thus et mirram (Marie)		1			
Ecce iam ante vobis (Mercator)		1			
Quasi centum libras (Marie)		2			
Mille solidos potestis (Mercator)		1			
Libenter, Domine (Marie)		1			
O summe rex eterne (Maria Salome)					
Pilatus iussit militibus (Maria Iacobi)		1			1
Nil temeamus (Maria Salome)		1			
Procession of the Three Marys					
Heu redemptio Israel					1
Heu consolation nostra					1
Iam, iam ecce	1 (end)				
Non eget unguentum (Angelus)	1 (end)				1
Lamentemus tristissime (Maria Magdalene)					1
Tres venimus iam hodie (Maria Iacobi)					3
Angelorum eluquio (Maria Salome)					4
Ad vos dico, mulieres (Angelus)	1 (end)				2
Three Marys and the Angel					
Non est hic / Venite et videte					2
Pilatus Episode 2					
Heu miseri quid facimus (Milites)	1 (end)				1
Vos Romani milites (Pilatus)		2			1
Pro quo gentiles fuimus (Milites)	1	1	1		
Legem non habuistis (Pilatus)		1			
Nos veritatem dicimus (Milites)	1				1
Hec ergo volo (Pilatus)	1 (end)	2	2		1
Tunc erit (Milites)					
Magdalene (*Visitatio Sepulchri*, part 2)					
Mary Magdalene and Jesus					
Heu me misera (Maria Magdalene)		1			3
Ihesu Christe mundi totius (Maria Magdalene)				5	4

Text (Speaker)	Pilatus 1	Pilatus 2	Milites	O Quam 1	O Quam 2
O magister quare pie (Maria Magdalene)					5
Rex cunctorum angelorum (Maria Magdalene)					2
O quam magno (Maria Magdalene)				1	9
Ihesu Christe tu spes mea (Maria Magdalene)				3	4
Quia tulerunt Dominum (**Maria Magdalene**)					1
Mary Iacobi, Mary Salome, and the Angel					
Non est hic / Recordamini (Angelus*)*		1			1
Three Marys and the Angel					
Tu pater qui es in celis (Maria Magdalene)	2 (end)				8
Cara soror (Maria Iacobi and Salome)					2
Nichil tibi est timendum (Angelus)				2 + 2 (beg.)	9
Mary Magdalene and Peter					
. . . videam *Hanc meam dolenti* (Maria Magdalene) *Dic mihi soror Maria* (Petrus)				1 1	1 1
Vade cito hanc per viam (Maria Magdalene)					4
Peregrinus					
Pax vobis / Videte manus meas (**Jesus**)	1 (end)				4
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro (**Discipuli**)	1				2
Thomas dicor Didimus (Thomas)					
O fallax Iuda proditor (Thomas)					4
	15	**19**	**6**	**15**	**91**

Table 5.5. Distribution of Motives among Unique Texts in the Tours *Ludus Paschalis*. (Pre-existing texts/melodies in bold).

example of the ways in which music could be used to underscore exegetical themes.

While we cannot know with any degree of certainty, the author or compiler may have intended to undergird exegetical points numerically as well. I have already spoken about the succession of the Marys in the Magdalene section—from one to two to three—which invokes the number six as the sum and product of its terms as well as functioning as a percussive cadence driving home the reality of Christ's resurrection. But there are other numerological pointers as well. The division of the *ludus* into five sections, the division of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and *Peregrinus* sections into three episodes (see Table 5.1), and the possible extension of the Magdalene

section into five episodes with the chiasmus in its midst (assuming a new episode depicting Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene in the missing folio), strongly suggest the author or compiler's intent to infuse number to underscore theological points: three representing the Trinity, five the Passion of Christ, and six the ages of the world, culminating with Christ's coming and final judgment.[51]

The Tours *Ludus* as Gospel Harmony

Difficulties understanding its odd structure with its several statements of the Marys' encounter with the angel at the empty tomb largely vanish if the *ludus* is considered as exegesis rather than theater. In addition to whatever exegetical resonance might issue from its melodic and numerical structure, the *ludus* functions also as Gospel harmony. Indeed, the Tours *ludus* shows a remarkable affinity with the best known of the Gospel harmonies, the *Diatesseron* of Tatian the Assyrian. Composed about 170 C.E, the original form of the *Diatesseron* has been a matter of some dispute among biblical scholars. Widely known among the Fathers of the Church, the *Diatessaron* served as the standard Gospel text for some areas of the early Church as late as the fifth century, and over the centuries that followed, it spread as far afield as China, England, and possibly even Iceland.[52] The oldest surviving Latin translation dates from 546 C.E. and was copied in southern Italy at the direction of Bishop Victor of Capua. Later owned by St. Boniface, this manuscript is preserved today in the Hessisches Landesbibliothek in Fulda.[53]

The use of Gospel harmonies and the *Diatesseron*, and its vernacular successors in particular, as sources for the settings for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* has been artfully argued by Melanie Batoff in her recent doctoral dissertation on the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in medieval Germany, and I am deeply indebted to her insights for much of what follows.[54] Seeking to understand the conflation of gospel accounts evident in the Type 2 *Visitationes*, Dr. Batoff examined the *Diatessaron* of Tatian and Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum* as possible sources for the Type 2 *Visitationes* that dominated the liturgies of German-speaking Europe, particularly in Bavaria and Austria. She traced the Latin translation owned by Boniface to its vernacular translations at or near Fulda into Old High German in the early ninth century (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 56), its translation into Old Saxon as the *Heliand*, which offered a reduced version of the *Diatessaron* in nearly six thousand rhymed lines,[55]

and the Old High German *Evangelienbuch* of Otfrid of Weißenburg later in the ninth century. She noted the *Heliand*'s adaptation of the Gospel text to Saxon expectations: "Drawing on a popular, secular style of versification as a vehicle for delivering a Christian message, was a purposeful attempt to reach out to the Saxons, many of whom were hostile to their new religion. In essence, the *Heliand* was a recasting of the *Diatessaron* as a heroic epic."[56] Both the *Heliand* and the *Evangelienbuch*, moreover, were likely performed publically and almost certainly sung.[57] And it was these that served as the inspiration, if not the model, for the Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri* two or more centuries later.

While the western witnesses to the *Diatesseron* itself were concentrated in German-speaking Europe,[58] the concept of a Gospel harmony also captured the imagination of scholastics in France and England during the twelfth century. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (d. ca. 1155), *scholasticus* at the cathedral of Besançon and later monk at the Premonstratensian abbey of Saint-Martin in Laon, wrote a commentary ca. 1140–45 of what he claimed to be the harmony of Ammonius of Alexandria, a precursor to the *Diatessaron*.[59] Peter Comestor (d. 1178), dean of the cathedral chapter at Troyes and after 1164 the chancellor of Notre Dame de Paris where he also held the chair of theology, included a commentary on an unknown Gospel harmony in his *Historia Scholastica* (completed ca. 1173).[60] Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), cantor at Notre Dame de Paris from 1183 to 1196, also wrote a commentary on the *Diatessaron* that was widely dispersed, particularly among Cistercian houses.[61] Clement of Llanthony (d. after 1176), the prior of the Augustinian abbey of Llanthony in southeast Wales,[62] wrote a *Concordia Quatuor Evangelistarum*, which survives in a number of Norman and English manuscripts.[63] The Middle-English Pepysian Harmony, although copied ca. 1400, appears to have been based on an Old French model, which suggests that such harmonies may have been even more commonplace among the French than the surviving manuscripts might suggest.[64]

A comparison of the episodes depicted in the *ludus* with the relevant portion of Tatian's *Diatesseron* and their Gospel parallels is given in Table 5.6. While the sequencing of the episodes does not agree between the *ludus* and the *Diatessaron*, the episodes themselves show a remarkable degree of convergence.[65] The convergence is even more pronounced when looking at this from the standpoint of the *Diatesseron* itself. Table 5.7 presents the episodes in the order given in the *Diatessaron*. Rows with grey background and italicized text are not depicted in the *ludus*.

Section	Episode	Gospel Source	Diatesseron	Comments
		MISSING		
Pilatus Episode 1	A1. Pilate and Soldiers	Matthew 27:64-66	52:40–44	Other than first line (from Matt. 27:64), free poetic elaboration
Visitatio Sepulchri, part 1	B1. Three Marys and the Merchants	Mark 16:1-2 Luke 23:56 & 24:1	52:37–38 52:39 & 45–47	Free poetic elaboration
	B2. Procession of the Three Marys			
	B3. Three Marys and the Angel	Matthew 28:5-6 Mark 16:2-6 Luke 24:3	52:48–55	
Pilatus Episode 2	C. Pilate and Soldiers	Matthew 28:11–15	53:26–30	Free poetic elaboration
Magdalene (*Visitatio Sepulchri*, part 2)	D1: Magdalene and Jesus	John 20:11–15 Mark 16:9	53:18–22 53:25	1 Mary (Magdalene)
	D2: Mary Iacobi, Mary Solome, and the Angel	Luke 24:4–7	53:1–4	2 Marys (Iacobi and Salome)
	D3: Three Marys and the Angel	Luke 24:4–7	53:1–4	3 Marys (Modified Setting of D2)
		MISSING		
	D4: Magdalene and Peter (end)	John 20:18	53:31	Most of this is missing
Peregrinus	E1: Jesus and the Apostles	Luke 24:36-48 John 20:21–23	54:1–14 54:15–16	
	E2: Jesus and Thomas	John 20:24-29	54:17–22	
	E3. *Victimae paschali laudes*	None	N/A	

Table 5.6. Correspondence of the Tours *Ludus* with the *Diatesseron* and its Gospel Sources.

