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UNLOCKING THE SOUND OF BRITISH SONG:

VERNACULAR PRACTICE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

by

EMILY GRACE NEWCOMBE

Thesis for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

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UNLOCKING THE SOUND OF BRITISH SONG:

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This study aims to address the gap in our understanding of a small body of vernacular songs preserved in insular clerical environments of the high medieval period. As a result of the imbalance of surviving material from Britain and the Continent, the insular songs have long evaded consideration as stylistically distinct, instead being compared to Continental models which are an unsuitable fit for function and performance practice. The Middle English songs have proven particularly vulnerable to division and categorisation on terms which overlook their distinct melodic style and often homiletic preservation contexts.

A systematic analysis of this repertoire has not previously been undertaken, and thus no reason to actively treat the songs as a distinct compositional genre has yet presented itself. The basis of this research is a syllable-by-syllable breakdown of the melodic treatment of poetic text in Middle English and Anglo-Norman high medieval song. Analysis in this manner reveals that not only did a Middle English song tradition flourish independently of Anglo-Norman and Latin song in Britain, it also remains somewhat traceable.

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

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Introduction and inspiration: A modern performer's perspective

In the musicological discussion of medieval song, issues of historical performance practice are rarely dealt with directly. The repertories for which significant amounts of primary material have survived are those which tend to inspire modern historical performance practice expectations for the more peripherally preserved repertories. Thirteenth-century vernacular song from the British Isles is of the latter category, and this thesis will attempt to interrupt the century-old practice of studying Middle English and Anglo-Norman song through the lens of better-represented medieval song genres.

High-medieval vernacular British song is rare. This is due in part to the loss of manuscripts and materials, but may also reflect the absence of a tradition of preserving music in collections. Many non-liturgical songs from Continental traditions – for example those of the *Minnesänger*, *Spruchdichter*, *troubadours* and *trouvères* – have been passed down in dedicated manuscripts, often meticulously transcribed and illuminated.[1] Such manuscripts of vernacular song do not exist from high-medieval Britain, although there was surely an active song tradition. Arguably the closest we come to glimpsing such a tradition is through the scattered preservation of non-liturgical songs in clerical miscellanies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The contents of these miscellanies are most often religious, and include clerical documents such as sermons, psalms, fables, lyrics, and 'songs'—that is, for the purposes of this discussion, lyrics with musical notation.[2] Many appear to have been compiled for practical use by clerics rather than primarily for prestigious or presentation purposes, despite often being created with great care. Where a song does appear, its usual homiletic theme and its frequent proximity to

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[1] For example, the 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (Jena, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS El. f.101) for German-texted song, the 'Chansonnier de l'Arsenal' for trouvère song (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5198), and the 'Chansonnier La Vallière' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, français 22543) for troubadour song. Whether or not the manuscripts contain melodies (as do the above examples), their primary purpose is to honour and preserve these song traditions and the personalities with which they were associated. Aside from the transmission of melodies, this was achieved through the compilation of lyrics, imagery, and reports on the lives of the composers and poets.

[2] The distinction between 'lyric' and 'song' in this study refers to their preservation with or without musical notation, rather than their potential for sung performance. 'Song' is used in the broad sense suggested by Helen Deeming in the latest edition of the repertoire: non-liturgical compositions which have been copied 'as individual items away from any ritual environment.' This encompasses the compositions of primary relevance here, including those which adopt the forms of the sequence, *lai*, or conductus. Helen Deeming, ed., *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300, Musica britannica* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013), xxvii.

preaching-related documents suggests that at least some were intended for use within the context of religious instruction, whether during sermon delivery or in the realm of pastoral care.[3]

Among the many songs preserved in Latin, the few in Anglo-Norman and Middle English are our best chance of understanding what is left of the vernacular song traditions of high-medieval Britain. Of these lyric languages, the Middle English songs are the most difficult to contextualise within contemporaneous Western medieval vernacular song. Insular Latin compositions can be aligned with Continental chant and Notre Dame repertories, and Anglo-Norman *chansons* are strongly associated with the *trouvère* repertoire; the Middle English songs have no direct Continental equivalent. Consequently, when the English-texted songs have attracted interest from performers and musicologists, the lack of surviving primary material has led to their frequent interpretation according to criteria developed for the discussion of other, better-understood song traditions. It is for this reason that Middle English song will receive more attention than Anglo-Norman song in this study.

The handful of Middle English songs preserved in the thirteenth century have not been afforded sufficient temporal or philological independence in their modern musicological study and performance. The early twentieth century saw a place carved for the Middle English lyrics and songs within the canon of historical philological, musicological, and performance studies: the lyrics and their manuscripts were brought to the fore by the likes of Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, and Manfred Bukofzer followed as a trailblazer in the musicological study of 'insular song' in the 1930s and 1940s. However, the literary and musical elements of the songs were not combined in their early modern study to the extent that they were in their original contexts of composition and performance. As a result, early nineteenth-century attempts to contextualise and categorise the songs through either musical or literary characteristics, but without much consideration of both in combination, set a long-term precedent which has remained for the most part unchallenged to the present day: the thirteenth-century Middle English songs are frequently categorised either by language alone, or by perceived stylistic similarities to songs in other languages to which they are still presumed to be related. The umbrella terms 'insular' or 'English' became and have remained standard in the discussion of the thirteenth-century songs, their usage primarily dependent on whether the songs will be compared to contemporaneous Latin and French genres, or to fifteenth-century English-texted song

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[3] In a study of the compilers of song-containing miscellanies, Helen Deeming states that 'both the contents and the construction of the volumes suggest that their owners eagerly noted down materials as they came upon them, with an eye to their future utility in religious instruction.' Helen Deeming, 'Record-Keepers, Preachers and Song Makers: Revealing the Compilers, Owners and Users of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Insular Song Manuscripts', in *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources before 1600*, ed. Tim Shephard and Lisa Colton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 67.

respectively. 'Insular' encompasses music preserved in three different languages, and 'English' allows for the inclusion of songs from the high to the late Middle Ages, despite significant changes to both the English language and to local compositional practices over those centuries. The consideration of three linguistic song categories, and of three centuries of music, is too broad for the serious understanding of this small thirteenth-century repertoire. These labels, which initially served the purpose of allowing the thirteenth-century Middle English songs independent consideration, arguably hinder their study if not used with care. They imply that the songs are peripheral contributions to other, broader repertories, rather than products of a separate thirteenth-century musico-linguistic song genre.

Categorisation of the Middle English songs on spurious terms continued with the rise of generalised guides on medieval music and its historical performance in the later twentieth century. Distinctions between 'monophony' and 'polyphony', and 'sacred' and 'secular' became markers for supposed differences in function and performance practice, leading to the appearance of categorisations such as 'non-liturgical monophony', 'secular monophony', 'polyphony before 1400', and 'polyphony to 1300' within influential essay collections (the polyphonic topics of which primarily focus on sacred repertories).[4] The implication that such concepts as 'monophonic', 'polyphonic', 'sacred' and 'secular' are antithetical is a valid point of distinction for some genres of medieval song, but these characteristics are not mutually exclusive in Middle English song of the thirteenth century. The desire to include the early Middle English songs in such publications nonetheless has led to their categorisation on terms which are more pertinent to other repertories.

These early twentieth-century categorisations have unwittingly helped to steer the modern performance practice of the Middle English songs in a direction which is now a hindrance to our understanding of the repertoire. This study is written from the perspective of a modern medieval singer who has experienced the resulting difficulties of categorisation and performance practice first-hand, and it was inspired by my recurrent experience of unsatisfactory compromises infiltrating the teaching, programming, and performance of the songs. Some background to the current complexities of their modern performance practice and what may have caused them is

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[4] These titles are taken from among the most cited guides in medieval performance studies today: Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Performance Practice*, The New Grove Handbooks in Music (Basingstoke, London: The Macmillan Press, 1989); Ross Duffin, ed., *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, Performer's Guides to Early Music (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Honey Meconi, ed., *Medieval Music*, The Library of Essays on Music Performance Practice (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). Other influential and frequently cited encyclopaedic reference works in modern performance studies include Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds., *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages: With an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (New York: W.W. Noton & Company, 1940).

therefore necessary in this introduction, although performance practice in itself will not remain a point of focus.

Any pre-2000s singer (which includes those who inspire up-and-coming medieval singers through teaching and recordings today) seeking information on the performance practice of a thirteenth-century English-texted song would have found promise of guidance in the 1989 volume *Performance Practice: Music before 1600*.[5] Despite the devotional nature of most of the Middle English songs, and their clerical context, one is funnelled into the chapter of this book titled 'Secular Monophony', where it is explained that 'it has become an established practice to include under the heading of secular monophony both sung poetry in the vernacular on religious subjects and songs on the fringes of liturgy'.[6] So far, the singer has been reassured that despite the ill-fitting chapter title, they are in the right place to find out about the performance practice of Middle English clerical song. The author goes on to address issues which, although not irrelevant, are likely not as high a priority in the performance practice of English-texted clerical song as in the larger repertories which steer the content of such publications. The 'problem' and 'solutions' of rhythmicisation are discussed (which is said to be a particularly common issue for 'secular' song); 'How instruments contributed to the performance of monophonic songs' is clarified, and suggestions for appropriate instrumentation provided (apparently, only one or two instruments should be added); the scribe is said to be merely an intermediary, as the actual 'singer-poet' was 'ignorant of the notation of either music or letters'; and the reader is reminded that not much can be gleaned about performance style or oral tradition from the written embodiment of the song surviving.[7] Finally, there is a brief mention of clerics, but only to mention that they 'are also known to have played instrumental music' and to associate them with polyphony.[8]

Stepping forward to the year 2000, the next widely available and still highly popular performance guide offers advice on similar topics.[9] Within the first paragraph of the introduction to 'Non-Liturgical Monophony' (a title arguably preferable to 'Secular', although still problematic), the *troubadours*, *trouvères*, and *Minnesänger* are referenced, anointing 'their' performance practice as the standard to which other forms of solo song should apparently conform.[10] Leaving aside the fact that the performance practices of three enormous and culturally disparate song traditions have been combined in a single chapter – and sentence – this volume does proceed to

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[5] Mayer Brown and Sadie, *Performance Practice*.
[6] Wulf Arlt, 'Secular Monophony', in *Performance Practice: Music before 1600*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Howard Mayer Brown (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London, 1989), 55.
[7] Arlt, 56; 57, 73; 58.
[8] Arlt, 74.
[9] Duffin, *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*.
[10] Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Non-Liturgical Monophony: Introduction', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross Duffin (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2000), 105.

compartmentalise discussions of performance practice by language, and includes an essay covering 'English Monophony' specifically.[11] Despite the separation of the monophonically and polyphonically preserved songs, and the lack of discussion of their clerical contexts, this publication still provides a more focussed discussion of the thirteenth-century Middle English songs than is usually found in volumes dedicated to historical performance practice.

However, once the Middle English songs are extracted for individual assessment in the volume, and the crutch of other song repertories has been removed, it becomes evident that this small clerical repertoire is still not considered a performance genre in its own right. While writing about the performance practice of the English-texted songs, the author is compelled to categorise them on the terms of other reportorial styles rather than discussing potential performance contexts, stylistic traits, or other identifying features specific to the repertoire in question. *Worldes blis* and *Stond wel moder* are classified in this performance guide as 'chant style', yet the author senses that this may not be an adequate description, adding that *Worldes blis* has a 'potentially song-like' character.[12] Of the polyphonically preserved pieces mentioned, *Foweles in þe frith* and *Jesu Cristes milde moder* are considered 'descant' style, where *Edi beo þu* is said to employ 'gymel'; two labels which clung to these songs throughout the twentieth century, despite being more appropriate in the discussion of Notre Dame and late-medieval techniques of composition. Approaching the modern performance of *Ar ne kuthe*, relief is almost tangible as the author allows himself to suggest instrumental accompaniment. The worldly woes described in this lyric, and its recurring modern colloquial description as 'The Prisoner's Song' in books and CD liners, have in the eyes of many lent *Ar ne kuthe* to the 'monophonic secular' category (despite its explicitly religious content and its Latin devotional model, the *Planctus ante nescia*). As has been established by former performance guides, 'monophonic secular' song is associated with instrumental accompaniment. In this case, the author suggests a harp.[13]

The irony of the 2000 performance guide to 'English monophony' is the lingering sense that the author himself recognises the unsatisfactory fit of the categorisations and performance approaches suggested. Aside from the 'song-like' nature of *Worldes blis*, there are also hints at a grey area between monophony and polyphony which are not further addressed. *Edi beo þu* is said to have 'a main tune… while the other voice is very much secondary in importance'.[14] The author goes on to suggest that the voice of secondary importance may be played on an instrument if desired, thus bringing the polyphonically notated song into the realm of standard monophonic

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[11] Paul Hillier, 'English Monophony', in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross Duffin (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2000), 181–89.
[12] Hillier, 183.
[13] Hillier, 186.
[14] Hillier, 186.

song treatment: one voice, plus instrumental 'accompaniment'. Additionally, the fact that polyphonically preserved songs are included in this discussion of supposed 'monophony' in the first place is testament to the undeniable stylistic overlap between the one- and two-voice Middle English songs.

The Library of Essays on Music Performance Practice, published in 2011, was seemingly designed to provide a comprehensive overview of 'the current state of research into medieval performance practices'.[15] This it duly does, but unfortunately, 'current' does not equate to 'new'. The performer seeking out literature potentially relevant to thirteenth-century Middle English song would here be required to choose between browsing entries on 'Secular Monophony' and 'Polyphony to 1300'. Although both are relevant to English clerical song, the two categories are once again restricted to the consideration of those genres for which the most information survives. 'Polyphony to 1300' is concerned with the Notre Dame School and Ars Antiqua, and 'Secular Monophony' addresses the same issues as did its namesake chapter from 1989: rhythm, and the use of instruments in secular song accompaniment. This volume is not intended as a practical guide for performers, but it does highlight the fact that 'current' performance ideals for medieval song were in 2011 much the same as in decades prior. The generalised song categories remain, and the later performance guide quotes the earlier performance guide; despite the later essay collection having been published comfortably within the twenty-first century, that cannot be said for the majority of the articles featured. The same issue is evident to a lesser extent in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, published in 2018, which provides a useful overview of ongoing practical and song-related issues, but cannot offer much in the way of new performance practice information.[16] After all, no new primary source material on medieval music performance has come to light, meaning there has been no call to fix what is no more broken than it was forty years ago.

These patterns are set to continue unless actively interrupted. In 2017, a new practically orientated performance guide for medieval music was published and has since risen to popularity:

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[15] Timothy McGee, '"Medieval Music, The Library of Essays on Music Performance Practice" Edited by Honey Meconi and Mary Cyr', *Performance Practice Review* 17, no. 1 (2012): 3.

[16] For example, Katarina Livljanic and Benjamin Bagby revisit some of the practical difficulties of forming a 'medieval' vocal aesthetic as a modern singer; Timothy McGee provides something of an overview of key points from his own performers' guide, originally published in 1985; and Elizabeth Aubrey, among other topics, reminds the reader that questions of the relationship of text to melodic style and sung 'rhythm' in medieval vernacular song remain unresolved. Katarina Livljanic and Benjamin Bagby, 'The Silence of Medieval Singers', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 210–35; Timothy McGee, 'Medieval Performance Practice', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 582–608; Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Vernacular Song 1: Lyric', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 382–427; Timothy McGee, *Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Performer's Guide*, Heritage (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

Angela Mariani's *Improvisation and Inventio in the Performance of Medieval Music*.[17] Unlike the previously mentioned essay collections, this book compiles practical advice and exercises for multiple medieval music genres. It is refreshing, not least due to its performer-targeted readership, and its emphasis on memorisation, improvisation, and the adoption of varied styles of performance for different repertories. However, despite its welcome encouragement of changes to modern historical performance approaches, performance practice assumptions surrounding instrumentally accompanied vernacular monophony and *a cappella* sacred polyphony remain ingrained. Advice on the instrumental accompaniment of song falls in part under the subtitles 'Preludes, interludes, postludes', and 'To drone or not to drone'; and singers wishing to try their hand at 'Early examples of polyphonic practice' are provided exercises in *organum*.[18] This is to be expected, as these techniques arguably remain the backbone of modern medieval improvisation for instruments and voices respectively. Mariani does not claim that all monophonically preserved song should be accompanied by an instrument in the manner discussed, nor does she equate the polyphonic style of *organum* to that of other polyphonic vocal practices. The problem therefore does not lie in Mariani's approach, which fulfils its purpose of providing the modern musician with the skills required to approach the major medieval repertories. Rather, the issue is that thirteenth-century Middle English song is not one of those major medieval repertories. Until performance guides can accommodate Middle English song specifically, whether monophonically or polyphonically preserved, they will unwittingly contribute to the dichotomy of its modern performance.

Unsurprisingly, this feedback loop is not only evident in writing, but also in the performance and recordings of those Middle English songs so frequently reduced to 'vernacular monophony', or 'sacred polyphony'. Occasionally, musicological author and musical director are the same person, rendering some overlap inevitable.[19] However, when this is not the case, written and performance approaches are still seen to be caught within the same echo chamber. Two particularly influential medieval music ensembles each produced a dedicated album of high-medieval English song in the late twentieth century: *Sequentia*, and *Anonymous 4*. A brief comparison of the two recordings reveals that our misguided performance practice standards for Middle English song have become so ingrained, we are willing to allow for some cognitive dissonance in order to maintain them.

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[17] Angela Mariani, *Improvisation and Inventio in the Performance of Medieval Music: A Practical Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[18] Mariani, 96–97, 136.

[19] Such is the case for Christopher Page (former director of *Gothic Voices*) and Paul Hillier (director of *The Hilliard Ensemble*). The mutual influence of historical performance studies and musicology is discussed in depth by Leech-Wilkinson, including the lasting influence of Christopher Page and Gothic Voices on modern medieval performance practice. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance, Musical Performance and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Introduction

Sequentia's 'English Songs of the Middle Ages' was recorded in 1987 and released on CD in 1989.[20] On this recording, the potential for added instrumental accompaniment was decided 'according to the character and structure of each song'.[21] *Þe milde Lomb*, *Ar ne kuthe*, *Man mei longe* and *Worldes blis* – all of which are monophonically preserved in the sources, and all of which have a religious text – are interpreted by the ensemble as instrumentally accompanied monody in a style representative of contemporaneous written performance practice guidance for 'secular monophony'. An instrument, usually a fiddle or harp (and once a hurdy gurdy, for *Man mei longe*) introduces elements of the melody and mode with a prelude; a solo voice then sings to a drone- or fifth-based instrumental accompaniment; and between or after the sung strophes, the instrumentalist enjoys heightened activity in interludes and postludes. The polyphonically preserved pieces on this recording are not approached in the same manner, however: *Edi beo þu*, *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith* – each of which is transmitted with two voices – are afforded no additional instrumental accompaniment on the recording, and are instead sung *a cappella* and without significant re-arrangement of their original setting. These latter, polyphonically preserved songs stem from the same sources as those which are monophonically preserved; in several cases, they are but a folio or two apart. They also share the same likely performance and audience circles, scribes, and devotional textual themes. Yet, in a modern climate in which 'monophony' and 'polyphony' are perceived as inherently different to one another in performance practice, such contextual factors are overridden by the fact that the latter three pieces were preserved with two voices, and the remainder with only one. Ongoing preconceptions that equal-range vocal polyphony with devotional lyrics is reminiscent of clerical compositional practices, and that monophonically preserved song in the vernacular is reminiscent of the *troubadours*, *trouvères* and *Minnesänger*, have led to disparate performance styles on the album, despite the liner notes of *Sequentia*'s recording demonstrating a detailed awareness of the homiletic, clerical contexts in which the recorded songs were preserved. Bagby even notes that 'techniques of polyphonic vocal elaboration… would have been part of an oral tradition in medieval clerical circles'; however, the addition of polyphonic vocal lines in this manner is only applied in the recording to an earlier English-texted song, *Sainte Nicholas, Godes druth*. This is a monophonically preserved yet explicitly devotional song, supposedly composed by a twelfth-century hermit.[22] Ironically, the hermit-composer would not often have had a companion with whom to create polyphonic arrangements. We might therefore ask ourselves why the 'character'

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[20] Sequentia, *English Songs of the Middle Ages: Englische Lieder Des Mittelalters* (Freiburg: Harmonia Mundi, 1989).

[21] As described by Benjamin Bagby in the CD liner notes, 4.

[22] This can be heard at the end of the first track (during the text beginning *Sainte Nicholas, Godes druth*), and the technique is described in the CD liner notes, 5.

of this song appeared to lend it to polyphonic vocal performance, but the same was not deemed necessary for other recorded clerical songs of a less pious nature.

Anonymous 4 recorded 'An English Ladymass' in 1992, and 'The Lily & The Lamb' in 1995.[23] Both CD recordings contain select English-texted thirteenth-century songs alongside Latin religious songs of 'English' origin. The aesthetic of *Anonymous 4* is decidedly different from that of *Sequentia*, and lies firmly within the 'sacred polyphony' realm of modern performance practice. The available repertoire in Middle English is so limited that some repertoire overlap between the recorded output of the two ensembles is inevitable. However, there is even an overlap in repertoire between the two albums by *Anonymous 4*: the polyphonically preserved *Jesu cristes milde moder* appears on both albums by the ensemble, despite their having had a choice of other English-texted clerical songs to feature in its place. The gravitation of the ensemble towards this Passion song, in combination with the apparent avoidance of other English-texted songs available, is revealing: *Jesu cristes milde moder*, the sole vernacular song with both an explicitly devotional text and a polyphonic setting, fits the 'sacred polyphony' aesthetic of the ensemble and the remainder of its recorded output. The performance of the Passion song by *Anonymous 4* is relatively slow, with a smooth, legato vocal style. It matches the aesthetic with which the ensemble approaches Latin polyphony on the same album, but it is quite removed from the faster and more articulated interpretation of the same song by *Sequentia*, an ensemble arguably better known for 'vernacular monophony' and story-telling song repertories.

Anonymous 4 does include select monophonically preserved Middle English songs in 'The Lily & The Lamb', but only those with Passion-based lyrics, and which could successfully be moulded to the same 'sacred' modern performance aesthetic. *Stond wel moder* and *Þe milde Lomb* are performed as a modern *schola cantorum* might perform late-medieval liturgical chant: multiple voices sing in unison, with a slow and almost equalised syllable delivery. During *Þe milde Lomb*, a static vocal drone on the finalis is introduced to support the preserved melody.[24] It is unsurprising that in this performance practice environment, Hillier was led to perceive portions of the monophonic Middle English repertoire as 'chant style' in his article five years later.[25]

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[23] Anonymous 4, *An English Ladymass: 13th- and 14th-Century Chant and Polyphony in Honor of the Virgin Mary* (Harmonia Mundi USA, 1992); Anonymous 4, *The Lily & The Lamb: Chant & Polyphony from Medieval England* (France: Harmonia Mundi France, 1995).

[24] Interestingly, the addition of this vocal drone is described by Susan Hellauer as an 'imitation of contemporary instrumental practice' in the CD liner notes. Whether the droning instrument imagined was one associated with chant, such as a symphonia, or with courtly monody, such as a fiddle, is not stated; but some association of *Þe milde Lomb* with instrumentally accompanied vernacular monophony appears to have persisted, despite its supposed irrelevance on an album dedicated to religious vocal music. Anonymous 4, *The Lily & The Lamb: Chant & Polyphony from Medieval England*, 6.

[25] Hillier, 'English Monophony', 183.

Introduction

The decisions made by *Sequentia* and *Anonymous 4*, both in terms of the selection of pieces and their aesthetical approaches, demonstrate that the modern approach to the historical performance practice of thirteenth-century Middle English song is dissonant, yet normalised. *Sequentia* favoured songs which could aesthetically be made to fit the 'vernacular monophony' model for which they are so well known, and *Anonymous 4* favoured 'sacred polyphony' for the same reason, interspersing the Middle English songs among what are perceived to be Latin counterparts. Without prior knowledge, it might be hard for a listener to believe that the *Jesu cristes milde moder* of *Anonymous 4* and the *Worldes blis* of *Sequentia* stem from the same clerical, homiletically orientated manuscript.

The various written and recorded models for the categorisation of Middle English song outlined above have maintained their influence. CD recordings, encyclopaedias and performance guides provide significant inspiration and syllabus content for Early Music performance schools, including the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, where I studied medieval singing myself. From 2012-2015, I was enrolled in a full-time, three-year master's degree dedicated to the modern historical performance of medieval and early Renaissance music. In my own theoretical and performance studies at the Schola Cantorum, I participated in classes of 'English medieval song' in which thirteenth-century clerical monody was programmed alongside fifteenth-century courtly polyphony, with no comment on the potential disparate historical performance practices, functions, or linguistic styles of either category. I attended a theory class in which the compositional style of the polyphonic Middle English song *Jesu cristes milde moder* was directly compared to that of Latin Aquitanian polyphony.

It is remarkable how unflinchingly the approaches of the twentieth century have remained the backbone of modern performance practice, whether or not their influence was directly or indirectly absorbed by the performer. I can attest to the need for active intervention in the modern performance of Middle English song with a personal example. In the same year that Mariani's guide was published, I recorded the song *Ar ne kuthe* with my friend and colleague Baptiste Romain.[26] At the time, I was blissfully unaware that my own recorded interpretation would be a blind continuation of century-old habits in the arrangement and generic categorisation of Middle English song. One tactic I have adopted in the practical preparation of a song is to avoid pre-existing recordings, in the naïve hope that this will reduce external influence on my own creative process. Yet, having left the recording studio and subsequently listening to the *Sequentia* recording of the piece from 1987, I realised that it was for all intents and purposes the same as my

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[26] Track 1, Le Miroir de Musique and Baptiste Romain, *In Seculum Viellatoris: The Medieval Vielle* (the Benelux: Ricercar, 2018). The CD was recorded in 2017 and published the following year.

own 2017 interpretation: a solo singer with a fiddle-family instrument playing a prelude, interlude, postlude, and drone-based accompaniment. Upon hearing a further recorded interpretation of the song by *Ensemble Belladonna* from 2003, I found that I was listening to the same piece again: solo singer with fiddle accompaniment, executed in the same style.[27] In the thirty years that passed between the 1987 recording of the song and its most recent 2017 recording, practically nothing changed. All three recordings, as well as versions I have since heard in concert, are musically convincing and sympathetic to the text, as well as to generally accepted modes of performing medieval song. But it should raise suspicion that my 2017 interpretation was the same as that of 2003, which was the same as that of 1987, despite my having heard neither recording prior to making my own.

I now understand that the fate of my interpretation of *Ar ne kuthe* was sealed years before my discovery of the piece. My own teacher of medieval singing at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis was Professor Kathleen Dineen, who had herself sung with *Sequentia*, and was thus immersed in the same historical performance practice environment surrounding the song's 1987 recording. With Dineen as my mentor and inspiration, I became one additional branch on the interpretative family tree of *Ar ne kuthe*, and proceeded to pass a similar arrangement on to two fiddle-playing colleagues of my own (firstly at my Master recital at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, and secondly during the aforementioned 2017 recording). In the years that have since passed, the same instrumentalists have likely continued to spread the meme of *Ar ne kuthe* further. Regardless of whether or not the favoured interpretation of this song employs a historically sound performance practice, its recording timeline reveals the insidiousness of the modern historical performance practice canon.

Helen Deeming, a specialist in the insular clerical songs, warns that the generic distinctions to have been imposed upon them 'cut across the nature of the sources themselves, where polyphonic and monophonic songs are regularly juxtaposed', and 'may skew our understanding of the song repertory'.[28] Deeming's 2013 edition of much of the insular repertoire attempts to remedy this by presenting songs in all three of Britain's literary languages alongside one another, as they are preserved in their host miscellanies. Previous to the edition by Deeming, the English-texted repertoire was accessible through the editions by Sanders and by Dobson and Harrison,

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[27] Track 4, Ensemble Belladonna, *Melodious Melancholye: The Sweet Sounds of Medieval England* (Raum Klang, 2003).

[28] Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, xxvi. Deeming is here referring to songs in all three preservation languages; but the effects of extraction and mis-categorisation have arguably had the greatest impact on the songs with Middle English texts.

both published in 1979.[29] The former edition is focussed on polyphony, and thus separates the polyphonically and monophonically preserved Middle English songs from this period. The latter considers only the songs with Middle English texts, and although it provides detailed textual and musical commentary, the songs and their lyrics are subjected to emendations and arrangements according to criteria which may now seem spurious. Deeming edits the songs in Latin and Anglo-Norman as well as those in Middle English, and songs are arranged by source, rather than by the linguistic or textural categories usually imposed by modern scholarship. The inclusivity and presentation of the songs in her edition allows for the modern performer to consider their miscellaneous, multi-lingual contexts for the first time. Connections to Continental repertories made in this edition do not reflect an attempt to categorise the insular songs according to mismatched criteria; rather, Deeming hopes to facilitate the identification of 'the various trans-Continental influences, as well as the distinctively insular characteristics, that may be evident among the songs in British sources'.[30] The scope, presentation, and detailed introduction to this edition allow for the consideration of clerically preserved insular song as an independent trilingual tradition, rather than a three-fold imitation of Continental practices. It is now considered the primary resource for modern performers of early insular song.

Since the publication of this edition however, my continued experience in teaching and performance has demonstrated that the modern performance practices of thirteenth-century Middle English song are not changing. One of the primary goals of this study is therefore to provide reason to break the standards of the performance canon of British song, and performers are included as a target readership. Until more is known about the distinguishable melodic and stylistic character of the English-texted songs, performers will have no choice but to continue to treat them on the same terms as other repertories. This study therefore provides the first systematic analysis of the vernacular songs, with a particular focus on the songs in Middle English, for which no stylistic model is currently available. As analysis will be restricted to the vernacular songs, the focus of discussion will be the thirteenth century, when the majority were copied. The analytical method employed primarily considers the influence of 'Germanic' text stress on melodic structure, thus allowing features to be revealed which distinguish the insular vernacular repertoire from the Latin Notre Dame and Romance-language *trouvère* repertories, rather than attempting to find points of commonality. The results of this analysis will demonstrate that insular song, and Middle English song in particular, enjoyed a creative compositional practice deserving of further attention and independent consideration.

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[29] Ernest Sanders, ed., *English music of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979); Eric Dobson and Frank Harrison, *Medieval English Songs* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[30] Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, xlv.

Chapters 1 and 2 will primarily consider the textual and thematic content of the songs. Their lyrics (chapter 1) and their host manuscripts (chapter 2) will be contextualised within the wider corpus of vernacular lyric preservation, and social and functional distinctions between lyric themes and manuscripts will be suggested. Chapters 3 and 4 address the Middle English songs: chapter 3 presents elements of their stress-based analysis, and highlights patterns in text setting which distinguish the Middle English songs from Latin and French traditions. Chapter 4 discusses the practical implications of the analytical results of chapter 3; new connections between songs will be suggested, alongside insights into ornamentation, contrafact, and polyphonic performance. Chapter 5 presents the similar analysis of the Anglo-Norman songs, and reveals elements of both Middle English and French melodic style which complement the hybrid nature of the Anglo-Norman lyric tradition. Chapter 6 closes the study with experimental re-creations of Middle English song based on analytical results. Exercises in melodic reduction and ornamentation, polyphonic 'improvisation', and stylistic composition will be offered for potential use by modern performers.

Chapter 1 Lyrics and their sources: Verses and vernacular religious instruction in thirteenth-century Britain

1.1 Introduction: Preaching and poetry

It has long been accepted that much of the vernacular verse which survives in medieval religious miscellanies fosters connections to preaching practice and catechetical use. Classic studies on the topic of preaching and poetry are broad in their temporal approach, drawing on sources from both the high and late medieval periods.[1] The fifteenth century is rich in written evidence of the practice of macaronic and vernacular preaching in Britain, and provides the majority of references to vernacular verse in sermons. The later medieval period therefore forms the focus of such studies, although vernacular verse was already a feature of the twelfth-century homily. The thirteenth century saw associations between the vernacular lyric and the homiletic miscellany strengthen, alongside pressure for more engaging preaching techniques. The Lateran Council of 1215 and the spread of the Franciscan movement in the early thirteenth century contributed to the growing importance of vernacular preaching and lay-orientated sermon structures: both the Council and the Franciscans encouraged the prioritisation of lay engagement and comprehension in sermon delivery which was already underway. This could be aided by a combination of vernacular delivery and heartfelt, even entertaining, performance. Sermon structure and delivery style were consciously optimisable for this purpose.[2] The Franciscan emphasis on combined intellectual and emotional appeal was of international influence on preachers and religious leaders who were under pressure to engage the laity. In the Franciscan dual art of 'formal' and 'penitential' preaching, as described by Michael Blastic, any musical content would belong to the

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[1] The classic studies include Alan Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England*, Medieval Studies (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998); Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus Morum' and Its Middle English Poems*, The Mediaeval Academy of America No 87 (Cambridge Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978); Gerald Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966).

[2] See Alan Fletcher, 'The Lyric in the Sermon', in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. Thomas Duncan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 189–209; Siegfried Wenzel, 'The Sermon as an Art Form', in *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton University Press, 1986), 61–100; David D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); William Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

latter category.[3] The primary message of a sermon was ideally enhanced with performative rhetoric, of which Francis's song the *Canticle of Creatures* is a prime example. Whether or not confined to the realm of preaching, the interplay of Latin and vernacular languages was a cultural performance in itself, which could be reflected through the musical associations held by each. Peter Loewen highlights the overlap between Latin and the vernacular, but also between religious- and secular-associated musical styles, in two early German Passion plays (1250 and 1300): through a transition from 'secular dance songs' to 'songs of penance', the conversion of Mary Magdalene is homiletically purposed rhetoric in itself.[4] Loewen relates this kind of emotive homiletic technique to the Franciscans, who managed to traverse the realms of church and secular culture in similar ways; language and music were valuable methods of code-switching, and linguistic interplay was not merely for the purposes of translation.

This environment led to the increased inclusion of lyric and song references not only in preaching contexts, but also for more general use in clerical pastoral care and other forms of religious instruction. The arrival of the friars in Britain in the 1220s, and the added complication of the socially split insular vernaculars, encouraged the clerical adaptation of secular songs and lyrics in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English.[5] The *Bele aelis* sermon is a well-known example of the use of popular culture as a homiletic tool; 'Alice', a familiar figure in secular romantic verse and dance songs of the Middle Ages, represents the Virgin Mary.[6] Homilists' manuals and lists of

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[3] Michael Blastic, 'Preaching in the Early Franciscan Movement', in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, ed. Timothy Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 40. [4] Peter Loewen, 'The Conversion of Mary and the Musical Legacy of Franciscan Piety in the Early German Passion Plays', in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Georgiana Donavin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 235–38.

[5] An overview of this environment is provided in Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou, *'I Have a Yong Suster': Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 23–27. More detailed contextualisation of the song manuscript contexts and contents, as well as a case-study of the most significant source of thirteenth-century English-texted song suited to this purpose, can be found in Helen Deeming, 'Songs and Sermons in Thirteenth-Century England', in *Pastoral Care in Medieval England: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 101–22.

[6] Further comment on 'bele Aelis' and her Marian connections can be found in Deeming, 'Songs and Sermons in Thirteenth-Century England', 103; Deeming, 'The Performance of Devotion. Multi-Lingual Networks of Songs and Sermons in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Kontrafakturen Im Kontext*, vol. 40, Basler Beiträge Zur Historischen Musikpraxis (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2020), 79–100; Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät: Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, vol. 1 (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), 379–88; Tony Hunt, 'De La Chanson Au Sermon: Bele Aelis and Sur La Rive de La Mer', *Romania* 104, no. 416 (1983): 433–56; Robert Taylor et al., 'The Bele Alis Sermon: Homiletic Song and Dance', *Florilegium* 24 (2007): 173–91; John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 80, 178; Theo Stemmler, 'An Interpretation of Alysoun', in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies: In Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowland (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), 111–18; Boklund-Lagopoulou, *'I Have a Yong Suster': Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric*, 25; Richard Middlewood Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*, University Paperbacks (London: Methuen, 1970), 176.

exempla include suggestions for the addition of further lyrics 'ad gallice';[7] and even select lyrics surviving with music are found referenced in sermons and homiletic material.[8] Lyrics without moralising content may have been better suited to private devotion and meditation: one thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman sermon suggests meditation on the Passion, and many surviving Marian lyrics may have been suited to a similar purpose.[9] Of course, the non-homiletic use of lyrics could serve the purpose of entertainment, rather than devotion. The famous 'Red Book of Ossory', although from the fourteenth century, is evidence that clerics were not immune to the charms of secular song; the purpose of its compilation was supposedly to provide more appropriate singing material for days of celebration.[10] Whatever its performance context, music was seen as a tool to engage the hearts, as well as the minds, of its listeners.

Some potential performance contexts for vernacular lyrics and songs have therefore been established. However, our current understanding of the relationship between preaching and poetry, especially as concerns vernacular songs surviving with music, remains relatively broad. More detailed insights into the potential usage, functional value, and reception of songs from thirteenth-century clerical environments can be gleaned through a closer inspection of their positions within the wider repertoire of surviving lyrics. This requires the consideration of lyrics surviving without musical notation, as well as lyrics preserved in manuscripts with no apparent connection to homiletic practice. Over the course of this chapter and the next, connections between lyric theme, language, homiletic material, and host manuscripts will be explored. The patterns which emerge imply that only certain kinds of lyric may have been suited to homiletic contexts or deemed worthy of musical transmission at all. Furthermore, these two characteristics appear to be interrelated.

Chapter 1 will continue with a review of the relationship between vernacular lyric and song on three levels: connections will be explored between specific songs and preaching practice,

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[7] Thirteenth-century manuals include the *Liber exemplorum ad sam paedicantium*, the *Fasciculus morum*, and the *Speculum laicorum*. The latter two reference Anglo-Norman lyrics as illustrations for specific doctrinal points. David Jeffrey and Brian Levy, eds., *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*, *Studies and Texts* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 4.

[8] An overview of surviving songs (not just those in Middle English) with explicit connections to preaching, religious instruction, and pastoral care is found in Deeming, 'Songs and Sermons in Thirteenth-Century England', 109–10.

[9] The late twelfth-century sermon *Deu le omnipotent* 'recommends meditation on the Passion as the best weapon against the world, the flesh and the devil'. Rhiannon Purdie, *Anglicising Romance: Tail-Rhyme and Genre in Medieval English Literature*, Studies in Medieval Romance 9 (Cambridge; New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2008): 40. Marian lyrics are also regularly described as 'meditative' in modern literature, and Deeming shares the opinion that the Marian texts in a thirteenth-century song manuscript, London, British Library, Arundel 248, 'seem fit for such use'. Deeming, 'Songs and Sermons in Thirteenth-Century England', 108.

[10] Richard Leighton Greene, *The Lyrics of the Red Book of Ossory*, Medium Aevum Monographs, New Series V (Oxford: Blackwell for the Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1974).

between song lyrics and text-only lyrics, and between lyric theme and musical setting. Chapter 2 will focus on manuscript connections and modes of lyric transmission. The combined consideration of these factors will bring to light the likely networks and functions of the most widely disseminated thirteenth-century vernacular lyrics. By the end of this assessment, the labels 'song' and 'lyric' will appear less interchangeable than is oftentimes assumed, at least in terms of their written transmission and function; and the vernacular songs which do survive with music will be shown to be unequivocal in value and catechetical use. Despite the small selection of songs available for study, a hierarchy of importance, distribution, and function remains evident.

1.1.1   Shared quotation between songs and explicitly homiletic material

Of the handful of lyrics surviving with musical notation, the lyric material of three can be explicitly related to surviving sermons or homiletic verse from high medieval Britain. These are the English-texted songs *Man mei longe*, *Worldes blis*, and *Stond wel moder*. In the first two cases, *Man mei longe* and *Worldes blis*, the association to homiletic material is formed through the quotation and imitation of textual content. The third song, *Stond wel moder*, is explicitly referenced in a Latin sermon.

The opening words of the sole musical transmission of *Man mei longe* are featured within the body of a thirteenth-century Middle English sermon:

Man mei longe him lives wene

ac ofte him liȝet þe wreinch

Man mei longe lines 1-2, Maidstone, Maidstone Museum, MS A.13, f. 93v (musical transmission)[11]

for Man mai longe liues wene and ofte him legheþ se wrench

***Sermo Dominica in sexagesima,* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 471, f. 133r**[12]

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[11] Translated by Deeming as 'Man may expect long life for himself, but the trick often deceives him'. Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 60.

[12] Edited in Richard Morris, *An Old English Miscellany Containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century, from Manuscripts in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Library Etc* (London: Early English Text Society, 1872), 36.

This line is not presented as a lyric quotation but incorporated as prose towards the close of the sermon. Interestingly, an independent lyric transmission of *Man mei longe* appears at an earlier point in the same manuscript.[13] Its appearance as both lyric and integrated preaching material within the same manuscript is evidence that this proverbial material was to some extent malleable in form and function.

The lyric *Worldes blis* features two echoes of the late twelfth-century *Poema morale*, a Middle English verse homily with a broad reception.[14] Although the related lines are not direct quotations, their similarity in concept and structure suggests a conscious association between this song and the earlier sermon:

Man wi sestu þout and herte

o werldes blis þat nout ne last?

Wi þolstu þat þe softe ismerte

for þing þat is unstedefast?

Worldes blis lines 31-34, London, British Library, MS Arundel 248[15]

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[13] GB-Ob Laud Misc. 471, f. 65r. Aside from two explicitly homiletic thirteenth-century sources (the manuscript referenced here, and its musical transmission in Maidstone, Maidstone Museum, MS A.13), further associations of this lyric to homiletic material emerge in the fourteenth century: excerpts feature in the moralising *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, and a later version of the lyric is preserved in John Grimestone's Commonplace Book, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 18.7.21, f. 87r. See Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 171.

[14] Although no Latin original is known, the septenary verse form of the *Poema morale* is certainly borrowed from Latin. This first-person confession of an elderly man employs rhyme and proverbial rhetoric to call others to repentance. Multiple manuscript witnesses survive, and further excerpts and quotations attest to its widespread influence and circulation. See Betty Hill, 'The Twelfth-Century "Conduct of Life", Formerly the "Poema Morale" or "A Moral Ode"', *Leeds Studies in English* 9 (1 January 1976): 97; Betty Hill, 'The Writing of the Septenary Couplet', *Notes and Queries* 52, no. 3 (2005): 296.

[15] Comparative editions of the *Poema morale* as found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487, and London, British Museum, Egerton MS 613 are published in Joseph Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130-1250* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1920).

We wilnieð after wereldes wele

þe longe ne mai ilaste

& legeð mast al ure swinc

on þing unstedefaste

***Poema morale* lines 319-320, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52**

Scal no gud ben unforȝolden

ne no qued ne wrth unbout.

wan þu list, man, under molden

þu scalt auen as tu auest wrout.

***Worldes blis* lines 51-52, GB-Lbl Arundel 248**

Ne sal þar non euel ben unboht

ne god unforȝolden.

***Poema morale* line 59, GB-Ctc B.14.52**

It is with good reason that the author of *Worldes blis* deemed the *Poema morale* worthy of quotation; both texts address the transience of life, the urgency of repentance, and the inevitability of old age, death, and judgement.

1.1.2 Proverbial references within surviving songs

The excerpts of *Worldes blis* and *Man mei longe* highlighted above also serve as examples of the incorporation of proverbs into moralising textual content. The opening lines of *Man mei longe* (those quoted within the *Sermo Dominica in sexagesima*) are built from material found in the two most substantial Middle English proverb collections of the thirteenth century: the *Proverbs of Alfred*, and the *Proverbs of Hendying*.

Chapter 1

> Mani man weneþ
>
> þat he wene ne þarf
>
> longe to liuen
>
> And him lieþ þe wrench
>
> *Proverbs of Hendying*, **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, f. 143r**

In addition to its borrowings from the proverbial *Poema morale*, the lyric *Worldes blis* also directly references the *Proverbs of Hendying*. One of the *Proverbs* notes that if honey must be licked directly from the thorn, then it is costly indeed:

> Al to dere his bouht honni
>
> to like up hauh þorne
>
> *Proverbs of Hendying*, **Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.1.1, f. 478v**

> Al to dere is bouht honi
>
> Þat mon shal liken of þornes
>
> *Proverbs of Hendying*, **GB-Ob Digby 86, f. 141v**

The same warning features in *Worldes blis*, and would not have gone unnoticed by those familiar with the proverb:

> Þu lickest huni of þorn iwis
>
> *Worldes blis* **line 35, GB-Lbl Arundel 248**

The popularity of the proverb as a tool of religious instruction was due in part to its appeal to multiple social strata.[16] Proverbial moral and behavioural guidance is found in all three of Britain's literary languages from this time and was consumed by clerics and the laity alike. The proverb transcended the potentially problematic social and linguistic barriers between the clerics and his congregation in multi-lingual medieval Britain.[17] Its didactical qualities are summarised in the closing statement of one manuscript witness to the *Proverbs of Alfred*:

> The *Proverbs* urge men to love and fear the Lord; kings shall seek learning; nobles, clerks, and knights shall administer law justly; knights shall protect the land, giving peace to the Church and to the people. They urge men individually to add wisdom to wit; to work hard, and to lay up for old age; to remember that life is short, and that death comes unexpected; not to be proud of wealth; to keep one's self; to choose a wife for character, not for looks; not to confide secrets to a wife, to rule her and keep her busy, and not to yield to her counsel; not to be too trusting; to avoid lying and vice; to remember that worldly wealth perishes; not to speak unnecessarily; to teach the child to obey, and not to spare the rod; to avoid drunkenness; to keep thought secret; to hold fast to friends; to be generous, and liberal in old age; to be grateful to God, and kind to all; and to avoid a drunken man, a deceitful man, a false friend, and a man who is short or tall or red.[18]

The quotations of the *Proverbs of Alfred* and the *Proverbs of Hendying* found in the two songs provide both a linguistic and a cultural bridge between layman and cleric. The *Proverbs of Alfred* is considered to be modelled on the Biblical *Book of Proverbs*, supposedly written by King Solomon— who is also mentioned by name in *Man mei longe*.[19] This reference therefore indirectly calls on the wisdom of two kings, Alfred and Solomon, who inspire laity and clergy respectively (although presumably not exclusively). Furthermore, the *Proverbs of Hendying* weave alliteration

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[16] See for example Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 41–46; Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England*, 29; Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, 80; Susan Deskis, *Alliterative Proverbs in Medieval England: Language Choice and Literary Meaning* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2016), 63.

[17] Of the thirteenth-century proverb collections, the 'Trinity Collection' (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.45) attests to the multi-lingual identities of many proverbs, as well as the value of their linguistic and didactical flexibility. The collection is comprised of twenty proverbs, written in both French and Latin, eighteen of which also have a parallel Middle English translation. John Edwin Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), 375.

[18] The original text appears in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39, lines 682-709. Translated in Wells, 377.

[19] 'Do bi salomones rede' (an instruction to heed Solomon's advice), line 21 of the musical transmission of the song in Maidstone, Maidstone Museum, MS A. 13. Further attestation to the multi-cultural and multi-lingual nature of the proverb lies in the fact that the Solomon proverbs feature in an independent French-language collection from the mid-twelfth century: the *Proverbs of Solomon* of Sanson de Nantuil. See Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry*, The Routledge History of English Poetry (London, Henley, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 89.

into a text originally modelled on a French source: the *Proverbs of Hendying* were inspired by the twelfth-century *Proverbes au villain*. Alliteration is described by Susan Deskis as a 'signifier of Englishness and of wisdom', and thus its inclusion, 'the poet links his Romance-structured text to the English-speaking culture of his readers and listeners.'[20]

Further validation of the rôle of the proverb as connecting agent between clergy and laity is found in the *Descriptio Cambriae* of Gerald of Wales in the late twelfth century. While discussing alliterative lay oratory, Gerald provides three short examples which happen to be proverbs:

God is togedere gamen and wisdom.

Ne halt nocht al sor isaid, ne al sorghe atwite.

Betere is red thene rap, and liste thene lither streingthe.[21]

Although Gerald's intention in this passage was only to comment on the use of alliteration, his chosen examples reinforce the notion that the proverb was not only associated with lay rhetoric in general but was a convenient point of commonality between cleric – Gerald – and layman. Gerald was not obliged to use proverbs in his examples of alliteration; but in doing so, he highlighted the feature of lay rhetoric which perhaps resonated the most with him, and he ensured the relevance of his examples to a clerical readership.

1.1.3 An explicit song reference within a sermon

The most explicit reference to a surviving vernacular song within preaching practice is that to *Stond wel moder* in a fragmentary sermon transmitted around 1300. The lyric quotation is preceded and interjected with acknowledgements of the two distinct characters involved (Christ and Mary):

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[20] Deskis, *Alliterative Proverbs in Medieval England*, 75–76.

[21] 'Merriment and wisdom go well together'; 'There is nothing to be gained by voicing every complaint, or blaming someone else for every misfortune'; 'Deliberation is better than haste, and cunning than misapplied strength'. Translated in Lewis Thorpe, ed., *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), 241. Similar sentiments are found in 'The Durham Proverbs', *Laȝamon's Brut*, *Ancrene Riwle*, and the *Proverbs of Hendying*.

Vnde cum in qvondam cantu dicatur in persona filii ad Beatam virginem sic:

Stond wel moder under rode

byholt þy sone wyth glade mode

blize moder miȝt tu ben

Respondetur sic in persona matris

Son hou may hi bliþe stonde

i se þi fet i se þi honte

nayled to þat harde tre.[22]

Although the Latin interjections are not necessarily an instruction that the lyric should be sung, the writer is at least aware that a musical setting exists. From this ambiguous reference, we cannot infer whether a sung rendition was considered desirable.

1.1.4   Overview: Surviving songs and homiletic practice

It is remarkable that of the mere dozen or so English-texted melodies surviving from the thirteenth century, three can be linked with contemporaneous homiletic material. Also noteworthy are the specific qualities of these three songs, and the nature of their homiletic connections. *Worldes blis* and *Man mei longe* are similar in lyric content: they warn of the transience of worldly vanity and material wealth, and of the coming of old age and death to all, irrespective of riches or social status. In addition to the comparable moralising and homiletic content of these two songs, their use of English-texted proverbs would conceivably render them suitable for congregations of varied, or potentially mixed, social and educational standing. *Stond wel moder* is void of proverbial references, instead bringing Biblical imagery to mind: the scene of the Passion. Furthermore, both the textual and melodic material of the latter song are derived from the Latin sequence *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*, thus aligning its form, textual theme, and musical style with inherently clerical practices. Whitehead conjectures that the song was

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[22] London, British Library, Royal MS 8 F. ii, f. 180r. The Latin reads: 'Regarding which, in a song once (or formerly), the following is said in the person of the Son to the Blessed Virgin.'
'This is answered in this way in the person of the Mother.'
Translated in Christiania Whitehead, 'Musical and Poetical Form in Stond Wel, Moder, under Rode', in *Middle English Lyrics*, ed. Christiania Whitehead and Julia Boffey, New Readings of Short Poems (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 231 n12, 13. A thorn would be expected on the word 'blize' (bliþe), implying that this scribe may not have been used to writing in English.

associated with liturgical practice, and might have been sung in church during Mass.[23] Although there is no firm evidence for the inclusion of this song in the Mass, it is at least plausible that it lent itself to a different delivery setting than the imagery and strophic forms of *Worldes blis* and *Man mei longe*—one which did not require the cleric to attract and maintain the interest of his congregation through proverbial references, and threats of death and judgement.

1.2 Navigating the vernacular lyric: Textual and musical 'genres', and the relationships between them

In non-musical studies and editions of thirteenth-century insular vernacular lyrics, one method of categorisation is the grouping of lyrics by textual theme; for example, a modern scholar or editor may choose to extract 'Marian' lyrics or 'moralising' lyrics for discussion, without cross-thematic comparison.[24] Anglo-Norman lyrics feature in fewer published editions and collections, but have been subjected to similar systems of organisation.[25] In the discussion of surviving musical settings, however, explicit categorisation by thematic or even by musical content is not standard practice; the number of surviving items is so low that the repertoire does not lend itself to further reduction and separation.

Whether text-only or surviving with a musical setting, the classification of the insular lyrics according to supposed theme or genre is a modern imposition. In their original settings, no indication of such formal distinction is apparent, and nor do vernacular lyric and musical settings of a similar ilk appear to be grouped together in transmission. Additionally, the modern categorisation of lyrics on the basis of commonly occurring textual themes within them is not a fool-proof process. Not only do some lyrics traverse multiple topics, but there may also exist thematic associations within the lyric repertoire which are not immediately apparent, and which may unwittingly be rent through the modern prioritisation of other factors. However, despite its

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[23] This is based on the song's appearance within a sermon which she describes as 'voiced from the pulpit' – whatever the physical manifestation of the pulpit may be – and the association of late-medieval text witnesses with liturgical material. Whitehead, Christiania, 231-233.

[24] Such categorisations form the structure of the lyric editions Anne Klinck, *The Voices of Medieval English Lyric: An Anthology of Poems ca. 1150-1530* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019); Thomas Duncan, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics : 1200-1400*, *Penguin Classics* (London: Penguin Books, 1995). Other editions focus on one lyric theme exclusively, such as Theo Stemmler, ed., *Medieval English Love-Lyrics*, English Texts (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1970); Douglas Gray, ed., *English Medieval Religious Lyrics* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992); Karen Saupe, ed., *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications (for TEAMS), University of Michigan, 1998).

[25] The Anglo-Norman lyrics are somewhat overshadowed in modern publications by *trouvère* lyrics in Continental French, but the Anglo-Norman lyric anthology of Jeffrey and Levy is comparably structured to Middle English lyric publications; the edited lyrics are categorised according to their devotional, homiletic, or romantic content. Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*.

imperfections, a system of categorisation according to broad textual theme does appear to reveal thematic influences on musical style, lyric vocabulary, and the target audience of surviving insular vernacular songs. The compartmentalisation of insular vernacular lyrics into textual and musical 'genres' to follow is entirely retrospective and serves to highlight these associations.

As demonstrated by their seamless incorporation into modern lyric editions, the vernacular lyrics which survive with music are also broadly categorisable as 'Marian', 'devotional', 'moralising', and so forth, based on their textual content alone.[26] However, as mentioned above, the rare survival of musical notation alongside a lyric will usually take priority in modern discussion, and the potential implications of textual theme on the musical setting and transmission patterns of a song are thus easily overlooked. This subchapter will consider both the textual and musical content of the surviving songs within the broader context of the vernacular lyric repertoire. Associations between textual content, musical and poetic form, and language will reveal the probable usage and perception of various lyric and musical genres by clerics. The vernacular songs will first be thematically categorised, and any observable patterns connecting musical setting, language, and thematic content will then be highlighted.

The retrospectively imposed thematic categories to be assigned to the English-texted songs for discussion are: moralistic and homiletic (*Worldes blis*, *Man mei longe*), nature (*Foweles in þe frith*, *Mirie it is*, *Sumer is icumen in*), Passion (*Þe milde Lomb*, *Jesu cristes milde moder*, *Stond wel moder under rode*, […] *stod ho pere neh*), and Marian (*Edi beo þu*). Two slight outliers are *Ar ne kuthe* and *Gabriel fram evene king*, which although including between them moralising, repentant, Marian and devotional tones, do not land clearly into any one thematic category.

For the Anglo-Norman songs, the assigned categories are as follows: moralising and homiletic (*Parti de mal* and *Quaunt le russinol*), Marian (*Bien deust chanter*, *Flur de virginite*, *Veine pleine de ducur* and *Duce creature*), and various aspects of love, usually courtly in nature (*El tens d'iver*, *De ma dame*, […] *chant ai entendu*, *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, *S'onques nuls hoem*, and […*a*]*mer me estut a tute fin*). A slight outlier is *Eyns ne soy*, which is the Anglo-Norman equivalent of *Ar ne kuthe*; it contains elements of moral guidance, repentance, and devotion, but is not a clear fit for any single lyric category.[27]

It is evident from this list that although select lyric themes exist in both the Middle English and Anglo-Norman song repertoires, some are exclusive to one language or the other. Moralising, homiletic lyrics, as well as Marian lyrics, are set to music in both languages. Courtly love, however,

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[26] This statement applies to the Middle English lyrics; none of the surviving British-sourced Anglo-Norman songs are edited in Jeffrey and Levy.
[27] These two song texts are equivalent in meaning to one another and are preserved together in the form of a dual-texted song.

is absent from the Middle English song repertoire, yet plentiful in the Anglo-Norman song repertoire. Songs about the Passion, as well as those which revolve around descriptions of nature and the outdoors, are found exclusively in the Middle English song repertoire. The exclusivity of the topics of courtly love and the Passion to one or another language is of particular interest, as it appears to reflect a distinction specific to the presence of musical notation; text-only lyrics featuring the same themes are found in both vernacular languages. This implies that there was a preference for the *musical* setting (or at least, the musical transmission) of each of the two themes in one vernacular language over another. Such a distinction only becomes apparent upon consideration of the entire corpus of vernacular lyrics, including those not surviving with musical notation.

For each thematic category assigned above, the linguistic and musical styles of the relevant songs will now be assessed. Inter- and intra-categorical relationships will be considered; parallels between songs of different themes, languages, and musical styles will be observed both between and within thematic groups.

1.2.1   Courtly love songs

This category is comprised exclusively of songs in Anglo-Norman. Although a limited number of thirteenth-century 'courtly love' lyrics survive in Middle English, none of these is set to music. This is also the song category for which the least explanation and speculation is required; its musical and lyric style is easily comparable with, or directly pulled from, the Continental *trouvère* song tradition.[28] *El tens d'iver*, *De ma dame*, […] *chant ai entendu*, *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, and *S'onques nuls hoem*, are all, in some way, songs about a love which seems either clearly secular, or is at least not explicitly devotional. Those which are the hardest to imagine in any religious context are *El tens d'iver* and *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, both of which are harsh complaints about the treachery of women—it would be a challenge to interpret these love-lyrics as potential Marian devotion. Nor are their surrounding manuscript contents homiletic: *El tens d'iver* is

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[28] *S'onques nuls hoem* has several Continental *chansonnier* witnesses, and is attributed to Chastelain de Couci. Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 209; Alain Lerond, ed., *Chansons attribués au Chastelain de Couci*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Rennes (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 178–85; John Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3, no. 1 (April 1994): 17.
It has been suggested that the two Anglo-Norman lyrics of Rawlinson G.22, […] *chant ai entendu* and *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, might be attributed to the Continental *trouvère* Gontier des Soignies, but this has been contested by Luciano Formisano. Both songs feature archaic *trouvère* lyric forms, but also vocabulary of seemingly insular influence. Their origin remains unconfirmed. Luciano Formisano, 'Le Chansonnier anglo-français du Ms. Rawlinson G.22 de la Bodléienne', in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. Ian Short (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993), 135-147.
The refrain of *Mult s'aprisme li termines* has also been linked to the refrain of R1820, *Molt ai chante*, 'Je sui le mains amez du mont...'. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 13.

accompanied only by satires in its host manuscript, and *Mult s'aprisme li termines* appears alongside other seemingly secular songs on some flyleaves attached to a later Psalter, which Nicholson suggests 'may have been added by a lay chorister'.[29]

The other love songs (*De ma dame,* […] *chant ai entendu*, and *S'onques nuls hoem*) similarly lack any explicit devotional content, but could more conceivably be adaptable to religious interpretation if evidence suggested this to be their potential function. Their amorous celebrations or complaints are stereotypically courtly in style, and each song calls upon God or a saint to ease the emotional turmoil of the poet. However, only one source features explicitly homiletic material: the host manuscript of *De ma dame*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1285, contains sermons. The song is notated upside down at the end of an incomplete Latin treatise, however, and its association with other material in the manuscript is unclear.[30] The sources of the other two songs are not homiletic in nature: […] *chant ai entendu* appears on the same flyleaf as the aforementioned *Mult s'aprisme*, and may thus have been transcribed for the enjoyment of the same 'lay chorister'; and *S'onques nuls hoem* is featured in one of several compiled booklets containing verse, historical materials, and saints' Lives.[31] Each of these three *trouvère*-style, courtly love songs is sufficiently ambiguous in their love-based praise of a lady that their usage for religious devotion is a possibility worth consideration. However, the preservation of the songs does not appear to tie them to homiletic practice, with the possible exception of *De ma dame*.

The last seemingly secular love song to be discussed is *Si tost c'amis*. This is not a love song as such, but rather a song *about* Love personified ('Amour'). It is also a known contrafact from the Continental *trouvère* tradition and can thus be aligned with secular practice. That does not in itself exclude the song from potential usage in a religious context by clerics. However, it survives on a single sheet of parchment, and can thus not be concretely associated with any homiletic or religious manuscript or practice.

Only one courtly love song within the repertoire is explicitly devotional: the fragment […*a*]*mer me estut a tute fin* is a love song addressed to Christ using courtly imagery and rhetoric, and also appears in an explicitly homiletic manuscript. It is therefore a strong contender for potential usage within religious instruction, as a means of appealing to and attracting the attention of the laity. However, it is not a *trouvère* song as such; it is composed in sequence form,

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[29] Edward Nicholson, *Sacred and Secular Songs, Together with Other MS Compositions in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ranging from about A.D. 1185 to about A.D. 1505*, ed. John Stainer, vol. 1, Early Bodleian Music (London: Novello, 1901), xi.
[30] Nicholson, *Sacred and Secular Songs*, xi.
[31] Nicholson, *Sacred and Secular Songs*, xi; Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 188, 209.

with two lines of text per one line of melody. It is perhaps noteworthy that this sole lyric with an explicitly devotional topic is also that with a clerically associated musical setting.[32]

All other songs mentioned above appear to be lyric and musical reflections of the secular *trouvère* tradition active in Britain; they are single-line melodies of comparable style and form to the Continental *trouvère* repertoire. Whether they were actively collected by clerics as tools for religious instruction remains unresolved. Even *De ma dame*, the song with explicitly homiletic material in its transmission environment, is not a perfect fit for standard Marian devotion: although its strophes contain standardised romantic praise for a revered female figure, the 'traditional courtly theme' of its refrain bewails the cold nature of the lady in question—hardly the usual devotional picture of Mary.[33]

Perhaps a more concrete insight provided by these courtly style lyrics is the fact that no surviving 'love song' is explicitly Marian. Both Mary and Christ are described using some level of 'courtly' vocabulary in the wider lyric repertoire in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman, but it is Christ the 'lover-knight' who is more likely to be explicitly identified in lyrics and exempla for religious instruction.[34] There exists a branch of Passion lyrics in which Christ is depicted as a troubled knight or courtly lover in a romantic, rather than a devotional, sense. His beloved (who in one such lyric, is identified as the human soul) is either rescued by him, or her lack of commitment is bemoaned.[35] This is primarily a lyric genre of the fourteenth century, but the romantic allegories of Christ were already in circulation in the thirteenth century, at least among educated Anglo-Norman-speaking circles: *Eya ore ma duce amie* is a chivalrous courtly love song, with refrain, from the perspective of Christ.[36] He despairs of the lack of commitment of his beloved considering the trials he has endured on her behalf. It is ultimately a Passion lyric dressed in courtly love vocabulary and sentiment. A less explicit but widely transmitted example of the

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[32] Sequence form will also be seen to be associated with the vernacular Passion songs in Middle English; a potential sign that it was deemed appropriate for meditations on Christ, or for use within homiletic contexts.

[33] Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 7.

[34] Rosemary Woolf, 'The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature', *The Review of English Studies* 13, no. 49 (1962): 1–16; Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*, 13.

[35] The human soul ('l'ame de home') is identified as the object of Christ's love in the chivalric lyric titled *Coment le fiz Deu fu armé en la croyz*, preserved in the primarily fourteenth-century homiletic manuscript London, British Library, Add. MS 46919, f. 90v. Other fourteenth-century lyrics and texts depicting Christ in a similar courtly, chivalric, romantic setting can be found in Latin and in Middle English; but the sole Middle English interpretation has a Latin refrain (NIMEV 1463, two witnesses, but related through its refrain text to the multi-witness love-song to Christ NIMEV 4056). Its courtly imagery and Latin refrain imply a potentially educated reception, which is in fitting with the contemporaneous rise of Middle English as a language of literary culture.

[36] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522, ff. 319v-320v.

association of Christ with courtly love and chivalry is the *Chanson de Notre Seignour*.[37] This lyric is not a love song so much as a statement of the importance of love, and the fact that the love of Christ surpasses any earthly equivalent. Christ is described in courtly, chivalric terms: 'Reys est e gentil de neyssance; en beauté n'ad point de per, Në en saver sans dutansce: suef est e tresduz de quer.' ('He is a king, of noble birth, in beauty without a peer and of unfailing goodness, a very courtly and gentle hearted lover.').[38] Other lyrics adopt a more standard courtly love-song approach, describing Christ as the beloved from the perspective of a mortal narrator. This is the textual category to which [...*a*]*mer me estut a tute fin* appears to belong, despite its clerically associated musical setting.[39]

In contrast, although Mary is frequently praised through the use of typical courtly love vocabulary, explicitly 'romantic' lyrics which *may* be referring to Mary generally do not name her; they remain ambiguous, and links to Mary are forged only through association with surrounding Marian or devotional material. Constance Birt West discusses the blending of religion and courtly love in lyrics praising Christ and Mary, who can be portrayed as the noble lady and the knight; however, there seems to be a distinction in how far such secular romantic comparisons can go before the association to romantic love is deemed inappropriate.[40] It is clear from the courtly examples provided that praise of Mary is usually restricted to non-romantic devotion, which merely employs respectful elements of courtly vocabulary. The surviving re-workings of *Litel wot hit anymon*, a love lyric which exists in four thirteenth-century manuscript versions, demonstrate purposefully implicit Marian association. Two versions of the text are explicitly devotional, and two are not.[41] The two explicitly devotional texts identify Christ as the subject, and despite the religious subject matter, the vocabulary of one of these versions (NIMEV 1922, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 512) has strong connotations of secular love: the reference to 'derne loue' in the prose version of this lyric has been described by Brown as 'a clear indication

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[37] Multiple transmissions, including thirteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 86, f. 200v, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 137, f. 111v.

[38] Both lyrics are edited and translated in Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*, 72–79 and 268–71.

[39] Christ could also be described in courtly, romantic terms in Middle English, despite this not being the typical language of court culture in the high Middle Ages. The Acrene Wisse, a widely transmitted thirteenth-century 'manual' for anchoresses, describes a chivalric Christ: a valiant knight, wooing his lady through trial and tournament. A lyric example of courtly associations to Christ is NIMEV 3963 (London, British Library, Royal MS 2 F. viii, f. 1v), which opens with a nature prelude seemingly typical of courtly love poetry ('Nv yh she blostme sprynge, Hic herde a fuheles song...'), before announcing 'Of iesu crist hi synge' at the beginning of the second strophe. This lyric even closes with an 'Amen'. For further discussion of the adoption of courtly imagery for religious purpose in this lyric see Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, 56–59.

[40] Constance Birt West, *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature* (New York: Haskell House, 1966), 151–66.

[41] NIMEV 1922 and a prose transmission in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 512, f. 260v are 'love-songs' to Christ; NIMEV 1921 is seemingly secular; and NIMEV 1923 is not explicitly religious but is highly likely to be Marian based on its context.

that this religious poem was an adaptation of a secular lyric'.[42] The other explicitly devotional text (NIMEV 1922, London, British Library, Harley 2253) is more reserved in its expressions of love for Christ, and comes across as devotional, rather than romantic; however, it is physically juxtaposed with what appears to be a secular, romantic version of the same lyric (NIMEV 1921), thus connecting the devotional text to secular practice. The remaining manuscript version of this lyric is not explicitly devotional, but it is a likely contender for Marian praise disguised with courtly vocabulary (NIMEV 1923). Not only does the lyric directly follow a French song of Marian praise, but also, the stereotypically secular vocabulary found in or alongside the Christ love-lyrics discussed above is replaced with stereotypically Marian vocabulary: the beloved is described as 'Levedi'; her love is 'trewe' rather than 'derne' ('true', rather than 'secret'); and this is the only transmission of the lyric in which the two lines of the refrain are altered to speak of the 'blisse' that she brought 'us'.[43] Clearly, Mary is the intended subject of the poet's affection in this case — and yet, unlike in the lyrics dedicated to Christ, she is not explicitly identified.

The following assessment of Marian songs will suggest that Mary may have been subjected to similar differential treatment in her musical praise: that is to say, her direct association with secular practices is dampened or avoided, and she is only explicitly invoked in more pious contexts.

1.2.2 Marian songs

This genre of song is represented in both languages. However, explicitly Marian song in Anglo-Norman outnumbers Marian song in Middle English by four to one: The Anglo-Norman songs are *Bien deust chanter*, *Flur de virginite*, *Veine pleine de ducur* and *Duce creature*. The last two in this list are three-voice polyphony, but they are of temporary relevance here due to their association with clerical musical practices. The only Marian song in Middle English is *Edi beo þu*.

The Marian lyric genre does not require any introduction; Marian praise is the subject of a vast proportion of lyrics in both Latin and the vernacular in the Western Middle Ages. The grace, beauty and mercy of Mary might be described in terms which may resonate with some courtly love vocabulary, but generally remain pious and devotional rather than romantic in character.

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[42] It is also imaginable that the use of such vocabulary is in keeping with the practice of describing Christ as a lover in secular romantic terms however, especially considering that religious versions of this lyric survive in written transmission before its seemingly 'secular' transmissions. Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 235–37.

[43] London, British Library, Egerton MS 613, f. 2v. Interestingly, the short French text which precedes the Middle English lyric does describe Mary as 'Mun tres duz amy', which is already closer to a secular, romantic description of Mary than is usually found. The de-secularisation of the following Middle English lyric is rather more stereotypical of the lyric treatment of Mary, however.

Even in the direct imitation of secular love songs, Marian praise in courtly romantic terms is not taken to any extreme: *Bien deust chanter* is adapted from the courtly love song *Bien doit chanter* by Blondel de Nesle, but is mild enough in its new tone and vocabulary that it seems not far removed from lyrics which were Marian from conception.[44] Furthermore, I have found no reference to Mary as the poet's 'lemmon' in Middle English lyrics of this time; she is instead referred to as 'levedi'—a term usually reserved for a woman of noble rank.[45] Both words can be used to describe a beloved; however, 'lemmon' (and associated spellings) can carry more connotations with earthly love and the body. 'Levedi' can be used either romantically or simply to demonstrate the high rank of a woman in secular contexts; it therefore conveniently leaves room for ambiguity when used in Marian devotion. Despite 'lemmon' being a genderless term in secular practice, its mildly stronger connotations with earthly, physical romance are reserved either for seemingly secular love poetry, or for devotional descriptions of Christ.[46] Love poetry which is not explicitly addressed to Mary could still be associated with her in the mind of the reading or writing cleric, of course; but in lyrics in which Mary is named or her identity is made clear, a change in style and vocabulary will usually be apparent.

