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Music in Early Franciscan Thought

Peter V. Loewen

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The Medieval Franciscans

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By

Peter V. Loewen

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For Cheryl, Erik, Lauren, Victoria, and Arianna
And in Memory of Lily Loewen (1938–2013)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Actus	*Actus Beati Francisci*
BRAH	*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*
1C	*Vita prima sancti Francisci*
2C	*Vita secunda sancti Francisci*
CA	*Compilatio Assiensis*
CAO	Dom René-Jean Hesbert. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii.* 6 vols. Rome: Herder, 1963–79.
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
Deeds	*The Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions*
Fioretti	*Fioretti di Sancto Franciescho*
Life	*The Life of St. Francis*
LJS	*Vita sancti Francisci* by *Julian von Speyer*
LMj	*Legenda major*
2Mirror	*A Mirror of the Perfection of the Status of a Lesser Brother*
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Zweite neubearbeitete Ausgabe.* Edited by Ludwig Finscher. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–.
NG	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* Rev. ed. Edited by Stanley Sadie. 27 vols. London: MacMillan, 2001.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus sive bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium ss. partum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III tempora floruerunt ... Series latina.* 221 vols. Edited by J.P. Migne. Paris, 1844–64.
Remembrance	*The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*
1SP	*Documenta Antiqua Franciscana*
2SP	*Le Speculum perfectionis ou Mémoires de Frère Léon Sur la Seconde Partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise*

INTRODUCTION

In his survey of the medieval *Ars musica* more than sixty years ago, Leonard Ellinwood traced the lines of musical thought from late Antiquity to the end of the thirteenth century.[1] His comparison of monastic texts written between the ninth and twelfth centuries with the works of several thirteenth-century schoolmen produced some incisive observations about how perceptions of music had changed. Ellinwood generally distinguishes thirteenth-century writers who followed the academic school of thought (Roger Bacon, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Vincent of Beauvais, and Michael Scott) from music "theorists" (Juan Gil de Zamora, Pseudo-Garland, John Cotton, and Guido d'Arezzo), whose works fall more into the tradition of the monastic specialist.[2] In his assessment, whereas early-medieval theorists tended to follow Boethius, and concerned themselves mostly with technical matters of measurement, the schoolmen inclined toward philosophical evaluations of music.[3] Like Isidore of Seville (d. 636), he says, these later writers tended to eschew quantitative analyses, preferring rather to examine the categories of music, to define their character, and to consider their effect on humans and animals.[4] They were also interested in practical matters such as the construction of musical instruments and performance practice. What Ellinwood does not stress, however, is the fact that half of the writers whom he considered significant contributors to the *Ars musica* were Franciscans—namely Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Roger Bacon, and Juan Gil de Zamora.

These Franciscan Friars were part of a lively intellectual community at the medieval university, which also included secular clergy and members of other religious orders. To view their contributions within this context, as Nan Cooke Carpenter and others have done, makes logical sense.[5] Yet to limit our view of them to this society alone would be to cut them off from the musical personality that Franciscans were cultivating through their literary and visual hagiography, and from the apostolic mission in which Franciscan intellectuals played an essential role.

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[1] Leonard Ellinwood, "Ars Musica," *Speculum* 20, no. 3 (July 1945): 290–99.
[2] Ibid., 296.
[3] Ibid., 291.
[4] Ibid., 291, 292.
[5] Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

The modern germanist Kurt Ruh considers the entire body of Franciscan hagiography an essential source for any historical representation of Franciscanism.[6] When we examine their musical details more closely, it seems clear that hagiographers wished to represent music as a universal source of continuity within Francis's complex persona. They saw music as an affective means of verbal and melodic communication that reflects his identity as layman and cleric, sinner and saint. While conscious of their place within learned and Franciscan society, Franciscan scholars propagated an understanding of music as a universal art form among the liberal and mechanical arts, of service to both natural science and moral philosophy. With it they would advocate passionately for the application of knowledge through preaching and through song in a way that would serve the apostolic mission of their Order and the Church as a whole.

The question of music in Franciscan life is rendered all the more significant in light of their rapid ascendancy in medieval society as an Order of clerics. Determined not to confine their apostolate to Italy alone, the Franciscans decided in 1217 to send missions to Spain, France, and the Holy Land; and this plan was renewed in 1219 with new expansion into the German lands and reinforcements sent to existing missions.[7] In 1224, they would send their first mission to England.[8] Within sixty years of the Order's foundation some time between 1209 and 1210, they had established over 700 convents, becoming perhaps the largest monastic order in Europe.[9]

In their missions, the Franciscan friars targeted primarily the cities, since these were, as Bonaventura recommended, the most practical bases

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[6] "Diese Legenden [die beiden 'Viten' und der 'Tractatus de miraculis' des Thomas von Celano, die 'Legenda maior' und 'Legenda minor' Bonaventuras, das 'Speculum perfectionis' Leos von Assisi, die 'Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius', wonach die unsterblichen italienischen 'Fioretti'] sind wesentliche Elemente jeder geschichtlichen Darstellung des Franziskanertums" (Kurt Ruh, *Bonaventura deutsch: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Franziskaner-Mystik und -Scholastik* [Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956], 43).

[7] Giordano da Giano, *Chronica Fratris Jordani,* ed. H. Boehmer, Collection d'études et de documents (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908), 3. See *The Chronicle of Brother Jordan of Giano,* in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, trans. Placid Herman, O.F.M. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961).

[8] On the history of the Franciscan province of England see Thomae de Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951). Thomas of Eccleston, *The Chronicle of Brother Thomas of Eccleston: The Coming of the Friars to England,* in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*.

[9] Christopher Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8. In fact, the number is probably far greater, but we have lost many of the documents that concern the earliest foundations. See John Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, History Series No. 4 (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1983).

from which they could pursue their apostolic way of life.[10] Working under the aegis of the papacy, the Franciscan identity evolved as the friars engaged more fully in urban life. Within forty years of the death of St. Francis in 1226, the Franciscans had essentially become an Order of priests.[11] Lawrence Landini reminds us that before the mendicants, the *cura animarum* had been the exclusive preserve of the parochial and diocesan clergy.[12] But canon ten of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) changed the dynamics of power among religious when it called for "suitable men, powerful in work and word" in cathedral *and* conventual churches to preach, hear confession, impose penances, and generally serve in matters of salvation.[13] In their convents, the *Regula non Bullata* of 1221 required all Franciscan friars to perform the Divine Offices, the clerical brothers according to the custom of other clerics. Singing the Offices and Mass would increase the need for specialized training in chant. To satisfy these regular obligations, Franciscans would institute programs of learning that included musical instruction.[14] And it appears this was aimed not only at improving the friars' standard of singing but also of preaching, as we shall see especially in the writings of Roger Bacon, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and Juan Gil de Zamora.

The recruitment of prominent scholars at the universities gave the Franciscans a foothold in major centers of learning like Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Cambridge. Moreover, the Franciscans became such a fixture of the medieval city during this age of urban expansion in Europe that "the presence of a mendicant house quickly became an urban status symbol," as John Freed says, "the medieval equivalent of a nineteenth-century railroad station."[15]

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[10] S. Bonaventura, *Determinationes quaestionum circa regulam fratrum Minorum,* Opera omnia 8 (Quaracchi: Collegii St. Bonaventurae, 1898), 340–1.

[11] Lawrence Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor* (Chicago: Pontifica Universitas Gregoriana Facultas Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 1968), xxi.

[12] Ibid., 12.

[13] Canon 10: "Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls. If anyone neglect to comply with this, he shall be subject to severe punishment" (H.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* [St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937], 252).

[14] S.J.P. Van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 48.

[15] John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1977), 44.

Attracting to their ranks a diverse group of clergymen, scholars, musicians, and other laymen gave the Order a diverse source of strength. A broad assortment of recruits representing various social constituencies brought to Franciscan missions an impressive range of talent and expertise. The theologians who trained the first legions of Franciscan postulants would teach them to sing and declaim their piety in the open air and from the pulpit of their convent churches, and thus to impress their penitential spirituality upon the city dwellers. Despite Francis's own warning to his friars that they seek only the lowest (*minores*) forms of employment, popes began to call upon their services as prelates.[16] By 1274, thirty-two Franciscan friars had been appointed to the episcopacy; and by 1311, there were fifty-six Franciscan bishops in Europe and North Africa.[17] As Williell R. Thomson writes,

> it was in the interests of the papacy and the Church as a whole that their humble lights not be hidden under the bushel of poverty. Every pope from Innocent III through Alexander IV—and this would assuredly hold true later for Nicholas IV (1288–1292), himself a Franciscan—desired that the Order be as conspicuous as possible, to illuminate for all men the *vita apostolica*.[18]

As prelates, the Franciscans would be in a position to assert their spiritual programs and attitudes toward music in their ecclesiastical administration. For example, the English friar Richard de Lestrede, during his tenure as bishop of Ossory between 1317 and 1360, composed Latin songs for priests and clerks to sing on important holidays and at celebrations.[19] On the other hand, we have friars like Juan Gil de Zamora (c. 1230–1318), who would extend his influence to the courtly society of Alfonso X as a secretary, confessor, composer, and music theorist.[20]

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[16] Tommaso da Celano explains the issue of Franciscan "minority" in his commentary on the Rule of 1221. He writes: "For when it was written in the Rule, 'Let them be lesser [...,]' at the uttering of the statement, at that same moment, he said, 'I want this fraternity to be called the Order of Lesser Brothers.'

They were truly lesser who, by being 'subject to all,' always sought the position of contempt, performing duties which they foresaw would be the occasion of some affront. In this way they might merit to be grounded on the solid rock of true humility and to have the well-designed spiritual structure of all the virtues arise in them" (Thomas of Celano, *The Life of St. Francis*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early* Documents, vol. 1, *The Saint,* Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., et al., eds. [New York: New City Press, 1999], 217).

[17] Moorman, *History*, 296.

[18] Williell R. Thomson, *Friars in the Cathedral: The First Franciscan Bishops 1226–1261* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 17.

[19] *The Lyrics of the Red Book of Ossory*, ed. Richard Leighton Greene, Medium Aevum Monographs New Series V (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), iv. See also my *Music in Early Franciscan Practice* (forthcoming).

[20] See Chapter Eight.

Out of this milieu grew our earliest Franciscan repertories of chant and devotional song, and their first scientific and theological expositions on the subject of music. The works of medieval Franciscan authors have long been considered crucial to Western literary and intellectual history. Yet despite hagiographers' proclamations about their status as "jongleurs of God" (*joculatores Domini*), and their major contributions to music theory and cognition, Franciscan music is still relatively unexplored as a concise subject of modern criticism. For the past 150 years or more, literary critics have found fertile ground in medieval Franciscan song repertories. We have Fidel Fita Colomé's seminal articles on the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[21] Alessandro d'Ancona took up the dramatic elements of Jacopone da Todi's *laude* in *Origini del teatro italiano*.[22] R.H. Robbins discussed the influence of the Franciscans on the incipient form of the English carol.[23] Kurt Ruh's *Bonaventura deutsch* and *Franziskanisches Schriftum im deutschen Mittelalter* are among the most important Germanistic studies of Franciscan literature, but by no means the earliest, since Franz Joseph Mone and Anton Schönbach had long before recognized the influence of Franciscan literature upon medieval German drama.[24]

Many critics have taken a broader view of Franciscan song, considering it in the context of medieval literature as whole. F.J.E. Raby, for example, expounded the wonders of the "Franciscan Tradition" in the *History of Christian Latin Poetry*.[25] Whether dealing with Latin or vernacular songs of Franciscan provenance, scholars have noted their didactic tone, fervent expressions of penance, and dramatic and often hyper-realistic displays of pious suffering, especially when portraying the compassionate Mother of Christ and the contrite Mary Magdalene. These critical approaches helped to establish the model of Franciscan literature, to which other unattested

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[21] Fidel Fita Colomé, "Poesias ineditas de Gil de Zamora," BRAH 7 (1885): 379–409; ibid., "Coincuenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora combinadas con las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio," BRAH 7 (1886): 54–144.

[22] Alessandro d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, vol. 1 (Torino: Ermanno Loescher, 1891).

[23] R.H. Robbins, "The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans," *Modern Language Notes* 3, no. 4 (1938): 239–45; and "Friar Herebert and the Carol" *Anglia* (1957): 194–8.

[24] Kurt Ruh, *Bonaventura deutsch*; and Kurt Ruh, ed., *Franziskanisches Schrifttum im deutschen Mittelalter*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen Zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, vols. 11 and 86 (Munich: Beck, 1965, 1985). F.J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters* (Karlsruhe: C. Macklot, 1846). Anton Schönbach, *Über die Marienklagen* (Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1874).

[25] F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929; repr. 1966).

works of medieval lyric were later compared and evaluated for the influence of Franciscan spirituality. Using this method led David Jeffrey, for example, to expand the repertory of Franciscan song in England.[26] So successful has this critical campaign been that "the Franciscan movement" has become a familiar maxim of modern literary criticism.

From the field of liturgiology, one must include S.J.P. Van Dijk's examinations of the Roman liturgy as part of the body of Franciscan literary criticism. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* demonstrated the importance of the Franciscans in Western liturgical history, while Van Dijk's two-volume *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy* gave us editions and criticism of Haymo of Faversham's reformed liturgical books.[27] These have been indispensible for studies of church history and liturgiology; yet they, too, are essentially studies of literature rather than of music. Van Dijk's musical criticism per se is limited mostly to cursory observations concerning the tempo and articulation of Franciscan chant performances and how they imitated the papal chaplains.[28]

Art and drama historians have been especially productive critics of the Franciscan tradition. Émile Mâle, for example, considered Johannes de Caulibus's *Meditaciones Vitae Christi* a powerful inspiration to artists in medieval France. Considering John's expression of pathos for the agonies of the Virgin Mary and her son, he exclaims that "[h]ad it not been for this book, the Mystery plays would lack some of their best scenes."[29] Eduard Wechssler, Walther Lipphardt, Anthonius Touber, and Rolf Bergmann have all recognized the connection between the spirituality of the Friars Minor and the pious and didactic spirit of the German Passion plays and *Marienklagen*.[30] More recently, Anne Derbes has shown that the

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[26] David Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

[27] S.J.P.Van Dijk, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Newman Press, 1960); and ibid., *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy,* 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

[28] S.J.P. Van Dijk, "Medieval Terminology and Methods of Psalm Singing," *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952), *passim* 7–26. Van Dijk repeats much of this research in *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 25–6.

[29] Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 40. Originally published as *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France. Étude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1908).

[30] Eduard Wechssler, *Die Romanischen Marienklagen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dramas im Mittelalter* (Halle: Ehrhardt Karras, 1893), 4 n.*, 6–7, 14, 30–5. Walther Lipphardt,

Franciscans were historically important as patrons and transmitters of *Christus patiens* imagery in late-medieval Italy.[31] And there is an enormous body of criticism concerning the image of St. Francis in medieval Italian art. I have found the contributions of Rosalind Brooke, Hans Belting, Vincent Moleta, Rona Goffen, Eamon Duffy, and William R. Cook especially useful in my analysis of Francis's image as a musician.[32]

Studies of Franciscan music per se are small in number and tend toward hagiographical and archival research, and editing, rather than criticism. Ottaviano Giovannetti's "Cenni su antichi musici franciscani" offers a short bio-bibliography of Franciscan composers, mainly Italian, active between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, beginning with the musicians mentioned in the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam.[33] A more focused study of Salimbene's references to music and musicians is Claudio Gallico's "Salimbene e la musica."[34] P. Johannes Schneider and Friedrich W. Riedel's researches offer cursory introductions to the subject of music in the life of St. Francis, and to Franciscan liturgy and music theory in general.[35] From a musicological point of view, Augustino Ziino's "Liturgia e musica francescana nei secoli XIII–XIV" is a much more thorough introduction to the music of the early Franciscans, mainly

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"Studien zur den Marienklagen. Marienklage und germanische Totenklage," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 58 (1934): 408 and 426. Rolf Bergmann, *Studien zu Entstehung und Geschichte der deutschen Passionsspiele des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts,* Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, no. 14 (Munich: Wilhem Fink, 1972), 236. Antonius Touber, *Das Donaueschinger Passionsspiel*, (Stuttgart: Relam, 1985), 9.

[31] Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5.

[32] Hans Belting, "Franziskus: Körper als Bild," *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristen Marek, et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006). Vincent Moleta, *From St. Francis to Giotto: The Influence of St. Francis on Early Italian Art and Literature* (New York: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983). Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict, Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988). Eamon Duffy, "Finding St. Francis: Early Images, and Early Lives," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology I (York, UK: York Medieval Press, 1997). Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[33] Ottaviano Giovannetti, "Cenni su antichi musici franciscani," *Studi Francescani* 99, nos. 1–2 (2002): 155–63.

[34] Claudio Gallico, "Salimbene e la musica," *Salimbeniana, Atti del covegno per il vii centenario di fra Salimbene, Parma 1987–1989* (Bologna: Radio Tau, 1991).

[35] Johannes Schneider, O.F.M., "Franz von Assisi und die Musik," *Singende Kirche* 54 (2007): 2–3, 74–5, 150–1, and 216–7. Friedrich W. Riedel, "Franziskanische Liturgie und Musik," in *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi: Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters, Krems-Stein, Minoritenkirche 15. Mai–17. Oktober 1982*, 729–34 (Vienna: Amt der Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, 1982).

concerning Francis's own songs and the friars' contributions to liturgical chant and polyphony.[36]

Most studies of Franciscan music are, however, more narrowly focused. Johannes E. Weis-Liebersdorf and Franz Wellner have examined Julian von Speyer's rhymed offices of Sts. Francis and Anthony; Wellner has also surveyed the offices of John Peckham.[37] Peckham's hymns are the subject of Emil Peeters's "Vier Prosen des Johannes Pecham."[38] Andrew Mitchell's dissertation from 2003 explores musical connections between several early manuscript transmissions of the Franciscan liturgy for the offices.[39] Aurelianus Van Dijk has given us a critical edition of William of Middleton's *Opusculum super missam*. And in the area of music theory, Luminita Aluas's critical edition of the *Quatuor principalia musicae* has demonstrated the Oxonian Franciscans' broad exposure in the mid-fourteenth century to speculative and practical aspects of music.[40]

While these studies have contributed substantially to our understanding of music in medieval Franciscan life, we do not have a comprehensive examination of Franciscan music theory from their formative period, nor have scholars examined Franciscan theoretical writings from a Franciscan point of view. We also await a thorough musicological study of Franciscan devotional (i.e. non-liturgical) Latin and vernacular song. The aim of this book is to interrogate some of these issues through a comparative reading of primary sources, and to expose them to musicological criticism.

In my preparation for this volume, I considered both theoretical and musical sources. Most Franciscan theorists were themselves theologians—active in the early universities, steeped, like so many others, in the writings of Boethius, the liberal arts, and traditions of Augustinian hermeneutics. Many of them were also eager participants in the current fashion of Aristotelian science. What seems to distinguish the Franciscans

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[36] Agostino Ziino, "Liturgia e musica francescana nei secoli XIII–XIV," in *Francesco d'Assisi, Storia e Arte*, 127–58 (Milan: Electa, 1989).

[37] Johannes E. Weis-Liebersdorf, *Die Choräle Julians von Speier zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes* (Munich: Lentner, 1901). Franz Wellner, *Drei liturgische Reimhistorien aus dem Kreis der Minderen Brüder* (Munich: Kösel, 1951). See also J. Cambell, "Le culte liturgique de Saint Antoine au Moyen Age; Office rithmique, texts et chants," *Il Santo* 12 (1972): 19–63.

[38] Emil Peeters, "Vier Prosen des Johannes Pecham," *Franziskanische Studien* 4 (1917): 355–67.

[39] Andrew W. Mitchell, "The Chant of the Earliest Franciscan Office," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 2003).

[40] Luminita Florea Aluas, "The Quatuor principalia musicae: A Critical Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1996).

as music scholars, however, is their perception of music as a universal science that illumines both melodic music and preaching. Franciscan theologians show us time and again that this fusion of theory and practice was essential to their understanding. Taking their inspiration from the likes of Robert Grosseteste and Hugh of St. Victor, Franciscan schoolmen tended to consider music in the context of the liberal and mechanical arts, which caused them to think about music rather broadly in terms of its place among the quadrivial and trivial sciences, and as part of the artifice that reflects God's creation. To understand music from the Franciscan perspective, therefore, is to consider its motive and emotive nature, and then how this knowledge informs the artificial properties of music comprehensive in chant, devotional song, speech (especially preaching), drama, and even physical gesture.

Despite the large number of available editions concerning Franciscan theology, modern critics have seldom looked into their representation of music and music theory. This may be because so much of what Franciscans have had to say about music is embedded within the larger context of science, theology, and instructional manuals. The study of Franciscan music theory requires one sometimes to distill information *from* its context. More often, however, the greater challenge for the modern critic is to examine music *in* its proper context, within theology or among the other liberal and mechanical sciences. Franciscan authors frequently think about music analogically, as illustrative of various quantities in the sciences and theology. If one is to understand music within this context, one must examine it from a "medieval interdisciplinary perspective," as Nancy Van Deusen called it in a recent publication, rather than from the disciplinary perspective.[41] Such an approach, while sometimes daunting, is hugely rewarding because it opens the way to the fascinating complex of medieval intellectual history.

Along these lines, Nancy Van Deusen and Thomas Adank have made important analyses of Roger Bacon's theoretical writings, which are embedded in his *Opus maius, Opus tertium*, and, to a smaller degree, his *Communia mathematica*.[42] But there is little criticism of the other theorists' works, outside of my own dissertation, and brief examinations of

[41] See the preface of Nancy Van Deusen's *The Cultural Context of Medieval Music* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Press, 2011).

[42] Thomas Adank, "Roger Bacons Auffassung der Musica," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 35, no. 1 (1978): 33–56; Nancy Van Deusen, "Roger Bacon on Music," in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences, Commemorative Essays*, ed. Jeremiah Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

Juan Gil de Zamora's *Ars musica* by Robert Stevenson and Kathleen E. Nelson.[43] The *Ars musica* is the only discrete work on music theory under consideration here, and is available in a critical edition by Michel Robert-Tissot.[44] Juris Lidaka's new critical edition of *De musica* from Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* is forthcoming.[45] In my own research, it was only when I began to compare the theoretical writings of the early Franciscans that I began to recognize the connections between them, and the pattern of musical thought that I identify with the *Joculatores Domini*—a name that Francis of Assisi is said to have given his friars.

The corpus of Franciscan music theory is extremely rich, and the repertory of their Latin and vernacular songs much richer still. Indeed, as my research on the music of the medieval Franciscans progressed, it grew to such proportions that it became necessary to limit the scope of this book. I originally envisaged a complete study of music in medieval Franciscan life. Using hagiography as a springboard, I had planned to show how early Franciscan theologians gathered the fruit of earlier authority to substantiate their pioneering mission to preach through music. In the process, I came to realize that the program of research falls quite naturally into more manageable pieces. From a historical point of view, the field divides logically into two time periods coinciding with the initial growth of the Order in the thirteenth century, and the later reform and rejuvenation of the Order between roughly the time of the Black Death and the Reformation, with the height of creativity coming in the latter half of the fifteenth century and first decades of the sixteenth century. The subject of Franciscan music itself further divides into two perspectives: music in Franciscan thought—that is, theory and cognition; and music in

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[43] Peter Loewen, "'Singing Men into Spiritual Joy': The Rhetoric of Franciscan Piety in the Lyrics of the Late Medieval German Passion Play and *Marienklagen*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2000). Robert Stevenson, "Spanish Musical Impact Beyond the Pyrenees (1250–1500)," in *España en la musica de Occidente: Actas del Congreso Internacional Celebrado en Salamanca, 29 de Octubre–5 de Noviembre de 1985, "Año Europeo de la Música,"* vol. 1, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, et al. (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, 1987). Kathleen E. Nelson, *Medieval Liturgical Music of Zamora*, Musicological Studies 67 (Ottawa, Canada: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996).

[44] Johannes Aegidius de Zamora, *Ars Musica*, ed. Michel Robert-Tissot, Corpus Scriptorum Musica 20 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974).

[45] Juris Lidaka, ed., *De musica*, from *De proprietatibus rerum* (forthcoming, Brepols). I wish to thank Prof. Lidaka for sharing the manuscript of his edition with me.

Franciscan practice—that is, the composition of new songs and chants, and consumption of existing melodies through the making of *contrafacta*. These topics are intimately connected, of course, but each has its distinctive body of sources that require different methods of criticism.

Many Franciscan theologians were also preachers and song composers; but when they wrote as theorists, their aim was to expound and instruct. Even in this, Francis of Assisi may have served as a model. His hagiographers portray him as a musician when he sang, preached, acted, and danced; but later on, they had him ponder his life as an imitable map to salvation and instruct his friars, his *Joculatores Domini*, to conceive of their preaching mission musically. When Franciscan theologians behave as music theorists, they often organize their ideas into categories, subdivide them in order to bring clarity, all the while substantiating their assertions through the help of recognized authorities. They speculate about the place of music within the liberal and mechanical arts, consider its sensual nature, and describe its proper application. Their various musical creations are informed by these ideas; but musical composition, which Franciscans construed broadly as "sounding art," activates a different kind of creativity, which requires a special set of analytical tools. For this reason, I have decided to limit this book to music in early Franciscan thought, and to reserve my discussion of *Music in Early Franciscan Practice* for a separate publication.

I begin by analyzing the body of literary and visual hagiography to establish the significance of Francis's life as a musician. The visual hagiography from the period, mainly frescos and historiated altar panels, provides us with crucial insight about how Franciscan patrons interpreted the role of music in the life of their founder. Analysis of these art works also gives us a glimpse of the friars' own self-perception as propagators of an apostolic mission facilitated by music. The stories that Tommaso da Celano and Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio disseminate through the first official *vitae*, together with other florilegia, portray Francis as a musician. In his youth, Francis's gift for song had been a signal illustration of his worldliness, but his talents converted with him when he embraced a life of piety. The early biographers praise Francis's musical genius for song, dance, and also speech, and how he used them to affect the penance of his audiences. At the same time, they describe music as Francis's most sincere expression of spiritual ecstasy. Some biographers emphasize his endorsement of the clerical ambitions of his Order by insisting his friars chant the Mass and Offices. Others tend to dwell on Francis's affection of feeling rather than liturgical order.

In the chapters that follow, I show how Franciscan writers and their mentors dealt with the subject of music and preaching. Since Franciscan theology emerges from a learned tradition that began long before them, I feel that it is essential to set up that tradition in order to place Franciscan musical thought into its proper historical and intellectual context. I shall do so through the example of two writers: Lotario dei Segni, who would become Pope Innocent III; and Robert Grosseteste, the first lector to the Franciscans at the University of Oxford. They are luminaries in their own right, but crucial specifically to the Franciscans for having helped to shape their perceptions about music.

Chapter Two is devoted to Lotario's hermeneutical exposition of the Mass in *De missarum mysteriis.* In Chapter Three I shall examine how these ideas were interpreted in Alexander of Hales's *Tractatus de officio missae* and William of Middleton's *Opusculum super* missam, and further implemented for Franciscan use. David von Augsburg's *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* is the subject of Chapter Four. Although his novice manual is not directly based on *De missarum mysteriis*, medieval scribes appear to have recognized a strong affinity between David's musical instructions and Lotario's exposition of the Mass. Scribes also show us how David's notions about vocal prayer were actually put into musical practice.

Chapter Five begins a sequence of four chapters concerning the science and practice of music and its relevance to the ministry of preaching. In Chapter Five I explore Robert Grosseteste's concept of music and ministry through two of his early writings, namely *De artibus liberalibus* and *Templum Dei*. The chapters that follow are devoted to Roger Bacon's *Opus maius* and *Opus tertium* (Six), Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De musica* (Seven), and the *Ars musica* of Juan Gil de Zamora (Eight).

Some have condemned the medieval Franciscans for their lack of originality, but this obfuscates their real contribution to the history of music. Certainly, Franciscan theologians were compilers, and therefore synthesizers of knowledge. The choice of material, and the way they used it to inform their mission of singing and preaching gave them a distinctive voice in late-medieval society. The prodigious expansion of the Franciscan Order, and broad distribution of their convents throughout Europe, meant that the Friars were able to give the people whom they served extensive access to their music. Literary critics have already expounded on the enormous contribution Franciscans made to medieval traditions of Latin and vernacular song. This adds to what we already know about the profound effect Franciscan liturgical reforms had on the

history of the modern Roman liturgy. But these developments in chant and devotional song are based on fundamental concepts about music and preaching fostered by the earliest Franciscan hagiographers and music theorists. Understanding these achievements gives context for the musical practices of the early Franciscans. Moreover, comprehension of Franciscan music and preaching broadens our impression of the way Franciscan missions shaped late-medieval and early-Modern European society.

This book is the result of roughly a decade's-worth of research, some of it going back to my dissertation of 2000. I was then (and am still) interested in the way composers of the medieval German Passion Plays and *Marienklagen* portrayed Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary as singing penitential preachers. As I searched for critical context I discovered the Franciscans, and this has been my abiding scholarly interest ever since. I have applied Franciscan sources in several published articles dealing with various repertories of medieval song and drama. This book, however, is my first attempt at dealing with the medieval Franciscans and their music head on, as is it were. The subject is extremely rich—so much so, in fact, that I had to restrain my enthusiasm, leaving all of the songs and their sermonic connections for a separate publication, *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*.

The reader will notice that I have adopted the vernacular spellings of names for many medieval writers, except in cases where the Latin spelling remains the norm in critical literature. In this I have followed the model Bert Roest set in *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Brill, 2004). Therefore I use Tommaso da Celano, David von Augsburg, Juan Gil de Zamora, and Lotario dei Segni, while also Bartholomaeus Anglicus. The works of some of the authors under review in the following chapters are available in English translation. However useful, I have always made recourse to the most recent editions of the original Latin. In the process of evaluating Latin and English editions, I sometimes altered translations in order to capture a nuance that I felt was missing. This is the case, for example, in my treatment of Dominic Devas's *Spiritual Life and Progress by David of Augsburg, Being a Translation of His "De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione"* (Burns Oats & Washbourne, 1937). I indicate these changes in my notes. Most of the documents I have examined, though, are available in modern Latin editions or remain in manuscript only, and for these I supply my own translations. The noteworthy exception occurs in my chapter on *De musica* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus. Since my analysis there centers on

subtle relationships between Latin texts and their Latin glosses, it made sense to me to maintain this tight linguistic relationship.

Much of this research would have been impossible without the support of librarians at numerous archives and at the two universities where I have been on faculty. Progress began in 2004 while I was at Eastern Illinois University, and continued at Rice University, where I have been employed since 2006. Many thanks to the librarians at these institutions for procuring the enormous number of interlibrary loans that were necessary for this research. My thanks go also to the archivists at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library in Collegeville, Minnesota and The Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University. They gave me access to their microfilm collections, which spared me the expense of traveling to the many European libraries whose manuscripts they had filmed. An NEH fellowship at the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at St. Louis University in 2009 made my research there possible. A Faculty Research Grant from Eastern Illinois University made my trip to the HMML possible in 2003. For this support I am truly thankful. Extended periods of research at the British Library, Bibliothèque National de France, the Universitätsbibliothek in Augsburg, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich led to several exciting discoveries, only a few of which I shall have opportunity to reveal in this book. I am indebted to these institutions for having given me access to their outstanding resources, and to the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst for having supported my research in Munich in the fall of 2009.

The interdisciplinary topic for my present study took me well outside my discipline of musicology. In my search for context, I found it necessary to deal with nuances of Franciscan history, hagiography, art history, and of course theology—each of them fields with long and rich editorial and critical traditions. For this reason, I am grateful for the guidance I received from scholars like Professor Damian Smith in Spanish History; and specialists working on Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*, like Professors Michael Twomey, Juris Lidaka, and Heinz Meyer. They shared with me their research (some of it still unpublished in the case of Prof. Lidaka's) and encouraged me to pursue my own. I am thankful for the advice of art historians such as Anne Derbes and Diane Wolfthal. I am also thankful for the advice of several fellow musicologists who gave generously of their time to read earlier drafts of this book, especially Timothy McGee, Charles M. Atkinson, Stefano Mengozzi, and Graeme Boone. Much of the scholarly interaction I have had with them over the years, and with many other scholars besides, occurred at meetings of the American Musicological Society, the International Congress on Medieval Studies in

Kalamazoo, and the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. The many presentations I have given there and heard, and conversations I have had with scholars in the ferment of those meetings profoundly influenced my thinking.

Since some of the research that went into this book relies on the mentorship I received while completing my dissertation, I wish to take this opportunity to thank Professors Jerold Frakes and Richard C. Dales, who guided my study of medieval *Germanistik* and intellectual history. Professors Richard Wingell and Giulio Ongaro introduced me to the fields of medieval and Renaissance musicology, and mentored me in my early study of medieval Latin, and for this I will always be thankful. Above all, I owe a special debt of gratitude to the principal reader of this manuscript for Brill. I cannot say enough how much I learned from his thoughtful criticism.

Finally, I wish to thank my colleagues, friends, and family without whose help in so many ways this book would surely not have seen its end. This includes my dean and colleagues in the Shepherd School of Music, and in the Medieval Studies Program at Rice University; and my friend and colleague Robin Waugh, with whom I have collaborated on several scholarly projects. My parents Victor and Lily Loewen and my brothers Paul, Mark, and Robert have sustained me through their love and friendship. They, together with my wife Cheryl and children Erik, Lauren, Victoria, and Arianna are dearest to my heart. I thank them for their patience and charity through these several years of research and writing, which sometimes took me far away from home for extended periods. I am so happy to share this small achievement with them all, for it is theirs as much as mine.

Peter Loewen
Houston, Texas

CHAPTER ONE

MUSIC AND PREACHING IN THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

The *Actus beati Francisci* tells a story about how Francis and a few of his companions, while on their way to Romagna in 1224, happened upon a group of noblemen who had gathered at the castle of Montefeltro for a celebration.[1] As the friars approached, they heard a singer entertaining the crowd with a courtly love song. Without hesitation, Francis mounted the adjacent embankment and began to preach to the noble assembly, taking these strains of the song as the theme for his sermon:

Tanto è quel bene che aspecto	Such is the good which I await,
c'ogne pena m' è dilecto.[2]	That every pain delights me.[3]

Having converted the song to religious use, the author of this passage, perhaps Ugolino Boniscambi da Montegiorgio, says that Francis expounded so fervently on the agonies of holy suffering "that the people stood there in rapt attention as if listening to an angel."[4]

It is an elegant and substantive illustration of the power of music within the program of Franciscan spirituality. The story emphasizes Francis's exuberant and intuitive musical spirit, and his appreciation of the virtue of vernacular song. Moreover, we encounter in this story the marriage between two persistent themes of Franciscan musical thought—song and preaching—together with a statement about their emotive effect on their audience. It is a legend, of course, part of a bio-hagiographical construct,

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[1] *Actus Beati Francisci*, ed. Jacques Cambell, Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca Francescana Chiesa Nuova—Assisi, vol. 5 (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1988), IX. Hereafter, *Actus*. Cambell's edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 3, *The Prophet,* ed. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., et al. (New York: New City Press, 2001), 453. Hereafter, *Deeds.* The more recent edition of the *Actus Beati Francisci et sociorum eius* is in *Fontes Franciscani*, ed. Enrico Menestò, et al. (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995), 2085–2219. It transmits the song text as "Tanto è quel bene ch'io aspecto / c'ogne pena m' è dilecto." The story also appears in the *Fioretti di Sancto Franciescho*, ed. Luigi Manzoni (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1902), LV. Only the *Fioretti* mentions the date.

[2] *Actus*, IX.

[3] *Deeds*, 453.

[4] "[…] quod omnes stabant suspensa mente, quasi angelum attendentes" (*Actus,* IX); *Deeds,* 453.

whose virtue relies not so much on verifiable facts. Rather, the power of such a story rests in its ability to communicate the emotive register of Francis's dynamic personality; and in the case of the Franciscans, the personality of their founder was of paramount importance. As Rona Goffen has pointed out, the Franciscans, unlike the Dominicans and other Orders, fostered a "cult of personality" of their founder that encouraged emulation.[5] "Precisely because Francis provided the example for his friars, the way in which his character was presented in art and in literature became of the utmost concern to the order, a matter requiring deep consideration and, eventually, careful control."[6]

Studying the personality of St. Francis through the words of his earliest biographers, one is struck by the frequent representation of musical events, and the way these interact with other aspects of the Franciscan narrative. We encounter music at several junctures in the life of St. Francis, from the time before his conversion to piety, to the years shortly before his death. So recurrent is the theme of music, in fact, that it seems to emerge from the narrative like a *Leitmotif*, bearing witness to Francis's character. At one level, examples of musicianship appear to serve as illustrations of the performative nature of Francis's affective piety; yet at a more profound level, the art of music seems to represent a kind of analogue for his kinetic, and sometimes volatile, spirit. Through music, the early biographers give us an intimate, sensual understanding of the wantonness of Francis's youth, his energetic preaching, his devotion to the pope and his liturgy, his ecstatic piety, and flair for drama. His use of music and poetry sometimes gives him an eccentric appearance, a side of his personality that Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio tends to eschew in his *Legenda maior*. Yet at the same time, hagiographers use musical illustrations to project Francis's wit, particularly when harnessing the power of song to his divine rhetoric.

Adding the visual culture of St. Francis to the evidence of literature allows us to gauge the impression Francis's musical personality was making on artists and their patrons already in the thirteenth century. Eamon Duffy argues that the "the early paintings of St Francis do constitute a distinctive and revealing type of historical evidence, and provide fascinating insight into shifting perceptions of the saint and his significance."[7]

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[5] Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict, Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), xvi.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Eamon Duffy, "Finding St Francis: Early Images, and Early Lives," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology I (York, UK: York Medieval Press, 1997), 202.

Representation of music within the visual hagiography proves enormously enlightening, because it gives us a means of understanding how various medieval audiences may have interpreted Francis's musical identity, within the context of his personality. The narrative strategies on view in the historiated panels and frescos produced in Italy between the mid-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries portray music as a core feature of Francis's character. For example, the thematic organization of events from the life of St. Francis in the *Bardi St. Francis Master Dossal* (Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence; Fig. 1.3) vividly illustrates the kind of associations artists and patrons were making between music, preaching, and the Roman Church. Panels like this sometimes force the viewer to set aside chronology—to consider the concept of music within a larger framework, and how this might reflect on the mission of St. Francis and his followers. The friars also used them as teaching aids.[8] For this reason, it makes sense to examine the theme of music within the hagiographical program as construed by writers *and* artists before we proceed, in the following chapters, to the interpretations of theologians, scientists, music theorists, and teachers.

Hagiographical Sources

What we know of the musical life and deeds of St. Francis and his early followers is captured in a large and somewhat bewildering variety of sources dividing roughly into two related bodies of bio-hagiographical literature: the official *vitae*; and *florilegia*. The personality of St. Francis, as construed in written texts, has been the subject of intensive scrutiny, especially since Paul Sabatier's famous 1894 publication *Vie de saint François*.[9] As Michael Cusato writes, "[t]his monumental work was astonishing for several reasons, not the least of which was that it put into question the traditional written sources that had, for centuries, been used in telling the story of Francis, his early friars and his Order."[10] Over the past decade scholars have renewed our fascination in the "Franciscan Question."

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[8] Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 179. Brooke discusses the subject of art and preaching at length in Chapter Nine.

[9] Paul Sabatier, *Vie de saint François* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1894).

[10] Michael Cusato, "'The Umbrian Legend' of Jacques Dalarun. Toward a Resolution of the Franciscan Question: Introduction to the Roundtable," *Franciscan Studies* 66 (2008), 479.

For example, Jacques Dalarun, Felice Accrocca, and Luigi Pellegrini have traced the framework for some of the broader historical issues connecting hagiographical materials, while others, like Kees Van Dooren and Hans Belting, have concentrated on more clearly defined themes, like the stigmatization of St. Francis.[11] Their examinations of primary sources—some of them, like the *Umbrian Legend*, almost forgotten—have shed light on the complex interrelationships between them, and what they might tell us about writers' perceptions of the Franciscan story in roughly the hundred years after the saint's death.[12] These sources share a common purpose in documenting events in the life of St. Francis; but they vary substantially in several important details, reflecting different and often competing interpretations of the unique essence of Francis's sainthood. The desire of Franciscan leaders to accommodate varying points of view reflects the Order's struggle to grasp their founder's complex spirituality.

My purpose at present is to examine this complex personality from a musical perspective, viewing its construction like a gestalt drawn from various portrayals of Francis's musicianship. Using this methodology, I hope to catch a glimpse of how Francis's followers might have regarded him as a model. With the conceits of his musicianship then duly revealed, I hope to show that Franciscan writers and artists continued to sort out and apply this construct of musical values for their audiences inside and outside the Order.

The officially approved accounts of the life of St. Francis include the *Vita prima sancti Francisci* (*Vita prima*) by Tommaso da Celano, and *Legenda maior* by Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio. Both authors give a roughly chronological account of the life of St. Francis, based on stories that had circulated among the early friars. The *Vita prima* was commissioned by Pope Gregory IX in 1228, shortly before the canonization of

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[11] Jacques Dalarun, *La malavventura di Francesco d'Assisi*, Fonti e ricerche 10 (Milan: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 1996); Felice Accrocca, *Francesco e le sue immagini: Momenti della evoluzione della coszienza storica dei frati minori* (*secoli XIII–XVI*), Studi Antoniani 27 (Padua: Centro studi antoniani, 1997); Luigi Pellegrini, *Frate Francesco e i suoi agiografi*, Collana della società internazionale di studi francescani diretta da Enrico Menestò e Stefano Brufani, Saggi, 8 (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2004); Kees Van Dooren, "The Stigmata of St. Francis: Fact or Fiction?," in *Verum, Pulchrum et Bonum: Miscellanea di studi offerti a Servus Gieben in occasione del suo 80º compleanno*, ed. Yoannes Teklemariam, 155–83 (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2006). Hans Belting, "Franziskus: Körper als Bild," in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristen Marek, et al., 21–36 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006).

[12] Jacques Dalarun, *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine: La Légende ombrienne de Thomas de Celano* (Paris: Fayard, 2007).

St. Francis in July of that year, and was likely completed in 1229.[13] Its influence was considerable in its time, since it gave the friars their first biography of the Order's founder, and, as Jacques Dalarun has shown, it became an essential source for several of the hagiographical texts downstream of it.[14] Tommaso excerpted portions of his *Vita* some time between 1230 and 1232, and perhaps as early as June 1230, for use in his *Legenda ad usum chori*—that is, the nine lesson texts read at Matins on the feast of St. Francis (4 October).[15] The *Vita sancti Francisci* by Julian von Speyer followed soon afterward, as did the office chants Julian composed between 1232 and 1235 for the feast of St. Francis.[16] The *Legenda versificata* by Henri d'Avranches (1232–9), and Lamprecht von Regensburg's *Sanct Francisken Leben* (c. 1240) also appear to be derived from the *Vita prima*.[17]

The *florilegia* composed in the early- to mid-1240s contribute substantially to our understanding of Francis's character, mainly through eyewitness accounts, which emphasize aspects of his asceticism, eccentricities, artistic talents, and powers as a thaumaturgist. The earliest of these compilations known as he *Anonymous of Perugia*, starting with the words *The Beginning or the Foundation of the Order and the Deeds of Those Lesser*

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[13] Tommaso da Celano, *Vita prima sancti Francisci*, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 275–424; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10 (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1926–40), 1–117. Hereafter, *1C*. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Life of St. Francis*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint,* ed. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., et al. (New York: New City Press, 1999), 180–297. Hereafter, *Life*; see p. 172.

[14] See especially Chapter Three of Jacques Dalarun's *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine*.

[15] Tommaso da Celano, *Legenda ad usum chori*, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 427–39; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 119–26. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Legend for Use in the Choir*, in *Francis of Assisi*: *Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 319–26. For the earlier dating, see Jacques Dalarun's argument in *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine*, 135, and 139–40.

[16] Julian von Speyer, *Vita sancti Francisci*, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1025–95; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 333–71. Hereafter, *LJS*. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Life of Saint Francis* in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 368–420. Hereafter *Julian's Life.* Dalarun concludes after parallel reading of the sources, "[…] nous avons ainsi la prevue que Julien depend directement du premiere récit du Thomas" (Dalarun's *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine*, 132). See also ibid., 136.

[17] Henri d'Avranches, *Legenda sancti Francisci versificata*, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1131–1242; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 405–521. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Versified Life of Henri d'Avranches*, in *Francis of Assisi*: *Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 428–520. *Lamprecht von Regensburg Sanct Francisken Leben und Tochter Syon,* ed. Karl Weinhold (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1880). The only surviving copy of the *Sanct Francisken Leben* may be found at the K. Universitätsbibliothek in Würzburg; it bears the *siglum* Mp. theol. O. 17ª.

Brothers Who Were the First Companions of the Blessed Francis in Religion, was composed probably before 1241 by a member of Francis's intimate circle of companions.[18] The *Legenda trium sociorum*—namely Brothers Leo, Angelo, and Rufino—and *The Assisi Compilation* were compiled at the behest of the general minister Crescentius da Iesi, who wished to gather from the friars more of their memories about the saint.[19] Crescentius later commissioned Tommaso da Celano to organize these stories into a collection that came to be known as the *Vita secunda* or *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* (1246–7), though as Dalarun has shown, the *Vita secunda* is also based heavily on the *Vita prima*.[20] Some time between 1247 and 1253, Tommaso composed a *Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis*. Cobbling together some stories from his earlier three works, along with others from a variety of sources, he crafts an image of Francis that emphasizes his thaumaturgy.[21]

The *Legenda maior* by Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio forms another watershed in the history of Franciscan hagiography, with downstream

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[18] *Anonymi Perusini,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1311–51; and in Lorenzo di Fonzo's edition of "*L'Anonimo Perugino* tra le fonti francescane del sec. XIII. Rapporti letterari e testo critico, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 72 (1972): 117–483. Di Fonzo's edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Beginning or the Foundation of the Order and the Deeds of Those Lesser Brothers Who Were the First Companions of the Blessed Francis in Religion*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, *The Founder,* ed. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., et al. (New York: New City Press, 2000), 34–58. See Dalarun, *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine,* 139.

[19] *Legenda trium sociorum,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1373–1445; and Théophile Desbonnets, "*Legenda Trium Sociorum:* Edition Critique," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 67 (1974): 38–144. Desbonnet's edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Legend of the Three Companions*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, 66–110. See the *Compilatio Asssiensis,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1471–1690; and in Marino Bigaroni's edition, *Compilatio Assisiensis dagli Scritti di fra Leone e Compagni su S. Francesco d'Assisi dal Ms. 1046 di Perugia, II edizione integrale riveduta e corretta con versione italiana a fronte e varianti* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1992). Hereafter *CA*. Bigaroni's edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Assisi Compilation*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, *The Founder*, 118–230. Hereafter, *Assisi Compilation*.

[20] Tommaso da Celano, *Vita secunda sancti Francisci,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 443–639; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 127–268. Hereafter, *2C*. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition is translated as *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, 239–393. Hereafter, *Remembrance*. See Dalarun, *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine*, chapter three.

[21] Tommaso da Celano, *Tractatus de miraculis beati Francisci,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 643–754; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 269–331. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Treatise on the Miracles of Saint Francis*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, 397–468. See Dalarun, *Vers une résolution de la question franciscaine,* 136.

influence on several important representations of the life of St. Francis.[22] At the general chapter of Rome in 1257, the brothers commissioned Bonaventura to compose a new official life of St. Francis, and he would do so based on the available *vitae* and the *florilegia*. The work was completed in time for the general chapter of Pisa in 1263; and at the chapter of Paris in 1266, it was resolved that all other manuscripts dealing with the life of St. Francis should be destroyed.[23] Contentious circumstances within the Order at the time would affect the tenor of the piece. By the time Bonaventura acceded to the generalate of the Order in 1257, the Franciscans were already much divided between a moderate interpretation of the Rule, which favored a conventual (i.e. propertied) monastic way of life, and conservative Franciscans, who wished to adhere to the austere, Earlier Rule of St. Francis. This problem was exacerbated by the threat of heresy, which had begun to infiltrate the Order through the influence of Joachim da Fiore's apocalypticism. Moreover, secular masters like Guillaume de Saint-Amour and his followers at the University of Paris were challenging the mendicants' ideal of evangelical poverty.

For these reasons, perhaps, Bonaventura's *Legenda* comes across as being more theological in its outlook than Tommaso's *vitae*, while eschewing details of Francis's asceticism, eccentricities, musicianship, and struggles with the Order. As a result of its broad dissemination, the *Legenda maior* would inspire a range of literary endeavors including vernacular works by Dante, Jacopone da Todi, the *Fioretti*, and Jacob van Maerlant's metrical *Sinte Franciscus Leven* (c. 1280).[24] It was also the essential source for, presumably, all of the visual hagiography after 1266, including the fresco cycle in the Upper Church of San Francesco. As Stanislao da Campagnola writes, "[n]urturing religiosity with robust and accurate hagiographic knowledge, the *Legenda maior* helped popularize representations of Francis as humble but imbued with power."[25]

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[22] Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio, *Legenda maior sancti Francisci,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 777–911; and in *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 555–652. Hereafter, *LMj*. The *Analecta Franciscana* edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 2, 525–649. Hereafter, *Major legend*.

[23] St. Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God, The Tree of Life, The Life of St. Francis,* Ewert Cousins, trans. and ed. Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahway, NJ: Paulist Press, 1978), 40.

[24] Stanislao da Campagnola, "Introduction" to the *Legenda maior sancti Francisci, Legenda minor sancti Francisci,* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 770. See also *Franciscus Leven van Jacob van Maerlant*, ed. P. Maximilianus, O.F.M. Cap. (Zwolle: W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink, 1954).

[25] "Alimentando una religiosità con solido e accurato sapere agiografico, la Legenda maior ha contribuito a diffondere di Francesco rappresentazioni umili ma pervase da Potenza" (Da Campagnola, "Introduction" to the *Legenda maior*, 770).

Yet, despite the prohibitions of 1266 against other *vitae*, by the chapter of Padua in 1276, Girolamo da Ascoli was already requesting further unpublished information about Francis. Such renewed interest in early witnesses to the Franciscan story persisted into the early fourteenth century and led to the compilation of several important *florilegia*. Among them we find the *Actus beati Francisci* (1328–1337)[26] and its translation as the *Fioretti di San Francesco* (after 1337, but before 1396).[27] We also have the *Speculum perfectionis* (1318)—preserved in two versions, one edited by Leonard Lemmens and the other by Paul Sabatier—which itself appears to have been compiled from earlier eyewitness sources, notably the *Assisi Compilation.*[28] According to Daniele Solvi, the *Speculum perfectionis* portrayed Francis "not so much as a model of universal holiness as the perfect type of Friar Minor, with which he has to confront the individual friar."[29] In its stories, as in other *florilegia*, Francis is portrayed as a man of poverty, charity, humility, and obedience,[30] for whom music asserted a powerful force through instruments and singing, dancing, and preaching.

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[26] See note 1 above.

[27] Fifty-five chapters of the *Actus* were translated as the *Fioretti di Sancto Franciescho*. See *I Fioretti di San Francesco, riveduti su in nuovo Codice da P. B Bughetti*, ed. P.B. Bughetti (Quaracchi: Collegio San Bonaventura, 1926). See also Luigi Manzoni's edition (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1902).

[28] There are several Latin editions of the *Speculum perfectionis*. Paul Sabatier published the first modern edition in 1874, but later released a new edition after intensive examination of the manuscript tradition. The result was his *Le Speculum perfectionis ou Mémoires de Frère Léon Sur la Seconde Partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise*, Texte Latin, 2 vols. (Manchester: The University Press, 1928–31); hereafter *2SP.* Leonard Lemmens's edition of 1901 is based on a shorter and what he considered to be an earlier recension of the text in *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana* (Quaracchi: Collegio San Bonaventura, 1901); hereafter, *1SP.* The *Fontes Franciscani* includes editions of *1SP* on pp. 1745–1825, and *2SP* on pp. 1850–2053. Only *2SP* will concern us here. In the most recent edition of *2SP,* Daniele Solvi proposes a date of completion no later than 11 May, 1318. See Solvi's *Speculum perfectionis status fratris minoris,* Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Mediolantini 16 (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006), XIX. Sabatier's edition will be adequate for the purposes of this study. It is translated as *A Mirror of the Perfection of the Status of a Lesser Brother*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 3, *The Prophet*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., et al. (New York: New City Press, 2001), 255–372. Hereafter, *2Mirror*. See the introductory comments in ibid., 207–13.

[29] "La fiugra di Francesco costituisce non tanto un modello di santità universale, quanto il tipo del perfetto frate Minore, col quale deve confrontarsi il singolo frate […]" (Solvi, *Speculum perfectionis*, XXVI and XXVIII). See also Johannes Schneider's review of Solvi's edition in "Das Buch 'Vom Stand des Minderbruders'. Zur neu Edition des *Speculum Perfectionis*," *Collectanea Franciscana* 77 (2007), 624.

[30] Solvi, *Speculum perfectionis*, XXII.

Music in the Life of a Wanton Youth

Tommaso da Celano introduces the subject of music in the *Vita prima* not as an expression of piety, but as a signal attribute of Francis's worldliness. He writes:

> This is the wretched early training in which that man whom we today venerate as a saint—for he truly is a saint—passed his time from childhood and miserably wasted and squandered his time almost up to the twenty-fifth year of his age. Maliciously advancing beyond all of his peers in vanities, he proved himself a more excessive inciter of evil and a zealous imitator of foolishness. He was an object of admiration to all, and he endeavored to surpass others in his flamboyant display of vain accomplishments: wit, curiosity, practical jokes and foolish talk, songs, and soft and flowing garments. Since he was very rich, he was not greedy but extravagant, not a hoarder of money but a squanderer of his property, a prudent dealer but a most unreliable steward.[31]

Bonaventura, too, reflects on the foolishness of Francis's youth, but he does not elaborate on his worldliness as Tommaso does. On the contrary, he moves quickly to distinguish Francis for his virtue in the face of immorality, insisting that "even among wanton youths, he did not give himself over to the drives of the flesh."[32] Tommaso's is a remarkable statement about Francis's secular life. It heightens his struggle with vanity, and imports the physical and psychological attributes of his sinful life before his conversion. It also introduces us to the essential duality of Francis's personality, another essential theme of the hagiographic narrative.

Hans Belting reflects on the saint's duality in light of medieval depictions of the stigmatization of St. Francis. While we may see his body as the canvas of living flesh on which God drew an effigy of Christ crucified, the viewer would also have recognized Francis as a contemporary—a man of their time.[33] In Belting's view, it was this duality that made Francis an ideal

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[31] "Haec sunt misera rudimenta, in quibus homo iste, quem sanctum hodie veneramur, quoniam vere sanctus est, a pueritia versabatur et fere usque ad vigesimum quintum aetatis suae annum tempus suum miserabiliter perdidit et consumpsit. Immo super omnes coaetaneos suos in vanitatibus male proficiens, incentor malorum et aemulator stultitae abundantius exsistebat. Admirationi omnibus erat et in pompa vanae gloriae praeire caeteros nitebatur, in iocis, in curiosis, in scurrilibus et inanibus verbis, in cantilenis, in vestibus mollibus et fluidis" (*1C*, 2; *Life*, 183). Compare *2C*, 7 (*Remembrance*, 246), where Tommaso emphasizes the sin of gluttony as well as vanity.

[32] "[…] superno sibi assistente praesidio, nec inter lascivos iuvenes, quamvis effusus ad gaudia, post carnis petulantiam abiit […]" (*LMj* 1.1; *Major Legend,* 530).

[33] Hans Belting, "Franziskus: Körper als Bild," 23. See *LMj,* 13.5: "[…] descendit angelicus vir Franciscus de monte, secum ferens Crucifixi effigiem, non in tabulis lapideis vel ligneis manu figuratam artificis, sed in carneis membris descriptam digito Dei vivi."

model for contemporary mystics who empathized with the *Christus patiens*, but who remained separate from the object of their contemplation.[34] In St. Francis's transformation they would find the example of a contemporary figure who had transcended the threshold between compassion and conformity—as Bonaventura says, one "totally transformed into the likeness of Christ crucified, not by martyrdom of his flesh, but by the enkindling of his soul."[35]

In the picturesque details of the *Vita prima*, we see represented a different kind of duality. Presenting Francis's body with the decorative embellishments of secular life identifies him as a vain, young nobleman. What is ironic, however, is that these conceits of vanity would be transformed into expressions of piety. Before his conversion, it appears Francis was a devotee of worldly pleasure, his gift of song indicative of his sinful life. Even in his youth, Francis appears to have led by example, using songs to inspire his companions to similar wanton behavior. Herein we may see the hagiographer already preparing for the moment of dramatic irony, by establishing these vanities as ostensibly opposed to his later sanctity. For the development of this theme, Tommaso had a ready example from the cult of Mary Magdalene. The story of her progress from a life of sin to penance had already, by Tomasso's time, reached a wide audience through Pope Gregory the Great's highly influencial thirty-third homily, Bede's martyrology, and the liturgy sung on her feast day.[36] This may account for the appeal of Francis's story, and might help to explain the friars' attraction to Mary Magdalene as a figure of paramount importance to their spirituality as expressed in literature, music, and art.[37] The connection between Tommaso's *vita* and Gregory the Great's sermon is particularly striking, as the conversion of vanities into sources of virtue is a central

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[34] Belting, "Fraziskus: Körper als Bild," 22.

[35] "Intellexit tandem ex hoc, Domino revelante, quod ideo huiusmodi visio sic divina providentia suis fuerat praesentata conspectibus, ut amicus Christi praenosset, se non per martyrium carnis, sed per incendium mentis totum in Christi crucifixi similitudinem transformandum" (*LMj*, 13.3; *Major legend*, 632).

[36] Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 32–40.

[37] See, for example, Jansen's *The Making of the Magdalen*, 84. See also Peter Loewen, "The Conversion of Mary Magdalene and the Musical Legacy of Franciscan Piety in the Early German Passion Plays," in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. G. Donavin, et al., 235–59 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); and Loewen, "Mary Magdalene as Joculatrix Domini: Franciscan Music and Vernacular Homiletics in the Shrewsbury *Officium Resurrectionis* and Easter Plays from Germany and Bohemia," in *From the Margins II: Women of the New Testament and their Afterlives,* ed. Christine E. Joynes and Christopher C. Rowland, 94–113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009).

theme of both works. In his commentary on Luke's gospel (7:37–8), Gregory recounts the ways Mary Magdalene converted her eyes, hair, mouth, and perfume from sin to pious use, concluding, "She found as many things to sacrifice as she had had ways of offering pleasure. She converted the number of her faults into the number of virtues, so that she could serve God as completely in repentance as she had rejected him in sin."[38] According to Tommaso da Celano and later biographers, except for his fine clothes, Francis never actually purged himself of his vanities. Remarkably, they were converted along with his soul so that he might wield them as powerful expressions of his piety. The concept is crucial to a proper understanding of Franciscan spirituality and the underlying motivations behind the musical concepts and practices of the Friars Minor.

We follow biographers' accounts of Francis's conversion in events leading up to his spectacular rejection of his garments before the people of Assisi. Tommaso da Celano tells us that God attempted to turn Francis from his sinful path by "bringing distress to his mind and affliction to his body."[39] As a result, he began to feel more acutely a desire to flee his self-indulgent way of life and to serve God; but the struggle was great because the attraction of worldly pleasure was so strong. Waxing philosophical, Tommaso writes:

> It is difficult to leave familiar things behind and things once instilled in the spirit are not easily weakened. The spirit, even a long time after its early training, reverts to them; and vice, with enough custom and practice, becomes second nature.[40]

In a nocturnal vision, though, God at last showed Francis the error of his secular ambitions and succeeded in turning him fully from his

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[38] "Quot ergo in se habuit oblectamenta, tot de se invenit holocausta. Convertit ad virtutum numerum numerum criminum, ut totum serviret Deo in paenitentia, quidquid ex se Deum contempserat in culpa" (Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia,* ed. Raymond Étaix, *CCSL* 141 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1999], Homilia 33.2). Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst, Cistercian Studies Series 123 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 270.

[39] "Enimvero cum adhuc vir iste iuvenili calore in peccatis fervesceret, et lubrica aetas ad explenda iuvenilia iura ipsum impelleret insolenter, ac mansuescere nesciens, antiqui serpentis foret virulentia concitatus, adest subito divina ultio vel potius unctio super eum et aggreditur primo sensum erroneum revocare, animo angustiam et corpori molestiam inferendo [...]" (*1C,* 3; *Life,* 184).

[40] "Non plene tamen nec vere, quia nondum solutus erat a vinculis vanitatum, nec perversae servitutis iugum excusserat de cervice. [...] Tentat proinde Franciscus adhuc divinam fugere manum, et paternae correctionis paulisper oblitus, arridentibus sibi prosperis, cogitat quae sunt mundi ac ignorans consilium Dei, de gloria saeculi et vanitate facturum adhuc maxima se promittit" (*1C,* 4; *Life*, 185).

waywardness.[41] At first Francis expressed his piety in acts of generosity towards the poor and the sick of his parish, and to the lepers in particular. But Francis had not yet experienced the defining moment of his conversion; he had not yet given himself over completely to the religious life.

One day, as Francis fervently prayed before an image of the crucifixion in the ruined church of St. Damiano, just outside Assisi, Christ appeared to him in a vision. He said to him, "go rebuild My house; as you see it is all being destroyed."[42] In a moment of ecstasy he resolved to repair the church by raising money from the sale of wares from his father's textiles shop. Francis was subsequently summoned before the bishop of Assisi who, at the behest of Francis's father, asked him to make plain his recent behavior. But far from pacifying the prelate and softening the anger of his father, Francis astounded them all by affecting a strange and theatrical demeanor. When the bishop ordered Francis to restore to his father everything he had taken, to the surprise of the bystanders, he stripped himself of every vestige of his worldly life including his own clothing.[43]

The symbolic act of casting off his worldliness stands as one of the essential principles of Franciscan spirituality. It shifts our attention to the import of evangelical poverty. However, the public display of purgation did not extend to the other aspects of his former vanity, as we shall see in Francis's preaching, acts of piety, and in moments of spiritual ecstasy.

Fiddle Sticks, Dancing for Joy, and the Heavenly Cithara

Francis often described suffering public indignity in terms of spiritual delight. The *Legenda trium sociorum* describes the harsh conditions Francis and his friars endured while living their mendicant way of life, taking shelter where they could find it, walking barefoot, and undertaking menial tasks wherever they went. Francis enjoined his friars to follow

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[41] *1C,* 5; compare *2C,* 6 where the experience is described as involving two consecutive visions.

[42] "[…] vade, repara domum meam, quae, ut cernis, tota destruitur" (*2C*, 10; *Remembrance*, 249).

[43] "Resignat patri pecuniam, quam in opere dictae ecclesiae vir Dei expendisse voluerat, suadente hoc illi episcopo civitatis, viro utique valde pio, eo quod non liceret de male acquisitis aliquid in sacros usus expendere. Audientibus autem, qui convenerant, multis: 'Amodo' inquit, 'dicam libere: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, non pater Petrus Bernardonis, cui non solum reddo ecce pecuniam, sede integra vestimenta resigno. Nudus igitur ad Dominum pergam'" (*2C,* 12; *Remembrance,* 251).

suit—to take only the lowest forms of employment society could offer.[44] Biographers describe the spiritual delight of St. Francis at several junctures in the course of his life, and often note the role that music had in it. In fact, they present music as the natural expression of Francis's most intense feelings of piety.

We have already seen how Francis harnessed the sweet pains of a love song to his compassion for holy suffering. It showed us that Francis's sense of delight inhered not in worldly pleasure but in suffering for the sake of a higher good, just as courtly poets opine that suffering benefits the soul as it searches for the beloved's solace. *The Mirror of Perfection*, *Assisi Compilation,* and *The Vita secunda* offer further details about the role music, drama, and dance played in Francis's expression of spiritual joy. One short sequence of stories demonstrates, through successive details, how broad biographers' perceptions of music were. In the *Mirror of Perfection* we read:

> Intoxicated by love and compassion for Christ, blessed Francis sometimes did this: a sweet melody of the spirit bubbling up inside him would frequently become on the outside a French tune; the thread of a divine whisper which his ears heard secretly would break out in a French song.
>
> Other times, picking up a stick from the ground and putting it over his left arm, he would draw another stick across it with his right hand like a bow on a *vielle* [*viellam*] or some other instrument. Performing all the right movements, he would sing in French about the Lord Jesus.
>
> All of this dancing often ended in tears, and the cry of joy dissolved into compassion for Christ's suffering. Then he would sigh without stopping and sob without ceasing. Forgetful of what he was holding in his hands, he was caught up to heaven.[45]

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[44] Tommaso da Celano explains the notion of Franciscan "minority" in his commentary on the Rule of 1221. He writes: "Cum nempe sic in Regula scriberetur: 'Et sint minores', ad huius sermonis prolationem, ea quidem hora: 'Volo', inquit, 'ut Ordo Fratrum Minorum fraternitas haec vocetur'.—Et vere minores, qui 'omnibus subditi' exsistentes, semper quaerebant locum vilitatis, et officium exercere, et in quo quaedam fore iniuria videretur, ut sic in solido verae humilitatis fundari mererentur, ut felici dispositione in eis consurgeret omnium virtutum fabrica spiritalis" (*1C*, 38). "For when it was written in the Rule, 'Let them be lesser …,' at the uttering of this statement, at the same moment he said, 'I want this fraternity to be called the Order of Lesser Brothers. They were truly lesser who, by being 'subject to all,' always sought the position of contempt, performing duties which they foresaw would be the occasion of some affront. In this way they might merit to be grounded on the solid rock of true humility and to have the well-designed spiritual structure of all the virtues arise in them" (*Life*, 217).

[45] "Ebrius amore et compassione Christi beatus Franciscus quandoque talia faciebat; nam dulcissima melodia spiritus intra ipsum ebulliens frequenter exterius gallicum dabat sonum; et vena divini susurrii quam auris ejus suscipiebat furtive, gallicum erumpebat in jubilum.

Tommaso da Celano elaborates further on the relevance of physical gesture in his description of a sermon Francis once gave before Pope Honorius III and his cardinals. In the course of his speech he became so enraptured that words failed Francis; but rather than put a halt to his sermon altogether, he was impelled to dance, as Tommaso says, "not playfully but burning with the fire of divine love."[46] This extraordinary behavior affected the courtly audience so deeply that Francis reduced them to tears, "[f]or many of them were touched in their hearts, amazed at the grace of God and the great determination of the man."[47] Physical gesture as an outward expression of Francis's spiritual fervor takes on all the more significance when we see Bonaventura replace it with divinely inspired speech. According to him, when words failed St. Francis, he invoked the Holy Spirit, upon which he was able to *speak* so eloquently that "it was clearly evident it was not he, but the Spirit of the Lord who was speaking. Because he first convinced himself by action and then convinced others by word, he did not fear rebuke, but spoke the truth boldly."[48]

Bonaventura's Francis shows the sermon to be a performative genre, a good illustration of how the motions of speech affect the emotions of the auditor (a crucial point to which I shall return in Chapters Five and Six), but he shuns the curiosity of dance. On the other hand, the Francis of Tommaso's *Vita prima* and the *florilegia* exhibits a musical impulse with a broader range of motion. His way with music and dance appears spontaneous and emotional—a sensual representation of his divine inspiration.

Lignum quandoque colligebat de terra ipsumque sinistro brachio superponens, aliud lignum, per modum arcus, cum manu dextera trahebat super illud, quasi super [a]viellam vel aliud instrumentum; atque gestus ad hoc idoneos faciens, gallice cantabat de Domino Jesu Christo. Terminabatur denique tota haec tripudia in lacrimas, et in compassionem passionis Christi hic jubilus solvebatur.