Looking specifically at those verses not accounted for within the *ludus*, nearly all would fit into the gaps represented by the missing *bifolium*. The opening folio likely contained Pilate's dealings with the Pharisees given in Matthew 27:62–63 (*Diatesseron* 52:40–41), as nearly all prior critics have argued.[66] The other missing folio is not so easily filled. However, it is at least conceivable that most of the missing passages could have been given form in the space between the Marys' final announcement of the resurrection and the conclusion of Mary Magdalene's encounter with Peter. If the Magdalene section of the Tours *ludus* was intended as an elaboration of the episode found in the settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*

Diatesseron	Gospel	*Ludus* Section/Episode	Absent from *Ludus*
52:38–39	Luke 23:56 & 24:1	B1: *Visitatio Sepulchri,* part 1/ Three Marys and the Merchants	
52:40–41	*Matthew 27:62–63*		*Pilate and the Pharisees*
52:42–44	Matthew 27:64–66	A1: *Pilatus* Episode 1/ Pilate and Soldiers	
52:45–47	Mark 16:1–2	B1: *Visitatio Sepulchri,* part 1/ Three Marys and the Merchants	
52:48–55	Matthew 28:3–6 Mark 16:3–5 Luke 24:3	B3: *Visitatio Sepulchri,* part 1/ Three Marys and the Angel	
53:1–4	Luke 24:4–7	D2, D3: Magdalene/Mary Iacobi, Mary Salome and the Angel; Three Marys and the Angel	
53:5–8	*Matthew 28:7 Mark 16:8*		*Tell disciples he is risen*
53:9–17	*John 20:2–10*		*Apostles Peter & John to sepulcher*
53:18–22	John 20:11–15	D1: Magdalene/ Mary Magdalene and Jesus	
53:23–24	*John 20:16–17*		*Magdalene and Jesus: Maria/Raboni*
53:25	Mark 16:9	D1: Magdalene/ Mary Magdalene and Jesus	
53:26–30	Matthew 28:11–15	C: *Pilatus* Episode 2/ Pilate and Soldiers 2	
53:31	John 20:18	D4: Magdalene/ Mary Magdalene and Peter	
53:32–38	*Matthew 28:8–10 Mark 16:10–11 Luke 24:9–11*		*Jesus, Apostles, and Marys*
53:39–61	*Mark 16:13 Luke 24:13–35*		*Jesus and Disciples on the Road to Emmaus*
54:1–16	Luke 24:36–48 John 20:21–23	E1: *Peregrinus/* Jesus and Disciples	
54:17–22	John 20:24–29	E2: *Peregrinus/*Thomas	

Table 5.7. Correspondence of the *Diatesseron* and its Gospel Sources with the Tours *Ludus.*

from Rouen and elsewhere, the reappearance of Christ to Mary Magdelene and her recognition and his admonishment "Noli me tangere" might well have followed, along with the announcement by Mary Magdalene to the apostles as well.[67]

* * *

The *Ludus Paschalis* of Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927 is a multi-faceted work that draws on multiple liturgical traditions from within the Norman/Angevin milieu and combines these with an almost kaleido-scopic array of new poetry and music. It is a sophisticated work created by a sophisticated mind probably in the last half of the twelfth century some-where within the broad sweep of territory where the liturgical customs of Norman and Angevin churches held sway. Its creator was conversant with liturgical practices from the breadth of Norman/Angevin Europe. Its creator was familiar with the use of poetic and musical structures to underscore exegetical points. Its creator was also well aware of the trends of scholastic scholarship that were beginning to unfold from the cathedral schools and the newly emerging universities.

The Tours *ludus* weaves liturgical and non-liturgical material in a way that elevates what could have been a standard, albeit uniquely con-figured, liturgical ceremony to something altogether different. The Tours *ludus* interleaves liturgical ceremonial with modern poetic and musical techniques under the cover of scholastic exegesis to bring the truth of the resurrection alive for those readers and auditors sophisticated enough to appreciate the offering. In drawing from multiple liturgical traditions, the Tours *ludus* underscores the universality of Christian truths and the role that liturgy plays in revealing those truths. In its use of musical chi-asmus, overlapping streams of melodic motives, and rich arrays of poetic and musical designs, the Tours *ludus* merges creative imagination with the Word of God to enrich the deeper meaning of the biblical texts. In its use of numerical structures, the Tours *ludus* weds the well-understood senses of numbers, invoking the Trinity, the Cross, and the wounds of Christ, and sets these against the history of the world that culminates with Christ's coming and eventual return. In its modeling of Gospel harmo-nies, the Tours *ludus* serves as a liturgical, poetic, and musical analogue to the commentaries on the Gospel harmonies that were emerging from the schools in the last half of the twelfth century.

To be sure, our copy of the *ludus* is both incomplete and imperfect. It is missing a *bifolium*, and its thirteenth-century scribes were not the

skilled practitioners of their craft that we might have hoped they could be. It is impossible to know what the monks of Marmoutier saw in the manuscript when they purchased it in 1716. It may well have been just one tome nestled among others of infinitely greater value. Their understanding of the manuscript as "prières en vers" may have been a result of ignorance or of prescience—we cannot know. What we do know is that the eighteenth-century monks of Marmoutier, and likely the creator of the *ludus* itself, were unaware that what they had before them was a theatrical work in any form. The Tours *ludus* did not conform to whatever rules of dramatic propriety that we might want to impose because it did not need to do so. Whether the Tours *ludus* succeeds as a theatrical work or not is thus irrelevant. The Tours *ludus* succeeds as musical and numerical exegesis, as a commentary of the harmony of the Gospel accounts, and as a powerful, albeit unconventional, sermon on the history of salvation.

Abbreviations and Symbols

Du Méril	Du Méril, *Origines du théâtre moderne*.
LH	Leisibach and Huot, *Die liturgischen Handschriften des Kantons Wallis*.
LM	Linke and Mehler, *Die österlichen Spiele aus der Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau*.
LOO	Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*. LOO numbers represent the identifiers provided by Lipphardt for the sources given in his edition.
(Altstatt) Rankin	Rankin, "A New English Source of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*" and Altstatt, "Re-membering the Wilton Processional."
Young	Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*.
LP	*Ludus Paschalis*
VP1	Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri*
VP1M	Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri* (expanded)
VP2	Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*
VP2M	Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri* (expanded)
Per	*Peregrinus*
*	Includes musical notation (pitch)
**	Includes musical notation (unheighted neumes)

NOTES

* I would like to thank Dr. Christophe Chaguinian for encouraging me to take a closer look at the Tours *Ludus Paschalis* in the first place and for graciously parting with his microfiche of the manuscript so that I might dig into its peculiarities. I would also like to thank Dr. Melanie Batoff for her helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article. Not only did she provide a number of references that I might not have otherwise encountered, she offered a number of suggestions that have improved the thrust of my argument. Whatever errors remain are entirely my own.

[1] Luzarche, *Adam*. He published a textual edition and facsimile of the Tours *Ludus Paschalis* along with a textual edition of the Latin songs that follow two years later in *Office de Pâques*. Later studies by Luzarche on portions of the same manuscript include *Vie du pape Saint Grégoire le Grand* (1857), *Vie de Saint George* (1858)*,* and *La vie de la vierge Marie* (1859).

[2] Luzarche, *Adam*, iii. A discussion of the Lesdiguières collection is given by Aymard, "Collection." A more recent treatment is given by Roger Middleton, "Index," 143–45.

[3] Luzarche, *Adam*, p. iii.

[4] The only studies devoted specifically to the Tours *ludus* since that of Luzarche are Eduard Krieg's dissertation, published on the centennial of Luzarche's study: Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel von Tours*, Richard Stegall's University of Iowa dissertation from 1974: Stegall, "The Tours Easter Play," and David G. Hughes's study of the first Magdalene lament in the Tours *ludus*: Hughes, "Magdalene Lament." In addition to the facsimile provided by Luzarche in *Office de Pâques*, musical editions have been offered by Charles Edmond de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgique*, 21–48 (in chant notation) and by Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, *Anhang*, 1*–29* (rendered mensurally). Stegall, "The Tours Easter Play," provides a facsimile (249–65) as well as two editions: a performing edition rendered mensurally (201–45) and an edition using chant notation (267–83).

[5] Young, *Drama*, 1:438 and 1:447–48.

[6] Young, *Drama*, 1:449.

[7] Smits van Waesberghe, "A Dutch Easter Play."

[8] Smoldon, "Liturgical Drama," 188.

[9] Hughes, "Magdalene Lament," 276.

[10] The expression "liturgical drama" was coined by Charles Magnin in a series of lectures on the history of drama given at the Sorbonne during the academic year 1834–35. I treat the history of the expression and its applicability to medieval liturgical and other compositions in my forthcoming book, *Liturgical Drama and the Reimagining of Medieval Theater*.

[11] On the multiple senses of the word "*ludus*" or "play," see John C. Coldeway, "'Plays' and 'Play'" and Lawrence Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game*, esp. 3–19.

[12] On the distinction between Type 1 and Type 2, see Norton, "Of 'Stages' and 'Types.'"

[13] Krieg, *Das lateischen Osterspiel*, 26–31, noted that there were two text scribes and a single music scribe evident in the *ludus*. Robert Marichal, "Paléographie latine et française," found two text hands at work in the first fascicle. Susan K. Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 2:110 was unsure of the number of music scribes involved. However, the use of two different signs for liquescences and the limitation of flat signs to only one part of the *ludus* suggests that more than one music scribe may have participated.

[14] Gaston Collon, *Catalogue général*, 2:667–70. Luzarche, *Adam*, vii–viii, was the first to suggest that the opening gatherings were distinct from those that followed. Léopold Delisle, "*Note*," argued later that the entire manuscript was written by a single scribe. Most subsequent scholars have accepted Luzarche's conclusion. In recent years, paleographic analyses have further confirmed this division. In 1970, Marichal, "Paléographie latine et français" identified four hands in the manuscript as a whole, two in the first fascicle and two in the second. More recently, Genviève Hasenohr, "Philologie romane 2003," has offered further confirmation, suggesting further that the merger of the two fascicles did not occur until the eighteenth century.