Of particular interest is the musical content of this category. Considering the prevalence of Marian poetry, as well as its many musical manifestations in Latin and several in Anglo-Norman, it is peculiar that only one Marian song survives in Middle English. Also noteworthy are the musical genres and clerical connections of the Marian songs in the vernacular. Three out of four of the French-language songs have explicit connections to Latin, clerical repertoire: *Veine pleine de ducur* and *Duce creature* are not only texted in both French and Latin, but are also composed in complex three-part polyphony; and *Flur de virginite* shares its melody with a Latin text.[47] The English-texted song, too, may at least potentially be linked with Latin-related rather than purely vernacular musical practices: unlike the other surviving voice-exchange Middle English songs, *Edi beo þu* is performable in modal rhythm, and it uses broader intervals and increased parallel

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[44] Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 4.

[45] Mary appears as 'lemman' only in two late-medieval texts that I know of: the fourteenth-century Biblical poem *Cursor Mundi* (Manual 7.XX.31), and the late fifteenth-century *Towneley Plays* (NIMEV 715, Manual 5.XII.11). In neither context is the reference a love-lyric to Mary directly. Rather, the common use of the word is in prophesies of the birth of Christ (for example, the Annunciation).

[46] For example, Christ is described as 'lemman' in the devotional Passion lyric *Quanne hic se on rode* (NIMEV 3964 and variants). Interestingly, within the same manuscript (GB-Lbl Royal 12 E. i) is preserved the sole surviving song which addresses Christ as a courtly lover: [...*a*]*mer me estut a tute fin*, discussed above under 'Courtly love lyrics'.

[47] A Latin rubric above this *lai* associates it with an apparently known song 'Aaliz', which may well have been a secular melodic model, although no musical transmissions of that song survive. The original melody may have been heavily adapted to serve the relatively complex textual structure of this *lai*. All three 'contrafacta', and the practical implications of their bilingual preservation, are discussed in Helen Deeming, 'Multilingual Networks in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Song', in *Language in Medieval Britain: Networks and Exchanges; Proceedings of the 2013 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Mary Carruthers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 25 (Donington: Tyas, 2015), 127–43.

motion between its two voices; these are features observable in much Latin polyphony, but not in *Jesu cristes milde moder* or *Foweles in þe frith*.[48]

These five songs imply that explicit Marian praise in thirteenth-century Britain was not as open to direct borrowing or adaptation from secular culture as, for example, poems in praise of Christ. Not only are the majority of Marian songs directly or potentially linked to clerical, Latin-texted musical practices, but the only song which *does* link Mary with a primarily secular tradition is one which remains mild in its concretely romantic sentiments.[49]

Although love lyrics were clearly adaptable to Marian praise in some contexts, evidence would suggest that this was not deemed a particularly valuable musical genre for inclusion in manuscripts geared towards religious instruction. Most of the Marian songs associate both text and music with Latin song practices, and where the chance for secular imitation presents itself in the *trouvère* song *Bien deust chanter*, the lyric avoids overstepping boundaries into explicitly romantic territory. Further Marian and otherwise religious songs do survive from the *trouvère* tradition, and this was clearly an established albeit peripheral branch of the repertory. The adaptation of secular lyrics to religious purpose could of course be an effective rhetoric device for preaching clerics; but further evidence in the transmission of Marian texts and music will be presented in the following subchapter which implies that Marian lyrics were likely not among the most useful instructional tools for the British clergy at this time. The musical treatment of Mary therefore seems to reflect what was already hinted at in the conservative 'courtly' reverence of text-only Marian lyrics: Mary belongs in the realm of the divine. Her association with the secular world, if desired, is best disguised.

1.2.3 Passion songs

This is another lyric category which is prevalent enough to require little introduction. Although the Virgin Mary features prominently in the Passion lyrics, their further shared characteristics grant them independent status from the more focussed Marian songs. The Passion lyrics can be divided into two categories: those which relate a first- or third-person exchange between Christ and Mary at the foot of the cross (based on the widely transmitted Latin *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*); and those which describe the crucifixion from an outsider perspective, highlighting the

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[48] This is based on the independent melodic structure of each voice in the song, which differs from those of the other two-voice English-texted songs. This will be further discussed in chapter 3.

[49] The setting of some Marian songs to clerically associated musical forms complements the association of Marian lyrics with the culture of the educated: Jeffrey and Levy argue that Marian lyrics enjoyed a primarily educated reception on the basis of their frequently macaronic texts and their metric structures. Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*, 11.

presence of Mary and John, and personally lamenting over the bloody wounds of Christ (likely thematically derived from the Latin Bernardian text *Respice in faciem Christi*).[50]

The musical transmission of Passion lyrics appears to be dictated by language. No Anglo-Norman Passion lyric survives with musical transmission, yet this is the most prevalent musically set lyric theme in Middle English, with no fewer than five versions surviving with musical notation: *Stond wel moder*, *Stand wel moder*, […] *stod ho pere neh*, *Jesu cristes milde moder*, and *Þe milde Lomb*, the latter of which is the only song to belong to the second category of Passion lyrics.[51] Furthermore, although Anglo-Norman lyrics of the second category survive – that which describes the scene of the crucifixion with Mary and John – the exchange between mother and son does not have a surviving Anglo-Norman contrafact, despite its apparent popularity in Middle English (and in Latin, in which the original text of this dialogue is written). It seems that the Passion was not only more prone to musical setting in Middle English than in Anglo-Norman, but also that Middle English song favours the mother-son dialogue, while Anglo-Norman poetry favours the descriptive crucifixion scene featuring Mary and John.

Interestingly, the musical settings of the vernacular Passion lyrics which do survive are all structured through paired melodic repetition. *Stond wel moder*, *Stand wel moder*, and […] *stod ho pere neh* all adopt the music of the original Latin *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*, which is in sequence form: this is a standard clerical compositional form in which text verses are structured in two halves, each of which is set to the same melody. *Jesu cristes milde moder*, a further interpretation of the Latin sequence, is also in sequence form—despite this not being a necessity, due to its musical and textual independence from the Latin model. Finally, even *Þe milde Lomb*, which is not based on the *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*, is organised in paired verses. The fact that paired repetition is employed for all surviving Passion songs, including those which do not share the melodic or textual basis of the *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*, implies that this may have been an expectation for musical settings of the Passion. The music of the fragment […*a*]*mer me estut a tute fin*, and the text of the three-voice *Duce creature*, are also in paired 'sequence' form, and their texts praise Christ and the Virgin Mary respectively; paired musical and textual forms may have been associated with more general meditative devotion on Christ, Mary, and the Passion,

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[50] In one of the text-only transmissions of this lyric theme (NIMEV 4141, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39), the Middle English version is directly preceded by the Latin prose of St. Bernard, which invokes the image of Christ on the cross and describes his wounds in detail. See Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 61, 194, 219; Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*, vol. 1, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät: Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), 488.

[51] *Stond wel moder* and *Stand wel moder* are based on the same text *and* melody; […] *stod ho pere neh* uses the same melody again, but with a new text; and *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Þe milde Lomb* are unique in both melody and text.

rather than on the latter specifically. A connection between the sequence and what Stevens describes as 'the inner yearnings of the soul' is made in the ninth-century *Liber Officialis* by Alamarius of Metz, who seems to suggest that the sung sequence induces a state of mental clarity: 'This *jubilatio*, which singers call a *sequentia*, induces in us a mental state when the utterance of words will not be necessary but by thought alone mind will show to mind what it has within itself.'[52] Deeming also explores the connection between song, meditation, and sequence in her analysis of *Dulcis Jesu memoria*, a twelfth-century song of praise to Christ.[53] Concerning the insular sequence specifically, Deeming and Samantha Blickhan have also commented on the fact that although the sequence is a form stereotypically associated with the liturgy, its insular occurrences are 'only occasionally known to have had a liturgical usage'.[54] Perhaps in Britain, this song form was more strongly associated with personal meditation and devotion than the liturgy.

Also noteworthy is the fact that the musical setting of the one slight lyric outlier among the Passion songs – *Þe milde Lomb* – is arguably as distinct in structure from the other songs as it is in textual content. All of the songs relaying the exchange between Mary and Christ are in melodic sequence form, with paired verses; and the song which describes the Passion scene from a different perspective is not in melodic sequence form, but has paired versicles of *text*, always set to the same short melody. Divergence in the textual content of the lyric complements its distinctive structure, whilst staying true to an apparent association of Passion songs with paired repetition.

1.2.4   Moralising, homiletic lyrics

The songs in this category are *Worldes blis*, *Man mei longe*, *Parti de mal* and *Quaunt le russinol*; Middle English and Anglo-Norman musical settings are evenly represented. The religious, moralising content of these songs, and similar text-only lyrics, is so extensive and explicit that it informs their entire identity. Regardless of language, all songs share their basic thematic content: they warn of the inevitability of old age and death, they comment on the transience of worldly

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[52] 'Haec iubilatio, quem cantores sequentiam vocant, illum statum ad mentem nostram ducit, quando non errit necessaria locutio verborum, sed sola cogitatione mens menti monstrabit quod retinet in se'. Original text and translation in Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 402.

[53] Helen Deeming, 'Music and Contemplation in the Twelfth-Century "Dulcis Jesu Memoria"', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139, no. 1 (2014): 1–39.

[54] Helen Deeming and Samantha Blickhan, 'Songs in Circulation, Texts in Transmission: English Sources and the Dublin Troper', *Early Music* 45, no. 1 (1 February 2017): 11. One surviving insular vernacular sequence which is not heavily related to the Passion, or praise of Christ and Mary, is the contrafact *Ar ne kuthe/Eyns ne soy*; but its lyric theme stems from a Continental sequence (the *Planctus ante nescia*), where associations with the form may have differed.

wealth, and they call on people to adjust their moral codes of behaviour and repent of their sins before they are judged.

There are both parallels and differences in the treatment of this style between and within the Middle English and Anglo-Norman songs. Despite ultimately sharing the same goal – conversion of the sinner – they approach their task from slightly different angles, potentially reflecting differences in the social standing and rhetoric of the congregations being addressed.

The Anglo-Norman moralising songs appear to be structurally and melodically modelled on the *trouvère* repertoire and adopt much of its general aesthetic. The narrator describes his experience in the first person, respectfully setting an example for his listeners to relate to, rather than directly ordering them how to behave.[55] *Quaunt le russinol* in particular adopts courtly tropes through its opening nature prelude, references to the nightingale, and vocabulary of sorrow; its first strophe is designed to sound like a standard *trouvère* song, perhaps in the hopes of attracting or keeping the attention of a French-speaking lay congregation. Both songs are likely to be clerical adoptions of 'secular' *trouvère*-style song for homiletic purposes—although *Parti de mal* is rather less subtle in its moralising approach.[56]

In contrast, the English-texted songs are much more direct in relaying their message. They do not actively imitate pre-established lyric styles, nor do they disguise their judgemental message behind poetic tropes such as courtly love, descriptions of nature, or narrative third-person scene-setting; they are ruthless warnings, almost aggressive, which address sinful 'man' with a proverbial wagging finger, and spare him no pleasantries. However, among the English-texted homiletic lyrics of this style – both musically and non-musically set – there appear to be differences in vocabulary and approach which may imply that *within* the English-texted lyric repertoire, styles of homiletic lyric differed for the address of the poor and uneducated, and the wealthy educated English-speaking members of society.

The two musically set Middle English lyrics may be structured around an all-inclusive social appeal; no courtly poetic tropes or imagery are used, and they do not explicitly identify either the wealthy or the poor as a primary target audience. Rather, each song uses vocabulary and rhetoric

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[55] The first-person narrative, usually with a male protagonist, is typical of courtly *trouvère* song. This 'self-conscious, self-obsessed inner monologue' of *trouvère* song, as described by Mary O'Neill, is one of the distinguishing features between the Anglo-Norman moralising songs and their Middle English equivalents. Mary O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7.

[56] Stevens has noted that the *trouvère* song *Quant le rossignols s'escrie* (R1149) has 'virtually the same syllable-count' and bears 'some slight melodic resemblance' to the Anglo-Norman song *Quaunt le russinol*; it is feasible that the Anglo-Norman lyric could have been composed with such a model in mind, despite its textual and melodic divergences. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 15.

which would likely have been effective on both social groups. While *Man mei longe* is rather ambiguous in its recurring references to 'wealth', never clarifying what kind of 'wealth' that might be, *Worldes blis* in particular focusses particularly on the transience of fairly down-to-earth 'wealth' and possessions: house and home, child and wife; perhaps the composer of this lyric was particularly focussed on converting the non-elite.[57] Both lyrics adopt an overall style which relies on proverbial antithesis, often nature-orientated, as a rhetoric device: fair weather turning to rain, reaping and sowing, day and night. Similar nature and outdoor references, as well as a proverbial and antithetical descriptions, arguably belong more to small amount of 'secular' lyrics with no explicit courtly imagery surviving from this period.[58] This lyric style may be an attempt to inclusively appeal to even the lowest layers of society, for whom allegory, animal tales, and proverbs were more effective pedagogical tools than references to Scripture or depictions of Biblical scenes.[59]

Those with real monetary wealth and higher social status were not excluded from the reception of such moralising lyrics, however: even listeners with a courtly, educated background would have been familiar with the rhetoric imagery used in the two songs seemingly aimed at societal inclusivity. In her book on 'popular' Middle English song, Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou discusses the somewhat one-directional accessibility of popular versus courtly culture: '...all social groups would have had access to, and nearly all would have been familiar with, popular culture. The opposite is not true, of course: access to courtly or ecclesiastical high culture was on the whole not possible for men and women of lower rank.'[60] However, there do exist text-only Middle English moralising lyrics which include more explicit associations to wealth and the literature of the educated; these may represent a distinct style of lyric specifically directed at the upper bands of Middle English-speaking society. For example, although these moralising lyrics are ultimately similar ruthless calls to repentance before death, they place a more specific emphasis on the concepts of Doomsday, the rotting of the physical body under the earth, hell, and the Devil.

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[57] Worldes blis, line 3.

[58] This includes the nature-orientated songs *Mirie it is* and *Foweles in þe frith*, which will be discussed alongside a small number of text-only examples presently.

[59] The use of proverbs in homiletic material has been somewhat discussed; bestiaries, too, were used as a means of teaching good morals. The thirteenth-century Middle English bestiary in London, British Library, Arundel MS 292 provides Christian moral guidance, in rhymed verse, based on the comparable behavioural qualities of select animals. Other verse forms potentially intended as moral food-for-thought invoke the behaviours and opinions of animals in a similar way, such as the debates between *The Owl and the Nightingale* (NIMEV 1384) and *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (NIMEV 3222). Animal tales and references are even found in pre-fourteenth-century homilies themselves, such as the *Trinity Homilies* (*Manual* 11.XXVI.6). These homilies are, incidentally, followed by the homiletic and proverbial *Poema morale* previously discussed. See Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400*, 182–85, 280–82.

[60] Boklund-Lagopoulou, *'I Have a Yong Suster': Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric*, 18.

Specific references to Judgement Day and detailed unsavoury descriptions of hell and the physical rotting of the body – particularly its being eaten by worms – are avoided in *Worldes blis* and *Man mei longe*, although hints at similar concepts are made; however, more explicit references appear in the thirteenth-century lyrics NIMEV 2336, 3517, 3967, and 4044, all of which stem from the same group of primarily anthological manuscripts.

Another feature which may hint at an educated circle of appreciation is the association of a lyric with either Latin models or French homiletic works: references to and quotations from the *Debate between the Body and the Soul* and the earlier *Address of the Soul to the Body* appear in the text-only lyrics NIMEV 2336, 3517, and 4044, and similar sentiments are expressed in NIMEV 2369.[61] NIMEV 2369, an anthologically preserved lyric, also somewhat resonates with the sentiments of the *Debate between the Body and the Soul*, and it is mono-rhyming, which although rare in Middle English is 'well represented' in French, potentially implying an educated *milieu*.[62] An example of a text-only Middle English lyric having a probable Latin model is NIMEV 3310, which is based on the widespread literary trope *Ubi sunt qui ante nos ferunt*? ('Where are they who came before us?'). Although appearing in a multitude of texts in both Latin and the vernacular languages, this moralising question has strong connotations with the *Sayings of St Bernard* and the Latin poem *Cur mundus militat*.[63] The *Ubi sunt* also strongly features in the Anglo-Norman verse-sermon *Mult est celi fous*, further implying its likely familiarity among the educated.[64]

Several of the above lyrics also quote the aforementioned *Poema morale*, and make use of proverb in a similar way to *Worldes blis* and *Man mei longe*. However, although the use of proverb appears to have been an effective rhetoric device among all levels of society, the sharing of material between the homiletic lyrics does not appear to be a two-way street: explicit references to the Latin and major literary works outlined above are *not* found in *Worldes blis* and *Man mei longe*, implying that the appropriate contexts for such references may have been more limited than those of moralising proverbs.

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[61] The *Debate* is one of the most widely transmitted texts in contemporaneous Anglo-Norman manuscripts, suggesting that it had a healthy reception among the educated. For a breakdown of specifically quoted material, see Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 187–91.
Aside from its resonance with the *Debate*, NIMEV 4044 also stems from a Latin model which directly precedes it; and these verses are immediately followed by a similar Latin-English preservation of a Bernardian text (NIMEV 2644).
[62] See Brown, 195.
[63] Brown, 202–3; Susanna Fein, 'The Middle English Poetry of MS Digby 86', in *Interpreting MS Digby 86: A Trilingual Book from Thirteenth-Century Worcestershire*, ed. Susanna Fein, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 170.
[64] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522, f. 73r-79v.

A further potential hint at an educated reception is that two text-only Middle English lyrics go so far as to make explicit references to the lifestyles of the wealthy.[65] A particular point of interest is the transmission of these lyrics: they are shared among the same group of what might be called 'anthological' manuscripts, rather than more practically orientated, *ad hoc* homiletic miscellanies.[66] Despite shared religious and homiletic, moralising, or devotional content, the anthological lyric manuscripts are more carefully organised, and are seemingly designed as larger-scale references of homiletic or other useful literary material in multiple languages. These contain higher numbers of grouped vernacular and Latin lyrics than the *ad hoc* miscellanies, but no music. In contrast, the *ad hoc* miscellanies containing vernacular lyrics are more scattered in content, and hint at an ongoing process of compilation, to be added to when desired rather than planned in advance. These manuscripts may contain a higher *proportion* of explicitly homiletic material, and despite their lower numbers of lyrics, they also transmit the occasional song with musical notation. Therefore, although both genres of manuscript are 'miscellanies', and both are likely to contain some level of homiletic material, a distinction between the two is necessary for this study. For their continued discussion, lyric manuscripts of the former genre will be described as 'anthologies', and the latter as '*ad hoc* miscellanies', in order to highlight the nature of their composition.

Several plausible implications are hinted at by the subtle differences in citation, vocabulary, and theme between the musically set and anthologically preserved homiletic lyrics. Firstly, they imply that there may have been distinct styles of homiletic lyric deemed suitable for both educated and uneducated speakers of Middle English. The uneducated are reached through proverbs and worldly allegory; the focus is on a change of behaviour *before* the point of death, and relies primarily on worldly, physical examples and allegory. In contrast, the educated are reached not only through proverbs, but through literary quotations and eschatological allegory; the focus is a warning of what will happen to them *after* the point of death. In addition, persuasive rhetoric is less likely to involve references to nature and the outdoors, and more likely

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[65] NIMEV 3110 warns the listener of the transience of gold, hawk and hounds, merriment, and the riches of ladies in their bower; and NIMEV 4044 describes the 'wite þrote' (white throat) of the lyric's subject— usually a desirable feature on a noble woman. Again, these lyrics are transmitted in the same group of anthological manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 86 and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39 respectively).

[66] The primary sources for these lyrics are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 86; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39; London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A.IX; and Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29. NIMEV 3310 is found in further, non-anthological manuscripts, perhaps due to its extremely flexible usage: being based on the sentiment of the *Ubi sunt* verses rather than on a fixed literary quotation, it appears in multiple forms and sources. It is perhaps telling, however, that in its 'anthological' appearance in Digby 86, it is accompanied by imagery of an explicitly courtly lifestyle.

to involve Christ or the Devil. This demonstrates a prioritisation of the more cerebral concepts of virtue and spirituality over day-to-day behaviour and possessions.

A second potential implication – despite evidence being minimal, with only two surviving songs – is that the lyrics which also catered for the uneducated were more suited to catechetical use in religious instruction, and to musical setting: not only are both musically set lyrics those which employ the most societally inclusive vocabulary and rhetoric, but they are also primarily transmitted in the *ad hoc* miscellanies for supposed practical use by clerics.[67] The fact that none of the higher-brow homiletic lyrics are transmitted in *ad hoc* miscellanies for practical homiletic use, nor are they set to music, may be an indication that they were of more use in private devotion, or at least in a different homiletic environment than the surviving songs. It is certainly plausible that in most circumstances of lay religious instruction in *Middle English*, the inclusion of the uneducated masses would usually have taken priority.

One third and final point for discussion arises from the potential existence of distinct target audiences of the Middle English homiletic lyric. This relates to the question of how much of each song may have been sung during religious instruction. Most of the songs have between five and seven strophes, but *Quaunt le russinol* goes up to twelve strophes, being 'unusually long for a chanson'.[68] If sung in their entirety, these songs would arguably become significant structural features of the homiletic 'performance', rather than mere attention-catching material. What is interesting, however, is that alongside the strophic structure of all songs (they are not, for example, written in through-composed sequence form like the majority of Passion lyrics), three out of four of the homiletic songs appear to be divided into two distinct themes. *Worldes blis*, *Quaunt le russinol* and *Parti de mal* all focus on old age, death, and worldly vanity in their opening strophes, but their second halves focus more on the importance of increasing morality and virtue, the dangers of the Devil, and the redemption of Christ. They could be seen as two songs in one: both halves are homiletic, but the first focuses on the most societally inclusive, basic, mortal topics (age, the coming of death, wealth), and the second transcends the physical realm, instead providing guidance on the spiritual more typical of the sentiments of the moralising literature of the educated (virtue, Christ, and overcoming the Devil). Even the societally ambiguous *Man mei longe* is highly proverbial in its earlier strophes, and references the body being eaten by worms in its latter strophes—a potential nod to those who understand this reference to the *Body and Soul* texts.[69] Perhaps the songs were intended to be sung in their full forms, and the apparent internal arrangement of topics is nothing more than a stylistic norm; but it is not implausible that the

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[67] The texts of both songs do appear in some of the anthologies, too, but will be seen to infiltrate them via different routes to the courtly orientated lyrics.

[68] Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 14.

[69] 'weirmes mete þu selt ben'; line 44 of the musical transmission of *Man mei longe* in Maidstone A.13.

songs were thus structured in order to provide the performing cleric some flexibility in both desired length and social targeting—a strophic pick-and-mix at the discretion of the cleric.

Further potential evidence of such a practice may be found in the homiletic Anglo-Norman song *Parti de mal*. This song has an *envoi*, which is a closing statement typical of many *trouvère* songs: the melody, rhyme, and structure of the final lines of the last strophe are repeated once more, with a new text, rendering the *envoi* something of an extension of the final strophe. In *Parti de mal*, the rhyme scheme of every strophe is exactly the same. This means that *any* strophe of the song can act as the final strophe, because the *envoi* will match them all in rhyme. This may have been a purposeful tactic, allowing the singer to change the number and order of strophes according to what he deemed suitable.

The differences in style between the Anglo-Norman and Middle English homiletic lyrics outlined above may be signifiers of the contexts in which each language and style proved most useful. Musical performance, fear-mongering, proverbs, antithesis and allegory may have been effective in the religious instruction of the less educated laity, or perhaps of mixed social groups, while the wealthy and educated may have preferred imitations of Anglo-Norman *trouvère* song, and perhaps a selection of higher-brow Middle English lyrics for private reading. Courtly lyrics and songs were not prioritised in manuscripts of likely practical homiletic use by clerics, but the structures of the less courtly homiletic songs would arguably have been adaptable in order to accommodate different congregations and time limits: the flexibility of their lengths, literary references, and musical structures attest to their identities as homiletic tools for use as needed, and not merely 'songs'.

1.2.5   Nature lyrics

Three of the Middle English song lyrics are rather unusual in their apparent lack of explicitly courtly or religious subject matter: *Foweles in þe frith*, *Mirie it is*, and *Sumer is icumen in*. These are the only surviving Middle English songs for which no clearly devotional, homiletic, or courtly tropes are immediately apparent. The lyrics share a number of features which might deem them worth consideration separately from explicitly courtly and devotional lyrics. They are relatively short, and seemingly not composed of multiple strophes.[70] They describe weather, animals, and human emotion which diverges from the usual mercy-crying of devotional or courtly poetry. The frequent descriptions of nature and the outdoors are not in keeping with the known nature preludes of the courtly tradition, which tend to be restricted to mentions of Spring, passerine

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[70] This cannot be confirmed for *Mirie it is*, as its following folios may be missing; but in either case, the strophe which is preserved is relatively short in itself.

songbirds, and budding plants. Rather, the lyrics with no obvious courtly associations are less delicate. References to Summer and Winter are made in place of Spring; the elegant songbirds of courtly culture are joined by other animals; and extremes of weather, both pleasant and unpleasant, are described. The use of nature as a theme in these songs is arguably more in keeping with the antithetical style of the animal tales and proverbs associated with the uneducated secular laity than with the more elegant nature preludes and imagery associated with courtly practices. The songs have thus been the subject of inconclusive debate over whether they may be lifted from or inspired by 'popular' tradition; and ultimately, they each contain elements which would lend themselves to the worlds of both clergy and laity. The term 'popular' is somewhat controversial. Referring to the comparable practice of borrowing 'popular' song in written song culture in thirteenth-century France, Ardis Butterfield defines popular song as that which '...comes directly from the people: by its nature it is traditional and spontaneous, mobile, dynamic, and oral.'[71] This description is fitting for the 'popular' elements of song to be discussed in this chapter.

Surviving only in Middle English, such songs may represent a clerical sharing of the culture of the English-speaking bands of society—perhaps the Middle English equivalent to clerically preserved *trouvère* song, although we unfortunately have no surviving models from the lay side of the tradition in the case of the English-texted songs. The three songs in question could feasibly be clerical quotations, adaptations, or newly composed imitations of lay poetic rhetoric; their lyrics may be the result of a combination of secular oral tradition with clerical literary tradition, and of secular metaphor with devotional purpose.[72] The first-person introspection of *Foweles in þe frith* and *Mirie it is* has been compared to that of religious penance; [73] and the last line of *Foweles in þe frith* in particular has been subject to viewing through a clerical or courtly filter: could the 'beste of bon and blod' for whom the poet sorrows be a courtly reference to a lady of noble standing, or a clerical reference to Christ?[74] *Sumer is icumen in* has been repeatedly associated with the

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[71] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 42.

[72] For a discussion of the shared practices of these and further Middle English lyrics, as well as the overlap and interaction between oral and written traditions, see Boklund-Lagopoulou, *'I Have a Yong Suster': Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric*, 18–20, 39–47.

[73] Boklund-Lagopoulou, 42-43

[74] Thomas Moser calls on later Middle English lyrics to provide comparable uses of both the vocabulary of the last line, and the nature references found earlier in the poem. References to noble ladies who are best of 'blod and bon(e)' are given, as well as religious lyrics which evoke remarkably similar animal-centric nature scenes 'of fowles and fysh in flood'. Thomas Moser, '"And I Mon Waxe Wod": The Middle English "Foweles in the Frith"', *PMLA* 102, no. 3 (1987): 326–29.

descriptions of Welsh folksong by Gerald of Wales; [75] its seemingly positive use of the word 'cuckoo' may argue against clerical provenance;[76] and the lack of even implicitly devotional material in the text makes its adaptation to homiletic or devotional purposes seem highly unlikely.

Within the broader corpus of frequently discussed, often courtly or devotional Middle English thirteenth-century lyrics, these songs may at first seem difficult to place. Although *Sumer is icumen in* has at least some concrete connections to clerical practice and Latin song through its dual-text preservation and its source, *Foweles in þe frith* and *Mirie it is* have no explicit textual or musical connections with clerical practices, nor do their preservation contexts strongly imply religious association with the songs themselves—despite their having been preserved in clerical environments: while the source of *Sumer is icumen in* is explicitly religious and an important witness of clerical song, *Mirie it is* is transmitted with other 'secular' songs on flyleaves incorporated into a later Psalter; and *Foweles in þe frith* is transmitted among a short trilingual love lyric, a polyphonic motet with a courtly text (also preserved in the Montpellier Codex), and one untexted piece. What has received surprisingly little attention, however, is the stylistic and

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[75] The observations made by Gerald of Wales about the laity engaging in polyphonic part-singing have been quoted multiple times in conjunction with *Sumer is icumen in*. His comments on the Welsh specifically are frequently highlighted, as it is the Welsh that Gerald describes as singing 'in many parts', and the English 'in two'. See for the full context of this quotation, see John O'Meara, ed., *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1951), 242–43. Examples of quotations of this passage include: Bertram Schofield, 'The Provenance and Date of "Sumer Is Icumen In"', *Music Review* IX, no. 2 (1948): 81–86; Shai Burstyn, 'Gerald of Wales and the Sumer Canon', *The Journal of Musicology* 2, no. 2 (1983): 135–50; Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, xv–xvi. Opposing arguments for clerical, learned musical practice include Manfred Bukofzer, 'Sumer Is Icumen in: A Revision', *University of California Publications in Music* 2, no. 2 (1944): 79–113, in which the *rota* is equated with clerical forms such as the motet, conductus, and rondellus. Edmund Chambers takes a middle ground, stating that the song must be 'a learned composer's adaptation of a *reverdie* or chant of welcome to the Spring'. Edmund Chambers and Frank Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral & Trivial* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1937), 273. Harrison and Dobson aim to consider the textual and musical origins of the song independently, but ultimately believe that the music is 'learned, not popular'. Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 144. An argument for the clerical, Latin-based composition of the song, based on the apparent compatibility of the melody to the rhyme and metre of the Latin lyric, is presented in Wolfgang Obst, '"Svmer Is Icumen in": A Contrafactum?', *Music & Letters* 64, no. 3/4 (1983): 151–61.

[76] Educated French speakers would likely have associated the cuckoo with the Old French word *cucauld* (cuckold), which is etymologically linked to the bird. The use of the cuckoo as a happy signifier of Spring in educated clerical circles therefore seems less plausible, unless used in irony. However, English speakers with no formal knowledge of French – primarily, the uneducated laity – would not necessarily have had the same qualms with the word. This suggestion is put forward in Gregory Roscow, 'What Is "Sumer Is Icumen In"?', *The Review of English Studies* 50, no. 198 (5 January 1999): 189–91.

However, a flaw to this argument is that there existed an Old English tradition in which the cuckoo features, without ambiguity, as the harbinger of spring. See Myra Stokes and Ad Putter, 'Sir Tristrem, Lines 1343-75', *Notes and Queries* 46, no. 4 (1999): 435–42.

thematic similarities between the latter two song lyrics and the marginal secular lyrics of Lambeth Palace Library MS 449.[77]

The lyrics of Lambeth Palace Library MS 449 are full of descriptions of nature and human behaviour, and are often heavily alliterative. In the majority of the lyrics, the use of alliteration is so extreme that it appears to be their primary defining feature. Despite the reference of Gerald of Wales to alliteration in the rhetoric of the laity, heavy alliteration is not necessarily a mark of secular or popular origin; alliteration is also plentiful in devotional and courtly Middle English lyrics.[78] The Lambeth lyrics appear within an otherwise religious, homiletic Latin manuscript. The few other vernacular items in the manuscript are either homiletic or devotional, and are preserved separately from the relevant lyrics. However, this particular group of lyrics contains no explicitly or implicitly devotional message, and appears to be both secular and non-courtly in character, making them a particularly rare find.[79] Their lack of religious colour might be explained in part by the manner of their preservation in what is otherwise a religious manuscript: while the homiletic vernacular texts in the manuscript were apparently planned inclusions for which folio space was reserved, the alliterative secular lyrics were not. Written in the margins of the manuscript, they appear to be a more opportunistic record of lyrics which were either not intended for, or perhaps not yet adapted to, any religious function.[80]

Foweles in þe frith and *Mirie it is* are remarkably reminiscent in style and content of two Lambeth lyrics in particular: *faste fresen fennes fule* is, like *Foweles*, an alliterative description of the narrator observing fish and birds (among other creatures included in the Lambeth lyric), arguably with something of a similar feeling of isolation. The last five lines of the Lambeth lyric are particularly similar in imagery and sentiment:

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[77] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 449, secular lyrics in the margins of ff. 64v-68v. These lyrics are edited and discussed in Oliver Pickering, 'Newly Discovered Secular Lyrics from Later 13th Century Cheshire', *The Review of English Studies* 43, no. 170 (5 January 1992): 157–80.

[78] On the non-'provincial' usage of alliterative verse in the thirteenth century, see for example Richard H. Osberg, 'The Alliterative Lyric and Thirteenth-Century Devotional Prose', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 76, no. 1 (1 January 1977): 40–54; Deskis, *Alliterative Proverbs in Medieval England*, 76. The latter argues that alliteration could be used as a signifier of 'wisdom', giving the societally inclusive example of its usage in the *Proverbs of Henyding*.

[79] Pickering has argued that the lyrics contain elements of courtly practice, largely based on the wooing of women in only two of the eight relevant lyrics. Of these two lyrics, only one is a first-person account of courtship, and it is longer and less alliterative than the majority of the other lyrics, thus a possible exception; the other is a third-person observation of lust in the Spring, with no implication that the narrator is of courtly status. Pickering, 'Newly Discovered Secular Lyrics from Later 13th Century Cheshire'.

[80] F. 69r of the same manuscript also contains opportunistically included Middle English verse, but this is devotional, and the scribe claims to have copied it from an inscription to the Virgin Mary. Pickering, 161.

faste fresen fennes fule

frostes frer is foules foo

falewen filles

flures fallen

feble foxes false flen

fomes fullen

flodes fallen

feire fisches fleten fro

flites fine

finches fawe

fremde feres finde i fre

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 449 f. 65v[81]

Foweles in þe frith

þe fisses in þe flod

and I mon waxe wod

mulch sorw I walke with

for beste of bone and blod

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 139, f. 5r (with music)[82]

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[81] 'Foul fens freeze solid; [what is] brother to the frost is foe to fowl. Leaves wither, flowers fall; feeble foxes, fleeing, go astray. Waves flood [the shore], rivers rush down; beautiful fish swim away. Splendid flights of birds, particoloured finches, unfamiliar companions I find at liberty.' Translation in Pickering, 164.

[82] 'Birds in the wood, the fishes in the stream, and I must grow mad: much sorrow I walk with, for the best [creature] of bone and blood.' Translation in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 145.

The text-only lyric *welknes werren*, despite its lyric structure and vocabulary differing from that of *Mirie it is*, provides a potentially secular-origin example of the same rhetorical imagery as the song: harsh and chaotic weather reflects the unsettled moods of people:

welknes werren

waies weten

windes walken w[e?]de wo

wilde walken

wordes wruxlen

wymmen w[rit?]hen [w?]el wile we

wodes wriden

wattres weden

wawes werpen wrok in wro

wederes wrsen

wrothli wenden

wormes waite[n] won to wre

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 449, f. 67v[83]

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[83] 'Clouds wage war, ways become wet; winds cause (?) havoc to clothes (?). Unruly men roam about, exchange words; women become very perplexed. Woods toss about, waters rage; waves hurl wreckage into creeks. Storms get worse, drive on furiously; worms take care to protect their dwelling-place.' Translation in Pickering, 'Newly Discovered Secular Lyrics from Later 13th Century Cheshire', 166.

[M]irie it is while sumer ilast

þɪð fugheles song

oc nu necheð ƿindes blast and ƿ[e]der strong

Ey ey ƿhat þis nicht [is] long

and Ich þɪð ƿel michel wrong

soregh and murne and [...]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.22, f. 1.v (with music)[84]

Such similarities in sentiment are unlikely to be conscious quotation, especially in the second example. However, they may be the result of shared or imitated poetic style. One of the barriers to modern hypotheses of whether a lyric may be of lay or clerical origin lies in the fact that in most ambiguous cases, we see the lyric already in its hybrid form—*after* adaptation to clerical purposes. In the case of the Lambeth lyrics, fortuitously preserved in the margins of a manuscript, we appear to be seeing them *before* adaptation. Therefore, the relevance of these lyrics to the songs *Foweles in þe frith* and *Mirie it is* is not diminished by the fact that there exists no direct quotation between them; they potentially provide us with a valuable glimpse into some of the lay rhetoric surrounding the seasons, the weather, animals, antithesis, and proverbs which are incorporated into lay-orientated Middle English clerical literature such as sermons, proverb collections, and songs.

Finally, the musical settings of the songs must be mentioned. Unlike the musical settings of the previous lyric categories, these three songs are about as different as they could possibly be considering the scope of melodic styles available to Middle English texts at this time. *Foweles in þe frith* is an unmeasured, floridly set example of voice-exchange polyphony which primarily utilises conjunct melodic movement; *Mirie it is while sumer ilast* is an easily rhythmicisable, highly syllabic, monophonically preserved song which features disjunct melodic leaps as a defining feature; and *Sumer is icumen in* is a rhythmic canon with *pes* which can be performed in up to six parts. Whatever the potential connections or origins of the *lyric* content of these songs, it can be said with some confidence that they do not share a common melodic or compositional style.

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[84] 'Merry it is while summer lasts, with birds' song; but now draws near the wind's blast and harsh weather. Ay, ay, how this night is long! And I, with very much injustice, sorrow and mourn and [fast].' Translation in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 66.

Ultimately, all three songs are likely to remain ambiguous in terms of their clerical, courtly, or non-courtly lay composition—particularly *Sumer is icumen in*, which has explicit connections with clerical song alongside its peculiarly 'secular' Middle English text. For *Foweles in þe frith* and *Mirie it is while sumer ilast*, the coincidental preservation of the secular lyrics in Lambeth MS 449 allows for a stronger hypothesis that the songs may be among the few survivors which bridge Middle English poetic practices between the clergy and the laity. However, none of the three surviving songs is strictly homiletic, the Middle English text of *Sumer is icumen in* is not even religious, and there appears to be no consistency to the musical setting of the lyrics; whether the songs do belong to any particular 'genre' suited to religious instruction, personal enjoyment, or a mix of purposes, will for now remain unconfirmed.

1.3   Conclusions to chapter 1

The comparison of musically set lyrics reveals that even within the small group of surviving vernacular songs, certain standards of lyric and musical treatment are evident according to language and theme:

- Marian songs were more popular in Anglo-Norman than in Middle English, and were more strongly connected with clerical than secular courtly culture, especially in their musical setting. Marian song appears to be associated with an educated milieu, with the French language, and clerical compositional forms. No Marian songs reference, or are referenced within, a sermon.

- The musical settings of the Passion are, through text or melody, structured through paired repetition. This was an important musical genre in Middle English, but not in Anglo-Norman, for which no Passion songs survive. One Passion song is referenced within a sermon.

- Homiletic songs are equally preserved in both languages, differences in style between and within the Anglo-Norman and Middle English songs may reflect differences in target audience. The Anglo-Norman songs are reminiscent of the courtly *trouvère* tradition enjoyed by the wealthy and educated; the Middle English songs are more proverbial and direct and seem to address the uneducated as well as the learned. Based on the anthological, text-only preservation of the courtly orientated Middle English lyrics, it is possible that at least in sung form, Anglo-Norman *trouvère*-style song was a more typical medium of religious instruction of the educated laity than Middle English song. All songs are musically set in through-composed strophes, and their strophic nature and thematic

content allows for potentially flexible strophe selection in performance. Both Middle English homiletic songs reference, or are referenced within, a sermon.

- 'Secular' songs survive in both languages: those in Anglo-Norman are love songs and belong to the *trouvère* repertoire. Those in Middle English are not explicitly love songs and are heavily laden with references to nature and the outdoors. They potentially stem from a non-courtly secular song or lyric culture for which we have far less comparative evidence than the Anglo-Norman songs. Either linguistic group may have been preserved by clerics for the purposes of religious adaptation, but there are also songs in each language which do not seem to lend themselves to this purpose, and which may be genuinely secular in topic. None of the secular songs reference, or are referenced within, a sermon.

The patterns which have begun to emerge here imply that certain lyric themes had particular musical, social, and functional connotations. What requires further discussion is the rationale for these differences in musical and linguistic transmission: are there particular features which render a lyric suitable for musical transmission, and does the existence of a musical transmission provide clues as to the usage of a lyric in religious instruction? The following chapter will explore what networks of song and lyric circulation might tell us about the value, performance context, and function of the surviving vernacular songs.

Chapter 2   Networks of transmission: Songs and lyrics, *ad hoc* miscellanies and anthologies

2.1.1   Counterintuitive proportions of song and lyric transmission

Despite the fact that Anglo-Norman was the preferred language of written culture in the thirteenth century, it is the Middle English songs and their associated lyrics which appear to have enjoyed stronger proportional written transmission. The number of insular-preserved lyrics surviving with musical notation is around the same for both vernaculars, depending on where boundaries for inclusion are drawn: fourteen items in Anglo-Norman, and fourteen in Middle English.[1] Two of the Anglo-Norman items counted here are included in the song analyses of this study, but were actually preserved in twelfth-century manuscripts: *El tens d'iver* and *De ma dame*. A consideration of exclusively thirteenth-century transmissions therefore puts Middle English song in the lead in terms of its written transmission. These figures are bound to be inaccurate representations of the original song counts of the time, but that Middle English keeps pace with Anglo-Norman at all is surprising; Middle English is the vernacular of supposedly lesser written prowess, and it does not share the Anglo-Norman advantage of borrowing songs from the vast *trouvère* repertory to boost its numbers.[2] But perhaps more striking is that the Middle English song repertoire contains three songs of which the melody or text (or both) has survived in multiple sources, while the Anglo-Norman songs are all *unica*. This raises the question as to what caused songs in the minority language of written transmission to be prioritised for broader circulation.

The English-texted songs are not indiscriminately more widely circulated than the Anglo-Norman songs, however; most songs, like those in Anglo-Norman, are *unica* in text and melody. Rather, only three English-texted songs have concordances, and of a seemingly disproportionate number—textual, melodic, or both. These are the three songs for which there is the strongest evidence of a connection to homiletic materials: *Man mei longe* (multiple textual concordances),

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[1] This includes polyphonic, fragmentary, and fully dual-texted items, as well as contrafacta. It does not take into consideration the English-texted 'Godric songs' of the twelfth century, which have been excluded from consideration throughout this study due to their early date and their supposedly personally attributable compositional style. Nor does it take into account the two mensurally notated English-texted items in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 8 (*Worldes blisce have god day* and [...]*in lyde joye and blisce*), which were preserved around the turn of the fourteenth century.

[2] Three of the Anglo-Norman songs included in this count have suspected or confirmed origin in the Continental *trouvère* repertory: *Bien deust chanter*, *S'onques nuls hoem*, and *Si tost c'amis*.

Worldes blis (textual and melodic concordances), and *Stond wel moder* (textual and melodic concordances, as well as further imitations).

A third notable and perhaps unexpected feature of vernacular song transmission is the fact that the major lyric 'anthologies' are not the manuscripts responsible for the primary transmission of the best-represented Middle English lyrics in the thirteenth century. As will be demonstrated, it is the less formally organised, more practically orientated *ad hoc* miscellanies which preserve what were apparently the most valued and widely transmitted lyrics and songs of thirteenth-century British clerics. Furthermore, these miscellanies appear to have enjoyed distinct – and stronger – networks of transmission than the anthological manuscripts. A related point for discussion is the fact that the distribution of lyrics with *musical* settings appears to have differed between anthologies and *ad hoc* miscellanies; did 'songs' as opposed to 'lyrics' have distinct networks of transmission and circulation?

The existence, number, and thematic nature of these English-texted concordances invite an angle of study which is not possible in the Anglo-Norman songs. This subchapter will therefore initially focus on English-texted song transmission and will retrospectively consider if the Anglo-Norman songs may have been subject to similar patterns of transmission. Through an assessment of the musical and textual transmission networks of the most frequently shared Middle English lyrics, I will argue that the apparent distinctions between 'lyric' and 'song' transmission are not so much related to the existence of a musical setting of the lyric, as they are directly related to lyric *function*. I will demonstrate that the lyric anthologies which share material of deemed literary importance had distinct networks of circulation to the more independently compiled miscellanies; and on the basis of modes of transmission, I will suggest which songs and lyric themes were most likely used for sung or spoken homiletic practice, public or private devotion, or further peripheral functions such as clerical entertainment.

These arguments will be outlined in three sections. First, I will review the apparent distinctions between 'song' and 'lyric' transmission in certain manuscripts. I will then identify the handful of Middle English lyrics which enjoy the most widespread circulation, their textual content, and their surprisingly high rate of connection to musical transmission. Based on the patterns observed in Middle English lyric transmission, I will attempt to make similar connections for Anglo-Norman verse, which does not appear to enjoy the same level of lyric network connections. Finally, I will suggest that London, British Library, Arundel MS 248 is our ultimate guide to understanding and distinguishing between the stereotypical clerical uses of vernacular song in the thirteenth century. It provides the key to the distinct identities of language, thematic content, transmission, and function in clerically preserved vernacular song.

2.1.2   The seemingly disparate transmission of 'songs' and 'lyrics'

In her 2013 PhD thesis on pre-fifteenth-century manuscripts of Middle English lyrics, Emma Kate Charters Gorst makes some astute observations on the potentially independent transmissions of the only two songs which have melodic concordances within British manuscripts: *Worldes blis* and *Stond wel moder*.[3] I will first briefly outline her findings, before commenting on them from an alternative angle.

Gorst suggests that for this repertoire, 'music notation… is a useful indicator of a distinct citation network—a network that can be identified within a manuscript, and can be visualized as a relationship between different manuscripts.'[4] In other words, she believes the distinct network of musical transmissions to be evident not only between manuscripts, but also *within* the host manuscripts of the songs. This is primarily demonstrated with reference to Digby 86, which hosts text-only versions of both lyrics. Digby 86 is a source containing no musical notation, but a variety of Middle English texts, including a handful of lyrics. Gorst first deals with the nature of the inclusion of *Worldes blis* within this manuscript (the sole text-only transmission of the lyric), claiming that it had a distinct path of transmission than the other Middle English verse in Digby 86: firstly, it is physically separated from other English lyrics and verses of its kind (religious or moralistic lyrics, proverbs, and fables).[5] Secondly, Gorst highlights the instances of texts shared between this manuscript and others, suggesting that they may stem from the same network of circulation.[6] *Worldes blis*, on the other hand, shares neither the physical position, the 'group' identity, nor the further witnesses with its comparable Middle English texts in Digby 86.[7] Finally, Gorst highlights that the other witness manuscripts for *Worldes blis*, both of which contain music, not only foster fewer connections to other manuscripts than Digby 86, but they are also less significant in terms of the number of English lyrics they preserve.[8] In summary, Gorst suggests that the existence of *Worldes blis* as a musical setting may be in some way related to its apparent exclusion from the mainstream lyric network—both in terms of its poorly connected musical transmissions, and its lonely text-only inclusion in Digby 86.

The other lyric to feature in Digby 86 which has musical notation in other sources is *Stond wel moder*, apropos of which Gorst comes to a similar conclusion: that the lyric 'shows a different

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[3] Emma Gorst, 'Middle English Lyrics: Lyric Manuscripts 1200–1400 and Chaucer's Lyric' (PhD, University of Toronto, 2013).

[4] Gorst, 61.

[5] *Worldes blis* appears in quire 20, bordered by texts in Latin and French, while its most comparable English texts are grouped together in quires 15-17. Gorst, 61.

[6] Gorst focusses on the texts *Fifteen Signs* and *The Sayings of Saint Bernard* (NIMEV 1823 and 3310 respectively), which appear in both Digby 86 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E.6.

[7] The further witnesses of *Worldes bis* are both musical transmissions (Arundel 248 and Rawlinson G.18).

[8] Gorst, 63.

pattern of survival than other poems in the same manuscript that have no surviving musically notated witnesses'.[9] Employing a method similar to that used for her discussion of *Worldes blis*, Gorst highlights the relationships (or lack thereof) between its musical and non-musical transmissions.[10] What comes to light is that the witnesses contain or reference *musical* settings of the lyric are neither formally connected to one another, nor to other lyric sources—they appear to be independent transmissions, not copied or directly shared between manuscripts. In contrast, the two text-only witnesses not only share further content with one another – implying a shared network of transmission – but are more significant witnesses of Middle English lyrics, verses, and other writings overall: Digby 86 and London, British Library, Harley MS 2253 are among the most valued anthologies of early Middle English verse.[11]

Finally, Gorst cites the claim by Frances McSparran that the text-only form of *Stond wel moder* did not travel independently, but journeyed alongside lyrics with which it had been associated since its composition.[12] This claim is made based on the West-Midland dialect of its transmission in Harley 2253, which can only be related to the other text-only witness, Digby 86, and not with any musical settings or references of the lyric. If McSparran's suggestion is correct, it could imply that the musical and text-only identities of the lyric may have been subject to distinct networks of transmission[13]. Although not emphasised by Gorst, this theory would go some way to explaining why the appearance of *Stond wel moder* in Digby 86 was not physically singled out to

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[9] Gorst, 65.

[10] Gorst, 65. Included for consideration in 'musical transmissions' is the related […] *stod ho pere neh*, which despite its independent English text, is a melodic contrafact and based on the same Latin song as *Stond wel moder*: the sequence *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*.

[11] Although Harley 2253 is from the first half of the fourteenth century, there is good reason to think that many lyrics are of thirteenth-century origin. Carleton Brown includes some twenty Harley lyrics in his *English Lyrics of the XIII Century*, including the so-called 'Song of Lewes' (no. 72), a political song written in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Lewes of 1264. It has been claimed that Digby 86 acts as a structural 'prototype' for Harley 2253, both of which are trilingual and have content in common. See Susanna Fein, ed., *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications (for TEAMS), University of Michigan, 2000), 23, 57, 73; Ernest Hathaway, ed., *Fouke le fitz Waryn*, *Anglo-Norman texts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), xliii; John Scahill, 'Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 26. See also the introductions to the facsimile editions of both: Neil Ripley Ker, ed., *Facsimile of British Museum MS. Harley 2253*, *Early English Text Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Judith Tschann, ed., *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, Early English Text Society. Supplementary Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[12] Frances McSparran, 'The Language of the English Poems', in *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, ed. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications (for TEAMS), University of Michigan, 2000), 418.

[13] Gorst, 66.

the same extent as *Worldes blis*; the text-only identity of *Stond wel moder* may have belonged to an 'anthological' network of transmission which its musical manifestations did not.[14]

Gorst's research is not music orientated, and her discussion of musically set Middle English lyrics closes soon thereafter. However, her observations on the transmission of *Worldes blis* and *Stond wel moder* encourage further exploration on the transmission patterns of English-texted melodies. She appears to have two primary hypotheses relating to melodic transmission. The first is that 'songs' may have been subject to distinct modes of transmission than 'lyrics'. The second is that the distinct networks of song transmission appear to have been more poorly connected than the networks of lyric transmission. Where lyrics may appear in significant numbers and groupings within a single manuscript, even sharing multiple witnesses, songs seem to lack this kind of group identity and transmission.

Gorst's plausible theory throws a spotlight on two potential challenges to it: the song-containing manuscripts Maidstone, Maidstone Museum, MS A.13 (hereafter Maidstone A.13), and London, British Library, Arundel MS 248 (hereafter Arundel 248). Maidstone A.13 has lyric concordances with two 'mainstream', anthological lyric collections: Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29 (hereafter Jesus 29), shared witness of *Man mei longe* and *Þru tidigge us cumet*), and London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A.IX (hereafter Cotton Caligula A.IX), shared witness of *Þru tidigge us cumet*).[15] By association with the Cotton and Jesus manuscripts, a potential further connection is fostered to the largest collection of Middle English lyrics of the century, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39 (hereafter Trinity B.14.39, wedded to Cotton Caligula A.IX by multiple concordances). Jesus 29, Cotton Caligula A.IX, and Trinity B.14.39 are connected by shared textual models, and the overlap of material between Jesus 29 and Maidstone A.13 makes it plausible that the latter could belong to the same family of manuscripts.[16] If that were the case, Maidstone A.13 would not support Gorst's theory that song-transmitting sources are poorly connected to mainstream networks of lyric circulation. However, on closer inspection of the dual-witness lyrics in Maidstone A.13 and Jesus 29, they do *not* appear to have originated from the same exemplar: the Jesus 29 version of *Man mei longe* corresponds closely with that found in Cotton Caligula A.IX, but not with that found in Maidstone A.13; and the version of *Þru tidigge us cumet* in the

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[14] *Stond wel moder* appears in quire 17 of Digby 86, placing it in the vicinity of the majority of English-texted verse in this manuscript. It is preceded by a homiletic lyric in Middle English and followed by the *Sayings of Saint Bernard*.

[15] A table of textual concordances (including non-lyric content) between these and further manuscripts is provided in Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*, 1:64–65.

[16] Jesus 29 acts as a connector between Maidstone A.13 and the other manuscripts: it shares multiple text witnesses with Maidstone A.13, Cotton Caligula A.IX, and Trinity B.14.39, and the similarities between Jesus 29 and Cotton Caligula A.IX demonstrate that some of their content was likely copied from the same source. Although Maidstone A.13 does not have a lyric concordance with Trinity B.14.39, surrounding manuscript connections raise the possibility that it belonged within the same overlapping circles of transmission.

Maidstone manuscript is also distinct. The overlap between Maidstone A.13 and these two anthological manuscripts is therefore likely due to coincidence rather than formal connection through a shared network of lyric sources. Maidstone A.13 is thus unlikely to be an exception to Gorst's theory that manuscripts transmitting song may have obtained their lyric content from distinct networks of circulation.

Arundel 248 also challenges Gorst's theory, for the simple reason that it is the closest thing to a 'collection' of thirteenth-century Middle English song as is available to us. With only four English-texted songs, it cannot be dubbed an anthology as such; but this amount of songs is still significant when compared to other sources, as is the nature of song preservation within the manuscript. Firstly, the songs appear to be grouped, rather than sporadically included among a mix of miscellaneous texts, as is often the case in other vernacular song sources: all of the English-texted songs appear within a selection of folios dedicated to music, three of them directly following one another and the fourth separated by only one Latin song.[17] Secondly, one of the most remarkable features about Arundel 248 is that it contains no Middle English content, verse or otherwise, which is *not* set to music. The four Middle English lyrics preserved within it are all musically set in various forms: two are monophonically preserved (*Worldes blis* and *Þe milde Lomb*), one is polyphonically preserved (*Jesu cristes milde moder*), and one shares its melody with a Latin lyric, aligned phrase-by-phrase so as to suggest that the Middle English text is an alternative to the Latin (*Gabriel fram evene king*). The sole purpose of a Middle English lyric within this manuscript, then, is to be sung. These features, as well as the relatively formal, organised appearance of the manuscript in comparison to most others featuring an English-texted song, would appear to contradict the implication that a musical setting denotes a mode of transmission which is in some way restricted, or of secondary importance to lyric transmission in well-structured anthologies.

In order to do justice to the unusually rich and organised vernacular song preservation in Arundel 248, I will first analyse Middle English lyric and song circulation from a different angle. Rather than focussing on the network connections between manuscripts as a whole, I will explore the significance of a small selection of lyrics and their connection to sung performance. Whether or not directly preserved in Arundel MS 248, the thematic content and transmission of these lyrics will reveal that this manuscript is not only important due to its unusually high number of songs; it is the key to understanding the stereotypical rôles of music in different performance contexts, functions, and languages.

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[17] Most of the musical content of Arundel 248 is preserved together on ff. 153-155. Two further musical entries in Latin appear separately, on ff. 200v and 201v.

2.1.3   Middle English lyrics extant in multiple witnesses

A handful of thirteenth-century Middle English lyrics have multiple witnesses. That is to say, the same lyric (or a variant) appears in more than one manuscript. Several such lyric pairings exist between the anthological manuscripts Jesus 29, Cotton Caligula A.IX, Trinity B.14.39, and Digby 86. The strongest connection between these manuscripts is that between Jesus 29 and Cotton Caligula A.IX, which are not only witness to at least six of the same lyrics, but also appear to have shared a source for copying their content.[18] An overlap of material is therefore not surprising. In most other cases of lyric sharing, however, textual concordances are not an indicator of formal connections between the witness manuscripts; the lyrics do not share a common original source, nor do the manuscripts usually share more than one concordance.[19] The lyrics which appear in more than one source therefore seem to have been picked up by the scribes of each manuscript independently.

Although most lyrics are extant in just two copies, a handful of Middle English lyrics appear to have been re-worked and circulated an extraordinary amount; and the extent of their circulation cannot be justified by formal manuscript connections or shared text sources. To put their popularity into perspective, it is worth highlighting that the majority of Middle English lyrics from this period are *unica*, and the majority of remaining concordances have only two witnesses. In contrast, the lyrics to which I am now referring may have up to five independent witnesses in the thirteenth century alone, *not* including any of their frequent additional Latin equivalents, prose quotations, or fourteenth-century sources. There are five lyrics which fall into this category:[20]

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[18] The overlapping lyrics are NIMEV 2687, 2070, 3967, 4051, 5317, and 1091 (the verse-sermon *A lutel soth Sermun*). A further lyric in Cotton Caligula A.IX (NIMEV 4016) is suspected to have been originally preserved in the missing folios of Jesus 29. See Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 195; Neil Cartlidge, 'The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29(II) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.IX', *Medium Ævum* 66, no. 2 (1997): 250. All seven lyrics are printed in Morris, *An Old English Miscellany Containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century, from Manuscripts in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Library Etc*, 156–92.

[19] The exception to this is Maidstone A.13 and Jesus 29, which as mentioned above, appear to have obtained their lyric material from separate sources.

[20] NIMEV 2687 is not included in the following list, despite being transmitted in four separate thirteenth-century sources; this is because three of its four appearances are in the anthological manuscripts which are already known to have shared material and transmission networks: Jesus 29, Cotton Caligula A.IX, and Trinity B.14.39 (the fourth witness being London, British Library, Royal MS 2 F. viii). This lyric can therefore not be said to have enjoyed an extraordinary number of 'independent' transmissions.

Chapter 2

1. *Man mei longe* (surviving musical setting) has four thirteenth-century witnesses of the lyric, plus multiple further references in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[21]

2. *Þru tidigge us cumet* also has four thirteenth-century manuscript witnesses in lyric form, plus connections with Latin models and proverbial lore in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[22]

3. *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* (potential textual connection to a musical setting) has five thirteenth-century transmissions. Based on its thematic content and its apparent flexibility for slight re-workings, I will argue that it may have been the textual inspiration for a sixth, similar Middle English lyric, which survives with music (or at least, that the two lyrics shared the same model). The text is seemingly inspired by a Latin text of Saint Bernard, and continues to be circulated in the fourteenth century.[23]

4. *Stond wel moder* (surviving musical settings), as previously discussed, appears in multiple thirteenth-century sources. It is based on a Latin model which itself is widely transmitted. Two further Middle English lyrics on the same theme have been formally connected to it: one through its use of the same melody ([…] *stod ho pere neh*), and one through its imitation of content and form (*Jesu cristes milde moder*).[24]

5. *Worldes blis* (surviving musical settings), has three witnesses in the thirteenth century, but also echoes proverbs and the *Poema morale*.[25]

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[21] NIMEV 2070. Thirteenth-century manuscripts or hands: Maidstone A.13 (musical transmission), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 471 (two references), Cotton Caligula A.IX, and Jesus 29. For later references and connections see Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 170–71.

[22] NIMEV 695, 3969. Thirteenth-century manuscripts or hands: Maidstone A.13 and Jesus 29 (NIMEV 695), Oxford, New College, MS 88 and London, British Library, MS Arundel 292 (NIMEV 3969). The latter two transmissions appear to be related; the first two appear to be independent. For further versions and witnesses of this lyric see Brown, 171–73.

[23] Multiple versions. Thirteenth-century manuscripts or hands: Cambridge, St John's College, MS A.15 (NIMEV 3965), London, British Library, MS Royal 12 E. i (NIMEV 3964), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 57 (NIMEV 3961), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 360, part VII (NIMEV 3968), and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39 (NIMEV 4141). For differences and further connections, see Brown, 61–64, 194–95. On the Bernardian text connection, see Brown, 194 and 219. The texts of these and two later versions of the lyric are presented alongside one another in Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*: 488–92.

[24] NIMEV 3211. Thirteenth-century manuscripts or hands: London, British Library, MS Royal 12 E. i (musical transmission), Cambridge, Jesus College, MS E.8 (incomplete musical transmission), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, and London, British Library, MS Royal 8 F. ii. A further transmission appears in London, British Library, MS Harley 2253. The two related musical settings are NIMEV 3126.5 in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 169* and NIMEV 1697 in Arundel 248. For information on the Latin text which likely inspired these lyrics and the *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*, see Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 204.

[25] NIMEV 4223. Thirteenth-century manuscripts or hands: Arundel 248 (musical transmission), Rawlinson G.18 (musical transmission), and Digby 86. Several further potential but non-explicit connections with the opening words of the lyric can be made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

These five lyrics are connected in several ways. They are all explicitly religious. Each lyric reached its multiple sources via distinct paths; that is, the host manuscripts are not formally connected, and the lyrics were not copied from the same source. The host manuscripts of these lyrics are not connected with the 'anthologies' which share the most material with one another. Finally, and most significantly, these lyrics appear to be strongly connected with musical performance—three out of five of the above lyrics have a musical transmission, and I will argue for a fourth case.

The fact that these lyrics are all explicitly religious is not in itself a feature of much interest; the vast majority of surviving Middle English lyrics, and almost all multi-witness lyrics, are religious.[26] Rather, the significance of the religious nature of these five lyrics lies in their specific thematic content: the above list is comprised solely of moralising and Passion lyrics. These are the two thematic categories which were earlier demonstrated to be of particular importance in the Middle English song repertoire, and which foster explicit connections to preaching practice.

Also interesting is the nature of their circulation. The many transmissions of the five lyrics stem from a multitude of distinct, often non-mainstream, lyric sources. They appear in variant forms, with different spellings, and their host manuscripts do not appear to be otherwise connected. Furthermore, despite their apparent popularity, they do not tend to feature in the contemporaneous anthologies of Middle English verse—or on the occasion that they do, they seem to have landed there by a different route (as demonstrated by the previously outlined cases of *Worldes blis* and *Stond wel moder* in the mainstream source Digby 86, and the distinct sources of *Man mei longe* and *Þru tidigge us cumet* in Jesus 29 and Cotton Caligula A.IX). Rather, the five most widely transmitted lyrics of the thirteenth century are to be found in the *ad hoc* manuscripts with relatively little vernacular content, and which contain a mix of practically orientated entries. As previously mentioned, the preserved texts of these miscellanies are often of a homiletic or didactical nature, and languages may be quite freely mixed throughout the manuscript. These features set them apart from the so-called anthologies, the content of which would be better described as organised collections of literary and homiletic material in different languages.

As previously mentioned, three of the five lyrics have a musical transmission in at least one source: *Man mei longe* (one musical transmission), *Stond wel moder* (three musical transmissions

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[26] The only potential exception to the multi-witness lyrics is NIMEV 3078, which appears to be secular, having more apparent connections to folklore and proverb than religious devotion. However, in Trinity B.14.39, it is accompanied by a Latin citation from Ovid which comments on the causes of adultery; seeing as the female subject of the 'secular' lyric is seeking relationship advice, perhaps this is a lyric which uses lay rhetoric as a persuasive moralising technique. The Latin citation is printed in Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 180. The lyric anthology Harley 2253, which in any case primarily stems from the fourteenth century, is the only manuscript to contain a number of apparent 'love' lyrics.

if the melodic concordance […] *stod ho pere neh* is considered, and a further musical association through *Jesu cristes milde moder*), and *Worldes blis* (two musical transmissions). By the end of this chapter, I will have suggested that a fourth of the above lyrics (*Wenne hic soe on rode idon*) is also connected to a surviving English-texted song. There are around one hundred Middle English lyrics from the thirteenth century, and only around ten independent English-texted songs;[27] it is therefore of no small significance that the only widely transmitted content in each group is an overlap of the same few lyrics, and that their related musical transmissions make up at least half of surviving English-texted melodic material.[28] These five texts are significantly more prone to transmission, and to musical setting, than the remaining 95% of the English-texted lyric corpus.

2.1.4 Links between manuscript provenance, content, and function

A potential connection between the three above topics – the moralising and Passion-related content of the lyrics, their connection to musical transmissions, and their likely function within the realms of homiletic practice or pastoral care – is supported by manuscript provenance as well as content. At least some of the lyric-only anthologies Jesus 29, Cotton Caligula A.IX, Trinity B.14.39, and Digby 86 could plausibly have been designed as reference materials of national value, rather than being limited to use by a specific institution.[29] Linguistically, they appear to stem from the West Midlands, where Middle English was arguably at its most standardised.[30] The quality and scale of the operation behind most of these anthologies is likely attributable to teams of highly skilled clerics, and whether they were eventually enjoyed by both clergy and educated laity, association with a clerical institution is likely at least in terms of production. Even in the case of Digby 86, compilation by a member of the lower gentry does not negate the possibility that religious institutions may have benefitted from his work.[31]

The likely provenances of the vernacular song sources, however, often imply more localised institutional usage than the anthologies, or on occasion use by an individual (whether clergy or laity). The combined consideration of manuscript content with manuscript provenance supports the notion that moralising and Passion songs may have been prioritised for practical homiletic use

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[27] 'Independent' meaning melodic settings which are not concordances or suspected contrafacta but were presumably conceived solely with their Middle English text in mind.

[28] Even if all surviving English-texted songs are considered, including those for which the English text is not directly aligned, the homiletic and Passion songs make up half of melodic transmissions. If only directly English-texted melodies are considered, the proportion exceeds half.

[29] Cartlidge, 'The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29(II) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.IX', 250–52; Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*, 1:49–54.

[30] Editions and studies of the manuscripts place them all linguistically in the realm of Worcestershire-Herefordshire.

[31] Scahill, 'Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies', 25–26.

over songs on other topics, such as personal sorrow or nature: tables 1 and 2 show the suggested provenances of the vernacular songs (where known), arranged according to whether or not the manuscript also contains material suited to pastoral care.[32]

Table 1: ME song provenance: MSS containing pastoral/homiletic materials

Source	Song	Theme	Possible provenance/usage
GB-Occ 59	*Edi beo þu*	Marian	Llanthony Secunda Priory
GB-MAmm A 13	*Man mei longe*	Moralising	Hosp. of St John, Northampton
GB-Cjc E.8	*Stond wel moder*	Passion	?
GB-Lbl Royal 12 E. i	*Stand wel moder*	Passion	?
GB-Lbl Arundel 248	*Gabriel fram evene king*	Annunciation	Kirkstall Abbey
	Jesu cristes milde moder	Passion	
	Þe milde Lomb	Passion	
	Worldes blis	Moralising	

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[32] Thirteenth-century song manuscripts (including the consideration of Latin songs) which also contain materials related to pastoral care are listed in Appendix 1 of Deeming, 'Songs and Sermons in Thirteenth-Century England'. Aside from studies of the individual manuscripts (where available), suggestions for the manuscript provenances of the vernacular songs are partially available on DIAMM, as well as in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*; Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*; Christopher Page, 'A Catalogue and Bibliography of English Song from Its Beginnings to c1300', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 13 (1976): 67–83; Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350'.

Table 2: ME song provenance: MSS not containing pastoral/homiletic materials

Source	Song	Theme	Possible provenance/usage
GB-Lma Cust.1	*Ar ne kuthe*	Personal lament	Arnold Fitzthedmar, alderman of City of London
GB-Ob Rawl. G 22	*Mirie it is*	Nature/personal lament	Thorney Abbey?
GB-Ob Douce 139	*Foweles in þe frith*	Nature/personal lament	Coventry Priory
GB-Ob Tanner 169*	*[…] stod ho pere neh*	Passion	Chester
GB-Lbl Harley 978	*Sumer is icumen in*	Nature	Leominster Priory/Reading
GB-Ob Rawl. G 18	*Worldes blis*	Moralising	Female ownership? Burnham?

The above suggestions for manuscript provenance are not equally reliable, nor do they confirm *song* provenance in every case; for example, *Mirie it is* is preserved on a flyleaf attached to a Psalter with possible origins at Thorney Abbey, and any association of the song to Thorney Abbey may therefore be indirect.[33] However, even with limited information on manuscript provenance, table 1 does demonstrate that manuscripts containing both vernacular song(s) and material suited to homiletic use of pastoral care do not appear to be compiled or owned privately, but are designed for institutional use. Moralising and Passion songs are seemingly flexible in their preservation contexts, and appear in both tables 1 and 2: they can be found in manuscripts originating from clerical institutions or from private owners, and the other contents of the manuscript may or may not contain further materials for use in the realm of pastoral care. Nature songs and personal laments are also seemingly of use to both clerical institutions and individuals; however, where origin in a clerical institution seems likely, these songs only feature in table 2— they are preserved exclusively in manuscripts which do *not* also contain pastoral or homiletic materials. Thus, although vernacular songs on any of the above topics were appropriate for preservation by clergy, laity, or individual reader of either realm, the songs on the topics of nature

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[33] Dobson suggests that the language of the song is plausibly consistent with the area of manuscript origin, although this is no confirmation of shared provenance. Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 121.

and personal sorrow were dissociated from materials related to pastoral care, including the cases in which their preservation and usage are traceable to a religious institution.

It is also worth noting that the only version of *Worldes blis* transmitted in an explicitly homiletic manuscript for institutional use is considered to stem from a different textual source than its two transmissions in non-homiletic manuscripts. The lyric in the homiletically orientated manuscript Arundel 248 lacks a strophe which appears in both Digby 86 and its other musical transmission, Rawlinson G.18; and the strophes it does share with the other two manuscripts differ in order.[34] Neither of the latter two manuscripts, which appear to share a source for the *Worldes blis* text, appear to be for homiletic use by a particular religious institution: Digby 86 contains a mix of religious and secular material, and was created and owned by 'a member of the lower gentry'.[35] Rawlinson G.18 is not a manuscript for homiletic use, but primarily a Psalter, and was likely kept in the private possession of a woman.[36]

2.1.5   Were all Middle English lyrics created equal?

Several conclusions can be drawn from the previous subchapters which may shed light on the nature and prerequisites of song transmission (with musical notation), as well as the potential distinctions between lyrics intended for private or non-homiletic devotion and lyrics intended specifically as homiletic tools for use by clerics. Rather than 'songs' and 'lyrics' having inherently different modes of transmission, it may be the function and thematic content of a lyric which appears to dictate its network of circulation, and its preservation – or not – with musical notation.

Firstly, the divergence of the lists of favoured lyrics in anthological and catechetical miscellanies implies that these lyrics may have differed in reception, function, and worth in terms of religious instruction. The lyrics in the latter, less formally organised miscellanies were likely used by their compilers as tools of lay religious instruction; they were not preserved for the purpose of collection, as literary items of value for enjoyment or general reference.