In iis continua trahebat suspiria, et ingeminatis gemitibus, eorum quae tenebat in manibus oblitus, suspendebatur ad caelum" (*2SP,* 93; *2Mirror,* 340). Compare *CA* 38 (*Assisi Compilation*, 142); and *2C,* 127 (*Remembrance,* 331). [a]The word is "violam" in Solvi's edition of *Speculum perfectionis*, 90. Rather than translating *viellam* (my emphasis) as viola, I have preserved the medieval name of this instrument as vielle (i.e. fiddle).

46 "Et quidem cum tanto fervore spiritus loquebatur, quod non se capiens prae laetitia, cum ex ore verbum proferret, pedes quasi saliendo movebat, non ut lasciviens, sed ut igne divini amoris ardens, non ad risum movens sed planctum doloris extorquens" (*1C*, 73; *Life*, 245).

47 "Multi enim ipsorum corde compuncti sunt, divinam gratiam et tantam viri constantiam admirantes" (ibid.).

48 "[…] tam efficacibus subito coepit verbis affluere tamque potenti virtute illorum mentes virorum sublimium ad compunctionem inflectere, ut aperte clareret, quod non ipse, sed Spiritus Domini loquebatur.

Et quoniam sibi primo suaserat opere quod aliis suadebat sermone, reprehensorem non timens, veritatem fidentissime praedicabat" (*LMj*, 12.7–8; *Major legend,* 626).

The relationships these biographers construct between Francis's artistic means of communication reveals their interest in the functions of rhetoric. We recognize their natural partnership. Absolute music and abstract sound could be the inspiration for Francis's verbal expressions of joy, but in moments of spiritual ecstasy, it seems he could no longer confine himself to speech, and word would evolve into the physical gestures of pantomime and dance. Pure melody appears to have had its own distinct rhetorical register, which could serve as a medium for a text but also surpass it. It is an important point that Franciscan theologians would develop, as we shall see later in this study.

Francis's strange pantomime of playing the vielle while singing French songs conjures to mind the image of a *jongleur* accompanying himself in a dance or *chanson.* The point is particularly relevant here, since the *Assisi Compilation, Vita secunda,* and *Speculum perfectionis* also transmit the story of how Francis called his friars *joculatores Domini*—that is, jongleurs of God.[49] We shall learn more about the significance of this identity later in this study, and in *Music in Early Franciscan Practice,* but it seems worth noting here that medieval writers, Franciscans included, harbored negative attitudes toward jongleurs and their vielle playing. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, for example, associates the vielle with the abuses of actors (*histriones*), and therefore deems the instrument unsuitable for use in the church.[50] The irony of identifying Francis with the jongleur, and his baseness, might not have been lost on the Spiritual Friars, who seem to have appreciated stories about Francis's humility.

Yet the Franciscans complicate our view of the jongleur when they consider what a powerful tool his songs might be if they were converted to their spiritual use. For example, Ramon Llull (c. 1232–1316), who is believed to have been a Third Order Franciscan, complains of *joglares* (jongleurs) who once sang songs in praise of God and "now only of lusts and vanities."[51] Yet, despite his long and scathing criticism, Llull recognizes them as potential bearers of virtue when he calls on them to go about the courts of

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[49] See below.

[50] See below, p. 196.

[51] "Mas segons que nos altres veem ara, Sènyer, en nostre temps tota la art de juglaría ses mudada; car los homens qui sentremeten de sonar estruments e de ballar e de trobar, no canten ni no sonen los estruments, ni no fan verses ni cansons si no de luxuria e de vanitats daquest mon" (Ramon Llull, *Libre de contemplació en Deu*, in Obres de Ramon Llull, vol. 4 [Palma de Mallorca: Commisió Editora Lulliana, 1906; repr. Palma: Miquel Font, 1992], 97). See also E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull: A Biography* (New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), 48.

the nobility, singing of the properties of nature, the bodily and spiritual senses, and the five powers of the soul.[52] We shall see shortly that the authors of the *Assisi Compilation, Vita secunda,* and *Speculum perfectionis* shared this varied impression of the jongleur. Indeed, it will bear on writers' perceptions of the Franciscan friar as a singing preacher.

The early biographers complicate our understanding of music in Franciscan spirituality when they elaborate on the rhetorical power of absolute music, and the entanglements that ensue between sacred and secular expression. The legend of the heavenly cithara took place in Rieti, where Francis was convalescing from an affliction of the eyes. As Tommaso da Celano tells it in his *Vita secunda*, Francis asked one of his fellow friars, who had formerly been a cithara player, to borrow an instrument and play for him so that he might be consoled in his illness. For, he said,

> the children of this world do not understand the divine sacraments. Human lust has turned musical instruments, once assigned to divine praises, into enjoyment for their ears. But I would like you, brother, to borrow a cithara secretly and bring it here and to play some decent song to give some wholesome comfort to Brother Body, which is filled with pain.[53]

The passage places fresh import upon the conversion of vanities, as we see them in Tommaso's treatment of music. Bonaventura, on the other hand, again seems to reject emphatically any notion of conflict between

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[52] "Volría veer, Sènyer, juglars qui anassen per les plasses e per les corts dels prínceps e dels alts barons, e que anassen dient la propiretat qui es en los dos moviments e en les dues entencions, e la proprietat e la natura qui es en los cinc senys corporals e los cinc espirituals, e que dixessen totes les proprietats qui son en les cinc potencies de lanima" (Llull, *Libre de contemplació en Deu*, 4:101).

[53] "Diebus quibus pro cura oculorum apud Reate manebat, vocavit unum de sociis, qui fuerat in saeculo citharista, dicens: 'Frater, filii saeculi huius divina non intelligunt sacramenta. Instrumenta quippe musica, divinis quondam laudibus deputata, in aurium voluptatem libido humana convertit. Vellem ergo, frater, ut secreto citharam mutuatus afferres, qua versum honestum faciens fratri corpori doloribus pleno solatium aliquod dares'" (*2C,* 126; *Remembrance*, 330). See also *CA* 66; *Assisi Compilation*, 168–9. The instrument to which *2C* and *CA* refer in this passage is a cithara. The term is often translated as lute; but, this association is problematic, since it evokes perhaps unintended associations with a completely different instrument that may be traced to the *oud* or *ud*, an instrument of the Arab world. The term "lute" has also been used to refer generically to any of a large variety of composite string instruments made of a neck and resonator that are permanently joined. The cithara, on the other hand, is a harp-like instrument from the Greek world. It was out of use by the late Middle Ages, but references to it appear frequently in biblical commentaries and music treatises. Both Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*De musica*) and Juan Gil de Zamora (*Ars musica*) offer definitions of the cithara (see Chapter Eight below). Tommaso da Celano may indeed be referring to a short-necked chordophone like a lute, but the term might also refer to a harp or even to the sort of performance practice associated with harp playing. To avoid confusion, I have retained the original term.

wholesome and worldly music when he says, "since it seemed inappropriate that this [Francis's solace through music] should be done by a human ministry, the deference of angels came to indulge the holy man's pleasure."[54]

The *Assisi Compilation* includes a small but significant variation here, where it describes the "ten-stringed harps, and other instruments, for the sake of vanity and sin, which in times past were used by holy people to praise God and offer consolation to souls."[55] The friar declined Francis's request because he was afraid the other brothers might think he had been tempted to return to secular life. Francis urged him no further; nevertheless, while in meditation the following night, Francis did hear a cithara "playing with wonderful harmony and extraordinarily sweet melody."[56] At the height of his meditation, the "sweet-sounding song" (*dulcisono carmine*) of the cithara so delighted him that "he thought he had exchanged this world for the other."[57] The *Assisi Compilation* and *Legenda maior* add some further details at this point that animate this gloriously affective music. In the former we are told that Francis perceived dynamic variations in the music, which suggested that the player was moving closer and farther away, and did so for more than an hour.[58] Bonaventura infers from these same variations that the player was "moving back and forth from one place to another."[59] The next morning, Francis told the cithara-playing friar what had occurred the previous night, adding, "The Lord who consoles the afflicted, has never left me without consolation. See, since I who could not hear the citharas of humans, I have heard a more delightful cithara."[60]

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[54] "[…] nec id honestatis decentia per ministerium fieri pateretur humanum, affuit Angelorum obsequium ad viri sancti placitum adimplendum" (*LMj*, 5.11; *Major Legend*, 567).

[55] "[…] quoniam instrumenta scilicet cytharas, psalteria decem cordarum et alia instrumenta, quibus sancti homines in antiquo tempore ad laudem Dei et consolationem animarum utebantur, ipsi ea ad vanitatem et peccatum contra voluntatem Domini utuntur" (*CA*, 66; Assisi *Compilation*, 169).

[56] "Nocte sequenti, vigilante sancto viro et meditante de Deo, repente insonat cithara quaedam harmoniae mirabilis et suavissimae melodiae" (*2C,* 126; *Remembrance*, 330). See also *LMj*, 5.11; *Major Legend*, 567.

[57] "Spiritu denique in Deum directo, tanta in illo dulcisono carmine sanctus pater suavitate perfruitur, ut aliud se putet saeculum commutasse" (*2C,* 126; *Remembrance*, 330).

[58] "Et cytharizans ibat tantum longe quantum posset audiri et postea revertebatur semper cytharizando. Et sic per magnam horam hoc fecit" (*CA,* 66; *Assisi Compilation*, 169).

[59] "Non videbatur aliquis, sed transitum et reditum citharoedi ipsa hinc inde auditus volubilitas innuebat" (*LMj,* 5.11; *Major Legend*, 567).

[60] "Dominus qui consolatur afflictos, numquam me sine consolatione dimisit. Ecce enim, qui citharas hominum audire non potui, citharam suaviorem audivi" (*2C,* 126; *Remembrance*, 330). See note 53 above concerning the translation of *cithara*.

Francis's speech about converting (or, indeed, reverting) song to its former pious use is another fine illustration of the "conversion of vanities." The art of harnessing secular songs would become a *modus operandi* for Franciscan preachers, and others working within their orbit. For example, David Jeffrey attests that the Franciscan habit of "transform[ing] popular song to sacred melody" in Italy and England was for the purpose of edifying and entertaining large crowds.[61] Based on the information we have so far, it seems clear that Francis's biographers recognized music as a performative, rhetorical art form consisting of at least two essential ingredients—words and melody—and in most cases also physical gesture. Each had its role. Words could inspire the ideas of piety vocally, while melodies and gestures were sources of expression unfettered by words, and hence capable of communicating to auditors the ineffable spiritual delight of a soul. This understanding of music, as we shall see, is well represented in the writings of Roger Bacon, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and Juan Gil de Zamora—all the more reason for us to return to them later in this book.

The line of enquiry concerning Franciscan song has stirred considerable scholarly interest over the past hundred years or more.[62] The Franciscans appear to have been avid consumers as well as composers of Latin and vernacular songs, both original pieces and *contrafacta*.[63] But, in fact, the earliest sources of Franciscan music, the "Canticle of Brother Sun" notwithstanding, are Latin liturgical chants. Descriptions of Francis's practice of singing chant appear at many junctures in the hagiographical record. In the *Vita secunda*, Tommaso da Celano says that Francis "celebrated the canonical hours with no less awe than devotion."[64] Tommaso also testifies to the alacrity Francis showed while chanting Psalms, "standing up straight and without a hood, without letting his eyes wander and without dropping syllables."[65] Compared to such strong sensibility and obedience, Francis's own writing with regard to the performance of chant comes across as dogmatic and even contradictory. In his *Epistle,* composed shortly before his death and addressed to the entire Order, Francis warns

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[61] David Jeffrey, "Franciscan Spirituality and the Rise of Early English Drama" *Mosaic* 7, no. 4 (1975), 19.

[62] See Introduction, above.

[63] This is a subject for my forthcoming study *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*.

[64] "Horas canonicas non minus timoratus quam devotus reddebat" (*2C*, 96; *Remembrance*, 311).

[65] "[…] sed horas semper erectus et sine caputio, non gyrovagis oculis, non cum aliqua syncope persolvebat" (ibid.).

his friars that devotion in chant is an act of the mind and a pure heart, rather than of music. Music simply charms the ears, he says.[66] How shall we interpret this? Similar counsel appears in the Rules of St. Benedict and St. Augustine,[67] which gives one pause to wonder whether Francis issued these admonitions in order to pronounce his accord with monastic convention—something that might have pleased moderates in his Order. If, however, we may take Francis at his word, we might have here the perfect illustration of the "saint-making" influence of the hagiographer, who constructs the image that suits him best, regardless of reality.

Music and Preaching in the Rule of St. Francis

Examining hagiographical accounts of Francis's singing and preaching through the lens of visual art and music theory gives us a vivid impression of how the early Franciscans had begun to recognize the close relationship between these two important aspects of their apostolic calling. Complicating this understanding, though, was the ideological struggle over the compatibility between their mendicancy and the desire to sing the offices and preach. How should the *clerici* and *laici* within the Order contribute to this enterprise?

The *Earlier Rule* of St. Francis from 1221, known as the *Regula non Bullata*, required all friars, whether *clerici* or *laici*, to celebrate the Divine Offices.[68] Laics were divided into the lettered and unlettered brothers.

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[66] "Ideoque per omnia oro sicut possum fratrem .H. generalem dominum meum ministrum, ut faciat Regulam ab omnibus inviolabiter observari; et quod clerici dicant officium cum devotione coram Deo non attendentes melodiam vocis, sed consonantiam mentis, ut vox concordet menti, mens vero concordet cum Deo, ut possint per puritatem cordis placare Deum et non cum lascivitate vocis aures populi demulcere" (*Epistola toti ordini* missa una cum oratione *omnipotens, Aeterne Deus*, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 102; *A Letter to the Entire Order*, in *Francis of Assisi*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 119–20). The *Fontes Franciscani* edition will suffice for my purposes, though there is a more recent edition of Francis's writings in *Francisci Assisiensis Scripta,* ed. Carolus Paolazzi, O.F.M. (Rome: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 2009), 218.

[67] "Let us, therefore, consider in what state one must be in the sight of God and his angels; we shall, then, stand while chanting, so that our hearts will be in harmony with our voices" (Rule of St. Benedict, Chapter 19). Augustine writes: "While you are praying to God during the chanting of the psalms and hymns, what you express on your lips should also be alive in your hearts" (Augustine, Rule 3; *Epistola* 221:7; *Epistola*, 48:3). Quoted in *Francis of Assisi*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 120, note a.

[68] "Propter hoc omnes fratres sive clerici sive laici faciant divinum officium, laudes et orationes, secundum quod debent facere" (*Regula non Bullata,* in *Fontes Franciscani,* 187). *The Earlier Rule*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* vol. 1, *The Saint*, 65.

A separate liturgy was prescribed for the unlettered, much of it influenced by the *Propositum Humiliatorum* of 1201.[69] This required recitation of the "Credo in Deum" from memory at Matins, Prime, and Vespers; varying numbers of "Pater nosters" with the "Gloria patri" at every office; additionally, the "Requiem eternam" was to be recited in the office for the deceased. Presumably the recitation formulas for the "Apostles' Creed," "Pater nosters," and "Requiem eternam" were also to be committed to memory, as well as the tones for the "Gloria patri." Only those who could read were allowed to have a Psalter.[70] The clerical brothers—the educated ones, that is, those in holy orders, especially priests[71]—were to celebrate the offices "according to the custom of clerics" and, therefore, were allowed to have "only the books necessary to fulfill their office." Francis also required them to sing the offices of the living and the dead, "Miserere mei deus" with the "Pater noster," and the "De profundis" and "Pater noster" for deceased brothers.[72]

Within a year of its inception, the friars demanded further clarification of the Rule. Before the Pentecost Chapter of 1222, Cardinal Hugolino dei Conti di Segni, protector of the Franciscan Order (later pope Gregory IX), was prevailed upon to influence Francis to consider several revisions. The result was the *Later Rule*, known as the *Regula Bullata*, because it was enacted by papal decree ("Solet annuere," 29 November 1223). It had roughly half of the number of chapters as the *Earlier Rule*, and more concise statutes concerning liturgical celebration and preaching. As concerns the liturgy it simply states:

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[69] Ibid., 65–6. See note a on p. 66.

[70] "Et laicis etiam scientibus legere psalterium liceat eis habere illud. Aliis vero nescientibus litteras librum habere non liceat. Laici dicant Credo in Deum in viginti quattuor Pater noster cum Gloria Patri pro matutino; pro laudibus vero quinque; pro prima Credo in Deum et septem Pater noster cum Gloria Patri; pro tertia, sexta et nona et unaquaque hora septem; pro vesperis duodecim; pro completorio Credo in Deum et septem Pater noster cum Gloria Patri; pro mortuis septem Pater noster cum *Requiem aeternam*; et pro defectu et negligentia fratrum tria Pater noster omni die" (*Regula non Bullata*, 188). *The Earlier Rule,* 65–6.

[71] See S.J.P. Van Dijk's explanation in *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents* (*1243–1307*), vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 195.

[72] "Clerici faciant officium et decant pro vivis et pro mortuis secundum consuetudinem clericorum. Et pro defectu et negligentia fratrum dicant omni die *Miserere mei Deus* cum *Pater noster*; et pro fratribus defunctis dicant *De profundis* cum Pater noster. Et libros tantum necessarios ad implendum eorum officium possint habere" (*Regula non Bullata,* 187–8). *The Earlier Rule*, 65.

> Let the clerical [brothers] recite the Divine Office according to the rite of the holy Roman Church excepting the psalter, for which reason they may have breviaries. The lay [brothers], however, may say twenty-four *Our Fathers* for Matins, and five for Lauds; seven for each of the Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, twelve for Vespers, and seven for Compline. Let them pray for the dead.[73]

The requirements of the lay brothers here are substantially similar to the *Earlier Rule*, though more sparing in detail. Of first importance is the accommodation of clerical brothers. The *Later Rule* ignores entirely the dilemma between evangelical poverty and the ownership of breviaries. It also makes clear that the clerics, not the laics, were to celebrate the Divine Offices according to the rite of the Roman Church, by which, Van Dijk has argued, he intended the secular *cursus* of the papal court rather than the monastic *cursus*.[74]

This dependency on liturgical books appears to have caused Francis considerable frustration, as his hagiographers tell us in a rather broadly transmitted story about the novice who wished to have a psalter.[75] Francis explained his wariness of book learning as a source of hubris encroaching upon the humble mission of his friars. He could foresee a time when vain brothers might seek learning under the pretext of preaching virtuously to others, only later to leave their vocation in order to preach for personal gain. At the sight of converting someone to penance they might puff themselves up, congratulating themselves for what was in fact the Lord's success working through their ministry.[76] He reproaches those brothers who receive honor and praise for preaching about the achievements of

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[73] "Clerici faciant divinum officium secundum ordinem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae excepto psalterio, ex quo habere poterunt breviaria. Laici vero dicant viginti quatuor *Pater noster* pro matutino, pro laude quinque, pro prima, teria, sexta, nona, pro qualibet istarum septem, pro vesperis autem duodecim, pro completorio septem; et orent pro defunctis" (*Regula Bullata,* in *Fontes Franciscani,* 174). The *Later Rule*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* vol. 1, *The Saint*, 101.

[74] Van Dijk lays out his argument in detail in *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960), 179–212.

[75] *AC,* 103–5; Assisi *Compilation*, 207–10. *2SP,* 4; *Mirror of Perfection*, 257–9. *2C,* 195; *Remembrance*, 372.

[76] "Multi sunt qui totum studium suum et sollicitudinem suam die noctuque ponunt in scientia, dimitentes vocationem suam sanctam, et devotam orationem. Et cum aliquibus vel populo predicaverint et viderint vel noverint aliquos inde hedificari vel ad penitentiam converti, inflantur vel se extollunt de operibus et lucro alieno, quoniam quos credunt suis verbis hedificari vel ad penitentiam converti, Dominus hedificat et convertit orationibus sanctorum fratrum, licet id ipsi ignorent, quia sic est voluntas Dei ut illud ne advertant, non inde superbiant" (*CA,* 103; *Assisi Compilation*, 207–8).

others, including Christian martyrs like Emperor Charles, Roland, and Oliver, and the battles of paladins and knights.[77] This is not to say that Francis disdained knowledge. The author of the *Assisi Compilation* cites Francis's *Testament* as evidence of his esteem for theologians "and those who minister the divine words and respect them as those who minister to us spirit and life."[78] But Francis held his friars to a high standard of virtue, according to his biographer, en par with the knights of King Arthur's court. Showing his understanding of courtly epic, he has Francis say, "These brothers of mine are my knights of the round table, [… who] devote themselves more diligently to prayer and meditation, weeping over their sins and those of others."[79]

When the same novice approached him again some time later, Francis reprimanded him pointedly saying, "After you have a psalter, you will desire and want to have a breviary; after you have a breviary, you will sit in a fancy chair, like a great prelate telling your brother: 'Bring me the breviary'."[80] In view of this, one might appreciate Francis's circumspect statements about books in general, and liturgical books in particular, as a nuanced rebuke not of one's desire for knowledge itself but of the vain use of knowledge for the sake of fame and fortune seeking. As he says, "[t]here are many who willingly climb to the heights of knowledge; that person be blessed who renounces it for the love of God."[81]

The connection hagiographers make between knowledge gleaned from liturgical books and the abuses of overweening preachers helps us to

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[77] "Carolus imperator, Rolandus et Oliverius et omnes paladini et robusti viri, qui potentes fuerunt in prelio, persequentes infideles cum multo sudore et labore usque ad mortem habuerunt de illis gloriosam et memorialem victoriam et ad ultimum ipsi sancti martyres mortui sunt pro fide Christi in certamine; et multi sunt qui sola narratione eorum, que illi fecerunt, volunt recipere honorem et humanam laudem" (*CA,* 103; *Assisi Compilation,* 209).

[78] "Non ut contemneret et despiceret sanctam scientiam; immo eos qui erant sapientes in Religione, et omnes sapientes nimio venerabatur affectu, quemadmodum ipse testatur in *Testamento* suo dicens: 'Omnes theologos et qui ministrant verba divina, debemus honorare et venerari tamquam qui ministrant nobis spiritum et vitam'" (*CA,* 103; *Assisi Compilation,* 207).

[79] "Isti sunt fratres mei milites tabule rotunde, qui latitant in desertis et in remotis locis, ut diligentius vacent orationi et meditationi, sua et aliorum peccata plorantes […]" (*CA,* 103; *Assisi Compilation,* 208).

[80] "Et dixit ad eum beatus Franciscus: 'Postquam habueris psalterium, concupisces et voles habere breviarium; postquam habueris breviarium, sedebis in cathedra, tamquam magnus prelatus dicens fratri tuo: Apporta michi breviarium'" (*CA,* 104; *Assisi Compilation*, 209).

[81] "Et ait: 'Tot sunt, qui libenter ascendunt ad scientiam, quod beatus erit qui fecerit se sterilem amore Domini Dei'" (ibid.).

understand Francis's warning in the *Earlier Rule*—that is, in terms of the utility of liturgical books in celebrating the Divine Offices. Preaching appears to have been a vocation open equally to clerics and laymen, so long as they did not preach against the rites and practices of the Church and had the permission of the minister.[82] Francis's overriding concern, however, was that preaching should become a vain spectacle. The amount of space he devotes to pleading for their forbearance speaks for itself:

> In the love that is God, therefore, I beg all my brothers—those who preach, pray, or work, cleric or lay—to strive to humble themselves in everything, not to boast or delight in themselves or inwardly exalt themselves because of the good words and deeds or, for that matter, because of any good that God sometimes says or does or works in and through them [....]
>
> Therefore, let all the brothers, beware of all pride and vainglory. Let us guard ourselves from the wisdom of this world and the prudence of the flesh. Because the spirit of the flesh very much desires and strives to have the words but cares little for the activity; it does not seek a religion and holiness in an interior spirit, but wants and desires to have a religion and a holiness outwardly apparent to the people.[83]

Hagiographers faithfully transmit the substance of these warnings. Whereas Francis makes no mention of liturgical books in the Rule, only wisdom in a rather vague sense, hagiographers affirm the connection for us. Nor does Francis refer to music; but as we shall later see, Franciscan music theorists understood preaching as an explicitly musical act, governed by musical principles, that could be shaped through science and practical instruction. What is ironic, but perhaps unsurprising, is that they seem to have perceived preachers' *lack* of knowledge as the source of the problem. Even Bonaventura advocates the use of books; but he is clearly mindful of the pitfalls when he writes in his *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*: "If they are not obliged to preach fables but the divine Word and they are unable to understand unless they read and they are unable to read unless they have written material, then it is entirely clear that having

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[82] *Regula non Bullata,* XVII; *The Earlier Rule*, 75.

[83] "Unde deprecor in *caritate,* quae *Deus est*, omnes fratres meos praedicatores, oratores, laboratores, tam clericos quam laicos, ut studeant se humiliare in omnibus, non gloriari nec in se gaudere nec interius se exaltare de bonis verbis et operibus, immo de nullo, bono, quod Deus facit vel dicit et operatur in eis aliquando et per ipsos [....] Omnes ergo fratres caveamus ab omni superbia et vana gloria; et custodiamus nos a sapientia huius mundi et a *prudentia carnis* spiritus enim carnis vult et studet multum ad verba habenda, sed parum ad operationem, et quaerit non religionem et sanctitatem in interiori spiritu, sed vult et desiderat habere religionem et sanctitatem foris apparentem hominibus" (*Regula non Bullata,* XVII; *The Earlier Rule,* 75).

books *like preaching* is proper to the perfection of the Rule."[84] As we shall see later in this chapter and the next, the early visual representations of events from the life of St. Francis show us that artists (and their Franciscan patrons) were working on this problem, too, again demonstrating the virtue of liturgical books in preaching.

Turning to the *Later Rule,* we see that most of the warnings against the abusive practices of preachers have been redacted, leaving a milder admonition that "their language should be well-considered and chaste for the benefit and edification of the people, announcing to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with brevity, because our Lord when on earth kept his word brief."[85] It makes no provision for lay preachers. Indeed, the friars were explicitly prohibited from preaching in the diocese of any bishop who raised opposition to them. And using similarly strong language, he goes on to say, "let none of the brothers dare to preach in any way to the people unless he has been examined and approved by the general minister of this fraternity and the office of preacher has been conferred upon him."[86] This new legislation would further isolate the *laici* from the Franciscan preaching mission, as they had been from chant, and privilege the enterprise of educated clerics. Nevertheless, even for them, the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge necessary to satisfy these regular obligations would have been overwhelming, as S.J.P. Van Dijk has already pointed out.[87] It would have required some kind of musical education. Remarkably, our Franciscan music theorists show us that knowledge of music and preaching worked hand in hand. To be more precise, they would realize that studying music in the broad context of the liberal and mechanical arts was essential to their singing *and* preaching. And in the forthcoming chapters we'll get some sense of how William of Middleton, David von Augsburg, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Roger Bacon, and Juan Gil de Zamora would work out the problems.

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[84] Nicole Bériou, "The Preaching of Bonaventure," in *A Pilgrimage Through the Franciscan Intellectual Tradition* (Canterbury, UK: Franciscan International Study Centre, 2008), 260. Bériou's emphasis.

[85] "Moneo quoque et exhortor eosdem fratres, ut in praedicatione, quam faciunt, sint *examinata* et *casta* eorum *eloquia*, ad utilitatem et aedificationem populi annuntiando eis vitia et virtutes, poenam et gloriam cum brevitate sermonis; *quia verbum* abbreviatum fecit *Dominus super terram*" (*Regula Bullata,* in *Fontes Franciscani,* IX). The *Later Rule*, 105.

[86] "Et nullus fratrum populo penitus audeat praedicare, nisi a ministro generali huius fraternitatis fuerit examinatus et approbatus, et ab eo officium sibi praedicationis concessum" (*Regula Bullata*, IX). *The Later Rule*, 104.

[87] S.J.P. Van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 45.

Subsequent revision of the Franciscan liturgy by Haymo of Faversham in the 1240s would bind the friars more firmly to the practices of the papal curia itself. Popes also endowed them with various privileges. Perhaps the most fundamental of these was the privilege of "using" without "owning" property, enacted in *Quo elongati* by pope Gregory IX on 28 September 1230.[88] It would remove the obstacle to property ownership by allowing some intermediary to own possessions on behalf of the friars and allow them use of it.[89] (A bit of subterfuge that drew the ire of critics like Guillaume de Saint-Amour.) At first this office was performed by the papacy itself; but Martin IV later issued the bull *Exultantes in Domino* (1283), which allowed provincial ministers and custodians to appoint their own proctors.[90] The right to preach and hear confession was bestowed on the friars in 1237 and confirmed by Martin IV in *Ad fructus uberes* (1281).[91] In 1251 *Cum a nobis petitur*, enacted by Innocent IV, bestowed on the friars the right to bury lay persons in their own churches, and thereby obtain their bequests.[92]

It would be important to recall at this point that the First Lateran Council (1122) prohibited abbots and monks from having the *cura animarum*, which included the public singing of Masses.[93] But the strain on parochial and diocesan clergy in the following century, of ministering to a burgeoning Christian population while also protecting them from insurgent heresy, appears to have grown direr, as several canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) evince. Canon ten made it incumbent upon bishops to find in both cathedral *and* conventual churches "suitable men, powerful in work and word" to preach, hear confession, impose penances, and generally serve in matters of salvation.[94] It also laments the low level

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[88] *Bullarium Franciscanum,* vol. 1, U. Hüntemann and J.M. Pou y Marti, ed. (1929–49), 68–70.

[89] Moorman, *History*, 180.

[90] *Bullarium Franciscanum,* vol. 3, 501.

[91] Ibid., 480.

[92] Ibid., vol. 1, 368–9.

[93] Canon 17: "We forbid abbots and monks to impose public penances, to visit the sick, to administer extreme unction, and to sing public masses. The chrism, holy oil, consecration of altars, and ordination of clerics they shall obtain from the bishops in whose dioceses they reside" (H.J. Schroeder, O.P., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* [St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937], 189).

[94] Canon 10: "Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls. If anyone neglect to comply with this, he shall be subject to severe punishment" (ibid., 252).

of education among the clergy, a point that both Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon would stress in their writing. Canon eleven mitigated this problem by reaffirming the demands of the Third Lateran Council (canon eighteen; 1179) requiring prelates to appoint masters who could give clerics and scholars a sound education in the arts. It also mandated the appointment of lectors in divinity at metropolitan churches in order to give priests instruction on the sacred scriptures and the *cura animarum*.[95]

Viewed in this light, Honorius III's support for the clerical ambitions of the Franciscans comes across as more than mere endorsement but, indeed, as an avocation that would detour them from the simple religious life St. Francis had envisaged. It called the Franciscans to the *cura animarum*—a duty that the Fourth Lateran Council made incumbent upon all suitable monks. It would also lead the friars into a more complex form of life at the centre of religious society. But it would be a mistake to assume that by bringing order to their regular use of music, in line with the conventions of the Roman curia, that the Franciscans had set aside the ideals of their founder. On the contrary, the Franciscan commentaries written in the course of the thirteenth century show us clearly that they taught novices to esteem both nuance and order. The evidence of theology, preaching, and chant shows us that the Franciscans not only clung to, but developed with vigor the ideology of their founder as construed by him in his Rule and by his biographers. For this reason, we turn once again to hagiography, but this time adding Franciscan expositions of the Mass to the hermeneutic of artists and their patrons.

The Nativity Play and Mass at Greccio

Tommaso da Celano, Julian von Speyer, and Bonaventura's accounts of the Nativity Play, Mass, and sermon Francis performed at Greccio gives us an important illustration of the integration of music with other forms of art,

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[95] Canon 11: "[…] we, confirming the aforesaid decree, add that, not only in every cathedral church but also in other churches where means are sufficient, a competent master be appointed by the prelate with his chapter, or elected by the greater and more discerning part of the chapter, who shall instruct *gratis* and to the best of his ability the clerics of those and other churches in the art of grammar and in other branches of knowledge. In addition to a master, let the metropolitan church have also a theologian, who shall instruct the priests and others in the Sacred Scriptures and in those things especially that pertain to the cura animarum" (ibid.).

especially preaching. As Tommaso da Celano tells it, on Christmas Eve of 1223, Francis became so overwhelmed with thoughts of the infant Jesus that he decided to make the town of Greccio "a new Bethlehem."[96] People from the town and surrounding neighbourhood gathered with the friars at a simple stage set with a *crèche* and some live animals. Bonaventura communicates essentially the same details as Tommaso and Julian when he writes,

> The brethren are summoned, the people arrive, the forest amplifies with their cries, and that venerable night is rendered brilliant and solemn by a multitude of bright lights and by resonant and harmonious hymns of praise.[97]

Still, Bonaventura is careful to defend the orthodoxy of these proceedings by assuring his reader that Francis obtained permission from the pope "[s]o that this would not be considered a type of novelty."[98] The choice of present verb tense in all three authors' accounts seems calculated to produce an altogether immediate effect.[99] They give such a vivid explanation of the *mis-en-scène*, with details about the setting, dress, and deportment of characters, that it is as though the drama were unfolding before us. The artist responsible for this representation confirms this for us in the fresco from the Upper Church of San Francesco (c. 1290–95; Fig. 1.1), presenting at once several aspects of Bonaventura's picturesque narrative.[100]

The action continued with a solemn Mass performed "over the manger," with Francis taking the part of the deacon or a levite (*levita*), a term Tommaso, Julian, and Bonaventura use perhaps to stress his subservient

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[96] *1C,* 84–5; *Life*, 254–5. Compare *LJS,* 53–5; *Julian's Life*, 405–6.

[97] "Advocantur fratres, adveniunt populi, personat silva voces, et venerabilis illa nox luminibus copiosis et claris laudibusque sonoris et consonis et splendens efficitur et solemnis" (*LMj,* 10.7; *Major Legend*, 610).

[98] "Ne vero hoc novitati posset adscribi, a Summo Pontifice petita et obtenta licentia [...]" (*LMj,* 10.7; *Major Legend*, 610).

[99] "Adveniunt populi et ad novum mysterium novis gaudiis adlaetantur. Personat silva voces et iubilantibus rupes respondent" (*1C,* 85; *Life,* 255). "Confluente igitur e diversis locis multitudine populi, facta est nox illa iucunditatis insolitae plena, facta est cereis et facibus luminosa, novoque ritu celebrantur Bethlehem novae solemnia" (*LJS*, 54; *Julian's Life,* 406). The editors suggest the choice of present tense may indicate a continuing tradition of performing the Nativity play in Greccio (*Life*, 255, n. a). See pp. 44–5 below for Julian's words.

[100] Vincent Moleta, *From St. Francis to Giotto: The Influence of St. Francis on Early Italian Art and Literature* (New York: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983), 59 and 76. See also Beth A. Mulvaney, "From Beholder as Witness: The *Crib at Greccio* From the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi and Franciscan Influence on Late Medieval Art in Italy," in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 181.

role at the altar.[101] The concentration of activity relative to the manger is a subtle but important point, as we shall later see. In other details, our hagiographers depart from one another slightly, though on the significance of music, they differ considerably. For example, Bonaventura simply reports that Francis chanted the Gospel.[102] In Tommaso's account, on the other hand, we are struck by details about the vestments of Francis's office, and the rhetorical nature of his singing and speaking voice:

> The holy man of God is dressed in the vestments of the Levites, since he was a Levite, and with full voice sings the holy gospel. Here is his voice: a powerful voice, a pleasant voice, a clear voice, a musical voice, inviting all to the highest of gifts.[103]

From this we may infer that a nuanced style of declamation was essential to the message of the text, since he relates the persuasive qualities of Francis's singing voice to the audience's perception of "the highest of gifts," as though he were performing some kind of musical exegesis. Even in his portrayal of the sermon that followed, Tommaso emphasizes the musical register of Francis's verbal rhetoric. For example, he says that when Francis called Jesus the "babe of Bethlehem," his voice filled with emotion. "Saying the word 'Bethlehem' in the manner of a bleating sheep, he fills his whole mouth with sound but even more with sweet affection."[104]

This emphasis on performative aspects of Francis's preaching should remind us of the Nativity play and his earlier singing, so that the emotional thrust of the entire event comes over as being aesthetically unified. It is interesting to note here that in the *Life of St. Francis* by Julian von Speyer, he truncates Tommaso's narrative of these events but preserves his core emphasis on vocal performance. He writes, "Finally, when the Solemn Mass was celebrated above the manger, the holy Levite of God, dressed in festive vestments proclaimed the gospel with a sonorous voice and then

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101 "Celebrantur missarum solemnia supra praesaepe et nova fruitur consolatione sacerdos" (*1C*, 85; *Life*, 256). Compare Bonaventura's statement, "Celebrantur Missarum solemnia super praesepe, levita Christi Francisco sacrum Evangelium decantante" (*LMj*, 10.7; *Major Legend*, 610). See Michael Cusato's comments below concerning the use of the term *levita* instead of *diaconus*.

102 "[…] levita Christi Francisco sacrum Evangelium decantante" (*LMj*, 10.7; *Major Legend*, 610).

103 "Induitur sanctus Dei leviticis ornamentis, quia levita erat, et voce sonora sanctum Evangelium cantat. Et quidem vox eius, vox vehemens, vox dulcis, vox clara, voxque sonora, cunctos invitans ad praemia summa" (*1C,* 86; *Life,* 256).

104 "[…] et more balantis ovis 'Bethlehem' dicens, os suum voce sed magis dulci affectione totum implebat" (ibid.).

with a voice flowing with honey he preached to the people about the poor King born in Bethlehem."[105]

Tommaso da Celano, Julian von Speyer, and Bonaventura each include in their story the miraculous vision that followed the Mass, in which a virtuous man, whom Bonaventura identifies as the knight John of Greccio, saw Francis approach the Christmas crib and awaken a sleeping child. Our writers interpret the miracle as exemplary of Francis's ability to rouse the Christian soul to devotion. Julian von Speyer, though, is more explicit than Tommaso about identifying the crucial agency of Francis's teaching and example; and Bonaventura is clearer still when he writes: "For Francis's example when considered by the world is capable of arousing the hearts of those who are sluggish in the faith of Christ."[106] It is the complex nature of Francis's example that appears to have stirred the imaginations of medieval arists (and their patrons) who captured the moment in paint.

The scene is set in what appears to be the choir of a Franciscan church (Fig. 1.1), with just enough of the interior in the background (ambo, *tramezzo* screen, a panel crucifix) to remind us that this drama was not playing out as some kind of "novelty" (*hoc novitati*) but a spectacle for which Francis had obtained the pope's permission. Indeed, Janet Robson proposes that the altar to the right, complete with its ciborium, may evoke similar structures in the papal basilicas of Rome so as to remind the viewer of the "unique status of S. Francesco, Assisi as the only papal basilica outside Rome."[107] Standing out from among the crowd are four singing friars, posed on either side of the empty lectern, with their gaze fixed on an imaginary line descending from the crucifix to the image of St. Francis embracing the child—the babe of Bethlehem, the subject of his sermon. Vincent Moleta has suggested that such a geometric layout may have been designed to actuate Francis's symbolic relationship with these figures. "Francis kneels in line with the lectern and the cross, and so in his

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[105] "Tandem super ipsum praesaepe sacra missarum aguntur solemnia, cum et ipse sanctus Dei levita, solemnibus ornamentis indutus, Evangelium voce sonora pronuntiat, ac deinde populo de nato in Bethlehem Rege paupere melliflua praedicat" (*LJS,* 54; *Julian's Life,* 406).

[106] "Creditur itaque non immerito suam Dominus Jesus Christus infantiam recolenti in huiusmodi formula non absurde monstratus; quippe qui in multorum cordibus per oblivionem quasi sopitus et mortuus veluti per beati Francisci doctrinam et exemplum evigilans ad memoriam est reductus (*LJS,* 55; *Julian's Life,* 406). "Nam exemplum Francisci consideratum a mundo, excitativum est cordium in fide Christi torpentium [...]" (*LMj,* 10.7; *Major Legend,* 610).

[107] Janet Robson, "Assisi, Rome and the *Miracle of the Crib at Greccio*," in *Image, Memory and Devotion*, ed. Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 151.

Fig. 1.1. *The Mass at Greccio*, Upper Church nave, San Francesco, Assisi (Photo: © 1985 Assisi.ed–Stefan Diller, Würzburg).

experience the Nativity is linked by suggestion to the Word and to the Passion."[108] By emphasizing St. Francis's relationship with the body of Christ, the artist forces the celebration of the Mass to the periphery, in a sense marginalizing the significance of liturgical chant and Francis's role in it. The lectern from which Francis had preached moments earlier remains empty, standing perhaps as a reminder of the sequence of events that led up to the miracle.

The visual hagiography presented in the Franciscan historiated panels from this early period gives us yet another way of understanding the role of music in the Mass at Greccio—that is, from the point of view of their Franciscan patrons. The narrative strategy of juxtaposing a selection of scenes from the saint's *vita* on a single panel gave the artist several ways of representing the substance of his life. For example, when the master of the *St. Francis Altarpiece* from Siena (c. 1290; Fig. 1.2) places the scenes out of chronological order, he forces the viewer to think about his subject thematically. When we "read" its eight episodes in sequence, running clockwise from the lower left, we consider the miracle of the crib at Greccio as a consequence of Francis's mystical encounter with the six-winged seraph on Mt. La Verna. This makes Francis's conformity to the physical suffering of the Passion seem like a condition for the miraculous vision of the infant Jesus in the following scene.

Looking more closely at the scene itself, we again observe Francis kneeling before the crib while clergymen perform the Mass in the background. Reading this event with its partner across the panel, as Vincent Moleta has done, one is able to contemplate Francis's comportment with the body of Christ: the crucified effigy of Christ at St. Damiano on the left; the child in the crib on the right; with Francis himself in the middle bearing the stigmata—the signs of Christ's physical suffering.[109]

The master of the Bardi St. Francis Dossal from the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence (Fig. 1.3) gives us an entirely different view of the episode at Greccio. Posing Francis at the altar singing the Christmas Mass, rather than performing the miracle at the crib, emphasizes the saint's clerical avocation. Thus, crucially, it identifies him with the active work of the church and the *cura animarum,* rather than with his thaumaturgy.

The Bardi Dossal appears to be the oldest extant rendering of the Mass at Greccio,[110] though there is still no broad consensus among scholars on

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[108] Moleta, *From St. Francis to Giotto*, 66.
[109] Ibid., 27.
[110] Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis,* 181. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 33.

the date of its creation. This is mainly because there is no one written source that covers all of the events it portrays.[111] Chiara Frugoni has placed it some time between 1243 and 1245.[112] Rona Goffen believes Tommaso da Celano's two *vitae* and *Treatise on the Miracles* were its sources, and therefore dates the work to the period between 1245 and 1250.[113] William Cook insists we look no further than the *Vita prima* as the written source for the dossal.[114] But others, like Eamon Duffy, have argued that the panel draws from Bonaventura's *Legenda maior*, and should therefore be dated after 1263, and perhaps between 1263 and 1266.[115] Rosalind Brooke came to the same conclusion about the dating, but not entirely for the same reasons as Duffy.

Brooke considers it likely that the panel was commissioned for the new church of Santa Croce, begun in 1252.[116] Art works like this would have been paid for by donors, but as she attests, "the programme, the content, would have been decided, not by the painter or by the donors, but by the friars of the house, increasingly aware of the value of pictures as teaching aides."[117] The friars suggest their didactic purpose through the choice and arrangement of scenes from the life and miracles of St. Francis. Because the artist appears to have drawn from *both* official *vitae*, Brooke argues that the artist must have completed the panel between 1263 and 1266—the interim period between the approval of Bonaventura's *Legenda* at the chapter of Pisa, and the suppression of Tommaso's *Vita prima* at the chapter of Paris. She reasons rather subtly that in this crucial period of transition, the Friars at Santa Croce, a major center of learning not far from Pisa, may have given artists early access to the *Legenda*, at a time when the authority of the *Vita* had not yet been abrogated.[118] My own arguments concerning the representation of music in the Bardi St. Francis Dossal do not rely on such precise dating, since the legend of Francis's performance of the Christmas Mass at Greccio appears in both the *Vita*

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[111] Brooke gives an overview of scholars' dating of the panel on p. 181, n. 62.

[112] Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco: Un'altra storia* (Genova, Marietti, 1988), 41. William Cook, "New Sources, New Insights: the Bardi Dossal of the Life and Miracles of St. Francis of Assisi," *Studi francescani*, 93 (1996), 325.

[113] Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict,* 29.

[114] William R. Cook, *Images of St. Francis of Assisi in Painting, Stone and Glass from the Earliest Images to ca. 1320 in Italy* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1999), 101–2. See also Cook's "New Sources, New Insights, 325.

[115] Duffy, "Finding Francis," 215.

[116] Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis*, 176.

[117] Ibid. 177–9.

[118] Ibid. 182–92.

prima and *Legenda maior*. Still, the master's emphasis on Francis's active role in liturgical performance, rather than on the miracle of the crib, may betray the import of Tommaso's extensive testimony about Francis's singing and preaching voice.

The Bardi Panel portrays an elongated figure of St. Francis carrying a book in his left hand while making a Christ-like sign of blessing with his right; twenty narrative scenes flow down his right side, across the bottom, and up his left. Above his head hangs a scroll with the words "Hunc exaudite perhibentem dogmata vite," ("Listen to this man, who presents the doctrine of life"), which may refer to the Rule of St. Francis, but it has also been construed as a variation of the Gospel text where God says to Jesus' disciples "This is my beloved Son; listen to him."[119] The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. After all, the Franciscan life of apostolic poverty was based on Matthew's Gospel account of how Jesus commanded his disciples, who go about the world preaching, that they "may not keep gold or silver or money in their belts, not have a wallet for their journey, nor may they have two tunics, nor shoes, nor staff."[120] The friars' choice and arrangement of scenes around St. Francis has prompted scholars to interpret its contents sequentially and also thematically. Both methods of analysis shed light on the subject of music as an essential part of Francis's identity, and of the Friars who controlled the panel's message.

Some scholars have suggested that we treat the central figure of St. Francis as a signpost directing us to the essential traits of his personality, his identity, in the narrative scenes that surround him. Accordingly, Rona Goffen considers the orientation of Francis's left foot in the Bardi Altar Panel as a matter of some import, gesturing to the narrative scene of the stigmatization as though it were verifying the identity of the central figure as *Franciscus Alter Christus*.[121] With the Christ-like sign of blessing in his stigmatized right hand, one might imagine a line of meaning descending to the narrative to which his left foot points. This would provide some symmetry to the other line of meaning descending from the Gospel book in Francis's left hand to his right foot, which gestures towards his performance of the Gospel in the Christmas Mass at Greccio. Portraying the central figure of Francis as a deacon of the Church may be equally

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[119] Goffen, *Sprituality in Conflict,* 30–1. Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis*, 186. The passage appears in Mk:7 and Mt:5. See also Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate: una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1993), 357–9.

[120] Mt:5. *LMj*, 3.1; *Major Legend*, 542. *1C* 22; *Life*, 201.

[121] Goffen, *Sprirtuality in Conflict,* 31.

important to Francis's identity as *Alter Christus*. For, according to tradition going back at least as far as Amalar of Metz (c. 775–850), "The foot of Christ is the deacon who carries the Gospel. He carries the Gospel in the left arm, which signifies the temporal world, where it is necessary to preach the Gospel."[122]

Amalar's hermeneutical expositions of the Mass had great currency with twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians, including Innocent III, through whom the Franciscans appear to have acquired much of their theological understanding of the Mass.[123] At least two major Franciscan Mass commentaries are based substantially on the pope's *De missarum mysteriis* (c. 1194–5): *Tractatus de officio missae* by Alexander of Hales; and William of Middleton's *Opusculum super missam*. William may actually be responsible for both.[124] In *De missarum mysteriis*, the pope writes that the priest who performs the Gospel represents the person of Christ himself.[125] Half a century later, William of Middleton—the Franciscan chair in theology at the University of Paris and later Cambridge—took up the mysteries of the Mass in *Opusculum super missam*, for the instruction of "simple clerics and priests." He follows the pope's model closely, but comes more directly to the point of the deacon's identity within the Mass.[126] In terms strikingly similar to the scroll hanging over Francis's head in the Bardi Altar Panel, he writes: "And thus in certain churches, the cross precedes the deacon who shall sing the Gospel, because the preacher of the Gospel must imitate the life and doctrine of Christ."[127] Portraying Francis as a deacon, who "presents the doctrine of life," seems to activate the spiritual narrative of the *Franciscus Alter Christus*—as the singer and preacher who bears the message of Christ's life and teaching. It is a theme that surely would have resonated with the Friars of Santa Croce, who emulated this

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[122] "Diaconus qui portat evangelium, Christi pes est. Portat evangelium in sinistro brachio, per quod significatur temporalis vita, ubi necesse est praedicare evangelium" (Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, Book 3, ch. 18.6, in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 2, ed. J. Hanssens, *Studi e testi* 139 [1948], 309). My translation.

[123] See Chapter Two below.

[124] See p. 84 below.

[125] "Sed cum sacerdos, qui pronuntiat Evangelium, ipsius Christi repraesentet personam […]" (*PL* 217, 820).

[126] A. Van Dijk writes "Et sic *Opusculum* nostrum considerandum est tamquam libellum ad propagandam vitam liturgicam apud simplices clericos praesertim et sacerdotes" (*Opusculum super missam*, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53 [1939], 306–7).

[127] "Et tunc in quibusdam ecclesiis crux praecedit diaconem cantaturum Evangelium, quia praedicator Evangelii debet imitari vitam et doctrinam Christi" (ibid., 324). My translation.

practice daily in their public celebration of the Mass before the people of Florence.

A musical interpretation of Francis's active role in the Mass at Greccio also benefits from a sequential analysis of the narrative scenes in the Bardi Altar Panel. For example, Vincent Moleta has suggested that the first five scenes running down Francis's right side, ending with Innocent III's approbation of their *forma vitae*, reflect Francis's submission to authority. The next ten scenes concern his public life, as it developed through his ministry, while the last five depict several of the miracles that followed Francis's death.[128] The depiction of Francis performing his duties as a deacon may be understood in various ways, following the previous scene involving Pope Innocent III. The most obvious interpretation is that the pope's approbation of their religious way of life gave the Franciscans the authority to pursue their apostolic calling. That this should lead directly to the Mass at Greccio, an event that occurred quite late in Francis's life, seems telling of the friars' thematic programme for the Bardi Altar Panel. And this becomes more sharply defined when contrasted with the narrative sequence presented in the historiated panels from Siena (Fig. 1.2) and by Giotto (c. 1310–15; see Fig 2.2).

In both of the later altar panels, the artist leads the viewer in proper chronological order from Pope Innocent III's dream of Francis supporting the Lateran Palace[129] to a depiction of Francis preaching to the birds.[130] The significance of the dream is a subject for Chapter Two of this study; but in brief, the narrative that the later artists convey, by juxtaposing these events, is that Francis's support for the crumbling Roman Church leads logically to his preaching. For, as we know from the *Legenda maior*, when the pope recognized the man from his dream as St. Francis, he not only approved his *forma vitae* but also gave the friars the mandate to "preach penance."[131] This progression of thought also leads logically to Franciscan singing, since the chant books Haymo of Faversham corrected in the 1240s for Franciscan use were based on papal service books.[132]

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[128] Moleta, *From St. Francis to Giotto,* 20. Brooke proposes as similar interpretation in *The Image of St. Francis*, 186–7.

[129] *2C,* 17; *Remembrance*, 256. *LMj*, 3.10; *Major Legend*, 548.

[130] *1C*, 58; *Life*, 234. *LMj*, 12.3; *Major Legend*, 624.

[131] *LMj*, 3.10; *Major Legend*, 549. See p. 64 below.

[132] S.J.P. Van Dijk, *The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham, and Related Documents* (*1243–1307*), vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 41. Vincent Moleta writes, "In this sequence of scenes his public life begins with one of the most touching and popular of his miracles, and also with the exercise of the diaconate which had been conferred on him when the Rule was approved, as shown in the preceding scene" (*From St. Francis to* Giotto, 22).

The Bardi Dossal does not include the pope's dream. The artist shows us only his approval of the Franciscan way of life and then manipulates the chronology of events, perhaps to serve his programme. The sermon to the birds comes after the Greccio Christmas Mass in the *Legenda maior*, but in the *Vita prima*, they are reversed. Continuing the cycle with Francis's sermon before the Sultan of the Saracens (Malik al-Kamil) distorts the chronology established by both Tommaso and Bonaventura. It comes before the Mass and sermon to the birds in both *vitae*, but placing it here does certainly reinforce the theme of ministry through preaching.[133] By inserting the Mass at Greccio between these scenes, the Franciscan friars who programmed the Bardi Altar Panel suggest to us *how* Innocent III's mandate to preach bore fruit. It occurred first and foremost through the public performance of the Mass, and specifically through the intonation of the Gospel. As the pope himself attests in *De missarum misteriis*, the Gospel is unsurpassed in importance in the Mass because it functions essentially as a sermon. "Just as a sound mind is essential to the body, and the other limbs are subservient to it, so the Gospel is the most important in the entire office, and the other parts consent to it in an intellectual manner. This is the Word of words, sermon of sermons, the wisdom of Wisdom [...]."[134]

Looking at the details of the scene more closely (Fig. 1.4), we notice that the master of the Bardi Panel, unlike the masters of the Assisi fresco and the Siena Panel, emphasizes the relationship between the priest, altar, and child by figuring them along the central axis of the image, while posing St. Francis and the acolytes in their subservient roles to the left and right of the altar. We may identify Francis by his green dalmatic, standing to the left of the altar with head bent over the Gospel book, which he censes and then sings from[135] while the townspeople behind him look on. The heartfelt emotion of the crowd is suggested by the man in front, perhaps John of Greccio, who clutches his hand to his chest in response to the motions of music and physical gestures laid out dramatically before him.

Rona Goffen has proposed that this arrangement conveys "Francis's loving respect for the priesthood,"[136] whereas Rosalind Brooke perceives the

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[133] *1C*, 57; *Life*, 231 (see note c). *LMj*, 9.8; *Major Legend*, 602–3.

[134] "Sane sicut caput praeeminet corpori, et ei caetera membra subserviunt, sic Evangelium toti officio praecellit, et ei caeterae partes intellectuali ratione consentiunt. Hoc est verbum Verbi, sermo sermonis, sapientia Sapientiae. [...]" (*PL* 217, 826). Translation is my own.

[135] Moleta, *From St. Francis to Giotto*, 20–2.

[136] Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 39.

artist's rendering of the scene as a "visual sermon" on the Gospel story of Jesus's birth.[137] There is strong evidence to support both of these assertions; however, what these analyses seem to overlook is the point of posing Francis with the Gospel book at the altar. For after censing it, a detail supplied by the artist, Francis sang the Gospel for the Mass. The relevance of preaching in this portrayal is distinct, but not only because we recognize its result in the miracle of the crib and the reaction of John of Greccio. We have already seen how various exegetes described the homiletical function of the Gospel itself. For them, even the deacon's place at the altar endowed him with spiritual significance. According to Innocent III, Alexander of Hales, and William of Middleton, the deacon stands to the left of the altar to signify that Christ came to call the sinners to penance.[138] For Tommaso da Celano, this form of preaching was like chanting. Francis sang the Gospel story about the poor "babe of Bethlehem" (Luke 2:1–14), which supplied him with the pericope for his sermon.[139] Bonaventura is tacit with regard to these nuances. Rather, it is Tommaso's (and Julian von Speyer's) descriptions about the musical qualities of Francis's voice while singing and preaching that we see rendered here.

The fact that the Gospel of the Mass bore the message of Christ's life and teaching, and was the final reading of the Fore-Mass, added tremendously to its significance within the liturgy, and to the prestige of the deacon who sang it. The ritual of the candle-lit procession of the Gospel to the ambo, and censing the book before the recitation, were just part of the drama. In the course of the Middle Ages, certain melodic embellishments and new chants like the Sequence were added to the ceremony to enhance its solemnity. The Gospel itself, though, was usually quite simple, sung to a prescribed recitation tone. Singers sometimes added small embellishments at the ends of phrases and sentences, and at

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137 Brooke, *The Image of St. Francis*, 184.

138 "[…] sacerdos ad sinistram partem altaris accedens pronuntiat Evangelium, significans quod Christus non venit vocare justos, sed peccatores ad poenitentiam […]" (*PL* 217, 820). "Sacerdos autem ad sinistram partem, altaris, codici submisso pulvinari: pronunciat evangelium: significans quod Christus non venit vocare justos, sed peccatores" (Alexander of Hales, "De evangelio," *Tractatus de officio missae*, in *Summa theologiae*, pt. IV [Cologne, 1622], Q X. m5. a2.viii). "Ad sinistram partem altaris cantatur, quia Christus non venit vocare iustos, sed peccatores […]" (*Opusculum super missam*, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53 (1939), 324).

139 From "In illo tempore exit edictum" to "pax hominibus bone voluntatis" according to Haymo of Faversham's Order of the Missal in S.J.P. Van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 211.

the final cadence for the reading.[140] The Gospel for the Mass of Christmas, however, was sometimes performed to a more elaborate tone,[141] which may account for Tommaso da Celano's nuanced description of Francis's singing voice on that occasion.

Remarkably, it is the visual hagiography of the Bardi Dossal that assures us that chanting and preaching were natural partners and core themes in the life of St. Francis. Reading its scenes both thematically and sequentially, relative to the central figure of St. Francis, reveals the bond between them. This visual evidence has important implications for our understanding of Francis's musical persona, and perhaps Franciscan spirituality as whole. It may account for the changing perspective of patrons and artists that shifted Francis from his role as the deacon, who *sings* about Christ's passion and journey to the cross, to an *embodiment* of that message through his connection to the body of Christ. Later artists, who knew only Bonaventura's version of the legend, emphasize Francis's identification with the Christ child, as we see in the Assisi fresco and the Siena Altar Panel. But the master of the Bardi panel, who appears still to have been working under the influence of the *Vita prima*, emphasizes Francis's role in the Mass primarily as a singing preacher. This may have been because his Franciscan patrons were keenly aware of their function as ministers of the church, involved in the *cura animarum*. For them, celebrating a Mass "over the manger" as a levite meant placing Francis where he belonged, serving at that altar.

For Tommaso da Celano, the way Francis discharged his office was intensely charged with performative significance. As Michel Cusato has argued, Tommaso da Celano deliberately chose to refer to Francis as *levita* rather than *diaconus* in 1229 in order to emphasize his ancillary role at the altar in Greccio. "The Friars Minor, following in the footsteps of their founder, were not an Order of priests but rather and more importantly *assistants* to the priests—levites in the post-exilic sense of the term."[142] The Franciscan patrons of the Bardi Dossal suggest to us, through the artist's brush, that this image of Francis as levite continued to resonate with them later in the century. And so, one might argue, did the musical

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[140] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 54–8. Michel Huglo, s.v. "Evangelium," *MGG*; Michel Huglo and James McKinnon, s.v. "Gospel I," *NG*.

[141] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 55.

[142] Michael Cusato, "Toward a Resolution of the Franciscan Question: From the Perspective of History," *Franciscan Studies* 66 (2008), 503.

Fig. 1.2. Circle of Guido of Siena. *St. Francis and Scenes from his Life* (Scala/Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali/ Art Resource, NY).

Fig. 1.3. *Bardi St. Francis Master Dossal,* Bardi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (Photo: © 1982 Assisi.de–Stefan Diller, Würzburg).

Fig. 1.4. *The Mass at Greccio*, detail from *St. Francis Master Dossal*, Bardi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence (Photo: © 1982 Assisi.de–Stefan Diller, Würzburg).

attributes of his office as Tommaso describes them: chanting; and preaching the Gospel, which by the time of the panel's creation had become the primary mission of the Friars minor.[143]

Francis and his Joculatores Domini

One further illustration from the early biographies of St. Francis is necessary to show how Franciscans identified with their founder's model of the singing preacher. While recovering from illness at San Damiano in 1224, Francis made a discovery that came as such a revelation that it would shake his apostolic mission to the core. According to the author of the *Speculum perfectionis,* Francis had been suffering from an eye disease, and for this reason had shut himself in his cell, away from the light of the sun

[143] Ibid., 500.

and fire. After more than fifty days lying in this wretched state, Francis at last begged God for mercy. The Lord responded:

> Tell me, my brother, what if, in exchange for your illness and troubles, someone were to give you a treasure? And it would be so great and precious that, even if the whole earth were changed to pure gold, and stones to precious stones, all water to balsam, you would still hold all these things as nothing, compared to this great treasure which was given you. Wouldn't you greatly rejoice?

Francis agreed. God continued: "Then, brother, be glad and rejoice in your illness and troubles, and as of now, you are as secure as if you were already in my kingdom."[144]

Illumined by this revelation, Francis became so rapt with spiritual joy that he resolved to compose a new *Praise of the Lord,* which he called "The Canticle of Brother Sun."[145] After sitting in meditation for a while, he said "Altissimo Canticum fratris Solis," and then composed a melody for it, which he taught to his friars "so they could recite and sing it [*dicerent et cantarent eum*]."[146] The text of the *Assisi Compilation* is slightly different here. Rather than using both verbs *dicere* and *cantare*, it reads: "He composed a melody for these words and taught it to his companions so they could repeat it [*dicerent*]."[147] Certainly the verb *dicere* may be readily construed as "to sing," as it is in other musical contexts such as the rubrics in chant books and sung dramas.[148] It may seem like a small point, but in fact the subject of saying and singing lies at the heart of this story. By deliniating *dicere* and *cantare*, the author of the *Speculum perfectionis* shows his sensitivity to the creative process, drawing our attention the various dynamics involved in composing and performing. This shows some currency with the writings of Franciscan theorists, as we shall

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144 "Dicit mihi, frater, si quis pro iis tuis infirmitatibus et tribulationibus tam magnum et pretiosum thesaurum tibi daret, quod si tota terra esset purum *aurum,* omnes *lapides* essent *lapides pretiosi* et tota aqua esset balsamum, tu omnia pro nihilo haberes *in comparatione illius* magni thesauri, nonne multum gauderes?" (*2SP,* 100; *2 Mirror,* 347). Compare *CA,* 83; *Assisi Compilation*, 185. Compare also *2C,* 213; *Remembrance*, 384.

145 "Nam *Laudes Domini* quas fecit, videlicet: *Altissimo, omnipotente, bon Segnore,* imponens illis vocavit nomen *Canticum fratris Solis* [...]" (*CA,* 83; *Assisi Compilation,* 186).

146 "Et postea dixit: 'Altissimo omnipotente bono Segnore', etc., et fecit cantum super hoc, et docuit socios suos ut dicerent et cantarent eum" (*2SP,* 100; *2 Mirror,* 348).

147 "Et fecit cantum in ipsis et docuit socios suos ut dicerent" (*CA,* 83; *Assisi Compilation,* 186).

148 For a more substantial examination of this usage, see Ulrich Mehler, *Dicere und Cantare: Zur musikalischen Terminologie und Aufführungspraxis des mittelalterlichen geistlichen Dramas in Deutschland*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, no. 120, ed. Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1981).

see later in this study. We begin with divine inspiration, followed by the contemplation of words. These are set to music, which one would "sing." And then they are disseminated together as a song performed through the actions of teaching and imitation.

Francis struck upon the idea of sending Brother Pacifico, who had been a courtly poet and singing master, out into the world with a "few good and spiritual brothers who, together with him, would go through the world preaching and singing the *Praises of the Lord*." To insure that listeners would understand its penitential message, he instructed that the best preacher among them should first preach and the rest join him in the singing as "jongleurs of the Lord." Francis enjoined them to tell their audience:

> We are *jongleurs* of the Lord, and this is what we want as payment: that you live in true penance.
>
> And he said: "What are the servants of God if not His *jongleurs*, who must lift people's hearts and move them up to spiritual joy." And he said this especially to the Lesser Brothers, who have been given to the people of God for their salvation.[149]

In this complex passage, the biographers grapple with several important themes—aesthetics, homiletics, pedagogy, and penitential and salvation theology—and consider their larger import for the Franciscan way of life. In remarkably clear dogmatic terms they illustrate, by means of Francis's example, how pious suffering was a requisite function of spiritual delight. For Francis, the discovery of salvation through misery was a cause for singing; and his impulse was to reach out to the Lord through the creatures that had given him pain. But unlike previous times in his life when spiritual ecstasy had resulted in artistic expression, he also seized upon the moment to instruct his friars how to use songs to lead their audiences to similar revelation. It is a pity that the melody has not survived.

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[149] "Nam spiritus ejus erat tunc in tanta consolatione et dulcedine quod volebat mittere pro fratre Pacifico, qui in saeculo vocabatur rex versuum et fuit valde curialis doctor cantorum; et volebat dare sibi aliquos fratres bonos et spirituales, ut irent simul cum eo per mundum praedicando et cantando laudes Domini. Dicebat enim quod volebat quod ille qui sciret melius praedicare inter illos prius praedicaret populo, et post praedicationem omnes cantarent simul laudes Domini, tanquam joculatores Domini.

Finitis autem laudibus, volebat quod praedicator diceret populo: 'Nos sumus joculatores Domini, et pro iis volumus in hoc remunerari a vobis, videlicet ut stetis in vera paenitentia.' Et ait: 'Quid enim sunt servi Dei nisi quidam joculatores ejus, qui corda hominum erigere debent et movere ad laetitiam spiritualem?'" (*2SP,* 100; *2 Mirror,* 347–8). See "Canticle of the Creatures," in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 113–4. The meaning of the term "joculator" may be more consistent with the medieval French term "jongleur" or Occitan "joglar." In order to avoid the unnecessary modern connotations associated with the English term "minstrel," which the translators use, I have replaced it with *jongleur*.

The biographers show us here again that Francis was a musician by nature, inclined to express his piety through song—further evidence of Francis's "conversion of vanities." This time, however, they add a new element when they introduce Brother Pacifico. In the *Vita secunda,* we learn that before Brother Pacifico met Francis, he had been known as the "King of Verses" [*Rex versuum*], crowned by the emperor himself. Tommaso da Celano says that he had "prostituted himself entirely to vanity" through his composition of worldly songs, but that Francis called him back from sin.[150] "His conversion," he goes one to write, "was all the more edifying to many because the crowd of his vain comrades had been so widespread."[151] In other words, Brother Pacifico was a man cut from the same cloth as was Francis. With this in mind it bears considering that Francis, or indeed his biographers, conceived of his mission as preaching through song because he recognized the compatibility between the aims of courtly love and his own penitential spirituality. The courtly singer expounds virtue on the pains of love and seems to delight in them because they offer the hope of a lover's solace. The message his biographers have Francis convey in song is that the pains of pious suffering are delightful, because they offer the hope of salvation.

The episode is strongly reminiscent of the mandate Pope Innocent III gave Francis to preach penance, but it complicates our view of St. Francis by exposing another kind of duality within his persona. Whereas the Franciscan patrons of the Bardi Altar Panel direct the viewer to his clerical side, the hagiographers who show us the composer of "The Canticle of Brother Sun" direct us to the layman. As the deacon preaches by singing the Gospel for the sake of the penitent, so the *jongleur* of God should use sacred song with his preaching to win souls. The mission seems clear: the principles of Franciscan spirituality were to be transmitted to all people through divine speech, chant, and song. And the mission would be immensely productive. As I shall prove in the following chapters, Franciscan theologians and teachers would write at length about the coherence between these forms of communication.

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150 "Erat in Marchia Anconitana saecularis quidam, sui oblitus et Dei nescius, qui se totum prostituerat vanitati. Vocabatur nomen eius Rex versuum, eo quod princeps foret lasciva cantantium et inventor saecularium cantionum. Ut paucis dicam, usque adeo gloria mundi extulerat hominem, quod ab imperatore fuerat pomposissime coronatus" (*2C,* 106; *Remembrance*, 316). See also *LMj,* 4.9; *Major Legend,* 556.