[15] Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, 10–11.

[16] Young, *Drama*, 1:447–49. I summarize Young's discussion here.

[17] Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, p. 21. My translation.

[18] Lipphardt, LOO 8:810. My translation.

[19] For a listing of related settings for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and *Ludus Paschalis* from Norman/Angevin manuscripts, see Appendix A, Sections 1–3. Section 1 includes those liturgical settings limited to the encounter between the Marys and the angel(s) at the empty tomb of Christ. Section 2 includes those liturgical settings that expand this arrangement, typically with the appearance of the risen Christ to Mary Magdalene. Section 3 includes settings of the even larger, and more expansive, *Ludi Paschales.*

[20] For a listing of *Peregrinus* settings from Norman/Angevin manuscripts, see Appendix A, Section 4.

[21] The most thorough discussion of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in Norman/Angevin manuscripts is Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*. Earlier treatments were given by Diane Dolan, *Le Drame liturgique de Pâques* and Edith Wright, *The Dissemination of the Liturgical Drama in France*.

[22] See Appendix A, Section 2.

[23] See Appendix A, Section 1.

[24] The so-called Fleury Playbook, preserved within Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, 176–243, is appended to a collection of sermons for Lent. The place of origin for the 'playbook' portion of the manuscript has proven difficult to determine. Long associated with the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Benoît in Fleury, the manuscript was assigned by Solange Corbin, "Le manuscript 201 d'Orléans" on paleographic grounds to the monastery of Saint-Lhomer in Blois. While her assignment was accepted by Lipphardt (LOO 5:1490–97, 6:355, and 8:703–9),

other scholars have dissented. Included among those maintaining the primacy of Fleury are Grace Frank, *Medieval French Drama*, p. 44, n. 1; Richard Donovan, "Two Celebrated Centers of Medieval Liturgical Drama;" and Fletcher Collins, "The Home of the Fleury Playbook." In his codicological study of the manuscript, Michel Huglo, "Analyse codicologique" argued that the plays came from Parisian and Orléans schools. Since there is no liturgical evidence placing this collection at any particular house, I use "Fleury" as a generic label here.

[25] See Appendix A, Section 3. On the Maastricht fragment and the Egmond manuscript, see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "A Dutch Easter Play," 21–28. On the reliance of the Maastricht and Egmond *ludi* on Norman exemplars specifically, see the discussion by Smits van Waesberghe, ibid., 28–29.

[26] Settings of the *Peregrinus* from Norman/Angevin manuscripts, whether liturgical or not, are given in Appendix A, Section 4. The setting from Fleury is contained within the so-called Fleury Playbook. The setting from Beauvais is included within a liturgical miscellany containing prayers, hymns, and other items collated from various manuscripts. The setting from Saintes is included as an appendix to the breviary that precedes it. Studies of the *Peregrinus* include Mary Margaret Mahone, "Latin Liturgical Drama" and Robert G. Kurvers, *Ad Faciendum Peregrinum*. The music of the *Peregrinus* is treated by Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:207–91 and 2:131–64.

[27] The setting from the cathedral in Palermo also includes the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene between the two episodes.

[28] The Maastricht fragment, which served as the binding for an *Evangelium*, is missing much of the opening section. It begins with the conclusion of the Marys' processional lament ("Iam, iam ecce") and follows the order of the Egmond setting from that point to the end of the work.

[29] See Appendices A–C for the *sigla* and full manuscript descriptions. Appendix A provides lists of the Norman/Angevin settings of *Visitatio Sepulchri*, *Ludus Paschalis*, and *Peregrinus*. Appendix B provides a listing of sources cited from beyond the Norman/Angevin sphere of influence. Appendix C lists all manuscripts ordered by holding library. In this and in the tables that follow, each line gives the incipit of a textual or poetic unit, with musically related lines grouped within the same row.

[30] The refrain to *Omnipotens pater* common to these settings of the encounter with the merchants is found also in a fragment from a late fifteenth-century manuscript from Delft, although the poem itself is missing. See Lipphardt, LOO 5:1701 (No. 828). While the *Ludus Paschalis* from Origny (Ori) does contain an extended setting of "Omnipotens pater altissime" in Old French, the *ludus* is otherwise unrelated to that of Tours.

[31] On the exchange between the merchants and the Marys, see Nicole Sevestre, "Le marchand dans le théâtre liturgique."

[32] All four strophes consist of two lines each. The first three range from seventeen to twenty syllables (8/9, 9/8, 9/11) with an end-rhyme of "abb" and no

internal rhyme. These share a common melody that has been adapted to fit the number of syllables. The fourth strophe is also two lines but with twenty-five syllables (13/12) and with internal rhyme.

[33] The second strophe is also found in a number of German *Osterspiele* and *Passionen*. See Ernst August Schuler, *Die Musik der Osterfeiern*, 208–9. See also See Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh, "Mary Magdalene Preaches through Song," esp. the comparative edition provided in 621–41.

[34] On the music of the Shrewsbury Fragment, see Frank Ll. Harrison, "Notes" and Rankin, "Shrewsbury School MS VI." Rankin argues that the fragment is a triplum part-book, carrying the top-most voice for polyphonic settings of the melodies given there, thus confirming Harrison's speculation from a few years earlier (Harrison, "Notes," 126). See also Loewen and Waugh, "Mary Magdalene Preaches through Song." An edition of the text is provided by Davis, *Non-Cycle Plays*, 1–7. Musical editions are given by Harrison, "Notes," 128–33 and Richard Rastall, *The Heaven Singing*, 1:308–27.

[35] Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:80–81, melodic comparisons on 151–52 (examples 2.01–2.02). See also Rankin, "The Mary Magdalene Scene," 234–39 (includes melodic comparisons).

[36] CAO references are to the chant identification numbers given in Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*.

[37] Honorius Augustodunensis joins the two senses in the *Hexameron*, col. 159: Sex quoque dies primi designant sex aetates mundi. Prima die lux creatur, et prima aetate homo in paradiso ad perfruendam aeternam lucem collocatur. Haec dies vespera clauditur, quando humanum genus in diluvio mergitur. Secunda die firmamentum intra aquas solidatur, et secunda aetate humanum genus in Arca ab undis conservatur. Haec dies vespera finitur, dum Pentapolis cum omnibus incolis suis incendio consumitur. Tertia die terra ab aquis separatur, et tertia aetate fidelis populus ab infidelibus segregatur: dum Abraham et sua posteritas cicumcisione, deinde filii Israel lege a gentibus sequestrantur. Haec dies vespera terminatur, dum idem populus a gentibus undique vastatur. Quarta dies sole et luna illustratur, et quarta aetas regno David et templo Salomonis decoratur. Haec dies vespera concluditur, dum destructo templo populus in Babylonem captivus ducitur. Quinta die aves de aquis producuntur, pisces ibi relinquuntur; et quinta aetate multi de captivitate relaxantur, plurimi in ea retentantur: Haec dies per vesperam desiit, diem judaea gentili regi subdi promeruit. Sexta die homo de munda terra formatur, et sexta aetate Christus de Virgine generatur. Ea etiam die Deus animalia fecit, et sexta aetate fideles, animalia sua, ad pascua vitae vocavit, quae pastu corporis sui refecit. Haec dies per vesperam complebitur, cum hic mundus igne extremo delebitur.

See also Heinz Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese*, 129–33.

[38] Among the Norman/Angevin settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the sequence "Victimae paschali laudes" is used either whole or in part in settings from Barking Abbey (Bar, LOO 770), Coutances cathedral (Cou, LOO 771), the

church of St. John the Evangelist in Dublin (Dub1–2, LOO 772–72a), the convent of Origny-Sainte-Benoîte (Ori, LOO 825), Maastricht cathedral (Maa, LOO 826), and the monastery of St. Adelbert at Egmond (Egm, LOO 827). See Appendix A, parts 2 and 3 for manuscript details.

[39] The *Peregrinus* from the cathedral of Palermo, conversely, includes the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene between Christ's appearance to the Apostles and Christ's appearance to Thomas. See Lipphardt, LOO 5:1633–38 (No. 811).

[40] I omit "Victimae paschali laudes" and "Te Deum" here since these typically conclude Norman/Angevin settings of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. The settings of the *Ludus Paschalis* from both Egmond and Maastricht, which also include a brief, albeit unrelated *Peregrinus*, conclude with these chants as well.

[41] On the antiphons used in the *Peregrinus* ceremony, see Clyde W. Brockett, "Easter Monday Antiphons and the 'Peregrinus Play.'"

[42] *The Holy Bible* (Douai/Rheims), New Testament, 215.

[43] Hughes, "Magdalene Lament," 283, n. 16.

[44] Krieg noted melodic borrowings from the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the *Dies irae*, among other sources, that pervaded the *ludus* as well: Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterspiel*, 32–59. The motives borrowed from the Lamentations are limited largely to the first Magdalene lament. The other motives are dispersed throughout the *ludus*.

[45] A similar parallel reading is found in the Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri* from the Benedictine monastery of Fécamp (Féc): Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 253, fols. 54r–55r.

[46] Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterfeier*, 34 and 43.

[47] Hughes, "Magdalene Lament," 279 notes the earlier observation by Smoldon, "Liturgical Drama," 189: "The text [of the Tours lament] is written in irregular verse-form and merges finally into the well-known medieval prose, 'O quam magno dies ista celebranda gaudio', to its usual setting. It then becomes apparent that the music of the rest of the verses has been founded on this tune, anticipating and foreshadowing its appearance—an interesting and unusual device."