Secondly, moralising and Passion lyrics in Middle English were clearly the most valued both for practical homiletic use in general, and for musical setting. Their preservation in these manuscripts was therefore not only for the sake of their literary value, but also for the purposes of teaching, learning, and re-working. It is for the same reasons that the songs' musical notation is prioritised in these manuscripts. The fact that the two lyric themes with the most musical settings and concordances are also those with the most connections to homiletic practice implies that

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[34] Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 201.
[35] Susanna Fein, 'Introduction', in *Interpreting MS Digby 86: A Trilingual Book from Thirteenth-Century Worcestershire*, ed. Susanna Fein, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 3.
[36] DIAMM/RISM.

musical performance played an important rôle in religious instruction surrounding these themes specifically.

Thirdly and finally, a Middle English lyric transmitted among few others in a practically orientated *ad hoc* homiletic miscellany may be a more likely preaching tool than a lyric found only in more formal anthologies—particularly if it relates to the Passion or repentance. This may seem an obvious conclusion to draw, but it does have implications on the potential functions of other English-texted songs set to music. Most notably, lyrics of explicit Marian devotion do not appear to be shared between manuscripts of a more concentrated practical homiletic nature.[37] Marian devotion makes up a significant proportion of the whole corpus of lyric material in the thirteenth century; yet none of the lyrics with multiple witnesses in exclusively non-anthological manuscripts is Marian.[38] Rather, all non-anthological concordances are moralising, behavioural, or Passion lyrics; themes in fitting with the five mostly widely transmitted lyrics listed above. It seems, then, that unless Mary is standing at the foot of the cross, she may be more useful in the realm of the private meditation and devotion of the educated than in socially inclusive homiletic instruction. This complements the fact that there are also surprisingly few references made to the Virgin Mary in medieval prose sermons written in Middle English.[39]

This particularly affects the potential performance contexts of the explicitly Marian song *Edi beo þu*, which being devotional, was a conceivable contender for use in lay religious instruction. However, it does not appear to fit the profile of songs and lyrics best suited to homiletic use. Despite this new uncertainty, the patterns of thematic sharing between homiletic manuscripts help us to better place other songs in the repertoire. Eight of the thirteen surviving English-texted songs *do* fit the themes most commonly shared in the broad homiletic lyric network; not only does this allow us increased confidence in aligning them with homiletic practice, it further strengthens the implied associations of *music* and religious instruction on these two topics. Concerning *Edi beo þu* and further text-only Marian lyrics, the following assessment of Anglo-Norman song transmission will provide further insight.

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[37] Nor do the nature lyrics; but their lack of apparent connection to homiletic practice is less surprising.

[38] There are only two such Marian songs which have more than one witness, and in each case, one of those witnesses is Trinity B.14.39; the largest anthology of thirteenth-century Middle English lyrics. These two songs are NIMEV 2645 and 2687.

[39] Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, 1, vol. 1. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), xliv.

2.1.6   Anglo-Norman lyric transmission and manuscripts

Anglo-Norman lyric transmission requires relatively little discussion, for the simple reason that Anglo-Norman lyrics were not widely disseminated in the thirteenth century. While didactical verse and literature on a larger scale 'abounds', stanzaic lyrics and *chansons* of a smaller scale are rather rare.[40] The most popular Anglo-Norman verse for copying instead takes the form of literary debates, classic texts of Marian devotion and the Annunciation, the Passion, and long, moralising warnings of the perils of sin, the horrors of hell, and the influence of the Devil; all themes seen to be associated with an educated readership in Middle English.[41] The strong alignment of Anglo-Norman verse with higher-level literature comes as no surprise, as the language was associated with education and privilege: it was the standard vernacular of the nobles, the majority of the clergy, and anyone dealing with legal matters. The extent to which spoken Anglo-Norman infiltrated the remainder of the lay population is somewhat unclear, but it was undeniably the favoured language of written vernacular culture in the thirteenth century, and most strongly associated with educated higher society, and urban contexts.[42] Included in the ranks of regular Anglo-Norman speakers and readers were the somewhat educated social climbers who, despite a mother-tongue of Middle English, wished to appear 'culturally aware', engage with 'fashionable' literature, or be successful in law and business.[43]

The shared thematic content with the Middle English gentry is complemented by the similar nature of the manuscripts in which Anglo-Norman verse tends to be copied. In the above discussion of Middle English lyrics, a distinction was made between the lyrics shared between what might be considered anthological manuscripts, and the lyrics which frequently appear in *ad hoc* homiletic miscellanies for presumed practical use by clerics. It is the latter genre of lyric and manuscript which is not well represented in Anglo-Norman: there are no Anglo-Norman lyrics which have been copied numerous times in non-anthological manuscripts, and thus no Anglo-

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[40] Dominica Legge, 'Anglo-Norman Studies To-Day', *Revue de Linguistique Romane,* vol. 17/67-68, 1950, 18.
[41] Among the most widely disseminated works are Anglo-Norman versions of the *Five Joys* of Mary, *Fifteen Signs*, and the *Debate between the Body and the Soul*, all of which are also copied in either Digby 86 or Trinity B.14.39 in Middle English.
[42] A small survey conducted in Hereford in 1307 suggests that at this point in time and place, the rural laity preferred Middle English, the urban laity were split between French and Middle English, and the clergy were split between French and Latin. Michael Richter, 'Collecting Miracles along the Anglo-Welsh Border in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Multilingualism in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. David Trotter (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 53–61; Serge Lusignan, 'French Language in Contact with English: Social Context and Linguistic Change (Mid-13th-14th Centuries)', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (York: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 20.
[43] Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*, 3; Boklund-Lagopoulou, *'I Have a Yong Suster': Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric*, 25. On the varied functions of Anglo-Norman in Britain, see Ad Putter and Marianne Ailes, 'The French of Medieval England', in *European Francophonie: The Social, Political and Cultural History of an International Prestige Language*, ed. Vladislav Rjéoutski, Gesine Argent, and Derek Offord, Historical Sociolinguistics (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 51–80.

Norman equivalent exists for the five most popular and homiletically associated Middle English lyrics discussed above. Instead, frequently copied Anglo-Norman verse features in the anthological-style manuscripts, and the most significant thirteenth-century sources are Digby 86 and Trinity B.14.39; two primary witnesses of Middle English lyrics which appear to be associated with an educated readership. The surviving Anglo-Norman songs, too, fail to foster as strong a connection as the Middle English songs to vernacular homiletic practice and institutional use. Tables 3 and 4 show that musical transmissions in Anglo-Norman are not only less likely to feature and be surrounded by homiletic or pastoral content, they are less prone to planned inclusion in institutional manuscripts overall; the doubtful provenance of several of the items below is due to their survival in booklets or on flyleaves which were separate additions to their host manuscript.[44]

Table 3: AN song provenance: MSS containing pastoral/homiletic materials

Source	Song	Theme	Possible provenance/usage
IR-Dtc 432	*Quaunt le russinol*	Moralising/ personal lament	?
GB-Ob Ashmole 1285	*De ma dame*	Courtly love	Southwark Priory?
GB-Lbl Arundel 248	*Veine pleine de ducur*	Marian	Kirkstall Abbey
	Bien deust chanter	Marian	
	Flur de virginite	Marian	

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[44] Notable examples are *De ma dame*, *Parti de mal*, *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, and […] *chant ai entendu*, the preservation styles of which imply a separate and possibly opportunistic addition of the songs.

Table 4: AN song provenance: MSS not containing pastoral/homiletic materials

Source	Song	Theme	Possible provenance/usage
GB-Cpc MS 113	*El tens d'iver*	Courtly love	?
GB-Lbl Harley 1717	*Parti de mal*	Crusades	?
GB-Lbl Harley 978	*Duce creature*	Marian	Leominster Priory/Reading
GB-Lbl Harley 3775	*S'onques nuls hoem*	Courtly love	?
GB-Lbl Royal 12 E. i	[...*a*]*mer me estut...*	Love of Christ	?
GB-Lma Cust.1	*Eyns ne soy*	Personal lament	Arnold Fitzthedmar, alderman of City of London
GB-Lpro E 163/22/1/2	*Si tost c'amis*	Amours (love personified)	Single sheet/London *puy*
GB-Ob Rawl. G 22	[...] *chant ai entendu*	Courtly love	Thorney Abbey?
	Mult s'aprisme li termines	Courtly love	

One point of interest does arise from the transmission of Anglo-Norman verse which may provide insight into its potential use in religious instruction. Of the thirteenth-century manuscripts which contain any significant amount of Anglo-Norman verse – those with entries approaching or exceeding double figures – there appears to be a negative correlation between homiletic material and Marian devotion similar to that found in sources of Middle English lyrics. Marian devotion is among the most popular topics of the literature of the educated in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman, as already established; but the only major thirteenth-century source of Anglo-Norman verse to heavily feature Marian verse is also that with arguably the weakest evidence of clerical catechetical use: Digby 86, one of the anthologies mentioned above, is a seemingly privately compiled manuscript containing secular as well as religious material. Further significant sources of Anglo-Norman verse in the thirteenth century include the anthology Trinity B.14.39, as well as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS Poet. 241, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 405, the latter two of which contain around ten entries in Anglo-Norman verse. In contrast to Digby 86, these three manuscripts host widely disseminated verse on the topics of sin, the

Passion, and the Devil, but are markedly lacking in Marian entries: Rawlinson Poet. 241 and
Corpus Christi 405 each contain just one devotional verse to the Virgin Mary, and Trinity B.14.39,
which is witness to more than double the amount of Anglo-Norman verse entries, contains
none.[45] In these three manuscripts, Anglo-Norman verse almost exclusively covers traditional
homiletic topics, and the relative lack of Marian devotion can therefore not be attributed to a
broad mixing of verse topics overall. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in one of these
manuscripts, Marian devotion does feature strongly, but only in Middle English: Trinity B.14.39 is
one of the primary sources of vernacular Marian lyrics of the thirteenth century. It also contains a
significant amount of homiletic content. This disparity of preservation in Middle English and
Anglo-Norman may be implicit that Marian verse adopted varied rôles in the devotion of the
educated.

In summary, it would appear that Anglo-Norman lyrics were not associated with the
religious instruction of the laity in the thirteenth century to the extent that some Middle English
lyrics were. While Middle English lyrics appear to have enjoyed independent circulation for both
the devotional practices of the educated, and for more socially inclusive catechetical use, Anglo-
Norman verse is only widely transmitted in the former context. Furthermore, the few sources
which do potentially prioritise the transmission of Anglo-Norman verse as a homiletic tool appear
to limit Marian material. Therefore, despite the differences in the style and form of potentially
catechetical verse, there are also strong parallels between Middle English and Anglo-Norman
practices: each language appears to contextually distinguish between verse in praise of the Virgin
Mary, and verse on repentance and the Passion. The latter is more strongly associated with
catechetical function, while Marian praise may have been primarily reserved for other devotional
contexts. According to the distinct treatment of Marian verse in Trinity B.14.39, the context for
such Marian devotion may have varied further according to the language in which it was
conducted.

2.1.7   London, BL, Arundel MS 248: A handbook of clerical vernacular song

The previous subchapters have highlighted that the vernacular songs and lyrics preserved by
thirteenth-century clerics were likely not considered comparable in function, value, and suitability

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[45] Each of the Marian verses featured is widely disseminated. Rawlinson Poet. 241 contains the 'Miracles' of
the Virgin, and Corpus Christi 405 contains the classic *Five Joys* of Mary. Trinity B.14.39 contains no
devotion to the Virgin, but does feature verse proverbs of Mary Magdalene, who is more strongly
associated with didactic texts than the Virgin Mary. Aside from these entries, the remaining verse in these
manuscripts is comprised of classic homiletic material of the time, including *L'Amour de Dieu et la Haine du
Peche*, the associated *Manuel des Peches*, versions of the *Antichrist* and *Jour de Jugement*, and further
works associated with sin, the Passion, and Doomsday.

for musical transmission. Passion scenes, as well as direct, down-to-earth moralising lyrics, were the bread and butter of vernacular homiletic song in Middle English; and these lyrics appear to have been favoured as songs for homiletic purposes. For an educated Anglo-Norman reception, courtly, chivalric moralising lyrics seem to have been better options for the occasional song; and at least occasionally, Marian devotion in a clerically associated compositional style seems to have featured, although perhaps in less explicitly homiletic contexts. A cleric who wished to use song as a persuasive or devotional tool therefore needed access to a varied repertoire, depending on the social diversity of his community.

The most valued source of thirteenth-century British vernacular song, Arundel 248, has already featured as something of an oddity in this chapter: despite its small and unique collection of songs, this is not an anthology, but an *ad hoc* homiletic miscellany, added to in multiple stages. It was clearly a manuscript of importance, however, and its songs were both selected and notated with great care and attention.[46] I will argue that the trilingual and thematically varied selection of songs in this manuscript was not made based on personal preference alone, but serves to provide the most valuable homiletic and devotional material for practical use by clerics—and that includes, by necessity, songs in each of Britain's languages for the reception of all layers of British society.

The songs in Latin will not be much addressed here, but suffice it to say that they align with the expected textual and musical tastes of the educated clergy who would have used the manuscript. The four exclusively Latin songs include one moralising text (complete with the standard literary reference to the body becoming food for worms after death), and devotional texts to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, one of which also references Sarah.[47] The content of these songs is therefore in keeping with the apparent favoured themes of the educated, as observed in the Anglo-Norman verse repertoire – namely, 'morals and Mary' – but the Latin texts diverge slightly in focus from Anglo-Norman texts presumably directed at the laity. The Virgin Mary is not the primary focus of devotion by as significant a proportion as in Anglo-Norman verse, and the moralising text is not homiletic in the sense that it is trying to convince the *listener* to convert; rather, it is plausibly written by the clergy for the clergy, bewailing of the sins of man in general, without addressing a congregation directly. Therefore, it is not clear whether the songs

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[46] The structure and compilation of Arundel 248 is reviewed by Deeming, who suggests that the music was selected from a larger archive based on the personal preferences of the scribe, rather than added spontaneously. Helen Deeming, 'Isolated Jottings? The Compilation, Preparation, and Use of Song Sources from Thirteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 6, no. 2 (September 2014): 139–52.

[47] 'Saccus prius sordium et post cibus vermium' ('First a sack of filth and afterwards food for worms'). Verse 3 of *O labilis o flebilis*, f. 153r. Edition and translation in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 92. The other Latin-texted songs in the manuscript are *Magdalene laudes plene* (f. 153v), *Spei vena melle plena* (f. 154v), and *Risum fecit Sare* (f. 201v). All of the musical contents of the manuscript are edited and translated in Deeming, 92–108.

may have served specifically as edification for the clergy themselves, or simply as devotional music on themes important to a clerical community.

There is only one song in this manuscript which is set exclusively to an Anglo-Norman text: the adapted devotional Marian song originally attributed to Blondel de Nesle, *Bien deust chanter*. This makes Anglo-Norman the least represented song language in the manuscript. This fits the patterns observed throughout the lyric and song repertories: firstly, Marian devotion is plentiful in literary sources likely intended for reading, but does not appear to be a popular topic for vernacular song in Britain; and secondly, the use of Marian song for the instruction of the educated laity – through the adoption of the *trouvère* tradition with which they were undoubtedly familiar – was not much of a priority for clerics, despite evidently being of occasional use.

The three dual-texted songs in the manuscript, all of which set a Latin and a vernacular text to the same musical material, are particularly revealing.[48] The fact that they share melodic content implies that their musical style was deemed suitable for reception in both Latin and the chosen vernacular. They were therefore likely to have enjoyed an educated reception, whether by clergy or laity; and indeed, one dual-texted song is a polyphonic setting in three voices, firmly associating it with learned compositional practice.[49] Two are in Latin and Anglo-Norman, and only one in Latin and Middle English. These are proportions to be expected for an educated reception, all of whom would have spoken and written Anglo-Norman as standard, but who would have been competent in Middle English at least as a spoken language. It is the themes of the three lyrics which are of the most use in this assessment of song function and reception, however: the Latin-Anglo-Norman songs are both Marian, demonstrating the shared appreciation for Marian devotion in Latin- and French-speaking circles. The Latin-Middle English song, on the other hand, is one of the Annunciation. This is not a particularly common topic in Middle English lyrics, and does not feature among the list of most widely transmitted lyrics for homiletic use. In fact, Gabriel makes lyric appearances in only one further thirteenth-century manuscript: the anthology Trinity B.14.39, which has already shown evidence of an educated Middle English-speaking reception. One such lyric in Trinity B.14.39 even opens with a nature prelude—further evidence that Gabriel, Mary, and the Annunciation were topics for the higher bands of Middle English-speaking society.[50] However, the Latin text of the song in Arundel 248 is evidence that this song was indeed associated with religious instruction in some contexts: the *Speculum laicorum*, a Franciscan

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[48] *Flos pudicitie/Flur de virginite* (f. 153v), *Angelus ad virginem/Gabriel fram evene king* (f. 154r), and *Salve virgo virginum/Veine pleine de ducur* (f. 155r).
[49] *Salve virgo virginum/Veine pleine de ducur* (f. 155r).
[50] NIMEV 2366.

collection of *exempla*, makes reference to the song *Angelus ad virginem*, which is the Latin incipit of the melody shared by *Gabriel fram evene king*.[51] This reference to the song in a preaching manual makes apparent a particularly interesting point of divergence between the Latin-Anglo-Norman and the Latin-Middle English songs in this category: even in the case of a potentially educated reception, content in Middle English continues to foster stronger connections to explicitly *homiletic* practice than content in Anglo-Norman. Furthermore, the appearance of this topic in only this Latin-associated song and in lyrics within Trinity B.14.39 – a manuscript containing homiletic material, but often with a courtly or academic bent – is further evidence that within the English-speaking community, homiletic lyrics deemed suitable for an educated reception differed in content and focus from homiletic themes targeted towards the general population.

The three remaining songs in Arundel 248 are those set solely with Middle English texts, and may therefore be more representative of a more inclusive English-speaking reception.[52] It will therefore come as no surprise that the texts of these three songs are in fitting with the most widely transmitted lyric topics associated with homiletic practice in Middle English: *Worldes blis* is a moralising call to repentance before death, and *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Þe milde Lomb* represent both styles of Passion lyric: the former being the dialogue between Mary and Christ, and the latter leaning towards the non-dialogue, descriptive scene at which both Mary and John are present.[53] The English-texted songs are, it seems, the perfect representation of what is expected in the sung religious instruction of the English-speaking laity.

It may seem like something of an oversight, then, that only one of the selected lyrics in this 'collection' appears to have made the cut from the list of the five most-valued and most widely shared lyrics outlined earlier in this chapter: *Worldes blis* is the only direct concordance between this manuscript and any other. On closer consideration of the songs preserved in Arundel 248, however, it becomes apparent that all three English-texted song lyrics are indeed pulled from this list. *Þe milde Lomb* and *Jesu cristes milde moder* do not, like *Worldes blis*, have direct melodic or textual concordances outside of Arundel 248; however, each text is a third-person re-working of two of the five multi-witness lyric models previously discussed. *Jesu cristes milde moder* is already known to be directly related to the widely disseminated *Stond wel moder*; the similarity of the distinctive exchange between Mary and Christ, and of the musical setting in sequence form,

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[51] Deeming, 'Songs and Sermons in Thirteenth-Century England', 110.

[52] *Þe milde Lomb* (f. 154r), *Worldes blis* (f. 154r), and *Jesu cristes milde moder* (ff. 154v-155r).

[53] The text of *Þe milde Lomb* also incorporates elements of the usual mother-son dialogue: it is written in paired versicles, akin to sequence form, and Christ is once directly quoted addressing Mary. However, the relative lack of emphasis on Mary's perspective, and the distinctive presence of St John, are each more reminiscent of the non-dialogue style of Passion lyric. It is plausible that *Þe milde Lomb* was consciously designed to draw from both styles.

would be difficult to miss. Easier to overlook is the relationship between the texts of *Þe milde Lomb* and *Wenne hic soe on rode idon*, and based on their textual similarities, the latter is the fourth of the five widely transmitted lyric themes which I believe may foster connections to a musical transmission. That is not to say that *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* was originally set to music necessarily – although one transmission does contain repeated lines of text, which arguably lends it to melodic setting – but simply that its association with *Þe milde Lomb* may strengthen connections between song and the religious instruction of the English-speaking laity.[54]

Þe milde Lomb is a drawn-out, third-person rendition of the same events described in the variants of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon*. In all transmissions of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon*, specific aspects of the Passion scene are highlighted: the sight of Christ on the cross; the presence of St John and Mary; the (bloody) wounds of Christ; the sins of man; and the shedding of tears, both by Mary, and by the narrator or reader. In *Þe milde Lomb*, similar imagery is evoked over the course of several verses of text. Christ hangs, bloody, on the cross; St John and Mary are both present; the suffering and wounds of Christ are described; his death for our sins is emphasised; Mary weeps, as does the external observer. For the purpose of highlighting the common distinctive features of the two lyrics, the combined interpretation of the multiple versions of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* created by Karl Reichl is useful. Rather than selecting one of the five thirteenth-century transmissions of the lyric, I will here present Reichl's interpretation of its key features, followed by the original text of *Þe milde Lomb* with key imagery reminiscent of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* emphasised in bold. For ease of reading, the longer text of *Þe milde Lomb* has not been presented line-by-line according to its poetic structure. A comma indicates a change in poetic line (following the rhyme scheme of the lyric), and a colon marks the separation of the whole verse into two versicles, as in sequence form.

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[54] In Royal 12 E. i, the final line of the lyric is written three times in a row. Reichl also suggests that the proximity of this and other Passion texts to Franciscan and musical materials may be reason to consider sung performance. Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*, 1:90–93.

Wen ic se on rode

Jesus mi leman

Weping bi him stonde

Maria and Johan.

And his rug iswungen

And his side istungen

For þe sunne of man.

Sore mai ic wepen

And bittre teres leten

If ic of love can.

'Kerngedicht' by Karl Reichl of the multiple transmissions of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon*[55]

Þe milde Lomb isprad o rode, heng bihornen al o blode, for hure gelte for hure gode, for he ne gelte nevre nout: Feawe of hise im warn bilived, dred hem hadde im al bireved, wan he seyen here heved, to so scanful deth ibrout.

His moder þar im stud bisiden, ne leth no ter other unbiden, wan hoe sei hire child bitiden, swics pine and deien gelteles: **Saint Johan þat was him dere, on other alve im stud ek fere**, and biheld with murne chere, is maister þat im lovede and ches.

Sore and arde he was iswungen, feth and andes þurew istungen, ac mes[t] of alle is othre wunden, im dede is modres sorwe wo: In al his pine in al his wrake, þat he drei for mannes sake, he sei is moder serwen make, wol reufuliche he spac hire to.

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[55] Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*: 491. This can be loosely translated as: 'When I see my beloved Jesus on the cross – with Mary and St John stood weeping beside him, and his body beaten, and his side pierced, for the sin of Man – I may weep sorely, and let run bitter tears, if I know what love is'. A first-person narrative of the lyric is the most common; the only thirteenth-century transmission to be written in the third person is that in Trinity B.14.39.

He seide Wiman lou me here, þi child þat þu to manne bere, with uten sor and wep þu were, þo Ics was of þe iborn: Ac nu þu must þi pine dreien, wan þu sicst me with þin eyen, pine þole o rode and deien, to helen man þat was forlorn.[56]

Saint Johan þewangeliste, hir understud þurw hese of Criste, fair he kept hire and biwiste, and serwed hire fram and to fot: Reuful is þe meneginge, of þis deth and tis departinge, **þar in is blis meind with wepinge**, for þarþurw us kam alle bot.

He þat starf in hure kende, leve us so ben þar of mende, þat he give us atten ende, þat he havet us to ibout: Milsful moder, maiden clene, mak þi milce up on hus sene, and brinc hur þurw þi suete bene, to þe blis þat faillet nout.

Þe milde Lomb, **GB-Lbl Arundel 248**[57]

The fact that two Passion lyrics employ similar imagery is, to a certain extent, to be expected. However, I do believe that the patterns observed so far between widespread lyric transmission and musical setting warrant the suggestion of a more formal connection between the two lyrics, as well as the stronger association of homiletically orientated lyrics such as *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* with potential sung practice. Firstly, the majority of other such widely transmitted lyrics are already associated with a musical transmission (*Man mei longe*, *Worldes blis*, and *Stond wel moder*). Secondly, the other English-texted songs in Arundel 248 are the only two in the surviving repertoire with *multiple* independent musical transmissions; this implies that Arundel 248 may comprise a lyric selection for which musical performance was especially typical. Thirdly and finally, the transmissions of the multi-witness songs in Arundel 248 are in some way distinct from the transmissions of the same songs in other sources, to the extent that the Arundel 248 version may be a complete re-working of text and melody (such as *Jesu cristes milde*

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[56] In this verse, the verbal communication between Christ and Mary, the emphasis on the perspective of the mother, and the explanation of Christ that his suffering is necessary, all evoke the style of the *Stabat iuxta christi crucem* and other mother-son Passion dialogues.

[57] Translation of phrases which are highlighted in bold: 'The gentle Lamb, spread on the rood [the cross], hung all overrun with blood, for our guilt, for our good'; 'His mother stood there beside him, let no tear await another'; 'Saint John, who was dear to him, on the other side of him also stood as a companion'; 'Sore and hard he was beaten, feet and hands pierced through'; 'Saint John the Evangelist'; 'therein is bliss mixed with weeping'. These excerpts are taken from the full translation available in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 98.

moder).[58] It therefore seems feasible that a similar re-working of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* could have resulted in *Þe milde Lomb*: just like *Jesu cristes milde moder*, *Þe milde Lomb* may be a re-working of the text, narrator perspective, and melodic setting of its original model. I am not suggesting that the original text of *Wenne hic soe on rode idon* would have been set to music, necessarily; in fact, its text does easily lend it to the 'paired' structures potentially associated with the musical settings of Passion lyrics. It was clearly an important lyric theme in Middle English religious instruction, however, and it may be that in the musically focussed clerical community of Arundel 248, sung homiletic practice was important enough to deem a stylistically appropriate musical re-working of this lyric a worthy project: a textual and musical setting which stayed true to the sentiments of the Passion scene depicted in *Wenne hic soe on rode idon*, but incorporated something of the lengthy, meditative, paired structuring of existing Passion songs.

The interest of this song, and indeed of all three Middle English songs in Arundel 248, does not lie solely in their potential status as contrafacta or imitations, however. Their musical preservation in Arundel 248 also greatly strengthens the connections already observed between the five most widespread Middle English lyrics, their suitability for musical transmission, and their specific alignment with homiletic manuscripts.[59]

2.2   Song and society: Conclusions on the functions of religious song

Lyric and song were clearly involved in the religious instruction, pastoral care, and devotional practices of the laity. However, not all songs and lyrics are alike in preservation and potential function; layers of literary and song culture are evident between and within languages. One question to be raised from these distinctions is whether they reflect differences in the approaches to religious instruction and devotion in thirteenth-century Britain according to social hierarchy. Is it possible to identify the target readerships and functions of the surviving vernacular songs, based on the combined consideration of the societal associations held by their language, style, and musical setting?

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[58] The Arundel 248 text of *Worldes blis* is also supposed to be of distinct origin from its other two witnesses, albeit to a lesser extent; a study of the three text transmissions of this lyric suggest that the at least the text of Arundel 248 preceded that of Rawlinson G.18 and Digby 86. Arthur Napier, 'Eine Weitere Fassung Des Mittelenglisch Gedichts Worldes Blis Ne Last No Throwe', *Archiv Für Das Studium Der Neueren Sprachen Und Literaturen* 87 (1891): 262; Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 201.

[59] The fact that the survival of a musical setting seems to have been a part of the identity of certain homiletic lyrics does not imply that text-only lyrics preserved in other manuscripts were not sung. It simply tells us that the preservation of musical settings for homiletic purposes appears to have been a priority in *written* transmission. Sung performance in religious instruction was evidently an important feature of the Middle English moralising and Passion lyrics in particular, and clerics required access to most valuable musical homiletic tools for learning, sharing, and adjusting to their purposes.

The question of social reception and language of delivery is not a straightforward one where vernacular verse in homiletic practice is concerned. Considering that Latin was the dominant literary language of clerics, it is accepted today that the written transmission of a sermon in Latin does not exclude it from delivery in the vernacular.[60] Furthermore, the written transmission of a sermon in any language is not proof of its having been delivered orally at all.[61] Nonetheless, the active inclusion of Middle English verse and *exempla* in sermons, sometimes painstakingly, implies that the vernacular material was a valuable tool in delivery.[62] While notes in Latin could be translated directly during delivery if desired, rhymed verse in the vernacular was likely not improvisable to the same extent, and thus required writing down in advance.

In the same vein however, the presence of vernacular lyrics within a Latin-written sermon does not necessarily indicate delivery of the entire sermon in the vernacular, nor that vernacular homiletic lyrics were for use in vernacular preaching *per se*. The Middle English prose sermons surviving from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are not those in which sermons are interjected with Middle English verse; the presence of vernacular verse in sermons is more associated with sermons transmitted in Latin.[63] It has also been suggested that Middle English could be used as a code-switching tool for increased intimacy and emotional effect in comparison to Latin, and that the use of Middle English for this purpose was not dependent on audience or the language of delivery for the remainder of the sermon.[64] If this is true, then the Middle English verses in surviving written sermons could just as well have been written for a clerical or mixed reception as for the purpose of 'popular' preaching to the English-speaking masses.

The language of verse preservation alone is therefore not a definite signifier of intended audience in homiletic practice, and firm conclusions on the social reception of the vernacular songs potentially associated with religious instruction cannot be drawn. However, it is established that the content of instructional texts could differ according to intended audience; for example, Scriptural references were thought to be suitable for the clergy, *exempla* for the uneducated, and

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[60] Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, 18–20; Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus Morum' and Its Middle English Poems*, 87.

[61] O'Mara and Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, 2007, 1: xxviii–xxix.

[62] Wenzel notes that the Middle English preaching verse which features in late thirteenth-century Latin sermon transcriptions shows the discomfort of the scribe writing in Middle English. This implies that the inclusion of the vernacular verses in the transcription was deemed worthy of some effort. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus Morum' and Its Middle English Poems*, 94.

[63] One Middle English prose sermon from a high-medieval source features a short verse: Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library MS Q. 29 contains Latin sermons, and one in Middle English (ff. 136v-137r). The Middle English sermon opens with NIMEV 4273.3, and no further verse interjections are made during the sermon. Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, 2007, 4: 2628–30.

[64] See chapter 2 of Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*.

mixed materials were necessary for the engagement of a mixed audience.[65] If the vernacular songs were indeed tools of religious instruction and pastoral care, then it may be no coincidence that similar divisions of style are evident in their lyric content and musical settings. Certain song themes and musical styles appear to be bound together, while others are mutually exclusive, and a small selection mix elements of stereotypically educated and uneducated rhetoric. It is this concept which will be explored here: that the differences in content and style evident throughout the vernacular songs extend beyond a basic divergence between Anglo-Norman and Middle English receptions, and that they are potentially indicative of a more detailed functional and social identity of a song.

Excluding Latin lyrics and songs and focussing only on the concept of religious instruction and devotion in the vernacular, several distinct levels of song style and potential reception can be hypothesised. These will be outlined below in order of descending theoretical social hierarchy. The social categorisations of language and song content are retrospective, and do not represent any concrete contemporaneous distinctions of what we would today call social 'class'. Their segregation here is merely for the purpose of demonstrating how differing tastes in vernacular literary and musical culture may inform us of song function and likely performance context.

2.2.1   The Anglo-Norman- and Latin-speaking elite

At the highest theoretical social level are two songs which combine Anglo-Norman and Latin literary and musical culture: *Flos pudicitie*/*Flur de virginite* and *Salve virgo virginum*/*Veine pleine de ducur*, preserved in Arundel 248. The Marian and bilingual Latin-French texts of both render them suitable for enjoyment by both clergy and educated laity. Despite its surviving Latin text, the former song is according to its rubric apparently modelled on a well-known and vernacular-associated melody ('Aaliz'). The complex three-voice polyphony of the latter, vernacular-texted song is a marker of its origin in a learned environment.

It is unclear if these songs were primarily enjoyed by the educated Anglo-Norman lay community, or by clerical circles who engaged with the vernacular in their own devotion. Either way, despite the appearance of the two songs in a homiletically orientated manuscript, Marian songs in any language do not foster explicit connections to the practice of preaching. These two songs could plausibly be devotional or meditational items for Britain's educated clergy or upper-class Anglo-Norman-speaking laity. Their lyric languages and musical style would not have been accessible to the uneducated.

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[65] Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, 70–72.

2.2.2 The Anglo-Norman-speaking laity

The next level of theoretical social reception is that mostly comprised of the educated Anglo-Norman-speaking laity. Widely shared religious texts in Anglo-Norman-heavy manuscripts tend to be literary works, rather than shorter lyrics, but some representation of the lay-orientated *trouvère* lyric tradition is present. The common 'educated' verse themes of morals and the Virgin Mary are well-represented in text-only form but are limited in musical transmission. Marian and moralising verse may draw on elements of secular lyric traditions such as the courtly tropes of *trouvère* song. Moralising verse belonging to this category persuades the listener to become more virtuous through references to literary works and Scripture, Christ and the Devil, Doomsday and Hell. A distinct focus on the concepts of the soul and the afterlife are present as rhetorical tools of persuasion.

Songs which could arguably have enjoyed this reception are the *trouvère*-style songs *Quaunt le russinol*, *Parti de mal* (both of which are moralising, and feature courtly and chivalric tropes), *Bien deust chanter* (Marian devotion featuring courtly but non-romantic vocabulary), and [*…a*]*mer me estut a tute fin* (love of Christ, in courtly romantic style). Based on the inclusion of some homiletic material in its host manuscript, it is possible that the love song *De ma dame* could be interpreted as disguised Marian devotion.

The appearance of the three 'love' songs in manuscripts including homiletic material implies that they may have been of use to clerics in appealing to the laity through adopting their song culture. However, neither of the homiletic songs in this group stems from a homiletic manuscript, and furthermore, the healthy sharing of either homiletic or devotional lyrics is not as present in Anglo-Norman literature as it is in Middle English. Therefore, although a potentially useful clerical tool of religious instruction on occasion, it seems likely that the instruction of the educated Anglo-Norman-speaking laity through song may have been a peripheral branch of clerical homiletic practice.

2.2.3 The Middle English-speaking gentry

The third societal level is that comprised of the primarily English-speaking gentry; the kind that may have enjoyed the contents of Trinity B.14.39. Despite not necessarily belonging the highest, French-speaking social classes, this community would have been competent in French and some Latin.

The literature of this layer of society benefits from an incorporation of both the cerebral literature of the French-speaking classes and the more down-to-earth style of the proverbs and

exempla also found in Middle English. Signs of an educated reception such as macaronic language mixing, Marian devotion, Annunciation lyrics, courtly sentiments, and literary and Scriptural references are found alongside more directly judgemental proverbial content. Passion scenes also feature; this is a lyric theme with no immediately apparent social or linguistic boundaries. The literary rhetoric occupies something of a grey area between that of the highly educated nobility and the less-educated masses.

Surviving musical settings are limited in this social category, however: no courtly moralising lyrics, or lyrics which include a combination of courtly and proverbial content, survive with a melodic transmission. The only songs specifically suited to this category are Marian, Annunciation, and Passion songs: *Edi beo þu* (Marian devotion), *Gabriel fram evene king* (the Annunciation), and the Passion songs *Stond wel moder* (and its variants), *Jesu cristes milde moder*, and *Þe milde Lomb*. These Passion songs may not belong exclusively to this social category.

The surviving song on the Annunciation (*Gabriel fram evene king*) is transmitted in a homiletic manuscript, and its Latin text fosters connections to homiletic practice. However, the topic of the Annunciation does not feature among the most widely transmitted Middle English homiletic lyrics, and its Middle English reception may have been limited in religious instruction. In a similar vein, the sole Marian song *Edi beo þu* is not transmitted in a homiletic manuscript, thus reinforcing the expected status of Marian lyrics as devotional or meditative, rather than their being explicitly associated with homiletic usage or religious instruction.

It is interesting that no courtly moralising lyrics are set to music, nor are they widely shared in the non-anthological homiletic miscellanies. This suggests that courtly language may not have been as valuable as non-courtly sentiments in sung homiletic practice. However, the presence of harsher and shorter moralising text-only lyrics in this social category nonetheless distinguishes it from the rhetoric of the Anglo-Norman and Latin lyrics discussed above. This may be demonstrative of a slight shift in homiletic rhetoric between the Anglo-Norman- and Latin-speaking layers of society, and the Middle English-speaking gentry. Although longer and more cerebral moralising works in Anglo-Norman and Latin were also likely appreciated by educated Middle English speakers, the exclusive presence of more scathing and judgemental lyrics in Middle English implies that the language allowed for a more direct connection between preaching poet and reader or listener. A decreased concern for the readers' sensitivities, and an increased reliance on fear-mongering in order to promote behavioural change, is permitted in Middle English.

As with the social category above, it seems plausible that at least the text-only moralising lyrics, as well as the sole Marian song, may have been suited to private devotion and self-instruction; there is no evidence to suggest their inclusion in clerically led didactic practice.

2.2.4   Songs for all society?

The final grouping of songs to be suggested is not really dependent on a social layer at all, but likely had no specific social target, instead being accessible to readers and listeners from a variety of backgrounds. Moralising lyrics in this category feature proverbs, direct behavioural instruction, and references to the outdoors. They appear to focus primarily on changing basic moral conduct in *this* life, rather than evoking more Biblical images of Doomsday and the afterlife. Despite these features seeming to dissociate the lyrics from educated literature, this does not mean that they were exclusively targeted at the uneducated English-speaking laity. Clergy and laity of any social or educational level enjoyed proverbial rhetoric, and hints at high-brow literature are still arguably present in some lyrics and songs. The point is instead that these lyrics arguably have more potential for an inclusive, flexible usage and reception than lyrics which only employ courtly or clerical language and imagery; while a member of the clergy can appreciate a Middle English proverb, an uneducated Middle English-speaking layperson is unlikely to understand courtly or Scriptural topics in Anglo-Norman or Latin. It is perhaps for this reason that Middle English lyrics in this style also happen to be the most strongly associable with homiletic practice: these are the lyric themes most extensively transmitted in homiletic manuscripts, and some lyrics have explicit connections to preaching practice.

     The musically set lyrics in this category are *Worldes blis*, *Man mei longe*, and likely also the Passion songs (*Stond wel moder* and its variants, *Jesu cristes milde moder*, and *Þe milde Lomb*). The Passion is a lyric theme which features strongly in both *ad hoc* miscellanies and alongside the courtly lyrics of anthological manuscripts, and so these songs cannot be restricted to any particular social reception in Middle English.

2.2.5   Peripheral preservations: secular traditions?

The only songs remaining are those with no obvious religious content or homiletic context: the Middle English nature-laden songs *Sumer is icumen in*, *Mirie it is*, and *Foweles in þe frith*; and the *trouvère* love songs *El tens d'iver*, […] *chant ai entendu*, *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, and *S'onques nuls hoem*. The three latter songs may well belong to the standard, non-devotional *trouvère* repertoire which was active in Britain, and it seems unlikely that they were transmitted for use in religious instruction. The three English-texted songs are more ambiguous, in that they appear to foster connections to both educated and potentially uneducated tropes and contexts. But with no surrounding homiletic content in their manuscripts, and no equivalent representation among the most widely transmitted homiletic Middle English lyrics, there is no evidence that these songs

were preserved for use in religious instruction, either. The purpose of their copying, if anything more than personal enjoyment, is likely to remain unconfirmed.

2.3   Conclusions to chapter 2

The likelihood of musical transmission and use in sung homiletic practice appears to be strongly dependent on the linguistic and social exclusivity of the content of the lyric in question. One could say that the importance of homiletic song as a tool of religious instruction seems inversely proportional to the social status of the listener; but the real reasoning behind the prioritisation of Middle English, proverbial, moralising and Passion songs for transmission in homiletic manuscripts may have more to do with the increased restrictions of the cleric when dealing with portions of the population who could neither read nor understand two of the nation's three primary languages. The pastoral care of society's educated was aided by literary works of a moral or devotional bent which were of no use to the remainder of the population who could not access the material unless attending an oral presentation of it. Clerics tasked with the engagement and salvation of the uneducated were therefore reliant on effective and efficient oral delivery, regardless of whether or not educated members of society were also present. The emotive pull of the Middle English language, the universal appreciation of proverbs, and the power of music rendered Middle English song an excellent tool for homiletic guidance and pastoral care with maximum outreach. According to lyric transmission patterns, Middle English calls to repentance and meditations on the Passion were possibly the bread and butter of *sung* religious instruction.

Devotional Marian verse was a major lyric theme in all three of Britain's literary languages in the thirteenth century, but Marian lyrics receive neither social nor musical distribution equivalent to the moralising and Passion lyrics: *sung* vernacular Marian devotion favours Anglo-Norman over Middle English, while Passion songs *only* appear in Middle English. Although the use of Middle English does not restrict the reception of the Passion songs to the uneducated, the use of Anglo-Norman in the Marian songs is more restrictive to the upper bands of society. Additionally, two out of three of the explicitly Marian songs feature a Latin text, a learned polyphonic setting, or both; it is plausible that the surviving Marian songs were of more use in the devotion of the clergy themselves than in their instruction of the laity.

If we wish to imagine which of the further surviving text-only vernacular lyrics may have been used in religious instruction, it seems we would do best to directly seek moralising or Passion lyrics transmitted in non-anthological miscellanies containing homiletic material. The manuscript context is important; lyrics on the same themes which are found solely in anthological manuscripts appear less likely to have been in regular catechetical use by clerics. Marian lyrics,

nature lyrics, and *trouvère* songs are not the most probable contenders for use in religious instruction, although they could of course have featured on occasion.

These criteria suggest that the following songs may have been of the most value in clerically led homiletic practice and lay instruction: *Worldes blis*, *Man mei longe*, *Stond wel moder* (and *Stand wel moder*), […] *stod ho pere neh*, *Jesu cristes milde moder*, and *Þe milde Lomb*. These songs would have suited clerical addresses to varied or even mixed audiences, and evidence would suggest that they were of high value and in regular use, whether in sung or spoken form.

Other contenders are *Quaunt le russinol* and *Parti de mal*, although sung religious instruction in Anglo-Norman appears to have been less of a priority than in Middle English, at least where surviving transmissions are concerned. The Marian songs *Bien deust chanter*, potentially *De ma dame*, and *Edi beo þu* have similar ambiguous statuses of use and reception. These songs are not likely categorisable as distinctly 'homiletic' and might better be considered 'devotional'. The context of their performance is unclear, but likely remains in the realm of the educated.

All remaining songs do not fit the thematic, linguistic, or transmission patterns which seem to indicate use in clerically led religious instruction. Arguably the ultimate guide to the clerical use of vernacular song is laid out for us in the contents of London, British Library, MS Arundel 248: of the four solely vernacular song texts, three are in Middle English, and cover the topics of redemption and the Passion. The fourth is a Marian *trouvère* song, demonstrating not only the reduced importance of sung religious instruction in Anglo-Norman, but also the shifting of favoured themes between the two linguistic worlds. Finally, although it is not the focus of this thesis, it would feel like an oversight not to mention that by far the best-represented song language in this homiletic miscellany is Latin. Even within a manuscript so keenly geared towards homiletic practice, and with more consideration of vernacular song than any other thirteenth-century source, it is primarily Latin song which fulfils the spiritual, liturgical and para-liturgical, homiletic and devotional needs of its cleric readers.

Chapter 3 The Middle English songs: A stress-based analysis

3.1 Introduction to analysis

The aim of this chapter is to present a first attempt at melodic analysis of the English-texted songs which appear in the clerical miscellanies of thirteenth-century Britain. Non-analytical musical commentary does exist on the songs, but this is generally restricted to broad observations of structure, the clerical compositional 'genres' to which they may be related, and acknowledgements that some melodic patterning is observable within individual songs. The Catalogue of English-texted songs by Page covers the basics of range, notation, and structure, but is a intended as a reference, and does not further comment on the details of melodic construction.[1] The first major edition of the songs includes discussion of their melodic content by Harrison; however, as each song is treated individually, and no overarching analytical system is put into place, an overview of compositional habits or potential stylistic connections across the songs is not visible.[2] In the more recent and most substantial edition of the British song repertoire, Deeming comments on features which appear regularly throughout the repertoire, rather than focussing on the melodic characteristics of individual songs. Such features include the tendency for syllabic setting, the prevalence of different structural forms, and the use of musical patterning, 'taking the form of repetition and transformation of small melodic motives'.[3] The features observed by Deeming consider all three insular song languages together, and her linguistically inclusive approach is a more useful complement to the many discussions of 'insular' compositional style usually restricted to consideration of the Latin-texted repertoire.[4]

However, neither the focussed nor the broad observations of melodic patterning in the British repertoire made so far have led to the identification of a genre or style specifically suited to the setting of Middle English texts. The fact that multiple English-texted songs share their

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[1] Page, 'A Catalogue and Bibliography of English Song from Its Beginnings to c1300'.
[2] Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*.
[3] Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, xliv.
[4] Although the English-texted songs have not received much attention in stylistic analysis, the harmonic traits of insular polyphony from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries have attracted continued attention from researchers in the last century, with no signs of interest waning. Yet even in this much greater-studied linguistic repertoire, there is more to discover of insular style: in a purposeful shift away from the usual focus on the Worcester fragments and comparison with contemporaneous French practices, Amy Williamson's 2016 PhD thesis makes new observations on insular polyphony of the thirteenth century. Aside from the canon *Sumer is icumen in*, the vernacular songs make little appearance, however. Amy Williamson, 'Genre, Taxonomy and Repertory in Insular Polyphony of the "Long Thirteenth Century" (c. 1150-c.1350)' (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2016).

setting with a Latin text, or at least with Latin-associated melodic material, has caused their association with clerical musical practices to form the focal point of discussions of melodic style and compositional technique. The motet *Worldes blisce have god day* is a non-homophonic, modally rhythmic composition over the ubiquitous tenor *Benedicamus Domino*; thus whatever the origin of its vernacular text, the form in which it survives in writing clearly belongs to a branch of learned compositional practice.[5] The social origin of the canon *Sumer is icumen in* has been the subject of much debate, due to the mixing of its secular vernacular text with what may be 'learned' compositional practices; but whatever its origins, its non-homophonic style of polyphony and its alternative Latin text render the song an unreliable example of purely 'English-texted' melodic style with no associations to 'Latin' compositional practice. The literature on this song is extensive, and the debate of the summer canon generally revolves around its potential association with either the lay song traditions described by Gerald of Wales in the late twelfth century, or with inherently clerical compositional practices.[6] The manuscript clearly enjoyed an educated readership, and *Sumer is icumen in* is the only Middle English entry. The most plausible explanation behind this unusual piece is that even if secular influence is present, its polyphonic, Latin-texted preservation by clerics may have caused such influences to be heavily adapted (as may be the case with the motetus of *Worldes blisce have god day*). Analysis will lean towards a potential hybrid consideration of Latin- and Middle English-orientated practices for this and select other songs. Further English-texted songs are contrafacta of, or alternative texts to, Latin models: *Gabriel fram evene king* is an English rendering of a song with a broader Latin reception;[7] *Ar ne kuthe* is based on the Latin *Planctus ante nescia*; and the two transmissions of *Stond wel moder*,

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[5] This song has received surprisingly little attention in musicological discussion, perhaps due to its not fitting within discussions of the Latin motet, nor within discussions of purely English-texted song. It is primarily discussed in an early work by Bukofzer and Pidcock: Manfred Bukofzer, 'The First Motet with English Words', *Music & Letters* XVII, no. 3 (1 July 1936): 225–33.

[6] Deeming provides a detailed description of the host manuscript of this song, London, British Library, MS Harley 978, and its strong connections with Latin song and French literature. Helen Deeming, 'An English Monastic Miscellany: The Reading Manuscript of Sumer Is Icumen In', in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song : Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 116–40.

[7] Although this dual-texted version of the melody is its earliest transmission, a Latin origin for the song is assumed due the increased reception of the Latin text. A history of transmissions of the lyric is provided in John Stevens, 'Angelus Ad Virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', in *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett: Aetatis Suae LXX*, ed. Peter Heyworth and Jack Arthur Walter Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 297–328.

as well as the related […] *stod ho pere neh* borrow the melody and form of the Latin sequence *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*.[8]

It is unsurprising, then, that the seeking out of an 'English-texted' compositional style in the thirteenth century – regardless of any focus on clerical or lay practice, sacred or secular – has not been a priority in modern research. The associations held by the songs listed above are seen as reason enough to potentially align the remaining English-texted songs, and in particular, the polyphonic songs, with Latin-orientated compositional practices:[9] the two-voice English-texted songs *Edi beo þu*, *Foweles in þe frith*, and *Jesu cristes milde moder* have been related to the *conductus*.[10] One of several factors not taken into account in such associations is the hierarchy of vocal texture and language in insular clerically preserved polyphony. Latin songs are preserved in any number of voices; Anglo-Norman in one or three, but never two; and Middle English in one or two, but never three (excluding the repeating voices of the 'summer canon'). Furthermore, it is particularly noteworthy that the two-voice texture with which Middle English song is quite strongly associated is one which is remarkably under-represented in insular Latin-texted compositions;[11] British clerics did not place the same weight on two-part composition as did their Continental counterparts, preferring instead three- or four-voice polyphony in Latin.[12] The classification of the two-voice English-texted songs as a potential branch of *conductus* therefore

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[8] *Jesu cristes milde moder* is thematically related to the *Stabat iuxta christi crucem* and composed in similar sequence form. Deeming has noted that the text of *Jesu cristes milde moder* shares the same 'Victorine stanzas' as the Latin song *Spei vena melle plena*, next to which it is preserved in Arundel 248. However, despite these textual Latin connections, the melody of this song will be seen to be structured with Middle English in mind. This song may therefore be testament to the mixing of Latin textual forms with Middle English melodic style. Deeming, 'Isolated Jottings?', 149.

[9] As outlined in the introduction to this study, the monophonically preserved songs have received similar treatment, but to a lesser extent. Such associations are most prominent in their performance-based study. For example, *Worldes blis* and *Þe milde Lomb* have been related to chant in both a performance guide and an edition: Hillier, 'English Monophony', 183; Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 76. *Þe milde Lomb* also features on the disc of English song by *Anonymous 4*, on which it is performed in the style of a *schola cantorum*, with several voices in unison and a sung drone on the finalis. Anonymous 4, *The Lily & The Lamb: Chant & Polyphony from Medieval England* (France: Harmonia Mundi France, 1995).

[10] Bukofzer strongly promoted the relationship of English-texted song with clerical compositional techniques, not least in his discussion of 'gymel' in the early British repertory. Leaving aside the controversy of his terminology and his association of 'gymel' with both three-voice thirteenth-century compositions and *fauxbourdon* technique, Bukofzer's reasoning for relating the polyphonic English-texted songs to clerical compositional practice is their use of thirds, and of voice exchange. He describes the songs as 'popular conductus'. Manfred Bukofzer, 'The Gymel, the Earliest Form of English Polyphony', *Music & Letters* 16, no. 2 (1 April 1935): 79. The suggestion that *Edi beo þu* and *Jesu cristes milde moder* are examples of 'gymel' has been picked up and featured in a performance guide with a chapter dedicated to English-texted song. Hillier, 'English Monophony', 185.

[11] Even without consideration of the non-homophonic *Worldes blisce have god day* and *Sumer is icumen in*, two-voice settings make up half of surviving songs written solely for an English text (including consideration of the fragment […]*in lyde ioye and blisce*, preserved above *Worldes blisce have god day* on the same folio).

[12] Williamson notes the 'stark difference' between numbers of two-voice compositions in insular and Continental sources, and provides comparative numbers of *conducti* in sources of Notre Dame polyphony in Britain and on the Continent. Williamson, 'Genre, Taxonomy and Repertory in Insular Polyphony of the "Long Thirteenth Century" (c. 1150-c.1350)', 172.

overlooks the fact that two-voice composition may have fostered entirely different associations for insular composers than it did for Continental composers. Middle English song was clearly associated with two-part compositional practice in clerical circles; but it cannot be said that two-part compositional practice was, in turn, strongly associated with insular Notre Dame-style polyphony.[13]

Furthermore, two of the three purely English-texted polyphonic songs are arguably stylistically distinct from the Latin-conceived polyphony to which they are compared. Despite their shared use of voice exchange and imperfect consonance, the English-texted songs appear to prioritise narrower melodic ranges, and are more avoidant of parallel motion and melisma: in the English-texted songs, the melodic phrases of each voice do not tend to stray further than a fourth in one direction before turning back on themselves, and voice exchange is usually focussed within the range of a fifth, but primarily around the third. In contrast, the voice-exchange of Latin-texted polyphony can expand to fill the octave, will more regularly move in parallel, and melisma is employed as an expressive device of increased flexibility, often exhibited more prominently in one of the two voices. In more subtle cases, these stylistic distinctions may be more tangible when sung than when viewed on paper; even the Latin-texted insular polyphony which makes the heaviest use of voice-exchange around the third is, when sung, still distinguishable from *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith*. The *conducti* which Bukofzer claims to be stylistically comparable to the English-texted songs in fact approach melisma, voice-exchange, and melodic and harmonic range differently to them; and plentiful further examples exist in both the insular and Continental Latin-texted repertories.[14] In the case of *Edi beo þu*, less-restrictive melodic movement and the increased use of parallel motion arguably renders this song more stylistically

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[13] Williamson, 172–74.

[14] Bukofzer, 'The Gymel, the Earliest Form of English Polyphony', 78. Further examples transmitted in insular sources which employ a particular heavy usage of thirds and voice-exchange include: *Amor patris et filii*, (GB-Lbl Burney 357, ff. 115r-16r), *Miro genere* (GB-Llp 457, f. 192r), and *Stillat in stellam radium* (F-Pnm Français 25408, ff. 118r-119r). Despite having been specifically selected for their extreme use of these techniques, they still diverge from the English-texted songs, primarily in their exploration of broader ranges (voice-exchange can expand to fill the whole octave), and their treatment of melisma (melismatic and syllabic passages may be alternated to extremes as expressive devices within one song, rather than following fairly regular patterns throughout; and one voice may be more melismatic than the other, whereas the English-texted songs are relatively even in this regard). All three are edited in Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*.

comparable with Latin-texted models;[15] and it will be seen that *Edi beo þu* does in fact distinguish itself in analysis from the other two polyphonically preserved English-texted songs.[16]

In short, although it has been claimed that we already have 'a pretty good notion of the characteristics of insular medieval polyphony', I am not convinced that we should rest on our laurels.[17] Within a trilingual culture such as that of thirteenth-century Britain, where distinct song and lyric cultures for French and Latin are evident, Middle English is unlikely to have been the only language not to receive the distinct treatment in clerically preserved music that it does in poetry.[18] Understandably, Middle English not being the primary language of written culture, we have less surviving material to work with—but that which we have has not yet exhaustively been explored.

What is still lacking in the discussion of British song is an analysis which not only considers general melodic characteristics and patterning, but also considers the relationship between melodic style and language. This analysis should land in focus somewhere between the individual commentaries of Harrison and the trilingual commentary of Deeming; one which considers only the English-texted songs, but which applies the same analytical criteria throughout. British song is by no means the only medieval repertoire to have avoided systematic analysis; melodies which are non-prescriptive in rhythm and counterpoint do not lend themselves to categorisation, definition within given expectations, and comparison.[19] Due to its lack of *any* counterpoint, monophonically preserved song in particular has been 'relatively neglected as an object of sustained and systematic musical analysis'; it simply provides too few stable markers for comparison between songs.[20]

The few published analytical approaches to medieval monophony which extend beyond basic structural or formal commentary are therefore led to focus more heavily on the lyric text;

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[15] Bukofzer also highlights the freer treatment of parallel and contrary motion in *Edi beo þu*, suggesting that this renders it more 'popular' in style. Although this statement is not expanded upon, his earlier description of the English-texted songs as 'popular conductus' and other published descriptions of 'popular polyphony' imply that he is using the term to mean 'of the people', rather than commonly occurring. Bukofzer, 'The Gymel, the Earliest Form of English Polyphony', 80; Manfred Bukofzer, 'Popular Polyphony in the Middle Ages', *The Musical Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1940): 31–49.

[16] Furthermore, this song has already been seen to foster stronger potential connections to an educated reception in its textual content; perhaps this is related to its adoption of a polyphonic style more in keeping with Latin-associated compositional practices.

[17] Peter Lefferts, *Book Review: Songs in British Sources, c.1150-1300*, *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, vol. 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 250.

[18] The description 'clerically preserved' is added here because of course, the majority of thirteenth-century English-texted song must have stemmed from orally transmitted lay traditions which we are unlikely to uncover in full, even if hints have been preserved in certain clerically transmitted songs.

[19] The counterpoint of the two-voice English-texted songs is not 'freely composed' and does follow certain expectations; but it is not as regulated as species counterpoint, or three-voice polyphony of the fifteenth century, for example.

[20] Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', *Music Analysis* 38, no. 1–2 (2019): 3.

the only feature of the song to which stable analytical parameters and 'meaning' can more easily be applied. Features for melodic-poetic analysis to be considered alongside structure are phonetics, syntax, and evidence of a kind of melodic mood painting; essentially, such analyses aim to pinpoint non-determinate factors of 'poetic expression' through which the melody serves the text in a form of mild madrigalism.[21]

Although the interaction of such features is undoubtedly present in medieval monophony, and analysis on these terms enlightening for its own purposes, conclusions that text-melodic relationships are 'sometimes more concerned with semantic expression, sometimes less, sometimes respecting the detail of text structure, sometimes obscuring it, some melodies elevating the text through elaborate textures and/or tonal idioms, others altogether simple' do not bring us further in the identification of any overarching compositional style or habitual relationships between melody and text.[22] Neither is Nicolas Ruwet's more structural analytical method for medieval monody of much help for my purposes, as my goal is to identify patterns between melody and text, the latter of which his method does not consider.[23] Furthermore, the non-modal, repetitive, and relatively limited melodic material of most the English-texted songs is unlikely to be the best fit for any of these analytical approaches, which rely on the identification and variation of melodic 'expression' and melodic motifs.[24]

However, the stress-based nature of Middle English poetry provides a relatively stable point of comparison between the songs where few others are present. I have therefore taken the opportunity to make it the focal point of my analysis. Not only is it a feature which is present in each song – whether polyphonic, monophonic, contrafact, or *unicum* – but its identification also requires less subjective input than, say, my own perceptions of the development of melodic motifs and expressive gestures. This stress-based analysis will hint at a compositional style for

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[21] Rankin and Treitler both offer melodic-poetic analyses of select medieval monodies on these terms, and aim to highlight the under-appreciated expressive text setting skills of the medieval composer, which in Treitler's opinion has been overshadowed by less subtle Renaissance madrigalism. Treitler does briefly consider the rôle of syllable counts and 'stress', but only with a view to emphasising how such features complement the *expressive* tone of the Latin poetry of his example. Susan Rankin, 'Some Medieval Songs', *Early Music* 31, no. 3 (2003): 327–44; Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020): 26.

[22] Rankin, 'Some Medieval Songs', 342.

[23] Nicolas Ruwet and Mark Everist, 'Methods of Analysis in Musicology', *Music Analysis* 6, no. 1/2 (1987): 3–36.

[24] This is not a criticism or implication that the English-texted songs lack melodic and poetic individuality or internal structural complexities. In the first year of this research project, the songs were analysed using similar melodic and structural parameters to the approaches listed above; this revealed that despite their apparent simplicity, some of the English-texted songs are melodically crafted with remarkable skill. Although these analyses did not remain central to the goals of this study, some of the general melodic traits of the songs will be relevant to the final chapter.

Middle English lyrics of the thirteenth century, and will impact our current understanding of English-texted contrafacta.[25]

3.2   Scope and exceptions

With so few songs surviving, and no pre-established analytical or stylistic models, I aimed to include as much material as possible which might help to identify melodic traits directly associated with the characteristics of Middle English. Contrafacta are therefore included in consideration, for the purposes of comparison with the text-setting of the songs presumably conceived with a Middle English text. Songs with the potential for rhythmic interpretation are also included, but rhythm has not been treated as a concrete defining feature; these melodies were analysed in the same manner as songs for which no rhythmic interpretation easily presents itself.

Not included are songs which appear to have been melodically constructed around features which likely override consideration of linguistic stress, such as prescribed rhythm and non-homophonic polyphony. This causes the exclusion of the mensurally notated *Worldes blisce have god day*, its accompanying fragment [...]*in lyde ioye and blisce*, and *Bryd one brere*, the musical notation of which in any case falls just outside of the thirteenth century.[26] Further individual exclusions include the 'Godric songs' of the twelfth century, and the transmission of *Stand wel moder* in which the Latin text is directly aligned to the melody, and not the English. Its counterpart *Stond wel moder*, which is directly aligned, will be analysed instead; but the bilingual Latin-English version of this song will return to relevance as a Latin-English contract.

The unique structure of the canon *Sumer is icumen in* required special consideration. It is the only song of its kind in the surviving repertoire. Its short *pes* and canon structure introduce elements of non-homophonic polyphony and prescriptive rhythm to the song, but not to the extent of the through-composed, tenor-orientated *Worldes blisce have god day*. While the English-texted melody of the latter is surely designed to serve its *Benedicamus Domino* tenor, the upper-voice melody of *Sumer is icumen in* is less restricted by its short, tonally centred *pes*, and

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[25] A compact case-study of results is also published in Grace Newcombe, 'Britain's Cleric Composers: Poetic Stress and Ornamentation in Worldes Blis', in *Ars Antiqua: Music and Culture in Europe c. 1150–c. 1330*, ed. Thomas Paine and Gregorio Bevilacqua (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020): 143-161.

[26] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 8, A (*Worldes blisce have god day* and [...]*in lyde ioye and blisce*, Cambridge, King's College Archives, KCAR/6/2/137/01/1 SJP/50 (*Bryd one brere*). The latter song is transmitted in two-voice score notation, but the second stave has been left blank. Presumably it was initially planned for polyphonic transmission. Although the lyric likely stems from the early thirteenth century, the song was copied around 1301. Aspects of the presentation and notation of this song, as well as its perceived melodic ambiguities, are discussed in my Master thesis: Grace Newcombe, 'In Defence of a Scribe: Re-Opening the Case of Bryd One Brere' (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 2015). Its dating and preservation context are discussed in John Saltmarsh, 'Two Medieval Love-Songs Set to Music', *Antiquaries Journal* 15, no. 1 (1 January 1935): 1–21.

can likely be considered the melody of primary importance. Furthermore, the rhythm of *Sumer is icumen in* does not extend much beyond a simple modal lilt; this was not cause for the exclusion of other rhythmically inclined (but not modally notated) songs, and it could conceivably be related in part to the stress patterns of the Middle English lyric. The melody of *Sumer is icumen in* therefore evades easy categorisation on several levels, and I did not initially plan to include the song in this discussion. However, considering the limited scope of the repertoire, and its history of tenuous association with 'popular' song, it also seemed a wasted opportunity to exclude it from analysis completely. Its upper-voice melody (that with the longer Middle English text) has therefore been analysed on the same terms as the rest of the repertoire, and included at least for the sake of comparison with other songs. However, its unique structural status will be considered in the assessment of results. Due to its bilingual Middle English and Latin text, it will be listed among other songs which are dual texted or contrafacta.

3.3 Methodology and terminology

The analytical method is simple, and will be outlined with an example song: *Worldes blis ne last no throwe* (London, British Library, Arundel MS 248). Unless otherwise stated, all references to *Worldes blis* in the methodology refer to this transmission. The variety of text-setting present in this song, as well as its moments of ambiguity, provide a good case study of the analytical process and some of the difficulties that were encountered along the way.

The analytical method has two primary parameters. First and foremost, text stress is the foundation of analysis to which melodic features are compared. This means a step away from analytical approaches which consider broader structural features such as poetic form and rhyme, and a new focus on the melodic profile of each syllable of text independently.[27] Each syllable of the English-texted songs has been analysed with regard to its syllabic or ligatured setting, the presence or absence of ornamentation, and its initial and net pitch movement (which, if ligatures or ornamentation are present, may be different). The second parameter of analysis is the sole consideration of material for which the alignment of text and melody is clear. The first stanzas of

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[27] The texts of the Middle English lyrics have been extensively discussed and analysed, and factors such as rhyme scheme and form information will not be of primary relevance to this analysis. Metre in the high medieval lyrics (including those set to music) is discussed in Alexander Müller, *Mittelenglische geistliche und weltliche Lyrik des XIII. Jahrhunderts (mit Ausschluss der politischen Lieder) nach Motiven und Formen*. Studien zur englischen Philologie (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1911); Duncan, *Medieval English Lyrics: 1200-1400*; Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*. The classic reference guide to Middle English verse is the *Index* by Brown and Robbins, which has been recently updated. Carleton Brown et al., *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, Printed for the Index Society by Columbia University Press, 1943); Rossell Hope Robbins and John Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015).

the songs are often directly aligned to the musical notation, but unless remaining strophes are also written out in full with musical notation, their text may not be an exact fit to the music provided. In such instances, the melodic notation is directly influenced by the text of the first stanza. If further non-aligned stanzas were considered, any alteration of stress patterns would compromise the goal of identifying text-setting patterns at the level of the individual syllable.

The first stage of analysis for each song was to identify the 'stressed' and 'unstressed' syllables of the musically aligned stanza, without consideration of its musical notation. Middle English poetry can be divided into 'stressed' and 'unstressed' syllables with relatively few complications. Some irregularities do present themselves: on occasion, the lyric stress of a syllable may be at odds with its spoken pronunciation in prose, or two 'clashing' stressed syllables may directly follow one another with no unstressed syllable between them. These are not errors, however, and such cases have not been 'corrected' for the purposes of analysis. Irregularities are both a feature of the poetic tradition and rare enough not to obscure more commonly detected patterns.

The undulation of stress gives the impression of what we now call poetic 'feet', such as iambs, trochees, and dactyls. However, the concept of fixed 'metre' is not as fundamental to this analysis of the English-texted songs as is the smaller-scale alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables; the placement of stress *within* a word did not affect the fundamentals of its melodic analysis. For example, in the first two lines of *Worldes blis*, a mix of iambs and trochees is present (stress marked in bold):

Worldes **blis** ne **last** no **thro**wë

it **went** and **wit** a**wey** a**non**[28]

The labelling of the first line as 'trochaic tetrameter' and the second as 'iambic tetrameter' was not a feature of my analysis; rather, the stress status of each syllable was considered independently in conjunction with its melodic profile.

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[28] Throughout analysis, bold text signifies syllable stress, ë signifies the likely pronunciation of the vowel as a separate syllable, and *e* signifies the opposite: that the vowel is likely elided. The pronunciation of this letter can vary between the theoretical spoken form of the word and its preserved setting. Where only the lyric content is discussed, as above, these pronunciation markers do not take the musical notation of the song into account unless otherwise stated.

The first strophe of *Worldes blis* follows the typical tetrametric pattern of four stresses per poetic line. Equally common is its stressed opening syllable, while all but one of the remaining poetic lines begin with a weak upbeat (line 9 does not). Table 5 shows the division of stress in this strophe, which is also that set to music in the manuscript. Stressed syllables are marked in bold, and in the case of any ambiguity, expected pronunciation or elision of the letter 'e' in speech is represented with ë or *e* respectively.[29]

Table 5: Distribution of syllable stress in *Worldes blis*, London, BL, Arundel 248

Line	Stressed and unstressed syllables
1	**Worl**dës **blis** ne **last** no **thro**wë
2	it **went** and **wit** a**wey** a**non**
3	þe **lan**ger **þat** ics **it** [i] **kno**wë[30]
4	þe **lass***e* ics **fin**dë **pris** þa**ron**
5	for **al** it **is** i**meind** mid **ca**rë
6	with **ser**wen **and** mid **ivel** **fa**rë
7	and **at**të **las**të **povr***e* and **ba**rë
8	it **lat** man **wan** it **ginth** a**gon**
9	**al** þe **blis** þis **her** and **þa**rë
10	bi**locth** at **en**dë **wep** and **mon**

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[29] The sung and spoken forms of the lyrics are occasionally at odds with each other in this regard. For example, the opening word of *Mirie it is* has a neume aligned to each of its three syllables, despite the final 'e' being likely swallowed by elision with the following word in speech.

[30] This is the only text transmission of three to omit the bracketed syllable 'i' (the other sources being Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 86 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.18). It is shown here as it influences the distribution of stress in this line, but the missing syllable will not be considered in the analysis of this transmission.

Once syllable stress had been identified, consideration of the musical setting was introduced. At this stage, only proportions of syllabic and multi-pitch text setting were analysed, without any consideration of pitch. This required some initial experimentation, and the system and terminology ultimately adopted should be briefly clarified, as it diverges somewhat from that used for descriptions of chant. Text setting is here described as either 'syllabic', or 'ligatured'. The term 'syllabic' refers to a text syllable set to one main note (and never to a ligature);[31] and 'ligatured' refers to a text syllable set to several main notes, which almost exclusively happens through the use of standard ligatures(s). The length or splitting of ligatures, as well as the presence or absence of ornamentation, are not relevant to this initial distinction.

This terminology was adopted in part to avoid association with the various uses of the terms 'melismatic' and 'neumatic', and in part to actively distinguish the consideration of florid movement through ligatures from florid movement through written ornamentation (such as liquescences).[32] This was revealed to be necessary after several attempts at other systems of classification; ligature length and ornamentation are deserving of separate consideration from 'syllabic' and 'ligatured' text setting in general.[33] The division of syllabic and ligatured text setting in the analysed strophe of *Worldes blis* is shown in table 6 overleaf. The colouring of percentages over 50 in pink and percentages under 50 in blue, introduced in this table, will allow for a quick overview of numerical proportions in forthcoming larger analytical tables. Throughout analysis, shades of red will be seen to represent relatively 'high' data, and shades of blue relatively 'low' data.

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[31] This study adopts a slightly more exclusive use of the word 'syllabic' than Deeming does for this repertoire; Deeming describes a syllabic texture as one 'in which a single note or a small note-group is assigned to each syllable'. Although the 'syllabic' neumes of this analysis may feature attached ornamentation, ligatures of any length are excluded. Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, xli.

[32] The increased presence of extended floridity in chant melodies has led to the common division of the terms 'neumatic', which is generally used for the setting of between two and four notes to a syllable, and 'melismatic', which is reserved for the setting of five, six, or more notes to a syllable, as well as for floridity extensive enough to require multiple consecutive ligatures. This is not common practice in descriptions of non-chant text setting, for which 'neumatic' is often bypassed, and 'melismatic' signifies the setting of two or more notes to one syllable with no upper limit. Everist however prefers 'neumatic' for this purpose in relation to conductus, in: Mark Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song Latin Poetry and Music in the 'Conductus'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[33] In the early stages of this project, an analytical method in which ornamentation and ligatures were equally considered as 'florid movement' was considered. However, it became clear that the two forms are in fact treated differently from one another in Middle English song, and they were thus analysed separately thereafter. This will be revealed as one of the features which distinguishes the Middle English from the Anglo-Norman song repertoire.