151 "Huius conversio eo magis aedificatoria fuit multorum, quo latior fuerat vanorum turba sodalium" (*2C,* 106; *Remembrance*, 317).

CHAPTER TWO

MUSIC AND THE NARRATIVE OF PENANCE IN LOTARIO DEI SEGNI'S *DE MISSARUM MYSTERIIS*

Having seen how hagiographers and artists featured music as an aspect of Franciscan personality and ritual, we now shift to the perceptions of theorists and their notions about how music should actually function within their spirituality and missions. Poring over their writings from this early period, one is struck by the way the friars adapted musical wisdom from ancient and medieval sources to the needs of their mission—essentially to fulfill their clerical obligation to sing the Mass and Offices, and to preach. Like other scholars of the time, they founded their knowledge upon the doctrines of Augustine and Boethius, and the *Etymologies* of Isidore. Then, yielding to their scholarly discipline, Franciscan schoolmen like Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio would build upon these footings theologically following, notably, the inspiration of the Victorines—Richard for his mystical understanding (e.g. *The Mystical Ark*); and Hugo for his views concerning the mechanical arts (e.g. *Didascalicon*). At the same time, Franciscans were among the vanguard of scholars integrating the scientific learning recently acquired from new translations of Aristotle and other Arabic sources. The perspective they took from non-Christian philosophers required empirical observation of music, making it the subject of natural and moral philosophy. Franciscan scholars like Roger Bacon would attempt to harmonize the philosophy of non-Christians with the theology of Augustine to show how a proper understanding of music would serve the mission of his Order, and thereby the needs of the entire Roman Church.

Support for the Roman Church and papal authority also plays out in Franciscan expositions on the subject of chant and its effect on listeners. When it came to practical instruction, Franciscans like Juan Gil de Zamora drew on the wisdom of monastic theorists such as Guido d'Arezzo and John Cotto (i.e. John of Afflighem). Yet others, like Alexander of Hales and William of Middleton, show how practice could be informed by theology. They were especially interested in propogating a hermeneutical understanding of chant, and using it to influence human emotion. This idea they took largely from Lotario de Segni, whom they knew as Pope Innocent

III. In other cases, where illustrations of overt borrowing are lacking, it is the scribes who lead our thinking. As we shall see in Chapter Four, those who compiled the musical instructions of David von Augsburg with Lotario's *De missarum mysteriis* show us how music in Franciscan thought fit within the larger context of preparing clerics for their pastoral mission. In fact, it seems as though the alliance that obtains between this unique papal authority and music theory reinforces the bond that hagiographers and artists were forging between the pope and St. Francis. For this reason, it seems appropriate to begin our discussion of Franciscan music theory by taking up this important connection.

Pope Innocent III (*Lotario dei Conti di Segni*)

Bonaventura tells us that Pope Innocent III was initially apprehensive in his meeting with Francis and his companions in 1209. Nevertheless, he gave his approbation to their *forma vitae* after recognizing Francis of Assisi from his dream, as the poor man who was bearing up the walls of his own Lateran Church.[1] The earliest graphic depictions of this scene, in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco (c. 1260–5; Fig. 2.1) and the historiated panels from Siena (c. 1290; Fig. 1.2) and by Giotto (c. 1310–15; Fig. 2.2), give us a strong impression of artists' perceptions of its central importance to the biography of St. Francis. According to Vincent Moleta, "[t]his scene was to assume a new importance in the Rome-oriented fresco cycle in the nave of the Upper church of San Francesco."[2]

The desire of artists, and their Franciscan patrons, to promulgate the legend concerning Pope Innocent III's witness to St. Francis's heroism may have been fueled by controversy over a competing narrative of the event propagated by the Dominicans. Tommaso da Celano's *Vita secunda* (1246–7) is the earliest Franciscan account of the Dream of Pope Innocent III;[3] yet, Constantino d'Orvieto's *Legend of St. Dominic*, which was completed in the same year, claimed that it was St. Dominic whom Innocent III had recognized in his dream.[4] Joanne Cannon has argued

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[1] *LMj*, 3.10; *Major Legend*, 548.

[2] Vincent Moleta, *From St. Francis to Giotto: The Influence of St. Francis on Early Italian Art and Literature* (New York: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983), 29.

[3] *Remembrance*, 256.

[4] For a more complete account of the controversy, see Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Image of St Francis, Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 283–6.

convincingly that the Franciscans were the first to depict the scene, in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco some time between 1260 and 1265, and that Nicola Pisano's sculpture of the Dominican version of the story in the Arca di San Domenico was probably influenced by it.[5]

The scene as figured for Franciscan patrons in Siena, Florence, and Assisi emphasizes the pope's astonishment at the saint's strength, agility, and heroism. Both Tommaso and Bonaventura describe how Francis supported the weight of the church on his bent (*submisso*) back.[6] In the Lower Church of the Basilica in Assisi he is seen bracing his hand against his knee while pushing back against the Lateran; and in the Siena panel (top left, second scene) he seems to catch the falling campanile. In the fresco from the Upper Church in Assisi (Fig. 2.3), we see a young and athletic Francis. As Bruno Dozzini says, "as smooth-faced as Apollo: he is the incarnation of eternal youth and absolute perfection."[7] He appears to bear the entire weight of the church with his right arm and shoulder while he braces his back with his left hand. Giotto's historiated panel *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (Fig. 2.2), now in the Louvre Museum, portrays Francis as a mature, bearded saint, larger than any of the Lateran's columns, energetically pushing up the edifice with both hands. In each case the pope exclaims surprise with his right hand upraised. In reality, John C. Moore argues that the pope probably thought little of the meeting, and he certainly did not live long enough to see the Franciscans develop into great defenders of his church.[8] "Their religious work in cities probably did as much to combat heresy as any of the oppressive measures sponsored by Innocent and his successors."[9]

The prominent place hagiographers and artists claimed for Pope Innocent III has a parallel in the history of Franciscan chant. According to Bonaventura, when the pope had approved their religious way of life,

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[5] Joanne Cannon, "Dating the Frescoes by the Maestro di S. Francesco in Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982), 65–9. See Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 285.

[6] "Lateranensem basilicam fore proximam iam ruinae, quam quidam religiosus, homo modicus et despectus, proprio dorso submisso, ne caderet, sustentabat" (*2C*, 17; *Remembrance*, 256). See *LMj*, 3.10; *Major Legend*, 548. The "submisso" may also connote Francis's "submission" to the church, which Innocent III reciprocates in the following sentence where Tommaso says he bowed [*inclinat*] to their request (see *Remembrance*, 256, n. b).

[7] Bruno Dozzini, *Giotto, the "Legend of St. Francis" in the Assisi Basilica* (Assisi: Editrice Minerva, 1992), 19.

[8] John C. Moore, *Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root up and to Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 178; 155.

[9] Ibid., 178.

he gave the friars a mandate "to preach penance."[10] In our previous consultation with early Franciscan iconography in Chapter One, we learned that artists were keen to propagate this particular narrative, even departing from chronology to show that the pope's mandate to preach penance led directly to Francis's preaching.[11] In the upper left of the historiated panel from Siena (Fig. 1.2), and bottom right of Giotto's *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (Fig. 2.2), the preaching scene depicts Francis's sermon to the birds.[12] The earlier *Bardi St. Francis Master Dossal* (1245–50; Fig. 1.3) anticipates this narrative; but between these two scenes on the lower left side, the artist detours the viewer through the Nativity play in Greccio.[13] In this case, the artist idenfies Francis not with the Christ child in the crib, but with the clergy singing the Mass.[14] The Bardi Dossal does not represent the pope's mysterious vision of St. Francis bearing up the collapsing edifice of the Lateran church. Yet, how striking it is to observe his approval of the Franciscan way of life leading to the corollary of music *and* penitential preaching. For, ironically, these are two important themes in *De missarum mysteriis*. With it, Franciscan lectors beginning with Alexander of Hales and William of Middleton would teach their students in Paris how to sing the Mass according to papal ritual—a ritual whose liturgy Haymo of Faversham would reform for Franciscan use in the 1240s. Put another way, *De missarum mysteriis* would supply the Franciscans with the essential building materials to restore the Roman church musically.

De missarum mysteriis

Twenty years before he met Francis and his first companions, while still serving as cardinal-deacon at St. Sergio e Bacco, Lotario dei Segni had the ambition to compose three theological treatises. Among them is *De missarum mysteriis* (c. 1194–5), later known as *De sacro altaris mysterio*. David Frank Wright and others have shown that Lotario's exposition of the Mass added substantially to an already rich history of liturgical commentary going back to the Church fathers.[15] Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis*

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[10] *LMj*, 3.10; *Major Legend*, 549. See p. 52 above.

[11] Ibid.

[12] *Major Legend*, 624. See also *Life*, 234. The lower scenes in Giotto's panel read from left to right.

[13] See pp. 42–56 above.

[14] See one; fig. 1.3.

[15] David Frank Wright, "A Medieval Commentary on the Mass: *Particulae* 2–3 and 5–6 of the *Missarum Mysteriis* (ca. 1195) of Cardinal Lothar of Segni (Pope Innocent III),"

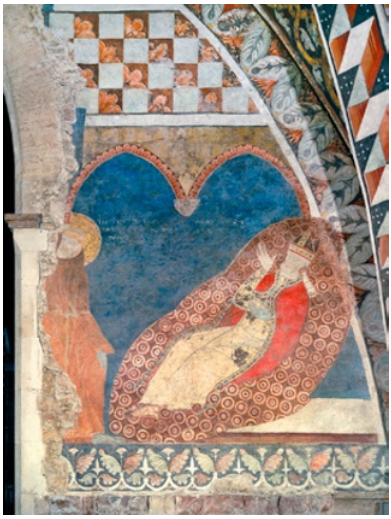

Fig. 2.1. Dream of Pope Innocent III (Lower Church nave, Assisi; Photo: © 1985 Assisi.ed–Stefan Diller, Würzburg).

Fig. 2.3. Dream of Pope Innocent III (Upper Church nave, Assisi, Photo: © 1985 Assisi.ed–Stefan Diller, Würzburg).

officiis (c. 620) and *Etymologies*, too, proved vital sources for later writers on the Mass; but Lotario's immediate inspiration may be traced to the hermeneutical writings of Amalar of Metz (c. 775–850) and Rupert von Deutz (c. 1075–1129).

A broad survey of Mass expositions from Amalar's time suggests that his contemporaries—Rabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo, Florus of Lyons, and Remigius of Auxere somewhat later—were aiming for expediency, purpose to the direction of clerics in the discharge of their duties in the Eucharistic office. When we do find elaborations, they tend to be of an etymological sort, or, in the case of Florus of Lyons, references to patristic writings. Amalar's *Missae expositionis Codex I*,[16] its supplement in

(Ph.D. diss. University of Notre Dame, 1977). For this study, I was unable to consult Christoph Egger's dissertation "Papst Innocenz III, *De missarum mysteriis*," Studien und Vorarbeiten zu einer kritischen Edition; mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der schriftstellerischen Persönlichkeit des Papstes" (Vienna, 1996).

[16] Amalar of Metz. *Missae expositionis* Codex I. In *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 1, ed. J. Hanssens *Studi e testi* 138 (1948): 255–61.

Fig. 2.2. Giotto, *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (Paris, Louvre © RMN-Grand Palais, Art Resource, NY).

Codex II,[17] the third book of the *Liber officialis*,[18] and *Eclogae de ordine romano*,[19] are of a different nature. Using his spiritual senses, he casts the chants and readings for the Mass into a broad narrative representing events in the life of Christ. For example, Amalar's exegesis of the Fore-Mass portrays Introit chants as prophesies of Christ's advent, and the chants that follow as embodiments of his and his followers' pastoral mission. At the culmination of the Fore-Mass, Amalar sees the Epistle as a representation of John the Baptist's preaching, and the Gospel as an account of Christ's passion and journey to the cross. According to David Frank Wright, this way of looking at the Mass would set a new standard for future Mass commentaries.[20]

Lotario blends his reading of Amalar with the *Liber de divinis officiis* by Rupert, the abbot of Deutz. Rupert himself absorbs much of Amalar's exegesis of the Mass, and adds to it more emotional content while stipulating its penitential meaning. For example, in his pastoral hermeneutic of the Fore-Mass, the Epistle actually becomes a sermon on penance.[21] He then perceives the Gradual as a lachrymose response, which requires a grave and bitter tone color,[22] and the Alleluia as the expression of solace in joy.[23] These varied perceptions seem to have stirred Lotario dei Segni's sensibilities. His exposition brings about even more fulsome expressions of penance and joy. It is no wonder, then, our Franciscan authors found *De missarum mysteriis* such a compelling work. It dwells on feelings of affective piety, and connects penitential preaching with music in a way that might have appealed to the *joculatores Domini*.

The enduring value of *De missarum mysteriis* to later readers is attested in no fewer than 157 authentic manuscript copies of the work, dating from between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.[24] As David Frank

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[17] Amalar of Metz, *Missae expositionis* Codex II, in ibid.: 165–81.

[18] Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis,* in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 2, ed. J. Hanssens, *Studi e testi* 139 (1948): 271–311.

[19] Amalar of Metz, *Eclogae de ordine romano,* in Amalarii *episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 3, ed. J. Hanssens, *Studi e testi* 140 (1950): 229–48.

[20] Wright, "A Medieval Commentary on the Mass," 23. Anko Ypenga argues that *De missarum mysteriis* should be classified as an *expositio liturgicae* rather than strictly as an *expositio missae* (Anko Ypenga, "Innocent III's *De missarum mysteriis* Reconsidered: A Case Study on the Allegorical Interpretation of Liturgy," in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et orbis; atti del congresso internazionale, Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, *Nuovi studi storici* 55, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2003), 323.

[21] *PL* 170, 29.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 30.

[24] Wright, "A Medieval Commentary on the Mass," 182. Wright arrives at this number after discounting nearly forty forgeries.

Wright has shown, the work asserted considerable influence on thirteenth-century authors, most of them Parisian schoolmen of the preaching orders—the Franciscans and Dominicans.[25] Indeed, Jeffrey F. Hamburger has argued convincingly that many of the manuscript copies, going back to the thirteenth century, show signs of having been used for preaching or preaching preparation, owing to the large number of diagrams (forty-two in total) that accompany its text.[26]

De missarum mysteriis is longer than Lotario's other theological tracts, and probably the only one of the three he would later revise.[27] In a prologue and six books, Lotario reflects mystically on the history and theology of the Eucharistic rite. He offers a precise taxonomy of the officers responsible for celebrating the Mass, but his hermeneutic of their roles tends toward mystical exegesis. The way he frames the discourse concerning the rhetorical power of chant, in order to show how it drives listeners toward penance and the delight of consolation, smacks strongly of later Franciscan musical aesthetics. As we shall see, his commentary would make such a strong impression on Alexander of Hales, William of Middleton, and David von Augsburg, that they would find it worth disseminating large portions of it in their own Mass expositions and novice manuals.

Prologue

The Prologue of *De missarum mysteriis* gives an overview of the scriptural precedent for Eucharistic celebration, and how this evolved into the contemporary ritual involving various personages, distinctive gestures and actions, utensils, robes, and singing. All of these are subject to hermeneutical analysis, because, as he says, "these things are filled with divine mysteries, and an overflowing of heavenly sweetness."[28] Invoking Deuteronomy 32, he likens them to the honey from rock and oil from the

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[25] Ibid., 83–4.

[26] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "*Haec figura demonstrant*: Diagrams in an Early-Thirteenth Century Parisian Copy of Lothar de Segni's *De missarum mysteriis*," in *Neue Forschungen zur Buchmalerei*, ed. Christine Beier, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (Vienna-Cologne-Weimar: Böhlau, 2009), 45. Hamburger's analysis of a newly discovered manuscript copy from the Schoß Friedenstein in Gotha (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Cod. Memb. I 123) is particularly instructive. It was produced in Paris, probably in the first decade of the thirteenth century (ibid., 14).

[27] Moore, *Innocent III*, 22.

[28] "Haec omnia divinis sunt plena mysteriis, ac singula coelesti dulcedine redundantia: si tamen diligentem habeant inspectorem, qui norit sugere mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo" (Deut. XXXII; *PL* 217, 774). Translations are my own.

hardest stone that God used to nourish Jacob.[29] In chapter two of book one, Lotario writes that King David recognized music itself as a source of solemnity in worship. "Therefore, singers have to harmonize with consonant voices and with delightful modulation so that they have the power to arouse the souls of listeners to devotion of God."[30] Lotario's opinion of chant is decisive and emphatic. It serves as a rhetorical tool for the Mass, to kindle the piety of its listener through the partnership of text and music. It is a view that would be entirely in sympathy with Franciscan hagiographers. As we saw in the previous chapter, the affective power of music was also essential to the Franciscan notion of preaching. And so it was for Lotario, as he explains in his pastoral exegesis of the Fore-Mass.

Lotario hews to Amalar of Metz and Rupert von Deutz's hermeneutics of the Mass by relating its various parts to times in the life of Christ. Accordingly, the Mass begins with an Introit where a chorus "proclaims its soul and sings in jubilation, because the prophets and patriarchs, kings, and priests, and all the faithful expect with great desire the coming of Christ."[31] As Lotario continues, he transcends his sources in significant ways. He produces more scriptural authority for his narrative. But what is most striking about his interpretation is the way he distinguishes words from music as the essential medium for the spiritual message of the Mass. For example, in his closing remarks on the Introit he writes, "Therefore this introit represents this desire of the ancients, not following the perception of the word, but the *jubilus* of song."[32] *Jubilus* has explicit musical meaning as a wordless melodic, that is melismatic, shout of joy.[33] Raising the singing voice above the power of words to communicate meaning is an astounding statement for a theologian and legal expert, let alone a future pope, whose claim to authority depended upon the potency of his words. Perhaps we have caught him in an ecstatic moment, for surely music

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[29] *PL* 217, 774.

[30] "Debent ergo cantores consonis vocibus et suavi modulatione concinere, quatenus animos audientium ad devotionem Dei valeant excitare" (*PL* 217, 775).

[31] "Chorus autem dilatat animam suam, et in jubilo cantat introitum; quoniam prophetae, patriarchae, reges et sacerdotes, omnesque fideles adventum Christi cum magno desiderio exspectabant […]" (ibid., 808). See Amalar of Metz, *Missae expositionis Codex I*, I. Codex seu scedula prior, 1–2; and I. De Introitu, 1–2. See also *Liber officialis*, III.5.1. Compare Rupert von Deutz: "Nam sicut introitus sacerdotis ingressum Filii Dei in hunc mundum, sic antiphona, quae dicitur, ad introitum, voces et exspectationem praeferunt patriarcharum et prophetarum" (*Liber de divinis officiis,* ed. Hrabanus Haacke O.S.B, in *Corpus Christianorum* VI [Turnhout: Brepols, 1967], I.28, 625–7).

[32] "Hoc ergo desiderium antiquorum introitus repraesentat, non secundum intellectum litterae, sed jubilo cantilenae" (*PL* 217, 809).

[33] See below pp. 77–9 for a more complete account of the derivation of "jubilus."

serves as the medium for the textual narrative of the Mass. Yet as he pursues his hermeneutical program, Lotario emphasizes the melodic voice of chant and its ability to articulate the ineffable, or what William of Middleton would later call the "invisible."[34]

Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia, and Gospel

The Epistle

Lotario dei Segni saves his most expressive commentary about the affect of music for his hermeneutic of the Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia, and Gospel. Adding to the narrative he has built up so far, he writes:

> The Epistle, which comes before the Gospel, represents the office of the precursor, because John [the Baptist] practiced before Christ, and preceded the Lord's appearance to prepare his way. [...] Therefore, John was like a subdeacon, that is, a subminister of that [Gospel writer] who said about him: "do not come to be ministered unto, but to minister" (Matt XX).[35]

The Gradual

After this call to action, Lotario, following the inspiration of Rupert von Deutz, elaborates dramatically on the interaction between penitential preaching and the outpouring of contrition in the Gradual.

> Indeed John preached penance: "repent, he says, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"; and again, he said: "bring forth the fruits worthy of penance." Accordingly, the Gradual follows after the Epistle because it insinuates the lament of penance. For that reason, it is removed from the office in the days of Pentecost, because clearly those days signify the auspicious future state of the Church in the kingdom of God.[36]

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[34] See discussion in Chapter Three, p. 89.

[35] "Epistola quae praemittitur evangelio, praecursoris designat officium, quod Joannes ante Christum exercuit, qui praeivit ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus. [...] Joannes ergo quasi subdiaconus fuit, id est subminister illius, qui de se dicit: Non veni ministrari, sed ministrare (Matth. XX)" (*PL* 217, 816). See Mt 20:28. Compare Rupert von Deutz: "In eo quod sanctum praevenit Evangelium, Baptistae Joannis imitatur officium: qui praevaricatores legis corrigens, et mores eorum evangelicae fidei suscipiendae praeparans implebat. [...]" (*Liber de divinis officiis*, I.32, 753–6).

[36] "Verum quia Joannes poenitentiam praedicabat: Poenitentiam, inquit, agite, appropinquabit enim regnum coelorum; et iterum: Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae (Matth. III). Merito post epistolam graduale consequitur, quod poenitentiae lamentum insinuat. Propter quod in diebus Pentecostes tollitur de officio, quia videlicet dies illi futurum in regno Dei felicem Ecclesiae statum significant (*PL* 217, 817). See Mt 3:3 and 3:8.

Lotario makes a stronger statement here than his source does about the affect of contrition in the Gradual, mainly by exposing its antithesis to the message of joy that permeates the Easter season. Though if one compares it to Rupert's commentary *De responsoriis,* from earlier in the *Liber de divinis officiis*, it is clear he understands the Gradual essentially as a sad song—a proper tearful response to the feelings of penance in the Epistle.[37] Lotario takes over Rupert's assertion that it is essential singers adopt a vocal practice appropriate to the penitential message of the Gradual. In Lotario's words, "they are more correct who proclaim [*efferent*] a Gradual not of a *modulatio* or with festive voices but sing a grave and bitter song, as it were, rather simply and lamentably."[38] On the other hand, Lotario's hermeneutic of the Gradual's responsorial form, as an analogy for Christ's calling his disciples to mission, appears to go back to Alamar of Metz.[39] Lotario writes, "when Christ called 'follow me,' they responded not only in word but in deed [...]; and for that reason the gradual is sung, because the apostles walked after the Lord, disciples after the master."[40]

The theological significance of the Gradual's responsorial form stands out in the context of Lotario's writing when we see this hermeneutic essentialized in diagrams of the Gradual found in certain manuscript copies of *De missarum mysteriis.*[41] For example, *Figura XXII* from an early

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Rupert von Deutz writes: "Graduale ad poenitentiae respicit lamentum, cantus asper et gravis adeo ut illud excellentibus efferre vocibus nec usus nec decus sit. Significat enim non jam requiem remuneratorum, sed laborem operantium [...]" (*Liber de divinis officiis,* I.34, 777–80).

[37] *Liber de divinis officiis,* I.15, 228–45.

[38] "[...] sed adhuc in valle lacrymarum positus (Psal. LXXXIII), jam tamen ascensiones in corde disposuit. Rectius ergo faciunt, qui graduale non festivis aut modulationis vocibus efferunt; sed quasi cantum gravem et asperum simpliciter potius et lamentabiliter canunt" (*PL*, 217, 817). My emphasis.

[39] See Amalar's commentary on the Gradual in his *Missae expositionis Codex I*, V.1–7, and *Codex II*, XV.1–3; and *Eclogae de ordine romano*, XV.1–2.

[40] "Potest tamen responsorium illud quod graduale vocatur, ad vocationem apostolorum referri, quando Christo vocante: Venite post me, ipsi non tantummodo verbo, sed opere responderunt, quia relictis omnibus secuti sunt eum (Matth. II): et ideo graduale cantatur, quoniam apostoli gradiebantur post Dominum, discipuli post magistrum" (*PL,* 217, 818). It is unclear which passage in Mt 2 Lothario had in mind. The phrase "Venite post me" occurs in Mt 4:19 and Mk. 1:17, while "relictis omnibus secuti sunt" appears in the gospel of Luke, 5:11.

[41] According to Hamburger, "*Haec figura demonstrat*," 54, the diagram appears in the following sources: Erfurt-Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gota, Cod. Memb. I 123, fol. 3^{v}; Prague National Library, Ms. III.E.21, fol. 118^{v}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 28609, fol. 4^{r}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3524, fol. 8^{v}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 8201, fol. 91^{v}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3249, fol. 148^{v}; Salzburg, St. Peter a. VIII.9, fol. 144^{r}; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 8103, fol. 86^{r}.

thirteenth-century Parisian source (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Cod. Memb. I 123), bears the caption "Hec figura demonstrat vocationem apostolorum. quam graduale significant" (Fig. 2.4)[42] The innermost circle encloses the word "Graduale," while the phrase encircling it invokes the disciples' calling (*Discipulorum vocatio*). The three circles surrounding it, marked *prima*, *secunda,* and *tercia*, cite instances in the Gospels of John (1:43), Luke (5:3), and Matthew (4:18) where Christ called to his disciples. The text in the outermost circle then reiterates Lotario's statement: "Apostoli gradiebantur post dominum, discipuli post magistrum." With this multi-valent illustration of "calling" and "response" now in view, one wonders whether the audience of preachers reading it recognized their own apostolic calling in its message—to sing and preach the message of penance inherent in the Gradual.

This is the strongest statement we have heard from our exegetes thus far indicating that music had a palpable function in supporting the pastoral narrative of the Fore-Mass. Our authors convey an impressive drama as they describe the way the Gradual responds melodically to the subject of penance. Of course there is nothing new in the idea that the music of chant could in some way evoke the meaning of its words. Fritz Reckow pointed out in his research that medieval theorists from at least the time of the *Musica enchiriadis* (mid-ninth century) believed that music had a practical function within their rhetorical epistemology.[43] Closer to Lotario's time, Guido of Saint-Denis (c. 1300), and later the anonymous author of the *Tertium Principale* (second half of the fourteenth century) describe how composers could manipulate the various elements of music to imitate and intensify the *affectus* and *eventus* inherent in words.[44] What is outstanding about Lotario and Rupert's accounts of penitential lamentation, however, is that its affect resides in the perfomative exegesis of music itself rather than in the individual meanings of words. Obviously the texts of the more than 100 Graduals in the core repertory evoke a variety of religious ideas corresponding to the feast days on which they are sung. In order to generalize about the penitential affect of the Gradual, our authors, therefore, concentrate their descriptions on tone color and performance practice, which transcend the meanings of words.

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[42] Hamburger, "*Haec figura demonstrat*," 20, fig. 6; 67–8.

[43] Fritz Reckow, "Zwischen Ontologie und Rhetorik: die Idee des movere animos und der Übergang von Spätmittalter zur früh Neuzeit in der Musikgeschichte," *Traditionswandel und Traditionsverhalten* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1991), 153.

[44] Ibid., 154–9. I have dealt with this matter elsewhere in "Portrayals of the *Vita Christi* in the Medieval German *Marienklage*: Signs of Franciscan Exegesis and Rhetoric in Drama and Music," *Comparative Drama* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2008), 326.

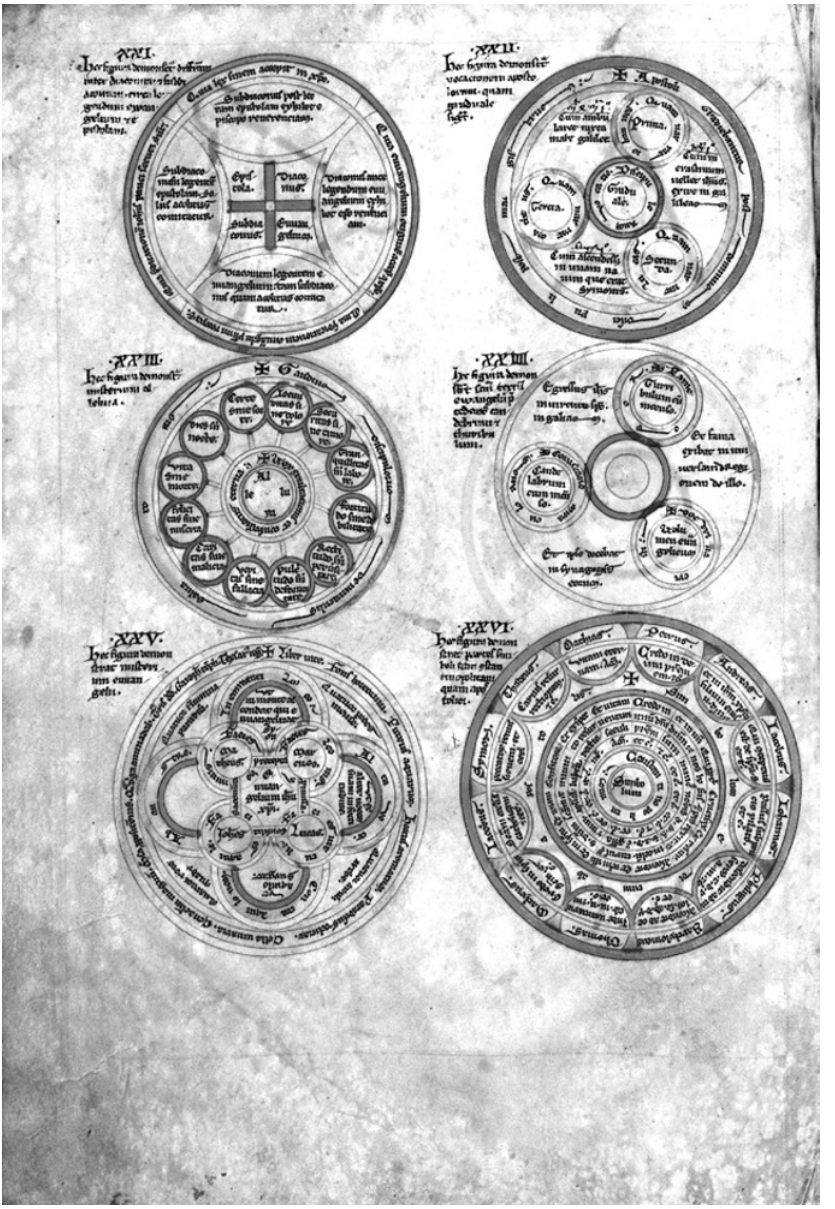

Fig. 2.4. Lothario dei Segni, *De missarum mysteriis,* Erfurt-Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Cod. Memb. I 123, fol. 3^{v}.

Our authors' investment in music is revelatory. Admonishing the singer to avoid festive modulations appears as the opposite of the joyous singing Lotario earlier associated with the jubilation of the Introit. Rather, the singer is advised to aim for gravity, bitterness, and simplicity, which implies that the Gradual should be sung in a restrained fashion, perhaps without spontaneous ornamentation. This may seem counterintuitive, since the Gradual is by nature one of the most ornate genres of chant. They are distinguished by long, stylized melismas, that is, *jubilationes*. Perhaps what our authors are describing is some paradox that was essential to the affect of the Gradual. While we might expect a decorative performance to accompany the ornate *jubilationes* of the chant, perhaps the singers were meant to remain chastened in order to evoke feelings of penance.

Looking for gravity, bitterness, and lamentation as traits endemic to *all* Graduals, sends us searching for their source in any aspect of music that might reflect broad consistency within the genre. Opportune to this line of enquiry is the remarkable prevalence of F- and D-mode melodies, and the recurrence of stylized melismas among chants of the same mode. When we examine the entire repertory of Gregorian Graduals, as James McKinnon, Bruno Stäblein, Willi Apel, and David Hiley have done, one is struck by the preponderance of Graduals in modes five and two—the F mode in its authentic (high) range, and the D mode in its plagal (low) range.[45] Of the 115 Graduals that Stäblein lists in his study, forty-six are in mode five. Graduals in mode two are the second most common, numbering thirty in total; most of them have finals on A (24), a substantially smaller number on D (6).

The author of the *Summa musicae* (c. 1200), a source from Lotario's time, says that chants that are materially sad and lamenting should be set to "low-lying and ponderous" modes (*humilis et depressus*).[46] "For this reason, the tracts of the Mass are of the second and eighth modes."[47] To view chant from the perspective of modal ethos offers us some useful insight as to the nature of the Gradual, since the Tract and Gradual are closely related genres. Lotario himself says that the Tract should be sung with a bitter

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[45] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 76–81. Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1958), 344–63. See also Bruno Stäblein, "Gradual (Gesang)," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (*MGG*); and James W. McKinnon, "Gradual i," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (*NG*).

[46] *Summa Musicae*, trans. Christopher Page (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 119; and 196, 2136–7.

[47] Ibid., 119.

voice, like the Gradual.[48] The *Summa musicae* qualifies mode two as "dark and profound," as does John of Afflighem (fl. 1100), a music theorist of Rupert von Deutz's era.[49] The ethos of mode two, then, would appear to suit the spiritual message of lamentation in roughly one quarter of all Graduals.

Theorists' descriptions of the ethos of mode five prove more puzzling at first. Plato sensed in the Lydian mode a dirge-like character, and Plutarch thought the mode well suited to lamentation.[50] But John of Afflighem and the *Summa musicae* describe the F mode in its authentic range as "delightful and saucy," which does not seem at all compatible with the purported affect of the Gradual.[51] The incongruity between our ancient and medieval authors here leaves us wondering what to make of the mode-five Graduals and, indeed, whether modal ethos offers such a useful line of enquiry after all. Yet the story does not end here, for there remains the illuminating description of the modes in the *Ars musica* of Juan Gil de Zamora (c. 1257), lector at the Franciscan *studium* of Zamora. His portayal of the ethos of mode five as both delightful and *redemptive* may help us understand the spirit of penance inherent in the Gradual. We shall consult with Juan Gil's *Ars musica* in Chapter Eight; for now, we return to Lotario's narrative of the Mass in the Alleluia.

The Alleluia

Following the model of both Amalar of Metz and Rupert von Deutz's expositions of the Mass, Lotario dei Segni writes that one is rewarded for the pain of contrition in the Alleluia.

> For consolation follows mourning. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted (Matth. V); and therefore the alleluia is sung after the gradual, which signifies the ineffable joy of the angels and of humans in the eternal felicity of joy [...]. For blessed are they who dwell in your house, Lord,

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[48] "Canitur autem Tractus, qui cum asperitate vocum, tum prolixitate verborum miseriam praesentis incolatus insinuat" (*PL* 217, 819).

[49] "[...] alios vero precipites et obscuras gravitates secundi toni" (*Summa Musicae*, 118; 195, 2111). See John, *De musica*, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, trans. Warren Babb, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 133.

[50] Plato, *Republic,* 398d–e (trans. Desmond Lee [London: Penguin Classics, 1955; revised, 1987]); Plutarch, "On Music," in *Moralia*, trans. Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. De Lacy, Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann, 1967), 14:385.

[51] "Alii petulanti lascivia quinti mulcentur [...]" (*Summa musicae*, 118; 195, 2114).

> they shall praise you forever and ever (Psal. LXXXIII); a sound of feasting in a voice of joy and praise [*confessionis*] (Psal. XLI).[52]

From his previous comment, we may infer that the Gradual is absent from Easter to Pentecost because of its inappropriate affect, the lamentation of penance naturally contradicting the auspiciousness of the season. The spiritual joy of consolation in the Alleluia is obviously a better fit for Paschal time, when the Gradual is replaced in the Mass by a second Alleluia.

Lotario pauses to consider the history of the Alleluia in the Hebrew tradition, its use among the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and then its historical relevance to the Roman church. He explains that it declined after the time of the Apostles, but was restored in the Western tradition by Pope Gregory I. He then returns to his mystical hermeneutic of the chant:

> Therefore, we sing the Alleluia after the Gradual: a song of joy after the song of mourning. And shining elegantly to express the magnitude of consolation, which is restored by lamenting, rejoicing [*jubilantes*] rather than singing [*canentes*], we prolong one short syllable of a worthy expression [*sermo*] into many neumes so that the inspired mind fills with delightful hearing and is carried off to that place where life will always be without death, day without night, certainty without chance,[53] delight without suffering, security without fear, tranquility without labor, strength without infirmity, rectitude without perversity, beauty without deformity, truth without deceit, love without malice, felicity without misery."[54]

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[52] "Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur (Matth. V): et ideo post graduale cantatur Alleluia, quod significat ineffabile gaudium angelorum et hominum in aeterna felicitate laetantium, hoc est semper laudare Deum. Nam: Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te (Psal. LXXXIII). In voce exsultationis et confessionis sonus epulantis (Psal. XLI)" (*PL* 217, 818). See Mt 5:4, Ps. 83:4, and Ps. 41:5. Amalar of Metz states the dichotomy succinctly when he says, "In responsorio seminavimus, in alleluia metimus. De quare dicit psalmista 'Qui seminant in lacrimis in exultatione metent" (*Liber officialis* III.13). Rupert von Deutz imagines the beauty of angels here also when he writes, "Significat enim aeternum angelorum et beatarum animarum convivium, quod est semper laudare Dominum et praesentis semperque videndi vultus Dei novum sine fine cantare miraculum" (*Liber de divinis officiis,* I.35, 802–5). The term "confessio" is in this context usually translated as "praise" rather than "confession." Of the more than thirty English translations I consulted, only *Young's Literal Translation* (1862) has it as "the voice of singing and confession."

[53] See Wright's note on the problematic phrase "certe sine forte" ("A Medieval Commentary on the Mass," 134).

[54] "Canimus ergo Alleluia post graduale: canticum laetitiae post luctum poenitentiae. Summopere nitentes exprimere magnitudinem consolationis, quae reposita est lugentibus, jubilantes potius quam canentes, unamque brevem digni sermonis syllabam in plures neumas protrahimus, ut jucundo auditu mens attonita repleatur et rapiatur illuc, ubi semper erit vita sine morte, dies sine nocte, certe sine forte, jucunditas sine dolore,

Lotario's text follows Rupert von Deutz almost verbatim up to the final phrase. Where Rupert moves on to the testimony of Psalm 149, Lotario gives full voice to his spiriutal ecstasy, breaking into verse to compare the sound of the wordless *jubilus* to the ethereal wonders of paradise. The *Etymologies* of Isdore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus's *De clericorum institutione* may well have been the inspiration for this, since they both describe the words *alleluia* and *amen* as words resounding in heaven.[55] Lotario's use of the term *sermo* to describe the words that frame the *jubilus* implies that the chant is a kind of divine speech or homily, which imports rhetorical design. This has significant implications for Lotario's comment about the relationship between music and text when he describes the way neumes prolong the *ia* of Alleluia. His hermeneutic suggests that divine speech serves as a point of departure for melodic expression; and it is then the delightful sound of music itself that ravishes the mind to a height of ecstasy, as though it had no power over its own transcendence into paradise.

It is ironic that the beauty of an untexted melody should inspire such an outpouring of words, and that these words should bear the essence of Lotario's musical commentary. Yet this is clear when one examines the "mystery of the Alleluia" in epitome, laid out as a diagram.[56] *Figura XXIII* in the Gotha manuscript of *De missarum mysteriis* (Fig. 2.4) includes the caption "Hec figura demonstrat misterium alleluia."[57] It consists of several concentric circles. The one in the middle encloses the word "Alleluia," its syllables set at the four points of the compass. This is encircled by Lotario's words "Vox exultacionis et confessionis externa." Radiating from the "Alleluia," at the ends of spokes as if from the hub of a wheel, are twelve smaller circles, each one enclosing one of the transcendent themes of the *jubilus*: "Iocunditas sine dolore"; "Securitas sine timore"; etc. Around the circumference of the outermost circle we read the words "Gaudium

securitas sine timore, tranquillitas sine labore, fortitudo sine debilitate, rectitudo sine perversitate, pulchritudo sine deformitate, veritas sine fallacia, charitas sine malitia, felicitas sine miseria" (*PL*, 217, 819). See Rupert von Deutz: "Canitur ergo alleluia post graduale canticum laetitiae, post luctum paenitentiae, et summopere nitentes exprimere magnitudinem consolationis, quae reposita est illis, qui nunc lugent, jubilamus magis quam canimus, unamque brevem digni sermonis syllabam in plures neumas, vel neumarum distinctiones protrahimus, ut jucundo auditu mens attonita repleatur, et rapiatur illuc, ubi *sancti exsultabunt in gloria, laetabuntur in cubilibus suis* (*Psal. CXLIX*)" (*Liber de divinis officiis,* I.35, 828–35).

[55] Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, VI.19.21. Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, 323.

[56] See note 41 above.

[57] Hamburger, "*Haec figura demonstrat*," 20, fig. 6; 68.

discipulorum de miraculis savatoris" [Joy of the disciples from the savior's miracles]. Taking in the diagram together with Lotario's commentary, one can see how the reader (a preacher?) would have recognized the joy and praise inherent in the Alleluia as radiating from the voice (*vox*) of the *jubilus* itself, and how this music affected the spiritual joy of the listener.

Considering the Alleluia from the melodic point of view may prove enlightening of its affection of joy. One might expect to encounter more challenges here, since the number of Alleluias composed in the Middle Ages is far greater than the Graduals; yet we do find surprising consistency here when we examine the Alleluias from a modal and structural point of view. Karlheinz Schlager lists 410 Alleluia melodies composed before 1100, and there are more than 600 verse texts.[58] Many of the verses are set to the same melody or melody type. Further stylization obtains in Alleluias composed after the tenth century through the repetition of the *jubilus*—the melisma on *ia* of Alleluia—at the ends of the response and verse. That the *jubilus* should occur twice in these Alleluias would seem to give Lotario dei Segni some extra cause for rejoicing. It would be difficult to make further generalizations about their melodic design. Yet, even if we use the 158 Alleluias in the *Graduale Romanum* and 181 in the *Liber usualis* as a starting point, we can see immediately the overwhelming preference for G and D modes. In the *Graduale Romanum,* sixty-six Alleluias are in D and fifty-seven are in G modes; and the ratio remains roughly the same in the *Liber usualis*, with seventy Alleluias in D and sixty-seven in G modes. Many of these Alleluias share the same music, which would reduce the overall number of discreet melodies. Nevertheless, the general modal orientation toward G and D modes remains strong. Even more striking, perhaps, is composers' almost complete avoidance of F modes for the Alleluias: only nine occurences in the *Graduale Romanum* and eight in the *Liber usualis*.

The *Summa musicae* describes mode one (D mode in the authentic range) as delightful in the manner of courtly wanderings, while John of Afflighem says that it is slow and ceremonious.[59] The description in the *Summa* appears to suit the spiritual meaning of joy in the Alleluia; but both theorists' impressions of mode two (D mode in the plagal range) as lamenting does not.[60] They appear to agree on the ethos of the G mode in

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[58] Karlheinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. Und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-spanische und alt-römische repertoire*, Erlangen Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Munich: Bärenreiter, 1965); Schlager, "Alleluia i," *NG.*

[59] John, *De musica*, 133.

[60] *Summa musicae*, 118; 195. John, ibid.

its authentic range (mode seven) as (in the *Summa's* words) extroverted and delightful, owing to its wide leaps.[61] However, they hear the plagal G mode (mode eight) as serious (*Summa*), like a schoolmaster or father, or staid and matronly (John).[62]

The ethos of mode seven does seem to support the meaning behind our authors' spiritual sense of *jubilentes*. Their impression of jubilation connotes rejoicing, exulting, and shouting as opposed to *canentes*, which seems to suggest refined singing. In fact, one wonders whether Rupert von Deutz and Lotario dei Segni were using the term *jubilantes* in the classical sense of the word. Hilary of Poitier (c. 315–67) construed the word as a rustic shout of joy.[63] Augustine's understanding of the *jubilus*, in his commentary on Psalm 99:4, also captures our authors' sense of its lack of refinement:

> One who jubilates (*iubilat*) does not speak words, but it is rather a sort of sound of joy without words, since it is the voice of a soul poured out in joy and expressing, as best it can, the feeling, though not grasping the sense. A man delighting in his joy, from some words which cannot be spoken or understood, bursts forth in a certain voice of exultation without words, so that it seems he does indeed rejoice with his own voice, but as if, because filled with too much joy, he cannot explain in words what it is in which he delights.[64]

Augustine completes his illustration of this wordless expression of joy with a depiction of field workers, like mowers and vintners, happily jubilating at the richness of their harvest. This notion of a *jubilus* as a heartfelt expression of joy that transcends language and sensuality into a kind of height of mind or spiritual joy sounds quite akin to Lotario's own account of the *jubilus*.

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[61] *Ibid.,* 118; 196. John, ibid.

[62] *Ibid.,* 119; 195; John, ibid.

[63] Hilarius Pictaviensis, *Tractatus super psalmos* (*PL* 9, 425). See James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 124.

[64] "Qui jubilat, non verba dicit, sed sonus quidam est laetitiae sine verbis: vox est enim animi diffusi laetitia, quantum potest, exprimentis affectum, non sensum comprehendentis. Gaudens homo in exsultatione sua, ex verbis quibusdam quae non possunt dici et intelligi, erumpit in vocem quamdam exsultationis sine verbis; ita ut appareat eum ipsa voce gaudere quidem, sed quasi repletum nimio gaudio, non posse verbis explicare quod gaudet [...]. Tamen ut hoc quod dico intelligatis, imo recordemini rem cognitam, maxime jubilant qui aliquid in agris operantur; copia fructuum jucundati vel messores, vel vendemiatores, vel aliquos fructus metentes, et in ipsa fecunditate terrae et feracitate gaudentes, exsultando cantant [...]" (Augustine, *In psalmum XCIX*; *PL* 37, 1272). For translation see James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, 158.

In view of this evidence, generalizing though it is, what I propose is that the spiritual motion Rupert von Deutz and Lotario dei Segni recognized in the transition from the Gradual to Alleluia is borne out in musical terms through modulation away from F. It would make for a surprising corollary between theology and music. Perhaps our authors perceived the musical modulation between these chants in terms of their hermeneutic—as spiritual motion from a penitential F/D-mode zone, with the burden loaded heavily on mode five, to a joyous, non-F-mode zone dominated by G- and D-mode melodies. Again, while admittedly generalizing, our authors seem to demand that we look for overarching traits that will bear out their broad narrative. We may have found them, yet we await the explication of Juan Gil de Zamora, later in this study, to make better sense of the redemptive chacter of the mode-five melodies.

The Gospel

Lotario says that some churches interject a Sequence after the Alleluia, which elaborates on the moment of joy in the chant. Since God wiped away every tear from the eyes of the saints, and banished sorrow, the Sequence signifies this joy "with a sweet *jubilus* and delightful song."[65] Yet, lest we lose sight of the goal of the Fore-Mass, Lotario reassures his reader in his lengthy Gospel commentary that the spiritual motion of the Mass proceeds to the altar of penance. The arrangment of clergy, and dramaturgy at the altar, strikes him as richly symbolic. For example, Lotario announces, "the priest accedes to the left part of the altar signifying that Christ does not come to call on the righteous, but the sinners to penance."[66] The priest who proclaims the Gospel represents Christ himself; and the deacon, who earlier represented the prophet, now represents the Evangelist.[67] When we at last approach the cross, Lotario's mind fills with wonder at the great mystery. Echoing his earlier praise of the *jubilus*, Lotario proclaims the healing powers of the cross:

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[65] "Quoniam absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis sanctorum, et jam non erit amplius neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec ullus dolor, quoniam priora transierunt (Apoc. XXI). Hoc ipsum significat, quod in quibusdam ecclesiis sequentia post Alleluia cantatur, suavi jubilo dulcique canore" (*PL* 217, 820).

[66] "[…] sacerdos ad sinistram partem altaris accedens pronuntiat Evangelium, significans quod Christus non venit vocare justos, sed peccatores ad poenitentiam […]" (ibid.).

[67] "Sed cum sacerdos, qui pronuntiat Evangelium, ipsius Christi repraesentet personam (*PL* 217, 820). […] nam diaconus, qui prius repraesentabat prophetam, modo repraesentat evangelistam" (ibid., 821).

> The cross is the mystery of faith, the firmament of hope, the nails of wisdom, the design of justice, the magnificence of monarchy, the glory of priests, sustenance of the weak, the consolation of the poor, leader of the blind, walking stick of the lame, hope of the desperate, resurrection of the dead.[68]

Clearly the deacon, who recites the Gospel, wields considerable power as preacher of the cross. According to Lotario, the Gospel is unsurpassed in importance because it functions essentially as a sermon. "Just as a sound mind is essential to the body, and the other limbs are subservient to it, so the Gospel surpasses the entire office. This is the Word of words, sermon of sermons, the wisdom of Wisdom. […] The sermon of sermons, which descended from the royal throne (Sap. XVIII), bearing undisguised authority, living and active, and sharper than any double-edged sword (Heb. IV)."[69] From the point of view of the first scriptural reference (Ws. 18:15), "sermo" should be understood as the "almighty word" (*omnipotens sermo*) of God that leapt from its throne in heaven, "as a fierce conqueror into the midst of the land of destruction."[70] But having already invoked the "word of words," Lotario seems to aim for a more active understanding of the "sermo sermonis," portraying the Gospel singer as something like a militant preacher, brandishing the living word of God like a sword.

Conclusion

The commission Francis gave his *joculatores Domini* to preach penance through music seems to echo Lotario dei Segni's mystical exegesis of the Fore-Mass. It is no wonder that Franciscan theologians, who were preparing an order of priests for a career in preaching, would later find such inspiration in *De missarum mysteriis*. Indeed, William of Middleton and David von Augsburg would incorporate its wisdom, and elaborate on it for the benefit of their charges in Paris and Regensburg. In their capacities as lector and novice master, we shall see how they followed Lotario's

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[68] "Crux mysterium fidei, firmamentum spei, clavis scientiae, forma justitiae, magnificentia regum, gloria sacerdotum, inopum sustentatio, pauperum consolatio, caecorum dux, claudorum baculus, spes desperatorum, resurrectio mortuorum" (*PL* 217, 825).

[69] "Sane sicut caput praeeminet corpori, et ei caetera membra subserviunt, sic Evangelium toti officio praecellit, et ei caeterae partes intellectuali ratione consentiunt. Hoc est verbum Verbi, sermo sermonis, sapientia Sapientiae. […] Sermo sermonis, qui venit a regalibus sedibus (Sap. XVIII), insimulatum portans imperium, vivus et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti (Heb. IV)" (*PL* 217, 826). See Ws 18:15 and Heb 4:12.

[70] "Omnipotens sermo tuus de caelo a regalibus sedibus durus debellator in mediam exterminii terram prosilivit" (Sap. 18:15; Ws trans. per Douay-Rheims edition of 1899).

interpretation of the Mass to meet the needs of the *cura animarum*, a mission to which he himself (as Innocent III) would later call all religious at the Fourth Latern Council.[71]

The connection Lotario makes between the two sermonic readings (Epistle and Gospel) and the responsorial chants that come between them (Gradual and Alleluia) closely binds the *affectus* of music with the *effectus* of preaching, as though he were using music to illustrate the spiritual motion that subtends the arc of his narrative. We may now make better sense of the role of papal authority in the earliest representations of Francis's musical legacy, as conveyed in Tommaso da Celano's hagiography and the Bardi St. Francis Dossal. Just as Lotario perceived in music a means of moving listeners towards penance and joy, so we find Francis passionately declaiming the Mass in Greccio so as to evoke in his listeners the mysteries inherent in the chants for Christmas. It is crucial that both of these sources emphasize the potential of music itself to communicate meaning. We now see that Tommaso's emphasis on Francis's performance practice may have been related to a much larger theological narrative concerning the affective performance of chant, one that went at least as far back as Carolingian times.

With this in mind, one might revise the prevailing intrepretation of the Dream of Pope Innocent III. St. Francis and his Order would indeed become the bulwark of the Roman church, musically reinforcing its edifice within Christian communities through their preaching, and by disseminating their spirituality and chant. It adds dimension to our perception of the pontiff's role in shaping Franciscan identity. It also gives one pause to consider the possible ramifications of a musically charged message of penance within the Franciscan program of education. Under the protection of the papacy, legions of clergymen would be educated in the Franciscan schools, and it is they in the following century who would carry the message into and beyond the frontiers of the Christian world.

[71] See above, pp. 41–2.

CHAPTER THREE

WILLIAM OF MIDDLETON'S *OPUSCULUM SUPER MISSAM*: MUSICAL INSTRUCTION FOR SIMPLE PRIESTS AND CLERICS

The Mass expositions of Alexander of Hales and William of Middleton give us some of the earliest information we have about what Franciscans were teaching clerics about how to represent themselves as singers. Basing their works on *De missarum mysteriis* of Lotario dei Segni (i.e. Pope Innocent III), indicates that they were interested in showing how the spiritual senses should be used to interpret the Mass as a narrative of Christ's life and teaching, and as a way of preaching penance through song. The way they redact their source, shaping it into a more concise treatise or manual, makes it clear that they were keen to transmit this knowledge into an actual practice of singing chants, prayers, and readings.

Alexander of Hales (c. 1185–1245) was a master of theology at the University of Paris, and first regent master of the Franciscan School there. Besides his gloss on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, he is important for having composed a *Summa theologica*, which was brought to completion by several of his former students, including Jean de La Rochelle and William of Middleton.[1] The *Summa* includes a *Tractatus de officio missae,* which bears striking similarity to William of Middleton's own *Opusculum super missam*. William of Middleton (Meliton, Melton, or Melitona; d. c. 1256) was also a master of theology at the University of Paris, and assumed the post of regent master of the Franciscan School in 1248. In 1253 he was appointed regent master of the Franciscan school at the University of Cambridge.[2] P.W. Lampen observed many similarities between the *Opusculum super missam* and the *Tractatus,* which caused him to wonder whether William had copied it from Alexander, or wrote the *Opusculum* to complement the *Tractatus.*[3] Hugo Dausend, on the other hand, argues

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[1] Pope Alexander IV's bull "De fontibus paradisi," dated October 7, 1255, instructs Gaudfredus de Bria, Minister Provincial of Francia, to see that the *Summa* would be completed by the Paris friars, and specifically deputes William of Middleton to this enterprise. For the complete text of the letter, see Alexander of Hales, *Summa Theologica*, vol. 1 (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1924), VII–VIII.

[2] John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 241–2.

[3] P.W. Lampen, "Fr. Gulielmi de Melitona O.F.M. Opusculum super Missam," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 43, no. 4 (July-August, 1929), 331.

that while their expositions of the Mass are nearly the same, William did not simply adopt the *Tractatus* wholesale, but used it as a model while making greater use of other sources, like Innocent III's *De missarum mysteriis*.[4] Since William was working on both his *Opusculum* and completing the *Summa* in the mid 1250s,[5] one might even consider the possibility that he had a hand in composing both of their expositions of the Mass, or that he edited the former in light of the *Tractatus*.[6] Dausend suggests the very thing when he writes:

> Auch ist es möglich, daß er Schülern einzelne Fragen zur Bearbeitung übergegeben hat. Er, der Lehrer [Alexander of Hales], hat die Arbeiten geprüft, verbessert und dem Ganzen an den fraglichen Stellen beigefügt. Nach dem Hinscheiden Alexanders ist dann die unvollendete *Summa* der Sorge seines Schülers Wilhelm von Melitona zur Fertigstellung besonders übertragen worden."[7]

Aurelianus Van Dijk proves quite plainly that the relationship between these works is integral.[8] Through textual analysis, he demonstrates *De missarum mysteriis* to be the principal source for the *Tractatus,* and that the *Opusculum,* in turn, borrows substantially from the structure and divisions of the *Tractatus.*[9] William's explication of the tonsure, canonical hours, and utensils used in the Mass, etc. appears to be based on various sources[10]; but his essential commentary on the chants and readings of the Mass itself adopts long passages, often verbatim, from the *Tractatus.*[11]

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[4] Hugo Dausend, "Das Opusculum super missam Wilhelms von Militona und die entsprechenden Stellen in der Summa theologica Alexanders von Hales," in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet,* ed. Albert Lang et al., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Supplementband 3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1935), 576–77.

[5] Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 362.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Dausend, "Das Opusculum super missam Wilhelms von Militona," 557.

[8] A. Van Dijk, "De fontibus *Opusculi super missam*," in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53 (1939), 291–2.

[9] Ibid., 293–8.

[10] For example, Van Dijk has recognized the influence of the following authors and works: Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*; Rupert von Deutz, *De divinis officiis*; Honorius Augustodensis, *Gemma animae*, and *Sacramentarium*; Stephanus de Balgiaco, *Tractatus de Sacramento altaris*; Anon., *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*; Robertus Paululus, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*; Joannes Beleth, *Explicatio divinorum officiorum*; and Sicardus Cremonensis, *Mitrale* (ibid., 311–17).

[11] This is clear to see in Van Dijk's edition of the *Opusculum super missam*, which uses different typefaces to indicate borrowings from *De missarum mysteriis* and *Tractatus* (ibid., 317–49). For this reason, I use Van Dijk's edition as the source for my analysis.

Since they are so similar, I shall devote this chapter to the *Opusculum super missam*, noting deviations from the *Tractatus* as warranted.

De opusculum super missam

William of Middleton composed his *Opusculum super missam* for simple clerics and priests, he says, as a concise introduction to the rites of the Office and Mass.[12] Since his aim is to be succinct, it is interesting to observe William navigating through the complex needs of liturgical celebration, culling out from his sources those elements he considered essential. He begins with an etymology of the clerical tonsure and vestments. He covers the utensils of the Mass and their significance. His account of the Divine Offices concerns their theological significance, which backgrounds his understanding of the individual chants and readings. A short explanation of hymns, antiphonal chants, and responsories reminds the reader of their forms and the proper mentality one should cultivate while singing them.

By comparison, William's commentary on the Mass *per se* is much more substantial. He divides the Office into three parts. The first, he writes, "insinuates the illumination of the people, so let him recite to them the welcomed advent of Christ."[13] He then lists the parts of the Fore-Mass, from Introit to Offertory, with brief descriptions of the performance of each of these prayers and chants. The second part concerns the "immolation of sacrifice" (*immolatio sacrificii*), which continues from the consecration of the offering up to the Post-Communion.[14] Details follow later with a blow-by-blow account of the various chants, prayers, and actions that make up its content.[15] The third part, involving the "remembrance of

[12] William writes, "Ad honorem Dei et utilitatem simplicium quaerentium pie Deum intendo aliqua breviter dicere de glorioso sacramento altaris, in quo dignatur Christus propter suam ineffabilem caritatem exhibere nobis et pro nobis suam praesentiam corporalem" (*Opusculum super missam*, ed. A. Van Dijk, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 53 [1939], 310). Van Dijk writes "Et sic *Opusculum* nostrum considerandum est tamquam libellum ad propagandam vitam liturgicam apud simplices clericos praesertim et sacerdotes" (ibid., 306–7).

[13] "In prima parte insinuatur illuminatio populi durans usque ad oblationem hostiae et calicis. […] ut illis legat adventum Christi desiderandum, scilicet per Introitum […]" (*Opusculum super missam*, 317). My translation. Compare Alexander of Hales, "In prima parte primo insinuator illuminatio populi" ("Pars prima. Ab Introitu ad Oblationem usque hostiae, & calicis protensa," *Tractatus de officio missae*, in *Summa theologiae*, pt. IV [Cologne, 1622], Q X. m5. a2).

[14] "In secunda immolatio sacrificii, usque ad Post-communionem" (*Opusculum*, 317).

[15] *Opusculum*, 327–47.

benefit received" (*rememoratio accepti beneficii*), continues to the end of his commentary on the Mass.[16]

The overall organization of William of Middleton's primer fits the model of the hermeneutical Mass expositions of Amalar of Metz, Rupert von Deutz, and of course Lotario dei Segni.[17] In other words, William's *Opusculum* is an interpretation of the chants, prayers, and readings of the Mass as though they represented a narrative of Christ's life. That William should explicitly identify the function of the Fore-Mass as illuminating the people is telling of his didactic intentions. He is also expedient about establishing his narrative. Before reaching the end of his commentary on the Introit, we have already been introduced to the essential cast of characters, including the subdeacon, who bears the message of penance. We are told that he carries the Evangeliary codex in the procession to the altar because he represents John the Baptist, who preaches "repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[18]

Certainly Lotario's commentary on the Fore-mass was also meant to be illuminating, in the sense that it led the listener from the prophesies of Christ's advent all the way to the altar of penance in the Gospel. But Lotario develops that theme over many pages of prose, supplemented with numerous illustrations from scripture. We do not discover the subdeacon's significance until we reach the narrative concerning the Epistle. William, on the other hand, moves swiftly and deliberately to reveal what he seems to perceive as the essence of the narrative. It is the first illustration of many that shows us William's program of curtailing the hermeneutic of the Mass in order to reveal its penitential function, almost as though he were writing a gloss on *De missarum mysteriis*. In the process, I think we catch a glimpse of what the Parisian master considered to be the fundamental needs of priests and simple clerics when performing the Mass.

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[16] "In tertia remuneratio accepti beneficii, usque ad finem Missae" (*Opusculum*, 317). "Ad haec praedicta sequitur pars quae est de remuneratione accepti beneficii, quae incipit ab antiphona, quae cantatur post Communionem. Hic tria insinuantur, scilicet spiritualis exultatio in cantu antiphonae quae dicitur Communio […]" (*Opusculum,* 347).

[17] See Chapter Two.

[18] "Interim dum Introitus cantatur, sacerdos et ministri eius accendunt ad altare et codex Evangelii portatur clausus ante sacerdotem, quia subdiaconus portans librum significant Ioannem Baptistam, qui praecessit Christum et praedicavit: *poenitentiam agite, appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum*" (*Opusculum*, 318). Van Dijk's emphasis, in this case a quotation from scripture (Mt 3:2).

The Epistle

Each chant has particular significance within his narrative, though William tends to avoid musical instructions *per se*. Rather, he prefers to addresses the mentality or affect appropriate to these events. His hermeneutic of the Gradual and Alleluia is outstanding for its musical counsel, however—a distinction he begins to delineate already in his introduction to the Fore-Mass. He says that the cleric illumines people of the coming of Christ through the Gradual, "which in condition of the present misery, is a lament."[19] But he reserves for later a description of what it is about the Epistle that conditions this spiritual message, perhaps because he has already told us in his explanation of the Introit that the subdeacon, while he intones the Epistle, represents John the Baptist, who preaches penance. By the time he reaches the Epistle itself, William is more concerned with explaining practical matters, like the various kinds of texts that are used. Sometimes, he says, they concern the Acts of the Apostles, and at other times readings from the Prophets. William does, however, recount the traditional allegory concerning the Epistle—that just as John the Baptist came before Jesus, the Epistle comes before the Gospel. For this reason, the subdeacon comes before the deacon—the minister who recites the Gospel. He then moves on to his explication of the Gradual.

The Gradual

"The Gradual follows the Epistle, because we must walk from step to step, that is to say from virtue into virtue; and they do that better who sing not with melodic voices [*modulatis vocibus*] but sing simply, as if it were bitter."[20] As I pointed out in Chapter Two, Lotario dei Segni and Rupert von Deutz offer essentially the same evaluation of the Gradual; though William's description comes a little closer to Rupert's.[21]

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[19] "In prima parte insinuatur illuminatio populi, ut illis legat adventum Christi desiderandum, scilicet per Introitum […]; quinto, quod doctrinae eius, quaecumque sit, est innitendum, scilicet per Epistolam; sexto, quod in statum praesentis miseriae est lamentum, scilicet per Graduale […]" (*Opusculum*, 317).

[20] "Post Epistolam sequitur Graduale, quia de gradu ad gradum, scilicet de virtute in virtutem, gradi debemus, unde melius faciunt qui non cantant illud modulatis vocibus, sed quasi asperum simpliciter canunt" (*Opusculum*, 322).

[21] "Dicitur autem graduale a gradibus humilitatis utpote illi conveniens, qui necdum ascendit de virtute in virtutem, sed in convalle plorationis positus, jam tamen ascensiones in corde suo disposuit (*Psal. XLIII*)" (Rupert von Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, *PL* 170, 30).

William's assessment makes good sense in light of his earlier description of the Gradual as a lament, but he does not rehearse the crucial background as does Lotario. Instead, he goes directly to the matter of performance practice in order to illustrate how singers transmit the affect of lamentation to the listeners.

William of Middleton reflects on the form of the chant when he writes, "Truely, the Gradual is called a Responsory because listeners must respond to their [the Apostles'] works, which they hear about in the Epistle."[22] His return to the Epistle opens the way, at least in part, to a more complete explanation of the penitential impetus behind the cleric's and, subsequently, the listener's misery and lamentation. William makes the same analogy as Lotario (and Amalar of Metz) between the responsorial form of the chant and the dialogue between Jesus and the Apostles. As he says, he called them to follow him, and they responded (*responderunt*) and walked (*gradiebantur*) after the Lord.[23] Likewise, "the Gradual follows after the Epistle, because the disciples of John followed after the sermon."[24] The subject of that sermon involved a call to penance, and William reminds us of this again in his hermeneutic of the Alleluia.

Here then we have our first strong indication that Franciscans used liturgical chant to disseminate their penitential spirituality to the public. For William of Middleton, it appears that Lotario dei Segni's hermeneutic of the Mass was more than a great source of pastoral theology but also a source of practice, ordained for clerical use and explicitly rendered for the illumination of the public.

William's emphasis on the form and tone color of the Gradual is instructive, since it proves such an essential analogue to the divine rhetoric that backgrounds the chant. One might wonder at this point whether diagrams of the Gradual, emphasizing musical form, that circulated in early copies of *De missarum mysteriis* affected William's thinking.[25] As he says, we first hear the Epistle, whose prophesies or deeds of the Apostles serve as the

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[22] "Graduale vero Responsorium dicitur, quia audientes respondere debent eis operibus quae in Epistola audierunt…" (*Opusculum*, 322).

[23] "[…] vel secundum quosdam per Graduale vocatio Apostolorum qui vocati a Domino: *Venite*, post verbo et opere responderunt et gradiebantur post Dominum" (ibid.).

[24] "Post Epistolam sequitur Graduale, quia post praedicationem discipuli Ioannis secuti sunt" (ibid.). The German Franciscan preacher Berthold von Regensburg calls the Gradual a "running song" (*loufende gesanc*), because people ran after our Lord as he taught and preached. See *Berthold von Regensburg: Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer and Joseph Strobl, vol. 1 (Vienna: 1862, 1882; repr. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), 498.

[25] See above, pp. 71–3.

call for penance. A singer or singers (i.e. soloists, though this is not explicit in William's commentary) lament in response to the reading; and the listeners (i.e. congregation of "Apostles," or perhaps the choir that represents them?) respond to him simply and bitterly as appropriate for the penitential message of the Epistle. We may infer from the polyphonic repertory in Paris that by the late twelfth century the practice of chanting the Gradual involved the following pattern: solo intonation/ choral respond/ solo verse with choir joining at the end/ solo intonation/ and choral respond.[26] Accordingly, the performance practice of the Gradual follows the hermeneutical program of the chant, where singers representing Christ perform the intonation and verse, and the choir representing the Apostles sings the respond and the end of the verse.

The Alleluia

After penance follows the joy of solace in the Alleluia. Indeed, "the Alleluia follows the Gradual, because after the sorrow of penance follows the exultation of eternal praise."[27] Looking back perhaps to the writings of Cassiodorus or Walafrid Strabo, William explains the derivation of the word "Alleluia" from Hebrew: *Allelu*, meaning "they praise," and *ia* as one of the ten names of God meaning "invisible."[28] He clarifies: "For God is invisible, that is He is of incomprehensible power, wisdom, goodness, sweetness, beauty, and all sorts of suavity. For no creature perceived him so clearly just as He perceived himself."[29]

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[26] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant, A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 77.

[27] "Post Graduale sequitur *Alleluia*, quia post lamentum poenitentiae sequitur exultatio laudis aeternae, quae significatur per Alleluia" (*Opusculum*, 323).