[48] Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1255, fol. 151v (thirteenth-century breviary with music, LOO 96), Bourges, Bibl. municipale, MS 18 (17), fol. 227v (fifteenth-century breviary without music—only two lines given, LOO 97), Le Bouveret (Switzerland), Monastère Saint-Benoît de Port-Valais, MS 1, fols. 159v–60r (15th c. breviary without music, not in LOO), and *Breviarium Sancte Patriarcalis et Metropolitane Bituricensis Ecclesie* (Paris, 1522), 70. (1522 breviary without music, LOO 98).

[49] See the discussion by Hughes, "Magdalene Lament," 277.

[50] On the use of grammatical and rhetorical terms as metaphors in medieval literature, see the article on "Grammatical and Technical Terms as Metaphors" in Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 414–416. Curtius traces the medieval usage of such devices to the twelfth century, in par-

ticular to Alan of Lille's *Planctus Naturae.* For another example of musical chiasmus, see my essay on the third of the so-called St. Nicholas plays from the Fleury Playbook (Norton, "*Sermo in Cantilena*"). Here I note the use of both chiasmus and number as symbols undergirding the structure of the work.

[51] The use of number in structuring literary works during the Middle Ages has been long studied. General works include Vincent Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism* and Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese*, whose chapter on number symbolism in medieval exegesis (77–108) is particularly relevant. A discussion of treatments of medieval number symbolism published before 1988 is given by R. E. Kaske, *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery*, 164–72. On the use of the numbers three and five in the *Iconia Sancti Nicolai* of the Fleury Playbook, see my study: "Structure as Symbol" noted above. On Honorius's discussion of the theological significance of the number six, see n. 37 above.

[52] William L. Petersen, *Tiatian's* Diatessaron, 1–2.

[53] Fulda, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS *Bonafcianus* I. On the three codices believed to have been left by St. Boniface, see Christine Jakobi-Mirwald, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften*, 1, 15–16, 19, and 21

[54] Batoff, "Re-Envisioning the Visitatio Sepulchri," esp. 138–181.

[55] The *Heliand* survives in two manuscripts and three fragments dating from the mid-ninth to the early tenth century. See Otto Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, xv–xviii.

[56] Batoff, "Re-Envisioning the *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 150–51.

[57] Batoff, "Re-Envisioning the *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 153–59.

[58] The most comprehensive recent treatment of the work is that of Petersen, who divides his list of manuscripts between eastern sources (449–62) and western sources (463–89). He lists only a handful of manuscripts from French manuscripts in his list of Diatesseronic witnesses in the west, and only two of these antedate the thirteenth century. Reims, Bibl. municipale, MS A.35 is a ninth-century copy of the Codex Fuldensis from the cathedral in Reims with numerous twelfth-century glosses (Henri Loriquet, *Reims*, 41–42). Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 62 is a tenth century manuscript from Fleury that contains among other items, a *Concordia quatuor Evangelistarum* (Ch. Cuissard, *Orléans*, 33).

[59] Marc Vial, "Zur Funktion des *Monotessaron*, 50–51. Trudo Gerits, "Notes sur la tradition" lists 102 manuscripts for this work. The text was edited in Zacharias Chrisopolotanus, *De Concordia evangelistarum*. See also Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools*, 30–33.

[60] James M. Morey, "Peter Comestor," 10. The text is given in Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, cols. 1538–1644. See also Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools*, 4–11.

[61] Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools*, 7–9, 24–27, and 101. Thirteenth-century copies, for example, are found as far away as Austria, in the libraries of the Cistercian abbey at Heiligenkreuz near Vienna (Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl*.,* MS 28) and at the Benedictine abbey at Admont in Austrian Styria (Admont, Stifts-

bibl., MS 31). The text has not been edited. Friedrich Stegmüller and Klaus Rein-hardt, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 4: 267–69 lists 25 manuscripts.

[62] G. R. Evans, "Llanthony, Clement of."

[63] See Petersen, *Tatian's* Diatessaran, 469 for a list of manuscripts. Most of the surviving witnesses are English. Two thirteenth-century manuscripts from the Norman monastery of Jumièges are preserved in Rouen (Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 137 and 138: Henri Omont, *Rouen*, 1:31). While the work may have had some dependence on the *Diatessaron*, this appears to be a wholly new work. Aside from a short treatment over ninety years ago (J. Rendel Harris, "The Gospel Harmony of Clement of Llanthony"), the harmony of Clement has seen neither a major study nor a modern edition, this despite its having served as the source for Wycliffe's Middle English translation of Clement's harmony in the fourteenth century.

[64] The Pepysian Harmony, named for its one-time owner, Samual Pepys, exists in a single manuscript, Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, MS Pepys 2498, fols. 1r–43r. On the Old French model for the harmony, see Margery Goates, *The Pepysian Gospel*, xv–xviii. See also Petersen, *Tatian's* Diatessaron, 168–69.

[65] The reference numbers for the *Diatesseron* are drawn from Tatian, *Diatessaron*, 124–27.

[66] See, for example, Young, *Drama*,1:447; Krieg, *Das lateinische Osterfeiern*, 12, 16, 21 and 116; and Lipphardt, LOO 8:811.

[67] This is the view of Young, *Drama*, 1:448. Young's view was echoed by Helmut De Boor, *Die Textgeschichte*, p. 312 and by Lipphardt, LOO 8:813.

Appendix A

Visitatio Sepulchri and *Peregrinus* in Norman/Angevin Liturgical Manuscripts

1. Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri*

Fécamp (Benedictine Monastery)

Féc   *Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 253, fols. 54r–55r
(LOO 404, 14th c. Processional)

Jerusalem (Various churches)

Jer1   Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, MS Barberini lat. 659, fols 75v–76r
(LOO 407, ca. 1150 Ordinal)

Jer2   Barletta, Chiesa San Sepolcro, Ordinal from the Holy
Sepulcher in Jerusalem after 1230, fols. 77v–78r
(LOO 408, ca. 1250 Ordinal)

Jer3   Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I.Q.175, fol. 45v
(LOO 409, 14th c. Ordinal)

Jer4   Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl., MS lat. 1928, fol. 44rv
(LOO 410, 14th c. Ordinal)

Palermo (Cathedral)

Pal1   *Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS Vitr. 20/4, fols. 102v–103r
(LOO 413, 1130–54 Gradual)

Palermo (*Cappella Palatina*)

Pal2   **Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS 288, fols. 170v–171r
(LOO 421, ca. 1100 Troper)

Pal3   *Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS 289, fols. 115v–116r
(LOO 422, ca. 1140 Troper)

Rouen, Saint-Ouen (Benedictine Monastery)

RouO   *Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 252, fols. 101v–102r
(LOO 414, 14th c. Antiphoner)

2. Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri* with Magdalene Amplification

Barking Abbey (Benedictine Convent)

Bar   Oxford, Univ. College, MS 169, pp. 121–24
       (LOO 770, 14th c. Ordinal)

Coutances (Cathedral)

Cou   Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1301, fols. 143v–145v
       (LOO 771, ca. 1400 Ordinal)

Dublin (Church of St. John the Evangelist)

Dub1   *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. liturg. d.4, fols.
       130r–132r
       (LOO 772, 14th c. [after 1352] Processional)
Dub2   *Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z. 4.2.20, fols. 59r–61r
       (LOO 772a, 14th c. [after 1352] Processional)

Mont-Saint-Michel (Bendictine Monastery)

Mon1   Avranches, Bibl. municipale, MS 214, pp. 236–38
       (LOO 773, 14th c. Ordinal)
Mon2   Avranches, Bibl. municipale, olim no. intér. 14, extér. 2524
       (LOO 774; cited by Du Méril, pp. 94–96).

Rouen (Cathedral)

Rou1   *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 904, fols. 101v–102v
       (LOO 775, 13th c. Gradual)
Rou2   Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 384, fols. 82v–83v
       (LOO 776, 14th c. Ordinal)
Rou3   Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1213, p. 86
       (LOO 777, 15th c. Ordinal)
Rou4   Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 382, fols. 70v–71r
       (LOO 778, late-15th c. Ordinal)

Wilton (Benedictine Convent)

Wil   *Solesmes, Abbaye-Saint-Pierre, MS 596, fols. 59r–64v
       (Rankin/Altstatt, copy of 14th-c. Processional, ca. 1860)

3. *Ludus Paschalis*

Egmond, St. Adelbert (Benedictine Monastery)

Egm   *Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibl., MS 71.J.70, fols. 163v–170r
        (LOO 827, 15th c. Hymnal)

Fleury (Unknown Provenance)

Fle   *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 220–25
        (LOO 779, 13th c. Miscellany)

Litchfield (Cathedral)

Lit   *Shrewsbury School, MS VI, fols. 38r–42v
        (Young, 2:514–23; 15th c. Processional)

Maastricht (Cathedral)

Maa   *Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibl., MS 76.F.3, fols Iv and 14r
        (LOO 826, 13th c. Evangeliary)

Tours (Unknown Provenance)

Tou   *Tours, Bibl. municipale, MS 927, fols. 1r–8v
        (LOO 824, 13th c. Miscellany)

4. *Peregrinus*

Beauvais (Cathedral)

BeaP   *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1064, fols. 8v–11v
        (LOO 808, 12th c. Miscellany)

Fleury (Unknown Provenance)

FleP   *Orléans, Bibl. municipale, MS 201, pp. 225–30
        (LOO 817, 13th c. Miscellany)

Palermo (Cathedral)

PalP1   *Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS Vitr. 20/4, fols. 105v–108r
        (LOO 811, 1130–1154 Gradual)

Palermo (*Cappella Palatina*)

PalP2   **Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS 288, fols. 172v–173v
          (LOO 818, ca. 1100 Troper)

PalP3   *Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS 289, fols. 117r–118r
          (LOO 819, ca. 1140 Troper)

Rouen (Cathedral)

RouP2   Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 384, fol. 86rv
          (LOO 813, 14th c. Ordinal)