Table 6: Syllabic and ligatured setting in *Worldes blis*, London, BL, Arundel 248

Line	Text	Analysable syllables	Syllabic	Ligatured
1	Worldës blis ne last no throwë	8	4	4
2	it went and wit awey anon	8	4	4
3	þe langer þat ics it knowë	8	6	2
4	þe lasse ics findë pris þaron	8	3	5
5	for al it is imeind mid carë	9	4	5
6	with serwen and mid ivel farë	9	6	3
7	and attë lastë povre and barë	9	7	2
8	it lat man wan it ginth agon	8	6	2
9	al þe blis þis her and þarë	8	4	4
10	bilocth at endë wep and mon	8	3	5
Sum		83	47/83	36/83
%			56.6	43.4

* In the case of this song, the alignment of syllable to neume is clear throughout, and the number of analysable syllables is the same as the number of sung syllables in the stanza. In some songs, however, folio damage or inconsistent alignment can cause the melodic setting of a syllable to be ambiguous, and it is thus excluded from consideration. The result is that the number of syllables considered in analysis is not always an exact match to the number of syllables in the lyric as read.

A slight tendency for syllabic setting is observable in this lyric, which is not a feature exclusive to Middle English song.[34] Next, the nature of the ligature was taken into consideration, and the prevalence of different ligature lengths calculated (table 7).

Table 7: Proportions of ligature length in *Worldes blis*, London, BL, Arundel 248

	Notes per ligature				
	2	3	4	5	6
Total (/36)	22	8	4	1	1
%	61.1	22.2	11.1	2.8	2.8

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[34] As previously mentioned, Deeming has remarked on the syllabic tendencies of insular song in general, but this is also a feature of most Continental song and is an unsurprising feature of the repertoire. Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, xli.

This song has an unusually broad range of ligature lengths, and shows that the prevalence of a particular type of ligature is inversely proportional to the number of notes within it. Two-note ligatures are the most common by a wide margin, making up 22 of the 36 ligatures in the stanza.

At this point, consideration of syllable stress was introduced. Poetic syllables were divided according to their stressed (S) or unstressed (US) status, in order to reveal patterns of stress-based syllabic and ligatured text setting (table 8).

Table 8: Stress-based distribution of ligatures in *Worldes blis*, London, BL, Arundel 248

				Notes per ligature						
	2		3		4		5		6	
	S	US	S	US	S	US	S	US	S	US
Total	7	15	2	6	1	3	1	0	0	1
%	31.8	68.2	25	75	25	75	100	0	0	100

This table demonstrates the clear prioritisation of *un*stressed over stressed ligatures: the most common ligatures (of two, three, and four notes) are unstressed at a rate of c.70-75%. The stress distribution of syllabically set text is not enough to warrant a table of its own, but was, as perhaps expected, primarily 'stressed' by a rate of c. 60%.[35]

The sole four-note stressed ligature in this setting is unusual: it falls on the stressed word 'it' in poetic line 3, the line which in this source is 'missing' a syllable when compared to its two other transmissions. In the other melodic transmission of this song, the same ligature is split between two syllables: 'it' is set to the first note of the ligature, and the unstressed syllable 'i' which follows (and which is missing in Arundel 248) is set to the remaining three notes.[36] In this alternative solution – that for which the likely 'correct' number of syllables is considered – this ligature is categorised as an unstressed three-note ligature, rather than a stressed four-note ligature, thus strengthening the association between unstressed syllables and ligatures. In an earlier analysis of the Arundel 248 transmission of this song, I attempted to correct the stress placement of this ligature, based on the evidence of its two other text witnesses. Such corrections were ultimately decided against, as they are subjective, and not numerous enough to cause significant changes to observable patterns. Therefore, in this analysis, two musical transmissions of the same song produce different data for the text setting of this word. Such instances highlight the challenges of attempting to quantify medieval monody; irregularity and *mouvance* are

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[35] 28/47 'syllabic' neumes are stressed, and 19/47 unstressed.
[36] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.18, ff. 105v-106r

features of song transmission, and as such, any resulting dents to numerical data are stylistically representative. Therefore, no such alternations have been made in the analysis presented; significant anomalies will be highlighted, however.

The placement of ornamentation was approached in a similar way to the placement of ligatures: different forms of ornamentation were individually categorised, and their attachment to stressed or unstressed syllables recorded. The term 'ornamental' is somewhat ambiguous, and a distinction between types of florid movement is fundamental to this analysis and its breakdown of results. I will therefore refer to ornamental notational forms such as wave notes, double noteheads, and liquescences as 'additive' ornamentation: this encompasses any notational form which requires *attachment* to a neume, rather than being a stand-alone feature. They are parasitic notational forms which cannot exist without a host pitch, and were they to be removed, the primary pitches of the melodic line would theoretically remain intact. In contrast, were the host pitches to be removed, these forms of ornamentation would also disappear. For example, a liquescence is not a neume in its own right, and neither is the secondary notehead which distinguishes a double notehead from a single punctum; both are supplements to a neume that has already been written. The same status applies to a wave note: it is an audible effect to be *added* to a pitch which, without the presence of the wave notation, would not disappear from the melodic line. In this sense, additive ornamentation differs from ligatured floridity: in a ligature, all pitches are notated with equal status, and we cannot immediately tell any hierarchy of pitches (if intended in the first place) from their notation alone.[37]

In the case-study melody, additive ornamentation is comprised of liquescences, double noteheads, and wave notes. These are distributed according to syllable stress as shown in table 9. Although notational styles of liquescence vary between songs, they have here been grouped together for clarity and ease of reading. The distinct notational forms of the liquescence do not appear to be impacted by syllable stress, and do not reveal text-setting patterns. There are also two neumes in this transmission which are noticeably long, but which are not necessarily intended as long noteheads: in line 1, on 'thro-WE', the first note of the podatus is somewhat longer than the second, but is too ambiguous to warrant definite classification as a purposeful long notehead. It has therefore not been considered as an ornamental figure in this analysis. In the final neume of the song, on 'mon', is another podatus with a long first note. In this case, its

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[37] Ligatures can also seem ornamental in function, but they do not visibly reveal their ornamental pitches in the same manner. The functions and interactions of ligatures and additive ornamentation will be discussed at some length in this and the following chapter.

length appears purposeful, but there is some wave to the form of the note. It has therefore been considered a wave note, rather than a long note.[38]

Table 9: Additive ornamentation in *Worldes blis*, London, BL, Arundel 248

	Additive ornamentation					
	Liquescence		Double note		Wave note	
	S	US	S	US	S	US
Total	4	1	4	0	3	1
%	80	20	100	0	75	25

In contrast to the results for ligature placement, additive ornamentation firmly favours stressed poetic syllables in this song: eleven of thirteen additive ornaments are stressed, putting ornamentation at a stressed rate of 84.6%.

Finally, pitch was taken into consideration. The melodic movement of each poetic syllable was recorded with three parameters: the stress status of the syllable, its initial melodic movement, and its net melodic movement. In other words, the presence and pitch direction of ligatures and pitch-adding ornaments, if present, were included in consideration. This means that a syllable set to only one pitch would have the same 'initial' as 'net' melodic movement, and a syllable set to a ligature of any length, or with an added liquescence, would not. An extract of the melodic map of *Worldes blis* is shown in table 10 to demonstrate the colour-coding system and split of syllable stress, which will be further explained beneath:[39]

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[38] Both neumes are interpreted in the same manner by Deeming in her edition of this song. Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 98–99.
[39] As both initial and net pitch movement is relative to the final pitch of the preceding syllable, the first syllable of a song does not provide any data.

Table 10: Extract of the melodic map of *Worldes blis*, London, BL, Arundel 248

	Stressed syllables			Unstressed syllables	
	Initial movement	**Net movement**		**Initial movement**	**Net movement**
Worl-			-des	L1	L3
blis	H2	H2	ne	H1	H1
last	H1	H1	no	0	L1
thro-	0	L1	-we	0	H1
			it	0	0
went	H1	H1	and	L1	L2
wit	H1	H1	a-	L1	L3
-wey	H2	H2	a-	H1	H2
non	0	L1			

As with the numerical data of other analytical categories, 'highs' are represented with shades of pink, and 'lows' with shades of blue; but in this melodic category, those terms refer to ascents or descents in pitch rather than percentages. In order to show the extent of those ascents and descents, however, varieties of each shade were newly introduced. The deeper the shade, the more extreme the melodic movement in that direction: the lightest shade of pink represents a single step up in pitch, and the lightest shade of blue a single step down; more extreme ascents will progress through mauve towards red, and more extreme descents will progress to darker blues.[40] The colours are complemented by letters which represent the exact pitch movement made, as shown in table 11.

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[40] In this analysis, a 'step' in pitch refers to the relative movement between the lines and spaces of the stave, and is not dependent on the arrangement of semitones and tones within the 'mode'; for example, the step of a tone between *d* (space) and the *e* above it (line) would be counted as one 'step' upwards in pitch, and the step of a semitone from that *e* to the *f* above it (space) would also be considered one 'step' upwards.

Table 11: Colour coding of melodic 'maps'

L4+	Four or more steps lower than previous pitch entry	↓ 5th or more
L3	Three steps lower "	↓ 4th
L2	Two steps lower "	↓ 3rd
L1	One step lower "	↓ 2nd
0	Neutral; no change in relative pitch	Same pitch
H1	One step higher than previous pitch entry	↑ 2nd
H2	Two steps higher "	↑ 3rd
H3	Three steps higher "	↑ 4th
H4+	Four or more steps higher "	↑ 5th or more

As is evident from the extract of the melodic map of *Worldes blis* in table 10, the distinction of different 'shades' of pitch provides insights on florid movement as well as on general pitch direction; in this extract, it is not only apparent that the stressed syllables are more prone to ascent, but also that the unstressed syllables are more prone to chaotic, florid movement.

The melodic mapping of the songs concludes their analysis, and although further adaptations of the above methods were employed at various stages, these will be outlined where they become relevant in the remainder of this chapter. Before progressing to an overview of the results of all songs, I will draw attention to a few cautionary points. Firstly, I have attempted to make the most important information as accessible as possible through concise charts and tables, which requires a reduction of data. There are certain points during the following discussion for which a table of comparative percentages will seem an insufficient representation of the point being made. For example, a 100% stressed ornament rate in a song containing only one ornament is not as defining a result as it is in a song containing fifty ornaments. In any such case, if a numerical entry would benefit from further context, it will be given. Where not stated, it can be assumed that data was sufficient enough in quantity to produce a representative percentage.[41]

In a similar vein, there are moments at which the analytical data of the songs may be enhanced or explained by additional information not easily representable in numerical form. Although not used as primary evidence, my familiarity with non-quantifiable song characteristics have occasionally informed or complemented patterns already present or suggested in its numerical data. Examples of such features include the overall melodic character of a song, its physical manifestation and layout, and the idiomaticity of its text alignment when sung. These additional considerations have proven beneficial for the contextualisation of songs which exhibit unusual or misleading behaviour. Notable features which do not fall within the categories of

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[41] The fundamental analytical data is provided within this thesis; for those wishing to study an individual song in greater detail, further data can be made available on request.

analysis, but which may have implications on the reading of analytical data, have therefore been mentioned in the analytical commentary. If no such features are mentioned, it does not mean that they are not present, but rather that they do not have a direct impact on analytical results.

Although a heavily quantitative analysis may seem to undermine the individual characters of the songs and their composers, it is an approach which is currently lacking in discussions of non-mensural medieval song. In addition to the data published in this thesis, I have previously conducted more general melodic analyses of the songs, and am also aurally familiar with their collective and individual 'characters'; yet, it is the new numerical data collected through quantitative analysis which has arguably proven to be most informative of their 'style'.

3.4　Analytical parameters and key findings

As might be suspected from the preview of case-study results given above, apparent patterns in the melodic setting of Middle English lyrics soon became evident. The strongest patterns are divisible into three overarching categories which will form the structural basis of this discussion: ligature placement, ornamentation, and melodic contour. All three categories, and the patterns observed within them, are dependent on the stress-based nature of the lyrics. What will prove to be especially noteworthy is that most of these patterns do not appear to be dependent on the songs' status as monophonically preserved, polyphonically preserved, or contrafacta. Rather, patterns and connections are dispersed across these preservation contexts, and may be reason to consider a re-structuring of our usual terms of categorisation. Supposed 'anomalies' in the results generally do not appear independently, either; they tend to share characteristics with other outlying songs. They may therefore represent distinguishable melodic styles or compositional methods, rather than being 'anomalous' as such. This, too, will contribute to a suggested re-grouping of the songs in their modern categorisation.

Based on the results of the three categories outlined above, the key findings in the melodic setting of Middle English lyrics can be summarised as follows:

- Poetic text is primarily syllabic, not ligatured; the number of single-pitch neumes usually significantly outweighs the number of ligatures.

- Of the ligatures which do feature, the majority fall on unstressed poetic syllables.

- Ornamentation (which will be seen to extend beyond 'additive' ornamentation) is primarily reserved for stressed poetic syllables, and appears relatively rarely on unstressed syllables.

- Stressed syllables tend to make a single step upwards in pitch; unstressed syllables tend to wind downwards in pitch, and are less consistent in their melodic contour overall.

In this chapter, the analytical results of the songs will be presented, and patterns observed, without extensive further comment. However, some of the results of analysis have resulted in further potential connections or oddities becoming evident, which are deserving of more detailed discussion. These will be flagged in this chapter, to be addressed more fully in chapter 4.

3.5   Category 1: Poetic stress and ligatures

The first category concerns the syllabic and ligatured setting of text. Table 12 overleaf shows the overall distribution of ligatures, as well as the more specific placement of those ligatures according to syllable stress. The abbreviations 'A' and 'R' represent the 'Arundel' and 'Rawlinson' transmissions of *Worldes blis*, and the abbreviations 'U' and 'L' represent the upper-written and lower-written voices of the polyphonic songs respectively. 'Syll.' is syllabic, and 'Lig.' is ligatured.

Table 12: Syllabic and ligatured text setting in the Middle English songs

	1		2		3	
	Distribution of poetic syllables		Distribution of whole ligatures		Distribution of ligatured pitches	
	Syll.	Lig.	S	US	S	US
Monophonic						
Worldes blis (A)	56.6	43.4	27.8	72.2	26.3	73.7
Worldes blis (R)	64.4	35.6	12.5	87.5	10.3	89.7
Þe milde Lomb	67.6	32.4	36.4	63.6	40	60
Man mei longe	87.1	12.9	75	25	78.9	21.1
Mirie it is	90.9	9.1	50	50	40	60
Polyphonic						
Jesu cristes (L)	82.5	17.5	23.9	76.1	20.7	79.3
Jesu cristes (U)	82	18	26.1	73.9	22.3	77.7
Foweles... (L)	58.6	41.4	41.7	58.3	40.6	59.4
Foweles... (U)	44.8	55.2	37.5	62.5	35.6	64.4
Edi beo þu (L)	100	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Edi beo þu (U)	97.2	2.8	100	0	100	0
Dual text/contrafact						
Gabriel fram...	84.2	15.8	44.4	55.6	42.9	57.1
Sumer is...	97.1	2.9	50	50	60	40
[...] stod ho...	85.1	14.9	43.4	56.6	41.4	58.6
Stond wel moder	79.7	20.3	28.3	71.7	26.5	73.5
Ar ne kuthe	89.2	10.8	63.6	36.4	64.4	35.6

Column 1 deals with the overall setting of lyrics as 'syllabic' (one neume per pitch) or 'ligatured' (ligature used; one neume for several pitches), without considering syllable stress. Columns 2 and 3 focus on the stress-based distribution of ligatures.

I will first address the patterns observed in the majority of songs, followed by a discussion of anomalies. The results of column 1 are remarkably clear: in all categories, the songs are heavily syllabic, and most to a degree of more than 80%. Columns 2 and 3 show that when ligatures are used, the majority are allotted to unstressed syllables, most frequently at a rate of around 60-70%. The difference between columns 2 and 3, although seemingly small (less than 4% for the majority of songs), allows us to determine that syllable stress not only impacts the placement of ligatures, but also the length of ligatures. Where column 2 displays the general distribution of ligatures, column 3 takes into account the exact number of pitches within each of them. For most songs, the proportions recorded in column 2 become increasingly pronounced in column 3,

demonstrating that unstressed syllables are not only set with more numerous ligatures, but also that *longer* ligatures are more likely to be found on unstressed syllables than stressed.

3.5.1 Outlying ligature proportions: *Foweles in þe frith*

The only outlier in the overall distribution of ligatures is the upper-written voice of *Foweles in þe frith*, which is slightly more melismatic than syllabic. Incidentally, the lower-written voice of the same song is also relatively mild in its proportion of syllabic text when compared with the majority of songs. Despite this high proportion of ligatures, both voices appear to favour unstressed ligatures as expected, but to a milder degree than most non-contrafacted songs following the same pattern.

The seemingly unusual data in column 1 of the upper-written voice of *Foweles in þe frith* may be explicable through comparison with another analysed song: *Þe milde Lomb*, which is the only other non-contrafact song to produce similar results to *Foweles in þe frith* in its stress-based distribution of ligatures (columns 2 and 3). Also, like *Foweles in þe frith*, *Þe milde Lomb* has one ligature-related figure which actively goes against the grain: it is the only song for which the distribution of individual ligatured pitches on stressed syllables *increases* in relation to the distribution of whole ligatures (columns 2 and 3). This renders *Þe milde Lomb* unique, in that its longer ligatures appear more frequently on stressed syllables than on unstressed syllables.

The unusual treatment of ligatures in both *Foweles in þe frith* and *Þe milde Lomb* may not be coincidental, seeing as there exists a further similarity between the two songs which is not immediately apparent from their numerical data: they are both particularly florid when compared with the remainder of the surviving Middle English repertoire. However, while the floridity of *Foweles in þe frith* manifests itself primarily in the form of ligatures, *Þe milde Lomb* is florid through its liberal use of ornamentation. The anomalous usage of ligatures in both songs may be a result of their florid melodic characters, as will be hypothesised in the forthcoming discussion of ornamentation.

3.5.2 Outlying ligature placement: *Man mei longe*, *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu*, *Sumer is icumen in*, and *Ar ne kuthe*

More numerous anomalies are apparent in columns 2 and 3: *Man mei longe*, *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu*, *Sumer is icumen in*, and *Ar ne kuthe* all display results which imply an unusual application of ligatures compared to other melodies. Although a list of as many as five may undermine the term 'anomalous', the fact that the remaining seven songs all treat ligature placement in the same way suggests that some kind of pattern does exist, which in these five cases has been broken. From the list of five, however, three might best be extracted or at least separately considered, based on

a simple lack of data. *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu* and *Sumer is icumen in* appear remarkably 'clean' in column 2. These songs display either a 50%-50% or 100%-0% balance in the distribution of ligatures, or no data at all (the lower-written voice of *Edi* contains no ligatures, which is in itself unusual). The reasoning behind the extreme nature of their results is that these songs are almost entirely syllabic, and the low proportion of ligatures is not best represented by a percentage. The actual number of 'stressed' ligatures in these three songs is only 2, 2, and 1 respectively.[42]

Remaining are *Man mei longe* and *Ar ne kuthe*. In both songs, the frequent placement of ligatures and ligatured pitches on stressed syllables causes their ligature placement to diverge from that of the majority of songs analysed. This characteristic cannot be justified through a mere lack of data, as was argued above to be the case for *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu* and *Sumer is icumen in*; both *Man mei longe* and *Ar ne kuthe* contain sufficient ligatures to suggest that their unusual alignment to stressed syllables has an active cause yet to be identified. In the case of *Ar ne kuthe*, a reasonable explanation presents itself: the song is a known contrafact, and its melody was composed for a language other than Middle English (in this case, Latin). Additionally, the retrospectively added Middle English text is not directly aligned to its newly associated melody, as an Anglo-Norman version of the text (*Eyns ne soy*) has been prioritised for melodic overlay, appearing between the musical notation and the Middle English text. These factors render the Middle English syllables twice removed from the musical setting to which they are intended to be aligned. Any expected association of unstressed Middle English syllables with ligatures is therefore either absent, or at least invisible, in this physical manifestation of the song.

No such justification is immediately apparent for the surprising dominance of stressed ligatures in *Man mei longe*, as the song is neither a known contrafact, nor is its alignment of melody to text compromised by the presence of a secondary lyric. Why, then, is the analytical profile of the song more consistent with that of a Latin-origin contrafact – *Ar ne kuthe* – than with songs supposedly conceived in Middle English? The overlapping structural characteristics of *Man mei longe* and *Ar ne kuthe* highlight a possibility that the two songs share an origin story, and that *Man mei longe* is also a Middle English contrafact of a Latin-origin melody—one which has until now remained unidentified. The status of *Man mei longe* as a potential Latin-to-English contrafact will be explored in detail in the following chapter (section 4.2).

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[42] These songs also happen to be the only three in the repertoire which are easily rhythmicised; if rhythmic performance were optional or intended (as it surely was for *Sumer is icumen in*), this is one possible reason behind a heavily syllabic setting. The placement of an unstressed syllable on a short, rhythmic 'offbeat' would be problematic if it were frequently melismatically set.

3.5.3 Overview: Patterns of ligature usage

The remaining nine melodies all display similar patterns of ligature distribution: text is primarily syllabically set, with a preference for ligatures – especially 'long' ligatures – on unstressed syllables. In order to seek out an average treatment of ligatures in the English-texted songs, then, extracting the data of these nine might be the best point of departure. This is not to say that the songs with variant data do not also provide valuable insights into the treatment of ligatures in Middle English lyrics; they are revealing in their own way, and their various connections will remain in focus throughout this chapter. Table 13 extracts the songs which do share a pattern of ligature usage, showing the consistency of patterning between them.

Table 13: Prevalent syllabic and ligatured text setting in the Middle English songs

	1		2		3	
	Distribution of poetic syllables		Distribution of whole ligatures		Distribution of ligatured pitches	
	Syll.	Lig.	S	US	S	US
Monophonic						
Worldes blis (A)	56.6	43.4	27.8	72.2	26.3	73.7
Worldes blis (R)	64.4	35.6	12.5	87.5	10.3	89.7
Þe milde Lomb	67.6	32.4	36.4	63.6	40	60
Polyphonic						
Jesu cristes (L)	82.5	17.5	23.9	76.1	20.7	79.3
Jesu cristes (U)	82	18	26.1	73.9	22.3	77.7
Foweles... (L)	58.6	41.4	41.7	58.3	40.6	59.4
Dual text/contrafact						
Gabriel fram...	84.2	15.8	44.4	55.6	42.9	57.1
[...] stod ho...	85.1	14.9	43.4	56.6	41.4	58.6
Stond wel moder	79.7	20.3	28.3	71.7	26.5	73.5

Of equal importance to the data within the table is the fact that it pulls melodies from each category of songs. Whether the songs are monophonically preserved, polyphonically preserved, or contrafacta, they all primarily place ligatures on unstressed syllables.

While these three categories seem to pale in significance, however, others begin to appear. On extracting the strongly anomalous results, milder distinctions in the placement of ligatures become more noticeable. In the reduced table, the two especially florid songs (*Foweles in þe frith* and *Þe milde Lomb*), and two out of three of the known contrafacta (*Gabriel fram evene king* and [...] *stod ho pere neh*), are visibly less extreme in their treatment of ligatures than the rest—

despite remaining well within the bounds of expectations. Where other songs hover around an average of 20% 'stressed' ligatured pitches, those four songs double that proportion to around 40%. Notably however, no songs fill the c.30-40% gap between, meaning that even within this table of pattern-following results, ligatured pitch distribution appears to fall into two distinct further groupings. These four songs do not appear to all share one common feature, but they can at least be paired: two are melodic contrafacta, and two are unusually florid. The possibility that these are features which impact the distribution of ligatures will be supported by further analytical results.

3.6   Category 2: Poetic stress and ornamentation

Table 14 shows the distribution of additive ornaments according to syllable stress, and the effect that this has on the overall distribution of pitches between stressed and unstressed syllables within a song.

Table 14: Distribution of additive ornaments in the English-texted songs

	1		2		3	
	Distribution of ornaments		Total pitches including ornaments		Total pitches not including ornaments	
	S	US	S	US	S	US
Monophonic						
Worldes blis (A)	84.6	15.4	40.8	59.2	37.3	62.7
Worldes blis (R)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	32.4	67.6
Þe milde Lomb	78.6	21.4	52.3	47.7	45.3	54.7
Man mei longe	83.3	16.7	55.7	44.3	53.4	46.6
Mirie it is	83.3	16.7	50	50	46	54
Polyphonic						
Jesu cristes (L)	90	10	47.3	52.7	44	56
Jesu cristes (U)	75.6	24.4	46.5	53.5	44.9	55.1
Foweles... (L)	75	25	49.1	50.9	46.9	53.1
Foweles... (U)	100	0	44.1	55.9	43.1	56.9
Edi beo þu (L)	100	0	51.3	48.7	47.9	52.1
Edi beo þu (U)	97.2	2.8	100	0	100	0
Dual text/contrafact						
Gabriel fram...	57.6	42.4	52	48	49.3	50.7
Sumer is...	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	54.8	45.2
[...] stod ho...	86.7	13.3	47.3	52.7	45.9	54.1
Stond wel moder	100	0	42.3	57.7	41.7	58.3
Ar ne kuthe	62.5	37.5	55	45	54.8	45.2

Column 1 of table 14 displays the placement of ornaments on stressed or unstressed syllables, and its results are unambiguous: in every song which contains additive ornaments, they are primarily placed on stressed poetic syllables. This pattern is so strong that only two of the songs drop below a 75% 'stressed' ornament rate—and those two happen to be the only songs for which another text is prioritised for melodic alignment over the English, meaning that the English lyric likely had reduced influence on the placement of written ornamentation (*Gabriel fram evene king* and *Ar ne kuthe*). Among those songs for which ornamentation was placed specifically for an English text, then, the rate of stressed ornamentation is 75% or more. The four melodies which increase this rate of ornamentation to 100% contain few ornaments, and thus their exclusive placement on stressed syllables, although significant, appears extreme.

3.6.1   Pitch counts considering ornamentation

In column 2 of table 14, overall pitch counts are shown which include every pitch written in the melody, including those which are the result of additive ornamentation. In other words, for every liquescence and double notehead, an extra pitch is counted (wave notes do not add an identifiable additional pitch, and therefore do not affect overall pitch count in this analysis). *Sumer is icumen in* and the Rawlinson G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis* contribute no data to this column, as they contain no additive ornamentation. The results across all songs in column 2 are not immediately striking: of the fourteen ornamented melodies, seven have more pitches on unstressed syllables; six on stressed syllables; and in one song, the pitch count is equal on either side. In most cases, the numbers hover relatively close to a 50/50 balance, with most percentages landing in the upper forties or lower fifties.

If pitch count is considered indiscriminately in this manner, no particular pattern presents itself. One would expect the unstressed pitch count to be heavier than the stressed pitch count, however; it has been established that ligatures are generally placed on unstressed syllables. Additionally, several songs have a slightly higher unstressed syllable count than stressed syllable count (due to poetic upbeats, and the occasional instance of two unstressed syllables following one another). The reason that this expected pattern is obscured here is that the ornamental pitches, primarily placed on stressed syllables, balance out the placement of ligatures on unstressed syllables.

3.6.2   Pitch counts not considering ornamentation

The 'additive' nature of the ornamentation presents an opportunity: it can be temporarily removed from consideration without removing its host neume, thus retaining the basic melodic structure of the song and its original distribution of single-pitch neumes and ligatures. Column 3

of table 14 shows the stressed and unstressed pitch counts of each song without the inclusion of its additive ornamentation.

Once additive ornamentation is disregarded (namely, liquescences and double noteheads), the number of songs with a higher unstressed pitch count jumps from its column 2 figure of 7/14 (50%) to 12/14 in column 3 (85.7%). In only two of these songs was the removal of ornamentation not sufficient to tip the balance in favour of unstressed syllables: *Man mei longe* and *Ar ne kuthe*. These two songs also proved to be outliers in their use of ligatures.

These results re-establish what was already implied in the earlier assessment of ligature distribution: the core, 'unornamented' structure of most English-texted melodies will have a higher number of unstressed than stressed pitches, usually by around 10%. This is due to the prevalence of ligatures on unstressed syllables, and to the fact that many Middle English lyrics have a slightly higher number of unstressed poetic syllables in the first place.

3.6.3 Two 'unornamented' songs

Column 3 of table 14 also allows for a comparison between the melodies with removed additive ornamentation, and the two melodies for which no additive ornamentation was employed in the first place (*Sumer is icumen in*, and the Rawlinson G.18 *Worldes blis*). *Sumer is icumen in* joins *Man mei longe* and *Ar ne kuthe* in having an unusual, predominantly stressed pitch count—but likely for distinct reasons. Firstly, being the only canon, it has different melodic priorities to the other two outlying songs from the outset. More specifically, its heavy stressed syllable count is influenced by a slight prevalence of stressed syllables overall (38:32), and its almost exclusively syllabic setting. Of its two ligatures, the longer ligature is stressed, thus further contributing to its overall stressed pitch count.

In contrast, the Rawlinson G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis* (the only other melody to contain no additive ornamentation) not only fits the unstressed-heavy pitch count of most songs, but also displays the most extreme results: an unstressed pitch count approaching 70%. This is a stark contrast to the majority of songs which, despite leaning in the same direction, most regularly settle at an unstressed pitch count of around 55%. The most valuable comparison with this transmission of *Worldes blis* to be made in column 3 of table 14, however, is with its concordance in Arundel 248. These are two separately transmitted versions of the same melody, one with additive ornamentation, and one without. This provides a unique opportunity to compare original 'ornamented' and 'unornamented' versions of the same English-texted melody, which will be explored separately to the presentation of analytical results, in the following chapter.

3.7   Category 3: Poetic stress and melodic direction

Each of the English-texted songs was also melodically analysed to see if there is any connection between poetic stress and melodic movement. In seven of the sixteen analysed melodies, a basic pattern presents itself: stressed poetic syllables often syllabically ascend in pitch, and unstressed poetic syllables often descend in pitch over the course of a ligature. Unstressed syllables are generally more flexible in their habits than stressed syllables: although a ligatured descent in pitch is the most frequent melodic movement, unstressed syllables may also ascend or remain neutral in pitch. Stressed syllables are more consistent, showing a stronger preference for ascending movement than unstressed syllables do for descending movement. Melodic maps have been provided in the Appendix for comparison, and among the clearest examples of such patterning is the Rawlinson G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis* (Appendix C.2). An example of a melodic map which lacks such patterning is that of *Man mei longe* (Appendix C.4).

Although the connection between poetic stress and melodic direction is clear in the melodies for which it is present, seven out of sixteen is technically a minority. Furthermore, included in those seven are two transmissions of the same melody (*Worldes blis*), and one melody which consists of only three distinct pitches (*Edi beo þu*). The significance of any pattern found in this selection may therefore appear dampened when so presented. However, it is the preservation context of these six which make them significant for all of the analysed songs, whether or not they adhere to the same melodic patterns: the analysis of melodic direction is the only analytical category for which the categorisation of the songs as monophonically preserved, polyphonically preserved, or contrafacta does appear to have a significant impact.

This impact is perhaps most clearly observed by identifying the characteristics of the nine melodies which do *not* appear to follow the pattern observed in the other seven, as they demonstrate some of the features which appear to be mutually exclusive with melodic composition in that style. This group is comprised of three of the four known contrafacta; the two monophonically preserved 'rhythmicisable' songs; *one* voice of each of the polyphonically preserved songs; and, finally, *Man mei longe*—the song which has proved anomalous in every analytical category.

The seven that remain, for which poetic stress does appear to dictate melodic shape to some degree, are: the three monophonically preserved melodies which have followed expected patterns throughout; the 'other' voice of each of the polyphonically preserved songs; and one known contrafact, *Gabriel fram evene king*. Each of these songs has a melodic map comparable in colour and patterning to that of *Worldes blis* in Rawlinson G.18, which was previously given as the clearest example of this melodic style.

In summary, the status of a melody as a contrafact, or as a polyphonic 'secondary voice' (a description which will be dealt with presently), appears to be the primary reason behind melodic divergence from the stressed-based patterning observable in other songs. Most such cases will be dealt with below; *Man mei longe* and *Gabriel fram evene king*, which appear to go against this hypothesis, will be discussed separately.

3.7.1   Non-conformers: contrafacta and canon

The easiest of these non-conforming songs to deal with is *Sumer is icumen in*, which was melodically structured to work in canon. The fact that its melody shows no strong text-based melodic contour therefore comes as no surprise—any stress-based melodic considerations were secondary to the requirements of the canon.

The three contrafacta which do not fit the pattern are *Stond wel moder*, […] *stod ho pere neh*, and *Ar ne kuthe*. These are confirmed Latin-English contrafacta—the original Latin songs exist independently to their English-texted versions, and there is no doubt that the Latin song predates the English in each case. This justifies their lack of stress-based melodic patterning: their borrowed melodies were not originally conceived for the English text, but for the Latin text, and are therefore not shaped around English syllable stress. If the creator of the contrafact wished these songs to be immediately recognisable as a contrafact of the pre-existing Latin song, he was limited in the extent of melodic re-shaping he could do for its new English text.

What is interesting is that of these three contrafacta, two fared relatively well in the previous two analytical categories: *Stond wel moder* and […] *stod ho pere neh* display a stress-based employment of ligatures and ornamentation, producing similar numerical data to songs which were supposedly conceived for their English text. This is because *Stond wel moder* and […] *stod ho pere neh* were written out separately from their Latin models, and the English text newly aligned to the contrafacted melody. The scribe was therefore free to place ornamentation wherever he wished within the English text, and relatively free to arrange the placement of ligatures according to text stress. This is not the case for *Ar ne kuthe*, which does not display a stress-based structure in any of the three categories; its English text is written underneath the melodically prioritised French text, and thus the scribe could not dictate the placement of ornaments and ligatures for the English text.

Despite their varying success rates in the previous categories, all three songs face the same obstacle where melodic contour is concerned: the pitches of their borrowed melodies cannot be significantly adjusted to text stress without becoming unrecognisable. The non-English conception of the songs is therefore most clearly evident in this category.

This highlights an important point about the method behind creating the contrafacta. *Stond wel moder* and […] *stod ho pere neh* show that where possible, the scribe has adjusted the melodic setting of the text to emphasise the lilting stress of the lyric. The only area in which this could not be achieved was overall melodic contour. This implies that the shaping of a song around its English text retained its importance in the contrafacting process.[43] If such adjustments were considered worthwhile by the clerics creating and using these contrafacta, then we might consider attempting the same in modern editions and performances of *Ar ne kuthe*: as previously mentioned, the transmission of *Ar ne kuthe* does not directly align its English text to the music, but prioritises the musical alignment of its French text. If text stress were no consideration, then the simplest method of performing the English version of the song would be to directly align syllables and neumes – along with any attached ornaments – in the poetic lines for which their numbers match exactly. In the lines for which they do not, some basic adjustments would have to be made. This is the standard modern approach to this song, as well as in other cases in which a secondary text is not directly aligned to the music—such as when additional stanzas of text have a different syllable count to that of the first, musically aligned stanza. Where syllable and neume counts do not match, performers and editors adjust the melody either by adding single pitches, eliding neumes, or breaking ligatures. This is presumably done with the goal of preserving the integrity of the transcribed setting as much as possible.

What the contrafacta analyses seem to show, however, is that despite good intentions, the re-alignment of ornamentation and ligatures for the benefit of the English text stress was in fact desirable, and may have been a standard part of the contrafacting process by scribes and singers. *Stond wel moder* and […] *stod ho pere neh* are independent melodic contrafacta of the same Latin song (*Stabat iuxta christi crucem*). Yet, their ornaments and ligatures vary not only from their shared Latin model, but also from one other: they have been newly structured in each, in order to complement their distinct English texts. Had the scribe of *Eyns ne soy/Ar ne kuthe* transcribed the English-texted contrafact independently, with the opportunity to newly align the musical content to the Middle English text, he may well have done the same. Furthermore, if the process of embellishing stressed syllables with ornaments and unstressed syllables with ligatures was as

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[43] The existence of another setting of the same text and melody of *Stond wel moder* allows for direct comparison between the text-melodic alignment of a lyric which is the primary set text, and a lyric which is written underneath the primary set text, and not directly aligned. The contrafact *Stand wel moder* (Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.8, f.106v) is presented with the Latin text *Stabat iuxta christi crucem* directly aligned to the music, and the Middle English text written underneath the Latin. Neither syllable counts nor spacing are an exact match between the languages, and attempts to align the Middle English text with the melody directly would, within a mere two lines, result in a different reading than the directly aligned transmission of the same song in London, British Library, Royal MS 12 E.i.

desirable as it appears to be in the contrafacta of *Stabat iuxta christi crucem*, then medieval singers approaching *Ar ne kuthe* from its written transmission may have attempted this too.

3.7.2   Melodic patterning in 'monophonic' and 'polyphonic' melodies: shared features among conforming songs

Among the non-contrafact songs, the proportion of melodies which adhere to a stress-based melodic pattern appears relatively balanced with those that do not. On closer inspection, those which conform appear to share further, more general melodic features with one another, implying that there may be a specific style of English-texted melody which lends itself to stress-based patterning.

The melodies for which the aforementioned stress-based melodic pattern is evident in some way are the following:

Both transmissions of *Worldes blis*

Þe milde Lomb

Jesu cristes milde moder (lower-written voice)

Foweles in þe frith (upper-written voice)

?*Edi beo þu* (lower-written voice)

Gabriel fram evene king

Two of the songs in this list have external factors for consideration which potentially jeopardise their grouping among the others: in *Edi beo þu*, a stress-based pattern in the melodic setting of the lower-written voice is undoubtedly present. However, it differs from that seen in the other songs on the list. In place of a prominent pattern of ascent on stressed syllables and descent on unstressed syllables, stressed syllables appear to show an even mix of stepwise motion – both ascending and descending – and unstressed syllables frequently remain on the same note. Thus, although the stressed and unstressed columns of the melodic map are clearly distinct, this distinction is not represented with the same patterns of melodic direction as found in the other listed songs. It has already been suggested that this song may have been structured according to a different melodic style than others in the English-texted repertoire, despite sharing

the same emphasis of text stress. It will therefore be temporarily set aside, to be returned to later. The other song which requires a disclaimer and temporary removal from consideration, as already mentioned, is *Gabriel fram evene king*. This melody appears to follow similar patterns to the songs of English-texted origin, despite presumably being of Latin origin, or at least composed with both lyric languages in mind. The melodic features of this song will therefore be considered independently of the non-contrafact melodies, in the following chapter.

Once isolated for direct comparison, further shared features between the five remaining melodies which display the same style of stress-based melodic structure become more apparent. Firstly, their melodies move almost exclusively stepwise: although some leaps can be observed in the transitions between poetic-melodic phrases, movement within the same melodic line tends to be conjunct. The only leap which occurs relatively frequently is that of a third, and this features more frequently between than within melodic-poetic phrases. The second shared characteristic is that melodic movement usually anchors itself within a relatively narrow, winding range: within a given phrase, the melody will not stray far in one direction before turning back on itself. Stepwise ascents and descents do not usually exceed a fourth before the melodic direction is changed. Finally, none of these melodies can be easily forced into rhythm: they all make use of ligatures on unstressed syllables to the extent that it makes their compression into rhythmic off-beats impractical.

These characteristics are by no means exclusive to this list, but are found to varying extents across medieval song repertories from Britain and the Continent. However, their shared features have been emphasised here because among the songs which are not known contrafacta, and not otherwise significantly anomalous (such as *Man mei longe*), they appear to be preconditions for the presence of the stress-based melodic patterns observed.

What is especially noteworthy in this list of songs, and which has already been hinted at, is that there may be some connection to the presence of stress-based patterning and the rôle of that melody within a polyphonic setting. In the list above, one voice from each of the three polyphonic English-texted songs is present; the other voice is absent. In other words, in English-texted two-voice compositions, it would appear that the melody of only one of the voices is structured around text stress. The possible implications of this will be explored in the following chapter.

3.7.3 *Mirie it is* and *Edi beo þu* (upper-written voice):

Mirie it is and the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu* do not conform to the observed stress-based melodic structure, nor do they share the additional melodic characteristics apparent in the songs that do. They do, however, happen to share certain characteristics with one other instead: both

songs use leaps of a fifth as a prominent defining melodic feature; both are almost exclusively syllabic, with very few ligatures on unstressed syllables; and both easily fall into a lilting rhythm when sung (to the extent that I have rarely heard them performed otherwise).[44]

I am not suggesting that the melodic styles of these two songs are linked necessarily, but the similarities between them are interesting. The fact that comparable features exist between *Mirie it is* and the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu* suggests that neither song is an 'anomaly'. Rather, there may have existed at least one further acceptable style of English-texted composition alongside that observed in the majority of analysed songs—one which allowed for the use of more prominent disjunct motion, and which restricted the number and pitch count of ligatures, even on unstressed syllables. Despite their apparent differences, both styles allow the stress undulations of the Middle English text to come through. In the more common 'conjunct' style, stress is managed through pitch and ligature usage. In the more 'disjunct' style, the apparent lesser connection between stress and pitch is remedied by highly syllabic text setting: without the need to accommodate long ligatures, the singer is relatively free to declaim the text according to the natural lilt of its poetic stress.[45] There is an irony to the differences between these two styles, in that the former appears to highlight stress through its relative brevity, while the latter appears to encourage its relative length, if natural speech patterns are followed.

With so little surviving material for study, any specific connection of this supposed 'disjunct' style to the English language, to Latin-texted compositional practices, or between the songs themselves, is unlikely to come to light. For the more 'conjunct' style, however, a little more information is gleanable: the pattern of stressed ascent and unstressed, ligatured descent appears to provide a basic melodic profile specific to the stepwise, unmeasured English-texted songs. Based on the strength of the patterns observed, and their occurrence in several sources, the 'conjunct' melodic profile likely extended beyond the few surviving melodies; it may represent what was a common approach to the musical setting of English lyrics in the thirteenth century.

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[44] In concert, I have experimented with various modes of performance for each of these songs. I have performed each monophonically and polyphonically, and each rhythmically and non-rhythmically. The monophonic and polyphonic versions were created by improvising a second voice in *Mirie it is*, and extracting one of the voices of *Edi beo þu* (usually the lower, due to its seemingly stress-based setting). For monophonic performance, a non-rhythmic rendition works easily in both songs. For polyphonic performance, a completely non-rhythmic rendition feels rather forced; thanks to the heavily syllabic setting of the lyrics, it is much easier for two singers to fall into a combined lilting rhythm than to attempt to avoid it.

[45] The labels 'conjunct' and 'disjunct' are useful for quick comparison between the English-texted songs, but it should be noted that the two songs here labelled 'disjunct' in style are not predominantly so. *Mirie it is* and the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu* each also feature stepwise, conjunct melodic movement. Rather, it is the fact that the 'disjunct' songs contain such melodic leaps at all – and as their opening melodic gestures, no less – which aurally, visually, and analytically sets them apart from the songs described as 'conjunct'.

3.8   Conclusions to chapter 3

The key findings of the English-texted song analysis were outlined at the beginning of this chapter, and a style of melodic composition specifically suited to the setting of Middle English texts is clearly evident among the surviving repertoire. It favours conjunct motion, emphasises word stress through syllabic ascent and ornamentation, and arguably treats unstressed syllables as a flexible temporal and melodic 'filler' around the more heavily prioritised stressed ascents. The fact that these patterns are generally absent from Latin-conceived contrafacta – even those which make some attempt to re-work the melody for the benefit of the new Middle English text – strengthens the evidence that this is a compositional style specific to Middle English lyrics; It is not the result of borrowing from Latin-orientated clerical compositional practices. This is not to say that the conforming English-texted melodies are not clerical in origin, but simply that they are stylistically independent from the Latin-texted compositional genres to which they have previously been compared. The fact that this melodic style is present in *Foweles in þe frith* as well as in *Jesu cristes milde moder* prevents its specific alignment to secular or religious, lay or clerical practices; the former lyric has been shown to be reminiscent of potentially 'popular' poetry, and the latter is a devotional sequence. The presence of this style within polyphonic settings also tells us little in this regard; the two-voice polyphony of the English-texted songs is stylistically distinguishable from Latin-texted polyphony, and according to the testament of Gerald of Wales quoted earlier, vocal polyphony appears to have been a feature of both lay and clerical musical traditions. Whether this was a style of English text setting shared by the clergy and laity of thirteenth-century Britain, or borrowed by clerics for homiletic purposes, is likely to remain unclear.

What is clear from the analytical results is that the musical settings of the Middle English songs respond to the stress-based qualities of their texts. One of the ways in which this feature manifests itself is through the unbalanced alignment of pitches to stressed and unstressed syllables: unstressed syllables are assigned proportionally more pitches than stressed syllables. Although not providing any conclusive evidence of a relationship between text stress and melodic rhythm in performance, this contributes English-texted material to the open-ended debate on potential sung rhythm in unmeasured medieval song. Prominent suggested solutions for the rhythmic interpretation of unmeasured song have included the imposition of modal rhythm on the melodies, the singing of either pitches or syllables to more-or-less equal lengths of time, and the adoption of a free, declamatory style which imitates the speech-rhythms of the given language. The modal theory was brought to the fore in the early twentieth century by Jean-Baptiste Beck and Pierre Aubry, and subsequently spread from its initial concern with the

troubadours and *trouvères* to be applied to other song repertories.[46] It is no longer widely accepted or applied in performance, however. 'Isosyllabic' interpretation (in which text syllables are allotted similar lengths of declamation) is favoured by John Stevens, who argues for its case largely on theoretical and palaeographical grounds.[47] The approach most commonly adopted by performers currently, is that of flexible declamation which follows a plausible spoken expression of the text according to its structure or expression, an approach heavily promoted by Hendrick van der Werf.[48] These musicological discussions and suggestions are not concerned with Middle English song specifically; most of the rhythmic debate has been focussed on the *trouvère* and *troubadour* repertories, with *Minnesang*, *cantigas*, and *laude* featuring to a lesser degree.[49] Those publications which are expected to comment on the rhythm of unmeasured Middle English song specifically include its two major performance editions from 1979 and 2013, which both opt for providing modally rhythmic interpretations where potentially idiomatic, and otherwise adopting non-prescriptive notation. In the earlier edition, the Middle English songs which do not lend themselves to modal interpretation are simply marked with the suggestion that they be performed 'freely', suggesting that the editors deemed the free, declamatory style based on speech rhythm to be the most appropriate approach for the majority of the unmeasured English-texted repertoire.[50]

Although this analytical study cannot provide firm answers to the rhythmic debate, it does at least allow for the text-melodic relationships of the English-texted songs to be held up for scrutiny against the arguments for rhythmically modal, equalised, or freely declaimed modern performances of unmeasured song. Were modal rhythm to be applied to the analysed English-

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[46] Pierre Aubry, *La rythmique musicale des troubadours et des trouvères* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907); Jean Beck, 'Die modale Interpretation der mittelalterlichen Melodien, besonders der Troubadours und Trouvères', *Caecilia* 24 (1907): 97–105. There is extensive literature on the metric debate in general, but the topic of metric interpretation in high-medieval monophony is summarised by Kippenberg, and also by Haines, who provides a history of the 'quarrel'. Burkhard Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: Eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die musikalischen Quellen*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters (München: Beck, 1962), 135; John Haines, 'The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music', *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 87–120. See also several entries on the topic in part five of Elizabeth Aubrey, ed., *Poets and Singers: On Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song*, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[47] Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 500-504.

[48] Hendrik van der Werf, 'Deklamatorischer Rhythmus in Den Chansons Der Trouvères', *Die Musikforschung* 20 (1967): 122–44; Hendrik van der Werf, 'Concerning the Measurability of Medieval Music', *Current Musicology* 10 (1970): 69–73; Hendrik van der Werf, 'The "Not-So-Precisely Measured" Music of the Middle Ages', *Performance Practice Review* 1 (1988): 42–60; Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972).

[49] Contributions to this debate over the past century are best summarised by Aubrey and Stevens: Aubrey, 'Vernacular Song 1: Lyric', 417–19; Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 492–504.

[50] Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*; Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*.

texted repertoire, this would not be possible uniformly, as the interpretation of the more melismatic songs would by necessity differ from that of the heavily syllabic songs: the prevalence of pitches on unstressed syllables in the melismatic songs would render a second-mode interpretation the only realistic possibility on practical terms, while the few syllabic songs which more clearly lend themselves to modal interpretation (*Edi beo þu* and *Mirie it is*) are performable in the first mode. A reportorial divide of this nature is not unfeasible, but it requires two leaps in logic: firstly, this system would require text stress to be treated in opposing ways within the same musico-linguistic practice, and secondly, it would likely necessitate an otherwise undocumented association of the first mode with syllabic setting, and second mode with melismatic setting, in English-texted composition.

The other somewhat established suggestions – the equalisation of syllables or pitches, and relatively free declamation – are not excludable for the Middle English songs, but neither is their conscious application always practical or even necessary for the ebb and flow of the lyric to be audible. Although text stress is undoubtedly important in musical settings of Middle English lyrics, the work of emphasising that stress and its relationship to the melody has already been incorporated into its composition, regardless of any desired additional 'rhythmic' emphasis by the performer. One *could* consciously apply the principle of equal note lengths or equal syllable lengths to the more melismatic songs in the repertoire, but the stress-points of the lyric would be highlighted either way, due to their inherently differential treatment in pitch and floridity. Equally, one *could* consciously approach the heavily syllabic songs with a free declamatory performance style based on the stress-based structure of the Middle English lyric, but this would likely result in the same quasi-modal rhythmic interpretation in which they are already performed and edited as standard. Ultimately, the unmeasured Middle English songs are structured in a manner which brings out the stress-based lilt of the text whether or not the modern performer actively applies one of the twentieth-century rhythmic solutions to their performance. Therefore, although the open question of 'rhythm' in the performance of the Middle English songs still cannot be answered, the audible text-melodic relationship of the songs is not hindered by a lack of imposed rhythmic interpretation. Sung declamation by a performer familiar with the Middle English lyric, with no conscious rhythmic compression or elongation of individual syllables and pitches, may result in a syllabic 'lilt' reminiscent of first mode, a relatively equalised declamation of pitches, a relatively equalised declamation of syllables, or even a mixture of elements according to the

variety of melisma applied throughout the text.[51] A basic awareness of stress-based textual and melodic structures may therefore be more beneficial than conscious rhythmic interpretation in shaping an idiomatic rate of declamation for unmeasured Middle English song.

The observations summarised above concern the songs for which shared patterns of text setting are evident. What was not yet apparent at the opening of this chapter was what might be revealed by the songs which do not conform to the same patterns (such as *Man mei longe*), or songs which conform somewhat unexpectedly (such as *Gabriel fram evene king*). The following chapter will comment on the analytical outliers of the English-texted repertoire, and will assess what those anomalous results may reveal of the practical process of English text setting.

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[51] One example from the analysed repertoire which invites varied styles of declamation for Middle English is the song *Ar ne kuthe*. Although its melody was constructed for a Latin text, the juxtaposition of melismatic and syllabic setting within the same song text demonstrate how easily the Middle English lyric can adapt to a 'freely' declaimed flow of text and melody, or a seemingly 'modal' emphasis of text stress in performance. While the majority of the song is not conducive to modally rhythmic interpretation, a combination of exclusively syllabic text setting and fortuitous pitch ascents on stressed syllables lend the opening of the final verse (5a, beginning '*maiden*') to a rhythmic lilt reminiscent of the second mode; an interpretation which I have both heard and adopted myself in performance.

Chapter 4   Middle English song: Observations, connections, 'anomalies'

4.1   'Anomalies', and what binds them together

Throughout the previous chapter, various songs displayed analytical results which appeared to differ from the patterns seen in the majority of the repertoire. Although these were tentatively labelled as outliers or anomalies, contextual factors and further analytical data usually either justified their quirks, or revealed potential connections with other songs in the repertoire. Each outlier was briefly dealt with individually as it surfaced, and a more detailed overview of the outliers across analytical categories will now be considered, as well as any resulting connections or practical insights explored. I will begin with the mildest cases, and progress to songs with outlying features significant enough to potentially alter their modern categorisation.

4.1.1   *Foweles in þe frith*

Foweles in þe frith was seen to rely more heavily on ligatures than other songs. This is not an anomaly related to its stress-based text setting – in which it conformed to every expected pattern – but it is unusual nonetheless. As this song clearly shares the same compositional practice as others which 'conform', its florid melody may simply be the result of a large amount of written-out structural ornamentation on ligatures. It is therefore not an 'anomaly' in text setting style, although it may be in its ligature-heavy notational style. Rather, it is simply highly ornamental—as is *Þe milde Lomb*, which shares some of the features of its analytical profile.

In order to imagine what a less ornamental version of *Foweles in þe frith* might have sounded like, its colour-coded melodic map might just provide enough information to experimentally narrow down the placement of likely ornamental pitches within its ligatures. The melodic contours of less florid songs, such as the Rawlinson G.18 *Worldes blis*, provide a model for colour-based patterning of stressed and unstressed syllables; they all favour pink-shaded syllabic ascents on stressed syllables, and less uniformly coloured ligatured descents on unstressed syllables. In *Foweles in þe frith*, these patterns are still visible in the upper-written voice, but are more muddled by their floridity.

By identifying the pitch(es) within stressed ligatures which cause blue-shaded, non-syllabic entries in the melodic map of this voice, we are likely to be closing in on the 'ornamental' features of the melody. If isolated and removed until the melodic map more closely resembles that of less florid songs, this process would reveal a reduced version of the melody which may be more

representative of its conceptual melodic structure. Regardless of how ingrained the ornamentation may have become in the identity of the song, and without making any claims to its accuracy, such a process is at least a useful exercise in understanding the structure and embellishment of Middle English melodies. An experimental new reading of the upper-written voice of *Foweles in þe frith* in this manner will be offered in chapter 6.

4.1.2　*Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu*, and *Sumer is icumen in*

The next apparent anomalies to be discussed are *Mirie it is* and *Edi beo þu*. They are joined to some extent by the canon *Sumer is icumen in*, not because I believe it to belong to the same compositional category, but because some of its outlying features are reminiscent of those in the other two songs.

These three songs displayed slightly odd treatment of ligatures and ornaments, and their melodic maps did not correspond with the stress-based contour observed in other songs— (despite the lower voice of *Edi beo þu* seemingly following a pattern of its own). What is interesting is that the nature of their outlying features is similar: they are almost exclusively syllabic, and their very few ligatures are distributed unusually; and, on top of the fact that they do not follow the observed stress-based melodic contour of other songs, their melodies are also more disjunct. In *Edi beo þu*, it is the upper-written voice which shares these features.

The greatest distinguishing feature of these songs, which has been mentioned as a potential reason behind their highly syllabic setting, is that they can be easily rhythmicised. In the case of *Sumer is icumen in*, this is prescribed for good time-keeping between the singers of the canon and its *pes*; but in the other two songs, at least a mild emphasis of the lilting lyric metre also feels natural.

These songs, particularly *Mirie it is* and *Edi beo þu*, also share features of general melodic style. Unlike the majority of other English-texted songs (and further repertories, such as explicitly modal monophonic chant), the songs in question wander more freely from their finalis, despite it remaining an audible foundation. It serves as a base from which the melody can stray for the purposes of expression and colour, rather than the central and most recurrent feature of the melodic range. Although this repertoire as a whole is not strictly modelled on the church modes, some comparison to chant and its modern terms of description are useful here: the pattern-following English-texted songs tend to move plagally around their finalis, returning to it at cadences, and winding stepwise between what might be described as their *Hauptklang* and *Gegenklang*. Were a finalis drone to be played alongside the singer, it would be unlikely to disrupt the melodic foundation of the songs in the majority of musical phrases. None of this is the case

for *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu*, and *Sumer is icumen in*. These songs melodically stray from their finalis early on. Additionally, rather than prioritising it as a constant foundation, their melodies revolve around a constant, structured exchange between the finalis and a neighbouring note. This exchange is not comparable to the flexibility of *Hauptklang* and *Gegenklang* that might feature in chant or in other English-texted songs; in these three songs, the exchange of pitches is more than a tool of expression. It is structural, regular, and quasi-rhythmic. This is explicitly demonstrated in the polyphonic textures of *Sumer is icumen in* and *Edi beo þu*: both upper-written melodies are joined by a lower-written voice, the structure of which appears to be dictated by the constant rhythmic alternation of the finalis and its upper-neighbouring pitch. In *Sumer is icumen in*, the *pes* in two parts creates a repeating loop between *c* and *d*; and in *Edi beo þu*, this loop is between *f* and *g*. The remaining song, *Mirie it is*, has no lower-written voice available to demonstrate this explicitly, but its monophonic setting makes a similar theoretical exchange clear: in every phrase except the last, the final note is not the finalis (*a*), but one pitch below it (*g*)[1], causing an implied loop of these two pitches as the melodic anchors. As is the case in *Sumer is icumen in* and *Edi beo þu*, the exchange between the two occurs regularly and predictably, seemingly following a repeating melodic rhythm. The addition of a finalis drone in any of these songs would create a level of dissonance that could not easily be attributed to *Gegenklang*.

A less decisive, but related, shared melodic characteristic is that two out of three of the featured songs do not end their opening phrases – or even their final phrases – where they began. *Sumer is icumen in* traverses a whole octave in its opening melody, and ends an octave from its starting pitch; *Edi beo þu* and *Mirie it is* each open with the unusually broad leap of a fifth, the latter ending a sixth away from where it started. Although the final pitch of *Mirie it is* is cut off on the folio, it surely does not leap up a sixth from its penultima, but likely neighbours it—ending the piece a fifth away from its opening pitch. These features set the songs apart from the majority of English-texted songs which *do* conform to stress-based melodic profiles, which in contrast will move stepwise, and will usually wander no more than a fourth in either direction of their starting pitch before returning to it at the end of the phrase.

The 'grouping' of songs presented here is not intended to bind them in compositional genre; they are decidedly different in character and in texture, and such a connection seems unlikely. Rather, their melodic traits suggest that there may be some relationship between the presence of a regular, lilting declamation rhythm, and the absence of the most stereotypical 'English-texted' melodic qualities. *Edi beo þu* is a particularly interesting entry in this selection, as throughout analysis both of its voices have evaded either clear association with, or clear

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[1] The final pitch of this song is cut off in the source, but based on the rest of the melody, it would be hard to argue that it is anything other than an *a*.

detachment from, other styles evident in the English-texted repertoire. The stylistic camouflage of this song will continue to feature in this chapter, and it may contribute to evidence of a hybrid Latin-vernacular compositional culture to be explored below.

4.1.3   *Gabriel fram evene king*, and Latin-English compositional practice

Gabriel fram evene king is unique in its analysis, in that it appears to conform to some extent in all 'English-texted' categories, despite being a presumed contrafact of a Latin song. The 'original' Latin song, *Angelus ad virginem*, is thought to be of Continental origin, and has been attributed to Philippe the Chancellor:

> The same Odo [of Cheriton] tells of a certain great cleric, Chancellor of Paris, who, among many other blessed things which he uttered, composed that sweetest song about the Virgin that begins thus: *Angelus ad virginem*.
>
> **Speculum laicorum, Oxford, University College, MS 29, f. 93r**[2]

Although no music is provided, and the incipit given is short enough that the identity of the song cannot be confirmed as the insular *Angelus ad virginem subintrans in conclave* specifically, it is presumed that the two are related. Page suggests that the Latin song may have travelled from the to Britain with the Franciscans in the thirteenth century.[3]

What is interesting about this presumed connection is that the song appears to have enjoyed greatly increased popularity in Britain than its supposed point of origin. The version of the song relevant to this thesis is its earliest musical transmission, appearing in the most significant source of English-texted song in the thirteenth century, London, British Library, Arundel MS 248. Its importance in Britain did not diminish in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it only seemed to gain traction: it exists in two English translations, has both rhythmic and polyphonic interpretations, and is famously mentioned in Chaucer's *The Miller's Tale*.[4] In fact, all

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[2] 'Refert idem Odo de quodam magno clerico, cancellario Parisius, quod inter alia multa benedicta que dixerat illam cantilenam amenissimam de gloriosa uirgine que sic incipit Angelus ad uirginem composuit.' Translation and original text provided in Christopher Page, 'Angelus Ad Virginem: A New Work by Philippe the Chancellor?', *Early Music* 11, no. 1 (1983): 69.

[3] Page, 70.

[4] John Stevens, 'Angelus Ad Virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', in *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett: Aetatis Suae LXX*, ed. Peter Heyworth and Jack Arthur Walter Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 297–328.

musical transmissions of this song stem from Britain and Ireland, not from the Continent. This discrepancy in geographical transmission, combined with the distinctly Middle English-sympathetic analytical profile of its first musical transmission, raises the question as to whether the *Angelus ad virginem* attributed to Philippe the Chancellor is a different song entirely. One text-only Continental mention of the same incipit does not weigh up against the multiple Middle English translations, stress-based text setting, and melodic circulation of the song in Britain. Furthermore, at least two other Latin poems open with the same three words, *Angelus ad virginem*, before diverting to new textual material.[5] The incipit alone is therefore confirmation of neither textual nor musical contrafact.

It is the unusually 'English' text setting of the song which is of primary relevance here. Geographical transmission and translation are factors which, although providing supporting evidence of British association, could be justified by the many inconsistencies of manuscript survival, and the exchange of insular and Continental musical practices. The analytical profile of the song is harder to explain away; this is the only song in the category of known or suspected contrafacta which appears to follow patterns expected for non-contrafact songs even in its *melodic* contour, as well as in all other categories. A first impression on looking at the data of this song might be that it is not a contrafact of the Latin song at all, but merely slightly weak in some areas of text setting, such as its distribution of ligatured and ornamented pitches. The melodic map of this song has been added to the Appendix (Appendix C.9), where its tendency towards stressed ascent and unstressed descent is clear.

The melody of *Gabriel fram evene king* is not entirely orientated to its Middle English text, however, and does not warrant new categorisation as a Middle English song with a retrospectively added Latin text. Some of its text setting patterns are weaker than they first appear, and the song also features melodic characteristics which depart from the specifically stress-based, conjunct English melodies. As mentioned, the melodic contour of *Gabriel fram evene king* does show a distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables, generally following the expected pattern of stressed ascent and unstressed descent. However, on closer inspection, this pattern best matches that of other songs in the second half of the map only. In the first half, the treatment of both stressed and unstressed syllables is perhaps misleading at first glance: the stressed syllables are in fact almost equal in ascending and descending movement (7:6). Furthermore, not only are the unstressed syllables remarkably 'clean' – free of the usual ligatured movement – they regularly do not move in pitch at all.

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[5] Stevens, 'Angelus Ad Virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', 298, n.3.

These features are arguably more consistent with the maps of the lower-written voice of *Edi beo þu*, and to a lesser extent, that of *Sumer is icumen in*: in all three songs, although some distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables appears to be present, ascent and descent are not treated in the same manner as other songs in the repertoire. Stressed syllables are a mix of ascending and descending motion, and unstressed syllables feature more neutral movement.

Another feature through which *Gabriel fram evene king* departs from the majority of other English-texted songs is its reserved use of ligatures. This can be seen at a glance in its melodic map: its unstressed syllable columns do not change frequently between initial and net movement. Furthermore, the relatively few ligatures which are used do not show the expected strength of preference for unstressed syllables. Although 55.6% of ligatures are on unstressed syllables, this is from a count of only 9 ligatures in the song, meaning a ratio of 4:5 stressed to unstressed ligatures; the song 'conforms', but by only one ligature.

This does not negate the song's compliant status in the analytical tables. It remains remarkably more considerate of its Middle English text than might be expected of a presumed contrafact. However, the specific nature of its analytical weaknesses is revealing of a potential alignment with other songs in the repertoire: in terms of the actual proportion and distribution of ligatures, *Gabriel fram evene king* is more closely aligned with *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu*, and *Sumer is icumen in* than with other songs of a similar c.40%-60% split for ligature distribution—namely, *Þe milde Lomb*, *Foweles in þe frith*, and [...] *stod ho pere neh*. The latter three songs have a slightly weak unstressed ligature rate because of the *high* amount – and nature of – their ligatures: 'ornamental' ligatures or two-note ligatures are relatively prevalent, and frequently found on stressed syllables. In contrast, the weak or unusual results of *Gabriel fram evene king*, *Mirie it is*, *Edi beo þu*, and *Sumer is icumen in* are due to a *low* number of ligatures, and their usual relatively balanced placement according to stress. Therefore, despite appearing to confirm to 'expected' patterns of ligature usage in Middle English text setting, *Gabriel fram evene king* is in fact closer in its ligature usage to the typically non-conforming songs in the repertoire.

In terms of its general melodic shape, *Gabriel fram evene king* is not entirely consistent with either the conforming, conjunct songs, or the non-conforming, disjunct songs. The first half of the melody is in some ways comparable to the three disjunct songs; it does not rely on its finalis as the central point of a winding melody. Rather, it starts directly at the high end of its range, its opening pitch relatively far from the closing pitch of the first (and last) phrases of the song (like *Mirie it is* and *Sumer is icumen in*); its opening gesture is a relatively fast melodic descent (like *Sumer is icumen in*); and finally, the interval of a fifth is quickly established as part of its melodic identity (like *Mirie it is* and *Edi beo þu*). The fifth between *g* and *c* is established so

strongly, in fact, that for the first half of the song a listener might wrongly imagine the finalis to be *c*; for the setting of the first five poetic lines, *c* acts as the song's cadential foundation.[6]

The second half of the melody of *Gabriel fram evene king* is however more closely aligned to the stereotypically conforming English-texted songs. The melody becomes more conjunct; it regularly turns back on itself, narrowing the immediate vocal range of each phrase; the finalis is featured, and at least occasionally returned to; and the melodic map is slightly more consistent in the pitch distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables.

In summary, *Gabriel fram evene king* is a fence-sitter of text setting. It has an analytical profile which shows an unusually high regard for Middle English stress; high enough that in terms of data alone, it would likely be categorised as a song conceived purely in Middle English, with a few stylistic weaknesses. However, in terms of its more general melodic shape, and its approach to ligatures and ornamentation, it shares features with *Sumer is icumen in*, *Edi beo þu*, and *Mirie it is*. Particularly noteworthy is that two out of three of the latter songs are the only others in the repertoire which also foster tenuous but unconfirmed associations to Latin-orientated, or at least 'learned', practices: *Sumer is icumen in* is preserved alongside a Latin text, and *Edi beo þu* is the only English-texted Marian song—a theme more prominent in the Latin repertoire. Furthermore, both of these songs exhibit an ambiguous style of polyphonic composition which cannot be firmly categorised as stemming from Latin-orientated or vernacular-orientated traditions.[7] It seems feasible, therefore, that as four out of five of these songs can be tenuously associated with Latin-orientated practices, and that several of them also exhibit some level of Middle English text setting, their melodies may be products of a hybrid consideration of Latin and Middle English from conception—and *Gabriel fram evene king* is the clearest example of such a dual consideration.[8]

This hypothesis likely changes little for modern discussion of *Sumer is icumen in*, which has long been the subject of such debate. However, it may provide further reason to conceptually detach the distinct polyphonic style of *Edi beo þu* from the mutually compatible polyphonic styles

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[6] As an aside, this song remained popular for hundreds of years, and can be found rhythmically set in the following centuries. The extent of the ornamentation in this thirteenth-century transmission would make such rhythmicisation difficult, and aside from some melodic similarities with *Sumer is icumen in*, there is no real evidence that it was intended here. But what is interesting is that the later re-workings of the song appear to have had greater difficulty rhythmicising the second half of its melody than the first—more significant melodic alterations were made to the second half. This resonates with the analysis of its thirteenth-century transmission, in which the melodic map of the first half of the song aligns itself more closely with the three 'rhythmically inclined' songs than the second.

[7] As previously mentioned, the unusual canon structure of *Sumer is icumen in* has been a subject of debate regarding its potential clerical or lay origin (p. 42), and the counterpoint of *Edi beo þu* exhibits more of the features of Latin-texted polyphony than do *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith* (pp. 84-85).

[8] Although not a deciding factor, Stevens also notes that the Middle English version of the lyric in Arundel 248 is close in metre to the Latin. Stevens, 'Angelus Ad Virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', 310.

of *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith*. As far as *Mirie it is* is concerned, no such associations with Latin practice of any kind are evident, and despite some general melodic similarities to the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu*, it is likely to remain something of an outlier in style. If it does happen to reflect an alternative disjunct, rhythmically inclined method of setting Middle English lyrics, then perhaps it even features some of the characteristics drawn on by clerics in their creation of Latin-Middle English 'hybrid' melodies.

As far as the implications on our perception of *Gabriel fram evene king* are concerned, I will not go so far as to concretely suggest that it should be detached from association with the *Angelus ad virginem* of Philippe the Chancellor entirely. But one further shred of evidence remains to be mentioned which might allow for a compromise to be reached in the Continental or insular identity of the song. The host manuscript in which the melody of *Angelus ad virginem/Gabriel fram evene king* first appears (London, British Library, Arundel MS 248) is one which was earlier seen to include textual and melodic re-workings of the most popular homiletic lyrics (chapter 2 of this thesis). It provides a new textual and melodic setting for both the crucifixion dialogue (*Jesu cristes milde moder*), and the Passion scene (*Þe milde Lomb*) which were heavily associated with homiletic practice. Based on the association of a song with the incipit *Angelus ad virginem* with homiletic practice, it is not out of the question that the Arundel 248 setting of the same incipit is the product of the same process: that *Gabriel fram evene king* is a new textual and melodic re-working of a lyric or song which is already an established feature of homiletic practice: Philippe the Chancellor's *Angelus ad virginem*. This would justify the apparent dual consideration of both Latin and Middle English in the surviving melody of the song, despite a Continental Latin-texted musical setting apparently having existed first. We may therefore be dealing with a song for which the original, solely Latin-texted melody has been lost, but a secondary British-composed text and melody took off in insular practice. In this case, the Latin text of *Angelus ad virginem* can still be considered the original lyric, of Continental origin; but the melody so long assumed to be its original setting may in fact be a separate insular composition, created in conjunction with a new Middle English text.

4.1.4 *Ar ne kuthe* and *Man mei longe*

Two outlying songs remain to be discussed, which displayed the most pronounced outlying features in analysis: *Ar ne kuthe* and *Man mei longe*. The only two categories in which they are not strong outliers are those in which practically every song follows the same patterns, regardless of preservation context: the predominance of syllabic over ligatured text setting, and the usual placement of ornaments on stressed poetic syllables—and even in one of these categories (ornamentation), *Ar ne kuthe* is weaker than most.

Ar ne kuthe is a known contrafact, and its English text is not directly aligned to the musical notation. Its outlying features, therefore, are easily justified. Its melody is borrowed, hence its chaotic melodic map, which does not appear to pay heed to English syllable stress; and due to the melody having been aligned to a different text, its distribution of ligatures and ornaments is not optimised to the Middle English lyric. This song is thus not a true anomaly in melodic structure, but simply the product of a non-aligned contrafacting process; any desired optimisation to the Middle English text would, in theory, have to be undertaken by the performer himself.