[28] "[…] *Allelu* id est laudant, *ia* id est invisibilem […]" (*Opusculum,* 323). Several of the Church Fathers construe *Allelu* as "praise." Cassiodorus and Walafrid Strabo describe *ia* as referring to the invisible God. The explanation also appears in Alexander of Hales's *Tractatus de officio missae*. See Cassiodorus, *Expositio in psalmum civ* (*PL*, 70, 741), and Walafrid Strabo, *Glossa ordinaria* (*PL*, 113, 653). Both authors cite Jerome's letter to Marcellus as their source (*Epistola XXV. Ad eamdem Marcellum, De decem nominibus Dei*, in *PL* 22, 429). Alexander of Hales cites Jerome and Innocent III as his sources when he writes, "Hiero. interpraetatur, laudate invisibilem. Allelu. laudate: ia, sonat dominum. Hoc nomen (ut dicit Inno.) non interpretatum remansit: ut per peregrinum ab hac vita gaudium, peregrinum quoque vocabulum significaret" ("De alleluia," *Tractatus de officio missae*, in *Summa theologiae*, pt. IV, Q X. m5. a2.vii). A. Van Dijk cites Rabanus Maurus's *De clericorum institutione* (*PL* 107, 323) and Isidore's *Etymologiarum*, VI.19.19 as William's source. While both authors do mention the ten names of God, neither identifies "invisibility" as being one of them.

[29] "Deus enim est invisibilis, id est incomprehensibilis potentiae, sapientiae, bonitatis, dulcedinis, pulchritudinis et omnimodae placentiae: nulla enim creatura vidit eum ita limpide sicut ipse se ipsum" (*Opusculum super missam*, 323).

William of Middleton's attempt to name the invisible God by describing the sound of the *jubilus* bears striking resemblance to the parallel passage in *De missarum mysteriis*. One will recall from Chapter Two Lotario dei Segni's euphoria at having conceived of its ineffable beauty as a kind of paradise.[30] It is a suitably impressive moment in William's commentary, too, to suit his unveiling of the "incomprehensible" being of God in the form of a melisma. Again, this might put one in mind of the diagrams of the Alleluia that circulated in manuscript copies of *De missarum mysteriis*.[31] The melisma itself floats unfettered by words; yet William's description is verbose. The reference to invisibility may come from Paul's letter to the Colossians 1:15, where he describes Christ: "qui est imago Dei invisibilis primogenitus omnis creaturae." This is an enlightening connection in the present context, since the previous verses of Colossians 1 expound the redemptive virtue of the Son of God, "in whom we have redemption and remission of sins."[32] In this case, one might speculate that for William of Middleton, the sound of the *jubilus* itself may have had redemptive meaning.

William follows up with his own interpretation of the illuminating affect of the Alleluia, relative to its responsorial performance practice. In his introduction to the Mass, William defines the Alleluia as the seventh way the cleric illumines the people of the advent of Christ—that is of "the joy that is the expectation of future happiness."[33] In his commentary on the Alleluia proper, he says that "the Alleluia is sung imperfectly at first, because every praise for the right path is imperfect, perfectly in the second, because the whole Church praises God with perfect praise; in the third it is sung perfectly again, because perfect praise shall be in the land."[34] This seems to correspond to the responsorial performance practice of the Alleluia itself: Alleluia (solo)/ Alleluia+jubilus (choir)/ verse (solo)/ jubilus (choir)/ Alleluia (solo)/ Alleluia+jubilus (choir). Accordingly, the Alleluia seems imperfect at first because the soloist(s) sings the response *Alleluia* alone without the *jubilus*. The people (choir)

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[30] See above, pp. 76–7.

[31] See above, Fig. 2.4.

[32] "[…] in quo habemus redemptionem remissionem peccatorum" (*Col.* 1:14).

[33] "[…] septimo, quod per exspectationem futurae laetitiae gaudendum est, scilicet per Alleluia" (*Opusculum*, 317).

[34] "Praeterea *Alleluia* cantatur primum imperfecte, quia imperfecta est omnis laus viae, secundo perfecte, quia Ecclesia tota laudat Deum perfecta laude, tertio iterum cantatur perfecte, quia perfecta laus erit in patria, Psalm. 83:5: *Beati qui habitant in domo tua, in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te*" (*Opusculum*, 323).

are required to respond with the Alleluia and *jubilus*—that is the praise (*Allelu*) followed by the melismatic statement of God's invisible, and obviously ineffable, name *ia*. This second statement of the Alleluia is perfect, perhaps because it is complete and sung by the whole choir, which represents the illumination of the entire Church. By the third statement I think William means the refrain of the entire respond at the end of the chant rather than the *jubilus* melisma at the end of the verse. What William may be saying here is that perfect illumination occurs only when we hear the entire response sung by the people. They, represented by the choir, participate in their own joy and consolation because the form of the chant requires them to respond to its spiritual message.

In Chapter Two I proposed that we might use the ethos of the church modes as a way of interpreting the spiritual meaning behind the Graduals and Alleluias of the Mass.[35] Without repeating those arguments here, I wonder whether William of Middleton was thinking about the affects of these modes in his hermeneutic of the Mass. The underlying modality and forms of the Graduals and Alleluias do seem to support the narrative of penance that Lotario dei Segni and his predecessors set down. William of Middleton may have integrated that modal content when transmitting this wisdom to his readers: young clerics and priests within the Order, and perhaps also without.

The Gospel

For William, the message of penance inherent in the Mass began already with the first strains of the Introit, and has led to the altar of penitence in the Gospel. What takes Lotario dei Segni several chapters to explain about the Gospel, William achieves in just four short pages of modern prose. Again, the way he condenses his sources tells us much about what he considered essential. For example, the reader is unlikely to have lost sight of the penitential goal in his exposition of the Fore-Mass. He comes more swiftly to the point than does Lotario, and therefore his emphasis upon preaching is even more conspicuous than it was in *De missarum mysteriis*. William reminds the reader again and again that the Gospel is essentially a penitential sermon. Echoing Lotario's words, he tells us that the Gospel

[35] I shall return to the question of modality in Chapter Eight.

is sung from the left side of the altar, because "Christ does not come to call on the righteous, but the sinners."[36]

Conclusion

Having observed William of Middleton revising and condensing the wisdom in *De missarum mysteriis* to suit the needs of his reader, the notion of the *joculator Domini* grows in dimension. As clerics preparing for a career in the priesthood, the Mass would become their grandest stage. In his capacity as master of the Franciscan school at the University of Paris and later Cambridge, William of Middleton was uniquely positioned to nurture the Franciscan ideal of a mission through music, and to disseminate it within Christian society through the first generations of learned Franciscan clerics and priests. While the writings of Roger Bacon, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and Juan Gil de Zamora show us the sorts of ideas about music that Franciscans were being exposed to in the schools, the *Opusculum super missam* strongly indicates that young friars were actually being trained to put those ideas into practice. The church and its musical liturgy was a meeting place between courtly and urban, learned and lay society. Exposing such a diverse audience to their spiritual values concerning penance, affective piety, performative exegesis, and the divine rhetoric of preaching must have contributed to their unique status as religious leaders. We may see the Mass, then, as the first clear locus for the correlation between the ministry of music and the *cura animarum* described in the writings of Lotario de Segni and Robert Grosseteste.

[36] "Ad sinistram partem altaris cantatur, quia Christus non venit vocare iustos, sed peccatores […]" (*Opusculum*, 324).

CHAPTER FOUR

DAVID VON AUSBURG: MUSIC FOR THE OUTER AND INNER HUMAN

While William of Middleton was training some of the brightest minds in Paris, it appears that Franciscan novices in provincial *studia* in England, Spain, and Germany were similarly engaged in learning about practical applications of theology in chant, and about the science of music in preaching and singing. My path leads first through Germany. There, we shall see that while Bartholomaeus Anglicus was enriching the minds of his charges in Magdeburg (see Chapter Seven), David von Augsburg was doing likewise at the great Franciscan studium of Regensburg.

David von Augsburg (c. 1200–72) may himself have attended the studium in Magdeburg c. 1230, around the same time Bartholomaeus Anglicus embarked on his career there. David went on to serve as novice master at the Franciscan studium in Regensburg in the 1240s.[1] While he was also known in his time as a preacher and mystic theologian, his greatest achievement as a writer involves the compilation of manuals collectively entitled *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*. He completed them some time after his tenure in Regensburg, apparently for the instruction of novices and young friars. Bert Roest claims that it was the most famous and probably the most influential amongst the early Franciscan novice manuals.[2] Its transmission in Latin in more than four hundred known manuscripts from the Middle Ages, and many more vernacular translations from the early modern era, shows that it struck a chord with readers well beyond David's grasp.[3] Of particular interest with regard to these early transmissions is the discovery of manuscripts that compile David's text with Lotario dei Segni's *De missarum mysteriis.* Furthermore, taken as a whole, they indicate that scribes recognized an affinity between theology, divine rhetoric, and the practice of singing. The fascinating connection between these sources may also give us a clearer impression of the

[1] Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 210.

[2] Ibid., 209.

[3] Georg Steer, "David von Augsburg und Berthold von Regensburg: Schöpfer der volkssprachigen franziskanischen Traktat- und Predigtliteratur," *Handbuch der Literatur Bayern von Frühmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Albrecht Weber (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1987), 100.

function of music within the Franciscan system of religious formation that helped prepare young friars for their careers as jongleurs of God.

De exterioris et interioris hominibus compositione is actually a composite work of three books devoted to the instruction of Franciscan novices. Of the four hundred manuscript copies of the work, eighty-six include all three books.[4] Most of them were copied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, only a few in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[5] The fact that they are preserved in libraries in every corner of Europe would suggest that it was widely read, and influenced generations of readers well beyond the walls of the convent.[6]

Musical Comportment

The first book is a *Formula de Compositione Hominis Exterioris ad Novitios*, in which David directs the young friars' discipline and service to the community. It is not unlike Bernard de Besse's *Speculum disciplinae* in that it stresses matters of comportment, the remedies for vice, and external expressions of virtue.[7] David's tender dedicatory letter to his protégé Berthold von Regensburg gives us the impression of a nurturing mentor, dedicated to his calling:

> Brother David, to Berthold, his Beloved Brother in Christ. [...] Dearest brother, you asked me, now that I am away from you, to write down something to help you about those matters of which we used to speak when we were together, and I your master during your novitiate. I promised you that I would, and now that Our Lord has given me the opportunity I purpose to fulfill my promise. Of lofty and sublime things I know nothing; I mean to write of those simple matters that befit a novice who is beginning to serve God in the religious life.[8]

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[4] David von Augsburg, *Spiritual Life and Progress by David of Augsburg, Being a Translation of His "De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione,"* vol. 1, ed. and trans. Dominic Devas O.F.M. (London: Burns Oats & Washbourne, 1937), ix.

[5] David ab Augusta, *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1899), XX–XXXIV.

[6] Georg Steer, "David von Augsburg und Berthold von Regensburg," 100.

[7] See below, pp. 181–3.

[8] "Dilecto in Christo Fratri Bertholdo frater David. [...] Desiderasti a me, frater carissime, ut aliquid scriberem tibi ad aedificationem, ex quo absens sum a te, sicut aliquando praesens tibi ore dicere solebam, quando ad tempus novitiatus tui magister eram tibi deputatus. Et quia promisi tibi hoc facere, volo solvere promissum, sicut Dominus interim dederit. Et magna et sublimia nescio, volo tamen ea tibi scribere, quae novitio conveniunt incipienti servire Domino in Religione" (*De exterioris*, 1; *Spiritual Life*, 3).

Dominic Devas has suggested a date for the treatise some time around 1240, but it might have been somewhat later, since David did not begin his career at Regensburg until around 1240. Also, the dedicatory letter appears to look back on an earlier time—the years of Berthold von Regensburg's novitiate, which ended shortly before 1250, when he was beginning his preaching tours.[9]

The role music plays at this rudimentary level of education David makes clear in the very first chapter of his treatise. He seizes upon the opportunity of his discussion of chant to admonish the novice about poor behavior during the Divine Office: "Stand in choir reverently, and chant with alacrity and devotion, remembering how the angels are with you."[10] He says that one must not laugh, saunter about idly, "or empty oneself out upon trifles; for the sake of example, maintain at least an orderly and grave manner exteriorly, even though you feel little inward devotion."[11] This concern for discipline sounds nearly identical to the kind of finger wagging we shall hear in the *Speculum disciplinae*, and in the *Instructiones novitiorum* of Bonaventura.[12] Hearing such stern admonition does give one an impression of the age group the Franciscans targeted in their recruiting.[13] The Constitutions adopted at the General Council of Narbonne (1260) required candidates to be eighteen years of age, exceptionally fifteen, but were sometimes much younger.[14]

The second book in David's trilogy is a *Formula de interioris hominis reformatione ad proficentes*. Dominic Devas posits the text was written a few years after book one. The Prologue suggests that it was composed after

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[9] *Berthold von Regensburg:Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten,* Franz Pfeiffer and Joseph Strobl eds., vol. 1 (Vienna: 1862, 1882; reprint with forward, bibliography, and history of transmission by Kurt Ruh, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), XII.

[10] "In divino Officio non sis piger nec fastidiosus, sed coge corpus spiritui servire et sta reverenter et psalle alacriter in ecclesia et devote coram Angelis, qui ubi iuxta te sunt praesentes" (*De exterioris*, 7–8; *Spiritual Life*, 7).

[11] "Post Officium etiam stude te servare in devotione, quam concepisti, nec statim te ad inania effundas. Si autem non habes devotionem interius, saltem conserva disciplinam et morum gravitatem humiliter exterius propter reverentiam Dei et aliorum exemplum" (*De exterioris*, 8; *Spiritual Life*, 7).

[12] See below, pp. 181–2.

[13] Bernard de Besse, *Speculum disciplinae*, ch. 14; see *The Mirror of Discipline* (Ennis: Nono's Printinghouse, 1915), 49; S. Bonaventura, *De instructiones novitiorum*, ch. 1; see St. Bonaventure, "Instructions for Novices" in *Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order*, Works of Saint Bonaventure V, ed. George Marcil (New York: The Franciscan Institute, 1994), 149–51.

[14] *Constitutions of Narbonne*, Canon I.2, in *Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order*, 76. See Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 207–9.

David's departure from Regensburg, but at a time when he was still active in his travels.[15] The dedication to the second book is addressed again to Berthold, and other novices and juniors in Regensburg. He writes of his desire to build on his previous instructions, and to foster his reader's contemplative life in such a way that complements his exterior comportment.[16] Accordingly, David goes on to correct the internal behavior of his readers by instructing them how to cultivate their faculties of reason, memory, and will.

Vocal Prayer

The third book is entitled *De septem processibus religiosorum*—a seven-step process toward spiritual perfection, which Bert Roest posits was aimed at an audience of mature religious.[17] It is here, in his lengthy commentary on prayer (*oratio*), that David brings his musical instructions to a fine point. In chapter fifty-three, "on vocal prayer" (*de vocali oratione*), David considers various methods of prayer through chant and devotional song—what essentially amounts to a kind of *ars orandi*.[18] Vocal prayer is by nature performative, consisting, he says, of "psalms, hymns and collects in the Divine Office, or other prayers and chants [*laudes*] composed to foster devotion."[19] It is an art form governed by words and formulas, which, when correctly arranged, affects the behavior of the listener who benefits from the prayer, including, one presumes, the speaker. What is remarkable is that David's list of prayers includes not only the parts of the Divine Office that are recited with intoned speech, like the Collect, but also chants that are overtly melodic, like psalms and hymns. Treating spoken declamation and melodic singing together, as though they were governed by the same principles of music, comes across as sympathetic to the

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[15] *De exterioris*, 64; *Spiritual Life*, 57.

[16] *Spiritual Life*, 53.

[17] Roest, *Franiscan Literature,* 211.

[18] Marianne G. Briscoe and Barbara H. Jaye, *Artes Praedicandi and Artes orandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 84. Jaye points out that the term *ars orandi* is an anachronism "since the term was never used by medieval writers"; yet the way David divides the topic into various parts gives it a form similar to the contemporary *ars praedicandi*. I use the term, then, as a modern convenience to show the parallel.

[19] "Orandi tres sunt modi: unus vocalis et per verba composita et usitata, sicut cum psalmos, collectas, vel alias orationes, et laude compositas ad excitandam devotionem vel solvendum debitum rectamus" (*De exterioris*, 296; *Spiritual Life*, 2:130).

model of St. Francis propagated by his biographers, and also with the arguments Roger Bacon makes, as we shall see, in his *Opus maius* and *Opus tertium*.[20]

These forms of prayer, David continues, require certain rhetorical devices and the proper physical gestures in order to affect their spiritual meaning. "Such prayers should be recited carefully and distinctly that they may deserve the name and win the fruit of prayer."[21] To illustrate, he evokes the scene of the celestial court, where it appears every vocal nuance and gesture has bearing on one's case.

> When we pray we plead our cause against the adversaries our daemons before God the supreme King, in the presence of great princes, the holy angels. […] So that we may pray more effectively, let us discipline the feet, hands, eyes, ears, and mind; not shuffling the feet; hands not otherwise occupied; eyes not wandering aimlessly; ears not listening to something irrelevant; mindful not to reflect on things other than what one says or sings [*psallit*].[22]

The particular character of David's idea of prayer seems to bear the influence of Cicero's judicial style of argument, and perhaps also Guillaume d'Auvergne's *Rhetorica divina*, which was composed around the same time as David's treatise.[23] David's notion of prayer comes across as performative and overtly musical. Encompassing speech, chant, *and* physical gesture, this concept of music bears striking similarity to the views of Franciscan hagiographers on the one hand, and the science of Grosseteste and Bacon on the other. David's instructions also seem to anticipate the hermeneutics of Bonaventura, as he casts music in the role of evocator of the divine mysteries inherent in chant.

Using his spiritual senses, David subdivides singing and praying further into their practical (*superficialis*), literal (*litteralis*), and mystical

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[20] See Chapters One and Six.

[21] "Intente autem et distincte debent rectitari, ut orationis formam et meritum possint habere" (*De exterioris*, 296; *Spiritual Live*, 2:130).

[22] "Cum oramus, coram magnis principibus, sanctis Angelis, apud summum Regnem Deum contra adversios nostros daemones causam nostram proponimus […]. Ut autem magis attente oremus, pedes, manus, oculos, aures, mentem sub disciplinae, custodia teneamus; pedes, ne leviter discurrant; manus, ne aliis occupentur; oculus, ne curiose vagentur; aures, ne ausculent quae ad rem non spectant; memorem, ne cogitet alia, quam quod orat vel psallit" (*De exterioris*, 297). My translation is based on *Spiritual Life*, 2:130.

[23] Guillaume d'Auvergne, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1674; repr. Minerva: Frankfurt), 338b, g–h.

(*intellectualis*) forms.[24] Whereas the practical concerns the organization of psalms, antiphons, and versicles, the literal addresses the meaning of their words. The height of understanding comes, of course, in the spiritual sense of praying and singing. Quoting from Deuteronomy 32, he writes that one's spiritual attention in singing psalms "consists in drawing out the sweetness of spiritual meaning from the written word. The affection of devotion wells forth *like honey out of the rock and oil from the hardest stone.*"[25] David von Augsburg identifies Bernard of Clairvaux as his source, though we recall that Lotario dei Segni also quotes this passage in *De missarum mysteriis*.[26] This connection would not go unnoticed by medieval scribes, as we shall soon see.

David encourages his devout reader to bite, as it were, into the substance of a song and prayer with the teeth of understanding (*intelligentiae dentibus*) in order to taste their sweet, spiritual savour. Expanding on this nourishing imagery, David explains:

> The man who recites without attention to the words of the prayer or psalm is like one swallowing fruit with the rind on, grapes in their skin or honey with the wax; whence the stomach is weighed down, and the throat is restrained without being restored. Thus, when we sing without attention, the conscience, inflated, as it were, murmurs back, and the mind is strained with dry disgust [i.e. boredom], where neither affect is nourished, nor the intellect delighted.[27]

It reminds one of Augustine's *Confessions*, where he admonishes his reader always to receive the words of chant along with their melodies.[28] David's taxonomy begins with one's attention to the formal organization of texts and the meanings of words. The goal, however, is ultimately to attain the mystical sense of chant. For David, it appears not to have been enough to sing and recite chants in their proper order. Rather, singing must result in spiritual motion, which leads the singer to a kind of mystical orchard

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[24] *De exterioris*, 298.

[25] "Tertia est intellectualis, quando ex verbis litterae exsugitur dulcedo spiritualis intelligentiae, et affectus devotionis exprimitur quasi de *petra oeleum et mel de saxo durissimo*" (*De exterioris*, 298; *Spiritual Life*, 131). Devas's emphasis.

[26] See above, pp. 68–9. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Cant.*, Sermo 7.

[27] "Quia verba orationis vel psalmodiae sine attentione recitat quasi qui fructum cum cortice, uvam cum folle, mel cum cera non masticatum deglutit; unde venter oneratur, et guttur strangulatur nec reficitur. Sic et nos cum non attente psallimus conscientia quasi inflata remurmurat, et mens arida fastidio strangulatur, nec affectus pascitur, nec intellectus delectatur" (*De exterioris,* 299; my translation is somewhat more literal than *Spiritual Life,* 2:132).

[28] Augustine, *Confessions*, 10.33.

where one bites, chews, and savours the nourishing sounds of chant, much like Hildegard von Bingen's notion of *ruminatio*.

With this evidence, we move yet another step closer to the musical practices of the friars. We have a better idea now of what novices were learning about music and how this related to the wealth of ideas that circulated among Franciscan authors and their mentors. Clearly they were adhering to statutory requirements, set out by the *Regula bullata,* that all clerical brothers recite the Divine Office. Beyond this, we see that musical studies under David von Augsburg's guidance entailed deeper psychological conditioning. Novices appear to have been taught how to recognize melody, speech, and gesture as unified within the art of music. They would have understood that the effect of words was bound to the affect of music, and that to grasp the spiritual meaning behind chant entailed spiritual motion. They also appear to have learned that spiritual motion had a certain logic, which, when mastered, would have the proper effect on the soul of the performer and listener. If Franciscan priests actually practiced what they learned from David von Augsburg, we must imagine that their performances of chants and readings would have been thoughtful and expressive. Indeed, we already have some evidence that it was, at least as concerns spoken declamation. For Roger Bacon himself attests that David's protégé Berthold von Regensburg had a better grasp of music and its use in preaching than any other preacher in both orders of mendicants.[29]

Scribal Reception of De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione

For further evidence that David's treatise was valued for its musical instruction, we must look further still to the enormous reception of *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* among medieval scribes. Studying the way scribes compiled this knowledge is particularly informative, as it tells us about how they perceived its value relative to the works of others. In the present scope of this study, one cannot hope to deal with all of the nuances and implications that such a broad dissemination yields. Yet, an overview and some carefully selected examples show us enough of the story to give a sense of how later compilers understood David's novice manual.

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[29] Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium*, in *Fr. Rogeri Bacon, Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita*, vol. 1, *I.—Opus Tertium, II.—Opus Minus, III.—Compendium Philosophiae*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longman, 1859; repr. London: Kraus, 1965), 310. See below, pp. 163–4.

As I pointed out earlier, of the 370 codices of *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* listed in the Quaracchi edition, only eighty-six include all three of its books.[30] The total number is not complete, though even this tally gives us the distinct impression of David's work having been transmitted more commonly in parts than as a whole. Copies are preserved in many European libraries, but the fifty-six in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is by far the largest single holding of any archive.[31] Examining these, along with many others extant in Augsburg, Rome, Paris, Berlin, Bamberg, and Frankfurt am Main, one begins to notice certain patterns emerge from the scribal process of compilation.

In general, there is a strong correlation in manuscript transmissions between David's instructions and sources that concern religious discipline, monastic rules, grammar and logic, the liturgy of the Mass and Offices, preaching, the sacrament of penance, and saints' lives. Also, medieval scribes appear to have recognized an affinity between David's novice manual and the theological works of Augustine, Gregory the Great, Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Bonaventura. Compiling David's writing with theological works of Nicolaus von Dinkelsbühl, Conrad von Sachsen, Heinrich Seuse, and Johannes Tauler seems to be a peculiarity of scribes in the German lands. In manuscripts containing David's work, there is a strong coincidence of sermons, usually in Latin, and religious lyrics in Latin and vernacular languages. A small but significant number of manuscripts include music treatises. There is also a tendency toward the addition of ascetic works and mystical exegeses of scripture, and in such cases lyrics are a frequent complement.

Establishing the identity of the scribe or patron who commissioned these codices is an impossible task in most cases. Most manuscripts found their way into monastic or church libraries before these archives were secularized. Particularly interesting are the codices that combine liturgical items or commentaries with penitential tracts, confessional formularies, sermons, and song texts (usually without melody) with one or more books of *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*. They might have been useful to preachers. In fact, they look very much like preaching tools or commonplace books similar to those belonging to the English Franciscan preachers William of Herebert and John of Grimestone.[32]

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[30] *Spiritual Life*, ix. An incomplete list may be found in *De exterioris*, XX–XXIV.

[31] A more thorough examination of these is forthcoming in Loewen, "David von Augsburg on Vocal Prayer."

[32] Herebert's commonplace book is available in manuscript (British Library, MS Additional 46919), and his twenty-three English hymns have been edited by

De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione *in Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. II.1.2° 5*

From this great fount of sources, I offer two examples that will satisfy our present interest in compilers' perceptions of David's musical instructions. The first comes from a manuscript that once resided in the library of the Kloster St. Mang in Füssen, and now bears the *siglum* Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. II.1.2° 5.[33] The codex includes two separate documents that were at some point bound together. The older portion, of Bohemian provenance, dates from c. 1371. It includes folia 1–59, 153, and 155–228. Most of the inner portion of the manuscript dates from the late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth centuries, and includes folia 60–152, and 154. Besides offering us some musical insight, the scribes who compiled cod. II.1.2° 5 give us a representative view of the diverse compendium of knowledge in which *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* is often ensconced.

Table 1. Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. II.1.2° 5

Folio	Title	Author
1^{r}–55^{r}	*Sermones de tempore*	Various authors including Tommaso d'Aquino and Jacopo da Voragine
55^{r}–59^{v}	*Sermones varii*	uncertain
60^{r}–126^{v}	*De sacro altaris mysterio* [i.e. *De missarum mysteriis*], Missing Book I, chaps. 13–26	Innocentius III papa
126^{v}–149^{v}	*De miseria humane conditionis* Missing Prologue, Part III, chaps. 2, 3, 8	Innocentius III papa

(*Continued*)

Stephen R. Reimer in *The Works of William Herebert, OFM,* Studies and Texts 81 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1987). John of Grimestone's commonplace book is also available in manuscript (National Library of Scotland, Advocates' Library, MS. 18.7.21), and Edward Wilson has edited Grimestone's 239 English and Latin lyrics in *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book,* Medium Aevum Monographs New Series 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973).

[33] Günter Hägele, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: Die Signaturengruppe Cod.I.2.2° und Cod.II.1.2° 1–90* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 100–5.

Table 1. (*Cont.*)

Folio	Title	Author
153^{r}–^{v}	*Sermo de corpore Christi*	Conradus de Waldhausen
155^{r}–195^{r}	*Sermones de sanctis et de communi sanctorum*	Various authors including Conradus Holtnicker von Saxonia, O.F.M.; and Martinus von Troppau, O.P.
195^{r}–201^{v}	*Historiae biblicae moralistae* (Including stories of King David's sins and penance)	Uncertain
202^{r}–226^{v}	*De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione liber tertius*	David von Augsburg
226^{v}–228^{r}	*Expositio super orationem dominicam*	Exposition on the *Pater noster* by Tommaso d'Aquino
228^{r}–^{v}	*Zpoved*	Confessional formulary in Old Czech
228^{v}	*Peregrinus de Oppeln: Sermo in inventione s. crucis*	Uncertain authorship

Looking through the eyes of its compilers, I think we obtain some concept of how readers interpreted David von Augsburg's instructions in *De septem processibus religiosorum*—that is, the third book of *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*. The original owner of the older portion of the manuscript, perhaps from Bohemia, appears to have been interested in moral and penitential subject matter, sermons by Franciscan and Dominican authors, and had need of confessional material in the vernacular. These may have seemed complementary to the contemplative and spiritually formative instructions in David's treatise.

Binding this older material around a new compilation of theological works by Lotario dei Segni (Innocent III) alters our perception somewhat of what readers might have seen in book three of David's treatise. Including *De miseria humane conditionis* and *De missarum mysteriis* adds prominence to the penitential theology. *De missarum mysteriis*[34] also places new

[34] The missing passages include the commentary on the Introit, Kyrie, and Gloria, and the actions and readings that immediately surround them.

emphasis on liturgical ritual. This would certainly have complemented the *Expositio super orationem dominicam*, and David von Augsburg's substantial examination of oration through readings, devotional songs, and liturgical chants.

Studying the manuscript this way, we note that the contents shed light on each other, and that they in turn illumine the compilation process itself. In this case, I think the compiler or compilers show us that they construed David von Augsburg's work as relevant to homiletics, penance, the *cura animarum* (obviously to Czech speakers), and to the theology of the Mass. More precisely, they may have found mutual affirmation in David and Lotario's works concerning the interdependence of words and music. They may also have found support for the concept that one's ability to project spiritual motion depended on one's grasp of the meaning behind the words and music of chant and readings.

The number of Dominican authors represented in the manuscript suggested to Günter Hägele that the original owner might have been the Dominican Sisters in Nuremberg.[35] The peculiar combination of materials in AU cod. II.1.2° 5 suggests another possibility, however. In fact, they may reflect the needs of a priest or other diocesan engaged in the *cura animarum* in Bohemia. According to Siegfried Wenzel, preachers' notebooks and miscellany often include extracts from the Fathers, short paragraphs on theological or moral topics, poems, sermon outlines, or some entire sermons out of which preachers would cobble their own sermons.[36] AU cod. II.1.2° 5 seems to fit that pattern. The obvious missing piece is the lyrical material; yet many other codices compile David von Augsburg's *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* with Latin or German lyrics.[37]

De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione *in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 16072*

The second piece of evidence comes from a fourteenth-century manuscript now conserved at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Munich, Clm. 16072 once belonged to the Collegiate Church of the Augustinian Canons

[35] Günter Hägele, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: Die Signaturengruppe Cod.I.2.2° und Cod.II.1.2° 1–90* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 101.

[36] Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 4.

[37] Munich manuscripts Cgm. 5192, Cgm. 5241, and Clm. 22422 are particularly fine examples.

of S. Nicholas in Passau before it passed into the holding of the Bavarian State Library. Nevertheless, the collection of texts in the manuscript reflects overwhelming Franciscan provenance. It includes book two and most of book three of *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* and the *Stimulus amoris* (c. 1300; also known by its English title *The Goad of Love*) by the Franciscan Giacomo da Milano. Between them falls a short treatise on the *gamut* and the art of *mutatio*. Further analysis suggests that the scribe who compiled these texts in this sequence did so with the purpose of illustrating the connection between the sound of vocal prayer described in David's treatise and the practice of singing.

Table 2. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 16072

Folio	Title	Author
1–89^{r}	*De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*	David von Augsburg
89^{r}–91^{v}	*De tribus generibus cantus cum notis musicis*	Unknown
92^{r}–159	*De stimulus amoris*	Giacomo da Milano
159	*De septem horis*	Unknown

The last chapters of David von Augsburg's treatise extant in Clm. 16072 concern two forms of prayer. In chapter fifty-five he introduces thanksgiving (*gratiarum actione*) and the voice of praise (*vox laudis*).[38] There is an innate relationship between the two, he says, because when we recognize the gifts we have been given, we incline naturally to praise God with voice and works.[39] In chapter fifty-six on "The praise of God" (*De laudatione Dei*), David describes the action and singing of praises as the noblest pursuit of the will. And, he adds, "the more perfect our knowledge, the truer ring will our praise have, and the deeper ardour our love."[40] With those words, the scribe lifts his pen. But a second scribe returns to the task on the following line, first signaling the end of David's work,[41] and then

[38] *De exterioris*, 307; *Spiritual Life*, 140.

[39] "*Gratiarum actio* est omnia bona a Deo data sentire et pro his eum laudare corde, voce et opere" (ibid.).

[40] "[…] et quanto perfectius cognoscitur, tanto verius laudatur et ardentius amatur" (*De exterioris*, 311; *Spiritual Life*, 144).

[41] "Expliciunt duo libri de exterioribus et interioribus homine [sic], compilati a fratre david, de ordine minorum, natione de Augusta" (Munich, Clm. 16072, fol. 89^{r}).

continuing with an illustration of the *gamut*, and exposition of the system of solfège that Guido d'Arezzo imposed upon it (Fig. 4.1).

The scribe recites the notes of the *gamut* with the Guidonian syllables on fol. 89^{r}: "Gama-ut; a re; b mi; c fa-ut; d sol-re; e la-mi; f fa-ut; g sol-re-ut; a la-mi-re; b fa, b mi; c sol-fa-ut; d la-sol-re; e la-mi; f fa-ut; gg sol-re-ut; aa la-mi-re; bb fa, b mi; cc sol-fa; dd la-sol; e la." He then expounds (89^{v} to 91^{v}) on its division into three kinds of *cantus* (i.e. songs or chants), writing, "Tres sunt cantus in manu: scilicet b duralis,[42] naduralis [sic], et b mollis."[43] (There are three songs in the hand: clearly the hard b, natural, and soft b.)[44] There are seven of these *cantus*,[45] he says: three use the hard B (b-natural in modern parlance), two are natural,[46] and two use the soft B (b-flat in modern parlance).[47] Using music notation, he then explains how to locate these *cantus* on the lines and spaces of a four-line staff. In a new section, headed by the word "Gamaut," the scribe explains how one may make a *mutacio* from one *cantus* to either of the other two by means of the *voces* (ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la) available for each pitch. He then proceeds to expound the process, moving upwards by step, using music notation to illustrate (Fig. 4.1). The explanation seems quite straightforward and explicit in detail.

This juncture seems abrupt, with a music treatise interrupting David's chapter on "The Praise of God." Yet, when one considers the subject matter and audience for David's discourse, the logic of this thought progression obtains. David's discussion of the proper practice of chanting and the affective purpose of the *vox laudis* should lead to a study of the *gamut*, the art of *mutatio*, and music notation, because these are the basic hardware one uses (or uses to teach others) to sing chant. The brief comment on folio 91^{v} that concludes this little music treatise seems to clinch that association.

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[42] The scribe gives the *b duralis* a square shape (Fig. 4.1).

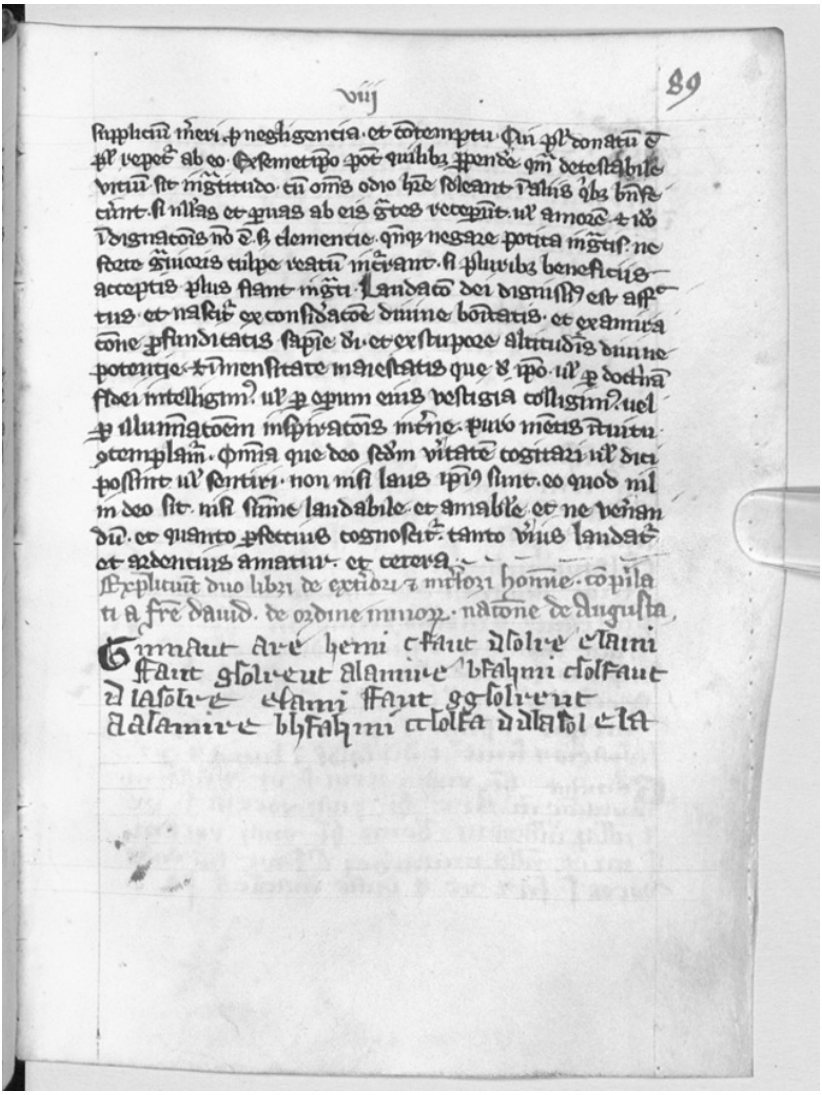
[43] The scribe gives the *b mollis* a round shape (Fig. 4.1).

[44] "In manu" may refer to the "Guidonian hand"—a mnemonic in the shape of a hand, created after Guido's time, used to help remember the notes of the staff and the concomitant solfège syllables.

[45] These seven *cantus* cover the twenty pitches of the *gamut*, if we count *b duralis* and *b mollis* as variations of a single pitch, as this scribe evidently does (Fig. 4.1).

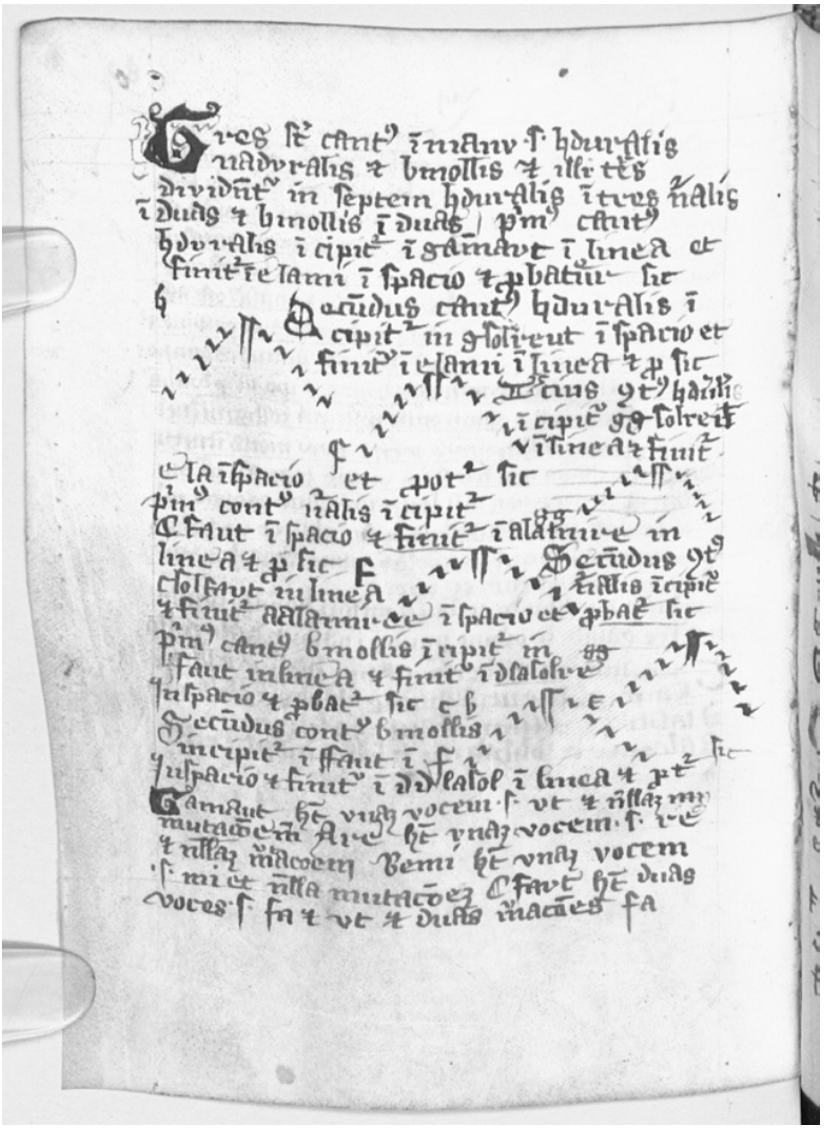
[46] Although the author does not say so here, one should note that the *cantus naduralis* begins on C, and therefore includes neither *b duralis* nor *b mollis*. Rather its half step falls between E and F.

[47] "[…] illi tres dividuntur in septem: b duralis in tres; naduralis in duas; et b mollis in duas." To be clear, the three *cantus* beginning on G use B-natural, the two *cantus* beginning on C are natural, and the two *cantus* on F use B-flat.



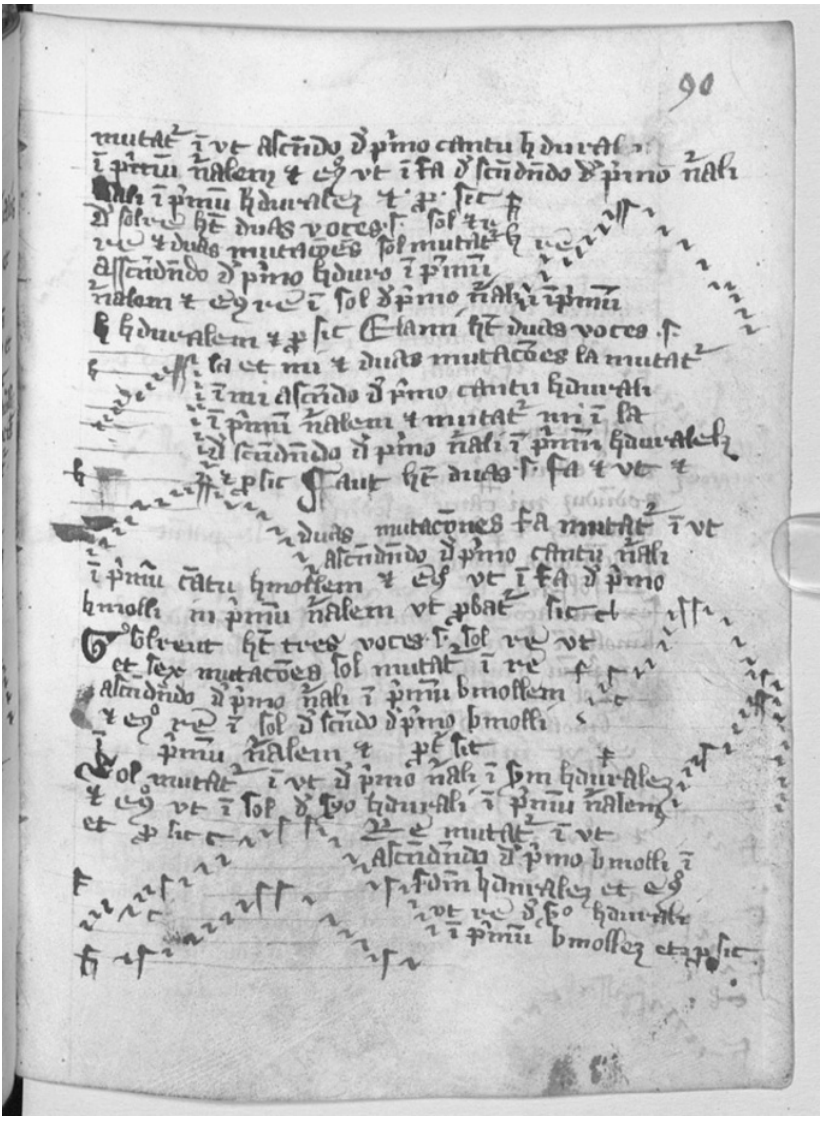
89r

Fig. 4.1. Munich Clm. 16072, fols. 89r–91v.



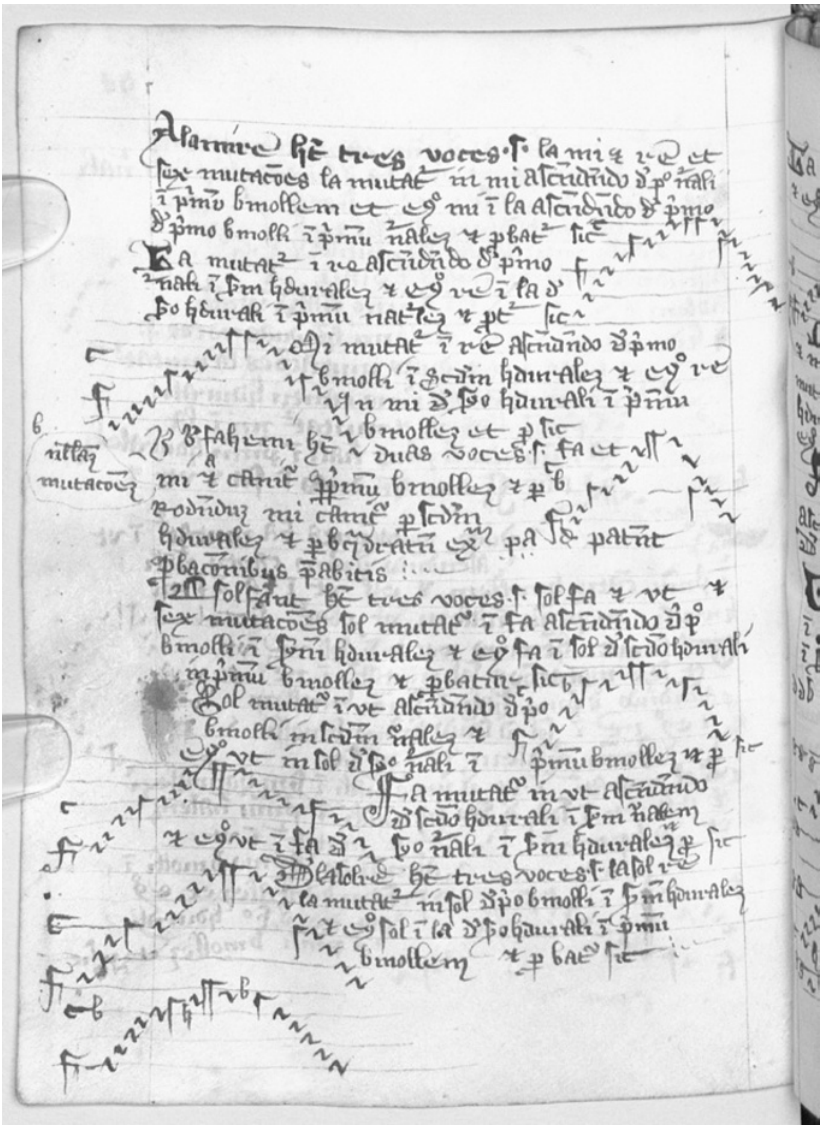
89v

Fig. 4.1. (*Continued*)



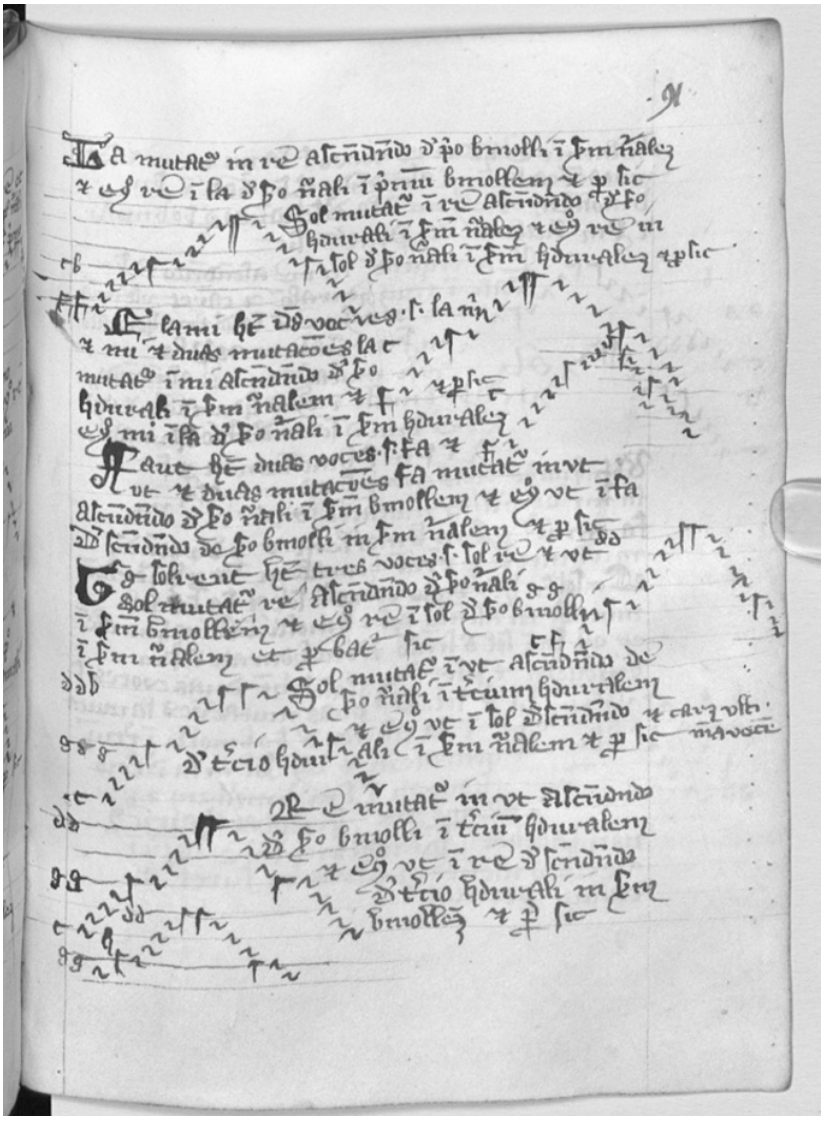
90r

Fig. 4.1. (*Continued*)



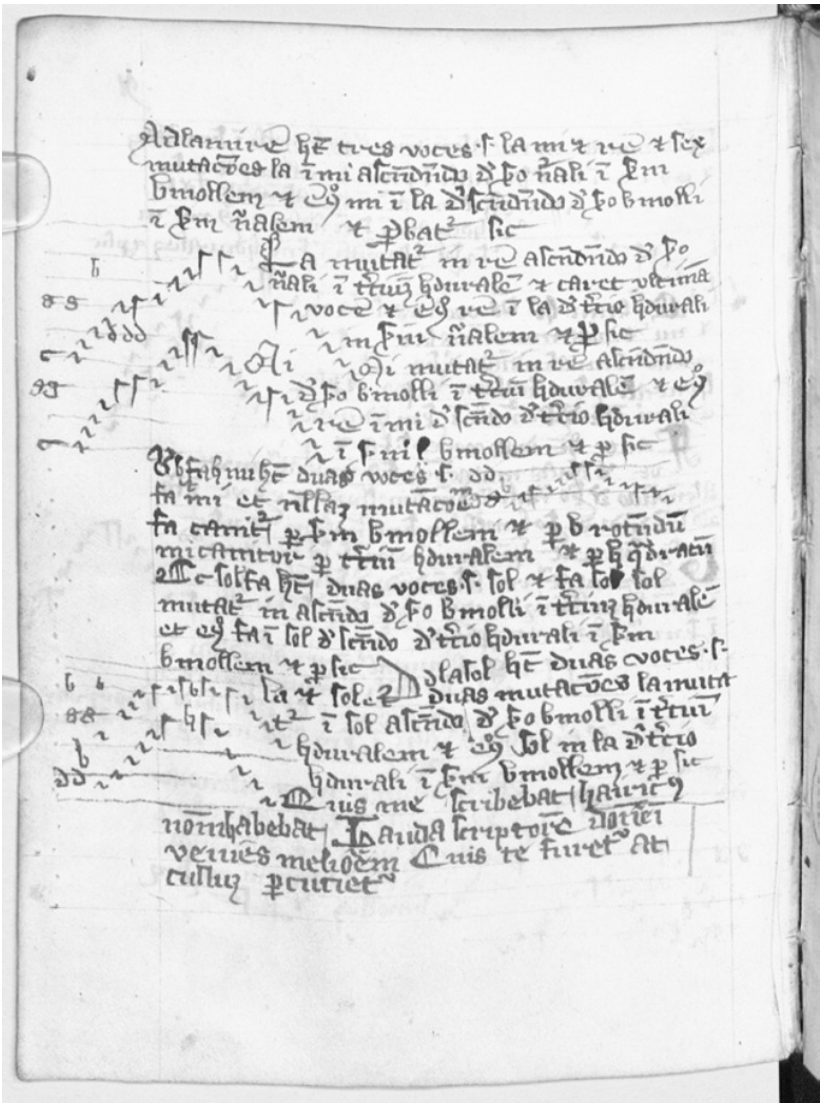
90v

Fig. 4.1. (*Continued*)



91r

Fig. 4.1. (*Continued*)



91v

Fig. 4.1. (*Continued*)

Quis me scribebat
hainricus nomen habebat.
Lauda scriptorem
donec in veniens meliorem.
Quis te furetur
at cullum percucietur.

The text is somewhat cryptic in meaning, but it appears to say, "Someone who had the name Hainricus wrote me: Praise the writer before inventing better. Someone shall be impassioned by you, indeed affected deeply."[48] Vertical stokes within the text mark the first two lines as a rhyming couplet, while the longer stroke in the right margin draws our attention to the rhymes that follow (Fig. 4.1, fol. 91^{v}). Arranging the commentary in verse suggests the writer thought it witty praise for the inventor of solfège. The word *Lauda* seems pivotal to its meaning, and may be a source of word play that connects the music treatise to David von Augsburg's text.

It seems no mere coincidence that David's musical instruction should break off at the very point where he discusses the *vox laudis,* and how perfect knowledge intensifies the ardour of love when singing praises to God. Accordingly, what the scribe responsible for the music treatise appears to have done here is present solfège *and* music notation, essential hardware for the performance of chant, as the servants of vocal prayer. This would seem to corroborate recent assertions made by Stefano Mengozzi, that both solfège and music notion were essential to a musical education in the late Middle Ages. As he says, "[i]t would have been impossible for a singer to correctly employ the Guidonian syllables as a tool for singing, as long as he was unclear on the precise intervallic distances that separate the notes from one another on the page."[49] The procedures detailed in Clm. 16072 makes this point eminently clear. The verse that follows implies that these pieces of hardware, when mastered, would help the singer carry out David's instructions—improving his musical acumen while also his ability to affect the listener emotionally. It is an extraordinary bit of evidence; and if my interpretation is correct, it indicates that readers, including Franciscan students, understood David von Augsburg's musical instruction in practical terms.

The manuscript continues on the next folio (92^{r}) with the *Stimulus amoris*—an affective piece of mystical exegesis on the passion and

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[48] Munich, Clm. 16072, fol. 91^{v}.

[49] Stefano Mengozzi, "Virtual Segments: The Hexachordal System in the Late Middle Ages," *The Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 3 (2006), 461.

suffering of Christ and his mother. Pairing *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* with Giacomo da Milano's *Stimulus amoris* was not uncommon in medieval scribal practice. Munich manuscripts Clm. 17296, 14094, 14182, and 8826, and Vatican Library manuscript 7690 also include both works, or parts thereof. It may be that the scribes who compiled them also recognized their similar tone and contemplative character. Indeed, the modern editors of Bonaventura's *Opera omnia* found them to be so much alike that they included them amongst the pseudo-Bonaventurian corpus.[50] The coincidence of a music treatise between them in Clm. 16072 may give us a sense of how late-medieval compilers conceived of a Franciscan musical education, where chant, devotional songs, and religious readings were dependent upon a sound musical technique.

Conclusion

One could go on. The books that make up *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* are so widely disseminated in both Latin and vernacular languages, and preserved in so many varied combinations with other lyric and prose works, that the possibilities for this kind of comparative analysis seem endless. Having considered what David von Augsburg and other early Franciscans were teaching their students about music, we see that acquitting themselves of their clerical obligations meant more than performing the liturgy in its proper order. Young priests in training were also expected to understand the mentality and affect of these liturgical items. Their dependence upon older wisdom is clear. The mystical aspirations, penitential spirituality, and reflections on preaching in *De missarum mysteriis* clearly struck a chord with Alexander of Hales and William of Middleton. If David von Augsburg himself did not recognize Lotario as a kindred spirit or source, the scribes and compilers who preserved AU, cod. II.1.2° 5 certainly did. How much more prophetic does Innocent III's dream now seem—of the poor man from Assisi (and his order of *joculatores Domini*) bracing up the musical foundations of the Roman church and its pope through a musical education.

[50] Both may be found in volume 12 of Peltier's edition of Bonaventura's *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1868).

CHAPTER FIVE

ROBERT GROSSETESTE ON MUSIC, SCIENCE, AND THE *CURA ANIMARUM*

Robert Grosseteste was a learned scientist, musician, cleric, bishop, and first lector of the Franciscan school at the University of Oxford. In his support for the improvement of clerical education and training in the *cura animarum*, he appears to have championed the implementation of canons ten and eleven of the Fourth Lateran Council.[1] We might imagine Grosseteste hewed, then, to the same yoke as Innocent III. As pope, Lotario dei Segni would become a patron of the Franciscan Order and an inspiration to their clerical mission to affect the souls of their listeners through chant. Grosseteste, as an educator of Franciscans, would ground his students in the science and ministry of music that would become integral to their intellectual formation.

Robert Grosseteste's contributions to medieval intellectual history have been the subject of numerous studies, from Ludwig Baur's seminal edition of his works, to the critical enquiries of James McEvoy, R.W. Southern, Joseph Goering, Richard C. Dales, Nancy Van Deusen, and many others. Through them we have grown in awe of the surpassing compass of Grosseteste's knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Arabic philosophy, and his passion for the *cura animarum*. Reflecting on Grosseteste's attitude toward music in light of Lotario dei Segni's writing, one is struck by their like-minded regard for its ethical powers. Among the personal details about Grosseteste that survive, his passion for music stands out in a way that must surely have endeared him to the early Franciscans. He played the harp, and, like St. Francis, was a composer of French song. He used the vernacular in *Le Château d'amour*, for example, to preach to his noble and apparently lay audience about the tenets of Christian theology.[2] William de Wadington, the purported author of the *Manuel des Péchés*, extols

[1] See above, pp. 3, 41–2.

[2] Robert Grosseteste, *Le Chateau d'amour de Robert Grosseteste*, ed. J. Murray (Paris: Librairie Champion, 1918). See also R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 225–30.

Grosseteste's playing and his love of minstrelsy.[3] Robert Mannyng de Brunne's Middle English translation of it, entitled *Handlyng Synne* (1338), offers us some details of his saintly musicianship:

> Y shal 3ow telle as y haue herd
> Of þe bysshop seynt Roberd
> Hys toname ys grosteste
> Of lyncolne, so seyþ þe geste.
> He louede moche to here þe harpe
> For mannes wyt hyt makeþ sharpe.
> Next hys chaumbre beside hys stody,
> Hys harpers chaumbre was fast þer by.
> Many tymes, by nyghtes and dayes,
> He hadde solace of notes and layes.
> One askede hym onys resun why
> He hadde delyte yn mynstralsy.
> He answerede hym on þs manere
> "Þe virtu of þe harpe, þurgh style and ryght
> Wyll destruye þe fendys myght;
> And to þe cros by gode skeyl,
> Ys þe harpe lykned weyl."[4]

It is interesting to see the hagiographer promote Grosseteste's saintliness through music, just as we found in the biographies of St. Francis. The passage concludes with an exhortation to worship God with music. Reminding us of David's Psalter and its many references to instruments—harpe, tabour, symphan, trumpes, sautre, cordes, organes, and bells—Mannyng assures us of the high authority for Grosseteste's musical nature.[5]

As first lector to the Oxonian Franciscans, between 1229 and his accession to the episcopacy of Lincoln in 1235, Grosseteste would have been in an ideal position to inspire the earliest generations of Franciscan students in England. Beyond the sense of duty he must have felt toward his young charges, Grosseteste was also personally attracted to Franciscan spirituality, as we see in his writings and in various accounts of his life. In an ode

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[3] The *Manuel* has been attributed to William de Wadington, but scholars now believe it was composed by a secular priest, perhaps from Lincolnshire, and they consider William to have been the scribe or reviser of the text. See Klaus Bitterling, *Of Shrifte and Penance, the ME Prose Translation of Le Manuel de Péchés* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998), 9, n. 10.

[4] Robert Mannyng, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983), 119–20, ll. 4743–4760. See also Francis Seymour Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (London: MacMillan, 1899), 334–5.

[5] *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 4773–4775.

composed on his death by Brother Hubert, a friar who appears to have known him well, one hears about Grosseteste's "eccentric passion for penance," how he scattered his wealth, and protected the poor.[6] In view of his personal asceticism and delight in music, we should not wonder when we recognize some of the same spirit in the writings of later Franciscans. As James McEvoy writes, "What he accepted in becoming their first lector was nothing less than the responsibility for forming their youth for the ministry of preaching the gospel and living the evangelical life. His aim as a teacher in the minorite school was to prepare itinerant preachers who would instruct the masses."[7]

Grosseteste's scholarly enquiry into the science of sound coupled with his concept of the "ministry" of music within the liberal arts sets an important precedent for our study of music in Franciscan life. Music is the explicit subject of *De generatione sonorum*, and it figures prominently in *De artibus liberalibus* and *De motu supercaelestium*. Nancy van Deusen has shown that the science of music permeates even Grosseteste's legal ideology in *De cessatione legalium*, and commentary on the creation in his *Hexaemeron*.[8] In fact, music seems to function as a unifying force in Grosseteste's writing. In the words of his modern editor Ludwig Baur, it is a "Universal science, to the extent that it is attached not only to proportions and concordance of pitches but also of duration, and even proportions of movement [...]."[9]

De artibus liberalibus *and* Templum Dei

De artibus liberalibus offers perhaps the clearest illustration of Grosseteste's notion of the broad relevance of music to the other sciences. It is a speculative treatise, but with some concern for the application of knowledge toward the health and enlightenment of the human soul. Given what we know of Grosseteste's understanding of Aristotelian psychology, one might expect some recourse to the authority of *De anima* and Avicenna's commentaries on it, but we search in vain. Indeed, the work does appear

[6] McEvoy posits that Hubert was a Dominican friar. See James McEvoy's translation of the poem in *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 41–2.

[7] Ibid., 46.

[8] Nancy Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), xi.

[9] Robert Grosseteste, *Die Philosophische Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln*, ed. Ludwig Baur (Münster: Aschendorff, 1912), 57.

to have been influenced by the Arabic sciences on medicine and astrology, as James McEvoy has pointed out; but Grosseteste's most important source for music in *De artibus liberalibus* is book six of Augustine's *De musica.*[10] This emphasis on the Augustinian psychological doctrine, and absence of Aristotle, marks *De artibus liberalibus* as an early work. According to McEvoy, Grosseteste composed it some time before 1209, when he was still a master of arts at the University of Oxford.[11] Van Deusen has suggested a date shortly thereafter, perhaps during his sojourn in Paris.[12]

By this time in his career, it appears that Grosseteste had already begun to foster an intense interest in the *cura animarum*. He would not enter the priesthood until around 1225, but a letter by Gerald of Wales attests that Grosseteste had been in diocesan service to bishop William de Vere of Hereford since at least 1198.[13] Gerald praises Grosseteste for his proficiency in the arts, law, and medicine—subjects that would figure prominently in *De artibus liberalibus* and his early pastoral writings, notably *Templum Dei*.[14] Grosseteste may have been in Paris between 1209 and 1214, during the *suspendium clericorum* in England, along with many other English clergymen including the Bishop of Hereford.[15] While there, he may have made his first contact with Philip the Chancellor and kindled what would become a close friendship with Guillaume d'Auvergne (Bishop of Paris from 1228–49)—two theologians who would assert their own influence on the Franciscans.[16] When the interdict was lifted, Grosseteste returned to serve as *Magister Scholarum* at Oxford, and also continued his service to the bishop of Hereford until some time in the 1220s.[17]

Grosseteste composed *Templum Dei* probably some time between 1219 and 1225, when he was still in deacon's orders and absorbed with "practical and administrative concerns in English diocesan service."[18] It is interesting to note in this that we find Grosseteste in similar circumstances as we

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[10] McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, 257.

[11] Ibid., 519; 257, n. 1.

[12] Nancy Van Deusen, "Roger Bacon on Music," in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences*, ed. Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 225.

[13] Joseph Goering, "When and Where did Grosseteste Study Theology?," in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives on his Thought and Scholarship*, ed. James McEvoy (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 35.

[14] McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste,* 4. See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J.S. Brewer, vol. 1 (London, 1861), 249.

[15] Goering, "When and Where did Grosseteste Study Theology?," 26.

[16] Ibid., 36–8.

[17] Ibid., 26.

[18] Ibid., 35.

found Lotario dei Seigni when he composed *De missarum mysteriis*—a deacon invested in the daily functions of the church and its liturgy. Casting our attention to Grosseteste's advice to priests about the *cura animarum* in *Templum Dei* gives us a critical perspective from which we may appreciate *De artibus liberalibus* as a pastoral treatise aimed at curing souls through the ministry of the arts.

Septenary Virtue

Templum Dei stands as Robert Grosseteste's most influential and enduring pastoral work.[19] It is essentially an allegory on penance where he interprets the holy temple of God, described in 1 Corinthians 3:17, as the spiritual and corporeal being of the priest. Through further division, Grosseteste promotes the body as an instrument of moral action and the spirit as the abode for the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love (corresponding to the foundation, walls, and roof of the temple). The second part of the treatise offers the priest somewhat diffuse instruction about how to preserve the temple through confession, by living in accordance with the moral laws inherent in various sacraments and assorted septenary groups of virtues. Seeing Grosseteste (or perhaps his scribe) organizing these contents into tables and lists, where sins are connected to their remedies and conditions to their results, we may perceive *Templum Dei* as a practical manual arranged for ready consultation. As Leonard Boyle puts it, "The whole *Templum* is thus primarily a statement of what a priest needs to know if he is to interrogate understandingly and counsel effectively those penitents who come to him."[20] The fact that it is extant in some eighty-five manuscripts, copied between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of them in French and German hands, attests to the broad relevance and dissemination of this text.[21]

The most relevant connection to *De artibus liberalibus* occurs in Chapter VI of *Templum Dei,* where Grosseteste begins to describe the preservation of the temple. With one hand, he says, we preserve the temple with the virtues of faith, hope, and love; but with the other, we carry the sword of fortitude, temperance, justice, and prudence against enemies who strive

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[19] Leonard Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979), 10.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. Joseph Goering and F.A.C. Mantello (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), 8.

to pollute our temple.[22] Having run the devil through with the swords of cardinal virtue, Grosseteste opens his catalogue of septenary morality. "All of human life," he says "consists in this septenary of virtue"[23]: the seven virtues, seven petitions, seven confirmations, seven gifts of the holy spirit, seven preparations, and finally seven beatitudes.[24]

Viewed from this perspective, we may grasp more readily Grosseteste's notion of the seven liberal arts as yet another fount of septenary virtue. In his opening remarks to *De artibus liberalibus*, Grosseteste introduces these sciences as the remedy for error and imperfection in human works. The mind, he says, is darkened through ignorance and excess, while the flesh corrupts the virtues of the motive body; but the seven arts are purgations of error (*erroris purgationes*), leading one to perfection.[25] Grosseteste makes short work of the trivial sciences, explaining in basic terms how "these three virtues harmonize the perception and affection of the mind and lead to perfection."[26] These words bear great import. For clearly Grosseteste recognizes here in the trivial sciences the verity and balance between two scientific perspectives: the clear-sighted, observable truth of *aspectus* and the emotional truth of *affectus*. Only on the subject of rhetoric does he elaborate further. Grosseteste declares that the essential function of rhetoric is to stir emotion, citing the examples of how Mercury could induce sleep with his wand (and the music of his pipes, no doubt),

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[22] "Una igitur manu oportet operari templum Dei in fide, spe, et caritate; altera manu tenere gladium contra hostes tres, qui nostrum corporale templum nituntur polluere et sic spirituale violare, ne Deus homo in nobis habitet. Unde gladio fortitudinis percuciendus est diabolus, gladio temperancie caro, gladio iusticie mundus dans prospera, gladio prudencie mundus dans adversa" (*Templum Dei*, VI.2). Translations are my own.