RouP3   Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS n. a. lat. 1213, p. 90
          (LOO 815, 15th c. Ordinal)

RouP4   Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 382, fol. 73rv
          (LOO 814, late-15th c. Ordinal)

RouP5   *Rouen, Bibl. municipale, MS 222, fols. 43v–45r
          (LOO 812, 13th c. Processional)

Saintes (Cathedral)

SaiP   *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 16309, fols. 604r–605v
          (LOO 816, mid- to late 13th c. Breviary)

Other Manuscripts/Books Cited

1. Type 1 *Visitatio Sepulchri*

<u>Bourges (Cathedral)</u>

Bou1   *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 1255, fol. 151v
       (LOO 96, 13th c. Notated Breviary)

Bou2   Bourges, Bibl. municipale, MS 18 (17), fol. 227v
       (LOO 97, 15th c. Breviary)

Bou3   Le Bouveret (Switzerland), Monastère Saint-Benoît
       de Port-Valais, MS 1, fols. 159v–160r
       (LH, pp. 129–39; 15th c. Breviary)

Bou4   *Breviarium Sancte Patriarcalis et Metropolitane Bituricensis
       Ecclesie* (Paris, 1522), p. 70. (LOO 98, 1522 Breviary)

<u>Laon (Cathedral)</u>

Lao1   Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 215, fol. 129rv
       (LOO 109, 12th c. Ordinal)

Lao2   *Laon, Bibl. municipale, MS 263, fol. 145rv
       (LOO 110, ca. 1187 Gradual/Troper/Hymnal)

<u>Saintes (Cathedral)</u>

Sai   *Paris, Bibl. nationale, MS lat. 16309, fol. 143r
       (LOO 156, 13th c. Breviary)

2. Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*

<u>Indersdorf (Collegiate Chapter)</u>

Ind   München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 7691, pp. 120–21
       (LOO 590, 1496 Breviary)

3. Type 2 *Visitatio with Magdalene Amplification*

Braunschweig (Collegiate Chapter)

Bra   *Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächs. Staatsarchiv, MS VII.B.203, fol. 27rv
       (LOO 780, early-14th c. Lectionary)

Marienberg bei Helmstedt (Augustinian Convent)

Mar   *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., MS Novi 309, fols. 64r–65v
       (LOO 791, 12th–13th c. Antiphoner)

Medingen bei Lüneburg (Cistercian Convent)

Med   **Hildesheim, Stadtarchiv, MS Best. 52, Nr. 383,
       fols. 125v–127v (LOO 792, 15th c. Orational)

Nottuln (Augustinian Convent)

Not1   *München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 28947, fols. 64v–65v
       (LOO 794, ca. 1420 Antiphoner)

Not2   *Münster, Diözesanbibl., BAM Pfa MS 113, fols. 112r–113v
       (LOO 795, late-15th c. Antiphoner)

Prague (Cathedral)

Pra   Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl., MS lat. 13427, fol. 129rv
       (LOO 806, 14th c. Breviary)

Zwickau (Latin School)

Zwi1   *Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl., MS I.XV.3, fols. 56r–65v
       (LM, pp. 2–5; early-16th c. Miscellany)

Zwi2   *Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl., MS XXVI.I.24, fols. 1r–6r
       (LOO 789, early-16th c. Miscellany)

4. *Ludus Paschalis*

Gerona (Cathedral)

Ger   Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, MS M.911, fol. 156v
(LOO 822, fragment of a *Ludus Paschalis* in a
13th c. Troper/Proser)

Klosterneuburg (?)

Klo   **Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl., CCl 574, fols. 142v–144v
(LOO 829, 13th c. Miscellany)

Origny-Sainte-Benoîte (Benedictine Convent)

Ori   *Saint-Quentin, Bibl. municipale, MS 86, pp. 609–25
(LOO 824, early 14th c. Liturgical Miscellany)

Vich (Cathedral)

Vic   *Vich, Museo Episcopal, MS 105, fols. 58v–62v
(LOO 823, 12th c. insertion into an 11th–12th c. Troper)

5. *Peregrinus*

Carmina Burana

CarP   **München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., clm 4660a, fol. 7rv
(LOO 820, 13th c. Song Collection)

Manuscripts/Books Cited
(by Holding Library)

Avranches, Bibl. municipale

MS 214, pp. 236–38 (Mon1, VP1M: LOO 773)

olim no. intér. 14, extér. 2524 (Mon2, VP1M: LOO 774; cited by Du Méril, pp. 94–96)

Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya

MS M.911, fol. 156v (Ger, LP fragment: LOO 822)

Barletta, Chiesa San Sepolcro

Ordinal from the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem after 1230, fols. 77v–78r (Jer2, VP1: LOO 408);

Bourges, Bibl. municipale

MS 18 (17), fol. 227v (Bou2, VP1: LOO 97)

Breviarium Sancte Patriarcalis et Metropolitane Bituricensis Ecclesie (Paris, 1522), p. 70. (Bou3, VP1:LOO 98)

Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibl.

*MS 71.J.70, fols. 163v–170r (Egm, LP: LOO 827)

*MS 76.F.3, fols Iv and 14r (Maa, LP: LOO 826)

Dublin, Marsh's Library

*MS Z. 4.2.20, fols. 59r–61r (Dub2, VP1: LOO 772a)

Hildesheim, Stadtarchiv

**MS Best. 52, Nr. 383, fols. 125v–127v (Med, VP2M: LOO 792)

Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl.

**CCl 574, fols. 142v–144v (Klo, LP: LOO 829)

Laon, Bibl. municipale

MS 215, fol. 129rv (Lao1, VP1: LOO 109)

*MS 263, fol. 145r (Lao2, VP1: LOO 110)

Le Bouveret, Monastère Saint-Benoît de Port Valais

MS 1, fols. 159v–160r (Bou3, VP1: LH, pp. 129–39)

Madrid, Bibl. Nacional

**MS 288, fols. 170v–171r / 172v–173v
(Pal2, VP1: LOO 421 / PalP2, Per: LOO 818)

*MS 289, fols. 115v–116r / 117r–118r
(Pal3, VP1: LOO 422 / PalP3, Per: LOO 819)

*MS Vitr. 20/4, fols. 102v–103r / 105v–8r
(Pal1, VP1: LOO 413 / PalP1, Per: LOO 811)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibl.

**clm 4660a, fol. 7rv (CarP, Per: LOO 820)

clm 7691, pp. 120–21 (Ind, VP2: LOO 590)

*clm 28947, fols. 64v–65v (Not1, VP2M: LOO 794)

Münster, Diözesanbibl.

*BAM Pfa MS 113, fols. 112r–113v (Not2, VP2M: LOO 795)

Orléans, Bibl. municipale

*MS 201, pp. 220–25 / 225–30
(Fle, VP1M: LOO 779 / FleP, Per: LOO 817)

Oxford, Bodleian Library

*MS Rawl. liturg. d.4, fols. 130r–132r (Dub1, VP1: LOO 772)

Oxford, Univ. College

MS 169, pp. 121–24 (Bar, VP1M: LOO 770)

Paris, Bibl. nationale

*MS lat. 904, fols. 101v–102v (Rou1, VP1M: LOO 775)

*MS lat. 1255, fol. 151v (Bou1, VP1: LOO 96)

MS lat. 1301, fols. 143v–145v (Cou, VP1M: LOO 771)

*MS lat. 16309, fols. 143r / 604r–605v
(Sai, VP1: LOO 156; SaiP, Per: LOO 816)

*MS n. a. lat. 1064, fols. 8v–11v (BeaP, Per: LOO 808)

MS n. a. lat. 1213, p. 86 / 90 (Rou3, VP1M: LOO 777 /
Rou3P, Per: LOO 815)

Rouen, Bibl. municipale

*MS 222, fols. 43v–45r (Rou5P, Per: LOO 812)

*MS 252, fols. 101v–102r (RouO, VP1: LOO 414)

*MS 253, fols. 54r–55r (Féc, VP1: LOO 404)

MS 382, fols. 70v–71r / 73rv (Rou4, VP1M: LOO 778 /
Rou4P, Per: LOO 814)

MS 384, fols. 82v–83v / 86rv (Rou2, VP1M: LOO 776 /
Rou2P, Per: LOO 813)

Rome, Bibl. Vaticana

MS Barberini lat. 659, fols 75v–76r (Jer1, VP1: LOO 407)

Saint-Quentin, Bibl. municipale

*MS 86, pp. 609–25 (Ori, LP: LOO 824)

Shrewsbury School

*MS VI, fols. 38r–42v (Lit, LP: Young, 2:514–23.)

Solesmes, Abbaye-Saint-Pierre

*MS 596, fols. 59r–64v (Wil, VP1M: Rankin/Altstatt)

Vich, Museo Episcopal

*MS 105, fols. 58v–62v (Vic, LP: LOO 823)

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl.

MS lat. 1928, fol. 44rv (Jer4, VP1: LOO 410)

MS lat. 13427, fol. 129rv (Pra, VP2M: LOO 806)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl.

*MS Novi 309, fols. 64r–65v (Mar, VP2M: LOO 791)

Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsische Staatsarchiv

*MS VII.B.203, fol. 27rv (Bra, VP2M: LOO 780)

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

MS I.Q.175, fol. 45v (Jer3, VP1: LOO 409)

Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl.

*MS I.XV.3, fols. 56r–65v (Zwi1, VP2M: LM, pp. 2–5).