What is particularly interesting about this contrafact is the fact that its analytical profile is mirrored by the only other strong 'anomaly' in the repertoire: *Man mei longe*. These songs are not only outliers in the same categories – which is all but two – but they diverge from expectations to similar extents. *Ar ne kuthe* and *Man mei longe* stand out from other non-rhythmic settings; they often act in the opposite way to expected patterns, and usually by quite a wide margin. Their distribution of ligatured pitches on stressed syllables is around 65% and 80% respectively—the mirror image of the other songs, which display results of between around 10% and 40%. Their total stressed pitch count is also directly disproportionate to other songs, settling at around 55% where the rest of the non-rhythmic repertoire averages around 45%. Even their melodic maps are in some way comparable in their chaos: despite some moments of stressed descending motion in *Ar ne kuthe* (which correspond to the distinctive melodic descent in verse 7 of its Latin model, the *Planctus ante nescia*), both melodies generally have a healthy mix of ascending, descending, and neutral movement in their stressed and unstressed syllables alike. There is no consistent consideration for syllable stress in either melody.

In terms of their broader melodic characteristics, too, the songs stray from the relevant non-contrafact melodies. *Ar ne kuthe*, being a definite contrafact, comes as no surprise; it is not an 'English-texted' melody at all. *Man mei longe*, however, has no immediately apparent justification for its odd melodic behaviour. It is neither predominantly conjunct nor disjunct in its overall character, but mixes leaps with stepwise motion. Its range is not typical of other English-texted songs, but more reminiscent of the Latin-texted repertoire: it opens almost immediately to the octave, and this breadth of range is reinforced throughout. Poetic lines 1 and 2 feature an octave ascent and return respectively, and lines 3-4, although no melody is written, likely repeat this pattern; lines 5-6 climb back up again to the high range, but the following descent in lines 7-8 ends hanging on the fifth; which leaves lines 9-10 to close the song with the awaited reestablishment of the low finalis. The significance of this overarching structure is not that the melody appears to have a planned contour from start to finish, with some tension at the 'Golden Section', in very broad terms; such features can be found in the other English-texted songs, too, if one wishes to analyse them in that way. Rather, the consistent breadth of melodic range is unusual in comparison with other non-contrafact English-texted songs.

When *Man mei longe* is heard, read, or sung alongside other English-texted songs, I do not believe it stands out as particularly strange to our modern ears. However, its analytical breakdown has revealed that, in fact, it has practically nothing in common with any surviving English-conceived song. Its one tentative analytical ally – *Ar ne kuthe* – owes its analytical profile to the fact that it is a contrafact of a Latin-conceived melody.

I believe that this evidence is enough to suggest that *Man mei longe* is not an 'English-conceived' song at all, but that its melody is modelled on a pre-existing song in another language.

4.2   *Man mei longe*: New connections with a Latin conductus

The three-voice Latin conductus *Quid tu vides, Ieremia* was evidently well-known both in Britain and on the Continent, evidenced by its appearance in five sources in the thirteenth century—four of which are melodic transmissions, and three of which were written within Britain (the other two in Paris, associated with the Notre Dame school).[9] It is likely that this song was known by many a singing insular cleric in the thirteenth century, and I will argue that its lowest written voice may have been the model and inspiration for the musical setting of *Man mei longe*. I will also suggest that this potential connection might influence our reading of a melodic gesture in the English-texted song which has been interpreted differently in modern editions.

The suggested connection is primarily based on distinctive similarities between the two melodies, both in small-scale gesture and larger-scale structure. It is however strongly supported by the complementary textual themes and preservation contexts of the two songs and their lyrics. The melodic and textual content will be addressed in turn.

4.2.1   Melodic connections between *Man mei longe* and *Quid tu vides*

The first comment to be made on the melodic connections between *Man mei longe* and *Quid tu vides* is that this is not a direct contrafact. If it were, this suggestion would surely have been made long ago. Rather, the tenor (the lowest written voice) of *Quid tu vides* provides a model for the melodic structure of *Man mei longe*, and was rearranged to accommodate the reduced number of poetic lines and a different internal structure in the English-texted song. I became aware of this potential connection through singing both melodic lines, and believe it is more audibly than

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[9] British sources: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.510 (no music, three strophes of text), London, British Library, MS Harley 5393 (music and strophes 1+3), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. ('W1', music and strophes 1+3).
Continental sources: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Pluteus 29.1 ('F', music and strophe 1), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. ('W2', music and strophe 1).

visually apparent, especially since the borrowed material is not a 1:1 transfer between the structures of the lyrics. It is therefore recommended that the below musical examples are, if practical, sung or played aloud for the clearest impression of their relationship from the perspective of the singer or listener.

The two clearest melodic quotations in *Man mei longe* occur, perhaps unsurprisingly, at its two most distinctive moments: its arpeggiated opening, and its 'welawey' refrain.[10] However, the remainder of material also appears to follow the general melodic contour of the conductus, albeit in a freer fashion. Due to the increased length of *Quid tu vides*, some of its melodic material has been compressed or cut to fit the structure of *Man mei longe*. The division and compression of imitated melodic material can be broadly interpreted as follows in table 15.

Table 15: Shared melodic material between *Quid tu vides* and *Man mei longe*

Line	Quid tu vides	Man mei longe
1	A	A
2	A	A
3	A	A
4	A	
5	(B)	(B)
6	(B)	C
7	(B)	D
8	(B)	D
9	C	E
10	D	E
11	D	
12	C	
13	D	
14	E	

'B' is bracketed only because it is the most compressed and weakest connection, and its melodic 'imitation' in *Man mei longe* appears to be of only of a few notes from lines 5 and 7 of *Quid tu vides* (however, the possibility that this is a highlight of the three-note name 'Johannes' in

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[10] This is not a structural refrain, but a word which appears in every strophe at the same point. 'Welawey' is something of a centre-point to each strophe and to the lyric as a whole, and is subjected to several different spellings throughout the lyric. Despite the frequent corrections made to spelling throughout this transmission, the variant spellings of 'welawey' are likely purposeful; similar features are present in other Middle English lyrics, and seeing as such variants in spelling do not always result in an audible difference in pronunciation, they are more likely attributable to a purposeful game in the *visual* appreciation of particularly important words. For example, in the thirteenth-century lyric *Bryd one brere* (NIMEV 521), the central word 'bryd' is also spelled differently: 'bryd', 'brid', and 'biryd'. This is a creative feature of Middle English poetic and song tradition which can be more strongly associated with a written, not oral, tradition.

the conductus will be explored). The material of A and D has also been simplified in this chart; they can each be split into 'open' and 'closed' halves, which are arranged in *Man mei longe* in slightly different ways.

Despite the distinct lengths and internal structures of the lyrics, there is also evidence of consistency between borrowed melodic material and rhyme scheme, despite *Man mei longe* having only two rhyming endings, and *Quid tu vides* having six. Table 16 displays the rhyming endings used in each lyric, aligned according to the melodic material borrowed; in the case that *Quid tu vides* repeats melodic material where *Man mei longe* does not, only the first occurrence of that material in *Quid tu vides* is listed:

Table 16: Correspondence of borrowed material in *Quid tu vides* and *Man mei longe*

	Rhymes used			Melodic material shared
Lines	Quid tu vides	Lines	Man mei longe	
1-4	ab	1-4	ab	A
5, 7	b	5	b	B
9	d	6	a	C
10-11	de	7-8	ab	D
14	e	9-10	b	E

This table shows that even with fewer poetic lines and rhyme endings available, the creator of *Man mei longe* has arranged the borrowed melodic material in such a way that it fulfils a similar structural rôle in the English text as it does in the Latin. If line endings are considered as contrasting *x* and *y* material rather than as explicit rhymes, the shared interaction of textual and melodic contrast in the songs becomes even clearer: the *Quid tu vides* pattern (*abb, ddee*) combines with the *Man mei longe* pattern (*abb, aabb*) to become *xyy, xxyy*. The comma marks the half-way point of each lyric (lines 7-8 of *Quid tu vides*, and line 5 of *Man mei longe*). Clearly, melodic material was not borrowed at random from the conductus but was arranged in *Man mei longe* according to its original function: as a marker of changes in textual structure.

The melodic material labelled from A-E in the charts above will now be presented, alongside an overview of the appearance of each in *Man mei longe*. The melodic groupings A and D are by far the strongest imitations, featuring at the opening and the 'refrain' of *Man mei longe*, and a the opening and high-point of *Quid to vides* respectively. For clarity, however, I will present the lettered sections in order, and simply add the disclaimer that the weaker shared material of B, C, and E becomes more apparent when retrospectively considered in relation to the two melodic 'anchor' phrases of the songs. In the examples to follow, the entire melodic material of both

songs has been presented in order, but for clarity, repeated or extended material has been greyed out, as it does not require renewed consideration.

The opening A material, which is divisible into two halves (A1 and A2), has been re-ordered in *Man mei longe*, but still serves to create the same overarching melodic contour as *Quid tu vides* (figure 1).

Figure 1: A material, *Quid tu vides/Man mei longe*

Here, the 'open' and 'closed' versions of the melodically paired lines of *Quid tu vides* have been compressed into one pair in *Man mei longe*, but the shape of the original melodic phrase remains recognisable: in the A1 phrases, an opening *c-e-g* triad rises to the octave on high *c*, before falling to a half-way 'cadence' on *g*; the A2 phrase begins a third lower, on *e*, and after a brief ascent to emphasise the *f* above, winds back down to the *c* finalis. Furthermore, the notation and context of this opening triad in sources of *Quid tu vides* shed some light on the unusual consecutive 'double notes' at the opening of *Man mei longe*; these striking ornaments feel out of place in the monophonic song, and they have caused some confusion and varied interpretation among modern performers who are unsure of their intended meaning. Deeming also flags the presence of these noteheads in her edition of the English-texted song, suggesting that that may

imply 'prolongation, rather than reiteration'.[11] Once considered in the context of the three-voice polyphony of *Quid tu vides*, the reasoning behind the opening double notes of *Man mei longe* becomes clearer: specifically in the insular sources of *Quid tu vides*, the tenor has to wait on the opening pitch in order to accommodate for floridity in the upper voices; and in one insular source, the tenor also has to wait on the second pitch. Due to the third word of the Latin song having two syllables ('vides'), the third pitch of the tenor is also transcribed twice (although this is not a 'double note' in the same sense). The insular transmission of the Latin song therefore fosters some association with increased length or reiteration on each of the first three triadic pitches, and for a cleric who knew this tenor, it may have been one of the defining features of the melody— hence its reflection in the opening of *Man mei longe*.[12] It is interesting that the opening floridity of the first two syllables is not a feature of Continental transmissions of the conductus, yet it appears to have been ingrained enough in insular performance that its influence has leaked into *Man mei longe*. This implies that even repertoire of the widest transmission and popularity may have been subjected to distinct 'insular' and 'Continental' performance styles.

As previously mentioned, the B material (figure 2) is that in which imitation is the least definitively identifiable; not only have the four 'B' lines of *Quid tu vides* been compressed into just one line in *Man mei longe*, but the content is narrower in range and less melodically distinctive overall. Furthermore, the *c* which opens this line in *Man mei longe* renders it a potential further quotation of A1, rather than an introduction of new material.

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[11] Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 186.

[12] A further possibility is that the scribe had been exposed to a written transmission of *Quid tu vides* in which the lengthened opening notes of the tenor were transcribed as double notes, and that his transferral of this notation has more to do with visual association than an intended performance approach.

Figure 2: B material, *Quid tu vides/Man mei longe*

It seems that at least some of the melody of lines 5-8 of *Quid tu vides* has been glossed over in the shortening of material; line 5 of *Man mei longe* is reminiscent of lines 5 and 7 in *Quid tu vides*, but does not appear to imitate material from the second half of each melodic phrase, in lines 6 and 8. Perhaps the composer-arranger of *Man mei longe* foresaw that these repetitive, narrow-ranged lines might be the least recognisable material for imitation; and knowing that he had limited poetic lines available to play with in his English-texted arrangement, lines 6 and 8 of *Quid tu vides* were sacrificed as being of the least melodic priority. He was, after all, bound to maintaining some structural alignment between the two lyrics, which requires a reduction the Latin-texted material by necessity. Another possibility, although more tenuous, is that the brief melodic sequence in line 5 of *Man mei longe* is intended to mirror only the three pitches of the word 'Jo-han-nes' in line 5 of *Quid tu vides*: *e*, *g*, *a*. Whatever the intention behind this compression of material in *Man mei longe*, line 5 in each song is still audibly related: they both trace the sequence *e-g-a-f-g*. Although this is somewhat obscured by the distinct amounts of corresponding melodic material between the song phrases on paper, it is tangible when sung or heard.

The C material (figure 3) is also short, and this is phrase which has caused different modern interpretations of *Man mei longe* (the bracketed C in figure 3 shows one published alternative reading for this neume).[13]

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[13] Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 122.

Figure 3: C material, *Quid tu vides*/*Man mei longe*

Line 9, *Quid tu vides ieremia*

hic est dis – ci – pli – nus

Line 6, *Man mei longe*

al sel va – lu – i þe gre – ne

In a similar fashion to the B material, the borrowed melodic traits are brief but audible, especially when heard in context. Despite the distinct beginning of this phrase in *Man mei longe*, its shared anchors of *a-c-a* and its relative positioning within the melody audibly align it to its equivalent in *Quid tu vides* when sung, even though these snippets would likely appear unrelated if considered independently of their surrounding material.

At this point in discussion, the presentation of *Man mei longe* within its manuscript is important: the song was preserved by a scribe with apparently little experience in either the writing of musical notation or of Middle English. His poor planning for space, his inconsistent control of notational shapes, and his use of faintly ruled text lines rather than a musical stave all contribute to a haphazard presentation overall.[14] Although it is the lower pitches which seem to have suffered the most, this higher phrase has also received different treatment by editors: where Deeming and Bukofzer agree on *b* for the first pitch of the word 'grene', Harrison has interpreted is as a *c* (as shown in brackets).[15] I am not sure of Harrison's reasoning for this decision, and until I am able to travel to see the manuscript rather than a photograph, I will not be able to draw any

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[14] The scribe of *Man mei longe* reveals his lack of experience by attempting to compress the text and melody (which exceeds an octave in range) into four widely spaced lines which were not initially designed to accommodate musical notation. Furthermore, his attempts to draw what appear to be liquescences on the words 'þench' and 'drench' are messy; and he has made multiple corrections to the spelling of the Middle English text. For a detailed description of the layout and scribal issues in this song, see Helen Deeming, 'Observations on the Habits of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Music Scribes', *Scriptorium* 60, no. 1 (2006): 46; Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 186–87.

[15] Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 60; Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages: With an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times*, 243; Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 122.

conclusions. However, based on the strength of *c* and not *b* at this point in *Quid tu vides*, I might also be inclined to read a *c* if there is indeed any case for ambiguity.[16]

The high point of both songs comes at the introduction of D material (figure 4). Here, *Quid tu vides* reaches its melodic peak, and the exclamatory 'welawey' of *Man mei longe* is heard. The shared material of D is long, and like A, it has a distinctive melodic contour; it provides a firm anchor to the model melody once again, as well as reassurance that the less explicit melodic connections of B and C were not imagined:

Figure 4: D material, *Quid tu vides/Man mei longe*

Here, the melodic material has been divided into two in order to best demonstrate the imitation of phrase structure between the two lines of each song; D1 and D2 accommodate one line of poetry each. At this point in *Man mei longe*, which marks the textual peak of every strophe, melodic imitation is the most neatly aligned with its original structure in *Quid tu vides*. The shared melodic contour of D1 is *c-d-a-b-g-d* in both songs; an audibly distinctive pattern, due to the dual occurrence of an upward step followed by a descending fourth. D2, although comprised of arguably less distinctive melodic gestures, is immediately recognisable as continued imitation when heard directly afterwards: a stepwise ascent, which just overshoots its intended cadence point of *g* before turning back to it.[17]

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[16] I am very grateful to Helen Deeming for sharing her insights on this manuscript with me while the global pandemic prevented in-person investigation in my final year. It seems that the upper-written pitches are of the least ambiguity, and that the most common reading of this phrase is unlikely to be altered. However, based on the potential new melodic connection suggested here, I would be interested in a fresh look at this line of *Man mei longe* (and not just the pitch in question), particularly as the manuscript parchment is somewhat warped at this point on the folio; if further ambiguities are present in any part of the song, melodic comparison with the corresponding phrases of *Quid tu vides* might be of some use.

[17] The unusual mark here transcribed as a liquescence on the last word of this example ('drench') would imply that the final sounding pitch is an *a*, despite the main cadential pitch apparently being a *g*. The audible prominence of such an ornament in performance is not known.

Finally, the composer-arranger of *Man mei longe* must draw the song to a close in a way which appropriately reflects the ending of *Quid tu vides*, but in a condensed space of time; while *Man mei longe* has two poetic lines left at this stage, *Quid tu vides* has three, and will continue with a brief repetition of C and D material before its final cadential phrase. With apparently no desire to include such repetition in *Man mei longe*, its last two lines are instead an efficient incorporation of the only remaining new material available for imitation: a distinctive leap down to *c* (from the previous cadence point of *g*), followed by an extended version of the final cadential formula of the model melody (figure 5):

Figure 5: E material, *Quid tu vides/Man mei longe*

Although the opening *c* of the English-texted phrase may at first glance appear to cause an overlap of borrowed melodic material between poetic lines, it is in fact a neat solution: this pitch is the point of the re-introduction of new material in *Quid tu vides* after several repetitions of melodic gestures. Furthermore, in beginning this line on the low *c*, the creator of *Man mei longe* has featured a descending leap of a fifth between the closing *g* of line 7 and the opening low *c* of line 8, reminiscent of the same descending leap on 'ecclesiae' (the last syllable of line 13 in *Quid tu vides*). Despite his skills in musical notation being somewhat lacking (if indeed scribe and composer were the same person), the cleric who arranged this song managed to compress the melodic material of a fourteen-line song into ten lines of a different internal structure, whilst prioritising the transfer of the most distinctive gestures throughout, and maintaining the proportional order in which they appear. Any cleric who knew the Latin tenor would undoubtedly have recognised its quotation from the very first sung lines of *Man mei longe*.

4.2.2   **Textual connections between *Man mei longe* and *Quid tu vides***

The choice of *Quid tu vides* as a melodic model for the text of *Man mei longe* was not made at random, but serves as a demonstration of the conceptual connections that the texts of melodically related songs could hold.[18] Both lyrics are calls for renewal in old age: one direct and proverbial, suited to reception by the English-speaking public; one allegorical and scriptural, suited to the same Latin-speaking clergy who would have appreciated its learned polyphonic setting. Both lyrics were apparently well known in the clerical community, and they both address the same homiletic topic; for the cleric seeking a suitable melody for *Man mei longe*, *Quid tu vides* therefore seems the perfect solution. Were the song to have been used in the religious instruction of the English-speaking laity, this connection would have held meaning to the clerical community regardless of whether or not it was recognised by its lay listeners.

Quid tu vides survives in one insular source with three text strophes, and in other sources with only one or two. The number and arrangement of strophes intended for performance appears to be a matter of choice: Janet Knapp has convincingly argued that strophes two and three are each designed for individual combination with strophe one, but that the three strophes are not intended to be sung consecutively.[19] The source of the Latin lyric for which this is of the most relevance – that which contains all three strophes – is an insular religious miscellany containing some vernacular devotional lyrics. It therefore seems plausible that the pick-and-mix arrangement of the Latin strophes could have been included for convenience in religious instruction, whether of the clergy or educated laity. This would complement the hints of the same practice suggested for moralising vernacular lyrics in chapter 1.

The strophes of relevance to *Man mei longe* are those which appear to be favoured in insular sources of *Quid tu vides*: strophes 1 and 3. These strophes revolve around the Christian allegory of the eagle restoring its youth: having become old and weak, with dim eyes, heavy wings, and a distorted beak, the eagle is traditionally rejuvenated through looking into rays of sunlight, submerging itself in a well or fountain of water, and re-shaping its beak with a stone.[20] Although the stone does not feature in this strophe of *Quid tu vides*, the Christian allegory with which the lyric traditionally associated is made clear, summarised by Knapp as follows:

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[18] Deeming argues for a similarly conscious connection between the texts of other contrafacta and bilingual settings in the insular repertoire, suggesting that two texts can be brought into association through a common musical setting. Deeming, 'Multilingual Networks in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Song', 127.

[19] Janet Knapp, '"Quid Tu Vides, Jeremia": Two Conductus in One', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16, no. 2 (1 July 1963): 212–20.

[20] The thirteenth-century bestiaries which describe the eagle in this manner are those by Guillaume le Clerc and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, both widely transmitted; and one further bestiary in Middle English verse, in London, British Library, Arundel MS 292. The latter has been edited in Morris, *An Old English Miscellany Containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century, from Manuscripts in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Library Etc*, 1–25.

The human race, long oppressed by the darkness of original sin (*nox primi criminis*), is restored, like the eagle, to its youthful condition at the brilliant coming of the Lord, the righteous sun (*sol iustus*), the fountain of life (*fons vite*).[21]

In short, the purpose of this allegory in *Quid tu vides* is to convey much the same message as the direct judgement of *Man mei longe*: rejuvenation of the soul before death, through a turn towards God. In addition to their shared thematic material, the unusually allegorical, nature-orientated character of the Latin text is arguably well-suited to association with lay instruction, and this may also have played a rôle in the choice of model melody. It seems that this cleric considered the conceptual alignment of the songs to be of greater importance than their structural alignment; the compatibility of the associations he fostered to each lyric were worth the extra work in melodic arrangement.[22]

4.3   Ornamentation re-visited: Flexibilities of scribe and singer

4.3.1   Two transmissions of *Worldes blis*

With so few monophonically preserved English-texted songs surviving from this period, it is a gift that two are concordant with one another and thus allow for the comparison of melodic and notational styles. Yet more fortuitous is the fact that the two musical transmissions of *Worldes blis* are tangibly different, in particular with regard to their ornamentation or lack thereof; the existence of distinct versions of the same melody demonstrates either that varied accepted interpretations of the song existed, or that its written preservation was not necessarily a strict representation of what might be sung in performance. Perhaps both are true. [23]

The most interesting point to emerge from the comparison of ornament usage between the two transmissions is not what is revealed of *Worldes blis* specifically, but rather the implications

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[21] Knapp, 'Quid Tu Vides, Jeremia', 215.

[22] It seems odd that despite the care that appears to have been taken to align the meaning and melodic material of the two songs, the scribe did not achieve a convincing 'English' melodic overlay to the text of *Man mei longe*. Considering the difficulties he appears to have had with both Middle English spelling and musical notation, his unusual frequent alignment of ligatures with stressed poetic syllables may be caused by basic inexperience of the poetic language (for example, if Middle English was not his mother tongue) and its usual melodic setting.

[23] The two musical transmissions of this song are also discussed by Deeming and Butterfield, who compare text, syllable count, and melodic floridity. It is suggested that the more florid of the two (Arundel 248) may be 'a musical elaboration or decoration' of the other (Rawlinson G.18). Ardis Butterfield and Helen Deeming, 'Editing Insular Song across the Disciplines: Worldes Blis', in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Vincent Gillespie (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 162.

on our understanding of ornamentation in the English-texted repertoire as a whole. The Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis* is rare in its lack of written ornamentation. The only other song without additive ornamentation is *Sumer is icumen in*; the unique, rhythmic canon.

The analytical profile of the Rawlinson G.18 *Worldes blis* is extraordinary in other ways, too: this transmission provides the most pronounced data for the influence of word stress on melodic structure in all categories considered thus far (and, incidentally, in those to come). In fact, its results are so pronounced that the analytical data of its own concordance in London, British Library, Arundel MS 248 appears numerically better-aligned with other songs in the repertoire, despite being a transmission of the same melody.

For the purposes of this discussion, the most relevant data for comparison between the two transmissions concerns the impact of additive ornamentation on melodic structure and pitch count. Due to the occasional ornamentation of stressed syllables, the all-inclusive pitch count of the Arundel 248 transmission sits at around 40% stressed, and 60% unstressed. This is already a strong distinction – in fact, the most pronounced among the ornamented songs – but it still is relatively far-removed from its unornamented concordance in Rawlinson G.18, which sits closer to 30% stressed, 70% unstressed.

The removal of all additive ornamentation in the Arundel 248 transmission would leave, in theory, two versions of the same melody which are as close to 'unornamented' as can be hypothesised. If this were a perfect system, one would expect the resultant stress-based pitch counts of the two transmissions to align with one another. Indeed, the removal of additive ornamentation does bring the numerical data of the two transmissions closer; but the 'unornamented' text-setting patterns of the Arundel 248 transmission remain less pronounced than those of Rawlinson G.18 by around 5%, keeping the stressed pitch count of Arundel 248 closer to 60% than to the near-70% of Rawlinson G.18.

This is not a huge discrepancy, and it could be dismissed as nothing more than the melodic variation found in many medieval contrafacta. Another possibility, however, is that the 5% of 'surplus' pitches in Arundel 248 is at least partially comprised of ornamentation which was not successfully identified and removed in analysis. This possibility increases in likelihood once considered in conjunction with the use of ligatures in the two versions of this song*:* although both transmissions contain ligatures, they are more numerous in Arundel 248 than in Rawlinson G.18; and it is the ligatures on *stressed* poetic syllables in the former which are 'lacking' in the latter*.* This is apparent by no small margin—the Arundel 248 version of *Worldes blis* contains 15% more stressed ligatures than the Rawlinson G.18 version.

It is by now established that stressed syllables are prone to ornamental embellishment in Middle English song, whereas unstressed syllables are not. The resulting implication is that, if the Arundel 248 transmission does indeed contain ornamentation that extends beyond that which is clearly visible – its liquescences, double noteheads, and wave notes – then this further ornamentation is likely hiding within the ligatures on its stressed syllables specifically. In other words, the Arundel transmission of *Worldes blis* may contain stressed ornamentation which extends beyond 'additive' to become 'structural': written out in full, and embedded within ligatures.

4.3.2 The implications of 'hidden' ornamentation

If any of the stressed ligatures in the Arundel transmission are indeed ornamental in function, then we might consider if other songs in the English-texted repertoire contain similar structural, rather than additive, ornamentation. Aside from the outlying canon *Sumer is icumen in*, all of the English-texted songs contain both additive ornamentation, and ligatures on stressed syllables. Additionally, they all have analytical profiles more in keeping with the Arundel 248 than the Rawlinson G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis*.

In the case that further English-texted songs contain structural ornamentation hidden within their stressed ligatures, this will have diluted their stress-based pitch counts and ligature distribution data in a similar manner to that observable between the two melodic transmissions of *Worldes blis*. Structural melodic ornamentation creates stressed pitches which were not necessarily conceived as a feature of the core melodic contour of each song, and which go some way to obscuring it. If structural as well as additive ornamentation in the English-texted songs were identifiable and removable, the stress-based patterns of text setting already observed would likely become more pronounced, and the analytical profiles of each melody would shift closer to that of the Rawlinson G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis*.

Songs which are particularly melismatic, or which have a relatively high proportion of ligatures on *stressed* syllables, are likely suspects as harbingers of structural ornamentation. This renders them the most susceptible to the same dilution of text-setting patterns as was observable in the Arundel *Worldes blis*. In the review of ligature placement earlier in this chapter, it was already evident that the two most florid songs in the repertoire display somewhat unusual ligature treatment, despite otherwise remaining within expected analytical patterns. *Þe milde Lomb* and *Foweles in þe frith* are heavily ligatured, and each contain an unusually high proportion of ligature activity on stressed poetic syllables specifically: *Þe milde Lomb* is the only song in the repertoire in which longer ligatures are allotted to stressed rather than unstressed syllables; and *Foweles in þe*

frith is the only song in the repertoire in which the majority of poetic syllables are ligatured, and not syllabic. The presence of unusually heavy structural ornamentation would be in fitting with the florid, already ornamental melodic styles of both songs, but it would also justify the slight quirks and weaknesses in their data. A stress-based structure is already evident in both songs; but stronger patterns, more in keeping with those of less florid analysed melodies, might be obscured beneath the veil of their ornamental transmissions.

Unfortunately, unlike *Worldes blis*, neither of these songs has a concordance for comparison, and any attempts to distinguish 'ornamental' ligatures from 'structural' ligatures would be experimental. Even without a concordance for comparison, however, the outlying use of ligatures in *Foweles in þe frith* can possibly be justified, as suggested earlier in this chapter. Its unusual results may simply be the result of a large amount of written-out ornamentation— perhaps so presented for the sake of the easy alignment of its polyphony.

4.3.3   Scribal approaches to ornamentation

As suggested above, it is possible that at least some of the pitches written as ligatures in this repertoire may fulfil a similar rôle to additive ornamentation. One question to arise from this is whether an additive ornament and a structural ornament are intended to be audibly or functionally distinguishable, in particular when they appear to represent the same movement in pitch. How did an ornamental clivis aurally differ from a non-ornamental clivis, or from a cephalicus? I will suggest that certain written and sounding forms of vocal ornamentation may have been less conceptually distinct than their usual modern performance practice suggests, at least for some medieval scribes and singers.

The notational forms found in insular song are reviewed by Samantha Blickhan in her 2016 PhD thesis.[24] Blickhan observes the variety of scribal habits found in high-medieval insular songs, including those in Middle English. She suggests that where neume shapes appear differently from insular one source to the next, this can frequently be attributed to aesthetic preference or practical habit on the part of the scribe, as opposed to representing a purposeful variant of that neume, perhaps with implications for the performer. One such example highlighted by Blickhan is a transmission of the *Planctus ante nescia* in which multiple hands contribute to the notation of the same song; a change of hand leads to a change in the notation of virgae within the same

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[24] Samantha Blickhan, 'Translating Sound, Then and Now: The Palaeography and Notation of Insular Song, c.1150-1300' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2016).

piece, implying that at least in this case, the notational difference is likely to represent varied scribal habits rather than distinct performance instructions.[25]

Variation in the notation of more ambiguous forms than the virga poses more problems for their modern interpretation. Two ornamental forms of particular relevance here, the cephalicus and the wave note, are compared by Blickhan, who speculates whether variants in the written form might denote audible differences in vocal production. This is a serious consideration, as both wave note and cephalicus forms have been seen to vary, seemingly consciously, within a single song. Attention is drawn to the example of Harley 978, in which one scribe appears to have painstakingly altered the cephalicus forms of his predecessor. Not every instance of the neume's occurrence is emended however, suggesting that the changes may not have been made for visual aesthetic reasons.[26] Whether or not this selective editorial process indicates an audible or merely visual distinction is unknown. It does make clear, however, that scribal preference was in this case strong enough to inspire physical emendation, and that not all cases of neume variation within a song can be explained away through inconsistence or flexibility.

However, there are aspects of ornament flexibility which I believe have not yet been fully explored, and which may imply a notational *mouvance* for certain ornaments which is independent of vocal interpretation or aesthetic preference. I suspect that current interpretations are in danger of being misguided by what we perceive to be the physically identifying features of an ornament; the danger being that those physical features may not be as firmly tied to the function and vocal execution of an ornament as we believe them to be. We tend to compare 'wave note' to 'wave note', and 'cephalicus' to 'cephalicus', and any other form to the same of its own kind. What I believe to deserve more attention is the potential for overlap, at least occasionally, between the written and vocal functions of certain notational forms. There are instances in the insular vernacular songs in which a cephalicus and a clivis appear to share the same melodic rôle, and in which a wave note and double notehead also seem scribally interchangeable. In both situations, the choice of notational form appears to depend on the melodic direction of the following neume. This raises my suspicions that the neumes selected by the scribe in the translation of aural to written transmission may have at least in part, or by certain scribes, been influenced by the directional ease of their writing rather than by a specific intended vocal effect.

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[25] Blickhan uses the presence or absence of hairline ascenders in the *Planctus ante nescia* transmission of Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Lat. 2 to demonstrate this. The scribe who begins the transcription of this song adds hairline ascenders to virgae; the scribe who completes the song does not. Blickhan, 88–89.

[26] 20 of the 30 cephalicus forms in *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (London, British Library, Harley MS 978, f. 7r) appear to have been edited from a 'sloping head' to a 'reverse' cephalicus form by the later scribe. Blickhan, 146–47.

I will not suggest that these notational forms share a blanket common purpose and aural manifestation, nor that they are not theoretically distinct. However, a more open-minded approach to ornamental neumes may be beneficial in modern performance practice. Medieval descriptions of adiastematic neumes demonstrate that notational forms were described variably from person to person and tradition to tradition, and some may have shared comparable vocal effects. The *Summa musice* of around 1200 describes the clivis (supposedly meaning 'I bend') in a comparable manner to the plica, in that it can have a faded secondary pitch, rather than the two notes sounding equally in the voice; and a similar effect supposedly creates the 'bending' of the notes of a quilisma, which although not the same as the wave note, at least has a similar written form.[27] McGee asserts from further treatises that the quilisma was performed by some as 'a volume pulsation without pitch change', and that the bistropha (a re-entrant notational form with two noteheads on the same pitch) 'may be thought of as a series of quickly articulated plicas'.[28] In the modern performance of medieval chant however, the status quo is to approach these two neumes the other way around, singing instead a wavering pitch on a quilisma and a stable but accented or re-entrant pitch on a bistropha. It is possible that the vocal inflections which inspired the written forms of the clivis, plica, quilisma and bistropha in chant may have enjoyed a more varied and even overlapping interpretations by medieval singers.[29] Although the quilisma, plica, and bistropha cannot be compared to the wave note, cephalicus, and double notehead of insular song directly, their written forms and aural inspiration are likely related. It is conceivable, to me at least, that similar artistic license may have been enjoyed in the written and aural vocal inflections of some of the insular vernacular songs analysed. I will first discuss the potential interchange of the cephalicus and clivis, and then the potential interchange of the wave note and double notehead.

Mirie it is and *Edi beo þu* are both limited in their use of ornamentation and ligature. When either is employed, a clear distinction between them is not always present. In both songs, the primary ornamental and ligatured forms are liquescences and stepwise two-note ligatures. Both of these forms represent the same basic melodic gesture: two neighbouring pitches should be sung to the same text syllable. In *Mirie it is*, the notation of this gesture as an ornament or as a ligature appears to depend on its melodic direction: a two-note stepwise ascent is notated as a ligature

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[27] Christopher Page, *The Summa Musice: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers*, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 66.

[28] Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 53–58.

[29] McGee claims that the theoretical treatises 'describe a vocal practice that stands in sharp contrast to the currently accepted practice of singing chant', and that 'performance of the most common two-note neumes found in the chant repertory all involved a strong-weak relationship in which the first pitch is a solid, distinct pitch, and the second is either a fading or otherwise less distinct sound'. McGee, 'Medieval Performance Practice', 585.

(podatus), and a two-note stepwise descent as an explicit ornament (cephalicus). In the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu*, a two-note stepwise descent occurs in both ligatured (clivis) and ornamental (cephalicus) forms; most significantly, however, the scribe switches these forms despite the melodic rôle of the two-note gesture not appearing to have changed. The poetic lines 4, 5, and 8 all contain the same distinctive melody: a stepwise fall from *b*-flat and a turn around the low range before settling on the finalis. The melodic gesture itself is not altered, except for the fact that the two-note step within it is notated twice as a ligature, and once as an ornament.

As mentioned above, the scribal choice between wave note and double notehead also appears to be somewhat dependent on melodic direction. Frequently, although not exclusively, the selected ornamental form reflects the direction of pitch to follow: a double notehead (with or without attached cephalicus) precedes a descent in pitch, and a wave note precedes an ascent.[30] Melodic direction therefore plays some part in the ornamental identity of these notational forms, and scribal distinctions between the two are likely conscious and standardised. Concerning the wave note in particular, this has not gone unnoticed: Blickhan remarks on the higher occurrence of wave notes on the first note a pes (ascending) than on the first note of a clivis (descending).[31] The quilisma, too – similar in notational structure to the insular wave note – often precedes a stepwise ascent of a semitone.[32] Such patterns assist in the melodic deciphering of adiastematic neumes. The question is therefore not whether the relationship between notated ornament and melodic contour exists, but rather to what extent the written identity of an ornament affects its vocal production. Blickhan remarks that 'the wave-note is similar in structure to the quilisma, though the conventions of use typically associated with the latter cannot be applied to the former';[33] thus, we are dealing with two ornamental neumes which are not equivalent in function or origin, and yet share aspects of both their physical appearance and their melodic position within a phrase (i.e., both often precede an ascent in pitch). We might therefore consider that it is the latter two features which are interrelated – physical appearance and melodic position – seeing as they appear together in both cases. It is accepted that the shape of a neume reflects something of its

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[30] A notable exception to this in the English-texted songs is found in line 2 of *Þe milde Lomb*, in which the word 'BLO-de' is ornamented with a double notehead and epiphonus, despite the following ascent in pitch.

[31] This and other insular wave note statistics are provided in Blickhan, 'Translating Sound, Then and Now: The Palaeography and Notation of Insular Song, c.1150-1300', 150.

[32] Possible interpretations of the wave note, and its potential relationship to the quilisma, are discussed by Stevens with regard to twelfth-century insular Latin song. Stevens does not consider melodic direction to play as prominent a rôle for the wave note as for the quilisma, and states that the wave note always ends with a downward stroke. This is at odds with the most common usage of the form in the thirteenth-century English-texted songs, in which the wave note is primarily associated with ascending movement, and is more likely to have a final upward, not downward, stroke. John Stevens, ed., *The Later Cambridge Songs: An English Song Collection of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 15–16.

[33] Blickhan, 'Translating Sound, Then and Now: The Palaeography and Notation of Insular Song, c.1150-1300', 151.

associated sound production; could the physical manifestation of the 'wave note' (and indeed the 'quilisma') at least in part be the product of co-dependence between quill and pitch direction, rather than being solely influenced by a desired vocal effect?

In the case of wave notes and double noteheads, this hypothesis can be explored through the observation of their simultaneous appearances in polyphony. Several examples are present in the polyphonic setting of *Jesu cristes milde moder*, in which the two ornamental forms frequently clash on the same syllable of text. The two vocal lines regularly contract from a third to a unison, and this gesture is often ornamented in both voices at its widest point (on the sounding third). Whether the chosen ornament is a wave note or a double notehead appears to depend on the melodic direction of the *following* pitch: the voice which proceeds to descend will usually be embellished with a double notehead (and cephalicus), while the ascending voice will instead be embellished with a wave note (sometimes with a visible ascending liquescence). One of the clearest examples is found in versicle 7a of the song on 'MIL-de' (figure 6).

Figure 6: 'Clashing' ornamental forms in *Jesu cristes milde moder*

A similar system features in *Veine pleine de ducur* from the same source. A syllable is ornamented in the two outermost voices (in the first strophe, 'duz CON-fort'), yet the ornaments do not match; again, the voice which will proceed to descend in pitch is assigned a double notehead, and the voice which will ascend becomes a wave note (figure 7).

Figure 7: 'Clashing' ornamental forms in *Veine pleine de ducur*

This Anglo-Norman song is briefly brought into consideration because the very same syllable is mentioned by Blickhan in her own discussions of changing ornamental forms. The double notehead in the uppermost voice is presented as one example of the many forms of double note across the insular song repertories.[34] The wave note directly below it is not mentioned, presumably because it is considered to be a separate ornament altogether, with a distinct function and vocal production. If the notation of wave notes and double noteheads was somewhat influenced by melodic direction, then this wave note might not be entirely different in function or vocal production to the double notehead above it, and it could feasibly have served as another example in Blickhan's review of variant notational forms.

Concerning the simultaneously sounding ornaments of *Jesu cristes milde moder*, but by no means across the board of medieval music notation, the written distinction between the double notehead and wave note could plausibly have a more practical than aural causation. The categorisation of the two ornamental forms as inherently distinct in this song does not fully account for the homogeneity of the two voices in the remainder of the polyphonic setting, and the physical restrictions of the quill, with which descending gestures are smoother than ascending gestures. The use of a quill has two practical implications on the forms of wave notes and double noteheads: firstly, the addition of a descender is less problematic than an ascender, which may be the reason behind the increased presence of stems and visible liquescences on 'descending' double noteheads than 'ascending' wave notes. Secondly, although both ornaments are usually formed in two quill movements (double noteheads are usually comprised of two separated

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[34] Blickhan, 'Translating Sound, Then and Now: The Palaeography and Notation of Insular Song, c.1150-1300', 255.

concave downward curves, resulting in 'n' peaks, and wave notes are usually comprised of two connected concave upward curves, resulting in 'u' peaks), the usual presence of a space between double noteheads is often a physical necessity; the nib is lifted after the closing downward motion of the first notehead. The lifting and re-application of the nib in this manner is not necessary in the formation of a wave note, for which the upward flick that ends the first 'wave' can descend smoothly to begin the second. Ultimately, despite their visual differences, the inherent structure of double noteheads and wave notes appears to be based on two shared scribal priorities: to produce two 'bodies' of ink on the same pitch and syllable (either distinguishable noteheads, or 'waves'); and to reflect the melodic direction of the following neume. For each ornament, this is achieved with two movements of the quill—whether or not the nib leaves the parchment during the process. For the scribe, then, these ornaments may have been little more than the inversion of one another.

The interpretation of the ornaments and ligatures discussed above has implications on the modern historical performance practice of the songs. The two-note gestures which appear in *Mirie it is* have not, to my knowledge, been used as evidence that their scribal variation represents anything more than a practicality based on melodic direction; in modern performance, the liquescences and ligatures which appear at comparable points in the melody are generally performed with a similar audible effect, rather than clearly distinguished from one another. Neither has the alternation of liquescence and ligature in *Edi beo þu* resulted in a modern performance approach in which the notational forms are commonly prescribed distinct melodic functions. Why, then, should we approach ornamental variation in *Jesu cristes milde moder* differently? In the modern performance and teaching of this song, it is common practice for the two singers to consciously and audibly distinguish between wave note and double notehead. If the notational choices made in *Jesu cristes milde moder* were even partially based on melodic direction, then the simultaneously sounding wave notes and double noteheads may not have been as conceptually or audibly distinct to that particular scribe as they are in their modern interpretation.

In summary, it is possible that ligatures and ornaments, as well as double noteheads and wave notes, were at least sometimes deemed close enough in function or aural effect as to be used interchangeably by the scribe. This will likely remain an unprovable hypothesis, although in its defence, it has already come to light through analysis that some ligatures appear to function as (or at least contain) written-out ornamentation. Therefore, if the usage of 'ornamental' ligatures is not solely due to floridity becoming ingrained in the melody over time, then perhaps it was also a method of overcoming the two-note limit of ornamental forms when notating floridity. Furthermore, in *Mirie it is* and *Edi beo þu*, even the shorter two-note gestures can appear as either ligature or ornament, implying that ornament-containing ligatures were not always written out in

full through practical necessity alone, nor because a particular ornament had become ingrained over time. If either were the case, then those moments of floridity would likely have been written consistently within the same song. Rather, instances of notational overlap suggest that the written forms of certain ligatures and ornamental neumes were, in some contexts at least, genuinely interchangeable.

4.3.4   The modern perception of medieval ornamentation

Currently, the modern performance practices with which I am familiar stay as true as possible to the written notation of the English-texted repertoire, and include each instance of additive ornamentation as a distinct audible effect. A wave note will be distinguished from a double notehead, and as far as is practical, a liquescence will be distinguished from a two-note ligature (where the text allows, this will be achieved through the pronunciation of the liquescent pitch on a consonant rather than a vowel). Indeed, when distinct notational forms appear within the same transcription – as they do – it would seem an oversight not to audibly distinguish between them.

However, if our interpretation of the notation is close to correct, then some notated forms are closer to one another in audible effect than others. A liquescence and two-note ligature follow the same basic melodic shape; and wave notes and double noteheads both require the brisk re-entry of the same pitch, usually executed by modern performers through tremolo or glottal respectively. The notation of the songs discussed above appears to be at least somewhat flexible within, but not between, these 'ornamental' pairings: liquescences and seemingly ornamental ligatures can be interchanged, and wave notes and double noteheads can sound simultaneously— but the same relationship is not apparent between, say, a wave note and a two-note ligature.

Perhaps, then, the notation and vocalisation of ornaments was more of an organic than a prescriptive process. Re-entrant or pitch-wavering ornamentation may have been desired at one moment, and pitch-stepping melodic ornamentation in another. Certain variants in the notation of each may have been more for the benefit of the scribe than the performer. These flexibilities might encourage modern performers, too, to reconsider their interpretation of ornamental forms. This concerns not only on the perception of what is or is not 'ornamental' in the written melody (a ligature can be as 'ornamental' in nature as a liquescence), but also the audible effect created in performance. Notational flexibility is evident on the broadest and narrowest levels in the analysed vernacular songs: different transmissions of the same song may include or exclude ornamentation, and ligatures and ornamental forms may alternate within the same piece. Despite the small number of surviving songs, the high proportion of those with additive ornamentation implies that melodic embellishment in some form was likely to be expected, and that it favoured stressed

syllables. However, we have little grasp of whether ornamentation was decided by the performer or another party, how flexibly its notational forms were interpreted in oral practice, and whether it varied with each performance or became relatively fixed through years of oral tradition.

4.4 'Monophony' and 'polyphony' in English-texted song

In chapter 3, stress-based text-setting patterns were evident in both monophonically and polyphonically preserved songs. *Edi beo þu* has to some extent been extracted from direct comparison with *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith*, as its polyphonic and text-setting style appears to be slightly distinct; however, the latter two songs remain as potential examples of 'polyphonic' text setting in Middle English. What is especially interesting in the analysis of these two songs is the fact that the expected melodic patterns (for example, stressed ascent, and unstressed descent) only occur in one of the two voices.

Considering that the polyphonic style of the songs relies heavily on contrary motion and voice exchange, the basic reasoning behind this discrepancy is self-evident: if the voices are designed to mirror one another, then they cannot both ascend on stressed syllables and descend on unstressed syllables without constantly creating parallels rather than contrary motion. What is not self-evident, however, is that a polyphonic style reliant on voice exchange and contrary motion would feature such a pattern of text setting in one of its voices in the first place: once the two voices are singing together, any emphasis of text stress that relies on melodic ascent or descent is audibly obscured by the fact that the other voice is obliged to move in the opposite direction. Audible text stress in *polyphonic* performance, then, is unlikely to be the reason that this pattern appears in one voice and not the other. A more likely scenario is that the voice which displays stress-based text-setting patterns preceded the other; and the other voice was structured to serve it. The melodic contour of the first was defined by a need to emphasise poetic stress, and the melodic contour of the second was defined by a need for smooth contrary motion and voice exchange. This can be seen in the melodic maps of *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith* (Appendices C.6 and C.7 respectively): one voice of each follows the expected pink-blue proportions of the monophonically preserved songs, while the other will be less consistent, or may even invert this pattern at times.[35] This is particularly clear in *Jesu cristes milde moder*, which is less florid and therefore does not have weakened patterning due to written-out ornamentation on stressed syllables; in the melodic map of this song, there are sizeable sections in which the lower-written voice descends on its stressed syllables, and ascends on its unstressed syllables— the opposite behaviour to the monophonically preserved songs. It is plausible that the 'inverted'

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[35] In *Jesu cristes milde moder*, the upper-written voice is that which follows expected text-setting patterns; in *Foweles in þe frith*, it is the lower-written voice.

voice was structured to serve the stress-based melodic contour of the first. If so, then this voice might be considered secondary to the other, melodically and temporally—regardless of whether it was added minutes or years after the foundation melody had been composed.

In *Foweles in þe frith*, unlike *Jesu cristes milde moder*, the secondary voice does not neatly invert the colours of its foundation melody. Rather, it seems more haphazardly set overall: the melodic direction of stressed and unstressed syllables is mixed, with no strong preference for ascending or descending motion in either. The unstressed syllables in this voice are particularly disorderly in their melodic movement, containing more numerous and more extreme leaps than the other. Perhaps contrary to expectations, the voice which follows observed stress-based text setting, and which might therefore be considered the foundation melody, is the voice to which the text is not directly aligned. The two vocal lines are written in score, on separate staves; but despite space being left for text underneath both lines, it has only been included underneath the lower stave. If one were to guess at a vocal hierarchy in this song by looking at its physical preservation alone, the positioning of the text directly underneath the lower-written voice might lead to the assumption that this voice was more closely bound to the text in the mind of the scribe. Analysis appears to suggest otherwise.

These melodic maps reveal characteristics of the songs which are not apparent from their physical presentation. Firstly, there is a hierarchy within the two voices of the polyphonic songs which was not previously visible. It has been obscured by the fact that each voice generally has an equal range and declaims the text homophonically; and the constant use of voice exchange ensures that neither voice is more audibly prominent than the other in terms of pitch.

Secondly, were the secondary voices of *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith* to be taken away, one would be left with a 'monophonic' song indistinguishable from those already preserved as such. Alongside the shared preservation contexts, scribes, function and textual themes of the monophonically and polyphonically preserved songs, they share analytical data in every category covered. The extent of their shared characteristics is evidence enough to suggest that the monophonically and polyphonically preserved songs may belong to the same genre and practice as one another, regardless of their textural preservation.

One has only to sing the opening of the lower-written voice of *Jesu cristes milde moder* and the opening of *Worldes blis* to realise that vocal texture does not define melodic style in this repertoire. The two melodies are so similar that their connection could feasibly extend beyond shared style, and be purposeful quotation. In either case, if these songs do belong to the same compositional genre, then this has implications on the current labelling of the English-texted songs as 'polyphonic' or 'monophonic'. Considering the hierarchy of voices present in *Jesu cristes*

milde moder and *Foweles in þe frith*, the physical presentation of these and other English-texted songs may not be representative of their prescriptive textural identity. Rather, the secondary voice could conceivably be removed from each of these songs, and that the 'foundation melody' performed monophonically; or, in contrast, a secondary voice in contrary motion could be added to monophonically preserved songs which adhere to the same conjunct melodic style and text-setting patterns as the polyphonically preserved songs.

It has been argued that neither monophonic or polyphonic preservation, nor mensural or non-mensural polyphonic setting, is representative of a learned or unlearned compositional style in thirteenth-century Britain, and it may therefore be beneficial to remain open to comparison with both clerical Latin and vernacular secular medieval song repertories for which similar hypotheses of improvisation and malleable textural identity have been suggested.[36] Such concepts are not alien in medieval song performance and transmission, and their appearance in German and Latin improvisatory practices make it all the more plausible. The fact that the Middle English songs do not appear to have been conceived for polyphonic performance specifically, but allow for monophonic *or* polyphonic performance without the loss of a foundation melody, is comparable to the 'enhanced monophony' of later German composers (as described by Marc Lewon).[37] The compositions of Oswald von Wolkenstein and the Monk of Salzburg have been subjected to similar division in musicological discussion on the grounds of their monophonic or polyphonic preservation; but Lewon is of the opinion that polyphonic performance in some non-mensural songs was optional, not prescriptive. Anna Maria Busse Berger, speaking of Latin polyphony, suggests that certain genres 'relied to a large extent on oral composition and transmission', and that 'a performer would make his own redaction or a scribe would re-compose a piece'. It is these processes of oral creation and transmission, in part through improvisation, to which the English-texted songs are most likely to belong.[38] These are approaches which I have tried in practice with the English-texted songs, and the addition of a secondary voice has proven to be improvisable if the foundation melody is known well enough.

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[36] The potential distinction between 'primitive' and 'high art' polyphony in thirteenth-century Britain is discussed by Losseff, who uses the Latin-texted Notre Dame repertoire to argue that various styles of polyphony coexisted within insular, Notre Dame-inspired repertories. Nicky Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland, 1994), 161–63.

[37] I am grateful to Marc for sharing his thoughts on this matter ahead of the publication of his chapter on the subject. Marc Lewon, '"Übersingen" and "Quintieren": Non-Mensural Polyphony in Secular Repertories: Oswald von Wolkenstein and the Monk of Salzburg', in *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Christopher Page*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Skinner, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 22 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 385–404.

[38] Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 165–74.

Although experimental, the potential for textural flexibility in the English-texted songs is further reason to re-assess their modern categorisation: despite differences in textual theme, form, and written preservation, *Worldes blis*, *Þe milde Lomb*, *Jesu cristes milde moder* and *Foweles in þe frith* all appear to belong to the same stress-based compositional (and perhaps occasionally improvisatory) genre. A suggested two-voice setting for *Þe milde Lomb*, comparable in style to the polyphonically preserved songs, has been provided in chapter 6.

4.5   Conclusions to chapter 4: A suggested new categorisation of surviving songs

As outlined in the Introduction and in chapter 3, the English-texted songs are frequently subjected to categorisation and comparison with better-understood song genres on terms which overlook their own stylistic homogeneity. The analysis of the songs in chapter 3, combined with the potential connections presented in this chapter, allow for a fresh theoretical categorisation of the English-texted songs—without the need to draw on comparisons to other repertoires unless such a relationship is explicitly present, as in the case of a contrafact. The songs can now be divided into groups according to evidence or absence of English-texted compositional style. This hopefully provides reason enough to reconsider the frequent association of certain songs with compositional practices of Latin origin, and instead to consider them products of an independent insular compositional tradition. A list of new suggested categorisations for the Middle English songs will follow a brief overview of the features of each group.

The songs which most consider the stress of their Middle English texts, and which are arguably the most significant for our increased understanding of the repertoire, are those in a conjunct melodic style which is built around stressed ascent and unstressed descent. These songs may be monophonically or polyphonically preserved, and are thematically varied; nature lyrics, moralising lyrics, and Passion lyrics are all set in this way, implying that while poetic stress is a necessary consideration of this style, poetic content may not be so important. However, notably, Marian praise is missing from this group; the one Marian song in Middle English does not conform to the same text-setting patterns. Also cleanly categorisable are Latin-English contrafacta, which are comprised of moralising or Passion lyrics, and to which there is a new suggested entry; and the bilingual Latin-English songs, some of the melodies of which may be the product of the simultaneous consideration of Latin and Middle English during composition. Finally, there are some songs which evade definitive categorisation, but which may tentatively share features with others: *Mirie it is* shares some melodic similarities with the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu*, but

is ultimately outlying in style. *Edi beo þu* also tentatively shares some features with bilingual Latin-English songs, however, and is thus included as a possible contender in two categories.

Songs likely of English-texted origin, in 'conjunct' style:

Worldes blis (both transmissions)

Jesu cristes milde moder (foundation melody: lower-written voice)

Foweles in þe frith (foundation melody: upper-written voice)

Þe milde Lomb

Latin-English contrafacta:

Stond wel moder; […] *stod ho pere neh*; *Ar ne kuthe*; *Man mei longe*

Potential hybrid Latin-English settings:

Sumer is icumen in; *Gabriel fram evene king*; *?Edi beo þu*

Anomalous songs, possibly representing a more 'disjunct' English-texted style:

Mirie it is; *?Edi beo þu* (upper-written voice)

Chapter 5   Anglo-Norman song: A hybrid analysis for a hybrid repertoire

5.1   Introduction and related analytical approaches

It is unsurprising that, considering the small scope of the repertoire, Anglo-Norman song has not been the subject of analysis much beyond non-comparative listings of form, syllable count, and melodic range.[1] Even the melodic style of the related Continental *trouvère* repertoire, which boasts many surviving melodies, has been relatively overlooked in musicological discussion; the only significant study of general melodic and structural characteristics is that by Hendrik van der Werf, which combines consideration of *trouvères* and *troubadours*.[2] Some numerical analysis of 'courtly chanson' is also offered by Stevens, but not only does this combine consideration of *troubadour* and *trouvère* melodies, it is also primarily focussed on syllable count and the significance of number, rather than melodic style.[3] Another analytical approach to consider *troubadour* and *trouvère* melodies in combination is that offered by Switten, who suggests that melodic analysis can be 'structural or rhetorical'; in other words, analysis may consider versification and madrigalistic text expression.[4] Elizabeth Eva Leach remarks that, despite the greater number of surviving *trouvère* melodies, this song repertoire has been consistently overshadowed by or juxtaposed with the *troubadours* in musicological discussion, as though the two were 'epigonal'.[5]

These fairly broad approaches are well suited to the discussion of individual songs, but have not resulted in the emergence of detailed text-setting patterns which are recognisable across the French-texted *chanson* repertoire. Much as is the case with English-texted songs, literary interest and analysis has far surpassed musicological study; and where musical commentary has been provided, the focal point of analysis tends to be how the melody might serve the structure of the

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[1] John Stevens' 'check-list' is the closest thing to a comparative discussion of all songs; and as its title suggests, it is intended to serve as an anthological reference of primary material, rather than new research. The descriptions of text form, melodic range, and syllable count included for each song are at not compared or further discussed. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350'.

[2] van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*.

[3] Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 13–47.

[4] Margaret Switten, 'Music and Words', in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouveres: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, ed. Samuel Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gerard Le Vot (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 14–18.

[5] Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', 3.

text, rather than allowing for the possibility of an independent creative process.[6] Elizabeth Eva Leach recently called for an increased consideration of the melodic characteristics of *trouvère* song in analysis, demonstrating with selected case studies that a *trouvère* melody is not solely influenced by its service of poetic structure, but is an expressive tool in its own right.[7] This does not denote a need for complex melodic development or floridity, however. In a companion article, Leach cites a case in which melodic *simplicity* could have been a useful tool in a *trouvère* song, and one consciously employed in order to encourage a variety of individual interpretations by its singers: by providing the melodic equivalent of a blank sheet of paper, the composer leaves the song open to multiple styles of performance.[8] In either situation, the melodic component of the *trouvère* song is seen to enjoy independent power and meaning, extending beyond the expression of individual words, overall mood, or poetic structure.

Anglo-Norman song lends itself to such analysis, not only as a contribution to studies of the melodic characters of *trouvère*-related songs, but also because its text-melody relationship can be explored beyond considerations of poetic form and syllable count. Anglo-Norman poetry is known to be influenced by Germanic word stress, and it has a more flexible approach to syllable count than Continental French poetry. In the thirteenth century, the waning of mother-tongue speakers of Continental French led to increased 'Germanic' influences on the insular Anglo-Norman lyric, and further independence in style from the Continental *trouvère* repertory. Although the lyric genre continued to reflect the courtly, aristocratic themes of the *trouvères*, syllable count reduced in importance, and the metrical lilt of stressed and unstressed syllables fundamental to Middle English began to make its way into the poetic structure of Anglo-Norman. It therefore provides a valuable experimental environment for a melodic analysis which considers both features.[9] Some consideration of syllable stress does come into Continental French poetry, but it is stress of a

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[6] The primary text-based analysis of *trouvère* lyric versification and structure is that by Mölk and Wolfzettel. Analyses which consider melodic elements alongside poetic structure include the major edition by Tischler, and the study of Latin and Romance lyrics by Spanke, both of which provide large-scale melodic observations based primarily on poetic structure. Ulrich Mölk and Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Répertoire Métrique de la Poésie Lyrique Française des Origines à 1350* (München: Fink, 1972); Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae (Ottawa: Hänssler Verlag, American Institute of Musicology, 1997); Hans Spanke and Ulrich Mölk, *Studien zur Lateinischen und Romanischen Lyrik des Mittelalters*, Collectanea Olms (Hildesheim: Olms, 1983).

[7] Leach has suggested that a dogmatic approach to syllable count in analysis can override and obscure melodic features worthy of consideration, and that in modern visual presentations of *trouvère* song, a vertical alignment which does not only consider syllable count, but also recurrent melodic gestures, might be worthwhile. Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', 11, 15.

[8] Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Imagining the Un-Encoded: Staging Affect in Blondel de Nesle's *Mes Cuers Me Fait Conmencier*', *Early Music* 48, no. 1 (February 2020): 29–40.

[9] Certain other 'insular' French habits became established, such as the 'octosyllabic' lyric which may have anything between six and eight syllables per line; and tail-rhyme, which was borrowed from Middle English poetry and was especially associated with homiletic contexts (although it does not feature in any of the analysed songs). For an elaboration of these features, and an introduction to the development of Anglo-Norman in Britain at this time, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Vernacular Literary Theory from the French of Medieval England: Texts and Translations, c. 1120 - c. 1450* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016), 401–30.

different nature, arguably with more theoretical than practical connotations: the rhyme at the end of a line is a theoretical stress, and some lines also have a further internal stress preceding a caesura, if present.[10] This stress is a theoretical necessity in the structure of the poetic line. However, in everyday speech, the same syllable would not formally be considered stressed or unstressed, nor would it be pronounced as such. This is the fundamental difference between the imposed, theoretical stress of Romance poetry, and the inherent, audible stress of Germanic poetry and spoken language.[11]

It is the combination of Germanic and Romance poetic influences which lend Anglo-Norman to multi-faceted analysis. As demonstrated by the Middle English song analyses, the consideration of poetic stress in melodic structure and contour reveals compositional habits which are otherwise easily obscured. Furthermore, the flexibility of syllable count in the Anglo-Norman songs lends them to a visual presentation designed to highlight and align melodic features, rather than syllable count, in analysis; this resonates with the method promoted by Leach for the *trouvère* repertoire.[12]

The following analyses are not aimed towards a better understanding of the *trouvère* repertoire, and any melodic comparison between Continental and insular Anglo-Norman song is for the purpose of understanding the latter. That being said, some of the results of the following analyses are compatible with general observations that have already been made about *trouvère* song, implying that a similar style of analysis may also be effective for songs conceived in Continental French. Despite lacking Germanic text stress, an analysis of Continental *trouvère* melodies on the syllabic level might bring to light elements of their compositional style not apparent from considerations of larger-scale parameters, such as stanza structure and line-by-line syllable count. Some scholars have called for a metric reading of *trouvère* songs, and although this

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[10] This is common in decasyllabic and alexandrine lines, usually after the fourth or sixth syllable caesura respectively. On versification in *trouvère* lyrics, see Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au moyen-âge (XIIe-XIIIe siècles): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux, études et textes*. Publications du Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers (Paris: Picard, 1977); Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique médiévale*. Recueil de Travaux Publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres. (Brugge: De Tempel, 1960).

[11] As summarised by Margaret Switten, French verse 'is syllabic before it is accentual. Accents play a rôle; but they have not at all the same function as in English verse, where accentual pattern defines the line.' Switten, 'Music and Words', 17.

[12] See for example Leach's presentation of melodic variants in *Onques maiz nus hom ne chanta* (RS 3), which highlights similarities in melodic contour that may have been obscured if the melodies were aligned according to syllable count. Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', 21.

analysis is more focussed on Germanic stress than the concept of 'metre' as such, its methodology would likely suit adaptation to *trouvère* lyrics for which the influence of metre is suspected.[13]

5.2   Scope and exceptions

The following analysis of Anglo-Norman songs, unlike that of the Middle English songs, is not designed to be inclusive. Rather, the selection of Anglo-Norman songs is limited to those which likely represent the insular answer to the Continental monophonic *trouvère chanson*. The reasoning behind this limitation relates to the primary goal of this study: to further the modern understanding of the Middle English songs specifically. As stated in the Introduction, the Anglo-Norman analyses were initially intended to take on the rôle of control group. Although I was intrigued to find out if the syllabic stress patterns evident in Anglo-Norman poetry would be of any consequence to their melodic structure, I ultimately expected to show through direct comparison that the Middle English songs were independent from other genres of 'vernacular monophonic song' with which they are so often compared. Anglo-Norman *chansons* were therefore expected to provide the evidence that the Middle English songs are not, after all, comparable to the insular *trouvère* tradition in either style or likely historical performance practice. Finally, unlike the surviving Middle English song repertoire, something of musical 'genre' in Anglo-Norman song is known, thanks to its relation to the Continental *trouvère* repertory. This removes the need to seek out the potential survival of a specifically vernacular-orientated musical style in Anglo-Norman—its existence is already apparent.

What became unexpectedly apparent in analysis, however, was that songs supposedly conceived in Anglo-Norman are as subtly divergent in melodic style from the *trouvère* repertory as they are known to be textually. Although no longer practical for inclusion in this study, a more extensive analysis of the Anglo-Norman repertoire might reveal further distinctive compositional characteristics in the contrafacta, dual-texted songs, and polyphonic songs not considered here. I have already suggested that similar analytical methods on the syllabic level are likely to be beneficial for our understanding of the Continental *trouvère* repertoire; but for those not wishing to undertake a project of that scale, a comprehensive analysis of the Anglo-Norman songs in this or a similar manner may be a worthy alternative. Anglo-Norman song is an independent and under-studied medieval song genre, just as is Middle English song. It is deserving of a promotion from 'support act' to 'main event' in a future study.

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[13] Tischler is among the most metrically sympathetic *trouvère* scholars, following the ideas for modally rhythmic readings of *trouvère* lyrics put forward by Aubry and Beck in the early twentieth century. This theory is not widely accepted however. Hans Tischler, 'The Performance of Medieval Songs', *Revue Belge de Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap* 43 (1989): 225–42; Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, 1997, 13–27. See also the conclusion to chapter 3 of this study.

For the above reasons, polyphonic settings with Anglo-Norman texts are not considered here, nor are British-preserved songs with a clear Latin origin or association with clerical musical forms. These are compositional genres which are unlikely to be structured around the same textual-melodic relationships as the French-conceived, *trouvère*-style *chanson*, and the inclusion of their melodic data is therefore more likely to obscure than reveal melodic patterns. This excludes *Eyns ne soy* (a Latin-conceived contrafact), *Flur de virginite* (a *lai* aligned primarily to its Latin text), *Veine pleine de ducur*, *Duce creature* (learned polyphony, dual-texted with Latin) and *Volez oyer le castoy* (learned polyphony with a vernacular text).[14]

Two Anglo-Norman songs of insular origin are fragmentary: […] *chant ai entendu* and […*a*]*mer me estut a tute fin*.[15] The former has sufficient surviving material for at least a partial analysis, but is in any case composed in paired versicles, and is therefore not suited to direct comparison with the other *chansons*.[16] The latter is too fragmentary to include; an analysis of its few surviving lines would require the imposition of metre with too little evidence, and would deny me any results on overarching melodic structure.

Two further songs to be excluded do belong within the *trouvère*-style Anglo-Norman repertoire, but are both Continentally preserved and have further complications. *Chevalier mult estes guariz* is a crusade song likely from the late twelfth century, but not only is it preserved in a source of non-insular origin, its transcription is also unclear, and its melody seemingly untypical of a *chanson*; an attempt to analyse its alongside the insular songs may therefore jeopardise an overview of insular style.[17] *Margot margot greif sunt ly mau d'amer* is also preserved on the Continent, and although its host manuscript is strongly connected in content and style with miscellanies relevant to this study, the song was added only in the fourteenth century and its

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[14] The latter song is preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 8, within the same flyleaves as another vernacular song excluded from analysis: the English-texted *Worldes blisce have god day*. The rubric associating *Flur de virginite* with a song of presumed secular origin ('*Aaliz*') would seem to suggest that its melody is not of clerical origin; however, whatever the original context of its composition, its surviving melodic form is 'characteristic of Latin lais in general', and does not lend it to analysis as a non-clerical composition on the same terms as the *trouvère*-style songs. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 10.

[15] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.22, f.1r and London, British Library, Royal 12.E.I, ff. 194-195r.

[16] A structure of paired versicles does not necessarily imply melodic conception in clerical environments, as the *lai* also existed as a minor branch of the *trouvère* repertory; however, the fragment does not fit within this analysis of *chansons*, and neither does it contain enough analysable material for separate comparison with the *lai Flur de virginite*. Were more material available, a comparative analysis of compositional style *between* Anglo-Norman forms would have been possible, but as it is, the inclusion of a formally distinct fragment among the other *chanson* analyses would only serve to confuse observable patterns.

[17] Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. Codex Amplonianus 8˚, 32, f. 88. Stevens describes the notation of this song as 'messy and confused'. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 5–6.

flyleaf bears 'no apparent connection to the main manuscript'.[18] Regardless of any connections of the manuscript to British homiletic practice, the late addition of the song removes it from consideration as the product of thirteenth-century British clerics.

However, included in analysis are the two British-preserved songs which are known to have originated on the Continent, and are therefore influenced by Continental French rather than insular Anglo-Norman poetic style: *Bien deust chanter* and *S'onques nuls hoem*.[19] A further Anglo-Norman song of British preservation, *Si tost c'amis*, is preserved on a single sheet and has no Continental concordances, thus making any concrete alignment with *trouvère* or clerical usage problematic. However, it is attributed by name to 'Renaus de Hoilande', implying that the composer was of French origin; and the song appears to have been entered – with some success – in a London *puy*.[20] Furthermore, elements of its poetic structure likely align the song more closely with Continental-style *trouvère* practice than insular-conceived Anglo-Norman: as will be seen presently, it does not match the syllable count or metric lilt of most other surviving insular songs, and certain spellings are not the most typical of insular Anglo-Norman.[21] Although Continental composition cannot be proven, this song appears to adhere closely to Continental poetic style, and it will thus usually be considered alongside the two French contrafacta in the following analysis.

5.3   Analytical parameters, terminology, and key findings

5.3.1   Limits to the consideration of metre and syllable count

As it is known that Anglo-Norman poetry in Britain was influenced by both Continental French and Middle English, both Germanic stress and syllable count can be considered in analysis. Therefore, for the insular songs with no known Continental contrafacta or attribution, syllable count was considered in the same way as is standard in discussions of Continental contrafacta, but poetic syllables were additionally categorised as 'stressed' or 'unstressed', as were the Middle English songs. While syllable stress cannot be as concretely defined in Anglo-Norman poetry as it can in

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[18] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS 19525, f. 204r. Stevens, 10.

[19] *Bien deust chanter* is a Marian contrafact of Blondel de Nesle's amorous *Bien doit chanter* (R 482), which is preserved in several further sources. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 4; Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 202. *S'onques nuls hoem* has several Continental concordances and has been attributed to the Chastelain de Couci or Hugues de Berzé. Its Anglo-Norman rendering contains some structural changes from Continental versions. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 17; Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 209.

[20] Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 15–17; Deeming, *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300*, 213.

[21] Despite containing some standard Anglo-Norman spelling traits, the usage of 'qu' in place of 'k', and 'je' instead of the more stereotypically insular 'jo' or 'jeo', are examples of a possible strengthened Continental influence in this song text.

most Middle English lyrics, the division of the insular lyrics according to Germanic syllable stress was a relatively uncomplicated process—its influence is strong enough that most songs immediately lend themselves to such analysis, as will be demonstrated.

In contrast, the songs of likely Continental origin are understood to be structured primarily through the interaction of syllable count, not syllable stress, with other poetic features. The imposition of poetic stress in terms of 'feet' and 'metre' on these songs is not only more problematic than for the songs of likely insular origin; it also cannot be considered a feature of comparable structural influence in both languages.[22] The three songs of confirmed or suspected Continental origin are analysed based on the more usual consideration of syllable count alone.