[23] "Patet igitur quod in hoc septenario virtutum consistit tota vita hominis, [scilicet] fidei, spei, caritatis, fortitudinis, prudencie, iusticie, et temperancie" (*Templum Dei,* VI.3).

[24] "Ad harum vij virtutum inpetracionem sunt vij peticiones in Oratione Dominica, et earum confirmaciones sunt vij dona Spiritus Sancti. Harum preparaciones sunt que in Euangelio nominantur, scilicet pacificus, mundus corde, misericors, esuriens iusticiam, lugens, mitis, et pauper spiritu. Propter has vij habemus septem dotes in corpore et anima ex glorificacione, et eciam vij beatitudines que sunt in comparacione ad ea que extra nos sunt" (*Templum Dei*, VI.3).

[25] "In operibus humanis triplici de causa ingerit se error et imperfectio: quia mens obtenebratur per ignorantiam et quia eius affectus citra debitum sistit, vel ultra progreditur per immoderantiam et quia virtutes motivae corporis instrumenta debilia sunt et imperfecta per carnis corruptelam. […]

In humanis vero operibus erroris purgationes et ad perfectionem deductiones sunt artes septenae, quae solae inter partes philosophiae ideo censentur artis nomine, quia earum est tantum effectus operationes humanas corrigendo ad perfectionem ducere" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 1).

[26] "Mentis ergo aspectum et affectum hae tres virtutes rectificant et ad perfectionem perducunt" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 2). My translation.

and how Orpheus charmed beasts and rocks with his cithara.[27] Yet in these illustrations we see how clearly musical the logic of Grosseteste's rhetoric was.

Music as Motion

It presents an interesting variation on the correspondence between the *affectus* and *effectus* of songs described in the nineteenth chapter of the *Musica enchiriadis*.[28] The mid-ninth century author's account of the nearly incomprehensible power of music to express the affective meaning of words seems closely related to Grosseteste's notion of perception and affection. Both authors' ideas appear to be rooted in Boethian ontology, perhaps through Augustine, which might help to explain the progress in Grosseteste's thinking toward the musical nexus between the *movere affectus* and *movere animos*. According to Fritz Reckow, music theorists going back to the *Musica enchiriadis* had formed a concept about the motions of spirit and affect that tightly bound the trivial arts to music.[29]

Grosseteste holds to the view that the powers of language, persuasion, and bodily motion, inherent in the trivium, are intimately connected through music to the proportions of the quadrivium. He underscores this point when he identifies music as the moderator (*modificatrix*) of motion itself.[30] The emphasis he places on music's analogy to motion (*motus*) gives us an indication of Grosseteste's fascination with the subject. As Van

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[27] "Rhetorica vero, licet eius officium sit ex dialecticis et propriis locis argumenta probationis elicere, quod maxime intendit, est affectum movere. [...] Haec est enim virga Mercurialis, cuius uno capite virgilantibus somnum relictis ingerit, somnolentis vigilantiam, haec Orphei cythara, cuius modulationem saxa sequuntur et arbores et eius audita dulcedine pax est lupo cum agno, cani cum lepore, et catulo cum leone" (ibid., 2). Grosseteste does not mention the pipes Mercury used to lull Argus to sleep, though we may infer from its association with Orpheus's gift of music that Mercury's powers were also of a musical nature.

[28] *Musica Enchiriadis and Scolica Enchiriadis*, trans. Raymond Erickson, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 32.

[29] "Offenkundig ist jedenfalls, daß schon zu Beginn der europäischen Kompositionsgeschichte im frühen Mittelalter die Idee des *movere animos* bzw. *movere affectus*—Seite an Seite mit dem kosmologisch-ontologisch begründeten Wirk-konzept—auch in ihrer rhetorischen Dimension erörtert und als pragmatische Aufgabe an der Musiker (*opportet*) so präzise wie anschaulich formuliert ist" (Fritz Reckow, "Zwischen Ontologie und Rhetorik: die Idee des movere animos und der Übergang von Spätmittelalter zur früh Neuzeit in der Musikgeschichte," in *Traditionswandel und Traditionsverhalten* [Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1991], 153). See above, pp. 72, 82.

[30] "Cum autem attendimus non ad illud, quod efficitur per motus corporeos, sed in ipsis motibus moderationem, modificatrix est musica" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 2).

Deusen writes, "[b]ecause music existed invisibly within the course of time, its measurements demonstrated the longitudinal movement of time. Motion, therefore, for Robert Grosseteste, could best be exemplified in music."[31] Grosseteste elaborates on the motive nature of music in *De generatione sonorum*, and in other works that would result from his study of Aristotle's *Physica*.[32] The only source Grosseteste cites for his musical commentary in *De artibus liberalibus,* though, is Macrobius, who wrote that "concord is ascertained from the proportions of motion."[33] But it is, in fact, book six of Augustine's *De musica* that serves as the principal source for Grosseteste's commentary on music.

Grosseteste relies on Augustine's authority for the proportions of musical concord, and for the correlation between rhythm and measurement. On this foundation, he joins the proportions of human voices and gesture with instrumental music:

> Cum itaque eisdem proportionibus humanae vocis et gesticulationibus humani corporis modulatio temperetur, quibus soni et motus corporum reliquorum, speculationi musicae subjacet non solum harmonia humanae vocis et gesticulationis, sed etiam instrumentorum et eorum, quorum delectatio in motu sive in sono consistit et cum his harmonia coelestium et noncoelestium.[34]

It is a densely packed but remarkably clear and expressive pronouncement, outstanding for its unifying principle of science. We feel Grosseteste's own sense of the moment as he moves nimbly from one realization to the next, capturing in one encompassing statement the great harmonious delight of heavenly and earthly sound and motion, embracing bodily gestures and the sounds of human voices and instruments. Grosseteste's subsequent explication of the effect of rhythm on hearing and memory derives again from Augustine.[35] Taking up Augustine's notion of rhythm as *sonus numerosus*, Grosseteste shows how music is related to the quatrivial arts of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. He recounts Augustine's taxonomy of rhythm—namely, progressing, occurring, recordable, sensual,[36]

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[31] Nancy van Deusen, *Theology and Music*, 2.

[32] Ibid., 1–18.

[33] *De artibus liberalibus*, 2; see Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. and ed. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), II.1.14.

[34] *De artibus liberalibus*, 3.

[35] Augustine, *De musica*, VI.2.

[36] Augustine's term is "sonantes numeri"—that is "sonant rhythm."

and judicial.[37] Grosseteste then comes to another crucial realization about the nature of these sciences—that "These seven natural and moral [sciences] are ministers."[38]

The Ministry of Music

Nancy Van Deusen, too, was struck by Grossteste's reference to music as a "ministry." To her it signified the role of music within the liberal arts curriculum as a whole.[39] Joseph Dyer's examination of the arts curriculum at the university of Paris during the thirteenth century shows that speculative music was of marginal significance; indeed, he concludes it had "no place in the medieval university curriculum."[40] This marked change he attributes to a decline in the mathematical arts in favour of a program that ceded greater place to Aristotelian logic and natural science. He finds that scholars preferred to examine music in the context of other fields of study, as Hugh of St. Victor does, for example, in his *Didascalicon*.[41] This is the same point that Van Deusen makes. However, she argues that it is precisely because we are forced to examine music in the context of the other liberal arts and theology that we acquire a better understanding of the "special ministry of music" in the mind of the medieval thinker. I agree completely with Van Deusen's assessment. We do acquire a better understanding of Grosseteste's concept of music in light of his views concerning the other liberal arts. Yet I think we might learn even more about his notion of music and the other arts when we consider his commentary in light of his pastoral work. Grosseteste's unique approach toward music, indeed toward all of the liberal arts, evaluating them as a ministry aimed, as we shall see, at healing the soul, should remind us of his abiding interest in the *cura animarum* as witnessed in *Templum Dei*.

After his varied illustration of septenary virtue in *Templum Dei*, Grosseteste suggests that if the seven petitions in the *Pater Noster* were understood as the sinner's entreaties for spiritual healing, one might

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[37] *De artibus liberalibus*, 3–4.

[38] "Hae septem naturalis et moralis sunt ministrae: nam grammatica et logica cum habeant sermonem rectum, habent probationem rectam: manifestum est, quod probationem veram ministrant" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 4).

[39] Van Deusen, *Theology and Music*, xiv.

[40] Joseph Dyer, "Speculative 'Musica' and the Medieval University of Paris," *Music and Letters* 90, no. 2 (2009), 179.

[41] Ibid., 180.

imagine the priest as a kind of medical assistant, administering spiritual medicine on behalf of the physician. Accordingly, "you may consider God as the physician, the sinner as infirm and wounded, the seven petitions as lamentations of the infirm to whom the physician gives preparations, medicine, and, after health and confirmation of health, joy to himself and to others."[42] He then observes succinctly: "Of this physician, the priest is the *minister*, to whom the most dangerous thing is to ignore the service of the master."[43] The passage gives us a vivid illustration of Grosseteste's fondness for medical learning, to which Gerald of Wales bears witness. Grosseteste's account of the application of spiritual medicine also puts one in mind of the mystical medicine Pope Gregory the Great describes in his Homily (33) on the penance of Mary Magdalene.[44] There Gregory explains how the "heavenly physician" (*caelestis medicus*) administered the spiritual medicine of faith and hope to Mary Magdalene in order to relieve her of her sins.[45] Perhaps with the model of Gregory's homily in mind, Grosseteste's purpose was to show how disparate fields of knowledge could be brought to bear on a priest's ministry to the spiritually infirm—further proof that correct prosecution of the *cura animarum* depended on a priest's thorough education.

Augustine also uses the term ministry, but only twice in *De musica*, both of them in book six: to describe the service of the senses to one's perception of judicial rhythm,[46] and to the perception of unity among the elements (earth, air, etc.).[47] Grosseteste elaborates on the ministry of grammar and logic in terms of their service to speech, "for when grammar and logic use proper speech, they enjoy proper approval."[48] The arts also provide a service in the areas of moral science and natural philosophy. He illustrates his point by posting rhetoric and music to the vanguard of his ministerial campaign—interestingly, the very same fields of science

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[42] "Statuas igitur Deum ut medicum, peccatorem ut infirmum et vulneratum, peticiones vij <ut> planctus infirmi, cui dabit medicus preparaciones, medicinam, et post sanitatem et confirmacionem sanitatis, deinde gaudia in se et ad alios" (*Templum Dei*, VI.4).

[43] "Huius medici sacerdos est minister, cui periculosissimum est ignorare officium magistri" (ibid.).

[44] See above, pp. 26–7.

[45] Gregorius Magnus, *Homilia in Evangelia,* 33.4. Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 272.

[46] "Movet me plurimum istorum judicialium vis atque potentia: ipsi enim mihi videntur esse ad quos omnium sensuum ministeria referuntur" (Augustine, *De musica,* VI.23).

[47] "Ista certe omnia quae carnalis sensus ministerio numeramus [...]" (Augustine, *De musica*, VI.58).

[48] "[...] nam grammatica et logica cum habeant sermonem rectum, habent probationem rectam (*De artibus liberalibus*, 4).

that Roger Bacon would later cleave together in his study of preaching in the *Opus tertium*.[49] Grosseteste writes:

> Moral science teaches what one ought to strive for and avoid. Indeed, rhetoric stirs us to strive for the desirable or to avoid the irascible. For this reason, moral science is taught and perceived with rhetorical ornament, so that the representation of fashion stands out. The rest [of the sciences], in which is sought only the ordering of truth, reject ornament.
>
> The *ministry* of music is no less useful in natural philosophy than to heal. As even philosophers believe, when every illness in the order and temperance of spirits is cured, and even everything *through* the order or temperance of spirits is cured, one is healed by music, melodies, and notes. And they also say it is possible to be healed from wounds and deafness to music by melodies.[50]

When rhetoric is properly applied, it would appear that its fashionable styles of speech would serve its practitioner for the moral purpose of persuading listeners to strive for good and to send anger into flight. It is not unlike the advice Augustine gives his reader in the fourth book of *De doctrina Christiana*, which relies heavily on Cicero's notions of verbal ornamentation and eloquence.[51]

The ethical properties of music seem to parallel Grosseteste's notion of the art of rhetoric, but music also has the power to heal. According to Grosseteste, music serves as a curative for the soul. This bears striking resemblance to his description of the priest's ministry in *Templum Dei*. In the hands of the learned minister, music, too, can move the soul toward good and expel unwanted feelings and states of mind. Music and melodies can cure illnesses that afflict the soul—disorder, irregularity, intemperance, and immoderation; and they can even heal physical ailments. It is in this concern for healing and cures that the connection between the septenary virtues in *Templum Dei* and the seven liberal arts becomes most apparent. When we compare them, it appears that the ministry of music is

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[49] See Chapter Six below.

[50] "Moralis sciencia etiam, quid appetendum, quid fugiendum est, edocet.—Rhetorica vero movet concupiscibilem ad appetendum, vel irascibilem ad fugiendum. Quapropter moralis scientia cum ornatu rhetorico vult doceri et sciri, ut proveniat morum informatio. Reliquae vero ornatum repudiant, in quibus quaeritur sola veritatis ordinatio.

Musicae *ministerium* in philosophia naturali non minus utile, quam ad medendum, cum omnis aegritudo et in ordinatione spirituum et in temperantia curatur et omnis etiam, qui per ordinationem aut spirituum temperantiam curatur, musicis sanatur modulationibus et sonis, ut etiam credunt philosophi. Et dicunt etiam vulneribus et surdidati musicis modulationibus posse mederi" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 4–5). My emphasis.

[51] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.6–7.

nearly identical to the ministry performed by a priest. Both offer the soul spiritual medicine on behalf of the Physician. In *De artibus liberalibus*, Grosseteste tells us that the cure for a disorderly and intemperate soul may be found in the science of numbers, and that music has this power because it is the *modificatrix* of motion itself. For Augustine, music was the means by which the soul was reduced to God.[52] Invoking Augustine's concept of rhythm as numbered sound, Grosseteste asserts that the passions of the body and the actions of the soul will be brought into accord and commensurate order when set to the same proportions (i.e. rhythms).[53] In fact, Grosseteste goes so far as to say that rhythmic proportions moderate every aspect of human behavior: joy and sadness, anger, fear, and so on.[54]

Conclusion

It is just the kind of advice one might expect from a scholar who had both an emotional and intellectual fascination with music, and a conviction for pastoral ministry. And it is certainly the sort of interpretation of music that would have been relevant to the Oxonian Franciscans, who were destined for a career in the priesthood. How well this compares with the accounts of music and gesture in the *vitae* of St. Francis, and in the mission of the *joculatores Domini*. The Franciscan movement was only in its infancy around the time Grosseteste is thought to have composed *De artibus liberalibus*, and it would be still fifteen years before the friars would arrive in England. Yet we may discern already here an inclination toward learning that might have appealed to Agnello da Pisa, the Minister of the

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[52] I shall return to this matter in Chapter Six on Roger Bacon.

[53] "Cum enim anima sequatur corpus in suis passionibus et corpus sequatur animam in suis actionibus, corpore patiente ex numeris sonantibus extrahit anima in se numeros proportionatos secundum proportionem numerorum sonantium, movetque spritus ipse easdem numerorum proportiones" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 5). See Augustine, *De musica*, Book VI.10 and 16.

[54] "Sapiens igitur est, qui corporis humani signati novit debitam proportionem et quibus proportionibus fiunt elementorum et humidarum partium principalium spiritum et animae cum corpore concordiae et easdem proportiones in numeris sonantibus effectas ut progressores et occursores animae illabantur et ex incommensuratione omnia redeunt ad propriam commensurationem; qui novit etiam, qualiter spiritus dilatantur in gaudio, qualiter in tristitia contrahantur, qualiter circumferantur in ira, qualiter in animosis super seipsis innudando sese impellunt et excitant, qualiter in timidis sese fugiant, qualiter in mitibus sese quadam tranquillitate sedant et proportionatos sonos in musicis instrumentis, qui sciat educere, facile poterit, in quos volueret effectus animi permutare" (*De artibus liberalibus*, 5).

English Province who would invite Grosseteste to serve as lector to the Franciscans at Oxford. Under Grosseteste's guidance, the Franciscan chronicler Thomas of Eccleston attests that the friars "progressed immeasurably within a short time both in theological matters and in preaching with suitable and subtle moral examples."[55] These views concerning the care of souls, the science and ministry of music, and the fascinating coincidence between them, gives us a glimpse of the knowledge Grosseteste might have imparted to his followers, particularly Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Roger Bacon.

[55] "[…] fecit frater Agnellus scholam satis honestam aedificari in loco fratrum, et impetravit a sanctae memoriae magistro Roberto Grosseteste, ut legeret ibi fratribus. Sub quo inaestimabiliter infra breve tempus tam in quaestionibus quam praedicationi congruis subtilibus moralitatibus profecerunt" (Thomae de Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951], 48). Thomas of Eccleston, *The Chronicle of Brother Thomas of Eccleston: The Coming of the Friars to England,* in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, trans. Placid Hermann, O.F.M. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961), 142.

CHAPTER SIX

ROGER BACON ON THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC AND PREACHING

Roger Bacon's scholarly achievements have long been recognized for their significant contribution to the history of science. Camille Bérubé considers Bacon the most immediate successor to the science of Robert Grosseteste and his protégé Adam Marsh.[1] What distinguishes Bacon, though, appears to be his desire to show how science could inform theology and support the missions of the Roman church. Roger Bacon seems to have inherited Grosseteste's fascination with the science of sound, and also his appreciation for music's complex relationship with the arts and moral and natural philosophy, but he was also able to show how this knowledge applied to singing and preaching—two of the essential missions of his Order.

In reading Bacon's works, one is struck by the sweep of his knowledge of ancient learning, and how this relates to fundamental principles regarding the divine origin of science and the unity of wisdom.[2] On the basis of his research, he hoped to persuade Pope Clement IV of the need for curricular reform at the medieval university, with the aim of stemming what he perceived was the decline of intellectual achievement among the Latins. His remedy was to urge his reader to embrace the new Aristotelian learning, to study languages, to raise the standard for the study of the liberal arts (especially mathematics, where music plays an essential role), and to cede place to controversial methods of experimental science and empirical observation. He remains clear that the purpose of such learning would be to advance the study of theology and to ensure the security of the Roman church; nevertheless, Bacon's research brought him into conflict with superiors in his Order.

The complex dynamics surrounding Bacon's scientific achievements seriously complicated the reception of his work in his time and thereafter. Scholars and other readers after Bacon's death became so compelled (and distracted) by the story of his conflict that interpretations of his writings sometimes became distorted and rather fanciful. Amanda Power tells of

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[1] Camille Bérubé, *De la philosophie a la sagesse chez Saint Bonaventure et Roger Bacon* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1976), 69.

[2] Ibid.

how his critics pursued a remarkably secularizing agenda, and embellished Bacon's accomplishments with such imaginative detail that his biography took on the proportions of an English folk hero, on par with the likes of Robin Hood. In her view, Roger Bacon had become a comic figure of English literature, divorced from the true facts of his life.[3]

On the other hand, Jeremiah Hackett gives us a more positive view of Bacon's reputation as a scholar, emphasizing particularly the reception of his medical writings and his pioneering work on optics.[4] It appears the transmission of Bacon's *Perspectiva* to the "Age of Descartes" resulted, in part, from the early editorial work of Bacon's contemporary Pierre de Limoges.[5] Moreover, the large number of publications of Bacon's alchemical and astrological writings between roughly 1500 and 1700, both in Latin and several vernacular languages, seems to reflect a largely positive attitude toward him.[6] Editions of Bacon's *Opus maius* by Samuel Jebb (1733) and John Henry Bridges (1897 and 1900), and his *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium* by J.S. Brewer (1859) made his three major works widely available to modern scholars.[7] But by the second decade of the twentieth century, Lynn Thorndike would still have cause to complain that Bacon had for so long been studied as an exceptional figure of his era that readers had lost the capacity to judge his objectives in the proper historical context.[8]

Following Thorndike's recommendations, scholars of recent decades have managed to remedy some of the problems of Bacon's perceived

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[3] Amanda Power, "A Mirror for Every Age: The Reputation of Roger Bacon," *English Historical Review* 121, no. 492 (2006): 657–92; see especially 662–3.

[4] Jeremiah Hackett, "The Reception of Roger Bacon in the 13th Century and in the Early Modern Period," in *Lumière et vision dans les sciences et dans les arts: de l'antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Michel Hochmann and Danielle Jacquart, École Pratique des Hautes Études 5, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 97 (Geneva: Droz, 2010), 149–50. See also Faye Getz, "Roger Bacon and Medicine: The Paradox of the Forbidden Fruit and the Secrets of Long Life," in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. Jeremiah Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 337–64.

[5] Hackett, "The Reception of Roger Bacon," 155–62.

[6] Ibid., 152–3. Hackett points out that the Rosicrucians in Germany were intimately involved in the propagation of Bacon's writing in the early seventeenth century (ibid., 152).

[7] Roger Bacon, *Fratris Rogeri Bacon, Ordinis minorum, Opus Maius ad Clementem Quartum, Pontificem Romanum. Ex MS. Codice Dubliniensi, cum aliis quibusdam collato, nunc primum edidit, S. Jebb* (1733). Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, 3 vols., ed. John Henry Bridges (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897 and 1900). Roger Bacon, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon, Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita*, vol. 1, *I.—Opus Tertium, II.—Opus Minus, III.—Compendium Philosophiae*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longman, 1859; repr. London: Kraus, 1965).

[8] Lynn Thorndike, "The True Roger Bacon, I," *The American Historical Review* 21, no. 2 (Jan., 1916), 237.

exceptionality by comparing his accomplishments to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. In the process, some, like Thomas Adank, came to the conclusion that Bacon was anything but an original thinker.[9] Yet their criteria for originality seems too narrow, in my view, given Bacon's preoccupation with curricular reform based on the wisdom of early Christian writers and previously unavailable translations from Arabic (though faulty, by his account[10]) of the works of Aristotle and his commentators. The distillation from these sources of a new concept of music, understood in the context of the other arts and theology, should itself be considered an authentic achievement. Meanwhile, the question of Bacon's activities as a Franciscan scholar has gone begging entirely. According to Power, "[e]ven now, when his scientific and philosophical work has been integrated into a wider picture of thirteenth-century science and philosophy, his objectives—which were intimately bound up with his religious faith and his dedication to the Franciscan order—have not been well understood."[11] Amid the enthusiasm to re-evaluate Roger Bacon's contributions to the history of science, no one, says Power, has stopped to consider Bacon "primarily as a Franciscan friar, or as an example of a Franciscan friar."[12] Examining his writings from the musical point of view, I hope to improve on our understanding of Bacon's identity as a friar advancing the Franciscan mission of music through scholarship.

Scholarship and Controversy

Roger Bacon was already an established scholar by the time he joined the Order of Franciscans in Paris some time between 1245 and 1256. According to Jeremiah Hackett, Bacon studied at the University of Oxford between 1228 and 1236,[13] which would have coincided with Robert Grosseteste's tenure at the Franciscan school. It seems likely, therefore, that Bacon *knew of* Grosseteste and his research, and had seen him at the University.[14]

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[9] Thomas Adank, "Roger Bacons Auffassung der Musica," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 35, no. 1 (1978), 34.

[10] Roger Bacon, *The Opus maius of Roger Bacon*, ed. and trans. Robert Belle Burke (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 76.

[11] Power, 658.

[12] Ibid., 680.

[13] Jeremiah Hackett, "Roger Bacon: His Life, Career and Works," in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences, Commemorative Essays*, 11.

[14] Hackett proposes we interpret Bacon's words literally when he writes, "For we *saw* certain men of the past who labored much in languages, like Master Robert, mentioned

Indeed, he extols the elder scholar several times for his mastery of science and languages.[15] However, the fact that Grosseteste was already in tenure at the Franciscan school around the time Bacon began his studies would seem to remove the possibility of him having studied the arts directly under his tutelage.[16]

Bacon left for the University of Paris some time between 1240 and 1245, where he took up a career lecturing, it would seem, on books in the Aristotelian corpus. His expertise appears to have concentrated on the quadrivium in general, and geometry in particular. He brags in his *Opus tertium* that he had been able to stump new masters with problems of geometry[17]; but he is also capable of self deprecating, as we see in the oft-related story of how his students from Spain mocked him when he misconstrued the Spanish word *Belenum* (henbane) for Arabic.[18]

After joining the Franciscans, Bacon may have continued his teaching for a few years, but he would have done so inside the convent, as Bonaventura did around that time. This arrangement appears to have ended around 1256 when his health failed, and it appears he accomplished nothing of note for the next ten years. Bacon's fortunes as a Franciscan scholar changed dramatically in 1260, though, when the Council of Narbonne prohibited the publication of new works without the approbation of his superiors. The issue of his three major works, composed on papal commission seven years later, put Roger Bacon at odds with Bonaventura, as head of the Order, and in direct violation of his council's explicit prohibition.

Bacon's initial communication about the project was with Raymond de Laon, who had been the papal legate to England during the Civil War, prior to becoming a clerk to Guy le Gros de Foulques. Foulques, too, has an interesting history, having been private secretary to king Louis IX (an important Franciscan patron and saint), Archbishop of Narbonne (1259), and Cardinal-Bishop of St. Sabina before acceding to the papacy as Clement IV in February 1265. On 22 June 1266, Clement IV requested Bacon send him a copy of his philosophical writings. This set the scholar to work

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above, the translator and bishop, and Thomas the venerable president of Saint David, lately deceased, and brother Adam of Marsh, and Master Hermann, the translator, and certain other men of science" (Burke, *Opus maius*, 82). See Hackett, "Roger Bacon: His Life, Career and Works," 11.

[15] Burke, *Opus maius*: 76, 78, 82.

[16] Hackett, "Roger Bacon: His Life, Career and Works," 11.

[17] *Opus tertium*, 139.

[18] Ibid., 91; *Compendium studii philosophiae*, 467–8; and Burke, *Opus maius*, 76.

on a *Persuasio*—the *Opus maius*, followed by the *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium* where he clarified and elaborated further on the ideas he presented in the "Greater Work."

In these three books, Roger Bacon fused his knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy and the commentaries of Jewish, Persian, and Arabic writers with his Franciscan spirituality to offer a fascinating synthesis of thought and pious feeling. In a letter he sent to Clement IV, probably in 1268, Bacon gives us a strong impression of some of the peculiarities of his Franciscan spirituality and an inkling of the "novel" thinking that may have caused him to fall under the suspicion of his superiors. Bacon expresses his gratitude to the pontiff for allowing him to pursue his love of scholarship under his protection. In his praise, Bacon reminds the pope of some apocalyptic prophesies that foretold "a pope should arise in these latter times, who should purge the Church of God from fraud, from ignorance, and from contention, that justice should reign and prosper in his days. The Greeks and the Latins should be reconciled, the Tartars converted, the Saracens destroyed, and all should become one fold under one shepherd."[19]

Bacon's hope for a unified Christian church was certainly timely, as the Franciscans had been involved in several negotiations in the thirteenth century to resolve the schism in the church. Most of the missions failed, but a new negotiation was undertaken only shortly after Bacon completed his three works. The Franciscan arbiters managed to reconcile the two factions in 1274 at the General Council of Lyon, though the reunion eventually failed, and by 1281 the schism was back in effect.[20] Mixed with his sense of pride, one cannot overlook the shadings of Joachite heresy, which the council of Narbonne had endeavored to suppress after encountering it in Gerardo da Borgo San Donnino's *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel*. Gerardo's commentary on Joachim da Fiore's apocalyptic visions directly implicated St. Francis and the Franciscan mission. Specifically, Gerardo had cast the Franciscans as soldiers of Christ who, in the final age of mankind, would battle the Antichrist and effect the reunification of the Latin and Greek Churches. It was all set to begin in 1260, preceded by signs of the Antichrist's coming in "dissentions and feuds."[21]

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[19] *Opus tertium,* xxiii–iv.

[20] John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968; repr. Sandpiper, 1998), 297–300.

[21] Stewart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1952), 131–34. See David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 14–26. See also Roberto Lambertini, "Ende oder Vollendung. Interpretazioni eschatologiche del

One wonders whether Bacon regarded Clement IV as the harbinger of change Joachim had foretold, and himself as the great theologian for the end of time. Crombie recognized Bacon's Joachism in his *Opus maius* through references to the prophesies of Sibyl, Merlin, Aquila, Seston, and Joachim. Bacon urges the study of them through astrology with the warning that Antichrist will use the same methods of magic and scientific fascination.[22] In Stewart Easton's view, there is evidence enough in Bacon's works to show that he sympathized with the conservative (Spiritual) Franciscans, who had been receptive to Joachim and Gerardo's writings.[23] Yet Camille Bérubé argues that this is too simple an understanding, and obfuscates the depth of Bacon's commitment to the intellectual renewal of the church. In Bérubé's interpretation, Bacon's writing does not reflect the same kind of joachite messianism that affected Franciscans in central Italy and Southern France. Rather, it contemplates a new kind of scientific messianism where "'magnificent' science, found in contact with Arab civilization, would be the instrument of a renewal of theological studies, religious moral renewal, and social development of all Christian people."[24] As we shall see, the study of music plays a unifying role in Bacon's scientific messianism.

Bacon's premonition of imminent change may account for the urgent and exuberant tone of his three major works, and the speed at which he discharged the task of writing them. He cobbled together his ideas in some one thousand folia over a span of roughly fifteen to eighteen months, between July 1266 and some time in 1268; but what he actually sent the pope and whether he read what he was sent (he died in November 1268) is a matter for speculation. Bacon appears to have conceived the project as a *Persuasio*, meant to convince the pope of the need for curricular reform in the university. The *Opus maius* begins with an account of the sources of human error. His arguments show the close relationship between philosophy and theology and demonstrate how the study of philosophy may serve the church. He proceeds through an appeal for the study of foreign languages for the sake of their value to church missions. He makes a plea for the study of mathematics, as the key to all other fields of knowledge, with

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conflitto tra Scolari e Mendicanti alla metà del XIII secolo," in *Ende und Vollendung: Eschatologische Perspektiven im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan A. Aertsen et al., Miscellanea Mediaevalia 29 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 250–61.

[22] Alistair Camron Crombie, *Science, Optics and Music in Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 33. Burke, *Opus maius*, 290.

[23] Easton, *Roger Bacon*, 134.

[24] Bérubé, *De la philosophie a la sagesse chez Saint Bonaventure et Roger Bacon*, 81.

an emphasis on the connections between music, grammar, and logic. He defends experimental science and empirical observation as methods of problem solving. A description of moral philosophy follows, where he considers a human being's relationship to God, to others, and to him or herself. He also offers a comparative study of religions in order to prove the superiority of Christianity.

Scholars tend to agree that Bacon sent his *Opus maius* to Clement IV in 1268 along with his *Opus minus*.[25] The *Opus tertium* offers yet further summaries, additions, and elaborations to the *Opus maius*, but scholars are uncertain about whether Bacon actually sent it. Alistair Crombie asserts that he did, whereas A.G. Little, Lynn Thorndike, and David Lindberg argue that Bacon completed the *Opus tertium* somewhat later, but never sent it.[26]

The years that followed were productive but apparently difficult for Roger Bacon as a Franciscan. The publication of his three major works had clearly been an "end-run," as Hackett writes, around restrictions laid down by the Council of Narbonne, and almost certainly incited his superiors.[27] Bacon completed his *Communia mathematica*, *Secretum secretorum*, and *Compendium studii philosophie* probably some time during the 1260s and early 1270s; but these, together with the works he wrote on papal commission, probably led to the condemnations of 1270 and 1277.[28] For reasons that are curious and as yet unresolved, the minster general of the Order, Jerome of Ascoli, condemned Bacon to prison some time between 1277 and 1279. Crombie suggests that it might have had something to do with heretical Averroist positions he shared with the bishop of Paris, Stephen Tempier, though Amanda Power is more skeptical.[29] She claims that the story of Bacon's imprisonment holds "by default" only because of the single piece of evidence we have in *Chronica XXIV Ministrorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (c. 1369), which cites his imprisonment on grounds of "suspected novelties" in his writing.[30] Raymond Gaufredi, the new general of the Order, may have freed Bacon from prison at the chapter

[25] Hackett, "Roger Bacon: His Life, Career and Works," 22.

[26] Alistair Camron Crombie, *Science, Art, and Nature in Medieval and Modern Thought* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 53; A.G. Little, *Roger Bacon Essays Contributed by Various Writers on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Birth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 20; Thorndike, "The True Roger Bacon, I," 242; David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), xxv.

[27] Hackett, "Roger Bacon: His Life, Career and Works," 21.

[28] Ibid., 19.

[29] Crombie, *Science, Art, and Nature*, 53.

[30] Ibid.; Power, 660; Little, 26.

of Paris in 1292; and in that year Bacon was at work on his *Compendium Theologiae*. This would appear to have been the last work he completed before his death.

In light of the stern treatment at the hands of his own Order, we might forgive Bacon some bitter retort, but we hear little of that from him in his extant communications, except in reference to the period of his work for the pope in the mid-1260s. Rather, what I think we see, even through a narrow reading of his writings on music, is the voice of an ardent Franciscan scholar responding to the "burning issues of the day."[31] In my view, he contributed in common cause with his brethren to form a program of education that would advance the missionary campaigns of his Order through music.

Bacon's major arguments concerning music appear in the *Opus maius* and *Opus tertium*. In essence, he attempts to persuade his reader that knowledge of Augustinian theology and Aristotelian science reveals the true, affective nature of music and its bond with the other arts, particularly mathematics, grammar, and logic. It is important to keep in mind here that what Bacon proposed was not a revision of Augustinian theology in light of Aristotle so much as a meeting of the minds. As Nancy Van Deusen observes, Bacon's purpose was to show his reader that the "Latin Aristotle reinforced and extended the very directions Augustine had considered important."[32]

The Opus maius

Bacon hews closely to Grosseteste's understanding of music when it comes to the science of sound and music's pivotal role among the arts.[33] He considers music the conduit through which the motive power of mathematics flows to grammar, rhetoric, and logic. But Bacon's arguments transcend speculation, and here he comes more sharply to the point than Grosseteste. As Hackett observes, Bacon strongly distinguished theory from practice, and "for him, the latter had pride of place to the former."[34] With regard to music, though, we find ourselves struggling with Bacon's ostensible

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[31] Power, 680.

[32] Nancy Van Deusen, "Roger Bacon on Music," in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences, Commemorative Essays*, ed. Jeremiah Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 224.

[33] See previous chapter.

[34] Jeremiah Hackett, "Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric in Roger Bacon," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 20, no. 1 (1987), 35.

self-contradictions. In the *Opus maius*, following a lengthy discourse on astronomy, Bacon returns to the subject of music saying:

> According to the judgment of the sacred writers matters pertaining to music are necessary to theology in many ways. For although it is not necessary for an understanding of Scripture that the theologian should have a practical knowledge of singing and of instruments and of other musical things, yet he should know the theory of them, in order to grasp the natures and properties of these things and of the writings on this subject in accordance with their teachings of music theoretical and practical. For Scripture is full of musical terms [...].[35]

A theoretical knowledge of music may, indeed, suffice for the theologian. Yet, when Bacon later extends his hermeneutic of music in the *Opus maius* and *Opus tertium,* he shows us what a great service singing, dancing, and preaching could be to the church. His notion of the *musicus* harkens back to Boethius: it is someone who understands the causes and reasons for music.[36] But in Bacon's case, he is also someone who had the ability to apply his knowledge, to communicate religious values. In the following chapters, we shall see how Franciscan scholars like Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Juan Gil da Zamora honed the "natures and properties" of music to the needs of their student preachers. The arc of Bacon's narrative concerning music also leads us ultimately to preaching, but he does so within the context of the sciences. In order to understand his view of music, then, we must explore his concept of preaching as a form of art dependent on the science of language and mathematics.

Grammar and Logic Through the Measurement of Music

Roger Bacon begins his defense of mathematics by arguing that grammar and logic depend causatively on music. Grammar is concerned with prose, meter, and rhythm; but, he says, the grammarian pursues his subject only "in an elementary way" (*hoc fecit pueriliter*) by means of statement alone.[37] As he says in the *Opus tertium*, "grammar is mechanical, ignoring the causes and reasons of these things."[38] It is a point he repeats many times

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[35] Burke, *Opus maius*, 259.

[36] Anicius Manlius Severinus Boëthius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 50–1.

[37] Burke, *Opus maius*, 118; Bridges, *Opus maius* I, 99–100.

[38] "Sed grammatica est mechanica in hac parte, horum causas et rationes ignorans" (*Opus tertium*, 302).

in the course of his works.[39] What Bacon is driving at, it seems, is that music has the power to explain the phenomenon of beauty that one perceives in the various "sounding" aspects of grammar, namely the tonal inflection (or elevation) of the voice required by the punctuation of prose, accent, and the rhythm of speech itself.[40] Because musical measurement is reckoned mathematically, he argues that it alone can give the causes and reasons behind the mechanics of grammar.[41]

This concept of music appears to derive, albeit indirectly, from Al-Farabi's *Isa al-ulum*; yet Bacon expands on his source. In reference to practical music, Al-Farabi writes "[a]nd the theoretical gives the science of them. And it is metaphysical, and it gives the reasons for everything out of which the melodies are composed, not insofar as they are in a material but independent and irrespective of any instrument or any material."[42] Dominicus Gundissalinus's Latin translation of this text, known to medieval scholars as *De scientiis*, may have given Bacon license for a slightly broader interpretation of the powers of music. Gundissalinus writes, "[s]peculative [music] gives the science for *all of them* and *all the reasons and causes* of it from which melodies are composed [...]."[43] According to Al-Farabi, the wisdom of music theory encompasses its ability to give the reasons and causes for practical music. Bacon simply expands on this point of view by arguing that since grammar is a sounding form of art, it functions within the domain of melody, which is subject to the mathematics of music theory.

In the discussion of logic that follows in the *Opus maius*, Bacon enlarges the science of music to include the beauty of rhetorical speech. Relying now on Aristotle, Averroes, and Al-Farabi's writings on poetics and rhetoric, he defines logic as "the composition of arguments that stir the active intellect to faith and to a love of virtue and future felicity [...]."[44] Bacon understands logic as closely related to rhetoric, as did Aristotle.[45]

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[39] See, for example, *Opus tertium*, 307; and Roger Bacon, *Communia mathematica*, Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. XVI, ed. Robert Steele (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 64–5.

[40] Burke, *Opus maius*, 100.

[41] Ibid., 118.

[42] Al-Farabi, *Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music*, trans. and ed. Henry George Farmer (New York: Hinrichsen, 1934), 14.

[43] "Speculativa vero dat scientiam eorum omnium et rationes et causas omnes eius ex quo componuntur armoniae [...]" (Dominicus Gundissalinus, *Al-Farabi De Scientiis Secundum Versionum Dominici Gundissalivi*, ed. Jacob Hans Josef Schneider [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2006], 156). My emphasis.

[44] Burke, *Opus maius*, 119.

[45] Aristotle begins his book on Rhetoric explaining, "Rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic" (*The Complete Works of Aristotle,* rev. Oxford trans., ed. Jonathan Barnes, vol. 2

Moreover, his rhetoric implies religious designs when he says, "these arguments must have a maximum amount of beauty, so that the mind of man may be drawn to the truths of salvation suddenly and without previous consideration."[46] It is reminiscent of Al-Farabi's remarks concerning poetics in *De scientiis*.[47] Moreover, Bacon observes, "these arguments should be sublime and beautiful, and therefore accompanied with notable adornment in prose, meter, and rhythm, as befits place, time, personages and subject for which the plea is made."[48] For this reason, he concludes, "logic must depend on the power of music."[49]

As the argument proceeds from grammar to logic, we observe Bacon broadening further the scope of musical wisdom. Just as Grosseteste viewed music as a kind of universal science in the context of the seven liberal arts, so Bacon shows the same genius for drawing together parts of the trivium. Essentially he argues that what joins grammar and rhetoric (that is, logical argument) is music, for the beauty of rhetoric resides in the ornamental "sounds" of speech. The concept evolves into a charming paradigm of moral philosophy where music gives the causes and reasons for the affection of virtue in divine rhetoric.

The summary Bacon gives of this argument in the *Opus tertium* is instructive. As he condenses his major points, he delineates the sciences more forcefully. In this way, his concept of music becomes a more concise measurement of beauty in grammar and logic. He writes:

> [b]ut in respect to the beauty and ornateness and sweetness of the argument, just as the grammarian cannot assign the causes and reasons, certainly neither can the logician; only the music theorist [*musicus*] can, just as the geometer has to grasp the causes of the lines, angles, and figure, which the carpenter uses. For as stated earlier, some music is prosaic, some is metrical, and some is rhythmic; and these qualities produce all the causes and reasons for the ornateness and beauty of a speech. The moral philosopher uses these similarly, but cannot grasp the causes and reasons.[50]

[Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,] 1984), 1354a12-1354a31). He later defines rhetoric as "a combination of the sciences of logic and of ethics" (ibid., 1359b19-1359b23, 2161).

[46] Burke, *Opus maius*, 119.

[47] "Proprium est autem Poeticae sermonibus suis facere imaginari aliquid pulchrum vel fedum, quod non est ita, ut auditor credat et aliquid abhorreat vel appetat" (Schneider, *De scientiis*, 134).

[48] Burke, *Opus maius*, 119.

[49] Ibid.

[50] "Grammaticus igitur utitur his pueriliter; sed logicus quantum ad formam arguendi quam constituit, in his procedit viriliter, et causas et rationes assignat. Sed quantum ad decorum et ornatum et suavitatem argumenti, certe non potest logicus, sicut nec grammaticus, causas et rationes assignare, sed musicus; sicut geometer causas linearum,

The *Opus tertium* essentially repeats the wisdom of the *Opus maius*, but in compressing his argument, Bacon makes an even stronger claim for the power of music. He seemingly affirms the attachment between these areas of knowledge by stating that *music* is prosaic, metrical, and rhythmic. By confronting the relationship between grammar and music here, we may infer Bacon's awareness of the Ancient Greek concept of *musica*, which, as Frieder Zaminer has shown, embraced aspects of grammar, dance, and music.[51] But Bacon approves the superiority of the music theorist above the *grammaticus* and *logicus*, for only he, the *musicus*, has the knowledge to judge the causes and reasons for prosaic, metrical, and rhythmic design. Bacon adds to his argument, moreover, by extending music's domain over *moralis philosophus*, since the *musicus* has the knowledge to explain the behavior of listeners.

Where, one might well ask, does the music theorist's superior knowledge come from? As is his wont, Bacon explains by means of analogy: as the geometer (perhaps like a modern engineer) serves the carpenter through his comprehension of the principles of physical structure, so the music theorist serves those who make speeches. As the astute carpenter puts the geometer's knowledge to use when building sound and pleasing structures, so the effective orator applies the knowledge of the *musicus* to create beautiful speeches that will affect the minds of listeners with the subject of his speech. In other words, it seems it is the music theorist's ability to measure that gives him the power to evaluate beauty in speech. Again, this harkens to Boethius's notion of the third and most noble class of musician as "that which acquires an ability for judging, so that it can carefully weigh rhythms and melodies and the composition as a whole. This class, since it is totally grounded in reason and thought, will rightly be esteemed as musical."[52]

Bodily Motion, and Music as a Universal Science

Having persuaded his reader of the relevance of mathematics in the trivial sciences through the analogy of music, Bacon proceeds in his *Opus maius*

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et angulorum, et figurarum, quibus utitur carpentator, habet dare. Nam ut prius patuit, musica quaedam est prosaïca, quaedam metrica, quaedam rhythmica; et hae dant omnes causas et rationes ornatus et decoris sermonis. Similiter moralis philosophus utitur his; sed non potest causa et rationes dare […]" (*Opus tertium*, 307).

[51] Frieder Zaminer, "Über Grammatica und Musik," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Congress, Berlin 1974* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980), 255–7.

[52] Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 51.

to explain the substance of music as applied to sacred subjects. He concentrates mainly on descriptions of instruments, and visible representations of musical motion in gesticulation and dance. He refers to the examples of singing and instruments mentioned in scripture, but his commentary does not go beyond mere citation.[53] Yet on the connections between music and motion he is more expressive, showing his grasp of Platonic and Augustinian thinking, and the unanimity between them. Bacon cites Cassiodorus's two-fold division of mathematics into absolute numbers and the proportions found in sound and "gesticulation." In his words, "sound and gesticulation form a subject apart from music; but they are discussed however by means of the relationships of numbers in the science of music."[54] In short, he sees music as the "proper regulation" of all acts of life, including one's relationship to God.[55] The evidence lies in the use of numbers in theology, and in illustrations of dance in philosophy and sacred scripture. In this way, Bacon is able to show, as Camille Bérubé has also observed, that the common factor joining platonist and augustinian notions of science is the role of mathematics.[56]

To illustrate his point, Bacon turns to Augustine, and specifically to Augustine's own review of the sixth book of *De musica* in the *Retractationes*. As Bacon says, "The sixth has become especially well known since in it a question worthy of being understood is treated, how from mutable numbers we arrive at the immutable, as if the invisible things of God are perceived through those things which have been made."[57] Grosseteste put Augustine's wisdom to similar use in his hermeneutics, as we have already seen, but Grosseteste dwelt on its details at greater length. Bacon assumes the reader's familiarity with Augustine's text, and therefore makes the case for sensory perception more plainly. He takes no trouble to recount the (sounding, occurring, progressing, and sensuous) mutable numbers, which appeal to the senses, nor the (memorized and judicial) immutable numbers, which appeal to the intellect. Rather, he goes directly to the heart of Augustine's wisdom—that we perceive God by sensual means through the rhythms of His creation. It is in essence an argument for the *reductio artium ad theologiam*, an attitude Bacon shared with

[53] Burke, *Opus maius*: 198–9, 259.
[54] Ibid., 198.
[55] Ibid., 199.
[56] Bérubé, *De la philosophie a la sagesse chez Saint Bonaventure et Roger Bacon*, 85.
[57] Ibid., 198.

other Franciscan theologians like John Pecham and Bonaventura da Bagnoreggio.[58]

When he returns to the subject of music later in his text, Bacon appears bent on making a clean breast of one's need of musical knowledge. We have already heard his thesis: that while a practical knowledge of music is unnecessary for theologians, they must, nevertheless, have a grasp of music theory in order to understand scripture. Bartholomaeus Anglicus makes the same point in his *De musica*, as we shall see in the following chapter.

To substantiate his claims, Bacon offers a summary statement about the various circumstances under which one encounters music, followed by declarations about music's relevance to grammar and logic.[59] The passage is brief and repetitive, and yet impressive for the way he blends his arguments into one concise definition concerning the universal application of musical knowledge. In fact, the argument strikes one as being so much like Grosseteste's comments in *De artibus liberalibus* that it could be a gloss on them.[60] At the heart of Bacon's description we hear like-minded counsel about the power of music to regulate human voices, instruments, and bodily gestures, and about the way these motions delight their observers. Bacon does, however, add further authority to Grosseteste's wisdom. In reference to bodily gesture, he reflects not only on Augustine but the knowledge of non-Christian philosophers, namely Al-Farabi (whom he acknowledges only by the Latin title of his work *De ortu scientiarum*[61]) and Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (chapter 7).[62] Bacon also makes abundantly clear the relevance of these arguments to the universality of music. Citing once again a favorite authority: "Augustine reduces meters and feet and matters of this kind to the subject of music. The perfect theologian therefore should have the mastery of all these things, because in the literal and spiritual sense their natures and properties are required, as the sacred writers decide in many ways."[63]

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58 Hackett, "The Reception of Roger Bacon," 155.

59 Burke, *Opus maius*, 259–60.

60 "Cum itaque eisdem proportionibus humanae vocis et gesticulationibus humani corporis modulatio temperetur, quibus soni et motus corporum reliquorum, speculationi musicae subjacet non solum harmonia humanae vocis et gesticulationis, sed etium instrumentorum et eorum, quorum delectatio in motu sive in sono consistit et cum his harmonia coelestium et noncoelestium [...]" (*Die Philosophische Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln*, ed. Ludwig Baur (Münster, 1912), 3. See above, pp. 122–3.

61 "To this science are three roots—melody, meter, and gesture" (Farmer, 49).

62 Burke, *Opus maius*, 260.

63 Ibid.

Music and Moral Philosophy

The subject of music makes a final appearance in the *Opus maius* in the context of moral philosophy. Having considered the necessity for knowledge of languages, mathematics, perspective, and experimental science, Bacon claims that moral philosophy is better and nobler than all of them.[64] Here we sense the pride of place Bacon gives to practice over theory. Moral philosophy is active and formative, he says, while the other sciences are speculative; but as the end of the other sciences, moral philosophy integrates their wisdom. Moral philosophy is useful to the church because it is instructive of behavior, treating of faith, virtues, and felicity, which lead humans to salvation.[65] Moreover, because of its close relationship to metaphysics, it benefits from the knowledge of Aristotle together with the commentaries of Avicenna and Averroes, to interrogate the nature of God, the angels, and the life eternal.[66]

On the subject of human behavior, Bacon relies heavily on his reading from Seneca. Although its application to music is not immediately apparent, he later uses this same evidence to reflect on the power of music to induce pious feeling. It will have important implications in the *Opus tertium* for his criticism of church music, of Franciscan hagiography, and the art of preaching, for which at least one Franciscan would stand as an example. Along the way, Bacon reveals yet more of his Franciscan sympathies, especially his regard for the virtues of mendicancy.

Since his youth, Bacon explains that he had been searching for an authority on morals and "the rules of correct living."[67] Leading up to his brief discussion of music, Bacon writes of the consolation and remedies for anger, grief and suffering, poverty, exile, and insult—in short, how one might use the science of moral philosophy to tame the emotions. Since an excess of feeling causes error, Bacon (with the help Seneca) counsels that one must bear a peaceful mind. Still, his lengthy discourse of the subject illustrates the difficulties that obtain. Seneca's testimony on the challenges of wealth appears to strike Bacon sharply. Quoting from the fourth book of *De vita beata*, he writes "The greatest good is a mind that despises all that depends on fortune, a mind that rejoices in virtue."[68] His interrogation of

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64 Burke, *Opus maius*, 635.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., 638.
67 Ibid., 739.
68 Ibid., 754.

Seneca's advice comes across as deeply personal (and perhaps timely) when he frames it as an archetypal debate between the sage and the fool.[69] Certainly the sage prefers wealth, but a life beyond desire, content with virtue, is what brings peace of mind. Indeed, he asserts it would be better to be among the beggars than to live in the servitude of wealth.[70] "He who deprives the sage of his wealth leaves him all things that are really his."[71] On the other hand, it seems Seneca has right when he says that "the best measure of wealth is to be neither too near to poverty nor too far removed from it."[72] My synopsis is a meager representation of more than thirty pages of modern prose; but even in this overview I think we may recognize the Franciscan scholar's defense of mendicancy, if also his struggle with it. Hearing Bacon argue from the scholar's point of view gives us a deeper appreciation of Bacon's place in history as an apologist both for modern science and Franciscan spirituality. The blending of the two adds to Bacon's identity as a Franciscan theologian. What is more, it gives us a broader context for his understanding of music.

Bacon's concern for immoderate behavior, as an obstacle to one's peace of mind, leads him to ponder the curative powers of music. His search through examples from scripture and other ancient authorities yields musical illustrations of recreation and relaxation. Cato, for example, would dance in order to refresh his mind, as he says, "not affecting, as is the custom today, those soft attitudes and wanton movements which give to our dancing an effeminate air, but dancing in that manly fashion which characterized the heroes of old on festive days […]."[73] It would be tantalizing to follow up on Bacon's criticism of modern dance—no doubt of the *carole*, which was a favourite target of medieval preachers and other moralists; but this shall have to wait for my forthcoming study of *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*. For the time being, one cannot overlook the parallel between Bacon's perception of Cato's salutary form of dance and Tommaso da Celano's description of the dance Francis performed before the curia of Honorius III.[74] The illustration that follows in Bacon's text, of how the sound of a cithara affected the prophet Elijah with a kind of madness or "height of mind,[75] helps to confirm my Franciscan reading of this passage,

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[69] Ibid., 763–4.
[70] Ibid., 765.
[71] Ibid., 766.
[72] Ibid., 776. Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi*, VIII.
[73] Burke, *Opus maius*, 784.
[74] See above, pp. 29–31.
[75] Burke, *Opus maius*, 786.

but this will not become clear until we read Bacon's supplementary analysis of it in the *Opus tertium*.

Thus far, Bacon's examination of the role of music in moral philosophy has come across as somewhat anecdotal, as if to suggest that the mere reference to dancing and cithara playing amongst these authorities would be reason enough to convince his reader to take up the study of music. He would remedy this problem in the *Opus tertium*, interestingly, while also adding Franciscan authority. The Franciscan motivations of Bacon's thinking have, as yet, been uncertain, but with the help of his commentary in the *Opus tertium*, we shall see the connections more clearly.

The Opus Tertium

Reflecting on the *Opus maius*, Camille Bérubé points out the difficulty of understanding Bacon's arguments concerning the usefulness of mathematics to theology, "or the need of other basic sciences."[76] She interrogates the problem astutely by examining Bacon's commentary on metaphysics and moral philosophy. Yet his observations about music in the *Opus tertium*, treating it both analogically and as an art form in its own right, shows us yet another valid path toward enlightenment. Music figures prominently especially in the second half of the *Opus tertium*. In it, Bacon refines and elaborates on his definition of music and its parts, explaining their function, and demonstrating their various applications to church missions. He also decries the ignorance of false practices and practitioners. Following Bacon's arguments from theory to practice, we learn that music must appeal to the senses of both hearing and sight in order to have its proper effect in delighting the soul. In this, we then begin to see how music fits into Bacon's larger vision of mathematics and moral philosophy as united in service to theology.

Bacon proceeds with the same fascinating blend of Augustinian and Aristotelian learning he produced in the *Opus maius*. It is of a similar sort one encounters in Robert Grosseteste's *De generatione sonorum* and *De motu supercaelestium*. Bacon reminds his reader of the broad strokes of his Greater Work, saying,

[76] "Nous ne suivrons pas Bacon dans sa démonstration de l'utilité des mathématiques pour la théologie, ni de la nécessité des autres sciences fondamentales" (Bérubé, *De la philosophie a la sagesse chez Saint Bonaventure et Roger Bacon*, 86).

> [...] I touched on the utility of music in Scripture; and the saints cannot praise music enough with respect to theology and to the understanding of Holy Scripture. For, as I said in the Greater Work, and as Augustine also says in the book of *Retractationes*, and in *Ad Homerum*, and in the second book *De Doctrina Christiana,* and in many places, it is evident that it is altogether necessary. And therefore he [Augustine] wrote six books about music.[77]

It is interesting that Bacon should cite Augustine's *Retractationes* again rather than *De musica* itself. Perhaps it is a sign of his expediency and scholarly appreciation of commentaries, particularly when they stem from the author himself. He appears, in fact, to have been so interested in the trove of theological insight in *De musica* that his research stretched as far as Augustine's letter to Bishop Memorium (*Ad Homerum*), in which Augustine summarizes the contents of the sixth book of *De musica,* and promises to send the prelate a copy.[78]

Musica mundana

In what follows, Bacon makes his first major addition to the musical knowledge he presented in the *Opus maius*. Calling on the witness of learned scientists, he observes that "music, according to all authors, concerns sound,"[79] and by this Bacon clearly means audible sound. The Pythagoreans, he says, *estimated* (*aestimaverunt*) that there was an exceptional kind of sound in the heavens (*musica mundana*) that resulted from the motion of celestial bodies. But Aristotle *proves* (*probat*) in *De caelo et mundo*[80] that "in no way can sound be generated in the heavens," and that Pythagoras had erred.[81] In this emphasis on sounding music we have a prime illustration of the sort of argument that Bacon frequently makes about the error of mere estimation versus the accuracy of demonstration. Pythagoras's method of cognition fails to evince because it relies on evidence that

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[77] "[...] tetigi utilitatem musicae in Scriptura; et sancti non possunt satiari de laude musicae respectu theologiae et Scripturae Sacrae intelligendiae. Nam secundum quod exposui in Opere Majori, Augustinus libro Retractationum, et Ad Homerum, et secundo libro De Doctrina Christiana, et in multis locis declarat quod omnino necessaria est. Et ideo scripsit sex libros de musica" (*Opus tertium*, 228–9).

[78] Brewer's note (ibid., 228, n. 9) indicates that "Ad Homerum" probably refers to *Epistola* CI (*PL* 33).

[79] "Musica vero secundum omnes auctores considerat sonum" (*Opus tertium*, 229).

[80] Aristotle, *De caelo*, 291a26-291a28.

[81] "Sed Pythagorici aestimaverunt differentias sonorum esse in motibus coelestium corporum, et ideo posuerunt musicam mundanam de sono coelesti. Sed Aristoteles probat, secundo Ceoli et Mundi, quo nullo modo potest sonus generari in coelestibus, et quod Pythagoras erravit" (*Opus tertium,* 229). The emphasis is mine.

exceeds the boundary of sensual experience. Aristotle, on the other hand, proves that *musica mundana* cannot exist, because the evidence is inconsistent with empirical observation of the generation of sound.

Bacon recounts the science of audible sound together with the "rarified radii" that Pythagoreans present as evidence for *musica mundana.* But he refutes the Pythagoreans again, this time adding proof from moral philosophy.

> For clearly this is false, because if sound were made up of radii, it would not be fashioned into chant and by instruments into the delight of hearing. In fact, music does not contemplate anything but those things, which, by consimilar motions, can be conformed to chant and by the sound of instruments into the delight of the sense [of hearing].[82]

For Bacon, the concept of *musica mundana* ultimately fails as a principle of music because it defines it as something contrary to its nature, which is to delight the senses. It is a precept remarkably consistent with the writings of Robert Grosseteste and the Franciscan hagiographers who, as we have seen, unanimously championed music for its power to delight the listener. In Crombie's assessment of Bacon's arguments, "[n]atural science would lead through knowledge of the nature and properties of things to knowledge of their Creator, the whole of knowledge forming a unity in the service and under the guidance of theology."[83] Viewed from the opposite end, Bérubé asserts Bacon's view of wisdom as "perfect and totally contained in the Holy Scriptures, but which must be 'explained,' that is exposed or commented on, by philosophy and canon law, because the statement of divine truth is made through these sciences."[84] Although Bacon does not himself affirm his Franciscan mentality at this point, one would have good reason to interpret the passage in Franciscan terms, considering what he says later about the application of music in Franciscan spirituality and preaching.

Music and Bodily Motion

From the science of sound, Bacon moves on to divide and elaborate on a large number of his previous assertions about music. For example,

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[82] "Nam quod hoc sit falsum, patet: quia etsi esset sonus ex radiis, non esset cantui et instrumentis conformandus in delectationem auditus. Sed musica non considerat nisi de his, quae motibus consimilibus possunt conformari cantui et sono instrumentorum in delectationem sensus" (*Opus tertium*, 229–30).

[83] Crombie, *Science, Art and Nature*, 54.

[84] Bérubé, *De la philosophie a la sagesse chez Saint Bonaventure et Roger Bacon*, 72.

he divides instruments into sounding categories of percussion, string, and wind.[85] He distinguishes between the two types of vocal music—melody and speech—and their relevance to grammar.[86] When he repeats his argument that bodily motion should be considered an aspect of music, we notice that his preoccupation with delectation has grown more intense, and that his assertions on behalf of gesture are more extreme than they were in the *Opus maius*. He adds that when gesture joins with singing, instrumental music, and meter, one perceives their synergy as one universal delight of hearing and seeing. In fact, Bacon goes so far as to say that "full" and later "perfect sensible delectation" does not occur *unless* the art of instruments, song, meter, and rhythm coincide with gestures, exultations, and flexions of limbs.[87] It is another remarkable statement, because it reaffirms the universal application and appeal of music. And he confirms this opinion in the *Communia mathematica* when he repeats his argument with similar emphasis on delectation.[88] He does, however, make one noteworthy modification in the *Communia mathematica*. On the authority of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Bacon goes so far as to define gestures, exultations, and flexions of limbs as constituencies of an *ars saltandi*.[89] This further essentializes bodily gesture as a part of music, but at the same time he distinguishes dance as a unique art form. Raising the status of bodily motion to the level of a discrete field of science seems to confirm his impression of music as an interdisciplinary *conjunctio* of several forms of art.

When Bacon goes on to assert in the *Opus tertium* that gesture is, in fact, the root of music (*radix musicae*), he summons again the authority of (Al-Farabi's) *De ortu scientiarum*, and the second book of Augustine's *De musica*. To be sure, Bacon's is a more extreme statement than either of

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[85] *Opus tertium*, 230.

[86] Ibid., 230–1.

[87] "Nam conformantur gestus cantui, et instrumentis, et metro, motibus consimilibus et configurationibus competentibus, ut completa delectatio habeatur, non solum auditus sed visus. Nos enim videmus quod ars instrumentorum, et cantus, et metri, et rhythmi, non vadit in plenam delectationem sensibilem, nisi simul adsint gestus, et exultationes, et flexus corporales; quae omnia cum conformentur proportionibus convenientibus, fit perfecta delectatio sensibilis apud duos sensus" (*Opus tertium*, 232).

[88] *Communia mathematica*, 51–2.

[89] "Propter quod dicit Aristoteles septimo *Metaphysice* quod ars saltandi non vadit in finem unum sine alia arte, nec alia ars sine illa, quoniam sonandi in debitis armoniis cantus et consonantiarum et instrumentis, et ars saltandi, id est, faciendi gestus et exultationes et omnes flexus corporum quando conjunguntur simul tunc vadunt in finem unum qui est completa delectatio duorum sensuum, scilicet visus et auditus [...]" (*Communia mathematica*, 52). See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1034a22–1034a30.

his sources make, as Thomas Adank has already shown.[90] The same is true of Bacon's representation of bodily motion as an *ars saltandi,* which overstates what Aristotle says in his *Metaphysics*. In Adank's view, Bacon exaggerates his authorities in order to advance his own concept of music. But I feel this is not so much a case of misrepresentation as extrapolation, purpose to Bacon's representation of music as a science with broad and persistent relevance among the other fields of knowledge. Bacon impresses upon his reader that the concepts of audible and visible music are not only related mathematically but also morally, on the grounds that they delight the senses. Their synergy leads to *complete delectation*. The syntax of Bacon's rhetoric in this passage is suitably terse and intense, more so than it was in the *Opus maius*, to match the unifying force of the relationships he describes.

This broad understanding of music is in sympathy with Franciscan hagiographers and several theologians. At the same time, Bacon seems to corroborate the perceptions of contemporary artists (and their patrons) whose portrayal of events from the life of St. Francis essentializes music.[91] As we have seen, hagiographers were eager to show the corollary between visible and audible representations of music in illustrations of Francis's experience of sensual and spiritual delight. The gestures of his vielle playing, his dancing and preaching at the court of Honorius III, and the Nativity Play in Greccio are among the most salient.[92] It reflects on how music illumines one's spiritual understanding of scripture, and this becomes even clearer in the persuasive statements Bacon makes toward the end of the *Opus tertium*.[93]

Singing and Preaching

Having established the nature of music on mathematical grounds, Bacon goes on to add substantially to his earlier study of music in the *Opus maius* through examinations of grammar, rhythm and meter, chant, harmony, polyphony, medicine, and animal and human behavior, ultimately ending with preaching. His criticism of current musical practices gives us an impression of some of the abuses he believed resulted from a poor grasp

[90] Adank, "Roger Bacons Auffassung der Musica," 54.
[91] See above, pp. 42–56.
[92] See above, pp. 28–35.
[93] *Opus tertium*, 233.

of grammar and mathematics. And he contrasts abuse with a portrayal of musical perfection through illustrations from the life of St. Francis and the exemplary practices of the friars.

It is an argument that Bacon develops over a considerable expanse of his treatise, beginning in chapter sixty, where he asserts that one's understanding of scripture depends on knowledge of the various properties of music. He sets up his thesis clearly when he writes:

> it is necessary for a perfect expositor of scripture to know the properties of instruments and harmonies that are employed throughout, so that he may understand the literal truth of Scripture, and know how to bring out the spiritual truth.[94]

Bacon then draws on illustrations from scripture to prove his point. He offers the example of Mary, the sister of Moses, who played the timpani (drums), and Deborah and others whom he calls "timpanistriae sacrae."[95] There follow brief illustrations of how David played the cithara, how instruments figure in the Psalms, and of Elijah's sensible and spiritual delight in the sound of music and dance.[96] He continues: "if we consider melodic music, we shall find it scattered through scripture, in *jubili* (i.e. melismas), psalms, songs, and hymns, not only sensible but also spiritual, as the Apostle says."[97] Bacon's apparent purpose here is to show the reader that a proper understanding of music will allow the practitioner to penetrate the words of Scripture, thus reaching a deeper spiritual understanding of its content. The means of understanding follow.

Bacon's first task is to identify obstacles that stem from incorrect accentuation of the liturgy, and mispronunciation of Greek and Hebrew words therein.[98] For example, a proper spiritual understanding of the word "Alleluia" depends on correct accentuation of its two components. "Allelu," means "praise" (*laudate*), as we have already heard from William of Middleton's *Opusculum super missam*. And, like William before him (or indeed his sources), he explains that "ia" is one of the ten names of God,

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[94] "[…] manifestum est igitur quod necesse est ut expositor Scripturae perfectus sciat proprietates horum instrumentorum, et harmoniarum quae per ea exercentur, quatenus ad literam veritatem Scripturae cognoscat, et ut sciat elicere sensus spirituales" (ibid.).

[95] "Respiciat igitur quomodo Maria, soror Moysi, cum caeteris tympanistriis, percutiebat instrumenta musicae; quomodo Debora et caeterae timpanistriae sacrae […]" (ibid.).

[96] Ibid., 233–4.

[97] "Et si melicam consideremus musicam, inveniemus eam per corpus Scripturae diffusam, in jubilis, et psalmis, et canticis, et hymnis, non solum sensibilibus sed spiritualibus, ut docet apostolus […]" (ibid., 234).

[98] Ibid., 235–8.

which signifies the "invisible God."[99] In the discussion of rhythm and meter that follows, Bacon proves that music gives the causes and reasons for grammar, now by means of extensive illustration.[100]

"The Modus *of All Church Music was Established as Enharmonic"*

When he returns to the subject of liturgical music, after a long discourse on the value of astronomy, it is to examine the proper methods of reading, singing, and composing, as required by the divine office. Bacon makes a point of asserting here that this knowledge is not so much for the study of theology in the *studium* as it is for the sake of actual practice.[101] This makes his next step seem all the more curious, for it is to prove the virtue of Latin chant on the basis of testimony from ancient Greek music theory, and specifically the tonal space of the Greek enharmonic genus.[102] Now, music theorists already long before Bacon's time had realized that the intervals that make up the enharmonic genus were inapplicable to the analysis of chant. As his argument unfolds, though, it becomes clear that Bacon's proof does not concern the measurement of intervals at all, but rather the ethos inherent in each of the three Greek genera of melodies. Resting on the authority of Boethius, and nameless others, he places the "wild and harsh" (*ferox et immite*) diatonic genus and "lascivious and dissolute" (*lascivium et dissolutum*) chromatic genus at the opposite extremes of melodic sonority. This leaves the enharmonic genus in the preferred middle ground, "virile and steadfast" (*virile et constans*).[103]

Despite his earnest appeal to ancient authority, Bacon's understanding of tonal space in Greek harmonic theory is not entirely in keeping with ancient thinking. Rather, it falls into a distinct medieval tradition that goes

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[99] "*Allelu* enim idem est quod *laudate*. *Ja* vero est unum de decem nominibus Dei, sicut dicit Hieronymus ad Marcellum, et significat invisibilem Deum" (ibid., 235). See above, pp. 89–91, for further details concerning the meaning of "Alleluia."