*MS XXVI.I.24, fols. 1r–6r (Zwi2, VP2M: LOO 789)

Appendix D

Introduction to the Edition
of the Tours *Ludus Paschalis*

THE FOLLOWING EDITION OF the *Ludus Paschalis* of Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927, fols. 1r–8v is based on a microfiche of the manuscript that was made available to me by Dr. Christophe Chaguinian. The copy of the *ludus* given in the manuscript is replete with errors, both textual and musical. To the extent possible, I have attempted to replicate the text and notation of the manuscript faithfully, although adapted to modern notation. Neumes representing more than a single pitch are identified by slurs. Liquescences are represented with small noteheads. Flat signs on the staff are those provided in the manuscript. Flat signs above the staff are editorial. Rubrics are given in italics, while sung text is given in a standard font. Abbreviations are filled out with angle brackets, and textual corrections are provided in the notes. I have tried to limit the number of melodic corrections to those passages that are obviously incorrect. I have provided explanatory notes indicating the original manuscript reading when a correction has been made, and I have also indicated those passages where I have retained original readings corrected by others. I recognize that there are likely to be disagreements as to the choices I have made, so I have tried to provide enough information in the edition and in the notes that the melodies provided in the manuscript can be reconstructed.

I have provided several references to the edition given in the *Anhang* to Eduard Krieg's published dissertation, *Das lateinische Osterspiel von Tours* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1956) as well as to notes provided in his text. The reader can consult Krieg's edition for errors in the earlier edition of Charles Edmond de Coussemaker, *Drame liturgique du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Vatar, 1860), 21–36.

Ludus Paschalis
Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927, fols. 1r–8v

LACUNA

[1r] . . . Tunc erit error peior <priore>

Hic Pilatus convo<cet> milites ad se et dicat <eis>:

(1)

Ve - ni - te   ad   me_____   mi - li - tes

for - tes   at - que   in - co   -   lu - mes;

di - li - gen - ter   per - gi - te,

quod   vo - bis   di - co,   fa - ci - te:

tres   di - es   cum__   noc - ti - bus

vi - gi - la - te   cum   stu - di - o

ne   fu - ren - tur__   dis - ci - pu - li

et_____   di - cant   ple   -   bi:_____

Sur - re - xit   a   mor - tu - is.

(2)

I - te, vos mi - li - tes, sol - ler - ti__ cu - ra

vo - bis com - mi - sa   sit__   se - pul - tu - ra.

Statim Milites eant insimul canendo hos versus, usque dum veniant ante sepulchrum:

(3)
Er - go e - a - mus
et quid di - xit, fa - ci - a - mus;
vi - gi - lan - do cu - sto - di - a - mus
(4)
ne se - pul - tum a - mit - ta - mus.

(5)
Ne__ for - te__ ve - ni - ant e - ius dis - ci - pu - li
et fu - ran - do trans - fe - rant a - li - bi,____
[1v] (6)
in - va - da - mus e - os cum____ lan - ce - is
et ver - be - re - mus____ e - os cum__ gla - di - is.

Modo veniat Angelus et iniiciat eis fulgura. Milites cadant in terram, velut mortui.

Tunc tres parvi vel clerici, qui debent esse Marie: due vero deferant vas cum unguento pre manibus, tercia autem turribulum. Tunc veniant ante hostium ecclesie et dica<n>t hos versus:

Maria Magdalena incipiat:	<O>m - ni po - tens__ pa - ter al - ti - si - me,
Maria Iacobi:	A -mi - si - mus__ e - nim so - la - ci - um,
Maria Salome:	Sed e - a - mus__ un - guen - tum e - me - re,
Tunc mercator dicat:	Ve ni - te, si__ com - pla - cet e - me - re
	Quod, si cor - pus__ pos - se - tis un - ge - re,
Tunc Marie interrogent mercatorem:	Dic no - bis, tu__ mer - ca - tor ju - ve - nis,
Respondeat mercator:	Mu -li - e - res__ mi - chi in - ten - di - te,
Mercator:	Hoc un - guen - tum__ si mul - tum cul - pi - tis,

an - ge - lo - rum__ re - ctor mi - ti - si - me,
Jhe - sum Chris - tum,__ Ma - ri - e fi - li - um;
ut hoc cor - pus__ pos - si - mus un - ge - re
hoc un - guen - tum,__ quod vel - lum ven - de - re
non am - pli - us__ pos - set pu - tre - sce - re
hoc un - quen - tum__ si tu ven - di - de - ris,
hoc un - guen - tum__ si vul - tis e - me - re,
u - num au - ri__ ta - len - tum da - bi - tis,

quid fa - ci - ant__ is - te mi - ser - ri - me?__
ip - se e - rat__ no - bis con - si - li - um.__
quod un - quam ver - mes pos - sint com - me - de - re.__
de quo be - ne__ po - tes - tis un - ge - re.__
ne - que ver - mes__ pos - sent com - me - de - re.__
dic pre - ci - um,__ quod ti - bi de - de - ri - mus.__
da - tur ge - nus__ mi - re po - ten - ti - e.__
non a - li - ter__ un - quam por - ta - bi - tis.__

	He - - - u! Quan - tus est no - ster do - lor!
	He - - - u! Quan - tus <est no - ster_ do - lor!>
	He - - - u! <Quan - tus est no - ster_ do - lor!>
	Cor - - pus Do - mi - ni sa - cra - tum.
Marie simul:	He - - - u! Quan - tus <est no - ster do - lor!>
Marie simul:	He - - - u! <Quan - tus est no - ster_ do - lor!>
Marie simul:	He - - - u! <Quan - tus est no - ster_ do - lor!>
Marie simul:	He - - - u! <Quan - tus est no - ster_ do - lor!>

Alius mercator dicat eis: **[2r]**

Quid que - ri - <ti>s?

Marie simul respondent:

A - ro - ma - ta ve - ni - mus e - me - re,

o_____ pig - men - ta - re, si_____ ha - bes

il - lud, quod no - bis ne - ce - se est.

R<espondet> mercator:

(7)

Di - ci - te, quid vul - tis?

Bal - sa - mum, thus___ et mir - ram,

si - la - lo - e et a - lo - es.

R<espondet> mercator:

Ec - ce iam an - te vo - bis sunt om - ni - a;

di - ci - te, quan - tum vul - tis e - me - re?

Marie simul respondent:

Qua - si cen - tum li - bras sa - tis ha - be - mus;

dic no - bis, quan - tum de - nos, Do - mi - ne?

R<espondet> mercator:

Mil - le___ so - li - dos___ po - tes - tis ha - be - re.

Marie simul respondent:

Li - ben - ter, Do - mi - ne.

Tunc Marie dent munera et accipiant unquentum et pergant ad sepulchrum.

Marie (9) *simul primum*:

[2v]

O,   sum - me   rex   e - ter - ne,

re - gem   os - ten - de   no - bis.

Maria Iacobi:

Pi - la - tus   ius - sit___   mi - li - ti - bus

se - pul - crum   cus - to - di - re.

Maria Salome:

Nil   ti - me - a - mus.___

Ihe - sum   ve - ni - mus   un - ge - re.

Maria Magdalene:

He - u! mi - se - ra, cur con - ti - git
(12)

vi - de - re mor - tem re - demp - to - ris!_____
♭ (13)

Maria Iacobi:

He - u! re - demp - ti - o Is - ra - el,

ut quid mor - tem sus - ti - nu - it!

Maria Salome:
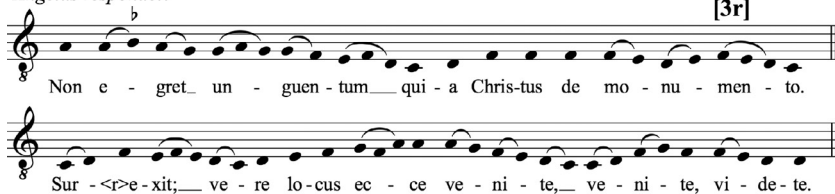
He - u! con - so - la - ti - o nos - tra,

ut quid ta - li - ter a - ge - re vo - lu - it!

Marie (14) *simul respondent*:

Iam, iam,____ ec - ce iam pro - pe - re - mus____ ad tu - mu - lum

un - guen - tes____ di - lec - ti____ cor - pus sanc - tis <s>i - mum.
♭

Angelus respondet:
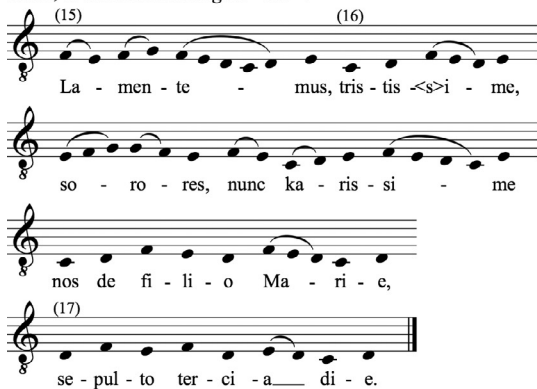
[3r]
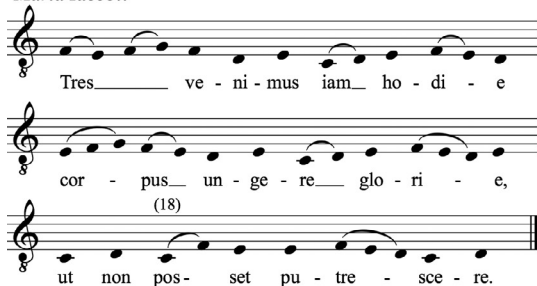
Non e - gret un - guen - tum qui - a Chris-tus de mo - nu - men - to.

Sur - <r>e - xit; ve - re lo - cus ec - ce ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te, vi - de - te.

Tunc Maria Magdalene cum Maria Iacobi vadat videre sepulchrum; non invento corpore, redeat ad aliam, et dicat Maria Magdal<ene>:

(15)   (16)
La - men - te - mus, tris - tis -<s>i - me,

so - ro - res, nunc ka - ris - si - me

nos de fi - li - o Ma - ri - e,

(17)
se - pul - to ter - ci - a di - e.