5.3.2 Terminology

Some terminology should be clarified ahead of the analytical review. For the sake of simplicity, the songs of likely Continental origin will be described as 'Continental songs', in contrast to the 'insular songs' which have no apparent connections to the Continental repertoire. This is not intended as a confirmation of their geographical origin but it is a reflection of the stylistic branch of *trouvère* melody to which they most likely belong: that influenced by the poetic norms of Continental French, or that influenced by the poetic norms of insular Anglo-Norman. The songs labelled as 'Continental' in the following discussion are therefore *Bien deust chanter*, *Si tost c'amis*, and *S'onques nuls hoem*. *Bien deust chanter* belongs to this category despite its text having been re-worked in Anglo-Norman, because its melody was originally composed for a Continental French text. The 'insular' songs are *Quaunt le russinol*, *Parti de mal*, *De me dame*, *El tens d'iver*, and *Mult s'aprisme*. As the term 'stress' is relevant to both line length (syllable count)

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[22] In Tischler's metric analyses of *trouvère* lyrics, songs are labelled 'iambic', 'trochaic', 'dactylic', or a mix; however, in testing these suggested metres through spoken recitation, irregularities are frequent. In the insular Anglo-Norman songs, the sense of poetic feet resulting at least in part from Germanic stress has a stronger influence, with fewer irregularities; and on the occasion that a weak syllable appears to be forced into stress, this is more likely to be the result of the same irregularities as are present in Middle English poetry, rather than a conscious alternation of feet. Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition, Revisited* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006), 7–22.
S'onques nuls hoem is the least inclined to a stress-based reading of poetic lines. *Bien deust chanter* and *Si tost c'amis* (the latter of which is only of suspected, not confirmed, Continental origin) are less resistant, but they are not as inclined to stress-based reading as the songs of more likely insular origin.

and poetic feet, where context does not already make the distinction clear, I will confirm the latter through the addition of 'Germanic' stress.[23]

The consideration of both Continental and insular songs, as well as their multiple analytical parameters, results in a breakdown of results which cannot be as easily compressed into tables as in the previous chapter. I have attempted to divide the discussion of analytical results in a way which both represents any patterns found among the Anglo-Norman songs, whilst allowing for relatively easy comparison with the English-texted analytical parameters. The Anglo-Norman data has therefore been divided into three broad categories: textual structure; text and florid movement; and text and melodic contour. Although some features are consistent (or inconsistent) across all songs, in the case that a distinction is evident between the treatment of Continental and insular songs, this will be emphasised.

5.3.3   Summary of key findings

The analysis of the Anglo-Norman songs does not reveal patterns of text setting to the same degree as in the Middle English songs. The songs are not devoid of play between text and melody, but any notable interactions between the two are more apparent *within* individual songs, rather than recurring with any consistency throughout the repertoire. The key findings of the Anglo-Norman song analysis therefore cannot be reduced to a few overarching points, nor can any firm conclusions be drawn as regards a particular compositional style. However, potentially noteworthy behaviours can be summarized as follows:

- Poetic text is primarily set syllabically (similar to Middle English).

- A tendency for ligatures to favour Germanic 'unstressed' syllables is arguably present in some cases (similar to Middle English), but ligature *length* seems uninfluenced by Germanic stress (dissimilar to Middle English).

- Across the Continental and insular songs, one recurring rôle of melisma is the embellishment of the penultimate syllable in a poetic line.

- Neither additive ornamentation, nor florid movement in general, seems to be consistently placed according to Germanic stress. However, syllable *count* appears to influence florid movement to some degree. The syllable numbers on which florid movement appears is

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[23] The concepts of feet and metre are standardised in discussion of these lyric traditions. However, as this analysis deals with several lyric traditions for which these terms can hold different connotations, the term 'Germanic stress' will where practical be adopted over 'metre' or 'feet'. The former allows for patterns of syllable stress to be considered as an expected feature of Germanic-language poetry, rather than a product of fixed, consciously employed systems of poetic metre which are not equivalent across the linguistic traditions discussed here.

not entirely consistent, but does follow certain patterns, some of which are in keeping with observations made about *trouvère* song.

- Ties between text and melodic contour are observable in select songs; but the nature of the observable pattern differs.

- The songs with a refrain show mildly distinct behaviours in some categories.

5.4   Category 1: Textual structure

5.4.1   Syllable counts of Continental and insular songs

Despite the prevalence of the octosyllabic line in both insular and Continental poetry of the thirteenth century, it is interesting that the British-preserved 'Continental' songs reveal an apparent preference for decasyllabic lines. The insular songs show the usual preference for flexible octosyllables (table 17):[24]

Table 17: Syllable counts of Anglo-Norman songs

Insular	Syllable count	Notes
De ma dame	6-8	Irregular line lengths; variety not patterned
Parti de mal	10	Regular throughout
Quaunt le...	7+/8	Alternating masc./fem. lines

+ refrain		
El tens d'iver	4, 6+, 8	Patterned variety; refrain all 6+
Mult s'aprisme	8	Masc. octosyllabic throughout, including refrain

Continental		
Bien deust...	10(+)	Two irregular lines
S'onques nuls...	10(+)	Regular throughout
Si tost c'amis	7(+), 10	Patterned variety

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[24] Even the irregular *De ma dame* adheres to this expectation once one considers the 6-8 syllable flexibility of the Anglo-Norman 'octosyllable'.

The syllable counts displayed in table 17 do not take musical notation into consideration, but consider the poetry in its theoretical written or spoken form. This is due to the occasional discrepancy between the number of neumes in the melodic setting of a poem, and its expected spoken pronunciation. For example, in *Si tost c'amis*, the musical setting of the second poetic line provides separate neumes where synalepha would be expected, causing an outlying eleven-syllable line if sung as notated:

prant gardë Amours si doit merchi avoir

Without musical notation, this poetic line would be read as a decasyllabic line, with an elision between *garde* and *Amours*:

prant gard*e* Amours si doit merchi avoir

Such occurrences are not remarkable in musical settings, and also occur in the Middle English songs. In *Mirie it is*, for example, three neumes are provided for the word 'Mirie', despite its final *e* likely being elided with the following word. Although such discrepancies raise interesting questions regarding sung performance practice, they were not of great consequence in the analysis of the Middle English songs, as syllable count is not a strict structural feature of Middle English poetry. In French-based poetry, however, syllable count is of greater influence, hence this clarification and the above 'correction' of the theoretical syllable counts of the Anglo-Norman songs.[25]

The only insular song with a regular syllable count throughout is *Parti de mal*; it is strictly decasyllabic, without even the flexibility brought by occasional feminine endings—all of its poetic lines have a masculine ending. This level of adherence to syllable count would usually be expected of Continental French poetry, not insular Anglo-Norman poetry. Insular lyrics are not required to be irregular by default, of course, but regularity is not the only slightly unusual feature of *Parti de mal*: it also stands alone among the insular songs in line length. All three of the Continental songs

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[25] In the melodic analysis of the songs, however, the alignment of neumes to syllables is taken as read, without 'correction'.

are either exclusively or primarily decasyllabic; *Parti de mal* is the only 'insular' song to share that feature.[26]

5.4.2   Imposed Germanic 'stress' in the insular Anglo-Norman songs

In order to demonstrate the extent to which Germanic stress can influence insular Anglo-Norman in comparison to Continental French, two extracts from the selection of analysed songs are shown below: the insular *Mult s'aprisme*, and the Continental *S'onques nuls hoem* (overleaf). These examples are taken from two songs which I believe demonstrate the distinct structures of the poetic languages most effectively.

[M]ult sa**pris**me **li** ter**mi**nës

kar ran**cu**nës **e** baïnës

me [se]r**runt** de **pres** vei**si**nës

quant le **da**mës **e** mes**chi**nës

e cun**tes**sës **pa**laïnës…

(Insular)[27]

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[26] Furthermore, Stevens argues that this song may resemble 'narrative' melody, rather than having the normal form of a 'chanson in the high style'. The song has highly repetitive melodic content, leading Stevens to suggest that it contains 'constant, if slightly varied, musical 'rhyme''. Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 14.

[27] Extract from the first strophe of *Mult s'aprisme li termines*, Rawlinson MS G.22, f. 1r-v. Bracketed text is that suggested by Deeming in the event of a lacuna. The last line of the strophe and the two-line refrain have not been included in this example, as folio damage has obscured portions of their text.

Sonques nuls hoem par durë departië

doit estre sauf jeo serrai par raisoun

k*e* onkë turtre qi perd soun compainoun

ne demora de moi plus esbaïë

kar chascun pleint sa terr*e* et son païs

qant il sen part de ses coraus amis

mes i n*i* ad partir qoi ke nus en dïe

si dolerous cum d*e* ami e d*e* amïe

(Continental)[28]

In the insular *Mult s'aprisme*, suggested word stresses have been marked in bold; the lyric falls easily into 'trochaic tetrameter', as it might be labelled today. In *S'onques nuls hoem*, however, Continental poetic style is clear: it is not easy to force the lines into any *regular* pattern of 'Germanic' stress or feet.[29] These examples have been isolated for their clarity, but they do represent the general patterns observable in the insular and Continental songs.

5.4.3 The interaction of structural elements: stress, rhyme, and syllable count

It was possible to compare various structural elements of the lyrics in analysis – stress, rhyme, syllable count – to see if they interact in any way. Syllable count does not usually appear to be connected to other structural features (aside from the necessary combined consideration of syllable count and rhyme in the alternation of masculine and feminine endings); one exception is the insular refrain song *El tens d'iver*, in which changes in syllable count are reflected by changes in rhyme.

In contrast, Germanic syllable stress has a multivalent influence on the structure of the insular songs. Table 18 briefly highlights any relationship between syllable stress and other structural features in the lyric, such as rhyme and refrain. Again, this summary relies on the

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[28] First strophe of *S'onques nuls hoem*, London, British Library, Harley MS 3775, f.14r-v. Synalepha and diaeresis have been marked not according to the musical notation, but as expected in theory and speech, which allows for a regular decasyllabic line.

[29] In Tischler's metric analysis, this song is labelled as dactylic, to be performed in rhythmic mode 3. An attempted reading of this lyric in dactyls encounters significant problems in most lines, however; only lines 2, 4, and 8 are relatively unproblematic. Song 648, Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, 2006.

concepts of fixed 'metre' and 'feet', which although standard in the lyric analysis of the repertoire, should not be taken as implication that such concrete concepts were at the core of original composition.

Table 18: Structural relationships in insular Anglo-Norman song texts

Insular	**'Feet'**	**Stress-based connections**
De ma dame	iambs/trochees	Rhyme and metre connected; alternation of trimeter and tetrameter
Parti de mal	dactyls	Regular dactylic tetrameter throughout; therefore no specific connections highlighted
Quaunt le...	iambs/trochees	Rhyme and metre mildly connected; tetrameter; second half of stanza varies alternation of iambs/trochees

+ refrain		
El tens d'iver	iambs	Rhyme and metre connected; iambic tri-/tetrameter; varied metre in stanza; trimetric refrain
Mult s'aprisme	trochees	Rhyme and metre connected; tetrameter throughout; stanza trochaic, refrain iambic

These results demonstrate that Germanic stress plays a deliberate structural rôle in the insular songs, and that they often favour a kind of tetrameter. These are features which appear to align the Anglo-Norman lyrics more closely with Middle English than with Continental French poetry.

Not only does syllable stress inform the basic structure of the insular Anglo-Norman lyrics, it also appears to be employed to diverse effects: the nature and number of poetic feet can be used with or against rhyme and refrain, in a myriad of structural interactions. The presence and arrangement of Germanic syllable stress is seemingly not merely a by-product of their British heritage; it is one of the primary creative tools of the poet. What is noteworthy is the extent to which this tool is used in different ways. Almost all of the insular songs connect poetic stress and rhyme scheme in some way, and most focus on a patterned interaction between iambs and trochees; but the nature of this interaction is not prescriptive, and patterns of poetic feet will freely vary between songs. *De ma dame* appears to prioritise the interaction of the *number* of feet per line over the nature of the feet: it plays with the alternation of trimeter and tetrameter, but the interaction of iambs and trochees is less strictly patterned than in other songs. Thus, although its line structure is still stress-based, the conscious arrangement of stress is slightly different.

The two songs with a refrain are the most consistent in their use of stress as a structural feature. While non-refrain songs tend to use regularly alternating patterns of iambs and trochees throughout, the strophes of the refrain songs are either entirely iambic or trochaic. These two songs also go beyond the use of Germanic stress as a structural feature, and relationships between metre, syllable count, and rhyme are also present. For example, both of the song refrains initiate a change in 'metre'; masculine and feminine rhymes are associable with different line lengths (only relevant to *El tens d'iver*); and changes in rhyme are mirrored by changes in the alternation of iambs and trochees.[30] The extreme regularity of the strophic structures and the audible distinction of the stress patterns of the refrains could arguably be due to the potential connection between refrain songs and courtly dance forms.[31] To give a contrasting structural example, the Continental *Si tost c'amis* appears to purposefully mismatch syllable count and rhyme; a feature which does not produce the same audible regularity as might be required in a non-professional group *carole*.

Parti de mal is the only insular song in which stress does not appear to interact with any other structural feature, and it is also the only insular song comprised of dactyls rather than iambs or trochees.[32] However, the apparent lack of structural interaction could be due to its extreme regularity in syllable count: relationships between structural features are only apparent through the interaction of their variations, and so if every line of a song is structured in the same way, such interactions are either not visible or not present at all.

In summary, syllable count is a structural feature of both the Continental and insular songs, but the insular songs are also tangibly influenced by Germanic syllable stress. This can influence the structure of the insular lyrics on all levels: from the broad distinction between strophe and refrain in *Mult s'aprisme* and *El tens d'iver*, to alternating stress-structures of each poetic line in *De ma dame*.

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[30] *El tens d'iver* is also claimed to have a unique strophic structure among *trouvère*-style lyrics in terms of its syllable count and rhyme. Mölk and Wolzettel, *Répertoire Métrique de la Poésie Lyrique Française des Origines à 1350*, 634; Stevens, 'Alphabetical Check-List of Anglo-Norman Songs c. 1150—c. 1350', 8.

[31] The presence of a refrain in a high-medieval French lyric fosters immediate potential alignment with forms of dance-song. It has been suggested that such refrains are snippets of orally transmitted 'popular' practice, but they were also borrowed and recycled in courtly and clerical musical contexts—hence their survival in written transmission. Refrain songs therefore seem well-suited to cross-societal contexts, such as those which may have confronted clerics in vernacular religious instruction. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 171–78; Jennifer Saltzstein, 'Relocating the Refrain', in *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, vol. 30 (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 8–34.

[32] Dactyls are rarely featured in comparison to iambs and trochees. The dactylic structure of *Parti de mal* is therefore slightly uncommon, and unique among the insular songs, but does not make it exceptional in the broader scheme of French-texted poetry.

5.5   Category 2: Text and florid movement

Although ornamentation and use of melisma was analysed in the same way for the Anglo-Norman songs as for the Middle English songs, the assessment of 'florid' movement in this chapter combines the consideration of both into one discussion. This is due to the presence of patterns in the overall placement of florid movement, as well as in the separate placement of ornaments and ligatures. Two primary characteristics of florid movement in the Anglo-Norman songs are apparent: firstly, the placement of florid movement in the text is influenced by both Germanic syllable stress and syllable count; and secondly, the interaction and interchange of additive ornamentation and ligatures is more prevalent in the Anglo-Norman songs than in the Middle English songs.

The results concerning Germanic syllable stress will be presented first, and this requires heightened focus on the insular songs. Results will be presented in the same order as for the English-texted songs in chapter 3, beginning with the distribution of syllabic and melismatic text setting, followed by the placement of additive ornamentation. Finally, the consideration of additive ornamentation and ligatures will be combined to assess the additional influence of syllable count on florid movement across all Anglo-Norman songs.

5.5.1   Syllabic and ligatured text setting

Table 19 presents the proportions of syllabic and ligatured text setting in the Anglo-Norman songs. As the distribution of ligatures is not a stress-based parameter, the Continental songs are also included for consideration in column 1 (in which 'Syll.' is 'syllabic', and 'Lig.' is 'ligatured'). Columns 2 and 3, however, show the distribution of ligatures and ligatured pitches according to text 'stress', ('S' is 'stressed', and 'US' is 'unstressed'), and thus only contain data for the insular songs. As was the case for the English-texted songs, any additive ornamentation which results in a secondary pitch (such as a liquescence) is not yet considered.

Table 19: Syllabic and ligatured text setting in Anglo-Norman songs

	1 a	1 b	2 a	2 b	3 a	3 b
	Distribution of poetic sylls. (%)		Distribution of whole ligs. (%)		Distribution of lig. pitches (%)	
Insular	Syll.	Lig.	S	US	S	US
De ma dame	81.9	18.1	46.2	53.8	51.5	48.5
Parti de mal	75.7	24.3	29.4	70.6	26.2	73.8
Quaunt le…	80.3	19.7	58.3	41.7	63.6	36.4
+ refrain						
El tens d'iver	93.9	6.1	50	50	53.8	46.2
Mult s'aprisme	67.3	32.7	33.3	66.7	28.3	71.7
Continental						
Bien deust…	57	43				
S'onques nuls…	81.2	18.8				
Si tost c'amis	82.5	17.5				

Some patterns are clear: most notably, syllabic text setting is prioritised across both geographical categories, as it was in the English-texted songs. Proportions of syllabic text setting are quite evenly distributed between the lowest rate (*Bien deust chanter*, 57% syllabically set; a song of known Continental origin) and the highest (*El tens d'iver*, 93.9% syllabically set; an insular song already seen to exhibit extraordinary structural features).

Turning to the stress-based results of the insular songs in columns 2 and 3 of table 19, data is decidedly more mixed than it was for the English-texted songs. In column 2, there is arguably mild evidence of the same preference for ligature placement on unstressed syllables, but only in three out of five songs. The two which do not conform are *El tens d'iver*, which has an even balance of stressed and unstressed ligatures, and *Quaunt le russinol*, which is the only song to actively favour stressed ligatures. Of the three which favour unstressed ligatures, only two exceed a 3:2 balance of unstressed to stressed ligatures: *Parti de mal* and *Mult s'aprisme*. Overall, although a pattern may be mildly present, the selection of songs is too small to be conclusive in this regard.

In column 3, results are also mixed, showing no clear preference for the distribution of ligatured pitches to stressed or unstressed syllables. However, when columns 2 and 3 are considered in combination, their data are more revealing: the only two songs which showed a strong preference for unstressed ligature placement (*Parti de mal* and *Mult s'aprisme*) also treat ligatures differently according to the number of pitches they contain. These two songs mirror the

English-texted habit of placing not only more, but also longer ligatures on unstressed syllables: the number of unstressed ligatured pitches in column 3b is higher than the number of unstressed whole ligatures in column 2b. For the other insular songs in the table, the numbers of these two columns move proportionally in the opposite direction. Although their overall ligature placement does not appear to be particularly stress-based, it seems that longer ligatures are more often placed on stressed syllables. This is true even for *Quaunt le russinol*, which in column 2 appeared to be comparable – albeit weakly – with *Parti de mal* and *Mult s'aprisme* in its preference for unstressed ligatures. Considering its data in column 3, however, it may well be better aligned with the other songs in the insular repertoire: its placement of whole ligatures is not proportionally extreme, and its longer ligatures tend to fall on stressed, not unstressed, syllables.

Before proceeding to consider ornamentation, the results of stress-based ligature placement can be summarised with the following observations: all of the Anglo-Norman songs are more syllabically set than ligatured. The insular songs can be tentatively divided into two groups: One group consists of *De ma dame*, *Quaunt le russinol*, and *El tens d'iver*, which show no strong or consistent preference for the placement of whole ligatures according to syllable stress. However, ligatures on stressed syllables are overall longer than those on unstressed syllables in these songs. In the second group, *Parti de mal* and *Mult s'aprisme* do show a relatively strong preference for the placement of whole ligatures on unstressed syllables, and unstressed ligatures are also longer overall than the stressed ligatures in these two songs. In all aspects of ligature treatment, *Parti de mal* and *Mult s'aprisme* are the only Anglo-Norman songs which follow similar patterns to those observed in the English-texted songs.

5.5.2   Frequency and placement of additive ornamentation

Table 20 shows the placement of ornamentation according to syllable stress, presented in the same manner as the English-texted songs. As this is an exclusively stress-based part of the analysis, the Continental songs do not feature on this table.

Table 20: Ornamentation and Germanic syllable stress in insular songs

	1 a	1 b		2 a	2 b		3 a	3 b
	Distribution of ornaments (%)			Total written pitches, with ornaments (%)			Total written pitches, no ornaments (%)	
Insular	S	US		S	US		S	US
De ma dame	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A		51.5	48.5
Parti de mal	50	50		64.2	35.8		64.2	35.8
Quaunt le russinol	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A		54.3	45.7
+ refrain								
El tens d'iver	100	0		46.2	53.8		45.7	54.3
Mult s'aprisme	14.3	85.7		40	60		42.2	57.8

Column 1 of table 20, which shows the stress-based distribution of additive ornaments, stands out for its lack of consistency. Two of the songs have no additive ornamentation at all, and the other three songs not only have suspiciously 'clean' numerical results, but they are also spread evenly across the spectrum of proportional possibilities. The reason behind these seemingly extreme and variable results is that additive ornamentation is scarce in the insular Anglo-Norman songs, and it therefore does not lend itself well to percentage-based representation; the fewer the ornaments present, the greater the impact of each on the final percentage. None of the insular songs exceeds five additive ornaments; *Parti de mal*, which is split evenly between stressed and unstressed ornaments, has only two in each category (all of which are wave notes), and *El tens d'iver*, with a misleading 100% rate of stressed ornamentation, has only one ornament—on the penultimate syllable of the song. The only insular song for which additive ornamentation may exhibit significant stress-based placement, then, is *Mult s'aprisme*, in which four of its five ornaments are placed on unstressed syllables. The placement of additive ornamentation according to stress does not seem to be a strong feature in the Anglo-Norman songs; in fact, additive ornamentation is not a strong feature of these songs at all. Interestingly, the one insular song which does appear to show any stress-based pattern of ornament placement goes in the opposite direction to the English-texted songs: *Mult s'aprisme* favours unstressed, not stressed, ornamentation.

Columns 2 and 3 of table 20 are more revealing. These show the distribution of all written pitches in the song (both syllabic and ligatured) including the consideration of additive ornamentation (column 2), and without the consideration of additive ornamentation (column 3). In the English-texted song analysis, it was revealed that in the 'unornamented' versions of the

melodies, more pitches are assigned to unstressed syllables than to stressed syllables. This was related to the fact that additive ornamentation primarily lands on stressed syllables in the Middle English songs. The same analysis of the insular Anglo-Norman songs, however, reveals a different pattern: the presence or absence of a refrain seems to influence the overall balance of stressed and unstressed pitches. The non-refrain songs lean in the opposite direction to the English-texted songs in this respect, with more pitches on stressed than on unstressed syllables. In contrast, the two songs with refrains match the English-texted songs, with more pitches on unstressed than on stressed syllables.

5.5.3 Additive ornamentation and ligatures

Overall, ornamentation seems to be approached slightly differently in the Anglo-Norman and Middle English songs. Despite exceptions in both language groups, the Anglo-Norman songs appear to utilise less additive ornamentation.[33] However, as mentioned above, there are hints in the Anglo-Norman repertoire – as there were in the English-texted repertoire – of the interchangeable or indiscriminate use of ligatures and additive ornamentation. Due in part to the reduced appearance of additive ornamentation in the Anglo-Norman repertoire overall, this conceptual or notational flexibility has a greater impact on their analytical data. Two notable examples where ligatures may take on the rôle of ornamentation are the insular songs *Quaunt le russinol* and *El tens d'iver*.[34]

In *Quaunt le russinol*, no additive ornamentation is written. Yet, in each of its three four-note ligatures, the two middle pitches are the same note, resulting in a pitch repetition comparable to that implied by a double notehead. Furthermore, each instance of this sequence of four notes is reminiscent of the common liquescent double notehead found in so many other songs: a frequently used combination of ornaments which closes its host neume with a repeated pitch (the double notehead) followed by a downward melodic step (attached cephalicus). This is the same melodic sequence which closes each of the four-note ligatures of *Quaunt le russinol*, and as the song features no explicitly ornamental notation, it is at least plausible that its few moments of embellishment may have been written out in full, in ligature form. If the song had been transmitted in Arundel 248, for example, these four-pitch melodic gestures may conceivably have

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[33] Exceptions in the English-texted repertoire include the Rawlinson G.18 *Worldes blis*, and the canon *Sumer is icumen in*, neither of which have additive ornamentation. In the Anglo-Norman repertoire, *Bien deust chanter* and the excluded fragment [...a]*mer me estate a tute fin* make relatively liberal use of ornamentation; the other Anglo-Norman songs either have no additive ornamentation, or ornamental figures do not exceed five in number.

[34] This is not a feature exclusive to insular French song; Leach provides examples of melodic variation in her melodic analysis of Continental Nesle songs, including one in which an additive ornament in one melodic repetition becomes a ligature in another. Leach, 'Do Trouvère Melodies Mean Anything?', 32.

been written differently: in this manuscript, a common way of representing the same melodic gesture is a two-note ligature with attached double notehead and cephalicus.

In *El tens d'iver*, additive ornamentation is also not a prominent written feature: one double notehead embellishes the penultimate note of the refrain. However, the repetitive nature of the melody makes visible other forms of embellishment. No melodic phrase occurs only once in this song: lines 1, 3, 5, and 8 are based on the same melodic material, as are lines 2 and 4, lines 6 and 9, and lines 7 and 10. The refrain, too, is comprised of repeated melodic lines: lines 11 and 13, and lines 12 and 14, are echoes of one another. Ligature usage and placement varies within each melodic grouping, creating the effect of embellishment in one version when compared to the other. To give one simple specific example, the short melody of line 9 features one leap in pitch (on *merir*), but where the same melody appears in line 6, this leap is filled by a clivis (on *eisir*). The overall melodic structure of each repetition remains much the same with or without the additional pitches provided by the ligatures; a fact which appears to lend these pitches the rôle of embellishment, rather than integral melodic structure.

The lack of explicit additive ornamentation, combined with the above instances of ligatures being used as embellishment, inspires a further stage of analysis which does not categorise ligatures separately from ornamentation, but considers florid movement in general. However, as the placement of additive ornamentation and ligatures is apparently less dictated by Germanic stress in the insular Anglo-Norman songs than it is in the Middle English songs, patterns in florid movement were sought based on syllable count rather than syllable stress. Table 21 shows an overview of florid movement (ligatures and additive ornamentation) in the Anglo-Norman songs. The abbreviations 'lig.' for ligature, 'syll.' for syllable, and 'pen.' for penultimate (meaning the penultimate syllable of a poetic line) have been used. Songs have been noted as having a relationship between syllable count and floridity if the connection between the two extends beyond the presence of floridity on the penultimate syllable. As the penultimate syllable is relatively florid in the majority of songs, this has not been considered a remarkable feature in the table, but it will be discussed in more detail presently. In the list of 'least florid' syllables, numbers which are not bracketed have no florid movement throughout the stanza. On three occasions, syllable 5 has been bracketed in this column where only once instance of its non-syllabic setting occurs in the song.[35]

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[35] Melodies stemming from the *trouvère* repertoire are already known to increase florid movement towards the end of the poetic line. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 67.

Table 21: Relationships between syllable count and florid melodic movement

Insular	Connection present?	Most florid	Least florid	Remarks
De ma....	No	Pen.	1, 4	Irregular syll. count
Parti de mal	Yes	6, 7, 8	1, 3, 5, 10	Wave notes only on 6, 7, 8
Quaunt le...	Yes	Pen./7	1, 2, 4, (5)	Last line florid on *ante*pen.

+ refrain				
El tens...	No	(Pen./6)	1, 2, 5*	Ornamental ligs.?
Mult...	Yes	4, 6	1, (5)	No pattern on pen.

Continental				
Bien deust...	Yes	4, 7, Pen.	2, (5)	Additive ornamentation
S'onques...	No	Pen.	5, 6	Occasional lig. on pen.
Si tost...	No	4, 6, 7, Pen.	5	No pen. ligs. in last 2 lines

* *El tens d'iver* also has no florid movement on syllables 8, 9, and 10; but most of its poetic lines do not extend to this length, so this represents only a small amount of data which may not be representative of a syllable-based pattern.

Some mild patterns connecting florid movement and syllable count are apparent in the Anglo-Norman songs. Much like the stress-based patterns observable in the overall structure of the insular songs, the nature of the connection between syllable count and floridity varies from song to song. A limited number of features occur multiple times, however—some of which potentially distinguish some features of the Continental and insular songs, as well as the songs with refrains.

5.5.3.1 Floridity and line length

The songs with longer, decasyllabic structures – which mostly concerns the Continental songs – tend to increase florid movement towards the end of the line, from syllable 7 onwards.[36] In the songs without refrains, the penultimate syllable is the most regularly set with florid movement,

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[36] The tendency for florid movement on the penultimate syllable complements the observations of van der Werf concerning the *troubadour* and *trouvère* repertoires. His assertion that florid movement is also common on the fourth syllable of decasyllabic lines – in connection to the *caesura* of the line – is also mildly represented in this small selection of songs, although it will be seen here that syllables 7 and 6 are more prone to florid setting. van der Werf, 67.

regardless of the suspected Continental or insular origin of the song. Depending on line length, the result of this is that syllables 7, 9, and in some cases 10 appear relatively florid within a given song. The embellishment of the penultimate syllable is particularly striking in *Quaunt le russinol*, as the remainder of its melodic setting is otherwise almost exclusively syllabic. Notably, in the last two lines of this song, florid movement avoids the penultimate syllable and lands instead on the antepenultimate syllable, despite no change in rhyme or syllable count.

5.5.3.2   Frequently florid syllables

Across the whole group of songs, the most frequently florid syllables are syllables 7, 6, and 4, in that order.[37] There is no song in which syllable 7 is not floridly set at some point; only one song in which syllable 6 is not; and only two songs in which syllable 4 is not. Furthermore, these three syllables are not only more regularly florid, they are also usually the most florid within a given song. To give a contrasting example, six out of eight songs have some florid movement on syllable 3, which is a significant proportion; but the syllable may be 'florid' only once, or perhaps twice within each song. Syllables 4, 6, and 7, on the other hand, are likely to be florid in several, even the majority, of poetic lines. There is only one song in the repertoire for which one of these syllables does not take on the rôle of 'most florid': *S'onques nuls hoem* only regularly embellishes its penultimate syllable (10). And even in this case, syllable 7 comes in second for floridity, albeit tied with syllable 8.[38]

5.5.3.3   Rarely florid syllables

Table 21 also reveals that there are certain syllables which appear to avoid embellishment. Across both geographical categories, syllables 2 and 5 are the least florid.[39] The avoidance of florid movement on a given poetic syllable is more a feature of the insular than the Continental songs; despite generally having shorter lines of text, the insular songs have increased instances of a syllable evading ligatures throughout. This does not appear to be based on a recurring stress-based pattern, or at least not one which I can pinpoint—such syllables may be stressed or

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[37] Although table 21 only displays the basics of syllable floridity, this hierarchy is quite clearly apparent from observing the proportions of syllable floridity in each song individually.

[38] A similar reserved use of melisma can be observed in *Quaunt le russinol*, which is also generally syllabic, save for the penultimate syllables of poetic lines. Being octosyllabic, however, this results in its most florid syllable being the usual syllable 7.

[39] Five out of the eight songs listed have no movement on syllable 5 throughout. Of the three which do, two only have one occurrence of melisma on this syllable. The outlier is *De me dame*, which has three instances of florid movement syllable 5; however, this is also the song with the least regular syllable count across the repertoire, which causes the position of syllable 5 within the overall melodic line to change regularly. Thus, the conceptual 'syllable 5' within an irregular melodic line may be at odds with the practical 'syllable 5' when counted.

unstressed. Additionally, the insular songs have no instances of florid movement on the first syllable of a line, whereas this will happen at least once in each Continental song.[40]

5.5.3.4 Floridity in the refrain songs

The two songs with refrains (*Mult s'aprisme* and *El tens d'iver*) show no particular tendency for embellishment of the penultimate syllable. They are also the only songs in table 21 for which syllable 7 appears to be insignificant in terms of floridity. In *Mult s'aprisme*, only one ligature occurs on a penultimate syllable (in line 2), and the melody appears to embellish syllables 4 and 6, but not 7. *El tens d'iver*, the other song with a refrain, is even less conclusive: it lacks florid movement overall, so no pattern immediately presents itself. Of its twelve poetic lines, three embellish syllable 6 – which is in two cases also the penultimate syllable – and one further line embellishes the penultimate syllable independently. With a count of only three out of twelve lines which place florid movement on syllable 6 or (if different) the penultimate syllable, neither is enough to concretely suggest a pattern. On the other hand, a count of three out of twelve should not be dismissed in a song which is almost entirely syllabically set; considering that most poetic syllables have no ligatures at all, the fact that syllable 6 is ligatured in three poetic lines is not insignificant. An mild embellishment of syllable 6 would be an overlapping feature with the other refrain song, *Mult s'aprisme*, and these two songs already share some structural elements which appear to distinguish them from the other songs: the use of poetic 'feet' to emphasise structural change, the heavier weighting of stressed over unstressed pitches, and of course, the presence of a refrain.

Despite the variety in the placement of floridity in the Anglo-Norman songs, mild tendencies for syllable-based florid movement are present. From the opening to the end of a poetic line, florid movement generally waxes and wanes in the following manner: a syllabic opening will gently increase in florid movement to an initial peak at syllable 4; it will then dip at syllable 5, before growing again through syllable 6 to reach a second, more extreme peak at syllable 7. What happens after syllable 7 depends on the length of the poetic line: octosyllabic lines will proceed to close on a less florid final syllable, while decasyllabic lines will maintain some floridity for the remainder of the line, with one further, milder peak on the penultimate syllable. In the two songs with refrains, the same general pattern is observable up to a peak on syllable 6, but the ends of lines act somewhat differently: the main peak on syllable 7, and any further floridity towards the close of the poetic line, are absent.

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[40] Weak or ambiguous instances are: *Si tost c'amis* (Continental), in which 'florid' movement only extends to two uses of a double note; and *Mult s'aprisme* (insular), in which the first syllables of lines 3 and 7 are not visible due to folio damage, thus they cannot be concretely assessed for opening floridity.

Such patterns are not strong or regular enough to imply that they were always necessary or consciously followed, and the selection of songs available for this kind of analysis is small. However, the mild patterns observed do imply a more specific placement of floridity than has been suggested in broader studies of the *trouvère* repertoire. Melodic embellishment does not only feature towards the end of the poetic line or occasionally surrounding the *caesura*; rather, it may be more influenced by syllable count than previously thought. Its influence on this selection of analysed songs can be summarised in three main points:

- Peak floridity varies slightly between the songs with refrains and those without.
- This peak floridity does not appear at the fourth syllable 'caesura', but rather at syllable 7 (non-refrain songs) or syllable 6 (refrain songs).
- Finally, even in the insular songs, florid movement appears to be more influenced by syllable count than by Germanic syllable stress.

The above distinction of the songs with refrains is not intended to imply concretely that the presence of a refrain is explicitly connected to a distinct treatment of floridity by the composer. However, whatever the reasoning, the placement of floridity is one more way in which these two songs structurally distance themselves from the rest of the repertoire.[41]

5.6   Category 3: Text and melodic contour

The melodic contour of the Anglo-Norman songs was analysed from two perspectives. All of the songs were melodically mapped according to syllable count; and for the insular songs, as usual, Germanic syllable stress was also taken into consideration. The overall results of both approaches are similar in nature to the previous analytical categories: occasional connections between melodic contour and text are apparent, but vary in character between songs. The connections that can be made are neither as strongly nor as consistently tied to textual structure as in the English-texted repertoire. Melodic reflections of stress in the insular songs will be presented first, followed by an overview of the effects of syllable count in all songs.

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[41] Tischler has made connections between florid movement and potential rhythmic interpretation in the *trouvère* repertoire, suggesting that floridity creates the impressions of 'longs' and 'shorts' which are related to rhythmic mode. Although the two refrain songs do not treat floridity in the manner discussed by Tischler, their potential association with dance forms may be one reason behind their apparently distinct treatment of floridity, and they might demonstrate a mild connection between florid movement and tendency towards rhythmic performance. Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, 1997, 16.

5.6.1 Melodic contour and syllable stress

In table 22, any potential connection between syllabic stress and melodic contour has been noted for the insular songs. As patterns are generally both weaker and more varied than in the English-texted songs, notes have been added to provide further detail on their strength and nature:

Table 22: Germanic stress and pitch movement in insular songs

Insular	Stress-based pitch patterns present?	Nature of potential pattern
De ma dame	Mild	*Pedes*: slight tendency for stressed ascent *Cauda*: increased tendency for stressed ascent
Parti de mal	No	Not pitch related: unstressed syllables slightly more florid (already observed)
Quaunt le russinol	Mild; brief	No pattern present until the last three poetic lines: then, brief pattern of stressed ascent

+ refrain

El tens d'iver	Yes	*Stanza*: stressed syllables descend *Refrain*: stressed syllables ascend
Mult s'aprisme	No	Not pitch-related: unstressed syllables more florid (already observed)

Although all insular songs appear to display some melodic reflections of stress, albeit mild at times, this is not always related to melodic contour in terms of pitch ascent and descent. In *Mult s'aprisme* and *Parti de mal*, pitch ascent and descent appears unconnected to syllable stress. Rather, the pattern observable in the melodic contour of these two songs is simply that unstressed syllables have slightly more chaotic 'net' melodic movement, due to their more frequent ligatured setting. This was already apparent from their results in the first category of analysis: these are the only two songs which share something of the English-texted practice of favouring florid movement on unstressed syllables. In *Parti de mal*, the pattern is particularly mild. These two songs ultimately do not rise and fall in pitch according to syllable stress.

For the other three insular songs, some connection between melodic contour and syllable stress is present, but may appear only weakly or briefly. The only song to display a definite connection between pitch and stress is *El tens d'iver*, which in the first analytical category also displayed the strongest connections between other structural elements such as poetic feet,

rhyme, and syllable count. In the stanza of this song, stressed syllables tend to descend in pitch, whereas unstressed syllables are more varied in pitch direction. Stressed syllables are more consistent in their melodic setting than unstressed syllables, which is reminiscent of the English-texted analyses. However, the direction of pitch in the stanza is the opposite: the English-texted songs ascend on stressed syllables, while *El tens d'iver* descends. In the refrain of the song, this pattern is reversed: stressed syllables begin to ascend in pitch, and unstressed syllables to descend, as in the English-texted repertoire.

The two remaining songs, *De ma dame* and *Quaunt le russinol*, do not match this consistency, and neither song connects pitch and stress throughout. Their potential mild pitch patterns are worthy of mention, however, as they may be related to broader structural aspects. In *De ma dame*, hints of preference for ascending stressed movement and mixed or neutral unstressed movement are evident in the first two *pedes* as well as the *cauda*. The third *pedes* is less consistent in its stressed movement, but unstressed syllables show a preference for descending movement, meaning that a pattern is not entirely lost, merely altered. In *Quaunt le russinol*, no *cauda* is present, and the poetic structure is divided into four pairs of *a b* rhymes. Melodically, the first two pairs of rhyming lines are matched: the *a* rhyme ends melodically 'open', leaving the *b* line to subsequently close it with a cadence. In the third rhyming pair, however, although the *a* line ends as expected, the *b* line pulls the song into new melodic territory. It is as this point in the melody—at which the third *b* rhyme melodically diverts, in the third from last line of the song—that a pattern of stressed ascent and unstressed descent becomes apparent.

Although brief, this change in the treatment of pitch is worth consideration as a potentially non-coincidental feature. Not only does it visually jump out in the melodic map of the song (Appendix D.3), it echoes the habits of this song in the previous two analytical categories: in its arrangement of poetic feet, its placement of ligatures, and now also its melodic contour, the latter half of this song is structurally distinguishable from its opening.[42] Although these changes do not occur simultaneously, their accumulation results in the last two poetic lines of the song being the most structurally distinct from the rest. Similar patterns of distinct treatment towards the end of the melodic material are observable in other Anglo-Norman songs, but this can often be linked with the presence of a *cauda* or refrain.[43] It is interesting that despite neither being a

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[42] The arrangement of iambs and trochees appears to change in the second half of this song, and the last two poetic lines are the only lines for which florid movement occurs on the antepenultimate, rather than the penultimate, ligature of the line.

[43] For example, changes to poetic 'metre' in the two refrain songs, or the more tangible introduction of entirely new melodic material for a refrain or *cauda*.

structural feature of *Quaunt le russinol*, its ending displays a similar structural and aural independence.

5.6.2   Melodic contour and syllable count

Due to the variety of melodic patterns present in the Anglo-Norman songs, potential relationships between melodic contour and syllable count will be explored in two steps. First, a basic overview of ascending, descending, neutral or mixed motion on each syllable of the Anglo-Norman songs will be presented. This acts as something of a combined melodic map of all of the songs. The second stage of discussion will be a more focussed assessment of patterns which appear in individual songs, rather than across the repertoire as a whole.

5.6.2.1   Patterns across all Anglo-Norman songs

Table 23 shows the most common melodic movements for each syllable, across the eight Anglo-Norman songs analysed:

Table 23: Common melodic movement in Anglo-Norman songs

					Syllable						
Insular	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
De ma...		▪Q		H				▪(L)			
Parti de...	H	▪(H)		L	L	L	H	H	L	0	
Quaunt le	▪Q	H	▪(H)	▪(L)				H			
+ refrain											
El tens...	H		▪(L)	L	H		L	L	▪(H)	▪(L)	▪Q
Mult...	▪(L)	H	▪(H)			▪(H)	▪(H)				
Continental											
Bien...	H	H	H			H	▪(H)	L			
S'onques		▪(H)		▪Q				▪(H)	L	0	▪(L)
Si tost...	H			▪(L)		▪(H)		▪(H)		▪(H)	▪(H)
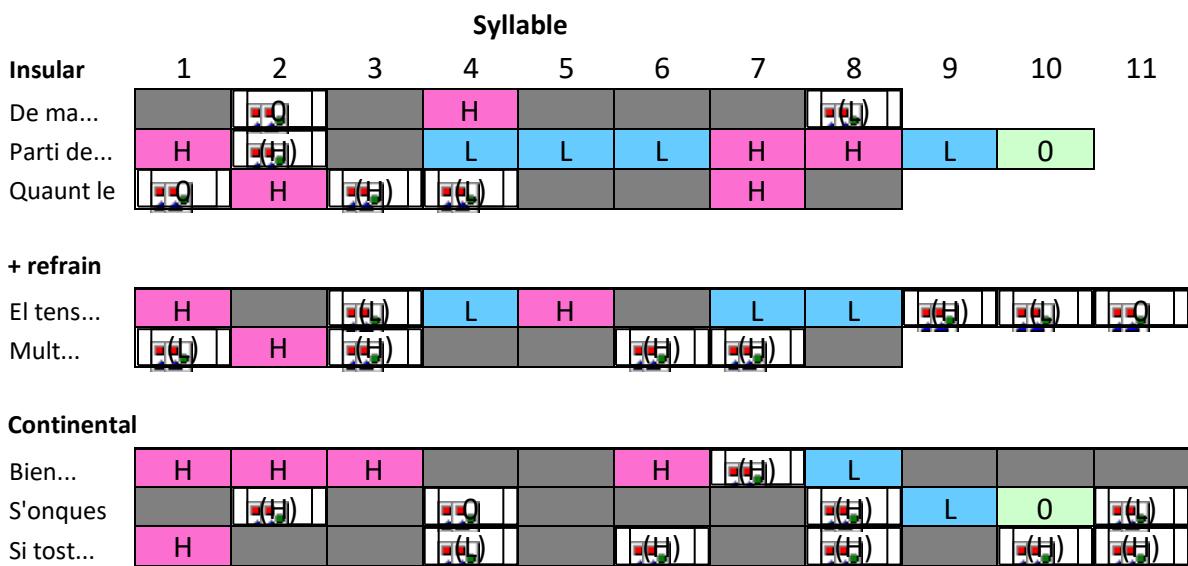
* The sole occurrence of a twelfth syllable in *S'onques nuls hoem* has been excluded from this table; it was 'mixed' in pitch movement, but no averages for a twelfth syllable can be determined from these songs alone.

Some explanation is required of the colour codes and selection system on which table 23 is based. As usual, pink represents ascent, and blue, descent; the neutral colour green represents no melodic movement (a repeated pitch) and grey newly represents mixed movement (no clear preference for any melodic direction). As results vary in strength, barred cells have been introduced to represent a 'weak' result. For example, a barred pink cell might represent a syllable which is quite mixed in movement, but appears to show a *slight* tendency for ascending motion; or, it might represent a syllable which is set only to ascending or neutral movement, but *never* to descending movement. All cells with full colour are those for which a majority seems clear.[44]

The songs which display data for up to eleven syllables are not necessarily 'decasyllabic' throughout, and this table is not intended to display patterns which may occur independently in the setting of octosyllabic and decasyllabic songs; a song with data up to eleven syllables has at least one line of that length, but may be more heavily comprised of shorter poetic lines. The data presented is an average of the melodic movement of all lines combined. However, an arrangement of the data by line length does not greatly affect results, as the songs with longer lines appear to extend the patterns of shorter lines.[45]

Refrains were not included, as they generally differ in melodic structure and might thus obscure patterns observable within the stanza. Furthermore, only initial melodic movement was counted, and not net movement, as the variety of floridity between the songs would disrupt a clear overview if net movement were to be considered. For example, syllable 7 of *Quaunt le russinol* opens with an ascent in 7/9 poetic lines, which is a clear majority; however, this syllable is often ligatured, ending on a descent (Appendix E.4). If both initial and net movement are counted, its ligatured descents counter its initial ascents to the extent that the consideration of net movement in analysis would result in the labelling of this syllable as 'mixed' in melodic movement. This would be at odds with what is clearly visible on its melodic map: syllable 7 is associated with an initial step up in pitch. Focus was therefore narrowed to the initial step made on a particular syllable. Florid movement is covered in another analytical category, and can be considered separately.

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[44] As the songs do not all share the same number of poetic lines, boundaries were introduced for each lyric length which were designed to fairly determine a clear proportional majority. Lyrics with longer strophes require clearer majorities than the lyrics with short strophes, for which each entry is proportionally more significant. With this in mind, the following system was applied: for six-line strophes, a majority counts as 4/6 or more; for seven-line strophes, a *clear* majority is 5/7 or more, but 4/7 is enough for barred colour; for eight-line strophes, a clear majority is 6/8 or more, but 5/8 is enough for barred colour; and for nine-line strophes, a clear majority is 7/9 or more, but 6/9 is enough for barred colour.

[45] Had further melodic material survived, it is possible that the analysis on a greater number of songs would reveal more prominent differences in the melodic contours of octosyllabic and decasyllabic lines. The data available for this project is too small for such patterns to be observable, and is less of a priority in the primarily octosyllabic insular repertoire, but this would perhaps be worthy of consideration in a more substantial analysis of the *trouvère* repertoire.

Based on the structural variety present in each song, this seemed the closest to a fair system as was possible. In rare cases, discretion was required when a particular melodic direction did not reach the required numerical majority, but was clearly prioritised over the opposite melodic direction (for example, if one melodic direction is entirely absent from a syllable). If a syllable is set only with ascending or neutral movement, but never descending movement, then as long as the ascending movement comprises 50% or more of its syllabic setting, it is presented as a 'weak' ascending movement (barred pink). This is not a frequent occurrence.[46]

This overview demonstrates that much melodic movement is mixed, and that melodic contours vary greatly between songs; no two songs share clear syllable-by-syllable melodic traits. However, a few syllables are relatively consistently set. Although the songs are not all the same length, enough data is available to discern relative proportions of melodic direction up to and including syllable 8. Based on a system of 3 points for full colour, 2 points for mixed movement, and 1 point for barred colour, the data of the eight songs can be compressed into numerical scores for each category of melodic movement.[47] In table 24, the highest score (and therefore, the most prevalent melodic movement) for each syllable has been boxed for emphasis.

Table 24: Points-based system for melodic contour in Anglo-Norman songs

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ascent	12	11	5	3	3	5	8	5
Descent	1	0	1	8	3	3	3	7
Neutral	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Mixed	4	4	8	4	12	8	6	4

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[46] Discretion was also required for one further, but similar, case: in five of the nine poetic lines of *Si tost c'amis*, syllable 4 is set to descending movement. This is a majority, but not enough of a majority to warrant even barred blue colour. However, of the remaining four poetic lines, only two ascend on this syllable—the other two are neutral in movement. With a proportion of 5/8 descents versus 2/8 ascents, descending motion is clearly prioritised over ascending motion on syllable 4 of this song, and to ignore that fact would seem counterproductive. Syllable four of *Si tost c'amis* has therefore been assigned 'weak' descending movement. This is the only case in which it seemed necessary to override the usual system.

[47] This is the result of some experimentation. Initially, barred colour was assigned half of the worth of full colour, but this did not allow for distinction between syllables with frequent but weak associations with a particular melodic direction, and syllables with few but strong associations with a particular melodic direction. For example, in table 23 above, syllables 1 and 2 both show preference for ascending motion, but syllable 2 has more 'weak', barred entries than syllable one. If barred colour has half of the worth of full colour, these two syllables would end up with the same number of points. In allowing barred colour only one third of the value of full colour, the distinction between the entries for ascending movement in syllables 1 and 2 is more immediately visible.

From the compressed data of table 24, the following broad patterns are observable:

- Syllables 1 and 2 show a strong preference for ascent.

- Syllable 7 is fairly mixed, but does show some preference for ascent.

- Syllables 3 and 6 are similar to syllable 7, but less pronounced in their results. They are predominantly mixed, but show a mild preference for ascent. It should be noted that despite not having the strongest results for ascending movement, these three syllables (3, 6, 7) appear to actively avoid descending movement: each syllable only has one entry for descending movement across all eight songs.

- No syllables show a strong preference for descending movement, but syllable 4 shows a slight preference for descent, despite being fairly mixed. This syllable appears to actively avoid ascent: only one of eight songs regularly ascends on syllable 4.

- The remaining syllables, 5 and 8, are predominantly mixed in melodic movement, with no strong preference for either ascending or descending motion. However, the nature by which they mix melodic direction varies as follows:

- Syllable 8 does display preference for ascending or descending melodic movement within a single song. It usually favours one direction over another, rather than mixing melodic direction. However, which direction is favoured varies between songs. Although not evident from the table above, an overview of the relevant melodic maps suggests that directional preference does not appear to be dependent on the relative position of syllable 8 within the poetic line.

- Syllable 5, in contrast to syllable 8, does not favour one melodic direction at all: it is mixed. In all but two songs, melodic direction was mixed to the extent that not even a mild preference for ascent or descent was observable. It is perhaps noteworthy that the only two songs in which syllable 5 does show melodic directional preference are *Parti de mal* and *El tens d'iver*: these songs have already demonstrated outstanding structural cleanliness, and will continue to do so.

The above results do not reveal strong melodic distinctions between the insular and Continental songs, nor between the stanzas of the songs with refrains and those without. In order to discover if these patterns represent anything close to an average for *trouvère*-style song in general, a similar analysis would have to be undertaken for the broader Continental repertoire. The extensive amount of melodies available for such a project would allow for the distinction of results according to factors such as genre, stanza length, and syllable count as potentially influential factors. This more limited analysis may serve as a hint that melodic contour and

syllable count do appear to follow certain patterns, and that such patterns might be worth further exploration.

5.6.2.2 Patterns within individual songs

More focussed links between melodic contour and syllable count will now be addressed, such as those observable within a single song. For visualisations of the patterns described, it may be beneficial to consult the melodic maps provided for each song in the Appendix.

As has become expected of the Anglo-Norman songs, patterns of melodic contour within individual songs are often present to some degree, but are not consistently applied within or between songs. Two songs show a definite, strong correlation between melodic contour and syllable count: unsurprisingly perhaps, these songs are *Parti de mal* and *El tens d'iver*. A third song which appears to show some relationship between melodic contour and syllable count is *Bien deust chanter*, albeit not to the same extent as *Parti de mal* and *El tens d'iver*. The remaining Anglo-Norman songs do not display a particular link between pitch and syllable count across the melodic line as a whole, but they do show varied, more narrowly focussed connections between melodic contour and text.

The melodic contours of *Parti de mal* (Appendix E.3) and *El tens d'iver* (Appendix E.5) are comprised of undulating alternations of ascent and descent at regular intervals throughout the poetic line: the sequence of ascent, descent, ascent, descent, results in a regular pink-blue-pink-blue pattern when the melodic maps are read from left to right.[48] This is most visible in *Parti de mal*, which is not only extraordinarily regular in syllable count, but also has a repetitive melody which causes such patterns to appear exaggerated. However, although both songs follow the same general rising and falling pattern, the ascending and descending melodic motion does not occur on the same syllables in each; the songs undulate at different rates, and have further individual quirks.

The decasyllabic lines of *Parti de mal* can be split into four sections of melodic movement: syllables 1-3 ascend overall, but with tapering strength (syllable 1 showing the strongest tendency for ascent, and syllable 3 the weakest); syllables 4-6 descend; syllables 7-8 ascend; and syllables 9-10 descend. In simpler terms, each poetic line can be split into two progressions of pitch from 'high' to 'low', however relative: this progression of relative descent happens in syllables 1-6 , and again in syllables 7-10. The regularity with which this occurs is extraordinary, and cannot be wholly attributed to the repeating of melodic material in the song; even where the melody

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[48] In the longer, decasyllabic lines of *El tens d'iver*, one further pink-blue alternation is added (lines 6 and 8).

changes significantly in the last two poetic lines, the pattern continues with only slight blemishes (for example, in line 6, the ascent usually beginning on syllable 7 is delayed by one syllable, but is still present). The paired syllables 4-5 and 7-8 stand out as being the cleanest centres of descending and ascending motion respectively; and the second syllable of each pair (that is, syllables 5 and 8) are the most stable non-peripheral points of the melody. These syllables are both predominantly syllabically set, and tend to make the same melodic movement throughout the main body of the song; their only melodic variations occur in the last 2-3 lines of the strophe.

In *El tens d'iver*, the alternation of ascending and descending movement varies somewhat between the strophe and the refrain. In the strophe, the same general patterns of progression from 'high' to 'low' observed in *Parti de mal* are present, but they re-start at syllable 5 rather than syllable 7: this means that syllables 1-4 are the first progression from high to low, and syllables 5-8 the next. In the lines of more than 8 syllables, syllables 9-10 add one further, shorter high-low undulation. The refrain of *El tens d'iver* shifts the second point of ascent to one syllable earlier than its stanza, however: syllable 4 instead of syllable 5.

The melodic focus on syllables 4 and 5 which was present in *Parti de mal* appears to be reflected in *El tens d'iver*: the transition between syllables 4-5 not only represents the strongest turning point between ascending and descending motion in the latter song, but it is also a point of melodic distinction between stanza and refrain (in which their melodic directions are reversed). Finally, syllable 5 is a point of central melodic stability in *El tens d'iver*, as it was in *Parti de mal*; it is the most syllabically set non-peripheral syllable, and generally makes the same melodic step each time within the stanza or refrain.

As previously mentioned, *Bien deust chanter* (Appendix E.1) exhibits some of the same melodic undulations as *Parti de mal* and *El tens d'iver*, but to a lesser degree. The same general progressions from high-low can be observed, this time dividing the line after syllable 5: the first melodic progression from high to low occurs through syllables 1-5, and the second begins on syllable 6. However, this does not happen consistently, and this song may be better grouped among the other five Anglo-Norman songs awaiting discussion.

5.6.3 Melodic contour and structural features

Songs which do not show the same strength of melodic contour as *Parti de mal* and *El tens d'iver* do reveal two other, less extreme and more varied patterns in their melodic contours: a relationship between melodic direction and rhyme (perhaps concerning masculine and feminine endings), or a general tendency for poetic lines to begin or end with a particular melodic direction (a pattern also present in *Parti de mal* and *El tens d'iver*). Some songs exhibit both of these features.

Chapter 5

<u>Melodic contour and rhyme</u>

The songs which may link melodic direction and rhyme are *De ma dame*, *Quaunt le russinol* and *Bien deust chanter*. These songs are primarily made up only of *a b* rhymes, although *De ma dame* adds a *c* rhyme in its *cauda*. The *a b* rhymes alternate masculine and feminine endings, so whether the melodic relationship is connected with that specifically, or just with rhyme overall, cannot be concretely determined in these songs. In each of these songs, a relationship is set up between melodic direction and rhyme which remains consistent until the last three lines of the strophe.[49] At this point, expectations are reversed for at least one, if not both, rhymes. In *De ma dame* and *Quaunt le russinol*, feminine rhymes close with a melodic ascent, and masculine rhymes close with a melodic descent. In *Bien deust chanter*, this pattern is reversed: feminine endings descend, and masculine endings ascend.

De ma dame and *Bien deust chanter* disrupt this pattern in a similar way to one another at the close of their stanzas: in the last three lines, the final step in pitch is always a descent, even where previous rhyme patterns would usually call for an ascent.[50] *Quaunt le russinol* goes one step further in straying from expectations: it actively reverses the melodic direction of its rhymes. In the last three lines only, the masculine endings ascend, and the feminine ending descends. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in all three songs, this point of change cannot be justified by a *cauda*, a refrain, or a change in rhyme scheme.[51]

<u>Melodic direction at the opening and close of poetic lines</u>

Some songs are quite consistent in opening or closing their poetic lines with ascending or descending melodic movement. *Parti de mal*, *El tens d'iver*, *Bien deust chanter*, and *Si tost c'amis* all prioritise melodic ascent at the opening of the line; that is, the first pitch of a new poetic line will be higher than the last pitch of the previous poetic line. The prioritisation of a particular melodic movement at the end of a poetic line is more common, however, and is present in *Parti de mal*, *El tens d'iver*, *Mult s'aprisme*, *S'onques nuls hoem*, and *Si tost c'amis*. With the exception of *S'onques nuls hoem*, all songs end stanza lines with descending melodic motion.[52] *S'onques nuls hoem* is the only song for which a closing ascent in pitch is prioritised. The presence of *Parti de*

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[49] In the case of *De ma dame*, the new rhymes of the *cauda* have been excluded from this assessment, both of which are masculine and melodically descend. This is in fitting with the masculine rhymes of the strophe, but with only two new lines of rhyme for comparison, this cannot be put down to a concrete association of masculine endings with descending movement in this song.

[50] Although line 6 of *De ma dame* ends on a repeated pitch, the final change in pitch in this line was a descent on syllable 5.

[51] In *De me dame*, for example, this melodic alteration is concretely independent from its *cauda*.

[52] In *El tens d'iver*, the lines of the refrain close with a mix of melodic movement, but its final line also ends with a descent. Within its strophe, however, the final pitch change is a descent in every line.

mal and *El tens d'iver* in both lists demonstrates that melodic patterns at the beginning and end of a poetic line are not mutually exclusive, and only adds to the extraordinary structural regularly they have exhibited throughout their analysis.

5.6.4 Overview: Patterns in melodic contour

With so many variants across a small number of songs, it is hard to identify features which might be worthy of further consideration. Additionally, although some songs have overlapping characteristics with one another, most patterns are shared and dispersed indiscriminately among the eight analysed. An overview of the analysis of text and melodic contour can be summarised as follows:

- The insular Anglo-Norman songs appear to have adopted melodic traits from both Middle English song and Continental *trouvère* song, in that both Germanic syllable stress and syllable count have some impact on their melodic contour.
- For the few Continental-style Anglo-Norman songs, syllable count is seen to impact details of melodic structure (such as the placement of florid movement, and the overall undulations of pitch in a poetic line). A broader analysis of the Continental repertoire might reveal further text-based melodic patterns.
- The influence of text varies greatly in the Anglo-Norman songs repertoire. However, two recurring features are the setting of certain poetic syllables to a particular melodic direction (in both the Continental and insular songs), and the presence of some form of stress-based melodic patterning in select insular songs.
- Within individual songs, the melodic treatment of syllable count and syllable stress can vary in a number of further ways: changes in melody and rhyme, or between poetic 'feet' and larger-scale structure, may be linked to one another.

5.7 Conclusions to chapter 5

A basic summary of the relationship between text and melody in British-preserved Anglo-Norman song is that connections are present on multiple levels, but they exhibit greater variety than the songs in Middle English. The Anglo-Norman songs of likely insular origin borrow from both Continental French and insular Middle English music and poetic traditions, but melodically speaking, the influence of the *trouvère* tradition appears stronger than that of the English-texted tradition.

An overview of key findings was already presented at the beginning of this chapter, ahead of the more detailed breakdown of results. I will therefore close by briefly emphasising select

points in more detail, which represent potential text-setting habits specific to the Anglo-Norman songs.

Songs of extreme regularity: *El tens d'iver*, *Mult s'aprisme*, and *Parti de mal*

The two analysed refrain songs (*El tens d'iver* and *Mult s'aprisme*) both happen to be insular, and display a heightened consideration of Germanic stress in their poetic and musical structure compared to other insular songs. This is especially apparent in the alternation of poetic feet between stanza and refrain, and in the seemingly distinct placement of florid movement when compared to songs without a refrain. It is possible that these features allow the performance of the refrain songs heightened emphasis of Germanic stress, resulting in a 'metric' lilt which could feasibly make them more effective dance songs.

Parti de mal has no refrain, but appears to share some of the unusual regularity of the refrain songs. It is as clean as *El tens d'iver* in its poetic structure and aspects of its melodic text setting, and it shares some of the English-texted traits of *Mult s'aprisme*, such as ligature placement and length. It is the only decasyllabic, dactylic insular song. These three songs are outliers in their unusual structural features.

Patterns among the remaining Anglo-Norman songs

The other Anglo-Norman songs do not demonstrate the same regularity in their text setting as the three described above, but certain threads of similarity run between them (some of which are also evident in the three 'songs of extreme regularity' featured above). The remaining songs have less definable structural relationships between non-melodic elements such as rhyme, refrain, and poetic feet. Most are reserved in their use of additive ornamentation, but some consistency in the placement of florid movement within the poetic line is present. Even in the insular songs, florid movement appears to be primarily related to syllable count rather than Germanic syllable stress.

The extremities of the poetic line can be melodically set in certain ways. For example, a song might open with ascending pitch movement and close with descending pitch movement (the latter being the higher priority). A progression from 'high' to 'low' may repeat itself several times on a smaller scale within the poetic line. Melodic patterns that were established in the stanza may be altered at its close, in the last two or three poetic lines.

To close the analysis of British-preserved Anglo-Norman song, table 25 below offers a combined overview of the two melodic features most connected to syllable count in the majority of songs: melodic contour, and florid movement. Due to their distinct treatment of floridity, the averages displayed below do not include the data of the songs with refrains. As the Anglo-Norman

songs are varied in melodic structure, and limited in number, the following table is better considered a theoretical overview than a practical guide. It does, however, imply that there is much more to be learned from a more in-depth analysis of *trouvère* song and its related genres, whether preserved in Britain or on the Continent. The upper row ('Syllable') represents the eight syllables of an octosyllabic line, and the middle row ('Contour') shows any typical initial melodic movement for each syllable, using the same colour references as those used in previous melodic charts (shades of pink represent relative highs, shades of blue relative lows). Mild preference for melodic movement in a particular direction is shown with barred colour, and occasional but inconsistent preference is also labelled for the grey, primarily 'mixed' syllables. Finally, the lower row ('Floridity') marks the syllables on which florid movement is commonly present. Cells which have been left blank in this row are syllables for which no strong patterns concerning floridity were observed.

Table 25: Averages of melodic contour and florid movement in an octosyllabic line

Syllable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Contour	H	H	(H)	(L)	Mixed	(H)	(H)	H or L
Floridity	*	No		Yes	No	Yes	Yes	

* In the insular songs, this syllable is floridly set at least once within the stanza; in the Continental songs, there is no evidence of florid movement opening a poetic line.

Chapter 6   A practical guide to Middle English song in the thirteenth century

6.1   A note to performers

The compositional, editorial, and performance recommendations to feature in this chapter will provide elements of a 'performer's guide' specific to high-medieval Middle English song; something which I stated to be lacking, or at least compromised, in performance-centred publications and teaching. By identifying some appropriate practical approaches to thirteenth-century Middle English song specifically, I hope to facilitate a more focussed approach to its modern historical performance practice than is currently standard. This requires a shift away from the broad labelling of the songs as 'monophonic', 'polyphonic', 'sacred', 'secular', 'insular', or 'Middle English', each of which is too broad to accommodate the nuances specific to the thirteenth-century Middle English repertoire. It is unsurprising that the classic performance guides which nurtured such categorisation have remained unchallenged, as without the emergence of new information on medieval music performance practice, there is little incentive for scholars to rehash the same unresolved issues.

The silence on modern performance advice was broken with Angela Mariani's 2017 publication of a new performers' guide to medieval music.[1] Without new primary source material to work from, Mariani instead encourages the adoption of a new attitude towards the old material. The issues prioritised in this publication are those which were central to many medieval performance practices, but which are arguably better absorbed through *doing* than through reading, and have thus fallen by the wayside in other practically orientated publications. Step-by-step exercises are provided for the modern performer, covering a variety of topics including improvisation, stylistic composition, ornamentation, memorisation, regional stylistic differentiation, and the basic textual analysis of a song lyric. Each of these topics is central to the historical performance of the Middle English songs in question, and Mariani's encouragement of their reinforcement in modern practice and pedagogy is refreshing. This guide will hopefully open the gateway to new attitudes in medieval music performance practice, but by necessity and for want of new information, it remains broad in its approach. Although differentiation between the modern performance and improvisation of distinct regional styles is stated to be desirable, the practical methodology provided to achieve this is fairly general: the performer is instructed to

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[1] Mariani, *Improvisation and Inventio in the Performance of Medieval Music: A Practical Approach*.

gather a handful of pieces from a specific repertoire and to seek out repeated patterns which may reflect something of the style of a particular region or composer.[2] At least where the thirteenth-century Middle English songs are concerned, I hope to complement this approach by providing repertoire-specific information which will allow for more focussed stylistic improvisation and ornamentation.

If modern performers combine the spirit and methodologies of Mariani's approach with the practical guidelines provided in this chapter, we may be on our way to a new modern sound of thirteenth-century Middle English song. Without addressing the practical musician directly, beneficial changes to modern historical performance practice cannot take hold. Inaudible analytical data is not sufficient to alter current perceptions of insular vernacular song; a two-pronged attack of theory and practice is required in order to re-position Middle English song within the modern medieval performance practice canon. I hope therefore that modern musicians will re-create and add to the examples presented here, and will make these experiments audible in concerts, recordings, and educational settings, as well as visible in writing.

This study of vernacular practice will now abandon one of its two featured languages: Anglo-Norman. Not only is the small amount of data procured about the Anglo-Norman songs not conducive to the creation of comparable guidelines for its modern composition and performance, but such guidelines are also less of an immediate necessity for Anglo-Norman song than they are for Middle English song of the same time. It is long accepted that the insular Anglo-Norman song tradition is ultimately modelled on that of the *trouvères*, for which further melodies, contextual information, and performance practice information is already available and has been studied in some depth.[3]

However, before continuing to focus on Middle English alone, I will say that the other two surviving 'insular' song languages from this time – Anglo-Norman and Latin – are also deserving of further independent study, with particular regard to the relationship between their text and melody and the potential existence of a definable compositional 'style'. The apparently distinctive melodic features of Anglo-Norman song uncovered in chapter 5 serve as a warning that this song language, too, may have been denied due attention due to its consideration as a peripheral contribution to 'insular', 'French', and '*trouvère*' song, all of which rely on Anglo-Norman

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[2] Mariani, 112.

[3] Dedicated studies which address *trouvère* performance practice include those by Page, Huot, and the more recent monograph by O'Neill, which does not deal with performance practice directly, but provides an overview of arguments and literature on the topic. Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300* (London, Melbourne: J. M. Dent, 1987); Sylvia Huot, 'Voices and Instruments in Medieval French Secular Music: On the Use of Literary Texts as Evidence for Performance Practice', *Musica Disciplina* 43 (1 January 1989): 63–113; O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France*.

undertaking a complementary rather than an independent position. Although an understanding of the *trouvère* tradition likely provides a satisfactory starting point for modern performers of Anglo-Norman song, this does not mean that the songs shared the performance contexts and practices of the Continental French-speaking *trouvères* indiscriminately. It is possible that the performance practice of the insular *trouvère*-style songs should somewhat diverge from those of Continental origin, perhaps to a similar extent as does their textual and melodic material. For instance, Germanic syllable stress features more prominently in the melodic structure of insular Anglo-Norman song than that of Continental *trouvère* song, and this could conceivably have infiltrated sung performance. Additionally, our primary insight into insular Anglo-Norman song and verse is from the perspective of a cleric, not of a lay *trouvère* singing secular material in varied non-didactical performance contexts. A handful of Continental *trouvère* songs provide a useful point of comparison to the insular repertoire, in that they are religious, or call the public to attention (for example, the crusade songs). Although they are not necessarily designed for the same homiletic or didactic purposes, they at least prove that religious devotion through the medium of *trouvère*-style song is not merely an adaptation by British clerics, but it belongs within the original Continental tradition. However, as the performance context and function of the insular clerical songs is likely distinct from those of most secular *trouvère* performances, questions of performance style and instrumentation arise. The musical training and social status of the performer, as well as the potential inclusion of instruments, should be freshly considered when imagining performance by a cleric in the context of religious instruction, as opposed to the performance of a *jongleur* or aristocrat.[4] Therefore, to close the discussion of Anglo-Norman song, I would suggest that performers consider the *trouvère* tradition as an initial model for this repertoire, but remain aware of the stylistic and functional independence of its insular branch of practice.

Latin song from the British Isles does not feature strongly in this study. However, its peripheral consideration during the analysis of the two vernacular lyric repertories revealed that at least some Latin songs also appear to foster conscious relationships between melody and lyric,

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[4] Although instruments are depicted or mentioned in association with *trouvère* performance, the social status of the singer appears to have influenced factors such as self-accompaniment, or the inclusion of instruments at all. Considering the fact that certain clerical orders may have imposed further restrictions on the usage of instruments, *a cappella* performance is arguably a good starting point – although by no means prescriptive – for modern performers approaching the songs which are particularly courtly or didactic in style.

on the level of individual syllables of text.[5] This extends beyond a general reflection of mood, or the development of melodic cells between poetic lines, to a more detailed employment of melody as a tool of expression: the emphasis of certain syllables is achieved through the conscious manipulation of floridity, pitch, or both. Additionally, the analysis of select polyphonic Latin-texted songs in the preparation of this study revealed apparent differences between two-voice compositions in Latin and Middle English. These features were here discussed for the benefit of our understanding of the Middle English songs, and not of those in Latin; but the process revealed that there is likely much to be uncovered through a similar syllable-by-syllable analysis of Latin compositional structure, whether the melody is insular or Continental in origin.

In none of the individual insular song traditions does melody appear to be set to lyric at random—but neither is the process of composition the same between the three lyric languages. The term 'insular' may prove to remain a useful marker of compositional style after all; for example, it is possible that insular songs in all three languages tend more strongly toward stress-based systems of melodic contour and ornamentation than their Continental counterparts. However, without a better understanding of the text-melodic relationships of each linguistic genre, the term 'insular' is likely to continue to obscure the individual stylistic traits of the three languages, rather than bring their commonalities to light.