[100] *Opus tertium,* 257–68.

[101] "Tertium quod exigitur ad usum ecclesiae consistit in modo legendi, et psallendi, et componendi ea quae necessaria sunt officio divino. Et hic quicquid superius dictum est pro studio theologiae, de accentibus, et longitudinibus et brevitatibus in penultimis, de metris et rhythmis, plus habet hic locum quam in studio" (ibid., 295).

[102] Ibid., 296. See below.

[103] "Nam secundum quod Boëtius et caeteri auctores musicae declarant, triplex est genus harmoniae; unum est ferox et immite; aliud lascivum et dissolutum; tertium virile et constans, quod est medium inter duo praedicta.

Primum vocatur diatonicum, secundum dicitur chromaticum, tertium dicitur enharmonicum, quod est optime apteque conjunctum, ut ait Boëtius" (ibid.).

back to Carolingian times, of interpreting (sometimes misinterpreting) and embellishing upon sources of Greek learning, including Boethius.[104] To appreciate Bacon's concept of the ancient Greek genera of melodies, we must go at least as far back as the tenth and eleventh centuries, to *De mensurando monochordo* of Berno von Reichenau (d. 1048), and perhaps also Frutolf von Michelsberg's (d. 1103) *Breviarium de musica*, and certain other related documents identified by Michael Bernhard.[105]

For his part, Boethius describes the affect of the diatonic genus as "austere and natural"; the chromatic, he says, "departs from the natural intonation and becomes softer."[106] By the time we reach Berno von Reichenau, the diatonic genus had acquired a "strong and austere" ethos (*fortius et durius*). He also adds that it "was selected for use in the church, so that the minds of listeners or singers might not be softened by the sweetness of singing."[107] The chromatic genus, he says, is the softest (*mollissimum*), "for which reason it is not employed for use in the church."[108] Although Bacon's characterization of the diatonic genus as "wild and harsh" is much more extreme, he clearly sympathizes with these authors' low esteem for

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104 Peter Cahn, "Diatonik—Chromatik—Enharmonik," *MGG*, IV.1. For a broader discussion of the medieval reception of Greek music theory, see Charles M. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

105 Michael Bernhard, "Zur Überlieferung des 11. Kapitels in Frutolfs Breviarium," in *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters* (1990): 37–67. Bernhard posits several possible solutions to the problem of sorting out the origin of ideas among the sources for Frutolf's *Breviarium*. He compares Frutolf's *Breviarium de musica* with *De mensurando monochordo*, attributed to Berno von Reichenau, and two other anonymous fragments known as *Si regularis monochordi divisionem* (St. Blasien, 1784, p. 345^{b}–347^{a}), and Wolfenbüttel, Gud. lat. 8^{o} 334, fol. 90^{v}–97^{v}. Bernhard argues that *Si regularis* might have been the source for the others, but it does not include the texts in question here.

106 "Et diatonum quidem aliquanto durius et naturalius, chroma vero iam quasi ab illa naturali intentione discedens et in mollius decidens [...]" (*Anicii Manlii torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica, libri duo; De institutione musica, libri quinque,* ed. Gottfried Fiedlein [Leipzig, 1867; repr., Frankfurt: Minerva, 1966], 212–3). See Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 39–40.

107 "Hoc genus fortius et durius comprobatur, et, ne animi audientium vel canentium dulcedine cantus emolliantur, ecclesiastico usui eligitur" (Berno von Reichenau, *De mensurando monochordo*, in Bernhard, "Zur Überlieferung des 11. Kapitels," 41). Compare Frutolf's *Breviarium de musica*: "Diatonicum ergo genus meli fortius et durius comprobatur; ideo, ne animi audientium vel canentium dulcedine cantus emolliantur, ecclesiastico usui aptatur" (ibid., 40).

108 "Chromaticum vero, quasi coloratum dicitur [...]. Hoc genus mollissimum comprobatur, quocirca ecclesiastico usui non applicatur" (Berno von Reichenau, *De mensurando monochordo*, in ibid., 43). Compare Frutolf's *Breviarium de musica*: "Chromaticum vero genus quasi coloratum dicitur [...]. Hoc itaque genus mollissimum comprobatur, quocirca ecclesiastico usui non aptatur" (ibid., 42).

softness, and this becomes clearer still in his commentary on the enharmonic genus.

In point of fact, the enharmonic genus, as described by Boethius as a tetrachord of two *dieses* and a ditone (i.e. two quartertones and a major third), does not appear to have been used by medieval chant composers.[109] Charles Atkinson writes that even by Boethius's time, the diatonic genus had become probably the one most commonly used, and "its division of tonal space was perceived to be the closest to that of the chant repertoire."[110] Berno and Frutolf appear to confirm that fact, and it is a view that would persist into Bacon's own time. Johannes de Grocheio (fl. c. 1300), for example, defines the diatonic genus in his *Ars musice* as proceeding by "tone and tone and semi-tone, according to which *cantilenae* are made for the most part."[111] Nevertheless, Peter Cahn explains that medieval and Renaissance theorists held the enharmonic genus in astoundingly high esteem.[112] One wonders why. In Bacon's case, the answer is clear, and comes with illustrations from liturgical chant, scripture, and the life of St. Francis itself.

About the enharmonic genus, Boethius says only that it is "very rightly and closely joined together."[113] Echoing these words, Berno plays up its moderate and concordant properties, citing its modest composition, temperance, and its very name, taken from *harmonia*, "which is a concordant agreement among diverse voices."[114] As a tribute to its powers of moderation, he adds that it occupies a kind of middle ground (*quasi medietatis*

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[109] One should note that theorists of Bacon's era were defining the *diesis* as a semitone. See for example Johannes de Grocheio, who writes "Semitonus autem vel dyesis dicitur non quia medietatem toni contineat. Sed quia ab eius perfectione deficit" [A semitone or *diesis* is so called not because it contains half a tone, but because it lacks the latter's perfection]. Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*, ed. and trans. Constant J. Mews, et al. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), 54–5.

[110] Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus*, 11.

[111] Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice,* 59. "Dyatonicum autem appellant quod procedit per tonum et tonum et semitonum, secundum quod fiunt ut plurimum cantilene" (ibid., 58).

[112] Peter Cahn, "Diatonik—Chromatik—Enharmonik," *MGG*, IV.2.

[113] "[…] enarmonium vero optime atque apte coniuntum" (*De institutione musica*, 213). Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 40.

[114] "Enharmonicum autem—quod ex utrisque his modeste compactum temperatumque sit—nomen accepit ab harmonia, quae est: diversarum rerum concordabilis convenientia" (Berno von Reichenau, *De mensurando monochordo*, in Bernhard, "Zur Überlieferung des 11. Kapitels," 43). Compare Frutolf's *Breviarum de musica:* "Enharmonicum autem dicitur optime coaptatum, quod ex utrisque his modeste compactum sit et comtemperatum nomenque accepti ex harmonia, quae est diversarum vocem concordabilis convenientia" (ibid., 42).

locum) so that it is "neither hard nor soft, but, composed of either of the two, becomes sweet."[115]

This assessment of the enharmonic genus all sounds quite positive—so much so, in fact, one wonders whether Frutolf isn't betraying something of his own perplexity when he adds to Berno's comments that the church does not *receive* (*recipit*) its use.[116] How one construes *recipit*—perhaps as "recovering" or "adopting"—may have some bearing on our reading of the *Opus tertium*, since the recovery of lost practices is the subject of Bacon's criticism. Neither Frutolf nor Berno belabor the point. Their treatises concern the current uses of the church, and so their discourse proceeds with a study of the diatonic genus and its measurement of pitch in chant.[117]

Clearly, then, the *Opus tertium* belongs to the long reception history of Boethius's *De institutione musicae*; and in several of its details seems also to look back to the ethos of the Greek genera and their relevance to church music as described by Berno von Reichenau, and perhaps also Frutolf von Michelsberg. Whether Bacon received his information directly from these sources or through some intermediary must remain an open question for now. Where Bacon departs from this tradition is in his stalwart belief that chant composers, acting upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit, had actually adopted (or recovered?) the enharmonic genus. Its moderation, the medium between two extremes, continues to be a source of power, and now its ability to delight the listener also becomes an essential attribute. He says:

> The *modus* of all harmony in the church and sacred places was clearly established as enharmonic, so that the human mind might be rapt into delectation with great perfection and not childishly weakened, nor softened effeminately; and so that chant might not bristle with ignorance, nor be choked with rigor; but so that the vigor of harmony might prevail, and pure sweetness delight.[118]

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[115] "Hoc genus quasi medietatis locum possidet, ut nec durum, nec molle sit, sed ex utrisque compositum, dulcescit. Nunc diatonici mensuram ordiamur" (ibid., 43).

[116] "Hoc genus quasi medietatis locum possidet, ut nec durum valde vel molle sit, sed ex utrisque compositum dulcescit. Ecclesiasticus tamen usus illud non recipit. Unde diatonici mensuram nunc ordiamur" (Frutolf, *Breviarium*, 42).

[117] See previous notes.

[118] "Certe totius harmoniae modus ab ecclesia et sanctis institutus est enharmonicus; ut et mens humana cum tanta maturitate in delectationem raperetur, quod non frangeretur pueriliter, nec muliebriter molliretur, nec quod ruditate cantus inhorresceret, nec rigore angeretur; sed ut vigor harmoniae permoveret, et suavitas sincera delectaret" (*Opus tertium*, 296).

Using illustrations from Plato, Boethius, and others, Bacon shows how songs evoking a soft or lascivious character cause the minds of the young to succumb to their affect. Counteracting these forces of nature, we have the enharmonic genus, which the church was able to harness for its use. As Bacon says, "the Holy Spirit, which is the master of the church, [...] ordained the genus of chant to be enharmonic, so that it would have hardness without fear, and delight without lasciviousness."[119]

In this case, since chant actually retains the enharmonic genus, the failings of modern church music, according to Bacon, cannot lie in its pitch content. Rather, he opines that it is the corrupt and ignorant practices of singers that have obscured its true nature. This is what deprives listeners of its proper affect. Lacking knowledge, musicians have lapsed into "unashamed wantonness" through abuses in singing.[120] The church, he says, has given into the "curiosity of new harmonies, slippery invention of prose, and the inept spectacle of multi-voice songs [i.e. polyphony]."[121] Moreover, the church approves of the use of falsetto voices, which Bacon considered effusive and dissolute, like the voices of boys and women.[122]

Such scathing criticism (chapters 73 to 75 of Brewer's edition) opens the way to some of the strongest arguments we have heard so far about the corollary between Franciscan hagiography and Bacon's notion of wholesome music. He also shows us the relevance of this knowledge to church missions. It seems no mere coincidence that Bacon's only explicit reference to the example of St. Francis appears immediately upon his deprecation of the current practices of singing chant and polyphony. Bacon observes that the many layers of enharmonic music "can be so exquisitely shaped, and with such musical power, that Christian people may be

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[119] "Et ideo Spiritus Sanctus, qui est Magister ecclesiae, [...] ordinavit genus cantus enharmonicum, quod et robor habet sine horrere, et sine lascivia condelectat" (ibid., 297).

[120] "Sed jam per ecclesiam paulatim crevit abusus cantus, qui a gravitate et virtute antiqua cecidit, et in mollitiem inverecundam lapsus, mansuetam et naturalem probitatem amisit [...]" (ibid., 297).

[121] "[...] novarum harmoniarum curiositas, et prosarum lubrica adinventio, multipliciumque cantilenarum inepta voluptas manifestat" (ibid.).

[122] "Et super omnia voces in falseto harmoniam virilem et sacram falsificantes, pueriliter effusae, muliebriter dissolutae fere per totam ecclesiam comprobant illud idem" (ibid). It is interesting to compare this characterization of the falsetto voice with Bartholomaeus Anglicus's description of vocal sound. As we shall see in the following chapter, pp. 186 and 188, Bartholomaeus describes the sound of women and children's voices as delicate or subtle (*subtiles*). See Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De musica*, in *De proprietatibus rerum*, ed. Juris Lidaka (unpublished manuscript, forthcoming with Brepols), 114; and *De proprietatibus rerum* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1601; repr., Frankfurt: Minerva, 1964), 1253.

aroused to every stage of devotion [...]."[123] He then joins the emotive power of chant to the music of speech to form a concept that considers them all together as an "exquisite power of human melody with consimilar motions and equal proportions."[124] To illustrate, he first repeats his earlier anecdote about how the prophet Elijah bade a cithara player (*psaltes*) to perform for him, not only so that he might be drawn to its melody in devotion but toward divine revelations.[125] This must have reminded Bacon of the parallel illustration from Tommaso da Celano's *Vita secunda*, for he writes, "Thus blessed Francis bade the Brother cithara player to play more sweetly so that his soul might be aroused to celestial harmonies, which he often heard."[126]

Earlier in his treatise, Bacon had disproved the existence of *musica mundana* on the basis of scientific evidence; yet here it occurs in his account of the life of St. Francis. One might have expected from Bacon some elevated reconciliation of the problem, based perhaps on mathematical evidence, that this music could not have emanated from heaven. Not so, however. Surprisingly undaunted by its seeming contradiction with scientific reason, he simply admits that this "wonderful power of music is above all knowledge and the power of observation."[127] But this piece of wisdom may have its basis in the science of Boethius after all, particularly as regards *musica mundana* and the part the angels play therein. In his *Ars musice*, Johannes de Grocheio writes that the enharmonic genus "is the sweetest in that the angels use it."[128] This gives us a different way of thinking about Bonaventura's interpretation of Francis's experience, for, as he says, it was the sound of a heavenly cithara, the music of angels moving back and forth, that came to console Francis in his illness

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[123] "Et certe possent tam exquisite excogitari, et cum tanta potentia musicae, quod ad omnem gradum devotionis, quem vellemus, excitaretur populus Christianus; [. . .] caeterumque partium musicae praedictarum virtus jungeretur, ut non solum cantus promoveret, sed simul cum eo totius musicae potestas exquisita humanae melodiae motibus consimilibus et proportionibus aequalibus conformaretur" (*Opus tertium,* 298).

[124] Ibid.

[125] "Nam et ipse Elisaeus propheta jussit psaltem adduci, ut ad ejus melodiam non solum raperetur in devotionem, sed ut ad revelationes divinas fieret praeparatus" (ibid.).

[126] "Sic beatus Franciscus jussit fratri cytharistae ut dulcius personaret, quatenus mens excitaretur ad harmonias coelestes, quas pluries audivit" (ibid.).

[127] "Mira enim musicae super omnes scientias est et spectanda potestas" (ibid., 298–99).

[128] Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musice*, 59. "Enarmonicum autem dicunt quod per dyesim et dyesym atque tonum procedit, quod dulcissimum dicunt eo quod angeli eo utuntur" (ibid., 58). See also Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1962), 129.

when he could not hear the citharas of humans.[129] Was Bacon thinking about Bonaventura's account of angelic music when defining the power of enharmonic music in the life of St. Francis?

This is an important moment in Bacon's writing, perhaps most significantly because his first mention of St. Francis by name coincides with essentializing statements about melodic music. I think it adds critically to our understanding of Bacon's place in history as a Franciscan scholar and apologist interested in Franciscan issues. His criticism of music, leading to an exemplary illustration from Tommaso's *vita*, adds dimension to artists' portrayal of music as a core aspect of St. Francis's personality. Once again, Bacon shows us that music draws its power from mathematics and moral philosophy. The arrangement of his argument, in fact, serves as a kind of bridge between scripture and ancient Greek philosophy, as the founts of knowledge, empirical observation, and sacred mystery. Bacon's previous account (*Opus maius*) of Elijah's height of mind seemed anecdotal, but now through his application of Greek music theory, distorted as it is, this illustration of enharmonic music in action bears the witness of scientific reason. The music Elijah heard must have been enharmonic to account for his elated behavior. Joining to his argument the evidence of Francis's height of mind seems to validate this item of hagiography. It substantiates Francis's relationship to the Old Testament prophet on scientific grounds. In these wholesome and mysterious depictions of music in religious use, Bacon seems to advocate a practice that leads the listener from auditory delight to the ecstasy of spiritual delight through the synergy of playing, singing, and speech. It is a theme we have already encountered in Lotario dei Segni's hermeneutic of the Mass. Its further association with St. Francis himself now assures us of its connection to Franciscan spirituality.

The way Bacon combines melody and speech in one exquisite power of human melody seems to address directly the mission of the *joculatores Domini*, though one wonders how broadly representative Bacon's understanding of music was among contemporary Franciscans. We may never know for certain, though the anecdotal evidence we have from the likes of Berthold von Regensburg, William Herebert, John Grimestone, Richard de Ledrede, and the author of the *Fasciculus morum* suggest that music was an essential aspect of their mission as preachers. The way Bacon promotes the study of music seems to envisage a large campaign with enormous

[129] "[…] nec id honestatis decentia per ministerium fieri pateretur humanum, affuit Angelorum obsequium ad viri sancti placitum adimplendum" (*LMj*, 5.11; *Major Legend*, 567).

implications for the Church. The way he frames his case, even the words he uses to describe melodic music as a rhetorical art form, paves the way for his last major argument, which is to present music as an essential function of preaching. His discourse resonates with Franciscan values, and yields yet other important Franciscan illustration.

Music and Preaching

Bacon's study of preaching in the final pages of the *Opus tertium* presents divine rhetoric as a subject ministered by music, and governed by the nature of music. It actually continues an argument about rhetoric he initiated in the *Opus maius* in the context of language study. There Bacon identifies the rhetorical argument as one of the paths of active science. Its purpose, he says, is to persuade the mind toward a love of good works. Praising the wisdom of Horace and the other great poets of the past, he shows how they used poetic argument to "attack vices and magnify virtues, so as to attract men to a love of good and a hatred of sin."[130] Bacon observes:

> [p]oets wish either to benefit or please. He has won full approbation who has mingled the useful with the sweet. [...] For he confers no small benefit on his fellow citizens who delights them in the subject of morals. For it is necessary not only to teach, but to delight and urge forward. Hence the poet as well as the orator ought to do these three things, that by teaching he may render his hearers docile, by delighting them he may make them attentive, and by urging or turning them he may force them to work. These arguments are most potent in matters pertaining to salvation [...].[131]

Bacon does not explicitly relate the subject of rhetoric to music in the *Opus maius*, but when he returns to the argument in the *Opus tertium*, he makes clear that the art of rhetoric had been understood by Christian and non-Christian philosophers as an essentially musical form of art. His reading of the works of Aristotle, Al-Farabi, Seneca, Augustine, and others leads Bacon to conclude that both Christian clerics and lay preachers would do well to study the theories of these great thinkers in order to improve the affective style of their speeches. He writes:

> There is a fourth way in which the philosophy of music can effectively serve the church—namely, in the office of preaching, although at first glance this

[130] Burke, *Opus maius*, 80.
[131] Ibid.

> may seem absurd. This office does not pertain to the *studium*, because it consists of lecturing and disputation. Indeed, one preaches to the faithful and unfaithful alike, and to laymen and clerics.[132]

Here then we see Bacon's impression of the broad relevance of preaching. It is a subject not only pertinent to those in the *studium*, but to everyone within Christendom and without. Bacon's references to preaching, of course, reflect on the calling of both mendicant orders, namely the Franciscans and Dominicans. Nevertheless, his description of preaching from the outset suggests a typical Franciscan concern for musical affection and its practice.

Bacon advocates a musical style of preaching that closely resembles the practice he previously associated with St. Francis—one that would transport the listener to auditory and spiritual delight through nuanced methods of speech and physical gesture. He says that the work of preaching is the principal purpose and highest aim of the church; yet he finds corruption all about him.[133] Some preachers, in their ignorance, prefer to indulge in the "infinite curiosity" of divisions and inept consonances of words, and ornaments, etc., in which there is only "verbose vanity."[134] It might remind us of the puffed-up style of preaching St. Francis railed against in his *Earlier Rule* and that we hear about again in hagiographical sources.[135] To counter this negative current, Bacon offers a remedy from the new Logic (*novae Logicae*) of Aristotle, which he says is filled with wisdom about sublime speeches that would be useful to preachers. As also Seneca, Augustine, and Al-Farabi teach, sermons should not consist merely of beautiful speech or divine knowledge but of affections, gestures, and movement of the limbs. Moreover, the preacher should "implore with pleasure for his own sake and for people, and to abundantly pour out devoted tears in a succession of persuasion."[136]

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[132] "Quartum est in quo philosophia musicae potenter deservire potest ecclesiae, scilicet in officio praedicandi, licet prima facie videatur absurdum. Hoc autem officium non pertinet ad studium, quia in lectione et disputatione consistit. Sed praedicatio fit fidelibus et infidelibus, laïcis et clericis" (*Opus tertium,* 303).

[133] "Unde, sicut philosophia in aliis est necessaria ecclesiae, sic maxime in hac parte; quoniam principalis intentio ecclesiae et ultimus finis est opus praedicationis […]" (ibid., 304).

[134] "Sed quia utrumque modum vulgus ignorat, ideo convertit se ad summam et infinitam curiositatem, scilicet per divisiones Porphyrianas, et per consonantias ineptas verborum et clausularum, et per concordantias vocales in quibus est sola vanitas verbosa" (ibid.).

[135] See above, pp. 37–40.

[136] "Et non solum consistunt haec praedicandi argumenta in pulchritudine sermonis, nec in magnitudine divinae sapientiae, sed in affectibus, et gestu, et debito corporis et membrorum motu proportionato, usque quo doctrina sanctorum accedat, qui docent

Bacon harkens back to his earlier study of rhetoric and grammar as he refines these arguments. He pays particular attention to the musical devices of vocal inflection, ornamentation, and bodily gestures; yet while expounding on these, he seems to anticipate the reader's confusion about the associations he forges between the sciences. Bacon's desire to delineate among them, and to demonstrate the application of music comes out passionately when he writes:

> But, one might ask, what has this to do with the nature of music? Certainly, in fact it is the essential part; and I wish to demonstrate this, so that it is clear what is proper to one science and what [is proper] to the other.[137]

The moral philosopher, grammarian, and logician understand how to use a sweet sermon "with suitable gestures conforming to delectable oration,"[138] but Bacon repeats his earlier assertion that only the musician is able to assign the causes and reasons for them.

> And that this may be music is clear through those things that are known to pertain to these speeches and gestures. For Aristotle and all of his disciples bear witness in their books about these speeches, that these speeches should be graceful and ornamented in the highest degree; and they mean this not in the prosaic sense, according to which every type of color and embellishment should be present, but also to the quality of time, and persons, and places, and subject matter that the sermon deals with. These speeches ought to be adorned with every type of meter and rhythm, so that the soul is carried away into a love of goodness and hatred of evil, insofar as a human caught completely unawares is both elevated beyond his own powers and does not have power over his own mind.[139]

Bacon's account of preaching leads to a brief discussion of the allied arts of rhetoric, poetry, and gesture. He describes rhetoric as a part of logic devoted to the science of ornamentation and eloquence in speech; and in

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praedicantem gratiam Spiritus Sancti in prothemate implorare et pro se et pro populo, et lachrymas devotas in serie persuasionis effundere abundanter. Nam sic docet Augustinus formam praedicationis Evangelicae, in quarto libro De Doctrina Christiana" (ibid., 305).

137 "Sed diceret aliquis quid haec ad musicae proprietatem? Certe multum, immo principaliter; et hoc volo ostendere, ut appareat quid est proprium unius scientiae et quid alterius" (ibid., 306).

138 "[…] gestibus convenientibus orationi delectabili conformandis" (ibid.).

139 "Aristoteles enim et omnes ejus expositores in libris de his sermonibus testantur, quod hi sermones debent esse in fine decori et sublimes; et hoc non solum prosaïce secundum omne genus coloris et ornatus, sed pro qualitate temporis, et personarum, et locorum, et materiae de qua fit sermo, debent ornari omni genere metri et rythmi, ut animus subito rapiatur in amorem boni et odium mali; quatenus homo totus sine praevisione rapiatur et elevetur supra se, et non habeat mentem in sua potestate" (ibid., 306–7).

the application of this kind of argument it forms part of moral philosophy because it affects human behavior.[140] The art of poetry is closely related to rhetoric and is, likewise, twofold—related to logic in the study of its form, and to moral philosophy in the application of poetic arguments.[141] Bacon essentially recounts the reasons he gave earlier for including bodily gesture as a kind of music. This time, however, he adds that the study of gesture, as a part of music, assigns the causes and reasons for the exultations and flexions of the body "so that they may be proportional to a sermon, with suitable motions and proper configurations."[142] This is reminiscent of Bacon's representation of dance as an art form (*ars saltandi*) that would be capable of giving the causes and reasons for bodily gesture.[143]

The argument in the *Opus tertium* for joining gesture with speech under the auspices of music seems to extend Bacon's earlier argument—that is, for combining melodic music and speech into an "entire exquisite power of human melody." In fact, Bacon seems to suggest that very thing when he places them all into the context of preaching.

> And therefore since one who argues for honesty and goodness ought to have pleasing and fitting gestures of this sort, as I explained in the fifth part of [my] Moral Philosophy, it is clear that in these matters, music is necessary for arguing moral principles.[144]

These are forthright statements indeed. In essence, Bacon asserts that without music, no sermon will affect human souls. These final claims for the power of music in religious speech stake out an even broader domain than before, and seem to touch on nearly every conceivable aspect of artistic endeavor. It now seems evident that the science of music, as Bacon construes it, forms the nexus between mathematics and moral philosophy, completely immersed and active in both fields of knowledge. It is speculative and active, motive and emotive. It gives the causes and reasons for the highly nuanced motions of voice and body, it is essential to the art of persuasion, and it is also the wisdom behind the changes of human behavior that result. As Nancy Van Deusen observes, music,

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140 Ibid., 307–8.

141 Ibid., 308.

142 "[…] ut fiant proportionales sermoni, motibus consimilibus, et configurationibus competentibus" (ibid.).

143 See above, p. 148, in *Communia mathematica.*

144 "Et ideo cum persuasor honesti et boni debet habere hujusmodi gestus suaves et conformes, sicut exposui in quinta parte Moralis Philosophiae, manifestum est quod in his musica sit necessaria moribus persuadendis" (*Opus tertium,* 308).

according to Roger Bacon, "forms an analogical construct to two utterly basic factors, that is, relationship itself, and movement or gesture."[145] To harness that power for preaching would be a boon to laymen and clerics, and to the Church in its ministry to the faithful and unfaithful alike.

Bacon's explanation sounds passionate, even euphoric at times, perhaps because it coalesces so much of the research and so many of the arguments he has made thus far, going back to the *Opus maius*. That his hermeneutic of preaching should be the opportunity for this great moment of synergy is significant for our understanding of Bacon's scholarship, and his identity as a Franciscan sorting out the burning issues facing the Church and his Order. His concept of music, now further refined in terms of the *cura animarum*, clearly reflects his interest in applying the theoretical science of music to missionary causes. The idea is not altogether new. A similar notion of ministry obtains in Robert Grosseteste's writing, as we have already seen. Bacon was working under the influence of Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and others, as he himself admits, and made use of many of the same sources as did they. Bacon distinguishes himself, however, in the way he shapes the various parts of music into a complete concept of knowledge that might be put into practice. It now remains for Bacon to offer us the illustrations.

The positive examples of musical knowledge in preaching are not readily forthcoming. Roger Bacon decries the low estate to which the prelates of the church have lapsed in their diocesan obligations. The irony is that the bishops, on whom the work of preaching was incumbent, were not instructed in theology or preaching while in the *studium*, at least according to Bacon. When they do take up the duties of preaching, they are so incompetent that they must borrow and beg for the notebooks of the young friars. But this is of little use because the young friars' knowledge of preaching exhibits the aforesaid corruptions, "where there is neither sublimity of speech, nor magnitude of wisdom, but infinite childish stupidity and vilification of God's sermons."[146] Bacon's criticism is incisive and grievous. Clearly, no one could be a good preacher without a thorough musical education.

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[145] Van Deusen, "Roger Bacon on Music," 230.

[146] "Et quia praelati, ut in pluribus, non sunt multum instructi in theologia, nec in praedicatione dum sunt in studio, ideo postquam sunt praelati, cum eis incumbit opus praedicandi, mutuantur et mendicant quaternos puerorum, qui adinvenerunt curiositatem infinitam praedicandi, penes divisiones et consonantias et concordantias vocales, ubi nec est sublimitas sermonis, nec sapientiae magnitudo, sed infinita puerilis stultitia, et vilificatio sermonum Dei [...]" (*Opus tertium*, 309).

Berthold von Regensburg's Preaching

Just when one might despair of ever finding a positive witness to what Bacon might have considered learned preaching, one appears—Bertholdus Alemannus, a friar of his own Order. Of him Bacon writes:

> But although the great mass of preachers practice thusly, nevertheless some, having another method, make infinite profit as does Brother Berthold the German who alone does more with magnificent utility in preaching than almost all of the friars in both orders.[147]

This Berthold, none other than the renowned Berthold von Regensburg,[148] became famous between the late 1240s and early 1260s for his preaching tours in central and Eastern Europe.[149] Medieval chroniclers, including Salimbene, mention Berthold's eloquence, dramatic gestures, and various props he would use to amplify his own voice as well as the subject of his sermons. According to Salimbene, Berthold's ability to preach was a special gift from God.[150] Huge crowds of people would travel from sixty to one hundred miles away to hear him preach in German, especially on themes concerning the Anti-Christ and the Last Judgment. He would declaim his sermons from a tower (*bettefredum*) affixed with a wind indicator "so that the people could tell by the direction of the wind where to sit in order to hear best."[151]

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[147] "Sed licet vulgus praedicantium sic utatur, tamen aliqui modum alium habentes, infinitam faciunt utilitatem, ut est Frater Bertholdus Alemannus, qui solus plus facit de utilitate magnifica in praedicatione, quam fere omnes alii fratres ordinis utriusque" (ibid., 310).

[148] Patricius Schlager identifies Bertholdus Alemannus as Berthold von Regensburg in *Die deutschen Franziskaner und ihre Verdienste um die Lösung der sozialen Frage, von P. Patricus Schlager Franziskanerordenpriester*, Geschichte Jungend-und Volksbibliothek, vol. 6 (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1907), 42.

[149] *Berthold von Regensburg: Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten*, vol. 1, ed. Franz Pfeiffer and Joseph Strobl (Vienna: 1862, 1882; repr. with forward, bibliography, and history of transmission by Kurt Ruh, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), XII–XVI.

[150] "Et nota quod frater Bertholdus predicandi a Deo gratiam habuit speciem" (Salimbene de Adam*, Cronica*, vol. 2, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, *CCCM* 125 A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1999], 840). Hereafter, *Cronica.* "Brother Berthold, a Friar Minor of Germany, who was a fine preacher" (*The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam,* ed. Joseph L. Baird, et al. [New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986], 566). Hereafter, *Chronicle.*

[151] *Chronicle*, 566. "Hic ascendebat bettefredum sive turrim legneam quasi ad modum campanilis factam, qua pro pulpito in campestribus utebatur, quando predicare volebat, in cuius etiam cacumine ponebatur pennellus ab his qui artificium collocabant, ut ex vento flante cognosceret populus in qua parte ad melius adiendum se ad sedendum collocare deberet" (*Cronica*, 840–1).

Lacking further information, we are left to wonder about the source and substance of Bacon's familiarity with Berthold's writing and preaching. Salimbene apparently knew Berthold's *Expositio Apocalypsis* and *Sermones de festivitate et de tempore*, but had copied only excerpts from them.[152] Bacon may have been acquainted with Berthold's writings as well as the performative aspects of his preaching. This exemplary illustration, appearing as it does in the final sentences of Bacon's treatise, adds crucial emphasis to his research findings. The positive image of Berthold's preaching comes across even more strongly following on the heels of Bacon's criticism of the corruptions of the church. Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh complained of similar corruptions. They criticize the practice of leaving the preaching to poorly educated and badly paid preachers, despite statutes in the Fourth Lateran Council that made it incumbent upon bishops to see that priests were being educated and that "suitable men" were preaching and administering the sacraments.[153] Like Bacon, they placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the bishops.[154]

Presenting Berthold as an exemplary preacher with a mastery of music seems like rousing support for the mission of the *joculatores Domini.* We sense some pride and perhaps a little rivalry, too, hearing Bacon praise a member of his own Order from among all the preachers of *both* Orders of Franciscans and Dominicans. Bacon's *ars praedicandi* sounds at first as though it would be too complicated with vocal nuances and gestures to be practicable, but Bacon gives us some reason to hope for more explicit details from Berthold's preaching itself, to which I shall return in my study of *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*.

Conclusion

One might reasonably ask whether Roger Bacon is self-consciously Franciscan in the ideas he presents on the subject of music. In fact, he was a member of the Franciscan Order when he composed the treatises under consideration here, but his scholarly method of blending new authority with old is one he shared with many of his non-Franciscan contemporaries. He uses the wisdom of Augustine and Aristotle, and other Christian

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[152] Ibid.

[153] See Letter 40 in Marsh's correspondence with Grosseteste in *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, vol. 1, ed. and trans., C.H. Lawrence (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006).

[154] Ibid., Letter 44.

and non-Christian sources, to lend weight to his arguments, but so did other theologians of the era. So, what qualifies his understanding of music as Franciscan in nature?

In the works of Roger Bacon we have studied in this chapter—especially the *Opus maius* and *Opus tertium*—I think we can recognize the *reductio artium ad theologiam* that he shared with the theologians of his Order. We may also recognize the influence of hagiographers' impressions of Francis's empiricism, and delight in the beauty of creation. Hagiographers have Francis communicate his feelings of devotion and spiritual ecstasy in the form of song, dance, drama, and preaching. Setting them within a learned framework, Roger Bacon seems bent on demonstrating to his reader how a proper understanding of these same forms of art may serve the church as a whole. Bacon's impression of music as a universal science connected to mathematics and moral philosophy no doubt derives from Christian and non-Christian authorities, but the evidence of their applicability falls on the shoulders of Franciscan practitioners like Berthold von Regensburg and St. Francis himself. Bacon may have fallen out with his superiors, and been imprisoned for transgressions against the Order's governance, but his ideas show clear devotion to the purposes of Franciscan missions, and a passion for their mission of music.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS ON MUSIC AND PREACHING IN *DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM*

In view of Roger Bacon's impassioned advocacy for a sound musical education amongst preachers, it seems appropriate now to turn our attention to the Franciscan *studium*. In the final two chapters of this book I shall examine the nature of music education through the testimony of Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Juan Gil de Zamora: two Franciscan lectors who represent, as Leonard Ellinwood has said, the academic school of thought. It is clear in the substance of their works that they differed in their conception of what Franciscan students needed to know about music. Bartholomaeus's *De musica,* from Book Nineteen of his *De proprietatibus rerum*, mostly follows Isidore of Seville's epistemology in defining music and its various parts from a historical and aesthetic point of view. But he departs from his model to prove music's relevance to theology. Juan Gil also promoted a philosophical understanding of music, but he knits it together with practical considerations of the cognition and performance of chant. Bridging these distinctions, however, is a shared understanding of musical expression and its purpose, which transcends the categories set down by Ellinwood. In their own ways they reveal their avocation as Franciscan lectors preparing novices for a clerical career that would involve singing and preaching.

The most obvious connection between them is their discussion of musical instruments. In fact, the text is the same, probably the work of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and copied by Juan Gil de Zamora, along with some important alterations that reflect his Iberian context.[1] Beyond the tangible, though, these Franciscan authors demonstrate a shared understanding of music in the larger context of a sensual world informed by science and theology. Their epistemology embraces analogical thinking about music, too. Like Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon, they appear to have understood that motion and emotion, inherent in the arts as a whole, were best understood in musical terms. It is also clear that they considered preaching an essential subject of music. The early glossed manuscript

[1] See Chapter Eight of this study.

tradition of *De proprietatibus rerum* offers explicit evidence that music was being applied to the study of preaching. The glosses also give us extraordinary evidence that music was used analogically to teach readers about relationships in general.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus's musical epistemology shows important ties to Robert Grosseteste's thinking, as well as to the Franciscans we have studied thus far. Bartholomaeus believed that music was essential to the study of scripture. He also felt that vocal and instrumental music had strong affective properties that could be harnessed to religious ministry, including the *cura animarum*. *De proprietatibus rerum* was composed probably during Bartholomeaus's time at the Franciscan schools of Paris and Magdeburg, which put him in an ideal position to disseminate his knowledge to a very large student audience and readership. Examining its text along with the accompanying glosses, we gain a better appreciation of the medieval reader's rich understanding of music from the medieval interdisciplinary perspective. And because Juan Gil de Zamora's chapter on musical instruments in *Ars musica* appears to be copied from *De proprietatibus rerum*, I shall explore their texts and glosses together in the following chapter.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus was born in Suffolk some time in the late twelfth century and studied at the University of Oxford under the guidance of Robert Grosseteste. He moved on to the University of Paris, where, according to Salimbene, he lectured on the entire bible, which suggests he had attained the status of baccalaureus biblicus.[2] It was in Paris that Bartholomaeus entered the Order of Friars Minor, probably in 1224[3]; and in 1230 he was appointed lector at the *studium* in Magdeburg.[4] The school

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[2] Salimbene de Adam*, Cronica*, vol. 1, *CCCM* 125 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 138. *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam,* ed. Joseph L. Baird, et al. (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986), 73. Chr. Hünemörder and M. Mückshoff identify Bartholomaeus Anglicus as a "baccalaureus biblicus" in their article "Bartholom(a)eus Anglicus," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Stuttgart: Metzler, [1977]-1999), vol. 1, cols. 1492–1493, in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias—Lexikon des Mittelalters Online*.

[3] M.C. Seymour, et al., *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopedia* (Aldershot, UK: Variarium, 1992), 6.

[4] *Sub anno* 1230 Giordano da Giano writes: "Ibi ergo ministri et vicarii et aliorum fratrum consilio frater Jordanus sua custodia custodi Saxonie commissa cum litteris obedientie [Ottonis] ministri Renensis et uno socio pro ministro postulando et lectore ad generalem ministrum est profectus. Scripsit ergo minister generalis ministro Francie, ut fratrem Johannem Anglicum mitteret pro ministro Saxonie et fratrem Bartholomeum Anglicum pro lectore" (Giordano da Giano, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, ed. H. Boehmer, Collection d'études et de documents [Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908], 58). See *The Chronicle of Brother Jordan of Giano,* in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, trans. Hermann Placid (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961), 62.

was established in 1228 as the main Franciscan *studium* in the German lands. Giordano da Giano, the first chronicler of Franciscan missions in Germany, expresses his sense of awe for this great scholar when he writes of the honor in which he was received in Magdeburg upon his arrival in 1231.[5] Bartholomaeus remained at Magdeburg until 1249, when he was elected Minister of the Franciscan province of Austria.[6] He also served as the Minister Provincial of Bohemia (1256–7) and was bishop of Lukow (near Krakow) before being appointed Minister of the Franciscan province of Saxony in 1262.[7] He died likely while serving in that post in 1272.[8]

Bartholomaeus Anglicus may have begun work on *De proprietatibus rerum* in Paris, but he completed it in Magdeburg some time between 1230 and 1240, and certainly no later than 1247.[9] Judging from its broad transmission in more than 240 complete and fragmentary manuscripts, extant in archives mainly in Europe, it seems clear that *De proprietatibus rerum* became, in the course of the late Middle Ages, the most widely-read encyclopedia after the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. The publication of eleven further editions between 1472 and 1492 and several more in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries assures us that the work continued to be relevant to early modern readers, and especially a student audience.[10] M.C. Seymour writes, "Though the bibliographical evidence shows that the work was read by those in high office in church and state, it was also read by students. […] And there can be little doubt that [his] statements of purpose envisaged a student audience, most probably and immediately the student friars within Bartholomaeus' particular care."[11] It appears to have served as an important primer for students at

[5] "Anno Domini 1231 frater Jordanus custos Thuringie in Saxoniam rediens misit fratrem Johannem de Penna cum fratre Adeodato Parisius pro fratre Johanne Anglico ministro et pro fratre Bartholomeo lectore, ut ipsos honorifice conducerent in Saxoniam" (Jordan, *Chronica,* 60; *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 64).

[6] Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus,* 4.

[7] Ibid., 7–8. Giordano da Giano also writes: "Anno Domini M° CC° LXII°e frater Conradus [de Brunswic] minister Saxonie in capitulo Halberstadensi est absolutus et in eodem capitulo III° kal. Maii in primo scrutinio frater Bartholomeus [quondam] minister Austrie, in ministrum Saxonie concorditer est electus" (Giordano, *Chronica,* 78; *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 72).

[8] Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus,* 3.

[9] Ibid., 11. Seymour suggests a date some time between 1242 and 1247. See Heinz Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von "De proprietatibus rerum"* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2000), 13.

[10] Seymour, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus*, 263.

[11] Ibid., 12–3.

the University of Paris.[12] Anton Schönbach proclaims it "eine Hauptquelle der Bildung des späteren Mittelalters."[13]

It is a view shared by Heinz Meyer. Meyer has catalogued approximately 188 manuscript sources of the complete Latin text. More than 11,000 marginal notes enrich approximately one hundred of these manuscripts copied in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[14] The glosses appear in the earliest copies of the work, and are so consistent that Heinz Meyer has suggested that they may form part of the original text.[15] Meyer's catalogue shows a rather broad distribution of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* among European archives, though a concentration of extant manuscript copies in the cities of Oxford and especially Paris indicates a strong and persistent readership in these communities of university academics. One of the earliest Parisian sources is Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, whose *De musica,* complete with marginal glosses, appears in Fig. 7.1. Markings within the manuscript allow us to trace its provenance to Pierre de Limoges (Petrus Lemovicis, d. 1304), a canon of Évreux who appears to have donated the book to the Sorbonne's Libri catenati.[16]

What makes the glossed manuscripts so interesting is the way they direct our understanding of music to the moral conduct of religious, the affective power of music, the satisfaction of penance, and, above all, to preaching. In the University of Paris *taxatio* list of 1304, *De proprietatibus rerum* is listed amongst the sources that would be useful to preachers. This suggested to Juris Lidaka that "the encyclopedia was an important, basic work for materials out of which to compose sermons—not a how-to manual like the many *artes predicandi*, but a content work to help preachers find or develop ideas."[17] Yet, despite their obvious importance to early

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[12] According to Seymour, *De proprietatibus rerum* was in use in Paris by at least 1284 (*Bartholomaeus Anglicus,* 34).

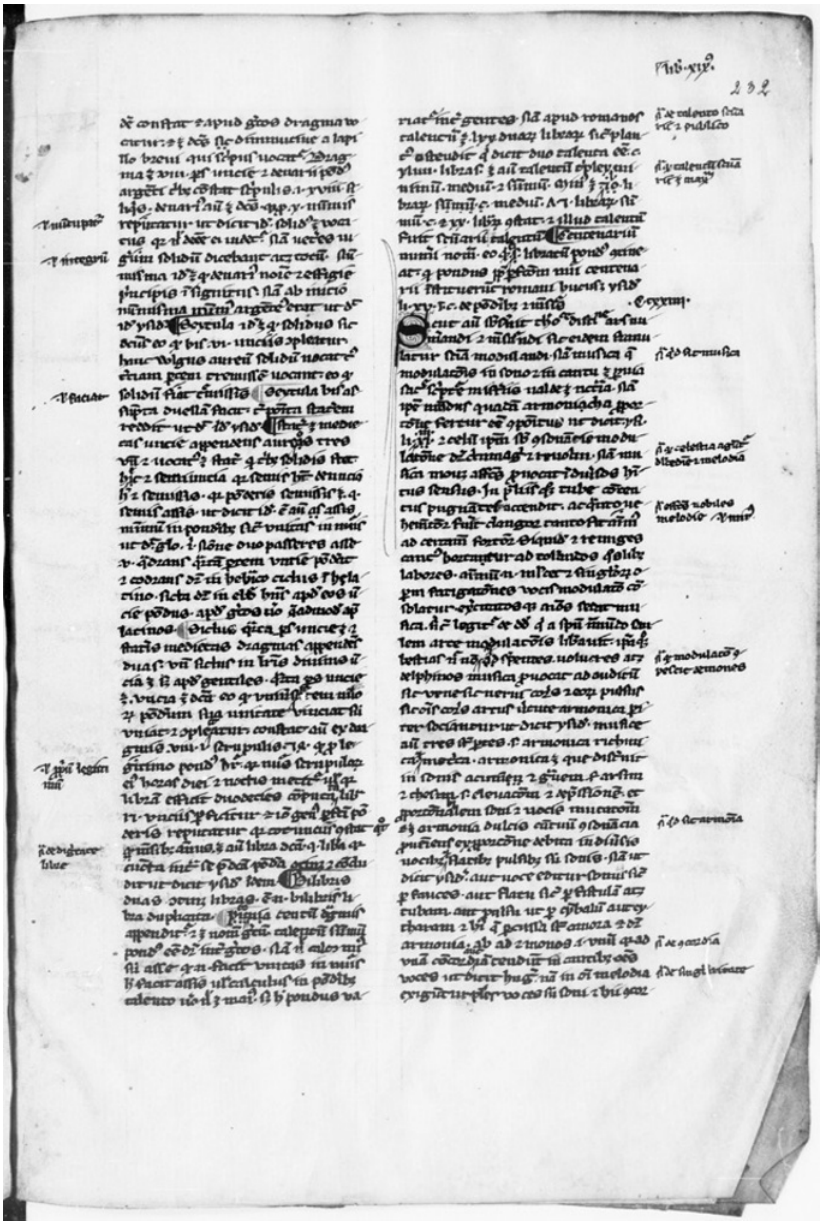
[13] Anton E. Schönbach, "Des Bartholomaeus Anglicus Beschreibung Deutschlands gegen 1240," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* XXVII (Vienna, 1906): 54–90.

[14] Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus*, 206. A critical edition of *De proprietatibus rerum*, including the vital notes, is now in progress and forthcoming with Brepols. The editors have adopted the following five sources as their base texts: (A) Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16098; (B) Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099; (C) København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. kgl. S. 213 2°; (D) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum CFM 15; (E) Paris, Sorbonne, Cod. 123. Sorbonne 123 also uses dots in the text to anchor the marginal glosses.

[15] Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie*, 206.

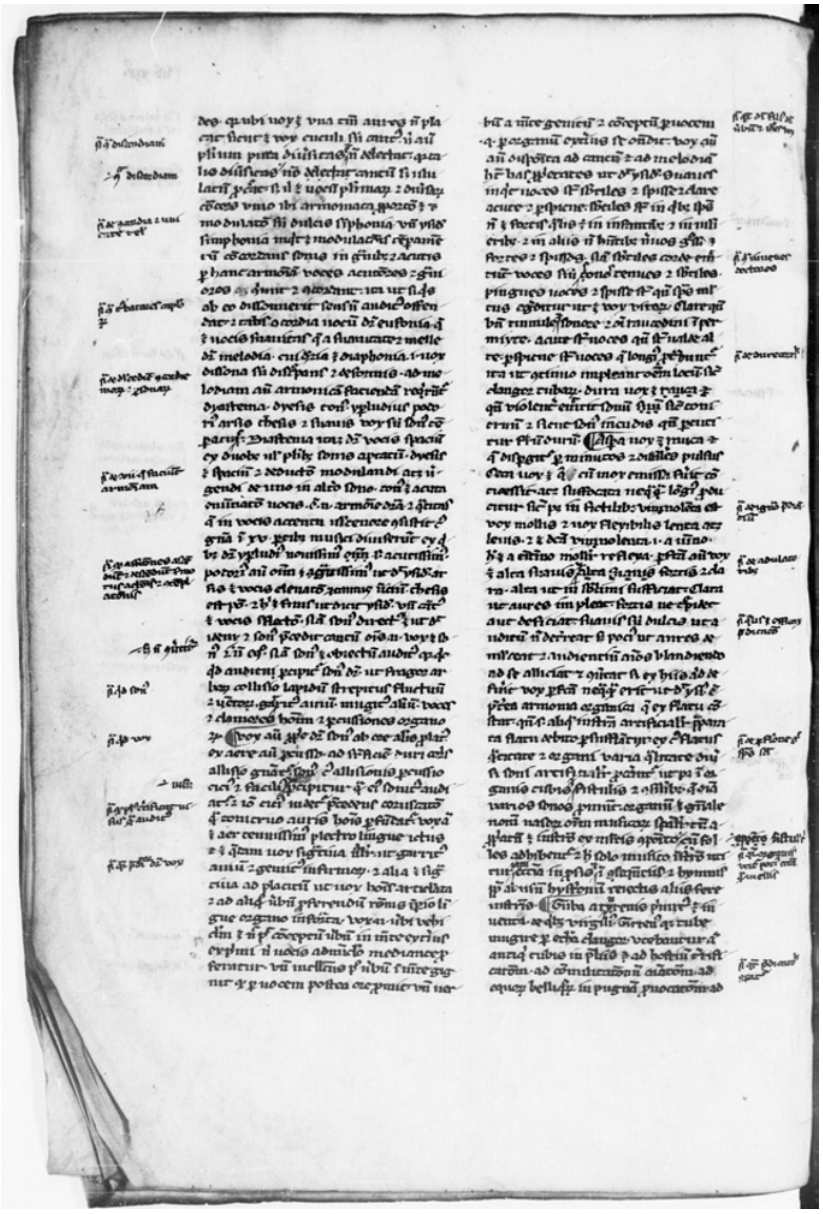
[16] M.C. Seymour, "Some Medieval French Readers of *De proprietatibus rerum*," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974), 101. Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie*, 96.

[17] Juris G. Lidaka, "Glossing Conception, Infancy, Childhood, and Adolescence in Book VI of *De proprietatibus rerum*," in *Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum:*



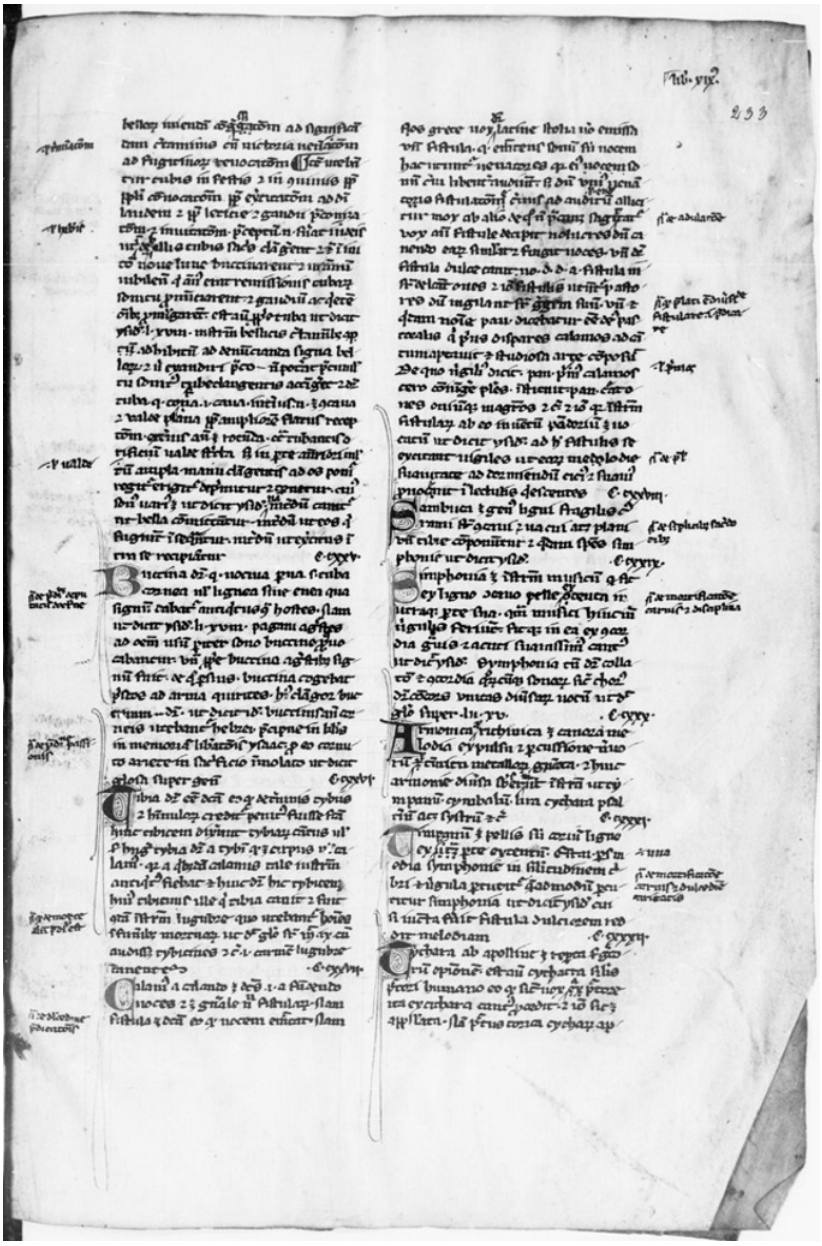
232r

Fig. 7.1. *De musica from De proprietatibus rerum*, Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, fol. 232r–234v.



232v

Fig. 7.1. (*Continued*)



233r

Fig. 7.1. (*Continued*)

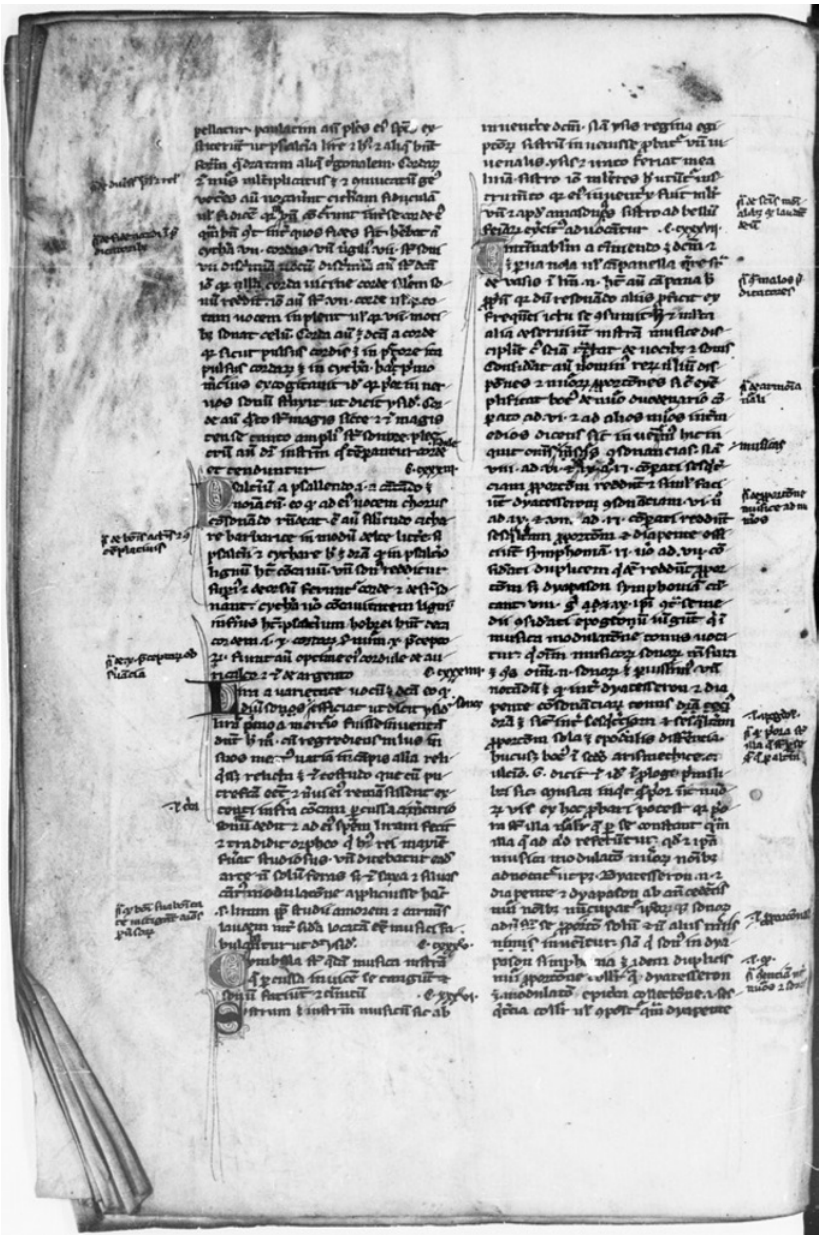


Fig. 7.1. (*Continued*) 233v

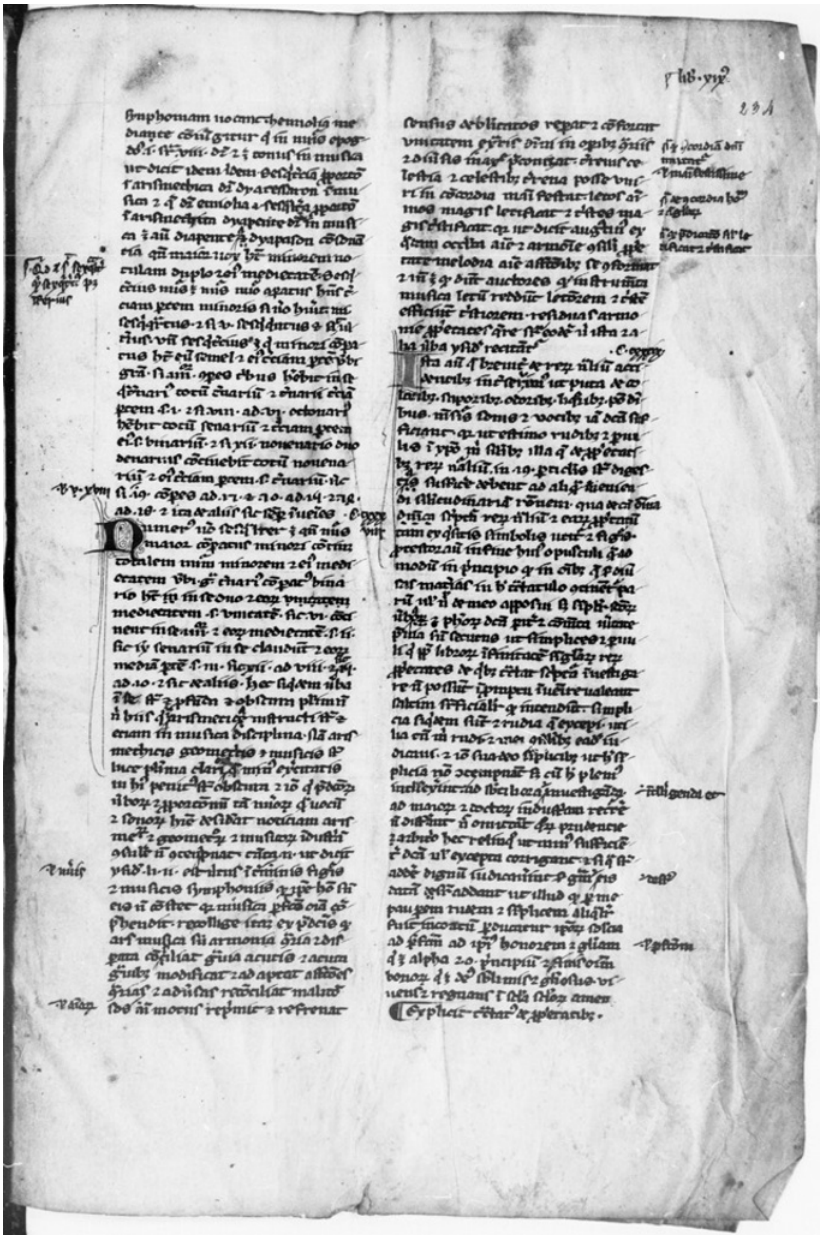


Fig. 7.1. (*Continued*) 234r

234v

Fig. 7.1. (*Continued*)

readers, the glosses were never included in the published editions. It was not until Heinz Meyer brought them to broad public attention in 2000 that scholars really began to examine *De proprietatibus rerum* through the eyes of the medieval reader. To my knowledge, the relationship between the marginal glosses and text of Bartholomaeus's *De musica* is heretofore entirely unexplored.

Sensual Perception of Music in De proprietatibus rerum

In the Prologue to *De proprietatibus rerum*, Bartholomaeus Anglicus writes:

> I myself, and perhaps others, who do not know the natures and properties of things (scattered as they are among the books of the saints and of the philosophers), will find this book useful in understanding the riddles of the Scriptures, which are expressed and veiled by the Holy Spirit under symbols and figures of the characteristics both of natural and of artificial things.[18]

The eighteen books that follow offer us a broad examination of the natural sciences, relying heavily on earlier writers like Augustine, Boethius, Hugh of St. Victor, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and especially the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. The alphabetical arrangement of its contents suggests that accessibility was crucial to the design of *De proprietatibus rerum* (the names of animals in book eighteen, for example). By comparison, book nineteen, the final one, seems at first an odd jumble of topics: colors, smells, and tastes; potable and non-potable liquids and bodily humors; food items like milk, cheese, and eggs; numbers; a rather plain account of division, measurement, and geometry; and a *De musica* consisting of seventeen chapters.

Seeing *De musica* appear after a discussion of mathematics seems logical, considering its place within the quadrivium. Many ancient philosophers and medieval music theorists had preferred to emphasize the measurable aspects of music, perhaps because they considered

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Texte Latin et réception vernaculaire: Actes du colloque international, Münster, 9–11.10.2003, ed. Baudouin van den Abeele and Heinz Meyer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 124.

[18] "Utile mihi & forsitan aliis, qui naturas rerum & proprietates per sanctorum libros nec non & Philosophorum dispersas non cognoverunt, ad intelligenda aenigmata scripturarum, quae sum symbolis & figures prorietatum rerum naturalium & artificialium à Spiritu sancto sunt traditae & velatae [...] (*De proprietatibus rerum*, 1). Quoted in Peter Binkley, "Preachers' Responses to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 81.

measurement impervious to the vicissitudes of taste and fashion that affected the trivium. Yet in describing the "res musicae," Bartholomaeus shows little interest in proportion. Only two and a half chapters of *De musica* are devoted to it. Rather, following Isidore, sometimes verbatim, he concentrates on the performative and affective properties of music, and in a way that seems to anticipate the needs of readers either engaged in or preparing for a clerical vocation.

Bartholomaeus begins his music treatise saying, "Just as the science of counting and measuring is subservient to the discipline of theology, so the science of singing correctly serves it also. For music, which is the knowledge of correct performance in sound and singing, is clearly necessary to the mysteries of sacred Scripture."[19] Bartholomaeus derives his definition of music from Isidore, but he adds a new qualification here that claims its service for theology, and specifically scriptural hermeneutics. Here we immediately recognize Bartholomaeus's kinship with Bacon. Bacon argued that a properly nuanced musical practice was essential to preaching. Bartholomaeus comes across as even more categorical when he says plainly that one's perception of the mysteries inherent in scripture depends on a proper practice of singing and playing. To support his assertion, Bartholomaeus takes up Isidore's examination of tone colors in the voice (*De musica sive modulatione cantus*), and the various types and uses of musical instruments found in scripture: *De tuba*; *De bucina*; *De tibia*; *De calamo*; *De sambuca*[20]; *De symphonia*[21]; *De armonia* (relevant to a variety of instruments); *De timpano*; *De cithara*; *De psalterio*; *De lira*; *De cimbalis*; *De sistro*; and *De tintinnabulo*. The second half of this last chapter on the bell includes a short discussion of the relationship between measurement and musical intervals. There are also two further chapters on the ratios of 4:3 (*De numero sesquitertio*) and 3:2 (*De numero sesquialtera*) as means of

[19] "Sicut autem subservit theologice discipline ars numerandi et mensurandi, sic eidem famulatur scientia modulandi. Nam musica, que modulationis in sono et in cantu est peritia, sacre scripture mysteriis valde est necessaria" (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De musica sive Modulatione Cantus*, in *De proprietatibus rerum* [Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1601; repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1964], 1251). See Paris, BnF, Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232r. See also Juris Lidaka, *De musica* (forthcoming Bropols), 112. Translations are my own. Compare Isidore who writes "Musica est peritia modulationis sono cantuque consistens. Et dicta Musica per derivationem a Musis" (Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, Etymologiarum sive originum*, ed. W.M. Lindsay [Oxford: Clarendon, 1957; repr., 1985], III.15.1).

[20] The *sambuca* is a type of string instrument, but Bartholomaeus's definition sounds as though he is describing a flute.

[21] Isidore describes the *symphonia* as a Pan Pipe, but Bartholomaeus identifies it as a string instrument.

showing that the proportions inherent in the universe are reflected in the analogy of music. The final chapter, *De accidentiubus de naturalium rerum*, draws his previous definitions together into a forthright conclusion.

It now seems clear why Bartholomaeus places music here, amongst the seemingly diverse topics that make up the final book of *De proprietatibus rerum*. He organizes the various timbres of vocal and instrumental sounds along side the many nuances of sight, taste, and smell because he wishes to present musical knowledge within a sensual understanding of the world. Reading Bartholomaeus's *De musica* in this context gives us an excellent view of his predilection for empirical observation based in the real world of sensual perception. Moreover, it is fascinating for its transmission of Isidore's definitions of music, especially when viewed through the lens of its fifty marginal glosses. A complete examination of the text in light of these glosses must remain for a separate study.[22] A selection of these will suffice, though, to demonstrate that Bartholomaeus Anglicus (and perhaps other Franciscan lectors of his time) was using musical knowledge analogically to teach students about relationships, while at the same time impressing upon them music's unique relevance to the art of preaching.

Concord in Music and Relationships

In the first chapter of *De musica*, Bartholomaeus Anglicus essentially repeats the wisdom of Isidore. His transmission of Pythagorean lore concerning *musica mundana* goes uncontested when he writes, "it is said that heaven also is turned and revolved under consonant modulation."[23] The marginal gloss underscores its beauty, noting, "that the heavens are moved with sweetness and melody."[24] Bartholomaeus's acknowledgement of *musica mundana* is out of line with the Aristotelian learning of Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste. Still, having just defined music as relevant to scriptural hermeneutics, a mystical understanding of its properties seems appropriate. Indeed, Bartholomaeus's resort to anagogy should remind us of Bacon's later description of heavenly music in the *Opus*

[22] Forthcoming in Peter Loewen, "The Glosses on *De musica* in Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*."

[23] "Et celum ipsum sub consonancie modulacione dicitur circumagi et revolvi" (Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{r}). See *De musica*, 112; and *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1251. Compare *Etymoligiarum*, III.16.1.

[24] "Nota quod celestia aguntur dulcedine et melodia" (fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{r}; *De musica*, 112).

tertium, where he remarks that the celestial harmonies St. Francis perceived were "above all knowledge and the power observation."[25]

Some of the marginal notes in *De musica* do nothing more than mark the main subject of the adjacent text. For example, where Bartholomaeus defines harmony as "a sweet consonance of singing," its gloss notes simply "what harmony may be."[26] Most of the glosses, however, are pithy statements that add significantly to our understanding of the text. For example, the notes that gloss Bartholomaeus's (and Isidore's) notion of "concord" offer a nuanced interpretation of "agreement"—as both a guide to the performance of chant, and as a kind of analogy to religious behavior. The recurrence of concord as a subject of later chapters in *De musica* underscores its importance as a subtheme of Bartholomaeus's treatise.