Maria Iacobi:

Tres ve - ni - mus iam ho - di - e

cor - pus un - ge - re glo - ri - e,

(18)
ut non pos - set pu - tre - sce - re.

Maria Salome:

An - ge - lo - rum e - lo - qui - o,

sci - en - tes si - ne__ du - bi - o

qui - a sur - re - xit de tu - mu - lo,

(19)

re - ver - ta - mur cum gau - di - o.

Angelus respondet (20):

Ad__ vos__ di - co,__ mu - li - e - res,

no - li - te ex - pa - ve - sce - re ne - que ti - me - re;

E - go sum Mi - cha - el arc - an - ge - lus;

di - ci - te mi - chi quem que - ri - tis

[3v]

aut quem vul - tis vi - de - re.

Maria Magdalena respond<et>:

(21)

O__ De - us! quis re - vol - vet__ no - bis la - pi - dem ab__ hos - ti - o__

mo - nu - men - ti?

Marie simul dicant:

Ec - ce la - pis__ re - vo - lu - tus,

et__ iu - ve - nis sto - la__ can - di - da__ co - o - per - tus.

Angelus alta voce clamat Marias dicens:

Ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te!
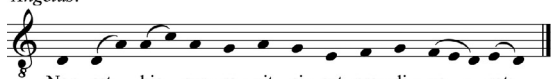
no - li - te ti - me - re__ vos; di - ci - te__
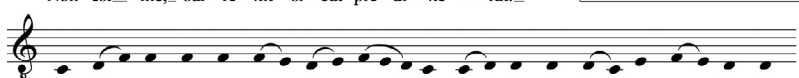
Quem que - ri - tis in se - pul - chro, o__ Chris - ti - co - le?

Marie simul respondent:
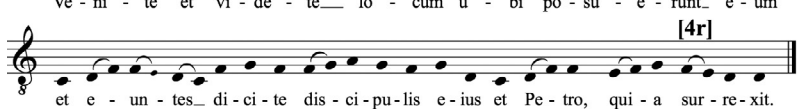
Jhe - sum Na - za - re - num cru - ci - fi - xum__ que - ri - mus,____ o__ Ce - li - co - le.

Angelus:

Non est__ hic,_ sur - re - xit si - cut pre - di - xe - rat:__

Non est hic, Venite et videte, and *Vulutm tristem* are presented as a single unit in the MS with no breaks or capitals. These are divided here to show structure and derivation.

Ve - ni - te et vi - de - te__ lo - cum u - bi po - su - e - runt__ e - um

[4r]

et e - un - tes__ di - ci - te dis - ci - pu - lis e - ius et Pe - tro, qui - a sur - re - xit.

Vul - tum tris - tem iam mu - ta - te,

Ihe - sum vi - vum su - is nun - ci - a - te.

Ga - li - le - am nunc a - bi - te;

(22)

si pla - cet vi - de - re, fes - ti - na - te.

Tunc milites surgant et redeant ad Pilatum tristi animo candendo:

(23)

He - u mi - se - ri, quid fa - ci - mus,

quid di - ci - mus,

qui - a per - di - di - mus,

Quem cus - to - di - mus?

De - ce - lo ve - nit an - ge - lus

qui di - xit mu - li - e - ri - bus,

qui - a sur - re - xit Do - mi - nus.

Diende dicat Pilatus ad milites:

Vos,   Ro - ma - ñi   mi - li - tes,

pre - ci - um   ac - ci - pi - te

et   om - ni - bus___   di - ci - te

quod   vo - bis   sub - la - tum___   est.

Milites simul respondeant:

Pro_____   quo   gen - ti - les   fu - i - mus!

se - pul - chrum___   cus - to - di - mus,

mag - num   so - num   au - di - vi - mus

et___   in   ter - ra_____   ce - <ci> - di - mus.

[4v] *Iterum dicat Pilatus*:

Le - gem   non   ha - bu - is - tis,

sed   men - ti - ri   po - tes - tis,

(24)

quod   dis - ci - pu - li   ve - ne - runt

et   e - um   sus - tu - le - runt.

Milites simul respondeant:

Nos_____ ve - ri - ta - tem di - ci - mus:

de ce - lo ve - nit_____ an - ge - lus,

(25)

qui di - xit mu - li - e - ri - bus,

qui - a sur - re - xit__ Do - mi - nus.

Hoc audito, Pilatus dicat militibus hos versus:

Hec er - go vo - lo. ut si - cut ves - tra mu - ne - ra,_____

_ne_ vos - cre - da - tis a - li - qua men - da - ci - a

que_____ vos_____ se - du - cant

et pe - ri - re fa - ci - ant.

ad do - mos ves - stras i - te nunc cum gau - di - o,_____

et que vi - di - stis te - gi - te si - len - ti - o,_____

(26)

ne_____ ad_____ au - di - tim po - pu - li e - ve - ni - at.

Milities simul respondeant ad Pilatum:

Tunc e - rit___

Et facto hoc, Maria Magdalena in sinistra parte ecclesie stands, et cetera; exurgat inde et eat contra sepulchrum et, plausis manibus, plorando dicat: **[5r]**

He - u!___ me___ mi - se - ra!

Mag - nus la - bor,___

Mag - nus do - or

mag - na est___ tres - ti - ti - a.

(27)

Ihe - su___ Chris - te,___ mun - di to - ci - us glo - ri - a,

(28)

De te___ nas - ci___ te - ne - o me - mo - ri - a,

Quam e - mi - sti___ tu - a mi - se - ri - cor - di - a;

Qui con- do - nas - ti___ Mag - da - le - ne gra - vi - a pec - ca - mi - na;

Per te___ vi - ta___ per - fru - ar per - pe - tu - a.

O ma - gi - ster, qua - re pi - e te si quan-do his vi - de - bo___ o - cu - lis,

(29)

Quem Iu - de - i sus - pen-de - runt cru - cis in___ pa - ti - bu - lis___

Et au - di - vi___ sur - re - xis - se, dic - tis___ nunc an - ge - li - cis.

Rex_cun<c> - to - rum___ an - ge - lo - rum

pro no - bis oc - ci - sus est.

He - u! mi - chi tri - sti do - len - ti

de mor - te al - tis - si - mi.

(30)   **[5v]**   (31)

O quam mag - no___ di - es___ is - ta___ ce - le - bran-do___ gau - di - o,

(32)

Quam in - gen - ti,___ tam de - vo - to, re - co - len - da stu - di - o.

(33)

An - ge - lus de ce - lo_____ve - nit,___ la - pi - dem re - vol - vit, se - dit.

(34)

De - us et ho - mo! De - us et ho - mo! De - us et ho - mo!

(35)

Ihe - su Chris - te,___ tu spes me - a, sa - lus___ vi - va_____ se - cu - li,

Me - mo - ra - re___ Mag-da - le - ne tu - i - que a - mi - ci___ La - za - ri.

Te vi‹v›um spe - ro vi - de - re cum ‹s›cep tro im - pe - ri - i.

Me mi - se - ra! Me - mi - se - ra! Me mi - se - ra!

(36)

Quid_____ a - gam? He - u_____ tris - tis!, quid di - cam?

Stans Ihesus iuxta sepulchrum in horto (37) *dicat Magdalene:*

Mu - li - er, quid___ plo - ras?

Maria Magdalene respondet (38):

Qui - a tu - le - runt Do - mi - num me - um

et nes - ci - o,___ u - bi po - su - e - runt___ e - um.

[6r] *Dicat ad Marias angelus*:

Quem que - ri - tis?

Maria Jacobi et Salome respondeat:

(39)

Vi - ven-tem cum mor - tu - is.

Angelus dicat:

Non est hic, sed sur - re - xit.

> *Non est hic* and *Recordamini* are presented as a single unit in the MS with no breaks or capitals. These are divided here to show structure and derivation.

Re - cor - da - mi - ni qua - li - ter lo - cu - tus est vo - bis

(40)

dum ad - huc in Ga - li - le - a es - set, vo - bis di - ce - ret,

qui - a o - por - tet fi - li - um ho - mi - nis tra - di et

cru - ci - fi - gi et di - e ter - ci - a re - sur - ge - re.

Et dicat Maria Magdalene et levat manus ad celum:

(41)   (42)

Tu pa - ter, qui es in ce - lis, tu - um sanc - ti - fi - ca - tum est no - men tu - um

in e - ter - num. No - li me de - re - lin - que - re, sed de - mon - stra - re om - ni - bus

re - cor - da - re Do - mi - ne, mi - se - re - re Mag - da - le - ne, quan - do mi - chi

di - mi - si - sti pec - ca - ta me - a.

[6v]

He - u do - lens! He - u a - ma - ra! He - u mi - se - ra!

(43)

Quem in - ter - ro - gem, et u - bi est Pa - ter nes - ci - o.

Diende Maria Iacobi et sustentet brachium dextrum et Maria Salome per sinistrum et levet de terra Maria<m> Magdalenam; et dicat ipsa:

(44)

Ca - ra   so - ror,___ ni - mis lan - gor

in - si - det   in___ a - ni - mo.___

De ma - gi - stri___ Ihe - su Chris - ti

(45)

mor - te   mi - chi___ cog - ni - ta.___

Maria Magdalene dicat:

Ar - dens est___ cor___ me - um;_____ de - si - de - ro vi - de - re Do- mi - num me - um;

qu - ro_____ et non in - ven - ni - o, u - bi po - su - e - runt e - um.

Angelus interroget Marias:

Quem que - ri - tis?

Marie simul respondeant:
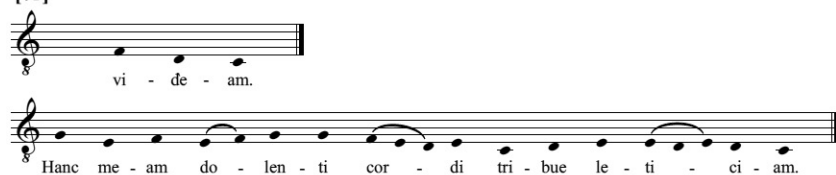
Vi - ven-tem cum mor - tu - is.