In the meantime, until similar text-melodic analyses are conducted for the Anglo-Norman and Latin repertories, performers of any 'insular' songs today would do well to pay particular heed to the relationship between text, ligatures, and additive ornamentation—regardless of whether the melody appears to have been structured primarily through the church modes, syllable count, or syllable stress. A performance shaped through the consideration of specific, prescribed text-melodic relationships is likely to be audibly distinct from a performance shaped according to modern perceptions of lyric and melody, no matter how musically convincing the latter may seem to the modern listener. Ultimately, for any medieval song tradition, the greater the consideration of features which may have held meaning at the time of melodic conception, the closer modern historical performance is likely to come to an interpretation which may have resonated in the ears and hearts of the medieval public; and this was, after all, the primary goal of our thirteenth-century British cleric.

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[5] Part of the preparation for this project involved the similar analysis of select insular Latin songs from W1, in which a mild relationship between ornamentation and poetic structure also appeared to be present. Similar but broader relationships have been observed in earlier Latin polyphony by Sarah Fuller, who includes 'accent' (in the sense of poetic versification, rather than Germanic syllable stress) in her analytical considerations of the textual-melodic relationships of Aquitanian polyphony. Sarah Fuller, 'Early Polyphony to circa 1200', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 56–60.

6.2   The modern interpretation of existing Middle English songs

6.2.1   The question of 'correctness' in modern interpretations of Middle English song

The modern performance, edition, teaching, and study of thirteenth-century Middle English song are dominated by figures trained in or predominantly exposed to Western classical music. This permeates almost every aspect of our approach to medieval music, ranging from our perceptions of idiomatic vocal ornamentation to our predominantly visual, and not aural, learning process. One of the anchors of the Western classical approach is its reliance on a system of standardised music notation. In my first music lesson as an infant, I was taught the difference between 'Middle C' and 'Doggy D'—not aurally, but visually, notated on a ruled stave in a colourful book. There are benefits to the Western classical emphasis on the written identity of music, not least that those who can read music notation are able to explore new repertoire alone, without the need for a second musician to play or sing it to them. In a world of compressed courses of study, limited rehearsal time, and sixty- to ninety-minute concert durations, the ability to absorb new repertoire quickly and at a glance is valuable.

However, where the modern performance of the Middle English songs is concerned, a fixation on the notational identity of a song also has drawbacks. Those of us approaching medieval music from a Western classical background are accustomed to relatively standardised notation and performance standards for a given piece of music. Although edition and performance styles vary from person to person, the basic elements of music notation, ornamentation, textual content, and text underlay are likely to remain constant between interpretations. Much medieval performance and transcription enjoyed more malleability, and floridity seems to have been a particularly changeable feature in the Middle English songs: the frequency and notational forms of ornamental pitches shift within the repertoire, even between its concordances. The Western classical concept of a singular 'correct' reading of a song was likely not much considered in practice or notation. This is problematic for the modern reading of the Middle English songs: unless otherwise instructed, a classically trained singer will be inclined to reproduce the notation and underlay of the medieval-provided melody exactly as written, in every performance of the song. Furthermore, if only the first strophe of a multi-strophe song is overlaid with musical notation, then the same melodic arrangement is likely to be cloned and repeated – note for note, with the same floridity appearing on the same relative syllables – in all subsequent strophes. Our modern concern with a 'correct' reading is beneficial for the critical edition and musicological discussion of the songs, but it may be a hindrance to their modern historical performance. One need only compare how songs are referenced by their modern and medieval consumers to realise that our quest for correctness in their written and aural

reproduction is likely misguided: for any concert performance of *Worldes blis*, the printed programme will state whether the transmission of Arundel 248 or that of Rawlinson G.18 will be sung, as though the differences in text and floridity between the two are vital elements of their identity to be preserved in every performance. A medieval scribe, on the other hand, was quite happy to provide new lyrics to a known song without also providing its musical notation, supposedly trusting that performers will arrange the basic elements of the quoted melody however they see fit.[6] If a song survives in multiple transmissions, these are not necessarily contributions to a finite collection of correct readings; conversely, the survival of multiple versions more likely demonstrates that the identity of a song was not wholly dependent on dialect, notational style, or ornamentation. In seeking to reproduce the few surviving written transmissions as accurately as possible, we are eliminating from our consideration the vast majority of thirteenth-century performance interpretations: those which did not make it onto parchment.

Although we have no choice but to take our lead from surviving written transmissions, this limitation exacerbates what is already arguably the greatest issue in the modern historical performance of the songs: the discrepancy between primarily written tradition, and primarily oral tradition. The modern process of learning a Middle English song is generally led by musical notation and supplemented by oral tradition (in the form of concerts, CD recordings, and students absorbing the habits of their teachers). In the thirteenth century, the same process was generally led by oral tradition and supplemented in rare cases by musical notation. Although every professional medieval performer and teacher is already aware of the significance of oral tradition in medieval song repertories, this difference in perspective is more of a hindrance to the modern reading of the songs than might at first be apparent. Today's performers and editors alike have gone to great pains to translate the nuances of original song notations as accurately as possible. Modern notational standards are compromised through the removal of bar lines and time signatures; special fonts are designed to imitate the shapes of neumes and ornaments; and many performers avoid modern editions altogether, under the impression that learning a song from its original notation will result in a more authentic historical performance. Until conducting this study, I shared the latter sentiment. When time permitted, I would always choose to learn a song from original notation, and subsequently perform it from memory.

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[6] For example in the fourteenth-century 'Red book of Ossory', in which the Latin lyric *Peperit virgo* is accompanied by the rubric 'Mayde yn the moore lay', implying that the Latin words should be sung to the melody of the vernacular song. Only the incipit of the vernacular song is provided as a melodic reference; the lyric collection contains no notated music. Richard Greene, '"The Maid of the Moor" in the Red Book of Ossory', *Speculum* 27, no. 4 (October 1952): 504-506. On this process of melodic exchange see also Deeming, 'The Performance of Devotion', 94-100.

I am now less sure of the value of reading from the original notation of a Middle English song, or from an accurate reproduction of it in a modern edition, in the quest for improved historical performance practice. As long as we continue to learn from a written model which presents only one version of the melody – no matter if that version was penned by a medieval or modern hand – we restrict our connection to the medieval process of music-making. But with few written models from which to work, and no oral tradition of the songs which survives unbroken, a compromise is necessary. We have little choice but to rely on a written model; it may therefore be beneficial to present written arrangements of the Middle English songs which reflect the likely oral priorities of the medieval singer as closely as possible. This could be achieved by moving away from the singular melodic transcription of medieval manuscripts and their modern editions, and instead promoting flexible readings of Middle English song melodies based on the primary governing factor of their melodic contours and floridity: text stress.

In the following discussions, I will present experimental new approaches to the songs which still permit a visual aid for their modern study, but which actively seek distance from their original melodic transmissions. Whether increased flexibility in vocal texture, text underlay, ornamentation, or editorial style are suggested, the aim is to challenge our understanding of what is a 'correct' reading of the songs, and whether the concept is relevant. The repeated imitation of a singular written snapshot in time does not provide as valuable an alternative to the lost oral tradition of song as would a practical understanding of the stylistic characteristics which permeate its host repertoire.

The suggestions to follow involve the experimental reduction, addition, or interaction of melodic features in Middle English songs and lyrics, according to criteria which came to light in analysis. Examples will be provided for the following topics: the identification and re-ornamentation of a theoretical 'foundation' melody; the interchange between monophonic and polyphonic settings; editorial layouts which leave room for improvisation; and the composition of new melodies for Middle English lyrics in keeping with the style of the conjunct, stress-based songs identified in analysis.

6.2.2   *Foweles in þe frith*: Uncovering the foundation melody of a florid song

Foweles in þe frith was seen to be highly ornamental in its analytical review, with a number of ligatures on stressed as well as unstressed syllables. It was suggested that 'ornamental' stressed syllables may be identifiable by establishing which pitches within a ligature maintain a basic melodic contour of stressed ascent, and unstressed descent. Figure 8 shows the original setting of the upper-written voice, which was deemed to be the 'foundation melody' due to its stricter

adherence to stress-based text-setting patterns. Pitches in black are those which form the foundation of stressed ascent and unstressed descent; pitches in red are those which are either unnecessary for the maintenance of the stress-based melodic contour, or actively disrupt it:

Figure 8: *Foweles in þe frith*, identification of potential ornamental pitches
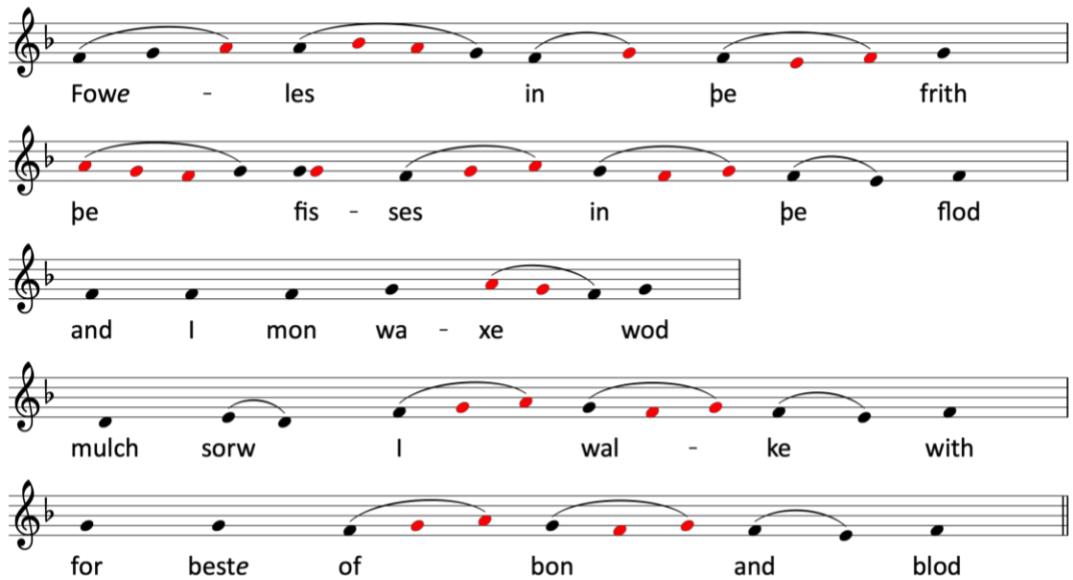
If the red pitches were to be removed, a foundation melody would remain which more closely follows the standards of Middle English text setting. Not all pitches must be removed in order to bring out a convincing foundation melody, however; as most of the English-texted songs feature some winding floridity on unstressed syllables, it is the red pitches on stressed syllables which should be first considered for removal or reduction in this method.

One of the reasons *Foweles in þe frith* appeared particularly florid in analysis is that its notation makes no use of additive ornamental forms. If additive ornamentation had been used in place of ligatures to embellish stressed syllables, and if floridity in general were slightly reduced for the benefit of visibility of a stress-based melodic contour, another version of the melody might look something like that presented in figure 9.

Figure 9: *Foweles in þe frith*, experimental melodic reduction
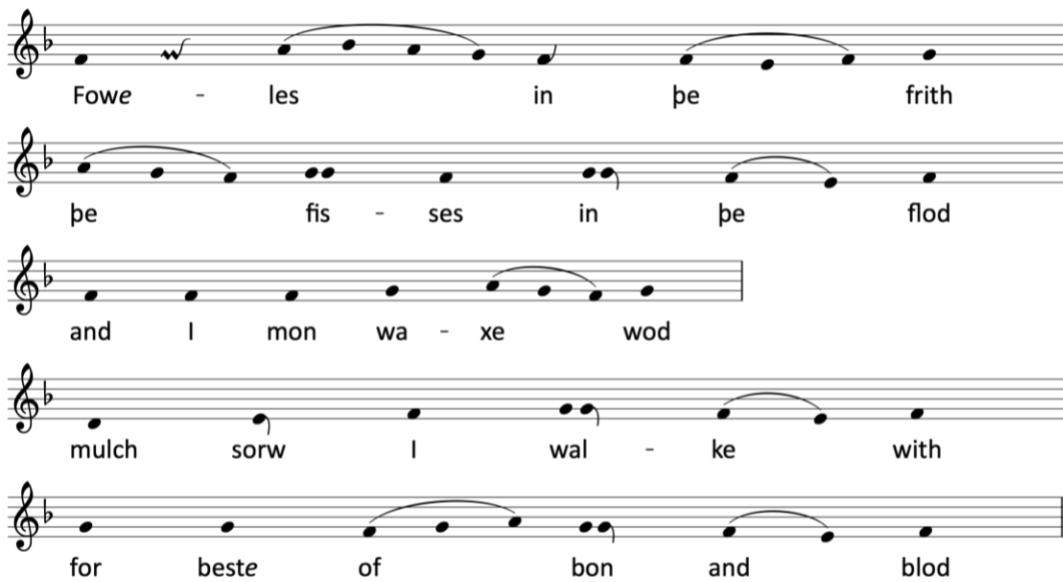
By presenting the song in this way, the main contour of the melody is little changed, but it now conforms with more standardised pitch movement, additive ornamentation, and ligature placement according to syllable stress. This solution is one of many possible experimental reductions and re-ornamentations of this song, and serves only as an example of how the 'foundation melody' of *Foweles in þe frith* might be conceptually structured, despite its written-out, ornamental presentation. Modern performers could conceivably present this song monophonically, and re-work stressed ornamentation in a similar fashion to that demonstrated above.

6.2.3   *Þe milde Lomb*: Secondary voice composition

Analysis implies that the conforming monophonically and polyphonically preserved Middle English songs indistinct, and it was suggested that their textural preservation may not be reason enough to categorise them as 'monophonic' or 'polyphonic'. Rather, as demonstrated above, the foundation melody of *Foweles in þe frith* (or indeed of *Jesu cristes milde moder*) could be performed without the secondary voice, and a monophonically preserved song such as *Worldes blis* or *Þe milde Lomb* might be suited to the addition of a secondary voice in contrary motion.

The following exercise demonstrates the simplicity of adding a secondary voice to a monophonically preserved example: *Þe milde Lomb*. As another Passion lyric is transmitted with two voices (*Jesu cristes milde moder*), this is a lyric genre for which polyphonic performance was at least a possibility. *Þe milde Lomb* lends itself to this two-voice compositional style to an extent

that it is conceivably improvisable, and what is presented below (figure 10) stems from my own basis for improvisation over the foundation melody of the song.

Figure 10: *Þe milde Lomb*: Suggested polyphonic setting

6.2.4 *Worldes blis*: Editorial and pedagogical considerations

Since beginning to consolidate the stress-based results of the analytical part of this study into my own performances of the Middle English songs, I have encouraged my students to do the same. This is not a straightforward pedagogical process. I have years of practical experience with these songs under my belt, as well as some understanding of their language, their melodic shape, their ornamentation, and the undulation of stress which permeates their lyrics. It is also of no insignificant benefit that I am a mother-tongue English speaker: the meaning of the lyrics and the Germanic text stress of the songs are both quickly accessible to me, while this is not the case for each of my international students. Singers approaching this repertoire for the first time do not

benefit from the same level of familiarity, and cannot be expected to re-shape melody and ornamentation according to syllabic stress without precise instructions on how to do so.

The greatest obstacle to new students of Middle English song appears to be the manner in which they learn the very first strophe—or whichever portion of the melody is presented overlaid with music. The theoretical understanding of instructions is unproblematic; the student grasps the notion that melody and ornamentation are, to an extent, malleable in multi-strophe songs (for example, the placement of stressed ornamentation and unstressed anacruses may change in a later strophe of text). On a practical level, however, the student usually struggles to remove the exact text-melodic alignment of the overlaid strophe from consideration when dealing with a later strophe of text. Subsequently abandoning the musical notation and working by ear or from the text alone is of little consequence, as once the floridity and neume count of the first strophe have been visually and aurally absorbed, the singer's chances of organically finding alternative stress-based alignments of the same melody are starkly reduced. This process of learning is likely to retain the singer in a state of stylistic imitation rather than stylistic comprehension, and it delays the point in time at which floridity becomes adjustable, or even improvisable, for each new strophe of text.

For those with time and enthusiasm to invest in the repertoire, a more effective method of study may be the use of editorial layouts which highlight stress-based qualities in the text and the music. Ideally, the modern student of Middle English song might abandon the concept of a 'correct' reading altogether, as even a manuscript transmission cannot provide this. Rather, I would suggest that the student aims to train ear and voice in the performance tools which were likely intuitive to the original singers of this repertoire. They should understand the *practice* of the different uses of floridity, the alignment of text and melody, and the shaping of a poetic text which varies from strophe to strophe. This will likely require a greater time commitment than reading directly from a manuscript or edition, and would be best executed in several stages. The following steps outline one possible practical method which could be adopted by those wishing to immerse themselves in Middle English song:

1. The spoken study of the lyric without music. The singer should be comfortable reading the lyric with emphasis of its stressed syllables, but also in a natural style of spoken recitation.
2. The extraction and sung study of a hypothetical stress-orientated 'foundation melody', initially without adding the lyrics. During 'textless' study, the foundation melody can be sung to any word or sound which alternates a strong and weak syllable (this can be as simple as '(be-)DOO-be-DOO-be-DOO').

3. The identification and re-addition of structural melodic floridity which appears significant to the character of the song (for example, melodic gestures which recur throughout the strophe, or which highlight extremities in pitch).

4. The study of the common forms and uses of structural and additive ornamentation. This does not have to be learned for each song individually, but can be practised independently and employed throughout the repertoire.

5. Once all of the above steps have been completed, the singer should enjoy significantly increased freedom and creativity in wedding the textual and melodic components of each strophe.

The following experimental layouts of the song *Worldes blis* are offered as example tools for such an approach. Figure 11 overleaf shows one option for a hypothetical 'foundation melody', in which pitches have been reduced to those necessary for the maintenance of a conjunct, stress-based melodic line. Where melodic discrepancies occur between the two surviving medieval transmissions of this melody, the less florid transmission in Rawlinson G.18 has been taken as a primary model.

Figure 11: *Worldes blis*, experimental reduction to 'foundation melody'
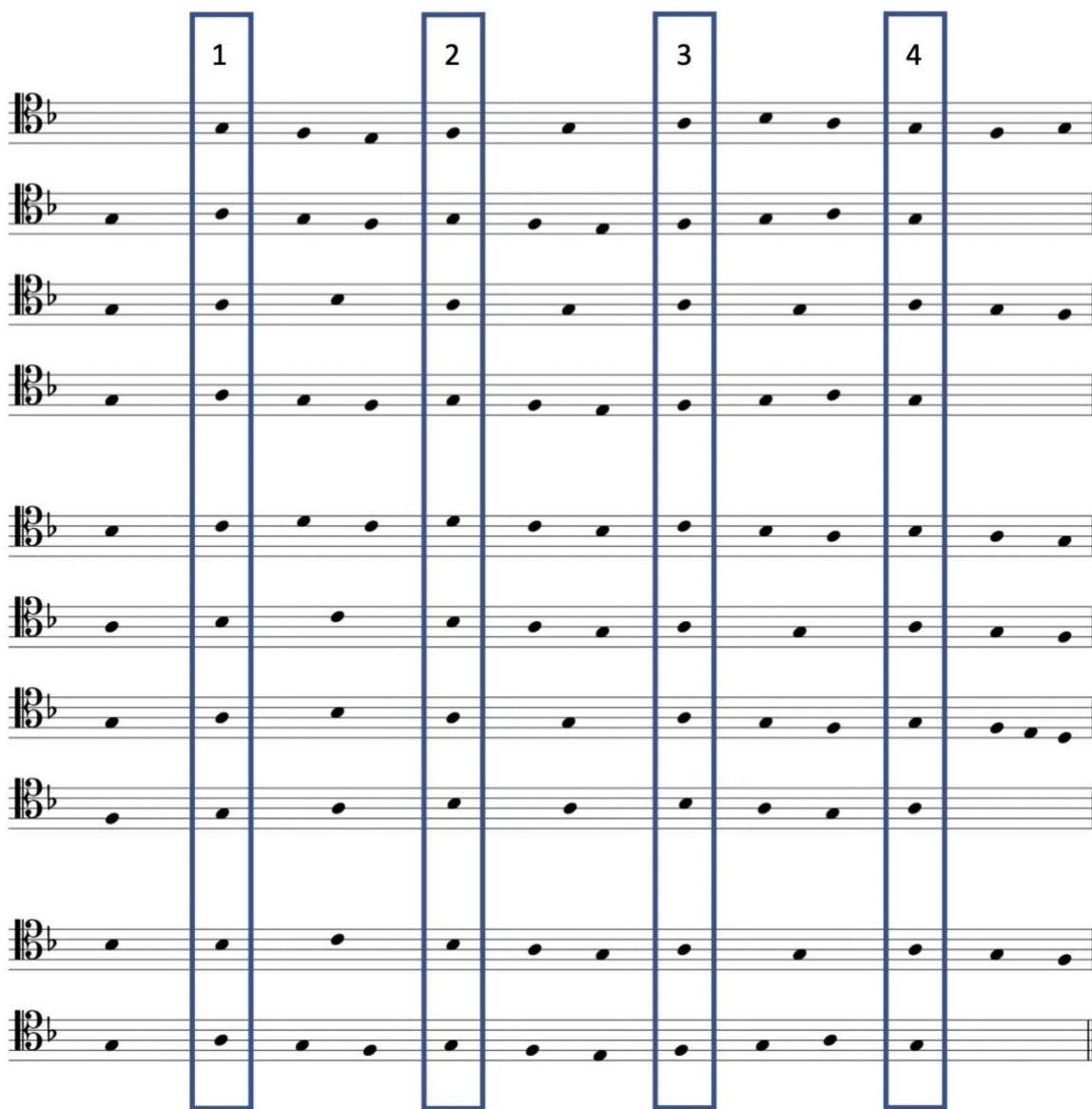
The resulting reduction is not fully representative of song character, as some distinctive melodic gestures have not yet been taken into account. This is remedied in figure 12, which re-introduces select structurally florid pitches (distinguishable by their smaller size), which appear regularly in the song's medieval transmissions and are therefore likely to be established components of the melody of *Worldes blis*.

Figure 12: *Worldes blis*, experimental re-introduction of structural floridity
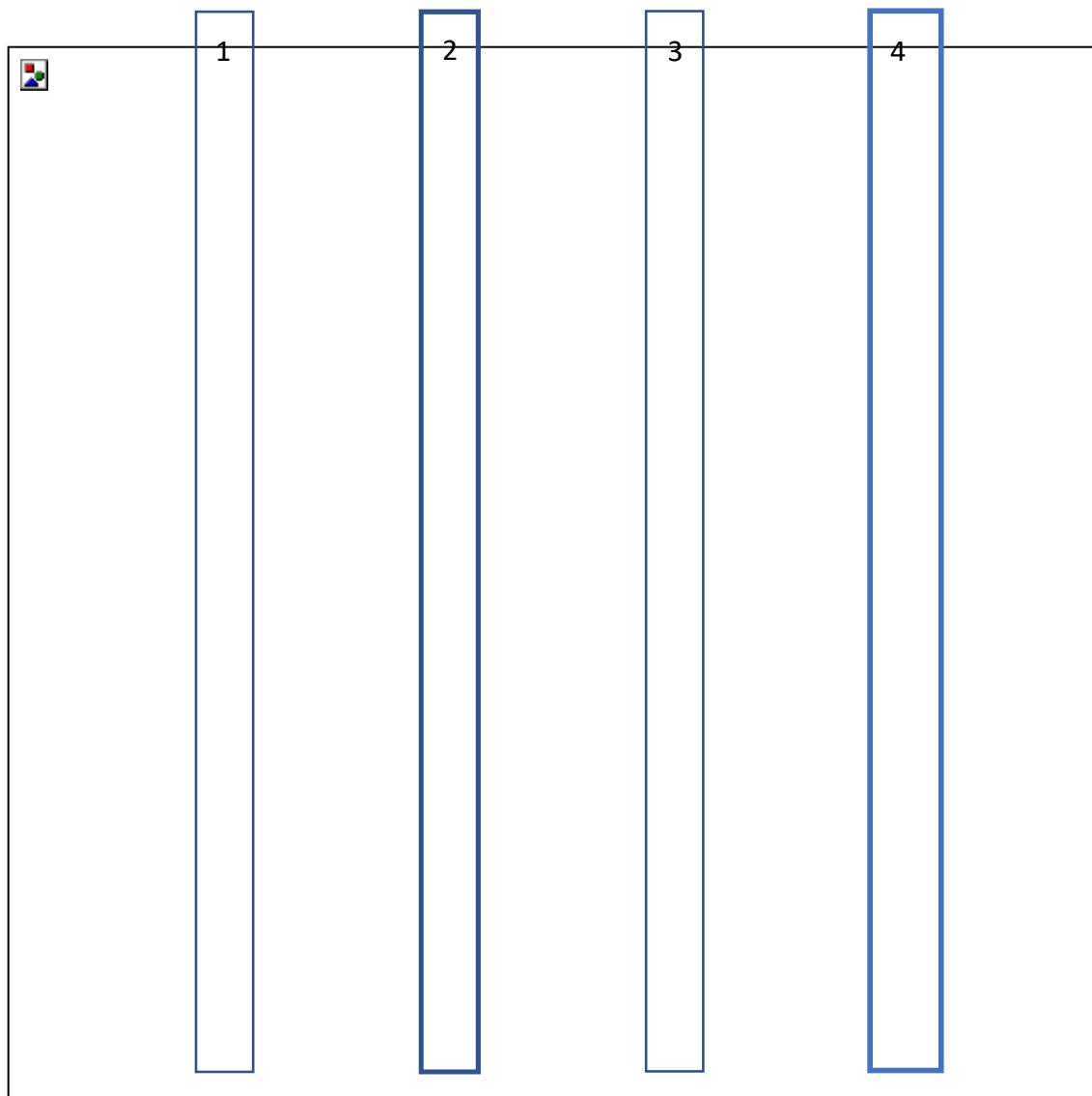
In both layouts, it is visually clear that structural floridity falls primarily on unstressed syllables, and on the final two syllables of the poetic line (in particular, the penultimate syllable). This is not apparent in standardised medieval or modern song layouts. Most importantly, the layout of both transcriptions has been vertically aligned, dictated by the regular occurrence of four stressed poetic syllables per line: columns 1, 2, 3, and 4 allow for easy visual navigation of the melody while actively considering poetic stress. Pitches within these numbered columns are assignable to the respectively occurring stressed syllables of each poetic line, in any strophe of the song. Pitches which fall outside of these columns are to be distributed among relevant unstressed text syllables, and are more likely to be adaptable in terms of pitch count and structural floridity. Familiarity with the melodic differences between figures 11 and 12 is beneficial for a practical understanding of how the melody is conceptually structured and embellished (which, at the time of composition, were not necessarily separate processes). The two reduced melodic layouts are

not intended as options for performance necessarily, although either can be used as a basis for stylistic elaboration.

When such a layout is used in conjunction with a stress-based presentation of the lyric, as presented in figure 13 (in which stressed syllables are highlighted in bold type), the appropriate alignment of melodic to textual stress is repeatedly visually anchored. This allows the singer to orientate themselves more easily while learning to apply changes to structural and additive floridity in different strophes of text. The text of figure 13 is from the Arundel 248 transmission of the lyric, although any of its three lyric transmissions could be applied to the stress-based presentations of the song melody in figures 11 and 12.

Figure 13: Example of stress-based lyric presentation, strophe 1 of *Worldes blis*

Worldës **blis** ne **last** no **thro**wë

it **went** and **wit** a**wey** a**non**

þe **lan**ger **þat** ics **it** [i]**kno**w ë

þe **lass***e* ics **fin**dë **pris** þa**ron**

for **al** it **is** i**meind** mid **ca**rë

with **ser**wen **and** mid i**vel** **fa**rë

and **at**të **las**të **povr***e* and **ba**rë

it **lat** man **wan** it **ginth** a**gon**

al þe **blis** þis **her** and **þa**rë

bi**locth** at **en**dë **wep** and **mon**

The final necessary tool for this practical methodology is a guide to appropriate floridity, based on its apparent rôles in the analyses of the Middle English songs. Although the identification and interpretation of ornamentation is a complicated topic, I have attempted to compress the most basic principles for singers wishing to explore improvised floridity in this repertoire (Appendix B). This is intended as a starting point. Once familiarised with a small number of common uses for floridity, the singer can apply both structural and additive ornamentation to the extent of their choosing, with the visual aid of the stress-based layout of the

core melody (as in figure 11 or 12). Without suggestions for ornamentation having been transcribed directly onto the written melody, the singer is free to adapt their interpretation of the text strophe by strophe if desired.

A more standardised style of presentation, in which songs are written out in full and text and melody are at least partially aligned, is no doubt more efficient for the purpose of reading the song through. This is not least due to its idiomatic feel to those of us with a Western classical music training, in which all of the information required for performance is usually presented in the same field of view. However, the method suggested above (or similar) is arguably a more worthy investment for those passionate about understanding the style of composition and improvisation behind the repertoire, and it might be suitable for practical courses of study which have a focus on the historical performance of medieval music. It allows the student and teacher to peer through the looking glass into some of the likely flexibilities of oral tradition, without the necessity or impracticality of abandoning written practice entirely. This way, the song *Worldes blis* can be learned, as opposed to two snapshots of its identity which survive in writing.

6.3   Compositional practice in 'English-texted' style

The analytical results of the English-texted songs suggest that there were certain standards for the setting of Middle English texts in various melodic styles, whether adopted through conscious decision or habit. The English-conceived 'disjunct' melodies (*Mirie it is*, and the upper-written voice of *Edi beo þu*) exhibit fewer concretely definable characteristics than the 'conjunct' melodies (*Worldes blis*, *Þe milde Lomb*, the upper-written voice of *Foweles in þe frith*, and the lower-written voice of *Jesu cristes milde moder*). The latter group is relatively consistent in its treatment of stressed and unstressed syllables, and has also been shown to share more general melodic characteristics. By combining the data of the text-based analysis with the broader elements of melodic shape shared by these songs, it should be possible to artificially construct a new melody which in theory adheres to the thirteenth-century standards of Middle English text setting, and is stylistically compatible with the surviving melodies. Of course, the original creative process of these songs was likely much more organic, and the contour of a melody would have developed through a combination of influences such as oral tradition, improvisation, and immersion in the lyric language—not through the active consideration of numerical data. Modern musicians do not have the luxury of learning this melodic style through osmosis, nor do many original melodies survive for study and performance. What does survive, however, is a significant number of contemporaneous lyrics which are structurally, functionally, and thematically compatible with the surviving English-texted songs; and based on analysis, a formula for providing these lyrics with a similarly compatible melody can be suggested.

The setting of Middle English lyrics to newly composed music is an established method of dealing with the disparity between surviving lyrics and surviving music.[7] Although there is no substitute for original material, the following guidelines to composition can assist modern musicians in their understanding and composition of English-texted song, and might allow concert and academic programmes to focus exclusively on high-medieval insular song, without the need to add material from later centuries.[8] The following guide to composition focusses on the melodic style for which structural information is the most readily available – the 'conjunct' English-texted melodies.

6.3.1 The modern imitation of medieval practice

The modern creation of a stylistically consistent 'conjunct' English-texted melody is unfortunately not as simple a process as using numerical averages from analysis to dictate melodic contour and the placement of ligatures and ornamentation. Although the English-texted songs undeniably share many features, they also exhibit the same level of melodic variety to be expected in any genre of music; and where this repertoire is concerned, distinct approaches to written transmission only serve to exaggerate apparent differences in melodic character. One song may be florid and melismatic, while another is primarily syllabic; one may embellish stressed syllables through ligatures, another through additive ornamentation; one may create internal melodic contrast through the expansion of its high range, while another ventures to its low range at the same relative point in the melody. The calculation of numerical averages from analytical data is therefore only useful in cases for which the 'mean' average of a category is also its 'mode'. In other words, if two songs share a result of 0% in a given analytical category, and another two songs share a result of 100% within the same analytical category, then the creation a new melody based on an average of 50% is unlikely to be a plausible stylistic imitation of any of the four songs

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[7] Middle English lyrics surviving without musical notation, particularly those from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have been the subject of numerous modern musical projects. Although many such projects make no attempt to official align themselves with HIP (such as the settings by Benjamin Britten, or those of medieval-pop groups such as the *Mediæval Bæbes*), others are clearly highly influenced by an earnest wish to imitate, or at least strongly incorporate, elements of 'medieval' melodic style. Examples range from funded academic projects such as the AHRC- and BIRTHA-funded recording *Performing Middle English Romance*, directed by Ad Putter, to the medieval-folk inspired disc *World's Bliss*, a creative collaboration between John Fleagle and Shira Kammen. The frequent inclusion of Fleagle's compositions in programmes of Middle English song is not only due to their quality; it is testament to the fact that modern performers continually struggle with the lack of original melodic material surviving. Ad Putter, *Performing Middle English Romance* (Provo, Utah: Chaucer Studio, 2015); John Fleagle and Shira Kammen, *World's Bliss: Medieval Songs of Love and Death* (USA: Archetype Records, 2000).

[8] The surviving thirteenth-century repertoire of Middle English song is often considered too limited to form the sole focus of a concert, or of an academic class. The result is that the repertoire is frequently mixed with other English-texted material – both medieval and modern – in order to fill a concert programme, CD recording, or music theory lesson.

considered. In this instance, it would be more astute to accept that different approaches to that particular category may have been acceptable, and to choose which melodic style to imitate—either that which produced a result of 0%, or of 100%.

The presence of variety does not mean that the songs do not provide a basic model for imitation, however. The primary structural elements of melodic foundation are the same for all songs, and even the melodic features which exhibit some variety across the repertoire generally only allow us a choice between two options—both of which are acceptable, and allow for some level of creativity in the process. It is therefore recommended that melodic structure is imitated in three stages: firstly, an initially simple foundation melody should be composed according to the least flexible, underlying patterns found in all of the songs. Secondly, appropriate proportions of ligatures should be added, primarily on unstressed syllables. Finally, the stressed syllables of the lyric may be further embellished with appropriate additive ornamentation and select ornamental ligatures. This process should result in a melody which is stylistically compatible with the existing repertoire, whilst allowing space for individual melodic characteristics.

In order to demonstrate this process, I have set a version of the lyric *Wenne hic soe on rode idon*, which will feature at the close of this chapter. This is one of the most widely transmitted lyrics found in homiletic miscellanies which does not have its own surviving musical setting, but which was earlier presented as potentially connected to *Þe milde Lomb*. The version of the lyric to be set is that preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 57, beginning *Vyen i on þe rode se*. This transmission has been selected for two reasons: firstly, it is one of the least ambiguous in terms of the distribution of text stress. Secondly, this version is comprised of two short strophes as opposed to one; although it is not in sequence form, the resulting repetition of the short melody twice in succession will at least create something of the effect of paired structure associated with musical settings of Passion lyrics.

6.3.2   Foundation melody

Although arguably one of the more creative aspects in this method of composition, the structuring of a foundation melody is not a free artistic process. The model songs remain within relatively tight boundaries in terms of melodic range, cadential approach, and the interaction of contrasting melodic material. What follows is a summary of features shared by the model songs, and particularly those which are stanzaic in structure. *Jesu cristes milde moder* is a long sequence, and although it also shares many such features, the other three conjunct English-texted songs are a better representation of how a stanza may be structured. Features which are not exclusive to the conjunct songs, but are relatively consistent across the repertoire, will be indicated where relevant.

Chapter 6

Finalis and range

All songs have an *f* or *g* finalis, and are plagal in range; meaning that the melodic range wanders no further than a fourth below the finalis, and no further than a fifth above the finalis.[9] This results in the majority of melodic phrases remaining 'centred' around the finalis; melodic lines will frequently begin and end on this note, and may pass over it again multiple times over the course of the phrase. Regardless of whether the finalis is *f* or *g*, the most commonly explored range within a single phrase is the sixth between *d* and the *b*-flat above it.[10]

Cadence and cadential approach

Cadences are usually on *f* or *g*, and the most frequent cadence is to whichever of those pitches is the finalis. The alternation between cadences on the finalis and a neighbouring pitch can be used to create melodic phrases with 'open' and 'closed' endings. Somewhere between the centre point and close of a song, a change in cadential patterns may be featured, such as the diversion to a new cadential pitch (*Worldes blis* and *Þe milde Lomb*), or a change to expected alternations between the finalis and its neighbouring note (*Foweles in þe frith*). This frequently occurs at the 3/4 or 4/5 point of the melody. The simplest example of this is *Þe milde Lomb*: it has four poetic lines and an *f* finalis, and its cadential pattern is *f-g-c-f*.[11] Cadential approach is stepwise in all songs, but mixed in melodic direction: the penultima may be above or below the final pitch of a phrase. Some strophic-style songs appear to pattern cadential approach; for example, in *Þe milde Lomb*, ascents and descents to the cadence note alternate with each line.

Cadence and cadential approach prove to be simple, but organised aspects of the melodic structure of these songs. Overarching cadential patterns are consistent but allow for variety. This is one area in which choice, rather than numerical average, would play a rôle in the modern compositional process.

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[9] In the melodies being used as a model, there is no exception to this; all remain within expected plagal range. The secondary voice of *Foweles in þe frith* extends its upper range to a high *d*, which is one note above the expected limit. The secondary voices of both this song and *Jesu cristes milde moder* are generally more disjunct and less consistent than their foundation melodies.

[10] This main range will often be shifted at the point of a song where contrasting melodic material is introduced in the latter half of the song—this will be clarified in further detail presently.

[11] The sequence form of *Jesu cristes milde moder* does not lend itself to the same structural breakdown, but it is also relatively consistent in cadential approach. All verses cadence on the finalis (*g*), but within the three text lines of each verse, cadences may also stray to *d*, *f*, or *a*. Cadential approach is mixed, and can come from above or below the final pitch.

Conjunct motion

Melodic movement is almost exclusively stepwise, and most commonly wanders no further than a fourth in one direction before turning back again. Occasionally the melody may extend further in one direction, but this is either reserved as a purposeful effect, or caused by melismatic or ornamental melodic movement.[12] Therefore, in the modern construction of the initial foundation melody, movement of up to a fourth in one direction is recommended within each individual phrase; and the occasional expansion of this range can be added through ligatures or ornamentation at a later stage.

Disjunct motion

Melodic leaps are relatively rare, and where they do occur, they are narrow in range.[13] Leaps of a third may be used, but are more prevalent between than within poetic lines. When within a poetic line, as is a feature in *Worldes blis* and *Jesu cristes milde moder*, a leap of a third often comes after a three-note descending gesture (such as a climacus, or various other notational forms which represent the same descending movement).[14] In these cases, the following upward leap of a third is arguably caused by the 'florid' movement on the previous syllable: were the ligature in question to have been only a clivis or a single pitch, the leap would not have occurred. Therefore, when constructing a modern foundation melody in its simplest form, it is recommended to initially restrict such leaps to between, not within, poetic phrases; if desired, they may be featured in the second stage of composition, on the addition of further ligatures.

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[12] *Þe milde Lomb*, one of the more florid songs, extends this once to a fifth (line 2), and once to a sixth at its point of highest melodic contrast three quarters through the melody (line 3). The Arundel 248 version of *Worldes blis* demonstrates extension to the fifth caused by a liquescence (line 4). *Jesu cristes milde moder* works in much the same way as the other songs; the occasional wandering to a fifth or sixth is present, but not common.

[13] In the conjunct two-voice songs, this observation concerns the foundation melody only. The secondary voice of each song, by necessity, contains more numerous and wider melodic leaps in order to maintain a good level of voice-exchange and contrary-motion. For example, in *Jesu cristes milde moder*, a descending leap from *b*-flat to *f* is occasionally necessary in order to maintain a third-based, voice-crossing polyphonic style as the primary voice moves upward from *g* to *a*.
In *Foweles in þe frith*, the secondary voice (the lower-written voice) is significantly more disjunct than the foundation melody (the upper-written voice), but the latter also includes one leap of more than a third: the descending leap of a fourth between poetic lines 3 and 4 marks the moment of melodic contrast in this short song.

[14] It is interesting that in the Arundel 248 transmissions of these songs, a descending three-note gesture can be notated in different ways. In *Worldes blis*, three descending notes on one text syllable are notated as an English conjunctura, an 'extended clivis' (a clivis form with three descending oblique noteheads, rather than the usual two), and a clivis plus liquescence. In *Jesu cristes milde moder*, the same gesture is notated as an English conjunctura or climacus. In contrast, in the Rawlinson G.18 transmission of *Worldes blis*, only the English conjunctura is employed. The term 'extended clivis' is used by Deeming to describe this instance in the Arundel 248 version of *Worldes blis*. See her supplementary notes for this song on the DIAMM resources webpage.

Chapter 6

Overarching melodic structure

In each song, melodic material can be broadly divided into two characters. The first few phrases of the melody establish the range and melodic gestures which will comprise the bulk of melodic material; this can be labelled 'A' material. At some point, usually in the second half of the song, contrasting melodic material is introduced: 'B' material. Each of the model lyrics differs in length, and the moment at which the B material is introduced varies accordingly. What remains fairly consistent, however, is the process of alternation between A and B. Only once the A material has been established, and *repeated*, will the B material be introduced; but before the stanza reaches its close, a transition from B back to A will be featured, and the melody will end with a re-establishment of the A material. In its simplest form, in a four-line song such as *Þe milde Lomb*, this creates an AABA melodic form: in this song, poetic line 1 establishes a winding melodic gesture which ascends and then descends, stepwise (A). This gesture is re-established at a different pitch in poetic line 2 (A'). Line 3 avoids this opening gesture, and instead descends to the lowest range of the melody (B). Finally, line 4 returns to the same gesture used in the first two lines, but once again at a different pitch (A'').

The extent to which the alternation and interaction of melodic material is organised varies greatly between these songs, and for the purposes of composition, this is another case in which personal choice is recommended over adherence to a numerical average. On one end of the spectrum is *Foweles in þe frith*, the melody of which is so short, narrow-ranged and florid that it is hard to identify much in the way of clear melodic 'cells' or repeated gestures. Its 'B' material - the material through which it achieves the seemingly desirable moment of melodic contrast - is merely a drop to a lower melodic range in line 4/5, rather than a melodic gesture as such.[15] On the other end of the spectrum of melodic organisation is *Worldes blis*. This song not only contains identifiable, repeating melodic gestures in both its A and B material; it also develops each in a structured way within the melody, it allows for the interaction of A and B material within the same melodic line, and it even matches melodic change to the rhyme scheme of the lyric. In figure 14, numbered A and B material reflects a change in pitch.

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[15] The sequence *Jesu cristes milde moder* exhibits less alternation of contrasting melodic material, and its melodic gestures remain fairly similar throughout. However, like *Foweles in þe frith*, it still subtly develops melodic material between the middle and end of the song through a slight change in melodic range. In verse 6 of 11, the range of the foundation melody increases to ascend to *c* for the first time, rather than *b*-flat; and in verse 9 of 11, the range both reaches its peak (high *d*) and the entire *d-d* octave is featured. This verse serves as a melodic climax, after which the vocal range narrows to bring the song to a close with more familiar melodic gestures: verses 10 and 11 remain within the compass of a fifth, and do not flaunt either extremity of the *d-d* octave range.

Figure 14: Melodic structure and interaction, *Worldes blis*

Poetic line	Rhyme	Melodic material
1	a	A
2	b	A
3	a	A1
4	b	A
5	c	B
6	c	B1
7	c	B2(-A)
8	b	A
9	c	B
10	b	A

The interaction of the A and B material, and its alignment with the textual structure of the lyric, appear to have been planned. The first four lines of the melody even exhibit their own small-scale development: the main melodic material is established (line 1) and re-established (line 2) before a contrast is introduced (line 3). The section then closes with a return to the original melodic material (line 4). This pattern mirrors the larger-scale introductions of contrasting A and B material found in all songs. Lines 5, 6, and 7 develop the B material in a similarly well-structured fashion: these lines are a sequence of descending repeats of one another.

The level of intricacy in the structure of this song is most apparent in lines 7 and 8, and is best demonstrated by a visualisation of the melody and its overlapping A and B material at this point (figure 15):

Figure 15: Interaction of A and B melodic material in *Worldes blis*, Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Rawlinson MS G.18

Line 7 appears to consist of the expected B material, in keeping with its associated rhyme, *c*.
However, only on hearing the following line of text and melody (line 8) does it come to light that
the end of line 7 was in fact and anticipation of, and transition to, the return of the A melodic
material and its associated rhymes: the final four notes of line 7 are compatible with both A and B
material, and provide a purposeful overlap between the two. Confirmation that this structural
melodic detail is no accident is provided in the continuation of the melody in line 8. Rather than

re-introducing the A melodic material in full, line 8 is a *continuation* of the unfinished A material of line 7: the end of line 7 provides the opening descending four-note gesture of A (the gesture with which the song begins), and the beginning of line 8 continues from the upward leap of a third which invariably follows.

The structural features of most of the conjunct English-texted songs do not demand such focussed attention, and a general overview is sufficient. The level of detail apparent in the melodic structure of *Worldes blis* is deserving of special mention, however. This song demonstrates that although these melodies may appear somewhat limited in melodic range and movement – even repetitive – their creation was an artistic process which lends them individual character.

6.4 *Vyen i on þe rode se*: Example composition

The following setting of *Vyen i on þe rode se* was composed based on the general melodic criteria outlined above, and borrows melodic gestures reminiscent of those in *Worldes blis*, *Þe milde Lomb*, *Jesu cristes milde moder*, and *Foweles in þe frith*. A syllabic foundation melody was composed first, in order to allow for the retrospective addition of appropriate proportions of stressed ascent and unstressed descent. Melodic structure is based on the following distribution of stress in the first stanza of text, in which both tetrameter and trimeter are employed:

Vyen i **on** þe **ro**dë **se**

fastë **nail**ëd **to** þe **tre**

Iesu **mi** lef**man**

I**bun**den **bloc** an **blo**-**di**

an hys **mo**der **stant** him **bi**

wepand*e* **an** Io**han**[16]

Once a foundation melody was established, ligatures of varying length were added to unstressed syllables. According to the analytical data, two-note ligatures were prioritised, followed by three-note ligatures. Longer ligatures were reserved for effect. As a demonstration of the potential for variety in this process, three alternate settings of the first line of the lyric are presented below in

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[16] The stress of lines 3, 'lefman', and 4, 'blodi', although seemingly unnatural, is apparent from the context of the rhymes of these words in lines 5 and 6, and from the less ambiguous stress structure of the second stanza.

figure 16. The first option represents the foundation melody; the second includes some unstressed two-note ligatures; and the third is florid, employing a variety of unstressed ligatures.

Figure 16: *Vyen i on þe rode se*, potential developments of floridity
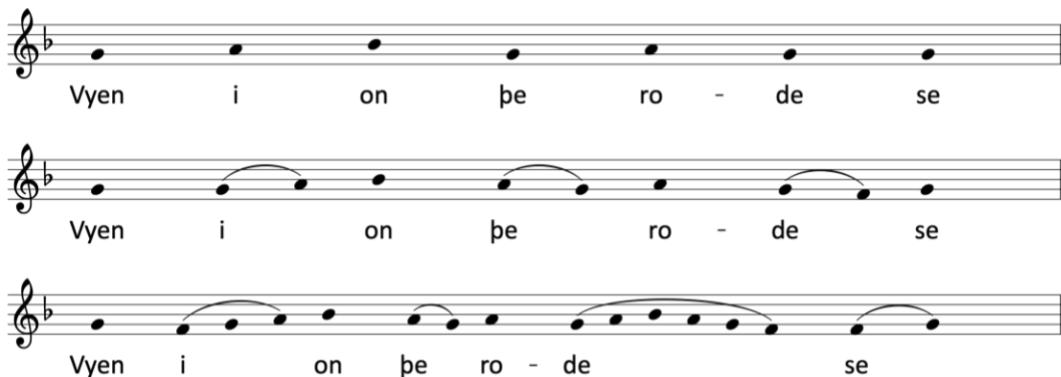
Once ligatures had been distributed, the final stage was to embellish stressed syllables through additive notational forms and a limited number of ligatures. The additive ornamentation in particular could feasibly be altered by the performer in either strophe of text. For this reason, the second text has not been directly underlaid, but left to the discretion of the performer, as is also common practice in the manuscript presentation of stanzaic songs.

The final result overleaf (figure 17) imitates the conjunct motion, the stress-based text setting, and aspects of the melodic-structural interaction observable in the model repertoire. Although this melody was composed monophonically, its conformation to Middle English compositional standards renders it suited to the addition of a secondary voice in third-based contrary motion, in the style of the polyphonically preserved songs.

Figure 17: *Vyen i on þe rode se*: Example composition in conjunct, stress-based style
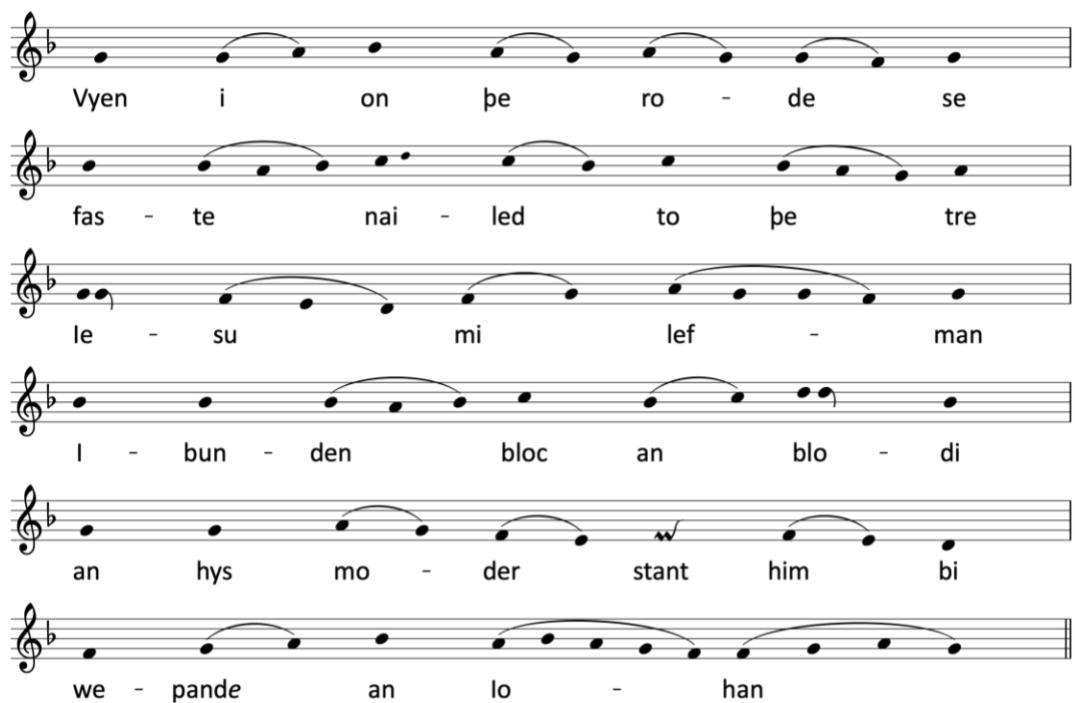
Hys **bac** wid **scuurg***e* is**wun**gen

hys **si**dë **dep***e* is**tun**gen

for **sinn***e* an **low***e* of **man**

Weil **au**ti **sin**në **le**të

An **neb** wit **te**rës **wet**të

ʒif **I** of **lo**wë **kan**[17]

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[17] Text from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 57, f. 102v. Edited in Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, 63.

Conclusion

When embarking on this project, I hoped only to find evidence of the independence in the English-texted repertoire that I had always felt while singing it. The inclusion of insular Anglo-Norman song in my analyses was initially for the purpose of comparison, and for the ultimate benefit of the Middle English songs. If I were to find that the Middle English songs were structured differently from those in Anglo-Norman, this would be evidence of their suspected stylistic independence from more stereotypically 'Continental' styles of vernacular song (which, at that point, I assumed the *trouvère*-like Anglo-Norman songs to be). I would therefore be able to suggest that the label 'insular vernacular song', although masquerading as something quite specific, was too broad to do justice to the character of the Middle English songs.

Indeed, the features of Middle English text-setting style to have emerged through analysis do allow the English-texted songs renewed independence from both the Latin and vernacular repertories to which they are so often compared: melodies for Middle English texts follow relatively consistent stress-based criteria which create melodic contours and polyphonic interactions distinct from those of contemporaneous insular Latin and *trouvère*-style songs.

My hopes have been surpassed however, in that several further layers of stylistic, social, and functional divergence have been hinted at in the insular song repertories. The Anglo-Norman repertoire which I had expected to serve as a control group of sorts displayed its own complexities worth further exploration: although the textual independence of Anglo-Norman from Continental French *trouvère* poetry is already known, the seemingly stronger stress-based structure of insular Anglo-Norman songs suggests that this repertoire may be more *musically* independent from Continental *trouvère* song than currently presumed. Even within the Middle English repertoire itself, an unexpected variety of melodic and poetic styles became evident. Middle English song hosts several musical sub-genres, despite its limited survival. Melodic style subtly but consciously varies according to whether the surviving transmission was conceived solely in Middle English, as a dual-language song, or as a contrafact. Poetic style and presentation, too, appear to be affected by social status and potential lyric usage: language, theme, transmission path, and the presence or absence of musical notation are clues as to the likely audience and function of a lyric. In short, the small amount of material surviving from thirteenth-century Britain hints at a rich and multifaceted song culture, the melodic 'languages' of which are as stylised and independent as the lyric traditions to which they are bound.

There now exists enough evidence to begin to reshape modern discourse on thirteenth-century Middle English song. Those with an interest in the repertoire are no longer restricted to

its consideration alongside song genres of any other time, place, or language, unless desired. This reduces the need for catch-all terms of categorisation, which may be only a loose or partial fit: insular song, Middle English song, sacred versus secular, and monophonic versus polyphonic. A thirteenth-century Middle English song may feature elements of all of the above characteristics, and thus although each of these terms remains relevant to the repertoire, they cannot define it, and should no longer be used to do so.

Rather, Middle English song of the thirteenth century can from this point forward be discussed, recorded, and programmed for the standalone genre of medieval song that it is. In both writing and performance, there now exists the opportunity to distinguish English-texted polyphonically preserved song from Latin-texted polyphonically conceived song; to distinguish English-texted monophonically preserved song from French-texted monophonically preserved song; and to highlight the features of English-texted compositional style and song function as the focal point of a concert or academic contribution in its own right. My hope is that this will lead to an increase in publications and performances in which the surviving thirteenth-century English-texted songs are treated as one, homogeneous group, rather than separated from one another to act as peripheral entries in presentations of other linguistic traditions.

A more homogenised approach to performance, research, and concert and curriculum programming related to thirteenth-century Middle English song can be undertaken with relatively immediate effect. But perhaps more impactful on the future of medieval song research and performance are the questions here unearthed but left unanswered. The results of this small analytical study imply that there may be more to uncover of other medieval song repertories which have not yet undergone a similar syllabic-melodic analysis. In both vernacular languages analysed, the song lyric is seen to influence the melody on the syllabic level, and not solely on a broader structural level. Not only that, but the two languages also appear to respond to the influence of syllabic stress in different ways to one another. Both realisations are of interest for future study: firstly, if similar text-based analyses were run on both Germanic and Romance unmeasured song repertories – such as *Minnesang* and *trouvère* song – syllable stress may be seen to hold more power over melodic contour than previously considered, even in the Romance lyric languages. Secondly, if further medieval song genres were seen to react to syllable stress in seemingly individual ways, as Middle English and Anglo-Norman song appear to do, we might be encouraged to rethink the frequent categorisation of larger Continental repertories as all-inclusive 'vernacular monophony'. If a future syllabic-melodic analysis of surviving *Minnesang*, *trouvère*, and *troubadour* song were also to uncover the definable independent melodic features of each repertoire, this would likely fine-tune our modern performance approaches. For example, an instrumentalist tasked with creating an accompaniment for an unmeasured medieval song would be able to consider the level of influence syllabic stress holds on the contour and ornamentation

of the vocal melody; and this would, I suspect, be markedly different for a song in Middle High German than for a song in French or Italian. Currently, such considerations may be felt intuitively by those who are familiar with a particular repertory and its language, but they are not taught or discussed as standard in modern historical performance practice. With a greater consideration of the marriage of word to melody, rather than a primary focus on one or the other, future courses of study and published performance guides may gradually discard titles such as 'vernacular monophony', 'sacred polyphony', 'insular' and 'Continental', in favour of tailored advice for singers and instrumentalists approaching each linguistic tradition. The actual depth of stylistic variety within each song language is likely to remain beyond our comprehension, but a more focussed approach to the performance practices of vernacular song repertories would lead to more definitive recognition of their individual melodic characters. For Middle English song of the thirteenth century at least, a small step in this direction can now be taken.

Appendix A   Middle English sounds and symbols

Middle English was the dominant form of the English language in the period ranging from the mid-twelfth to the mid-fifteenth centuries. It was preceded by Old English, and followed by Early Modern English; however, it is not possible to mark a singular point in time at which one variant of the language transitioned into another. Allowing for a transition period of around a half-century on either side of this time period, the most stable forms of Middle English were those in use between 1200-1400.

This period can be further divided into early Middle English, that spoken before 1300, and later Middle English, that after 1300. The thirteenth-century Middle English songs relevant to this study are therefore considered to be early Middle English, with the influence of Old English at times remaining apparent.

It is not possible to present a conclusive reading and pronunciation guide for Middle English, nor am I an expert in the topic, although an understanding of the basics has been necessary in my years of performance work. The spelling and pronunciation of early Middle English in particular is highly changeable, and heavily influenced by geographical location; yet even within a single dialect, different aural and written interpretations of words are evident in surviving texts. There are several published studies on the varied pronunciations of Middle English, which although a wonderful resource, provide a greater amount of detail than a modern performer of medieval music is generally expected to know. Additionally, the majority of the content in such guides usually stems from the later Middle English period, when the language was both more stable and more extensively documented. For the thirteenth-century songs in this study, certain characters and character combinations are still undergoing change from earlier periods; a standardised guide on Middle English pronunciation may therefore be misleading at times, assuming it is based on the standards of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Singers wishing to explore Middle English song in general should first consult David Klausner's guide to its pronunciation in the book *Singing Early Music*. This book was compiled with the needs of Early Music performers in mind, and Klausner's contribution provides the ground rules for the pronunciation of Middle English vowels, consonants, diphthongs, and special characters throughout its dominant period. For most singers of standardised Middle English, this is all that is needed. It is of especial benefit that two of the more archaically written thirteenth-century songs, *Mirie it is* and *Edi beo þu*, are written out phonetically as example texts. In my experience teaching and performing this repertoire, these two songs are among the most inconsistent in terms of their pronunciation by modern performers. In the 1979 performers'

edition of the songs, a more detailed breakdown of changes over the course of the thirteenth century is provided by Dobson, with some word examples pulled from the song lyrics.[1] This is the most comprehensive guide for a singer with a specific interest in the thirteenth-century Middle English songs.

For those without immediate access to either publication, but who wish to have a basic idea of the pronunciation of the texts for reading this study, some very general outlines will be provided here. I will also highlight a few notable features specific to the thirteenth-century songs which may be of use to performers. If in doubt, it might help to remember that Middle English was a highly phonetic language; regardless of dialect, it was generally written as it was intended to be sounded out, and this is a feature which did not much change from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. With this in mind, perhaps the most practical advice for a newcomer to Middle English is to simply 'sing what you see'.

Vowels

In general, each written vowel should be sounded out phonetically, whether occurring alone or in combination with other vowels to create a diphthong. The following examples pull in part from Dobson's more extensive guide and consider early Middle English pronunciation.

a   short: [a] as in British 'hat';

   long: [a] as in British 'father'

e   short stressed: [ɛ] as in British 'bed'; short unstressed: [ə] as in the 'schwa' of the second syllables of British 'heaven', 'London', etc.

   long: [ɛ:] as in French 'père', Italian open *e*

ee   [e:] as in German 'See', Italian closed *e*

i/y   short: [ɪ] as in British 'hit'; long [i:] as in British 'flee'

o   short: [ɔ] as in British 'god', German 'Gott';

   long open (also written **oo**): [ɔ:] as in *au* of British 'applaud'

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[1] Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 317–19.

u   short: [ʊ] as in British 'push'

long: [u:] as in British 'boot', German 'Kuh'[2]

Diphthongs

Constructions with more than one consecutive vowel are likely to require the pronunciation of both vowels independently. A list of regularly occurring diphthongs and their nuanced pronunciation is outlined in Dobson, but for basic reading and singing purposes, it is in most cases simplest to imagine the juxtaposition of both short vowel forms to create a diphthong. For example, the *ai* of the Middle English word 'maiden' becomes [ai]. One notable exception relevant to the thirteenth-century song repertoire is the archaic construction *eo*, the second letter of which is in certain circumstances a remnant of Old English and need not be pronounced. This occurs several times in the song *Edi beo þu* (including its incipit, in the word *beo*). In these instances, only the *e* needs to be sounded.

Consonants

Most consonants can be approached as in modern English, and juxtaposed consonants should generally each be sounded, as is the case with vowels (e.g. the *kn* of the Middle English word *knight* requires the sounding of both initial consonants, unlike in modern English). Some additional knowledge of special characters and exceptions is helpful for the reading of the early lyric repertory.

ð (eth) and þ (thorn)

These symbols are both forms of the modern *th*. The voiced (IPA [ð]) or unvoiced (IPA [θ]) pronunciation of the characters is somewhat dependent on consonant position, word structure, and word stress. However, the eth is more prone to voiced pronunciation (as in British 'this', and the thorn to unvoiced pronunciation (as in British 'think'). When in doubt, modern English often serves as a guideline.

One point of interest for the thirteenth-century songs in particular is the occasional writing of the eth as a *d*, which is apparent through its lack of curved tail. This mix-up can occur when the scribe

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[2] Dobson notes one exception in the lyric repertoire: the 'u' of 'murye' in *Sumer is icumen in* can be pronounced as in the French 'durer'.

of a Middle English song was more used to writing in French, and thus perhaps unfamiliar with the English character. For example, in the song *Ar ne kuthe*, the scribe (who was likely more used to writing in Anglo-Norman) has not distinguished the forms of eth and *d* in his writing of 'sod god sod man'. This can be read as 'soð god soð man', calling for the equivalent of the modern English *th*, rather than *d*. If copying from another source, a French-speaking scribe may not have been aware of the written distinction, even if he was competent in speaking Middle English.

ʒ (yogh) and *gh*

The combination *gh* in Middle English is related to the character yogh, hence its addition to this note. All forms of the yogh in Middle English stem from the Old English *g*. Uses of the character, and of *gh*, subsequently diverged from one another to result in the many distinct *gh* sounds heard in modern English: 'through', 'cough', 'night', 'enough', and so forth.

One common option for the pronunciation of the yogh and the *gh* combination in Middle English are similar to the *ch* of German 'ich', Scots 'loch'. This sound may also be written as *ch* in Middle English. This sound is applicable to the Middle English word 'night', for example.

Another possible pronunciation is that which Dobson describes as similar to the Dutch *g* in 'geen' and 'goed'. This is applicable to the Middle English word 'asteʒe', for example.

For modern singers of the thirteenth-century repertoire, the songs *Edi beo þu* and *Mirie it is* are again of the greatest relevance. However, the phonetic reading of each of these songs provided by Klausner requires an additional note. In his text edition of *Edi beo þu*, Klausner chooses to replace the *y*-sounding forms of the yogh with the letter *y* (e.g. the original spelling 'asteʒe' is edited to 'asteye'). This is helpful as a practical guide to pronunciation, but the performer should be aware of the relationship of the sounding consonant to its original character.

In *Mirie it is*, there are two occurances of the consonant combination *gh* which are frequently interpreted in different ways in modern performance: the words 'fugheles' (fowl, or wild birds of any kind) and 'soregh' (to feel sorrow). Klausner has interpreted these *gh* combinations as [x], but noted that the *gh* of the latter word may in fact be silent.[3] In performance, I have most frequently heard 'fugheles' pronounced with a hard *g* (appropriately associating the word to the modern German 'Vogel'), and 'soregh' with a [w], as in the *w* of the modern English equivalent of the word. What I have gleaned from conversations with my linguistic supervisor is that, by the time

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[3] David Klausner, 'English', in *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Timothy McGee (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 31.

this song was penned in the thirteenth century, the forms of *gh* which would eventually become [w] in modern English (as in the final *gh* of 'through') were already undergoing their transition. Therefore, it may be more appropriate, or at least a further option, to treat both occurances of *gh* in *Mirie it is* as a [w]. This would align the word *fugheles* more closely with the English 'fowl' than with the German 'Vogel'.

ƿ (wynn)

An Old English character, not frequently used in Middle English but occasionally found in earlier texts. This is one equivalent to the modern *w*, and can be pronounced [w] as in British 'woman'. Easily visually confused with the thorn in some hands, in which cases modern English can serve as a guide for whether a *th* or *w* sound is likely intended.

Appendix B   Floridity in thirteenth-century Middle English song: Basic principles for the modern singer

In order to begin practicing stylistic improvisation and ornamentation in Middle English song from the thirteenth century, only a few basic principles and tools must be learned. These can subsequently be used to adapt the floridity of multi-strophe Middle English songs in a stylistically sensitive manner, and to experimentally alter the floridity of those strophes or songs which survive with melody overlay, if desired.

Basic floridity can be divided into two categories, both of which are dependent on the stress-based nature of the Middle English lyric. 'Structural' ornamentation is floridity which is written out in the form of ligatures, and is visually indistinguishable from the hypothetical foundation melody of a song. 'Additive' ornamentation is floridity which is notated with more stereotypical ornamental forms, and which is easily visually distinguishable from the host neumes to which it is attached.

Each genre of floridity can be broadly divided into two further categories. The modern singer therefore needs a toolbox comprised of only four basic methods of ornamentation in order to gain stylistic familiarity with the repertoire. These are:

Pitch repetition

Pitch extension

Single-pitch embellishment

Multi-pitch embellishment

This guide is heavily simplified, and only draws its examples from a single song, *Worldes blis* (images are taken from the Arundel 248 transmission). However, if these four basic principles are first comprehended and practiced, further nuances in ornamentation will become more easily identifiable to the singer in their continued exploration of the repertoire.

B.1 'Structural' ornamentation

Pitch repetition; pitch extension

For primary, but not exclusive, use on **unstressed** syllables/neumes; generally applicable to any of the neumes not contained within the columns marking melodic stress. However, simpler forms of structural ornamentation are also suited to stressed syllable embellishment, particularly the final stressed syllable of the poetic line.

B.1.1 Pitch repetition (re-sound or pre-empt)

Buffer the neume you wish to ornament by repeating the pitch at the nearest extremity of a neighbouring syllable. This can be done at either the opening or the close of the embellished neume. To ornament the opening of the neume, **re-sound** the final pitch of the previous syllable; to ornament the close of the neume, **pre-empt** the opening neume of the next syllable.

Re-sounding and pre-empting can also happen at either end of the same neume, as demonstrated below on the word 'no' (Example 1). The ornamentation of the syllable 'thro-' is an example of a pre-emptive pitch repeat.

Example 1: Pitch repetition (re-sound/pre-empt)

Poetic line 1

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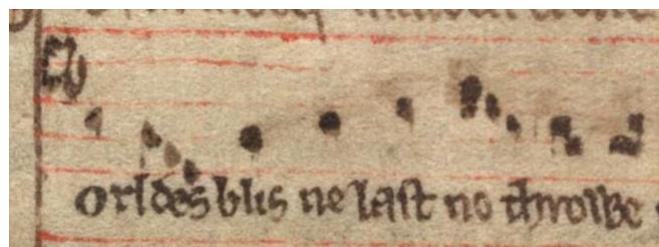
B.1.2   Pitch extension

Extend the melodic range of the neume in question by one note, by adding a pitch either one step higher or one step lower than is already present in the foundation melody. (It is also possible to extend the same syllable in both directions.)

Example 2: Pitch extension (upper)

Poetic line 3
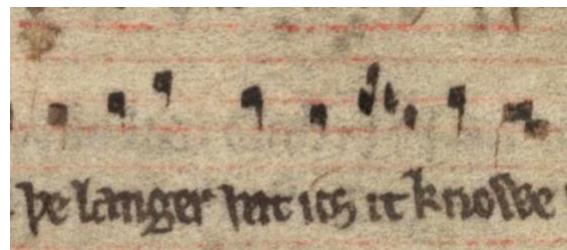
Example 3: Pitch extension (lower)

Poetic line 4
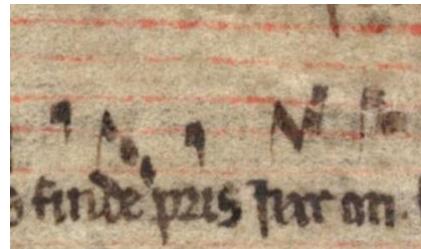
B.2   'Additive' ornamentation

Single-pitch embellishment; multi-pitch embellishment

For primary use on **stressed** syllables/neumes; applicable to the pitches contained within the columns marking melodic stress. Unstressed additive ornamentation can be used on occasion, but it is relatively unusual.

The most frequently occurring forms of additive ornamentation are categorised today as wave notes, double noteheads, and liquescences.

Despite their potential for causing a pitch to waver, or to be iterated multiple times, the wave note and double notehead are still best described as **single-pitch embellishments**: wherever the pitch wanders during their execution, it is assumed that the ornament will return to the same pitch on which it began (that of the neume to which it is attached).

A notated liquescence, on the other hand, can be thought of as a **multi-pitch embellishment**, as it calls for a step away from the pitch of its host neume: a neume with an attached liquescence will not end on the same pitch as it began.

B.2.1   Wave note and double notehead (single-pitch embellishments)

These notational forms represent vocal inflections which although ambiguous in their oral interpretation, both likely rely on either:

a) A bending of the written pitch (perhaps comparable to vibrato, or a narrow-range *glissando*),

or

b) The re-sounding of the written pitch (perhaps through volume accentuation alone, or through articulation with the breath, resulting in a break in vocal production).

Today, the wave note is commonly performed in the manner of a), and frequently precedes an ascent in pitch. The double notehead is commonly performed in the manner of b), and frequently precedes a descent in pitch.

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Example 4: 'Wave note' preceding melodic ascent
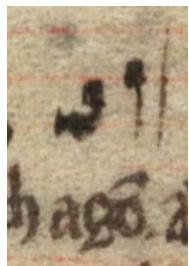
Example 5: 'Double notehead' (with liquescent descender) preceding melodic descent
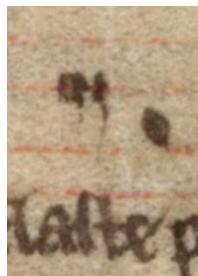
The extent of aural distinction between the wave note and double notehead is unconfirmable. Elements of their visual appearance may be influenced by scribal rather than sung practice, and some notated forms are ambiguous. The modern singer may choose to distinguish between the sound and melodic placement of each form, or they may choose to consider the forms relatively interchangeable.

Example 6: Ambiguous form (combines usual two-point appearance of double notehead with usual melodic placement of wave note)
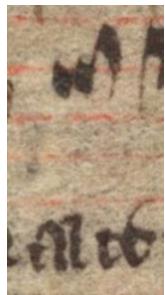
B.2.2 Liquescence (multi-pitch embellishment)

This notational form is presumed to represent a stepwise ascent (less common) or descent (more common) in pitch at the close of a stressed syllable. It often serves the purpose of pre-empting the opening pitch of the following neume, or closing the gap between two pitches of the structural melody. It can be applied to stressed pitches which are otherwise unornamented, but also used in combination with other ornamental forms such as the wave note and double notehead (in which case, the liquescence is to be sung as the closing gesture of the other ornament). In the case that the syllable in question ends with a voiced consonant, the ornamental pitch created by the liquescence may be applied to the consonant.