	Et dicitur harmonia ab ad et monos, id est unum, quia ad unam concordiam tendunt in cantibus
Nota de concordia[27a]	omnes voces, ut dicit Hugutio.[a]
	Nam in omni melodia exiguntur plures voces sive soni, et hii concordes; quia, ubi est vox una
Nota contra singularitatem[b]	tantum aures non placat,[b] sicut est vox cuculi sive cantus; ubi autem plurium puta diversitas non delectat, quia talis diversitas non cantum sed
Nota contra discordiam[c]	ululatum procreat,[c] Sed ubi est vocum plurimarum
Nota de concordia et unitate religiosorum[d]	et diversarum concors unio, ibi armonica proporcio est et modulatio sive dulcis symphonia.[d] Unde Isidorus: symphonia, inquit, est modulationis temperamentum concordans sonis in gravibus et acutis. Per hanc armoniam voces acutiores et graviores conveniunt et concordant

[25] "Mira enim musicae super omnes scientias est et spectanda potestas" (Bacon, *Opus tertium*, 298–99). See above, pp. 156–7.

[26] "Nota quid sit armonia: Et est harmonia dulcis cantuum consonancia […]" (Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232r; *De musica,* 112; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1252). Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.17.1.

[27] A survey of some early manuscript copies of *De proprietatibus rerum,* such as BnF Cod. Lat. 346A, 348, and 16099; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. CFM 15; and Vatican Library manuscripts VL 3089, 3090, Reg. Lat. 1064, and Urb. Lat. 233, indicates that scribes were fairly consistent about placing their marginal notes in roughly the same locations adjacent to the main text. Deviations from that standard will be duly noted. The evidence of such consistency gives further credence to Meyer's hypothesis that the glossed manuscripts stem from an earlier exemplar that goes back perhaps to Bartholomaeus himself.

Nota contra turbatores capitulorum[e]	ita ut, si quis ab eo dissonuerit, sensum auditus offendat.[e] Et talis concordia vocum dicitur
Nota de dulcedine concordie morum et personarum[f]	euphonia, que est vocis suavitas, que a suavitate et melle dicitur melodia,[f] cui contraria est dyaphonia, id est vox dissonans sive discrepans et deformis.[28]

The passage is clearly tethered to Isidore's divisions of harmony from the *Etymologies*, and his definition of the *chorus* from *De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis*.[29] The other source is the *Derivationes* by Uguccione da Pisa (d. 1210). Bartholomaeus adopts Hugh's (Hugutio's) definition of *armonia* as a kind of "oneness" (*monos*), and a sweetness and consonance of many voices;[30] yet he deviates from his sources in important ways. The sequence of glosses begins with a simple "note about concord" where the text explains the meaning of the term "harmony" as having to do with voices blending together in uniform sonority. In his commentary on the Offices, Isidore defines the term *chorus* as stemming from either *corona* (crown) or *concordia* (concord).[31] The "note against singularity," though, seems to pick up on the "oneness" (*vox una*) of Bartholomaeus's definition so as to warn the reader not to misconstrue concord for singularity. On the contrary, concord in singing melodies requires agreement amongst many voices.

To acquire a deeper appreciation of the text and gloss here, it may be helpful to know that the term "singularity" had great currency in Franciscan writings concerning religious behavior. For example, Bonaventura's secretary, an Aquitainian friar Bernard de Besse (d. c. 1300), mentions "singularity" several times in the course of his *Speculum disciplinae* (*The Mirror of Discipline*). Bernard composed the work late in life, perhaps

[28] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232r–v; *De musica*, 112–3; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1252. Compare *Etymolgiarum*, III.19.2–4.

[29] *Etymologiarum*, IV.19.5.

[30] Hugh defines Armonia as "dulcoratio et consonantia plurimorum cantuum, unde armoniacus -a -um dulcis, suavis, delectabilis ut armonia idest communis cantus celi, et videtur armonia esse compositum ex ad, sed secundum antiquos mutatur d in r, et monos quod est unum, ubi omnes cantus ad unam consonantiam tendunt" (Uguccione da Pisa, *Derivationes*, ed. Enzo Cecchini, et al., vol. 1 [Florence: Editione del Galluzzo, 2004], 91).

[31] Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, VI.19.5. Isidore explains the source of *corona* as the shape the choir would make while standing around the altar during a religious rite.

in reflection upon his earlier career as custodian in Aquitaine.[32] In chapter four he writes that "Religious should do nothing singular"—that is, they should refrain from doing anything outstanding without the consent of a Superior.[33] And in chapter twenty-nine, he admonishes the novice to comport with the uniform behavior he perceives amongst senior monks while singing the Mass and Offices. He adds:

> Those who ought to have one heart and one soul should not be different from each other on the outside. Uniformity in outward customs helps and shows forth unity of minds. The junior companion of a senior Brother ought humbly to conform himself to the custom of his senior.[34]

This explication of "singularity" in behavior as the opposite of "unity" or "uniformity" helps us to understand the dichotomy between concord and discord that Bartholomaeus develops in the text and sequence of glosses that follow. The "note against discord" coincides with statements in the text that counsel the reader to shun a unique or diverse singing practice. The note, then, is our only indication that this kind of singing is to be understood as the opposite of concord. As Bartholomaeus explains, the first kind of discord occurs when a lone voice (*vox una*) stands out from the melodic agreement that occurs amongst many voices. Another kind of discord arises from diversity (*diversitas*)—that is, a variety of different sounds that lead to noise or howling (*ululatum*).

The following "note on concord and unity of religious" confirms our moral reading of the text and notes. For religious, concord should be understood as the lack of singularity or individual behavior, just as it should be in the proper singing of chant. Here then he gives us a solution to the problem of understanding the *monos* or *unum* of harmony. Concord and unity amongst religious is analogous to the unity (*concors unio*) that occurs when voices sing together in a sweet *symphonia*. Accordingly, a *symphonia* is made of harmonic proportion and modulation. Isidore's definition of *symphonia* also involves tempered modulations (*modulationis temperamentum*). But adding *proporcio* to this encompassing definition of

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[32] Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215.

[33] Bernard de Besse, *Speculum disciplinae, Pars prima*, in St. Bonaventura, *Opera omnia* 8 (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1898), 4.7. See also Bernard of Bessa, *The Mirror of Discipline* (Ennis, Ireland: Nono's Printinghouse, 1915), 19.

[34] "Qui cor unum et animam unam debent habere, difformes exterius esse non debent. Uniformitas morum unitatem iuvat et indicat animorum. Senioris autem consuetudini debent se socius humiliter conformare" (*Speculum disciplinae, Pars prima*, 9.3; *The Mirror of Discipline*, 83).

concord sounds so much like Grosseteste's broad understanding of music (*De artibus liberalibus*) that one cannot fail to recognize the tincture of the master's teaching.[35]

With the "note against disturbers of the capitulars" we ingress the chapter choir itself, where sweet symphony should prevail over howling discord. The notion of disturbing the concord between higher and lower voices seems to import complex moral implications, when we interpret the definition of *symphonia* here in light of its marginal gloss. Indeed, a chapter choir would have consisted of the high voices of young postulants and the low voices of senior friars. The Constitutions of Narbonne, from the general chapter of 1260, ordained that candidates had to be eighteen years of age, exceptionally fifteen, but there are records of postulants as young as nine years of age.[36]

One wonders whether the symphony of high and low voices here may be construed as analogous to the "unity of minds" between junior and senior companions, as described in the *Speculum disciplinae*. When it comes to the behavior of his young charges in the refectory and choir, Bernard de Besse admonishes them never to sing loud dissonances or beat their knives against the table, or make any other sound whose purpose is to disturb the others.[37] In these communal spaces, he says, "Let them be careful never to disturb the order of the community and never to be the occasion of disorder to others, but at the same time not to be over anxious to avoid the appearance of presumption when such would be the cause of confusion."[38] The "note concerning the sweetness of concord, of habits, and people" adds weight to this moral interpretation of Bartholomaeus's

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[35] "Cum itaque eisdem proportionibus humanae vocis et gesticulationibus humani corporis modulatio temperetur, quibus soni et motus corporum reliquorum, speculationi musicae subjacet non solum harmonia humanae vocis et gesticulationis, sed etium instrumentorum et eorum, quorum delectatio in motu sive in sono consistit et cum his harmonia coelestium et noncoelestium" (Grosseteste, *De artibus liberalibus*, in Baur, ed., *Die Philosophische Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln* [Münster, 1912], 3). See above, p. 122.

[36] "Constitutions of Narbonne," Canon I.2, in *Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order*, Works of Saint Bonaventure, vol. V, ed. George Marcil (New York: The Franciscan Institute, 1994), 76. Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 207–8.

[37] "In choro pro dissonantia forte cantantium, vel ob aliam huiusmodi causam manum ad formam, percutere, in mensa ictu cultelli, vel quomodolibet aliter signum cum sono facere, ab eis tantummodo fiat, quorum super defectibus chori vel mensae intendere spectat, nec huiusmodi facile debent ab aliis usurpari" (*Speculum disciplinae*, *Pars prima*, 5.8; *The Mirror of Discipline*, 24).

[38] "Alias omnino caveant, ne congregationis ordinem turbent et fiant inter alios pro tumultus occasione notabiles. Cavendium proinde, ne, dum nimis vitatur praesumtio, inordinationis accedat confusio" (ibid.).

definition of *symphonia*. Bernard admonishes novices to accord themselves with the community of religious in every inward and outward fashion—in their eating habits, singing, dress, and behavior. Perhaps this kind of symphony is analogous to the euphony of melody Bartholomaeus describes when low and high voices sing together in chapter.

Vocal Timbre and the Voice of the Preacher

From euphony Bartholomaeus moves to a meticulous examination of the human voice and its various melodic properties. The text is derived from Isidore's divisions of harmonic music, but with important additions and glosses that apply this knowledge to preaching. Preaching is the single largest theme of the glosses on Bartholomaeus's text. Of the fifty that accompany *De musica*, seventeen explicitly refer to preaching. The first notes on preaching coincide with the science of vocal sound production, apropos of the verbal articulation of ideas.

Nota quare predicator dicitur vox†	Vox autem est aer tenuissimus plectro lingue ictus. Et est quedam vox significativa naturaliter, ut garritus avium et gemitus infirmorum. Et alia est significativa ad placitum,† ut vox hominis articulata et ad aliquod verbum proferendum rationis imperio lingue organo informata. Vox enim verbi vehiculum est. Nec potest conceptum verbum in mente exterius exprimi nisi vocis adminiculo mediante proferatur. Unde intellectus primo verbum in mente gignit quod per vocem postea ore promit. Unde verbum a mente genitum et conceptum per vocem quasi per organum exterius se ostendit.‡[39]
Nota quare Dei filius dicitur Verbum et Iohannes vox‡	

The beginning of this explanation of sound production is clearly derived from Isidore's definition of the voice as "air beaten by breath."[40] Bartholomaeus's hermeneutic of vocal sound comes across as philosophical at first, like Isidore's, when he speaks about the articulation of ideas through words. Unintelligible sounds like "the chattering of birds and

[39] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica*, 114; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1253. *Etymologiarum*, III.19.2.

[40] "Vox est aer spiritu verberatus" (*Etymologiarum*, III.19.2). *The Etymologies of Isidore*, ed. Stephen A. Barney, et al. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 96.

sighing of the infirm" seem like illustrations of Isidore's notion of the voice as "a human characteristic, or a characteristic of unreasoning animals."[41] One might wonder whether Bartholomaeus was thinking of St. Francis here, who ministered to the birds as well as the infirm. But for clarity we look in vain, since Bartholomaeus gives us no more than cause to wonder. The following text and notes assert stronger connections between music and preaching in a way that seems to concern the mission of Francis's *joculatores Domini*.

Viewed from the perspective of the gloss, the following passage concerning intelligible vocal expression sounds like round support for the power of divine speech. It is a pleasing (*placitum*) voice that forms words through a command of reason. With the gloss having claimed the pleasing voice for the preacher, the text moves on to the application of speech in the expression of ideas. Bartholomaeus offers a meticulous but otherwise unexceptional encounter with the science of speech: ideas form interiorly and are articulated exteriorly through the formation of words. But in light of the note on "how the Son of God is called the Word, and John the voice," this definition of vocal sound comes across as hermeneutic of scriptural speech. The text and gloss together invite us to read the passage as an allegory where John, the preacher from scripture, is represented by the pleasing voice—the musical means, as it were—for the Word, which represents Christ. From this point of view, preachers appear as the inheritors of John's legacy in whom we hear a delightful union of music and the mystical word. The entire passage, then, portrays preachers are musical artists, who cleave religious concepts to intelligible vocal expression.

In the discourse that follows, Bartholomaeus shifts his attention to the issue of vocal tone colors—what one might regard as the performance practice of spoken rhetoric.

Vox autem disposita ad cantum et ad melodiam habet has proprietates, ut dicit Isidorus. Suaues, inquit, voces sunt subtiles et spissae et clarae, acutae et perspicuae. Subtiles sunt in quibus spiritus non est fortis, qualis est in infantibus et in mulieribus et in aliis non habentibus emittunt voces sive tonos tenues et subtiles nervos grossos, fortes, et spissos; nam subtiles corde.[42†]

Nota contra iuvenes doctores†

[41] "Proprie autem vox hominum est, seu inrationabilium animantium" (ibid).

[42] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica,* 114; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1253. Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.19.10–11.

The sweet voice (*vox suavis*) is a nuanced timbre associated with high intonation. The text and gloss concerning the refined voice (*vox subtilis*) conveys a mixed message. It is a weak voice, as one finds in children and women. One will recall from the previous chapter that Roger Bacon likened their voices to the effusive and dissolute sound of the *falsettist*, which he considered an abomination to the church.[43] The "note against young teachers" (*iuvenes doctores*) seems to confirm these negative connotations. Perhaps the term *doctores* should be understood ironically—that is, as young teachers still wet behind the ears, barely prepared for a career in teaching, let alone preaching. Yet Bartholomaeus also defines the subtle voice as fine and delicate, which gives it some virtue within the larger context of the *vox suavis*.

The other vocal tone colors described in *De musica* follow Isidore almost verbatim, and none of them but the last has a gloss that relates it to preaching. Bartholomaeus identifies the "rich voice" (*vox pinguis*) with male voices because they are able to sing with more breath.[44] The clear voice (*clara vox*) is shrill, while the high voice (*acuta vox*) is very high.[45] The perspicuous voice (*perspicua vox*) has a sustained quality like a trumpet.[46] The hard voice (*dura vox*) is rough when violently emitted, and percussive like a hammer.[47] The harsh voice (*aspera vox*) is rough and dispersed through irregular pulses.[48] And the blind voice (*ceca vox*) soon ceases to speak after being emitted, and is stifled like clay vessels.[49]

The "intoxicating voice" (*vinnolenta vox*) is glossed in *De musica* with a warning to the reader that it is an illustration of ignorance in preaching.

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[43] See above, p. 155.

[44] "Pingues vero voces et spissae sunt, quando spiritus multus egreditur, ut est vox virorum" (Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica*, 114; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1253). Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.19.12.

[45] "Clarae quando bene tinnulae et sonorae omni raucedine impermixtae. Acutae sunt valde altae" (ibid.); *Etymologiarum*, III.19.10 and 12.

[46] "Perspicuae voces sunt, quae longius protrahuntur ita quod continuo impleant omnem locum, sicut clangor tubarum" (Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica,* 114; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1253).

[47] "Dura vox est rauca et quando violenter emittit sonum suum sicut tonitruum et sicut sonus incudis quando percutitur ferrum durum" (ibid.). Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.19.12.

[48] "Aspera vox est rauca et que dispergitur per minutos et dissimiles pulsus" (ibid.). Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.19.13.

[49] "Ceca vox est que, cum mox emissa fuerit, conticessit, atque suffocata nequaquam longius producitur, sicut patet in fictilibus" (ibid.). Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.19.13.

Nota de ignorantia predicantium†[50]	Vinnolenta est vox mollis et vox flexibilis atque levis† et est dicta vinnolenta, id est a vinno, hoc est a cincinno molliter reflexa.[51]

Reading the text in light of its gloss is puzzling, since it seems at first to convey a meaning contrary to what we have read so far about the pleasing voice of the preacher. Shall we consider a soft, flexible, and light voice that evokes shapely vines and curling locks (*cincinnus*) an erroneous style of preaching?

One will recall that Roger Bacon, too, spoke about the ignorance of some preaching. In fact, he condemns the errors of preaching twice in the course of the *Opus tertium*. The first time, he criticizes those ignorant preachers who indulge in the "infinite curiosity" and "verbose vanity" of divisions and inept consonances of words and ornaments.[52] This does evoke something like the lush, convoluted vines of our "vinnolenta vox." Yet I think that the key to understanding this tone color as an error of preaching may be found in the meaning of *cincinnus*. To construe the term as "curling locks" does seem to reflect the image of convoluted vines. More to the point, however, we find that Cicero in *De oratore* applied this vanity of hairdressing to define speeches that were too artificial or too elaborate in their use of ornamentation.[53] According to James Murphy, Cicero was the main source for medieval studies of rhetoric.[54] Therefore, it seems to me quite likely that this passage in *De musica* that relates the "ignorantia Predicantium" with "cincinno molliter reflexa" stems from a reading of Cicero's criticism of an overly florid rhetorical style. This Ciceronian interpretation of *cincinnus* in Bartholomaeus's text might have been clear enough to the learned reader, but the student may have required the gloss to understand the "vinnolenta vox" as erroneous. It confirms for us once again the close connection Franciscan schoolmen perceived between

[50] The Vatican manuscripts mentioned above place the note next to the passage that defines the "blind voice." It is difficult to know how much emphasis to place on the precise location of notes, but the Parisian manuscripts (see above) agree with Lidaka's edition, which places the note adjacent to the definition of the "vinnolenta vox."

[51] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica*, 115; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1253–4. Compare *Etymologiarum*, III.19.13.

[52] See above, p. 159 (Bacon, *Opus tertium*, 304).

[53] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cicero on the Ideal Orator* (*De Oratore*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3.25.100.

[54] James Murphy, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971), xv.

music and rhetoric. It also reminds us of Francis's warning in the *Regula non-Bullata* against excessive pride and vainglory in preaching.[55]

It seems now that the "vinnolenta vox" addresses precisely the errors of preaching that Bacon articulated some twenty years later in the *Opus tertium*. Of course, since Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Roger Bacon evolved as scholars within the same schools of Oxford and Paris (though they appear never to have crossed paths), one can hardly wonder at their similar attitudes. But the surprising coincidence of their views regarding the role of music in preaching suggests a deeper connection between them—that is, in their shared experience as Franciscans concerned with the burning issues facing their Order.

Although it makes for a smaller point, it may be worthwhile considering Bacon's second criticism of preaching, where he deprecates bishops for borrowing from younger (ignorant) friars' sermons. One might recall his attack on their lack of sublimity and wisdom, and childish stupidity.[56] Bacon's criticism of the errors of young friars may shed further light on the earlier gloss in *De musica* regarding the refined (*subtiles*) voices of women and children. The "note against young teachers" there suggested that these *doctores* likewise lacked the force, strength, or thickness of voice. They have light voices, like the "vinnolenta vox," which might have been considered unsuitable for preaching, or even a vain conceit. Perhaps they are like the falsettists, who had become a vanity of singing in the church.

Bartholomaeus saves his most powerful and universal statement about vocal tone color for the end of the chapter.

	Perfecta autem vox est alta, suavis, fortis, et clara. Alta ut in sublimi sufficiat, clara ut aures impleat, fortis ne trepidet aut deficiat, suavis sive dulcis ut auditum non deterreat,† sed potius ut aures demulceat et audiencium animos blandiendo ad se alliciat et convertat.‡[57]
Nota de adulatoribus†	
Nota qualis est efficax predicatio‡	

[55] See above, pp. 37–40, and 159.

[56] See above, p. 162. (Bacon, *Opus tertium*, 309).

[57] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica,* 115; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1254. Compare Isidore: "Perfecta autem vox est alta, suavis et clara: alta, ut in sublime sufficiat; clara, ut aures adinpleat; suavis, ut animos audientium blandiat" (*Etymologiarum*, 3.19.14).

This multi-valent definition of the perfect voice (*vox perfecta*) is largely derived from the *Etymologies* of Isidore, but with an important alteration. The first note identifies the weak and fearful voice with flatterers (*adulatoribus*), which may also be Ciceronian in origin. In the last phrase, Bartholomaeus adds substantially to Isidore's definition of the perfect voice by proclaiming its curative nature. Accordingly, the sound of the perfect voice not only pleases and delights, but also has the redemptive potential to convert souls by caressing them with music. The adjacent note is unequivocal about claiming the *vox perfecta* for the preacher when it states, "Note how powerful preaching is."

Seeing the text of *De musica* connect with its glosses in this way, we understand more clearly how Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his glossator (perhaps Bartholomaeus himself) were coopting Isidore of Seville's definitions to propagate an understanding of music that was uniquely suited to the Franciscan avocation for preaching. Their small but potent elaborations on Isidore's text place the power of music in the hands of the preacher to convert souls. Over a short span, the glossed *De musica* has revealed that preaching concerns pleasing speeches about ideas sourced in scripture. Didactic admonitions discourage the preacher from using a weak voice, and from indulging in intoxicating ornamentation, lest he fall into error. Rather, the preacher should adopt the *vox perfecta* in order to delight and convert the listener.

The nuanced, affective character of the *vox perfecta* comes across as a performative source of biblical exegesis. It is a point of view we have already discovered amongst the Franciscans. For example, it is striking how the quality of the *vox perfecta* compares to Tommaso da Celano's description of the evocative way St. Francis declaimed the Gospel at the Christmas Mass in Greccio. The "vox vehemens, vox dulcis, vox clara, voxque sonora" of Francis's voice and the timbre of the *vox perfecta* seem to have the same distinctively affective purpose: to arouse the spiritual joy of listeners by attracting their souls to the rapturous beauty of music.[58] The solidarity between music and preaching in the parts of *De musica* that we have examined thus far seems also to express important principles of the *cura animarum*. Indeed, Bartholomaeus's understanding of music seems to coincide in some aspects with ideas we found in Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* and *De artibus liberalibus*.[59] And the connections between

[58] *1C,* 86; *Life*, 256. See above, pp. 44–5.
[59] See Chapter Five.

these scholars appear to run deeper still when we examine more closely Bartholomaeus's further definitions of concord—one of Grosseteste's favorite subjects.[60]

Concord in Music and Amongst Religious

Bartholomaeus Anglicus shows his own abiding interest in explaining concord when he returns to it in his definition of the cithara, and again in his concluding statements on "The Accidents of Nature" ("De accidentibus naturalium rerum"). In the first of these, a sequence of glosses takes up the matter of diversity and fidelity to reflect on the relationships between prelates, religious, and preachers.

Nota de diversitate prelatorum et religiosorum†	Cythara ab Apolline est reperta secundum Grecorum opinionem. Est autem cithara similis pectori humano, eo quod sicut vox ex pectore ita ex cithara cantus procedit, et ideo sic est appellata, nam pectus Dorica cytharum appellatur. Paulatim autem plures eius species extiterunt, ut psalteria, lire, et huiusmodi.† Et alique habent formam quadratam, alique trigonalem. Cordarum etiam numerus multiplicatus est et commutatum genus. Veteres autem vocaverunt citharam fidiculam vel fidicem, quia bene concurrunt inter se corde eius quam bene convenit inter quos fides sit.[61]‡
Nota de fide concordi in predicatoribus‡	

Bartholomaeus's text communicates Isidore's wisdom about the history and construction of the cithara. From the time of the Greeks it evolved, yielding various instruments of different shapes and numbers of strings, like the psaltery and lyre. In light of the glosses, one might interpret the passage analogically as referring to the diversity of prelates and religious, who, while related, were distinctive instruments of the church. But in consideration of the earlier distinction Bartholomaeus makes between diversity and concord in music, one wonders whether this gloss also notes some

[60] Nancy Van Deusen writes at length on the subject of concord in Grosseteste's writing in *Theology and Music at the Early University* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

[61] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 233^{v}; *De musica,* 119; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1257. See Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, III.21.2–4.

moral discord *between* prelates and religious. Perhaps the difference between them is merely accidental, as it is between psalteries and lyres. They differ slightly in construction, but they are each essentially a kind of cithara. Yet we know too well the history of conflict that existed between prelates and the mendicant religious in this early period to let their discord in diversity pass without notice. R. James Long has already identified the criticism of authority and venality of prelates as a typically Franciscan theme of the glosses accompanying Book IV of *De proprietatibus rerum*.[62] Therefore, it should come as no surprise to find similar criticism in the glosses on *De musica*.

John Freed has given us some understanding of the strained relationship between the secular clergy and mendicant religious in Germany during the period of Bartholomaeus's tenure in the German lands.[63] In the 1220s and 1230s the German bishops were usually accommodating to the friars because of their devotion to the Pope and their common cause against heresy. In a typical example, we read of how bishop Konrad IV in Regensburg offered the Franciscans the use of both a church and a building for a convent, when they arrived in the city in 1221.[64] Yet the resentment of secular clergy grew toward the mendicants after 1237, when the papacy began to bestow on them privileges that gave the friars the right to preach in their diocese, to hear the confessions of laypersons, and also to bury parishioners in their own churches.[65] Subsequently, we read numerous accounts of bishops harassing Franciscans and Dominicans in cities located in every corner of the empire, perhaps in retaliation for these policy changes.[66] The prelates complained that the friars had been given too much influence over the people in their parish, and had thus deprived them of lucrative sources of income. These complaints appear to have been well founded. In several cases, we know of mendicants who served as mediators in disputes between overreaching bishops and lay people who wished to overthrow a prelate's power in temporal affairs. The relationship between the bishops and burghers of Strasbourg, for example, became particularly rancorous in the 1260s; and the friars, who on several occasions negotiated on behalf of the burghers, were drawn into the fray.[67]

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62 R. James Long, *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 198.

63 John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1977), 35–43.

64 Schlager, *Die deutschen Franziskaner*, 6.

65 See above, p. 41.

66 Freed, *The Friars*, 36.

67 Ibid., 37–40.

With this in mind, one might reflect again on the howling discord that earlier described the diversity between voices singing chant, and consider its analogy here to the diversity between mendicant religious and prelates in thirteenth-century Germany. The note in *De musica* on the "concordant faith in preachers" may also echo these political circumstances. The gloss appears to take up the word play on *fides*, which one may construe as both "string" and "faith." Bartholomaeus says that the ancients called the cithara a *fiducula* or *fidicis* (i.e. "fiddle") because its strings were of such an accord that they sounded faithful to one another. The adjacent gloss projects the matter of faith, but it seems this faith exists *in* preachers rather than *amongst* them. The faith that German burghers placed in Franciscan preachers, first in the care of their souls and later in their advocacy against episcopal corruption, gives us ample cause to consider their relationship in this moral interpretation of faithful and concordant string music.

Such a broad and complex appreciation of discord and concord obtains only by reading Bartholomaeus's text through its glosses. Bartholomaeus portrays the cithara as a symbol of fidelity, as he earlier showed the choir to be a sanctuary of order and peace, abhorrent of conflict. Interestingly, it is a concept he shared with his fellow Franciscan theologian Guibert de Tournai (c. 1210–c. 84). In his *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesie* (*Tractatus de Scandalis Ecclesie*) of 1273, Guibert uses the analogy of uniform melody that comes from a diversity of cithara strings to illustrate the proper order of harmonious relationships between monks, angels, stars, religious, the church, and people in general.[68]

These perceptions bear out in microcosm what Peter Binkley has observed generally in medieval encyclopedists' skewed understanding of the natural world as essentially ordered and peaceful.[69] Binkley argues that this world view would have had limited value for preachers, since it would not have prepared them for the reality of sin and disagreement they would have encountered in their vocation. The glossator of *De musica* (Bartholomaeus himself?), however, seems to be giving his readers some

[68] "[…] et in cithara ex diversitate chordarum fit uniformis modulatio ad concentum. Ordo est in angelis, ordo in stellis, ordo in personis ecclesiasticis, ordo in religiosis. Modulatis tamen chordis omnibus ad concentum, superadditae chordae vel superfluae videri possent aliquibus, vel impedire dulcedinem consonantiarum, nisi tamen locis congruis aptarentur vel emergenti superfluitati deinceps caveretur" (Guibert de Tournai, *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae*, ed. P. Autbertus Stroick, O.F.M. [Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1931), 18. See Roest, *Franciscan Literature,* 364.

[69] Binkley, "Preachers' Responses to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism," 75–6.

means of understanding such conflict by using the analogy of music to represent complex relationships between people.

Universal Concord and the Music of Preaching

The final chapter of the last book of *De proprietatibus rerum* departs almost entirely from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* when it takes up the accidents of nature. Glosses that concern the subject of concord and preaching once again lead our interpretation of the text at hand.

Nota quod concordia deum mutatur[a]
Nota de concordia hominum et angelorum[b]
Nota quod predicatio simul letificat et tristificat[c]

Hec siquidem verba in se sunt profunda plurimum et obscura, nisi hiis qui in arismetica instructi sunt et etiam in musica disciplina. Nam arsmethicis, geometricis, et musicis sunt luce plurima clariora que minus exercitatis in huiusmodi penitus sunt obscura. Et ideo qui predictorum verborum et proportionum, tam numerorum quam vocum et sonorum, habere noticiam desiderat arsmethicorum et geometricorum et musicorum industriam consulere non contempnat. Tanta enim, ut dicit Isidorus libro II, est virtus in terminis, figuris, et musicis simphoniis quod ipse homo sine eis non constet, quia musica perfecta omnia comprehendit. Recollige itaque ex predictis quod ars musica sive armonia contraria et disparata consiliat, gravia acutis et acuta gravibus modificat et adaptat, affectiones contrarias et adversas reconsiliat, maliciosos animi motus reprimit et refrenat, sensus debilitates reparat et confortat, unitatem exemplaris divini in operibus contrariis et diversis maxime preconizat,[a] terrenis celestia et celestibus terrena posse uniri in concordia manifestat,[b] letos animos magis letificat et tristes magis tristificat.[c] Quia, ut dicit Augustinus, ex quadam occulta anime et armonie consimili proprietate, melodia anime affectionibus se conformat. Et inde est quod dicunt auctores: quod instrumenta musica letum reddunt letiorem et tristem efficiunt tristiorem.[70]

[70] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 234r; *De musica*, 123; *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1260.

In his concluding statements, Bartholomaeus returns to his opening theme in order to establish music firmly within the context of the quadrivium. But he goes further this time to assert that "music comprehends everything," whether it concerns numbers, figures, symphonies, or motions that affect changes in behavior. He writes:

> Recall, therefore, from the preceding that the art of music—whether it joins contrary and disparate things with harmony, modifies and adapts low to high and high to low, reconciles contrary and adverse affections, curbs and restrains malicious motions of the spirit, comforts and restores weakened senses, proclaims exceedingly the unity of the divine exemplar in contrary and diverse works—shows heavenly to earthly and earthly to heavenly things can be united in concord. It cheers joyful spirits more completely, and saddens more completely the dejected.[71]

The marginal glosses come in quick succession toward the end of this glowing appraisal of music's universal appeal. In them we observe the narrative of descent from God to the artifice of creation. The first note grasps on the signal of unity in the divine exemplar to identify God as its source. At the illustration of concord between heavenly and earthly creation, the gloss reminds us of the concord of celestial harmony (i.e. *musica mundana*) and the mystery of the Angels. When Bartholomaeus finally comes to the affection of human feeling, the marginal gloss directs us to the artifice of preaching, which has the power to delight and sadden one's spirits. The narrative exposed in glosses and text makes exquisitely clear that preaching is a musical form of art. By coopting its powers for preaching, *De musica* shows us that preaching is also by nature emotive and therefore analogous to concordant motion. Like music, preaching moves human souls to joy and sadness. Through its connection to music, we can see how preaching can resolve conflicts, cure and comfort the soul, and, indeed, proclaim the unity of the divine exemplar. The entire model comes over like Augustine's notion of music in the sixth book of *De musica*, only here, in Bartholomaeus's *De musica*, it is through preaching that the soul accedes from the mutable proportions of sensible music to the immutable rhythms of God.[72]

One senses in Bartholomaeus's syntax the passionate feeling behind these assertions. Like Robert Grosseteste before him and Roger Bacon afterward, Bartholomaeus Anglicus appears to understand music as a

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[71] My translation.

[72] See Chapters Five and Six of this study.

universal science, comprehensive of all the hidden things of mathematics and moral philosophy. Having now observed the coordination between text and glosses, we have a clearer picture of the hermeneutical method at work in *De musica*. Bartholomaeus's text exposes the properties of music, and includes didactic material that would assist the reader in the performance of chant. The glosses give us further context by showing how this information might instruct the Franciscan postulant to compose himself outwardly through his singing in choir, and inwardly through his moral, concordant behavior. The use of musical concord to describe relationships may be a theological technique Bartholomaeus acquired from Robert Grosseteste. Nancy van Deusen points out that Grosseteste often uses concord and discord in music as a metaphor for conflict in scripture.[73] Perhaps what we are seeing here is Bartholomaeus extending his old master's method of scriptural hermeneutics to the needs of his own avocation as a Franciscan lector.

Conclusion

Using the glosses as a lens for Bartholomaeus's text, we may see *De musica* as a kind of encyclopedic novice manual. Founding his ideas on the authority of Isidore's *Etymologies* gives Bartholomaeus his own claim to authority. In the slight alterations he makes to Isidore's definitions, we observe the lector grooming his source to reflect more explicitly the Franciscan mission of music. The text and glosses on preaching together make quite clear that musical knowledge had direct application to the *cura animarum*. Hagiographers show Francis charging his friars with the task of using music in their preaching to instill religious values in their listeners. What that meant for preachers in training grows more complex in light of the information we now have in Bartholomaeus's *De musica*. It involves singing chant while making analogies to rudimentary principles of religious behavior. Through Bartholomaeus's eyes we see musical knowledge as broadly relevant to the liberal arts and moral philosophy. It is a learned field of study, highly nuanced, bearing both theoretical and practical information. It concerns melodic elements such as singing chant, playing instruments, and intoning divine speeches. The glosses seem also to offer us vital information about how readers understood music as an

[73] Nancy Van Deusen, *Theology and Music in the Early University*, ix–x.

analogy for relationships both within the choir and without. And if my hunch is right, what we learn about music here may give us an intimate understanding of the friars' engagement with medieval society in a way that enriches the historical narrative.

There is so much more to learn about music from the glosses of *De musica*. For example, a complete study of them will give us an even more highly nuanced appreciation of the heroic temperament of preachers (tuba),[74] their campaign against heresy (calamus),[75] and the character of simple preachers (sambuca).[76] We may learn more about the friars' understanding of corporal discipline (symphonia and tympanum).[77] There is also more to learn about performance practice. The final comment in the introduction to musical instruments, for example, offers fascinating details about music in the church. One's reading of the text and its gloss tells us clearly that, on account of the abuses of actors, the organ makes a more fitting accompaniment than a fiddle for proses, sequences, and hymns.[78] We may even learn more about religious society through curious comments like the one that glosses *De sistro* (the rattle), which likens Nuns (*moniales*) to Amazons.[79] As tantalizing as they are, however, they must wait for the occasion of a more dedicated study. The path now leads to Juan Gil de Zamora, who incorporated Bartholomaeus's knowledge of musical instruments into his own "official" Franciscan music treatise.

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[74] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica*, 115. See Chapter below, pp. 222–29.

[75] Ibid., *fol.* 233^{r}; *De musica,* 117.

[76] Ibid., *fol.* 233^{r}; *De musica*, 118.

[77] Ibid.

[78] "Nota quare organis utitur potius ecclesia quam viellis": "Et hoc solo musico instrumento utitur iam ecclesia in prosis, in sequenciis, et hymnis propter abusum histrionum, reiectis aliis fere instrumentis" (Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica*, 115; *De proprietatibus rerum*, 1254).

[79] Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 233^{v}; *De musica,* 120.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ARS MUSICA OF JUAN GIL DE ZAMORA
MUSICAL EXPRESSION AND INSTRUMENTS OF THE RECONQUISTA

The Franciscans were already well established on the Iberian Peninsula by the time Juan Gil de Zamora joined the Order. According to tradition, the first Franciscan missionaries to travel outside of Italy were Brothers Giles and Bernard, who made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella in 1209.[1] Francis himself is believed to have followed them in 1213, and while on the peninsula he is thought to have lain initial plans to establish convents there.[2] But, in fact, as José García Oro explains, there is no clear evidence of any Franciscan presence in Spain before their expeditions of 1217 and 1219.[3] The first mission, led by Bernard de Quintavalle, and the second, by Giovanni Parenti, would make substantial progress in Spain and Portugal, especially in cities along pilgrimage routes and in Moorish territories.[4] By the time of Francis's death in 1226 there were at least fifteen Franciscan foundations on the Iberian Peninsula. In 1230, convents there were divided into three large provinces: Santiago, Aragon, and Castile. Through the help especially of Ferdinand III of Castile and León, James I of Aragon, and their progeny, they established, by the end of the century, no fewer than sixty monasteries and many other convents for Poor Clares in the Christian strongholds of the North, and newly re-conquered islands and cities in the South.[5]

As in the German lands, the Franciscans in short order became involved in the social, political, and intellectual life of late-medieval Spain. Fray Pedro Gallego (1197–1267) accompanied King Ferdinand III (1217–52) in his conquest of Seville in 1248. So strong was the Franciscan devotion to Ferdinand, later St. Ferdinand, that they buried him in their habit as a Third Order Penitent. Pedro was appointed confessor to Ferdinand's son Alfonso, later King Alfonso X (1252–84); and when Alfonso incorporated

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[1] Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 71.

[2] Ibid., 27. *Actus* 3; *Deeds*, 440–1.

[3] José García Oro, *Francisco de Asis en la España medieval* (Santiago de Compostela: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas Liceo Franciscano, 1988), 46–7.

[4] Ibid., 47.

[5] Moorman, *A History of the Francisan Order,* 170. See also Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1983), *passim*.

the kingdom of Murcia into Castile and restored the episcopacy of Cartagena in 1250, Fray Pedro was appointed its first bishop. It was there he established an important center of learning that would become renowned for its study of the Aristotelian corpus, though one should note that this was by no means Spaniards' only access to Aristotle. By the mid-thirteenth century, Aristotelian sources would already have been available to Spanish students in Paris.[6] The acquisition of Aristotle from the Muslims appears to have resonated especially with Christian intellectuals involved in the Reconquista. Avelino Domínguez García and Luis García Ballester argue that the integration of Aristotelian science into the canon of Spanish Christian scholarship should be construed in this period not so much *acquisition* as *usurpation* of the Muslim intellectual patrimony.[7] Ibn Raship, a Muslim law student in Murcia at the time, offers his bitter estimation of the Christian monks who came to study their sciences, writing "they were spies who studied the sciences of the Muslims and translated them into their language in order to criticize them. May God hinder their efforts!"[8] For his part, Pedro Gallego translated into Latin an Arabic summary of Aristotle's *Liber de animalibus* for Alfonso X.[9]

These events background the literary career of Juan Gil de Zamora (c. 1230–1318). Like Pedro Gallego, Juan Gil was an intimate member of the court of Castile-León, perhaps before and certainly during his career as a Franciscan lector and administrator.[10] The diverse nature of Gil's literary endeavors gives us the impression of an active mind, consistent with the culture of learning fostered by Alfonso el Sabio. Gil composed numerous works of scientific, historical, musical, linguistic, and devotional literature. Some have conjectured that Juan Gil served as secretary to King Ferdinand III as well as confessor to Alfonso X, but the evidence

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[6] Many thanks to Prof. Damian Smith for drawing this to my attention.

[7] "Este interés de los intelectuales cristianos (dominicos, franciscanos), nuevos ocupantes de las tierras murcianas, por las obras de contenido médico y filosófico-natural escritas en árabe, fue percibido por la minoría intelectual murciana musulmana como una auténtica usurpación de su patrimonio intelectual y un atentado a la libertad de conciencia, pues la intención última de estos frailes traductores no era la pura búsqueda del conocimiento sino la conversión al cristianismo de la minoría intelectual musulmana" (Johannes Aegidii Zamorensis, *Historia Naturalis*, ed. Avelino Domínguez García and Luis García Ballester, vol. 1 [Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994], 34).

[8] H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography,* trans. and ed. Odile Cisnersos (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 172. Originally published as *Alfonso X, el Sabio: Una biografía* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2003).

[9] Ibid.

[10] The matter of dating events in Juan Gil de Zamora's career is a subject of controversy, as shall be come clear later in this chapter.

remains small.[11] He may also have accompanied Alfonso to Seville in 1260.[12] However, the only firm date we have for Juan Gil de Zamora is 1278, when he is named in a legal document as an advisor to Don Sancho, Alfonso's son, concerning a lawsuit between the Bishop of Zamora and the city.[13] Alfonso appointed Juan Gil as Sancho's tutor, and by Gil's own admission, he served Alfonso and Sancho in the capacity of secretary. He refers to himself as "scriptor suus" in the dedications to them of two of his works.

Juan Gil's *Liber de preconiis Hispanie* (c. 1278), dedicated to Sancho, is a brief history of Spain.[14] It makes many bold statements about kingship that deify his power, but Gil warns that the power the king receives from God must serve his people and not his own economic gain. This struck Salvador Martínez as a sign of Juan Gil's Franciscan spirituality, if also the regal ambitions of Alfonso X and Sancho, later king Sancho IV (reigned 1284–95).[15]

Gil's *Officium Almifluae Virginis*, dedicated to Alfonso X, may also come from around 1278. Fidel Fita's literary analysis of the *Officium*, and of Gil's collection of Marian legends known as the *Liber Mariae*, has shown these to be important sources for the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[16] In Manuel de Castro's view, "Las leyendas, pues, del *Liber Mariae* y el Oficio de la Virgen tuvieron que influir poderosamente en la composición de las obras dedicadas a nuestra Señora del Sabio rey de Castilla."[17] Castro makes his assertions on the basis of comparative textual analysis. In my forthcoming study of *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*, I shall re-consider Juan Gil's influence on the *Cantigas* from a musical point of view.

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[11] Tomás y Joaquin Carreras Artau, *Historia de la filosofia española: Filosofia Cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV*, Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias, vol. 1 (Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Fisicas y Naturales, 1939–1943), 13.

[12] Charles Faulhaber, *Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile*, Publications in Modern Philology 103 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 106.

[13] Ibid., 105.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Martínez, *Alfonso X,* 62–3.

[16] Fidel Fita y Colomé, "Poesias ineditas de Gil de Zamora," BRAH 7 (1885): 379–409; ibid., "Coincuenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora combinadas con las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio" BRAH 7 (1886): 54–144. See also the analysis of James W. Marchand and Spurgeon Baldwin, "Singers of the Virgin in Thirteenth-Century Spain," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 71, no. 2 (April, 1994): 169–84.

[17] Fray Juan Gil de Zamora, O.F.M., *De preconiis Hispanie*, ed. Manuel de Castro y Castro, O.F.M. (Madrid: Universidad de Madrid, 1955), lxxxii.

Historia naturalis, Dictaminis Epithalamium, *and* Ars musica

Juan Gil de Zamora's works in the liberal arts and natural philosophy are the ones most closely tied to his career as a Franciscan. They include his *Historia naturalis, Dictaminis Epithalamium*, and *Ars musica*. These bear the marks of a university education, which he may have received in Paris as early as the late 1240s.[18] They certainly add to the growing body of evidence showing that the university and its culture of learning was fertile ground for the cultivation of Franciscan identity. The *Dictaminis Epithalamium*, a treatise on rhetorical theory, manifests close ties to the Alfonsine scriptorium through letters Gil uses as examples.[19] He dedicated the work to the Franciscan Friar Philippus de Perugia, who became bishop of Fiesole in 1282.

The *Historia naturalis* and *Ars musica* are related works, evidently composed in this sequence during Juan Gil's career as lector in Zamora.[20] The didactic tenor of both works seems to support this assertion. The *Historia* is a massive encyclopedia on natural science. It cobbles together a vast array of knowledge from disparate sources, but its reliance upon the Aristotelian and Augustinian corpus is outstanding.[21] Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* serves as an important model for the *Historia*, as its modern editors have shown.[22] The *Historia* covers much of the same ground as Bartholomaeus's encyclopedia, and organizes information in a fashion that likewise seems to envisage the needs of a student audience, down to the alphabetical arrangement of materials. For García and Ballester, the connection between the two works seems logical in light of their authors' membership in the same Order, their intellectual roots in the Parisian *studium*, and their avocation to careers as Franciscan theologians working in provincial Franciscan *studia.*[23]

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[18] Scholars have generally agreed with Castro in dating Juan Gil's attendance at the *studium generale* in Paris to the early 1270s (ibid., lxiii), but these dates, along with the dating of several of Gil's works, will require revision as a result of new evidence that dates the *Ars musica* to the mid-1250s, and certainly before 1257. See below.

[19] Joannes Aegidius Zamorensis, *Dictaminis Epithalamium*, ed. Charles Faulhaber (Pisa: Pacini, 1978).

[20] See my arguments below.

[21] *Historia naturalis*, 57–8.

[22] Ibid., 19–82, especially 36, 41–2, 55–9.

[23] "Si lo comparamos con el escrito de Bartolomé es por tres motivos: el primero, porque ambos fueron hermanos de orden; el segundo, porque ambos estudiaron en París y mantuvieron una prolongada relación con el *Studium* parisino; y el tercero, porque ambos fueron maestros de teología en un *Studium* franciscano, el de Magdeburgo (Sajonia) el franciscano inglés y en el de Zamora el franciscano castellano-leonés" (ibid., 56.)

Who Commissioned Ars musica?

Uncertainty persists in establishing the proper chronology of the *Historia naturalis* and *Ars musica* relative to Juan Gil de Zamora's career in the Order. The crux of the problem is the dating of *Ars musica*. Gil composed it on a commission from the minister general of the Order, whom he identifies in his Prologue simply as "Johannes." Michel Robert-Tissot, the modern editor of *Ars musica*, and Rafael Mota Murillo propose that it was Johannes de Mirovalle, who ruled the Order from 1296 to 1304.[24] Robert Stevenson, on the other hand, agrees with Padre Martini's identification of this Johannes as Johannes de Parma, whose generalate spanned the decade from 1247 to 1257.[25] Giving credence to Robert-Tissot and Murillo's assertion would make the *Ars musica* a very late work indeed, composed long after Juan Gil's other books, and at a time when his duties as custos of Zamora (1295) and provincial minster of Santiago (1300) would have required his attention to administrative matters and no longer his duties as lector.

Accepting Stevenson's earlier dating would change our view of the *Ars musica* completely, from the product of an aged pedagogue—or as he puts it, "the swan song of a septuagenarian"—to a young and prodigious Franciscan lector.[26] An early date for the *Ars musica* would also place it into those fertile decades in the middle of the century, when Franciscan schoolmen and hagiographers were laying the foundations for their Order's intellectual formation and way of life. Considering the importance of chronology here, it will be useful to background Stevenson's assertions with a little more historical evidence.

In the Prologue to his *Ars musica*, the author identifies himself as "your friar Juan Gil, insufficient lector in Zamora," before adding the specific requirements the minister Johannes set for his commission.[27] This in itself

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[24] Johannes Aegidius de Zamora, *Ars Musica*, ed. Michel Robert-Tissot, Corpus Scriptorum Musica 20 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 7, 12–3. R. Mota Murillo, "Ars musica de Juan Gil de Zamora, O.F.M. Estudio del Ms. H./29 del Archivio Capitolare Vaticano," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 42 (1982): 659–62.

[25] Robert Stevenson, "Spanish Musical Impact Beyond the Pyrenees (1250–1500)," *España en la musica de Occidente: Actas del Congreso Internacional Celebrado en Salamanca, 29 de Octubre–5 de Noviembre de 1985, "Año Europeo de la Música,"* ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio, et al., vol. 1 (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, 1987), 121.

[26] Ibid., 123.

[27] "Reverendo et in bono Iesu patri sibi carissimo domino et amico, domino fratri Iohanni Ordinis Fratrum Minorum generali ministro, suus frater Iohannes Aegidius,

would suggest the work came from early in Juan Gil's career, at a time when he primarily thought of himself as a lector. He says, "I write for you this work on music from the writings and uses of the philosophers, conforming to your commission, as briefly and simply as I am able, without illustrations of which you are well acquainted.[28] The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene knew Johannes, that is, Giovanni da Parma well, and offers valuable testimony about his reputation as a singer and scholar that seems to fit Juan Gil's impression of the minister's learning.[29] Salimbene says that Giovanni had been "a master grammarian and teacher of logic" in secular life before he entered the Order.[30] He was a theologian and fervent preacher, and served as lector in Bologna and Naples before moving on to administration.[31] Salimbene describes him as having been a "great Joachite," as he himself had been, which eventually led to Giovanni's downfall.[32]

Salimbene frequently comments on the musical talents of his fellow friars, and he is not sparing in his detail when it to comes to Giovanni da Parma. He tells us that Giovanni "had a good understanding of music and sang well."[33] He was an assiduous follower of the Rule, but made reforms to liturgical practice when situations required.[34] For example, while on a visit to Spain in 1248, he became lost in a storm. Upon his return to safety, Giovanni da Parma instituted several liturgical reforms, which included "the singing after Compline of the first Nocturne of Our Lady's Office, which begins with the so-called 'Benedicta' antiphon. The first Nocturne having been sung, he required all houses to sing Psalm 66, concluding with a prayer for the safety of prelates."[35] Giovanni insisted that Franciscan singers adhere to statutory requirements in the performance of chant, much more so than was typical of the ministers general before him.

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lector in sufficiens Zamorensis, quidquid oboedientiae, reverentiae ac honoris, salutis et pacis, commodi et amoris" (*Ars musica*, 30). Translations are my own.

[28] "Musicam, absque demonstrationibus quae melius novistis, iuxta mandatum vestrum brevius ac puerilius, ut potui, ex dictis philosophorum praesentibus, scribo vobis" (*Ars musica*, 30).

[29] Salimbene, also a native of Parma, describes Giovanni at one point as "my countryman and a neighbor of neighbors" (*Chronicle*, 295). "[…] utpote quia de terra mea erat et propinquus propinquorum […]" (*Cronica*, 1:453). He also refers to him sometimes in the familiar Johannino (*Chronicle*, 297; "Iohanninus" in *Cronica,* 1:455).

[30] "[…] quia bonus gramaticus erat et magister in loyca in seculo fuit […]" (*Cronica,* 1:456). *Chronicle,* 297.

[31] *Chronicle,* 306.

[32] Ibid., 224, 294, 301.

[33] "Bene sciebat musicam et bene cantabat" (*Cronica*, 1:465). *Chronicle*, 297.

[34] *Chronicle*, 212, 300.

[35] Stevenson, "Spanish Musical Impact Beyond the Pyrenees," 122.

Salimbene attests that Giovanni da Parma reformed Franciscan liturgical practices in order to "bring their regular devotional readings into conformity with the official Church service, as had never been done before."[36] In one particularly glowing remark, Salimbene notes Giovanni's zeal for singing chant. "Whatever duty the cantor assigned him he performed immediately—as beginning the antiphons, singing the lections and responsories, and saying conventual Masses."[37] Giovanni da Parma's keen interest in chant, and insistence upon regularity, might well have lead him to commission a brief and simple treatise on music that would help the friars in his Order fulfill their statutory obligations. Moreover, says Stevenson, "[h]is Spanish journey early in his generalate may well have had something to do with his choosing a Spaniard to write a music isagoge."[38]

An early completion date for *Ars musica*, within the generalate of Giovanni da Parma, would place it perhaps not much more than a decade after Bartholomaeus Anglicus completed *De proprietatibus rerum*. Stevenson posited that it was Bartholomaeus who copied Juan Gil's chapters on musical instruments, or that scribes may have appended them to copies of *De proprietatibus rerum* "after Gil's *Ars musica* began circulating through Franciscan circles."[39] But Stevenson came to his conclusions without the benefit of M.C. Seymour's later research and Heinz Meyer's exhaustive manuscript study, which places the completion date for *De proprietatibus rerum* between 1230 and 1240 (Meyer) and no later than 1247 (Seymour).[40] If we add to this García and Ballester's evidence that shows Juan Gil imitating the form of *De proprietatibus rerum* in the *Historia naturalis*, we stand better assured of Bartholomaeus's place in history as the source for Juan Gil's chapter on musical instruments.

Considering Juan Gil's musical expertise in the context of his works as lector gives us fresh occasion to examine the Franciscan mission of music. Imbedding the work even more deeply in the historical narrative also gives us tantalizing opportunity to consider Gil's literary achievements in

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[36] "Verumtamen unam scripsit epistolam frater Iohannes, generalis minister, quam per totum Ordinem misit, precipiendo quod omnes fratres offitium ecclesiasticum ubique secundum rubricam ordinarii uniformiter facerent; quod prius non fiebat [...]" (*Cronica,* 1:462). *Chronicle*, 301.

[37] "Quicquid imponebat ei cantor, statim faciebat, et antiphonas inchoando, et lectiones et responsoria cantando, et missas conventuales dicendo" (*Cronica,* 1:472). *Chronicle*, 309.

[38] Stevenson, "Spanish Musical Impact Beyond the Pyrenees," 122.

[39] Ibid., 124.

[40] See above, p. 169.

light of Alfonso X's great political and cultural projects, such as the reconquest of the south and creation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

St. Cecilia, Music of the Bees, and Preaching in Historia naturalis

There is no discrete section on music in the *Historia naturalis*. Nevertheless, Juan Gil manages to incorporate his knowledge of its powers here through analyses of preaching. A most remarkable illustration occurs in the context of his hermeneutic of bees (*De apibus*). It comes at the end of a series of detailed observations about the insect and its production of honey; yet it is not this phenomenon of nature that yields advice to preachers. Rather, it is the sound the bee makes in flight that sends Juan Gil from sensual cognition to the perception of the spiritual senses.[41]

Juan Gil portrays the humming of bees as analogous to the murmur of St. Cecilia's orations (essentially prayer). Perhaps the sound of bees reminded him of the chant "Caecilia famula tua quasi apis tibi argumentosa deservit," which in medieval books (for the Franciscans, too) occurs in the offices for St. Cecilia, usually at Matins and Lauds.[42] At Matins, the mode-eight (G) responsory "Domine Jesu Christe, pastor bone, seminator casti consilii, suscipe seminum fructus quos in Caecilia seminasti: Caecilia famula tua quasi apis tibi argumentosa deservit" usually comes after *Lectio* 6.[43] "Caecilia famula …" also serves as an antiphon at Lauds, where

[41] "Iterum est notandum quod apes in volando alas extendunt, extensas contrahunt. In extendendo et contrahendo strepitum faciunt. Sic beata Cecilia strepitum faciebat in oracione per gemitum, alas extendebat in contemplacione ad Dominum, extensas contrahebat in predicacione ad proximum. Et iste est rectus ordo predicatorum, scilicet, ut per oracionem mereantur accipere peccatorum remissionem, per contemplacionem secretorum illuminacionem, per predicacionem meritorum accumulacionem. Et de hiis tribus dicitur in legenda sua: Non diebus ac noctibus cessabat ab oracione, quoad primum; nec a colloquis divinis vaccabat, quoad secundum; Tiburcium et Valerianum ad coronas vocabat, quoad tercium. Et propterea ad eius ymitacionem informat Sapiens predicatores, subiungens in auctoritate supradicta: Priusquam interroges ne vituperes quemquam et, cum interrogaveris, corripe iuste. Prius quam interroges, scilicet, in oracione, non vituperes quemquam, scilicet, in predicacione, sed pocius, exemplo beate Cecilie, interroga prius, scilicet, divinum consilium in oracione; et post corripe, scilicet, vicium in predicatione, et hoc iuste, quia cum debita discreccione et circumspeccione que perfecte digeritur in contemplacione" (*Historia naturalis*, 1788).

[42] See Van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 171–2. In some uses, the chant also serves as an antiphon for Vespers. For examples, see the Cantus database under cao 1747 (Dom René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. [Rome: Herder, 1963–79]).

[43] A common variation of this text replaces "apis" with "ovis." Comparing Cecilia to a lamb would seem to anticipate the following versicle, where her lamblike meekness is

it is set to a mode-three (E) melody.[44] The chant text is often construed as "busy like a bee, your handmaiden Cecilia served you," but this does not account for her "argumentosa"—her "richness in proof." This refers probably to Cecilia's argument with the Roman prefect Almachius. Indeed, the legendary debate is the subject of the preceding lesson (*Lectio* 6) in the Matins Office. With the liturgical exemplar in mind, no doubt, Juan Gil seized upon this portrayal of spiritual oration to teach his reader about the correct motions of preaching. It is, in fact, a mystical and highly evocative illustration of the power of music.

Gil sets forth the undulating action of bees' wings as an analogy for the succession of spiritual motion that occurs when one contemplates God through prayer. One receives divine illumination through the act of prayer, which then leads to expression of its meaning through speech. "The Wise instruct preachers," he says (*informat Sapiens predicatores*), that one must first interrogate divine counsel through prayer before reproaching vice by means of preaching. In light of Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Roger Bacon's commentaries in previous chapters,[45] Juan Gil's own concept of preaching comes across as an overt act of music. Like them also, his musical notion of preaching seems to reflect Augustine's model of spiritual motion. Juan Gil essentially instructs preachers to consult the immutable rhythms of judgment through prayer and contemplation before acting *with* judgment through the mutable rhythms of sensible speech. The reader whom Juan Gil targeted with such advice, as García and Ballester suggest, was the young preacher, probably of his own Order, who had need of information about the natural sciences, especially when far away from the extensive libraries that could supply it.[46] Integrating the natural sciences with the art of preaching in the *Historia* seems to blend the two kinds of information available in Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De musica*: the science itself; and its well-known glosses on preaching. Juan Gil's description of bees

compared to her husband's leonine rage in "Nam sponsum, quem quasi leonem ferocem accepit, ad te quasi agnum mansuetissimum destinavit." See the Cantus database under cao 6498, where all of the seventy-three chant texts beginning "Domine Jesu Christe, pastor bone" include the word "ovis." Clearly Juan Gil's hermeneutic relies on the analogy of bees and not sheep.

44 The text often appears in varied form, with "ovis" instead of "apis." The Cantus database reports all eighty-five occurrences of this chant (cao 1747) as transmitting with the word "ovis," though in the case of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4306, the chant on 237^{r} clearly indicates "apis" and not "ovis."

45 See Chapters Six and Seven.

46 "El lector en quien pensó Juan Gil fue más bien el predicador, y con toda probabilidad los jovenes miembros de su orden, que debían recibir una formación básica general lejos de centros surtidos de amplias bibliotecas" (*Historia naturalis*, 49).

also seems to reflect the full potential of musical science, as Roger Bacon describes it, for the preaching missions of *joculatores Domini*.

Ars musica *as a Primer for Singing Chant*

The commission Giovanni da Parma gave Juan Gil naturally puts one in mind of Pope Clement IV's commission that led to Roger Bacon's *Opus maius, Opus minus,* and *Opus terium*. They give both scholars' works a kind of "official" status, but for different reasons. Bacon's task was to explain how an educational system based on the wisdom of the Patriarchs, Christian theologians, and non-Christian philosophers would be of service to the church as a whole. In the process, he reveals to us his sympathies for Franciscan spirituality and some aspects of his own Franciscan identity. Juan Gil's commission required him to confront his Franciscan identity head-on. The Prologue indicates that he wrote *Ars musica* self-consciously as a friar for the Order's highest authority. At one level, it is in sympathy with Bacon's view of musical knowledge, based in the wisdom of Philosophers. Yet Gil also represents the view of the specialist, who places stock in practical musical instructions that derive from theorists like Guido d'Arezzo, John of Afflighem, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Judging from Salimbene's testimony, Giovanni da Parma was himself well advanced in his knowledge of music. So, what was lacking in the knowledge and skills of the friars in his Order that stood in the way of discharging their clerical duties?

Kathleen E. Nelson is spot on in observing that "[t]he *Ars musica* is fundamentally a discussion of chant."[47] We recall that the *Regula Bullata* of 1223 required clerical brothers to perform the Divine Offices according to papal use, and that Haymo of Faversham's correction of the Roman breviary and missal in 1243–4 made that possible.[48] Chant books were curtailed and standardized in order to bring Franciscan use in line with Rome. Musical notation was standardized, too, according to French taste, using square neumes on red or black staves of four to five lines.[49]

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[47] Kathleen E. Nelson, *Medieval Liturgical Music of Zamora*, Musicological Studies 67 (Ottawa, Canada: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996), 33.

[48] *The Later Rule*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* vol. 1, *The Saint* (New York: New City Press), 101. See above, pp. 36–7. See also Van Dijk, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960), 179–212; and ibid., *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

[49] Van Dijk, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 142–3.

Rubrics instructed the singer about the proper order of liturgical items. Yet, as Van Dijk explains, despite the clarity that such changes brought to Franciscan liturgical use, tumultuous change had to be accompanied by religious education to instruct students and "simple clerics" in the performance of the Offices. "Under the guidance of *cantors, magistri chori* or *correctores mensae* a new generation of unordained and ordained clerics was to grow up who, in their turn, would be able to guide others."[50]

The *Chronica XXIV Ministrorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* identifies Julian von Speyer (c. 1175–1240) as one such *corrector mensae*.[51] Bartolomeo da Pisa backgrounds this, reporting in 1398 that Julian served as "magister cantus in aula regis Francorum"—probably Phillip II, Louis VIII, and perhaps Louis IX—before joining the Franciscans around 1226.[52] Julian's fame rests mainly on his composition of the Rhymed Offices for St. Francis and St. Anthony. His title "cantor Parisiensis et corrector mensae" suggests that his expertise as a singer might have been put to use in training the friars how to perform chant properly, but as yet no clear evidence has been uncovered that indicates how a corrector mensae trained singers. As we have seen, William of Middleton's *Opusculum super missam* also gives us some idea of the sort of guidance the early friars received for the performance of the Mass.[53]

Juan Gil de Zamora's *Ars musica* should be considered another such source of guidance. In fact, for reasons that shall soon become obvious, it may be the most important example of the kind of strictly *musical* guidance the early Franciscans received in the *studium*. The *Opusculum super missam* is concerned with liturgical organization, and the forms and functions of chant within the context of theology, but it does not give practical advice about singing. Juan Gil, on the other hand, combines philosophical enquiry with music theory and functional instructions for singing chant. What he offers the friars of his Order, then, is a simple understanding of music, where science informs practice.

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[50] Van Dijk, *Sources*, I, 48.

[51] *Chronica XXIV Ministrorum Generalium O.F.M., Analecta Franciscana* 3 (1897), 381. See also Jason Miskuly, "Julian of Speyer: Life of St. Francis (Vita Sancti Francisci)," *Franciscan Studies* 49 (1989), 96–7.

[52] Jason Miskuly, "Julian of Speyer: Life of St. Francis (Vita Sancti Francisci)," *Franciscan Studies* 49, (1989), 96; compare Julian of Speyer, *The Life of Saint Francis* in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 366, n. 3. Bartolomeo da Pisa, *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu, Analecta Franciscana* 4 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1906), 308. Louis IX became king in 1226.

[53] See Chapter Three.

Ars musica

Juan Gil de Zamora's *Ars musica* consists of a prologue and seventeen chapters. He makes similar claims in the Prologue as does Roger Bacon about the relationship between music and other fields of science, only Gil is much more concise, offering few illustrations of his knowledge. Freed from such burden, Juan Gil makes sweeping statements about the relevance of music to the sciences of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. He says, "just as arithmetic is the mother of all the arts, music exists as their sister."[54] For, he says, no science is complete without melodic art. It is evident in the consonance and dissonance of letters, and the consonance of feet in meter. In logic one finds consonances and dissonances of propositions and syllogisms, and in rhetoric, consonances and dissonances of rhymes.[55] In fact, consonances and dissonances are everywhere, he says. Particularly in the heavens and combined elements, "the most beautiful melody glows according to the musical consonances and dissonances divinely ordered."[56] Gil's account of the relevance of music to the arts is passionate and even poetic. His concept of consonance and dissonance as an outgrowth of quadrivial science, and universally applicable to the trivium, is similar to other scholars of his time, including Grosseteste and Bacon.

The first two chapters of *Ars musica* are devoted to the origins of music (chap. 1) and its effect on humans and animals (chap. 2). Chapter two is the longest, and therefore adds considerable weight early on in the treatise to the sensual and affective properties of music, and their broad implications for human and animal cognition. Borrowing heavily from Isidore's *Etymologies,* Gil asserts that music affects spiritual motion by emboldening warriors, soothing the fatigued, and driving away evil spirits.[57] His claim that music has the power to cheer the disconsolate ("Tristes laetificat"[58]) seems related to statements in Bartholomaeus's *De musica*

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[54] "[…] sicut arithmetica cunctarum mater est artium, ita et musica earum soror existit" (*Ars musica*, 32).

[55] "In grammaticalibus patet ex consonantia et dissonantia litteram in orthographia, et ex consonantia pedum in arte metrica. In logicis ex consonantia et dissonantia propositionum in arte syllogismorum. In rhetoricis ex consonantia et dissonantia rhythmorum et huiusmodi" (ibid.).

[56] "Sic enim non solum in istis, sed etiam in omnibus quae sunt, coelestibus videlicet elementalibus et mixtis, relucet pulcherrima melodia, secundum consonantias et dissonantias musicales divinitus ordinatas" (ibid.).

[57] *Etymologiarum*, III.17.2–3.

[58] *Ars musica*, 44.

("letos animos magis letificat et tristes magis tristificat[59]), only his point is that music intensifies *affectus* rather than changing it from one extreme to another. Juan Gil states enthusiastically:

> What is even more wondrous, it casts evil spirits from bodies and exorcises them by a wonderful and mysterious divine power. Thus we read that demons dwell in some bodies, with the just permission of the Most High because of diverse dispositions toward vice in humans. And when through harmonious melody the body passes over to a contrary disposition, for example from profound sadness to joy, the evil spirit withdraws.[60]

The redeeming *affectus* of music is important; and Juan Gil will later emphasize that point when he returns to it in his illustration of the ethos of the church modes, and in his conclusion.

Most of Gil's commentary on animal cognition concerns the nightingale and dolphin, and one's perception of emotion through music. Two of the three sources he cites by name are the *Physiologus* and Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, though one wonders whether Pedro Gallego's translation of *De animalibus* had any influence. Gil's most important source may have been his own *Historia naturalis*, which he cites at the end of the chapter as a basis for further reading. Juan Gil remains almost completely mute on the subject of music per se in the *Historia*; yet by connecting the two works at this point, he sets up a mutual relationship between them. He may have considered *Ars musica* integral to his longer discourse on the natural sciences, and the *Historia* as offering insight on *Ars musica*.[61] It is an avenue worth exploring in greater detail than is possible here, especially since Gil's comments about preaching in the *Historia* concern music.

In chapters three and four, Juan Gil de Zamora begins to integrate the wisdom of Guido d'Arezzo (c. 991–after 1033) and John of Afflighem (fl. c. 1100) with Boethius. Gil reports that while these theorists may have differed in their approach to musical learning, they agree when it comes to their view of what a musician should be. It is not just about singing and playing instruments, he says. The complete musician is lame unless he

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[59] *De musica*, 123.

[60] "Quodque mirabilius est, spiritus malignos a corporibus eiicit et expellit mirifica et occulta quadam virtute divina. Siquidem legimus in corporibus daemones habitare, ob vitiorum in hominibus diversas dispositiones iuste Altissimo permittente. Et cum per melodicam harmoniam ad dispositionem contrariam transit corpus, ut a tristitia vehementi ad laetitiam, spiritus malus recedit" (*Ars musica,* 44).