Angelus dicat hos versus:

Ni - chil__ ti - bi____ est ti - men - dum,

(46)

sed gau - de - to__ po - ti - us;

Ihe - sus e - nim__ re - sur - re - xit,

ve - re____ De - i__ fi - li - us.

Tu, Ma - ri - a____ Mag - da - le - na,

cla - ma: Re - sur - <r>e - xit____ ve - re Chris - tus.

Sur <r>e - xit Chris - tus!

LACUNA

[7r]

vi - de - am.

Hanc me - am do - len - ti cor - di tri - bue le - ti - ci - am.

Et reversus interroget Petrus (47):

(48)

Dic mi - hi, so - ror Ma - ri - a quod i - ter in - ci - pi - am?

Et Maria ad Petrum dicat:

Va - de ci - to hanc per vi - am, un - de nunc re gres - sa__ sum;

(49)   (50)

Sed me - men - to me - i, Pe - tre dum il - lum__ in - ve - ne - ris.

Diende veniat Maria. Discipulis cantando dica<n>t:

(51)

Tris - tes e - rant_ a - pos - to - li de ne - ce

De alia parte veniant alii VI cantando hymnum totum:

Ihe - su_____ no - stra_ re - demp - ci - o!

Maria Magdalene veniat ante eos; dicat hunc versum:

So - lu - tis iam_ ge - mi - ti - bus

Statim Petrus vadad ad discipulos et maneat cum eis. Deinde veniat <Iesus> dalmatica indutus, ferens in manibus crucem, dicat:

Pax_ vo - bis; e - go sum; no - li - te ti - me - re.

Pax vobis and *Videte manus* are presented as a single unit in the MS with no breaks or capitals. These are divided here to show structure and derivation.

Vi - de - te ma - nus me - as__ et pe - des_ me - os, qui - a e - go ip - se__ sum;

[7v]

Pal - pa - te et vi - de - te, qui - a spi - ri - tus car - nem et__ os - sa non ha - bet.

si - cut_ me vi - de - tis ha - be - re,___ al - le - lu - ia.

Discipuli videant eum, et osculentur, et dicant:

Ec - ce___ De - us___ no - ster!

Sur - re - xit Do - mi - nus___ de___ se - pul - chro,_

qui___ pro___ no - bis pe - pen - dit in lig - no,___

al - le - lu - a,___ al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - a.

Thomas veniat cantando:

(52)

Tho - mas, di - cor Di - di - mus.

Om - nes fu - gam ce - pi - mus;

(53)

Omnes con - gre - get nos Do - mi - nus.

Post lau - des in om - ni - bus

De - o___ no - stro da - bi mus

O___ fal - lax Iu - da pro - di - tor, ma - gi - strum tra - di - di-   sti,

Quem pro pau - cis___ ar - gen - te - is___ Iu - de - is ven - di - di - sti.

Quod ac - ce - pi - sti pre - ci - um, he - u mi - chi! quid fe - ci -   sti?

Et duo discipuli vadant et dicant ei:

Tho -   - mas,___ vi - di - mus___ Do - mi - num!

Thomas indignatus dicat eis: **[8r]**

Ni - si vi - de - ro in ma - ni - bus e - ius___ fi - xu - ram cla - vo - rum

et mit - tam ma - num me - am in la - tus e - ius, non___ cre - dam.

Tunc veniat Ihesus ad discipulos, indutus sacerdotalibus vestimentis candidis et dicat eis item:

Pax vo - bis; e - go sum. Al - le - lu - ia.

No - li - te ti - me - re. Al - le - lu - ia.

Diende dicat ad Thomam:

Tho - mas, mit - te ma - num tu - am___ et cog - no - sce_ lo - ca cla - vo - rum. Al - le - lu -   ia.

Et no - li es - se in - cre - du - lus sed fi - de - lis. Al - le - lu - ia!

Tunc ostendat, et Thomas cadat ad pedes ejus et dicat tribus vicibus:

(56)

Do - mi - nus   me - us   et   De - us   me - us.   Al - le - lu - ia!

Dominus respondeat:

Qui - a   vi - di - sti   me,___   Tho - mas,   cre - di - di - sti;

be - a - ti,   qui   non   vi - de - runt___   et   cre - di - de - runt.

Al - le - lu - a.

Et Thomas, versa facie contra populum, dicat, alta voce:

Mi - si   di - gi - tum   me - um   in   fi - xu___   ram   cla - vo - rum

[8v]

et   ma - num   me - am   in___   la - tus___   e - ius___   et___   di - xi:

Do - mi - nus   me - us   et   De - us   me - us.   Al - le - lu - ia.

Finito hoc, Maria redeat ad sepulcrum, et stans ante sepulcrum cum duobus discipulis incipiant Prosam:

usque "Dux vite mortuus, regnat vivus."

Vic - ti - me   pas - cha - li.

Tunc reliqui discipuli veniant ad Mariam et interrogent dicendo ita:

Dic   no - bis   Ma - ri - a.___

Et Maria ostendat eis sepulchrum et dicat:

Se - pul - chrum   Chri - sti

Hic ostendat eis angelus:

An - ge - li - cos   tes - tes.___
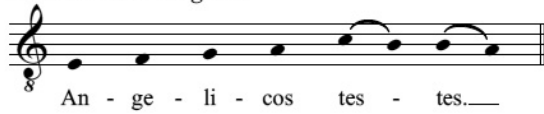
Hic ostendat eis sudarium:

Su - da - ri - um   et   ve - stes.
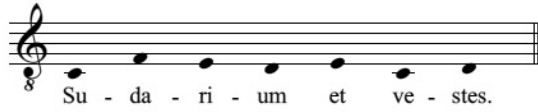
Hic ostendat eis crucem:

Sur - re - xit   Chri - stus.
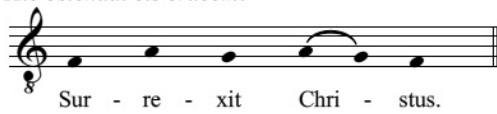
Et discipuli incipiant antiphonam et compleant totam prosam:

Cre - den - dum   est   ma - gis   so - li.

Et chorus incipiat alta voce:

Te   De - um   lau - da   -   mus._

NOTES TO THE EDITION

[1] MS: Krieg's edition has e3 here to match three later passages (see Example 5.8). Given as in the MS here.

[2] MS: "a" of "cura"—correction by later hand.

[3] Missing clef. Assuming F clef on the third line as in the staves that follow.

[4] Note obscured due to damage or erasure. Assuming d3.

[5] This line is a third lower in the manuscript—adjusted due to the Bb. A possible clef change is obscured due to damage or erasure.

[6] MS: "lanceas"

[7] MS has vertical line after "Dicite."

[8] MS: a2–b2–b2. Error in copying or missing clef change. The pitches given in the MS would result in an improbable leap from b2 to f3. Krieg's correction is given here.

[9] MS: "Maria"

[10] MS: c3–e3. Modified to match the following 2 strophes. See Krieg, 123.

[11] Corrected from "timeas" by later hand.

[12] The melody of "cur contigit videre" is recast in Krieg's edition to provide a parallel reading with the two strophes that follow. Given as in the MS here.

[13] MS: g3–f3–e3–e3–f3–f3. Likely missing clef. See Krieg, 86.

[14] MS: "Maria."

[15] Krieg's edition modifies the first two lines of this verse to provide parallel readings to the following two strophes. These are given as in the MS here.

[16] MS: "cristisime."

[17] Krieg's edition changes the first four notes to match those of the line above. These are given as in the MS here.

[18] MS: "possed."

[19] Krieg changes this to f3–e3–d3 to match the first two lines of this verse. These are given as in the MS here.

[20] MS: "respondit."

[21] MS: "revolvit."

[22] MS: "videte," "festinare."

[23] Veritical bar in MS before "mi" of "miseri."

[24] Krieg has g3–a3 on "dis" of "discipulil." Given as in the MS here.

[25] For "qui dixit," Krieg has "a3–c4–b3." Given as in the MS here.

[26] MS: "eveniad."

[27] MS: "Jehu."

[28] MS: "uasci."

[29] "Quem" added by later hand.

[30] MS: "magna."

[31] MS: "celebranda."

[32] MS: "ingentis."

[33] F clef added by later hand affects from "(re)-vol-vit" to "homo," lowering

this passage by a third. Krieg's correction is given here.

[34] Krieg's edition sets the word "Deus" a third higher to match the preceding and following statements. Given as in the MS here.

[35] MS: "Jehum."

[36] Krieg's edition has e3. Given as in the MS here.

[37] MS: "ordo."

[38] MS: "respondit."

[39] Pitch not given. Krieg assumes f3.

[40] MS: "essed," "nobis."

[41] MS: "sanctificatus."

[42] "tuum" text and pitches added in the staff by the music scribe.

[43] "nescio" correction by later hand.

[44] MS sets "Cara" through "insidet" a third higher. Krieg's correction is given here.

[45] MS: "coganta."

[46] MS: "gaudete."

[47] MS: "Maria" (Petrus).

[48] This line and the following rubric added in bottom margin by original scribe(s).

[49] MS: "set."

[50] MS: "inveniesris."

[51] MS has vertical bar before "de nece." Neumes appear to have been added to "de ne," but these have been erased.

[52] MS: "dicet."

[53] "Omnes" in MS with no notation. Likely an error.

[54] MS has new clef which raises "proditor" by a third. This is likely an error. See Krieg, p. 126.

[55] MS: "set."

[56] Text and music for "Alleluia" added by music scribe.

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Linguistic Features in *Jeu d'Adam*

(v/vv refer to verse lines)

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