Example 7: Descending liquescence at close of neume
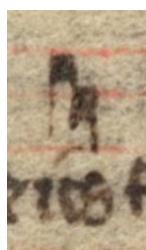
Example 8: Probable ascending liquescence in combination with wave note
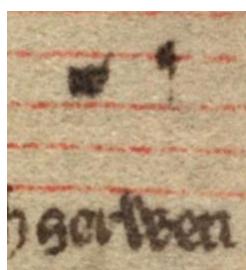
Example 9: Descending liquescence in combination with double notehead (also occurs in example 5)
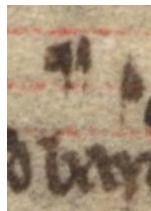
Appendix C Stress-based melodic maps: Middle English songs

C.1 *Worldes blis*, GB-Lbl Arundel 248, f. 154r

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Worl		
blis	H2	H2
last	H1	H1
thro-	0	L1
went	H1	H1
wit	H1	H1
wey	H2	H2
non	0	L1
lan-	H1	H1
þat	L1	L1
it	H1	L1
kno-	H1	H1
lasse	H1	H1*
fin-	H2	H2
pris	H2	H2
on	0	L1
al	H1	H1*
is	L1	L2
-meind	H1	H1
ca-	H1	H1
ser-	H1	H1
and	L1	L1
i-	H1	H1
fa-	H1	H1
at-	H1	H1
las-	L1	L2
povre	H1	H1
ba-	H1	0

Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
-des	L1	L3
ne	H1	H1
no	0	L
we	0	H1
it	0	0
and	L1	L2
a-	L1	L3
a-	H1	H2
þe	0	0
-ger	H1	H1
ics	L1	L1
-we	L1	L2
þe	H1	H1
ics	L1	L3
-de	L1	L3
thar	H1	H2
for	H2	H2
it	H1	0
i-	H1	H1
mid	L1	L2
-re	L1	L2
with	H1	H1
-wen	H1	H1
mid	L1	L2
-vel	H1	L1
-re	L1	L2
and	H1	H1
-te	H1	H1
-te	0	0
and	L1	L2
-re	0	L2

lat	H1	H1
wan	H1	H1
ginth	0	L2
-gon	H1	H1

al	H1	H1
blis	L1	L3
her	H1	H2
þa-	H1	H1

locth	H1	H1*
en-	H1	H1
wep	H2	H2
mon	0	H1

it	H2	H2
man	H1	H1
it	L1	L1
a-	0	H1

þe	H1	H1
þis	0	0
and	L1	L2
-re	L1	L2

bi-	H1	H1
at	L1	L2
-de	L1	L3
and	H1	0

C.2 *Worldes blis*, GB-Ob Rawl. G.18, ff. 105v-106r

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Worl-		
blis	H2	H2
last	H1	H1
þro-	0	L1
wit	H1	H1
wend	H1	H1
-wey	H2	H2
-non	0	L1
len-	H1	H1
þat	L1	L1
hit	H1	H1
kno-	H1	H1
lasse	H1	H1
fin-	H1	H1
pris	H2	H2
on	0	L1
al	0	0
is	H1	H1
meynd	H1	H1
ka-	H1	H1
sor-	0	0
ant	L1	L1
u-	H1	H1
fa-	H1	H1
at	H1	H1
las-	L1	L1
po-	H1	H1
ba-	H1	H1
let	H1	H1
wen	H1	H1
gin-	H1	H1

Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
-des	L1	L3
ne	H1	H1
no	H1	L1
-we	0	H1
hit	0	0
ant	L1	L2
a-	L1	L3
a-	H1	H2
þe	0	0
-gur	H1	H1
hich	H1	L1
i	H1	L1
we	L1	L2
þe	H1	H1
Hic	L1	L2
de	L1	L3
þer	H1	H2
for	H2	H2
hit	H1	H*
i-	L1	L2
wyd	L1	L2
-re	L1	L2
mid	H2	H2
-e-	0	0
-we	H1	H1
wid	L1	L2
-vel	H1	L1
-re	L1	L2
ant	H1	H1
þe	H1	H1
-te	L1	L1
-vere	0	0
ant	L1	L2
-re	L1	L3
hit	H2	H2
mon	H1	H1
hit	L1	L1
-net	L1	L1
a-	L1	L1*

gon	H1	H1
al	H1	H1
blis-	L1	L1
he-	H1	H1
þe-	H1	H1
-lou-	H1	H1
hen-	H1	H1
wop	H2	H2
mon	L1	0

þe	H1	H1
-se	0	0
þis	L1	L2
-re	H1	H1
ant	L1	L2
-re	L1	L2
bi-	H1	H1
-keth	0	0
at	L1	L2
-de	L1	L3
and	H1	H1*

C.3   *Þe milde Lomb*, GB-Lbl Arundel 248, f. 154r

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
			Þe		
mil-	H1	H1	de	H1	0
Lomb	L1	L1	i-	H1	H2
-sprad	H1	H1	o	L1	L1
ro-	L1	L2	de	0	0
heng	H2	H2	bi-	H1	H1
hor-	H1	0	-nen	H1	H1
al	L1	L1	o	L1	L3
blo-	H1	H2	-de	0	0
			for	L2	L2
hu-	H1	0	-re	0	L1
gelte	H1	H1	for	H1	0
hu-	H2	H2*	-re	L1	L3
go	L1	0	-de	L1	L2
			for	H2	H2
he	H1	H1	ne	H1	H1
gel-	H1	0	-te	L1	L1
nev-	H1	H	-re	L1	L3
nout	H1	H2			

C.4 *Man mei longe*, GB-MAmm A.13, f. 93v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Man			mei	H2	H2
longe	H2	H2	him	H1	H1
li-	H1	H1	-es	H1	H1
we-	0	L3	-ne	H1	0
			ac	L2	L2
of-	H1	H1	-te	L1	L1
him	0	L3	li-	H1	H1
-ʒet	H1	H1	þe	L1	L1
wreinch	0	L1			
			þar-		
-vo-	H2	H2	-re	H1	H1
man	H1	H1	þu	H1	H1
þi	L1	L1	bi-	L1	L1
-þench	H1	H2			
			sel	L1	L1
al	H2	H2	-lu-	H2	H2
va-	L1	L1	þe	L1	L1
-i	L1	L1	-ne	L1	L1
g[re]-	H2	H2			
we-	H2	H2	-la-	H1	H1
-wey	L3	L3	nis	H1	H1
king	L2	L2	ne	L1	L1
que-	L1	0	-ne	L2	L2
ne	H1	H1	þat	0	0
drin-	H1	H1	sel	H1	H1
			-ke	H1	H1
deth	L1	L1	of	0	0
drench	H1	H2	is	L1	L1
man	L5	L5	er	H1	H1
þu	H1	H1	fal-	H2	H2
			-le	L1	L1
of	0	0	þi	L1	L2
bench	0	L1			
			þu	H1	H1
sin-	H1	H1	-ne	L1	L1
			a-	0	0
-quench	0	L1			

C.5 *Mirie it is*, GB-Ob Rawl. G.22, f. 1v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement		Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
[M]i-				-ri-	0	0
				-e	0	0
				it	0	0
is	L4	L4		whi-	H1	H1
				-le	0	0
sum-	H1	H1		-er	0	0
				i-	H1	H1
last	L2	L3		þið	H3	H3
fu-	L1	L1		-ghe-	0	0
				-les	L2	L2
song	L1	L1				
oc	H5	H5		nu	0	0
nech-	L4	L4		-eð		
pin-				-des		
blast	L2	L3		and	H3	H3
p[e]-	L1	L1		-der	L2	L2
strong	L1	L1				
ey	H5	H6		ey	L1	L3
phat	H1	H1		þis	H1	H
nicht	L2	L3		[is]	L1	L1
long	L1	L1				
and	H5	H6		ich	L1	L3
þið	H1	H1		pel	H1	H1
mich-	L2	L3		-el	L1	L1
prong	L1	L1				
so-	H3	H3		-regh	0	0
				and	H1	H1
murne	L1	L2		and	L1	L2

C.6 *Jesu cristes milde moder*, GB-Lbl Arundel 248, ff. 154v-155r

Jesu cristes milde moder, upper-written voice					
Stressed syllables	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**	**Unstressed syllables**	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**
Je-			su	L1	L3
cri-	H2	H2	-stes	H1	H1
mil-	H1	H1	-de	H1	H1
mo-	L1	L1	-der	L1	L1
stud	0	0	bi-	H1	H1
-held	H1	H1	hire	L1	L1
son	L1	L1	o	L1	L1
ro-	H1	H1	-de	L1	L3
þat	H2	H2	he	H1	H1
was	H1	H1	i-	L1	L1
-pin-	L1	L1	-ed	H1	H2
on	L1	L1			
Þo	H1	H1	he	L1	L1
starf	L1	L1	that	H1	H1
king	H1	H1	is	H1	L1
			of	L1	L1
lif	H1	H1			
dre-	L1	L1	-ri-	H1	H1
-ere	H2	H2	nas	L1	L1
ne-	L1	L1	-verre	L1	L1
			no	H1	H1
wif	L1	L3			
þan	H2	H2	þu	H1	H1
we-	H1	H2	-re	L1	L2
le-	L1	L1	-ve-	H1	H1
			-di	0	H1
þo	L1	L1			
Þi	H1	H1	lif	H1	H1
drei	L1	L1	ful	L1	L1
har-	H1	H1	-de	L1	L1
stun-	L1	L1	-des	H1	H1
þo	0	0	þu	L1	L1
seye	H1	H1	hise	H1	H1
blu-	H1	H1	-di	L1	L2
wun-	H1	H1	-des	L2	L2

Syllable			Syllable		
and	H1	H1	his	L1	L2
bo-	H1	H1	-di	0	0
			o	H1	H1
ro-	H1	0	-de	0	L1
don	H1	H1			
			his	L1	L1
Nu	H2	H2	with	H1	H1
heued	L1	L1	bi-	L1	L2
blud	L1	L1	-ke(n)	H1	H1
-sprun-	H1	H1			
			his	L1	L1
nu	0	0	-de	H1	H1
si-	H1	H1	with	L1	L1
			i-	L1	L3
spere	H2	H2	-gen	H1	H1
-stun-	H1	H1			
			bi-	H1	H1
þu	L1	L1	-de	H2	H2
-hel-	L1	L2	-e-	L1	L1
lev-	H1	H1	-di	L1	L1
fre	L1	0			

Syllable			Syllable		
Nu	H1	H1	his	L1	L1
bodi	L1	L1	with	H1	H1
stur-	H1	H1	-ges	L1	L1
be-	L1	L1	-ten	L2	L2
and	H2	H2	his	H1	H1
blud	H2	H2	so	L1	L1
wide	L1	L1	hut-	L1	L1
-le-	H1	H1	-ten	L1	L3
ma-	H2	H2	-den	H1	H1
þe	H1	H1	þin	L1	L1
her-	L1	L1	-te	H1	H2
sor	L1	L1			
			is	H1	H1
Nu	H2	H2	-me	L1	L2
ti-	L1	L1	þu	H1	L1
þat	H1	H1	-de	H1	H1
ʒiel-	L1	L1			
			-de	L1	L1
ken-	0	0	þu	H1	H1
þat	H1	H1	wit-	L1	L2
im	H1	H1	-de	L2	L2
-hel-	H1	H1			

þo	H1	H1	þi	L1	L2
child	H1	H1	was	H1	H1
of	H1	0	the	0	L1
born	H1	H1			
Nu	H1	H1	þu	H1	H1
fon-	H1	H1	-dest	L1	L1
mo-	L1	L1	-der	H1	H1
mil-	L1	L1	-de	L1	L1
wat	0	0	wy-	H1	H1
-man	L2	L2	drith	H1	H1
with	H1	H1	hir	H1	L2
chil-	H1	H1	-de	H1	H1
þar	0	0	thu	H1	H1
cle-	L1	L2	-ne	L1	L1
mai-	H1	H1	-den	H1	H3
be	L1	L2			
So-	0	0	-ne	L1	L1
			af-	0	0
-ter	H1	H1	þe	H1	H1
nith	H1	H1	of	L1	L2
sor-	L1	L1	-wen	H1	H1
spro(n)g	0	0	þe	L1	L1
lith	H1	H1	of	H1	H1
e-	H1	H1	-di	L1	L1
mor-	H1	H1	-wen	L2	L2
i-	H1	H1	-ne	L1	L1
			þin	L1	L1
her-	H1	H1	-te	H1	H1
sue-	H1	0	-te	0	L1
may	H1	H1			
Wel-	H2	H2	-le	H1	H2
wat	L1	L1	þu	L1	L3
we-	L1	L1	-re	H1	H1
bli-	H1	H1	-the	L1	L1
þo	H1	H1	ha-	L1	L1
-ros	H1	H1	fram	H1	H1
deth	L1	L1	to	L1	L1
li-	H1	H1	-ue	L2	L2
þur	H1	H1	þe	L1	L3

ho-	H2	H2		-le	H1	H1
ston	H1	H1		he	H1	L1
glod	L1	0				
Ne-	H2	H2		-ue	L1	L1
blis-	H1	H1		-se	L1	L2
þe	H1	H1		us	H1	L1
brou-	L1	L1		-te	H1	H1
þat	H1	H1		man-	H1	H1
-kin	H1	H1		so	L2	L2
de-	H1	H1		-re	L1	L3
bou-	H1	H1		-te	H1	H1
				and	L1	L1
for	H1	H1		us	L2	L2
ȝaf	H1	H1		is	H1	H1
de-	H1	H1		-re	L1	L3
lif	H1	H1				
Quen	H1	H1		of	L1	H1
eve-	L1	L1		-ne	L1	L1
for	L1	L1		þi	H1	H1
blis-	H1	H1		-se	L1	L1
lithe	H2	H2		al	L1	L1
hu-	H1	H1		-re	H1	H1
sor-	L1	L1		-i-	L1	L3
-nes-	H1	H1		-se	H1	H1
				and	L1	L1
went	H1	H1		hur	L1	L2
y-	H1	H1		-uel	0	0
				al	H1	H1
in-	H1	H1		-to	L1	L3
gud	0	H1				
(Amen)						

Jesu cristes milde moder, lower-written voice					
Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Je-			su	L1	H1
cri-	0	0	-stes	L1	L1
mil-	L1	L1	-de	L1	L1
mo-	H1	H1	-der	H1	H1
stud	H2	H2	bi-	L1	L1
-held	L1	L1	hire	L1	L1
son	H1	H1	o	H1	H1
ro-	L1	L1	-de	L1	H1
þat	0	0	he	L1	L1
was	L1	L1	i-	H1	H1
-pin-	H1	H1	-ed	L1	L2
on	H1	H1			
Þo	L1	L1	he	H1	H1
starf	H1	H1	that	L1	L1
king	L1	L1	is	L1	H1
			of	H1	H1
lif	L1	L1			
dre-	H3	H3	-ri-	L1	L1
-ere	L2	L2	nas	H1	H1
ne-	L1	L1	-verre	H1	H1
			no	L1	L1
wif	L1	H1			
þan	0	0	þu	L1	L1
we-	L1	L2	-re	H1	H2
le-	H1	H1	-ve-	L1	L1
			-di	0	L1
þo	H1	H1			
Þi	H1	H1	lif	L1	L1
drei	H1	H1	ful	H1	H1
har-	L3	L3	-de	H1	H1
stun-	H1	H1	-des	L1	L1
þo	0	0	þu	H1	H1
seye	L1	L1	hise	L1	L1
blu-	H1	H1	-di	H1	H2
wun-	L3	L3	-des	H2	H2
and	L1	L1	his	H1	H2

Syllable			Syllable		
bo-	L1	L1	-di	0	0
			o	L1	L1
ro-	L1	0	-de	0	H1
don	L1	L1			
Nu	0	0	his	H1	H1
heued	H1	H1	with	L3	L3
blud	H1	H1	bi-	H1	H2
-sprun-	L1	L1	-ke(n)	L1	L1
nu	0	0	his	H1	H1
si-	H1	H1	-de	L1	L1
			with	L1	L1
spere	L2	L2	i-	H1	H3
-stun-	H1	H1	-gen	L1	L1
þu	L1	L1	bi-	L1	L1
-hel-	L1	L2	-de	H1	H2
lev-	H1	H1	-e-	H1	H1
			-di	H1	H1
fre	L1	L2			
Nu	L1	L1	his	H1	H1
bodi	H1	H1	with	L1	L1
stur-	L1	L1	-ges	H1	H1
be-	L1	L1	-ten	H2	H2
and	0	0	his	L1	L1
blud	L2	L2	so	H1	H1
wide	H1	H1	hut-	H1	H1
-le-	L1	L1	-ten	L1	H1
ma-	0	0	-den	L1	L1
þe	L1	L1	þin	H1	H1
her-	H1	H1	-te	0	L2
sor	H1	H1			
Nu	0	0	is	L1	L1
ti-	H1	H1	-me	H1	H2
þat	L3	L3	þu	H1	H3
ʒiel-	L1	L1	-de	L1	L1
ken-	0	0	-de	H1	H1
þat	L1	L1	þu	L1	L1
im	H1	H1	wit-	H1	H2
-hel-	L3	L3	-de	H2	H2

	Col A	Col B		Col A	Col B
þo	L1	L1	þi	H1	H2
child	L1	L1	was	L1	L1
of	L1	0	the	0	H1
born	L1	L1			
Nu	H1	H1	þu	L1	L1
fon-	L1	L1	-dest	H1	H1
mo-	L1	L1	-der	L1	L1
mil-	H1	H1	-de	H1	H1
wat	H2	H2	wy-	L3	L3
-man	H2	H2	drith	L1	L1
with	L1	L1	hir	H1	H2
chil-	0	H1	-de	L1	L1
þar	0	0	thu	L1	L1
cle-	L1	0	-ne	H1	H1
mai-	0	0	-den	L1	L3
be	H1	H2			
Sone	H2	H2	af-	H1	H1
-ter	L1	L1	þe	L1	L1
nith	L1	L1	of	L1	0
sor-	H1	H1	-wen	L1	L1
spro(n)g	H2	H2	þe	H1	H1
lith	L1	L1	of	L1	L1
e-	L1	L1	-di	H2	H2
mor-	L3	L3	-wen	H2	H2
i-	L1	L1	-ne	H1	H1
			þin	H1	H1
			-te	L1	L1
her-	L1	L1	-te	0	H1
sue-	L1	0			
may	L1	L1			
Wel-	H2	H2	-le	L1	L2
wat	L1	L1	þu	H1	H3
we-	L1	L1	-re	L1	L1
bli-	L1	L1	-the	H1	H1
þo	H1	H1	ha-	H1	H1
-ros	L1	L1	fram	L1	L1
deth	L1	L1	to	H1	H1
li-	L1	L1	-ue	H2	H2
þur	L1	L1	þe	L1	H1
ho-	0	0	-le	L1	L1

Syllable			Syllable		
ston	L1	L1	he	H1	H3
glod	L1	L2			
			-ue	H1	H1
Neu	0	0	-se	H1	H2
blis-	L1	L1	us	H1	H3
þe	L3	L3	-te	L1	L1
brou-	L1	L1			
			man-	L1	L1
þat	H3	H3	so	L2	L2
-kin	L1	L1	-re	L1	H1
de-	H1	H1	-te	L1	L1
bou-	H1	H1			
			and	H1	H1
for	L3	L3	us	H2	H2
ʒaf	H1	H1	is	L1	L1
de-	L1	L1	-re	L1	H1
lif	L1	L1			
			of	H3	0
Quen	L1	L1	-ne	H1	H1
eve-	L1	L1	þi	L1	L1
for	L1	L1	-se	H1	H1
blis-	H1	H1			
			al	H1	H1
lithe	0	0	-re	L1	L1
hu-	L1	L1	-i-	L1	H1
sor-	H1	H1	-se	L1	L1
-nes-	H1	H1			
			and	L1	L1
went	L1	L1	hur	H1	H2
y-	H1	H1	-uel	0	0
			al	L1	L1
in-	L1	L1	-to	L1	H1
gud	0	L1			
(Amen)					

C.7 *Foweles in þe frith*, GB-Ob Douce 139, f. 5r

Foweles in þe frith, lower-written voice					
Stressed syllables	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**	**Unstressed syllables**	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**
Fowe-			-les	H2	H3
in	H1	H2	þe	L1	L1*
frith	L1	L1			
			þe	L1	0
fis-	0	H1	-ses	H1	H1
in	L3	L3	þe	H1	H1*
flod	L1	L1			
			and	H3	H3
I	0	0	mon	0	0
wa-	H1	H1	-xe	L2	L2*
wod	L1	L1			
			mulch	H2	H2
sorw	H1	H2	I	L5	L5
wal-	H1	H1*	-ke	0	0
with	L1	L1			
			for	H1	H2
beste	H1	H1	of	L3	L3
bon	H1	H1*	and	L1	0
blod	L1	L1			

Foweles in þe frith, upper-written voice					
Stressed syllables	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**	**Unstressed syllables**	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**
Fowe-			-les	0	L1
in	L1	0	þe	L1	L1*
frith	H1	H1			
			þe	H1	0
fis-	0	0	-ses	L1	H1
in	L1	L1*	þe	L1	L2
flod	H1	H1			
			and	0	0
I	0	0	mon	0	0
wa-	H1	H1	-xe	H1	L1
wod	H1	H1			
			mulch	L3	L3
sorw	H1	0	I	H2	H4
wal-	L1	L1*	-ke	L1	L2
with	H1	H1			
			for	H1	H1
beste	H1	H1	of	L1	H1
bon	L1	L1*	and	L1	L2
blod	H1	H1			

C.8 *Edi beo þu*, GB-Occ 59, f. 113v

Edi beo þu, lower-written voice					
Stressed syllables	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**	**Unstressed syllables**	**Initial movement**	**Net movement**
E-			-di	0	0
beo	0	0	þu	L2	L2
he-	H1	H1	-ue-	0	0
			-ne	0	0
que-	H1	H1	-ne	0	0
fol-	L1	L1	-kes	0	0
froure	L1	L1	&	0	0
en-	H1	H2	-gles	L1	L1
blis	L1	L1			
mo-	H2	H2	-der	0	0
			un-	0	0
-pem-	0	0	-med	L1	L1
			&	L1	L1
mai-	H1	H1	-den	0	0
cle-	H1	H1	-ne	0	0
spich	L1	L1	in	0	0
porld	L1	L1	non	0	0
oþ-	H1	H2	-er	L1	L1
nis	L1	L1			
On	H1	H1	þe	0	0
hit	L1	L1	is	0	0
pel-	H1	H2	-eþ	L1	L1
sene	L1	L1			
			of	0	0
al-	H1	H1	-le	0	0
pim-	L1	L1	-men	0	0
			þu	0	0
hau-	H1	H2	-est	0	0
			þet	L1	L1
p(ri)s	L1	L1			
			mi	H2	H2
spe-	0	0	-te	0	0
le-	0	0	-ue-	L1	L1
			-di	L1	L1
her	H1	H1	mi	0	0
bene	H1	H1			
			&	0	0
reu	L1	L1	of	0	0
me	L1	L1	ʒif	0	0
þi	H1	H2	pille	L1	L1
is	L1	L1			

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Edi beo þu, upper-written voice					
E-			-di	H4	H4
beo	0	L1	þu	L1	L1
he-	L1	L1	-ue-	0	0
			-ne	H4	H4
que-	L1	L1	-ne	L4	L4
fol-	H1	H2	-kes	H1	H1
froure	L1	L2	&	L1	L1
en-	L1	L2	-gles	H1	H1
blis	H1	H1			
mo-	0	0	-der	0	0
			un-	H4	H4
-pem-	0	L1	-med	0	0
			&	L1	L1
mai-	L1	L1	-den	H4	H4
cle-	L1	L1	-ne	L4	L4
spich	H1	H2	in	H1	H1
porld	L1	L2	non	L1	L1
oþ-	L1	L2	-er	H1	H1
nis	H1	H1			
On	H3	H3	þe	0	0
hit	L1	L2	is	L1	L1
pel-	L1	L2	-eþ	H1	H1
sene	H1	H1			
			of	H1	H1
al-	H2	H2	-le	0	0
pim-	L1	L1	-men	L1	L1
			þu	L1	L1
hau-	L1	L1	-est	L1	L1
			þet	H1	H1
p(ri)s	H1	H1			
			mi	H2	H2
spe-	H2	H2	-te	H1	H1
le-	L1	L1	-ue-	L1	L1
			-di	L1	L1
her	L1	L1	mi	H4	H4
bene	L1	L1			
			&	L4	L4
reu	H1	H2	of	H1	H1
me	L1	L2	ȝif	L1	L1
þi	L1	L2	pille	H1	H1
is	H1	H1			

C.9 *Gabriel fram evene king*, GB-Lbl Arundel 248, f. 154r

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Ga-			-bri-	L1	0
-el	H1	H1	fram	0	0
eve-	L1	L1	-ne	L1	L2
king	0	0	sent	0	0
to	H1	0	þe	L1	L1
mai-	H3	H3	-de	L1	L*
swe-	L2	L2	-te	0	0
brou-	H4	H3	-te	L1	0
hire	H1	H1	blis-	0	0
-ful	L1	L1	ti-	L1	L2
-ding	0	0	and	0	0
faire	H1	0	he	L1	L1
gan	H3	H3	hire	L1	L1*
g(re)-	L2	L2	-ten	0	0
			heil	H1	H2
be	H1	H1	þu	L1	L2
ful	H1	0	of	L1	L1
grace	H1	H1*	a-	0	L1
-rith	0	0	for	H1	H2
go-	H1	H1	-des	L1	L2
sone	H1	0	þis	L1	L1
eve-	H1	H1	-ne	0	L1
lith	L3	L3			
ma-	H1	H2	-ken	H1	H1
fre	L1	L2	for	H2	H2
to	H1	H2	ma-	L1	L2
-ken	H1	H1			
			of	L4	L4
sen(n)e	H1	0	a(n)d	0	0
dev-	0	L1	-les	0	H1
mith	0	0			

C.10 *Sumer is icumen in*, GB-Lbl Harley 978, f. 11v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Sv-		
is	L1	L1
-cu-	H1	H1
in	L1	L3
Lhu-	L2	L2
sing	H1	H1
-cu	H1	H1
Gro-	L2	L2
sed	L1	L1
blo-	L1	L1
med	L1	L1
springþ	H2	H2
wd-	H1	H1
nu	L1	L1
Sing	H3	H3
-cu	H2	H2
A-	L3	L3
ble-	H1	H1
af-	H1	H1
lomb	L1	L1
af-	L2	L2
cal-	L1	L1
cu	H1	H1
Bul-	H2	H2
ster-	L1	L1
buc-	H1	H1
uer-	H1	H1
mi-	H1	H1
sing	L1	L1
-cu	H1	H1
Cuc-	L3	L3
cuc-	L1	L1
Wel	L2	L2
-ges	H1	H1
cuc-	H1	H1

Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
-mer	L1	L1
-i-	H1	H1
-men	0	0
-de	0	0
cuc-	L2	L2
-weþ	H2	H2
and	H2	H2
-weþ	0	0
and	L1	L1
þe	H2	H2
-e	0	0
cuc-	L2	L2
-we	L2	L2
-teþ	L2	L2
-ter	H2	H2
lhouþ	L1	L1
-ter	H2	H2
-ue	L2	L2
-luc	0	0
-teþ	H2	H2
-ke	0	0
-teþ	H1	H1
-rie	L1	L1
cuc-	H1	H1
-cu	H1	H1
-cu	L1	L2
sin-	H2	H2
þu	L2	L2
-cu	H1	H1

Appendix C

			ne	H1	H1
swik	L2	L2	þu	H2	H2
na-	L3	L3	-uer	L2	L2
nu	H1	H1			

C.11 [...] *stod ho pere neh*, GB-Ob Tanner 169*, p. 175

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement		Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
þat				le-	H1	H1
ue-	0	L1		-li	L1	L1
leor	H1	0		wid	L1	L3
spald	H2	H3		i-	H1	L3
-s[c]hent	H2	H2				
				þat	H2	H2
fer-	H1	0		-re	L1	L1
fel	H1	0		wid	L1	L3
scur	H2	H2		-ges	L1	L1
rend	L1	L2				
				þe	H3	H3
blod	0	0		out	0	H2
stre-	L1	L1		-med	L1	L3
o-	L1	L1		-uer-	H1	H1
-al	0	0				
				up-	L1	L1
Skoarn	H4	H4*		and	L1	L3
-braid	H1	0		-me	0	H2
scho-	H2	H2		-che	H2	H2
spe-	L1	L4				
				hit	L1	L1
al	H3	H2		to	L1	L3
was	H2	0		-hes	L1	L1
sor-	H2	H2		-che	L1	L1
e-	L1	L1				
				i	H3	H3
poa	0	0		þu	0	H2
was	L1	L1		bi-	L1	L3
-lu-	L1	L1		-ken	H1	H1
al	0	0				
				þat	0	0
I	H7	H7		-ful	H1	H1
blis-	L1	L2		-nes	L1	L3
bear-	H1	H1		-de	L1	L1
biur-	H1	H1				
				wa[s]	H1	H1
wrong	H2	H2		to	L2	L2
wroht	L1	L1		-mo-	L1	L2
wom-	H1	H1		-ne	L1	L1
				-de	L1	L1
wir-	H1	H1				
				ah	0	0
kuin-	0	0		-de	H1	H1
cra-	H1	H2		-ued	H1	H1
nou	L2	L2		þe	H1	L1
riht	H1	H1				

Syllable	Col1	Col2		Syllable	Col1	Col2
Wen-	H3	H3		-ne	0	0
				þu	0	0
loch	L1	L2		[a]h	H1	H1
nou	H1	H1		þu	L1	L3
wep	H1	0				
				þi	0	0
wa	H2	H2		wes	H1	H1
wa-	L1	L1		-ken	0	0
				þat	L2	L2
ten-	H1	H1		-ne	L1	L3
slep	H1	0				
				-ding	H1	H1
chil-	0	0		-ne	0	0
pi-	H1	H1		hau-	H2	H2
				-e[st]	0	0
te	L2	L2		nou	H1	L1
picht	H1	H1				
				þu	0	0
Nou	0	0		-stes	L2	L2
moo-	H2	H2		-ue-	H1	H1
la-	L1	L1		-di	H1	H1
				-re	L1	L1
le-	L1	L1				
				-mo-	0	0
wm-	0	0		-ne	0	0
				þat	L1	L1
wo	H2	H2		-nes	H1	H1
bar-	L2	L2		-re	L1	L1
be-	L1	L3				
				þa	0	0
bit-	H2	H2		-ter	L1	L1
and	H2	H2		ta	L2	L2
ba-	L1	L1		-le	H1	H1
þre-	0	0		-hes	0	0
				For	H4	H4
in	0	0		his	0	0
dead	H2	H2		þe	L2	L2
wo	L1	L1		þu	H2	H2
ʒul-	L1	L1		-de	L1	L1
				in	0	0
chil-	0	0		-ding	0	0
þat	H2	H2		tu	L1	L1
þo-	L2	L3		-le	H2	H2
schul-	L1	L3		-de	L1	L1
				þurd	0	0

Syllable	Col 1	Col 2
mod-	H2	H2
kuin-	H2	H2
-li-	L1	L1
la-	0	0
la-	0	0
þah	H1	H1
won-	H1	H1
we-	H1	H1
þe	0	0
wo	H1	H1
u-	H1	H1
-me-	L1	L2
loa-	0	0
we-	L1	L1
las-	L1	L1
-les	0	0
wep	H2	H2
wem-	H1	H1
noht	H1	H1
heau	H1	0
ma-	0	0
leor	H1	H1
louk	H1	H1
lep	L1	L3
sa-	0	0
wm-	L1	L1
ne-	L1	L1
neas	0	0
Ah	0	0
ka-	H1	H1
o-	H1	H1
co-	L1	L1
þrid-	H1	H1
dai	L1	L3

Syllable	Col 1	Col 2
-res	L1	L1
-de-	L2	L2
-che	H1	H1
-hes	0	0
Ah	H2	H2
-ue-	0	0
-di	L1	L1
þu	L2	L2
-ges	L2	L2
-te	L1	L1
þah	0	0
were	H1	H1
at	H1	H1
-ni-	H1	H1
-te	L1	L1
þi-	L1	L1
-ne	0	0
-tes	H2	H2
-ren	L1	L1
-te-	H1	H1
Þi	0	0
ne	L1	L1
-me-	0	0
-d[e]	L2	L2
þin	L2	L2
þat	0	0
-de	0	0
þi	H1	H1
ful	H1	H1
and	H1	H1
swa	L1	L1
-ri	H2	H2
-mon	L1	L1
-uer	H1	H1
þi	H2	H1
-re	H1	H1
was	H1	H1
-uer	H1	H1
-men	L1	L1
þe	H1	H1
-de	H1	H1
þi	L1	L1

io-	H1	H1		-ie	H1	H1
co-	L1	L3		-men	0	0
ded	H1	H1		and	H1	H1
de-	0	0		-uel	L1	L4
dri-	H2	H2		-uen	H1	H1
doun	H1	H1				
				þi	H2	H1
Þpen	L4	L4		-ne	H1	H1
so-	H1	H1		-sen	H1	H2
ri-	H1	H1				
wes	L1	L2		to	H1	H1
				-ne	H1	H1
þi-	H1	H1		-le	0	0
we-	L1	L1		and	L1	L3
				-re	H1	H1
u-	H1	H1				
peas	L1	L3		-se	0	0
				he	H1	H1
blis-	H1	H1		-te	0	0
broc-	L1	L1		in	L1	L3
i-	H2	H2		-cha	H1	H1
toun	H1	H1				
				Þi	H3	H3
lu-	0	0		-ue	0	0
so-	L1	L1		-ne	0	0
up	L1	L1		ri-	0	0
-sin-	L1	L1		-ge	0	0
sel-	0	H1		was	0	0
liik	L2	L2		-li	H1	H1
his	H1	H1		to	L2	L2
-din-	L1	L4		bir-	H1	H1
				-ge	L1	L1
tpe-	0	0		bi	H1	H1
tpa	H1	H1		-ne	0	0
li-	L1	L1		his	H1	H1
schead	0	0		-tel	L1	L1
so	0	0		For	H7	H7
gli-	L1	L1		gleam	0	0
þurt	L1	L1		-dis	0	0
glas	L1	L1		þe	0	0

	Col 1	Col 2		Col 1	Col 2
of	0	H1	þi	H1	H1
bo-	L2	L2	-di	L2	L2
born	H1	H1	he	L1	L3
was	0	L1			
			and	0	0
þurt	H1	H1	þe	H1	H1
hoa-	H1	H1	-le	L2	L2
þurch	H1	H1	he	L1	L2
gload	H1	H1			
			-de	0	0
Mil-	H2	H2	-der	0	0
mo-	L1	L1	-den	L1	L1
mai-	H2	H2			
oa	L1	L2	of	H3	H3
			þi	H1	H2
al	0	0	-re	L1	L2
ka-	L1	L1	þou	H3	H3
com	L1	L1			
þoa	L1	L4	þi	H1	H1
			-ne	L1	L1
ppen	0	0	-se	L1	L3
so-	H1	H1			
ri-	H2	H2	-ue-	0	0
pes	H1	H1	-di	0	0
			us	0	0
Le-	H2	H2	of	L1	L1
bring	L1	L1	of	H3	H3
out	H1	H1	-ne	0	0
wa	L1	L2	of	H1	H2
			-he	0	0
sin-	0	0	of	L1	L2
			al	H3	H3
sor-	L1	L1			
			to	0	0
sich	L1	L1	-s[e]	H1	H1
spoa	L1	L4	his	L1	L1
			-de	L1	L3
blis-	0	0			
þat	H1	H1			
en-	H2	H2			
-les	H1	H1			

C.12 *Stond wel moder*, GB-Lbl Royal 12.E.I, ff. 193-194v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Stond			wel	H1	L1
mo-	H1	H1	-der	0	H1
un-	H1	H1	-der	H1	0
ro-	L1	L1	-de	L1	L1
			bi-	H2	H2
			þi	H1	H1
-held	0	0	wyth	0	0
child	H1	H1	-de	L1	L2
gla-	H1	H1	-de	L2	L2
mo-	H1	H1			
bly-	H1	H1	-þe	H1	H1
mo-	L1	L1	-der	L1	L3
mit-	L1	L1	-tu	H1	H1
ben	0	0			
Su-	0	0	-ne	0	0
			quu	H1	L1
ma-	H1	H1	-y	0	H1
bli-	H1	H1	-þe	H1	0
ston-	L1	L1	-den	L1	L1
			hi	H2	H2
se	0	0	þin	H1	H1
feet	H1	H1	hi	0	0
se	H1	H1	þin	L1	L2
hon-	H1	H1	-den	L2	L2
nay-	H1	H1	-led	H1	H1
to	L1	L1	þe	L1	L3
har-	L1	L1	-de	H1	H1
tre	0	0			
Mo-	H4	H4	-der	H2	H2
do	H1	H1	wey	0	0
þi	0	0	we-	0	L2
-pin-	H1	L1	-ge	L1	L1
			hi	0	0
þo-	0	0	-le	0	0
			þis	H2	H2
ded	H1	H1	for	0	0
man-	L3	L3	-nes	H1	L2
thin-	H1	H1	-ge	L1	L1

Syllable		
o-	0	0
gil-	H1	H1
þo-	L2	L2
non	H1	H1
Su-	0	0
fe-	H1	H1
de-	L1	L2
stun-	L1	L2
swerd	0	0
at	H1	H1
her-	L2	L2
grun-	H1	H1
me	L1	L1
-hy-	H1	H1
Si-	L2	L2
-on	H1	H1
Mo-	0	0
reu	L1	L1
-pon	H1	H1
bern	L1	L3
wasse	0	0
-wey	H2	H2
blo-	L2	L2
te-	L1	L2
don	0	0
wer-	0	L1
þan	H2	H2
ded	H1	H1
Su-	0	0
mit-	L1	L1
te-	H1	H1
wer-	L1	L3(plica)

Syllable		
for	0	0
-wen	H1	H1
-te	H2	H2
-li	H1	L1
-ne	0	0
Hi	H2	H2
-le	0	0
þe	0	0
-de	H1	H2
-de	L1	L1
þe	0	0
is	H2	H2
min	L1	L1
-te	H1	L1
-de	L2	L2
þat	0	H1
by-	H1	H1
-tte	H2	H2
-me-	H1	L1
-der	H1	H1
u-	L1	L1
þi	H1	H1
þu	0	0
a-	H1	H1
þo	L1	L1
-di	H1	H1
-ren	L1	L1
it	H2	H2
me	H1	H1
-se	L1	L2
mi	H1	H1
-ne	0	0
hu	H1	H1
-ti	L1	L1
-res	H1	H1
-nen	0	0

	col1	col2			col1	col2
se	0	0		Hy	0	0
blo-	H2	H2		þo	H1	H1
flo-	L2	L2		-di	L1	L1
her-	L1	L2		-des	H1	H1
				-nen	L1	L1
of	0	0		huth	H2	H2
her-	0	L1		þin	H1	H1
to	H2	H2		-te	L1	L2
fet	H1	H1		min	H1	H1
Mo-	L2	L2		-der	0	H2
nu	L1	L1		Y	H1	H1
may	L5	L5		þe	H1	H3
se-	L1	L1		-yn	L1	L1
bet-	H2	H2		-tere	0	0
				is	0	H2
þat	L1	L1		Ic	L1	L2
o-	L1	L1		-ne	L1	L1
de-	H3	H4		-ye	H1	H1
al	0	0		þan	H2	H2
-kyn	H1	H1		man-	L2	L2
hel-	H3	H3		to	L2	L2
go	L1	L1		-le	0	L1
Su-	L2	L2		-ne	0	0
				Y	0	H2
se	L1	L1		þi	H1	H1
bo-	L5	L5		-di	H1	H3
swn-	L1	L1		-gen	L1	L1
brest	0	0		þi	H2	H2
hond	L1	L1		þin	0	H2
fot	L1	L1		þi	L1	L2
-stun-	H3	H4		þur-	L1	L1
				-gen	H1	H1
no	H2	H2		sel-	L2	L2
-li	H1	H1		þou	L2	L2
me	H3	H3		be	0	L1
wo	L1	L1				
Mo-	H1	H1		-der	L2	L2
if	H1	0		Y	L1	L3

dar	H2	H2		þe	0	H2
tel-	L2	L4		-len	H2	H2
Y	0	0		ʒif	H3	H3
de-	H1	0		ne	L2	L2
				-ye	L1	L3
gost	H2	H2		þu	0	0
hel-	L1	L1		to	L1	L1
				-le	L1	L1
þo-	0	0		Hi	H3	H3
				-le	0	0
ded	L1	L1		þis	H1	H2
þi-	L1	L1		for	L1	L3
sa-	0	0		-ne	H1	H1
				-ke	0	0
Su-	H5	H5		-ne	L2	L2
þu	H1	0		best	L1	L3
me	H2	H2		so	0	H2
min-	L2	L4		-de	H2	H2
with	H3	H3		me	L2	L2
nout	H1	H1		it	L2	L4
is	H2	H2		mi	L1	L1
kin-	L1	L1		-de	L1	L1
þat	H3	H3		Y	H1	H2
for	L1	L1		þe	L1	L3
sor-	L1	L1		-ye	H1	H1
ma-	0	0		-ke	0	0
Mo-	H7	H7		-der	0	0
mer-	L1	L2		-ci	H1	H1
let	H1	H1		me	L1	L3
de-	H1	H1		-yen	L1	L1
				for	H2	H2
A-	H1	H1		-dam	L1	L1
ut	L2	L2		of	0	0
hel-	H1	H1		-le	L1	L3
be-	H1	H1		-yn	L1	L1
				and	H1	H1
al	0	0		man-	0	0
-kin	H1	H1		þat	L1	L3
is	H2	H2		for-	H1	H1
-lo-	H1	H1		-ren	0	0

Su-	H3	H3		-ne	0	0
wat	L1	L2		sal	H1	H1
me	H1	H1		to	L1	L3
re-	H1	H1		-de	L1	L1
				þi	H2	H2
pi-	H1	H1		-ne	L1	L1
pi-	L2	L2		-neð	0	0
me	H1	H1		to	L1	L3
de-	H1	H1		-de	L1	L1
let	H1	H1		me	0	0
de-	H1	H1		-yn	L2	L4
þe	H2	H2		bi-	H1	H1
-fo-	H1	H1		-ren	0	0

C.13 *Ar ne kuthe*, GB-Lma Cust.1, ff. 160v-161v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Ar			ne	H1	H1
kuthe	L1	L2	Ich	L1	L2
sor-	H1	H1	-we	H1	H1
non	L1	L1			
kar-	L2	L2	ful	L1	L1
			wel	H2	H2
sore	H2	H2	ich	0	0
sy-	L1	L1	chë	0	0
help	H2	H2	god	H1	H1
for	L1	L2	thi(n)	L1	L2
swe-	H1	H1	-te	H1	H1
na-	L1	L4	-më	H2	H2
ky(n)g	L2	L2	of	L1	L1
he-	H3	H3	-ue-	H2	H2
			-në	0	0
ri-	L1	L1	-chë	0	0
Je-	H2	H2	-su	H1	H1
crist	H1	H1	sod	L1	L1
god	H1	H1	sod	H1	H1
man	L1	L1			
lo-	L2	L2	-uerd	H2	H2
thu	L1	L1	rew	L1	L1
u-	L1	L1	-pon	L1	L1
me	0	0			
of	H3	H3	pri-	L1	L1
-sun	L1	L1	thar	H1	H1
ich	H1	H2	in	L1	L1
am	L2	L2			
bri(n)g	L4	L4	me	H2	H2
ut	H2	H3	and	L2	L2
mak-	L1	L1	-ye	H1	H1
fre	0	0			
Ich	H2	H2	and	H1	H1
mi-	H1	H1	-në	0	0
fer-	L1	L1	-en	H1	H1
su-	H1	H1	-më	L1	L1

god	L2	L2		wot	H2	H2
Ich	L1	L1		ne	L1	L1
ly-	L1	L1		-ghe	L1	L1
noct	0	0				
Al-	H3	H3		-mic-	0	0
-ti	0	L2		that	H1	H1
wel	H1	H1		lict-	L2	L2
-li	H1	L1				
heve-	H1	H1		-ne	0	0
king	H1	H2		of	H1	H1
this	0	0		wo-	0	0
-ni(n)g	0	L2				
ut	H1	H1		us	L1	L1
bri(n)-	H1	L1		-ge	H2	H1
mo-	L1	0		-te	L1	L1
For-	H3	H3		-yhef	0	0
hem	0	L2		the	H1	H1
wyk-	0	0		-ke	L1	L1
men	H1	L1				
for	H1	H1		wos	0	0
gelt	0	L2		we	H1	H1
bed	0	0		i-	L1	L1
-pelt	H1	L1				
				ne	H7	H7
hope	L1	L1		non	L1	L1
to	L1	L1		his	H2	H2
li-	L1	L1		-ue	L1	L1
ne	0	0		her	H2	H2
he	L1	L1		mai	L1	L1
-li-	L1	L1		bi-	L1	L3
				-ue	0	0
him	L1	L1		ded	H1	H1
-led	H1	0		fel-	L2	L2
grun-	H1	H1		to	0	L1
				-de	0	0
				Nu	H7	H7
had	L1	L1		man	L1	L1
wele	L1	L1		and	0	0

blis-	L2	L2*	-ce	0	0
			rathe	H4	H4
he	L1	L1	shal	L1	L1
thar-	0	0	-of	L1	L3
mis-	L1	L1	-se	0	0
-des	L1	L1	worl-	H2	H1
mid	0	0	welle	H1	H1
-wis-	0	0	y-	H1	H1
			-se	H1	H2
-den	H2	H2	Mai-	H2	H2
bare	H1	H1	that	L2	L2
he-	L1	L1	the	L2	L2
king	0	0	-uen	0	0
-sech	H2	H2	bi-	H2	H2
sone	H1	H1	thin	L2	L2
swe-	L1	L1	that	L2	L2
thing	0	0	-te	0	0
that	H3	H3	he	H1	H1
habbe	H1	H1	of	H1	H1
hus	L1	L2	rew-	L2	L2
-sing	H1	H1			
and	L1	L1	bring	H2	H2
hus	L1	L1	of	L1	L1
this	L1	L1	wo-	H1	L1
-ni(n)g	L1	L1			
for	H2	H2	his	H1	H1
much-	H1	H1	-e-	L1	L1
			-le	L1	L1
mil-	L1	L1	-se	0	0
and	H2	H2	hus	H2	H2
tach-	L1	L1	-e	L2	L2
wer-	L1	L1	-chen	0	0
swo	0	0			
in	H3	H3	thos	H1	H1
liue	H1	H1	go	H1	H1
wu	L1	L2*	sit	L2	L2
go	H1	H1			

Appendix C

that	L1	L1		we	H2	H2
mo-	L1	L1		-ten	L1	L1
ey	L1	L1				

Appendix D   Stress-based melodic maps: Anglo-Norman songs

D.1   *De ma dame*, GB-Ob Ashmole 1285, f. 235v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
De			ma	0	H1
da-	H2	H2	-me	0	0
uuil	H1	H1	cha[n]-	L2	L3
-ter	L1	L1			
			ke	L1	L1
tant	H1	H1	est	0	0
be-	H1	H1	-le [et]	H2	H2
bloi-	L1	L3	-e	H1	H1
			se	L1	L1
mi	0	0	p[e]-	0	H1
-us-	H2	H2	-se	0	0
			a-	0	0
-se-	H1	H1	-ü-	L2	L3
-rer	L1	L2			
tres-	H1	H1	-tut	0	0
sen	H1	H1	se-	H2	H2
-roi-	L1	L3	-e	H1	H1
de	H2	H2	[lu]i	L2	L2
le-	H1	L1	-[a]u-	0	0
-ment	L2	L2	a-	H2	H2
-mer	L2	L2			
q[ue]r	L1	L1	e	L1	L1
cors	H1	H1	me-	H2	H2
-troi-	L1	L1	-e	0	0
			ja	H5	H5
au-	0	0	-tre	L2	L2
nau-	H1	H1	-rai	L2	L2
en	L1	L1	pe[n]-	H1	H1
-ser	L2	L2			
			fors	L1	L1
ta[n]t	0	0	ke	L1	L1
tut	H1	H1	sen	H1	H1
soi-	L1	L1*	-e	L1	L1
trop	H1	H1	ses-	L1	L1
-lui-	0	0	-ne	L1	L1

las	H2	H2
quei	H1	L2

-ra	0	0
ja	H1	H1
-ci	H1	H1
mei	L1	L1

pur	H2	H2

au-	0	0
ele	0	H2
m[e]r-	L2	L3
de	0	L1

D.2 *Parti de mal*, GB-Lbl Harley 1717, f. 251v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Par-		
mal	L1	L1
bien	H1	H1
-ne	0	0
uoil	H2	H2
-cun	L2	L2
gent	H1	H2
-ir	0	0
ka	H4	H4
-suing	L1	L1
deus	H1	H1
-le	0	0
si	H2	H2
deit	L2	L2
-do-	H1	H2
-lir	0	0
kar	H4	H4
cruiz	L1	L1
pur	H1	H1
-rir	0	0
m[u]lt	H5	H5
bien	L1	L3
gue-	L1	L2
-ne	0	0
kar	H4	H4

Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
-ti	0	0
de	L1	L1
e	L1	L1
a	L1	0
a-	H1	H1
-tur-	L1	L3
ma	H1	H1
chan-	H1	H1
a	L1	L1
la	L1	L1
fe-	H1	H1
-re o-	L1	L3
sun	0	0
be-	L1	L1
nus	L1	L1
ad	L1	0
a-	H1	H1
-pe-	L1	L3
ne	H1	H1
li	H1	H1
nul	L1	L1
pros-	L1	L1
-me	H1	H1
fail-	L1	L3
en	0	0
la	L1	L1
deig-	L1	L1
-nat	L1	L1
nus	H1	H2
mu-	L1	L3
li	H1	H1
doit	H1	H1
es-	0	0
-tre	L2	L2
-re-	H1	H2
-do-	H1	L1
par	H1	H1

mort	L1	L1

tuz	H1	H2

-te	0	0

sa	L1	L1
su-	L2	L2
-mes	L2	L2
ra-	H1	H1
-cha-	L1	L3

D.3 *Quaunt le russinol*, IRL-Dtc 432, ff. 6-7r

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
Quaunt			le	H4	H4
rus-	H1	H1	-si	H1	H1
-nol	L1	L1	se	L1	L1
ces-	H1	L1	-se	H1	H1
			ke	0	0
de	H1	H1	chan-	L1	L1
-t[er]	L1	L1	nen	0	0
ad	L1	L1	de-	H1	L1
-lit	0	L1			
E	0	0	la	H4	H4
b[ra]un-	H1	H2	-che	L1	L1
se	L1		a-		L1
-bes-	H1	L1	-se	H1	H1
			ke	0	0
la	H1	H1	foi-	L1	L1
-le	L1	L1	ne	0	0
re-	L1	L1	-ver-	H1	L1
-dit	0	L1			
			La	H3	H3
flur	0	0	du	L2	L2
pre	H2	H2			
se	H1	H1	de-	H2	H2
-d[re]-	L1	L2	-ce	H1	H1
			ken	0	0
sa	H1	H1	se-	H1	H1
-su[n]	H1	H1	plus	L4	L4
ne	H1	H1	flu-	L1	L2
-rit	H1	H1			
De	H1	H1	mu[n]	H1	H1
quor	H1	H1	ke	L1	L1
m[u]lt	L1	L1	me	L1	L2
ble-	H1	H1	-ce	L1	L2
me	L1	L1	plein-	H1	H1
-d[ra]i	H2	H2	p[ar]	L1	L1
b[re]f	H1	L1	es-	L1	L1
-c[ri]t	H1	H1			

D.4 *El tens d'iver*, GB-Cpc 113, ff. 35v-36r

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
			El		
tens	0	0	d'i-	0	0
-ver	L2	L2	quant	H2	H2
vei	L1	L1	pa-	L1	L1
-lir	L1	L1			
			-be	L1	L1
l'er-	H3	H3	la	L2	L2
pur	L1	L1	frei-	H2	H2
			-re	L4	L4
-du-	H2	H2			
			e	H4	H4
les	0	0	me-	0	0
-nuz	L2	L2	oi-	H2	H2
-sels	L1	L1	ta-	L1	L1
-pir	L1	L1			
			en	H1	H1
la	H2	H2	ra-	L1	L1
-me-	L1	L1	-e	L2	L2
			o-	H2	H2
-scu-	H2	H2	-re	L4	L4
grant	0	0	a	H4	H4
-lur	L2	L2	do-	0	0
-vent	L1	L1	su-	H2	H2
-pir	L2	L2	sus-	0	0
vei	L1	L1	tant	H3	H3
-sir	L1	L1	ei-	L1	L2
-mur	H1	H1	a-	H2	H2
sa	L2	L2	de	L2	L2
-tu-	L1	L1	na-	H2	H2
			-re	0	0
be-	0	0	la	H4	H4
			-le	0	0
			a	0	0
qui	L2	L2	joe	H2	H1
pens	0	L2	a	L1	L2
tir	H1	H1			
			senz	H3	H3
rien	L1	L1	me-	L1	L1
-rir	L2	L2			
			me	H2	H2
gref	H1	H1	a	L2	L2
des-	L2	L2	-me-	H2	H2
-su-	L1	L1	-re	0	0

i-	H2	H2
es-	H1	H1
-ran-	L2	L2

de-	H2	H2
-te	H1	H1
pei-	L1	L1

les	H2	H2
-manz	H1	H1
-van-	L2	L2

-veir	H2	H2
-e	H1	H1
-tai-	L1	0

En	H2	H2
-cel	L2	L2
-pe-	L2	L2
-ce	H1	H1

me	H2	H2
-li-	L2	L2
ma	L2	L2
-ne	0	0

ki	H2	H2
a-	L2	L2
a-	L2	L2
-ce	0	0

de a-	H3	H3
goi-	L1	L1
cer-	L3	L3
-ne	L1	L1

D.5 *Mult s'aprisme*, GB-Ob Rawl. G.22, f. 1r-v

Stressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement	Unstressed syllables	Initial movement	Net movement
[M]ult			s'a-	H2	H2
-pris-	H2	H2	-me	0	0
li	0	0	ter-	H1	0
-mi-	0	0	nes	L1	L1
kar	L1	L1	ran-	H1	H2
-cu-	L1	L1	-nes	H1	L1
et	L2	L2	ba-	H1	H1*
-ï-	H1	H2	-nes	L1	L1
me			[se]r-		
-runt	H2	H2	de	0	0
pres	H1	H1	vei-	H1	0
-si-	0	0	-nes	L1	L1
quant	L2	L2	les	H1	H2
da-	L2	L2	-mes	H2	0
e	L2	L2	mes-		
-chi-			-nes	L1	L1
e	L2	L2	cun-	H1	0
-tes-	H2	H2	-ses	L1	L1*
pa-	H1	H2	-la-	L2	L4
-ï-	H1	H1	-nes	H1	0
unt	0	0	les	H1	L1
queors	H3	H3	f-...	H1	L1
...			li		
plus	L1	L1	tra-	L2	L2
-ïz	H1	H1*	del	L1	L1
munt	L1	L1			
			ki	H4	H4
maig-	H1	H2	-nent	H1	0
de	0	0	tuz	L2	L2
cels	H1	0	ki	L1	0
sunt	0	0			

Appendix E   Melodic maps of syllable count: Anglo-Norman songs

E.1   *Bien deust chanter*, GB-Lbl Arundel 248, f.155r

Line   Syllable →

↓	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Bien	deust	chan-	-ter	ky	eust	le-	-ale	a-	-mi-	-e
		H1 H1	H1 L1#	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L3	L1 L1	L1# 0	L1 L3
2	ga-	-riz	ser-	-roit	ky	bien	la	seust	choi-	-sir	
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	0# L1	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1# H2	L1 L4	H1 L1	H1 H1	
3	a-	-mer	co-	-vient	mes	coest	la	maes-		-tri-	-e
	H4 H4	H1 H1	H1 H1	L2 L2	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L3		L1 0#	L1 L3
4	de	bien	a-	-mer	e	fol	a-	-mur	guer-	-pir	
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	0# L1	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1 H1*	L1 L3	H1 L1	0# H1	
5	car	ki	k'a-	-siet	en	fo-	-lur	soen	de-	-sir	
	H1 H2#	H1 H1	0 L2	H2 H2	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L2	H1 L1	H1 H1	
6	de-	-ceuz	en	iert	kant	mieuz	qui-	-de- -ra	jo-	-ir	
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	0# L1	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1# H1	L1 L1 L2	H1 L1	H1 H1	
7	ke	fol	a-	-mur	fait	al-	-me e	cors	pe-	-rir	
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1*	L4 L4	H1 H1	H1 H2	L1 L2	L1# 0	L1# L2	0 L2	
8	mes	ky	se	prent	a	la	dou-	-ce	ma-	-ri-	-e
	0 0	H2 H2	L1 L3	H3 H3	H1 0	H1 H3	L1# L2	L1 L2	L2 L1	H2 L1	0 L1
9	de	quoer	ver-	-ray	ne	s'en	poet	re-	-pen-	-tir	
	H1 H2#	H1 H1	L1 L3	H3 H3	0 0	H1 H3	L1# L2	L1 L3	H1 H2#	L1 L3	

E.2 *De ma dame*, GB-Ob Ashmole 1285, f. 235v

Line ↓	Syllable → 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	De	ma	da-	-me	uuil	cha[n]-	-ter	
		0 H1	H2 H2	0 0	H1 H1	L2 L3	L1 L1	
2	ke	tant	est	bele	et	bloi-	-e	
	L1 L1	H1 H1	0 0	H1 H1	H2 H2	L1 L3	H1 H1	
3	se	m'i	p[e]-	-üs-	-se a-	-se-	-ü-	-rer
	L1 L1	0 0	0 H1	H2 H2	0 0	H1 H1	L2 L3	L1 L2
4	tres-	-tut	sen	se-	-roi-	-e		
	H1 H1	0 0	H1 H1	H2 H2	L1 L3	H1 H1		
5	de	lui	lë-	-[a]u-	-ment	a-	-mer	
	H2 H2	L2 L2	H1 L1	0 0	L2 L2	H2 H2	L2 L2	
6	q[ue]r	e	cors	me-	-t[ro]i-	-e		
	L1 L1	L1 L1	H1 H1	H2 H2	L1 L1	0 0		
7	ja	aut-	-[re]	n'au-	-rai	en	pen-	-ser
	H5 H5	0 0	L2 L2	H1 H1	L2 L2	L1 L1	H1 H1	L2 L2
8	fors	ta[n]t	ke	tut	sen	soi-	-e	
	L1 L1	0 0	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L1*	L1 L1	

Ref.

Line ↓	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
11	trop	s'es-	-lui-	-ne	las	pur	q[u]i	
	H1 H1	L1 L1	0 0	L1 L1	H2 H2	H2 H2	H1 L2	
12	au-	-ra	ele	ja	mer-	-ci	de	mei
	0 0	0 0	0 H2	H1 H1	L2 L3	H1 H1	0 L1	L1 L1

E.3 *Parti de mal*, GB-Lbl Harley 1717, f. 251v

Line   Syllable →

↓	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Par-	-ti	de	mal	e	a	bien	a-	-tur-	-ne
		0 0	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 0	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0
2	uoil	ma	chan-	-cun	a	la	gent	fe-	-re o-	-ir
	H2 H2	H1 H1	H1 H1	L2 L2	L1 L1	L1 L1	H1# H2	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0
3	ka	sun	be-	-suing	nus	ad	deus	a-	-pe-	-le
	H4 H4	0 0	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1# 0	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0
4	si	ne	li	deit	nul	pros-	-do-	-me	fail-	-lir
	H2 H2	H1 H1	H1 H1	L2 L2	L1 L1	L1 L1	H1# H2	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0
5	kar	en	la	cruiz	deig-	-nat	pur	nus	mu-	-rir
	H4 H4	0 0	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1# H2	L1 L3	0 0
6	m[u]lt	li	doit	bien	es-	-tre	gue-	-re-	-do-	-ne
	H5 H5	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0	L2 L2	L1 L2	H1 H2	H1 L1	0 0
7	kar	par	sa	mort	su-	-mes	tuz	ra-	-cha-	-te
	H4 H4	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L2 L2	L2 L2	H1 H2	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0

E.4 *Quaunt le russinol*, IRL-Dtc 432, ff. 6-7r

Line   Syllable →

Line ↓	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Quaunt	le	rus-	-si-	-nol	se	ces-	-se
		H4 H4	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	H1 L1	H1 H1
2	ke	de	chaun-	-t[er]	nen	ad	de-	-lit
	0 0	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	0 0	L1 L1	H1 L1	0 L1
3	E	la	b[ra]un-	-che	se a-	-bes-	-se	
	0 0	H4 H4	H1 H2	L1 L1	L1 L1	H1 L1	H1 H1	
4	ke	la	foi-	-le	ne	re-	-ver-	-dit
	0 0	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	0 0	L1 L1	H1 L1	0 L1
5	La	flur	du	pre	se	de-	-d[re]-	-ce
	H3 H3	0 0	L2 L2	H2 H2	H1 H1	H2 H2	L1 L3	H1 H1
6	ken	sa	se-	-sun	plus	ne	flu-	-rit
	0 0	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L4 L4	H1 H1	L1 L2	H1 H1
7	De	mu[n]	quor	ke	m[u]lt	me	ble-	-ce
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L3	H1 H1	L1 L2
8	me	plein-	-d[ra]i	p[ar]	b[re]f	es-	-c[ri]t	
	L1 L1	H1 H1	H2 H2	L1 L1	H1 L1	L1 L1	H1 H1	

E.5 *El tens d'iver*, GB-Cpc 113, ff. 35v-36r

Line ↓	Syllable → 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	El	tens	d'i-	-ver	quant	vei	pa-	-lir
		0 0	0 0	L2 L2	H2 H2	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1
2	l'er-	-be	pur	la	frei-	-du-	-re	
	H3 H3	L1 L1	L1 L1	L2 L2	H2 H2	H2 H2	L4 L4	
3	e	les	me-	-nuz	oi-	-sels	ta-	-pir
	H4 H4	0 0	0 0	L2 L2	H2 H2	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1
4	en	la	ra-	-me- -e	os-	-cu-	-re	
	H1 H1	H2 H2	L1 L1	L1 L2	H2 H2	H2 H2*	L4 L4	
5	a	grant	do-	-lur	su-	-vent	sus-	-pir
	H4 H4	0 0	0 0	L2 L2	H2 H2	L1 L1	0 0	L2 L2
6	tant	vei	ei-	-sir				
	H3 H3	L1 L1	L1 L2	L1 L1				
7	a-	-mur	de	sa	na-	-tu-	-re	
	H2 H2	H1 H1	L2 L2	L2 L2	H2 H2	L1 L1	0 0	
8	la	be-	-le a	qui	joe	pens	a	tir
	H4 H4	0 0	0 0	L2 L2	H2 H1	0 L1	L1 L2	H1 H1
9	senz	rien	me-	-rir				
	H3 H3	L1 L1	L1 L1	L2 L2				
10	me	gref	a	des-	-me-	-su-	-re	
	H2 H2	H1 H1	L2 L2	L2 L2	H2 H2	L1 L1	0 0	

Ref.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
11	En		i-		-cel		es-		-per-		-an-		-ce	
	H2	H2	H2	H2	L2	L2	H1	H1	L2	L2	L2	L2	H1	H1
12	me		de-		-li-		-te		ma		pei-		-ne	
	H2	H2	H2	H2	L2	L2	H1	H1	L2	L2	L1	L1	0	0
13	ki		les		a-		-manz		a-		-van-		-ce	
	H2	H2	H2	H2	L2	L2	H1	H1	L2	L2	L2	L2	0	0
14	de	a-	-veir		goi-		-e		cer-		-tei-		-ne	
	H2	H2	H2	H2	L1	L1	H1	H1	L3	L3	L1	H1	L1	L1

E.6 *Mult s'aprisme*, GB-Ob Rawl. G.22, f. 1r-v

Line	Syllable → 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	[M]ult	s'as-	-pris-	-me	li	ter-	-mi-	-nes
		H2 H2	H2 H2	0 0	0 0#	H1 0#	0 0	L1 L1
2	kar	ran-	-cu-	-nes	e	ba-	-ï-	-nes
	L1 L1	H1 H2	L1 L1	H1# L1	L2 L2	H1 H1*	H1 H2	0 0
3	me	[se]r-	-runt	de	pres	vei-	-si-	-nes
			H2 H2	0 0	H2 H2	H1 0#	0 0	L1 L1
4	quant	les	da-	-mes	e	mes-	-chi-	-nes
	L2 L2	H1 H2	L2 L2	H2# 0	L2 L2			L1 L1
5	e	cun-	-tes-	-ses	pa-	-la-	-ï-	-nes
	L2 L2	H1 0	H2 H2	L1 L1*	H1 H2	L2 L4	H1 H1	H1 0
6	unt	les	queors	f[al-	-sa-	-ï-	-nes]	
	0 0	H1 0#	H3 H3	H1# L1	L2 L2	H1*		

Ref.

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7	[Jeo	sui]	li	plus	tra-	-ïz	del	munt
				L1 L1	L2 L2	H1 H1*	L1 L1	L1 L1
8	ki	maig-	-nent	de	tuz	cels	ki	sunt
	H4 H4	H1 H2	H1 0	0 0	L2 L2	H1 0	L1 0	0 0

E.7 *S'onques nuls hoem*, GB-Lbl Harley 3775, f. 14r-v

Line	Syllable → 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	S'on-	-ques	nuls	hoem	par	du-	-re	de-	-par-	-ti-	-e
	(—)	H2 H2	H1 H2	0 0	H1 H1	L2 L2	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L3	0 0
2	doit	es-	-tre	sauf	jeo	ser-	-rai	par	rai-	-soun	
	H2 H2	H2 H2	L1 L1	H1 H1	L2 L2	L2 L2	H2 H2	H1 H1	L2 L2	0 0	
3	ke on-	-ke	tur-	-tre	qi	perd	soun	com-	-pai-	-noun	
	L2 L2	0 0	H2 H2	0 0	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L2	
4	ne	de-	-mo-	-ra	de	moi	plus	es-	-ba-	-i-	-e
	H1 H1	H2 H2	0 0	0 L1	L1 L1	0 0	L1 0	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1# L2	H1 H1
5	kar	chas-	-cun	pleint	sa	ter- -re	et	son	pa-	-is	
	L1 H1	0 L2	0 0	0 0	H2 H2	H2 H2	0 0	H1 0	L1 L1	0 0	
6	qant	il	s'en	part	de	ses	co-	-raus	a-	-mis	
	H2 H2	H2 H2	L1 L1	H1 H1	L2 L2	L2 L2	H2 H2	0 H2	L3 L3	0 0	
7	mes	i	n'i ad	par-	-tir	qoi	ke	nus	en	di-	-e
	L2 L2	0 0	H2 H2	0 0	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1 L1	L1# L1	L1 L1
8	si	do-	-le-	-rous	cum	de a-	-mi	e	de a-	-mi-	-e
	H1 H1	H2 H2	0 0	H1 L1	L1 L1	0 0	L1 0	H1 H1	L1 L2	L1 0	H1# L1

E.8　*Si tost c'amis*, GB-Lpro E 163/22/1/2

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Si	tost	c'a-	-mis	en-	-tant	a	ben	a-	-mer
	(gray)	L2 L2	L1 L1	L2 L3	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	H2 H2	0 L3	H1 H1
2	prant	gar-	-de A-	-mours	si	doit	mer-	-chi	a-	-voir
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 0	L2 L2	H1 H1	L1 L2	L1 0#	H1 H1	L1 L2	H1 H1
3	qui	se	gar-	-de	por	a	ce-	-li	don-	-ner
	H3 H3#	L1 L1	L2 L2	L2 L3	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	H2 H2	0 L3	H1 H1
4	qui	ser-	-vi	l'a	si	qu'il	i	doit	pa-	-roir
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L2 L2	H1 H1	L1 L2	L1 0#	H1 H1	L1 L2	H1 H1
5	por	Çou	ai	jou	tel	vo-	-loir			
	H1 H1	H2 H2	L2 L2	L1 L1	L2 L2	0 L2	H1 H1			
6	que	je	ne	vo-	-lei-	-e	mi-	-e		
	H2 H2	0 0	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L1 L2	(gray)			
7	que	ma	da-	-me	eust	m'a-	-mi-	-e		
	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 L2	H1 H1	0 0	H1 H1	L1 L3	H1 H1		
8	es-	-té	lors	que	je	le	vi			
	H1 H1	0 0	L1 L1	0 L2	L1 L1	H2 H2	H2 H2			
9	pour	au-	-tre	tour	s'es-	-tre	po-	-oit	en-	-si
	H2 H2#	L1 L1	L1 L2	L1 L1	H1 H1	H1 H1	H1 H1	L2 L2	L1 L1	H1 H1

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Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.8	GB-Cjc E.8
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432	IR-Dtc 432
London, British Library, Arundel MS 248	GB-Lbl Arundel 248
London, British Library, Harley MS 978	GB-Lbl Harley 978
London, British Library, Harley MS 1717	GB-Lbl Harley 1717
London, British Library, Harley MS 3775	GB-Lbl Harley 3775
London, British Library, Harley MS 5393	GB-Lbl Harley 5393
London, British Library, Royal MS 12 E. i	GB-Lbl Royal 12 E. i
London, Metropolitan Archives, Corporation of London,	
MS Cust. I	GB-Lma Cust.1
London, The National Archives, E 163/22/1/2	GB-Lpro E 163/22/1/2
Maidstone, Maidstone Museum, MS A.13	GB-MAmm A 13
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1285	GB-Ob Ashmole 1285
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 139	GB-Ob Douce 139
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.18	GB-Ob Rawl. G 18
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS G.22	GB-Ob Rawl. G 22
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 169*	GB-Ob Tanner 169*
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Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 512	GB-Cgc 512
Cambridge, St John's College, MS A.15	GB-Cjc A.15
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.39 (olim MS 323)	GB-Ctc B.14.39
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52	GB-Ctc B.14.52
Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.1.1	GB-Cu MS Gg.1.1
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 18.7.21	GB-En Adv. 18.7.21
Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf.	
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Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Lat. 2	F-EV MS Latin 2
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Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet. MS 241	GB-Ob Rawl. Poet. 241
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C.510	GB-Ob Rawl. C.510
Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29	GB-Ojec 29
Oxford, New College, MS 88	GB-Onc 88
Oxford, University College, MS 29	GB-Ouc 29
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Français 19525	F-Pnm Français 19525
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