[61] See above on preaching.

applies the judgment of reason.[62] Gil avoids the conflict between Aristotle and Pythagoras on the question of *musica mundana* in chapter four.[63] He simply reports their differing points of view and then moves on to other practical matters more germane to his purpose.

The introduction of Guido d'Arezzo here leads into the heart of Juan Gil's musical practice—what amounts to a primer on singing chant. Chapters five through eight offer perhaps the most detailed account from this era of the art of solfège.[64] In chapter nine, Juan Gil defines the interval species and establishes the monochord as a means of correcting errors in singing. He deals with consonances and dissonances in chapters ten and eleven, and in chapters twelve through fifteen the melodic modes used in chant. Description of the interval relationships (ch. 12) that characterize each mode is based almost exclusively on the *Tonary* of St. Bernard. Yet the way he defines the ethos of the modes in chapter fifteen gives some new details that are strikingly evocative of certain principles of Franciscan spirituality. Chapter sixteen includes a very brief description of the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genii, but without opining about the superiority of the latter, as Bacon does in the *Opus tertium*.[65] The final chapter of *Ars musica* is an exact copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's definitions of musical instruments,[66] with the exception of two short introductory phrases that adapt the work to Gil's distinctly Spanish context. He departs from Bartholomaeus in his conclusion, but makes essentially the same point about the motive and emotive properties of music that wield such power over our corporeal and spiritual senses.

While Juan Gil's view of the affective characteristics of music reiterates much of what we have heard from his contemporaries, his practical understanding of chant and pedagogy adds substantially to the paradigm of Franciscan music. Bowing to traditional methods of musical

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[62] "Guido vero et Iohannes et alii musicae peritiae speculatores communiter distinxerunt, quod primum musicae peritiae genus est illud, quod instrumentis agitur. Secundum, quod instrumentis carminum habetur. Tertium vero genus est illud, quod opus instrumentorum et carminum ratione diiudicat. Duos vero modos primos claudos esse Guido diiudicat, quia uno tantum pede incedunt, videlicet exercitii pede vel operationis. Pede vero rationis aut intellectus, qui ad musicam proprie spectat, carent. Non enim cantores tantum dicendi sunt musici, cum solo usu et confuse, non ratione, regantur, sed qui pede rationis reguntur, secundum Boetium et Guidonem" (*Ars musica*, 58).

[63] Ibid, 60.

[64] Robert-Tissot writes: "C'est certainement, pour cette époque, l'exposé le plus complet que l'on ait sur cette question, avec les textes de Jérôme de Moravie et de Jean de Garlande" (*Ars musica*, 25).

[65] See above, pp. 151–57.

[66] See chapter seven.

training—based in solfège, locating pitches on a staff, using the monochord to correct errors of intonation—may be a sign of his conformity. It suggests that *magistri chori* were still using this pedagogical hardware to teach students how to sing chant. Combining the wisdom of Guido with Bernard of Clairvaux shows, moreover, that Gil was interested in giving his reader more than a superficial understanding of chant. From Guido we have the mnemonic device of syllables to help one remember the locations of half and whole steps on a staff. Through Bernard, he proves to his reader that it is also important to recognize the melodic patterns that distinguish melodies composed in each of the eight church modes. Moving from this to the ethos of the modes seems a logical progression from sensual understanding of the motions of music to a spiritual understanding of their emotive properties.

The Ethos of the Church Modes

Juan Gil de Zamora's study of the ethos of the modes belongs to a long tradition among Western music theorists of expounding the power melodies have over the soul. Plato, Aristotle, and later Plutarch had written about their influence on human behavior. Their ideas permeate the writings of Boethius, Guido d'Arezzo, Hermannus Contractus (1013–54), John of Afflighem, and others. Juan Gil's interpretation of the ethos of the modes derives from their knowledge. Yet Gil offers new qualifications.

Table 1. The Modal Ethos of Juan Gil de Zamora

Mode	Ethos
1	One should note that the first tone is flexible, easily suited, and accommodating to all affects, as in the Song of Songs.[67]
2	One should note that the second tone is grave and mournful since it is more appropriate to sadness and misery, as in the *Threni*—that is the Lamentations of Jeremiah.[68]
3	One should note that the third tone is angry and stimulating, having vigorous leaps in its contour. Whence Boethius says that

(*Continued*)

[67] "Et notandum quod primus tonus est mobilis et habilis et ad omnes scilicet affectus aptabilis, ut in Canticis Canticorum" (*Ars musica,* 100).

[68] Et notandum quod secundus tonus est gravis et flebilis, quia convenientior tristibus et miseris, ut in threnis, hoc est in lamentationibus Ieremiae" (ibid.).

Table 1. (*Cont.*)

Mode	Ethos
	Pythagoras roused some youth to health through the third tone; indeed, through mode two one returns to a gentler disposition.[69]
4	On the other hand, the fourth tone is alluring and garrulous, most appropriate to flatterers.[70]
5	One should note that the fifth tone is modest and delightful, cheering the sad and softening the anxious, calling back the fallen and hopeless.[71]
6	One should note that the sixth tone is pious and lachrymose, appropriate to those who are easily provoked to tears.[72]
7	One should note that the seventh tone is wanton and pleasing, having a variety of leaps, representing the manners of adolescents.[73]
8	One should note that the eighth tone is sweet and morose, following the manner of parting.[74]

Rita Steblin has shown that Juan Gil's particular account of the ethos of the modes forms a kind of watershed for music theorists down stream.[75] For example, whereas there was little consensus among earlier medieval music theorists about the affect of the Dorian mode (mode one), theorists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries faithfully transmit Gil's interpretation.[76] Conspicuous among these later theorists are the several Germans

[69] "Et notandum quod tertius tonus est severus, incitabilis, in cursu suo fortiores habens saltus. Per hunc plures ad sanitatem excitantur. Unde Boetius dicit quod Pythagoras quemdam adulescentem per tertium tonum ad sanitatem excitavit; per secundum vero reddidit mitiorem" (*Ars musica*, 102).

[70] "Est autem quartus tonus blandus et garrulus, adulatoribus maxime conveniens" (ibid.).

[71] "Et notandum quod quintus tonus est modestus et delectabilis, tristes et anxios laetificans et dulcorans, lapsos et desperantes revocans" (ibid.).

[72] "Et notandum quod sextus tonus est pius et lacrimabilis, conveniens illis qui de facili ad lacrimas provocantur" (*Ars musica*, 104).

[73] "Et notandum quod septimus tonus est lascivus et iocundus varios habens saltus, modos adulescentiae repraesentans" (ibid.).

[74] "Et notandum quod octavus tonus est suavis et morosus secundum modum discretorum" (ibid.).

[75] Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,* Studies in Musicology 67, ed. George Buelow (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 26.

[76] Ibid.

who, Peter Slemon has shown, adopted Gil's entire ethical outlook.[77] It may come as no surprise, however, that it was not to Juan Gil but to Guido whom they attributed this understanding of the modes.[78]

Juan Gil de Zamora's concept of the ethos of the modes, derived and modified, offers a remarkable musical corollary to the spirituality and sense of mission we have encountered in Franciscan writings and visual art thus far. In reading his definitions of the eight church modes (table 1), one is struck immediately by the variety and intensity of Gil's feelings, especially in his impression of their medicinal, redemptive, pious, and even worldly properties. Relating some of these affects to actual illustrations from scripture renders their spiritual meaning more palpable. He may, in fact, be referring to known repertories of chant.

For example, searching the Cantus database for chant settings of "Quam pulchra es" from the *Song of Songs* yields many melodies in mode one, but also in modes two, four, and eight. Melodies for other texts from the *Song of Songs* show considerable variety in their use of mode. Perhaps what Gil sensed in mode one was its accommodation to the various expressions of feeling exuded by the *Song of Songs* text. As for his illustration of mode two, the tones for the Lamentations of Jeremiah in Spanish Office books from the late Middle Ages indicate a preponderant use of this mode.[79] Defining the ethos of mode two as "grave and mournful" suggests that Juan Gil was sensitive to the connection between the *effectus* of the Lamentations readings and the *affectus* of the tones to which they were set.

Where illustrations are lacking, Gil seems to encourage us to make our own broad associations, perhaps outside the context of chant. From his description of mode eight, for example, we may infer a melodic sensibility suitable to courtly love, or chants that evoke such sweet pains. Mode three reflects similar extremes of feeling. Gil arranges it into a dynamic relationship with mode two, where boisterousness leads to extreme dolor. Mode seven seems to evoke youthful excitement, if also wantonness, like mode four.

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[77] Peter Slemon, "Adam von Fulda on *Musica Plana* and *Compositio. De Musica,* Book II: A Translation and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1994), 119. The list of German theorists includes Gobelius Person, Coussemaker's Monachus Carthusiensis, Johann Amon's Anonymous, and Adam von Fulda.

[78] Ibid.

[79] See R.P. Casiano Rojo, "The Gregorian Antiphonary of Silos and the Spanish Melody of the Lamentations," *Speculum* 5, no. 3 (July, 1930), 317–22. See also R.P. Germanus Prado, *Cantus Lamentationum pro ultimo triduo Hebdomadae Majoris Juxta Hispano Codices* (Paris: Desclée, 1934).

The Ethos of Mode Five

Juan Gil's description of the ethos of mode five reminds us of his comments in chapter two, where he said that music had the power to "cheer the disconsolate." One should note the strong precedent for this interpretation of the Lydian mode. Like Bartholomaeus Anglicus before him, Gil was not breaking new ground so much as adapting older ideas to his own program of thought. As I pointed out in chapter two, Plato considered the Lydian mode dirge-like while Plutarch found it lamenting.[80] Hermannus Contractus distinguished between the mournful (*lamentabilem*) character of the Hypolydian mode (6) and the "voluptuous" (*voluptuosum*) Lydian mode (5).[81] John of Afflighem says that mode six evokes a lachrymose response, while "some are stirred by the well-bred high spirits and the sudden fall to the final in the fifth [mode]."[82] The *Summa musicae*, composed around 1200, reiterates John of Afflighem's evaluation of mode five as "delightful and saucy."[83] And in an odd departure from this tradition, Guido perceived mode six (*tritus plagalis*) as having a "delightful" character.[84]

Juan Gil's description of mode five seems a bit challenging since it asks us to recognize not one but a sequence of motions that result in spiritual concord. It begins with what appears to be the affect of happiness; yet his final statement qualifies this emotion within a more complex context. Clearly the joy and delight of mode five is not the same as the pleasing qualities of mode eight. Rather, Gil is quite explicit in describing the affect of the F mode in its authentic range as having the power to delight *and* "recall" the *lapsi* ("lapsos et desperantes revocans"). If we consider this spiritual dynamic through the lens of Franciscan hermeneutics, one is struck by how closely this interpretation reflects the mission of the *joculatores Domini*. We recall that hagiographers had Francis give the friars

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[80] Plato, *Republic,* 398d–e (trans. Desmond Lee [London: Penguin Classics, 1955; revised, 1987]); Plutarch, "On Music," in *Moralia*, trans. Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. De Lacy, Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann, 1967), 14:385.

[81] *Musica Hermanni Contracti*, trans. and ed. Leonard Ellinwood (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1936), 65.

[82] "[…] alii modesta quinti petulantia ac subitaneo ad finalem casu moventur […]" (*PL* 150, 1413). John "Cotton," *De Musica*, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. Warren Babb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 133.

[83] "Alii petulanti lascivia quinti mulcentur" (*The 'Summa musicae': A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers*, ed. and trans. Christopher Page [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 118; 195, 2114).

[84] Guido, *Micrologus*, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, 69.

a mandate to call sinners to penance with music, and thereby to lift them up to spiritual joy.[85] *Lapsus* is a term medieval writers commonly construed as sinner, heretic, or fallen Christian in general.[86] Augustine himself used it in book six of *De musica* to refer to the soul's fall from grace.[87] Juan Gil's portrayal of mode five also corresponds to his dynamic description of music in chapter two of *Ars musica*, where it had the power to cheer the disconsolate ("Tristes laetificat"), to convert the listener from sadness to joy, and thus drive out evil spirits.[88]

I have already noted the similarity between this passage in chapter two and its counterpart in the conclusion of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De musica*[89]; and there are still other striking connections between Juan Gil and Bartholomaeus's views. The ethical dynamism of Gil's concept of mode five, for example, corresponds to Bartholomaeus's moral interpretation of Isidore's *vox perfecta*.[90] Indeed, Bartholomaeus's understanding of the curative power of the preacher's perfect voice sounds quite akin to the redemptive nature of the mode—both convert the soul by "caressing it with music."[91] *Ars musica* gives us no marginal notes to guide us to the preacher's voice, as we have in *De musica*. Nevertheless, when Juan Gil subjected musical cognition to natural science in chapter two, he opened the way between the art of music and his hermeneutic on preaching in the *Historia naturalis*. And as we shall see shortly, the relevance of music to preaching grows larger still as a result of his copying the chapter on musical instruments from *De musica*.

In view of such a vivid response to the ethos of mode five, one wonders, at last, what the inspiration might have been. At least Juan Gil gave us some clues for modes one and two, but not for the others. His portrayal of mode seven adds some detail to John of Afflighem and the *Summa*

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[85] See above, p. 58.

[86] J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Brill: Leiden, 1997), 581.

[87] "Sed ut temperentia contra lapsum, qui est in libera voluntate, sic fortitudo contra vim valet qua etiam cogi quis potest, si minus fortis sit, ad ea, quibus evertatur et miserrimus iaceat" (Augustine, *De musica*, VI.54). [But as temperance is powerful against the fall that is in the free will, so is fortitude powerful against the force by which someone can even be driven, if it is not strong enough, to things through which he will be overthrown and lie in utter misery (Augustine, *Aurelius Augustinus, De musica liber VI: A Critical Edition with a Translation and an Introduction*, trans. and ed. Martin Jacobsson [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002], 109).

[88] See above, pp. 208–9.

[89] Bartholomaeus, *De musica*, 123.

[90] See above, pp. 188–90.

[91] *De musica,* 115. See above, p. 189.

musicae's description, giving us an even more compelling portrayal of its extroverted and delightful sounds of leaping.[92] The allusion to its wantonness and the behavior of adolescents is appealing, especially in light of early Christian authors' explications of the *jubilus*.[93] Juan Gil's mode seven conjures to mind a vivid mis-en-scène that suits surprisingly well the wordless shouts of joy and whooping of field workers that Hilary of Poitier and Augustine describe.[94] Given the tendency toward G as well as D modes in the repertory of Gregorian Alleluias, one wonders whether John, the author of the *Summa musicae*, and Juan Gil de Zamora were thinking about Alleluias when describing mode seven. The argument is, of course, generalizing; but, again, it seems that this is the kind of analysis our exegetes of the Mass demand.

One wonders, too, whether Juan Gil's qualification of mode five has anything to do with the spiritual narrative concerning the Gradual. The fact that he does not say so gives us cause to wonder, especially since a majority of them are in mode five. When I proposed in Chapter Two that we consider the relevance of this kind of modal analysis, the ostensible incongruity between our ancient and medieval music theorists also seemed confusing. Having now brought them into a kind of accord through the help of Franciscan hermeneutics, we now find ourselves on more solid footing musically regarding the message of penance inherent in the Gradual. Thinking about the mode-five Graduals as embodying spiritual delight (in the Franciscan sense of delighting in pious suffering[95]) complicates and enriches our understanding of Lotario dei Segni's hermeneutic of the Mass. Hearing the music of the Gradual in this frame of mind—as resounding with the delight of penance, calling to the fallen soul—casts the mode-five Graduals as resonant companions to the mode-two Graduals and their lamenting tone. Together they also remind us of Tommaso da Celano's account of Francis's penitential sermon in Montefeltro, where he preached on the theme of the secular song refrain "so great is the good that I hope for that all pain delights me."[96]

Juan Gil's ethos of the modes may afford us unique ingress into the mystical theology surrounding the Mass. Even without his explicit acknowledgement of the fact, it suggests that at least three fifths of the corpus of Graduals correspond *musically* to the spiritual narrative of the

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92 *Summa musicae*, 118; 196.
93 See above, p. 79.
94 Ibid.
95 See above, pp. 17, and 28–34.
96 Ibid.

Mass according to Lotario dei Segni, Rupert von Deutz, and Amalar of Metz. Gil's understanding of the modes gives us another way of thinking about the Franciscan contribution to the history of chant, adding to Haymo of Faversham's reforms of the Missal and Breviary in the 1240s.

Beyond their application in chant, another important question is whether Franciscan composers, or those who worked within their sphere of influence, actually applied the modes as Juan Gil construed them. In his biography of Alfonso X, Salvador Martínez writes, "Juan Gil de Zamora authored many Marian devotional books, and as an expert musicologist, he must be considered one of the main collaborators in the composition not only of the literary and theological content, but also of the music of the cantigas."[97] To my knowledge, no published work has considered the connection between the *Ars musica* and the musical content of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Elsewhere I have argued that composers of the medieval German *Marienklagen* employed mode-five melodies to evoke precisely the ethos Juan Gil describes.[98] These and other implications of his *Ars musica* are central to my forthcoming study of *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*.

"Musicalia instrumenta inventa fuerunt secundum diversitatem temporum a diversis"

As I stated earlier, the most outstanding connection between *De musica* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Juan Gil de Zamora's *Ars musica* is their definitions of musical instruments. Gil is usually careful about citing his sources, which makes their unreferenced inclusion in the seventeenth chapter of *Ars musica* all the more curious. This notwithstanding, the small but substantive additions Juan Gil makes to his source, by including local instruments and a new scriptural context, gives his encyclopedic treatment of musical instruments a uniquely Iberian character. Cast in the light of the Reconquista of Muslim Spain, and manuscript illuminations from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, *Ars musica* reveals its associations with Alfonso X's cultural and political programs. At the same time, we see Gil's definitions of musical instruments as relevant to the Franciscan preacher

[97] Martínez, *Alfonso X,* 60–1.

[98] Peter Loewen, "Portrayals of the *Vita Christi* in the Medieval German *Marienklage*: Signs of Franciscan Exegesis and Rhetoric in Drama and Music" *Comparative Drama* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 315–45.

working in Spain when we consider them in light of the glosses that accompany these definitions in Bartholomaeus's *De musica*.

In John Keller's foreword to Kathleen Kulp-Hill's English translation of the *Cantigas*, he remarks, "the impact of the *Cantigas* is that of an encyclopedia of narrative art in both verbal and visual form."[99] Bartholomaeus and Juan Gil, too, offer us an encyclopedic study of musical instruments. In the previous chapter I showed how Bartholomaeus set about expounding the mysteries of music to demonstrate their use in theology. By updating Isidore's mainly pagan illustrations of instruments with scriptural authority, he is able to reflect more directly on the value of this knowledge for the work of the Church. Eight of the eighteen glosses in these chapters of *De musica* render the material relevant to preaching, which makes them an ideal source of information concerning the *cura animarum*. Since we know that glossed manuscript copies circulated in Paris, and perhaps also in Spain, around Gil's lifetime, and that he largely copied Bartholomaeus's chapters on instruments, it seems reasonable to consider *Ars musica's* description of musical instruments through the lens of these glosses.[100]

Juan Gil evokes the cause of the Spanish Franciscan missionary at the very outset of his description of instruments—an introduction of sorts that differs substantially from Bartholomaeus's. Gil explains that musical instruments were invented at different times and by different people. To illustrate, he quotes from the Book of Daniel (3.9–10), where king Nebuchadnezzar's Chaldaean astrologers denounce the three Jewish administrators of the province of Babylon who refuse to worship his golden idol. Gil's version of the story elaborates slightly on the Vulgate text by including new details concerning the herald's voice and the diversity of people to whom he spoke. As he tells it, King Nebuchadnezzar and his princes had given a command, which a herald "announced loudly to people of various cultures and languages: at the hour you hear the sound

[99] Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria,* trans. Kathleen Kulp-Hill (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), xi.

[100] Fourteenth-century manuscript copies of *De proprietatibus rerum* containing the standard glosses are preserved in Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 596; and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3316. Neither the *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, nor the *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona* discuss the provenances of Mss. 3316 and 596, nor does Manuel de Castro in *Manuscritos Franciscanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*. In my view, certainly Madrid, Ms. 3316 shows paleographic signs of having been copied in northern France; when it arrived on the Peninsula must, for the time being, remain uncertain.

of the trumpet, flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of music, fall down and worship the golden image that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up."[101] The scriptural narrative goes on to say that the Jews refused to worship the idol and so were thrown into a blazing furnace, but were miraculously unharmed by the flames. It seems at first like an odd choice for a quotation. Why not invoke David's Psalms instead of these pagan astrologers who proclaim the supremacy of their idol over the Judeo-Christian God?

To answer this question, it will be useful to know that Alfonso X's *General Estoria* transmits a similar version of this story from Daniel 3, including the same elaborations concerning the herald's loud voice, and the people of many cultures and languages ("los pueblos de cuantas maneras e de cuantas lenguas") to whom he announced the king's command.[102] The *General Estoria* also transmits the apocryphal text from Daniel 3 known as the "Praises of Creation"—a penitential song that Azariah (Abed-nego) and his companions sing from inside the furnace, and which preserves them from the flames.[103] St. Francis quotes substantially from this song in "The Canticle of Brother Sun," and we already know that hagiographers explicitly identified both its text *and* music with the mission of the *joculatores Domini*.[104] The story of the three Jews in the fiery furnace also figures prominently in two of Alfonso's *Cantigas*. *Cantiga* 4 concerns the miracle of a Jewish boy who converts to Christianity after the Virgin Mary rescues him from a furnace.[105] In *Cantiga* 215, Alfonso demonstrates

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[101] "Musicalia instrumenta inuenta fuerunt secundum diversitatem temporum a diversis. De quibus scriptura divina Danielis III faciens mentionem, dicit quod de mandato regis Nabuchodonosor et principum eius, praeco clamabat valenter: Vobis dicitur populis et tribubus et linguis, in hora qua audieritis sonitum tubae, et fistulae, et citharae, sambucae, psalterii, et symphoniae, et universi generis musicorum, cadentes adorate statuam auream quam constituit Nabuchodonosor rex" (*Ars musica*, 108). Compare the Vulgate: "Dixeruntque Nabuchodonosor regi rex in aeternum vive tu rex posuisti decretum ut omnis homo qui audierit sonitum tubae fistulae et citharae sambucae et psalterii et symphoniae et universi generis musicorum prosternat se et adoret statuam auream" (Dn 3:9–10)."

[102] "E vino un pregonero e llamó a grandes vozes e dixo:—A todos los pueblos de cuantas maneras e de cuantas lenguas aquí sodes vos dize el rey e manda que cual ora oyéredes el sueno de la bozina e del caramiello e de la cedra e de la farpa e del salterio e de la cimfonia e de los otros instrumento de la música, de que tandrán ý de toda manera, que luego finquedes todos los inojos e que aoredes esta imagen de oro que el rey Nebucodonosor pone e establece aquí" (*General Estoria*, ed. Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja [Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2009], pt. 4, I:261).

[103] Ibid., I:262–3.

[104] See above, pp. 57–8.

[105] Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 6–7.

his own piety by venerating a statue of the Virgin Mary that was rescued from a conflagration perpetrated by a man named Aboyuçaf and several other Moorish bandits.[106] Both *Cantigas* regale and edify the listener with examples of religious conflict that result in the triumph of Christian and specifically Marian virtue. In sight of such testimony from two major projects of the Alfonsine scriptorium, one wonders whether it would have seemed obvious to Franciscans working on the Iberian Peninsula that a scriptural reference to musical instruments, directing people of different cultures and languages to worship, was addressing themes of Franciscan spirituality and religious conflict germane to Alfonso's Reconquista of Muslim Spain.

The second addition Juan Gil makes to *De musica* lends weight to this argument. Following his reference to Daniel 3, Gil adds some contemporary Spanish color to the list of Nebuchadnezzar's instruments by including the *canon, medio-canon, guitar*, and *rabab*. All of these instruments were importations from the Persian-Arabic world and appear to have been in use at Alfonso's court, judging from the many illustrations that appear in the *Cantigas* manuscripts.[107] The *canon*, *entero canon* in Castilian, and *medio canon* were zither-like instruments derived from the Egyptian *qanum*.[108] An illustration of the *entero canon* appears in *Cantigas* manuscript E (Escorial Codex B.1.2; Fig. 8.1), copied probably after 1281,[109] at the head of *Cantiga* 80. The *medio-canon* appears before *Cantiga* 50 (Fig. 8.2).

The Arabic *guitar* (*quitâra*, derived from the Greek *cithara*)[110] and *rabab* also appear in several illustrations, the former at the head of *Cantiga* 150 in manuscript E (Fig. 8.3), the rabab or rebec before *Cantiga* 110 (Fig. 8.4).

With these small insertions preceding Bartholomaeus's definitions of instruments, Juan Gil situates us firmly on Spanish soil, and in view of the court of Alfonso X. Isidore/ Bartholomaeus/Juan Gil's definition of the trumpet follows immediately afterward. He writes:

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[106] Ibid., 258–9.

[107] "Canon et medius canon, et guitarra, et rabe, fuerunt postremo inventa" (*Ars musica*, 108).

[108] Jesús J. Lacasta Serrano, "Las miniaturas musicales del *Vidal mayor*—Un documento coetáneo de las Cantigas de Santa María," *Nassare: revista argonesa de musicologia* 11, nos. 1–2 (1995), 243–4. See also Rosario Álvarez, "Los Instrumentos Musicales en los Códices Alfonsinos: Su Tipología, su uso y su Origen. Algunos Problemas Iconográficos," *Revista de musicologia* 10 (1987), 70–3.

[109] Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "The Stemma of the Marian Cantigas: Philological and Musical Evidence," *Cantigueiros: Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 6 (1994), 71.

[110] Álvarez, "Los Instrumentos Musicales en los Códices Alfonsinos," 77 n. 5.

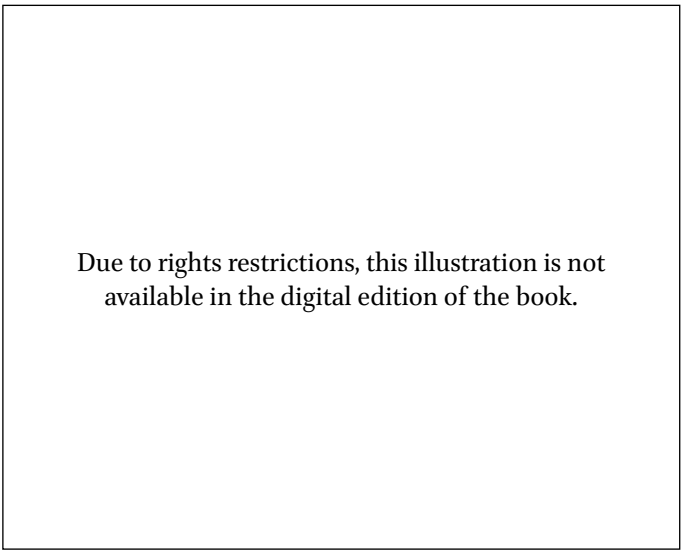

Fig. 8.1. Entero Canon from Cantiga 80, Escorial Codex B.1.2 (E), fol. 96^{r}. Copyright © Patrimonio Nacional.

Fig. 8.2. Medio Canon from Cantiga 50, Escorial Codex B.1.2 (E), fol. 71^{v} Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 8.3. Arabic Guitar (left) from Cantiga 150, Escorial Codex B.1.2 (E), fol. 147^{r} Art Resources, NY.

Gloss from *De musica*	Text from *Ars musica*
Nota quare predicatoribus comparatur[a]	Tuba a Tyrrhenis primitus est inventa. De quibus Virgilius: Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.[a] Utebantur autem antiqui tubis in proeliis et ad hostium terrificationem, et ad commilitonum animationem, ad equorum bellicorum in pugnam provocationem, ad bellorum iniendam congressionem, et ad signandam certaminis cum victoria terminationem, et ad fugitivorum revocationem.[111]

[111] *Ars musica,* 108–10. Compare: "Tuba a Turrenis primitus est inventa, de quibus Virgilius: Turrenusque tube mugire per ethera clangor. Utebantur autem antiqui tubis in preliis et ad hostium terrificacionem, ad commilitonum animationem, ad equorum bellicorum in pugnam provocationem, ad bellorum innuendam congressionem, ad

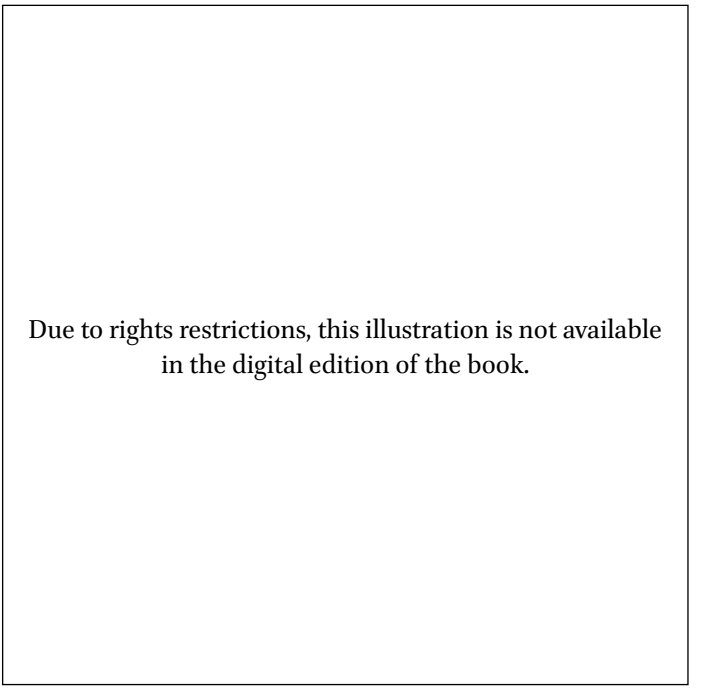

Fig. 8.4. Rabab from Cantiga 110, Escorial Codex B.1.2 (E), fol. 118^{r}

The marginal gloss adjacent to this text in manuscript copies of *De musica* requires the reader to compare preachers (*praedicatores*) to the blaring sound of the trumpet. The text states that the ancients used trumpets in battle to signal war and to strike terror in the hearts of enemies. The sound of the trumpet could animate their comrades, provoke the engagement of warhorses in combat, signal victory, and call back those in flight.

This definition of the trumpet may have held special meaning for a Spanish audience, coming hot on the heels of Juan Gil's previous additions to the text. A clear illustration of two trumpets appears at the head of *Cantiga* 320 in manuscript E (Fig. 8.5). It seems noteworthy that these

signandam in certaminis cum victoria venerationem, ad fugitivorum revocacionem" (Fig. 7.1: Paris, BnF Cod. Lat. 16099, *fol.* 232^{v}; *De musica*, 115; *Etymologiarum*, III.21.3).

instruments, too, came from the Arab world. According to Jesús Serrano, this type of trumpet, with its distinctive bulbous joints or *pommels*, is known as an añafil, *annafīr* in Andalusian Arabic. It is derived from the *nafīr*, an aerophone of Arabic or perhaps Persian origin, that was carried

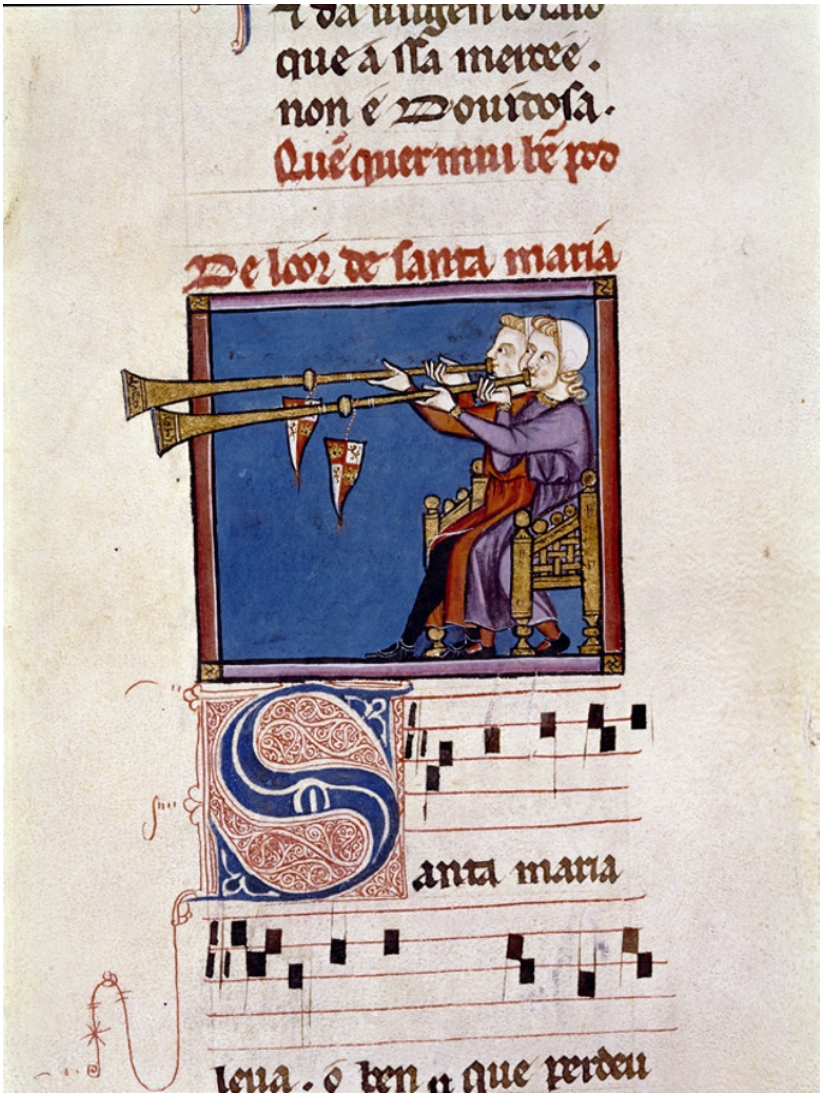

Fig. 8.5. Tuba from Cantiga 320, Escorial Codex B.1.2 (E), fol. 286r
Art Resource, NY.

to the Iberian Peninsula probably some time between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[112]

The gloss on the trumpet puts one in mind of the many depictions of Franciscans in the *Cantigas* Manuscript T (Escorial Codex T.I.1), the so-called *Codice rico*, copied after 1271 and completed perhaps in the 1280s.[113] Actually, in certain respects, the most striking representations of Franciscans appear in the miniatures accompanying *Cantigas* 85 (Fig. 8.6) and 171 (Fig. 8.7).[114] Remarkably, there is no mention of Franciscans anywhere in their song texts. Instead, the friars are represented iconographically, wearing the distinctive Franciscan habit, with captions that

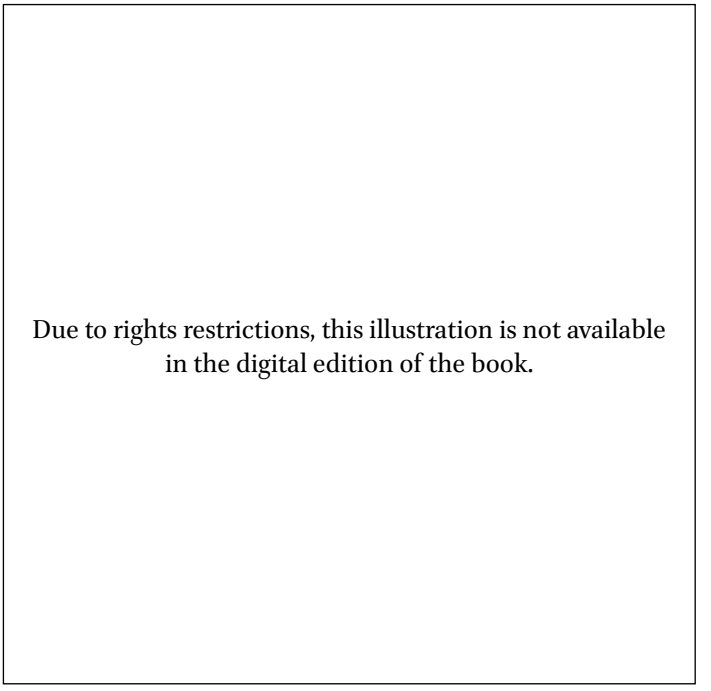

Fig. 8.6. Franciscan preaching in Cantiga 85, Escorial Codex T.I.1 (T, *Codice rico*), fol. 126r

[112] Serrano, "Las miniaturas musicales del *Vidal mayor*," 245. See also Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (London: Faber, 1976), 73 and 74, Fig. 11.

[113] Ferreira, "The Stemma of the Marian Cantigas," 71–2.

[114] Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 109–10; 206.

Fig. 8.7. Franciscan preaching in Cantiga 171, Escorial Codex T.I.1, (T, *Codice rico*), fol. 228v
Art Resource, NY.

identify them as the preachers who proclaim the legend to their attentive audiences before the altar of the Blessed Virgin. In *Cantiga* 85, the caption reads, "How the miracle was proclaimed throughout the lands,"[115] and in 171, "How they spread the news of this miracle to the people and they all greatly praised Holy Mary."[116]

At the other extreme, the Franciscan preacher appears as the central figure in *Cantiga* 143 (Fig. 8.8), "Como Santa Maria fez en Xerez chover por rogo dos pecadores que lle foron pedir por merçee que lles désse chovia" (How Holy Mary Made it Rain in Jerez because of the prayer of the sinners

[115] Kathleen Kulp-Hill, "Captions and Miniatures in the 'Codice Rico' of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, a Translation," *Cantigueiros: Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 6 (1995), 32.
[116] Ibid., 57.

who begged Her in Her mercy to give them rain).[117] In his sermon, the friar proclaims the virgin birth and Christ's suffering on the cross. Together friar and audience perform a prayer ritual that causes the people to moan and women to weep, to which the Virgin Mary responds by performing the miracle of rain. The song's refrain strikes to the heart of the spiritual campaign of the *joculatores Domini* when it states, "Quen algũa cousa quiser pedir / a Deus por Santa Maria, / se de seus pecados se repentir, / ave-lo-á todavia" (He who asks something of God through Holy Mary, if he repents of his sins, shall always receive it).[118] Clearly, the Franciscan (or perhaps the idea of a Franciscan) was a familiar figure of Marian lore in Spain, and already, by the second half of the thirteenth century, a symbol of preaching in the mind of Alfonso X and his circle of song composers, scholars, and artists.

Alfonso celebrates his reconquest of Jerez de la Frontera in several of his *Cantigas*. He mentions the city in Prologue A and elsewhere (e.g. *Cantigas* 328, 345, and 359), almost always to describe some conflict between the indigenous Moors and the Christians who settled there after the fall of Seville. The discord eventually erupted at the Mudéjar Uprising in May of 1264, and ended with the defeat of Alfonso's army under the

Fig. 8.8. Franciscan preaching in Cantiga 143, Escorial Codex T.I.1 (T, *Codice rico*), fol. 199^{r}
Art Resource, NY.

[117] Ibid., 176.

[118] *Cantigas de Santa María*, vol. 2, ed. Walter Mettmann (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1988), 120. See Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 176.

command of García Gómez Carillo.[119] Alfonso's struggle with the Moors is such a prevalent theme of his politics, it seems likely that Isidore/Bartholomaeus/Juan Gil's description of the trumpet as an instrument of war would have struck readers in Iberia as referential to the many skirmishes along the frontier between Christian and Moorish territories. For example, the way King Ibn al-Ahmar of Granada has his trumpeters signal retreat after the siege of Chincoya in *Cantiga* 185 (187 in Codex T) seems a perfect illustration of Gil's definition of the instrument. The añafil players as portrayed in Codex T (Fig. 8.9) signal the retreat, as the King of Granada sings mockingly: "Nulla prol / non ei de mais conbatermos, e tẽer-m-ia por fol / sse contra Maria fosse, que os seus defender sol" (I shall reap no profit from continuing the attack and would consider myself foolish to go against Mary, who defends Her own).[120] Juxtaposing Juan Gil's definition of the trumpet in the *Ars musica* with its gloss in *De musica* guides our view of the trumpet to the spiritual message concerning the campaigns of preachers. In the Iberian context, trumpets might signify the power of Franciscan preachers in Alfonso's cultural and political programs, and signal the flight of his enemies.

The special relevance of Juan Gil's additions to Bartholomaeus's *De musica* becomes clearer still in the concluding remarks of *Ars musica*. Summing up his treatise, he renews his praise for the power music has over the soul:

> Yet, repeating in brief the miraculous commendations of melodic music, we proclaim with admiration that it delights the heart, that it arouses and kindles love, that it expresses the passion of the soul, that it professes the power and the virtue of spiritual instruments [and] exhibits their purity and good disposition, that it alleviates toil, removes tedium and disgust, that it

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[119] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria, A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 114. The uprising is described in *Cantiga* 345.

[120] *Cantigas de Santa María*, 2:207; *Songs of Holy Mary*, 222. O'Callaghan has suggested the siege occurred around 1264 at the beginning of the Revolt of the Mudéjars of Jerez against Alfonso X (O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas*, 112). A similar image appears on fol. 222^{r} to illustrate *Cantiga* 165, on "How Holy Mary of Tartus in Syria defended the city from the sultan." It narrates the miraculous defense of Tartus (1270–1) from the siege of Baybars I (Bunduqdari), sultan of Egypt. The miniature includes musicians playing añafil and drums to illustrate the sultan's retreat as he sings: "Eno Alcoran achey / que Santa Maria virgen foi sempr; e pois esto sey, / guerra per nulla maneira con ela non fillarey, / e daqui me torno logo, e fas tange-lo tabal" (*Cantigas de Santa María*, 2:167). "In the Koran I found that Holy Mary was forever a virgin. Knowing this, I will wage no war on Her and will turn away from here at once and order the drums to roll" (Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 200–1; see ibid., 200, n. 2 and 3).

Fig. 8.9. Trumpets sounding the retreat of the King of Granada in Cantiga 185 (187) Escorial Codex T.I.1 (T; *Codice rico*), 247r
Art Resource, NY.

> distinguishes age and sex, that it gladdens praise and celebration, and affects the disposition of listeners, just as it is said in fables about Orpheus, that through the modulation of his voice he charmed the trees and the forests, the mountains, and stones.[121]

It smacks strongly of Bartholomaeus's conclusion to *De musica* and is similar to the epistemology of Isidore of Seville, Robert Grosseteste, and

[121] "Attamen musicae melodiae praeconia mirabilia sub compendio recapitulantes, dicimus admirantes quod ipsa est cordis laetificativa, amoris excitativa et inflammativa, passionum animae expressiva, vigoris et virtutis organorum spiritualium protestativa, puritatis et bonae dispositionis eorumdem ostensiva, laboris sublevativa, taedii seu fastidii ablativa, aetatis et sexus discretiva, praeconii et laudis adquisitiva, affectionis audientium mutativa, sicut de Orpheo dicitur in fabulis, quod vocis suae modulatione arbores et nemora, montes et saxa demulcebat" (*Ars Musica,* 120).

Roger Bacon.[122] Considering his earlier claims that music is essentially a study of consonance and dissonance, it seems appropriate that Juan Gil should join natural science and music theory to assert their accord here once and for all. While *Ars musica* is clearly based on the knowledge of ancient and medieval science and practice, he exceeds them by assembling their wisdom in a unique way that serves the practical needs of his Order. With his hermeneutic of musical instruments behind him, he is now free to bring the "virtue of spiritual instruments" into view—and what better example than Orpheus, who could charm humans and animals with his voice and lyre. Yet in light of his previous definitions of instruments, we can see that Gil's moral philosophy of music exceeds mere reference to mythology.

Conclusion

Given the circumstances of Juan Gil's intimate ties to the scriptorium of Alfonso X, one cannot overlook the possibility that the wisdom of *Ars musica* was relevant to the struggles of culture and religion in Alfonso's Spain. Framing his description of musical instruments as a narrative arc connecting Daniel 3 with the redeeming qualities of instrumental music, Juan Gil converts Nebuchadnezzar's tools of pagan idol worship into instruments of Christian devotion. The concept holds surprising parallels with the story of Francis and the cithara-playing friar.[123]

In fact, I think we may venture further still. By adding the *canon*, *mediocanon, guitar*, and *rabab*—all of them Arabic importations—to the list of instruments, Gil guides his reader from ancient Babylon to the tumult of contemporary Spain. We have already encountered the trumpet in Moorish use (*Cantiga* 185) during Alfonso's siege on Chincoya. Perhaps Juan Gil's aim in *Ars musica* was to show his reader that these instruments reflected pious virtues in the hands of Christian practitioners, or that they had been "converted" to Christian use. Indeed, Juan Gil may be applying a familiar literary trope here. Chroniclers of the Crusades often list trumpets, horns, drums, etc., among the weaponry Islamic armies wielded against Christian invaders. The chronicle of King Richard I's engagement with the Islamic Turks during the Third Crusade is particularly instructive on this point. At the siege of Iconium, on the morning of 18 May, 1190,

[122] See Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.
[123] See above, pp. 32–4.

the Turks bore down on Richard's army "with trumpets and drums and a horrible noise."[124] Yet upon Richard's arrival in Acre (8 June, 1191), he was welcomed with such rejoicing in song and instrumental music that the chronicler found himself overwhelmed

> Trumpets blew on this side, horns sounded on the other; here pipers played a shrill tune together, there were drums crashed and *troinas* buzzed a deep harmony; and the combination of various sounds formed a charming symphony.[125]

When Saladin and the Turkish army used the same instruments at the siege of Acre, we get a different story. On hearing the Christian army approach, the Turks "raised to heaven such an uproar and bellowing of war trumpets that the air seemed to resound with thunder and flashing lightning. Some of them were assigned to the sole task of banging on basins and tambourines, beating drums and making a racket in various other ways [...]."[126] Juan Gil may be establishing a similar narrative in *Ars musica*, which contrasts Christian with pagan use of musical instruments. And, of course, juxtaposing depictions of these very instruments with the *Cantigas de loor* in Manuscript E portrays them in the service of Marian devotion, thus reclaiming them iconographically for their "proper" Christian use.

Reviewing Juan Gil's citation of biblical and Arabic instruments in metaphorical terms, we might imagine Alfonso as the *Christian* patron of music who usurps the pagan Nebuchadnezzar, just as he saw himself as the usurper of the "pagan" Moors in Spain.[127] Shall we then view Juan Gil's

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[124] "Mane facto, consumptis nubibus, aer illuxit purior; et ecce, subito cum tubis et tympanis et clangore horrisono Turcorum exercitus circumquaque diffusus imminet, quantus nec ante visus, nec credebatur videndus [...]" (*Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, vol. 1 of *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs [London: Longman, 1864], 51). For similar details see also pp. 58 and 81. See *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1997), 62.

[125] "Sed in hinc trumpae perstrepunt, illinc intonant tubae: hic acutius modulantes concinunt tibicines, illic tympana concrepant, sive gravioribus harmoniis susurrant troinae, et tanquam ex variarum vocum dissonantiis mulcens auditum coaptatur symphonia" (*Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 212). The *troina* is a kind of wind instrument. See *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 202.

[126] "Quod cum Turci praesensissent inclusi, tanto tumultuantes boatu et clangore buccinae, efferebant clamores ad sidera, ac si micantibus fulgoribus aether tonando perstreperet. Quidam enim eorum his tantum errant deputati ministeriis, sonare pelves et tymbras, pulsare tympana, et aliis diversis modis tumultuare [...]" (*Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 215). See *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 205.

[127] In *Cantiga* 192, the Virgin Mary addresses the Moor who wished to be freed from the devil as a "pagão" (pagan).

citation from Daniel and subsequent definitions of instruments as a musical assault on Muslim hegemony in southern Spain? If we stretch the metaphor a little further, we may even recognize Juan Gil, Alfonso's secretary and lector in Zamora, as the Christian music theorist and philosopher who usurps the Chaldaean astrologers. Perhaps we should view this, too, along with *Historia naturalis*, as part of Juan Gil's contribution to the usurpation of the Muslim intellectual patrimony over Aristotelian learning in Spain.

Considered broadly, one can see how precise information about the practice of chant and knowledge about music as a natural science would serve the mission of Franciscan clerics, regardless of the region. If Juan Gil did indeed import the substance of the glosses along with the text from *De musica* into *Ars musica*, perhaps we should view the treatise as another kind of novice manual uniquely directed toward the Franciscan ministry of music in Spain. It would teach young priests about analogies between sensual and spiritual motion. It would teach them not only how to sing chant but also how to think about chant and its affects. Finally, it would teach Franciscan clerics about the spirit of musical instruments and their analogy to preaching. This knowledge would certainly have addressed some of the immediate concerns of this Order of poor, educated clerics preaching in Christian and newly-Christianized parts of Europe. Working on commission to the Minister General of his Order, we would have good reason to presume that it did precisely that.

CONCLUSION

In a rather famous lauda by the Franciscan poet Jacopo Benedetti (c. 1236–1306), better known as Jacopone (Big John) da Todi, he assails his brethren in Paris who he says "demolish Assisi stone by stone." "That's the way it is, not a shred left of the spirit of the Rule! […] With all their theology they've led the Order down a crooked path."[1] It is a complaint to which Jacopone returns many times in his writing.[2] "Assisi" in this case seems to reflect the spiritual or, as David Burr says, a rigorist's view of Franciscan virtue, which was basically centered on the ideals of evangelical poverty, charity, and penance. "Paris," on the other hand, represents the arrogance of educated Friars—"an elite with special status and privileges" who looked down on their brothers.[3] The conflict of the 1290s, when most of Jacopone's *laude* were written, sing of struggles within the Order that go back to the 1220s, to a time when the friars were first grappling with their identity; and, as I have shown, this involved their chanting and preaching—the two aspects of the Franciscan mission of music that I have examined in this study.

In Chapter One we saw that while the *Regula non Bullata* (*Earlier Rule*) of 1221 required all Franciscan friars to celebrate the Divine Offices, albeit in distinctive forms, the *Regula Bullata* (*Later Rule*) of 1223 privileged the clerical brothers as singers of the rite according to the Roman church.[4] The *Earlier Rule* would not exclude the lay brothers from preaching, so long as they did not preach against the rites and practices of the Church and had the permission of the minister.[5] But this was emended in the *Later Rule*, making preaching incumbent only on friars who had been properly examined, approved, and had "the office of preacher […]

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[1] "Tale qual è, tal è;/ non ci è relïone./ Mal vedemo Parisi,/ che àne destrutt'Asisi:/ co la lor lettoria messo l'ò en mala via." [That's the way it is—not a shred left of the spirit of the Rule! In sorrow and grief I see Paris demolish Assisi, stone by stone. With all their theology they've led the Order down a crooked path.] Franco Mancini, *Laude Iacopone da Todi.* Scrittori d'Italia, no. 257 (Bari: G. Laterza, 1974), 293. Jacopone da Todi*, The Lauds*, trans. Serge and Elizabeth Hughes, The Classics of Western Spirituality (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 123.

[2] See David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 102–7.

[3] Ibid., 104.

[4] *The Earlier Rule*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, vol. 1, *The Saint*, 65.

[5] Ibid., 75.

conferred upon him."[6] With these changes, as Lawrence Landini observes, "we begin to see an apostolate fundamental to Francis' evangelical way of life slowly but surely being restricted to the clerics of the Order."[7] So, Jacopone had right. The clericalization of the Order seems to have played a major role in reorienting the Franciscan movement from "Assisi" to "Paris," fundamentally affecting the musical nature of their calling. But my study of music has shown that Franciscan music theorists struggled with the identity of their Order throughout the thirteenth century, at first with what a calling to song and preaching should mean, and then when applying their knowledge of science and the wisdom of the Ancients to put the will of "Assisi" into action.

The result was an amalgam, a commixture of ideas. Despite Jacopone's tirade, the works of art, theology, music theory, novice manuals, and other didactic literature we have examined show us that Franciscans were making an alloy of "Assisi" and "Paris." Their "Parisian" psyche motivated Franciscan scholars to study Aristotle, Augustine, and their commentators. They would also be inspired by more recent academics like Lotario dei Segni and Robert Grosseteste, whose writings transmitted models of liturgical exegesis and scientific analysis. So my reading of the evidence suggests that the study of music among the early Franciscans was aimed at substantiating the "Assisian" mentality—not subordinating it to their clerical mission, but establishing a more systematic and learned application of their calling. I propose that it was the regular obligations of young Franciscan clerics to sing the Divine Offices (and later the Mass), combined with the Fourth Lateran Council's requirement that they preach, which sent Franciscan academics searching for a method that would combine science with practical musical instruction. With their strong affiliation to the medieval university, it comes as no surprise that knowledge should inform the essential practices of their mission.

Much of this study has emphasized the contributions of outstanding individuals, beginning with St. Francis himself. Neither Robert Grosseteste nor Lotario dei Segni were Franciscans, of course; but having studied their writings within the context of their actual and legendary relationship with the Order, I think we are in a better position to appreciate how that relationship affected the friars' identity as learned singers and

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[6] *The Later Rule*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents,* vol. 1, *The Saint*, 104.

[7] Lawrence C. Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor* (Chicago: Pontifica Universitas Gregoriana Facultas Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 1968), 41.

preachers. Leonard Ellinwood's study of the medieval *Ars musica* inspired me to think about Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Roger Bacon, and Juan Gil de Zamora as Franciscan music theorists. Obviously their interests in theology, the liberal and mechanical arts, and moral and natural philosophy identify them also with learned culture in general. Yet hagiographers' literary and visual exegeses of Francis's life as a musician resonate strikingly with the writings of our theorists. They use their knowledge to synthesize the subjects of music and preaching; and in so doing they bridge the categories of Ellinwood's taxonomy of schoolman and monastic theorist in a way that betrays their Franciscan identity. Bartholomaeus and Juan Gil were actually writing for an audience of Franciscan students, and so the application of their knowledge may readily be construed as germane to their clerical avocation, and comportment with conventual life. Bacon, on the other hand, aspired to nothing less than a universal reform of education in which the science of music, while at work in the arts as a whole, would apply directly to chant and preaching. Holding up Berthold von Regensburg as the model preacher, and St. Francis as the model for the power of melodic music in chant give Bacon's writings a Franciscan outlook.

Adding the evidence of William of Middleton and David von Augsburg's writing allowed me to extend my narrative in another direction, to show how Pope Innocent III's influence carried from Franciscan hagiography to musical practice. Seeing Innocent III (Lotario dei Segni) so prominently represented in the hagiographical narrative concerning preaching and singing, and then again in programs of Franciscan musical education, presents us with a fascinating historical bend. Lotario's *De missarum mysteriis* may actually have influenced David von Augsburg's *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*, but certainly many of the scribes who copied David's treatise recognized the connection. The connection is clearly far more conspicuous in the case of the *Tractatus de officio missae*, by Alexander of Hales, and William of Middleton's *Opusculum super missam.* Both Franciscan Mass expositions are based explicitly on *De missarum mysteriis*, but William's treatise goes a step further to explain the relationship between theological and performative elements of chant; and he does so for the sake of simple priests and clerics whose job it was to edify the people. Thus, in a surprising turn of events, *De missarum mysteriis* became a tool of Franciscan clerics, who would put canon ten of the Fourth Lateran Council into action.

Concentrating on the nexus between these remarkable Franciscan treatises required intense scrutiny on their words, though at certain junctures

the larger visual and historical contexts offered valuable perspective. A case in point: Reconstructing Francis's musical life from various accounts in the early *vitae* gave us plenty of details to work with; but taken on their own, they yielded a disjointed picture, and only really of what hagiographers wished to portray. Connecting statutes concerning office books and preachers in the *Earlier* and *Later Rule* with parallel passages in the *vitae* helped me to establish a stronger historical basis for my evaluation of chanting and preaching in the life of St. Francis. Then, reconsidering this evidence through the lens of visual representations of the Mass at Greccio, we saw clearly that artists and their Franciscan patrons not only perceived St. Francis as a singer and preacher but that these aspects of his life were intimately entwined. I suggest that it was a model that Franciscan patrons imitated in their own vocation as clerics and priests. And it is was an image of St. Francis that they would impress upon their audiences through the utility of these visual teaching aides.

This is a connection that each of our Franciscan scholars would rework in their own way. Jeremiah Hackett's reception history of Roger Bacon as a hero of English science, and Amanda Power's perception of him as a folk hero out of step with the realities of his life as a friar, opened the way for my Franciscan reading of his scholarship, and of how this related to the models of musicianship that surrounded him.[8] On the other hand, my narrow concentration on the relationship between glosses and text in Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De musica* revealed connections between music, preaching, and concord, with applications both within the Franciscan community and without. But as I pointed out in Chapter Seven, there is a great deal more work to be done on these glosses in order to expose more fully Bartholomaeus's concept of music.[9]

The surprising connections between Bartholomaeus's *De musica* and the *Ars musica* of Juan Gil de Zamora open further avenues for research. The historical and artistic context surrounding the *Ars musica* itself is extraordinarily rich, involving the early Franciscan mission to Spain, a dynamic intellectual environment in Paris, a minister general's commission, the *Reconquista* of Alfonso X, and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. It is a remarkable story indeed, and there is much more to tell. More than 120 years ago, Fidel Fita Colomé showed that certain of the *Cantigas de*

[8] Amanda Power, "A Mirror for Every Age: The Reputation of Roger Bacon," *English Historical Review* 121, no. 492 (2006), 657–92.

[9] See Peter Loewen, "The Glosses on *De musica* in Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*" (forthcoming).

Santa Maria were based on models supplied by Juan Gil de Zamora.[10] And in his biography of Alfonso X, Salvador Martínez adds that "as an expert musicologist, he must be considered one of the main collaborators in the composition not only of the literary and theological content, but also of the music of the cantigas."[11] I shall take up the challenge of finding Juan Gil's musical voice in *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*.

Having now traced our way from hagiography through theology and music theory and cognition to the Franciscan *studium* itself, we now find ourselves at a point of transition. Faced with such a complex notion of what a Franciscan musician was (and should be), we must ask ourselves whether we are looking at some kind of ideal or whether the ideas we have encountered actually found their way into practice. In view of the Order's phenomenal growth during the thirteenth century, we should expect to find the influence of the Franciscan mission of music everywhere in late-medieval culture, resounding with their brand of penitential piety in sermons, chant, Latin and vernacular songs, and drama. In short, "where's the music?" I shall conclude with a brief response, which may serve as a foretaste of *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*.

To reiterate my introduction, the notion of a "Franciscan movement" has been a familiar maxim of modern criticism in the arts for more than 150 years. Having dealt with the background, what we lack now is a critical examination of the concomitant music. Living at the crossroads of European culture, between the learned and laymen, courtly and urban society, Franciscan musicians were ideally positioned to infect the largest possible audience with their penitential piety. The movement may have begun with Brother Pacifico, who, according to legend, returned to France after 1226 to lead the first *jongleurs* of God "through the world preaching and singing the praises of the Lord."[12] Although his songs are not extant, it may be possible to gauge his influence through several anonymous French penitential songs from this period, and through the songs of musicians he recruited in France. Perhaps Julian von Speyer (late 12th century–c. 1250) was one of them.[13] He is the author of the Offices for Sts. Francis and

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[10] Fidel Fita Colomé, "Poesias ineditas de Gil de Zamora," BRAH 7 (1885): 379–409; ibid., "Coincuenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora combinadas con las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio" BRAH 7 (1886): 54–144.

[11] H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, The Learned: A Biography*, trans. and ed. Odile Cisnersos (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 60–1. Originally published as *Alfonso X, el Sabio: Una biografía* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2003).

[12] *2Mirror,* 347–8. See above, pp. 57–8.

[13] See above, p. 207.

Anthony of Padua. Beyond these magnificent illustrations of chant, the Latin hymnic compositions of John Pecham and St. Bonaventura offer another avenue of inquiry.[14]

It seems, however, that we may no longer count "Dies irae, dies illa" and "Stabat mater dolorosa" as Franciscan chants. Bartolomeo da Pisa was the first to identify Tommaso da Celano as the author of "Dies irae."[15] But discovery in 1931 of a late twelfth-century copy of it in a Benedictine manuscript from Carmanico (now Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. VII D 36, fol. 16^{r}) has cast considerable doubt on Tommaso's role as its originator.[16] Adding to this, most scholars seem to agree with Hélène Nolthenius and George T. Peck that "Stabat mater dolorosa," and also "Cur mundus militat," "Iesu dulcis memoria," and "Stabat Mater speciosa" are not by Jacopone da Todi, either.[17] As Nolthenius writes, "neither the Latin nor the stylized form is at all in his style. Jacopone's own *laude* on the same theme, the 'Donna del Paradiso,' is much more important even from a purely literary point of view."[18]

Indeed, the lauda proves to be a significant genre as a whole for the Franciscans in Italy, and Jacopone's strong showing gives the appearance of Franciscan predominance.[19] One suspects that all of Jacopone's laude were meant to be sung, but "O Cristo omnipotente" (Lauda 41) is the only one of his ninety-two authentic laude to come down to us with its music.[20] The song itself comes across as a *lauda drammatiche* or *rappresentatione*,

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[14] See Peter Loewen, "St. Bonaventura," and "John Pecham," in *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* [on-line], J. Dibble and J.R. Watson, eds. (Canterbury Press, forthcoming 2013).

[15] *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana* 4 (1906), 530.

[16] M. Inguanez, "Il 'Dies irae' in un codice del secolo XII," *Miscellanea Cassinese* 9 (1931): 5–11.

[17] Hélène Nolthenius, *Duecento: The Late Middle Ages in Italy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 212; 251, n. 54. Originally published as *Duecento, Zwerftocht door Italië's late middeleeuwen* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1951). See also George T. Peck, *The Fool of God Jacopone da Todi* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 150; 195, n. 13.

[18] Nolthenius, *Duocento*, 212.

[19] The early research by Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis on the Franciscans' role in the development of the lauda is still highly regarded as a work of criticism. See *Le Origini della poesia drammatica in Italia* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1924; repr. Lucca: Istituto Abruzzese, 2009), 325–34.

[20] "O Cristo omnipotente" appears with its music in the *Magliabechiano Codex* (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18, fols. 35^{v}–36^{r}). See Fernando Liuzzi, facs. ed., *La Lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1934), 2: 96–9. See also Blake Wilson's modern edition in *The Florence Laudario, An Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18*. Translated by Nello Barbieri (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1995), 29.

dramatic forms which appear to have been favorites of the Franciscans, including the Englishman William Herebert.

Sources of English Franciscan music are best represented in the sermons, preaching tools, and commonplace books of the English friars from this early period. Most noteworthy, perhaps, are the lyrics of William Herebert (c. 1270–1333), Richard de Ledrede (Bishop of Ossory from 1317–60), and the author of the *Fasciculus morum* (c. 1300). These sources do not preserve their music, and for this reason, perhaps, have attracted little attention from musicologists; but they are, in fact, attractive *contrafacta*, which interact in fascinating ways with the songs on which they are based. The *Fasciculus morum* is a lengthy treatise in Latin on the seven deadly sins, with sixty-one verses scattered throughout its contents, most of them short rhymes in Latin and Middle English.[21] Its modern editor, Siegfried Wenzel, argues against the possibility of the lyrics having been sung[22]—a point I shall debate in *Music in Early Franciscan Practice*. The sixty Latin songs in Richard de Ledrede's *Red Book of Ossory* certainly were sung, at least eleven of them as *contrafacta*.[23] According to his statements, he composed them for his "vicars of the cathedral church, for the priests, and for his clerks, … and since they are trained singers [*cantatores*], let them provide themselves with suitable tunes [*notis*] according to what these sets of words [*dictamina,* "ditties"] require."[24] The short English and French verses that precede the eleven known *contrafacta* give us some clue about the origin of the suitable tunes Richard had in mind. William Herebert's Middle English, carol-like hymns might also have been sung as *contrafacta* of the Latin hymns on which they are based. Indeed, I have argued elsewhere that his English hymn "Wele, heri3yng, and worshype boe to Crist" was sung as a *contrafactum* of the Palm Sunday processional hymn "Gloria, laus, et honor."[25] Further study might consider the interesting

[21] *Fasciculus Morum, A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989).

[22] Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 17–8.

[23] *The Lyrics of the Red Book of Ossory*, ed. Richard Leighton Greene, Medium Aevum Monographs New Series V (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974).

[24] Ibid., vi.

[25] Peter Loewen, "Mary Magdalene as Joculatrix Domini: Franciscan Music and Vernacular Homiletics in the Shrewsbury *Officium Resurrectionis* and Easter Plays from Germany and Bohemia," *From the Margins 2: Women of the New Testament and their Afterlives*, eds. Christine E. Joynes and Christopher C. Rowland (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 101–2.

complications that result from these hymns' inherently sermonic nature and resemblance to the English carol.

In sum, the relationship between music and preaching remains a fertile subject for further musicological enquiry concerning the Franciscans. Berthold von Regensburg (or the friar from Augsburg who wrote down his German sermons) whets our appetite in his sermon "Saelic sint die armen, wan daz himelrîche ist ir" (Mt 5:8).[26] Responding to a request from the audience to give them a simple criterion by which they might discern between a heretic and orthodox preacher, Berthold teaches them seven words of which they should be wary. When they hear a preacher utter them, he says, they will know that they have heard a heretic.[27] He exclaims:

> I would dearly wish that one would write songs about them. If there is a good composer here who can sing new songs about them, he should mark these seven words well and make songs from them. You would do well by them; and make them short and simple so that it would be child's play to learn them. This way, people learn them better and have less trouble remembering. There was a rotten heretic who wrote songs about heresy and he taught them to a child on the street so that the people would fall further into heterodoxy. And that is why I wish that someone would sing songs about them.[28]

The faith Berthold puts in the edifying virtue of song resounds with these words, though it can hardly seem surprising in view of what we now know about David von Augsburg's mentorship and Roger Bacon's testimony

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[26] Anton Schönbach, "Die Überlieferung der Werke Bertholds von Regensburg II," in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaft,* phil.–hist. Klasse 152 (Vienna, 1906), I:61–3. See also Frank G. Banta, "Berthold von Regensburg," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1, ed. Kurt Ruh (Berlin 1977), 820.

[27] "'Bruoder Berhtolt [sic], wie sülle wir uns vor in behüeten, sô lange daz sie guoten liuten sô gar glîche sint?' Seht, daz wil ich iuch lêren, den worten daz ir iuch iemer mêre deste baz gehüeten künnet. Ir sult sie halt ouch an siben worten erkenen. Won swem unde swenne ir der siben worte einz erhoeret, vor dem sült ir iuch hüeten wan der ist ein rehter ketzer, und ir sült den pfarrer an sie wîsen oder ander gelêrte liute. Unde merket mir disiu wort gar eben unde behaltet sie iemer mêr unze an iuwern tôt" (*Berthold von Regensburg: Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten,* eds. Franz Pfeiffer and Joseph Strobl, vol. 1 [Vienna: 1862, 1882; repr. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965, with forward, bibliography, and history of transmission by Kurt Ruh], 405, ll. 30–8).

[28] "Ich wolte halt gerne daz man lieder dâ von sünge. Ist iht guoter meister hie, daz sie niuwen sanc dâ von singen, die merken mir disiu siben wort gar eben unde machen lieder dâ von: dâ tuot ir gar wol an; unde machet sie kurze unde ringe unde daz sie kundegelîch wol gelernen mügen; wan sô gelernent sie die liute alle gemeine diu selben dinc unde vergezzent ir deste minner. Ez was ein verworhter ketzer, der machte lieder von ketzerîe unde lêrte sie diu dint an der strâze, daz der liute deste mêr in ketzerîe vielen. Unde dar umbe saehe ich gerne, daz man diu lieder von in sünge" (ibid., 405, l. 38–406, l. 8). My translation.

about Berthold's acute grasp of the art of preaching. It is an avocation very much in tune with other friars in his order, who would demonstrate their talent as composers as if responding to Berthold's call for preaching through song. Such an Order of musicians were Francis of Assisi's *Joculatores Domini.*

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